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PATROCINIA OF ST. BARBARA IN THE DIOCESE (ARCHDIOCESE) OF WARMIA

Patrocinia św. Barbary w diecezji (archidiecezji) warmińskiej Abstrakt

Kult św. Barbary w diecezji warmińskiej sięga początkami działalności zakonu krzyżackiego. Pierwsze jego ślady można wiązać z 1242 r. i grodem w Sartowicach k. Świecia, gdzie przechowywano relikwię świętej. Potem jej wezwanie nadano kaplicom w Bratianie, Gdańsku, Królewcu i Malborku. W diecezji warmińskiej w granicach sprzed 1992 r. tytuł ten nosiły świątynie w: Boguchwałach, Kętrzynie, Krzyżanowie, Rogózu (pierwszy), Pasymiu, Rynie Reszelskim, Srokowie, Straszewie, Sztumie i Turowie, a obecnie w archidiecezji warmińskiej pozostały tylko kościoły w Boguchwałach, Rogózu, Rynie Reszelskim i Kętrzynie. Bardzo wiele obiektów sakralnych zostało wyposażonych w rzeźby św. Barbary w ołtarzach (zazwyczaj ze św. Katarzyną) i w mniejszym stopniu w obrazy. Działały też bractwa pod jej wezwaniem w Nowym Stawie, Pasłęku i Nidzicy, ale na początku XX w. tylko w Tolkmicku. I choć obecnie kult św. Barbary w archidiecezji warmińskiej nie jest już popularny (poza Boguchwałami i Rogózem), to w wymiarze historycznym odegrał dużą rolę, podobnie jak innych świętych kobiet: Anny, Elżbiety, Katarzyny, Małgorzaty i Marii Magdaleny.

Słowa kluczowe: patrocinia, święci, św. Barbara, archidiecezja warmińska, Prusy

Abstract

The cult of St. Barbara in the Warmian diocese dates back to the activities of the Teutonic Order. Its earliest traces can be linked to 1242 and the fortress in Sartowice near Świecie, where the saint's relic was kept. Subsequently, chapels dedicated to her were established in Bratian, Gdańsk, Königsberg, and Malbork. In the diocese of Warmia within its pre-1992 boundaries, churches bearing her name were found at Boguchwały, Kętrzyn, Krzyżanowo, Rogóż (first), Pasym, Ryn Reszelski, Srokowo, Straszewo, Sztum, and Turowo. Currently, in the Archdiocese of Warmia, only these churches in Boguchwały, Rogóż, Ryn Reszelski, and Kętrzyn remain. Many religious buildings have been equipped with sculptures of St. Barbara in their altars (usually alongside St. Catherine) and to a lesser extent, with paintings. There were also fraternities dedicated to her at Nowy Staw, Pasłęk, and Nidzica, but at the beginning of the 20th century they remained only at Tolkmicko. Although the cult of St. Barbara in the Warmian archdiocese is no longer popular (except in Boguchwały and Rogóż), historically it

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played a significant role, similar to other female saints: Anne, Elizabeth, Catherine, Margaret, and Mary Magdalene.

Keywords: patrocinia, saints, St Barbara, Warmian archdiocese, Prussia

The cult of St. Barbara in the Warmian diocese was introduced by the Teutonic Order. According to Erica Tidick, already during the first battles against the Prussians, who were supported by the Christian Pomeranian Duke Swietopełk II the Great (d. 1266), the marshal of their Prussian province, Dytryk von Bernheim, captured the fortified castle at Sartowice² near Świeck on the night of December 3-4, 1242, the eve of the feast of St. Barbara. There, the Teutonic Knights stole a relic in the form of St. Barbara's head³ that was kept in the town and carried it to Starogród, where they placed it in their stronghold.⁴ These events are described both in the chronicle of Peter Dusburg and by Nikolai Jeroschin.⁵

Both were opposed to Świątopełk and hence described the defeat of December 1242 as "heaven's punishment for the support he provided to the Prussian pagans." They further noted that St. Barbara could not feel at ease with him and had to be moved "by the true warriors of Christ" (the Teutonic Knights) to a safe place.⁶ This location immediately became a destination for numerous pilgrimages, and according to information from 1319, it was granted a privilege of 40 days of indulgence. However, it was only the Grand Master of the Order, Luther of Brunswick (1331-1335), who decided to promote the cult of the saint⁷ and composed a rhymed poem about her in German, as mentioned by the chronicler Jeroschin. He also elevated the rank of her liturgical commemoration to the level of "semiduplex" and ordered that on her feast day (December 4), the Order should read the life of the saint. St. Barbara also began to be regarded as the patroness of the Christianization of Prussia.⁸ From

² At Sartowice, the church is still dedicated to St. Barbara.

³ In the quoted article, it was stated that the relics of St. Barbara originated from Rome. E. Tidick, *Beiträge zur Geschichte der Kirchen-Patrosinien im Deutschordenslande Preußen bis 1525*, "Zeitschrift für die Geschichte und Altertumskunde Ermlands," 1926, vol. 22, p. 412. E. v. Cizhak, in *Die Edelschmiedekunst früherer Zeiten in Preußen* (Leipzig 1908, p. 30), describes it as a reliquary of the head weighing 50 kilograms, which had to be carried by four people during processions.

⁴ Althaus is the first Teutonic stronghold of Starogard. For the translation of St. Barbara see *Translacio et miracula sanctae Barbarae*, Leipzig 1863, "Scriptores rerum Prussicarum," vol. 2, eds. T. Hirsch, M. Töppen, E. Strehle, p. 397-411.

⁵ *Die ältere Chronik von Oliva*, ed. T. Hirsch, Leipzig 1861, "Scriptores rerum Prussicarum," vol. 1, eds. T. Hirsch, M. Töppen, E. Strehle, p. 681-682. This event was also described by the chronicler of the Order, Peter von Dusburg, *Chronicon Terrae Prussiae*, ed. M. Toeppen, Leipzig 1861, "Scriptores rerum Prussicarum," vol. 1, eds. T. Hirsch, M. Töppen, E. Strehle, p. 69-70.

⁶ E. Tidick, *Beiträge zur Geschichte der Kirchen-Patrosinien*, p. 412. Here it is reported that in 1400, the wife of the Lithuanian prince Vytautas, Anna, went to Malbork and visited holy places in Prussia, including Althaus with the relic of St. Barbara. T. Jasiński, *Najstarsze kroniki i roczniki krzyżackie dotyczące Prus*, Poznań 1996, p. 87.

⁷ M. Perlbach, *Die Statuten des Deutschen Ordens nach den ältesten Handschriften*, Halle 1890, p. 148. Here it is recorded that "on the evening preceding [the feast of the saint] and on the day itself, two needy persons should be fed."

⁸ In Starogard, where the centre of the saint's cult was located, and in Pomesania, within the territory of the Order's headquarters, December 4th was celebrated as a state holiday, while in Warmia and Sambia only as "semiduplex sine celebritate" – M. Perlbach, *Die Statuten*, p. 148; W. Rozykowski, *Omnis Sancti et Sanctae Dei. Studium nad kultem świętych w diecezjach pruskich państwa zakonu krzyżackiego*, Malbork 2006, p. 33-34.

that time, there are several testimonies of her veneration within the Order.⁹ Chapels dedicated to her were established in Malbork,¹⁰ Bratian, Königsberg, and the Poorhouse in Gdansk.¹¹

On June 24, 1446, the Grand Master of the Teutonic Order, Konrad von Erlichshausen (1441-1449), agreed to a pilgrimage to the relics of St. Barbara by the Archbishop of Gniezno, Wincenty Kot. The next Grand Master, Ludwig von Erlichshausen (nephew of the former), ordered the relics to be brought to the castle in Malbork¹² at the beginning of 1454. They remained there for three years, and before Pentecost in 1457, they were taken by the people of the Polish King Casimir IV Jagiellon¹³ and delivered to Gdańsk, where they found a place in a chapel of St. Mary's church.¹⁴

In the territory of the Chełmno diocese, besides Starogród, the chapel of St. Barbara at Barbarka¹⁵ near Toruń also held great significance, attracting many pilgrims.¹⁶ It was so popular¹⁷ and lucrative that substantial income was generated, which was shared between the parish priest of St. Mary's church in Toruń and the cathedral chapter at Chełmża.¹⁸

As indicated by Mieczysław Józefczyk's studies, in the territory of Pomesania, besides Malbork, St. Barbara was also venerated at Orłowo (a branch of Lubieszewo), where a chapel dedicated to her was mentioned in 1647.¹⁹ Another place was the church in the village of Lignowy (parish of Świerki).²⁰ The third church, which bears this dedication even today, is at Krzyżanowo.²¹ It is worth noting that this last parish belonged to the Warmian diocese

⁹ W. Rozyrkowski, *Św. Barbara i Barbarka – wokół początków kultu świętej męczennicy*, in: *Św. Barbara Barbarka*, eds. W. Rozyrkowski, W. Miszewski, Toruń 2005, p. 17.

¹⁰ In the visitation protocol of Malbork from 1647, it was noted that "The Chapel of St. Barbara opposite the well of the middle castle is abandoned." – M. Józefczyk, *Z dziejów religijnych Pomezanii w XVII wieku*, vol. 2: *Źródła do dziejów XVII-wiecznej Pomezanii*, Malbork 2012, p. 315.

¹¹ Dwór Ubogich (The Poorhouse) in Gdańsk, also known by its German name Elendenhof, operated in conjunction with the St. George Hospital, designated for lepers. It served as a foundation of the Poor Guild (Elendengilde). The statute of the Poorhouse, drafted by Martin, the parish priest of St. Catherine, was approved in 1391 by Bishop Henry of Włocławek. On March 15, 1394, Grand Master Conrad von Jungingen further approved it, granting various privileges, including exemption from the authority of the parish priest of St. Catherine and permission for the establishment of the chapel of St. Elisabeth. – E. Tidick, *Beiträge zur Geschichte der Kirchen-Patrozinien*, p. 414; M. Sadowski, *Powstanie i rozwój szpitala św. Elżbiety w zamierzeniach zakonu krzyżackiego na przełomie XIV i XV wieku*, "Folia Historica Cracoviensia," 1999, vol. 6, p. 29-48.

¹² E. Tidick, *Beiträge zur Geschichte der Kirchen-Patrozinien*, p. 414; cf. J. Voigt, *Geschichte Marienburgs, der Stadt und des Haupthauses des deutschen Ritter-Ordens in Preußen*, Königsberg 1824, p. 204.

¹³ E. Tidick, *Beiträge zur Geschichte der Kirchen-Patrozinien*, p. 414; J. Voigt, *Geschichte Marienburgs, der Stadt und des Haupthauses des deutschen Ritter-Ordens in Preußen*, p. 451, 455, 456.

¹⁴ E. Tidick, *Beiträge zur Geschichte der Kirchen-Patrozinien*, p. 414.

¹⁵ Barbarka first appears in sources in the 14th century. In 1299, the first religious facility dedicated to St. Barbara was built in the village. It still existed in the 14th century. In 1340, a water mill was mentioned. In the following century, Bishop of Chełmno Wincenty Gosławski commissioned the construction of a new chapel to house the relics of the saint. Cf. W. Rozyrkowski, *Św. Barbara i Barbarka*, p. 18-21.

¹⁶ E. Tidick, *Beiträge zur Geschichte der Kirchen-Patrozinien*, p. 415.

¹⁷ K. Hartknoch, *Preussische Kirchen-Historia, Danzig 1686*, p. 195. He writes that on the third day of the Feast of Pentecost, a large procession of Catholics from Toruń arrived at the chapel.

¹⁸ E. Tidick, *Beiträge zur Geschichte der Kirchen-Patrozinien*, p. 415.

¹⁹ M. Józefczyk, *Z dziejów religijnych Pomezanii w XVII wieku*, p. 329, 367, 479; J. Wiśniewski, *Kościół i kaplica na terenie byłej diecezji pomezaniej 1243-1821 (1992)*, vol. 1, Elbląg 1999, p. 319.

²⁰ M. Józefczyk, *Z dziejów religijnych Pomezanii w XVII wieku*, p. 333, 489.

²¹ Ibidem, p. 335; J. Wiśniewski, *Kościół i kaplice na terenie byłej diecezji pomezaniej*, p. 211.

from 1821 to 1992. Its origins date back to 1319, and it has always remained in the hands of Catholics. Also, the main altar was dedicated to St. Barbara.²²

At the current stage of research, it is difficult to list churches dedicated to St. Barbara in the former diocese of Sambia.²³ There was certainly a chapel in Königsberg, in the district called Lipnik.²⁴ It is known that the parish priest Michael, likely a friar, attempted to reduce its significant income from wax and wine in 1405 and 1406, but it was protected by the marshal of the Order and the commander of Königsberg, Friedrich von Wallenrode.²⁵

Taking into account the borders of the Warmian diocese before 1992, it should be noted that, besides Krzyżanowo, there were nine more churches dedicated to St. Barbara as either their primary or secondary patron. In historical Warmia, these are only the churches at Rogóż (first title) and Ryn Reszelski (second title). In the Mazury region, but still within the area of the archdiocese of Warmia, the following should also be added (in alphabetical order): St. Catherine's Church in Kętrzyn (second title), Srokowo (one of the further titles), Pasym (second title), and Turowo. The churches at Boguchwały, Straszewo, and Sztum now belong to the diocese of Elbląg.

Let us first focus on the church at Rogóż. Unfortunately, this parish has not yet been the subject of a comprehensive study, which it certainly deserves. The village and its headman, Jan, were mentioned as early as December 14, 1335.²⁶ The location of the village was established on September 14, 1338, by the Warmian bailiff Henryk Luter, but the endowment of the church was not specified at that time. The village was granted 60 lans of land (about 1080 ha).²⁷ The church was dedicated to St. Barbara from the beginning. By 1337, it already had its own parish priest, and the village of Napraty was included in this parish. The church was listed in a directory of the late 15th century.²⁸

The visitation protocols, from which we can learn about the patronage and the parish itself, have survived only from the end of the 16th century. The oldest one dates back to February 15, 1598. At that time, only one patronage was recorded – of St. Barbara. The main altar also bore her title. The church possessed a round silver ostulatory with a sash

²² Ibidem, p. 212.

²³ The church of St Barbara in Chrabrowo (German name: Powunden), located north of Königsberg, was recorded before 1525 in this diocese. A. Witkowska, *Świąte średniowiecza w patrociniach kościelnych metropolii warmińskiej*, "Studia Warmińskie," 35/1998, part 1, p. 71; E. Tidick, *Beiträge zur Geschichte der Kirchen-Patrozinien*, p. 441.

²⁴ The Gothic parish church of St. Barbara (German: St. Barbara auf dem Berge) was built there between 1333 and 1354.

²⁵ E. Tidick, *Beiträge zur Geschichte der Kirchen-Patrozinien*, p. 415; M. Perlbach, *Quellen-Beiträge zur Geschichte der Stadt Königsberg im Mittelalter*, Göttingen 1878, p. 138-141, 145, 147, 149, 172-173, 176-177, 182-185; *Friedrich von Wallenrode*, https://pl.wikipedia.org/wiki/Friedrich_von_Wallenrode (accessed October 25, 2023).

²⁶ *Codex Diplomaticus Warmiensis*, vol. 1 (hereinafter: CDW I), eds. C.P. Woelky, J.M. Saage, Mainz 1860 (hereinafter: CDW I), p. 452 (no. 271); A. Olczyk, *Sieć parafialna biskupstwa warmińskiego do roku 1525*, Lublin 1961, p. 84.

²⁷ CDW I, p. 480-481 (no. 294). The village headman Jan was then given 6 freehold lans and the right to run an inn.

²⁸ *Sedes archiepiscopales dioecesis Warmiensis*, Braunsberg 1866, "Monumenta Historiae Warmiensis," vol. 3: "Scriptores rerum Warmiensium" (vol. 1), eds. C.P. Woelky, J.M. Saage, p. 441.

containing the relics of the patroness saint.²⁹ At that time, Fr. Marcin Funk was the parish priest, originally from Dobrze Miasto. During the visitation, he was 52 years old and had been serving in that church for 21 years.³⁰ The parish included the villages of Napraty, Kotowo, Żytowo, Budniki, and the Morawa grange, and it was endowed with 4 lans of land (about 72 ha).³¹ As for the patrocinium, nothing has changed until modern times. This dedication was also noted in the post-visit protocols at the beginning of the 19th century and in all the directories as well as in the latest annals of the Warmian diocese and archdiocese. However, it is not possible to determine the liturgical celebrations. The available sources do not mention them, but we do know that Masses on Sundays and holidays were held at 7 a.m. and 9:30 a.m. Two images remind us of the saint: in the main altar (19th century) and on the polychrome on the wall (18th century). Both depict the saint as a princess with a halo around her head, standing against the backdrop of a tower with a chalice and sword, and holding a palm of martyrdom in her hand. There was also a silver oil vessel most likely from the 16th century decorated with the image of St. Barbara.³²

As the primary dedication of the church, St. Barbara also appears at Boguchwały, which lies outside Warmia but belongs to the archdiocese of Warmia. The church was already there in the Middle Ages, as noted at the end of the 15th century. It is recorded that it belonged to the Ornecki archpresbyterate and was endowed with 4 lans of land.³³ During the Reformation, Lutheranism was introduced there. It was only after World War II that Catholics settled in the village and took over the church. Its dedication remained the same, that is, St. Barbara. This is commemorated by an image in the main altar.³⁴ Adolf Boetticher also noted her image on a bell.³⁵

As a second dedication, St. Barbara is venerated at Sztum, which has belonged to the diocese of Elbląg³⁶ since 1992. Jan Wiśniewski reports that the town was granted city rights on September 21, 1416, by the Grand Master of the Teutonic Order, Michael

²⁹ Archive of the Archdiocese of Warmia in Olsztyn (hereinafter: AAWO), AB, B 4. c. 208v; *Acta visitationis generalis Ecclesiarum Episcopatus Varmiensis 1597/1598*, transliteration J. Wojtkowski, G. Chromik, preface and edition A. Kopiczko, Olsztyn 2022, p. 327.

³⁰ AAWO, AB, B 4, c. 209v; *Acta visitationis generalis Ecclesiarum Episcopatus Varmiensis 1597/1598*, p. 329.

³¹ AAWO, AB, B 4, c. 210; *Acta visitationis generalis Ecclesiarum Episcopatus Varmiensis 1597/1598*, p. 329.

³² Cf. "Ermländisches Kirchenblatt," 1937, p. 682; R. Knapiński, *Ikonoğrafia patronek kościołów parafialnych archidiecezji warmińskiej*, "Studia Warmińskie," 35/1998, p. 90; A. Boetticher, *Die Bau- und Kunstdenkmäler der Provinz Ostpreussen*, part 4: *Ermland*, Königsberg 1894, p. 222.

³³ SRW I, p. 439.

³⁴ „Rocznik Diecezji Warmińskiej,” 1985 (hereinafter: RDW, 1985), Olsztyn 1985, p. 293-204. R. Knapiński, *Ikonoğrafia patronek kościołów parafialnych archidiecezji warmińskiej*, p. 90; cf. study posted on the website Z. Ogórek, *Kościół rzymskokatolicki pw. św. Barbary. Historyczny rys wsi i parafii Boguchwały*, <https://parafia-boguchwaly.ovh> (accessed October 25, 2023).

³⁵ A. Boetticher, *Die Bau- und Kunstdenkmäler der Provinz Ostpreussen*, part 3: *Das Oberland*, Königsberg 1898, p. 113.

³⁶ The parish in Sztum originally belonged to the Pomesanian diocese (from 1577 it had been part of the Pomesanian officiate subordinate to the diocese of Chelmno); in 1821 it was annexed to the Warmian diocese, and from 1992 it has belonged to the diocese of Elbląg.

Küchmeister,³⁷ but it was founded as early as 1295.³⁸ The church's primary patroness is St. Anne, but St. Barbara has also been recorded as the second patroness saint since its inception. When the church was consecrated on July 11, 1903, after its expansion, these two dedications – St. Anne and St. Barbara³⁹ – were officially given.

Currently, within the borders of the archdiocese of Warmia, there are still three churches that have St. Barbara as their patroness, although as a secondary patroness or, in the case of Srokowo, even further down the line. Within the borders of Warmia lies Ryn Reszelski. This small town near Biskupiec Reszelski, with all its rich history, was granted location rights on June 15, 1339,⁴⁰ but the church was not mentioned in it. However, on July 12, 1420, it was noted as a filial church of Unikowo. By the end of the 15th century, it had become a parish church⁴¹ but soon returned to its previous status. It was consecrated in 1493 by the auxiliary bishop of Płock, Jakub, in honour of the Blessed Virgin Mary, Saints Peter and Paul, Saint Barbara, Saint Dorothy, and all the holy martyrs. Thus, our saint was indicated only in the third place. The same dedications were repeated in the visitation protocol of October 2, 1597.⁴² On July 12, 1921, the church was raised again to the status of a parish church, which was confirmed by the Prussian government authorities on February 8, 1922.⁴³ The present church was built in 1706 by Fr. Jan Aleksy Lamshöft, the parish priest of Unikowo, who was also a canon of Dobrze Miasto.⁴⁴

Two more churches are within the borders of the Warmian archdiocese, but they are located in Masuria. One of them is a city church built in 1896 in Kętrzyn. The town had been inhabited by Protestants since the Reformation, and it was only in the second half of the 19th century that Catholics reappeared. Initially, they were cared for by pastors from Święta Lipka. On August 23, 1872, the faithful received their own pastor who celebrated Mass in a small chapel. On July 12, 1893, an independent parish was established.⁴⁵ After purchasing the site, construction of the church began, and it was consecrated on May 5, 1897 by Bishop Andrzej Thiel and dedicated to St. Catherine and St. Barbara.⁴⁶ Unfortunately, there are no records regarding the liturgy, and it can only be assumed that a Holy Mass was celebrated in her honour on the Sunday preceding or following her feast. Before the war, the Eucharist

³⁷ J. Wiśniewski, *Kościół i kaplice na terenie byłej diecezji pomezańskiej*, p. 422-423; idem, *Sztum*, in: *Encyklopedia katolicka*, vol. 19, Lublin 2013, col. 138-139; "Ermländisches Kirchenblatt," 1936, p. 778. It should be added that these churches from the diocese of Pomesania later belonged to the Warmian diocese until the reform of church administration in 1992. See *Elenchus universi cleri nec non sororum piarum congregationum Dioecesis Warmiensis conscriptus sub initio anni 1940*, Braunsberg 1940, p. 39.

³⁸ RDW, 1985, p. 503.

³⁹ J. Wiśniewski, *Wyposażenie kościoła św. Anny w Sztumie w okresie nowożytnym (XVI-XVIII w.)*, in: *600 lat Sztumu. Studia z dziejów miasta i parafii św. Anny*, eds. R. Biskup, A. Starczewski, Pelplin 2017, p. 93-120 (mentions the cult of St. Barbara but does not note her image); RDW, 1985, p. 504.

⁴⁰ CDW I, p. 483-484 (n. 297); A. Olczyk, *Sieć parafialna biskupstwa warmińskiego do roku 1525*, p. 85.

⁴¹ Cf. *Sedes archipresbyterales dioecesis Warmiensis*, p. 404.

⁴² AAOW, AB, B 4. c. 9v-10; *Acta visitationis generalis Ecclesiarum Episcopatus Varmiensis 1597/1598*, p. 26.

⁴³ *Erhebung der Kuratie Schellen zur Pfarrgemeinde*, "Pastoralblatt für die Diözese Ermland" (hereinafter: PDE), 1922, p. 129.

⁴⁴ A. Kopiczko, *Duchowieństwo katolickie diecezji warmińskiej w latach 1525-1821*, part 2: *Słownik*, Olsztyn 2000, p. 185.

⁴⁵ *Urkunde über Errichtung der katholischen Pfarrgemeinde Rastenburg*, PDE, 1894, p. 35-36.

⁴⁶ Z. Klimczuk, *Parafia św. Katarzyny w Kętrzynie w świetle wizytacji kanonicznej 7 kwietnia 2002 r.*, "Studia Warmińskie," 39/2002, p. 473.

was celebrated in this church at 8:00 am and 10:00 am, with an afternoon service (usually Vespers) at 2:30 pm. The main altar features statues of St. Barbara and St. Catherine.⁴⁷

The last church to receive the patronage of St. Barbara is located at Srokowo. The town was founded on August 27, 1405, by the Grand Master of the Teutonic Order, Konrad von Jungingen. During that time, the first church was also built. On October 30, 1489, Bishop Łukasz Watzenrode established a vicarage there, dedicated to the Holy Trinity, the Blessed Virgin Mary, and Saints Fabian, Sebastian, Catherine, and Barbara. However, during the Reformation, the church came into the hands of the Protestants, and it was not until before World War II, in 1937, that the Catholics who settled there built a chapel dedicated to All Saints.⁴⁸ After a population exchange in 1945, the Roman Catholic faithful took over (reclaimed) the local church, and since then, religious life has been organized there. It is primarily dedicated to the Holy Cross.⁴⁹

St. Barbara was also the primary patroness of a chapel at Turowo (on the road to Gardyny), which no longer exists today. It was built by the owner of the village, Kazimierz Jan z Bnina Opaliński, the Bishop of Chełmno (who died on July 21, 1693, at Turowo), and was consecrated on June 18, 1690 by the auxiliary Bishop of Chełmno, Tomasz Skotnicki. The chapel stood at a site where a blue swan, a mysterious spirit believed to bring prosperity to the righteous and misfortune to sinners, was said to have appeared.⁵⁰

Also, in the area of the present archdiocese of Warmia, before the Reformation, there used to be a church dedicated to St. Barbara at Nawiady. It was built in 1437. According to the website, among the historic furnishings there was a late Gothic, gilded chalice dedicated to St. Barbara.⁵¹

There existed also altars dedicated to St. Barbara. Georg Matern lists them in Elbląg, Braniewo, Reszel, and Barczewo. The church of Elbląg was completely destroyed on February 2, 1945.⁵² However, there are still altar wings of it, depicting images of holy women: Barbara, Dorothy, Catherine of Alexandria, and Margaret.⁵³ In Braniewo, the altar of this saint was located near the third pillar on the right side. It featured the coat of arms of Jakub Bartsch, a nobleman from Krosno and Bażyny, who funded it in 1609. In the centre was the painting of the Disciples at Emmaus and above was an image of St. Barbara.⁵⁴ The statue of the saint was also in the main altar in the Holy Cross church of Braniewo.⁵⁵ At Orneta, in the northeast corner of the church, there is an altar of St. Barbara with an oil painting of this

⁴⁷ M.J. Komosińska, *Działalność parafii św. Katarzyny w Kętrzynie w latach 1945-1992*, Olsztyn 1995 (manuscript of the master's thesis) p. 36; Z. Klimczuk, *Parafia św. Katarzyny w Kętrzynie w świetle wizytacji kanonicznej 7 kwietnia 2002 r.*, p. 476.

⁴⁸ This chapel of 1953 was handed over to the Evangelicals. D.E. Mudryk, *Dzieje parafii św. Krzyża w Srokowie w latach 1945-1992*, Olsztyn 1997 (manuscript of the master's thesis), p. 26.

⁴⁹ RDW 1985, p. 236-237.

⁵⁰ P. Kawecki, *Turowo*, <https://gazetaolsztynska.pl/tannenberg-kozlowo/478879,Mazurskie-Tajemnice-Turowo.html> (accessed: October 15, 2023); K. Bucholski, *Mazurska Barbórka*, „Gazeta Olsztyńska,” December 04, 2016.

⁵¹ E. Tidick, *Beiträge zur Geschichte der Kirchen-Patrozinien*, p. 441; *Nawiady*, <https://pl.wikipedia.org/wiki/Nawiady> (accessed: October 25, 2023).

⁵² *Przewodnik po katedrze elbląskiej*, eds. B. Skop, M. Piedziewicz, P. Kanarek, Elbląg 2021, p. 16.

⁵³ *Ibidem*, p. 40; H. Madej, *Późnogotycki ołtarz cechu piwowarów w kościele św. Mikołaja w Elblągu*, „Studia Warmińskie,” 11/1974, p. 101, 104, 123, 137.

⁵⁴ A. Boetticher, *Die Bau- und Kunstdenkmäler der Provinz Ostpreussen*, part 4, p. 50.

⁵⁵ *Ibidem*, p. 64.

saint.⁵⁶ Similarly, an altar dedicated to her existed in the 18th century in the church of St. Peter and St. Paul in Lidzbark Warmiński.⁵⁷

In the cathedral of Frombork, St. Barbara with St. Catherine⁵⁸ are also placed in the main altar. At Sząbruk, St. Barbara is in the finial of the main altar.⁵⁹ At Wrzesina, in the main altar in the second tier, there are St. Barbara and St. Catherine.⁶⁰ Similarly, at Chruściel, in the main altar in the second tier, on the sides, we see sculptures of St. Barbara and St. Catherine.⁶¹

Very often St Barbara was placed, usually as a statue, in the side altars. In the cathedral of Frombork, there is a statue of St. Barbara (next to St. Catherine of Alexandria, St. Catherine of Siena and St. Magdalene)⁶² in the altar of St. Anne by the inter-nave pillar on the left side and on the right side in the altar of St. Simon-Jude Thaddeus by the fourth pillar.⁶³ At Unikowo, we see St. Barbara and St. Catherine in the main altar above the beam and in both side altars.⁶⁴ there are paintings of St. Roch, and in the finial, St. Barbara.⁶⁵ At Szalmia, in the side altar on the right side, there were figures of St. Barbara, St. Margaret, St. Dorothy, and St. Catherine.⁶⁶

At Jeziorany, an oil painting of St. Barbara is placed in the upper tier of the altar of St. Joseph.⁶⁷ At Tłokowo, in the side altar on the left side, in the upper tier, there are figures of St. Barbara and St. Catherine.⁶⁸ At Brąswałd, in the side altar on the left under the invocation of Our Lady of the Rosary, there are sculptures of St. Barbara and St. Mary Magdalene on the sides.⁶⁹ At Klebark Wielki, in the 19th-century neo-Gothic side altar, on the right side in the centre of the altarpiece, we also see St. Barbara and St. Catherine on the sides.⁷⁰

It looks similarly at Purda Wielka, but on the main altar.⁷¹ Adolf Boetticher records St. Barbara on the side altar of St. Joseph of Pluty.⁷²

⁵⁶ Ibidem, p. 275. On the left side of the main altar is the altar of St. Elisabeth of Hungary, the patroness of the city, which also contains sculptures of St. Barbara and St. Catherine. J. Wiśniewski, *Przewodnik po kościele farnym św. Jana Chrzciciela w Ornece*, Ryjewo 1991, p. 14-15.

⁵⁷ J. Piskorska, *Lidzbark Warmiński. Inwentarz ruchomych zabytków sztuki kościelnej diecezji warmińskiej według stanu z 1980 r.*, "Studia Warmińskie," 19/1982, p. 346.

⁵⁸ A. Boetticher, *Die Bau- und Kunstdenkmäler der Provinz Ostpreussen*, part 4, p. 94.

⁵⁹ Ibidem, p. 232.

⁶⁰ Ibidem, p. 233. J. Piskorska, *Zabytki ruchome w kościołach i kaplicach dekanatów Olsztyn Południe i Północ według stanu z 1975 roku. Inwentarz ruchomych zabytków sztuki kościelnej w diecezji warmińskiej*, "Studia Warmińskie," 14/1977, p. 622.

⁶¹ A. Boetticher, *Die Bau- und Kunstdenkmäler der Provinz Ostpreussen*, part 4, p. 254.

⁶² Ibidem, p. 93.

⁶³ Ibidem, p. 5.

⁶⁴ Ibidem, p. 113-114.

⁶⁵ Ibidem, p. 155. J. Piskorska, *Lidzbark Warmiński*, p. 385. In Lidzbark Warmiński, a Gothic chalice featuring the image of St. Barbara, a.o., has also been recorded.

⁶⁶ A. Boetticher, *Die Bau- und Kunstdenkmäler der Provinz Ostpreussen*, part 4, p. 229.

⁶⁷ Ibidem, p. 241.

⁶⁸ Ibidem, p. 243.

⁶⁹ J. Piskorska, *Zabytki ruchome w kościołach i kaplicach dekanatów Olsztyn Południe i Północ*, p. 557.

⁷⁰ Ibidem, p. 589.

⁷¹ Ibidem, p. 602.

⁷² A. Boetticher, *Die Bau- und Kunstdenkmäler der Provinz Ostpreussen*, part 4, p. 205; "Ermländisches Kirchenblatt," 1936, s. 778.

Józefa Piskorska also mentions an image of the saint in a neo-Gothic altar with Gothic elements, located in the former Bishop's House of Olsztyn,⁷³ and a sculpture along with her image on a Gothic chalice from 1541 in the Higher Theological Seminary "Hosianum."⁷⁴

At Gietrzwałd at the end of the 19th century, holy women were depicted on the two sides of the ceiling, among them St. Barbara.⁷⁵ Also, in the main altar of this church, there is a sculpture of St. Barbara on the side (next to St. Catherine).⁷⁶ By the diocesan house there is a neo-Gothic chapel with a statue of St. Barbara.⁷⁷ Her image (with other saints) is depicted in polychrome at Sząbruk,⁷⁸ and on the main altar of this church, we can still see her in the finial (in the glory)⁷⁹ and on the base of a Gothic chalice of the 15th century.⁸⁰ She also appears on the base of a neo-Gothic monstrance of the 19th century in the church in Butryny⁸¹ as well as on the organ gallery at Gryźliny, where there are ten panels with paintings of saints.⁸²

In Prussia, there were fraternities of St. Barbara. Georg Matern states that in the past they existed at Nowy Staw, Pasłek, and Nidzica, but by the beginning of the 20th century, only the one at Tolkmicko was still active. The latter was recorded in a visitation protocol in 1572,⁸³ but its origins date back to the 15th century. Initially, it had only four wax candles. Due to poverty, members did not hold joint meetings but celebrated their anniversary or the annual commemoration on the Sunday after the feast of St. John, and zealously attended funerals. At the beginning of the 20th century, this fraternity was already referred to as a civic guild (Bürgergilde).

In their cupboard, they kept their statute that was renewed in 1555 by the starost of Tolkmicko, Hans von Baysen (Bażyński). It consisted of 27 articles. It stipulated that vigils and Masses for the deceased were to be held on the Saturday and Sunday after Corpus Christi, hence they were referred to as "Leichenträger." Additionally, members carried banners and candles during processions. They also owned a chalice (called Willkomm) made of tin, surrounded by a silver ring, from which hung four figures of saints. There was an inscription on it: "If you are honoured with this chalice, carry it as befits." They kept a book of deceased members, beginning in 1641, which is why it was also called a funeral fraternity.⁸⁴

In the "Gazeta Olsztyńska" on May 11, 1911, it was noted that "for the new church of Our Lady 'Star of the Sea' at Piława, two bells were cast with the names of St. Adalbert and

⁷³ J. Piskorska, *Zabytki ruchome w Domu Biskupim, Kurii i Seminarium Duchownym w Olsztynie według stanu z 1974 roku*, "Studia Warmińskie," 11/1974, p. 582.

⁷⁴ The sculpture dates to the early 16th century. Ibidem, p. 595, 596.

⁷⁵ J. Piskorska, *Rozwój sanktuarium gietrzwałdzkiego*, "Studia Warmińskie," 14/1977, p. 433; eadem, *Zabytki ruchome w kościołach i kaplicach dekanatów Olsztyn Południe i Północ*, p. 571.

⁷⁶ Eadem, *Rozwój sanktuarium gietrzwałdzkiego*, p. 436.

⁷⁷ Ibidem, p. 439.

⁷⁸ J. Piskorska, *Zabytki ruchome w kościołach i kaplicach dekanatów Olsztyn Południe i Północ*, p. 615.

⁷⁹ Ibidem, p. 616.

⁸⁰ Ibidem, p. 620.

⁸¹ Ibidem, p. 567.

⁸² Ibidem, p. 581.

⁸³ AAWO, AB, B 3, k. 226; G. Matern, *Die kirchlichen Bruderschaften in der Diözese Ermland*, Braunsberg 1920, p. 99.

⁸⁴ G. Matern, *Die kirchlichen Bruderschaften in der Diözese Ermland*, p. 99.

St. Barbara.” When Bishop Filip Krementz issued new “Officia propria” for the Warmian diocese in 1882, St. Barbara was mentioned among the saints.⁸⁵

In his work dedicated to fraternities, Georg Matern portrays St. Barbara as particularly revered in the Teutonic Order (alongside St. Catherine, St. Margaret, and St. Dorothy).⁸⁶ Aleksandra Witkowska adds that the initially developed cult of St. Barbara was later replaced by St. Catherine.⁸⁷ However, when we analyse the patrocina of this saint and other forms of her cult, we note that she was very popular throughout the Middle Ages as well as in subsequent centuries. Although in more recent times a few churches were dedicated to her and often as a secondary title, her sculptures and paintings were placed on altars throughout the past period. It is also characteristic that she was almost always associated with St Catherine of Alexandria. Both suffered martyrdom defending their faith in a similar period (early fourth century). They are also counted among the fourteen Holy Helpers.

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⁸⁵ W. Nowak, *Św. Bruno z Kwerfurtu i jego kult w diecezji warmińskiej*, “Studia Warmińskie,” 19/1982, p. 74; *Gedanken? Über die Titel der Kirchen Ermlands*, PDE, 1875, p. 11-12.

⁸⁶ G. Matern, *Die kirchlichen Bruderschaften in der Diözese Ermland*, p. 99.

⁸⁷ A. Witkowska, *Święte średniowiecza w patrociniach kościelnych metropolii warmińskiej*, p. 76 and footnote 77.

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