



Quaestiones Medii Aevi Novae

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♦ *EARLY MEDIEVAL SCANDINAVIA:*

NEW TRENDS IN RESEARCH

♦ *PRUSSICA*

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NEW TRENDS IN RESEARCH
- ✦ PRUSSICA

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I. EARLY MEDIEVAL SCANDINAVIA: NEW TRENDS IN RESEARCH

(CONTINUATION; ED. RUDOLF SIMEK)

KATHRIN CHLENCH-PRIBER
BERN

THE *ABECEDARIUM NORDMANNICUM* – CONTEXTS AND FUNCTIONS OF A RUNE ALPHABET MNEMONIC POEM



INTRODUCTION

The *Abecedarium Nordmannicum* is preserved in a single manuscript (Sankt Gallen, Stiftsbibliothek, Cod. 878) only, the *Vademecum* of Walahfrid Strabo.¹ It is the oldest runic poem or, as Alessia Bauer puts it, a “preliminary stage” to a runic poem² that offers the sixteen characters of the long-branch runes of the younger *Futhark* or Danish normal runes. There is consensus that the *Abecedarium Nordmannicum* can be described as a mnemonic poem, the verses of which were compiled for learning the younger *Futhark*.³ Although research has been particularly interested in interpreting the runic

1 B. Bischoff, *Mittelalterliche Studien – Ausgewählte Aufsätze zur Schriftkunde und Literaturgeschichte*, II-III, Stuttgart 1967-1981, here II, p. 45; cf. the latest publication by W.M. Stevens, *Rhetoric and Reckoning in the Ninth Century – The Vademecum of Walahfrid Strabo*, *Studia Traditionis Theologiae*. Explorations in Early and Medieval Theology, XXIV, Turnhout 2018.

2 A. Bauer, *Runengedichte – Texte, Untersuchungen und Kommentare zur gesamten Überlieferung*, *Studia Mediaevalia Septentrionalia*, IX, Wien 2003, p. 58.

3 G. Baeseke, *Das Abecedarium Nordmannicum*, in: *Berichte zur Runenforschung*, I, ed. H. Arntz, Giessen 1939, p. 77; H. Tiefenbach, *Abecedarium Nordmannicum*, in: *Althochdeutsche*

names, the text itself does not aim to reflect their semantics, but merely their sound values, which are arranged in a certain order.⁴

In a linguistic sense, the *Abecedarium Nordmannicum* contains different layers: the runic characters as well as the runic names are originally Old Norse and belong to the oldest layer of the text.⁵ The majority of the poem, however, shows Old Saxon forms, but there are also a few Old High German ones. As a common explanation for this one assumes that the text existed in an Old Saxon version, into which some High German forms found entrance through the process of writing, as they are also present in the Sankt Gallen manuscript in the version of Walahfrid Strabo. Thereby, it is not clarified whether Walahfrid brought in these forms or they were already in its model.⁶ It is not known how the *Abecedarium Nordmannicum* finally found its way into Walahfrid's *Vademecum*. Similarly, there are so far only speculations about the functional and usage contexts in which the *Abecedarium Nordmannicum* should be considered, for example whether it is related to the Scandinavian mission.⁷

The following article aims to discuss the open questions anew with the inclusion of recent research and to take a closer look at the contexts and functions of the *Abecedarium Nordmannicum*. The starting point is the consideration that the tradition in the context of the manuscript, the network of comparative manuscripts and a historical perspective, as well as the communicative functions of the text, can provide impulses for reflection on the open questions.

THE LONG-BRANCH RUNES AND THE RUNE NAMES

In addition to the Sankt Gallen manuscript, the manuscript Leiden, Universiteitsbibliotheek Cod. Voss. Lat. Q. 83 is the second oldest proof of

und altsächsische Literatur, De Gruyter Lexikon, X, ed. R. Bergmann, Berlin 2013, p. 2; A. Bauer, *Runengedichte...*, p. 59; K. Düwel, *Runenkunde*, Stuttgart-Weimar 2008, p. 192.

4 G. Baeseke, *Das Abecedarium Nordmannicum*, p. 77; A. Bauer, *Runengedichte...*, p. 59.

5 An overview of the runic names in Germanic, Old English, Gothic, Old Danish, Old Norwegian and Old Icelandic offers W. Krause, *Runen*, Sammlung Göschen, MCCXLIV/MCCXLIVa, Berlin 1970, pp. 28f.

6 K. Düwel, *Runenkunde*, pp. 192f.; H. Tiefenbach, *Abecedarium Nordmannicum*, p. 2; Th. Klein, *Studien zur Wechselbeziehung zwischen altsächsischem und althochdeutschem Schreibwesen und ihrer Sprach- und kulturgeschichtlichen Bedeutung*, Göppinger Arbeiten zur Germanistik, CCV, Göppingen 1977, p. 310.

7 Such a relation consider G. Baeseke, *Das Abecedarium Nordmannicum*, p. 90; R. Derolez, *Runica Manuscripta – The English Tradition*, Brugge 1954, pp. 82f.; Th. Klein, *Studien zur Wechselbeziehung...*, p. 313; K. Düwel, *Runenkunde*, p. 193; critically, H. Tiefenbach, *Abecedarium Nordmannicum*, p. 2.

the younger (or else in the 9th century reformed) long-branch runes or the Danish normal runes. The manuscript was in the possession of the Fleury monastery, the provenance is given as “Gallia (ad orientem vergens)”⁸ in the manuscript catalogue, i.e. the eastern border area of West Francia. Although the runes of the Leiden codex, dating itself from the third or fourth quarter of the 9th century, were probably only entered in the 10th century, the archaic linguistic forms suggest that the *Futhark* was copied from an older model, also from the 9th century.⁹ This may explain the conspicuous similarities in shape to the runes of the *Abecedarium Nordmannicum*, in particular the round forms of the **b**-, **þ**- und **r**-rune.¹⁰ However, the rune names of both manuscripts show a noticeably different linguistic form.¹¹ They also differ in arrangement and sequence, with the *Abecedarium Nordmannicum* probably offering a more original sequence, which is also epigraphically documented on the wooden stick of Hedeby (ca. 800-1000) and the stones from Gørlev, Malt and Rök (all 9th century).¹² In the *Abecedarium Nordmannicum*, the first verse begins with the **f**-rune, which gives five rune names, the second verse with the **k**-rune, giving six, and the third verse with the **t**-rune, giving again five rune names; it thus shows a division of 5 + 6 + 5. If one wants to see the three *ættir* in this segmentation, then it does not correspond to the regular arrangement of the three *ættir* of 6 + 5 + 5, where the groups begin with the **f**-rune, the **h**-rune and the **t**-rune. Therefore Karl Lachmann wanted to see a mistake in the rune division of the *Abecedarium Nordmannicum*, especially the beginning of the second *ætt* with the **k**-rune.¹³

In the Leiden Codex, the runes are listed both as signs and as names written out in runic script, which is unusual insofar as the sign does not only stand for a phonetic value but also for the name of the rune. René Derolez

8 K.A. de Meyier, *Codices Vossiani Latini*, Leiden 1975, p. 194.

9 A. Bauer, *Runengedichte...*, pp. 21f. The early dating to before 800 by K. Schneider *Die germanischen Runennamen – Versuch einer Gesamtdeutung. Ein Beitrag zur idg./germ. Kultur- und Religionsgeschichte*, Meisenheim am Glan 1956, p. 14 quoted by B. Isakson, *The Emergence of a Scandinavian Language Development until around 900*, “NOWELE” XXXVI (2000), pp. 3-43, pp. 29f. is obsolete, see B. Bischoff, *Katalog der festländischen Handschriften des neunten Jahrhunderts*, II, ed. B. Ebersperger, Veröffentlichungen der Kommission für die Herausgabe der mittelalterlichen Bibliothekskataloge Deutschlands und der Schweiz, Wiesbaden 2004, p. 60.

10 Th. von Grienberger, *Die angelsächsischen runenreihen und die s.g. Hrabanschen alphabete*, “Arkiv för nordisk filologi” XIV (1899), p. 101.

11 *Ibidem*, p. 102.

12 K. Düwel, *Runenkunde*, p. 91; T. Birkmann, *Der Codex Sangallensis 878 und die Entwicklung der Runenreihe im Jüngerem Futhark*, in: *Alemannien und der Norden, Internationales Symposium vom 18.-20. Oktober 2001 in Zürich*, by H.-P. Naumann, Ergänzungsbände zum Reallexikon der Germanischen Altertumskunde, XLIII, Berlin-New York 2004, pp. 213-223, pp. 214f., 221f.

13 A. Bauer, *Runengedichte...*, p. 65.

suspects that in a model of the Leiden manuscript possibly a rune master, who was not proficient in the Latin alphabet but was supposed to write out the names, had resorted to this aid.¹⁴ Derolez classifies the question from whom this request might have originated, how the Danish normal runes found its way into the model of the Leiden manuscript and how it finally reached the Fleury monastery, as an unresolved research question.¹⁵ It cannot easily be clarified due to the lack of a preserved library catalogue from Fleury from the period in question.¹⁶ Derolez merely states that the writer of the Leiden codex, who þ consistently reproduces with the form-similar Latin *D* and does not properly transliterate the *a*- and *s*-rune, must have had little runic knowledge himself.¹⁷

The runes, followed by their rune names, are distributed over two lines. The first begins with the *t*-rune and gives the five characters and names of the third *átt*, followed by the first three characters and names of the first *átt*. The second line continues with the remaining three characters and names of the first *átt*, followed by the five characters and names of the second *átt*, so that each line contains eight characters and their associated names.¹⁸ At this point I would also like to refer to the cryptic runes of the younger rune series, whose arrangement in a table of three rows, beginning with the five runes of the third *átt*, followed by five runes of the second *átt* and the six runes of the first *átt*, forms the basis for the encryption of runes by means of their position information within the table.¹⁹ Thus one could see in the Leiden manuscript an alternative positioning system of a 2 × 8 matrix for encryption, but there is no evidence for such use.

A line which contains a reproduction of the runic names in Latin script, is inserted above each of the two runic script lines. Two further lines follow, which solely represent the runes and the Latin letters assigned to them in

¹⁴ R. Derolez, *Scandinavian Runes in Continental Manuscripts*, in: *Franciplegius, Medieval and Linguistic Studies in Honor of Francis Peabody Magoun, Jr.*, ed. J.B. Bessinger, Jr., R.P. Creed, New York 1965, p. 34. Likewise, it seems to me conceivable that a scribe could have been at work who was socialized by Latin letters and used the runes as well. A second case of written runic names in runic writing is found in the *Vademecum* in the context of the *Futhorc* on p. 321, whose writer Derolez assumes to be a continental scholar. See R. Derolez, *Runica Manuscripta...*, p. 79.

¹⁵ R. Derolez, *Runica Manuscripta...*, p. 35.

¹⁶ M. Mostert, *The Library of Fleury – A Provisional List of Manuscripts*, *Middleleeuwse Studies en Bronnen III*, Hilversum 1989, pp. 21-24.

¹⁷ R. Derolez, *Scandinavian Runes...*, pp. 34f.

¹⁸ Th. von Grienberger, *Die angelsächsischen runenreihen...*, p. 101; the presentation by A. Bauer, *Runengedichte...*, p. 22, is somewhat misleading, as it shows the rune names divided into three lines.

¹⁹ R. Derolez, *Scandinavian Runes...*, pp. 34; K. Düwel, *Runenkunde*, pp. 183f.

the order **b, c, d, t – f, l, m, n, R, r, s – a, e, i, u – h** influenced by the Latin school grammar.²⁰

The variability of the arrangement of the runes within the Leiden codex, but also in comparison between the three verses of the *Abecedarium Nordmannicum* and the division of eight runes and their names into two lines, is by no means a sign of arbitrariness, but nevertheless of a certain flexibility in dealing with the runic alphabet. In this respect, the problematic and in parts long outdated Lachmann concept of error seems completely inappropriate to me. It is not the perspective on the origin of the younger long-branch runes that is revealing, but on its tradition in a monastic environment where writing is characterized by the Latin alphabet. Even if one might not want to go so far as to interpret the similarities in the forms of the runes in such a way that the *Futhark* of the Leiden codex and the *Abecedarium Nordmannicum* are based on a common model, comparable long-branch runes from a similar period are to be assumed as a model in any case. If the division into the three *éttir* was marked in the model or the models at all, it is in any case not to be determined as a verifiable category for the two handwritten witnesses. The manuscripts at best give a reflex of the division and suggest the conclusion that the three *éttir* in these two manuscripts written in a monastic environment and their presumed models do not form a fixed category that must be necessarily preserved. The same applies to the writing of the runic names both by their signs and by an additional runic transliteration, which appears exceptional in the context of the long-branch rune tradition in Scandinavia, but which becomes quite explainable in a cultural space in which Latin and runic writing meet – be it, as suggested by Derolez, by a runic master who was not proficient in Latin, or possibly by a Latin literate who first learns the runic alphabet and uses runes like Latin letters. Especially in the context of monastic schools, the playful use of runes was repeatedly pointed out, which served less for cryptography than for a representation of the scholarly abilities of the scribe.²¹

With regard to the rune names, the manuscript München, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 14436 from the 11th century is of particular importance.²² On folio 1r there are a total of seven alphabets, including two runic alphabets written side by side in columns and arranged in the order of the Latin alphabet.

²⁰ Th. von Grienberger, *Die angelsächsischen runenreihen...* pp. 101f.; R. Derolez, *Runica Manuscripta...*, pp. 34f.

²¹ B. Bischoff, *Mittelalterliche Studien...*, III, p. 147; A. Nievergelt, *Althochdeutsch in Runenschrift – Geheimschriftliche volkssprachige Griffelglossen*, 2nd updated and extended edition, "Zeitschrift für deutsches Altertum und Deutsche Literatur", Beiheft XI, Stuttgart 2019, pp. 22, 215f.

²² G. Baeseke, *Das Abecedarium Nordmannicum*, p. 90; R. Derolez, *Runica Manuscripta...*, pp. 251-264; Th. Klein, *Studien zur Wechselbeziehung...*, pp. 313f.

In front of the runic character there is the corresponding Latin letter and behind the rune there is a Latin transliteration of the runic name. Most likely they were entered by the monk Hartwic of Sankt Emmeram, who during a study stay in Chartres and Reims acquired a number of codices and brought them with him to his homeland, or they were already available.²³ The *Futhorc* listed under the heading *Siriace* notes under the alphabetical letter *i* a rune whose name is given with *calc*, and therefore probably is to be interpreted as a variant for *k*.²⁴ The corresponding runic character can otherwise only be found in the *Vademecum* of Walahfrid Strabo in the runic alphabet preceding the *Abecedarium Nordmannicum*. Furthermore, the second runic alphabet listed under the heading *Ara[bum]*, which lists twenty-four runic names, shows similarities with the *Abecedarium Nordmannicum*. The Old Norse runenames *feu*, *naut* and *sol* are written identically in both manuscripts; there is also a similarity with the rune name *caon*, which is represented in the *Vademecum* as an Old High German form with anlaut affricate *chaon*.²⁵ Furthermore, in the Emmeram manuscript the rune name *birca* is found, which is to be characterized as Old Saxon rather than Old Norse, and which is written with superscript *i*; in the *Vademecum* the name is reproduced as *brica*. Thus the form of the Sankt Gallen manuscript could be explained either by a *r*-metathesis or by a model common to both manuscripts, which also had a superscript, but was “wrongly” resolved.²⁶ George Baeseke, René Derolez and Thomas Klein have all come to the conclusion that the similarities observed could not have arisen by chance, but that there is a connection between the two manuscripts which cannot be described more precisely and which has not yet been identified.²⁷ While Baeseke still assumed that Clm 14436 itself or its model came from Fulda, Klein brought Reims into play, the see of Archbishop Ebo, who had a mission order for Scandinavia since 822, as a possible place of transmission. It is quite conceivable that there could have been a model for both manuscripts or a copy of the *Abecedarium Nordmannicum* available there.²⁸

POSSIBLE CONTEXTS OF ORIGINATION AND WAYS OF TRANSMISSION OF THE POEM

The standard thesis on the creation of the *Abecedarium Nordmannicum*, which is also recorded in manuals, e.g. by Klaus Düwel and Heinrich Tiefenbach,

²³ R. Derolez, *Runica Manuscripta...*, p. 252; Th. Klein, *Studien zur Wechselbeziehung...*, p. 314.

²⁴ R. Derolez, *Runica Manuscripta...*, p. 255.

²⁵ *Ibidem*, pp. 262f.

²⁶ Th. Klein, *Studien zur Wechselbeziehung...*, p. 311.

²⁷ G. Baeseke, *Das Abecedarium Nordmannicum*, p. 90; R. Derolez, *Runica Manuscripta...*, p. 263; Th. Klein, *Studien zur Wechselbeziehung...*, p. 314.

²⁸ Th. Klein *Studien zur Wechselbeziehung...*, p. 314.

states that the poem is based on a Danish model, which was first translated into Old Saxon.²⁹ In the textualisation, as it appears in the Sankt Gallen manuscript in the version of Walahfrid Strabo, some High German forms also found their way into the text. Looking at the linguistic layers of the *Abecedarium Nordmannicum*, this thesis is indeed plausible, but by no means compelling. On the basis of a detailed linguistic analysis, Klein was able to prove, that with the exception of only a few High German forms, the majority of the poem is Old Saxon; the runic characters and runic names alone show Old Norse.³⁰ At the same time he was thereby able to revise a position of older research, which still assumed that an Old English preliminary stage for the *Abecedarium Nordmannicum* had to be assumed.

Against the background of Klein's findings, it is therefore not necessary to assume an Old Danish model of the Old Saxon poem. Beyond the runic names themselves, no Old Norse or Old Danish traces can be found in the verses of the *Abecedarium Nordmannicum*. In addition, the poem has no structural or content-related similarities to the other Nordic rune poems, which would necessarily suggest that it was written in this cultural area.³¹ Even the manuscript runes of the Leiden and Emmeram manuscripts, which are related to the *Futhark* of the *Abecedarium Nordmannicum* and may even be based on a common model, do not suggest a rune poem on which they are based; only the rune characters or rune names show similarities. In this respect, it seems quite plausible to me that a speaker or writer of Old Saxon only came into contact with the Danish normal runes, their signs and their names, and composed a verse to learn their names and sequence. But no matter whether one uses a Danish original text or merely – as suggested here – a Danish runic alphabet, there is no agreement as to which path a potential model took, nor by which way it could reach Walahfrid Strabo.

Baeseke, who did not yet know the assignment to Walahfrid, suspected that the runic poem had been written in Saxon by a North Elbian and had made its way to Fulda. The Fulda Abbot Rabanus Maurus, who had a special interest in foreign alphabets, was assumed as the intermediary.³² Even if the monastery of Fulda must undoubtedly be regarded as a place of writing

29 K. Düwel, *Runenkunde*, pp. 192f.; H. Tiefenbach, *Abecedarium Nordmannicum*, p. 2; initially more hesitant, A. Bauer, *Runengedichte...*, pp. 11, 69, but ultimately agreeing p. 77; cf. L. Musset, *Introduction à la runologie*, Paris 1965, p. 117.

30 Th. Klein, *Studien zur Wechselbeziehung...*, pp. 310-312. A. Bauer, who did not know Klein's work or at least did not include it in her considerations, comes to a similar conclusion in her analysis, see A. Bauer, *Runengedichte...*, pp. 71-77.

31 These are the Old Norwegian, Old Icelandic and Swedish runic poems, whose in-depth analysis taking into account the text tradition A. Bauer elaborated in her dissertation. Cf. K. Düwel, *Runenkunde*, pp. 193-196; R. Derolez, *Scandinavian Runes...*, p. 33.

32 G. Baeseke, *Das Abecedarium Nordmannicum*, pp. 86-89.

where Old Saxon and Old High German texts were written and – as in the case of the *Hildebrandslied* – partly in a mixed language, Baeseke’s thesis cannot be upheld. One of his arguments is that Rabanus was the author of the *De inventione litterarum* and had already used the runic alphabet that was later written in the *Abecedarium Nordmannicum*.³³ Derolez, who doubts Rabanus’ authorship, can, however, make it probable that there is an inverse relationship between the texts. Thus, the alphabets of the Sankt Gallen manuscript do not represent a consequence but rather a basis for *De inventione*.

The *Vademecum* on pages 315,16-318,29 and 318,30-320,32 contains two excerpts from Isidor’s *Etymologiae* I,8-20 and I,3,4-I,4,1, entered by the hand of Walahfrid Strabo. The respective chapters deal with the accents, their form, the punctuation marks and letters, whereby in the latter section the Hebrew, the Greek and quite briefly the Latin alphabet are thematized, which have emerged genealogically from each other. After the headline *Hebraice Littere* on pages 320-321 follow the characters of the Hebrew alphabet, whose letter names are listed above the line in Latin script, after the headline *Alfabetum greciscum* the Greek letters, above which their value as a number as well as their name are noted in a separate line. This is followed by the diphthongs of the Latin alphabet, which in the preceding text is treated only in an introductory sentence. After that, there is a *Futhorc*, which is titled *Anguliscum* and whose characters are not specifically marked by a line with their Latin names, which indicates that they are not necessarily in need of explanation. This can once again be read as evidence that rune knowledge was part of monastic education and Carolingian schooling.³⁴ Finally follows the *Abecedarium Nordmannicum*, which, with the younger *Futhark*, offers a runic alphabet unknown in monastic circles until then, since the preserved continental manuscript runes up to about 800 can all be identified as those of the Anglo-Saxon *Futhorc* or at least are derived from them.³⁵ While the first attached alphabets are closely matched to the excerpt, the two runic alphabets document a claim not only to sum up the passages from Isidor, but to supplement them with additional linguistic knowledge from the monastic-scientific context and perhaps also to position the runic alphabet in comparison to the three sacred languages.³⁶ Since the *De inventione* now refers exactly to the same passages from Isidor and also offers a new “artificial” rune alphabet composed from the runes of an Anglo-Saxon *Futhorc* and the Danish

33 Ibidem, p. 89.

34 Ibidem, p. 77; H. Tiefenbach, *Abecedarium Nordmannicum*, p. 2; A. Nievergelt, *Althochdeutsch in Runenschrift...*, p. 217, provides evidence to extensive rune skills for Sankt Gallen around 800, but not beyond the 9th century.

35 R. Derolez, *Runica Manuscripta...*, pp. 2f.; K. Düwel, *Runenkunde*, pp. 189f.; A. Nievergelt, *Althochdeutsch in Runenschrift...*, p. 14.

36 R. Derolez, *Runica Manuscripta...*, pp. 355f.

normal runes, Derolez assumes that the passages of the *Vademecum* and *De inventione* go back to a common model, whereby Walahfrid's manuscript has retained a more original form of the model.³⁷ On the basis of this carefully justified course of argumentation, Baeseke's thesis of Rabanus as intermediary must be regarded as invalidated, even though Fulda cannot necessarily be ruled out as a place of transmission, as Derolez and Klein argue.³⁸

Bernhard Bischoff has made a decisive contribution to further research into the *Abecedarium Nordmannicum* with his paleographic investigation, by which he makes Walahfrid probable as owner and in large parts as scribe of the codex and can also specify the dating of individual texts. Bischoff assigns the writing of Walahfrid to four different phases (WI-WIV); he locates the *Abecedarium Nordmannicum* towards the end of the last phase, which he sets between 829 and 849.³⁹ Thus Walahfrid could not have entered the runic poem in his Fulda period (827-829). But even so, it cannot necessarily be ruled out that Walahfrid later received his model via the monastery of Fulda or perhaps only copied it at a later date.⁴⁰ However, Fulda does not seem to impose itself as a place of transmission on the basis of these findings, since the provenances of the Leiden and Emmeram manuscripts also do not point to Fulda or the German-speaking area, but to West Francia. Thus Bischoff also suspects that Walahfrid might have received the original rune poem at the court of Louis the Pious in West Francia.⁴¹

However, this possibility is not contradicted by Wesley M. Stevens' recent investigation of Walahfrid's *Vademecum*. Following on from Bischoff's precise analysis of scripture, he distinguishes the different phases of Walahfrid's writing even more precisely and divides them into the subgroups WI, WII, WIIIa/b and WIVa/b/c. He also reconstructs the order in which the individual quires of the *Vademecum* were written and concludes that the layer containing the rune poem was the last to be created, and that it should be written between 842 and 849 – a time when Walahfrid can be traced on the Reichenau Island and in Aachen and Compiègne, among other places.⁴² The Reichenau Island as the writing place of the *Abecedarium Nordmannicum*, as suggested by Klein, remains conceivable,⁴³ but the text could also have been written on Walahfrid's envoy journeys.

37 Ibidem, pp. 279-282, 290, 374-378.

38 Ibidem, pp. 82, 358; Th. Klein, *Studien zur Wechselbeziehung...*, p. 313.

39 B. Bischoff, *Mittelalterliche Studien...*, II, pp. 40, 42, 45.

40 Th. Klein, *Studien zur Wechselbeziehung...*, pp. 313f.

41 B. Bischoff, *Mittelalterliche Studien...*, III, p. 86; Th. Klein, *Studien zur Wechselbeziehung...*, p. 313.

42 W.M. Stevens, *Rhetoric and Reckoning...*, pp. 27, 44f., 68, 117.

43 Th. Klein, *Studien zur Wechselbeziehung...*, p. 309.

Against all previous research, Stevens does not consider it certain that Walahfrid himself wrote down the *Abecedarium Nordmannicum*, but he does not give a reason for this – which is why this aspect is not discussed further.⁴⁴ But even if one assumes that at about the same time another scribe should have written the rune poem, then at least the period of the transcription can be considered reliable and dated quite exactly to approximately the years 842-849 on the basis of Bischoff's writing analyses and Stevens' quire analysis confirming this result. In spite of the death of Louis the Pious in the year 840, the West Francian court, to which Walahfrid has maintained relations since 842, would remain conceivable as a place of intermediation.⁴⁵

Derolez as well as Klein and Düwel consider another thesis, perhaps even pointing to the same area. They suspect that the *Abecedarium Nordmannicum* could be related to the missionary work in Scandinavia.⁴⁶ In the context of the reorganisation of church affairs, the missionary mandate as a specific task of the monks increasingly lost importance in the last years of the 8th century. Charlemagne had monastic missionaries replaced by a secular pastoral clergy, so that monasteries largely discontinued the training of young missionaries.⁴⁷ The royal monastery of Corbie is to be regarded as an exception. Due to its tasks in the missionary work of the Saxons, but also in the Scandinavian mission, it took up a special position – as did the sister monastery of Corvey in Westphalia, founded in 822 as *Corbeia nova* by Louis the Pious through his promotion. In Corbie there were a number of monks from Saxon families, since it was Charlemagne's custom in the Saxon Wars to distribute Saxon children taken hostage to Francian monasteries and to have them educated there as Christians.⁴⁸ Some of the Saxon monks from Corbie were sent to Corvey as monks, which helped to strengthen the relationship between the monastery and their Saxon families, some of whom belonged to the influential upper class, but was also beneficial to the teaching and pastoral care of the laity as a whole, as there was no language barrier to overcome.⁴⁹

⁴⁴ W.M. Stevens, *Rhetoric and Reckoning...*, p. 45, fn 62; critically, R. Derolez, *Runica Manuscripta...*, p. 82 and K. Düwel in his basic, manual-like standard work on runic science, see K. Düwel, *Runenkunde*, p. 191.

⁴⁵ K. Langosch, B.K. Vollmann, *Walahfrid Strabo OSB*, in: *Die deutsche Literatur des Mittelalters. Verfasserlexikon*, X, Berlin-New York 1999, col. 583-603; here col. 585.

⁴⁶ G. Baeseke, *Das Abecedarium Nordmannicum*, p. 90; R. Derolez, *Runica Manuscripta...*, pp. 82f.; Th. Klein, *Studien zur Wechselbeziehung...*, p. 313; K. Düwel, *Runenkunde*, p. 193; critically, H. Tiefenbach, *Abecedarium Nordmannicum*, p. 2.

⁴⁷ T. Klapheck, *Der heilige Ansgar und die karolingische Nordmission*, Veröffentlichungen der Historischen Kommission für Niedersachsen und Bremen, CCXLI, Hannover 2008, p. 62.

⁴⁸ I. Schmale-Ott, *Translatio Sancti Viti Maryris – Übertragung des hl. Märtyrers Vitus*, Veröffentlichung der Historischen Kommission für Westfalen, XLI, Fontes Minores, I, Münster in Westfalen 1979, pp. 36f.

⁴⁹ T. Klapheck, *Der heilige Ansgar...*, p. 52.

The interlinked missionary work in Saxony and Scandinavia was planned and carried out by the same actors, so that the first generation of northern missionaries consists mainly of magisters from the Corbie Monastery and monks from Corvey, who in many cases come from Saxon families.⁵⁰ The most probably Saxon monk Ansgar, also known as the Apostle of the North and educated in Corbie, who had been in charge of the monastery school in Corvey since 823, was appointed tutor of the Danish king Harald Klak in 826 and entrusted with the northern mission.⁵¹ Although this was only moderately successful, Ansgar and his companion Autbert were nevertheless able to found a school in Denmark or near Denmark in which twelve pupils were trained as future clergymen.⁵² Here, too, the common model was to buy local children out of their families in order to educate them in (monastic) schools in the Christian religion and to train themselves as the first generation of clergymen so that they could later ensure the spread and stabilization of Christianity in their homeland. Thus several schools were explicitly assigned the task of training Scandinavian children and future northern missionaries: that of the 831 newly founded archbishopric in Hamburg-Bremen,⁵³ whose bishop Ansgar was appointed around the turn of the year 831/832, as well as that of the West Flemish monastery Torhout, which secured the income of the diocese,⁵⁴ and also that of the monastery Welanao near Itzehoe. The first generation of pupils is said to have started their activities in 856 together with Ansfrið, a priest from Denmark who was brought up in Welanao.⁵⁵

There was a lively exchange between the monasteries Corbie and Corvey, which were in charge of the Northern Mission, but also with Hamburg, Bremen and Torhout, by the actors involved in the mission.⁵⁶ In addition, these monasteries were also well networked with other monasteries. For example, the Saxon monk Gottschalk (from Orbais), who had a friendship with Walahfrid Strabo, left the monastery of Fulda after successfully suing against his oblation there in 829 and later went to Corbie.⁵⁷ It is quite conceivable that in this network of – not only Saxon – monasteries, whose monks, however, partly had a Saxon

50 Ibidem, pp. 53-54.

51 Ibidem, pp. 40, 51, 55-57, 159-161.

52 Ibidem, p. 69.

53 On the controversy surrounding the founding of the Hamburg archbishopric see ibidem, pp. 72-78.

54 Ibidem, pp. 96-97, 99-100.

55 Ibidem, pp. 99, 167.

56 Ibidem, p. 100.

57 Ibidem, pp. 67f. On the friendship of Gottschalk and Walahfrid cf. I. Fees, *War Walahfrid Strabo der Lehrer und Erzieher Karls des Kahlen?*, in: *Studien zur Geschichte des Mittelalters*, Jürgen Peterson zum 65. Geburtstag, ed. M. Thumser, A. Wenz-Haubfleisch, P. Wiegand, Stuttgart 2000, p. 47.

origin, not only persons were highly mobile, but also texts. Particularly against the background of the school mission context the Danish normal runes could have found their way into the monastery network⁵⁸ and in this context the Saxon mnemonic poem could have been created. This seems to me to be a quite plausible thesis, the substantiation of which would require a meticulous study of the sources in order to possibly obtain indications as to which places or persons might have been involved in the presumed text transfer.

Tiefenbach is critical of the thesis that the *Abecearium Nordmannicum* could be related to the Northern Mission and justifies this with the fact that the writing context of the Sankt Gallen manuscript does not provide any clues in this respect.⁵⁹ However, this does not seem to me to be a valid counter-argument, since the version in the *Vademecum* is a copy and clues do not necessarily have to be found in the Sankt Gallen manuscript alone, but they should already be found in the model. About this model, or one of its preliminary stages, we know that it contained an Old Saxon version of the *Abecearium Nordmannicum*, which was handed down together with the excerpts from Isidor and alphabets listed in the *Vademecum*, and which itself or as one of its preliminary stages was a model for *De inventione*.⁶⁰ Although this unavailable model can only be reconstructed, with the help of the *De inventione*, which depends on it, insights can be gained which at least do not contradict a context of origin in connection with the Northern Mission and which are even plausible from a temporal point of view.

Derolez already assumed that the Nordic runes, which had entered *De inventione* and were represented in the *Abecearium Nordmannicum* and were hitherto unknown in the German-speaking area, were set in the context of the Northern Mission. He refers to the times of the Frisian apostle Willibrord (around 658-739), when there had been stays of missionaries in Denmark, and to the end of the 8th century as the period in which runic writing flourished again in Denmark.⁶¹ This connection seems effortful and unconvincing, since Willibrord's part in the early missionary attempts in Denmark is quite vague and his life does not nearly reach the end of the 8th century. Most probably, Derolez only refers to this early period because he assumes that the oldest manuscript of *De inventione* (Sankt Gallen, Stiftsbibliothek, Cod. 876) was begun in the 8th century and that the treatise was entered there at the latest shortly after 800.⁶² Since the version handed down in the manuscript

58 Similar arguments gives Th. Klein, *Studien zur Wechselbeziehung...*, p. 313.

59 H. Tiefenbach, *Abecearium Nordmannicum*, p. 2.

60 R. Derolez, *Runica Manuscripta...*, pp. 376-377; Th. Klein, *Studien zur Wechselbeziehung...*, pp. 310-312.

61 R. Derolez, *Runica Manuscripta...*, p. 357.

62 *Ibidem*, pp. 290-291.

is already clearly different from the original on which it is based, he must assume that the transfer of the Nordic *Futhork* is to be dated much earlier.⁶³ This consideration, however, is obsolete, since Bischoff has identified the *De inventione* of the Sankt Gallen manuscript Cod. 876 as a supplement, which does not date before the middle of the 9th century.⁶⁴ Thus, the tradition of the *De inventione* that began in the middle of the 9th century does not argue against the fact that the younger Nordic *Futhork* was transferred to the continent (initially) in the course of the Northern Mission around Ansgar. Thus this Sankt Gallen manuscript is a further early witness, which shortly after the *Vademecum* and at about the same time as the supposed model of the Leiden manuscript, indicates the knowledge of the younger *Futhork* in monasteries on the mainland around the middle of the 9th century.⁶⁵

In terms of content, both *De inventione* and the corresponding passages of the *Vademecum*, which are closer to a common model to be assumed, prove the marked interest among monastic circles in the hitherto unknown runic alphabet. Carolingian monastic manuscripts show that runic scripts had an aesthetic function as markup scripts and were used in particular for the encryption of texts.⁶⁶ The use of the Runic script as a cipher cannot be interpreted as proof of the survival of an authentic runic script in the monastery, but, according to the common interpretation since Bischoff, points to a scholarly self-understanding:⁶⁷ By encrypting their texts with a runic transliteration, writers playfully distinguish themselves from uneducated people who have no runic knowledge and are therefore unable to decipher texts or words.⁶⁸ In this respect, a new exclusive scholarly knowledge may have been linked to the new runic alphabet beyond the certainly dominant scientific interest in the development of the various alphabets. However, the younger *Futhork* was not able to assert itself quantitatively against the much more widely circulated and transmitted Anglo-Saxon *Futhorc*; its knowledge was limited to a narrower circle of recipients.

⁶³ Ibidem, p. 295.

⁶⁴ He also dates the second oldest manuscript of the *De inventione* tradition (Karlsruhe, Badische Landesbibliothek, Aug. perg. 254), which, however, only contains the runic alphabet, not before the middle of the 10th century and thus about 100 years later than Derolez, see B. Bischoff, *Die südostdeutschen Schreibschulen und Bibliotheken in der Karolingerzeit*, II, *Die vorwiegend österreichischen Diözesen*, Wiesbaden 1980, pp. 197f.

⁶⁵ Although the runic alphabet itself is not included in the *De inventione* of the Sankt Gallen manuscript 876, the text history manifests that the runes are contained in at least one of its models, see R. Derolez, *Runica Manuscripta...*, pp. 292-294.

⁶⁶ R. Derolez, *Scandinavian Runes...*, pp. 174-192; B. Bischoff, *Mittelalterliche Studien...*, III, p. 128; K. Düwel, *Runenkunde*, p. 183; A. Nievergelt, *Althochdeutsch in Runenschrift...*, pp. 15, 22-23, 216.

⁶⁷ B. Bischoff, *Mittelalterliche Studien...*, III, p. 147.

⁶⁸ A. Nievergelt, *Althochdeutsch in Runenschrift...*, pp. 215f.

THE *ABECEDARIUM NORDMANNICUM* – RECEPTION AND FUNCTION

While the handwritten co-tradition of the *Abecedarium Nordmannicum* and the relationship with *De inventione* could provide insights into the interests, out of which the younger *Futhark* was received in monastic circles, the text of the *Vademecum* itself will be the focus in the following section.

The *Abecedarium Nordmannicum* is the shortest rune poem known to date and in its scarcity it focuses entirely on providing a memorable verse of the rune names of the Danish normal runes in their order. This has little in common with the versions of the other four known, much more extensive rune poems.⁶⁹ These all explain or semanticize the runic names and reveal both didactic intentions with regard to the content, for example when they oppose motifs of Germanic mythology with Christian ideas,⁷⁰ and an aesthetic claim that is documented in the use of rhetorical stylistic means.⁷¹ The *Abecedarium Nordmannicum*, on the other hand, contains nothing beyond the rune names mentioned but not translated that could be interpreted as an element of Germanic mythology. Baeseke was also able to convincingly exclude a magical use of the poem, which was postulated for example by Friedrich von der Leyen, as it is not covered by the text.⁷² Only in the redaction *A* of *De inventione* there is a passage referring to the use of runes in connection with pagan practices, which however is not included in the *Vademecum*.⁷³

As already suggested by the overall concept of the *Vademecum*, which gathers numerous texts of monastic scholarly knowledge, it seems above all to be a scientific interest that has led to the recording of the rune poem. Such an interest of reception is suggested in particular by the six Anglo-Saxon runes **f**, **h**, **n**, **a**, **m**, and **y** registered interlinearly in the *Abecedarium Nordmannicum*, which document that the Anglo-Saxon and Nordic runes were compared with each other, the forms of which differ in the case of **h**, **a**, **m** and **y**.⁷⁴

An analysis of the form of the *Abecedarium Nordmannicum* allows conclusions to be drawn about its probably intended context of use and communication. For this purpose the text which nowadays has become almost

69 A. Bauer's PhD thesis, A. Bauer, *Runengedichte...*; cf. K. Düwel, *Runenkunde*, pp. 193-196; R. Derolez, *Scandinavian Runes...*, p. 33.

70 A. Bauer, *Runengedichte...*, e.g. pp. 122, 162, 184.

71 Bauer, for example, points to similar figures as the *Kenningar*, see *ibidem*, p. 183.

72 F. von der Leyen, *Zur Überlieferung des Abecedarium Nordmannicum*, in: *Beiträge zur Runenkunde und nordischen Sprachwissenschaft, Gustav Neckel zum 60. Geburtstag*, ed. K.H. Schlottig, Leipzig 1938, p. 105; G. Baeseke, *Das Abecedarium Nordmannicum*, p. 77; A. Bauer, *Runengedichte...*, pp. 60f.; H. Tiefenbach, *Abecedarium Nordmannicum*, p. 2.

73 R. Derolez, *Runica Manuscripta...*, pp. 354-356.

74 *Ibidem*, pp. 78-83; L. Musset, *Introduction à la runologie*, p. 118; A. Bauer, *Runengedichte...*, p. 65.

At the same time, the learning technique coded in the handwritten text also allows conclusions to be drawn about the potential addressees of the poem: The mnemonic verses require neither knowledge of runic characters nor runic names. Both are only learned through the text. But in order to learn from the poem in its presented form, it is imperative to be able to read the verses written in Latin script. This means that potential users of the poem – beyond Walahfrid Strabo himself – are actually only pupils or scholars from a monastic environment who do not have to have any rune knowledge themselves.⁷⁷ Moreover, in the 9th century a monastic practice can be proven that metrically designed – albeit Latin – mnemonic verses were poetized as learning aids for pupils.⁷⁸ For these reasons, it seems plausible to me that the poem was created by a Saxon poet in a monastic scholarly environment only. Of course, it cannot be ruled out that there may already have been a Nordic model before, which was secondarily transformed into a “reading version” in which the three *ættir* were not respected.⁷⁹ But neither in linguistic respects nor in the other early manuscripts which pass down the long-branch runes or the rune names is this indicated by anything at all. Thus the tradition by no means suggests the assumption that the verses were always connected with the younger *Futhark* when it reached the monasteries of the mainland, because in the Leiden manuscript there are striking similarities between the runic characters of the *Vademecum* and in the Emmeram manuscript with the spelling of the runic names, but the mnemonic verses of the *Abecedarium Nordmannicum* are not handed down there.

The motivation to poetize mnemonic verses in order to learn the Nordic runes, which are so far unknown on the mainland, seems to me to be based primarily on a scientific as well as didactic interest, which becomes tangible both through the co-tradition in the *Vademecum* and through the *De inventione*, as well as through numerous runic alphabets handed down in monastic manuscripts. I consider the argument far less convincing that it was mainly business or diplomatic interests that led to the training of clergymen of Francia in Nordic writing,⁸⁰ since successful trade negotiations with Scandinavians were probably not tied to runic writing skills. Perhaps it would be more appropriate to think of the mission context, where knowledge of runic script could be of advantage to (future) clergy to understand and perhaps even

77 The fact that readers who are already familiar with runes learn Latin script in this way seems implausible to me, since reading was traditionally learned on the basis of the psalter, see U. Nonn, *Mönche Schreiber und Gelehrte – Bildung und Wissenschaft im Mittelalter*, Darmstadt 2012, p. 61.

78 Ibidem, pp. 24-25.

79 L. Musset, *Introduction à la runologie*, p. 117.

80 A. Bauer, *Runengedichte...*, p. 67.

execute runic inscriptions and practices in order to further their missionary activities.

CONCLUSION

The *Abecedarium Nordmannicum* in its written form documents a scholarly interest of clerics on the mainland in a further Nordic runic alphabet, previously unknown in monastic circles, which becomes tangible in the handwritten tradition towards the middle of the 9th century in manuscripts originating both from West Francia and the German-speaking area. For reasons of chronology, it seems plausible to me – even if it cannot be proved – that the runic alphabet with its runic names reached the mainland in the course of the Northern Mission, which was mainly carried out by Saxons, and then spread rapidly within the network of monasteries. It was only there that the younger *Futhark* was transformed into a written, Old Saxon mnemonic form, making it easier for reading learners to memorize runic characters and names in a fixed order.

ABSTRACT

The article discusses possible contexts of origin and functions of the *Abecedarium Nordmannicum*, a mnemonic poem for learning the sixteen signs and names of the long-branch runes of the younger *Futhark*, also named Danish normal runes, which has been handed down in only one manuscript. Due to the linguistic characteristics, it can be assumed that it is originally an Old Saxon poem. Its creation in a monastic environment is made probable, into which the younger *Futhark* might have found its way into in the context of the Scandinavian mission.

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THE TRANSMISSION OF MEDIAEVAL GERMAN AND DANISH *LAURIN* NARRATIVES

THOUGHTS ON MEDIAEVAL AND MODERN SCENARI
OF THEIR RECEPTION – IN MEMORIAM HEINRICH BECK



“Alpenglühén” is a term which describes an optical phenomenon in the mountains, when – at dusk or dawn – the first or last sunbeams of the day bathe the mountain tops in (rather romantic) reddish-glowing twilight. A central European folk tale explains this phenomenon as the result of a curse against a rose garden.

And indeed, in the Alps region, there is an area called “Rosengarten”. It is situated in the centre of the Dolomite mountains in the border area between Italy and Austria, and the tale actually is connected to that place. A magic rose garden in the mountains also features in a mediaeval text tradition connected to the *Dietrichepik* which expands on the figure and the circle around Dietrich of Bern. This tradition is the matter of Dwarf King Laurin. In the following, I want to shed a light on the connection of the folk tale and the transmission of the Laurin matter in its distinctive text traditions. What I likewise want to discuss in the present little study, is the reception and transmission of a “European” tale and its literary renderings. Although it is impossible to place these renderings (and their materially extant text witnesses) in any exact historical frame, I here nevertheless intend to discuss possible historical sceneries of performance. My starting point is the manuscripts still extant and our knowledge about their context, but furthermore, I examine the texts in terms of possible signs of how and in which setting the texts might have been performed, manuscript in hand. Admittedly, in part this is inevitably highly speculative, but I still think that such an approach has its own right, as it aims at helping to imagine the spaces of reception of the texts. It also offers the possibility to rethink “flaws” in the texts that have come down to us

and maybe to redefine them not as shortcomings or mistakes but as feasible clues to the practical act of text performance. It might thus serve to explain missing things and inconsistencies in the written text formerly delimited and emended in printed text editions and thus made invisible to the modern recipient.

The examples I have selected are two extant *Laurin* manuscripts, both connected to Denmark. Firstly, this is the Old Danish rendering of the matter, (which has come down to us in a unique text witness, Cod Holm K 47, kept at the Royal Library Stockholm), and secondly the important Middle High German manuscript transmitting both *Laurin* and its follow-up *Walberan* (AM 32 fol. kept at the Arnamagnean Collection in Copenhagen). In addition, I will refer to further text traditions and manuscripts. As a point of departure, though, I will give a condensed sketch of the plot and its different renderings as well as a short overview over *Laurin* (and in part *Dietrich*) research and its problematics.

THE PLOT

The story of *Laurin* originates at the latest in the 13th century (possibly already around 1230¹) and as mentioned above it belongs to the subject matter around *Dietrich von Bern* (Verona). It is well known that the literary *Dietrich* is modeled on a historical person from the Migration period, the Ostrogothic King Theoderich the Great, residing at Verona in Northern Italy (*Bern* is the Middle High German place name for Verona, not to be mixed up with Switzerland's modern capital Bern). The scenery of the *Laurin* tale is staged somewhere in Tyrol, that is the border region between Austria and Italy. The tale's kernel is the following:

The dwarf king *Laurin* owns an outstanding rose garden, which he cultivates passionately, and which he protects by his magic powers. King *Dietrich* of Bern gets informed about the existence of that garden, travels there and provokes the dwarf king by wantonly destroying the rose garden. They start to fight, and *Dietrich* wins. *Laurin* is pardoned, and a great feast of reconciliation is organised, but at the feast, staged in *Laurin*'s castle, the dwarf betrays his guests and captures them. *Laurin*'s wife – who happens to be the sister of one of *Dietrich*'s paladins – helps them. They manage to free themselves, overcome *Laurin* and take him to Verona.

At some point in time, this plot was connected with the above-mentioned etiological tale from Tyrol. That story goes like this: After the

1 E. Lienert, *Mittelhochdeutsche Heldenepik. Eine Einführung*, Grundlagen der Germanistik, LVIII, Berlin 2015, p. 130.

destruction of his garden, Dwarf King Laurin curses it: because it attracted foreign warriors due to its brightness and eye-catching shining, it shall be invisible both day and night. However, the tiny little king forgets to curse the time of twilight, and thus the rose garden still glows at dusk and at dawn – which gives us the explanation for the *Alpenglühen* phenomenon already heard of above.

The mediaeval versions of the Laurin tale don't show any trace of this latter tradition. It was a Tyrolian collector of folk-tales and fairytales, Karl Felix Wolff, who found that the image of Laurin's rose garden and Rosengarten in the Alps fit together rather well.² Literary historian Ulrike Kindl, who herself collected and investigated fairytales and folk-tales from the Dolomite region, published a sharp comment against such a romantic mixup.³ It might be added that this issue also has a cultural-linguistic dimension: the myth of the *Alpenglühen* is of Ladinian origin, while the Laurin matter is of German origin. As a short digression it might also be noted that there exists a well that was designed by Tyrolian sculptor Andreas Kompatscher in 1907 depicting the fight between Laurin and Dietrich. The two figures were interpreted in various ways: firstly as symbols with the overwhelming Dietrich representing German political power, versus the Italian Laurin who is subdued. Another, likewise not very favorable interpretation saw the indigenous folk group of the Ladinians crushed by a German Dietrich. I will come back to that.

THE RESEARCH PROBLEMATICS OF THE DIETRICH MATTER

“Structural openness” (*strukturelle Offenheit*) was the label that Joachim Heinzle coined in the late 1970s in an attempt to get a grip around the ever-shifting, instable text tradition of the Dietrich matter,⁴ and ever since, this term has become a catchword to many scholarly contributions to Dietrich research. It seems as if that widely spread narrative matter was distributed more intensely in its oral forms than other matters, for it generated a multitude of variants and versions. One branch of such a complex text tradition is the Old West Norse *Piðreks saga af Bern*, a compilation of various sources within

2 K.F. Wolff, *König Laurin und sein Rosengarten. Ein höfisches Märchen aus den Dolomiten*, Bozen 1945.

3 U. Kindl, *Die umstrittenen Rosen. Laurins Rosengarten zwischen mittelalterlicher Spielmannsepik und deutsch-ladinischer Volkserzählung*, in: *Ir sult sprechen willekomen. Grenzenlose Mediävistik, Festschrift für Helmut Birkhan zum 60. Geburtstag*, eds. Ch. Tuczay, U. Hirhagerm, K. Lichtblau, Bern-New York 1998, pp. 567-579.

4 J. Heinzle, *Mittelhochdeutsche Dietrichepik, Untersuchungen zur Tradierungsweise, Überlieferungskritik und Gattungsgeschichte später Heldendichtung*, Münchener Texte und Untersuchungen zur deutschen Literatur des Mittelalters, LXII, Zürich 1978, p. 231.

the Dietrich matter; an extensive bulk of text,⁵ and in itself a challenge to narratological investigation not to be delved into here.

The mediaeval epic poetry on Dietrich and his companions has been divided in two branches according to its content, a “historical” and a *aventure-like* (*historische* versus *aventurehafte Dietrichepik*).⁶ In recent years, Elisabeth Lienert and her research team have put strong efforts in supplying a solid textual base for extensive research on the mediaeval German Dietrich text tradition,⁷ and she already has sparked off an increased scholarly interest in the matter. This also applies to the Laurin group of texts that offers its own amount of challenges to modern research. Furthermore, just recently an anthology of Laurin texts from different vernacular traditions was published⁸ and offers the possibility to relate – if not to compare – the various renderings of the matter within a broader European context. Referring to this tradition, a description as “open” applies to the Laurin text tradition in particular; it is extremely precarious,⁹ and it has even been questioned whether it is indeed reasonable for this tradition to be treated as one text.¹⁰ The lability of the text tradition creates the need to investigate the texts while paying heed to their material manifestation, and thus I will now turn to the two chosen material representatives of the Middle High German *Laurin*, that is AM 32 fol., and the unique Old Danish text witness, that is Cod Holm 47.¹¹

5 The saga compilation has been extensively investigated by Susanne Kramarz-Bein. She also touches upon its contemporary reception at Norwegian Bergen between the courtly milieu and a hanseatic audience, but she is able to make a non-aristocratic reception rather implausible, see S. Kramarz-Bein, *Die Þiðreks saga, im Kontext der altnorwegischen Literatur*, Tübingen-Basel 2002, pp. 69-94. Heinrich Beck discussed the compilation as a possible piece of contemporary fiction (*Gegenwartsdichtung*), although with restrictions, see H. Beck, *Die Þiðreks saga als Gegenwartsdichtung?*, in: *Hansische Literaturbeziehungen. Das Beispiel der Þiðreks saga und verwandter Literatur*, ed. S. Kramarz-Bein, Berlin-New York 1996, pp. 91-99, here p. 99.

6 E. Lienert, *Die “historische” Dietrichepik. Untersuchungen zu “Dietrichs Flucht”, “Rabenschlacht” und “Alpharts Tod”*, Texte und Studien zur mittelhochdeutschen Heldenepik, V, Berlin-New York, 2010, p. 3.

7 Subsequently published in Lienert’s series *Texte und Studien zur mittelhochdeutschen Heldenepik* (2003-, 10 vols. to date). It is a pity, though, that the project decided against a hybrid print/electronic/online edition. Of the (non-editorial) volumes in this series, vol. 4, *Dietrich-Testimonien*, deserves special notion, as Lienert expands on the problematics of Dietrich research in terms of genre and motifs, text witnesses, and the like.

8 *Laurin*, eds. H. Hartung, J.K. Hon, F. Kragl, U. Timmermann, *Revelationes, IV*, Stuttgart 2016.

9 E. Heinzle, *Mittelhochdeutsche Dietrichepik...*, p. 23f.

10 Cf. *Laurin*, ed. Hartung et al., p. X.

11 Although both manuscripts have a Danish connection, it has long been clear that the two text traditions are independent from each other, see for example S. Sawicki, *Zum dänischen Laurin*, “Arkiv för nordisk filologi” LVI (1942), pp. 267-274.

THE TEXT WITNESSES AND THEIR CONTEXTS

K 47

In Danish literary history, Cod Holm K 47 is the most important manuscript.¹² Written by three hands in Jutlandic dialect around 1500, it forms the only extant text witness of most of its content. It conveys six verse romances, including Danish renderings of the so-called *Eufemiavisor*. The latter consist of three romances that Eufemia, Queen of Norway had composed in Old Swedish for her future son-in-law Erik Magnusson, prince of Sweden. Erik was engaged to Eufemia's daughter Ingeborg, and thus Eufemia commissioned the three adaptations of courtly romance, presumably to his *prodesse et delectare*. The queen, originating from a court in Northern Germany, most likely brought her literary taste from the German lands and thus had the source texts of her choice converted to typical German Knittel verse.¹³ The source of two of the romances, *Flores og Blanzeflor* and *Ivan løveridder*, are texts rendered from Old French verse romances (*Floire et Blanchefleur* and *Yvain le chevalier au lion*, the latter composed by Chrestien de Troyes) into Old Norwegian (prose) saga form (*Flóres saga ok Blankiflúr* and *Ívens saga artúskappa*), and the adaptor might have had some Old French version at hand as well. For the third romance, *Hertug Fredrik af Normandi* (*Duke Frederik of Normandy*, Old Swedish *Hertig Fredrik af Normandi*), it is assumed that it is a translation of an unknown Low German source text, and it has no parallel literary tradition in Old West Norse.¹⁴

The three other romances are *Den kyske Dronning*, *Persenober og Constantianobis*, and *Dværgekongen Laurin*. For *Den kyske Dronning* (*The Chaste Queen*), the source text has not been found yet,¹⁵ and there are hints

12 Digitized online at *Tekster fra Dansk middelalder*. Already in 1869/1870, the whole manuscript was edited in Carl C. Brandt, *Romantisk Digtning fra Middelalderen*, III, København 1870, pp. 285-349; and lately (with a linguistic word-for-word lemmatizing and electronic facsimile at *Tekster fra Dansk middelalder*. Most recently, an entire conference was devoted to the codex (*The Eufemiavisor and the Reception of Courtly Culture in Late Medieval Denmark*, Zurich 2018, organised by Anna-Katharina Richter and Massimiliano Bampi. The publication of the conference papers is due by the end of 2021).

13 On this political/educational approach see S. Gropper, *Eufemia – Deutsche Auftraggeberin schwedischer Literatur am norwegischen Hof*, in: *Arbeiten zur Skandinavistik. 13. Arbeitstagung der deutschsprachigen Skandinavistik 29.7.-3.8.1997 in Lysebu/Oslo*, ed. F. Paul, Frankfurt am Main 1999, pp. 269-281, here p. 273.

14 Recently, a modern German translation of the Old Swedish Eufemiavisor of Duke Frederik was provided by F. Bambeck, *Herzog Friedrich von der Normandie: der altschwedische Ritterroman "Hertig Fredrik av Normandie". Text, Übersetzung, Untersuchungen*, *Imagines medii aevi*, XXIV, Wiesbaden 2009.

15 Cf. *K 47, lang beskrivelse* at <https://tekstnet.dk/manuscript-descriptions/stockholm-k47-lang-beskrivelse> (accessed 22 December 2019).

at a Danish origin of the story.¹⁶ *Persenober og Constantianobis* (*Persenober and Constantianobis*) is roughly based on the Old French verse romance of *Partonopeus de Blois*, possibly composed by Denis Pyramus.¹⁷ *Dværgekongen Laurin* is embedded pivotally as the third text in the manuscript, between *Hertug Fredrik* and *Persenober*, and it has been suggested that with its more light-hearted plot and in its comparatively short form, *Laurin* might have functioned as a kind of *pusterum* (Danish for “reprieve”) between the more extensive romances promoting a more austere contemplation of their educational value.¹⁸ That the Danish *Laurin* was a popular text, is witnessed by fifteen editions known of between 1588 and around 1800.¹⁹ The source text of the Danish rendering, presumably German, is not known, a discussion of a Low German version by name of *Lorin* was proposed but rejected.²⁰

Jürg Glauser discussed the issue of courtly epic poetry in late mediaeval Denmark. He staged Cod Holm 47 as a witness of Danish conservative society and literary taste, but also in the context of the contemporaneous use and circulation of both manuscripts and early prints. He even stretches as far as to interpret the codex as a literary monument for the consolidation of Danish aristocracy as well as depicting it as a comprehensive anthology that gathers a range of education and entertainment from the praise of knighthood to the criticism of contemporary Danish society.²¹

AM 32 fol.

AM 32 fol. was written before 1500, probably in Venice where it is believed to have been in use at the German House.²² It contains the German *Laurin* text together with a continuation called *Walberan*, and this addition which is not found elsewhere (except one folio forming a fragment) makes the text

¹⁶ *Lang beskrivelse af håndskriftet K 47*, at *Tekster fra Dansk middelalder*, <https://tekstnet.dk/manuscript-descriptions/stockholm-k47-lang-beskrivelse> (accessed 22 December 2019).

¹⁷ C.J. Brandt, *Literærhistorisk Oversigt*, in: idem, *Romantisk Digtning...*, pp. 285-349, here p. 329.

¹⁸ *K 47 og Dværgekongen Laurin*, *Litteraturhistorisk baggrund*, <https://tekstnet.dk/dvaergekongen-laurin/about> (accessed 22 December 2019).

¹⁹ *Overlevering*, *Litteraturhistorisk baggrund*, <https://tekstnet.dk/dvaergekongen-laurin/about> (accessed 22 December 2019).

²⁰ Cf. the cantankerous dispute between T. Dahlberg, *Zum dänischen Lavrin und niederdeutschen Lorin*, *Lunder Germanistische Forschungen*, XXI, Lund 1950; *Laurinprobleme*, “Niederdeutsche Mitteilungen” VIII (1952), pp. 46-53 and W. Foerste, [rev.] *Torsten Dahlberg, Zum dänischen Lavrin*, “Niederdeutsche Mitteilungen” VII (1951), pp. 51-55.

²¹ J. Glauser, *Höfisch-ritterliche Epik in Dänemark zwischen Spätmittelalter und Frühneuzeit*, in: *Festschrift für Oskar Bandle zum 60. Geburtstag am 11.1.1986*, ed. H.P. Naumann, Basel-Frankfurt am Main 1986, pp. 191-207, here p. 204.

²² Digitized online: *AM 32 fol.* at <https://handrit.is/da/manuscript/view/da/AM02-032> (accessed 22 December 2019).

witness an important one in the series of extant Laurin manuscripts. It thus forms the base of the 2016 *Laurin* edition although it is not the oldest text witness extant.²³

The vernacular dialect of the content is *bairisch*, and a scribal connection with a non-German scribe who even wrote a manuscript to be placed in the Venetian house mentioned is assumed.²⁴ Oskar Pausch was able to make Venice a plausible place for both the production of the codex AM 32 fol. and the actual creation of *Walberan*. Thus, the creator of the Laurin sequel would have been a Venetian with a solid but not perfect knowledge of German, and recipients of the manuscript would have been Germans staying at the German House and their Venetian company.²⁵ Otherwise, the provenance of the manuscript is still unknown. This manuscript forms part of the Arnaganean collection which the Icelander Árni Magnússon compiled in the first half of the 18th century in Copenhagen. Unfortunately, it is not known how Árni Magnússon got to own this manuscript. He stayed in Germany for two years (in Leipzig from 1694 to 1696), but it is mere speculation that he might have acquired it there and during that stay.²⁶

OTHER TEXT WITNESSES

Concerning the German text tradition which stretches temporally from the 14th to the 16th century and linguistically from German Venetian to Low German, there are at least eighteen manuscripts still extant (fragments included) as well as eleven early prints, which have all been divided into five versions:²⁷ the older Vulgate version represented by at least ten extant

23 *Laurin*, ed. Hartung et al. Besides one Middle High German version, the edition presents a Czech version from the second half of the 14th century with text witnesses extant from the 15th century, and a Faroese ballad adaption from the 19th century. On the Czech version, see A. Thomas, *The Czech Chivalric Romances Vévoda Arnošt and Lavryn in their Literary Context*, Göppinger Arbeiten zur Germanistik, CIV, Göppingen 1989.

24 The same scribe also wrote George of Nuremberg's Venetian-German *Sprachbuch. Laurin*, eds. E. Lienert, S. Kerth, E. Vollmer-Eicken, *Texte und Studien zur mittelhochdeutschen Heldenepik*, VI, I, Berlin-New York 2011, XIII.

25 O. Pausch, *Laurin in Venedig*, in: *Deutsche Heldenepik in Tirol. König Laurin und Dietrich von Bern in der Dichtung des Mittelalters. Beiträge der Neustifter Tagung 1977 des Südtiroler Kulturinstitutes*, ed. E. Kühlebacher, K.H. Vigl, Bozen 1978, pp. 192-211. Concerning the identity of the recipients, Pausch references to the German handicraft fraternities in Venice (O. Pausch, *Laurin in Venedig*, p. 198) when discussing the specific turn of the story to Laurin converting to Christianity. This would imply that the reception of the epos was not restricted to an aristocratic audience.

26 On Árni's stay in Leipzig see M. Jónsson, *Arnas Magnæus Islandus: A Visiting Scholar in Leipzig, 1694-96*, "Lias" XXVI (1999), pp. 213-232.

27 J. Heinze, *Überlieferungsgeschichte als Literaturgeschichte. Zur Textentwicklung des Laurin*, in: *Deutsche Heldenepik in Tirol. König Laurin und Dietrich von Bern in der Dichtung des Mittelalters*.

manuscripts or fragments, the younger Vulgate version with eleven prints, and one extant plus one now lost manuscript, the so-called *Walberan* version (this is AM 32 fol. plus a now lost fragment), the strophic Dresden version, and the Preßburg version which is extant in a fragment only.

REMARKS ON MEDIEVAL RECEPTION

It has generally been considered difficult to stage the way how mediaeval literature was performed, and indeed, this is a delicate matter in terms of that all our efforts ever may merely result in non-verifiable plausibilities.²⁸ A brave effort to come to terms with this problem is a recent trend in German mediaeval studies: the theory of “interpassiveness” (*Interpassivität*).²⁹ This theory’s kernel is twofold: on the one hand, it is the discussion of the interchange between text and cultural context, for example between the performance of a text and the reception by its audience, and on the other hand, it investigates emotions of the individual versus collective or substitutional experiences of emotions, for example fear.³⁰ The advocates of this theory are aware of the problem and demand to take into account the “fictitiousness” (*Fiktionalität*) of remarks or hints – found in the literary texts – on the performance of the texts as they might be a mere rhetorical ruse.³¹ Although Matthias Däumer does not mention interpassivity theory as a frame for his dissertation, he investigates the performative potential of courtly Arthurian romance in a quite similar approach. Obligated to his home disciplines, dramatics and philology, Däumer gives a schematic presentation of the parametres of communication (*kommunikative Größen*) of the courtly romance, where he shows the three possible roles of the performing person: the fictional reciter within the text, the author of the text, or (seemingly) the

Beiträge der Neustifter Tagung 1977 des Südtiroler Kulturinstitutes, eds. E. Kühebacher, K.H. Vigl, Bozen 1978, pp. 172-191 and lately, with descriptions and an up-to-date bibliography on each codex in *Laurin*, ed. E. Lienert, S. Kerth, E. Vollmer-Eicken, XIII-XL.

²⁸ See for example the complaints expressed by G. Wolf, *Insenzierte Wirklichkeit und literarisierte Aufführung. Bedingungen und Funktion der “performance” in Spiel- und Chroniktexten des Spätmittelalters*, in: *“Aufführung” und “Schrift” in Mittelalter und Früher Neuzeit*, ed. J.-D. Müller, Germanistische Symposien. Berichtsbände, XVII, Stuttgart-Wimar 1996, pp. 381-405. For a broader European perspective on the topic see *Performing Medieval Narrative*, ed. E. Birge Vitz, N. Freeman Regalado, M. Lawrence, Cambridge 2005.

²⁹ See a first collection of essays on the application of that theory in German mediaeval studies, *Interpassives Mittelalter? Interpassivität in mediävistischer Diskussion*, ed. S. Wagner, Bayreuther Beiträge zur Literaturwissenschaft, XXXIV, Frankfurt am Main 2015.

³⁰ *Ibidem*, p. 14f.

³¹ See for example M. Braun, *Der Glaube an Heroen und Minnende als “Glaube der anderen”. Zugleich ein Beitrag zur mediävistischen Fiktionalitätsdiskussion*, in: *Interpassivität...*, pp. 83-111, here p. 96.

actual reciter. A narrator is a figure bound to the written medium and thus cannot be a part of the performative communication.³² Furthermore, Däumer expands on the audience's perceptions and defines these in their combination of narration and movement during the performance as kinaesthetic.³³

Joachim Bumke made an attempt to discuss elements of performance in his comprehensive work on courtly culture, where he describes the possible places and the assumed audiences of the romance readings, mostly on festive occasions.³⁴ He even makes a short comment on the impossibility to read a lengthy romance in one piece at such an event. Instead, it is thought that a performance must have been split up in shorter units of episodes or chapters.³⁵ William Layher tried to figure out the milieu of reception of a *Laurin* manuscript, the so-called *Dresdner Heldenbuch* from around 1472. Furthermore, he was also interested in the specific feature of the manuscript that is the strophic form displayed here as a feature separating this version from all other *Laurin* versions (which are composed in couplets throughout). He argues that in the late Middle Ages, couplets had gained an ambiguous reputation: to underline the truth of a story or text, prose instead of verse was preferred, but on the other hand, he sees the *Dresdner Heldenbuch's* choice of a strophic form as a composer's hint at the historical truth of the text as well as at the performance by singing stanzas instead of reading couplets aloud.³⁶

For the reception of the Old Danish verse romances performed by using Cod Holm 47, inconsistencies in the text could have been caused by various reasons; of course, material deficiencies or the imperfection of the composer or scribe of a source text or the lack of skills or practice of the Old Danish converter or scribes could have been a reason. However, as well as the manuscript performed from would influence the performance of the romance, performative aspects would influence the written manifestation of the text.

Referring to the above-mentioned aspect of fictionality, the narrator in *Dværgkongen Laurin* enters the stage several times, mostly to engage with the audience in a possible act of interpassiveness. One example for this is the

32 M. Däumer, *Stimme im Raum und Bühne im Kopf. Über das performative Potenzial der höfischen Artusromane*, [transcript], Mainzer Historische Kulturwissenschaften, IX, [Bielefeld] 2013, p. 67.

33 *Ibidem*, p. 120.

34 On the course of events at courtly feasts, see W. Mohr, *Mittelalterliche Feste und ihre Dichtung*, in: *Festschrift für Klaus Ziegler*, eds. E. Catholy, W. Hellmann, Tübingen 1968, pp. 36-60.

35 J. Bumke, *Höfische Kultur. Literatur und Gesellschaft im hohen Mittelalter*, München 1986, p. 723.

36 W. Layher, *Der Klang der Vergangenheit: Historisierende Strophik im Laurin des Dresdner Heldenbuchs*, in: *der äventiuren dôn. Klang, Hören und Hörgemeinschaften in der deutschen Literatur des Mittelalters*, eds. I. Bennewitz, W. Layher, Wiesbaden 2013, pp. 103-120, here p. 115.

repeated concern what is going to happen in the story, and that question is put directly towards the audience (e.g. vv. 810: “hwad mon the I bierighet giøræ”, “what could they be doing in the mountain”), this creates a scenery of the narrator being at the same level of information on the plot as the audience.

REMARKS ON MODERN SCIENTIFIC RECEPTION

Before drawing to a close, I want to turn away from the uneven ground of speculation on mediaeval recipients and scenery and reflect on our scholarly reception of the *Laurin* matter.

With *Laurin* as an example, it has once more become clear that there are restrictions to what we are able to bring into light when investigating texts from times as long gone as the Middle Ages. We need to be cautious when speculating on features that we deduce from the texts only. The reading or listening situations depicted or described in mediaeval sources already are a mere reflexion of what certain people at that time wanted to be displayed and expressed in a text or picture meant to be received by contemporaries. These would of course be able to discern which features in the texts are illustrating actual or fictitious elements, but this determination is much more a matter of interpretation for us today. In this context, it is also reasonable to rethink in what form the mediaeval romances are received by present-day scholars: Even scholarly and modern text editions evidently mirror the time of their creation. Some of them originate within the frame of long-standing projects with standard set in the past that have become outdated but must not be changed. However, when a new edition is produced, it should certainly make use of the latest research outcomes.³⁷ Today’s advanced technical possibilities make it possible to come very close to the mediaeval manuscript, be it by digitized images or by an electronic edition. This might however lead to the conclusion that it will be easier to understand the perception of a manuscript and its performance in older times, which of course is not true. It will always be necessary to take to explanations generated by the latest generation of scholars, which – nevertheless – again means that we need someone to mediate between us and the text. By sketching sceneries of performance and audience in the case of two manuscripts of the same matter but of rather different appearance, I hope to have contributed to this mediation process.

³⁷ Regrettably, this was not the case in the 2016 edition of several mediaeval *Laurin* traditions.

ABSTRACT

By discussing possible historical settings of performance, the present paper is an attempt to explain the defective text transmission in the tradition of mediaeval manuscripts. As an example serves a text chosen from the *Dietrich* cycle (i.e. literary renderings of the biography of migration period king Theoderich of Verona called Dietrich von Bern and his peers). Presenting Dietrich quite critically as a morally ambiguous figure, the *Laurin* matter encountered supraregional literary interest in the Middle Ages and was put into verses in various vernaculars such as Middle High German, Czech, and Old Danish. The Dietrich matter has been subject to critical research but was found difficult to tackle due to its structural openness which manifests in numerous extant versions and variants. The present study concentrates on two text witnesses: AM 32 fol. (written before 1500, Middle High German, the so-called *Walberan* version) and K 47 (from around 1500, Old Danish, called *Dværgekongen Laurin*). As an approach to the issue, the theory of "interpassiveness" (represented through the studies by Sylvan Wagner, by Gerhard Wolf as well as by Matthias Bäumer) is introduced and discussed in relation to the two examples. This supports the imagination of scenes of performance for both text witnesses in spite of the geographical distance in transmission. For the Old Danish rendering, the paper's scope exceeds Jürg Glauser's sociological discussion of the K 47 manuscript within the aristocratic frame of reception in late mediaeval Denmark.

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 BONN

REMEMBERING CONVERSION: ARI'S *ÍSLENDINGABÓK* AS A FOUNDATION MYTH OF THE HAUKDEILIR CLAN¹



The chapter on the conversion of the Icelanders in the year 1000 is,² without doubt, the center of *Íslendingabók* ('Book of the Icelanders'), a short book written by the priest Ari Þorgilsson between 1122-1132³ that deals with the early history of Iceland and the establishment of its main institutions. It is the first history of Iceland and one of the earliest texts written in Icelandic, although the manuscript transmission is late. The chapter on conversion is the seventh out of ten, but it is still justified to call it the center because it is the most detailed and the most dramatic of all chapters. After a short prologue, the book starts with the settlement of Iceland and its legendary first settler Ingólfr (ch. 1). It deals then with the first period of the settlement and the introduction of the law (ch. 2), the establishment of the Alþingi (ch. 3), the calendar (ch. 4), the division of Iceland into quarters (ch. 5), and the settlement of Greenland (ch. 6). Then follows the chapter on the conversion (ch. 7). The book ends with three

¹ This article based on a chapter of my dissertation: S.H. Walther, *Erzählen vom Anfang. Schöpfungs- und Gründungsmythen im hochmittelalterlichen Island*, Phil. Diss., Universität Bonn 2012, pp. 311-324. Online publication, Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek Bonn (2015): <http://hss.ulb.uni-bonn.de/2015/4219/4219.html>. However, the basic thoughts of this chapter have been thoroughly reworked and expanded for this article. The idea to view medieval Iceland as a clan society is inspired by M.S. Weiner, *The Rule of the Clan. What an Ancient Form of Social Organization Reveals about the Future of Individual Freedom*, New York 2013.

² This is the traditionally given date that can be found in *Íslendingabók*, ch. 7. However, it seems that for Ari the year started on 1 September after the Alþingi which would mean that the Christianization actually took place in 999, cf. Gunnar Karlsson, *The History of Iceland*, Minneapolis 2000, p. 34.

³ Jakob Benediktsson, *Íslendingabók*, in: *Medieval Scandinavia. An Encyclopedia*, eds. Ph. Pulsiano, K. Wolf, New York-London 1993, p. 332.

chapters on bishops: firstly, on foreign bishops who came to Iceland (ch. 8), and then on the first two Icelandic bishops, Ísleifr (ch. 9) and Gizurr (ch. 10).

This article starts by introducing the narrative of this central chapter of *Íslendingabók* on the Christianization of Iceland. Then I will discuss whether *Íslendingabók* should be read as a history of the Icelanders – as the title *Íslendingabók* states – or as a prehistory of the bishoprics in Skálholt and Hólar as the patronage and the ending chapters suggest. I will further discuss the mythical quality of the work. Finally, I will read the work as the memory of an extended family clan. I will then come back to the question of why this conversion story is so different from other stories of conversion in the Middle Ages.

CHRISTIANIZATION BY ACCLAMATION

The chapter on the conversion of the Icelanders (ch. 7) starts with a description of the missionary attempts from Norway initiated by King Óláfr Tryggvason and finds its climax in a famous scene at the Alþingi where the decision between the old and the new religion had to be made and where the two parties – the heathens and the Christians – stood against each other ready to fight. The decision was finally laid in the hands of one man, the lawspeaker Þorgeirr, who was still a heathen at that time:

En síðan es menn kvómu í búðir, þá lagðisk hann niðr Þorgeirr ok breiddi feld sinn á sik ok hvíldi þann dag allan ok nóttina eptir ok kvað ekki orð. En of morguninn eptir settisk hann upp ok gærði orð, at menn skyldi ganga til lögbergis.⁴

After the people arrived and gathered, he gave a speech. The first part of the speech is reported, then the result is given – for dramatic effect – in direct speech:

“En nú þykkir mér þat ráð,” kvað hann, “at vér látim ok eigi þá ráða, es mest vilja í gegn gangask, ok miðlum svá mál á miðli þeira, at hváirtveggju hafi nakkvat síns máls, ok hofum allir ein lög ok einn sið. Þat mon verða satt, es vér slítum í sundr löginn, at vér monum slíta ok friðinn.”⁵

4 *Íslendingabók. Landnámabók*, ed. Jakob Benediktsson, I, Reykjavík 1968, pp. 16-17. Translation: *Íslendingabók. Kristni saga. The Book of the Icelanders. The Story of the Conversion*, transl. S. Grønlie, London 2006, p. 9: “And later, when everyone had returned to their booths, Þorgeirr lay down and spread his cloak over himself, and rested all that day and the following night, and did not speak a word. And the next morning, he got up and sent word that people should go to the Law-Rock.”

5 *Ibidem*, p. 9: “‘And it now seems advisable to me,’ he said, ‘that we too do not let those who most wish to oppose each other prevail, and let us arbitrate between them, so that each

Everyone agreed to this, and we are told very briefly – in only three sentences – the consequences of this agreement:

En hann lauk svá máli sínu, at hvártveggju játtu því, at allir skyldi ein lög hafa, þau sem hann réði upp at segja. Þá vas þat mælt í lögum, at allir menn skyldi kristnir vesa ok skírn taka, þeir es áðr váru óskírðir á landi hér; en of barnaútburð skyldu standa en fornu lög ok of hrossakjotsát. Skyldu menn blóta á laun, ef vildu, en varða fjörbaugsgarðr, ef vátum of kvæmi við. En síðarr fám vetrum vas sú heiðni af numin sem ǫnnur.⁶

This scene seems to be unique among the medieval conversion reports, where conversion usually happens under the pressure of a king. Therefore the astonishment of Dag Strömbäck is understandable:

The Althing's decision to accept Christianity as the state religion of Iceland leaves us perplexed, mystified. People have asked, not entirely without justification, "Was antique paganism so rotten at the core, so dilapidated a structure that the first puff of opposition was enough to bring it down?" Or was there such sovereign indifference to religion among the Icelanders that they did not care whether the nation was pagan or Christian as long as they were left in peace? It had not proved possible to bring about a comparable mass conversion in any of the other Scandinavian countries in the same period. Yet in Iceland what seemed almost impossible took place without bloodshed: representatives of the whole population gave corporate assent to the introduction of the Christian faith.⁷

However, this astonishment is not shared by Terry Gunnell. He is not perplexed, but argues that

almost everything about the process of what happened at the Alþing on the days in question seems to have followed Rimbert's comparatively well-known 'case-study' textbook on how best to convert the Nordic

side has its own way in something, and let us all have the same law and the same religion. It will prove true that if we tear apart the law, we will also tear apart the peace."

6 Ibidem: "And he brought his speech to a close in such a way that both sides agreed that everyone should have the same law, the one he decided to proclaim. It was then proclaimed in the laws that all people should be Christian, and that those in this country who had not yet been baptised should receive baptism; but the old laws should stand as regards the exposure of children and the eating of horse-flesh. People had the right to sacrifice in secret, if they wished, but it would be punishable by the lesser outlawry if witnesses were produced. And a few years later, these heathen provisions were abolished, like the others."

7 D. Strömbäck, *The Conversion of Iceland. A survey*, Viking Society for Northern Research, VI, London 1975, p. 26. Cf. also recently Orri Vésteinsson, *The Christianization of Iceland. Priests, Power, and Social Change 1000-1300*, Oxford 2000, p. 17: "The conversion of the Icelanders is one of the really strange events in the history of Christian missions."

peoples without bloodshed, in other words, by using insiders, and by making good use of the weaknesses inherent in ‘pagan’ native practices.⁸

Rimbert’s account of a scene that plays in Birka shows indeed striking similarities with the scene told in *Íslendingabók*. Ansgar tried to convert the people firstly by trying to convince the local king. However, the king refused to decide in that matter and transferred the decision to the Þing and the gods by means of lot casting.

We should consider though that *Íslendingabók* is a work highly influenced by Latin models. This can be detected at first glance, e.g. through its second Latin title *Libellus Islandorum*, the table of contents (*capitulae*), the existence of a prologue, some learned *topoi* within this prologue, and the chapter about time reckoning. Therefore, it seems possible that the motif of the credulity towards auguries and the similarity of the scene to the scene in Birka is caused by literary influence, and it is even possible that other learned texts in that respect influenced Rimbert’s text.⁹

However, not only the conversion by acclamation might seem astonishing, but generations of scholars were also intrigued by the question of what Þorgeirr was doing under his cloak for 24 hours. Konrad Maurer assumes that Þorgeirr was brooding over the difficulty of the situation.¹⁰ Björn M. Ólsen reasons that Þorgeirr just prepared his speech.¹¹ Sigurður Nordal has a more sophisticated explanation along the same lines. He compares it to what a poet would be doing in preparation for composing a poem. He assumes the existence and execution of a particular meditation technique as “an exercise for gaining divine inspiration.”¹²

In a comparative study (1978), Jón Hnefill Aðalsteinsson was taking not only sagas but also later sources from other cultures into account. The subtitle of the extended edition of the study in 1999 shows the perspective of the study

8 T. Gunnell, *Ansgar’s Conversion of Iceland*, “Scripta Islandica” LX (2009), p. 105.

9 Cf. I.N. Wood, *Christians and Pagans in Ninth-Century Scandinavia*, in: *The Christianization of Scandinavia. Report of a symposium held at Kungälv, Sweden 4-9 August 1985*, eds. B. Sawyer, P.H. Sawyer, I.N. Wood, Alingsås 1987, pp. 55-56.

10 K. Maurer, *Die Bekehrung des norwegischen Stammes zum Christenthume in ihrem geschichtlichen Verlaufe quellenmäßige schildert*, I, München 1855-1856, p. 443.

11 B.M. Ólsen, *Um kristnitökuna árið 1000 og tildrög hennar. Eftir Björn Magnússon Ólsen. Gefið út í minningu 900 ára afmælis kristninnar á Íslandi af Hinu íslenska bókmentafjelagi*, Reykjavík 1900, pp. 102-103.

12 S. Nordal, *Icelandic Culture*, Ithaca, NY 1990, p. 178: “[He] had fasted and kept awake to listen to his inner voice – somewhat as Egill Skalla-Grímsson did when he wished to compose poetry. Þorgeirr’s meditation was an exercise for gaining divine inspiration. A man who resorts to such means when faced with so weighty a problem is no beginner, but is performing an exercise he has already practiced for a long time.”

clearly: "A Pagan Ritual Turning Point in the Conversion of Iceland."¹³ He concludes on the cloak scene:

He [i.e. Þorgeirr] must have needed to contact those spirits or other representatives of the supernatural in which his co-religionists trusted and believed, if he wanted to contribute something convincing. All the evidence tends to show that his effort was directed to this end; that under his cloak he practised some form of necromancy and therefore it was not merely his thoughts that he presented to the assembly at the Lögberg on the following day. He appeared then not as a thinker but as an oracle.¹⁴

Jón Hnefill goes on stating that Þorgeirr was lying under the cloak not "to think but to carry out an ancient soothsaying ritual."¹⁵ Terry Gunnell follows Jón Hnefill interpreting the "day and night beneath the cloak" as a "semi-shamanistic consultation with the gods." The difference between Jón Hnefill and Gunnell is that Jón Hnefill thinks of a real ritual whereas Gunnell leaves this open stressing the aspect of "performance" as willfully used means to convince the people present at the Alþingi.¹⁶

Thus, the text evokes the following questions: How came that this conversion was achieved so easily? Moreover, what was Þorgeirr doing under his cloak? To answer the second question, there are, on the one hand, the explanations of Maurer and Ólsen that keep more soberly to the text: the situation was difficult, the lawspeaker had to give a speech, and he had to prepare it. Nordal's explanation is similar, but he uses additional information that he takes from contemporary sources. Jón Hnefill Aðalsteinsson and Terry Gunnell do something different: Jón Hnefill takes folkloristic source material to strengthen his argument for an ancient ritual. Terry Gunnell accepts this interpretation, and, by adding information from Latin sources on conversions and Germanic tribes in general, stresses the performance aspect within this political process of decision-making.

There are admittedly numerous passages on Germanic peoples by Tacitus and others about lot casting, trust in augury, and the role of seeresses. Some of these passages at least will have had a base in real life somewhere at some point in time. It seems problematic, though, to deduct from these sources 'general Germanic character traits' and confer them to medieval Icelanders.

13 Jón Hnefill Aðalsteinsson, *Under the Cloak. The Acceptance of Christianity in Iceland with Particular Reference to the Religious Attitudes Prevailing at the Time*, Uppsala 1978; idem, *Under the Cloak. A Pagan Ritual Turning Point in the Conversion of Iceland*, 2nd extended edition, Reykjavík 1999.

14 Jón Hnefill Aðalsteinsson, *Under the Cloak. A Pagan Ritual Turning Point...*, p. 122.

15 Ibidem, p. 123.

16 T. Gunnell, *Ansgar's Conversion...*, pp. 105-106, quotations from p. 107.

Furthermore, some of these motives might have been used by the classical authors to characterize Germanic tribes (or people in former times) as ‘barbarians’ and to present them not as civilized and rational as the implied Roman or Greek audience.

Finally, the assumption of a shamanistic ritual – even a pretend one or just as a performative allusion to one – is problematic. It is unlikely that shamanism existed in medieval Iceland at all.¹⁷ Furthermore, persons who practiced *seiðr*, which some scholars put in a context of shamanism, were apparently on the periphery of society¹⁸ rather than in the center as the lawspeaker would be who is always a member of one of the ruling families. The lawspeaker even is the embodiment of the only unifying institution within the Icelandic society during this time. However, I will not go into the details here because the point I want to make is a different one. I am not searching for the historical truth, nor do I want to treat the passage under the aspect of the history of religions. Firstly, I would like to put the story into its historical context, and then I want to understand how Ari tells this story and why.

THE HISTORY AND THE STORY TOLD

The Christianization of Iceland belongs to the bigger picture of the Christianization of northern Europe. Under the political pressure of the Carolingian empire and England, a process for political unification started, first in Denmark, then in other Scandinavian territories: larger kingdoms replaced smaller political units. Then the pressure from the European centers also led to the adoption of Christianity either through free will – because the lifestyle in these centers seemed appealing – or through military force. Connected to these political and religious changes are changes in all other parts of society: social, economic, and intellectual. Óláfr Tryggvason (king of Norway 995-1000, baptized 994) promoted the Christianization in Norway and dependent places like the Orkneys and the Faroe Islands. He also sent a priest named Þangbrandr to Iceland.¹⁹ *Íslendingabók* does not deny that and chapter VII starts as follows:

Óláfr rex Tryggvasonr, Ólafssonar, Haraldssonar ens hárfagra, kom kristni í Norveg ok á Ísland. Hann sendi hingat til lands prest þann,

¹⁷ Cf. T.J. Biering, *The Concept of Shamanism in Old Norse Religion from a Sociological Point of View*, in: *Old Norse Religion in Long-Term Perspectives. Origins, Changes, and Interactions. An International Conference in Lund, Sweden, June 3-7, 2004*, eds. A. Andrén, K. Jennbert, C. Raudvere, Lund 2006, pp. 171-176.

¹⁸ Cf. T.J. Biering, *The Concept of Shamanism...*, pp. 171-176.

¹⁹ *Kristni saga* (in: *Biskupa sögur I*, ed. Jónas Kristjánsson, Reykjavík 2003) starts with an even earlier missionary attempt, the mission of Bishop Friðrekr of Saxland (ch. I-IV).

es hét Þangbrandr ok hér kenndi monnum kristni ok skírði þá alla, es við trú tóku.²⁰

It seems as if Þangbrandr was not too successful.²¹ He had to leave after committing manslaughter in two or three cases. He was quite disappointed and reported back to the king that he considered Iceland a lost cause. We are told that the king became angry and wanted all Icelanders in Norway to be maimed or killed. Two Icelanders, Gizurr enn hvíti and Hjalti Skeggjason, who had been baptized by Þangbrandr, went to the king, asked him to release the Icelanders, and promised to achieve the acceptance of Christianity in Iceland.

The next summer Gizurr, Hjalti, and a priest called Þormóðr went to Iceland. When they reached Iceland in time for the Alþingi, their kinsmen and friends welcomed them as requested. The heathens, however, flocked together in full arms. The next day Gizurr and Hjalti gave a speech. Although *þat bæri frá, hvé vel þeir mæltu* ("it was extraordinary how well they spoke"),²² the result was

at þar nefndi annarr maðr at öðrum vátta, ok sǫgðusk hvárir ýr lögum við aðra, enir kristnu menn ok enir heiðnu, ok gingu síðan frá lögbergi.²³

The speech of the two Icelanders, who were sent by the Norwegian king, was not only not successful; it even led to a schism of the Icelandic society, because the law was its only unifying element. Therefore, the Christian party had to find a different strategy for reaching their goals:

Þá báðu enir kristnu menn Hall á Siðu, at hann skyldi lög þeira upp segja, þau es kristninni skyldi fylgja. En hann leystisk því undan við þá, at hann keypti at Þorgeiri lǫgsǫgumanni, at hann skyldi upp segja, en hann vas enn þá heiðinn.²⁴

The Christians asked 'their speaker' Hallr á Siðu (also known as Siðu-Hallr) to recite the law, but he wisely refused the open confrontation. Instead, he

²⁰ *Íslendingabók*, ed. Jakob Benediktsson, ch. 7, p. 14. Translation by S. Grønlie, p. 7: "King Óláfr, son of Tryggvi, son of Óláfr, son of Haraldr the Fine-Haired, brought Christianity to Norway and to Iceland. He sent to this country a priest called Þangbrandr, who preached Christianity to people here and baptised all those who accepted the faith."

²¹ *Kristni saga*, ed. Jónas Kristjánsson, has a more extended account on his mission: ch. V, and VII-IX.

²² *Íslendingabók*, ed. Jakob Benediktsson, ch. 7, p. 16. Translation by S. Grønlie, p. 8.

²³ *Ibidem*: "that one man after another named witnesses, and each side, the Christians and the heathens, declared itself under separate laws from the other, and they then left the Law-Rock."

²⁴ Translation by S. Grønlie, pp. 8-9: "Then the Christians asked Hallr on Siða to speak the law, the one that was to go with Christianity. But he freed himself from this responsibility towards them by agreeing with the lawspeaker, Þorgeirr, that he should speak it, although he was still a heathen at the time."

apparently bribed the legitimate (but still heathen) lawspeaker to recite the law in their sense. There is a discussion about whether *keypti* really means ‘bought’ in the sense of ‘bribed’ in this context or whether it could refer to a fee or even just an agreement. Other sources for the scene differ from Ari’s account.²⁵ For this article though, only Ari’s account is relevant, and it certainly sounds as if Ari indicated bribery here; otherwise he probably would have explained the payment or not mentioned it at all, if it was meant as a regular fee. The result is, in any case, the same: Hallr made Þorgeirr speak for their case. This was – as we already know – the successful strategy: to make the heathen lawspeaker speak the laws according to the Christian party. In the larger context, Ari tells us that the Norwegian trials to convert the Icelanders were not successful, but that the Icelanders themselves – and specifically Hallr á Siðu – finally came up with the idea that worked.

Now the scene follows that was quoted at the beginning of this article: When everyone had returned to their booths, Þorgeirr lay down and spread his cloak over himself, rested all day and the following night, and did not speak a word. The next morning, he got up and sent word that people should go to the Law Rock. Once people had arrived there, he began his speech. Only the first part of the speech is reported, argues very reasonably, and only on the political, not the religious level. He states that not living under the same law would possibly lead to fights and devastation. As an example, he mentions the wars between the kings of Norway and Denmark:

Hann sagði frá því, at konungar ýr Norvegi ok ýr Danmörku höfðu haft ófrið ok orrostur á miðli sín langa tíð, til þess unz landsmenn gørðu frið á miðli þeira, þótt þeir vildi eigi. En þat ráð gørðisk svá, at af stundu sendusk þeir gersemar á miðli, enda helt friðr sá, meðan þeir lifðu.²⁶

This is a brilliant argumentation since he suggests that Icelandic leaders are much more reasonable than foreign kings. By this, he adulates his audience and conceals the bias of his speech, which could otherwise possibly be understood as on behalf of the Norwegian king. When the speech reaches its climax – I cited the passage already at the beginning of this article – we saw that the author switched to the direct mode for a more dramatic effect. He finishes with the formula that means that a schism would lead to war and

²⁵ For the discussion, see Jón Hnefill Aðalsteinsson, *Under the Cloak. A Pagan Ritual Turning Point...*, p. 96 and J. Cochrane, **Siðu-Halls saga ok sona hans: Creating a Saga from Tradition, “Gripla” XXI (2010), p. 215.*

²⁶ *Íslendingabók*, ed. Jakob Benediktsson, p. 17. Translation by S. Grønlie, 9: “He spoke about how the kings of Norway and Denmark had kept up warfare and battles against each other for a long time, until the people of those countries had made peace between them, even though they did not wish it. And that policy had worked out in such a way that they were soon sending gifts to each other and, moreover, this peace lasted for as long as they lived.”

destruction. This speech was successful, and Christianity was accepted with a few minor concessions to the other party, which again show the political reason of the leaders and the mediating quality of the lawspeaker.²⁷

IS *ÍSLENDINGABÓK* A FOUNDING MYTH OF ICELAND OR THE BISHOPRICS?

Íslendingabók cannot only be read a historiographic account of early Icelandic history but as a foundational myth on how Iceland was settled and became the Christian country with its most important institutions as it existed at the time of Ari's writing. John Lindow and Pernille Hermann explored this mythical side of the work from different perspectives.

John Lindow states that *Íslendingabók* "shares concerns with the mythology as we know it from the Eddas. These turn on the understanding of *fræði* as knowledge of the origin, extent, and details of the space in which events play themselves out: Iceland on the one hand, the mythological cosmos on the other."²⁸ Pernille Hermann bases her analysis on Jan Assmann's definition of myth and sees *Íslendingabók* shaped by Christian typological thinking. Through the once presence of the Irish monks and their religious requisites – books, bells, and croziers – that they had left behind,²⁹ the land was claimed for Christianity, and its return was only a matter of time. She convincingly argues that the account was structured according to the three Paulinian stages *ante legem*, *sub lege*, and *sub gratia* (Romans 5, 12-16). In Biblical history, the stage *ante legem* starts with the beginning of human history. Adam would typologically correspond with the first settler Ingólfr. The stage *sub lege* would start with the law-giving by Moses. This would correspond to the law-giving by Ulfjótr. Finally, the arrival of Christ signifies the beginning of the stage *sub gratia*, which would correspond with the Christianization of Iceland.³⁰

These interpretations by Lindow and Hermann are certainly convincing in that they both discover the mythical quality of the work that is based in medieval learning. My reading below will build on their analysis. However, I believe that the historical circumstances of the production of such a political text deserve to be taken into consideration. Ari states in the first sentence of his prologue that he wrote the first version of the book for the Bishops Þorlákr and Ketill. Þorlákr was bishop of Skálholt 1118-1133 and Ketill was bishop of Hólar 1122-1145. The book not only starts with bishops, but it ends with bishops too. After the conversion chapter, the book ends with three chapters

27 On mediators in clan societies cf. M.S. Weiner, *The Rule of the Clan...*, pp. 35-36.

28 J. Lindow, *Íslendingabók and Myth*, "Scandinavian Studies" LXIX (1997), p. 455.

29 *Íslendingabók*, ch. 1 and also *Landnámabók*, ch. 1.

30 P. Hermann, *Íslendingabók and History*, in: *Reflections on Old Norse Myths*, eds. P. Hermann, J.P. Schjødt, R.T. Kristensen, Turnhout 2007, pp. 17-32.

on bishops: chapter 8 ‘On foreign bishops’, chapter 9 ‘On Bishop Ísleifr’, and chapter 10 ‘On Bishop Gizurr’. Those two first Icelandic bishops are the focus of the book.

The table below shows the first Icelandic bishops in the two sees. Ísleifr and Gizurr, the first two bishops of Skálholt, are treated in the final two chapters. The current bishops of Skálholt and Hólar, Þorlákr and Ketill, initiated the writing of the book:

Skálholt	Hólar
1056-1080: Ísleifr Gizurarson	
1082-1118: Gizurr Ísleifsson	1106-1121: Jóan Ögmundsson
1118-1133: Þorlákr Runólfsson	1122-1145: Ketill Þorsteinsson

From this focal endpoint of the story, Else Mundal reads *Íslendingabók* as a chronicle of the bishoprics, with an emphasis on Skálholt. She repeats this view in a later article stating: “The bishoprics are seen as the most important institutions in the country to which the history of Iceland is connected.”³¹ She suggests that Ari gave the bishop the role of a king in Iceland under the influence of the *Gesta Hammaburgensis* of Adam of Bremen. Adam explicitly lauds the Icelanders for considering their bishop their king (VI, 36), a thought that is repeated in *Hungrvaka* (“The Appetizer”),³² a work on the Christianization and the first bishops of Skálholt from the first half of the 13th century.

ÍSLENDINGABÓK AS THE MEMORY OF THE HÁUKDÆLIR FAMILY

Ingólfr and the four primary settlers

How does Ari connect the history of the bishoprics to the settlement of Iceland? In the first chapter, we learn about the first permanent settler: A Norwegian called Ingólfr took land in the days of Harald Fairhair (c. 850-c. 932). Many people followed his example. In the second chapter, Ari tells us about the four original settlers, who came apparently after Ingólfr to Iceland:

Hrollaugr, sonr Rognvalds jarls á Mœri, byggði austr á Síðu; þaðan eru Síðumenn komnir.

Ketilbjörn Ketilssonr, maðr nórœenn, byggði suðr at Mosfelli enu öfra; þaðan eru Mosfellingar komnir.

³¹ E. Mundal, *Íslendingabók vurdert som bispestolskrønike, “alvísmál” III* (1994), pp. 63-72; E. Mundal, *Íslendingabók: The Creation of an Icelandic Christian Identity*, in: *Historical Narratives and Christian Identity on a European Periphery. Early History Writing in Northern, East-Central, and Eastern Europe (c. 1070-1200)*, ed. I.H. Garipzanov, Turnhout 2011, pp. 111-121, quotation from p. 114.

³² E. Mundal, *Íslendingabók: The Creation...*, p. 121.

Auðr, dóttir Ketils flatnefs, hersis nórcæns, byggði vestr í Breiðafirði; þaðan eru Breiðfirðingar komnir.
Helgi enn magri, nórcænn, sonr Eyvindar austmanns, byggði norðr í Eyjafirði; þaðan eru Eyfirðingar komnir.³³

Each settler is the founder of a renowned family in Iceland during the time of writing. This pattern is very reminiscent of the biblical passage when God asks Moses and the priest Eleazar for a census of the Israelites that they recently had led out of Egypt (Vulgata, Numeri 26, 5-7):

Ruben primogenitus Israel: hujus filius,
Henoah, a quo familia Henoahitarum:
et Phallu, a quo familia Phalluitarum:
et Hesron, a quo familia Hesronitarum:
et Charmi, a quo familia Charmitarum.
Hae sunt familiae de stirpe Ruben: quarum numerus inventus est
quadraginta tria millia, et septingenti triginta.³⁴

The Biblical passage goes on listing the other tribes with their families. The similarity is striking, although Ingólfr, unlike Ruben, is not the father of the four family heads that follow. Apparently, the processes of cultural memory³⁵ had already produced an agreement on Ingólfr as the first settler. We can see traces of this process in *Landnámabók* where the histories of several discoverers and explorers are described until Ingólfr becomes the first permanent settler. There were obviously a lot of single emigration stories that were in need of being integrated into a coherent narrative. *Landnámabók*, as well as *Íslendingabók*, presented the Icelanders with such integrated accounts.

Ingólfr, as the first settler, led the emigrants from Norway where they felt oppressed by the Norwegian king like Ruben (under Moses) led his tribe of Israelites from Egypt where they had lived in slavery. Ingólfr is a figure of identification for all Icelanders. After him, four settlers in the four cardinal

33 *Íslendingabók*, ed. Jakob Benediktsson, ch. 2, p. 6. Translation by S. Grønlie, p. 4:
"Hrollaugr, son of Rognvaldr earl in Moerr, settled in the east on Síða; from him the people of Síða are descended.

Ketilbjörn Ketilsson, a Norwegian, settled in the south at upper Mosfell; from him the people of Mosfell are descended.

Auðr, daughter of Ketill Flatnose, a Norwegian lord, settled in the west in Breiðafjörðr; from her the people of Breiðafjörðr are descended.

Helgi the Lean, a Norwegian, son of Eyvindr the Easterner, settled in the north in Eyjafjörðr; from him the people of Eyjafjörðr are descended."

34 Translation (New Revised Standard Version): "Reuben, the firstborn of Israel. The descendants of Reuben: of Hanoch, the clan of the Hanochites; of Pallu, the clan of the Palluites; of Hezron, the clan of the Hezronites; of Carmi, the clan of the Carmites. These are the clans of the Reubenites; the number of those enrolled was forty-three thousand seven hundred thirty."

35 Definition according to J. Assmann, see below fn. 47.

directions (*austr, suðr, vestr, norðr*) take possession of Iceland. The mentioning of the four cardinal directions means that the whole island is taken by these settlers.³⁶ This same idea is also expressed in reading the name ADAM as an acronym formed by the initial letters of the four cardinal directions in Greek, which means, that the whole earth will be inhabited by Adam's descendants. This learned idea was known in the Latin tradition since at least Augustine.³⁷ It arrived in Iceland early through the Icelandic translation of Honorius' *Elucidarium* which is among the very first translations into Icelandic.³⁸ The passage in *Íslendingabók* seems to be influenced by this thought. This supports the reading by Pernille Hermann that Ingólfr, the first settler of Iceland, can also be compared to Adam, the first settler of the earth.³⁹

From those settlers derive the – in Ari's view – most important families in Iceland. The order of these settlers is given starting with the settlers in the east, then comes the south, the west, and finally the north. *Íslendingabók* ends – as mentioned – with two final books on the two first Icelandic bishops Ísleifr and Gizurr:

En es þat sá hofðingjar ok góðir menn, at Ísleifr vas miklu nýtri en aðrir kennimenn, þeir es á þvísa landi næði, þá seldu honum sonu sína til læringar ok létu vígja til presta. Þeir urðu síðan vígðir tveir til byskupa, Kollr, es vas í Vík austr, ok Jóan at Hólum.

Ísleifr átti þrjá sonu. Þeir urðu allir hofðingjar nýtir, Gizurr byskup ok Teitr prestur, faðir Halls, ok Þorvaldr. Teit fæddi Hallr í Haukadali, sá maðr, es þat vas almælt, at mildastr væri ok ágæztr at góðu á landi hér ólærðra manna. Ek kom ok til Halls sjau vetra gamall, vetri eftir þat, es Gellir Þorkelssonr, fõðurfaðir minn ok fóstri, andaðist, ok vask þar fjórtán vetr.⁴⁰

³⁶ This is expressed in the next sentence (*Íslendingabók*, ed. Jakob Benediktsson, ch. 2, p. 6): "En þá es Ísland víða byggt orðit..." (Translation by S. Grønlie, p. 4: "And when Iceland had been settled widely...").

³⁷ Augustinus, *In Johannis evangelium tractatus*, X 12 (PL 35, Sp. 1473).

³⁸ Cf. *The Old Norse Elucidarius. Original text and English translation*, ed. and transl. E.S. Firchow, Columbia, SC 1992, ch. 1.64, p. 16: "Discipulus. Huapan toc adam nafn. Magister. Af. iiii. ottom heims þat es austr oc uestr norþr oc suþr. Enn at griksco male a d a m callasc anatole disis artos mesembria þat es sem griplor hende til nafns adams. Enn af þui toc hann nafn af fíorom ottom heims at kvn hans atte at coma íallar heims atter. Íþui hafþe hann oc gliking Goþs \at/ hann scylde sua styra ollo aiorþo sem Goþ reþr ollo áhimne." Translation, p. 17: "Disciple: How did Adam get his name? Master: From the four compass points of the world, that is from East and West, North and South. In Greek these are called Anatole, Dysis, Arktos, Mesembria, and they form an acrostic of Adam's name. He got his name from the four corners of the earth, since his kin was expected to spread out in all directions over the earth. For that reason he took the shape of God, so that he could rule everything on earth as God rules over everything in heaven."

³⁹ See above fn. 27.

⁴⁰ *Íslendingabók*, ed. Jakob Benediktsson, ch. 9, p. 20. Translation by S. Grønlie, p. 10: "And when chieftains and good men perceived that Ísleifr was far abler than other clerics who

The first bishop Ísleifr is the father of his successor, the second bishop Gizurr. At this point, we learn how the author is involved in the story – although he told us already in the first chapter about Teitr when he mentioned his main sources. Teitr, his *fóstri* ('foster-father') and teacher, is not only a source for Ari, he is also the son of Bishop Ísleifr. Teitr was fostered and educated in the family of Hallr in Haukadals (995/6-1089), where Ari, too, grew up after the death of his grandfather Gellir Þorkelsson where he had lived before after the death of his father.

Two years after Ísleifs death, Gizurr was consecrated bishop. He established the see of the bishop in Skálholt. After that, he also founded the second see in Hólar, because the people in Northern Iceland asked him to – according to Ari. At the end of his life, he decided to make the nephew of Hallr í Haukadals his successor: Þorlákr Runólfsson.⁴¹

Ari draws a line from the first settlers to the current bishops who were involved in the production of the book. This idea is comparable to medieval chronicles starting with the creation and genealogies starting with Adam and ending in the author's present. They link the present to the origins of the world. A genealogy connecting the four original settlers to the bishops following the final chapter 10 underlines this aim:

Þetta er kyn byskupa Íslendinga ok áttartala:
 Ketilbjörn landnámsmaðr, sá es byggði suðr at Mosfelli enu øfra, vas faðir Teits, fōður Gizurar ens hvíta, fōður Ísleifs, es fyrstr vas byskup í Skálaholti, fōður Gizurar byskups.
 Hrollaugr landnámsmaðr, sá es byggði austr á Síðu á Breiðabólstað, vas faðir Qzurar, fōður Þórdísar, móður Halls á Síðu, fōður Egils, fōður Þorgerðar, móður Jóans, es fyrstr vas byskup at Hólum.
 Auðr landnámskona, es byggði vestr í Breiðafirði í Hvammi, vas móðir Þorsteins ins rauða, fōður Óleifs feilans, fōður Þórðar gellis, fōður Þórhildar rjúpu, móður Þórðar hesthōfða, fōður Karlsefnis, fōður Snorra, fōður Hallfríðar, móður Þorláks, es nú es byskup í Skálaholti, næstr Gizuri.

could then be obtained in this country, many sent him their sons to be educated and had them ordained priests. Two of them were later consecrated bishops: Kolr, who was in Vík in Norway, and Jóan at Hólar. Ísleifr had three sons, who all became able chieftains: Bishop Gizurr and the priest Teitr, father of Hallr, and Þorvaldr. Teitr was brought up by Hallr in Haukadals, a man whom everyone described as the most generous layman in this country and the most eminent in good qualities. I also came to Hallr when I was seven years old, one year after Gellir Þorkelsson, my paternal grandfather and my foster-father, died; and I stayed there for fourteen years."

⁴¹ *Íslendingabók*, ed. Jakob Benediktsson, ch. 10, p. 23. Translation by S. Grønlie, p. 12: "The same summer that Bergþórr spoke the law for the first time, Bishop Gizurr was unable to come to the assembly because of illness. He then sent word to his friends and the chieftains at the Althing that they should ask Þorlákr, son of Runólfr, son of Hallr in Haukadals's brother Þorleikr, to have himself consecrated bishop."

Helgi inn magri landnámamaðr, sá es byggði norðr í Eyjafirði í Kristnesi, vas faðir Helgu, móður Einars, fozður Eyjólfis Valgerðarsonar, fozður Goðmundar, fozður Eyjólfis, fozður Þorsteins, fozður Ketils, es nú es byskup at Hólum, næstr Jóani.⁴²

A comparison of these genealogies with the genealogies of the first four settlers at the beginning of the book shows that the first ancestors of the five bishops are indeed the first four original settlers. Only the order is slightly changed in that Ketilbjörn takes now the first position as the ancestor of the two very first bishops, Ísleifr and Gizurr. The others stay in the same order as before, which is, at the same time, the chronological order of the bishops.

This table shows the progenitors, the families, and the bishops derived from the progenitors:

Progenitor	Family	Bishop(s)
Ketilbjörn	Mosfellingar	Ísleifr Gizurarson and Gizurr Ísleifsson, the first and second bishops of Skálholt
Hrollaugur (son of Jarl Rögnvaldr)	Síðumenn	Jóan Ogmundarson, the first bishop of Hólar
Auðr	Breidfirðingar	Þorlákr Runólfsson, the third bishop of Skálholt
Helgi enn magri	Eyfirðingar	Ketill Þorsteinsson, the second bishop of Hólar

THE INTRODUCTION OF THE LAW AND THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE ALÞINGI

The introduction of the Icelandic law and the establishment of the Alþingi, the legislative and judicial assembly of Iceland, is, after the establishment of

⁴² *Íslendingabók*, ed. Jakob Benediktsson, pp. 26-27. Translation by S. Grønlie, p. 13:

“Ketilbjörn the settler, who settled in the south at upper Mosfell, was the father of Teitr, father of Gizurr the White, father of Ísleifr, who was the first bishop in Skálholt, father of Bishop Gizurr.

Hrollaugr the settler, who settled in the east on Síða at Breiðabólstaðr, was the father of Gizurr, father of Þórdís, mother of Hallr on Síða, father of Egill, father of Þorgerðr, mother of Jóan, who was the first bishop at Hólar.

Auðr the female settler, who settled in the west in Breiðafjörðr at Hvammr, was the mother of Þorsteinn the Red, father of Óleifr feilan, father of Þórðr gellir, father of Þórhildr Þfarmigan, mother of Þórðr Horsehead, father of Karlsefni, father of Snorri, father of Hallfríðr, mother of Þorlákr, who is now bishop in Skálholt after Gizurr.

Helgi the Lean, the settler, who settled in the north in Eyjafjörðr at Kristnes, was the father of Helga, mother of Einarr, father of Eyjólfir Valgerðarson, father of Goðmundr, father of Eyjólfir, father of Þorsteinn, father of Ketill, who is now bishop at Hólar after Jóan.”

Christianity, the second big topic of *Íslendingabók*. Connected to this second topic is the long line of lawspeakers that run as a timeline through the whole book, which is otherwise structured by thematic chapters.

Starting with the Icelandic law, which Úlfljótr introduced, the Alþingi was established in 930. This signifies the end of the settlement period. Úlfljótr was also the first lawspeaker. In *Íslendingabók*, the introduction of the law is treated immediately after the four original settlers settled the whole of Iceland (ch. 2: *En þá es Ísland víða byggt orðit, þá hafði maðr austrænn fyrst lög út hingat ýr Norvegi, sá es Úlfljótr hét*⁴³). Before the next chapter starts – dealing with time-reckoning – two successors of Úlfljótr are mentioned. Time-reckoning is essential in the Middle Ages to determine the date of Easter but a reliable calendar might have also been helpful to arrange the annual meetings at the Alþingi. Time-reckoning is, therefore, necessary for both main topics of *Íslendingabók*: Christianity and the law.

The chapter on the conversion could be seen as the crossing point of two narrative lines: the line of the law and the line of Christianization. It is interesting and certainly significant that religious belief is actually not discussed at all, the discourse on conversion is dominated by law, power, and the keeping of peace and order. When Jón Hnefill Aðalsteinsson says that we should not pay so much attention to Þorgeirr's speech,⁴⁴ I would argue that we should not pay so much attention to the cloak. The politics of Gizurr and Hjalti, their speech and its grave consequences, together with the convincing performance and speech of the (probably bribed) heathen lawspeaker, Þorgeirr, are crucial elements of the scene. On the narrative level, I would read the time under the cloak rather as a part of the dramatic narrativization, a moment of suspense. The reader is expected to anxiously anticipate whether or not the plan of Gizurr and Hjalti will work out. On the factual level, the law speaker is a political figure whose duty is to keep peace and order. His tool is the speech. He could be interpreted as an official mediator figure which is apparently a common and important office in clan societies.⁴⁵

However, the cloak scene might have been written under the influence of biblical stories and therefore fit in the typological program that Pernille Hermann identified in her article.⁴⁶ Moses again can serve as a model here. Not only the primary lawgiver Úlfljótr may have been modelled after Moses but also the lawspeaker in this decisive moment. In *Exodus 4*, Moses is afraid

43 Translation by S. Grønlie, p. 4: "And when Iceland had been settled widely, an Easterner called Úlfljótr first brought laws out here from Norway...".

44 Jón Hnefill Aðalsteinsson, *Under the Cloak. A Pagan Ritual Turning Point...*, pp. 107-108 and p. 122.

45 Cf. M.S. Weiner, *The Rule of the Clan...*, pp. 35-36.

46 See above fn. 29.

that the people will not listen to him. He complains to God about not being eloquent enough. God tries to convince him first. Moses, however, asks God to send someone else. God then – angrily – suggests that his more eloquent brother Aaron may speak to the people instead of him (*Exodus 4,14-17*):

Aaron frater tuus Levites, scio quod eloquens sit: ecce ipse egreditur in occursum tuum, vidensque te laetabitur corde. Loquere ad eum, et pone verba mea in ore ejus: et ego ero in ore tuo et in ore illius, et ostendam vobis quid agere debeatis. Ipse loquetur pro te ad populum, et erit os tuum: tu autem eris ei in his quae ad Deum pertinent. Virgam quoque hanc sume in manu tua, in qua facturus es signa.⁴⁷

In this passage – as in *Íslendingabók* – the speaker who is originally supposed to speak is being exchanged and this new speaker is directed by the other speaker. This exchange and the following speech is God’s will. In both cases, the reception of the laws is accompanied by a time of suspense before the peripety. Moses spends 40 days and nights on Mount Sinai (*Exodus 24,18*), the lawspeaker one day and one night under the cloak. The cloak itself might be inspired by the tent in which God communicates with Moses (*Exodus 33,7-10*):

Moyses quoque tollens tabernaculum, tetendit extra castra procul, vocavitque nomen ejus, tabernaculum foederis. Et omnis populus, qui habebat aliquam quaestionem, egrediebatur ad tabernaculum foederis, extra castra. Cumque egrederetur Moyses ad tabernaculum, surgebat universa plebs, et stabat unusquisque in ostio papilionis sui, aspiciebantque tergum Moysi, donec ingrederetur tentorium. Ingresso autem illo tabernaculum foederis, descendebat columna nubis, et stabat ad ostium, loquebaturque cum Moyse, cernentibus universis quod columna nubis staret ad ostium tabernaculi. Stabantque ipsi, et adorabant per fores tabernaculorum suorum.⁴⁸

47 Translation (New Revised Standard Version): “What of your brother Aaron the Levite? I know that he can speak fluently; even now he is coming out to meet you, and when he sees you his heart will be glad. You shall speak to him and put the words in his mouth; and I will be with your mouth and with his mouth, and will teach you what you shall do. He indeed shall speak for you to the people; he shall serve as a mouth for you, and you shall serve as God for him. Take in your hand this staff, with which you shall perform the signs.”

48 Translation (New Revised Standard Version): “Now Moses used to take the tent and pitch it outside the camp, far off from the camp; he called it the tent of meeting. And everyone who sought the Lord would go out to the tent of meeting, which was outside the camp. Whenever Moses went out to the tent, all the people would rise and stand, each of them, at the entrance of their tents and watch Moses until he had gone into the tent. When Moses entered the tent, the pillar of cloud would descend and stand at the entrance of the tent, and the Lord would speak with Moses. When all the people saw the pillar of cloud standing at the entrance of the tent, all the people would rise and bow down, all of them, at the entrance of their tent.”

These biblical stories may have been Ari's inspiration for the writing of the conversion scene of *Íslendingabók* and at the same time the background for its interpretation by the implied audience. So the question of what Þorgeirr did under his cloak – within the narrative and for the implied audience – would be answered with: God spoke to him. Even the trick of exchanging the speaker and the influencing of the speaker (the possible bribery) can be justified as God's will (*Exodus* 4,14-17).

THE HAUKDÆLIR

Íslendingabók might seem like a history of Iceland, but it is, in fact, the memory of the Haukdœlir family – without naming them, which first explicitly happens in *Haukdæla þáttur*. *Haukdæla þáttur*, in turn, refers to Teitr (ch. 1) and Ari (ch. 3 and 4) as sources which should mean that *Íslendingabók* was used as a source. Ari Þorgilsson wrote *Íslendingabók* for the two bishops of his time: Ketill of Hólar and Þorlákr of Skálholt. He connects these two bishops as well as the other three bishops before them to the four first settlers who – in his view – settled the whole of Iceland. At the core of his construction is one clan that would become the Haukdœlir. The Haukdœlir are a continuation of the Mosfellingar, one of the four original settler families. Ketilbjörn Ketilsson is their progenitor. The Haukdœlir were 'founded' by Teitr, Ari's "foster-father" who took over the farm of his foster-father Hallr í Haukadal.⁴⁹

The Haukdœlir could be considered an extended family clan not only based on blood relations but also "fictive kinship".⁵⁰ An important means in Icelandic society to establish such kinlike relations is the institution of fosterage. Clan structures are typical for weak or "incomplete states"⁵¹ like medieval Iceland, a state without a king and without executive power: "[I]n the absence of the state, or when states are weak, the individual becomes engulfed within the collective groups on which people must rely to advance their goals and vindicate their interests."⁵²

The clan of the Haukdœlir provides almost all the key personages of Ari's conversion history – and the first bishops. Other powerful families are not considered, most importantly, the rivaling Sturlungar that founded a clan in the same period including the family of the Oddaverjar. The memory of the

⁴⁹ *Haukdæla þáttur*, ch. 4 (= *Sturlunga saga*, translated from the Old Icelandic by J.H. McGrew, Introduction by R.G. Thomas, II, New York 1970-1974, p. 86).

⁵⁰ On fictive kinship, see M.S. Weiner, *The Rule of the Clan...*, pp. 7, 201, 222; on the Scottish Highlands: p. 57, on Iceland: p. 75.

⁵¹ *Ibidem*, p. 65.

⁵² *Ibidem*, p. 7.

Haukdœlir lives on in *Haukdæla þátr* of *Sturlunga saga*. It is mentioned there that this family is located in Þingvellir, which is certainly significant with respect to the Alþingi being located there. They also founded both Icelandic bishoprics. The second bishop, Bishop Gizurr founded the see in Skálholt by giving the land and money. Afterward, he also founded the second see in Hólar (*Haukdæla þátr*, ch. 4). Towards the end of his life, when he had become ill, Bishop Gizurr asked the Alþingi to make Þorlaukr Runólfsson his successor. He was the brother of Hallr í Haukadal (*Haukdæla þátr*, ch. 3).

The key figures of Ari's conversion narrative are the following:

- **Gizurr enn hvíti** and **Hjalti Skeggjason** coming back from the Norwegian king initiated the Christianization at the Alþingi. Gizurr belongs to the Mosfellingar. Hjalti belongs to the Breiðfirðingar. Gizurr and Hjalti were among the Icelanders who were baptized before the Christianization by Þangbrandr. These two figures mirror the later alliance between the Mosfellingar (Bishops Ísleifr and Gizurr; Teitr) and the Breiðfirðingar (Ari). This could be seen as a kind of *praefiguratio*. This alliance is due to **Hallr í Haukadal** who maintained a school where Teitr, as his foster-son, and Ari grew up and studied. Hallr remembers being baptized by Þangbrandr at the age of three.
- **Hallr á Síðu** played a crucial role during the Christianization by making the heathen lawspeaker speak in favor of the Christian party. *Íslendingabók* ch. 2 and *Þorsteins saga Síðu-Hallsonar* reveal that Hallr á Síðu is the great-grandfather of Bishop Jóan Ögmundarson, the first bishop of Hólar. As we know from *Haukdæla þátr*, the see in Hólar was – at least in the eyes of the Haukdœlir – founded by them. Jóan was a student and foster-son of Bishop Ísleifr (*Jóns saga ins helga*, ch. 2). When the inhabitants of northern Iceland “asked” for their own bishop, Bishop Gizurr, Ísleifr's son and successor, chose Jóan. He sent him to the pope in Rome who granted his ordination (*Jóns saga ins helga*, ch. 7). Jóan connects the Síðumenn to the Haukdœlir.

Ari's conversion story explains the coalition of the Mosfellingar, the Breiðfirðingar, and the Síðumenn. What about the fourth family, the Eyfirðingar? At first sight, the Eyfirðingar do not fit the perfect construction. However, there are several points to justify their inclusion. The progenitor of the Eyfirðingar is Helgi enn magri. He was brought up in Ireland and counts therefore as a Christian settler although his doubts in the Christian god are described in *Landnámabók*.⁵³ Ketill, the second bishop of Hólar, one of the patrons of the work is – according to *Íslendingabók* – a descendant of Helgi.

53 *Landnámabók*, version S ch. 217-218 and version H ch. 187.

That means that, at the time of writing, this family had joined the alliance with the Haukdœlir clan.

Íslendingabók is a document written to glorify the deeds of the Haukdœlir and to found their claim to power. *Íslendingabók* can be read as a carefully constructed memory of the extended Haukdœlir clan that included their relations to the Breiðfirðingar, Síðumenn, and Eyfirðingar. It all only makes sense as an ex-post construction during the time of writing. It connects – in Jan Assmann's terminology – the communicative memory of Ari's generation to the cultural memory of the conversion and further back to the cultural memory of the settlement. The conversion and the settlement are what Assmann calls "Fixpunkte der Vergangenheit" (reference points of the past). The means to bridge this gap are genealogies.⁵⁴ The Haukdœlir's rise to power was due to the fact that they – according to Ari – saw that the Christian party would be not only the winning team but that Christianity would also be the crucial foundation for power in the whole of Iceland in the future. How much of this is factual history and how much myth⁵⁵ is hard to determine using Ari's account as a source. *Íslendingabók* is – only – the memory of the Haukdœlir clan, put in literary form by the learned priest Ari using narrative models and motifs from the Bible.

Íslendingabók is not the foundation myth for Iceland but the use of known foundational motifs – Ingólfr and the first four settler families – in the interest of one family clan. This probably explains why the work despite its title and high literary quality was not widespread and apparently existed only in one (now lost) medieval codex dated around 1200. *Íslendingabók* was apparently never rewritten and updated. Therefore *Íslendingabók* preserves the memory of the 12th century.⁵⁶ *Landnamabók* in comparison was more inclusive and easier

54 J. Assmann, *Das kulturelle Gedächtnis*, 4th edition, München 2002, p. 50: "Die Genealogie ist eine Form, den Sprung zwischen Gegenwart und Ursprungszeit zu überbrücken und eine gegenwärtige Ordnung, einen gegenwärtigen Anspruch, zu legitimieren, indem er naht- und bruchlos an Ursprüngliches angeschlossen wird." Ibidem: "Das kommunikative Gedächtnis umfasst Erinnerungen, die sich auf die rezente Vergangenheit beziehen. Es sind dies Erinnerungen, die der Mensch mit seinen Zeitgenossen teilt." Ibidem, p. 52: "Das kulturelle Gedächtnis richtet sich auf Fixpunkte in der Vergangenheit. [...] Vergangenheit gerinnt hier [...] zu symbolischen Figuren, an die sich die Erinnerung heftet."

55 Myth is here used according to the definition of J. Assmann, *Das kulturelle Gedächtnis*, p. 52: "Mythos ist eine fundierende Geschichte, eine Geschichte, die erzählt wird, um eine Gegenwart vom Ursprung her zu erhellen."

56 Jakob Benediktsson, *Íslendingabók*, in: *Medieval Scandinavia...*, p. 332. The extant manuscripts are AM 113 a fol. (1651) and AM 113 b fol. (1625-1720). Dating according to online catalogue handrit.is (Islands Nationalbibliotek - Universitetsbibliotek): <https://handrit.is/is/manuscript/view/is/AM02-0113a>; <https://handrit.is/da/manuscript/view/is/AM02-0113b> [accessed: 13 December 2019]. I agree with the assessment of L.S. Wamhoff, *Isländische Erinnerungskultur 1100-1300. Altnordische Historiographie und kulturelles Gedächtnis*, Tübingen

to adapt to the perspectives of other families. Therefore it could be rewritten in five redactions up to the 17th century. On the other hand, the more explicit and conventional *Haukdæla þáttr* came into existence at some point before its inclusion in *Sturlunga saga* around 1300 (if it was not written by the compiler of *Sturlunga saga*⁵⁷) as a replacement where *Íslendingabók* is used as a source.

There is one final point to consider: Ari as the author of the book and his personal narrative perspective. Ari seems to construct the relationships not only from his patron's but also from his own perspective, which means, his relationship to the people involved. This is shown by the fact that he refers to his foster-father Teitr as a source and that he closes his book very assertively with his own genealogy ending with himself: "en ek heitik Ari" – "and my name is Ari." His genealogy, which he calls the genealogy of the Ynglingar and Breiðfirðingar, is the only one that goes further back than the last generation living in Norway. His progenitor is *Yngvi Tyrkjakonungr*. As the ancient Trojans in the Middle Ages were equated with the contemporary Turks, this means he considers himself a descendant of the Trojan kings which in turn are historicized Scandinavian gods (Euhemerism). He connects himself back to the Trojans as many noble and royal families do, but Ari's 'Trojan' genealogy is the earliest of this kind in Iceland and the first connection of Icelandic to Trojan history.⁵⁸ Ari wants to show that he has the same descent as the royal Ynglingar. This oldest Scandinavian genealogy of the Swedish Ynglingar was used to extend the genealogy of the Norwegian kings into the past. This superior descent to all other families mentioned may indicate that Ari saw for himself and his descendants a leading role within the Haukdœlir alliance in the future.

2016, pp. 80-81: "Die spärliche Rezeption des Textes bis zur Neuzeit deutet darauf hin, dass der Text entgegen seiner zu erwartenden kollektiven Relevanz im ab 1300 einsetzenden Rezeptionsprozess nur wenig Anklang fand. Hierin liegt aber sein entscheidender Wert: durch die geringe Abwandlung des Textes liegt heute ein fast unverfälschtes Abbild der Erinnerungskultur um 1120/30 vor." I would add and I do argue in this article that the family perspective and their (and Ari's!) claim to power may play a role in that it was not perceived as relevant for Icelanders not belonging to the Haukdœlir family.

57 R. Simek, Hermann Pálsson, *Lexikon der altnordischen Literatur*, Stuttgart 1987, p. 151.

58 But not yet further back to Adam as we find it in the 13th-century genealogies of the Sturlungar or of Haukr Erlendsson. This extended genealogy did not yet exist at the time of Ari's writing. The genealogy of the Sturlungs: *Diplomatarium Islandicum. Íslenzkt fornbréfasafn, sem hefir inni að halda bréf og gjörninga, dóma og máldaga, og aðrar skrár, er snerta Ísland eða íslenzka menn. Fyrsta bindi 834-1264*, København 1857-1876, pp. 504-506. Haukr Erlendsson's genealogy: *Hauksbók: udgiven efter de Arnamagnæanske håndskrifter no. 371, 544 og 675, 4^o samt forskellige papirshåndskrifter af Det kongelige nordiske oldskrift-selskab*, København 1892-1896, pp. 504-505. For the reception of the Trojan myth in Iceland, see: R. Simek: *Der lange Weg von Troja nach Grönland. Zu den Quellen der gelehrten Urgeschichte in Island*, in: *Germanisches Altertum und christliches Mittelalter. Festschrift für Heinz Klingenberg zum 65. Geburtstag*, eds. B. Brogyanyi, Th. Krömmelbein, Hamburg 2002, pp. 315-327.

ABSTRACT

This article attempts an interpretation of Ari Þorgilsson's *Íslendingabók* (1122-1132) as a foundation myth of the Haukdælir family clan, focusing on the chapter on the conversion of Iceland in particular. Previous research has often read the text as a source for the early history of Iceland and particularly the circumstances of the conversion in the year 999 or 1000. This analysis emphasizes the narrative strategy of the author as it seems that he linked the relevant characters of the conversion scene, on the one hand, with the settlement era and, on the other hand, with his present. In doing so, he creates the memory of an extended family clan, the Haukdælir, that are just being invented at the time of writing by Teitr, Ari's "foster-father."

LORENZO LOZZI GALLO
MESSINA

A CULTURAL ENCOUNTER BETWEEN NORSEMEN AND *FINNAR*: ANALYSING HEIÐR IN *HAUKS ÞÁTR* *HÁBRÓKAR*



1. SCANDINAVIANS AND THE OTHERS

In the self-awareness of the Norwegian settlers of Iceland there was a deep-rooted conviction that their ancestors had come to settle in the Scandinavian peninsula from elsewhere. In *Ynglinga saga*, Snorri Sturluson states that the *Æsir*, the kin of gods, originated from Asia. This invention was in fact highly understandable: if the Scandinavian ancestors had arrived from somewhere far away, there were only two possibilities at the time, Africa or Asia – and it was quite obvious to rule out Africa, as their inhabitants were clearly different from the Europeans in terms of skin colour and somatic features.

When classical authors defined the island of *Scandia* as the ultimate origin of the Germanic tribes, they had in mind its southernmost tip, i.e. Scania, rather than the whole peninsula:¹ the fact that Scandinavia was considered an island rather than a peninsula clearly shows that its Northern parts were unknown to those who had provided this piece of information.

In fact, when the Germanic tribes that would later be known as “Scandinavian” began expanding into the Scandinavian peninsula, they were met with a group of native, aboriginal populations that we now call “Sami” and were formerly referred to as “Lapps” (a label that seems currently to be rejected by most Sami themselves). As a prominent scholar sums up concerning the prehistory of Scandinavia: “As time passed, the dominating culture and language of the warlike Germanic petty kingdoms of southern Scandinavia

¹ K. Helle, *Introduction*, in: *Cambridge History of Scandinavia, I: Prehistory to 1520*, ed. K. Helle, Cambridge 2003, pp. 1-12, here pp. 1-2.

became increasingly supreme in the northern Scandinavian territories, sometimes oppressing the Sami and sometimes cooperating with them."²

The Germanic population labelled the natives *Finnar*, rather than present-day Finns, whose actual name in Western countries must have originated from the observation of the relative proximity of languages between Finns and Sami (at least, in comparison to Indo-European³). We have little information concerning the different tribes of Scandinavia: while the north of Norway is usually called "Finnish mark"⁴ (*Fimmörk*), beyond it – the Kola Peninsula and the area on the far side of the White Sea – was settled by another Finno-Ugric population called the *Bjarmar*, who may have had a very different culture. In *Örvar-Odds saga* the hero and his companions travel to the estuary of the Northern Dvina to meet these *Bjarmar*:⁵ and yet, in other Norse sources they are clumped together with the *Finnar*, just like the mysterious population of the Kvens (*Kvenir/Kvenar*), inhabiting the lands that are currently in Northern Sweden.⁶

Contacts between peoples were frequently problematic: *Örvar-Odds saga* preserves a rather unpleasant account of Viking pirates plundering defenceless Finnish women in their huts (*gammar*), although the hero Oddr magnanimously prevents the members of his own crew from taking part in the looting.

Moreover, the Sami were subject to the payment of a tribute to the Norse lords of Northern Norway. In *Egils saga*, Egill's good uncle Þórólfr travels to Finnmark in order to gather 'taxes' from the Sami, but he also shows loyalty to them: as he learns that a group of adventurers from the east called *Kylfingar* are attacking the Sami, he intervenes and defeats the looters, killing three hundred enemies.

2. ETHNICAL PREJUDICE IN REALITY AND FANTASY

A relatively new field of research within Norse studies is undoubtedly the interaction between Norsemen and the aboriginal populations of Scandinavia.

2 B. Myhre, *Iron Age*, in: *Cambridge History of Scandinavia*, pp. 61-93, here p. 61.

3 For a thorough survey of these ethnical denominations, see T. Päröli, *I Finni nell'opera storica di Olao Magno*, in: *Studi anglo-norreni in onore di John S. McKinnell. "He hafað sundorgecynd"*, ed. M.E. Ruggerini, Cagliari 2009, pp. 414-457, here pp. 430-435.

4 L. Elenius, *The Dissolution of Ancient Kvenland and the Transformation of the Kvens as an Ethnic Group of People. On Changing Ethnic Categorizations in Communicative and Collective Memories*, "Acta Borealia. A Nordic Journal of Circumpolar Societies" XXXVI (2019) 2, pp. 117-148, here pp. 125-126.

5 *Bjarmaland, Gandvík* and other geographical concepts are discussed in R. Simek, *Altnordische Kosmographie. Studien und Quellen zu Weltbild und Weltbeschreibung in Norwegen und Island vom 12. bis zum 14. Jahrhundert*, Ergänzungsbände zum Reallexikon der Germanischen Altertumskunde, IV, Berlin-New York 1990, passim, espec. pp. 201, 204.

6 Cf. L. Elenius, *The Dissolution of Ancient Kvenland...*, pp. 124-128.

It has been shown with reasonable certainty that Germanic settlers had mixed feelings about these people, whom they would generally call *Finnar*, a name that in the strict sense should only apply to the Sami populations and not to the *Bjarmar*, for instance.

It would be highly improper to label the Norsemen's attitude as "racism", even though ethnical prejudices were surely a part of it. Fredrickson has recently pointed out, in criticising the view held by other scholars on a medieval "proto-racism", that this word should not be used, since ethnic discrimination in the Middle Ages lacked "an ideology or worldview that would persuasively justify such practices."⁷ The Sami did become the object of racist studies in the modern sense of the word: but this happened no sooner than the last century, and in the work of scholars under strong German influence, such as Herman Lundborg, head of the Swedish "State Institute for Racial Biology".

During the Middle Ages, the aboriginal population of Scandinavia still lived in the Stone Age: their culture was to remain unwritten till the modern era. Their technological competence was limited, even though they did have a store of traditional lore that allowed them to survive in one of the harshest environments on the planet; since the Sami did not leave written accounts till the modern era, the Norse sources may be useful for partially reconstructing their past, even though such a perspective can hardly have been unbiased.

We may safely assume that the Norsemen would admire the superior ability of the Sami to adapt to the surroundings that the Norsemen were discovering – and claiming as their own. They also acknowledged that the Sami culture and language were radically different from theirs.

Even though the Sami appear to have been usually smaller in frame than Norsemen, oddly enough in folk literature giants and Sami often seem to overlap. This analogy was first noticed and persuasively argued by Else Mundal,⁸ whose line of reasoning was taken up and further developed by Simek.⁹

In this context, I would like to summarize the several points of contact between the Sami in Norse historiography and giants in literature. In my opinion, the analogies may be listed thus:

7 G.M. Fredrickson, *A Short History of Racism*, Princeton-Oxford 2002, p. 24.

8 E. Mundal, *Kong Harald hårfagre og samejenta Snøfrid. Samefolket sinn plass i den norske rikssamingsmyten*, "Nordica Bergensia" XIV (1997), pp. 39-53 and eadem, *Coexistence of Saami and Norse Culture – Reflected in and Interpreted by Old Norse Myth*, in: *Old Norse Myths, Literature and Society: Proceedings of the 11th International Saga Conference, 2-7 July 2000, University of Sydney*, eds. G. Barnes, M. Clunies Ross, Sydney 2000, pp. 346-355.

9 R. Simek, *Lust, Sex and Domination: Skírnismál and the Foundation of the Norwegian Kingdom*, in: *Sagnaheimur. Studies in Honour of Hermann Pálsson*, eds. Á. Egilsdóttir, R. Simek, Wien 2001, pp. 229-246.

- 1) Age. The Sami were the aboriginal population of Scandinavia, and in a way could be compared to the giants as primeval beings, more ancient than the gods themselves, to the point that, in fact, even the gods must have descended from the giants. This is a fully logical assumption¹⁰ – and yet the sources do not seem to emphasize this uncomfortable truth, but rather to approach it as a matter of fact without lingering on it.¹¹ The “primitive” nature of the giants is particularly emphasized in the younger literary genre of *Fornaldarsögur*.¹²
- 2) Wisdom. It is a well-known fact that old age is associated with wisdom in pre-modern, traditional societies. In Norse mythology, giants are well versed in magic and lore,¹³ while the Sami had a store of knowledge that allowed them to survive in harsh living conditions. The Sami must have practiced an ancient religion which included shamanism,¹⁴ much akin to the actual one that they had been practicing up to the modern era, until they were converted to Christianity. Their mysterious religion must have struck the Norsemen, who readily attributed supernatural powers to the Sami.¹⁵
- 3) Hostility. The Norsemen arrived as conquerors in the North, and therefore the Sami were forced to resist the invasion as best they could, although ultimately to no avail. They were probably inferior in number, but may also have been politically heterogeneous. Moreover, their weapons were surely less advanced, as the quality of iron employed in weapon-making was extremely variable even in Scandinavia, and this may have proved to be a decisive factor.¹⁶ In *Örvar-Odds saga*, the hostile *Bjarmar* offer to buy weapons from the Vikings, a proposal to be considered so absurd and provocative that it is (correctly) perceived as a challenge. A similar tension exists in mythology between giants and gods, as the former live constantly trying to attack and overwhelm the

¹⁰ A complete survey of the reasons for this representation are given in K. Schulz, *Riesen: Von Wissenshütern und Wildnisbewohnern in Edda und Saga*, Heidelberg 2004, pp. 65-69, while *ibidem*, pp. 69-70 are devoted to the similarities between the giants and gods.

¹¹ For instance, in Snorri Sturluson, *Edda: Skáldskaparmál 5*, in: *Edda: Skáldskaparmál*, ed. A. Faulkes, London 2007 (repr., original edition 1998), p. 4.

¹² K. Schulz, *Riesen: Von Wissenshütern und Wildnisbewohnern...*, pp. 161-162.

¹³ *Ibidem*, pp. 160-161.

¹⁴ Clive Tolley has pointed out similarities and difference within shamanism (Siberian and Sámi) and outside shamanism proper, in the Norse magic practices, that may – broadly speaking – be described as shamanic, although they seem to differ substantially from a stricter definition of Shamanism, cf. C. Tolley, *Shamanism in Norse Myth and Magic*, I, Helsinki 2009, p. 588.

¹⁵ E. Mundal, *Coexistence of Saami and Norse culture...*

¹⁶ Clear examples of confrontation between Stone Age natives and Iron Age Vikings is to be found in the Norse sources concerning the Greenlanders, as explained in G. Heng, *The Invention of Race in the European Middle Ages*, Cambridge 2018, pp. 275-277.

latter, but are kept at bay thanks to Thor's lethal hammer, Mjöllnir, as the god is correctly described as a giant-killer.¹⁷

- 4) Ethnicity. For giants, the difference is obvious: especially in the *Fornaldarsögur*, they are clearly distinguished from humans and gods by their monstrous features. The Sami in the Middle Ages may have had different features to the Scandinavians, even though we know little of these differences. Nowadays, it is difficult to point out specific non-European physical characteristics for the Sami, especially after the racist science of the 19th century's pseudo-scientific studies which were not meant to be purely taxonomic, but rather to attribute an intellectual and ethical value to physical characteristics: an approach which has long since been disproved and dismissed as tainted by a particularly abhorrent ideology. Dark complexion and hair are mentioned in connection with the *Bjarmar* and giants. And yet, giants were larger than both gods and humans, while the Sami were usually shorter than the Scandinavians, so much so that they were contemptuously described in modern times as a "people of dwarfs."¹⁸
- 5) Sexual apartheid: Scandinavian sources are quite disapproving of intermarriages between Sami and Scandinavians. Such unions could only be tolerated if the male party was of Scandinavian origin, in the typical fashion of a patriarchal society: the children of such unions were expected to embrace Scandinavian customs in order to be accepted into Scandinavian society. Maybe the most serious difference concerned sexual ethics, is that Sami seem not to have restrained the sexuality of women as much as other European peoples: in fact, it was a widespread custom among the Sami to invite foreigners to have sexual intercourse with their women. This usage, improperly known as "hospitality prostitution", is widespread among the indigenous population of Greenland to this day.¹⁹ The reason for this is self-evident: in such small, scattered communities, inbreeding poses a serious threat, therefore any opportunity to receive a fresh genetic contribution into

¹⁷ In Schulz's own words, Thor is described as *Riesentöter*, cf. K. Schulz, *Riesen: Von Wissenschütern und Wildnisbewohnern...*, pp. 91-92.

¹⁸ L.I. Hansen, B. Olsen, *Samenes historie fram til 1750*, Oslo 2004, p. 26 for the contemptuous words that could be used up to the last century to dismiss the Lapps as *dvergfolk* in Norwegian literature.

¹⁹ L. Bäckman, *Female – Divine and Human: A Study of the Position of the Woman in Religion and Society in Northern Eurasia*, in: *The Hunters: Their Culture and Way of Life*, eds. Å. Hultkrantz, Ø. Vorren, Tromsø 1982, pp. 143-162; K. Kailo, *Gender and Ethnic Overlap/p in the Finnish Kalevala*, in: *Of Property and Propriety: The Role of Gender and Class in Imperialism and Nationalism*, eds. H. Bannerji, S. Mojab, J. Whitehead, Toronto 2001, pp. 182-222, here pp. 196-197.

the family must be seized as a welcome addition. In a similar way, giantesses were available as sexual partners for gods, even though with little enthusiasm on the gods' part when a marriage was involved, as the story of Njörðr and Skaði's unhappy match clearly displays. The case of Gerðr, where her love is actively pursued and the god Freyr actually yearns for it, appears to have been somewhat unique. Even though Gerðr is definitely different from most giantesses of later saga literature on account of her splendid looks, one element is in common: this is a union with the enemy (Gerðr herself defines Skírnir – clearly metaphorical, as representative of the kin of gods – as her brother's murderer, *bróðurbani*, hence "mortal enemy"²⁰). This is ominous and is going to lead to disaster, as Freyr must lose his sword, and consequently his ability to defend himself at the Ragnarök.²¹

Moreover, it is important to distinguish mythology from later folklore: in later saga literature, giantesses are often ugly (with few exceptions such as Friðr in *Kjalnesinga saga* or the half-human Brana in *Hálfðanar saga Brönufostra*). Features of the giantesses include wisdom and knowledge (especially in magic), unnatural strength, repulsive appearance, unrestrained sexual urges and poor personal hygiene.²²

There is a passage in *Örvar-Odds saga*, where Oddr and his friend Ásmundr spy on a meeting of the *Bjarmar* (whom Oddr later calls *Finnar*) and they agree that their language is impossible to understand "eigi heldr en fuglaklið" ("no more than the chirping of birds"). This episode is also relevant since Oddr manages to spot a Norse renegade among the merry throng, acting as a servant, and consequently forcibly abduct him in order to interrogate him: it is implicit that the somatic features of the *Bjarmar* are clearly different from those of Norsemen. This otherness is also evident in the episode of the

20 *Skírnismál*, stanza 16, v. 6; see comment in K. Von See, B. La Farge, E. Picard, I. Priebe, K. Schulz, *Kommentar zu den Liedern der Edda*, II, *Götterlieder. Skírnismál, Hárbarðslióð, Hymiskviða, Lokasenna, Þrymskviða*, Heidelberg 1997, p. 95. On the transparent analogue between giants and Sami in this myth, see R. Simek, *Lust, Sex and Domination...*, p. 244.

21 The detail on the sword is in Snorri Sturluson, *Edda Skáldskaparmál* 37, in: *Edda: Skáldskaparmál*, p. 31. A small difference may be noted in that while *Skírnismál* explicitly locates Gymir's residence in *Þotunheimar*, Snorri speaks of *bergrisar*.

22 On giantesses, cf. M. Clunies Ross, *Prolonged Echoes: Old Norse Myths in Medieval Northern Society*, I: *The Myths*, pp. 68-70; S.B. Straubhaar, *Nasty, Brutish and Large: Cultural Difference and Otherness in the Figuration of the Trollwomen of the Fornaldar sögur*, "Scandinavian Studies" LXXIII (2001) 2, pp. 105-124; K. Schulz, *Riesen: Von Wissenschützern und Wildnisbewohnern...*, pp. 139-155, 159, 161-162. Particularly on their names, cf. L. Motz, *Giantesses and their Names*, "Frühmittelalterliche Studien" XV (1981), pp. 495-511. On troll-women, which in later literature are mostly confused with trolls, see R. Simek, *Trolle. Ihre Geschichte von der Nordischen Mythologie bis zum Internet*, Köln 2018, pp. 48-65.

heljarskinn, twin boys that a princess of the *Bjarmar* bore to a Norse prince: their dark skin is called “Hell-skin” and in part of the tradition even their features are described as undesirable, even though we have no way of knowing exactly what these features may have been. As grownups, they would end up in Iceland far away from their homeland, where they would become prominent members of the Icelandic state – i.e. a community of Norse outcasts.

Later on in *Örvar-Odds saga*, a character named Ögmundr flóki (“lock of hair”) is described: he is the child of a king of the *Bjarmar* and an enchanted giantess, and was sent as a three-year-old to Finnmark in order to learn magic (“galdrar ok gerningar”). The saga tells that “He had not improved his looks among the Finns, because he was both black (or rather swarthy: *svartr*) and livid (*blár*), and his hair was also black, and he had a lock above in front of his eyes, that should be called a tuffet”.

From the *Rígsþula* onwards, there is a long tradition of fair skin and hair linked to high status and superior qualities, while dark skin and hair betray a congenital inferiority: these may be interpreted as class markers rather than ethnic markers – but is a clear distinction ever possible, in a society where slaves are taken among the defeated in the ever-lasting attacks of a bellicose ideology? A different background for a slave – being “small and dark” was somewhat a stereotype, even though it did not consistently match reality,²³ and the word “thrall” used in the *Rígsþula* could refer to “a fixed, distinctive class of remote native ancestry.”²⁴

3. HEIÐR: WHAT’S IN A NAME?

One of the most fascinating encounters in Norse literature is the one between Haukr Hábrók, a liegeman of Harald Fairhair, and Harald’s old *fóstra* (i.e. foster-mother) Heiðr. She is not expressedly called a giantess (even though one of the characters calls her a “troll”), and yet she has a lot in common with giants. The *þáttr* containing the story is called *Hauks þáttr hábrókar* and is to be found in the *Flateyjarbók*.²⁵ Heiðr is one of the main characters of the narrative.

Heiðr is a common name for *völur* in Norse literature²⁶ and could also be the name of the famous witch Gullveig in the *Poetic Edda* who is “thrice

23 R. Mazo Karras, *Slavery and Society in Medieval Scandinavia*, New Haven-London 1988, p. 56.

24 Ibidem, p. 61 and corresponding literature.

25 G. Vígþússon, *Flateyjarbók. En samling af norske kongesagaer med indskudte mindre fortællinger om begivenheder i og udenfor Norge samt annaler*, I, ed. C.R. Unger, Christiania 1868, pp. 577-581.

26 J. McKinnell, *Meeting the Other in Norse Myth and Legend*, Cambridge 2005, p. 90.

burnt, thrice revived" (*Völuspá*, stanza 21), even though Gullveig and Heiðr may also be interpreted as two distinct characters; the poet of the *Völuspá* explicitly says that there was a *völva velspá*, i.e. a prophetess skilled in seeing into the future, who visited the houses of men (*Völuspá*, stanza 22²⁷). Her very name may be interpreted as "heath", in connection with the adjective *heiðinn*, and yet its possible connection with *heiðr* (compare modern English "heath") suggests a logical link to the wilderness,²⁸ even if etymologically distinct words for "honour" and "splendor" merge in that same name. Prophetesses are giants, Sami or anyway travellers, i.e. they live outside Norse society. We know what a crucial role society played in the life of Scandinavians in the Middle Ages; in Icelandic laws, outlawry is the worst punishment, as there can be no life outside the community.

In *Hauks þáttur Hábrokar*, Haukr must travel to the Gandvík, i.e. the White Sea, to find Bjarmaland. Heiðr is clearly a witch, and a prophetess: the reference to her yawning (*geispa*) is a clear sign of this – just like Svanr in *Brennu-Njálssaga* and another prophetess called Heiðr in *Hrólfs saga kraka* – and of some sort of trance, even though not necessarily the same as a shamanic state.²⁹ Even the clothing is typical of a giantess or female troll: a *skinncyrtill*, i.e. a leather tunic.³⁰

Even the size of Heiðr is that of a giantess, being much taller than Haukr. The visitors notice her ugly mouth as her lower lip reaches her breast, while the upper lip goes up to her nose ("to them she appeared rather ugly in the mouth, because a lip went down to her chest while the other expanded all the way to the nose", "þeim synndizst hon helldr munnliot þuiat onnur vorrin tok niðr a bringuna en onnur breiddizst upp a nefit")³¹.

²⁷ *Völuspá* 21-22, in: *Eddukvæði*, I, ed. J. Kristjánsson, V. Ólason, Reykjavík 2014, see p. 296 (*Konungsbók*) and pp. 311-312 (*Hauksbók*) with relevant comments.

²⁸ J. McKinnell, *On Heiðr and Gullveig*, in: idem, *Essays on Eddic Poetry*, Toronto 2014, pp. 34-58, p. 53 (see also idem, *Meeting the Other...*, p. 101). On the question, the conclusions reached by J. de Vries, *Altnordisches etymologisches Wörterbuch*, Leiden 1977, s.v., are *de facto* challenged by Á.B. Magnússon, *Íslensk Orðisfjabók*, Reykjavík 1995, s.v. *heiðinn*, who approves the etymological connection with the present-day word *heiði* "mountain path" (whose Old Norse equivalent is *heiðr* "heath, wasteland", replaced in the modern language by the compound *heiðaland*). The name is not included in L. Motz, *Giantesses...* (because Heiðr is not explicitly called a giantess and she is therefore not included in the survey) but in L. Motz, *Gullveig's Ordeal: A New Interpretation*, "Arkiv för nordisk filologi" CVIII (1993), pp. 80-92, already at p. 80 the scholar appears to subscribe to the other interpretation of Heiðr as "gleaming, bright".

²⁹ C. Tolley, *Shamanism...*, p. 472.

³⁰ On this *skinncyrtill*, see K. Schulz, *Riesen: Von Wissenshütern und Wildnisbewohnern...*, p. 162 and Aðalheiður Guðmundsdóttir, *Behind the Cloak, between the Lines: Trolls and the Symbolism of Their Clothing in Old Norse tradition*, "European Journal of Scandinavian Studies" XLVII (2017) 2, pp. 327-350.

³¹ G. Vígfússon, *Flateyjarbok...*, p. 580.

4. HEIÐR'S "UGLY MOUTH" AS AN ETHNICAL FEATURE

It is necessary to analyse the adjective *munnljótr*. This word is found elsewhere: its oldest evidence³² comes from *Sverris saga*, as King Magnús of Norway is called *munnljótr*, and in the same saga an otherwise unknown woman named Ingunn is called *munnfagra* (which could be a hapax legomenon, unlike *munnljótr*: maybe the adjective *munnfagr* was created as a direct parody, as the *skáld* wishes for himself a beautiful woman, in direct opposition to the ugly mouth of at least one of the contestants, the aforementioned King Magnús).

In *Brennu-Njáls saga*, the oldest child of Njáll's, Skarpheðinn, is described as having an ugly mouth, with his front teeth sticking out: he also has brown hair, and the word *sveipr* may indicate that his hair is curled (*Brennu-Njáls saga*, ch. 25: "Hann var jarpr á hár, ok sveipr í hárinu, eygðr vel, fólleitr ok skarpleitr, liðr á nefi ok lá hátt tanngarðrinn, [scil. *hann var*] munnljótr nokkut ok þó manna hermannligastr"). In *Sturlunga saga*, Sæmundr, son of Ormr, is also described as "ljósherðr ok fólleitr, eygðr vel ok nokkut munnljótr, ok þó vel farinn í andliti", "ugly in the mouth and yet with a beautiful face". King Sigurðr Magnússon of Norway is called "jarpr á hár, munnljótr en vel at qðrum andlitzskopum", "dark of hair, ugly in the mouth and good in other face features" in the *Heimskringla*, which follows the *Hulda-Hrokkinskinna*. In *Ólafs saga Tryggvasonar*, Bolli is called "thick-lipped, and yet not ugly in the mouth" (ch. 157: "friðr synum, rétt nefjaðr ok heldr langleitr, þykk varraðr ok þó ekki munnljótr"), and in *Fljótsdæla saga*, Helgi Droplaugsson is called "A man of great stature, with light brown hair and a ruddy complexion, broad-faced and most pleasant; and yet in Helgi's appearance, he seemed mostly to have an ugly mouth" (mikill madur vexti, lios-iarpur aa haar og raudlitadur, breidleitur og hiñ kurtteisasti; eñ það þotti heldst ad yferlituñ Helga, ad hann var muñliotur).

Svarfdæla saga presents us with the character of Klaufi, whose father Snækollr had abducted his mother Þórarna: his wicked heritage is manifested clearly in his appearance: hitherto the hair of some of the individuals called *munnljótr* (among whom Heiðr is the only woman) was called *jarpr*, "brown", but Klaufi is directly the blackest (*svartastr*) both in brow and hair, and is "very ugly in the mouth", *mjok munnljótr*. Later it is explained that he has two teeth projecting from his skull and his whole figure is crippled and crooked ("kreppttr ok knýtttr"), making him surely unpleasant and, in a medieval perspective, also morally twisted. What can we make of this information? Skarpheðinn, King Sigurðr and Helgi are also referred to with the adjective

32 The following research is based on the corpus of the ONP (Ordbog over det Norrøne Prosasprog, <<https://onp.ku.dk>>, accessed 4 December 2019).

jarpr or its variant *ljósjarpr*, the exception being Sæmundr Ormsson who is light-haired (*ljósherðr*), but the connection between an ugly mouth and dark colours is further emphasized in Klaufi.

From the description of Klaufi, we gather that *munnljótr* can relate to protruding teeth, but the case of Bolli is also interesting, because it is stated that thick lips are to be considered as a less attractive feature, even though not sufficient to be called *munnljótr*. In the case of Heiðr, her monstrous lips are central to her representation.

In my opinion, this could be an ethnical stereotype that becomes stigmatized. We may assume that thick lips may have been considered a physical trait denouncing ethnical distinction: similar monstrous lips are to be found in the description of the giantesses Geit and Gnípa who make a pass at the hero Jökull as he arrives to Greenland from Iceland (*Jökuls þáttur Búasonar*, ch. I, pp. 49-50),³³ and also the trait of unbridled sexuality is shared by the two giantesses and Heiðr, as she makes a pass at both Haukr and his travel companion Vígharðr. While Haukr kisses her upon request, his companion refuses. Heiðr gives Haukr a magical gift that will save his life, as acknowledged by his enemy, the Swedish Lytir, who escapes with scars “from the great troll in Norway” (ch. 468, p. 581: “af hinu mykla trolli j Noregi”).

CONCLUSIONS

Heiðr appears to be a telling example of the overlapping within Old Norse literature of the giants known from legend and the aboriginal populations of Northern Europe that the Norsemen met in everyday life. The definition of Heiðr’s “shamanism” must be carefully weighted to prevent our modern conceptions of femininity and magic from exerting undue influence on the interpretation of medieval sources.³⁴

33 They are called *næsta ófrýnligar* “hostile to others” (according to de Vries’ interpretation, followed by Á.B. Magnússon, *Íslensk Orðisfjabók*, s.v. *frýna* 1; in R. Cleasby – G. Vigfusson *An Icelandic-English Dictionary*, Oxford 1874, s.v., the proposed meaning is “frowning”: maybe “repulsive” rather than “hostile”, though?) and *nefsíðar* “long-beaks [= long noses]” and the narrator informs the reader that their “lip hangs on (their) chest” (*hekk vörrin ofan á bringu*). They also sport the usual dress for giantesses, a leather frock which is long on the front, but leaves their buttocks exposed (*skinnstökkum váru þær klæddar síðum í fyrir, svá þær stigu at mestu á þá, en bak til fylgdu þeir ofanverðum þjóhmöppunum*); moreover, they beat their thighs and behaved in a most unfeminine way (*þær skelldu á lærin ok fóru mjök ókvenliga*).

34 See the arguments in S. von Schnurbein, *Shamanism in the Old Norse Tradition: A Theory between Ideological Camps*, “History of Religions” XLIII (2003) 2, pp. 116-138, as well as C. Tolley, *Shamanism...*, for sober, rational (and, what is more important, extremely well-documented) approach to the issue.

Heiðr is indeed a *völva* rather than a shaman, as she clearly knows the future of Haukr and Vígharðr and that their mission will not end well. She is more than a *völva*, though, as she can also provide magical objects to affect the natural world. When she is refused by Vígharðr, she simply comments that he has lost more than she, evidently implying that she could have saved him as well – if he had accepted the deal. The fact that she lives in Gandvík, the bay of the magical objects (or spirits) called *gandar*, might have stirred obvious associations with heathendom in the audience, who probably knew verses similar to *Völuspá* 22, featuring a *völva* named Heiðr who exerts her power on the *gandar*.³⁵ Hence, as prophetess and sorceress, Heiðr represents an adequate symbol for heathendom.

The figure of Heiðr in *Hauks þáttr* does not seem compatible with the theory that “the name [...] was meant to point to hostile elements known from mythological traditions, where it is used as a name for a perilous giantess, skilled in sorcery.”³⁶ this assumption may be considered valid in the frame of Eddic poetry, but is surely not the case in this instance from later saga literature. The author of the *Hauks þáttr* does not see Heiðr as perilous: in fact, she may have helped Harald Fairhair to become the great king he was (the precious gifts that Harald sends her through Haukr must be taken as tokens of his gratitude). For Haukr, Heiðr was equally helpful, lending a much welcome hand, even though at a fairly high price.³⁷

In my opinion, we must take Heiðr as an archetypal image of the heathen, even though not necessarily an evil one: Heiðr’s behaviour would clearly have been unacceptable in a Christian context – but neither she nor her interlocutors were Christians. Such stirring heathen tales could only serve as entertainment, once the Northern countries had received the grace of the cross.

ABSTRACT

Heiðr, the magician living in the land of the Bjarmar who appears in *Hauks þáttr hábrókar*, is seldom considered as a giantesses or troll, as she is not explicitly described as such in this short text. The only mention of trolls in the *þáttr* appears later in the text, moreover, this reference is quite indirect, as it refers to Heiðr’s sorcery alone.

35 On *gandar* and *Gandvík*, see C. Tolley, *Shamanism...*, pp. 249-250.

36 T. Kuusela, *Halls, Gods, and Giants: The Enigma of Gullveig in Óðinn’s Hall*, in: *Myth, Materiality, and Lived Religion in Merovingian and Viking Scandinavia*, eds. K. Wikström af Edholm, P. Jackson Rova, A. Nordberg, Stockholm 2019, pp. 25-53, here p. 34.

37 As I have previously explained in L. Lozzi Gallo, *The Giantess as Foster-Mother in Old Norse Literature*, “Scandinavian Studies” LXXVIII (2006) 1, pp. 1-20, interpreting her in the context of the helpful giantess. See also H.R. Ellis, *Fostering by Giants in Old Norse Literature*, “Medium Ævum” X (1941), pp. 70-85.

The witch from Gandvík is anyway a perfect example for a few features that are typically connected with the native populations of Scandinavia and the far North. Her skill in fortunetelling and magic, her exuberant sexual conduct, even her taste for Norse delicacies and especially butter are to be found in a number of other sources.

Her otherness compared to Scandinavians is explicit in her physical appearance, where her giant size coexists with horrendously large lips: a monstrous mouth that marks her as different and undesirable – and yet she proves extremely helpful for those who come to her looking for help, since her magic can effectively save her protégés from the pagan sorcery deployed by Haukr's opponents.

Examining her character, the interpretation of her name connecting *heiðr* to *heiðinn* appears quite difficult to dismiss. Within the short scope of the *þáttur*, her appearance and actions could almost turn her into a symbol for Heathendom.

SIGMUND OEHL
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PAGAN STONES IN CHRISTIAN CHURCHES

MEDIEVAL VIEWS ON THE PAST (THE EXAMPLE OF GOTLAND, SWEDEN)



INTRODUCTION

It is a well-known phenomenon that pagan stone monuments were re-used in the construction of Christian churches. Roman spolia are quite frequent in late antique and medieval sacral buildings: Medieval builders pragmatically used – and thus “recycled”¹ – tombstones, votive stones, altars, and other monuments of antiquity, and this raises the question to what degree religious or ideological/political intentions played a role in this practice of re-usage. When an antique idol, for instance, remained well visible, was mounted upside down, used as a step of a staircase, or even intentionally damaged or mutilated, it might be suspected that this was prompted by a certain symbolism – such as the overcoming and degradation of heathen idols, which in medieval times were regarded as the devil. In the case of representative picture and epigraphic stones, which do not feature evidently pagan elements, the connection to the glory and authority of the *Imperium Romanum* and the propagation of a certain continuity may have been a paramount motive.

Scholars frequently work on these phenomena,² but Scandinavia plays no role in this discussion, as there are no antique stone monuments in the

¹ A. Esch, *Wiederverwendung von Antike im Mittelalter. Die Sicht des Archäologen und die Sicht des Historikers*, Hans-Lietzmann-Vorlesungen, VII, Berlin 2005, p. 42.

² For a selection, see V. Wiegartz, *Antike Bildwerke im Urteil mittelalterlicher Zeitgenossen*, Marburger Studien zur Kunst- und Kulturgeschichte, VII, Weimar 2004; A. Esch, *Wiederverwendung von Antike im Mittelalter...*; *Reuse Value. Spolia and Appropriation in Art and Architecture, from Constantine to Sherrie Levine*, eds. R. Brilliant, D. Kinney, Farnham 2011; *Perspektiven der*

north. But what about the re-use of [Germanic pagan] Migration-Period, early medieval, and Viking-Age stone monuments? During the Scandinavian Middle Ages, spolia from pre-Christian times have been integrated in church buildings. Especially the unusual picture stones of the Baltic island Gotland, Sweden, which predominantly date to pre-Christian periods, feature explicitly pagan motifs, and have been used in the building of the island's rural churches in large numbers, are an important contribution of Scandinavia to this issue and offer an excellent opportunity for a case study.

In 2019, scholars of the Department of Archaeology and Classical Studies in Stockholm and Gotland's Museum in Visby initiated the project "Ancient images 2.0 – A digital edition of the Gotlandic picture stones", sponsored by the Swedish Research Council (*Vetenskapsrådet*). Apart from digitising and editing the picture stones, one of the project's aims is to shed light on the question of medieval re-use of these monuments. This paper represents a first approach to this aspect, as an outline, and an outlook.

GOTLAND'S PICTURE STONES

From the Migration Period to the end of the Viking Age, decorated stone monuments were erected on the Swedish Baltic island Gotland.³ In his two-volume book *Gotlands Bildsteine*, published in 1941 and 1942, Sune Lindqvist edited the stones known by that date, and organised the material in five chronologically subsequent phases (A to E).⁴ Simply put, there are two pre-Christian periods, in which richly decorated and very tall (occasionally reaching four to five meters high) stone slabs were erected (period A: about AD 400 to 600; Periods C/D: 8th to 10th centuries). The runic stones of the late Viking Age (period E: 11th century),⁵ which were influenced by the design of runic stones of the Swedish mainland, mark the last episode of picture stone tradition and

Spolienforschung, I: *Spolierung und Transposition*, eds. S. Altekamp, C. Marcks-Jacobs, P. Seiler, Topoi. Berlin Studies of the Ancient World, XV, Berlin-Boston 2013.

3 Essential reading are the edition by Lindqvist, the handbook with register of recent finds by Lamm and Nylén as well as the contributions at the Picture Stone Symposium 2011 in Visby, reflecting the current state of research: S. Lindqvist, *Gotlands Bildsteine*, I-II, Stockholm 1941-1942; J.P. Lamm, E. Nylén, *Bildstenar*, Värnamo 2003; *Gotland's Picture Stones. Bearers of an Enigmatic Legacy*, ed. M. Herlin Karnell, K. Gow Sjöblom, Gotländskt Arkiv, LXXXIV, Visby 2012. See also the new and comprehensive study by Oehrl: S. Oehrl, *Die Bildsteine Gotlands – Probleme und neue Wege ihrer Dokumentation, Lesung und Deutung*, *Studia archaeologiae medii aevi*, III, Friedberg 2019.

4 S. Oehrl, *Die Bildsteine Gotlands...*, pp. 8-21.

5 F. Westphal, *Untersuchungen zur späten Bildsteingruppe Gotlands*, in: *Zwischen Tier und Kreuz. Untersuchungen zur wikingerzeitlichen Ornamentik im Ostseeraum*, ed. M. Müller-Wille, *Studien zur Siedlungsgeschichte und Archäologie der Ostseegebiete*, IV, Neumünster 2004, pp. 377-454.

reflect – now occasionally featuring Christian commemorative inscriptions and the sign of the cross – the process of conversion. Accordingly, only part of the monuments of this type can be considered as testimony of pre-Christian culture, as some of them appear to combine Christian and pagan elements.

The stones' primary function was sepulchral. Several of them originate from Iron Age cemeteries, where sometimes they were found in direct connection to burials, possibly as grave-markers. Others are standing in open areas, often next to burial mounds, or near old roadways, probably as memorial stones, sometimes in groups, forming small cult sites.⁶ Painted in bright colours⁷ and placed in public spaces, the various and diverse depictions on the stones – symbols, figures, narrative scenes – were easily visible to all, and their contents and messages would have been comprehensible to the contemporary audience, like a pagan *Biblia pauperum*.⁸

In the first “monumental stone period”, Lindqvist's period A,⁹ carefully drawn roundels with patterns of spirals or rosettes dominate the upper area of the picture area, frequently with a couple of smaller roundels beneath. These disc motifs are regarded as depictions of stars and heavenly bodies

6 S. Oehrl, *Die Bildsteine Gotlands...*, pp. 31-36. For the original placing and function, see also S. Lindqvist, *Gotlands Bildsteine*, I, pp. 124f.; K.G. Mähl, *En bildsten i ursprungligt läge vid Vatlings i Fole*, “*Gotländskt Arkiv*” LXI (1989), pp. 246-248; K.G. Mähl, *Bildstenar och stavgårdar – till frågan om de gotländska bildstenarnas placering*, “*Gotländskt Arkiv*” LXII (1990), pp. 13-28; S. Althaus, *Die Gotländischen Bildsteine – Ein Programm*, Göppinger Arbeiten zur Germanistik, DLXXXVIII, Göppingen 1993, pp. 18-24; J.P. Lamm, E. Nylén, *Bildstenar*, pp. 142-143; M. Helmbrecht, *Wirkmächtige Kommunikationsmedien. Menschenbilder der Vendel- und Wikingerzeit und ihre Kontexte*, Acta Archaeologica Lundensia Series Prima in 4^o, no. 30, Lund 2011, pp. 276-279. Andrén suggests that picture stones had been placed in a “threshold area” between cultivated land and wilderness, as a reflection of a cosmological order (A. Andrén, *Doors to other worlds. Scandinavian death rituals in Gotlandic perspectives*, “*Journal of European Archaeology*” I (1993), pp. 33-56). Many picture stones were re-used by pagan Viking-Age generations in sepulchral structures: M. Rundkvist, *The Secondary Use of Picture Stones on Gotland Prior to the First Stone Churches, with a Typology of Picture Stone Outline Shapes*, in: *Gotland's Picture Stones...*, pp. 145-160. The Type E stones of the conversion period would have been erected in churchyards, next to early wooden churches of the 11th century and to the earliest stone buildings.

7 Concerning original polychromy, see S. Lindqvist, *Gotlands Bildsteine*, I, pp. 43, 23; W. Holmqvist, *De äldsta gotländska bildstenarna och deras motivkrets*, “*Fornvännen*” XLVII (1952), pp. 1-20, esp. 3-4; E. Nylén, *Färg i forntiden*, “*Gotländskt Arkiv*” XXXII (1960), pp. 67-71; J.P. Lamm, E. Nylén, *Bildstenar*, pp. 82-85; H. Simonsson, *Preserve, Restore or Reconstruct Picture Stones and Runestones*, in: *Gotland's Picture Stones...*, pp. 195-202, esp. 197-198.

8 This clever (yet strictly speaking inaccurate) comparison was suggested by Wilhelm Holmqvist, contrasting the imagery of the Migration Period gold collars with the illustrated Paupers' Bibles of the Middle Ages: W. Holmqvist, *Guldhalskrågarna*, Stockholm 1980, p. 43.

9 S. Guber, *Die Bildsteine Gotlands der Völkerwanderungs- und Vendelzeit als Spiegel frühgeschichtlicher Lebenswelten*, British Archeological Reports International Series, MCCLVII, Oxford 2011; K. Hauck, *Text und Bild in einer oralen Kultur. Antworten auf die zeugniskritische Frage nach der Erreichbarkeit mündlicher Überlieferung im frühen Mittelalter. Zur Ikonologie der Goldbrakteaten XXV*, “*Frühmittelalterliche Studien*” XVII (1983), pp. 510-599.

and as evidence of a sun cult.¹⁰ There also are figurative images in the angles – generally antithetical quadrupeds, worm-like creatures, armed horsemen, or foot soldiers –, which might derive from late Roman motifs.¹¹ A recurring motif on the early Gotlandic picture stones is the rowing boat, interpreted as a barque of the dead.¹² Anthropomorphic figures fighting against dragon-like monsters elate to mythic contents.¹³

In the second “monumental stone period”, the image areas generally are divided into vertically arranged registers showing a variety of figurative depictions. The wealth of figural motifs with a scenic/narrative character especially attracted the attention of archaeologists as well as philologists and invited interpretations on the basis of Old Norse literary tradition.¹⁴

Of course, the basic problem of such an endeavour lies in the fact that while the pagan stone monuments were created during the 5th to 11th centuries, the texts providing information about the pre-Christian imagination of the Scandinavians predominantly were written down in the 13th century by Christian scholars in far-away Iceland.¹⁵ Thus, their value for the reconstruction of the spiritual world of pre-Christian eras is compromised and has to be discussed on a case-by-case basis. Many of these sources suggest antiqueness, but in fact rather tell more about their authors and their view on the past than about the religion of their ancestors. There are, however, Old Icelandic texts that do preserve very ancient narrative materials and religious beliefs. Furthermore, the origin of several pertinent Skaldic poems as well as relevant mythological and heroic lays of the *Poetic Edda* can be

¹⁰ Most recently: A. Andrén, *From Sunset to Sunset. An Interpretation of the Early Gotlandic Picture Stones*, in: *Gotland's Picture Stones...*, pp. 49-58; A. Andrén, *Tracing Old Norse Cosmology. The World Tree, Middle Earth, and the Sun from Archaeological Perspectives*, Vågar till Midgård, XVI, Lund 2014, pp. 117f.

¹¹ W. Holmqvist, *De äldsta gotländska bildstenarna...*

¹² S. Oehrl, *Die Bildsteine Gotlands...*, pp. 55f.

¹³ Ibidem, pp. 105f, 121f.

¹⁴ Cf. G.W. Weber, *Odins Wagen. Reflexe altnordischen Totenglaubens in literarischen und bildlichen Zeugnissen der Wikingerzeit*, “Frühmittelalterliche Studien” VII (1973), pp. 88-99; L. Buisson, *Der Bildstein Ardre VIII auf Gotland. Göttermythen, Heldensagen und Jenseitsglaube der Germanen im 8. Jahrhundert n. Chr.*, Abhandlungen der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Göttingen. Philologisch-Historische Klasse, Dritte Folge, CII, Göttingen 1976; D. Ellmers, *Religiöse Vorstellungen der Germanen im Bildprogramm gotländischer Bildsteine und der Ostkrypta des Bremer Domes*, “Jahrbuch der Witttheit zu Bremen” XXV (1981), pp. 31-54; B. Böttger-Niedenzu, *Darstellungen auf gotländischen Bildsteinen, vor allem des Typs C und D, und die Frage ihres Zusammenhanges mit Stoffen der altnordischen Literatur*, Hausarbeit zur Erlangung des Magistergrades an der Ludwig-Maximilians-Universität München, München 1982; D. Ellmers, *Schiffsdarstellungen auf skandinavischen Grabsteinen*, in: *Zum Problem der Deutung frühmittelalterlicher Bildinhalte. Akten des 1. Internationalen Kolloquiums in Marburg a.d. Lahn, 15. bis 19. Februar 1983*, ed. H. Roth, Veröffentlichungen des Vorgeschichtlichen Seminars der Philipps-Universität Marburg a.d. Lahn, Sonderband, IV, Sigmaringen 1986, pp. 341-372.

¹⁵ S. Oehrl, *Die Bildsteine Gotlands...*, pp. 43-46.

dated considerably earlier than the manuscripts they are handed down to us in – to the 9th and 10th centuries and thus to pre-Christian times.¹⁶ With this in mind, the interpretation of picture stones on the basis of Old Icelandic literature is not too far-fetched.

The most common motif of the Type C/D picture stones is a horseman being welcomed by a woman with a drinking horn. Technically, it appears to be based on the late antique images of the emperor's *adventus*.¹⁷ Considering Old Norse literary tradition, it can be interpreted as the arrival of a fallen warrior in *Valhöll*:¹⁸ At the gate to the "warriors' paradise", a valkyrie offers the fallen hero a welcoming drink, as is told in the skaldic poem *Eiríksmál* (shortly after AD 954) – a lament for the Norwegian king Eirik Bloodaxe. In this context, the sailing ship – invariably located in the lower register of the stone – is also regarded as linked to the journey to the realms of the dead and interpreted as a means of transport.¹⁹ There also is evidence on the Gotlandic picture stones of the story of Wayland the Smith,²⁰ myths about the Norse

16 Obviously, the datings rarely are unimpeachable and often are subject of lively debate. An important example for the relatively early recording into writing of Old Norse myths is *Ragnarsdrápa* of the skald *Bragi inn gamli Boddason*, a poem commonly dated to the 9th century, but occasionally to the 10th century or about the year 1000 (R. McTurk, *Ragnarsdrápa*, in: *Reallexikon der germanischen Altertumskunde*, XXIV, eds. H. Beck et al., Berlin-New York 2003, pp. 112-117, esp. 114-116). The earliest heroic lays in the Edda, such as *Atlakviða*, relating the fall of the Burgundians, are dated to the 9th/10th centuries (*Kommentar zu den Liedern der Edda*, VII, *Heldenlieder. Atlakviða in grænlenska, Atlamál in grænlensko, Frá Guðrúno, Guðrúnarhövøt, Hamðismál*, eds. K. von See, B. La Farge, S. Horst, K. Schulz, Heidelberg 2012, pp. 147-149, 191). Among the earliest mythological poems are the "apocalyptic vision" of the *Völuspá* (10th century or about the year 1000, at any rate before 1065; *Völuspá*, ed. S. Nordal, transl. O. Wilts, *Texte zur Forschung*, XXXIII, Darmstadt 1980, pp. 129f., 137f.).

17 Recently W. Heizmann, *Das adventus-Motiv auf dem langen Horn von Gallehus (1639)*, in: *Bilddenkmäler zur germanischen Götter- und Heldensage*, eds. W. Heizmann, S. Oehrl, *Ergänzungsbände zum Reallexikon der germanischen Altertumskunde*, XCI, Berlin-Boston 2015, pp. 83-118.

18 See esp. the groundbreaking work by Ellmers: D. Ellmers, *Der frühmittelalterliche Hafen der Ingelheimer Kaiserpfalz und gotländische Bildsteine*, "Schiff und Zeit" I (1973), pp. 52-57; D. Ellmers, *Fränkisches Königszeremoniell auch in Walhall*, "Beiträge zur Schleswiger Stadtgeschichte" XXV (1980), pp. 115-126; D. Ellmers, *Valhalla and the Gotland Stones*, in: *The Ship as Symbol in Prehistoric and Medieval Scandinavia*, eds. O. Crumlin-Pedersen, B. Munch Thye, Publications from the National Museum. Studies in Archaeology & History, I, Copenhagen 1995, pp. 165-171. Compiling both the arguments and relevant literature: S. Oehrl, *Ornithomorphe Psychopompoi im Bildprogramm der gotländischen Bildsteine. Ikonografische Auswertung des Neufundes vom Hafenplatz in Fröjel*, "Frühmittelalterliche Studien" XLIV (2010), pp. 1-37; S. Oehrl, *Die Bildsteine Gotlands...*, pp. 47-55.

19 S. Oehrl, *Die Bildsteine Gotlands...*, pp. 55-58.

20 R. Nedoma, *Die bildlichen und schriftlichen Denkmäler der Wielandsage*, *Göppinger Arbeiten zur Germanistik*, CCCXC, Göppingen 1988, pp. 27-31; S. Oehrl, *Bildliche Darstellungen vom Schmied Wieland und ein unerwarteter Auftritt in Walhall*, in: *Goldsmith Mysteries – The Elusive Gold Smithies of the North. Papers Presented at the Workshop Organized by the Centre for Baltic and Scandinavian Archaeology (ZBSA), Schleswig, June 20th and 21th, 2011*, eds. A. Pesch, R. Blankenfeldt,

gods such as the punishment of Loki,²¹ Odin as companion of the dead,²² or his eight-legged horse,²³ as well as depictions of pagan ritualistic acts (human sacrifice, feasts, horse fights).²⁴

Of the 570 picture stones that are known to date on Gotland, about half have been found in the numerous rural churches on the island, where they had been re-used as building materials during the Middle Ages.²⁵

GOTLAND'S CHURCHES

Because of the remarkably large number of medieval rural churches, Gotland is called the "Island of a hundred churches."²⁶ In fact, there are 94 rural churches, of which only three have fallen into disrepair since the 16th century, while the other 91 are in use to this day. In urban Visby, 16 churches existed, but only St Mary's Cathedral is still intact. Several of the others remain as ruins, and some more have vanished completely. A similar concentration of well-preserved medieval churches is hardly paralleled anywhere in Europe.

The large number of rural churches on Gotland is the result of three factors: 1. On Gotland, no permission by the bishop or the king was necessary to build a church, as was the case on the Swedish mainland.²⁷ This is directed in cap. 3.22f. of the *Gutalag*,²⁸ a law book, which was ratified by the Gotlandic

Schriften des Archäologischen Landesmuseums, Ergänzungsreihe, VIII, Neumünster 2012, pp. 279-335, esp. 284-287.

21 S. Lindqvist, *Gotlands Bildsteine*, I, p. 96; II, p. 24; L. Buisson, *Der Bildstein Ardre VIII...*, pp. 65f.

22 S. Oehrl, *Der göttliche Schiffsbegleiter mit dem "Hörnerhelm". Ein bislang unbekanntes wikingzeitliches Bildsteinfragment aus St. Valle im Kirchspiel Rute auf Gotland, "Zeitschrift für deutsches Altertum und deutsche Literatur" CXLVI (2017), pp. 3-42; S. Oehrl, *Die Bildsteine Gotlands...*, pp. 227-242.*

23 W. Heizmann, *Das adventus-Motiv...*, p. 95.

24 S. Oehrl, *Die Bildsteine Gotlands...*, pp. 60-63.

25 Ibidem, pp. 36-42.

26 Information regarding Gotland's rural churches is primarily provided by the respective volumes of the series "Sveriges Kyrkor, Konsthistoriskt Inventarium"; short descriptions of all churches are offered in the handbook E. Lagerlöf, G. Svahnström, *Die Kirchen Gotlands*, Kiel 1991. See also A. Andrén, *Det Medeltida Gotland. En arkeologisk guidebook*, Lund 2011, pp. 152-227. A lively impression of the equipment of the Gotlandic rural churches is conveyed in the following illustrated books: S. Lundquist, *Medeltida Stenmästare och Dopfuntar på Gotland. Romanska skedet 1100-1200-talen*, Bocksarve 2012; Chr. Jonson, E. Sjöstrand, B. af Geijerstam, *Änglar och Drakar. En gotländsk kulturskatt*, Malmö 2013.

27 *Guta Lag. The Law of the Gotlanders*, ed. and transl. Chr. Peel, Viking Society for Northern Research, Text Series, XIX, London 2009, pp. 73f.

28 D. Strauch, *Gutalag*, in: *Reallexikon der germanischen Altertumskunde*, XIII, pp. 222-226; D. Strauch, *Mittelalterliches Nordisches Recht bis 1500. Eine Quellenkunde*, Ergänzungsbände zum Reallexikon der germanischen Altertumskunde, LXXIII, Berlin-New York 2011, pp. 505f.; *Guta Lag...*, xiv f. Still essential is the edition by Schlyte: C.J. Schlyter, *Gotlands-Lagen. Codex*

althing and written down in 1220. Every free farmer was allowed – in order to achieve “greater convenience than before” – to build a new church. 2. The means for such projects were available: While long-distance trade thrived in the Hanseatic town of Visby and the wealth stimulated its inhabitants to brisk construction activities, the rural population of Gotland, which formed a free farmers republic, also prospered. Over a period of about 200 years, following the example of the town, this wealth was invested in the building of churches. 3. And then an excellent building material was available in infinite amounts: Gotlandic limestone and soft and easily workable sandstone, quarried locally in the south of the island, were the basis for the fast establishment of schools for builders and sculptors. The building history of the Gotlandic rural churches can be classified into seven phases:²⁹

(A) The earliest churches on Gotland were simple wooden buildings, erected in the late Viking Age, in the late 11th (or early 12th) century and thus in a time, when the monumental stones of period E still were put up. None of these “Viking churches” has survived, but about a dozen has been documented archaeologically, for instance when planks from the wooden churches were re-used in their stone successors and discovered during restoration works. Examples for this are the churches in Guldrupe³⁰ and Hemse³¹ that both boast carved ornaments in the late Viking-Age runestone style. Further, beneath the churches’ floors, post-holes, and remains of wooden wall structures have been found, as in the case of the church of Garda.³²

(B) As early as the early 12th century, the wooden churches were given large Romanesque stone choirs with apses. This stage is easily recognisable in the church in Silte,³³ where the ground plan of the preceding wooden

juris Gotlandici, cum notis criticis, variis lectionibus, nova versione Suecana, glossariis et in dicibus nominum propriorum, Samling af Sweriges Gamla Lagar. Corpus Iuris Sueo-Gotorum Antiqui, I, Lund 1852.

²⁹ E. Lagerlöf, G. Svahntröm, *Die Kirchen Gotlands*, pp. 17-40; A. Andrén, *Det Medeltida Gotland...*, pp. 149-166. For the wooden churches, see G. Trotzig, *Holzkirchenarchäologie auf Gotland und der Sonderfall von Silte*, in: *Frühe Holzkirchen im nördlichen Europa*, ed. C. Ahrens, Hamburg 1982, pp. 277-293.

³⁰ E. Ekhof, *Svenska Ståv kyrkor. Jämte iakttagelser över de norska samt redogörelse för i Danmark och England kända lämningar av stavkonstruktioner*, Kungliga Vitterhets Historie och Antikvitets Akademien, Monografiserie, IX, Stockholm 1914-1916, pp. 132-138, figs 109-111.

³¹ *Ibidem*, pp. 79-128 with figures, esp. figs 101-103; E. Lagerlöf, B. Stolt, *Hemse kyrkor, Hemse ting*, Sveriges Kyrkor 131, Gotland VI,3, Stockholm 1969, pp. 181-191 with figures, esp. fig. 208 and on p. 182.

³² G. Trotzig, *En arkeologisk undersökning i Garda kyrka på Gotland, “Fornvännern”* 6 (1970), pp. 1-17; E. Lagerlöf, *Garde kyrka*, Sveriges Kyrkor 145, Gotland V,3, Stockholm 1972, pp. 288-290, fig. 326.

³³ G. Trotzig, *Holzkirchenarchäologie auf Gotland...*

building was uncovered below the floor of the nave, with the remains of a wall built from planks and of an external stone layer. Beneath the plaster on the inside of the choir wall, the impression of the old, wooden gable of the nave was discovered. This marks the place where the nave of the wooden church and the new, Romanesque stone choir met.

(C) During the 12th century, the wooden naves were torn down as well and replaced by Romanesque stone buildings, and (D) by about the middle of the 13th century, towers were added and the Romanesque churches completed. None of the earliest stone churches in Gotland is completely preserved, but only elements can be identified. Examples are the nave of the church in Källunge,³⁴ which seems tiny compared to the large Gothic choir and is dated to the first half of the 12th or even to the late 11th century,³⁵ or the choir of the church in Havdhem,³⁶ which belongs to the first half of the 12th century. In the Gothic nave of the church in Sanda, dated to the 13th century, decorated stone monuments have been inserted into the outer facade of an earlier church building. Their ornament is related to the runestone style and probably developed during the late Viking Age or towards the end of the 12th century at the latest.³⁷ An example of a complete Romanesque building, including nave, tower, and choir with apse, is the church in Hemse, which was completed in the early 13th century and never enlarged afterwards.³⁸

(E) In the second half of the 13th and at the beginning of the 14th century, many Romanesque choirs were demolished and replaced by larger (early) Gothic choirs with straight short walls. In this stadium, the choir is higher than the nave, as in the instances of Källunge and Garda.³⁹ (F) Lastly, from the late 13th to about the middle of the 14th century, the Romanesque naves were replaced by Gothic ones (the church in Grötlingbo⁴⁰ remained in this

34 H. Hegardt, Källunge Kyrka, in: *Rute Setting*, ed. J. Roosval, Sveriges Kyrkor. Konsthistorik Inventarium 42, Gotland II, Stockholm 1935, pp. 208-228 with figures, esp. figs 292-293, 320; E. Lagerlöf, G. Svahnström, *Die Kirchen Gotlands*, pp. 179-181; A. Andrén, *Det Medeltida Gotland...*, pp. 191-193.

35 H. Hegardt, Källunge kyrka, pp. 212 f; A. Andrén, *Det Medeltida Gotland...*, p. 191.

36 E. Lagerlöf, G. Svahnström, *Die Kirchen Gotlands*, pp. 164f.

37 J. Roosval, F. Sällström, *Sanda kyrka*, in: *Hejde Setting*, ed. J. Roosval, Sveriges Kyrkor 54, Gotland III, Stockholm 1942, pp. 140-143, plate Ia-b. For other preserved Viking-Age elements of the building, see pp. 143f.

38 E. Lagerlöf, B. Stolt, *Hemse kyrkor...*, pp. 193-203, illustration on p. 192, fig. 210-211, 213-216; E. Lagerlöf, G. Svahnström, *Die Kirchen Gotlands*, pp. 172-175.

39 E. Lagerlöf, *Garde kyrka*, fig. 265; E. Lagerlöf, G. Svahnström, *Die Kirchen Gotlands*, pp. 142-144; A. Andrén, *Det Medeltida Gotland...*, pp. 199-201.

40 E. Lagerlöf, G. Svahnström, *Die Kirchen Gotlands*, pp. 147-150; B. Stolt, *Grötlingbo Kyrka, Grötlinge Ting*, Sveriges Kyrkor 226, Gotland IX,2, Stockholm 2001, pp. 17-55, fig. 12-16, 19; A. Andrén, *Det Medeltida Gotland...*, pp. 206-210.

stage, for example), in some cases followed (G) by the completion of the Gothic style church by the erection of a new tower, as in Rone.⁴¹

About the middle of the 14th century, any building activity in the island ceased more or less abruptly. The pauperisation of the rural population, initiated by the conquest of Gotland by the Danish King Valdemar IV Atterdag in 1361, led to the result that neither large-scale reconstruction measures, nor demolitions could be carried through. The Gotlandic rural churches were “frozen” in their respective conditions, while only a few fell in ruins. They represent a multifaceted and unique cultural heritage that attracts a great amount of art-historical interest. The appeal of the churches also lies in their unusually rich sculpture and interior furnishings – portals and baptismal fonts,⁴² well-preserved (partly Russian-Byzantine)⁴³ murals⁴⁴ and paintings on wooden planks, wooden sculptures, such as the famous Golden Madonna of Viklau,⁴⁵ and the group of triumphal crosses⁴⁶ as well as the extraordinary number of preserved coloured-glass windows.⁴⁷

PICTURE STONES IN CHURCHES: PERSPECTIVES FOR INTERPRETATIONS

Of the 570 picture stones known to date in Gotland, 240 are encountered in churches. Those integrated in church construction are predominantly found

⁴¹ E. Lagerlöf, G. Svahnström, *Die Kirchen Gotlands*, pp. 222-224; E. Lagerlöf, B. Stolt, *Hemse kyrkor...*, pp. 372-381, figs 399f.

⁴² J. Roosval, *Die Steinmeister Gotlands. Eine Geschichte der führenden Taufstein-Werkstätten des schwedischen Mittelalters, ihrer Voraussetzungen und Begleit-Erscheinungen*, Stockholm 1918; E. Lagerlöf, *Gotländsk stensulptur från gotiken*, Uddevalla 1975; F. Fähraeus, *Dopfontarna, deras tillhör och placering på Gotland under medeltiden. En inventering*, Stockholm 1974; S. Lundquist, *Medeltida Stenmästare...*

⁴³ E. Lagerlöf, *Gotland och Bysans*, Visby 1999; E. Lagerlöf, *Gotland och Bysans. Östligt inflytande under vikingatid och tidig medeltid*, in: *Från Bysans till Norden. Östliga kyrkoinfluenser under vikingatid och tidig medeltid*, ed. H. Janson, Skellefteå 2005, pp. 139-152; S. Vasilyeva, *Byzantinska traditioner i Gotlands konst under 1100-tallet, “Fornvännen” CIV* (2009), pp. 97-111.

⁴⁴ B.G. Söderberg, *De gotländska passionsmålningarna och deras stilfränder*, Kungl. Vitterhets, Historie och Antikvitets Akademiens handlingar, LIV, Stockholm 1942; B.G. Söderberg, *Gotländska kalkmålningar 1200-1400*, Gotländska Minnesmärken, III, Uppsala 1971.

⁴⁵ C.R. af Ugglas, *Gotlands medeltida träskulptur till och med högotikens inbrott. Bidrag till kännedomen om stilströmningarna i Norden under den äldre medeltiden*, Stockholm 1915, pp. 99f.; More detailed, recently: T. Kunz, *Skulptur um 1200. Das Kölner Atelier der Viklau-Madonna auf Gotland und der ästhetische Wandel in der 2. Hälfte des 12. Jahrhunderts*, Studien zur internationalen Architektur- und Kunstgeschichte, XLV, Petersberg 2007.

⁴⁶ C.R. af Ugglas, *Gotlands medeltida träskulptur...*, passim; J. Wolska, *Ringkors från Gotlands medeltid*, Stockholm 1997, passim. Recently e.g.: C.H. Eliason, *Triumfkrucifixet i Rute kyrka och retabell från Ala kyrka. Två polykromier från 1300-talet*, in: *Kyrka och tro på medeltidens Gotland. Till minne av Gunnar Svahnström (1915-2012)*, ed. C. Theliander, “Gotländskt Arkiv” LXXXV (2013), pp. 147-168.

⁴⁷ J. Roosval, *Gotländsk Vitriarius. De gotländska glasmålningarnas bestånd och historia*, Stockholm 1950.

in the choir and nave, where they frequently were used in the flooring or as steps of a staircase, and in the tower. Johansen notes that while during the 12th century, picture stones of the late type (Phase C/D) predominantly were built into the walls of the nave, however, especially during the 13th century, their main occurrence shifts to the choir. The early picture stones (Phase A) primarily – since the 13th century – were found in the tower.⁴⁸

The questions to be discussed here are: **Why** were so many pagan picture stones incorporated in the Gotlandic churches, what was the builders' intention, and what conceptions did they and their contemporaries associate with these measures?⁴⁹ Recent research has dealt with this question only marginally: A seminal and comprehensive study does not exist. Occasionally, it is postulated that the picture stones, which were easily available in pre-Christian burial grounds, simply were regarded and utilised as suitable building material.⁵⁰

Frequently, however, the places chosen for the stones within a church building appear to be both exposed and deliberate. A good example is the Type A stone Bro kyrka I,⁵¹ which was turned to a horizontal position and built into the wall next to the entrance into a chamber, which was added to the building at about 1300, between the tower and the west wall of the nave. It is at about eye level and very conspicuous. While at Bro, the stone had been trimmed into a rectangular shape, in order to fit the better into the wall's stonework, there also are instances, in which the characteristic, cumbersome "mushroom shape" was retained – which from a mason's perspective is awkward and makes little sense (e.g. Akebäck kyrka I).⁵² Apparently, it was supposed to remain clear for everyone even after the stone having been re-

48 B. Johansen, *Ormalur. Aspekter på tillvaro och och landskap*, Stockholm Studies in Archaeology, XIV, Stockholm 1997, pp. 211-215. This is based on the information on the finding place in S. Lindqvist, *Gotlands Bildsteine* and J.P. Lamm, E. Nylén, *Bildstenar* as well as the dating of the churches by E. Lagerlöf, G. Svahnström, *Die Kirchen Gotlands*. The assessment of the respective churches' architectural history is, however, a complex matter, and often it is difficult to determine the precise date when the picture stone was re-used. This requires intensive researches, especially in the archives in Visby and Stockholm, where the reports on discovery and restoration are stored.

49 Unlike in Gotland, there are written sources on the Continent providing insight into possible intentions of the principals, builders, and clerics: see e.g. A. Esch, *Wiederverwendung von Antike...*, pp. 11-60.

50 K.G. Mähl, *Bildstenar och Stavgårdar...*, p. 18; J.P. Lamm, E. Nylén, *Bildstenar*, p. 74; L. Thunmark-Nylén, *Die Wikingerzeit Gotlands*, III, Stockholm 2006, pp. 583; P. Widerström, *Leaving no stone unturned*, in: *Gotland's Picture Stones...*, p. 38.

51 S. Lindqvist, *Gotlands Bildsteine*, I, fig. 11-12; II, p. 29 fig. 319; J.P. Lamm, E. Nylén, *Bildstenar*, list no. 27; S. Oehrl, *Die Kirche von Bro auf Gotland – ein Fall von Kultplatzkontinuität?*, in: *Germanische Kultorte. Vergleichende, historische und rezeptionsgeschichtliche Zugänge*, ed. M. Egeler, München Nordistische Studien, München 2016, pp. 206-273, esp. 255f.

52 S. Lindqvist, *Gotlands Bildsteine*, II, p. 13 fig. 301; J.P. Lamm, E. Nylén, *Bildstenar*, list no. 1.

used in the church building, that this was a picture stone from the age of the forefathers. Instances like these suggest a symbolic meaning of the secondarily used picture stones. Whether this meaning was aiming at the overcoming of the pagan religion or rather at its benevolent transition into the new age and a form of continuity is controversial.⁵³

The only essay to date dealing in some detail with the secondary form of usage of the Gotlandic picture stones and their function in the Middle Ages, is by Burström, who, based on a selection of examples, arrives at the following assessment: "The large number of picture stones found in churches and the ways in which the stones have been used within the churches clearly indicate that the stones were ascribed deeper meanings than that of building material."⁵⁴ An important foundation for Burströms reflections is a custom observed during the tenure of archbishop Unwan of Bremen-Hamburg (1013-1029), mentioned by Adam of Bremen.⁵⁵ According to his testimony, the sacred groves (*luci*) of the pagans (Saxons and Frisians) were destroyed, and the wood of the old sanctuaries was utilised for the building of churches. Burström deduces: "The fact that the picture stones let themselves be inserted into this new context was apparently evidence of the superiority of the new faith. As a paradox, the presence of picture stones in the churches also expressed a kind of continuity between the old and new faith."⁵⁶

The custom to re-use elements of pagan shrines to build churches has a long tradition, beginning in late Antiquity, was encouraged especially by Gallic bishops, and is also apparent in the case of Boniface and Donar's Oak in Geismar.⁵⁷ There are several examples, such as from Trier and Brioude/Auvergne, where stones of ancient temples have been transported to churches, hoping to create an incentive to go to church.⁵⁸ The wood of Donar's Oak that Boniface cut down was used to build St Peter's church in Fritzlar (*Vita Bonifatii*, ch. 6).⁵⁹ This procedure follows the tradition of Pope Gregory I, who called

53 M. Burström, *Other Generations' Interpretation and Use of the Past: The Case of the Picture Stones on Gotland*, "Current Swedish Archaeology" IV (1996), pp. 21-40; J.P. Lamm, E. Nylén, *Bildstenar*, p. 74; M. Rundkvist, *The Secondary Use of Picture Stones...*

54 M. Burström, *Other Generations' Interpretation and Use of the Past...*, p. 29.

55 *Magistri Adam Bremensis Gesta Hammaburgensis ecclesiae Pontificum*, II. 48, in: *Quellen des 9. und 11. Jahrhunderts zur Geschichte der Hamburgischen Kirche und des Reiches*, eds. W. Trillmich, R. Buchner, V. Scior, *Ausgewählte Quellen zur deutschen Geschichte des Mittelalters*. Freiherr-vom-Stein-Gedächtnisausgabe, XI, 7th edition, Darmstadt 2000.

56 M. Burström, *Other Generations' Interpretation and Use of the Past...*, p. 28.

57 G. Krutzler, *Kult und Tabu. Wahrnehmungen der Germania bei Bonifatius*, *Anthropologie des Mittelalters*, II, Wien, Münster 2010, pp. 99f., with examples.

58 *Ibidem*, p. 99, with references.

59 R. Rau, *Briefe des Bonifatius. Willibalds Leben des Bonifatius nebst einigen zeitgenössischen Dokumenten*, *Ausgewählte Quellen zur deutschen Geschichte des Mittelalters*, Freiherr-vom-Stein-Gedächtnisausgabe, IVb, Darmstadt 1968, pp. 450-525.

for Christian rededication and continued use of pagan cult buildings.⁶⁰ On one hand, continuity is suggested by the integration of components of old sanctuaries so that a bridge is built, on the other, it makes visible the victory of the new faith over heathendom.

Bro kyrka I is not the only picture stone in Gotland to be built into a church's facade with its obverse outward and well visible. In the church of Akebäck (Akebäck kyrka I),⁶¹ a Phase C monument of considerable size was integrated into the north wall of the nave in this way but remained hidden for a long time under a coating of plaster.⁶² This stone also was rotated to its side. Another example is the fragment of a Type C stone in the outer wall of the choir of Viklau kyrka.⁶³

A similar case from the Slavic religious history may shed some light in this context:⁶⁴ After his victory over the Rani in 1168, King Valdemar the Great of Denmark had twelve wooden churches erected on the island of Rügen. In the outside of the eastern brick wall of the parish church in Altenkirchen, begun in 1185, a Slavic picture stone – either a grave-marker or a cult image – is integrated at base height. It features a bearded man with a drinking horn in his hand, who has been identified as the Slavic god Svetovit. Interestingly, the stone was built in horizontally, just as Bro kyrka I, so that the figure of the god appears as if fallen over. It is tempting to think that this was to visualise in a drastic way to the churchgoers the victory of Christianity over the old

60 Letter by Pope Gregory I to Abbot Mellitus of 18 July 601 (*Kirchengeschichte des englischen Volkes. Beda der Ehrwürdige. Historia ecclesiastica gentis Anglorum*, I, 30, ed. G. Spitzbart, Darmstadt 1997, pp. 110-113). In late Antiquity, the rededication of pagan sanctuaries, as demanded by Gregory, was a popular method, such as in the case of the Pantheon in Rome, which in 608 was converted into a church dedicated to The Mother of God (G. Krutzler, *Kult und Tabu...*, pp. 99f., with other examples). Von Padberg calls this "accommodation through rededication": L.E. von Padberg, *Mission und Christianisierung. Formen und Folgen bei Angelsachsen und Franken im 7. und 8. Jahrhundert*, Stuttgart 1995, pp. 151f.; idem, *Die Inszenierung religiöser Konfrontationen. Theorie und Praxis der Missionspredigt im frühen Mittelalter*, Monographien zur Geschichte des Mittelalters, LI, Stuttgart 2003, pp. 318-322; idem, *Das Christentum als missionarische Religion. Missionskonzepte von Bonifatius bis ins späte Mittelalter*, in: CREDO. *Christianisierung Europas im Mittelalter*, I: *Essays*, eds. Chr. Stiegemann, M. Kroker, W. Walter, Petersberg 2013, pp. 130-139, esp. pp. 134-137.

61 S. Lindqvist, *Gotlands Bildsteine*, II, p. 13, fig. 301; J.P. Lamm, E. Nylén, *Bildstenar*, list no. 1.

62 S. Lindqvist, *Gotlands Bildsteine*, II, p. 301.

63 J.P. Lamm, E. Nylén, *Bildstenar*, list no. 435.

64 L.E. von Padberg, *Die Inszenierung religiöser Konfrontationen...*, p. 258, fn. 531, with references; L.E. von Padberg, *Missionierendes Christentum und nichtchristliche Religionen im frühen Mittelalter*, "Schweizerische Zeitschrift für Religions- und Kulturgeschichte" CVI (2012), pp. 483-503, 495 with fn. 45; B. Kunkel, *Bildstein von Altenkirchen*, in: CREDO. *Christianisierung Europas im Mittelalter*, II: *Katalog*, eds. Chr. Stiegemann, M. Kroker, W. Walter, Petersberg 2013, pp. 629-631.

gods.⁶⁵ The church in Altenkirchen had been erected on a burial mound of the Rani, and as a sign of victory and/or continuity, a picture stone from the pagan sanctuary was integrated into the building. Possibly another parallel is the Roman carved stone with the image of Mercurius in the west wall of St Martin's church in Pliezhausen.⁶⁶ Again, the rectangular stone was placed on its side, the god toppled, as it were. Reportedly, the image of the god commonly was designated as the "devil" in the local vernacular. The church was built in the 11th or the 12th century, supposedly on the site of a Roman sanctuary, as a Romanesque chapel and later was redesigned in Gothic style. There are many more examples of spolia of this kind. On the other hand, it has to be kept in mind that a horizontal position of a large rectangular stone slab can just be the result of practical architectural considerations. There is no compelling reason to interpret such a position as symbolic.

It is a remarkable fact that picture stones often are encountered in the presbytery,⁶⁷ often as floor slabs, with the obverse facing upwards, so that over the course of the centuries, the stones' reliefs were badly worn down by footsteps. The presbytery, the most important and most sacred part of the church, usually was only accessible to the ordained. It is possible that it is not a coincidence that so many picture stones – many clearly visible – were reused here in particular. Perhaps it was the symbolic objective to have the pagan images stamped on by the clerics' feet and thereby gradually erase them, just as Christ crushed and overcame the pagan idols? Is this a form of iconoclasm?⁶⁸

A group of very tall picture stones was used for bases of baptismal fonts, and this also might have been meant as the symbolic overcoming and condemnation (*damnatio*) of pagan polytheism and idolatry – for example at

65 That it was the intention to "Christianise" antique stone monuments and banish their demonic/diabolical powers by immuring them in churches, has been considered repeatedly in spolia research, see esp. L. Eckhart, *Gedanken über Römersteine in alten Kirchen*, "Jahrbuch des oberösterreichischen Musealvereins" CXIX (1974), pp. 29-38.

66 E. Jung, *Germanische Götter und Helden in christlicher Zeit*, 2nd edition, München 1939, pp. 390f., with fig. 162; P. Gößler, *Germanisch-Christliches an Kirchen und Friedhöfen Südwestdeutschlands*, "Archiv für Religionswissenschaft" XXXV (1938), pp. 65-92, 73.

67 G. Rausing, *Rezension über: Lamm, Nylén, Stones, Ships and Symbols. The Picture Stones of Gotland from the Viking Age and before*, Stockholm 1988, "Fornvännen" LXXXIV (1989), pp. 178-181, here p. 181; B. Johansen, *Ormalur...*, pp. 211-215.

68 According to Thunmark-Nylén, the removal of picture stones from their original site already represents a form of iconoclasm: L. Thunmark-Nylén, *Die Wikingerzeit...*, p. 508; cf. M. Burström, *Other Generations' Interpretation and Use of the Past...*, p. 28.

Alskog kyrka,⁶⁹ Gothem kyrka III,⁷⁰ Levide kyrka 2 and 3,⁷¹ and Roma kyrka 2.⁷² The two stones mentioned first each feature a cup-shaped depression as well as a perforation, which served as collecting basin and drain for the holy water (*piscina*).⁷³ Romanesque fonts frequently are decorated – especially on their base – with images of vanquishers of beasts, demons, and monsters that were intended to illustrate the victory over the reign of the devil by baptism (baptismal exorcism).⁷⁴ The pagan picture cycles on the Gotlandic picture stones used for bases of baptismal fonts might also have been selected with this intention in mind and conspicuously forced into the service of baptism, in order to illustrate the victory of the Christian faith over the demons, i.e. the pagan gods.

In fact, ancient images of gods were installed in medieval churches with the intention to have them condemned, downright mocked, or even ritually abused.⁷⁵ Well known is the case of a 2nd/3rd century Roman marble statue of Venus that for centuries stood in front of St Matthews' Basilica in Trier.⁷⁶ It was removed from its secondary site only in 1811 and today is in the Rheinisches Landesmuseum Trier (inv. no. G. 44d). In front of the Basilica, it was shackled

69 S. Lindqvist, *Gotlands Bildsteine*, I, fig. 135; II, p. 13-15, fig. 303f.; J.P. Lamm, E. Nylén, *Bildstenar*, list no. 2.

70 S. Lindqvist, *Gotlands Bildsteine*, II, p. 48, fig. 358; J.P. Lamm, E. Nylén, *Bildstenar*, list no. 73.

71 J.P. Lamm, E. Nylén, *Bildstenar*, list no. 168a-b; S. Lindqvist, *Forngutniska altaren och därtill knutna studier*, "Kungl. Humanistiska Vetenskaps-Samfundet i Uppsala, Årsbok" (1960-1962), pp. 1-185, esp. 70f. and fig. 23.

72 J.P. Lamm, E. Nylén, *Bildstenar*, list no. 442.

73 F. Fähræus, *Dopfundarna...*, pp. 109f., fig. 192.

74 G. Pudelko, *Romanische Taufsteine*, Berlin 1932, pl. VII, XIII, XVI, XVII, XIX; W. von Blankenburg, *Heilige und dämonische Tiere. Die Symbolsprache der deutschen Ornamentik im frühen Mittelalter*, Leipzig 1943, fig. 75, 147; F. Carlsson, *The Iconology of Tectonics in Romanesque Art*, Hässleholm 1976, fig. 38-39, 42, 56, 131, 170-171, 187-197, 199, 242; M. Lurker, *Wörterbuch der Symbolik*, 5th edition, Stuttgart 1991, s.v. *Bauplastik*, p. 82; P. Dinzelsbacher, *Monster und Dämonen am Kirchenbau*, in: *Dämonen, Monster, Fabelwesen*, eds. U. Müller, W. Wunderlich, *Mittelalter-Mythen*, II, St. Gallen 1999, pp. 103-126, esp. 116; K.-H. Clasen, *Die Überwindung des Bösen. Ein Beitrag zur Ikonographie des frühen Mittelalters*, in: *Neue Beiträge deutscher Forschung. Wilhelm Worringer zum 60. Geburtstag*, ed. E. Fidder, Königsberg 1943, pp. 13-36, esp. 22f.

75 P. Dinzelsbacher, *Handbuch der Religionsgeschichte im deutschsprachigen Raum*, II: *Hoch- und Spätmittelalter*, Paderborn 2000, pp. 159f.

76 *Führer durch das Landesmuseum Trier*, ed. R. Schindler, Trier 1980, p. 86, fig. 261; W. Binsfeld in: *Trier. Kaiserresidenz und Bischofssitz. Die Stadt in spätantiker und frühchristlicher Zeit. Ausstellung am 4. Mai-10. November 1984 im Rheinischen Landesmuseum Trier*, ed. Rheinisches Landesmuseum Trier, Mainz 1984, pp. 202f., no. 91; W. Binsfeld, K. Goethert-Polascheck, L. Schwinder, *Katalog der römischen Steindenkmäler des Rheinischen Landesmuseum Trier*, I: *Götter- und Weihdenkmäler*, *Corpus Signorum Imperii Romani, Deutschland*, IV, 3, Mainz 1988, no. 333; H.-P. Kuhnen, *Das römische Trier*, *Führer zu archäologischen Denkmälern in Deutschland*, XL, Stuttgart 2001, pp. 177f.; A. Esch, *Wiederverwendung von Antike im Mittelalter...*, p. 75, fig. 22.

with iron chains and during the Middle Ages is reported to regularly and ritualistically have been pelted with stones by churchgoers, as is documented in a written record from 1551.⁷⁷ As a result of this continuous violation, the statue is now badly maimed and abraded and hardly recognisable as a human figure anymore. An inscription plate, created about 1540 to 1560, has the statue itself give testimony about its fate and meaning: It was a false goddess, it says, an idol that once was venerated as a deity, but was destroyed by St Eucharius when he came to Trier, and now stood here to be ridiculed by all and sundry –

WOLT IHR WISSEN WAS ICH BIN
 ICH BIN GEWESEN EIN ABGOTTIN
 DA S. EVCHARIVS ZV TRIER KAM
 ER MICH ZERBRACH MEIN EHR ABNAHM
 ICH WAR GEEHRET ALS EIN GOTT
 IETZ STEHEN ICH HIE DER WELT ZV SPOT [...]

Also, in St Stephen's Cathedral in Vienna, ancient idols have been integrated to warn and be mocked.⁷⁸ In the outer wall of the northern nave, there is a niche, in which during the late Middle Ages statues of Roman gods were exhibited. The holding devices for these statuettes are still present. The aperture was closed off with an iron grille, so that the figures were downright caged up. They are said to have been the figures of the gods Jupiter and Mars that were found in Guntramsdorf, south of Vienna and then transferred to St Stephen's. Above the cage, there is an inscription from the second half of the 14th century, probably the oldest inscription in the Cathedral in German:

+ Ir + seligen + gelaubt + in got +
 vnt + wehalt + christi + gebot + des
 + die + haiden + nicht + habent ge
 tan si paten an die tat(er)man wand
 die sew selb habent berait da von
 w(er)dent si wol geait in d(er) hell fev(er) alle
 vrewd ist in tewr

It invites the "blessed" (i.e. all Christians) to believe in God" and to obey the commandments of Christ – unlike the pagans once did. They, according to the inscription, worshipped the *Tatermänner* – false gods they themselves had

⁷⁷ Caspar Bruschius, *Monasteriorum Germaniae praecipuorum chronologia*, Ingolstadt 1551; see W. Binsfeld, *Triers Altertümer und die Humanisten*, "Landeskundliche Vierteljahrsblätter" XIV (1968), pp. 67-74, esp. 69.

⁷⁸ A. Mailly, *Abgötter an christlichen Kirchen*, "Die christliche Kunst" XXVIII (1928), pp. 42-52; R. Kohn, *Ir seligen gelaubt in got... Die Inschriften der Dom- und Metropolitankirche St. Stephan*, "Pfarrblatt Dompfarre St. Stephan" LXIV (2009) 1, pp. 22f.

created. That is why they were being roasted in the fires of Hell and devoid of any joy. Whether *tat(er)man* is to be interpreted as “little doll” or derives from *Tartarus* (thus “hell man”?), remains unclear. In any case, this term refers to those antique statues of gods behind the grille.⁷⁹

With the pagan picture stones having been used as floor covering or steps and accordingly for centuries were worn down by the churchgoers, it is entirely possible that the intention was very similar to the presentation of the idols in St Matthew’s in Trier and St Stephan’s in Vienna. Perhaps certain damages, spallings, and particularly smoothed down areas found on several picture stones might also be the result of ritual acts, of ritualistic desecrations? In order to answer this question, an in-depth examination of the stones’ surfaces is necessary, while being aware, of course, that there may have been methods of desecration (or other ritualistic acts) that cannot be determined anymore – spitting, saying of prayers or curses, crossing oneself, gestures of scorn and ridicule etc.

Old Norse literary sources provide information about the perspectives of the Scandinavian Middle Ages on the beliefs of the pagan ancestors and need to be taken into account when interpreting the Gotlandic picture stones in churches. Unlike on the Continent, where the Germanic deities at best were utilised as depictions of the devil,⁸⁰ but essentially all tradition was suppressed, on Iceland the stories of the old gods and heroes of the Viking Age were considered as particularly worthy to be preserved and recorded in writing. How did the Icelandic scholar Snorri Sturluson, who about 1220 wrote down many Old Norse myths in his *Gylfaginning*, evaluate the religion of pagan times? Heinrich Beck investigated Snorri’s view of pagan mythology on the background of medieval theology.⁸¹ While Snorri’s description of the

⁷⁹ It is not inevitable, however, that in the Middle Ages antique depictions of gods were considered as negative. Instead, there have been Christian reinterpretations, as in the north was the case with Sigurd the dragon-slayer. Another example might be the putative sarcophagus of Charlemagne: it was made in the 2nd century and features reliefs depicting the rape of Persephone by Hades: H. Roth, *Kunst und Handwerk im frühen Mittelalter. Archäologische Zeugnisse von Childerich I. bis zu Karl dem Großen*, Stuttgart 1986, p. 282, pl. 74a.

⁸⁰ As an example may be considered the Middle High German *Münchener Nachtsegen* from the 14th century, an incantation that is supposed to have been used to repel and banish witches, ghosts, and fiends as well as an army of the dead made up of executed men – *Wütanes her* (“Woden’s army”?): T. von Grienberger, *Der Münchener Nachtsegen*, “Zeitschrift für deutsche Literatur und deutsches Altertum” XLI (1897), pp. 335-363; B. Wachinger, *Münchener Nachtsegen*, in: *Verfasserlexikon. Die deutsche Literatur des Mittelalters*, XI, ed. B. Wachinger, Berlin-New York 2004, col. 1039f.

⁸¹ E.g. H. Beck, *Snorri Sturlussons Sicht der paganen Mythologie*, in: *Germanische Altertumskunde: Quellen, Methoden, Ergebnisse. Akten des Symposiums anlässlich des 150. Geburtstags von Rudolf Much*, Wien, 28.-30. September 2012, eds. H. Reichert, C. Scheungraber, *Philologica Germanica*, XXXV, Wien 2015, pp. 7-19.

Old Norse myths of the gods mostly was regarded by previous researchers as a kind of *Kontrastkonzept* that presents the beliefs of the ancestors as deception and delusion, Beck deems himself able to show that Snorri rather worked with the principle of *accomodatio*. On the basis of this *Akkomodationsprinzip*, he maintains, Snorri tried to realise a historical theology that assigned “also to his own pagan religion a place in the events of revelation”.⁸² Snorri did not act as a missionary, claims Beck, but as a historian who made himself “an advocate of the beliefs of his fathers [...] – possibly with the aim to preserve a certain dignity for this tradition.”⁸³

From the period of Snorri’s work, similar phenomena of accommodation are actually known. Not only on the Swedish conversion-period runestones, but also on the portals of stave churches, Romanesque baptismal fonts, and capitals from about 1200, are there depictions of the pagan heroes Sigurðr and Gunnarr.⁸⁴ During the Christianisation of the Scandinavians in the late Viking Age as well as during the 12th and 13th centuries, churches appear to have been built on pagan ritual sites.⁸⁵ When Snorri wrote his *Gylfaginning* about 1220, Gamla Uppsala was still seat of the archbishop, with the church being located next to the three great mound graves and on the site of the great heathen temple described by Adam of Bremen. That this was an intentional link to the sacral space of the pagan past must have been obvious even in Snorri’s days. On this background, it is entirely conceivable that the builders in Gotland used the pagan picture stones in order to create a tie to the glory of prehistory, to gracefully integrate the tradition and dignity of the forefathers, and thus suggest continuity. The deciding factor in this case is the antiqueness of the stones utilised and their origin from a bygone period, which endows them with a certain dignity rather than the religious message they were intended to convey during their “lifetime”.

Especially in those cases when picture stones were placed in close proximity or even adjacent to a church’s altar, as for example in Gothem kyrka⁸⁶ and Buttle kyrka,⁸⁷ however, this kind of connection and integration

82 H. Beck, *Snorri Sturlussons...*, p. 12.

83 *Ibidem*, p. 19.

84 K. Düwel, *Zur Ikonographie und Ikonologie der Sigurddarstellungen*, in: *Zum Problem der Deutung...*, pp. 221-271.

85 A.-S. Gräslund, *Kultkontinuitet – myt eller verklighet? Om arkeologins möjligheter att belysa problemet*, in: *Kontinuitet i kult och tro från vikingatid till medeltid*, ed. B. Nilsson, Projektet Sveriges kristnande, Publikationer, I, Uppsala 1992, pp. 129-150; A. Andrén, *Platsernas betydelse. Norrön ritual och kultplatskontinuitet*, in: *Plats och praxis. Studier av nordisk förkristen ritual*, eds. K. Jennbert, A. Andrén, C. Raudvere, Vågar till Midgård, II, Lund 2002, pp. 299-342.

86 J.P. Lamm, E. Nylén, *Bildstenar*, pp. 48f. list no. 1; S. Oehrl, *Die Bildsteine Gotlands*, pp. 295-296, fig. 344c, 345a-c, 346a-c.

87 J.P. Lamm, E. Nylén, *Bildstenar*, list no. 399.

might have involved concrete religious intentions after all. Monumental stones of Phases A and C have even been used for altar slabs, such as the stones Hangvar kyrka II,⁸⁸ Stenkyrka kyrka 46,⁸⁹ and Akebäck kyrka 2.⁹⁰ Thus, these pagan picture stones served as *mensae domini* at the celebration of the Eucharist. That there is a symbolic meaning in this is very probable. Were the pre-Christian elements supposed to be vanquished by this, or was the intention rather to integrate the pagan commemoration of the dead in the spirit of a *translatio*, to “Christianise” it retroactively, and have the pagans participate in the rite posthumously? This idea was suggested regarding the small Type E stone in Sproge kyrka.⁹¹ A rather deep and well-groomed basin with a drain was secondarily carved into it, and situated in a niche in the wall of the choir, behind the altar, it served as a basin for the washing of hands and for the cleaning of liturgical utensils (*piscina* or *sacrarium*).⁹² The stone’s bas-relief with a runic inscription, the depiction of a sledge, and ornaments of “ribbon animals” is perfectly preserved and must have been well visible (legible) and conspicuous at the time of its secondary utilisation. Obviously, the stone must have been selected for this purpose just **because** of its ornamentation and inscription. Lamm and Nylén assume a form of *translatio memoriae* – that it was the intention in this way to transfer the memory of the pagan commemorated in the inscription into the sphere of the Christian ways of caring for the souls.⁹³

The re-use of picture stones in the foundations of churches may be of interest as well and should be considered. When in 1214 the church tower of Bro kyrka was built, Phase A stones were used to support the carrier beams bearing the flooring (Bro kyrka 10 and 11).⁹⁴ They might be considered as foundation stones and expected to have a symbolic meaning fitting this role. The custom of a public cornerstone ceremony when building churches,⁹⁵

88 S. Lindqvist, *Gotlands Bildsteine*, I, fig. 95, II, p. 68; J.P. Lamm, E. Nylén, *Bildstenar*, list no. 124.

89 S. Lindqvist, *Bildstensfynd vid kyrkorestaureringar*, “Gotländskt Arkiv” XXVIII (1956), pp. 19-30, esp. 19-25 and fig. 1; J.P. Lamm, E. Nylén, *Bildstenar*, list no. 274.

90 J.P. Lamm, E. Nylén, *Bildstenar*, list no. 396; A. Böttger-Niedenzu, B. Böttger-Niedenzu, *Neufunde gotländischer Bildsteine 1981-1985*, “Skandinavistik. Zeitschrift für Sprache, Literatur und Kultur der nordischen Länder” XVIII (1988), pp. 1-24, esp. 3.

91 J.P. Lamm, E. Nylén, *Bildstenar*, pp. 74-75, list no. 224.

92 S.B.F. Jansson, *Några runfynd 1965*, “Fornvännen” LXI (1966), pp. 102-107, esp. 105f., fig. 4.

93 J.P. Lamm, E. Nylén, *Bildstenar*, p. 74.

94 *Ibidem*, list nos 450-451; P. Widerström, *Utgrävning i Bro kyrka*, “Gotländskt Arkiv” LXXIII (2001), pp. 173-175, esp. 173.

95 G. Binding, S. Linscheid-Burdich, J. Wippermann, *Planen und Bauen im frühen und hohen Mittelalter nach Schriftquellen bis 1250*, Darmstadt 2002, p. 169f.

which may include liturgical acts and foundation sacrifices, already is documented for the early and high-medieval periods. That pagan elements also were integrated, is perhaps demonstrated in the late Roman church that was erected in the 6th century on the site occupied today by the Bonn Minster and in the foundation of which several votive stones dedicated to the *Matronae* were embedded.⁹⁶

Particularly common is the use of picture stones as steps or thresholds, especially in the steps leading up to the presbytery. An example from Phase A is the stone Källunge kyrka 9,⁹⁷ from Phase C/D those from Lokrume kyrka,⁹⁸ Vallstena kyrka,⁹⁹ and Väskinde kyrka 6.¹⁰⁰ Also in profane buildings picture stones were utilised as steps and thresholds, but often the date of their installation remains unknown and may well have been in modern times, such as in Lärbro Pavals,¹⁰¹ Ardre Petsarve I,¹⁰² Stenkyrka Lillbjärs XVI,¹⁰³ Lärbro Uppegårds,¹⁰⁴ and Visby Bredgatan 4.¹⁰⁵ As places of transition, staircases and thresholds were regarded as symbolic and as linked to folk-religious concepts.¹⁰⁶ This also applied to bridges¹⁰⁷ – into which the picture stones

96 J. Kaiser, *Das Bonner Münster. Geschichte – Architektur – Kunst – Kult*, Regensburg 2012, p. 12.

97 J.P. Lamm, E. Nylén, *Bildstenar*, list no. 418; A. Böttger-Niedenzu, *Neufunde gotländischer Bildsteine...*, pp. 11f.

98 S. Lindqvist, *Gotlands Bildsteine*, I, fig. 93-94, II, pp. 98f.; J.P. Lamm, E. Nylén, *Bildstenar*, list no. 171.

99 J.P. Lamm, E. Nylén, *Bildstenar*, list no. 394; S. Oehrl, *Vallstena. Bildsteine*, in: *Reallexikon der germanischen Altertumskunde*, XXV, pp. 371-375, esp. 374.

100 J.P. Lamm, E. Nylén, *Bildstenar*, list no. 333; S. Lindqvist, *Bildstensfynd...*, p. 30.

101 S. Lindqvist, *Gotlands Bildsteine*, I, fig. 3; II, pp. 91f.; J.P. Lamm, E. Nylén, *Bildstenar*, list no. 183.

102 S. Lindqvist, *Gotlands Bildsteine*, II, pp. 25f., fig. 313; J.P. Lamm, E. Nylén, *Bildstenar*, list no. 17.

103 S. Lindqvist, *Gotlands Bildsteine*, II, p. 127, fig. 525; J.P. Lamm, E. Nylén, *Bildstenar*, list no. 291.

104 J.P. Lamm, E. Nylén, *Bildstenar*, list no. 382.

105 Ibidem, list no. 437.

106 L. Weiser Aall, *Schwelle*, in: *Handwörterbuch des deutschen Aberglaubens*, I, VII-VIII, eds. E. Hoffmann-Krayer, H. Bächtold-Stäubli, Berlin-Leipzig 1927-1937, here VII, col. 1509-1543; L. Weiser-Aall, *Treppe*, in: *Handwörterbuch des deutschen Aberglaubens*, VIII, col. 1145-1146. For the significance of the (temple) threshold and the symbolism of the doorway, see e.g.: B. Arrhenius, *Tür der Toten*, "Frühmittelalterliche Studien" IV (1970), pp. 384-394, esp. 389f.; M.H. Eriksen, *Doors to the Dead. The Power of Doorways and Thresholds in Viking Age Scandinavia*, "Archaeological Dialogues" XX (2013), pp. 187-214; G. Nordanskog, *Föreställd hedendom. Tidigmedeltida skandinaviska kyrkportar i forskning och historia*, *Vägar till Midgård*, IX, Lund 2006, pp. 60-85; T. Bawden, *Die Schwelle im Mittelalter. Bildmotiv und Bildort*, Sensus. Studien zur mittelalterlichen Kunst, IV, Köln u.a. 2014.

107 H. Bächtold-Stäubli, *Brücke*, in: *Handwörterbuch des deutschen Aberglaubens*, I, col. 1659-1665.

Alskog Ollajvs,¹⁰⁸ Lokrume Lauks,¹⁰⁹ Silte Stenbro I,¹¹⁰ and Stenkumla Forsa I were converted.¹¹¹ The notion that the mysterious stones from the ages of the ancient in this position were hoped to provide a certain magical protection, appears worth considering. However, it is by no means compelling.

That indeed the picture stones were supposed to have special powers, probably is demonstrated by the “grinding grooves” (*slipskåror/sliprännor*), which can be found on at least sixteen monuments (for instance Sanda Kyrka IV¹¹²).¹¹³ On Gotland, they are extremely common,¹¹⁴ but similar markings can be encountered in many places throughout Europe. An unwieldy abundance of literature has been published about their dating and their function.¹¹⁵ Especially when found on church buildings, gravestones, and conciliation crosses, the grooves most probably were the result of grinding to win stone meal for use in religious folk medicine. It appears reasonable to date most of the marks to the late medieval and early modern periods, not earlier than the 12th or 13th centuries.¹¹⁶ These cases make it probable that

¹⁰⁸ S. Lindqvist, *Gotlands Bildsteine*, II, p. 15 fig. 302; J.P. Lamm, E. Nylén, *Bildstenar*, list no. 3.

¹⁰⁹ S. Lindqvist, *Gotlands Bildsteine*, I, fig. 38, II p. 99; J.P. Lamm, E. Nylén, *Bildstenar*, list no. 172.

¹¹⁰ S. Lindqvist, *Gotlands Bildsteine*, II, p. 111, fig. 482; J.P. Lamm, E. Nylén, *Bildstenar*, list no. 219.

¹¹¹ S. Lindqvist, *Gotlands Bildsteine*, II, p. 114, figs 496-497; J.P. Lamm, E. Nylén, *Bildstenar*, list no. 227.

¹¹² S. Lindqvist, *Gotlands Bildsteine*, I fig. 5, II p. 110, fig. 481; J.P. Lamm, E. Nylén, *Bildstenar*, list no. 215; S. Lindqvist, *Jättstenen från Sanda och andra nyfunna bildstenar*, “Gotländskt Arkiv” XXXIV (1962), pp. 7-22.

¹¹³ A. Philip, *Försvunnen bildsten tillrätta*, “Gotländskt Arkiv” LVIII (1986), pp. 7-13.

¹¹⁴ See e.g. H. Munthe, *Om Gotlands s.k. Svärdslipningsstenar*, “Ymer” LIII (1933), pp. 141-174; T. Mårtensson, *Sliprännornas Praktiska Bruk*, “Fornvännen” XXXI (1936), pp. 129-144; L. Swanström, *Slipskåror och järnhantering på Gotland*, “Gotländskt Arkiv” LXVII (1995), pp. 11-18.

¹¹⁵ See the overview in K.W. Eitelmann, *Rittersteine im Pfälzerwald. Gedenksteine und Inschriften. Eine steinerne Geschichtsschreibung*, 5th edition, Neustadt an der Weinstraße 2005, pp. 189-194, and esp. the comprehensive collection by P. Schels, *Schabmale auf Stein – Zeugnisse der Volksmedizin und/oder des Aberglaubens?*, “SIGNA IVRIS. Beiträge zur Rechtsikonographie, Rechtsarchäologie und rechtlichen Volkskunde” V (2010), pp. 141-161. The frequent interpretation of the Gotlandic “grinding grooves” as a prehistoric calendar, is not compelling at all. G. Henriksson, *Astronomisk tolkning av slipskåror på Gotland*, “Fornvännen” LXXVIII (1983), pp. 21-28; cf. the critical views of J. Lindström, *Fornlämningarnas orientering på Gotland. En kritisk granskning av den arkeoastronomiska tolkningen av sliprännor samt en studie av riktningfördelningen hos öns forntida gravar, hus och medeltida kyrkor*, in: *Till Gunborg. Arkeologiska samtal*, eds. A. Åkerlund, S. Bergh, J. Nordblach, J. Taffinder, SAR. Stockholm Archaeological Reports, XXXIII, Stockholm 1997, pp. 497-508. Recently, the Gotlandic grooves even were interpreted as marks caused by the process of slowing down windmills’ sails: O. Gibson, *Gotlands slipskåror – spår av friktionsbromsar hos väderkvarnar?*, “Fornvännen” CVIII (2013), pp. 130-133.

¹¹⁶ In Germany, stone meal was scraped off archaeological monuments as late as the 20th as even during the 21st century for crypto-medical uses, see S. Oehrl, *Die Kirche von Bro auf Gotland...*, pp. 241-242.

medieval church builders did not merely regard the picture stones as easily available building material, but as efficacious relics of ancient times that were not integrated in a church without good reason.

Have the picture stones in churches probably had less to do with Christianisation and ideas of continuity than with folk-religious conceptions? Possibly, in the Middle Ages they were considered as ancient relics and powerful media, perhaps similar to the menhirs (which in Brittany occasionally were carved with the sign of the cross and “Christianised”), prehistoric stone axes, or fossils used as amulets. The belief in the efficaciousness of “prehistoric” relics probably also was the reason for the integration of Bronze-Age cup-marked stones in churches or bridge arches.¹¹⁷ However, for the utilisation of pagan picture stones in the presbytery, as *sacrarium*, or even as the altar slab, a magical or superstitious explanation is hardly conceivable. It rather seems that different patterns of perception must be assumed.

Many picture stones were built into the walls of the rural churches in such a way as **not** to be visible and therefore can hardly have had an outward symbolic meaning and message. Invisibility, however, does not automatically mean that the builders acted on pragmatism alone and that the spolia did not perform any further functions. As discussed above, it seems that occasionally the picture stones were afforded a certain efficaciousness which did not necessarily require visibility in order to work. Here, the term “restricted presence” needs to be introduced. Philologists refer to “restricted presence of writing” when inscriptions are placed in a hidden position, such as on foundation stones of churches.¹¹⁸ In such cases, the message of the inscription is not directed at the public sphere, but is removed from mortal eyes and therefore might rather be directed at supernatural powers. Here, apparently, it was crucial to **know** that the inscription exists and that it unfolds its power in secrecy. Likewise, phenomena of “restricted presence of image” are frequently found in medieval churches – Saints, demons, and other figures sometimes

¹¹⁷ Capelle points out cases of this sort: T. Capelle, *Norddeutsche Felsbilder*, Wegweiser zur Vor- und Frühgeschichte Niedersachsens, XIV, Hildesheim 1984, p. 29. Bronze-Age cup-marked stones have attracted attention as early as the Viking Age and were re-used in burials and as runestones (as in the case of Glavendrup: H. Thrane, M. Lerche Nielsen, *Glavendrup*, in: *Reallexikon der germanischen Altertumskunde*, XII, pp. 195-200), which without doubt has to do with a form of establishment of links to the ancestors.

¹¹⁸ W.E. Keil, *Überlegungen zur restringierten Schriftpräsenz mittelalterlicher Bauinschriften*, in: *Verborgен, unsichtbar, unlesbar – zur Problematik restringierter Schriftpräsenz*, eds. T. Frese, W.E. Keil, K. Krüger, *Materiale Textkulturen*, II, Berlin-Boston 2014, pp. 117-142; W.E. Keil, *Abwesend und doch präsent? Zur restringierten Präsenz von Grundsteinen und ihren Inschriften*, in: *Gründung im archäologischen Befund*, eds. A. Diener, J. Müller, M. Untermann, *Mitteilungen der Deutschen Gesellschaft für Archäologie des Mittelalters und der Neuzeit*, XXVII, Paderborn 2014, pp. 17-24.

are placed so high up in the church buildings or in niches and corners that they must remain indiscernible and unnoticed to the churchgoers.¹¹⁹

In many cases, however, it must in fact be assumed that picture stones simply were “recycled”, after all, without there being indications of symbolic, religious, or magical intentions. In the case of the Gotlandic picture stones, the “biography of the object” can be very varied, though: The Type C picture stone from Kräklingbo kyrka,¹²⁰ which has completely lost its original ornamentation, was re-used as a gravestone in the medieval and early modern periods and engraved with a Latin inscription. It seems that the people did not particularly object to the pagan past of the monument. Apparently, the stone was simply regarded as a useful blank slab. There are further “picture stone palimpsests” of this kind, such as especially the picture stone no. 3 from the ruined St John’s church in Visby that had an “eventful life”.¹²¹ This is a Phase A picture stone with a whirl rosette in its centre, which had a rune ribbon with a cross characteristic of Phase E engraved on it in the 11th century, and was used as a grave slab. Later, the stone was broken up and used in the construction of a burial cist. On the Type A stone in Sanda kyrka (IV) there were medieval “grinding grooves”, before it was turned into a support of scaffolding and afterwards “buried” beneath the floor.¹²² Another example is the only recently published Phase B picture stone from Anga Änggårdä that in 1922 had been inscribed on its backside and employed as a road sign.¹²³ This, in fact, seems to be a case of pure pragmatism.

SUMMARY AND OUTLOOK

The subject outlined here – the secondary utilisation of Gotlandic picture stones during the Middle Ages and its potential intentions – needs to be discussed on a wider material basis. This would provide an important contribution to medieval history of mentalities in the north, illuminating the view the people of the Middle Ages had about the heathen prehistory and the Christian way of handling monuments from pagan times. This perspective, the question of the perception of the past of previous epochs (“past-in-the-past research”), increasingly is taken into account by archaeological research,¹²⁴ but for the

¹¹⁹ E. Keil, *Überlegungen zur restringierten Schriftpräsenz...*, p. 121, fig. 3.

¹²⁰ J.P. Lamm, E. Nylén, *Bildstenar*, list no. 415; A. Böttger-Niedenzu, *Neufunde gotländischer Bildsteine...*, p. 11, figs 7-8.

¹²¹ H. Gustavson, *Hailgairs häll i S:t Hans*, “Gotländskt Arkiv” LIV (1982), pp. 85-90; E. Swanström, *En bildsten från S:t Hans ruin*, “Gotländskt Arkiv” LV (1983), pp. 55-58; J.P. Lamm, E. Nylén, *Bildstenar*, pp. 160f., list no. 436.

¹²² S. Oehrl, *Die Bildsteine Gotlands*, pp. 105-106, pl. 81b.

¹²³ *Ibidem*, p. 42, pl. 22b.

¹²⁴ R. Bradley, H. Williams, *The Past in the Past: The Reuse of Ancient Monuments*, World Archaeology, XXX,1, London 1998; *Negotiating the Past in the Past. Identity, Memory, and Landscape*

Gotlandic picture stones, one of the most prominent groups of archaeological monuments in Scandinavia, such an examination is still pending.

Neither Lindqvist's edition, nor Lamm and Nylén's small book contain detailed and valid information about find situations, location, treatment, and function of the 240 picture stones in churches or about the exact moment of their re-use. This kind of information – considered as rather immaterial so far – is of paramount importance for our issue, though. Therefore, two things need to be done: 1.) The inventory of stones still in their churches must be investigated on-site and their respective locations documented, and 2.) both the archive of Gotlands Museum in Visby and Antikvarisk-topografiska Arkivet (ATA) in Stockholm must be evaluated, as all reports of finds and restorations, illustrations, and correspondence are stored in these archives. Only on this new basis is it going to be possible to formulate well-founded statements regarding the possible intentions of the churches' builders and the purpose of the secondary use of picture stones.

Gotland's rural churches have been redesigned time and again, from the late Viking Age into the 15th century. When exactly were the stones (re) positioned? How were the stones treated as a rule? Are there special modes of manipulation? Several stones retained their characteristic contours, others were trimmed or broken up. Were the majority of the stones visible for the churchgoers at all, or were they commonly hidden?¹²⁵ Who was the audience of the supposed message if the stones were not visible at all? How were the obverses that featured the pagan picture cycles treated, were they facing inward or outward? Had they possibly been sanded down or manipulated in other ways? In the case of the picture stone Hangvar kyrka II mentioned above, which supposedly was used as an altar table, Lindqvist mentions as an aside that it featured (secondary) carved crosses.¹²⁶ Are there other examples of this kind? As it always was the stones' images and their interpretation that researchers focussed on, details such as these hardly ever were observed, documented, and appreciated.

For any evaluation of the stones' features, attention needs to be directed more on Scandinavian and Continental parallels. The late Viking-Age runestones in mainland Sweden have already been mentioned. They also

in Archaeological Research, ed. N. Yoffee, Tucson 2007; *The Past in the Past. The Significance of Memory and Tradition in the Transmission of Culture*, eds. M. Georgiadis, Chr. Gallou, British Archeological Reports International Series, MCMXXV, Oxford 2009; *Antiquaries and Archaists: The Past in the Past, the Past in the Present*, eds. M. Brewster Aldrich, R.J. Wallis, Reading 2009.

¹²⁵ The Type A stone Martebo kyrka 2, for example, was installed as the sill of the abaton on the south side of the bell tower, with the obverse facing upwards (J.P. Lamm, E. Nylén, *Bildstenar*, pp. 32-35, list no. 195). To those who had access to the belfry, the stone's images were well visible, but the majority of the community never saw them.

¹²⁶ S. Lindqvist, *Gotlands Bildsteine*, II, p. 68.

have been installed in stone churches very frequently. As in the case of many late Viking-Age picture stones of Phase E, these predominantly are Christian monuments located close to churches, in Christian cemeteries.¹²⁷ A more fitting parallel, for example, is the Viking-Age picture stone in Hørdum in Thy (north Jutland), Denmark,¹²⁸ which features the scene of the god Þórr sitting in a boat with the giant Hymir, fishing for the Midgard Serpent. This stone had been re-used in the Middle Ages as a step in a staircase and was discovered in 1954 during restorations. Another possibility are the already mentioned Bronze-Age cup-marked stones which were found built in medieval churches in Denmark and Schleswig-Holstein.¹²⁹

There also are instructive comparisons in regards to the use of pagan picture stones as altar plates, such as in the impressive altar of the church of St Willibrord in Rindern Nordrhein-Westfalen, Germany.¹³⁰ This is a Roman votive stone for the Celtic-Roman war god Mars-Camulus, dating to the 1st century AD. It was re-used as a Christian altar as early as the early Middle Ages, when the sign of the cross and a recess for relics were carved into its surface. Apparently, both the medieval clergy and the churchgoers did not take offence at the obviously pagan origin of the stone. It cannot have been pure pragmatism that prompted this kind of reutilisation, as the inscription is a real “eye-catcher” that easily could have been removed if that had been deemed necessary. Rather, it appears that it deliberately was used to establish a link to old sacral traditions.

Of no little interest is the position taken by the Church today, as stated by the former Pastor in Rindern, Andreas Poorten, in an interview with the newspaper “Rheinische Post” on 26 February 2009: “This altar represents the community, which for centuries regularly forgathered at this place for the divine service. It is the touch of history that is felt here. [...] Through

¹²⁷ L. Wilson, *Runstenar och kyrkor. En studie med utgångspunkt från runstenar som påträffats i kyrkomiljö i Uppland och Södermanland*, Uppsala 1994; B. Johansen, *Ormalur...*; L. Klos, *Runensteine in Schweden. Studien zu Aufstellungsort und Funktion*, Ergänzungsbände zum Reallexikon der Germanischen Altertumskunde, LXIV, Berlin-New York 2009, pp. 20f., 305f.; C. Ljung, *Under runristad håll. Tidigkristna gravmonument i 1000-talets Sverige*, Stockholm Studies in Archaeology, LXVII, 1, Stockholm 2016, pp. 24-29 (pp. 164-171 for the Gotlandic picture stones).

¹²⁸ J. Brøndsted, *Thors fiskeri, “Fra Nationalmuseets Arbejdsmark”* (1955), pp. 92-104, esp. 98-102, fig. 85-87; W. Heizmann, *Midgardschlange*, in: *Dämonen, Monster, Fabelwesen*, pp. 413-438, esp. 421, fig. 7.

¹²⁹ B. Meyer, J. Meyer, *Schalensteine in Schleswig-Holstein*, Schleswig 2015, no. 220.

¹³⁰ J. Fink, *Der Mars Camulus-Stein in der Pfarrkirche zu Rindern. Römisches Denkmal und christlicher Altar*, Kevelaer 1970; H. Scholten, *Der Mars-Camulus-Stein*, in: *Handbuch der Religionen. Kirchen und andere Glaubensgemeinschaften in Deutschland/im deutschsprachigen Raum*, eds. M. Klöcker, U. Tworuschka, Ausgabe, XXXI, Religion allgemein, Grundlegendes, 2012.

the ups and downs of the ages, we have here, with this altar, a rock-solid foundation that will also be a support for the future." When the stone was re-consecrated on 5 January 1968, the Bishop of Hildesheim, Heinrich Maria Janssen, preached the sermon, from which I quote a few passages: "This altar always has been a sacred monument, first a pagan one, at which Roman soldiers felt committed to their god. [...] We want to understand correctly and consciously that this block of stone [...] reaches back to the period of the princes of the Apostles, Peter and Paul. This parish, which owns a sacrificial altar from apostolic times, must have very deep roots in the Catholic faith."¹³¹ On 12 January 1969, the first anniversary of the consecration of the altar, Pater Augustin Borgolte of the Franziskaner-Hochschule Münster interred a relic of St Peter in the altar of Mars. In his sermon, he mentioned the Roman soldiers, "who had erected this stone for their god, whom they called Mars, in gratitude for deliverance from danger. These people had learned that there are powers and forces, which are standing above humans, which humankind only can gratefully accept and experience. Here, we come across the origin of the stone, and we realise that this origin is alive in ourselves even today. Also, we experience the forces that prevail over us [...]."¹³² Willibrord brought the stone to his church to celebrate on it the highest sacrifice of the world, the Eucharist of Christ. "In this, [he] declared that the church is the fulfilment and completion of the belief of the Romans, the fulfilment of their yearnings, the light of their hope, and the power of their quest for God."¹³³ That medieval clerics and parishioners had a similar view of pagan stone monuments in their churches and knew similar explanatory models, appears quite possible.

One thing already emerged – there is no simple explanation for the re-use of pagan picture stones in Gotland's churches. Rather, very different starting situations, contexts, perceptions, and intentions need to be taken into account, and the transitions between them appear to be fluent. To summarise:

1) Either the picture stones had lost any religious meaning and in fact merely were regarded as suitable building material (pragmatism, recycling); or 2) this was a way to condemn and mock the pagan faith, to characterise it as defeated, forced into the Christian Church's service, and submitted to Christ's command (*damnatio*); or 3) this is the serious attempt to "convert" the pagan ancestors to Christianity *post mortem*, or save their souls from hell (*translatio, missio*); or 4) to establish a link to the dignity of the ancestors and ostentatiously demonstrate continuity; 5) lastly, folk religious conceptions have to be considered (*superstitio*) which ascribed a certain efficaciousness

131 J. Fink, *Der Mars Camulus-Stein...*, p. 54.

132 Ibidem, p. 62.

133 Ibidem, p. 63.

to the stones from “prehistory” that could also unfold unseen and in secret (“restricted presence of image”).

Referring to a larger material basis and as the result of interdisciplinary evaluations, future research is going to make possible a more profound assessment of the phenomenon, in order to provide – from a Scandinavian perspective – an important contribution to the study of spolia and to medieval history of mentalities.

ABSTRACT

Of the 570 picture stones known to date in Gotland, 240 are encountered in churches. As a matter of fact, those pagan memorial stones were easily available in pre-Christian burial grounds and thus regarded and utilised as suitable building material. Sometimes, however, the places chosen for the stones within a church building appear to be both exposed and deliberate, so there seems to be an additional reason and perhaps a deeper meaning of the re-use. The questions to be discussed here are: Why were so many pagan picture stones incorporated in the Gotlandic churches, what was the builders’ intention, and what conceptions did they and their contemporaries associate with these measures? Previously research has dealt with this question only marginally; a seminal and comprehensive study does not exist. The frequent re-use of ancient Roman stones in medieval churches on the Continent, however, was studied thoroughly in research literature, and different explanations and modes of interpretation were discussed.

In the following paper, conclusive examples of pagan stones in Gotland’s churches will be discussed on the background of Continental parallels and written sources. As a result, there is no simple explanation for this re-use. Rather, very different starting situations, contexts, perceptions, and intentions need to be taken into account, and the transitions between them appear to be fluent. Either the picture stones had lost any religious meaning and in fact merely were regarded as suitable building material (pragmatism, recycling) or this was a way to condemn and mock the pagan faith, to characterise it as defeated, forced into the Christian Church’s service, and submitted to Christ’s command (*damnatio*). Perhaps, this is the serious attempt to ‘convert’ the pagan ancestors to Christianity post mortem, to save their souls from hell (*translatio, missio*) or to establish a link to the dignity of the ancestors and ostentatiously demonstrate continuity. Lastly, folk religious conceptions have to be considered (*superstitio*) which ascribed a certain efficaciousness to the stones from ‘prehistory’ that could also unfold unseen and in secret

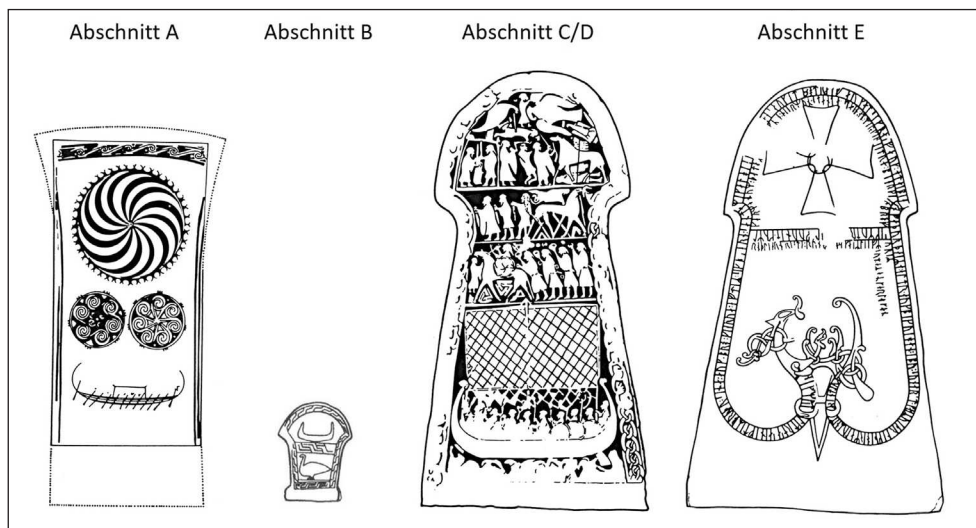


Fig. 1. Typology of the picture stones following Sune Lindqvist – A: 400-600, B: 500-700, C/D: 8th-10th Century, E: 11th century (after: A. Andrén, *Doors to other worlds. Scandinavian death rituals in Gotlandic perspectives*, “*Journal of European Archaeology*” I (1993), pp. 33-56, fig. 1).



Fig. 2. Gotlandic picture stone Bro kyrka I (type A) in the church wall (photo M. Egeler).

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HALLS HAUNTED BY THE PAST: OLD GERMANIC HERITAGE AND “VÖLKISCH” ARCHITECTURE IN THE GERMAN EMPIRE



The years from the Napoleonic wars up to the foundation of the German Empire in 1871 saw many different attempts to define the nation via the essence of being German, the foundational and thus glorified German Middle Ages providing a baseline to this tune. After the political unification of 1871, the need to define *deutsches Wesen*, i.e. what was German by essence, remained heartfelt. The rise of the *völkische Bewegung* (*völkisch* movement) – or rather movements, as it was a highly heterogeneous phenomenon and anything but a single group of people, organization or political party – had earlier been regarded as a post-war phenomenon of the Weimar Republic and a direct precursor to National Socialism, but more recent scholarship has demonstrated that the phenomenon was already virulent and deeply rooted in the decennia before World War I.¹ The *völkische Weltanschauung*, a heterogenous set of feelings, beliefs, ideas, and visions, was a formative force behind the upcoming of a multitude of more or less well-defined groups, clubs, and associations in Imperial Germany.² Dominant within this quest for identity were attempts

1 Cf. U. Puschner, “One People, One Reich, One God.” *The Völkische Weltanschauung and Movement*, “German Historical Institute London Bulletin” XXIV (2002), pp. 5-28, here pp. 5-6. The article relies on his profound book-length study *Die völkische Bewegung im wilhelminischen Kaiserreich: Sprache, Rasse, Religion*, Darmstadt 2001; cf. also the review by T.C.W. Blanning in “German Historical Institute London Bulletin” XXIV (2002), pp. 94-97.

2 Cf. U. Puschner, *Die völkische Bewegung...*, passim; *Handbuch zur “Völkischen Bewegung” 1871-1918*, eds. U. Puschner, W. Schmitz, J.H. Ulbricht, München-New Providence-London-Paris 1996, passim; *Handbuch literarisch-kultureller Vereine, Gruppen und Bünde 1825-1933*, eds. W. Wülfing, K. Bruns, R. Parr, Stuttgart-Weimar 1998; R. Parr, *Interdiskursive As-Sociation: Studien zu literarisch-kulturellen Gruppierungen zwischen Vormärz und Weimarer Republik*, Studien und

to relate to “Germanic” prehistory or the German Middle Ages, assuming that there was a national continuity from ancient times to then present-day Germany. The *lieux de memoire* (places of remembrance) cultivated by the *völkisch* movement addressed the long line of history and included e.g. Germanic prehistory, Arminius and the later medieval German emperors as well as the national genius, the place of desire “German forest” and new national mythologies constructed on the basis of what was perceived as Germanic cultural heritage, as for example in form of the works of Richard Wagner. Thus, the *völkisch* circles’ inventories of places of remembrance did not necessarily contrast with the overarching national ones – for all of their at times esoteric qualities, the *völkisch* movement(s) of the German Empire were a product of and at least to a large extent firmly rooted in the greater bourgeois milieu. What singled them out can perhaps rather be perceived in their attitude and the degree of commitment – a stronger feeling of loss and that what was lost had to be regained, a deeper scepticism towards modernity and industrialisation and thus a more radical turning to the past, unfulfilled spiritual needs and a stronger longing for a holistic world view and, for the most, a higher degree of nationalism.

Among those active within the circles of the *völkisch* movement was the Berlin painter Hermann Hendrich (1864-1931) who, through his connections, managed to raise funding and build several exhibition halls in order to get his paintings displayed. In the present article, these halls, especially the Walpurgishalle (referring to the witches’ Sabbath celebrated on Walpurgis Night, the night to 1 May) erected at the Hexentanzplatz (“the Witches’ dance-ground”) near the city of Thale in the Harz region, will serve as the main case to demonstrate how history, art, and religion were merged with cultural pessimism and a romantic longing for wholeness and closeness to nature within visions of the past and a construction of German identity by the *völkisch* movement. The points of reference and the applied mechanisms are still of high relevance today as various radical groups of the far-right, the post-World War II Identitarian movement and partly neo-pagan groups tread the same paths,³ and the actual sites such as the Hexentanzplatz can also be blind spots in the sense that they are advertised for tourists and used today, but without any sufficient clarification of their former and present uses by *völkisch* or far-right groups.

Hermann Hendrich was born 31 October 1864 in Heringen/Harz. After commencing an apprenticeship as a lithographer in Nordhausen, he moved on

Texte zur Sozialgeschichte der Literatur, LXXV, Tübingen 2000, passim; J.U. Ulbricht, “Bünde Deutsche Lichtkämpfer”. *Lebensreform und völkische Bewegung*, in: *Die Lebensreform. Entwürfe zur Neugestaltung von Leben und Kunst um 1900*, eds. K. Buchholz, R. Latocha, H. Peckemann, I-II, Darmstadt 2001, here I, pp. 425-428.

3 Cf. S. von Schnurbein, *Norse Revival. Transformations of Germanic Neopaganism*, Studies in Critical Research on Religion, V, Leiden-Boston 2016, passim.

to Hannover and Berlin, worked at theatres in Detmold and Dusseldorf and devoted himself fully to painting, with stays in Berlin, Amsterdam and the U.S.; back in Germany, he studied painting with Joseph Wenglein in Munich and then with Eugen Bracht in Berlin.⁴ Strongly influenced by Arnold Böcklin but without reaching the same level of quality, he was inspired by Richard Wagner's operas⁵ and Nordic folktales, fairy tales, gothic themes and myth and turned them into art. Thus, he created both individual paintings and cycles round *The Flying Dutchman*, *Tannhäuser*, *The Ring of the Nibelung* and *Parsifal* as well as on other tales, epics and myth, e.g. *Beowulf*, *Grimms' Fairy Tales* and on tales from the Riesengebirge (Pol.: Karkonosze).⁶ With this focus on national-romantic themes, he had some success in the 1880s and 1890s. Even the German Emperor Wilhelm II owned some paintings by Hendrich and commissioned one to be made for him (entitled *Atlantis*), others were acquired by the Grand Duke of Oldenburg and a number of museums.⁷ Still, the most lasting impact Hendrich had was through his networks, as one might call it today, and the architecture he managed to get built for his paintings.

As for his networks and his own role in them, they mirror the complexity of the bourgeois milieus of his time. Via a multitude of personal networks and a broad range of groups and associations with fuzzy borders which in addition overlapped as many of their members were at the same time members in other groups, the *völkisch* movement, regarded from outside these circles, looked very much like patchwork and their world view rather diffuse and complex. At the same time, these tightly woven networks and the numberless links between each other, as well as the fluidity amongst the *völkisch*, nationalist and antimodernist or culturally-critical milieus provided the basis for the wide distribution of *völkisch* thought in Imperial Germany.⁸ This fermentation vat of overlapping heterogenous milieus took up Nietzschean art-religion and the idea that Germany needed a spiritual renewal facilitated by combining the aesthetic heritage with "leading spirits"⁹ and generated an inextricable amount of scholarly¹⁰ and popular works such as Julius Langbehn's *Rembrandt als Erzieher* (1890) and Willy Pastor's *Der Zug vom Norden* (1906).

4 *Allgemeines Lexikon der bildenden Künste*, XVI, eds. U. Thieme, F. Becker, Leipzig 1923, p. 379.

5 In his own view not operas but *Gesamtkunstwerke*, total art works.

6 *Allgemeines Lexikon...*, p. 379; cf. also A. Koeppen, *Hermann Hendrich und seine Tempelkunst*, "Westermanns Monatshefte" CIII (1908), pp. 651-662, here p. 654.

7 *Allgemeines Lexikon...*, p. 379.

8 Cf. U. Puschner, *Die völkische Bewegung...*, p. 280.

9 S. von Schnurbein, *Norse Revival...*, pp. 306-308.

10 Cf. e.g. I. Wiwjorra, *Der Germanenmythos. Konstruktion einer Weltanschauung in der Altertumsforschung des 19. Jahrhunderts*, Darmstadt 2006.

Hendrich himself was a member of the association Edda and of two Berlin-based literary-cultural associations, the Neue Klause and the Werdandi-Bund. *Edda* aimed at the “rebirth of German art and German crafts in a national sense.”¹¹ The Neue Klause (1892-1897) wanted to support German poetry via recitations and lectures; after a somewhat humorous and carnivalesque start, it became more national and anti-modern round 1895, now having a stronger focus on traditional popular genres such as folksongs and fairy tales, and a stronger national tone can be observed in its newsletters (*Mitteilungen*).¹² Hendrich was one of the founders of the Werdandi-Bund in 1907. Named after one of the norns of Old Norse mythology (Urð, Verðandi and Skuld, mentioned in the Eddic poem *Völuspá*, Verðandi meaning the present or nascent), it served the purpose, in the words of its president Friedrich Seeßelberg, to “give those artists, whose art is based on a healthy German foundation of the soul, greater and more direct influence on culture” and to “preserve and strengthen the particular and the power of the soul of the German people by the means of art”, goals fully shared by Hendrich,¹³ but certainly not by progressive German contemporaries.¹⁴ Still, there were many members with memberships of both the Werdandi-Bund and the innovative Deutscher Werkbund (also founded in 1907) as the Werdandi-Bund, in spite of its conservative and culturally critical orientation as such, was welcoming modern technologies and inventions, very much in line with the bourgeois background of its members, mainly doctors, professors, lawyers, journalists, artists, and industrialists.¹⁵

Such mythological references were much to the taste of Hendrich who was a member of the Deutschgläubige Gemeinschaft (“German Faith Community”) since 1914, earlier Deutschreligiöse Gemeinschaft (“German Religious Community”), a sworn community of neo-pagans who had left the church officially.¹⁶ Around the turn of the century, when the interest in Hendrich’s art diminished, he successfully tried to have exhibition halls built for his paintings. These were not mere functional buildings serving the purpose, though – Hendrich ensured a (to his taste) perfect match between his paintings and the architecture. At the same time, the new localities allowed

11 R. Parr, *Interdiskursive As-Sociation...*, p. 50.

12 K. Bruns, *Neue Klause*, in: *Handbuch literarisch-kultureller...*, pp. 371-384.

13 Cf. R. Parr, *Werdandi-Bund*, in: *Handbuch literarisch-kultureller...*, pp. 485-495, here p. 485; cf. R. Parr, *Interdiskursive As-Sociation...*, pp. 167-172 and U. Puschner, *Die völkische Bewegung...*, pp. 132f.; on Hendrich’s grammatics cf. A. Koeppen, *Hermann Hendrich...*, p. 662.

14 Cf. e.g. the sarcastic article by K. Scheffler, *Werdandi*, “Kunst und Künstler” VI (1908), pp. 195-199, reprinted in R. Parr, *Interdiskursive As-Sociation...*, pp. 222-225.

15 R. Parr, *Interdiskursive As-Sociation...*, pp. 65-68.

16 S. von Schnurbein, *Norse Revival...*, p. 318, see also pp. 40-49; S. Breuer, *Die Völkischen in Deutschland. Kaiserreich und Weimarer Republik*, Darmstadt 2008, pp. 95-97.

him to give his pictures more monumental dimensions and appearances. These halls can be regarded as the ardent Wagnerian Hendrich's own form of total art, combining art, architecture and a mythologically charged natural setting which answered strongly to neo-pagan needs of alternative cult places and places of remembrance of their own. The first of them was the Walpurgishalle (Thale 1901), two years later the Riesengebirgshalle (Szklarska Poręba/Schreiberhau 1903), then after a lot of difficulties the Nibelungenhalle (Königswinter 1913), and finally, as a late offshoot and not on his initiative, a fourth hall, Deutscher Sagenring (Burg a.d. Wupper 1926).¹⁷

Hendrich's halls differed a great deal in style; still, all of them eclectically addressed distant pasts not just via the paintings, but also through architecture and holistic programs of figural decorations. They combined massive proportions with elements from medieval Scandinavian wooden architecture (Walpurgishalle and Riesengebirgshalle) or from pre-historic and medievalist imagination. Inside, they provided interior spaces of sacral character – an intended aesthetic effect, as was clearly pointed out by Hendrich's contemporary Alfred Koeppen in his article *Hermann Hendrich und seine Tempelkunst* (H.H. and his temple art) in "Westermanns Monatshefte" in 1908, a journal highly popular in the bourgeois milieu (appeared 1856-1987): He characterizes the Walpurgishalle as "a defiant hall-building filled with German spirit", inwardly resembling a temple and taking the spectator back into a strange past through its symbolic ornaments.¹⁸ A cycle of monumental paintings show motives of Walpurgis and the witches' Sabbath taken from or freely imagined on the basis of Goethe's *Faust* drama. In these paintings, Koeppen sees "the spirit from times immemorial risen from the dead in a deeply-felt symbolic *gestalt*." And he points to the intimate connection between landscape and human soul:

Inasmuch as the atmospheric content of the landscape entered an essential soul-wise concord with man, and as there has been found a generous form with an almost decorative effect, the monumental stepped into its own right.¹⁹

Models and inspirations for the design of the Walpurgishalle spring from a variety of sources: the medieval and contemporary Norwegian wood

¹⁷ J.E. Schnall, K. Stoverock, "Ein Ehrendom unserer Mythe" – die Nibelungenhalle, in: *Rheinreise 2002. Der Drachenfels als romantisches Reiseziel*, eds. E. Scheuren, H. Stoverock, Bonn 2002, pp. 152-161; J.E. Schnall, *Zementiertes Deutschland – Wagner, Siegfried und andere Götter in der Nibelungenhalle zu Königswinter*, in: *Runica – Germania – Mediaevalia*, eds. W. Heizmann, A. van Nahl, Ergänzungsbände zum Reallexikon der Germanischen Altertumskunde, XXXVII, Berlin-New York 2003, pp. 727-758; S. von Schnurbein, *Norse Revival...*, pp. 318-320.

¹⁸ A. Koeppen, *Hermann Hendrich...*, p. 656.

¹⁹ *Ibidem*.

architecture, the so-called dragon style, scholarly and popular works on Germanic prehistory, his admiration for Richard Wagner and his total art works, medievalist and other popular imaginations of a Germanic-German past and ideas about the aesthetics of materials – but also Hendrichs practical experience, as several traits of his wooden halls show strong similarities with typical stage sets for performances of Wagner’s operas or Friedrich Hebbel’s drama *Die Nibelungen*.

There is good reason to assume a direct or indirect influence by Norwegian wood architecture. In 1876, Hendrich had the opportunity to accompany a Norwegian fellow student to his home country and see landscape and architecture with his own eyes; 1885 was spent on a second study trip to Norway. He had access to illustrated publications of both Viking Age finds (the Gokstad excavation being published 1882) and thorough studies of medieval and contemporary wood architecture (such as L. Dietrichson, H. Munthe, *Die Holzbaukunst Norwegens in Vergangenheit und Gegenwart*, Berlin 1893). Holm Hansen Munthe (1848-1898), architect of the famous Holmenkollen Turisthotell (1889, burnt 1895) and the Frognerseteren (1890) draws some parallels between Wagner’s reception of *Edda* and *Nibelungenlied* on the one hand and contemporary reception of Norwegian wood architecture in Germany on the other: Perhaps the Norwegian wood architecture could bring an “element of freshness and earthiness not to be underestimated” to German art.²⁰

The Dragon style, taking up features from stave church architecture and Viking Age wood-carving was also mediated to the German Empire by Munthe, supported not least by the German Emperor Wilhelm II. He had Munthe build e.g. the royal yacht station *Kongsnäas* at Potsdam and later the hunting lodge Rominten in East Prussia. At the turn of the century, the animal ornaments of the Dragon style were merged and brought to a synthesis with forms of the Art Nouveau. As for the Walpurgishalle, there are obvious and significant differences between its style and the Art Nouveau. The wood carvings are rough and far less detailed, and the wooden elements show rather massive proportions, directing the focus towards the building materials as such. This has a lot to do with a certain branch of material aesthetics of the time that would ascribe positive value to the formless, nature-like, unrefined. Special significance was perceived in wood as the most original of all building materials used by Germanic peoples. A deep emotional connection to the forest and wood as material was postulated, a connection that still was lingering under the surface in contemporary Germany. The first edition of Hoops’ *Reallexikon der germanischen Altertumskunde* (1911-1919) has in its article on wood architecture:

²⁰ L. Dietrichson, H. Munthe, *Die Holzbaukunst Norwegens in Vergangenheit und Gegenwart*, Berlin 1893, p. 128.

The love for the native forest, which one had to thank for protection, food, clothing, housing, in short: almost everything, and for the type of architecture derived from it, has been preserved among the Germanic people as an inheritance up to the present day.²¹

The material aesthetics connected to wood are clearly visible also at Hendrich's second hall, the Sagenhalle ("Hall of Folktales") in Szklarska Poręba/Schreiberhau, now lost. It was built by the architect Paul Engler in 1903, and like the Walpurgishalle two years earlier, it was a "Nordic" wooden house on a base of natural stone and presented a detailed mythological program in its figural decoration. The intended aesthetic effect was an "atmosphere of fairytale twilight" in which the visitor could muse on the Midgard Serpent, Wodan's eye, his spear with the runic inscription "Saga, mach' sehend" ("Saga, make us see"), an "Old German oath ring", Thor's hammer and Wotan's likewise rune-adorned sword.²² The folklore mountain spirit Rübzahl (Liczyrzepa) of Hendrich's paintings is integrated into the Old-Norse-Germanic mythology, being assigned positive traits and identified with Wotan. According to Hendrich's contemporary, Alfred Koeppen, Rübzahl-Wotan was to be understood as spring personified and as such a manifestation of cosmologic phenomena.

The Nibelungenhalle at the Drachenfels was built in 1913 as a Richard-Wagner-Memorial Hall in honour of his 100th birthday. It houses a cycle of twelve paintings on the *Ring of the Nibelung*, three for each of the operas. They are embedded in a very detailed holistic concept comprising the architecture itself, the figural decorations both on the inside and the outside, the wooden carved frames of the pictures, the light design via differently coloured windows and the permanent playing of Wagner's music. On the floor, the world serpent encircles a hexagram. The hall itself was erected in a natural setting which was part of the program – the hall in total is an amalgamation of nature-mystic ideas, *völkisch* symbolism, Nordic-Germanic mythology and references to Wagner's works, all presented as a cosmic whole within the annual cycle.²³

Here, a different and even more monumental material aesthetics can be observed, and also the form of the building evokes other associations.²⁴ A memorial hall with massive columns and other monumental elements

²¹ A. Haupt, *Holzbau. A. Deutschland und der Norden*, in: *Reallexikon der germanischen Altertumskunde*, II, ed. J. Hoops, Straßburg 1915, p. 557.

²² A. Koeppen, *Hermann Hendrich...*, p. 659.

²³ Cf. J.E. Schnall, *Zementiertes Deutschtum...*, pp. 727-758.

²⁴ On material aesthetics cf. D. Mersch, *Deutsche Materialästhetik*, in: *Die Lebensreform...*, pp. 267-269.

of stone point to models such as the Burschenschaftsdenkmal at Eisenach. A material aesthetics with the raw, hard, and mighty as an ideal connects well to an interest in Germanic prehistory and scholarly or esoteric literature about it. Willy Pastor, a *völkisch* publicist, member of prehistoric associations and later like Hendrich a member of the Werdandi-Bund, links the movement of erratic blocks with the alleged migration of Germanic peoples from the north in his book *Altgermanische Monumentalkunst* (1910).

The program of the paintings in the Nibelungenhalle interprets the Nibelung cycle in a nature-mythological way, Siegfried being associated with light and his cult with a sun cult. This relates to a book popular in *völkisch* circles, *Sigfrid oder Christus* ("Sigfrid or Christ", 1910) by Otto Sigfrid Reuter (1876-1945), another early neo-pagan protagonist of the *völkisch* and the German Faith movement. In this work, "the hero of the Nibelungen story, Sigfrid, is celebrated as a 'light' warrior who leads through victory (*Sieg*) to peace (*Frieden*)."²⁵

To grasp the full scale of Hendrich's involvement in the neo-pagan and *völkisch* milieu, one has to return to the ensemble at the Hexentanzplatz and direct the attention toward Ernst Wachler (1871-1945). His role for the *völkisch* movement was more significant than later protagonists of it wanted to acknowledge, due to his partial Jewish roots.²⁶ In 1900, Wachler provided "the prototype of all later 'neopagan' prophecies" in form of his little booklet *Über die Zukunft des deutschen Glaubens* ("On the future of German faith").²⁷ In this racist anti-Romanic, anti-Semitic and anticlerical programmatic booklet, he paves the way for a race-based Blut-und-Boden religion – and turns to fairy tales, folktales, and myth:

The faith natural to our people had been there once [...]. It is not dead, just buried. Could not the soil of which it sprouted be opened again? Let us just try whether we cannot find an access to the world of our fairytales and folktales, to the lost sanctuary of our people.²⁸

While other *völkisch* artists (Fidus, Ludwig Fahrenkrog) also planned to build Germanic Faith temples, Hendrich was the only one who actually succeeded in shaping a neo-pagan site of gathering and worship, together with Ernst Wachler, who had his Germanic amphitheatre built at the very same

²⁵ S. von Schnurbein, *Norse Revival...*, p. 40.

²⁶ U. Puschner, *Völkische Bewegung...*, p. 233.

²⁷ Ibidem, p. 226; see also S. von Schnurbein, *Norse Revival...*, p. 38.

²⁸ E. Wachler, *Über die Zukunft des deutschen Glaubens. Ein philosophischer Versuch*, Freiberg in Sachsen 1930 (1st edition Berlin 1900), p. 11; quotation translated after U. Puschner, *Deutsche Reformbühne und völkische Kultstätte. Ernst Wachler und das Harzer Bergtheater*, in: *Handbuch zur "Völkischen Bewegung"...*, pp. 762-796, here p. 783.

location. The Hexentanzplatz was already a national place of remembrance, as it was allegedly a site of pagan witchcraft rituals and played an important role in Goethe's *Faust* (this drama itself a place of remembrance as it represented both the German classical tradition and, through its author, the national genius).²⁹ The Harzer Bergtheater was the most important place of neo-pagan worship:

Not only was the stage to become an altar, but the location of the theater itself was also turned into a place of worship, in synchronicity with the powers of nature and landscape. The *Harzer Bergtheater* was used for the activities of German Faith organizations such as the *Deutschreligiöse Gemeinschaft* and *Germanische Glaubensgemeinschaft*. At their gatherings, myth-inspired plays by Wachler and the organizations' founder, Ludwig Fahrenkrog, were performed as well.³⁰

HAUNTED HERITAGE

The city of Thale highlights the myths, fairy tales and the Nordic or Germanic sublime connected to the Brocken mountain in its approach to draw tourists to the region. The individual sights at and near the Hexentanzplatz play a major part in this endeavour. Still, when one looks up the official or most prominent tourist homepages, there is little to no information about the cultural context in which the prominent buildings were designed and built. On the Walpurgishalle, the page bodetal.de provides the following information (only in German):

The Walpurgis-Hall on the Hexentanzplatz is a small museum in Old Germanic style that was built in 1901 according to plans by the architect Bernhard Sehring from Berlin. The blockhouse-like building is located at the northern end of the Hexentanzplatz, close to the Harzer Bergtheater. The gable of the Walpurgis-Hall is crowned by the head of one-eyed father of the gods, Wotan, flanked by the ravens Hugin and Munin and the wolves Geri and Frecki. In order to become omniscient, Wotan drank from the well of wisdom. For the drink from this well that was guarded by the giant Ymir [sic!], Wotan had to sacrifice one eye. The name of the building is mirrored also in the interior in a way worth seeing. Five large wall paintings with motives from Goethe's *Faust* and other tales about Walpurgis adorn the walls. The works of art were created by the artist and historic painter Hermann Hendrich, who also had the idea to erect the Walpurgis-Hall. At the entrance area, there is also a sacrificial stone, which was found at the nearby Sachsenwall

²⁹ S. von Schnurbein, *Norse Revival...*, p. 318.

³⁰ *Ibidem*, p. 316f.

[literally “the Saxon’s wall”, but actually the ruins of the pre-historic Homburg – J.E. Schnall] during the work with the hall.³¹

On the even more problematic Wachler and his Harzer Bergtheater, bodetal.de provides at least some hint to the context of its origin (the same text appearing also on other webpages):

The open-air theatre [...] was founded by Dr. Ernst Wachler under the name “Green Scene”, thereby fulfilling his dream of a theatre after a Greek model in the Harz. The plays which Wachler had performed during the first years, had a folkloristic touch and were characterized by a patriotism not comprehensible any more nowadays.

But as is easily seen, nothing points to Wachler’s outspokenly racist, anti-Semitic and neo-pagan ideological background – in the explanation above, it is just the plays that had a “folkloristic” character, and “patriotism” veils the *de facto* nationalistic-*völkisch* and neo-pagan context. And as Hendrich died in a train accident at his second home and place of desire, Szklarska Poręba/Schreiberhau in 1931, his life thus ending prior to the twelve dark years of Nazi rule in Germany, this seems to invite unproblematic uses of his heritage by present-day Germans – the official webpage of the *Nibelungenhalle* chooses not to mention the *völkisch* context of the building. And the recent catalogue covering a larger exhibition of Hendrich’s paintings in 2014-2015 at his place of birth Heringen does not mention the *völkisch* context of neither Hendrich’s art nor of his halls.³²

As such, the cases taken up by this article make a point of more general relevance: Instead of whitewashing the in some instances more, in others clearly less harmless protagonists of the *völkisch* movement and the ambivalent cultural heritage that is left from them, and instead of cultivating a naïve and uninformed experience of the *völkisch* emsembles round the Walpurgishalle and Harzer Bergtheater in Thale and the *Nibelungenhalle* in Königswinter, it would be highly desirable to provide the information necessary for an adequate understanding of their historic background. Often, uncritical information is copied and multiplied by numerous webpages and finds its way also into tourist guides which, as might be supposed, adopt the harmless and de-contextualized interpretations of ambivalent places of remembrance.³³

³¹ <https://www.bodetal.de/poi/walpurgishalle-auf-dem-hexentanzplatz-1/> (accessed 21 December 2019).

³² *Katalog zur Sonder-Ausstellung “Hermann Hendrich anlässlich seines 160. Geburtstages” im Schloss Heringen 29. Oktober 2014-30. April 2015*, ed. K. Moser, Heringen 2017.

³³ Cf. e.g. M. Vieser, *Heimatkunde für Fortgeschrittene: Bodenlose Löcher, Lügenmuseen und andere kuriose Sehenswürdigkeiten*, München 2010, ch. 11: “Und ewig hallt es noch: die Germanen leben hoch! Walpurgishalle und Nibelungenhalle: Erlebnisarchitektur aus der Kaiserzeit”.

Of course, this lack of information is not confined to popular media. In his dissertation on the architect Bernhard Sehring, the author Ralph Berndt bases almost the entire interpretation of the figural program on the outside of the Walpurgishalle on the first booklet on the hall from 1901.³⁴ Berndt copies thirty lines of the booklet with almost no changes and without any marking or reference at all, and apart from replicating typos such as Nimir for Mimir, far worse, he adopts uncritically the ideological tainting and the complete interpretative assessment from the booklet – on the one-eyed Wotan, he thus relates: “But all-seeing he remained, his sun-gaze still shining from one eye.”³⁵ Any mention of the *völkisch* and neo-pagan background is sought in vain.

Once places are charged to the extent demonstrated above, there is no way back to fairytale land. Instead of allowing for an aesthetic experience of place and cultural heritage *combined* with an awareness of their uses through time, their allure and entangling mechanisms of aesthetic effects, the approach “innocence by ignorance” paves the way for new abuses and plays in the hand of nationalism 2.0 in form of identitarian ideology.

ABSTRACT

The present article deals with uses of the past in art and architecture within networks and associations of the *völkisch* movement of the German Empire around 1900. It takes the *völkisch* painter Hermann Hendrich as an example and focuses specifically on halls which he had built for his paintings at Thale, Szklarska Poręba, Königswinter and Burg a.d. Wupper, conceptualized as total art works. The article traces the ideological and aesthetic contexts of these halls which were different in style, but all addressing distant pasts through holistic programs involving architecture, figural decorations, paintings, and the natural surroundings. The article shows how they were meant to function at their sites, deliberately chosen places of remembrance – in the case of the Walpurgishalle as part of an ensemble shaping the most important place of neo-pagan worship in Germany.

³⁴ R. Berndt, *Bernhard Sehring. Ein Privatarchitekt und Theaterbaumeister des Wilhelminischen Zeitalters. Leben und Werk*, Cottbus (Diss.) 1998, p. 193; booklet: P. Kraemer, *Die Walpurgishalle auf dem Hexentanzplatz. Eine Schöpfung Hermann Hendrichs und Bernhard Sehrings. Einige Worte zum Geleit!*, Berlin 1901 [reprinted Thale 2001].

³⁵ R. Berndt, *Bernhard Sehring...*, p. 193.



Fig. 1. Walpurgishalle, Thale, exterior 2018 (© User: Matthias Süßen, https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Hexentanzplatz_Thale_msu2017-0633.jpg – accessed: 20 December 2018).



Fig. 2. Walpurgishalle, Thale, interior, 2004 (© Jens Eike Schnell / Karin Stoverock).

II. PRUSSICA

MARTA CZYŻAK, ANDRZEJ RADZIMIŃSKI
TORUŃ

EARLIEST SYNOD STATUTES OF JOHN MARIENAU, BISHOP OF CHEŁMNO, FROM THE FIRST HALF OF 15TH CENTURY*



The convocation of diocese synods by bishops has a long history in Western Europe. The first such synod took place in 585, in the French Auxerre, where forty-five statutes were announced.¹ Synod statutes included various types of precepts, interdictions, as well as instructions for priests and devotees. As a rule, statutes were issued after prior visitations. The institution of diocese synods became increasingly more widespread as a result of the provisions of the Fourth Council of the Lateran of 1215, which introduced the obligation to hold synods. The third section of the sixth constitution of the council, entitled *De conciliis provincialis*, was devoted to synod statutes. It was decided then that the decisions of regional synods would have to be announced on diocese synods, to be convened once a year. Priests who neglected this duty could be

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¹ I devoted an earlier article to the regulatory matters of synods: A. Radzimiński, *Kościół w państwie Zakonu Krzyżackiego w Prusach 1243-1525*, Malbork 2006, pp. 128-149, and the corrected, German-language version of the book: idem, *Die Kirche im Deutschordenstaat in Preussen (1243-1525)*, Toruń 2014, pp. 157-189; also see H.J. Sieben, *Synodalstatuten*, in: *Lexikon des Mittelalters*, VIII, Stuttgart-Weimar 1999, pp. 374-375.

deprived of their benefices and removed from priesthood.² The main tasks of diocese synods concerned the internal matters of dioceses, i.e. disciplining the diocese's clergy, prosecuting offences committed by its members, and implementing canonical law proclaimed by ecumenical councils.

In addition to the publishing of general and regional laws, the deliberations concerned matters connected with issues such as: threats to faith posed by heresy, indulgences, holidays and related liturgy, parish laws, visitations, proper conduct of clergymen, property matters in parishes, as well as *subsidium charitativum* for bishoprics, matters relating to the estate (order of social hierarchy) of clergy, instruction for candidates for priestly ordination, ecclesiastical courts. All of these matters are addressed in the surviving synod statutes for four Prussian dioceses, including the Chełmno diocese.³ The institution of the diocese synod was also widely addressed by the Council of Basel of 1443, on session fifteenth, in the constitution entitled *De concillis provincialibus et synodalibus*. It reaffirmed the duty to convene diocese synods at least once per year and specified the rules of procedure of such councils.⁴

* * *

We know of few recorded synod laws for the four dioceses of the State of the Teutonic Order. Except for the earliest statutes of the diocese of Samland, the majority of such laws was announced in mid-15th century.⁵ The following numbers of laws have survived from the respective dioceses – four from Samland: by Bishop Zygfryd von Regenstein (from 1302-1310),⁶ two by Bishop Michael Junge (first from approx 1427,⁷ second – of 21 February

2 *Dokumenty soborów powszechnych*, II: (869-1312), III: (1414-1445), ed. A. Baron, H. Pietras, Kraków 2002-2003, here II, pp. 238-239; W. Wójcik, *Instytucja synodu diecezjalnego w Kościele w rozwoju historycznym*, in: W. Góralski, *Wprowadzenie do historii ustawodawstwa synodalnego w Polsce*, Lublin 1991, pp. 184-185; A. Radziemiński, *Die Kirche im Deutschordenstaat in Preussen...*, p. 157.

3 Recent extensive works on the diocese law in Prussian dioceses include: A. Radziemiński, *Die Kirche im Deutschordenstaat in Preussen...*, pp. 157-182; cf. A. Menzel-Reuters, *Preussische Diözesanstatuten und Reformen im Deutschen Orden*, in: *Von der Ordnung zur Norm: Statuten in Mittelalter und Früher Neuzeit*, ed. G. Drosbach, Paderborn 2010, pp. 55-70.

4 *Dokumenty soborów powszechnych*, III, pp. 321-328; W. Wójcik, *Instytucja synodu diecezjalnego...*, pp. 188-189.

5 I have discussed these codifications extensively in the book: A. Radziemiński, *Die Kirche im Deutschordenstaat in Preussen...*, pp. 158-182.

6 These statutes were published by Ch. Krollmann, *Eine merkwürdige samländische Urkunde*, "Altpreussische Monatschrift" XL (1934), pp. 36-38; on the same subject matter, see A. Menzel-Reuters, *Preussische Diözesanstatuten...*, p. 62.

7 The first, concise edition was compiled by H.F. Jacobson, *Geschichte der Quellen des katholischen Kirchenrechts der Provinzen Preussen und Posen*, I, Königsberg 1837, pp. (171)-(180); newer edition, by F. Hipler, *Die samländische Diöcesansynode* (henceforth: SD), "Pastoralblatt für

1441⁸) and one by Dietrich Cuba from 1471;⁹ for the bishopric of Pomesania, we have five sets of recorded laws by bishops: Jan Ryman of 26 May 1411,¹⁰ Jan Mewe of 23 September 1428,¹¹ Kaspar Linke of 22 September 1440¹² and Jan Kierstan of 1480-1485;¹³ there are four sets of recorded laws from the diocese of Warmia, including three collections of statutes of Bishop Henryk Sorbom (of 1373-1401), as well as one each by: Franciszek Kuhschmalz of 12 May 1449, Lukas Watzenrode of 20 February 1497.¹⁴

So far, with regard to the diocese which is the focus of our interest – the diocese of Chełmno, we have only known short summaries of the statutes of John Marienau, published in the late first half of the 15th century. They were translated into German and included by Krzysztof Hartknoch in his work devoted to the history of the Church in Prussia. The aforementioned author introduced the theory – without stating any sources – claiming that it was Bishop Arnold Stapel who issued diocese statutes in early 15th century, and those were significantly expanded by John Marienau. In addition, he only included short summaries of the latter statutes in his monograph, translating them into German and claiming that they were the most important provisions.¹⁵

Diözese Ermland" (henceforth: "PDE") XXIX (1897), pp. 109-113 was divided into 49 sections.

8 First edition of concise work by H.F. Jacobson, *Geschichte der Quellen...*, pp. (181)-(183); newer edition by F. Hipler, SD, pp. 113-114, was divided into 7 sections.

9 H.F. Jacobson, *Geschichte der Quellen...*, no. XXXVII, pp. (135)-(136). More on this unpublished set of laws: A. Menzel-Reuters, *Preussische Diözesanstatuten...*, pp. 67-69.

10 Earlier edition by H.F. Jacobson, *Geschichte der Quellen...*, pp. (149)-(161); newer edition by F. Hipler, *Die Pomesanischen Diözesansynoden* (henceforth: PD), "PDE" XXX (1898), pp. 50-55; in both editions, text is divided into 45 sections; see J. Wiśniewski, *Średniowieczne synody pomezańskie. Dekanat sztumski (1601-1821)*, Elbląg 1998, pp. 7-82.

11 Older edition by H.F. Jacobson, *Geschichte der Quellen...*, pp. (162)-(163); newer edition by F. Hipler, PD, pp. 55-56. In both editions, text is divided into 8 sections; see J. Wiśniewski, *Średniowieczne synody pomezańskie...*, pp. 7-82.

12 Older edition by H.F. Jacobson, *Geschichte der Quellen...*, pp. (164)-(166); newer edition by F. Hipler, PD, pp. 56-57; in both, the text of the statutes is divided into 11 sections; see J. Wiśniewski, *Średniowieczne synody pomezańskie...*, pp. 7-82.

13 Older edition by H.F. Jacobson, *Geschichte der Quellen...*, pp. (167)-(171); newer edition by F. Hipler, PD, pp. 57-59; in both editions, the text of the statutes is divided into 20 sections; see J. Wiśniewski, *Średniowieczne synody pomezańskie...*, pp. 7-82.

14 *Geschichte und Statuten der Ermlandischen Diözesansynoden*, ed. F. Hipler, "PDE" XXVII (1895) 6, pp. 64-69; 7, pp. 74-83; 9, pp. 98-107, XXVIII (1896) 8, pp. 74-79; 9, pp. 81-87.

15 K. Hartknoch, *Preussische Kirchen-Historia. Darinnen von Einführung der Christlichen Religion in diese Lande, wie auch von der Conservation, Fortpflanzung, Reformation und dem heutigen Zustande derselben ausführlich gehandelt wird [...]*, Franckfurt am Mayn-Leipzig 1686, pp. 210-212; F. Hipler, *Die Culmische Diözesansynode*, "PDE" XXX (1898) 6, pp. 63-65; newer edition by A. Mańkowski, *Constitutiones synodales necnon ordinationes dioecesis Culmensis*, Fontes. Towarzystwo Naukowe w Toruniu, XXIV, Toruń 1929, pp. 13-19.

This assertion has not been taken note of in existing historiography, and it is of material importance for further source data interpretations.

In total, for the four Prussian dioceses, we are currently in possession of thirteen sets of recorded laws from diocese statutes, whose definitive majority, as I have remarked, was announced by bishops in the first half of the 15th century. Such legislative activity of Prussian bishops is in line with the tendency in Europe to convene more regional and diocese synods during great Councils.¹⁶ The above summary clearly entails that as of now the Chełmno diocese is one with regard to which he have the most limited sources. Those source materials are the statutes of Bishop John Marienau, which – as I have remarked – were published selectively, in the form of short summaries, and translated to German. They were initially published by the aforementioned Krzysztof Hartknoch, and subsequently by Franz Hipler and Alfons Mańkowski.¹⁷ According to Franz Hipler, who based his analysis on the work by Krzysztof Hartknoch, Bishop of Chełmno Arnold Stapel participated in several secular synods and drew up synod statutes. However, the aforementioned author did not support his findings with any source data. According to him, the statutes in question were certified and expanded by Bishop John Marienau. The researcher stated that this last iteration was published “shortly before the Thirteen Years’ War” – again, failing to provide any sources for that assertion. In addition, he claimed that the statutes by John Marienau were approved in December of 1481 by Bishop Stephen of Nidzica, who supplemented them with several of his own provisions.¹⁸

Alfons Mańkowski, the next publisher of the aforementioned statutes, also believed that John Marienau participated in the diocese synod and announced the statutes there, shortly before the Thirteen Years’ War.¹⁹ Recently, however, when Marta Czyżak was browsing the collections of the Nicolaus Copernicus University Library, she found a manuscript from late 16th century, file number Rps 568/IV, which includes the full statutes of Bishop John Marienau, their

16 J. Helmuth, *Partikularsynoden und Synodalstatuten des späteren Mittelalters in europäischen Vergleich*, in: *Das europäische Mittelalter in Spannungsbogen des Vergleichs*, ed. M. Borgolte, Berlin 2001, p. 149; A. Menzel-Reuters, *Preussische Diözesanstatuten...*, pp. 55-70; cf. M. Brauer, *Die Entdeckung des „Heidentums“ in Preussen. Die Prussen in den Reformdiskursen des Spätmittelalters und der Reformation*, Europa im Mittelalter. Abhandlungen und Beiträge zur historischen Komparatistik, XVII, Berlin 2011, pp. 152-196; see critical review of the latter book, A. Radziwiński, *Michael Brauer, Die Entdeckung des „Heidentums“ in Preußen. Die Prussen in den Reformdiskursen des Spätmittelalters und der Reformation (Europa im Mittelalter. Abhandlungen und Beiträge zur historischen Komparatistik, Bd. 17)*, Akademie Verlag, Berlin 2011, ss. 339, ISBN 978-3-05-005078-2, “Zapiski Historyczne” LXXIX (2014), pp. 183-188.

17 Bibliographical descriptions of these editions are included in citation 15.

18 K. Hartknoch, *Preussische Kirchen-Historia...*, pp. 210-212; F. Hipler, “PDE” XXX (1898) 6, pp. 63-65.

19 A. Mańkowski, *Constitutiones synodales...*, p. 13.

approvals and additions made by bishops: Stephen of Nidzica and Mikołaj Chrapicki, as well as a set of laws recorded by Bishop Piotr Kostka.²⁰

The record of the statutes by John Marienau appearing in the manuscript does not include dates. However, the document by the same bishop of 12 January 1438, in which he calls upon the clergy of the Toruń archpresbiterate to appear on 19 March of the same year in the Chełmża cathedral – for the diocese synod, indicates that the statutes may have been announced at that time. The bishop of Chełmno also cited the aforementioned decisions by the Council of Basel of 1433.²¹

This raises the question whether those were the first statutes of Chełmno, or subsequent ones, approving such laws which were introduced by previous bishops, including Arnold Stapel (F. Hipler) or unspecified predecessors (A. Mańkowski). However, the extensive introduction to the statutes of John Marienau included a clear passage stating that the bishop decided “non intendentes statuta reverendorum patrum predecessorum nostrorum revocare, sed eis confirmatis et approbatis aliqua superaddimus licet pauca.”²² Hence, unless we are dealing with a formal convention in which the plural form is used, the passage suggests that the earliest statutes of Chełmno may have been announced by some of the predecessors of Bishop Arnold Stapel. This is because such statutes are confirmed by the laws recorded by John Marienau, where he stated that he was only adding few provisions.

On the other hand, the introduction to the *addiciones* to the statutes of Bishop Mikołaj Chrapicki, it is stated that he is only approving those statutes: “quae praedecessores nostri felicitis memoriae domini Joannes et Stephanus successive edide/runt [...]”. As such, it is difficult to settle the discussed question. The aforementioned manuscript 568/IV includes 66 statutes by John Marienau, most probably dating from 1438,²³ 6 *addiciones* by Bishop Stephen from Nidzica of 20 December 1481²⁴ and another 15 *addiciones* by Bishop Mikołaj Chrapicki of 25 May 1498.²⁵ In total, until the end of the 15th century, 87 statutes were in force in the Chełmno diocese. As I have already stated, the most extensive statutes included in manuscript 568/IV were introduced by the predecessor (or predecessors) of John Marienau and were expanded only slightly. Their provisions mostly regulated the rules governing the

20 See more information on the subject matter, included below, near the description of the aforementioned manuscript.

21 *Urkundenbuch des Bisthums Culm*, I, ed. C.P. Woelky, Danzig 1885, no. 563.

22 Biblioteka Uniwersytetu Mikołaja Kopernika w Toruniu (University Library, Nicolaus Copernicus University in Toruń; henceforth: BUMK), file no. Rps 568/IV, Statuta antiqua dioecesis Culmensis, fol. 1r.

23 *Ibidem*, fol. 1r-6v.

24 *Ibidem*, fol. 6v-7r.

25 *Ibidem*, fol. 7r-8r.

functioning of the clergy, including in particular the parish priests of parish churches. They included precepts and prohibitions with regard to mores and specified priests' obligations resulting from their church function. The Chełmno statutes also regulated the obligations of lay people, including tithes, duty to know basic prayers, as well as various matters connected with the sacrament of marriage.²⁶

Finally, it is worth noting that with regard to their provisions, the discussed Chełmno statutes fall into a specific category of conventional written laws, which were issued with the bishops of other Prussian dioceses.

* * *

Nicolaus Copernicus Univeristy Library, File no. Rps 568/IV

Lat. 1596. 34 × 21 cm, 14 folios, bound volume

1. fol. 1r-8r: *Statuta antiqua dioecesis Culmensis*; fol. 8r: *Acta et publicata sunt haec in ecclesia nostra Culmensis synodo ibidem celebrata in crastino Ascensionis Domini anno eiusdem M CCCC LXXXVIII* [25 V 1498].

Ed.: K. Hartknoch, *Preussische Kirchen-Historia*, pp. 210-213 (statutes of John Marienau and Stephen of Nidzica described by K. Hartknoch, from the missal of the Toruń Library – possibly from *Missale Minorum Teutonicorum*, Nürnberg, Ge. Stuchs [non post 1499], summary in German); F. Hipler, "PDE" XXX (1898) 6, pp. 63-65, in particular p. 65, fn 1; A. Mańkowski, *Constitutiones synodales...*, pp. 13-19.

Statutes of bishops of Chełmno: John Marienau (1416-1457) of 1438 (fol. 1r-6v), Stephen of Nidzica (1480-1495) issued at the diocese synod of 20 December 1481 (fol. 6v-7r) and Mikołaj Chrapicki (1496-1507), published on the synod of the Chełmno diocese in Chełmża on 25 May 1498 (fol. 7r-8r).

2. pp. 9r-14v: *Constitutiones synodales ecclesiae Culmensis a reverendissimo domino Petro Kostca episcopo Culmensi emendatae et auctae Anno Domini 1583*.

Ed.: F. Hipler, "PDE", XXX (1898) 6, pp. 66-67 (titles of ninety-seven statutes of Bishop Piotr Kostka, edited by Odinet Perrenot, canon priest and Chełmno official²⁷); A. Mańkowski, *Constitutiones synodales...*, pp. 23-77 (statutes by Bishop Piotr Kostka, edited by Odinet Perrenot, published in print in 1614, see K. Estreicher, *Bibliografia polska*, III, 3 (14), Kraków 1896, p. 379).

²⁶ Extensive analysis of the decisions of synod provisions for the Chełmno diocese: A. Radziwiński, *Die Kirche im Deutschordenstaat in Preussen...*, pp. 166-170.

²⁷ Perrenot Odinet, canon priest, church official and chief vicar of Chełmno, see A. Mańkowski, *Pralacy i kanonicy katedralni chełmińscy od założenia kapituły do naszych czasów (dokończenie)*, "Roczniki Towarzystwa Naukowego w Toruniu" XXXIV (1927), pp. 322-324; B. Dygdała, *Struktura parafialna diecezji chełmińskiej w XVII-XVIII wieku*, Toruń 2009, pp. 59-60, 327.

Statutes of the Bishop of Chełmno Piotr Kostka (1574-1595) published during the synod of the Chełmno diocese in Chełmża on 12 October 1583. The manuscript differs from the edited text (different wording, omission of some statutes).

After folio 12, some folios are missing (the text is cut off in the middle of the first sentence of the statute *Ut nullus alicui Sacramenta subtrahat, aut a sacramentis secludat, sine episcopi vel illius officialis licentia* (edition, p. 55), the three statutes on the consecutive surviving folio (13r): *orationes dominicas et totidem salutaciones angelicas deprecati fuerint...*, *Ut plebani suas indulgentias tempore quo vigent indulgentiae Ecclesiae cathedralis non promoveant*, *De iudiciis promovendis* do not appear in the edition, which only includes the fourth statute: *Ut plebani populum praedicando doceant et libros necessarios sibi comparent* (edition, p. 65).

Both sets of laws were transcribed by Bartłomiej of Wąbrzeźno (*Fredecensis*) in 1596, fol. 8r: *Ego Bartholomeus Fredecensis rescripsi anno Domini millesimo quingentesimo nonagesimo sexto*.

Folios

1⁶⁺⁶ (fol. 1-12), 2² (fol. 13-14)

Watermarks

Folios include a watermark with the Łódzia coat of arms: in the quarterly field, in the first subdivision (upper-right, according to the principles of heraldy): Łódzia coat of arms (Górków), in the second subdivision: Poraj coat of arms (of the mother of Stanisław Górka, Barbara of Kurozwęki), in the third subdivision: Jastrzębiec coat of arms (of the maternal grandmother of Stanisław Górka, Zofia Zborowska), in the fourth subdivision: Nałęcz coat of arms (of the paternal grandmother, Katarzyna of Szmotuły).

Variant: J. Siniarska-Czaplicka, nos. 666 (Gdańsk 1587, Toruń 1586), 668 (Toruń 1586): fol. 2-3, 7-9, 12, 14.²⁸

Main differences relate to the drawing style of the insignia: different shape of the field of the coat of arms (symbol appearing in our manuscript: a triangular shield inscribed in a circle, described in the catalogue by Siniarska-Czaplicka: round shield inscribed in a circle, with a cartouche), swapped subsections with the Nałęcz and Jastrzębiec coats of arms (in our manuscript, the Nałęcz coat of arms appears on the left side, according to the principles of heraldy).

²⁸ J. Siniarska-Czaplicka, *Filigrany papierni położonych na obszarze Rzeczypospolitej Polskiej od początku XVI do połowy XVIII wieku*, Wrocław-Warszawa-Kraków 1969, p. 14, table CXXIII, no. 666, 668.

Writing

Humanist miniscule.

Binding

Cardboard, canvas, November 1970.

Special markings

Former file number "H [?] 3. 80" in the top left corner of fol. 1r.

Description of manuscript

Manuscript with file number Rps 568/IV kept at the Toruń University Library, dimensions: 34×21 centimeters, fourteen folios. It is made of one folio: sexternion (fol. 1-12) and two folios (13-14) – remainder of the following folio, possibly also a sexternion. The gap causes a clear gap in the text of the manuscript: the record of laws by Piotr Kostka is cut off in the middle of the first sentence of the statute: *Ut nullus alicui Sacramenta subtrahat...* (fol. 12v, fol. 55 in the edition by A. Mańkowski), the next statute in the manuscript that also appears in the edition is: *Ut plebani populum praedicando...* (fol. 13r, p. 65 in the edition); fifteen statutes found in the edition are missing from between these two statutes in the manuscript.²⁹ Fol. 13r of the manuscript includes two statutes and a fragment of the third, missing in the edition, which means that it contains a different (earlier) version of the statutes by Bishop Piotr Kostka. The pages are impressed with a watermark with the Łódzia coat of arms. The watermark is a variant of a paper watermark used in the 1580's in the Wielkopolska (Greater Poland) and Pomorze (Pomerania) regions.³⁰ Thus, the paper used in the manuscript was most likely manufactured in the paper mill of the Górka family in Miały (near Wronki) near the Miała river (left tributary of Noteć river), established by Stanisław Górka, provincial governor (*voivode*) of Poznań (1572-1592).³¹ The top left corner of the first page of the manuscript is inscribed with the file number "H [?] 3. 80" of an unknown library. Both records of laws contained in the manuscript, i.e. *Statuta antiqua* and the statutes by Bishop Piotr Kostka, were transcribed in humanist miniscule by Bartłomiej of Wąbrzeźno (*Fredecensis*) in 1596.³²

²⁹ A. Mańkowski, *Constitutiones synodales...*

³⁰ J. Siniarska-Czaplicka, *Filigrany papierni...*, p. 14, table CXXIII, nos. 666, 668.

³¹ K. Lepszy, *Górka Stanisław h. Łódzia*, in: *Polski Słownik Biograficzny*, VIII (1959-1960), pp. 416-421; *Urządnicy wielkopolscy XVI-XVIII wieku. Spisy*, ed. A. Bieniaszewski, Wrocław-Warszawa-Kraków 1987, no. 1004, p. 145.

³² BUMK, file no. Rps 568/IV, fol. 8r.

[fol. 1r] + **Statuta antiqua diocoesis [s] Culmensis**

In nomine Sanctae et individuae Trinitatis Pa/tris et Filii et Spiritus Sancti amen.

Cum statuta synodalia ideo condantur ut appetitus noxius/ sub iuris regula limitetur, ut humana arceatur, audacia tutaque/ sit inter improbos innocentia, utque improbi formidata poena ab in/ solencia et nocendi facultate compescantur. Quatenus quos Dei timor/ a malo non revocat, ecclesiasticae saltem severitas coerceat discip/linae. Eapropter nos frater Joannes Dei et Apostolicae sedis gratia Cul/mensis ecclesiae episcopus Deo propicio licet immeriti vocati in partem pasto/ralis sollicitudinis assidua meditatione urgent³³, curaque angimur/ pastorali, ut iuxta credita nobis dispensationis officium, una cum fratribus nostris/ ecclesiae nostrae canonicis, qui utique nobiscum praedictae sollicitudinis onera par/ciuntur, subditorum nostrorum praesertim clericorum nostrae dioecesis commodis/ et quieti, quantum nobis de alto concessum fuerit, efficaciter intendamus./ Cupientes itaque in hac sancta synodo aliqua sub brevitate statuere/ ut excessus corrigantur, mores refoventur, insolentiae compescantur et/ ut clerici nostrae dioecesis honeste vivere, alterutrum non laedere, ius suum,/ unicuique tribuere informentur. Quia summum bonum in humana vita est iusticiam colere et ius suum unicuique tribuere, communi utilitate atque/ necessitate suadentibus de praedictorum fratrum nostrorum canonicorum consilio et consen/su infrascripta provecta deliberatione duximus statuendum, non intendentes statuta reverendorum patrum predecessorum nostrorum revocare, sed eis confirmatis et approbatis aliqua superaddimus licet pauca.

1. Cum igitur Divinis cultibus mancipatos tales esse deceat, quatenus/ digne tractare poterint Dominica sacramenta, ideoque statuimus et sub virtute sanctae obedienciae, et sub poenis inferius annotatis obser/vandum praecipimus et mandamus ut clerici nostrae diocoesis [s] tonsuram ge/rant et habeant competentem, ut linguam, oculos, et omnia sua mem/bra sub freno castitatis et modestiae cohibeant. Non deferant vestes incisas/ [fol. 1v] incisas id est gelodretis,* non virgulatas - id est gestreifes, non varii colo/ris id est gealbretis, non virides, non rubeas. Non nimia brevitate aut/ longitudine notandas. Non utantur manicis consuticiis, gehafft, oder beneiot.** Non nodatis nodulis metallinis, non nimis longis, aut/ nimis amplis, non ferat fibulas in pectore, nec ornamenta metal/lina in cingulis, non ferat calceos rostratos, aut in superiori par/te excisos. Non ducat nec ferat arma offensiva, scilicet cuspides/ lanceas, balistas, arcus et cultellos bedellinos, sed nec gladios/ nisi in via longe constituti. Lacrima enim sunt arma clericorum.

* most likely "cut open too much"

** most likely "excessively scented"

2. Item clerici mulieribus suspectis non cohabitent, nec tales in domibus/ suis foveant, et teneant quocunque sub pretextu.
3. Item ut a tabernis prorsus abstineant, maxime nocturno tempore, nec in eis ministrent aut hospitentur, nisi in itinere constituti.
4. Item ut in aleos non ludant, nec ad taxillos, nec ludentibus sic inter/sint, histrionibus quoque et ioculatoribus aut goliardis non intendant.
5. Choreas omnino non ducant, nec huiusmodi vanitatibus se immisceant/ non exercent plausus manuum more gencium, neque canant seaclares [s]/ et venereas cantilenas, scientes, quod non convenit laus Jovis cum laude Christi.
6. Item ut a crapula et ebrietate omnino abstineant, cum ebrietas mentis/ inducat exilium et libidinis provocat incentivum.
7. Item nec se ad equales haustus et ad pocula aequae largae mutuo sumenda astringant. Illum abusum penitus reprobantes, quo se ad aequales potus suo modo obligant potatores.
8. Item nullus sacerdos, diaconus aut subdiaconus chirurgiae exer/ceat, maxime illam, qua adustioni vel corporis incisioni requirit.
9. Item nullus ecclesiam seu beneficium quodcunque ecclesiasticum de manu layca/ recipiat, sic quod in ea divina celebrent aut res temporales adm/inistrent sine nostra confirmatione et institutione, nam talis ante institutionem solvere non poterit [fol. 2r] poterit nec ligare.
10. Item nullus paciatur se intrudi per manum laicam ad aliquod beneficium ecclesiasticum vacans, quia sic intrusus nisi beneficium infra/ mensem dimiserit et percepta restituerit vel alias satisfecerit, pro eisdem sententias/ excommunicationis incidit <ipso facto>, nec parochiani tenentur sibi in aliquo obedire.
11. Item nullus dimittat vel resignet beneficium suum nisi in manibus nostris. Crimen usurarum cum omnibus speciebus suis clerici omnino detestentur et devitent scientes, quod usurarii non sunt digni ad sacros ordines promoveri.
12. Item secularibus negociis se non implicent omnino, nec fiant procuratores aut dis/pensatores laicorum.
13. Item symoniacam pravitatem penitus detestentur et fugiant, scientes quod omnes/ symoniaci tam in ordine quam beneficio interdicti sunt ipso iure. Nec salvari/ poterunt nisi renuncient beneficio sic adepti et cum eis in ordine dispensentur.
14. Item volumus ut clerici personaliter resideant in ecclesiis suis, nec quisquam ultra/ mensem ab ecclesia sua sine nostra licentia se absentet.

Indulgemus tamen/ ut plebanus habens negocium extra nostram dioecesem curae ecclesiae alteri commissa/ libere illuc vactat [s] et negocium suum ita breviter expediat, quod infra quin/denam ad ecclesiam suam revertatur. Si vero negocium suum non pote/rit infra tres vel quatuor ebdomadas commode expedire, volumus ut pro tam longa abesentia a nobis licentia requiratur.

15. Item volumus ut omnes clerici dioecesis nostrae exceptis religiosi in Divinis of/ficiis diurnis et nocturnis in legendo et cantando ecclesiae nostrae cathedra/li se conforment. Quibus etiam in virtute sanctae obedientiae praecipimus ut Divinum officium nocturnum et diurnum, quantum eis Deus donavit studio/se perficiant et devote, non verba sincopanta, non perfunctorie transcurrenta/. Notificamus quoque omnibus vobis, quod quilibet in sacris ordinibus constitutus, etiam nullum habens beneficium ecclesiasticum tenetur ad horas/ canonicas dicendas, ad quas etiam obligatur constitutus in minoribus or/dinibus, habens beneficium ecclesiasticum quantumcunque modicum et exile.

16. Item ut quilibet plebanus sine alicuius absentiae excusatione legitima ad minus ter in ebdo [fol. 2v] ter in ebdomada missam in ecclesia sua celebret, praeter dies cele/bres et festivos et caveant omnino sacerdotes ne habeant inordina/tos et ineptus – gestus in missis quo ad signa et inclinationes. Et quod non/ proferant cum anhelitu verba consecrationis. Nec asserant missas sub cer/to numero valore ad hoc, vel ad aliud.

17. Item prohibemus clericis ut non celebrent missas in curiis vel capellis quo/rumcunque secularium sine nostra licentia speciali.

18. Item volumus ut clerici tempore divinorum in ecclesia existentes, quando baptisant, quando/ populum communicant, quando confessiones audiunt, quando infirmos oleo be/nedicto unguunt, quando corpus Dominicum infirmis porrigunt, vel quandocumque sacra/menta ministrant, quando ad sinodum clericalem convenirent, stallis et superpllicis [s] sint induti.

19. Item ut corpus Dominicum tam in civitatibus quam villis ecclesias habentibus nisi precedente lumine et campanula sonante ac manibus sacerdotum publice et ho/norifice cum omni reverentia et timore non feratur ad infirmos, nec refera/tur. Quodque quilibet sacerdos plebem suam doceat, ut cum celebrationibus/ missarum salutaris hostia et calix elevantur, et cum sic publice corpus Domini/cum defertur, se reverenter inclinent et humiliter adorent, ne propter inertiam/ sacerdotum Divina indignatio contra populum graviter inardescat.

20. Item ut in cunctis ecclesiis eucharistia, crisma et fons baptismalis sub fide/li custodia clavibus adhibitis conserventur, ne ad illa manus sacrilega pro exercendis sortilegiis extendatur.

21. Item ut omnia vasa et ornamenta ad divinum cultum deputata munda et nitida habeantur. Quodque corporalia de subtili tela, line nitida sint et munda et cum lotione indiquerint, quod prius manibus sacerdotum super/ fontem baptisterii abluantur, demum dentur foeminibus ad lavandum.

22. Item quaecunque hora puer baptisandus oblatus fuerit, statim baptisetur,/ et quod³⁴ tantum patrini et non plures de sacro fonte suscipiant. In necessitate tamen duo patrini sufficiunt sive unus et cum baptisant sacerdotes nihil/ penitus pro baptisate extorqueant. Quod etiam in omnibus sacramentis volumus observari. Sponte tamen oblata recipere possunt.

[fol. 3r] 23. Item, qui fontem baptismalem nequeunt habere lapideum habeant saltem cu/preum scilicet caldare, vel aliud vas solidum et firmum in longitudine/ et latitudine competenti.

24. Item ut nullus sacerdos sententiam sanguinis dictet vel proferat aut sanguinis vindictam exerceat, nec intersit ubi exercetur, nec etiam litteras dictet aut scribat pro vindicta sanguinis exercenda.

25. Item quilibet plebanus, qui habet populum sive parrochianos, quorum idyo/ma ignorat, diligenter eis provideat de eorum ydiomate sacerdotem sub pena privacionis beneficii sui.

26. Item plebani frequenter populo et plebi suae denuncient, quod omnis fidelis Christi/anus, postquam ad annos discretionis pervenerit, teneatur et debeat saltem/ semel in anno omnia peccata sua suo proprio sacerdoti confiteri et ad minus/ in Pascha reverenter suscipere corpus Christi, nisi forte de consilio sa/cerdotis sui, ex causa rationabili duxerit abstinendum. Alioqui vivens ab/ ingressu ecclesiae arceatur et moriens ecclesiasticae careat sepulturae.

27. Item habeant quoque plebani plebem suam exhortatam, quod cum ad annos/ discretionis devenerint Dominicam orationem, Angelicam salutationem et Symbo/lum Apostolorum in suo vulgari addiscant et ista per sacerdotes, singulis Do/minicis diebus post sermonem, praecipimus populo recitari. Qui in synodis/ laicalibus horum ignari denunciati fuerint, per subtractionem sacramento/rum vel aliam censuram ecclesiasticam ad ea discendum severius compellantur.

28. Item statuimus etiam et mandamus ut nullus sacerdotum quempiam propria/ auctoritate ab ingressu ecclesiae secludat, aut cuique sacramenta seu offi/cia ecclesiastica deneget et recuset, nec aliquem excommunicet aut excom/municatum denunciaret, nisi de nostra vel officialis nostri licentia speciali. Nullus/ etiam absque certa licentia nostra et speciali mandato nostro se de

34 Added on the left margin: "tres".

iudiciis nostris/ et casibus nobis specialiter reservatis intromittat. Quod si quis attentare praesum/psertit, eo facto ab ingressu ecclesiae sit suspensus.

29. Item quicumque etiam sine mandato nostro de restitutionibus male oblitoris se intromiserit,/ aut quicumque de eis sibi usurpaverit, ipso facto volumus ipsum excommunicationis sententiae subiacere.

30. Item nullus advenas seu peregrinos sacerdotes in dioecesi nostra celebrare aut pro capello servire/ permittat nisi prius ad dioecesim nostram sint recepti, habeantque dimissorias suas et formatas, ut per hoc/ [fol. 3v] hoc apostatae excludantur.

31. Item nullus quoque sine licentia nostra teneat pro capellano aliquem regularem/ cuiuscunque ordinis ultra quindenam, tabulas quoque stacionarias non ad/mittemus nisi nostri litteris sint munitae.

32. Item sacerdotes per se ipsos vel per certos fideles nuncios in Coena Domini crisma/ ab archipresbiteris recipiant, et cum sacramentum scilicet crismatis ad civita/tem vel villam pervenerit, reponatur ad aliquem honestum locum et ex/inde cum sollemnitate et reverentia, cum cereis et vexillis – cantante ad ecclesi/am deferatur. Volumus etiam, quod vetus crisma statim postquam novum con/fectum fuerit per sacerdotes concremetur, nec aliquis eo utatur, nisi extre/ma necessitas id exposcat. Habeant sacerdotes flasculam stanneam vel/ aliud vas aptum pro vino ad sacrificium consecrandum, et qui non habent in/fra tres menses comparent, sub poena synodali. Et postquam vinum corru/ptum est, hoc est quando acetosum factum est, non ponatur ad calicem pro sacrificio,/ simile de pane. Quodque minus de aqua et magis de vino calici infundatur. Sequitur aliud.

33. Item nosse volumus sacerdotes et potissimum confessores, quod omnes sunt ex/communicationis vinculo inodati [s], qui praesumunt asserere, quod simplex/ fornicatio absque peccato mortali possit exerceri.

34. Item hortamur quoque sacerdotes curam animarum habentes ut his potissimum tempo/ribus diligentius vigilent super plebem suam attendentes ne haeretica conta/gio Wicleffistarum et Husitarum, quae proh dolor, in multis iam partibus in/volvit, et iam ut dicitur per Poloniam serpit, gregem suam inficiat et cor/rumpat. Considerent ergo diligenter, si quis aliunde advenerit, quis sit?/ cuius conditionis?, cuius patriae?, cuiusve religionis?

35. Item caveant quoque sacerdotes ne verbo, signo, aut nutu, vel quocunque modo/ prodant confessionem et personam confitentem, quia si de tali crimine quis/ convictus fuerit, non solum a sacerdotali officio deponetur: sed ad perpetuam poe/nitentiam agendam in artum monasterium detradetur. Si vero quis non suf/ficiat per se poenitenti consulere et prudentiori indiquerit consilio, tale consi/lium caute a peritiori requirat, tacita omnino personam peccatoris vel confitentis.

36. Mandamus etiam plebanis et eorum vicariis ut parrochianos suos in fo/ro poenitentiae a casibus tantum a iure eis concessibus absolvant et poenitentiam [fol. 4r] tenciam [s] eis salutarem iniungant. De subscriptis vero casibus quorum dispen/satio et discussio nobis reservata est se non intromittant. Sed eos qui uno/ vel pluribus eorum rei inventi fuerint, ad nos vel ad commissarios nostros/ pro poenitentia et absolutione dirigant et remittant, instructos tamen, ut tantum/ casum vel casus pro quibus remittuntur, et non alia expremant et praeponant./ Hi autem sunt casus in quibus soli episcopi habent dispensare et absolvere et/ continentur his versibus: qui facit incestum, deflorans aut homicida. Sacrilegus,/ patris percussor vel sodomita. Transgressor voti, periurus, sortilegusque./ Et mentita fides, faciens incendia, prolis oppressor, blasphemus, haereticus/ omnis adulter. Cum Bruto coiens Iudeae sive paganae. Aut cum commatre seu na/ta spirituali, coniugis in mortem machinans sacris et abutens. His simul usuram iun/gans publicam vel occultam, pontificem super his semper devotus adibis.

37. Item revocamus omnes confessores hactenus datos et indultos quibuscumque, et volu/mus ut omnes sacerdotes annis singulis a nobis vel officiali nostro petant confessores/ cum secundum canones nulla possit consuetudine introduci, qua quis praeter sui su/perioris licentiam sibi possit eligere confessorem. Quibus etiam confessoribus/ non damus ampliorem auctoritatem ad futura delicta quam in simplicibus casibus ad absoluendum.

38. Statuimus et mandamus ut detentores decimae nostrae, quae alias annona episcopalis nun/cupatur annis singulis a Nativitate Christi usque ad Dominicam Invocavit in universis pa/rochiis publice moneantur, tam pro solvendum annonae, quam poenae sibi annexae. In ipsa vero/ Dominica Invocavit et sic deinceps usque ad Pascha, et quousque satisfecerint, singulis di/ebus dominicis et festivis excommunicati nuncientur et sacra fidelium communione priventur.

39. Item prohibemus quoque ne quisque sacerdotum cuique tribuat nuptiarum solennitates tempore inter/dicto celebrare scilicet a prima Dominica Adventus usque ad octavas Epiphaniae, a Septu/agesima usque ad octavas Paschae, a feria secunda ante Ascensionem Domini usque ad octa/vas Pentecostes. Et licet quolibet tempore matrimonia contrahi possunt, mutuo consensu interveni/ente, his tamen nuptiarum sollennitates scilicet convivia et carnis connuptia prohibentur.

40. Item si duo clam scilicet solus cum sola venerint ad plebanum seu quemcumque sacerdotem petentes/ se matrimonialem copulari, prohibemus tales copulari, nisi advocatis prius aliquibus testibus/ qui sint de parrochia sua, qui promittantur banna consueta. Idem servari praecipimus si duo/ ad fores ecclesiae vel alias copulandi venerint, quod non copulentur, nisi testes aliqui advo/centur, nec alias fiat copulatio nisi in facie ecclesiae et in praesentia testium aliquorum, nisi essent insignes personae.

41. Mandamus quoque ut de contrahentibus matrimonia, antequam copulentur trina proclamatio/ competentibus terminis iuxta statutum concilii generalis publice in ecclesia proponatur, quatenus/ si quis legitimum quid inter contrahentibus opponere voluerit habeat infra ipsum terminum opponendi facultatem, praesbiteri nihilominus investigare tenentur an inter contrahentes impedimentum/ aliquod lateat: et si hoc ex probabili coniectura vel fama apparuerit, copula sacerdotalis [fol. 4v] cerdotalis [s] interdicitur vel suspendatur, donec rei veritas habeatur.

42. Item saepe quoque contigit ut in tabernis quando ebrietas rationem absorpsit vel aliis crapulosis locis, contractus sponsaliorum vel matrimoniorum fiunt, de/ mane recuperata sobrie revocantur et dirimuntur, ex quo pericula et pluri/ma inconvenientia compertum est evenisse. Ne hoc de cetero fiat auctorita/te nostra strictissime prohibeatis.

43. Item nullus alienos parochianos sine proprii plebani licentia copulare, nec eos/ in contemptum proprii sacerdotis, ad divina admittere seu sacramentis ecclesiasticis procurare praesumat. Hunc quoque abusum, scilicet quod quandoque plebanus timens non/ timenda, non audet aliquos in propria ecclesia copulare, sed vocat eos ad aliam/ ecclesiam, vel alias ubi eos liberius copulare possit et copulat, strictissime de caetero prohibemus. Volentes ut secundum superius dicta praemissis bannis et nullo apparendo obstaculo publice in ecclesia vel prae foribus ecclesiae contrahentes mutuo copuletur.

44. Item clandestina quoque matrimonia omnino prohibemus. Nec quisque sacerdotum sub poena suspensionis a Divinis interesse his praesumat.

45. Raptam quoque sive virginem sive viduam raptori nullus copulet. Etiam si rapta consentiat in raptorem. In casu quoque dubio nullus copuletur. Sed talis contractus ad nos/ vel officialem nostrum remittantur.

46. Item nullus infra ecclesiam quemcunque laicorum tumulare praesumat, nisi habita super hoc licentia nostra: cum secundum canones nemo in ecclesia sepeliri debeat, nisi episcopi, digni/ sacerdotes et fideles laici scilicet patroni.

47. Item caveant etiam sacerdotes ne in ecclesiis sanguinis vel seminis effusione pollutis/ Divina celebrent, vel ubi excommunicatum constiterit esse sepultum. Simile in cimiteriis eodem modo execratis et pollutis, consuetas processiones facere et corpora mortuorum sepelire non praesumat.

48. Item praeterea sicut dicit Apostolus "Corrumpunt bonos mores colloquia prava."³⁵ Clericis nostris consulimus et praecipimus ut propter commensiones et ebrietates, propter turpiloquia/ scurronum [s] et mulierum conventicula

35 First Letter of Saint Paul to the Corinthians 15, 33.

decenti aliquo subterfugio studeant, a nuptiarum/ scurrilitatibus declinare. Si vero consanguinitatis et affinitatis seu notissimae familiarita/tis gratia aliquarum oportuerit nuptiarum conviviis interesse hortamur ut ad clerica/lem honorem respectum habentes, sic se in omnibus modeste et decenter habeant, ut filius be/lial nullum ex eorum praesentia scandalum generetur.

49. Item super horis frequenter dicendum in ecclesia et super habendum nocturno tempore coram Eucharistia lumine, necnon de clerico et admodum clerici tonsurato pro altare ministratio assidue habendo, pro presenti plebanos non artamus sed syncerissime adhortamur,/ ut praemissa faciendum et habendum operam diligenter adhibeat; quod conscientia eorum duximus relinquendum. Item cum/

[fol. 5r] 50. Item cum saepe in causis matrimonialibus et plerisque aliis testimonia plebanorum sunt/ necessario requirenda, dignum duximus statuendum: ut omnes plebani qualia velint ut/ valeant, dum tamen sint sub titulo ecclesiarum suarum sigilla habeant. Et qui non habent infra tres menses a noticia harum sibi compareant. Ut etiam longe positi vel/ infirmi credibilia possint coram nobis testimonia reddere veritati, et quotiens/ synodum clericalem duximus, quod sigillum suum quilibet secum portet, quae/ etiam per commissarios nostros respicere faciemus.

51. Item cum in perfectione pietatis et in exemplum benignitate nos ipsos aliis dare debeamus, volumus et pia sollicitudine hortamur, ut dum aliquis plebanorum vel etiam/ aliorum sacerdotum gravi tactus infirmitate in lectum egritudinis ceciderit, commissis curis omnibus de salute sua cogitet, advocet duos sacerdotes vicinos, de/ quorum fide fiduciam habet, et cum his de salute animae, de salutari confessione, de debitorum solutione, et de/ testamenti si res habet: unde testari poterit, ordinatione fideliter tectet [s]. Quibus etiam sic advocatis iniungimus, ut curam infirmi fideliter gerant ut/ ne res eius inaniter distrahantur caute provideant et procurent. Sique migrare ipsum/ de hoc seculo contigerit circa defunctum tam in solvendum debitum quam exequiis defuncto exhibendis fideliter agant. Si vero convalescerit ut res suas integras inveniat/ facturi sic circa proximum, sicut circa se in simili casu fieri vellent. Notificamus etiam quod/ successor de iure solvere debita praedecessoris sui, quae pro utilitate suae ecclesiae sunt converta.

52. Item prohibemus ne clerici in causis ecclesiasticis ad iudices seculares recursum habeant/ forum ecclesiasticum et iudicium nostrum declinant. Nec clericus ad nostrum citatus iudicium adversarium suum pendente lite per iudicem secularem directe vel indirecte impediatur/ seu impedire faciat, aut aliqualem molestare: alioquin iurisdictionem nostram sic impediens/ sententiam excommunicationis se incurrisse noverit. A qua absolva[re] non debet nisi/ parti laesae et iudici satisfaciatur competenter.

53. Item omnino quoque prohibemus ne clerici in causa aliena coram iudice seculari iura/menta praestent, nec testimonium in causis prophanis ferant sub poena depositionis,/ nisi ex causa legitima et rationabili episcopi ad hoc accesserit consensus. Nullus etiam plebano/rum sub colore cuiuscunque necessitate res ecclesiae suae impignoret, aut sine consensu/ nostro alienat sub poena privationis et ipsum factum sit irritum et inane.

54. Item nullus sacerdos seu clericus dioecesis nostrae in favore cuiuscunque seu lucri gratia contra/ nos seu ecclesiam nostram nec etiam contra ecclesiam propriam in qua beneficium habet: patro/cinium, consilium et auxilium cuique impendat publice vel occulte sub poena periurii et privacionis./

55. Item caveant quoque sacerdotes ne excommunicatos tam a iure quam ab homine aut/ interdictos ad Divina admittant, nec coram eis missas celebrent, nec eos ecclesia/sticae sepulturae tradant, si notam irregularitatis non [s] solum Papam dispensabilem voluerit evitare. Sub simili quoque poena caveant celebrare in ecclesia supposita ecclesiastico interdicto. Item cupientes/

[fol. 5v] 56. Item cupientes etiam quantum Domino auctore possumus iniuriam patientibus aliquo/ remedio subvenire statuimus ut quotienscunque aliquis praesbiter sive clericus/ in sacris ordinibus constitutus, in dote vel extra dotem, in campo vel in via/ per laycum invasus vel impignoratus fuerit, non conventus iudicialiter coram nobis ipso/ facto praesumptor sententiam excommunicationis incurrat et statim in tribus vicinioribus/ ecclesiis excommunicatus nunciatur ab omnibus tamen evitandus. Reservamus tamen nobis propter du/bia, quae in talibus casibus saepe latent declarationem et interpretationem huius statuti quan/do talis sententia censeri debeat lata vel ferenda, econtra volumus quod si praesbiter vel/ clericus laicum aliquem in ecclesia, cimiterio vel alibi sua manus invasione et violen/tiae repulsione percusserit aut vulneraverit se Divinis non immisceat sub poena ex/communicationis et synodali nisi prius cum parte adversa composuerit et per nos fuerit absolutus.

57. Item intelleximus etiam et per experientiam comperimus ita esse quod nostrae, etiam officialium/ nostrorum litterae in quibus aliquando vs³⁶ fuit valde negliguntur et tarde promotae sunt et dire/cte de plebano ad plebanum. Volentes itaque huic negligentiae obviare, statuimus et/ mandamus ut quotienscunque et quandocunque nostrae et officialium nostrorum litterae sine mora curren/tes ad vos, vel ad aliquem vestrum devenerint, eis perlectis et si necesse fuerit copiatis/ mox ad alium plebanum ordine consueto cum certo nuntio destinentur, nec remaneant/ quidem per integrum diem naturalem id est diem et noctem in uno loco. Volumus etiam quod/ qui habuerit ecclesiam aliquam proprio rectore carentem in commenda, litteras nostras et nostro/rum

cum proprio suo nuncio dirigat ad ecclesiam proprium rectorem habentem, et qui neg/ligens in his convictus fuerit poenam synodalem se noverit incurrisse.

58. Item ut in Diocoesi [s] nostra in festivitibus per anni circulum nunciandis et celebrandis omnes/ concordant exceptis patroni et dedicationis ecclesiarum festis, statuimus ut infra/scripta festa, tam quoad populum quam quoad ecclesiam sollenniter celebrentur: Cir/cumcisio Domini, Epiphania, Conversio Pauli, Purificationis Mariae cuius vigilia ieiunetur, Mathaei apostoli cum vigilie, Annunciatio B. Virginis cum vigilie, festum Paschae/ cum duobus sequentibus cum vigilie, Georgii, Philippi et Jacobi, Invenio S. Crucis, As/censio Domini cum vigilie, Pentecostes cum duobus sequentibus cum vigilie, Corporis Christi, Joannis Baptistae cum vigiliae, Petri et Pauli quorum vigilie, Visitatio B. Virginis/ cum vigilie, Mariae Magdalena, Jacobi cum vigilie, Laurentii cum vigilie, Assumptio/ Sanctae Mariae Virginis cum vigilie, Bartholomaei cum vigilie, Nativitas sanctae Mariae cum vigilie, Exaltatio sanctae Crucis, Mathaei cum vigilie, Michaelis, Simonis et Judae quorum vigiliae, Omnium Sanctorum quorum vigilie, Martini, Elisabeth, Katerinae cum vigilie, Andreae cum vigilie, Barbarae, Nicolai cum vigilie, Thomae cum vigilie, Nathivitatis Domini cum vigilie, Sthephani, Joannis Evangelistae, Innocentium.

59. Item de festo autem Annunciationis B. Virginis volumus regulariter observari ut quodocunque/ in Dominicam Palmarum vel quamcunque diem eiusdem Dominicae vel Octavarum Paschae evenerit, sabbato Palmarum cum integro officio tam quoad ecclesiam quam quoad populum/ solemne celebretur. Quando etiam festum alicuius sancti cuius vigilia ieiunatur in secundam feriam evenerit sabbato praecedente vigilia ieiunetur.

Item volentes/

[fol. 6r] 60. Item volentes etiam ecclesiam nostram cathedralem aliis ecclesiis diocoesis [s] nostrae praeferri et eam speciali praerogativa honorari statuimus et sub poena suspensionis ab officio prohibemus ut in diebus quibus praedicta ecclesia nostra festa sua celebrare consuevit videlicet festum Sanctae Trinitatis, festum Dedicationis quod Dominica proxima post festum Bartholomaei peragitur et in Coena Domini nullas indulgentias ecclesiarum suarum pronuntiare praesumant, sed omnes plebani plebibus suis praedicta festa quando instant cum indulgentiis singulis undecunque ecclesiae nostrae concessis et nostris, proxima dominica precedente, studeant intimare.

61. Item quia etiam Sancta et Individua Trinitatis nostrae ecclesiae cathedralis patrona est/ vollentes eam specialis honoris praeconio collaudari statuimus ut plebani et sacerdotes/ nostrae diocoesis [s] in vesperis et matutinis memoriam de Sancta Trinitate per antiphonam/ et collectam secundum consuetudinem ecclesiae nostrae singulis diebus per annum circulum fa/

cere debeant et habere, his tamen diebus exclusis in quibus nulla de sanctis memoria/ consuevit, excipitur etiam octava Nativitatis Christi. Quodque per singulos menses ad mi/nus una missa de Sancta Trinitate in singulis parrochis sollempniter celebretur.

62. Ut autem haec nostra constitutio possit omnibus esse fructuosa, quodque fideles nostrae dio/coesis [s] ad laudandum fervencius nomen Domini incitentur, nos tam clericis praedictas mis/sas celebrantes quam fidelibus eis astantibus, qui infra ipsa Divina pro pace et bono/ statu tractantes et conservatione earundem sub invocatione sanctae Trinitatis per tres/ orationes Dominicas et totidem salutaciones Angelicas deprecati fuerint Divinum magesta/tis de iniuncta eis poenitentia quindecim dies in Domino relaxamus, mandantes ut quando/ et quotiens praedictas missas celebrare volueritis plebi vestrae in dominica die praecedente servare curetis.

63. Volentes adhuc amplius fideles ad devocionem provocare omnibus vere poenitentibus/ confessis et contritis quicum in horis canonicis diurnis et nocturnis salutare hoc/ nomen Jesus Christus coniunctim vel divisim nomen quoque gloriosae suae genitricis Mariae/ nominatur cum in antiphona Regina Coeli sub clausula "Ora pro nobis Deum", cum corpus/ Dominicum et calix cum sanguine in missa elevantur, cum infra evangelium "In principio/ erat verbum etc." dicitur et "Verbum caro factum est", cum infra pulsum campanae quando/ pro pace de mane et vespero tangitur genua devote flexerit, et tres orationes Domini/cas et tres Salutaciones Angelicas pro pace impetranda et impetrata conservanda di/xerit, item qui corpora defunctorum maxime pauperum et egenorum sepulturae ecclesiasti/cae tradiderit vel ad hoc cooperatus fuerit, qui corpus Dominicum et sacramentum/ extremae unctionis quando ad infirmos deferuntur et referantur cum devotione insecutus/ fuerit, qui pro nobis tribus orationibus Dominicis et tribus Salutacionibus Angelicis Deum exo/raverit. Sacerdotibus quoque qui in suis missis hanc clausulam "Et famulum tuum/ antistitem nostrum etc." cum addicione "Et pacem tuam nostris concede temporibus" in ul/tima collecta apposuerit, quod etiam virtute sanctae obedientiae servare et dici/ praecipimus. Quocienscunque praedicta vel aliquod praedictorum quis fecerit, auctoritate/ Domini nostri Jesu Christi et Apostolorum eius Petri et Pauli et auctoritate nobis tradita/ quindecim dies de iniunctis eis poenitentiis in Domino relaxamus.

64. Et quia verbum Dei cibus est animae, quoniam non in solo pane vivit homo sed etiam in verbo/ [fol. 6v] in verbo Dei: et quia etiam omnes curati, ut dicit quidam doctor Henricus/ de Gandavo,³⁷ tenentur ad praedicandum verbum

37 Henry of Ghent, born around 1217, died on 29 June 1293, philosopher and scholastic theologian known as "Doctor solemniss", Master of Theology at the Paris University, archdeacon

Dei plebibus sibi comissis, quod/ si nesciunt et discere nolunt vel sciunt et non faciunt sunt in statu damnacionis; man/damus sacerdotibus curam animarum habentibus ut subtractis sibi superfluis sumptibus, ad/ comparandum aliquos sibi libros sermonum, maxime expositiones evangeliorum et epistolarum cu/ ram apponant et se studio adhibeant praedicandi, ne eos sententia Domini invalvat contra negli/gentes per Ezechielem³⁸ data, scilicet “Quia non annunciasti impio iniusticias suas, ipse quidem in pec/cato suo morietur, sanguinem autem eius de manu tua requiram”, ubi glo[ssa] “Quia tacuisti et/ noluisti esse sollicitus in praedicatione, eris particeps in damnacione”.

65. Mandamus etiam omnibus clericis diocoesis [s] nostrae et sacerdotibus curatis et non curatis ut/ haec statuta nostra diligenter attendant, fideliter custodiant et se secundum ea clericalem/ dirigant atque regant, decernentes, ut quicumque ea vel aliquod eorum transgressus fuerit et quoti/ens, praeter poenas aliquibus statutis supra specialiter annexas, poenam synodalem quam trium/ marcarum novae monetae valere extimamus, ipsum volumus incurrisse ad alias nihilominus/ et graviores poenas processuri, secundum quod culpa egerit delinquentis.

66. Volumus etiam et sub eadem poena synodali mandamus ut plebani haec statuta nostra/ ab hodie infra tres menses de curia nostra sub expensio ecclesiarum suarum extrahere non neg/ligant et ea in ecclesiis suis publice parietibus suis affixa habeant, ut per frequentem intuitum/ a memoria non recedant.

Sequuntur aliae addiciones

Stephanus Dei et Apostolicae sedis providentia episcopus Cul/mensis venerabilibus ecclesiae Culmensis praelatis, canonicis et membris omnibusque et singulis archipraesbiteris, pleba/nis, vicariis, capellanis et tandem sacerdotibus et universo clero diocesiam [s] nostram incolen/tibus cuiuscunque fuerint status et condicionis volumus esse notum, quod scilicet in clericali synodo de hoc anno millesimo quodringentesimo octuagesimo primo vicesima die Decembris [20 XII 1481] in ecclesia nostra/ cathedrali Culmensi vobiscum celebrata ratificaverimus praedecessoris nostrorum statuta, nonnullis tamen/ acribus moti duximus consilio nostri capituli prioribus statutis nonnullae pauca tamen quae/ inferius sunt signata esse superaddendum, quae sub limitacionibus censuris et poenis eisdem, quibus/ vetera regulata sunt, volumus striccius observari.

of the chapter in Tournai, see F.W. Bautz, *Heinrich von Gent*, in: *Biographisch-Bibliographisches Kirchenlexikon*, II, Bautz-Hamm 1990, col. 675-676; S. Świeżawski, *Dzieje europejskiej filozofii klasycznej*, Warszawa-Wrocław 2000, pp. 734-736.

38 Added on the <> margin: “Ezechielis 3 cap.” (Eze 3, 18).

1. Inprimis ut in omnibus festis trium lectionum novem psalmi ac tres lectiones cum coeteris de/ eodem trium lectionum festo legantur et nocturnus omittatur, exceptis festis trium lectionum/ quae in quadragesimam cadunt, de quibus solas fieri commemorationes, volumus cum suis antiphonis et collectis.
2. Item ut singuli sacerdotes sub fideli et tuta custodia servant sacramenta cum seris applicitis, quod/que sacerdotes soli claves ad easdem seras deferant et non seculares personae.
3. Item dispensamus etiam cum sacerdotibus, qui beneficia sua de recenti et in brevi sunt assecuti et ca/nonicas horas ad morem nostrae cathedralis ecclesiae nondum propter librorum defectum legere possunt, ut/ infra duorum annorum spacium libros nostrae notulae comparent et tandem in servandis canonicis/ horis notulae nostrae ut praemittitur conformes se reddant.
4. Item ut festum Omium Sanctorum per suas octavas cum suis horis et officiis, aliarum octavarum more in antea peragatur./
5. Item licet populus prutenicus solitus fuerit ex more festa Paschae et Pentecostae per quatuor dies sese/ sequentes celebrare. Nos ergo certis moti et suasu nostri capituli usi volumus ut deinceps praedicta/ Paschae et Pentecostes festa per tres tantummodo dies continuos et non per quatuor festiventur./

Item caveant/

[fol. 7r] 6. Item caveant etiam tam seculares quam ecclesiasticae personae diocesis [s] nostrae ne contagio/ne usurarum se suasque conscientias pollutant qualitercunque pro mutuata videlicet pecunia/ aliquid recipiendum, ne sententiam maledictionis in bulla quondam Alexrandi [s] papae expressam/ et per Lateranensem concilium approbatam incidant. Admisit tamen Ecclesia per bullam/ Martini papae Quinti ecclesiasticis et miserabilibus personis annum censum sub titu/lo reemptionis pro duodecim marcarum unam marcam super bonis aliquibus immobi/libus comparandum pro ea quod tam emptores, quam venditores de censibus huiusmo/di equum oporteat perpeti damnum, quod tam in hac nostra Prussia quam in aliis/ regnis et dominiis hodie sic servatur.

Aliae additiones

Nicolaus Dei gratia episcopus Culmensis universis et singulis nobis in Christo dilectis/ dominis plebanis, viceplebanis et commendatoriis, vicariis, altaristis et cleri/cis per et infra nostram diocoesim [s] constitutis et beneficiatis, salutem in Domino ac/ mandatis nostris firmiter obedire. Cum episcopales synodi annuatim per singulas diocoe/ses [s] a sacris canonibus celebrari decernantur, in quibus de corrigendis excessibus/ et moribus reformandis praesertim in clero, diligens debet haberi cum Dei tim/ore tractatus. Nos, qui ad canonicas sancciones observandas obligati sumus, volentes/ officio nostro

pastorali, ad quod licet immeriti, promoti sumus, hac in re satisfacere, synodum huiusmodi celebrandam instituimus, ubi perlectis clero nostro tunc praesenti statutis synodalibus, quae praedecessores nostri felicitis memoriae domini Joannes et Stephanus successive ediderunt, ac illis in suo robore et firmitate pro nostrae permanentibus, de consilio et matura deliberatione ac unanimi consensu venerabilium fratrum nostrorum dominorum canonicorum et capituli ecclesiae nostrae desuper habita, nonnulla infrascripta statuta pro divino cultu augendo, et pro salute animarum nobis creditarum, ac honeste et decore ecclesiarum diocesis nostrae prioribus statutis addenda decrevimus et decernimus per praesentes, quae pariformiter sub synodalibus et aliis poenis in antiquis statutis ipsis transgressoribus inflictis et inflingendis firmiter observari mandamus, quorum tenor sequitur et est talis./

1. In primis statuimus et mandamus omnibus et singulis plebanis ac vicis eorum generatibus et presbiteribus a clericis ad orandum horas canonicas per diocesim [s] nostram obligatis, quod singulis sabbatis post octavas Epiphaniae officium nocturnum et diurnum de beata Virgine, pro ut in libris horarum ultimis impressis continetur per eos dicatur et teneatur, usque ad vesperas sabbati Septuagesimae exclusive, et hoc si festum novem lectionum non impederit./

2. Item, quod in nocte Resurrectionis Domini nostri statim post elevationem Crucifixi et peracta processione cantetur matutinum officium in singulis oppidis etiam in villis, si sint qui cantare consueverunt./

3. Item quod omnes plebani et commendatorii tam in oppidis quam villis seriose prohibeant ipsis oppidanis et rusticis ne in die Resurrectionis Domini cum crucifixo equitent per campos aut alia loca neque aliis duobus diebus sequentibus, sed duntaxat in octava Paschae hoc est Dominica Quasimodo geniti et non nisi post prandium, etiam quod idem equitantes caveant tunc vitare tabernas, propter inebriaciones et plures insolentias, quae ibi evenire consueverunt [fol. 7v] consueverunt per hoc enim magnam irreverentiam faciunt sacrae communioni, quam tunc acceperunt, procul dubio non sine gravi offensa maiestatis Divinae./

4. Item prohibemus seriose³⁹ nostri plebani et commendatorii villarum permittant tunc rusticos unam tunc aut mediam cervisiae comparare, quando in Quadragesima ipsis confiteri solent indignum valde censemus, quia tunc peccato ebrietatis singulariter vacent, quando a peccatis expiari desiderant per confessionem./

5. Item committimus singulis plebanis oppidorum, ut summo studio conentur inducere cives ne dominicis et festivis diebus contra Divinum praeceptum

39 Added on the <> margin: "ne".

permittant annuale forum sive/ nundinas celebrari, ac etiam nostra auctoritate illis ita demandent, obsevatur enim hoc in omnibus insignioribus/ civitatibus et oppidis infra et extra terram istam./

6. Item quod nulli singuli plebani et commendatorii nostri exhortentur parrochianos suos, ne do/minicis et festivis diebus infra officium missae summae aut praedicationis verbi Dei ante prandium/ permittant aliqua in foro vendi neque aliquem cibum vel potum nisi viatoribus et valetu/dinaribus pro aut sine precio dari./

7. Item volumus ut singuli praesbiteri habeant speciales panniculos de subtili et nitida tela pro/ calicibus sub officio missae ante et post sacrificium extergendis, quia satis inhonestum est/ istud sacco calicis fieri./

8. Item mandamus omnibus plebanis et commendatoriis, ne ullo pacto exponant in altaribus ec/clesiarum suarum corpus Christi aut processionaliter illud publice deferant intra vel extra/ ecclesiam per circuitum singulis vel aliquibus quintis feriis aut celebrationibus fraternita/tum per annum, dempto festo eiusdem gloriosissimi Corporis Christi et eius octava, nisi specia/le indultum habeant de super a Sede Apostolica aut eius summo poenitenciaro vel aliquo legato./

9. Item, quod nullus audeat celebrare cum calice facto ex aere vel auricalco, sed quod sit/ ex argento vel ad minus ex stanno et non ex plumbo, neque etiam aliquis praesumat celebra/re missam in vestibus aut ornamentis non consecratis, sive in altari non consecrato et enor/mitter fracto, si contra canonicas sanctiones damnabiliter facere reformidat./

10. Item nullus praesbiter utatur in ecclesia sua aliquibus crucibus ex quocunque metallo aut va/sculis sive baptisteriis et ciboriis vel monstranciis pro Corpore Christi, pro Crismate aut o/leo, vel capsis pro reliquiis sanctorum recondendis, nisi prius benedictis ab episcopo ne contra an/tiqua sanctorum patrum instituta facientes, ubi Deum placare ministeriis nostris quaerimus, ira/sci magis faciamus./

11. Item nullus praesumat testamentum alicuius praesbiteri vel clerici beneficiati in diocoesi [s] nostra/ mortui exequi, salvis in primis impensis de relictis bonis, pro ipso honeste sepeliendo facien/dis, nisi prius a nobis et hoc quam primum examinatum fuerit an canonice factum existat./ Et si aliquis plebanus in villa intestitatus discesserit, volumus ut duo aut tres vicini/ res plebani ad illum sine mora pergant, et vocatis vitricis ecclesiae, eis que presentibus om/nia conscribant, et nos quantocius certiores de omnibus reddant relictis. Id ipsum faciant/ vicarii sive altaristae cum capellanis et vitricis in ipsis oppidis defuncto plebano./

Item observari/

[fol. 8r] 12. Item observari omnino decernimus, quod omnes et singuli plebani quamprimum ei in/notuerit mors sui episcopi sine omni dilacione debeant et teneantur honestas exequias/ facere cum decantacione tam integrarum vigilarum quam missarum, cum incensis can/delis communibus ecclesiarum suarum, ac pulsu omnium campanarum. Istud tamen ante/ pronuncient de ambone parrochianis suis, ut quem animarum suarum vigilem habu/erunt pastorem in terris eiusdem iam mortui salutem procurare dignentur in coelis/ suffragiis charitatis. Ita etiam quod singuli praesbiteri vel nunc vel postea obligati sunt/ unam missam pro defuncto suo praelato celebrare. Praeterea iniungimus omnibus supradictis/ plebanis, ut hoc pietatis officium similiter non omittant, quando scilicet dominicis et festivis diebus/ pro mortuis aliis peculiariter orare consueverint et pro proxime defuncto episcopo suo nominatim/ ac omnibus huius ecclesiae episcopis in genere Deum et populum exorent, hoc ipsum volumus/ per omnia observari apud singulos plebanos erga suos antecessores pro mortuis/ plebanis tam in exequis quam commemorationibus huiusmodi pro illis faciendis./

13. Item ex quo sanctum [s] Crisma mandatur de iure singulis annis consecrari et innovari,/ volumus ut omnes plebani et commendatorii pro die Coena Domini ad illum locum ubi officium no/strum celebraverimus aut soli venire, aut aliquem praesbiterum mittere teneantur pro novo/ Crismate, quia qui in baptismo de alio quam de novo utantur, nisi mortis periculo prae/ occupante, secundum sacros canones graviter peccant./

14. Item quod omnes praesbiteri et clerici exemplo Salvatoris nostri nequaquam omittant/ benedicere mensam antequam comedant, et post sumptum cibum reddere Deo gratias et hoc/ stante non sedente, prout nonnulli ad Dei laudes tepidi, contra communem omnium spiritualium ob/servantiam facere consueverunt, in malum exemplum laicorum./

15. Item mandamus ut singuli plebani et commendatorii debeant omnino in ecclesiis suis ad te/saurios et contributiones ecclesiarum pecuniarias habere unam clavem et vitrici aliam/ ita, ut cum eorum scitu et consilio aedificationes et reparationes ecclesiarum et temperacio/nes ecclesiasticarum rerum fiant, neque ullas rationes vitrici illorum maioribus suis, nisi plebanis/ praesentibus faciant, ut per hoc quaecunque sinistrae suspiciones, quae suboriri possent, alteri/us in alterum auferantur et officio plebani cui ecclesia comissa est detrahatur./

Acta et publicata sunt haec in ecclesia nostra Culmensis synodo ibidem celebrata in crastino Ascensionis Domini anno eiusdem M^o CCCC^o LXXXVIII^o [25 V 1498].

Ego Bartholomeus Fredecensis rescripsi anno Domini millesimo quingentesimo nonagesimo sexto [1596].

Graphical signs used in the course of editing

[s] confirmation of error in the edition

/--/ deletion

[?] doubt

<> addition

translated by Piotr Gumola

ABSTRACT

The article is concerned with medieval laws of the synod of the Chełmno diocese following the discovery at the Nicolaus Copernicus University Library of a manuscript originating from the end of the 16th century, file number Rps 568/IV. It is because these laws comprise the full statutes of Jan Marienau, bishop of Chełmno (1416-1457), including approvals and additions made by successive bishops: Stephen of Nidzica (1480-1495) and Mikołaj Chrapicki (1496-1507), as well as a set of laws recorded by bishop Piotr Kostka (1574-1595). The introductory part of the article discusses basic issues concerning the synod legislation of the Teutonic Order in Prussia, in particular that of the Chełmno diocese. In that respect, the preserved sources pertaining to the Chełmno diocese and the existing historiographic material have been discussed in detail. The article essentially focuses however on the publication of the statutes referred to above, which constitute the oldest known such collection for the Chełmno diocese. The published statutes primarily provided rules for the functioning of the clergy, in particular the parish priests of parish churches. They included a series of precepts and prohibitions regarding mores and specified the priests' obligations stemming from the position they held in the church hierarchy. The Chełmno statutes published within the article regulated also the obligations of lay people, such as the tithe, the duty to know basic prayers or various matters connected with the sacrament of marriage.

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GDAŃSK

REMARKS ON THE CONDITIONS FOR THE DEVELOPMENT
OF CRAFT IN THE TOWNS OF PRUSSIA
IN THE MIDDLE AGES AND ON THE THRESHOLD
OF EARLY MODERN TIMES WITH PARTICULAR REFERENCE
TO MALBORK¹



PREFACE

Studies of the history of craft are one of major currents in the discussions on the economic development of towns. Even though this subject is well recognized as regards big towns within the Teutonic State,² for smaller urban areas it still remains, with very few exceptions, on the margin of studies considering political history.³ Historians and archaeologists have taken up also the subjects embracing the activity of individual groups of professions and isolated crafts and their functions not incorporated in the jobs.⁴ To a lesser extent Polish historians have

1 This article is an extended version of a subsection included in the PhD dissertation *Rzemiosło miejskie w średniowiecznym Malborku do połowy XV w.*, defended in March 2019.

2 T. Hirsch, *Danzigs Handels- und Gewerbggeschichte unter der Herrschaft des Deutschen Ordens*, Leipzig 1858; W. Franz, *Königsbergs Gewerbe im Mittelalter*, Königsberg 1939; A. Matz, *Aus der Geschichte des Elbinger Bäckerhandwerks*, Elbing 1925; S. Herbst, *Toruńskie cechy rzemieślnicze*, Toruń 1933; M. Bogucka, *Gdańsk jako ośrodek produkcyjny w XIV-XVIII wieku*, Warszawa 1962; J. Tandecki, *Cechy rzemieślnicze w Toruniu i Chełmnie. Zarys dziejów*, Toruń 1983.

3 J. Tandecki, *Cechy rzemieślnicze w Brodnicy. Zarys dziejów na tle porównawczym*, Brodnica-Toruń 1997.

4 P. Gehrke, *Das Danziger Fleischgewerk in seiner geschichtlichen Entwicklung*, Danzig 1895; A. Matz, *Die Zünfte der Stadt Elbing bis zum Einzug der Schweden 1626*, "Elbinger Jahrbuch" (1920) 1, pp. 45-94; S. Rühle, *Geschichte des Gewerks der Bäcker zu Danzig*, Danzig 1932; idem, *Geschichte des Gewerks der Schneider zu Danzig*, Danzig 1931; M. Bogucka, *Elementy wczesnego kapitalizmu i preburżuazji w gdańskim browarnictwie w XV-XVII wieku*, Toruń 1955; eadem, *Gdańskie*

dealt with theoretical and comparative aspects of this matter, which in turn has been the focal point of scholars representing the German language area recently.⁵ Exceptional in the studies of craft are also works which concentrate on conditions indispensable for its development, such as the demographic potential, geographical conditions and the functions of the town – here I mean in particular a specific situation of residential towns (first of all Malbork, being the most recognized in this respect, as well as bishop's towns – Kwidzyn, Prabuty, Chełmża, Chełmno, Braniewo and Lidzbark Warmiński). The tendencies and dynamics in the development of craft production for a later period, i.e. 16th-18th centuries for smaller towns of the Pomeranian Voivodeship were identified by Stanisław Gierszewski.⁶

Craft in individual towns developed similarly – initially, in most cases already in foundation privileges, some basic and crucial for every town centre jobs were mentioned, such as the baker's and butcher's trades. Those were

rzemiosło tekstylne od XVI do połowy XVII wieku, Wrocław 1956; eadem, *Z zagadnień spekulacji i nadużyć w handlu żywnością w Gdańsku w XV-XVII w.*, "Zapiski Historyczne" XXVII (1962) 1, pp. 7-22; J. Tandecki, *Pozazawodowe funkcje i powinności korporacji rzemieślniczych w miastach Prus krzyżackich i królewskich w XIV-XVIII w.*, "Zapiski Historyczne" VI (1995) 1; idem, *Struktury administracyjne i społeczne oraz formy życia w wielkich miastach Prus Krzyżackich i Królewskich w średniowieczu i na progu czasów nowożytnych*, Toruń 2001; idem, *Stellung der Handwerk und ihrer Zünfte in den hansischen Städten – Soziale Wirklichkeit und ihre Wahrnehmung*, in: *Das Bild und die Wahrnehmung der Stadt und der städtischen Gesellschaft im Hanseraum im Mittelalter und in der frühen Neuzeit*, ed. R. Czaja, Toruń 2004; Z. Kropidłowski, *Samopomoc w korporacjach rzemieślniczych Gdańska, Torunia i Elbląga, XIV-XVIII w.*, Gdańsk 1997; J. Maik, *Sukiennictwo elbląskie w średniowieczu*, Acta Archaeologica Lodziensia, XLI, Łódź 1997; idem, *Sukiennicy elbląscy w XIV i XV wieku*, "Archaeologia Historica Polona" VII (1998), pp. 197-212; S. Dryja, *Technologia produkcji słodowniczej i piwowarskiej w średniowieczu i na początku ery nowożytnej w Krakowie*, "Archaeologia Historica Polona" XVIII (2009), pp. 185-208; M. Grupa, *Wetniane tekstylia pospólstwa i plebsu gdańskiego (XIV-XVII w.) i ich konserwacja*, Toruń 2012.

5 Ch. Jeggle, *Gewerbliche Produktion und Arbeitsorganisation: Perspektiven der Forschung*, in: *Vorindustrielles Gewerbe: handwerkliche Produktion und Arbeitsbeziehungen in Mittelalter und früher Neuzeit*, eds. Ch. Jeggle, M. Häberlein, Konstanz 2004; G.O. Oexle, *Die mittelalterliche Zunft als Forschungsproblem. Ein Beitrag zur Wissenschaftsgeschichte der Moderne*, "Blätter für deutsche Landesgeschichte" CXVIII (1982), pp. 1-44; S. von Heusinger, *Von "Antwerk" bis "Zunft". Methodische Überlegungen zu den Zünften im Mittelalter*, "Zeitschrift für Historische Forschung" XXXVII (2010) 1, pp. 37-71; eadem, *Die Zunft im Mittelalter. Zur Verflechtung von Politik, Wirtschaft und Gesellschaft in Strassburg*, Stuttgart 2009; M. Garzmann, *Zum Korporationsproblem im spätmittelalterlichen Braunschweig*, in: *Einungen und Bruderschaften in der spätmittelalterlichen Stadt*, ed. P. Johaneck, Köln-Weimar-Wien 1993, pp. 71-109; R. Schmidt-Wiegand, *Die Bezeichnungen Zunft und Gilde in ihrem historischen und wortgeographischen Zusammenhang*, in: *Gilden und Zünfte: Kaufmännische und gewerbliche Genossenschaften im frühen und hohen Mittelalter*, ed. B. Schwineköper, Sigmaringen 1985, pp. 31-52; M. Ojala, *Protection, Continuity and Gender. Craft Trade Culture in the Baltic Sea Region (14th-16th Centuries)*, Tempere 2014; U. Pfister, *Craft Guilds, the Theory of Firm, and Early Modern Proto-industry*, in: *Guilds, Innovation and European Economy 1400-1800*, eds. S.R. Epstein, M. Praak, Cambridge 2008, pp. 25-51.

6 S. Gierszewski, *Struktura gospodarcza i funkcje rynkowe mniejszych miast województwa pomorskiego w XVI i XVII w.*, Gdańsk 1966.

conventionally taken into consideration there in connection with the amount and division of rent. Also, already at the stage of planning a future town, a proper place in the spatial layout was intended to be assigned to tradesmen and craftsmen. On the occasion of the foundation of a town a specific area was designated for developing infrastructure enabling commercial and craft activities.⁷ Apart from the crafts mentioned in foundation documents, the list of basic jobs was supplemented with construction, clothing and timber processing crafts.

DEMOGRAPHIC POTENTIAL

With the economic and demographic development of towns, there was an increase in the number of local crafts and craft guilds, and those fundamental ones were often divided into smaller, more and more specialized branches, which in many cases formed their own, separate craft guilds. The factor stimulating their development was, first of all, a demographic potential of a given town. A bigger number of the inhabitants meant automatically a greater market for the produced goods and ensured that a craftsman who offered a narrow range of services would remain in his position. A good example of such a development of craft is smithery. In the case of a very big town, Królewiec, W. Franz showed how from a general craft guild subsequent specializations formed: the blacksmiths, ironworkers, cutlers, needle makers and armourers.⁸ The level of specialization of crafts in very big and selected smaller towns of the Teutonic State is presented in table 1. The collected data concerns not only crafts which formed a separate craft guild, but all jobs mentioned in historical studies and medieval sources. The main criterion of the division of crafts into groups is the raw material used for production – which is a way, commonly established in historiography, of classifying different kinds of manufacture.⁹ It is particularly legitimate as it was the raw material which was an element linking a general craft guild with specializations, which subsequently formed from it, apart from the crafts producing foodstuffs.

7 For example: Chojnice, the privilege from 1360 – mentioned were the following: butchers, bakers and shoe makers, see: K. Bruski, *Chojnice w średniowieczu (do roku 1466)*, in: *Dzieje Chojnic*, ed. K. Ostrowski, Chojnice 2003, p. 57; in Olsztyn, in the privilege from 1353 mentioned were the following: butchery, bakery, shoe making, tailoring and cloth trimming, see A. Szorc, *Przywilej lokacyjny miasta Olsztyna z 31 października 1353 roku* "Komunikaty Mazursko-Warmińskie" III (2004), pp. 283-300; *Preußisches Urkundenbuch*, ed. A. Seraphim, Königsberg 1909, p. 234.

8 W. Franz, *Königsbergs Gewerbe...*, p. 8.

9 Such a division was accepted, among others, by ibidem; S. Gierszewski, *Struktura gospodarcza i funkcje rynkowe...*, pp. 46-110.

Table 1. Specialization of crafts in selected Prussian towns

Town	Foodstuff crafts	Metal crafts	Clothing crafts	Leather-wear crafts	Timber processing crafts	Others
Malbork ¹⁰	bakers of brown bread bakers of white bread producers of groats producers of gingerbread butchers brewers malt masters mead makers	blacksmiths goldsmiths ironworkers boiler-smiths	clothiers tailors linen-drapers	tanners furriers shoemakers	carpenters hoopers	masons potters
The Old Town of Gdańsk ¹¹	bakers of brown bread bakers of white bread producers of hardtacks bakers of biscuits producers of sweets butchers brewers malt masters	blacksmiths anchor makers proper blacksmiths minor blacksmiths ironworkers cutlers boiler-smiths producers of nails producers of hooves armourers pewter makers braziers bellfounders goldsmiths	hatters linen-drapers clothiers dyers rope-makers tailors	harness-workers and belt makers saddlers shoemakers furriers leather-workers tanners	woodworkers cartwrights and wheelwrights carpenters chest makers turners coopers bucket makers makers of the paternoster lift	amber jewellers soapers glassmakers potters barbers chemists bath attendants hucksters cooks carriers brick masters (no craft guild) bricklayers and stone masons

¹⁰ A. Girsztowt, *Crafts in Medieval Malbork. The State of Research, and Prospects for Further Study*, in: *Kultūra – ekonomika – visuomenė: sąveika ir pokyčiai viduramžiais ir ankstyvaisiais naujaisiais laikais Baltijos rytinėje pakrantėje*, ed. M. Ščavinskas, Klaipėda 2015, pp. 153-161.

¹¹ M. Bogucka, *Gdańsk jako ośrodek...*, pp. 18-23, 107-108, 127-128, 142-156; T. Hirsch, *Danzigs Handels- und Gewerbggeschichte...*, pp. 293-298, 317-328.

The Old Town of Elbląg ¹²	bakers of white bread bakers of brown bread butchers brewers malt masters	blacksmiths ironworkers anchor makers belt makers goldsmiths	linen-drapers clothiers tailors cloth-edgers	bag makers leather-workers shoe-makers furriers producers of sandals	wood-workers carpenters coopers	hucksters carriers potters bricklayers
The Old Town of Toruń ¹³	bakers of white bread bakers of biscuits butchers bakers of brown bread bakers of gingerbread butchers sausage makers brewers malt masters	blacksmiths ironworkers (locksmiths, spurriers, stirrup makers) needle-makers boiler-smiths pewter makers belt makers goldsmiths cutlers casters	linen-drapers clothiers tailors (also including shearers) <i>cajgmachers</i> [producers of woollen clothes – translator's note] (lighter fabric) dyers hatters <i>pasamoniks</i> [producers of fabric belts and tassels – t/n.] rope makers tailors	furriers cordovan-makers shoe makers pump makers leather dressers purse makers glovers saddlers leather-workers	wood-workers carpenters wheelwrights cartwrights	soapers stonemasons pavers glassmakers comb makers producers of mats parchment makers roof-tile makers
Chetmno ¹⁴	bakers butchers	blacksmiths ironworkers goldsmiths pewter makers armourers shield makers cutlers belt makers leatherworkers	clothiers tailors weavers linen-drapers	shoe makers furriers cordovan-makers leather-dressers		hucksters carpenters

12 A. Matz, *Aus der Geschichte des Elbinger...*; idem, *Die Zünfte der Stadt Elbing...*, pp. 41-77.

13 A. Czacharowski, *Toruń średniowieczny (do roku 1454)*, in: *Toruń dawny i dzisiejszy. Zarys dziejów*, ed. M. Biskup, Warszawa-Poznań-Toruń 1983, pp. 61-63; idem, *Ze studiów nad strukturą społeczną mieszczaństwa toruńskiego na przełomie XIV-XV wieku*, "Acta Universitatis Nicolai Copernici. Nauki Humanistyczne. Historia" IX (1973), pp. 89-97; S. Herbst, *Toruńskie cechy...*, pp. 86-104, 116-138, 147-189, 199-219.

14 Z. Nowak, *Dzieje Chetmna do końca XVIII wieku*, in: *Dzieje Chetmna i jego regionu. Zarys monograficzny*, ed. M. Biskup, Toruń 1968, pp. 121-123.

Królewiec ¹⁵	bakers butchers	blacksmiths armourers boiler-smiths pewter makers ironworkers goldsmiths cutlers belt makers needle- makers casters nail makers	tailors rope-makers hatters clothiers linen-drapers dyers clippers of woollen cloth	furriers producers of bags shoe makers leather- workers saddlers	carpen- ters ship- wrights wood- workers wheel- wrights coopers wood- carvers pro- ducers of the pater- noster lifts turners stopper makers	oilmen producers of wax bath attendants barbers painters masons glassmakers pavers chemists
The New Town of Toruń ¹⁶	butchers brewers beer makers	blacksmiths boiler-makers goldsmiths silversmiths belt makers sword ma- kers	clothiers tailors weavers clippers of woollen cloth	tanners leather- dressers shoe makers furriers	wood- workers carpen- ters coopers wood- carvers	bath attendant masons roof-tile makers (brick- burners)
The New Town of Elbląg ¹⁷	bakers of white bread bakers of brown bread brewers malt masters butchers	blacksmiths ironworkers cutlers armourers belt makers nail makers	clothiers tailors linen-drapers	tanners shoe mak- ers furriers	coopers wood- workers carpen- ters	stone masons

15 W. Franz, *Königsbergs Gewerbe...*, pp. 15-19.

16 G. Bender, *Die ältesten Willküren der Neustadt Thorn (c. vom Jahre 1300) (nebst einigen Urkunden und einem Zinsregister). Ein Beitrag zur altpreussischen Rechtsgeschichte, "Zeitschrift des Westpreussischen Geschichtsvereins" (1882) 7*, pp. 95-125; A. Czacharowski, *Toruń średniowieczny...*, p. 63.

17 A. Semrau, *Die mittelalterlichen Willküren der Altstadt und der Neustadt Elbing, "Mitteilungen des Coppersnicus-Vereins für Wissenschaft und Kunst" XXXVI (1926)*, pp. 61-76; A. Matz, *Die Zünfte der Stadt Elbing...*; D. Kaczor, *Statut cechu piekarzy pieczywa ciemnego Starego Miasta Elbląga z 1421 roku, "Rocznik Elbląski" XIX (2004)*, p. 162; J. Tandecki, *Rzemiosło średniowiecznego Elbląga*, in: *Historia Elbląga, I: (do 1466 r.)*, eds. S. Gierszewski, A. Groth, Gdańsk 1993, pp. 170-184.

Chojnice ¹⁸	bakers butchers brewers	blacksmiths ironworkers goldsmiths sword makers	clothiers tailors	shoe makers leather- workers		
Braniewo ¹⁹	bakers butchers brewers	cutlers armourers boiler-makers goldsmiths blacksmiths	weavers tailors lothiers <i>pasamoniks</i> [producers of fabric belts and tassels – t/n.] rope makers	shoe mak- ers furriers producers of sandals	coopers carpen- ters pitmen	producers of wax bath attendants
Łębork ²⁰	bakers butchers brewers	blacksmiths ironworkers	clothiers tailors	shoe makers		bath attendants
Nowe Miasto Lubawskie ²¹	bakers butchers brewers	blacksmiths ironworkers	clothiers tailors	shoe mak- ers furriers	coopers wheel- wrights	potters bath attendants
The New Town of Gdańsk ²²	bakers butchers brewers beer makers	blacksmiths (9 specializa- tions) pewter makers	tailors clothiers <i>pasamoniks</i> [producers of fabric belts and tassels – t/n.]	shoe mak- ers purse makers tanners producers of scab- bards	wood- worker coffer maker	potters

18 K. Bruski, *Chojnice w średniowieczu...*

19 F. Buchholtz, *Braunsberg im Wandel der Jahrhunderte*, Braunsberg 1934.

20 K. Bruski, *Łębork w czasach średniowiecza*, in: *Dzieje Łęborka*, ed. J. Borzyszkowski, Łębork-Gdańsk 2009.

21 A. Radziwiński, *Nowe Miasto Lubawskie w średniowieczu*, in: *Nowe Miasto Lubawskie. Zarys dziejów*, ed. M. Wojciechowski, Nowe Miasto Lubawskie 1992, pp. 31-43.

22 P. Samól, *Młode Miasto Gdańsk (1380-1455) i jego patrymonium*, Gdańsk 2018, pp. 272-277.

The number of specializations in craft in relation to the number of townspeople is shown in diagram no. 1, while the ratio between the number of parcels in towns and the degree of the development of craft is seen in diagram no. 2. Both comparisons, which aim to show the impact of the number of townspeople on the degree of specialization in craft, allowed us to establish the correlation between a demographic potential of a given centre and its economic development.²³ The analysis of the data clearly shows that the process of the division of crafts accelerated when the number of the inhabitants in the town reached 2000 – such a size of a centre provided sufficient conditions for craftsmen who specialized in a narrower field within their profession to run their businesses. This is illustrated by the examples of Malbork or The New Town of Elbląg when compared with Łębork and Nowe Miasto Lubawskie. The two former towns numbered over 2000 inhabitants, whereas the two latter did not exceed 1500. In smaller centres, where fewer inhabitants lived, only those crafts appeared which satisfied their basic needs. A bigger fragmentation of professions would not let the producers remain in their businesses. Probably in such cases, the term *baker* applied to the craftsman who baked all kinds of bread which he could sell on a given market. In the towns under consideration which numbered more than 2000 inhabitants, in Malbork and The New Town of Elbląg, divisions occurred within breadmaking – separate professions of bakers of white bread and of brown bread developed, and the same happened within smith and leather crafts. The exception to the examined towns was Puck, where, despite its small size, the number of specializations in the early-modern times was 21. We can presume that the situation was similar as regards the Middle Ages.²⁴ In this case the factor augmenting the strength of the local craftwork was a local port, which had functioned there since the early Middle Ages.²⁵ In the case of Chojnice our knowledge is also based on accounts coming from both the Middle Ages and early modern times. Medieval sources confirm the existence of such crafts as: bakery, butchery, brewing, drapery, tailoring and blacksmithing.²⁶ However, it seems to be certain that in the case of the centre of such a size and importance these were not the only professions functioning here. Chojnice had the size similar to Malbork and together with this town headed the group of ‘small towns’ in the Teutonic State. T. Lewerenz classifies these towns as the centres

²³ We follow the studies by S. Gierszewski, *Struktura gospodarcza i funkcje rynkowe...*, pp. 18-25.

²⁴ A. Groth, *Czas Rzeczypospolitej szlacheckiej*, in: *Historia Pucka*, ed. A. Groth, Gdańsk 1998, pp. 146-159; C. Kardasz, *Przestrzeń, społeczeństwo i gospodarka późnośredniowiecznego Pucka w świetle źródeł pisanych*, in: *Puck. Kultura materialna małego miasta w późnym średniowieczu*, ed. M. Starski, Warszawa 2017, pp. 71-90.

²⁵ C. Kardasz, *Przestrzeń...*, pp. 71-90.

²⁶ K. Bruski, *Chojnice w średniowieczu...*, p. 62.

on the borderline between small towns and those which were recognized as big ones.²⁷ Thus we argue that closer to reality of Chojnice is the list of craftsmen included in the *Inspection of the Pomeranian Voivodeship of 1565*, where apart from the jobs already mentioned also appear: goldsmiths, sword makers, a leatherworker and ironworkers.²⁸ Of course, both till 1565 like in the case of Chojnice and till 1570, when the data concerning Puck were registered, the number of specializations within the crafts may have grown, which can be observed, among others, in Malbork. For the period of early modern times the statutes of a bigger number of craft guilds have been preserved than for the Middle Ages. In addition to the already mentioned ones (see table one), there were the craft guilds of: producers of bags, rope-makers, glassmakers, barbers, leatherworkers, hatters, saddlers, woodworkers, turners and boiler-smiths.²⁹ During two centuries sources made a note of 10 new professions in the town, but this may have been linked to the process of the codification of the statutes or the formal emergence of craft guilds, which does not rule out the existence of representatives of this profession in the town in a previous period. We know from other sources that out of the 10 above mentioned professions which were formally established in Malbork in the early modern times 5 were mentioned in the Middle Ages. A similar situation had previously taken place in very big towns of the Teutonic State, among others in Elbląg, Królewiec and Brodnica, where in consequence of the wave of codifications of statutes in the second half of the 15th century and in the 16th century the number of craft guilds increased. The date of writing the statute was not identical with the moment of the appearance of the craft – a professional activity may have been conducted for decades before it had its own craft guild.³⁰ In most cases specific specializations functioned within a different, bigger and more general organization.³¹ This is a likely reconstruction of the process in question, when we consider general nature of medieval crafts in towns, whose functioning was based on the craft guild organization. The most representative for illustrating this situation is the example of blacksmiths as it occurs in all the centres which

27 T. Lewerenz, *Die Grossentwicklung der Kleinstädte in Ost- und Westpreussen bis zum Ende des 18 Jahrhunderts*, Marburg/Lahn 1976, p. 212.

28 *Lustracja województwa pomorskiego 1565*, ed. S. Hoszowski, Gdańsk 1961, p. 47.

29 Archiwum Państwowe w Gdańsku (the Public Record Office in Gdańsk, henceforth: APG), 508, 262, pp. 191-197.

30 This process accelerated if there was an economic crisis, an increased external competition (one of the main tasks of the craft guild was to defend its members from competitors), or the unrest among journeymen, see on this subject J. Tandecki, *Zarys dziejów cechów i rzemiosła brodnickiego (do 1772 r.)*, in: *Szkice brodnickie*, II, ed. K. Grażawski, Brodnica 1993, pp. 171-184.

31 F. Schultz, *Die Stadt Kulm im Mittelalter*, "Zeitschrift des Westpreussischen Geschichtsvereins" XXIII (1888), pp. 106-108.

exceeded the number of 2000 inhabitants. This was the craft guild which gave birth to other organizations or specializations functioning within the craft guild were mentioned: ironworkers, armourers, cutlers etc.³² In the smaller centres, like Malbork, as well as Lębork and Nowe Miasto Lubawskie, only the craft guild of blacksmiths is confirmed for the Middle Ages even though we know that within it there were craftsmen representing other specializations. Sometimes – and this was also the case in smaller centres – establishing a new craft guild as regards a number of professions was groundless because of the limited acquisitive powers of the market, where one or two craftsmen of a given specialization could potentially function, but this was not a sufficient number for opening a separate organization.³³ Referring to the already discussed examples of Elbląg and Królewiec we can observe such solutions to the issue of affiliation, where dyers belonged to the craft guild of drapers, painters to glassworkers, glovers to purse makers, and leatherworkers to belt makers.³⁴ We also consider another possibility of solving the problem of the specialization of crafts. We have accepted above that smaller specializations existed within bigger crafts, whereas their own, separate craft guilds did not function. However, we cannot rule out that the process of specialization in smaller towns could have stopped at a certain stage. In such a case we do not presume the activity of, for example, cutlers or the division of the tanning craft into cordovan-makers and leather-dressers, but we argue that the production was run by craftsmen specializing in different areas of a more general craft. One should also mention in this place that craftsmen representing smaller centres could belong to craft guilds functioning in bigger towns. Such a practice was possible if in a given town were too few masters to be able to establish a separate craft guild.³⁵ In the cases analysed here, making craftsmen members of craft guilds in bigger towns did not affect the collected data concerning the specialization of professions – isolated mentions of persons working in their professions, not only of craft guilds, were also taken into consideration.

Obviously, the formation process of specialized branches of crafts can be associated not only with the demographic factor, but also the economic one. As a good example can serve the appearance of bakers of white bread, which was more expensive than brown bread, as it required lighter, purified – meaning more expensive – flour, which translated into the price of bread itself. Thus we can consider white bread to have been a luxury which was not

32 W. Franz, *Königsbergs Gewerbe...*, p. 12; J. Tandecki, *Rzemiosło średniowiecznego Elbląga*, pp. 170-179.

33 S. Gierszewski, *Struktura gospodarcza i funkcje rynkowe...*, p. 61.

34 Ibidem; J. Tandecki, *Rozkwit toruńskiego ośrodka handlowego i produkcyjnego*, in: *Historia Torunia, I: W czasach średniowiecza (do 1454 r.)*, ed. M. Biskup, Toruń 1999.

35 More on this subject J. Tandecki, *Zarys dziejów...*, p. 174.

in high demand in smaller centres, where the town elite was proportionally less numerous.³⁶

Diagram 1. The degree of specialization of craft and the number of people

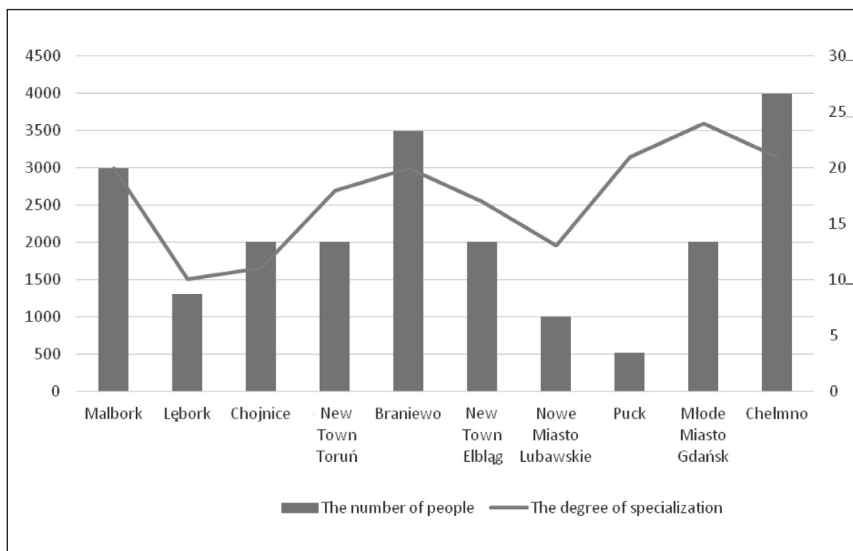
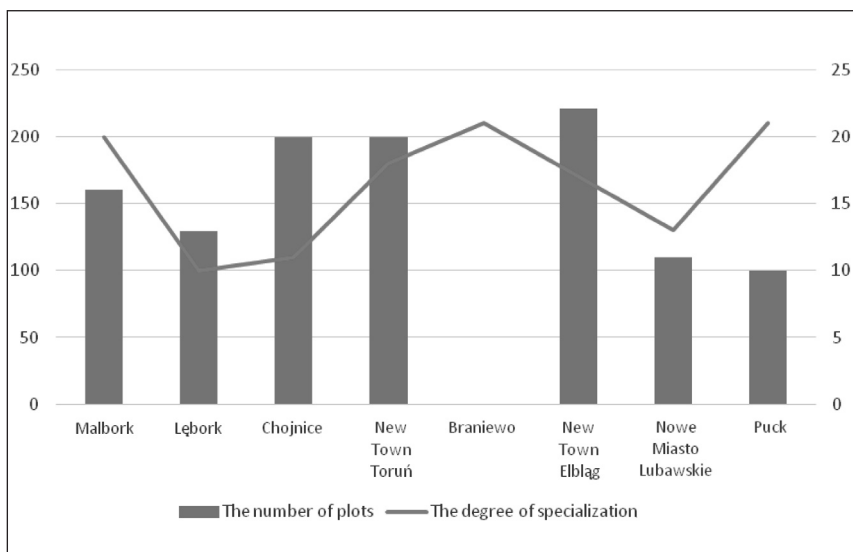


Diagram 2. The number of plots and the degree of specialization of craft



³⁶ The research by Andrzej Wyczański for the 16th century shows huge differences in a statistical daily consumption of rye and wheat bread. Statistically a member of the personnel in the castle of Korczyn consumed daily 1.11 kilos of rye bread, compared with less than

THE REMAINING CONDITIONS OF THE DEVELOPMENT OF CRAFT

Among the factors strongly affecting the development of craft was not only the size or status of a centre and the number of its inhabitants, but also its function which resulted from the presence there of the seat of the state or church authority (e.g. Malbork, Braniewo, Lubawa, Lidzbark Warmiński, Kwidzyn, Prabuty). Equally important was the location of a given centre and the role it played accordingly, e.g. as a port town (very big towns, such as Gdańsk, or much less significant, like Puck³⁷), or the one located on a trade route, like e.g. Brodnica or Toruń.³⁸

In connection with their status residential towns possessed an additional market, and a particularly big demand concerned luxury products as well as work and services related to general construction. On the one hand they were by definition geared towards economic servicing of the seat of the authority and on the other hand they faced competition of the craftsmen working in the outer bailey. The functioning of the two centres next to each other, which made two separate economic zones differing from each other as regards their legal (e.g. the rules concerning the functioning of the craft) and economic status, was a potential source of tensions between the town and the seat of authority.³⁹ As a rule they particularly contributed to the settling of the craftsmen linked to construction, who were indispensable for the expansion or renovation of the seats of rulers, and also of the producers of luxury objects or artists.⁴⁰ They settled not only within outer baileys, but also in the towns adjacent to the seats of authority, and were engaged in construction works. In the residential town which we have identified the most, i.e. in Malbork, Nicholas (Niclos) Fellensteyn, in the long-term service of the Teutonic Order, was one of such builders. He appears for the first time in accounting records

90 grams of wheat bread (it is less than 2 today's slices), A. Wyczański, *Studia nad konsumpcją żywności w Polsce w XVI i pierwszej połowie XVII wieku*, Warszawa 1969, p. 38.

37 M. Starski, *Uwarunkowania lokacji i rozplanowanie miasta lokacyjnego w Pucku*, in: *Puck. Kultura materialna małego miasta w późnym średniowieczu*, ed. M. Starski, Warszawa 2017, pp. 41-70.

38 K. Mikulski, *Przestrzenny i społeczny rozwój Torunia do końca XVIII wieku*, "Rocznik Toruński" XXV (1998), pp. 21-22; J. Tandecki, *Zarys dziejów...*, pp. 171-184.

39 G. Deuschlaender, M. Meinhardt, *Die fragmentierte Gesellschaft. Politische Gruppierungen in mitteldeutschen Residenzstädten des späten Mittelalters und der Frühen Neuzeit*, in: *Städtisches Bürgertum und Hofgesellschaft*, ed. J. Hirschbiegel, W. Paravicini, J. Wettlaufer, Ostfildern 2012, p. 198.

40 H. Flackeneker, *Eine vertane Chance? Die Rolle der bischöflichen Civitates im hochmittelalterlichen Spannungsfeld zwischen Raumerfassung und Herrschaftsbildung*, in: *Bischof und Bürger. Herrschaftsbeziehungen in den Kathedralstädten des Hoch- und Spätmittelalters*, eds. U. Grieme, N. Kruppa, S. Pätzold, Göttingen 2004, p. 16; M. Starski, *Uwarunkowania lokacji...*, pp. 41-70; L. Zygmier, *Stellung und Rolle der Bischöfe im spätmittelalterlichen Plock (14.-15. Jahrhundert)*, in: *Bischof und Bürger...*, p. 297.

in 1400.⁴¹ In the same year he also received a citizenship right in Malbork and entered into possession of a plot located behind the river Nogat.⁴² We can link those two facts and argue that his arrival in Malbork was caused by his engagement in construction works for the Teutonic Knights.⁴³ Fellensteyn himself worked on building sites not only in Malbork and its environs, but also, among others, in Klaipėda. Information on his professional activity as a builder is to be found in historical studies.⁴⁴

The seats of authority in the Teutonic State had an exceptional status connected with the ecclesiastical character of the country – courts did not generate demand, among others, for jewellery (even though jewellery understood in a wider sense, such as items of cult or decorations on the elements of the armour or weaponry, was often ordered), or for female attire. The best documented in this respect is again Malbork. The castle was the consumer of the town production, which supplemented the manufacture of the craftsmen from the outer bailey and from the territory of the castle's jurisdiction (Pol. *jurydyka*). The products of the craftsmen from the town's workshops were usually of better quality than those made in the castle – in the case of outer baileys or *jurydyki* crafts there were in most cases pursued by journeymen, and significantly less often by masters. It was also important that they did not belong to craft guilds. The fact of not being members of a professional organization also meant the lack of control over the quality of products, which was typical of craft guilds.⁴⁵

Particularly well-documented are trade relations of the goldsmiths, weavers, and representatives of some metalwork crafts with the castle.

In Malbork the activity of goldsmiths was connected not only with manufacturing liturgical vessels for the needs of local churches or jewellery for individuals, but also, in particular, working for the Teutonic Order. The presence of the seat of authority attracted craftsmen dealing with the manufacture of luxuries, which were in demand in the castle. Even though one would think that for this reason many goldsmiths can be found in the

⁴¹ *Das Marienburger Tresslerbuch der Jahre 1399-1409*, ed. E. Joachim, Königsberg 1896, p. 66 (henceforth: MTB).

⁴² APG, 508, 1787, p. 4; Geheimes Staatsarchiv Preußischer Kulturbesitz in Berlin, XX HA, OBA, no. 4373, p. 4v, 10v.

⁴³ M. Arszyński, *Budownictwo warowne zakonu krzyżackiego w Prusach (1230-1454)*, Toruń 1995, p. 154.

⁴⁴ On Mikołaj Fellensteyn see B. Schmid, *Nicolaus Fellensteyn*, in: *Bericht des Vereins zur Wiederherstellung und Ausschmückung der Marienburg*, [no place of publication] 1934; idem, *Die Baumeister im Deutschordenslande Preussen*, Königsberg 1939, p. 5; S. Józwiak, *Krzyżacki murowany zamek komturski w Klaipėdzie w świetle średniowiecznych źródeł pisanych*, "Klio" XXXII (2015) 1, p. 17.

⁴⁵ R. Czaja, *Miasta pruskie a zakon krzyżacki: studia nad stosunkami między miastem a władzą terytorialną w późnym średniowieczu*, Toruń 1999, pp. 177-178.

book of admission to the municipal law. However, for the Middle Ages only two such cases can be identified: of Jacob in 1405 and of Meterna in 1409.⁴⁶

For the needs of the order not only liturgical items but also table dishes, ornaments or even dog collars were bought.⁴⁷ Articles made by goldsmiths were also regarded as an element of the order's diplomacy and were offered as gifts for visitors. Grand masters gave, among others, gold-plated cups.⁴⁸ Hence in account books we come across, on numerous occasions, records of purchases made for the benefit of the castle from external suppliers. One can find there the goldsmiths both from big and reputable centres within the Teutonic State, such as Gdańsk, Elbląg and Toruń, where the processing of gold and silver was the most developed, but also from Malbork.⁴⁹ A craftsman named Drisigmarck accepted the commission of the order for smaller works – corrections, gilding etc. He first appeared in sources in 1399.⁵⁰ His contacts with the order particularly intensified at the turn of the 14th and 15th centuries, and his activity, as Marek Radoch noticed, is largely linked to the diplomatic relations between the Teutonic Order and the representatives of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania and the preparations for the raid on Samogitia.⁵¹ The gilding of the acorn and other parts of the helmet for Duke Vytautas, which he performed in 1400, and the encrusting of knives can be associated with the stay in Malbork of clerk Pietrasz of Bolesław, who was supposed to collect the elements made by Drisigmarck.⁵² Interestingly, the horse purchased by the order and designated for the Lithuanian diplomat, also came from this goldsmith.⁵³ The order also used his services during a visit which Duchess Anna, Duke Vytautas's wife paid to Malbork. The accounts connected with gilding mugs and drinking horns by him coincided with the stay of the duchess there in July 1400. Simultaneously, he made some items intended for the Grand Master and the Malbork monastery.⁵⁴ The last recorded

46 APG, 508, 1787, pp. 5-6.

47 The bills for making dog collars appear in sources twice: in 1402 and in 1407; MTB, p. 162.

48 E. von Czihak, *Die Edelschmiedekunst früherer Zeiten in Preussen, II: Westpreussen*, Leipzig 1908, pp. 175-176.

49 The biggest number of entries relating to goods made of gold are in the Marienburger Tresslerbuch.

50 MTB, p. 14.

51 M. Radoch, *Wydatki wielkiego mistrza Konrada von Jungingen na zdobycie Żmudzi w latach 1398-1401 (w świetle księgi podskarbiego malborskiego)*, "Komunikaty Mazursko-Warmińskie" IV (2006), pp. 472-475.

52 Ibidem; MTB, p. 53.

53 M. Radoch, *Wydatki wielkiego mistrza...*, p. 473; MTB, p. 66.

54 MTB, p. 53. In the case of components designated for Duke Vytautas he charged ½ *wiardunek* for processing 1 *skojec* of silver, i.e. 3 *skojec*. Perhaps this charge depended on how elaborate the product was yet we cannot be certain.

commissions for Drisigmarck for his goldsmith work come from a little while before the goldsmith's death in 1403.⁵⁵

The remaining goldsmiths in the town dealt with similar jobs.⁵⁶ In July 1402 Matthis replaces Drisigmarck and he is commissioned to make a bowl for herbs (medicine) for the Grand Commander Wilhelm von Helfenstein, to which $\frac{1}{2}$ mark (Pol. *grzywna*) of silver was allocated.⁵⁷ Grand Masters commissioned the local goldsmiths to make not only items for the benefit of the monastery or liturgical practices, but also luxuries, such as a silver dog collar which was made Matthis in 1402 and whose cost was $3\frac{1}{2}$ *skojec* (an old central European unit of mass, 1 *skojec* was equal to $\frac{1}{24}$ of *grzywna* – t/n.) of silver.⁵⁸

The Malbork castle was also the consumer of blacksmith's products. Although within the precincts of the castle there were smithies and workshops which supplied the Teutonic monastery with indispensable metal products, the town production played a supplementary role. References to purchasing metal items concern buying nails from blacksmiths⁵⁹ and the elements of fitting (handles, locks, bits and hinges) from ironworkers.⁶⁰

The influence of the presence of the seat of authority on the development of craft is clearly noticeable among weavers. The most typical textile product manufactured in Malbork was grey cloth, for which also other Prussian towns were famous (Toruń among others). This was an inexpensive product, of mediocre quality, used for producing cheap clothes. A particularly big consumer of grey cloth was the castle, where there were not weaving workshops. The monks bought the fabric made in Malbork in quantity and it was designated for the clothes of the lower rank members of guilds and castle servants. In Teutonic records the entry named *gro(e) gewand* appears relatively frequently – annually a castle official – the vestiary possessed the amount of 26 marks and 1 *wiardunek* (the equivalent of $\frac{1}{4}$ *grzywna* – t/n.), which was the price of 45 pieces of grey cloth.⁶¹ The purchases of cloth were also

55 His wife Girdrud appears as a widow in an inheritance case, where she shared the property with Niclos Drisigmarck's sisters, which additionally suggests that the couple was childless, see APG, 508, 1328, p. 4.

56 Maciej (Matthis), Mikolaj Niclus (Tybindorff?) Clauwis, Thomas Abeczihier, Werner, Jacob, Wenzlaw i Matern, see E. von Czihak, *Die Edelschmiedekunst...*, p. 181.

57 MTB, p. 163.

58 Ibidem.

59 MTB, p. 545; *Das Ausgabebuch des Marienburger Hauskomturs für die Jahre 1410-1420*, ed. W. Ziesemer, Königsberg 1911, p. 31 (henceforth: AGB): *Item 10 sc dem smede in der stat vor swertnagel czur lantmole.*

60 AGB, pp. 248, 254.

61 Between 1399 and 1410, every year the vestiary made a purchase of 45 pieces of grey cloth, see MKB, pp. 7, 29, 86, 116, 161, 189, 216, 235, 240; one can also find the purchases of

commissioned by the castle commander, who, e.g. in 1402 bought 1 piece of the fabric intended for stablemen.⁶² Grey cloth was also used as alms for the poorest. The weavers based in Malbork bought wool for the production of cloth from the Teutonic Knights, who in turn possessed flocks of sheep and monopolized the deliveries of the raw material for the weavers in Malbork.⁶³ At the beginning of the 15th century records were made of both individual purchases and those made by the whole craft guild. Although as a rule all members of the craft guild made purchases together in order to avoid the shortage of the raw material and competition between members of the same organization, we usually find records of individual buys. In 1408 the weavers from Malbork bought from the order wool worth 111 marks, which, considering the then price of the raw material, equalled 222 stones of wool (approx. 2850 kilos).⁶⁴

In the context of other residential towns Malbork stood out with the lack of tensions between the town and the seat of the authority, which cannot be said about nearby Braniewo, where a dozen or so years after its foundation conflicts arose between the townspeople and the bishop.⁶⁵ The presence of the seat of authority was, as it can be seen in Malbork, a factor stimulating the development of individual branches of crafts as such – like in the case of goldsmithery or weaving, and also individual craftsmen who settled in the residential town because of their skills and worked for the benefit of the authority.

In relations between the castle or wider the territorial ruler and the town we can also observe another dependence. In Malbork the town craftsmen used the facilities belonging to the Teutonic Knights or those located on the territory of the Malbork stronghold. Unlike in other centres in the Teutonic State (like Gdańsk or Elbląg⁶⁶) in Malbork there was not a town's slaughterhouse, and the local butchers used the one which was located in

a smaller quantity of grey cloth, in 1410 1 piece (*laken*), see AGB, p. 2; in 1411 2 pieces for clothing for the servants in *satilhus* and in *karwan*, see AGB, p. 33; in 1412 three pieces of grey cloth were purchased from the community leader in Vogelsang, see AGB, p. 79; 1413, AGB, p. 116; 1415, p. 186; 1416, AGB, pp. 233, 242; 1418 p. 317; 1419, AGB, p. 340; 1420 AGB, pp. 352, 354.

⁶² MTB, p. 193.

⁶³ The account of the number of sheep in manors around Malbork, see M. Toeppen, *Topographisch-statistische Mittheilungen über die Domänen-Vorwerke des deutschen Ordens in Preussen*, "Altpreussische Monatsschrift" VII (1870), pp. 471-481.

⁶⁴ MKB, pp. 158; 212.

⁶⁵ The conflict between Bishop Hermann von Prag and the townspeople led to the establishing of The New Town of Braniewo in 1394, see M. Schmidt, *Mauer und Brücke. Zum Verhältnis der Bischöfe von Ermland zu ihren Residenzstädten Braunsberg und Heilsberg*, in: *Bischof und Bürger...*, pp. 305-306.

⁶⁶ R. Czaja, *Socjotopografia miasta Elbląga w średniowieczu*, Toruń 1992, p. 149; P. Gehrke, *Das Danziger Fleischgewerk...*, pp. 6-7.

the outer bailey.⁶⁷ A similar situation occurred in the case of mills. The mills functioning within the system of the canal called Malborska Młynówka were the property of the order and were subordinate to the mill master, which was not the specificity of Malbork but the whole Teutonic State.⁶⁸ It concerned both grain mills and the waulkmill (where cloth was fulled) as well as the tanning mill (where oak bark was milled, which was indispensable for the process of tanning). The lack of such facilities in the town and in consequence the fact that craft guilds did not possess them was the outcome of several factors. In the case of grain and industrial mills the general policy in the whole state restricted their possession by towns or craft guilds. However, the lack of other appliances was the result of not a big affluence of craft guilds, which were not able to maintain slaughterhouses on their own. A similar situation occurred in Chojnice, similar to Malbork in size, where the waulkmills were leased from the order.⁶⁹

CONCLUSION

The development of crafts in separate Prussian towns proceeded according to the scheme – from the development of first professions, which provided basic products indispensable for the local people, to increasingly developed forms of production. It is reflected, first of all, in the relations between the number of the dwellers of individual centres and the number of existing craft specializations, which functioned within an independent craft guild or as part of a bigger organization. The point where a significant specialization among jobs occurred was the ceiling of approximately 2000 inhabitants. In addition to the relation with the demographic potential one has to notice the influence of the functions of individual centres – the role of the seat of authority, like in the case of Malbork, thoroughly discussed above, or the towns located on important trade routes and ports.

translated by Robert Bubczyk

ABSTRACT

The author of this article discusses factors influencing the development of craft specializations in Prussian towns. The most important of them was a demographic potential in every centre. The

⁶⁷ MKB, pp. 85-87.

⁶⁸ W. Długokęcki, *Z dziejów młynarstwa w komturstwie malborskim w XIII-XV wieku*, "Rocznik Elbląski" XII (1991), pp. 56-57.

⁶⁹ K. Bruski, *Chojnice w średniowieczu...*, pp. 60-61. In Chojnice the issue of the grain mill, which was bestowed upon Henryk Kulmener in 1380, looked different.

comparison between craft specializations in each of them and the number of its inhabitants let the author establish that in places inhabited by more than 2000 dwellers there was a significant specialization in crafts (e.g. the fragmentation of smithery into locksmithing, knife making, forging weapons, leather craft etc.). Apart from the demographic factor, the specialization of crafts was also influenced by the level of wealth of the inhabitants, who could become consumers of luxurious goods. Another factor influencing the development of crafts was also the presence of a seat of state or church authority in the town or in its proximity. A more thorough analysis in this context was conducted with reference to Malbork – both a positive and negative influence of the castle on the development of crafts in the town was indicated.

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MONASTIC LANDSCAPE IN MEDIEVAL PRUSSIA AND LIVONIA



An attempt to provide an overall view of the functioning of monasteries in a particular territory over a longer period of time is one of the aspects of research studies on monasticism (foundation, process of evolution of administrative structures of individual orders and transitions occurring in them). It is of course only one of the many approaches to describing the role and importance of monastic life within the organizational structures of the Church.¹ In such case, the analysis of the process of creation and functioning of monasteries (monastic structures) is regarded as an element of reconstruction of the cultural landscape, which also encompasses “the monastic landscape.”² From this particular perspective, it seems interesting to study the situation occurring in the dominion of the Teutonic Order in Prussia (together with Pomerelia) and Livonia with Estonia from the 13th to the beginnings of 16th century.³ In geographical terms as well as from the point of view of

1 The problem of monastic life in Eastern Europe was discussed by J. Kłoczowski, *Les ordres mendiants en Europe du Centre-Est et du Nord*, in: *L'Église et le peuple chrétien dans les pays de l'Europe du Centre-est et du Nord (XIV^e-XV^e siècles)*. Actes du colloque de Rome (27-29 janvier 1986), Collection de l'École française de Rome, CXXVIII, Rome 1990, pp. 187-200; K. Elm, *Les ordres monastiques, canoniaux et militaires en Europe du Centre-Est au bas Moyen Âge*, in: *L'Église et le peuple chrétien...*, pp. 165-186.

2 For a discussion on the assumptions and aims of reconstruction of the “monastic landscape”, see H.-D. Heimann, J. Schneider, *Zur Einleitung: Kloster-Landschaft-Klosterlandschaft. Annäherungen und Ausblick?*, in: *Klosterlandschaften. Methodisch-exemplarische Annäherungen*, eds. R. Czaja, H.-D. Heimann, M. Wemhoff with the cooperation of N. Karthaus, München 2008, pp. 9-22.

3 The inclusion of the area of Pomerelia, where monastic structures had been developed before these territories were conquered by the Teutonic order, stems from the fact that when the order controlled them in the years 1309-1454, new monasteries were founded, often on its own initiative or with its consent.

creation and development of new forms of monastic life, both Prussia and Livonia were considered as territories of marginal importance in relation to Latin Europe. As a result, various forms of monasticism emerged here in the first phase of Christianisation, and then during rural and urban colonization.⁴ A detailed analysis of the problem should enable a better understanding of that phenomenon, sometimes described with the use of a brief but insufficient statement that “Monasteries were scarce in Livonia even compared to Prussia.”⁵

MONKS AND CANONS REGULAR

The first male and female monastic orders in the territories of broadly understood Pomerania (Duchy of Pomerania and Pomerelia) were founded by the Benedictines, the Premonstratensians (the Norbertines) and the Cistercians. At the end of 12th century or at the beginning of the 13th century, the first established a prevostry at Święty Wojciech near Gdańsk, which was subordinated to the Benedictine monastery in Mogilno.⁶ The Benedictines themselves, however, were not present in Livonia. The Premonstratensians (the Norbertines) did not reach Eastern Pomerania, Prussia and Livonia either.⁷ In these circumstances, the Cistercians, who had arrived here even before the Benedictines, quickly gained a dominant position. This monastic order featured a new organisational model with a centralised community including the institution of general chapter which gathered representatives of individual abbeys. As we know, the principle governing the functioning of the Cistercians included the practice of affiliation of monasteries which belonged to several lines, maintaining direct links with the first orders established in

4 The author discussed that issue in a separate work on the so-called Great Pomerania (according to the concept of Gerard Labuda), covering the Western Pomerania, Neumark, Pomerelia and the Teutonic Order in Prussia, see R. Kubicki, *Monastycyzm na Pomorzu do początku XIX wieku – uwagi na temat organizacji struktur i działalności zakonów*, in: *1050. rocznica Chrztu Polski*, ed. K. Lewalski, Gdańsk 2017, pp. 132-173.

5 Opinion put forward by B. Jähnig, *Verfassung und Verwaltung des Deutschen Ordens und seiner Herrschaft in Livland*, Berlin 2011, p. 99.

6 P. Simson, *Geschichte der Stad Danzig*, I, Danzig 1913, pp. 19, 24, 26.

7 It is worth stressing, however, that the monastic rule of the Premonstratensians was adopted and applied in the years 1210-1370/1374 by the chapter of the Riga cathedral. While the Augustinian rule was adopted in the years 1224-1234 by the canons of the chapter of the Tartu cathedral, and in the years 1370/1374-1394/1397, 1423/1426-1451 by the chapter of Riga mentioned already. Canons regular of the Augustinian rule were also among the first missionaries arriving to Livonia in the second half of the 12th century, see F.G. von Bunge, *Die Stadt Riga im dreizehnten und vierzehnten Jahrhundert. Geschichte, Verfassung und Rechtszustand*, Leipzig 1878, p. 165.

France. A new monastery was founded by friars sent from the centre, which thus became the mother house maintaining close contacts with the new monastery. This relationship covered both the monastery, which was a direct organizer of the new foundation and which provided personal resources, and more distant connections with the oldest monasteries of individual Cistercian lines (Cistercian motherland).⁸

The first monastery of the Cistercians in Eastern Pomerania was founded in Oliwa (1188). The subsequent ones were established in Byszewo (1256), Bukowo Morskie – a foundation by Swietopelk II (1252), duke of Pomerelia and Pogódki (1258); the monks were transferred to Pelplin (1276).⁹ At the same time, Oliwa was a branch of the abbey in Kołbacz, Bukowo Morskie of the abbey in Dargun and Pelplin of the abbey in Doberan.¹⁰ The Cistercians undertook their activities in Prussia as well, where in 1213 they even managed to set up their own post in Pomesania, which was governed by future Bishop Christian.¹¹ Nevertheless, no male monastery was established there despite attempts to locate the friars in Gardeja situated in the territory of the bishopric of Pomesania (1285).¹² The Teutonic Order effectively prevented the execution of this project. In Livonia, the first Cistercian monastery was established in Daugavgrīva (1205/1208) on the initiative of the Bishop of Riga – Albert I. In 1305, this convent was transferred to Padise, to the then Danish Duchy of Estonia, when the original residence of the Cistercians was sold to the Teutonic Order.¹³ The second Cistercian monastery in Livonia was founded in Kärkna

8 I. Eberl, *Die Zisterzienser. Geschichte eines europäischen Ordens*, Stuttgart 2002, pp. 47-85.

9 K. Dąbrowski, *Opactwo cystersów w Oliwie od XII do XVI wieku*, Gdańsk 1975; S. Kujot, *Opactwo pelplińskie*, Pelplin 1875; R. Frydrychowicz, *Geschichte der Cisterzienserabtei Pelplin und ihre Bau- und Kunstdenkmäler*, Düsseldorf 1905; *Monasticon Cisterciense Poloniae*, II: *Katalog męskich klasztorów cysterskich na ziemiach polskich i dawnej Rzeczypospolitej*, eds. A.M. Wyrwa, J. Strzelczyk, K. Kaczmarek, J. Dobosz, Poznań 1999, pp. 34-41 (Bukowo), 42-63 (Byszewo-Koronowo), 268-280 (Oliwa), 299-313 (Pogódki-Pelplin).

10 Following the political transitions of the 14th century as a result of the seizure of control over Pomerelia by the Teutonic Order, the abbeys in Byszewo and Bukowo Morskie were outside the borders of the lands ruled by the Order, therefore we will not take them into account in further considerations.

11 J. Powierski, *Aspekty terytorialne cysterskiej misji w Prusach*, in: *Cystersi w społeczeństwie Europy Środkowej. Materiały z konferencji naukowej odbytej w Krakowie Mogiła z okazji 900 rocznicy powstania Zakonu Ojców Cystersów. Poznań – Kraków – Mogiła 5-10 października 1998*, eds. A.M. Wyrwa, J. Dobosz, Poznań 2000, p. 257.

12 M. Glauert, *Kirche, Klöster und Spitäler zwischen Marienwerder und Rosenberg im Mittelalter. Ein Beitrag zur Sakraltopographie und Prosopographie des Niederklerus im Deutschordensland Preußen, "Beiträge zur Geschichte Westpreußens" XX-XXI (2006-2008)*, pp. 93-95.

13 F. Winter, *Die Cistercienser des nordöstlichen Deutschlands. Ein Beitrag zur Kirchen und Kulturgeschichte des deutschen Mittelalters*, II-III, Gotha 1871, here III, pp. 36-41.

(1233) in the territory ruled by the bishop of Tartu and on his initiative.¹⁴ Both Daugavgrīva/Padise and Kärkna were branches of the abbey in Pforta. Apart from the Cistercians, in the territory of our interest, and specifically in Pomerelia, a still small community of Augustinians operated in Swornegacie (it was established around 1255). In 1303, it was nevertheless incorporated into the Cistercian monastery in Oliwa.¹⁵ After a period of relatively intensive development of structures of the monastic orders in Pomerelia and in Livonia (end of the 12th and 13th centuries), a period of marked stagnation came. The local church authorities (dioceses and those of episcopal chapters) and above all the Teutonic Order were not willing to found new monasteries as they would require proper land resources and would be too independent of these institutions.¹⁶ Furthermore, the Teutonic Order itself carried out religious activities (monastic) within its own convents, although in practice they played a secondary role in relation to military and administrative tasks performed by the members of that corporation.¹⁷ It is worth noting that, in the 14th century, the Teutonic Order established direct relations with the Cistercian communities mentioned above only when its dominion expanded after 1309 to cover the area of Pomerelia and in 1346 also the existing Danish Duchy of Estonia. The failure to develop a network of monasteries stemmed also from the general crisis of monastic life, which was connected with a demographic disaster (the plague of black death). As we know, in the second half of the 14th century it seriously affected numerous monasteries in Western Europe. Comparatively, the Carthusians, as an order adhering to a strict rule, remained in relatively good condition. At that time, they continued to develop their monastic structures and their monasteries were built also in the territory of the Teutonic Order dominium. The first foundation was seen in Raj Maryi – in Kartuzy (1382), and the second one in Świdwin (1442), in the area of Neumark, at a time when it was under the rule of the Teutonic Order.¹⁸ Both

¹⁴ Ibidem, II, pp. 267-268.

¹⁵ M. Bruszevska-Głombiowska, *Krótką historia klasztoru augustianów ze Swornegaci na Pomorzu Gdańskim*, "Zeszyty Naukowe Akademii Marynarki Wojennej" LII (2011) 1 (184), pp. 155-166.

¹⁶ B. Jähnig, *Zisterzienser und Ritterorden zwischen geistlicher und weltlicher Macht in Livland und Preußen zu Beginn der Missionszeit*, in: *Die Ritterorden zwischen geistlicher und weltlicher Macht im Mittelalter*, ed. Z.H. Nowak, *Ordines Militares – Colloquia Torunensia Historica*, V, Toruń 1990, pp. 71-86.

¹⁷ K. Górski, *O życiu wewnętrznym zakonu krzyżackiego*, in: idem, *Studia i materiały z dziejów duchowości*, Warszawa 1980, pp. 193-224.

¹⁸ H. Hoogeweg, *Die Stifter und Klöster der Provinz Pommern*, II, Stettin 1925, pp. 390-400; P. Czaplewski, *Kartuzja kaszubska*, Gdańsk 1966; R. Witkowski, *Praedicare manibus. Zakon kartuzów w Europie Środkowej od początku XIV do połowy XVI wieku / The Carthusian Order in Central Europe from the Beginning of the Fourteenth to the Middle of the Sixteenth Century*, I, *Annalecta Cartusiana*, CCLXXXV, Salzburg 2011, pp. 472-481 (Kartuzy), 510-518 (Świdwin).

monasteries belonged to the Saxon province of the order.¹⁹ The great prestige enjoyed by these Carthusian centres as a result of following a strict monastic rule was reflected by the support offered by burghers, including in particular the residents of Gdańsk and Elbląg (testamentary legacies for monasteries).²⁰ In the early 16th century, members of hospital brothers of two orders (canons regular) appeared also in Prussia and Livonia. The first ones were the Hospital Brothers of St. Anthony who, on the initiative of bishop of Warmia, Lucas Watzenrode, settled in Frombork (1507),²¹ and who before 1514 managed to establish their monastery also in Livonia, in Lielvārde in the territory of the dominion of the archbishops of Riga. The latter monastery was organized by the former preceptor of their house in Frombork.²² Both were branches of the Anthonian monastery in Tempzin in Mecklenburg. The second hospital order were the Hospitallers of the Holy Ghost (Order of the Holy Ghost). In 1508, thanks to the support of the Bishop of Pomesania, Job von Dobeneck, one of their centres was established in Prabuty.²³ It is characteristic that the monasteries mentioned above were established in the territories of the Church on the initiative of local bishops. Nonetheless, their operations on these lands were short lived and ceased completely with the advent of Reformation.

In total, five monasteries and three centres of canons regular were thus established in the territories of our interest. Importantly, the centres of the former were established mainly in the second half of the 12th and in 13th century (Cistercians) in the lands of Pomerelia, which was still controlled by local dukes, and within territories administered by the bishops of Tartu and also in Danish Estonia. The dominant group was the Cistercians in addition to whom there occurred smaller groups of the Benedictines (in the settlement of Święty Wojciech near Gdańsk). At a later time (14th-15th century), new monasteries

19 *Orden und Klöster im Zeitalter von Reformation und katholischer Reform 1500-1570*, I-II, eds. F. Jürgensmeier, R.E. Schwerdtfeger, *Katholisches Leben und Kirchenreform im Zeitalter der Glaubensspaltung*, LXV-LXVI, Münster 2005-2006, here II, p. 156.

20 B. Możejko, *Rozrachunek z życiem doczesnym. Gdańskie testamenty mieszczańskie z XV i początku XVI wieku*, Gdańsk 2010, pp. 87, 96; R. Kubicki, *Formy pobożności w mieście późnośredniowiecznym w świetle zapisów na rzecz kościoła i biednych w testamentach elbląskich (XV-początek XVI w.)*, "Zapiski Historyczne" LVI (2011) 2, p. 20.

21 G.C.F. Lisch, *Zur Geschichte des Klosters und der Kirche zu Tempzin, und der Filial = Präceptoreien Mohrkirchen, Frauenburg und Lennewarden*, "Jahrbücher des Vereins für Mecklenburgische Geschichte und Altertumskunde" XV (1850), pp. 150-158; F. Hipler, *Die Antoniterpraepceptorei in Frauenburg*, "Pastoralblatt für die Diözese Ermland" XXVI (1894) 4, pp. 47-50, 58-59; J. Kolberg, *Kleine Beiträge zur Geschichte des beginnenden sechzehnten Jahrhunderts: Zur Geschichte der Antoniter in Frauenburg*, "Zeitschrift für die Geschichte und Altertumskunde Ermlands" (henceforth: "ZGAE") XIX (1916), pp. 308-312; E. Brachvogel, *Die Anfänge des Antoniterklosters in Frauenburg*, "ZGAE" XXVII (1939) 42, pp. 420-424.

22 G.C.F. Lisch, *Zur Geschichte des Klosters...*, pp. 157-158.

23 M. Glauert, *Kirche, Klöster und Spitäler...*, pp. 101-109.

were founded exclusively by the Carthusians, who were able to expand their posts even in the period of a general crisis of monastic life. At the same time, of smaller significance was the eremitic community under the rule of St. Augustine, which combined with the Cistercians from Oliwa (Swornegacie), and the hospital orders mentioned above (canons regular) operating at the beginning of the 16th century. The creation of monasteries and centres of canons regular on the lands of Prussia and Livonia was therefore not the work of the Teutonic Order. On the contrary, within its dominion, it deliberately restricted the development of new Cistercian centres (it prevented the establishment of the foundation of the Cistercians in Gardeja mentioned above²⁴), with the only exception being made for the Carthusians in Gdańsk and in Świdwin (on the lands of Neumark, which it controlled).²⁵ The Teutonic Order implemented a different policy in its territories with regards to female monasteries.

Table 1. Foundations of monasteries and centres of canons regular in Pomerelia and Livonia in the Middle Ages

	Benedictines	Antho-nians	Hospitallers of the Holy Ghost	Cistercians	Augustinians	Carthusians	TOTAL
Total number of foundations	**	2	1	4	***	1	8
foundations in the 12 th century	**	–	–	1	–	–	1
foundations in the 13 th century	–	–	–	3	***	–	3
foundations in the 14 th century	–	–	–	–	–	1	1
foundations in the 15 th century	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
foundations in the 16 th century	–	2	1	–	–	–	3

²⁴ Ibidem, pp. 94-95.

²⁵ Following the seizure of the Pomerelia, the Teutonic Order recognized the rights of numerous female orders, which had existed there earlier, but sought to control them strictly. It also took effective steps aiming at seizing the property of the monastic orders which had only individual pieces of land there (the Cistercians from Eldena, Łekno, Szpetal). On the other hand, the Benedictines from Mogilno, the Cistercians from Byszewo and Łąd managed to maintain small estates in Pomerelia, see M. Grzegorz, *Struktura administracyjna i własnościowa Pomorza Gdańskiego pod rządami zakonu krzyżackiego w latach 1309-1454*, "Roczniki Towarzystwa Naukowego w Toruniu" LXXXII (1987) 2, pp. 135-138 and table 3.

Livonia	–	1	–	2	–	–	3
Prussia*	**	1	1	2	***	1	5

* The summary includes the foundations in the 12th and 13th century in the territory of Pomerelia conquered by the Teutonic Order after 1308.

** Prevostry of the Benedictines in Święty Wojciech near Gdańsk.

*** In 1303, the monastery in Swornegacie was incorporated into the Cistercian monastery in Oliwa.

NUNS

In the territories covered by the study, the establishment of the oldest female monasteries occurred in the first half of the 13th century and, therefore, following the creation of male monasteries. On the initiative of Mestwin I, regent of Gdańsk, the first founded female monastery was that of the Premonstratensians (the Norbertines) in Żukowo in Pomerelia (1209). It was a prevostry of the Premonstratensian (the Norbertine) monastery in Wrocław.²⁶ The nuns from that community did not reach proper Prussia or Livonia. From this point of view, the Cistercian nuns were much more efficient (sometimes referred to as Benedictine nuns in local sources). Their centres were established both in Pomerelia (Żarnowiec 1253-1257)²⁷ and in Prussia (Chełmno 1266, Toruń 1311, Kaliningrad 1349²⁸), Livonia (Riga before 1255, Tallinn before 1267, Lihula around 1270 and Tartu before 1345).²⁹ Of the houses mentioned, only the monastery in Żarnowiec had considerable land resources and was subordinated to the abbot of the Cistercians in

26 A. Czacharowski, *Uposażenie i organizacja klasztoru norbertanek w Żukowie od XIII do połowy XV wieku*, Toruń 1963 ("Roczniki Towarzystwa Naukowego w Toruniu" LXVIII (1963) 2).

27 K. Dąbrowski, *Rozwój wielkiej własności ziemskiej klasztoru cysterek w Żarnowcu od XIII do XVI wieku*, Gdańsk 1970. Liczne uwagi wniósł do tej pracy F. Sikora, *Początki klasztoru cysterek w Żarnowcu*, "Zapiski Historyczne" XLVIII (1983) 1-2, pp. 7-29.

28 W. Franz, *Das Benediktinerinnenkloster St. Marien zu Königsberg*, "Altpreußische Forschungen" XI (1934), pp. 168-187; M. Biskup, *Rozmieszczenie własności ziemskiej województwa chełmińskiego i malborskiego w drugiej połowie XVI w.*, "Roczniki Towarzystwa Naukowego w Toruniu" LX (1957), pp. 44-45; D. Poliński, *Późnośredniowieczne osadnictwo wiejskie w ziemi chełmińskiej*, Toruń 2003, pp. 66-68, 83, 89; P. Oliński, *Motywy fundacji klasztorów przez Zakon Krzyżacki w Prusach w świetle dokumentów fundacyjnych (ze szczególnym uwzględnieniem dokumentów fundacyjnych żeńskiego klasztoru benedyktyńskiego w Królewcu i klasztoru augustianów-eremitów w Chojnicach)*, in: *Kancelarie krzyżackie. Stan badań i perspektywy badawcze. Materiały z międzynarodowej konferencji naukowej, Malbork 18-19 X 2001*, ed. J. Trupinda, Malbork 2002, pp. 191-207.

29 F.G. von Bunge, *Die Stadt Riga...*, pp. 168-169; G. von Hansen, *Die Kirchen und ehemaligen Klöster Revels*, Reval 1873, pp. 50-56; *Baltisches Historisches Ortslexikon*, I: *Estland (einschliesslich Nordlivland)*, Quellen zur Baltischen Geschichte, VIII, 1, eds. H. Feldmann, H. von zur Mühlen, G. Westermann, Köln-Wien 1985, p. 294; R. Otto, *Über die Dorpater Klöster und ihre Kirchen*, "Verhandlungen der Gelehrten Estnischen Gesellschaft" XXII (1910) 2, pp. 1-24.

Oliwa.³⁰ In the case of other monasteries, usually founded in towns, their land resources were very modest and the rule governing them was referred to as either Cistercian or Benedictine. It is worth stressing that in the case of Prussia those foundations were initiated by the Teutonic Order, which supported them also financially. The successive female monasteries were established not earlier than towards the end of the 14th and 15th century. Then, three houses were founded of the order of St. Bridget which itself had been created in 14th century only. In accordance with the rule of the founder, the houses of this community consisted of double monasteries (with a male and female convent). The monastery of the Bridgettines was founded in Gdańsk (*Marienbrunn* monastery – 1392), the second monastery was created in 1407 in Tallinn (*Marienthal* monastery) and the third in Elbląg (*Marienfrieden* monastery – 1458). The last one, despite a close relationship with the monastery in Gdańsk, operated for a short period only due to the circumstances surrounding the foundation and insufficient funds. Although at the beginning of the 16th century there were attempts to relaunch its activities, it was finally liquidated before the reformation.³¹ Moreover, near Limbaži in Livonia, a community formed of Augustinian-Hermitian nuns was created after 1477.³² In addition to regular female monasteries, numerous communities of Beguines were formed, often associated with mendicant orders as a third order (Tertiary Sisters) of the Dominicans and Franciscans.³³ The need for the foundation of further monasteries is indirectly evidenced by the failed attempt to establish a monastery of the Clares in Tallinn made after 1502.³⁴

30 K. Dąbrowski, *Rozwój wielkiej własności ziemskiej...*, pp. 59-60.

31 G. von Hansen, *Die Kirchen...*, pp. 96-106; R. Stachnik, *St. Brigitten Danzig. Geschichte des Brigittinnenklosters und der St. Brigittenkirche in Danzig*, Danzig 1940; T. Nyberg, *Birgittinische Klostergründungen des Mittelalters*, Lund-Leiden 1965; S. Kamińska, *Klasztory brygidek w Gdańsku, Elblągu i Lublinie. Założenie i uposażenie*, Gdańsk 1970; M. Sadowski, *Krzyżacka fundacja klasztoru brygidek wobec nastrojów religijnych gdańszczan w końcu XIV wieku*, "Folia Historica Cracoviensia" VII (2000), pp. 75-92; T. Nyberg, *Die Birgitten*, in: *Orden und Klöster...*, p. 176.

32 L. Arbusow, *Lirolands Geistlichkeit vom Ende des 12. bis ins 16. Jahrhundert*, "Jahrbuch für Genealogie, Heraldik und Sphragistik" (1902), pp. 57, 87, 89 (here marked with a question mark as Cistercian nuns).

33 For the area of Prussia, very general information was compiled by E.M. Wermter, *Die Beginen im mittelalterlichen Preußenlande*, "ZGAE" XXXIII (1969), pp. 41-52. For further data, see R. Kubicki, *Środowisko dominikanów kontraty pruskiej od XIII do połowy XVI w.*, Gdańsk 2007, pp. 110-115. In Livonia, communities of Beguines existed in Riga and Tallinn, F.G. von Bunge, *Die Stadt Riga...*, p. 169; L. Arbusow, *Lirolands Geistlichkeit...*, p. 91; K.-R. Hahn, *Revaler Testamente im 15. und 16. Jahrhundert*, Schriften der Baltischen Historischen Kommission, XIX, Berlin 2016, pp. 255-256, 706.

34 M. Gąssowska, *Klasztory żeńskie w średniowiecznym Rewalu (Tallinie)*, in: *Aktywność publiczna kobiet na ziemiach polskich. Wybrane zagadnienia*, eds. T. Pudłocki, K. Sierakowska, Warszawa 2013, pp. 16-17; K.-R. Hahn, *Revaler Testamente*, pp. 256, 707.

Table 2. Foundations of female monasteries in Prussia and Livonia in the Middle Ages

	Cistercian sisters	Augustinian-Hermitian nuns	Norbertines	Bridgettines	TOTAL
Total number of foundations	8	1	1	3	13
foundations in the 12 th century	–	–	–	–	–
foundations in the 13 th century	5	–	1	–	6
foundations in the 14 th century	3	–	–	1	4
foundations in the 15 th century	–	1	–	2	3
foundations in the 16 th century	–	–	–	–	–
Livonia	4	1	–	1	6
Prussia*	4	–	1	2	7

* The summary includes the foundations in the 12th and 13th century in the territory of Pomerelia conquered by the Teutonic Order after 1308 and the foundation of the Bridgettines in Elbląg in the period of the Thirteen Years' War. The monasteries in Chełmno, Toruń and Kaliningrad were attributed to the Cistercian nuns, who however were also referred to as Benedictine nuns in late Middle Ages.

Similarly to male monasteries, the number of female houses in Prussia and Livonia was comparable. At the same time, in addition to the foundations in Pomerelia and Livonia, carried out before the advent of the Teutonic Order's rule (Żukowo, Żarnowiec, Tallinn), several female monasteries were established on its initiative or with its substantial support. These were the convents in Chełmno, Toruń and Kaliningrad. They were formed in response to the social need to create monastic communities, which could gather women coming from families of burghers and knights. The Teutonic Order supported those convents, however it strived to exert the strictest possible control over them. It made similar but unsuccessful attempts in relation to the newly created monastery of the Bridgettines in Gdańsk. It even managed to temporarily assume supervision over the monastery of the Norbertines in Żukowo.³⁵

35 A. Czacharowski, *Uposażenie i organizacja klasztoru Norbertanek...*, pp. 116-120.

Interestingly, in Prussia and Livonia, the Teutonic Order did not develop a female branch of its own community, however such plans were envisaged in 1347 by Arnold of Livonia, bishop of Pomesania, who belonged to the Teutonic Order himself.³⁶

MILITARY ORDERS

The development of structures of monastic life on the lands covered by this study was of course not limited to the foundation of centres of communities of monks or canons regular. At the end of the 12th century and in the first half of the 13th century, members of military orders also appeared in Pomerania, Prussia and Livonia, who – as the Teutonic Order in particular – played a very important role in social and political history of Prussia and Livonia. The first of the military orders which was brought to Pomerelia towards the end of the 12th century were the Knights of the Hospital of Saint John of Jerusalem. They owned estates around Lubiszewo, Skarszewy and Starogard Gdański. A commandery in Lubiszewo (before 1287) and then in Skarszewy (around 1323) operated within their structures. These estates played mainly the role of economic facilities, and income derived from them was to be used to fulfil the needs of expeditions to the Holy Land and to support the authorities of the order.³⁷ Ultimately, in 1370, the Knights of the Hospital of Saint John of Jerusalem sold their properties in Pomerelia to the Teutonic Order. For a short period time, Tymawa in Pomerelia (1227-1233/1234) saw the presence of the Knights of the Spanish Order of Calatrava, who had taken part in the Prussian mission alongside the Cistercians.³⁸ On the other hand, Christian, the Prussian bishop, following the examples from Spain and Livonia, established a chivalry order of *Milites Christi* (later called the Brothers of Dobrzyń).³⁹

³⁶ M. Glauert, *Kirche, Klöster und Spitäler...*, pp. 95-97.

³⁷ W. Hubatsch, *Die Johanniterorden in Ost- und Westpreußen*, "Zeitschrift für Ostforschung" XXI (1972) 2, pp. 1-19; M. Smoliński, *Der Johanniterorden in Pommern und Pommerellen im Mittelalter – Politik, Wirtschaft, Menschen*, in: *Die geistlichen Ritterorden in Mitteleuropa Mittelalter*, eds. K. Borchardt, L. Jan, Země a kultura ve střední Evropě, XX, Brno 2011, pp. 139-156.

³⁸ M. Starnawska, *Między Jerozolimą a Łukowem. Zakony rycerskie na ziemiach polskich w średniowieczu*, Warszawa 2006, pp. 112-117; J. Hauziński, *O kalatrawensach nad Bałtykiem raz jeszcze*, in: *Memoriae amici et magistri. Studia historyczne poświęcone pamięci Wacława Korty (1919-1999)*, eds. M. Derwich, W. Mrozowicz, R. Żerelik, Wrocław 2001, pp. 79-87; M. Smoliński, *Kalatrawensi w Tymawie na Pomorzu Gdańskim. Idea sprowadzenia zakonu nad Morze Bałtyckie*, in: *Mieszczanie, wasale, zakonnicy*, ed. B. Śliwiński, *Studia z dziejów średniowiecza*, X, Malbork 2004, pp. 205-242.

³⁹ K. Górski, *Rola kulturalna klasztorów na Pomorzu*, "Studia Pelplińskie" XVI (1985), p. 63; Z.H. Nowak, *Milites Christi de Prussia. Der Orden zu Dobrin und seine Stellung in der preussischen Mission*, in: *Die geistlichen Ritterorden Europas*, eds. J. Fleckenstein, M. Hellmann, *Vorträge und Forschungen*, XXVI, Sigmaringen 1980, pp. 339-352.

A special role in the first stage of conquest of Livonia was assumed by the so-called Livonian Brothers of the Sword (*Fratres Militiae Christi de Livonia*), an order created in 1202.⁴⁰ On the territories conquered, it gradually established its own administrative structures of which we have only a vague knowledge. These were the commanderies in Aizkraukle, Viljandi, Tallinn, Siguida and Cēsis and three counties of Harju, Jerva and Saare.⁴¹ The organisational and military collapse of the order occurred after the defeat sustained in 1236 in the Battle of Saule. Then, the Livonian Brothers combined with the Teutonic Order to form the Livonian branch of the latter. As a result of these events, the direct rule of the Teutonic Order covered the legacy of the Livonian Brothers, then expanded through successive conquests and, in 1346, also by the Duchy of Estonia purchased from the king of Denmark (at that time, the order controlled nearly $\frac{2}{3}$ of the whole Livonian territory in total). Despite intensive efforts, the Teutonic Order did not however achieve such a dominant position in relation to other church institutions in Livonia as in Prussia. In the beginnings, in its dominion in Livonia, the Teutonic Order used the centres taken over from the Livonian Brothers. Then, it gradually developed its own administrative structures (commanderies and districts), whose number reached 30. Within those structures, the most important role was assumed by the commanders of Viljandi, Tallinn, Järva, Kuldiga and Aluksne, forming the council of dignitaries which was an advisory body to the Livonian grand master. According to the inspections carried out in 1442 and 1451, 28 convents and administrators of the Teutonic Order operated in Livonia at that time.⁴²

It was already mentioned that, contrary to Livonia, in Prussia – and after 1309 also in Pomerelia – the Teutonic Order was not only one of several important church institutions but it also exercised direct rule over the whole territory. It should be recalled that as a result of an agreement approved by the decision of Wilhelm of Modena, papal legate, of 28 July 1243, the Order was to hold $\frac{2}{3}$ of the territory of conquered Prussia and hand over the rest to the bishoprics created there. Nevertheless, the Order quickly gained control over them, which was reflected by the adoption by the canons of the rule of the Teutonic Order. Consequently, the Order could decide also on the appointment of bishops, who were selected from among the members of the Teutonic Order.⁴³ It concerned three dioceses in Prussia: Chełmno,

40 F. Benninghoven, *Der Orden der Schwertbrüder. Fratres Militie Christi de Livonia*, Köln-Graz 1965.

41 Ibidem, p. 223f.; B. Jähnig, *Verfassung und Verwaltung...*, p. 118.

42 B. Jähnig, *Verfassung und Verwaltung...*, p. 133.

43 A. Radzimiński, *Fundacja i inkorporacja kapituły katedralnej w Chełmży oraz załamanie misji dominikańskiej w Prusach w połowie XIII w.*, "Zapiski Historyczne" LVI (1991) 2-3, pp. 7-24;

Pomesania, Sambia. Only the Warmia bishopric preserved independence. Having conquered Pomerelia, the Teutonic Order seized direct control over the majority of that territory (the property of local dukes), with the exclusion of lands granted to other monastic orders from the ducal period (*inter alia* the Knights of the Hospital of Saint John of Jerusalem, the Cistercians, the Norbertine sisters). Of course, the primary activity of the Teutonic Order focused on the conquest and administration of territories that had been seized. After 1309, Malbork became the residence of the grand master of the Order, and his mission was not limited to the strengthening of power in conquered Prussia, as it was meant to serve broader political aims. As a result, in the first stage, internal monastic activities, in particular those strictly religious (internal life of the convent), were almost entirely subordinated to the practicalities of political nature, and then gradually lost their significance leading to a virtual secularisation of the monastic corporation, of which the symptoms were visible as early as in the second half of the 14th century. At the same time, it should be borne in mind that when organising its dominion on Chełmno lands, in Prussia and Pomerelia, the Teutonic Order erected castles of which some became residences of monastic convents where monastic life continued.⁴⁴ Its specificity stemmed from the fact that the dominant role in them was played not by priests, but brothers knights.⁴⁵ Let's recall that the full cast of the choir in the convent of the Teutonic Order was composed of six priests (usually they were less but the gap was filled by persons with a lower rank of consecration and the disciples assisting in liturgy), whereas the convents could count even several dozen brothers knights.⁴⁶ The largest number of

A. Radziwiński, *Z dziejów kształtowania i organizacji kapituł krzyżackich. Inkorporacja pruskich kapituł katedralnych do zakonu krzyżackiego*, in: *Zakon krzyżacki a społeczeństwo państwa w Prusach*, ed. Z.H. Nowak, "Roczniki Towarzystwa Naukowego w Toruniu" LXXXVI (1995) 3, pp. 123-135.

⁴⁴ S. Józwiak, *Centralne i terytorialne organy władzy zakonu krzyżackiego w Prusach w latach 1228-1410. Rozwój – przekształcenia – kompetencje*, Toruń 2001, pp. 118-144.

⁴⁵ In the light of inspections of 10 castles in the Chełmno region carried out around 1443, there were 23 priests and 16 disciples in total. A full cast of the choir (6 clergy members together with the disciples) was noted in Toruń, Starogród and Grudziądz, and a few years later their number was similar; a full cast of clergy members including disciples was also seen in other centres in addition to those mentioned, i.e. in Brodnica and Radzyń. W. Ziesemer, *Visitationsberichte aus dem Culmerlande*, "Altpreuussische Monatsschrift" LIII (1917), pp. 486-493; *Visitationen them Deutschen Orden im Mittelalter, I: 1236-1449*, eds. M. Biskup, I. Janosz-Biskupowa, Quellen und Studien zur Geschichte des Deutschen Ordens, L, Marburg 2002, no. 115, pp. 197-205. For comparison, in 1451, 197 brethren knights, 27 half-brothers and 43 priests in total stayed in convents and district castles of the Teutonic Order in Livonia. A detailed summary of the number of brothers in individual convents have been given by B. Jähnig, *Verfassung und Verwaltung...*, p. 133.

⁴⁶ In the year 1430, individual convents counted in total: Kaliningrad 60, Malbork and Elbląg 45, Ushakovo 40, Gdańsk i Balga 35, brethren knights, servant brothers and priests.

conventual castles were established in the Chełmno region. As a result of numerous transitions occurring in the first half of the 15th century, the Order had the following conventual castles there: Toruń, Golub, Radzyń, Grudziądz, Starogród, Brodnica, Bierzgłowo, Papowo, Kowalewo, Pokrzywno and Nieszawa (the last one until 1422).⁴⁷ In 1443, inspections were carried out in 10 castles of the Chełmno region. It then covered: Rogóźno, Radzyń, Bratian, Brodnica, Golub, Toruń, Kowalewo, Papowo, Starogród and Grudziądz.⁴⁸ The Order set up its convents also in Pomerelia: Gdańsk, Gniew, Świecie, Tuchola and Człuchów and the seat of lower monastic officials (prosecutors, district administrators) attributed to the composition of individual territorial entities: Bytów, Lębork and Tczew. In the first half of the 15th century, in Prussia, the Order had monasteries (conventual castles) in Elbląg, Przezmark (office of the commander and friars who had previously resided in Dzierzgoń), the main house, the seat of the convent, the residence of the Grand Master in Malbork and conventual castles in: Ushakovo, Balga, Kaliningrad, Klaipeda, Neman and Ostróda.⁴⁹ The outbreak of the Thirteen Years' War (1454-1466) and a quick loss of control over Pomerelia and the Chełmno region led to a collapse of the majority of administrative structures of the Order, which happened after very many conventual castles had been abandoned. After 1454, the Order lost permanently all the above mentioned convents of the Chełmno region and in Pomerelia, the main house in Malbork (in 1457), and the convents in Elbląg and Przezmark. In total, of the 25 castles being seats of convents, 19 ceased to exist after 1454 (Nieszawa already in 1422). It can be estimated that until mid-15th century around 2/3 of brothers knights and priests of the Teutonic Order in Prussia lived there (around 300 brothers knights and 500 priests in total in the whole state)⁵⁰. After the Second Peace of Toruń in 1466, the Order maintained only the conventual castles mentioned above: Ushakovo, Balga, Kaliningrad, Klaipeda, Neman and Ostróda. New commanders were then

The data was compiled by S. Józwiak, *Liczebność konwentów zakonu krzyżackiego w Prusach w pierwszej połowie XV wieku*, "Zapiski Historyczne" LXXII (2007) 1, pp. 19-20. For the positions of priests in the convents of the Teutonic Order in Prussia see K. Górski, *Problemy chrystianizacji w Prusach, Inflantach i na Litwie*, "Komunikaty Mazursko-Warmińskie" (1982) 3 (157), p. 157.

47 A. Radziwiński, *Kościół w państwie zakonu krzyżackiego w Prusach 1243-1525. Organizacja, uposażenie, ustawodawstwo, duchowieństwo – wierni*, Malbork 2006, p. 118; S. Józwiak, *Zburzenie zamku komturskiego w Nieszawie w latach 1422-1423*, "Rocznik Toruński" XXX (2003), pp. 20-21.

48 W. Ziesemer, *Visitationsberichte...*, pp. 486-493; *Visitationen im Deutschen Orden im Mittelalter*, nr 115, pp. 197-205.

49 M. Biskup, *Średniowieczna sieć klasztorów w państwie zakonu krzyżackiego w Prusach (do r. 1525)*, "Zapiski Historyczne" LXIV (1999) 1, pp. 42-43; M. Biskup, *Das Verhältnis des Deutschen Ordens zu den anderen Orden in Preußen*, in: *Ritterorden und Kirche im Mittelalter*, ed. Z.H. Nowak, *Ordines militares – Colloquia Torunensia Historica*, IX, Toruń 1997, pp. 61-79.

50 S. Józwiak, *Liczebność konwentów zakonu krzyżackiego...*, pp. 18-21.

appointed as well: Pasłęk and Ryn (from 1477), and temporarily Morağ (in years 1467-1474) and Nidzica. Prosecutors were designated too in: Slavskoye, Szczytno, Pisz and Ełk.⁵¹

MENDICANTS

Mendicant orders became a new and extremely dynamic element of monastic life in the 13th-century Europe. Their members reached as far as the borderland of the then Latin Europe, including both Prussia and Livonia.⁵² As we know, the emergence of the first communities of mendicant orders (Dominicans and Franciscans) was primarily a response to new pastoral needs of the growing populations of towns. At the same time, they appearance constituted a determinant of development of urbanisation processes which then encompassed also the lands of Pomerelia, Prussia and Livonia.⁵³ The first stage of foundation of these friaries occurred in the 13th century. Then, the Dominicans arrived in Pomerelia coming from Kraków to Gdańsk (1226-1227). As early as in the 1230s, the first two Dominican friaries were established in the State of the Teutonic Order in Prussia: in Chełmno (1233-1235) and

⁵¹ L. Dralle, *Der Staat des Deutschen Ordens in Preussen nach dem II. Thorner Frieden. Untersuchungen zur ökonomischen und ständepolitischen Geschichte Altpreußens zwischen 1466 und 1497*, Frankfurter historische Abhandlungen, IX, Wiesbaden 1975, pp. 11-12.

⁵² For information on the network of mendicant friaries in Prussia and Livonia and the activity of the friars from that area, see R. Kubicki, *Remarks on the Process of Institutionalisation of Mendicant Orders and their Role in Pastoral Work Based on the Example of the Dominion of the Teutonic Order in Prussia from the 13th to the Beginning of the 16th Century*, "Acta Historica Universitatis Klaipedensis" XXIX (2014), pp. 16-32; idem, *Mendicant Orders in Medieval Prussia and Livonia: Pastoral Activities in Towns*, "Acta Historica Universitatis Klaipedensis" XXX (2016), pp. 123-146.

⁵³ In his study basing of the example of France, this phenomenon was discussed by J. Le Goff, *Apostolate mendiant et fait urbain dans la France médiévale: l'implantation géographique et sociologique des ordres mendiants (XIII^e-XV^e s.)*, "Revue d'histoire de l'Église de France" XXIII (1968) 2, pp. 335-352 (correlations of urbanisation processes and the number of mendicant friaries, p. 337); idem, *Ordres mendiants et urbanisation dans la France médiévale: état de l'enquête*, "Annales. Économies, sociétés, civilisations" XXV (1970) 4, pp. 924-946. In case of Prussia, the factor stimulating urbanisation was the Teutonic Order, which carried out planned activities aiming at organising the settlement space, see K. Kasiske, *Die Siedlungstätigkeit des Deutschen Ordens im östlichen Preußen bis zum Jahre 1410*, Einzelschriften der Historischen Kommission für Ost- und Westpreussische Landesforschung, V, Königsberg 1934; idem, *Das deutsche Siedelwerk des Mittelalters in Pommerellen*, Einzelschriften der Historischen Kommission für ost- und westpreussische Landesforschung, VII, Königsberg 1938; M. Biskup, *Rozwój sieci miast pruskich do drugiej połowy XVII w.*, "Kwartalnik Historii Kultury Materialnej" XXVIII (1980) 3, pp. 401-412; P. Erlen, *Europäischer Landesausbau und mittelalterliche deutsche Ostsiedlung. Ein struktureller Vergleich zwischen Südwestfrankreich, den Niederlanden und dem Ordensland Preussen*, Marburg/Lahn 1992, pp. 4, 164-167.

Elbląg (1239) and later in Toruń (1263). In Pomerelia, a monastery was also founded in Tczew (1289).⁵⁴ Moreover, the first friaries of the Dominicans were established in Livonia as well. In 1234, they arrived in Riga. Shortly afterwards, on the Danish initiative, their monastery in Tallinn was erected (first attempt in 1229, second foundation in 1246), on the lands of Estonia which then remained under the rule of Denmark.⁵⁵ Another Dominican monastery was created shortly before 1300 in Tartu, probably on the initiative of the friars from Riga.⁵⁶ The next phase of foundation of mendicant orders came in the 14th century along with the rural colonisation and establishment of towns deeper within Prussia, however the Dominicans were not involved then. They managed to organise a new monastery only in 1407 in Krylovo, in Eastern Prussia (in 1428 moved to Zheleznodorozhny lying further to the west).⁵⁷ In the 14th and 15th century in Livonia, there were no new Dominican foundations either. On the other hand, efforts to open new centres were undertaken in the 16th century. For that purpose, the Dominicans tried to use the already existing temporary seats of Dominican monastic districts designed for brothers collecting alms in the area. It was the convent in Uus-Pärnu, lying in the territory ruled by the Teutonic Order in Livonia; in 1505, at the general chapter of Milan it was even incorporated in the structures of the Dominican order. Nevertheless, as a result of opposition by municipal authorities, this monastery ceased to exist shortly afterwards. The second, and at the same time the last Dominican foundation was noted in 1520 in Narva. The friars had already a chapel there, probably situated near the seat of the monks travelling in this part of Estonia.⁵⁸ In total, the Dominicans managed

54 R. Kubicki, *Dominican Cloisters in the Sacral Space of Prussian Cities in the Middle Ages*, in: *Kultūra – ekonomika – visuomenė: sąveika ir pokyčiai viduramžiais ir ankstyvaisiais naujaisiais laikais Baltijos rytinėje pakrantėje / Culture – Society – Economy: Interaction and Changes in Medieval and Early Modern Times on the Eastern Baltic Coast*, ed. M. Ščavinskas, Klaipėda 2015, pp. 57-66.

55 G. von Hansen, *Die Kirchen und ehemaligen Klöster Revels*, pp. 64-96; E. Kühnert, *Das Dominikanerkloster zu Reval*, Beiträge zur Kunde Estlands, XII, 1-3, Reval 1926-1927, p. 13; W. Neumann, *Das mittelalterliche Riga. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der norddeutschen Baukunst*, Berlin 1892, pp. 41-44; T. Kala, *Jutlustajad ja hingede päästjad: Dominiiklaste ordu ja Tallinna Püha Katariina Konvent*, Tallinn 2013.

56 R. Otto, *Über die Dorpater Klöster...*, pp. 48-65; G. von Walther-Wittenheim, *Die Dominikaner in Livland im Mittelalter. Die natio Livoniae*, Rom 1938, pp. 6-13.

57 Data on the foundation of Dominican friaries on Polish lands were compiled by J. Kłoczowski, *Dominikanie Polscy na Śląsku w XIII-XIV wieku*, Towarzystwo Naukowe Katolickiego Uniwersytetu Lubelskiego. Rozprawy Wydziału Historyczno-Filologicznego, XVII, Lublin 1956, pp. 292-293, 299, 301-302, 305-306, 310, 313; J. Kłoczowski, *Dominikanie polscy nad Bałtykiem w XIII w.*, "Nasza Przeszłość" VI (1957), pp. 83-126; J. Kłoczowski, *Dominikanie polscy nad Bałtykiem w XIV-XVI stuleciu*, in: *Pastori et magistro. Praca zbiorowa wydana dla uczczenia jubileuszu 50-lecia kapłaństwa Jego Ekscelencji Księdza Biskupa Doktora Piotra Kałwy Profesora i Wielkiego Kanclerza KUL*, Lublin 1966, pp. 489-508.

58 G. von Walther-Wittenheim, *Die Dominikaner in Livland...*, pp. 14-15.

to establish 11 friaries, including 6 in Prussia (including Pomerelia) and 5 in Livonia (including one only temporarily).

Shortly after the Dominicans, members of the second largest mendicant order – the Franciscans – arrived in these territories. The first brothers came to Livonia probably from Lübeck and Visby. In 1238, the Franciscans were able to found a friary in Riga, which for a long time was the only one on this land.⁵⁹ Almost simultaneously, the friars minor reached Prussia as well. These were nevertheless the friars from the Polish-Bohemian province, who came from Inowrocław to the nearby Toruń (1239).⁶⁰ In 1258, their second monastery was created in Prussia (Chełmno). Successive friaries founded by the Franciscans emerged in the years 1280s and 1290s. In 1282, in Nowe on the Vistula River – the foundation of Pomeranian dukes, and in 1296 in Braniewo in Warmia – on the initiative of the local bishop.⁶¹ The next stage of foundation of friaries of the friars minor occurred in the middle of the 13th century. In 1349, on the initiative of the Teutonic Order, a monastery was established in Znamensk, and in 1364 another one in Barczewo. The latter was erected in Warmia on the initiative of the local bishop.⁶² Another monastery was founded by the Franciscans in Gdańsk in 1419.

On the territory of Prussia only, besides the two largest mendicant orders, members of other communities of such type appeared: The Augustinians-Hermits and⁶³ the Carmelites. The Augustinians-Hermits, who had come here from Bohemia and Moravia, organised their first monastery in Reszel on the initiative of the Warmian bishop (1347). The next foundations of the Augustinians-Hermits in Prussia were carried out by the Teutonic Order. They were located in Chojnice (1356), to which the friars arrived from the

⁵⁹ W. Neumann, *Das mittelalterliche Riga...*, pp. 28-30; H. Niedermeier, *Die Franziskaner in Preussen, Livland und Litauen im Mittelalter*, "Zeitschrift für Ostforschung" XXVII (1978) 1, p. 19.

⁶⁰ On the beginnings of the friary, see L. Lemmens, *Zu den Anfängen der Franziskanerklöster im Ordenslande*, "Mitteilungen des Copernicus-Vereins für Wissenschaft und Kunst zu Thorn" XXI (1913), pp. 4-6; J. Tandecki, *Założenie i początki klasztoru franciszkanów toruńskich w XIII-XIV w.*, "Zapiski Historyczne" LIV (1989) 4, pp. 7-22.

⁶¹ W. Roth, *Die Dominikaner und Franziskaner im Deutsch-Ordensland Preußen bis zum Jahre 1466*, Königsberg 1918, pp. 61-85, 126-143; H. Niedermeier, *Die Franziskaner in Preussen...*, pp. 5-9.

⁶² W. Roth, *Die Dominikaner und Franziskaner...*, p. 144.

⁶³ The initially eremitic character of their communities was then changed into mendicant in 1256 by Pope Alexander IV, see F. Andrews, *The Other Friars. The Carmelite, Augustinian, Sack and Pied Friars in the Middle Ages*, Monastic Orders, Woodbridge 2006, pp. 83-84. In 1303, Pope Boniface VIII granted to the order of Augustinians-Hermits the privileges previously granted to the Dominicans and the Franciscan, see D. Gutiérrez, *Geschichte des Augustinerordens, I: Die Augustiner im Mittelalter 1256-1356*, Würzburg 1985, p. 117.

monastery in Stargard in Pomerania,⁶⁴ in Mamonovo (1372) and in the village of Patollen (around 1400), and both mentioned in Prussia.⁶⁵ At the time, the Carmelites managed to establish only one monastery on that land. On the initiative of the Teutonic Order, they settled in Young City of Gdańsk in 1391 (to be then transferred to the Old Town of Gdańsk).⁶⁶

The lack of further foundations of mendicant friaries in the first half of the 15th century was due to a general crisis of the state. The settlement campaign in eastern Prussia had already been hindered since the end of the 14th century, and a deep crisis of the state occurred after the defeat in the Polish-Lithuanian-Teutonic War of 1409-1411 and subsequent armed conflicts with Poland. Several planned foundations of mendicant friaries were not realised directly as a consequence of the fiasco of the expansion of the Teutonic order in Samogitia. Before it happened, the friars from Prussia had even planned to establish a Dominican monastery in Lithuania. There was also a further intention to organise a Franciscan monastery in Neman and an Augustinian-Hermitian monastery in Klaipeda (1409).⁶⁷ As a result of the outbreak of a new rising in Samogitia in 1409, and most of all the defeat in the war with Poland and Lithuania in the following year, the planned foundations could not have been realised. New monasteries in Prussia were established

64 H. Eysenblätter, *Die Klöster der Augustiner Eremiten im Nordosten Deutschlands*, "Altpreußische Monatschrift" XXXV (1898), pp. 372-374.

65 Data on the monastic foundations of the Augustinians-Hermits in this area were compiled by A. Kunzelmann OSA, *Geschichte der deutschen Augustiner-Eremiten*, III: *Die bayerische Provinz bis zum Ende des Mittelalters*, V: *Die sächsisch-thüringische Provinz und die sächsische Reformkongregation bis zum Untergang der beiden*, Würzburg, 1972-1974, here V, pp. 271-272, 276-282, 288-290, 300-305.

66 G.A. Donner, *St. Erich in Danzig*, "Mitteilungen des Westpreussischen Geschichtsvereins" XXIX (1930) 3, pp. 39-47; M. Gąssowska, *Der Kult des heiligen Erich im Danzig des 15. Jahrhunderts*, "Quaestiones Maedii Aevi Nove" V (2000), pp. 289-309. Successive monasteries were envisaged, of which a few could be temporarily established. Still during the Thirteen Years' War (1454-1466), the king of Poland attempted to create a new Carmelite friary on the territories then controlled by the State of the Teutonic Order in Kętrzyn. This project could not be maintained in that location despite the fact that in 1467 the council of the Bohemian-Polish province appointed a prior for the friary. The friars from Kętrzyn were first moved to Dzierzgoń (1485) and then to Prabuty (1489-1495), however ultimately they did not preserve any of the centres and were left with only one friary in Gdańsk, Archives of the Friary of Father Carmelites in Kraków na Piasku, file no. 92/682, Index fundationum monasteriorum provinciae Poloniae Carmelitarum Antiquae Regularis Observantiae, Anno 1676, pp. 41-43.

67 L. Lemmens, *Aus der Geschichte der deutschen Franziskaner im Ordenslande Preußen*, "Mitteilungen des Copernicus-Vereins für Wissenschaft und Kunst zu Thorn" XX (1912), p. 62; W. Roth, *Die Dominikaner und Franziskaner...*, p. 103; H. Niedermeier, *Die Franziskaner in Preußen...*, p. 15; R. Kubicki, *Działalność zakonów mendykanckich na pograniczu krzyżacko-litewskim do początków XVI w.*, in: *Litwa i jej sąsiedzi w relacjach wzajemnych (XIII-XVI w.)*, eds. A. Kołodziejczyk, R. Kubicki, M. Radoch, Olsztyn-Gdańsk 2014, pp. 183-187, 191-192.

in a completely new political reality. After the Second Peace of Toruń (1466), the Teutonic Order lost Pomerelia, the Chełmno region, Malbork, Elbląg (Royal Prussia – forming a new province within the Kingdom of Poland) and Warmia. Consequently, only two Augustinian-Hermitian friaries (Patollen, Mamonovo) and one Dominican monastery (Zheleznodorozhny) remained under its rule then. At the same time, an abandoned Franciscan monastery stood in Znamensk, which was destroyed in the war.

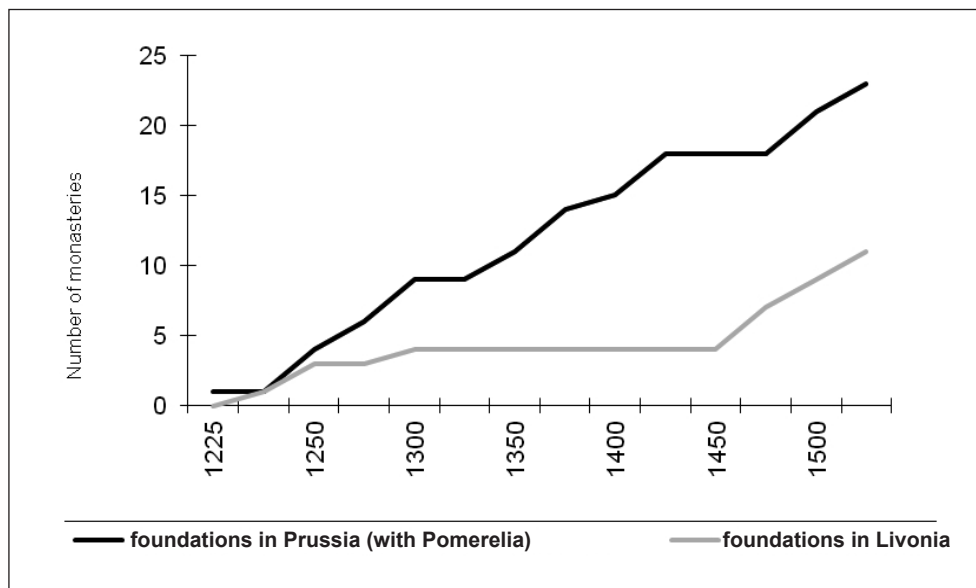
Against this background, the emergence of the Franciscans of the strict rule called Observants was undoubtedly a breakthrough in the monastic organizational structure in Prussia and Livonia. At first, they took over the monastery of conventual Franciscans in Riga (1463), which had existed for a long time already, and then sent numerous groups of friars to other towns to found new friaries in Livonia, the State of the Teutonic Order and Royal Prussia. Their friaries were established in: Tartu (1466), Viljandi (1466-1472) and Limbaži (1466-1472), which together with the convent in Riga formed the custody of the Observants in Livonia. Later, the friaries of the Observants were founded in Aizpute, Koknese and Wesenberg (between 1484 and 1502).⁶⁸ The Observants came from Livonia to Prussian Znamensk, where their first monastery was established near the town (1477), whereas in the town itself, the abandoned monastery of conventual Franciscans could be found as mentioned earlier.⁶⁹ The next friaries were established by the Observants in Zalewo (1480) and Sovetsk (1515) in the State of the Teutonic Order, before 1492 in Lębork, in the Lębork-Bytów region belonging to Pomeranian dukes and in 1502 in Lubawa in the estates of Chełmno bishops forming part of Royal Prussia.⁷⁰

⁶⁸ H. von Bruiningk, *Die Franziskaner zu Lemsal und Kokenhusen, "Sitzungsberichte der Gesellschaft für Geschichte und Altertumskunde der Ostseeprovinzen Russlands"* (1905), pp. 18-37; L. Lemmens, *Die Franziskanerkustodie Livland und Preussen. Beitrag zur Kirchengeschichte der Gebiete des Deutschen Ordens*, Düsseldorf 1912, pp. 20-23; H. Niedermeier, *Die Franziskaner in Preussen...*, p. 20.

⁶⁹ When the latter returned to the town, the Observants were to be moved to another location. Nevertheless, it happened in 1517 only. Then, Kaliningrad became their new residence.

⁷⁰ *Urkundenbuch der alten sächsischen Franziskanerprovinzen, I: Die Observantenkustodie Livland und Preussen*, ed. L. Lemmens, Düsseldorf 1912, pp. 8-9; L. Lemmens, *Die Franziskanerkustodie Livland und Preussen...*, pp. 6-7, 18-33; J. Sarnowsky, *Dominikaner und Franziskaner im Ordensland Preußen*, in: *Franciscan Organisation in the Mendicant Context. Formal and Informal Structures of the Friars' Lives and Ministry in the Middle Ages*, eds. M. Robson, J. Röhrkasten, *Vita regularis – Ordnungen und Deutungen religiösen Lebens im Mittelalter*, XLIV, Berlin 2010, p. 56.

Diagram 1. Foundations of mendicant friaries in Prussia (together with Pomerelia) and Livonia in the years 1227-1525



To sum up, the mendicant orders managed to organise 35 friaries in total. The largest number of them were founded in the 13th century as a result of efforts undertaken by the Dominicans and Franciscans (13 in total). The Augustinians-Hermits and the Carmelites started their activities with a slight delay due to the time needed to organise the order and created their structures not earlier than in the 14th century.⁷¹ They never reached Livonia, however.

The number of mendicant orders in Prussia and Livonia varied, which can indirectly be explained by a different potential and character of urbanisation processes occurring there. Following the example of Western Europe, several mendicant friaries were established in major towns. Three convents existed in the Gdańsk settlement complex (in 1227 the Dominicans, before 1391 the Carmelites, in 1419 the Franciscans) and two in Chełmno (in 1233/1235, the Dominicans and in 1258 the Franciscans), in Toruń (in 1239 the Franciscans and in 1263 the Dominicans), temporarily in Znamensk (in 1349 the Franciscans, in 1477 the Observants), Riga (in 1234 the Dominicans, before 1238 the Franciscans, from 1463 the Observants) and Tartu (before 1300 the Dominicans and in 1466 the Observants). This summary shows the demographic and

⁷¹ R. Kubicki, *Die Rolle der Bettelorden im Ordensland Preußen*, in: *Cura animarum, Seelsorge im Deutschordensland des Mittelalters*, ed. S. Samerski, Forschungen und Quellen zur Kirchen- und Kulturgeschichte Ostdeutschlands, XLV, Köln-Weimar-Wien, 2013, pp. 74-91.

economic potential of the urban centres referred to above, although the existence or absence of mendicant convents and their number in a town is not always a fully objective indicator of the significance of a given town. This is the case of Elbląg, where only one mendicant friary existed (in 1239 the Dominicans) and where the Bridgettes were located in the second half of the 15th century in the place of the conventual castle of the Teutonic Orders. The analysis of locations of the friaries shows that contrary to Prussia, in Livonia the mendicant friaries were formed primarily on the lands controlled by the local bishops. Only five operated in the territory governed by the Teutonic Order (Viljandi, Rakvere, Uus-Pärnu, Narva and Tallinn, but the last one was created in the times of the Danish rule). It does not mean, however, that the relations of the Teutonic Order with the mendicants were not good in Livonia.⁷² At that time, in Prussia, the mendicant foundations organised with the support of the Teutonic Order actually dominated (there were 19 of them in total on the lands ruled by the Order, although 3 had already been established in the 13th century without the involvement of the Teutonic Order). In Prussia, the friaries in the territories ruled by bishops were founded in four cases only (Braniewo, Reszel, Barczewo and Lubawa). These differences did not only stem from the fact that the potential and position of the bishops in relation to the Teutonic Order in Prussia and Livonia were not the same, but also from the opposition to the foundation of monasteries formulated explicitly by the episcopal chapters in Prussia whose members had been appointed by the Teutonic Order (for example the opposition of the chapter of Samland to the plans of settling the observants in Kaliningrad).

Table 3. Foundations of mendicant friaries in Prussia and Livonia in the Middle Ages

Time/place of foundation	Dominicans	Franciscans	Augustinian-Hermits	Carmelites	Franciscan Observants	TOTAL
total number of foundations	11	8**	4	1	11**	35
foundations in the 13 th century	8	5**	–	–	–	13
foundations in the 14 th century	–	2	3	1	–	6

⁷² This is reflected by a fact that is frequently referred to, namely that, in 1487, 30 Dominicans in Livonia, who did not want to adopt the Observant rule implemented then in their friaries, were granted a permission from the pope to be transferred to the Teutonic Order, see G. von Walther-Wittenheim, *Die Dominikaner in Livland...*, p. 81; B. Jähnig, *Verfassung und Verwaltung...*, pp. 104, 114.

foundations in the 15 th century	1	1	1	–	8	11
foundations in the 16 th century	2	–	–	–	3	5
Livonia	5	1**	–	–	6**	12
Prussia*	6	7	4	1	5	23

* The summary includes the foundations in the 12th and 13th century in the territory of Pomerelia conquered by the Teutonic Order after 1308.

** The originally Franciscan monastery in Riga was later taken over by the Observants.

Besides numerous mendicant communities in Royal Prussia, in 1473, a monastery of the Brethren of the Common Life was founded in Chełmno on the Vistula. They specialised in running schools and were invited to Chełmno for that purpose as well.⁷³

PROVINCIAL AFFILIATION OF MONASTERIES

The nature of the relations between the monasteries in Prussia and Livonia was obviously determined by distance and separation of both territories by the lands of Lithuanian Samogitia. The provincial affiliation of individual monasteries was an important factor as well, in particular in case of mendicant communities. We will now examine at this problem looking at individual monastic orders. In case of the Cistercians, possible relations were connected with the practice of affiliation. The monastery in Oliwa (1188) was founded by the monks from Kołbacz. This monastery was in turn a branch of the Danish monastery in Esrom, belonging to a line associated with the forefather in Clairvaux. The second Cistercian monastery in Pomerelia was initially established in Pogódki with the help of the monastics coming from Doberan in Mecklenburg, and belonged to the line that was originally derived from Marimond. In 1276, Duke Mestwin II moved the monastery from Pogódki to Pelplin around which the Cistercians were granted a large land estate. The Cistercian monasteries in Pomerelia therefore belonged to two affiliation lines.⁷⁴ Things looked different in Livonia. Both Cistercian monasteries there, in Daugavgrīva/Padise and Kārķna were associated with the abbey in Pforta, just as Pelplin was connected with the Morimond line.

⁷³ Z.H. Nowak, *Bracia Wspólnego Życia i ich szkoła w Chełmnie (1473-1536/1545)*, "Zapiski Historyczne" LII (1987) 4, pp. 53-78.

⁷⁴ K. Bruski, *Opactwa cystersów w Oliwie, Pelplinie i Byszewie – ich miejsce w dziejach Pomorza*, "Studia Pelplińskie" XVIII (1987), pp. 21-22.

The convent of the Premonstratensian nuns in Żukowo was subordinated to the male monastery of that order in Wrocław, which belonged to the Polish province of the order.⁷⁵ Nevertheless, the nuns of that order were never in Livonia. On the other hand, the houses of the Order of Saint John of Jerusalem, existing in Pomerelia since 1370, initially had relations with the residencies of the order in Bohemia and Moravia.⁷⁶ Later, they formed part of the Upper-German priorship. In case of the Teutonic Order, until 1309 the lands of Prussia were controlled by the grand master residing first in the Holy Land (Acre) and then in Venice. Locally, he was represented by the country master or his deputy.⁷⁷ At a later time, the residence of the grand master was based in Malbork and after 1457 in Kaliningrad. He indirectly supervised all the commanderies in Prussia and directly *inter alia* the territories of selected units of the order's administration in Prussia (e.g. Malbork district) or the district administrator of Neumark.⁷⁸ He also formally ruled over the branch in Livonia, which had its own country master.⁷⁹

From the point of view of practical functioning of monasteries, the provincial affiliation was obviously the most important for the mendicants.⁸⁰ Operations carried out within the same monastic provinces and even lower auxiliary units called countries, custodies and districts (*contrata, custodia, districtus*) determined not only the intensity of mutual contacts but also the coordination of the whole monastic activity. This was due to the fact that both the authorities of the province and the vicars supervising the activities of individual monasteries in a particular territory often decided on the appointment and approval of superiors (priors, guardians), on foreign studies of friars, the organisation of inter-monastic schools and also in matters relating to the property of the order and relations with municipal and political

75 J. Rajman, *Kryzys polskich klasztorów norbertańskich w XIV-XV wieku*, in: *Klasztor w kulturze średniowiecznej Polski*, eds. A. Pobóg-Lenartowicz, M. Derwich, Opole 1995, p. 29.

76 M. Starnawska, *Mnisi – rycerze – szlachta. Templariusze i joannici na pograniczu wielkopolsko-brandenbursko-pomorskim*, "Kwartalnik Historyczny" XCIX (1992) 1, p. 14.

77 S. Józwiak, *Centralne i terytorialne organy władzy...*, pp. 35-45.

78 M. Biskup, G. Labuda, *Dzieje zakonu krzyżackiego w Prusach. Gospodarka – społeczeństwo – państwo – ideologia*, Gdańsk 1988, pp. 392-393; S. Józwiak, *Centralne i terytorialne organy władzy...*, p. 118; idem, *Podziały administracyjne*, in: *Państwo zakonu krzyżackiego w Prusach. Władza i społeczeństwo*, eds. M. Biskup, R. Czaja, Warszawa 2008, p. 133; E. Rymar, *Administracja krzyżacka w Nowej Marchii 1384/1402-1454/1455*, in: *Studia i materiały z dziejów Nowej Marchii i Gorzowa. Szkice historyczne*, Biblioteczka Nadwarciańskiego Rocznika Historyczno-Archiwalnego, VIII, Gorzów Wielkopolski 1999, p. 99.

79 B. Jähnig, *Verfassung und Verwaltung...*, p. 141.

80 Unfortunately there are no detailed data available on the cooperation the Dominicans and the Franciscans from Prussia and Livonia in the 13th century, see A. Selart, *Die Bettelmönche im Ostseeraum zur Zeit des Erzbischofs Albert Suerbeer von Riga (Mitte des 13. Jahrhunderts)*, "Zeitschrift für Ostmitteleuropa-Forschung" LVI (2007) 4, pp. 475-499.

authorities. From that point of view, the links among mendicant friaries in Prussia and Livonia were fundamentally different in nature depending on the monastic order. So in case of the Dominicans, the friaries in Prussia operated within the Polish province of the Dominicans, constituting a lower unit of administration – the Prussian country (*contrata Prussiae*).⁸¹ At the same time, in Livonia, the Dominicans belonged to different provinces: The friaries in Riga and Tartu first belonged to the German province (*Provincia Teutoniae*) and after 1303 to the Saxon province, which had been separated from the former (*Provincia Saxoniae*), in Tallinn they belonged to the Danish province (*Provincia Daciae*) and from 1517 ultimately to the Saxon one.⁸² The situation was slightly different in the second half of the 15th century, when both in Livonia and in Prussia members of the Observant movement were active in the Dominican order and operated within the so-called Dutch congregation (*Congregatio Hollandiae*).⁸³ A special role in the congregation was played by Brother Albertus Petri, who conducted extensive campaigns as the reformer of friaries belonging to the Danish, Saxon and Polish provinces, including in Tallinn (Danish province) and in Riga (Saxon province). He was also tasked by the congregation with the reform of the friary in Gdańsk. After implementing reforms of the friaries in Livonia mentioned above, Albert, as prior of the friary in Tallinn, was detained there in 1477 in the course of his journey to Rome through Gdańsk and imprisoned by local Dominicans.⁸⁴ Ultimately, the conflict eased and the reform of the monastery was carried out by the Dominicans from the Polish province.

Things looked different in case of the Franciscans. At that time, all the Franciscan friaries in Prussia and Livonia, including the convents in Toruń and Chełmno, which had been initially incorporated in the Bohemian and Polish province, belonged already to the same Saxon province. Within that province, however, they were included in two different custodies. The friaries

81 R. Kubicki, *Środowisko dominikanów kontraty pruskiej...*, p. 55.

82 A first attempt of incorporating the Tallinn friary into the Saxon province was made as early as in 1397, see G. von Walther-Wittenheim, *Die Dominikaner in Livland...*, pp. 11-12, 19-20.

83 A. de Meyer, *La Congrégation de Hollande ou la réforme dominicaine en territoire bourguignon 1465-1515*, Liège 1938. A synthetic summary of the results of the operations of the Dutch congregation was provided by S.P. Wolfs, *Dominikanische Observanzbestrebungen: die Congregatio Hollandiae (1464-1517)*, in: *Reformbemühungen und Observanzbestrebungen im spätmittelalterlichen Ordenwesen*, ed. K. Elm, Berliner Historische Studien, XIV, Ordenstudien, VI, Berlin 1989, pp. 273-292.

84 G. von Walther-Wittenheim, *Die Dominikaner in Livland...*, pp. 112-114; R. Kubicki, *Próby reformy konwentu gdańskiego dominikanów na tle reformy innych klasztorów mendykanckich Prus Królewskich w XV w.*, in: *Ecclesia semper reformanda. Kryzysy i reformy średniowiecznego Kościoła*, eds. T. Gałuszka, T. Graff, G. Ryś, Kraków 2013, pp. 520-525.

in Prussia formed the Prussian custody (seven convents), while the convent in Riga belonged to the custody of Lübeck (although it had initially belonged to the Danish province).

The closest organizational ties between Prussia and Livonia existed in case of the Observants. Their friaries in Livonia together with the convents in Prussia formed one Livonian-Prussian custody and together with Silesian friaries they belonged to the Saxon vicariate.⁸⁵ In 1517, pursuant to the decision of Pope Leon X, the Observants were attached to the Saxon province of St. Cross (*Saxonia S. Crucis*), which was approved by the general chapter of the order in Lyon a year later.⁸⁶

The friaries of the Augustinians-Hermits operating in Prussia were part of the Saxon province of Thuringia of the order. Although originally the friary was attributed to the Bavarian province, under the decision of the general chapter in Padua it was transferred to the Saxon province of Thuringia in 1359.⁸⁷ Within that province, the friaries located in Prussia initially formed one Neumark-Prussia district together with the friaries from Neumark,⁸⁸ later, a separate Prussian district was formed.⁸⁹ In 1507, the friaries of the Saxon province of the Augustinians-Hermits were included in the Observants' congregation headed by the Vicar General Johann von Staupitz.⁹⁰ At the same time, the friary of the Carmelites in Gdańsk changed its affiliation several times to ultimately become incorporated into the Czech-Polish province (*Bohemiae et Poloniae*) of the order in 1462. Interestingly, earlier it had been part of the Upper German province, from 1411 the Czech province and after 1440 the Saxon province.⁹¹

85 The different provincial affiliations of the Franciscans and Dominicans in Prussia and their different relations with the Teutonic Order were described by W. Roth, *Die Dominikaner und Franziskaner*, pp. 13-21, 99-105; J. Sarnowsky, *Dominikaner und Franziskaner...*, p. 58; S. Zonenberg, *Die Beziehungen zwischen dem Deutschen Orden und den Franziskanern in Preussen bis zum Jahre 1466*, in: *Leben zwischen und mit den Kulturen. Studien zu Recht, Bildung und Herrschaft in Mitteleuropa*, eds. R. Skowrońska, H. Flechenecker, Studienreihe der Polnischen Historischen Mission, II, Toruń 2015, pp. 69-113.

86 *Spuren franziskanischer Geschichte. Chronologischer Abriss der Geschichte der Sächsischen Franziskanerprovinzen von ihren Anfängen bis zur Gegenwart*, Saxonia Franciscana, eds. B. Schmies, K. Rakemann, D. Berg, Werl 1999, p. 249.

87 A. Kunzelmann, *Geschichte der deutschen Augustiner-Eremiten*, III, p. 83.

88 The functions of vicar *per districtum Marchie et Pruzzie* were fulfilled in 1380 by Jan Merkelin, *Codex Diplomaticus Warmiensis oder Regesten und Urkunden zur Geschichte Ermlands*, III: *Urkunden der Jahre 1376-1424 nebst Nachträgen*, ed. C.P. Woelky, Monumenta Historiae Warmiensis, V, Braunsberg-Leipzig 1874, no. 96, p. 70.

89 In 1420, Mikołaj Holland exercised the function of vicar of the Prussian district, Geheimes Staatsarchiv Preussischer Kulturbesitz in Berlin, XX. HA, Perg. Urk. LIV, Nr 17b.

90 A. Poschmann, *Das Augustinerkloster in Rössel*, "ZGAE" XXIV (1932), p. 117.

91 A. Deckert, *Die Oberdeutsche Provinz der Karmeliten nach den Akten ihrer Kapitel von 1421 bis 1529*, Archivium Historicum Carmelitanum, I, Rom 1961, pp. 35-36.

The real significance of provincial affiliation of monasteries is reflected by the attempts to change it after 1466, when the Royal Prussia was incorporated in the territory of the Kingdom of Poland. Then, the authorities of the Polish province of the Cistercians intensified efforts to take over control the abbeys in Oliwa and Pelplin. These efforts were supported by the royal court. Interestingly, these attempts had been made as early as in the first half of the 15th century, however the decision of the general chapter of 1422 to incorporate Oliwa and Pelplin to the Polish province was then blocked as a result of opposition of Pelplin and the abbot of its mother house in Doberan, who was supposed to act as supervisor in relation to the abbeys in the province of Bremen, the Kamień Pomorski diocese and the kingdoms of Denmark, Sweden and Norway.⁹² Another attempt to change the provincial affiliation of the Cistercians from Oliwa and Pelplin was prevented in 1487, when the general chapter stated that due to the distance of the abbeys from Kraków and language and cultural differences (“maxima sit viarum distantia et linguarum et morum diversitas inter Polonos et ipsos”)⁹³ the abbeys in Pelplin and Oliwa were not to be subordinated to the abbots from the area of the Polish Kingdom but to the supervisors responsible for maritime countries (“de partibus Stagnalibus”).⁹⁴ After 1466, similar efforts aimed at taking over the Franciscan friaries operating in Royal Prussia were undertaken by the Franciscan Observants from Poland (called Bernardines). As a result of opposition from local friars, who were supported by authorities of individual towns, these attempts proved unsuccessful as well.

The provincial affiliation of individual monasteries had also other impacts on their daily functioning. Primarily, it was the distance from the centres of the monastic provinces which played an important role. Both in case of conventual Franciscans in Prussia and Livonia and the Augustinians-Hermits in Prussia, their friaries were situated a long distance from the centres of the provinces. Things looked similar in case of the Dominicans. The main centre of the Polish province was situated in Kraków, thus relatively not so far, while the friaries lied in territories separated by a political border until 1466. Also the friaries of the Dominicans in Livonia, temporarily belonging to the Saxon and Danish provinces, were situated on its distant posts. Such a location of all the friaries mentioned above had an impact on the organisation of sessions of provincial chapters there. In case of the Dominicans in Prussia,

92 *Statuta Capitulorum Generalium Ordinis Cisterciensis. Ab anno 1116 ad annum 1786*, IV: *Ab anno 1401 ad annum 1456*; V: *Ab anno 1457 ad annum 1490*, ed. J.-M. Canivez, *The Bibliothèque de la Revue d'histoire ecclésiastique*, XII-XIII, Louvain 1936-1937, no. 9, p. 259.

93 *Ibidem*, V, no. 96, p. 615.

94 *Ibidem*, no. 96-97, pp. 615-616.

the authorities of the order tried to integrate the Prussian friaries with the Polish province by holding there the sessions of their chapter in the 14th and 15th century. Therefore, the chapters were convened in Elbląg, Chełmno and Toruń, and in the 15th century a few times in Słupsk lying at a short distance.⁹⁵ On the other hand, the provincial chapter of the Carmelites deliberated in 1500 in Gdańsk.⁹⁶ At the same time, the sessions of the provincial chapters of the Franciscans were not held in Prussia and Livonia, just as those of Prussian Augustinians-Hermits. What's more, the distance from decision-making centres of individual provinces made more difficult the travel of the friars from Prussia and Livonia to provincial chapters of their order (that issue was indicated in case of the Observants).⁹⁷

FACTORS DETERMINING THE CONDITIONS FOR THE CREATION OF A NETWORK OF MONASTERIES

In case of foundation of monasteries, the origin of the first monks and nuns was often determined by the founding duke or bishop, who usually searched for them in monastic centres situated in the territories of the rulers with whom he had close relations (in particular in case of the Cistercians and the Norbertines). Apart from religious reasons, the decision on the foundation of a monastery was dictated by many aspects as political factors were important as well. New monasteries became also a testimony to earthly prestige and an opportunity to establish close relations with various ecclesiastical and secular centres. Also the Teutonic Order had its own foundation policy and preferences with regards to the presence of other monastic orders on the territories it controlled.

Considering the issue of creation of a network of monasteries from the point of view of organisational centres of individual monastic orders, it is clear that models of monastic life reached Pomerelia, Prussia and Livonia from three directions. From the Empire, Denmark and Poland. Therefore, a specific rivalry existed as to who will exercise care (affiliation in case of the Cistercians) or govern on behalf of the order's province. Later, competition in respect of the provincial affiliation of individual monasteries was particularly apparent in case of highly centralised mendicant orders. The Franciscans and

⁹⁵ R. Kubicki, *Środowisko dominikanów...*, pp. 74-75.

⁹⁶ Information on that subject can be found in the work of Marcin Behm covering the years 1463-1667 and kept in the General Archives of the Carmelite Order in Rome, *Compendium libri Provinciae*, p. 14 (The General Archives of the Carmelite Order in Rome, II Polonia, Commune 1, *Compendium Libri Provinciae*).

⁹⁷ L. Lemmens, *Die Franziskanerkustodie Livland und Preussen...*, p. 21

Augustinians-Hermits in Prussia and the Dominicans in Livonia belonged to the provinces connected with the Empire (Saxon and Saxon-Thuringia), and the Dominicans in Prussia to the Polish one. In the next phases of development of the network of monasteries, the directions and activities of individual communities clearly changed. Initially, in the second half of the 12th century and in the first half of the 13th century, the mendicants in Pomerelia faced apparent influences from the Empire and Denmark (foundations of the Cistercians), Prussia from the Empire and Poland, Livonia from Denmark and the Empire. To some extent, it was actually an element of political influence of those centres.

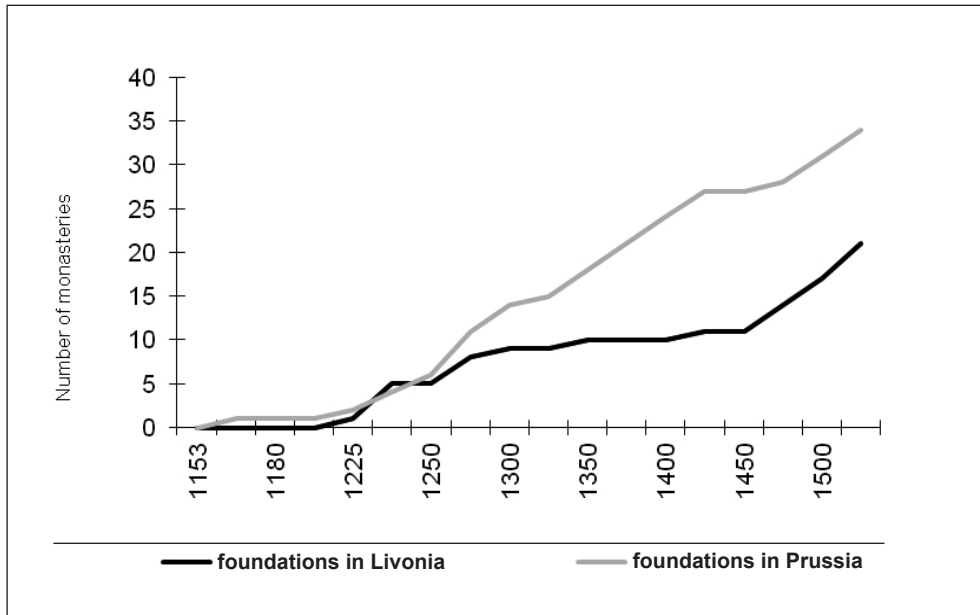
A certain planning policy can be seen in the development of monastic structures by the mendicants (Dominicans and Franciscans). In the first place, they established friaries in the largest urban centres and then they tried to organise foundations in more peripheral territories (deeper in Prussia and Livonia). In Livonia, the mendicants extended their reach to the countryside thanks to a developed network of alms collection points, which they later attempted to transform into regular friaries (Dominicans). The emergence of the Observants, who managed to create as many as six new posts in the second half of the 15th century mainly in the country, was a breakthrough. Looking for the reasons underlying this phenomenon, it should be noted that, in addition to the undoubtedly considerable dynamics of the new mendicant order and high appreciation by the faithful earned thanks to strict observance of poverty, another reason was the fact that friars played an important role in pastoral campaigns addressed not only at the population of small towns but also at the German population living in nearby villages. In the territory ruled by the Teutonic Order, these were mainly the Prussians and Lithuanians living within the collection circuit (*terminus*) reached by the friars collecting alms. The location of new convents itself could support that view. In Prussia: in Zalewo on the border of Pomesania and Pogesania, where rural areas were inhabited by a large Prussian population⁹⁸ and Sovetsk, where at the beginning of the 16th century intensive Lithuanian settlement campaigns were carried out.⁹⁹ In Livonia, these were areas inhabited mainly by the Finno-Ugric Aesti and Baltic Latgalians. Pastoral campaigns addressed especially at the local German population (Aesti) in its own language were also carried out

⁹⁸ The situation of the Prussian settlement in these areas was discussed by H. Wunder, *Siedlungs- und Bevölkerungsgeschichte der Komturei Christburg (13.-16. Jahrhundert)*, Marburger Ostforschungen, XXVIII, Wiesbaden 1968, pp. 77-143, 165; P. Germershausen, *Siedlungsentwicklung der preußischen Ämter Holland, Liebstadt und Mohrunge vom 13. bis zum 17. Jahrhundert*, Wissenschaftliche Beiträge zur Geschichte und Landeskunde Ost-Mitteleuropas, LXXXVII, Marburg 1970, pp. 9-38.

⁹⁹ L. Lemmens, *Die Franziskanerkustodie Livland und Preussen...*, pp. 24, 35.

in Livonia by the Dominicans in Tallinn, Tartu and Narva.¹⁰⁰ The question of reach and clear delimitation of the collection circuits of individual monasteries was also connected with the location of new posts. A spatial analysis of the locations of convents of individual orders, with the exception of large towns, where there were two or even three mendicant convents, shows explicitly that the circuits were not designed to overlap each other. In Prussia, the Franciscans and the Observants operated in Zalewo, Lubawa, Barczewo, Frombork, Znamensk, Kaliningrad and Sovetsk, and the remaining space was filled by the Augustinians-Hermits in Reszel, Patollen and Mamonovo and the Dominicans in Elblag and Zheleznodorozhny. In Pomerelia, the Dominicans were in Tczew and Gdańsk, the Franciscans and the Observants: in Gdańsk, Nowe and Lębork, and the Augustinians-Hermits in Chojnice lying to the south-west. As in the northern part of Livonia including Estonia, the Dominicans operated in Tallinn, Narva and New Parnava and the Observants in Rakvere and Viljandi. On the south, the Dominicans were present in Riga, and the Observants reached also Limbaži, Aizpute and Koknese.

Diagram 2. Foundations of monasteries in Prussia (including Pomerelia) and Livonia in the years 1180-1525 (without military orders)



¹⁰⁰ G. von Walther-Wittenheim, *Die Dominikaner in Livland...*, p. 104.

7. CONCLUSIONS

In the period of Middle Ages, in the territory of Prussia (including Pomerelia) and Livonia including Estonia, a total of 56 monasteries existed, to which we should add almost the same number of conventual castles of the Teutonic Order (in the first half of the 15th century, when the administrative structure of the order was most developed, there were 25 conventual castles in Prussia and 28 conventual and district castles in Livonia). Among the monastic orders operating here, the mendicant posts were particularly numerous (23 in Prussia and 12 in Livonia). The largest number, i.e. 12 houses were owned by the Franciscans, 11 by the Dominicans, 8 (later 7) by Conventual Franciscans, 4 by Augustinians-Hermits, and only 1 by the Carmelites. It should be mentioned, however, that the Augustinian-Hermits and the Carmelites were not present in Livonia at all. The difference between the number of mendicant friaries between Prussia (including Pomerelia) and Livonia is even more apparent when the overall area of both territories is taken into account. As we remember, in Livonia covering around 110,000 km² there were 12 friaries of these type of orders in total and in Prussia 23 on an area of around 58,000 km². Therefore, one mendicant friary counted per 9,166 km² in Livonia, while per 2,521 km² in Prussia. An even higher difference existed between individual dioceses and local bishoprics. For example, in the Pomesania diocese, there was only one mendicant friary (on an area of 8,400 km²), while there was none of them in the Ösel-Wiek bishopric. Further, in the Chełmno diocese, 5 friaries (on an area of 4,000 km²) and 4 in the Tartu diocese, including 2 on the area of the episcopal dominion (on an area of 9,600 km²). Interestingly, in Livonia, the mendicant friaries had their residences in towns being at the same time the seats of bishops (the Dominicans and the Franciscan in Riga and Tartu, the Dominicans only in Tallinn).¹⁰¹ The situation was different in Prussia, where the only such case occurred when the Observants from Znamensk were definitively transferred to Kaliningrad. It should be added, however, that the plans to locate there these monks had been for a long time opposed by the chapter of Sambia.

There were 21 monasteries and centres of canons regular, including 13 female and 8 male. Most of them belonged to the Cistercians nuns (8). In the 14th and 15th century, the Bridgettes also founded their monasteries here (3). Large landed estates were owned by the Cistercians from Oliwa and Pelplin, the Cistercian nuns from Żarnowiec, the Norbertine nuns from Żukowo and the Carthusians from Raj Maryji, so without exception these were monasteries located in Pomerelia.

¹⁰¹ As regards the Dominicans, this phenomenon was indicated by G. von Walther-Wittenheim, *Die Dominikaner in Livland...*, p. 21.

Table 4. Foundations of monasteries in Prussia and Livonia in the Middle Ages

	Male monasteries* (including Livonia)	Female monasteries (including Livonia)	Mendicant friaries (including Livonia)	Residences of military orders	TOTAL of military orders (including Livonia)
Total number of foundations	8 (3)	13 (6)	35 (12)	•	56 (21)
foundations in the 12 th century	1	–	–	•	1
foundations in the 13 th century	3 (2)	6	13 (4)	•	22 (6)
foundations in the 14 th century	1	4 (4)	6	•	11 (4)
foundations in the 15 th century	–	3 (2)	11 (5)	•	14 (7)
foundations in the 16 th century	3 (1)	–	5 (3)	•	8 (4)
Livonia	3	6	12	28***	21
Prussia**	5	7	23	25****	35

* Monasteries, centres of canons regular and hospital monasteries of the Hospitaller of the Holy Ghost and the Anthonians.

** The summary includes the foundations in the 12th and 13th century in the territory of Pomerelia conquered by the Teutonic Order after 1308.

*** Conventual and district castles in the years 1442-1451.

**** As of the first half of the 15th century, monasteries – conventual castles of the Teutonic Order.

Analysing the problem of locations of the monasteries from the point of view of the superior authority in individual areas in Livonia, their larger number is apparent in the estates belonging to the bishops. It concerned to a lesser extent the foundations of mendicant friaries. We already mentioned the lack of monastic orders in proper Prussia (without Pomerelia) and in the area ruled by the Teutonic Order in Livonia. The monastery of the Cistercians in Padise was an exception, however the monastics moved there in 1305 when these lands still belonged to the king of Denmark. At the same time, the number of female monasteries operating in Prussia and Livonia was comparable. In this case, the dominant group were the Cistercian nuns, who enjoyed support from the Teutonic Order in Prussia and of the local bishops in Livonia as well. On the other hand, members of hospital orders (the Anthonians and the Hospitallers of the Holy Ghost), who functioned for a short period, played a limited role.

Table 5. Foundations of monasteries in Prussia and Livonia in the Middle Ages with a breakdown by individual dioceses

Area of the diocese (including the dominion of a bishop or chapter)	Male monasteries*	Female monasteries	Mendicant friaries	Residences of military orders	TOTAL
Livonia in total	3 (2)	6 (4)	12 (7)	28	49 (13)
Kurzeme	-	-	1	4	5
Ösel-Wiek	-	(1)	-	2	3 (1)
Tartu	(1)	(1)	4 (2)	5	11 (4)
Tallinn	1	2	3	5	11
Archbishopric of Riga	(1)	(2)	(4)	12	19 (7)
Dominion of the Teutonic Order in Livonia	1	2	5	28	36
Prussia in total**	5 (2)	7	23 (4)	25***	60 (6)
Chełmno	-	2	5 (1)	10	17 (1)
Pomesania	(1)	-	1	3	5 (1)
Warmia	(1)	1	8 (3)	3	13 (4)
Sambia	-	1	2	3	6
Włocławek (Archdeaconry of Pomerania)	3	3	6	3	15
Archbishopric of Gniezno	-	-	1	2	3
Dominion of the Teutonic Order in Prussia	3	7	19	25	54
Livonia and Prussia in total***	8	13	35	53	109

* Monasteries, centres of canons regular and hospital monasteries of the Hospitaller of the Holy Ghost and the Anthonians.

** The summary includes the foundations in the 12th and 13th century in the territory of Pomerelia conquered by the Teutonic Order after 1308.

*** As of the first half of the 15th century, monasteries – conventual castles of the Teutonic Order around 1454.

In the table, the number of monasteries located in the dominion of the bishops and episcopal chapters were given in round brackets ().

A large difference in the number of mendicant orders in favour of Prussia (23 to 12 in Livonia) corresponds to the demographic potential of these areas and their gradual urbanisation¹⁰². The location was also determined by the time of creation of individual friaries. The Dominicans and Franciscans, who had been present on these lands from the middle of the 13th century, organised their friaries in the largest towns of Pomerelia, Prussia and Livonia. Sometimes even in the same towns (Gdańsk, Chełmno, Toruń, Riga, Tartu). The Augustinian-Hermits who arrived in the 14th century established their convents only in smaller towns of Prussia without reaching Livonia at all. Similarly, the Carmelites were not present in Livonia either; in the 15th century they strived to expand their structures in Prussia, but ultimately they were left with one convent in Gdańsk.

The complicated structure and territorial subdivisions of Prussia and Livonia certainly had an impact on the distribution and number of monasteries created there. Of course, the policy of the Teutonic Order was of particular significance in this respect. These were the Order's decisions and position towards the friar communities which determined the monastic landscape of proper Prussia (without Pomerelia), where there was no place for the Benedictines, the Cistercians and the Premonstratensians. In Prussia and Livonia, this space was filled by numerous conventual castles of the Teutonic Order, where the monastic life was at first strictly subordinated to the practice of political power to become entirely unimportant later. Moreover, the support of the Teutonic Order allowed a very considerable expansion of the Franciscans-Observants who arrived here not earlier than in the second half of the 15th century. The intention to control the functioning of other monastic assemblies is also apparent in the perspective of relations of the Teutonic Order with female communities (the Premonstratensian nuns in Żukowo and the monasteries of the Cistercian nuns in Prussia). Not many monasteries were created in the estates belonging to the Prussian bishops (only 6 monasteries in total in the dominion of the bishops), although Warmia,

¹⁰² The dominion of the Teutonic Order comprises 93 towns in total, of which 76 lying in Prussia itself (without Pomerelia), see P. Erlen, *Europäischer Landesausbau...*, pp. 4, 164-167. At the beginning of the 15th century, the population in the whole dominion of the Order in Prussia, including Pomerelia, amounted to 480,000, see M. Biskup, *Das Problem der ethnischen Zugehörigkeit im mittelalterlichen Landesausbau in Preussen. Zum Stand der Forschung*, "Jahrbuch für die Geschichte Mittel- und Ostdeutschlands" XL (1991), p. 13. At the same time, in Livonia including Estonia, only 19 towns were established, of which 10 in the territories belonging to the Teutonic Order, and 9 in those belonging to bishops, see R. Czaja, *Miasta Inflantkie w XIII-XVI wieku*, in: *Zakon krzyżacki w Prusach i Inflantach*, p. 219. The population of Livonia including Estonia at the beginning of the 13th century is estimated at 350,000, see M. Biskup, *Uformowanie się duchownych władztw terytorialnych w średniowiecznych Inflantach i ich granice państwowe*, in: *Inflanty w średniowieczu. Władztwa zakonu krzyżackiego i biskupów*, ed. M. Biskup, Toruń 2002, p. 9.

which was not controlled by the Teutonic Order, is an exception in this respect (4 monasteries). The situation was different in Livonia, where a more important role was played by local bishops, who contributed to a significant extent to the foundation of the majority from the actually few monasteries there (in total there were 12 monasteries in the dominion of the bishops).

SUPPLEMENT

Foundations of monasteries in Pomerelia and Prussia

Benedictines: end of 12th century – beginning of the 13th century Święty Wojciech (at present Gdańsk Święty Wojciech), the prevostry subordinated to the monastery in Mogilno ceased to function towards the end of the 15th century and in 1541 it was ultimately liquidated.

Cistercians: in 1188 Oliwa, in 1256 Byszewo, in 1258 Pogódki – in 1276, the monks were transferred to Pelplin.

Cistercian nuns: 1253-1257 Żarnowiec, **Cistercians-Benedictines:** before 1266 Chełmno, in 1311 Toruń, in 1349 Kaliningrad.

Premonstratensian nuns (the Norbertines): in 1209 Żukowo (prevostry of the monastery in Wrocław).

Augustinians: after 1255, Swornegacie (in 1303 incorporated into the Cistercian monastery in Oliwa).

Carthusians: in 1381 Raj Maryi (Kartuzy).

Knights of the Hospital of Saint John of Jerusalem of the residence of the commandery (in 1370, the estates were bought by the Teutonic Order): Lubiszewo, Skarszewy.

Order of Calatrava: in 1227 Tymawa (only in the first half of the 13th century).

Teutonic Order (residences of the commandery – as of the first half of the 15th century): Toruń, Golub, Radzyń, Grudziądz, Starogród, Brodnica, Bierzgłowo, Papowo, Kowalewo, Pokrzywno and Nieszawa (until 1422), Gdańsk, Gniew, Świecie, Tuchola, Człuchów, Elbląg, Przezmark (earlier Dzierżgoń), Malbork, Ushakovo, Balga, Kaliningrad, Klaipeda, Neman and Ostróda. After 1466, loss of the convents of the Chełmno region, Pomerelia and Powiśle. After, it had conventual castles in: Ushakovo, Balga, Kaliningrad, Klaipeda, Neman and Ostróda and commanders in Pasłek and Ryn (from 1477) and temporarily in Morağ (in the years 1467-1474) and Nidzica.

Dominicans: in 1227 Gdańsk, 1233-1235 Chełmno, in 1239 Elbląg, in 1263 Toruń, in 1289 Tczew, in 1407 Kryłovo (in 1428 transferred to Zheleznodorozhny).

Franciscans: in 1239 Toruń, in 1258 Chełmno, in 1282 Nowe nad Wisłą, in 1296 Braniewo, in 1349 Znamiesk, in 1364 Barczewo, in 1419 Gdańsk.

Augustinians-Hermits: in 1347 Reszel, in 1356 Chojnice, in 1372 Mamonovo, in 1401 Patollen.

Franciscan-Observants: in 1477 Znamensk (in 1517 transferred to Kaliningrad), in 1480 Zalewo, before 1492 Łębork, in 1502 Lubawa, 1516 Sovetsk.

Carmelites: After 1380 Gdańsk.

Bridgettines: in 1396 Gdańsk, in 1458 Elbląg (collapse of the foundation in 1512).

Hospitallers of the Holy Ghost: in 1508 Prabuty.

Anthonians: in 1507 Frombork.

Foundations of monasteries in Livonia

Cistercians: 1205/1208 until 1305 Daugavgrīva from 1305 Padise, in 1233 Kärkna.

Cistercian nuns: before 1255 Riga, before 1267 Tallinn, around 1270 Leal, before 1345 Tartu.

Livonian Brothers of the Sword (until 1236, then incorporated into the Teutonic Order): commanderies: Aizkraukle, Viljandi, Tallinn, Sigulda, Cēsis, districts: Harju, Järva, Saaremaa.

Teutonic Order (residences of commanderies and districts – as of the years 1441-1451): Ventspils, Kuldīga, Kandava, Dobeles, Jelgava, Riga, Sigulda, Daugavgrīva, Bogatovo, Cēsis, Uus-Pärnu, Maasilinn, Lihula, Tallinn, Narva, Vasknarva, Rakvere, Paide, Põltsamaa, Puurmani, Viljandi, Karksi, Aluksne, Daugavpils, Sēlpils, Aizkraukle, Bauska (from 1445), Grobina.

Dominicans: in 1234 Riga, 1229/1246 Tallinn, before 1300 Tartu, beginning of the 16th century Uus-Pärnu, in 1520 Narva.

Franciscans: before 1238 Riga, in 1463 taken over by the Observants.

Augustinian-Hermitian nuns: after 1477 Limbaži.

Franciscan-Observants: 1466 Tartu, 1484-1500 Koknese, 1466-1472 Limbaži, 1484-1500 Aizpute, 1466-1472 Viljandi, 1502 Rakvere.

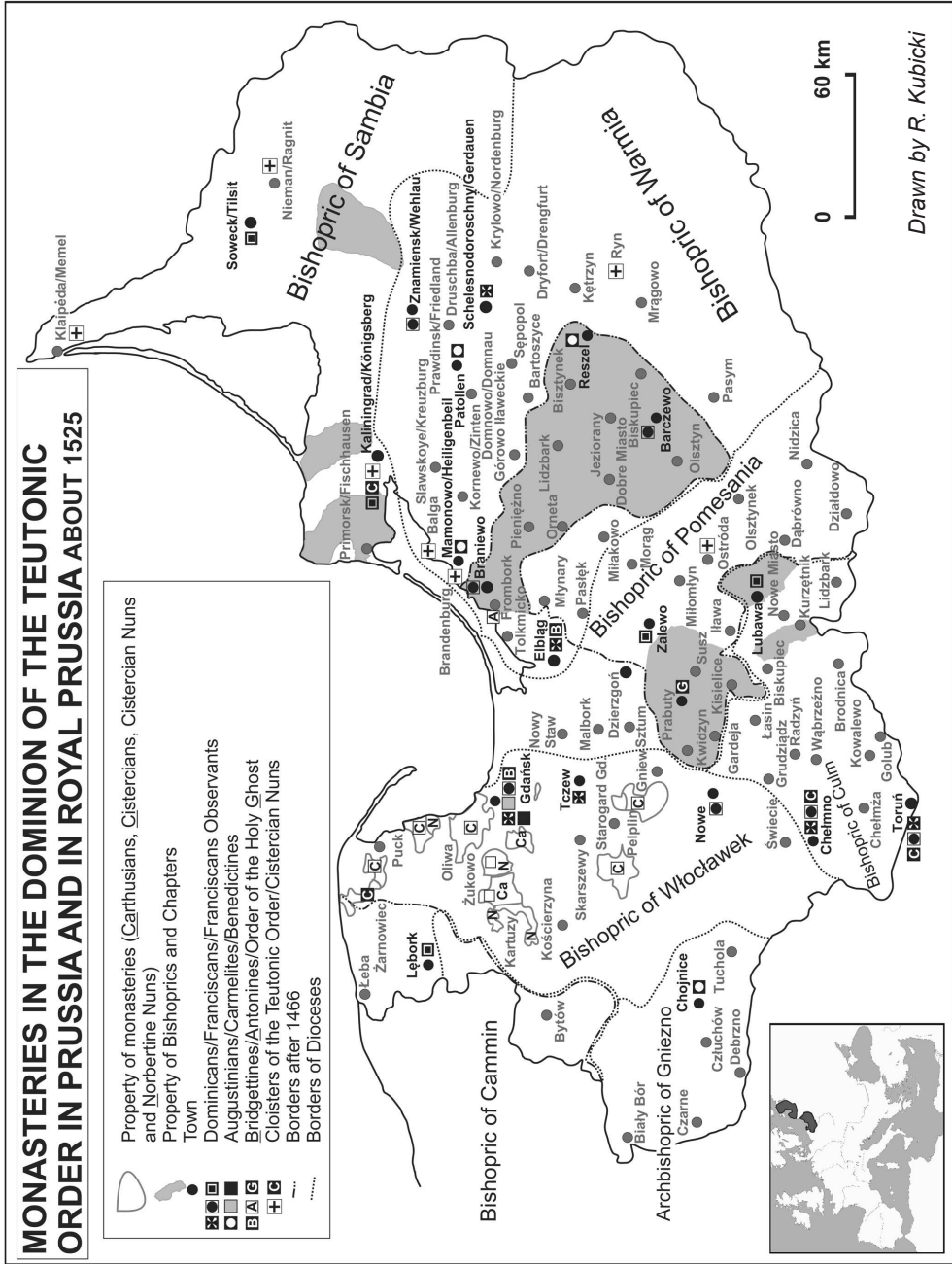
Bridgettines: in 1407 Tallinn.

Anthonians: before 1514 Lielvārde.

ABSTRACT

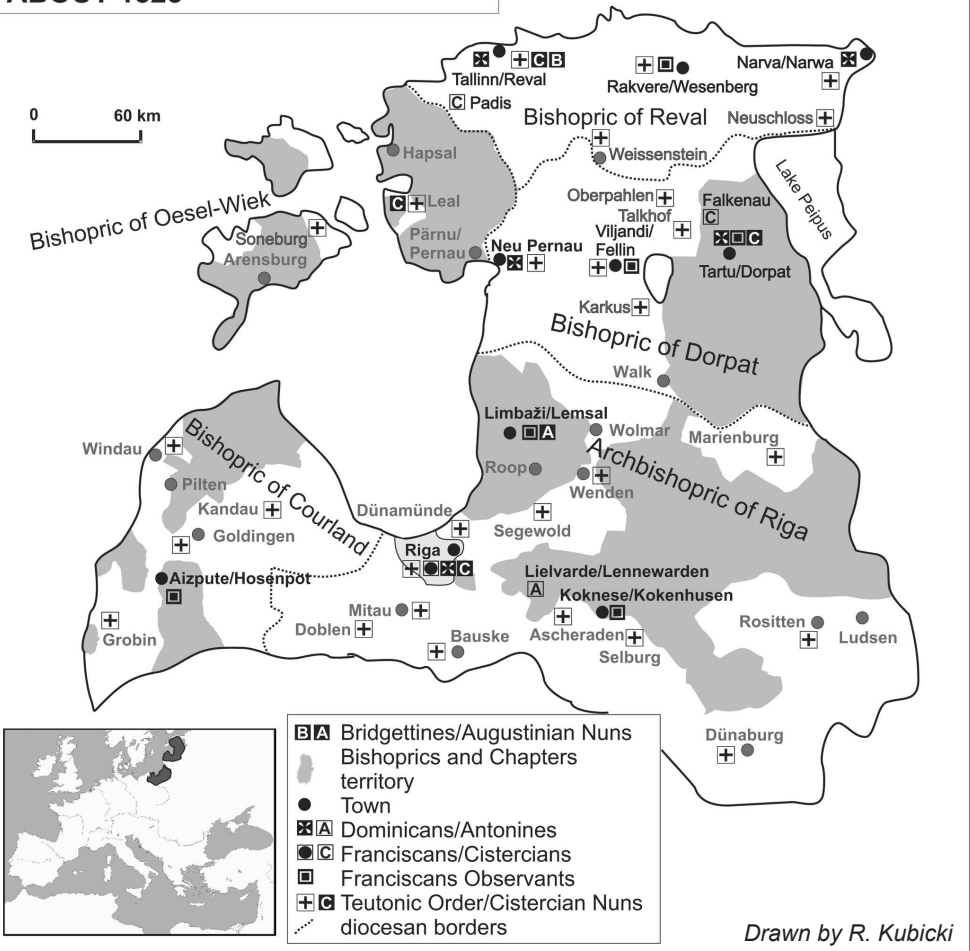
The study presents an analysis of the process of foundation and functioning of monasteries (organisational framework of monastic life) treated as an element of reconstruction of the cultural landscape, which encompasses also "the monastic landscape". The paper is concerned with the situation occurring in the dominion of the Teutonic Order (together with Pomerelia) and Livonia including Estonia from the 13th to the beginnings of 16th century. In geographical terms as well as from the point of view of formation and shaping of new structures of monastic life, these lands belonged to territories of minor importance in relation to Latin Europe. As a result, various forms of monasticism appeared here in the first phase of Christianization, and then during rural and urban colonization. In the period of Middle Ages, in the territory of Prussia (including Pomerelia) and Livonia including Estonia, a total of 56 monasteries existed, to which we should add almost the same number of conventual castles of the Teutonic Order (in the first half of the 15th century, when the administrative structure of the order was most developed, there were 25 conventual castles in Prussia, and 28 conventual and district castles in Livonia). Among the monastic orders operating here the mendicant centres were particularly numerous (23 in Prussia and 12 in Livonia). The largest number, i.e. 12 houses were owned by the Franciscans, 11 by the Dominicans, 8 (later 7) by the Conventual Franciscans, 4 by the Augustinians-Hermits, and only 1 by the Carmelites. It should be mentioned, however, that the Augustinians-Hermits and the Carmelites were not present in Livonia at all. There were 21 monasteries and centres of canons regular, including 13 female and 8 male. Most of them belonged to the Cistercian nuns (8). In the 15th century also the Bridgettes founded their monasteries here (3). A large difference in the number of mendicant orders in favour of Prussia (23 to 12 in Livonia) corresponds to the demographic potential of these areas and their gradual urbanisation. The location and potential was also determined by the time of creation of individual friaries. The Dominicans and Franciscans, who had been here earlier, organised their monasteries in the largest towns of Pomerelia, Prussia and Livonia. Sometimes even in the same towns (Gdańsk, Chełmno, Toruń, Riga, Tartu). The Augustinians-Hermits, who had arrived in the 14th century, established their convents in smaller towns of Prussia only without reaching Livonia at all. Similarly, the Carmelites were not present in Livonia either; in the 15th century, they strived to expand their structures in Prussia, however ultimately they were left with one convent in Gdańsk.

The complicated structure and territorial subdivisions of Prussia and Livonia had certainly an impact on the distribution and number of the monasteries created there. The policy of the Teutonic Order was of particular significance in this respect. These were the Order's decisions and position towards the friar communities which determined the monastic landscape of proper Prussia (without Pomerelia), where there was no place for the Benedictines, the Cistercians and the Premonstratensians. In Prussia and Livonia, this space was filled by numerous conventual castles of the Teutonic Order, where the monastic life was at first strictly subordinated to the practice of political power to become entirely unimportant later. Moreover, the support of the Teutonic Order led to a very considerable expansion of the Franciscans-Observants who arrived here not earlier than in the second half of the 15th century. The intention to control the functioning of other monastic assemblies is also apparent in the relations of the Teutonic Order with female communities (the Premonstratensian nuns in Żukowo and monasteries of the Cistercian nuns in Prussia). Not many monasteries were created in the estates belonging to the Prussian bishops, although Warmia, which was not controlled by the Teutonic Order, is an exception in this respect. The situation was different in Livonia, where a more important role was played by local bishops, who contributed to a significant extent to the foundation of the majority of the actually few monasteries there.



MONASTERIES IN LIVONIA ABOUT 1525

0 60 km



- ◻ ◻ Bridgettines/Augustinian Nuns territory
- Town
- ◻ ◻ Dominicans/Antonines
- ◻ ◻ Franciscans/Cistercians
- ◻ ◻ Franciscans Observants
- ◻ ◻ Teutonic Order/Cistercian Nuns
- - - diocesan borders

Drawn by R. Kubicki

III. MEDIEVAL HISTORIOGRAPHY

ANDRZEJ PLESZCZYŃSKI
LUBLIN

DIE SICHT AUF DIE GESCHICHTE DER SLAWEN IM *CHRONICON IMPERATORUM ET PONTIFICUM BAVARICUM*¹ IM KONTEXT DAMALIGER STEREOTYPER DEUTSCHER ANSICHTEN²



Generell gesehen interessierte sich das deutsche Schrifttum des Mittelalters für die Frage nach Herkunft und Geschichte der Slawen eher schwach. Zumindest enthält es, sogar verhältnismäßig ausführliche, Beschreibungen zur geographischen Verteilung der slawischen Völker.³ Diese Beschreibungen sind besonders für die in der Nähe zum nördlichen Teil des Heiligen Römischen Reich lebenden slawischen Völker genauer. Des Weiteren gibt es auch

1 Edition des Textes: *Chronicon Imperatorum et Pontificum Bavaricum*, ed. G. Waitz, Monumenta Germaniae Historica (weiter: MGH) Scriptorum, XXIV, Hannover 1879, S. 220-225 (online zugänglich: <http://www.dmgh.de>); grundlegende Informationen auch in: M. Müller, *Die Annalen und Chroniken im Herzogtum Bayern 1250-1314*, Schriftenreihe zur bayerischen Landesgeschichte, LXXVII, München 1983, S. 252-253; auch: *Das digitale Repertorium „Geschichtsquellen des deutschen Mittelalters“*, http://www.geschichtsquellen.de/repOpus_01086.html (Zugang 30. Januar 2018).

2 Dieses Projekt wurde vom Narodowe Centrum Nauki im Rahmen „Polonez 2“ finanziert, Nr. 2016/21/P/H53/04017 (das Forschungs- und Innovationsprogramm „Horizont 2020“ der Europäischen Union im Rahmen der Marie-Sklódowska-Curie-Finanzhilfvereinbarung, Nr. 665778).

3 Zum Beispiel zu Beginn der Slawenchronik Helmolds von Bosau siehe *Helmoldi presbyteri Bozoviensis Cronica Slavorum*, hrsg. von B. Schmeidler, MGH Scriptorum rerum Germanicarum, XXXII, Hannover 1937, S. 5-7 (1.1).

Berichte über Feldzüge der Herrscher im Reich ins östliche Europa sowie Informationen über verschiedene familiäre und politische Verbindungen, auch des deutschen Adels, mit slawischen Eliten. Aber obgleich schon seit dem 12. Jahrhundert eine Geschichtsschreibung populär wird, die sich an geographischen, die Abstammung der Völker von Noahs Nachkommen aufzeigenden Schilderungen orientiert, fehlt es im Allgemeinen – wie übrigens im gesamten westeuropäischen Schrifttum – innerhalb derartiger Kontexte doch an konkreten Erwähnungen slawischer Völker.⁴

Daher ist die hier zu besprechende Schrift umso interessanter, die zwischen 1292 und 1294⁵ entstand und in Form einer kurzen, vielleicht unvollendeten Chronik niedergeschrieben wurde, geordnet in Form eines Annuariums, das der Herausgeber im 19. Jahrhundert aufgrund loser Indizien als *Bayerische Kaiser- und Papstchronik* bezeichnete (lat. *Chronicon Imperatorum et Pontificum Bavaricum* – weiter hier CIPB genannt).

Die Frage der Wahrnehmung der Slawen und der Erfassung ihrer Geschichte, die im CIPB enthalten ist, wurde in der Forschung bisher niemals behandelt. Sie ist aber äußerst interessant, wenn auch scheinbar außergewöhnlich, aber sie befindet sich dennoch – was ich versuchen werde zu beweisen – in einem Teil der westlichen intellektuellen Tradition, die die östlichen (früher und die nördlichen)⁶ Europäer als Barbaren behandelte. Manchmal wurde sogar gedacht, dass diese Barbaren eine schlechtere Kategorie von Menschen

4 Das wohl einzige Zeugnis eines solchen Interesses in der älteren Historiographie bilden gewisse Phrasen der sogenannten Reisebeschreibung von Ibrāhīm Ibn Yaqūb, die die Feststellung enthalten, die Slawen würden von Japhets Sohn Madai (Gen 10, 2) abstammen. Gewöhnlich gilt die Gesamtheit dieses Textes als „Produkt“ des intellektuellen Wissens der Araber – der Text wurde erst Mitte des 11. Jahrhunderts niedergeschrieben. Aber man darf nicht vergessen, dass Ibrahim am Hofe Ottos I. des Großen weilte, wovon er übrigens selbst berichtet hat. Außerdem war er auch noch in einigen anderen deutschen Städten. Wie es scheint, wurden ihm die Informationen über die Slawen in Deutschland vermittelt, siehe: *Relacja Ibrāhīma ibn Jākūba do krajów słowiańskich w przekazie al-Bekriego*, hrsg. von T. Kowalski, *Monumenta Poloniae Historica*, II, 1, Kraków 1946, S. 56; A.F. Grabski, *Polska w opiniach obcych X-XIII wieku*, Warszawa 1964, S. 134ff.; J. Čiháková, J. Zavřel, *Ibrahim ibn Yaqub at-Tartushi: Christianity, Islam and Judaism Meet in East-Central Europe, c. 800-1300 A.D.*, Prague 1996, besonders: S. 65-71; zur Frage der Ableitung der Völker Europas von Japhet in einem breiteren Kontext auch in: M.-L. von Plessen, *Idee Europa. Entwürfe zum „Ewigen Frieden“*. *Ordnungen und Utopien für die Gestaltung Europas von der pax romana zur Europäischen Union*, Berlin 2003, S. 61; J. Strzelczyk, *Europa Środkowowschodnia w erudycji geograficznej średniowiecza*, in: *Kolory i struktury średniowiecza*, hrsg. von W. Falkowski, Warszawa 2004, S. 217-226, hier S. 220.

5 M. Müller, *Die Annalen und Chroniken...*, S. 253.

6 D. Fraesdorff, *Der barbarische Norden. Vorstellungen und Fremdkategorien bei Rimbart, Thietmar von Merseburg, Adam von Bremen und Helmold von Bosau*, Berlin 2005; P. Kochanek, *Die Vorstellung vom Norden und der Eurozentrismus. Die Auswertung der patristischen und mittelalterlichen Literatur*, Mainz 2004; sehe auch: J. Strzelczyk, *Deutsch-polnische Schicksalsgemeinschaft in gegenseitigen Meinungen im Mittelalter*, in: *Mittelalter – Eines oder viele? / Średniowiecze – jedno czy wiele?*, hrsg. von S. Moździoch, W. Mrozowicz, S. Rosik, Wrocław 2010, S. 111-126.

sind und zivilisieren werden müssen, auch durch bewaffnete Eroberung und das Aufzwingen einer fremden Macht.⁷ Dieses Thema ist sehr umfangreich und wichtig, aber es ist signifikant, dass es in Bezug auf das Mittelalter sehr selten analysiert wird. Dies veranlasste mich vor einigen Jahren zu Recherchen, was zu zwei Büchern⁸ und einigen kleineren Skizzen führte.⁹ Die vorliegende Arbeit resultiert aus diesen Studien, sie ist eine Erweiterung früher getätigter Kommentare und konzentriert sich auf eine Überlieferung, um ihre Bedeutung zu extrahieren.

Aufgabe des vorliegenden Artikels soll es also sein, die in dem CIPB enthaltene Thematik der Genese und der spezifischen Vorgeschichte der Slawen genauer zu analysieren und zu vergleichen, wie diese Inhalte generell mit der Historiographie jener Zeit, vor allem mit derjenigen auf dem Gebiet des Reichs, übereinstimmen.

Der letzte Aspekt ergibt sich aus der Annahme, die weiter unten noch weiter begründet wird, dass zumindest derjenige Teil dieses Werkes, der das Motiv zur Genese der Slawen enthält, von einem Deutschen und im Zusammenhang mit der deutschen historiographischen Tradition verfasst wurde. Zwar wurden dahingehend auch andere Ansichten geäußert, nämlich dass der Autor dieses Textes ein Slawe gewesen sein müsse, weil wir im Text sprachliche Fragmente finden, welche die Kenntnis der slawischen Spra-

7 In dieser Idee ist das preußische (dann allen Deutschen aufgezwungene) Konzept vom „Drang nach Osten“ enthalten, das sich jedoch im Inhalt nicht viel von der kolonialen Ideologie anderer westeuropäischer Länder unterscheidet – N. Fergusson, *Civilization. The West and the Rest*, London 2011, S.190.

8 A. Pleszczyński, *Niemcy wobec pierwszej monarchii piastowskiej (963-1034). Narodziny stereotypu. Postrzeganie i kulturowa klasyfikacja władców Polski i ich kraju*, Lublin 2008 – der Text wurde ins Englisch übersetzt und erschien als: *The Birth of a Stereotype. Polish Rulers and their Country in German Writings c. 1000 A.D.*, Boston-Leiden 2011. Das Buch analysiert die Beziehungen des Piastenstaates gegenüber dem Reich (auch die kulturellen) bis zur Mitte des 11. Jahrhunderts, und umfasst auch die Sphäre der Meinungen, Einschätzung des kulturellen Wertes der Menschen; eine Art der Fortsetzung dieser Arbeit, aber notwendigerweise in externer Weise, bildet das Buch: *Przekazy niemieckie o Polsce i jej mieszkańcach w okresie panowania Piastów*, Lublin 2016, in dem kulturelle Beziehungen und auch deutsche Meinungen über Polen bis zum Ende des 14. Jahrhunderts präsentiert wurden.

9 *Wiadomości Ottona z Fryzjyngi i Rahewina o Polsce na tle ich doniesień o wschodnich sąsiadach Niemiec*, „Roczniki Historyczne“ LXXXI (2015), S. 87-106; *Wenezlan, Hornboge, Herman i inni: Półn (Polacy) w epice niemieckiej dojrzałego średniowiecza (XIII w.); główne cechy oraz historyczno-kulturowe i podłoże ich przedstawiania*, in: *Ludzie – władza – narody – religie: Lubelszczyzna – Polska – Europa*, hrsg. von A. Kidzińska-Król, Lublin 2015, S. 343-353; *Mauritani, id est omne genus Slavorum. Wizja pochodzenia Polaków w „Chronicon Imperatorum et Pontificum Bavaricum“ (XIII w.)*, in: *Scientia nihil est quam veritatis imago. Studia ofiarowane Profesorowi Ryszardowi Szczygłowi w siedemdziesięciolecie urodzin*, hrsg. von A. Sochacka, P. Jusiak, Lublin 2014, S. 1225-1235. Dieser letzte Entwurf kommt dem hier vorgestellten Inhalt am nächsten. Er ist aber thematisch viel enger gefasst und analysiert die Verbindung der Topik der CIPB mit dem damaligen deutschen Schrifttum nicht.

che dokumentieren, und dort außerdem Ereignisse erwähnt finden, die im 13. Jahrhundert unter Beteiligung schlesischer und großpolnischer Herzöge stattfanden.¹⁰ Aber diese Vermutungen sind wohl allzu übereilt formuliert worden, da sie die Bedeutung und den Charakter des Textes nicht berücksichtigen. Vielleicht verbirgt sich nämlich, auch wenn die Angelegenheit nicht ganz einfach ist, der Schlüssel zur zumindest annähernden Klärung der Entstehungsgeschichte dieses Werkes gerade in der Außergewöhnlichkeit der von seinem anonymen Autor formulierten Erklärungen über die Herkunft der Slawen sowie deren Vergleich mit ausgewählten Inhalten der damaligen deutschen Historiographie.

Die Analyse beginnen wir mit der Besprechung der Andersartigkeit der uns interessierenden Quelle. Der scheinbar bedeutsamste Unterschied zwischen dem CIPB und dem anderen deutschen Schrifttum jener Zeit scheint heute, oberflächlich gesehen, eher belanglos zu sein. Er besteht nämlich darin, dass der Autor dieser Chronik die Slawen nicht zu den Nachkommen Japhets zählte, sondern zu Hams, eines anderen Sohnes Noahs. Aber eigentlich ist das doch eine sehr ernsthafte Sache: In einer Epoche, in welcher die Bibel die Autorität und letzte Instanz für viele Fragen bildete, kam den im CIPB niedergeschriebenen Worten eine enorm wertende Bedeutung zu. Die Szene der sogenannten Trunkenheit Noahs und des Fluches, mit dem der Patriarch, der Vater der Menschheit, die Nachkommenschaft Hams brandmarkte (Gen. 9, 18-29), sie gleichsam zu einer minderwertigeren Existenz verdammt und zu Dienern der Nachkommen Sems und Japhets bestimmt haben soll, war ja damals allgemein bekannt und wurde oft kommentiert.¹¹ Mit der erwähnten Notiz verband der Autor des CIPB aber auch noch andere Diskurse über die Natur und Geschichte der Slawen, die der damaligen deutschen Historiographie kaum bekannt waren: nämlich über deren angebliche Herkunft aus Afrika (was irgendwie mit ihrer Abstammung von den Nachkommen Hams in Zusammenhang gebracht wurde), aber auch mit der Nachricht von der Vertreibung der Slawen aus Pannonien durch die Römer und von ihrer anschließenden Besetzung eines Teils des antiken Germaniens.

¹⁰ G. Waitz schrieb in der Einführung zum CIPB: *Auctor quisquis fuerit in Bavaria prope fines Bohemiae vixisse videtur, Slavus fortasse natu, quippe qui huius gentis origines summo prosequatur studio*. Jedoch bedeutet die Tatsache, dass er über die Anfänge der Slawen berichtete, noch keineswegs, dass der Autor ein Slawe war, denn am wichtigsten war schließlich, auf welche Weise er die Slawen beschrieb, und nicht dass er überhaupt überschrieb. Siehe auch: G. Waitz, *Über kleine Chroniken des XIII. Jahrhunderts*, „Neues Archiv der Gesellschaft für ältere deutsche Geschichtskunde“ III (1978), S. 49-76, hier S. 58-63.

¹¹ Siehe z.B.: N. Oyugi Odhiambo, *Ham's Sin and Noah's Curse and Blessing Utterances*, Bloomington 2014; zur Frage rassistischer Begründungen des „Noah-Fluches“ siehe D.M. Goldenberg, *The Curse of Ham: Race and Slavery in Early Judaism, Christianity, and Islam*, Princeton 2003.

Dieses zuletzt genannte Motiv trat auch woanders in Erscheinung, jedoch nicht allzu oft und auch nicht in Form einer ausgebauten Geschichte mit besonderer Bedeutung.

Ehe wir uns den oben dargelegten Fragen detaillierter widmen, muss geklärt werden wie diese slawischen Motive im Bereich des gesamten Werks zu verorten sind, weil das für das Verständnis der hier zu besprechenden Probleme keineswegs unbedeutend ist. Der Text, das Objekt unseres Interesses, ist wenig erforscht. Es gibt keinen Autograph und wir wissen nicht ansatzweise, welche Form er gehabt haben kann. Erhalten geblieben ist lediglich eine späte Abschrift der Chronik in einem Codex aus dem 15. Jahrhundert.¹² Das zeugt davon, dass der Text wenig Verbreitung fand und demzufolge auch nur geringen „sozialen Einfluss“ entfaltete. Wir wissen also nicht, wie der Prototyp des Texts aussah. Man kann daher durchaus berechtigt fragen, ob das Werk in der Form, über die wir verfügen, nicht in Partien von mehreren Personen zu verschiedenen Zeiten niedergeschrieben wurde. Nur die einführenden Teile, in denen sich die uns interessierenden Inhalte befinden, scheinen homogen zu sein; was natürlich nicht bedeutet, dass sie nicht eine Kompilation älterer Inhalte bilden könnten, die manchmal sogar inkohärent sind. Aber die dann folgenden Partien des Textes, die das 13. Jahrhundert betreffen, unterscheiden sich deutlich vom Rest, denn sie enthalten verhältnismäßig umfangreiche, gleichsam laufend in den alten Text eingefügte annalenartige Eintragungen. Diese dürfen uns hier auch weniger interessieren, weil sie ein komplett anderes Problem betreffen. Betrachten wir daher den einführenden Teil des uns interessierenden Textes.

Ganz zu Beginn des Werkes berichtet der Autor, was uns nicht sonderlich überraschen muss, denn es handelt sich ja um eine „Weltchronik“, von Adam, dem ersten Menschen, der in Damaskus gelebt haben soll. Die Phrase bricht jedoch unvermittelt ab – als ob der Autor hier noch etwas hatte einfügen wollen, dies dann aber später nicht mehr getan hat. Erst nach einem thematischen Intermezzo teilt unser Autor/Kompilator, den alten Schemata der antiken Geographie gemäß, die ihm bekannte Welt in drei Teile ein: in Afrika, Asien und Europa.¹³ Ähnlich wie für viele seiner Zeitgenossen diente auch für ihn die Zahl der drei Söhne Noahs als Grundlage zur Einteilung der

¹² Universitätsbibliothek Leipzig (Sign. Ms 1308); siehe auch: M. Wejwoda, *Dietrich von Bocksdorf und seine Bücher: Rekonstruktion, Entwicklung und inhaltliche Schwerpunkte einer spätmittelalterlichen Gelehrtenbibliothek*, Leipzig 2014, S. 130-132.

¹³ Dieses Schema propagierte Isidor von Sevilla (6.-7. Jahrhundert n.Chr.) in seinem Werk *Etymologie*, das eine Art Enzyklopädie bildete – der Originaltext ist online hier zugänglich: *Isidori Hispalensis episcopi Etymologiarum sive Originum libri XX*, http://penelope.uchicago.edu/Thayer/L/Roman/Texts/Isidore/9*.html (Zugang 27. Januar 2018); siehe auch A. Merrils, *Geography and Memory in Isidore's „Etymologies“*, in: *Mapping Medieval Geographies*, hrsg. von K.D. Lilley, Cambridge 2013, S. 45-64.

Ökumene. Dabei verband er, anhand einer recht knappen Argumentation, die Motivfäden der drei Söhne Noahs und die sich daraus ergebenden Geschichte ihrer Nachkommenschaft mit der Tradition vom Turmbau zu Babel und der göttlichen Intervention, die zur Entstehung der Sprachenvielfalt führte. Somit sollten sich die von Sem ableitenden Stämme in Asien niedergelassen und dessen Raum vom Euphrat bis zum Nordrand dieses Kontinents eingenommen haben, während Hams Nachkommen ursprünglich Afrika und den Nahen Osten bewohnten. Daher würde die Grenze zwischen Afrika und Europa unserem Autor zufolge entlang der kilikischen Berge (Taurus- und Amanosgebirge) verlaufen und noch Syrien für den afrikanischen Teil umfassen, aber nicht mehr Kleinasien, das zu Europa gehören sollte. Den Nachkommen Japhets sei Mittel- und Westasien sowie ganz Europa zugeteilt worden, das heißt die Gebiete nördlich von den in der Vergangenheit von „Hamiten“ bewohnten Regionen.¹⁴

Auch wenn das im besprochenen Text enthaltene Schema der Verteilung der Völker in einigen Details etwas von den populärsten Beschreibungen dieser Art abweicht, ist es für die mittelalterliche europäische Geographie doch recht typisch.¹⁵ Ein Unterschied zu dem, was andere damalige Autoren, die sich mit diesem Thema befassten, über die Genese der Völker schrieben,¹⁶ wird jedoch deutlich in der Bezeichnung von einzelnen Bestandteilen der Ökumene und der Genese der einzelnen Völker. Natürlich verwundert die Tatsache nicht weiter, dass unser Autor die Chaldäer und die Hebräer zu dem Semiten zählt sowie dass die Alemannen und Gallier zu den Japhetiten gehören sollten. Bezeichnend und seltsam zugleich ist allerdings, dass er außer den afrikanischen Völkern auch die „Ruthenen und Slawen“ zu den Hamiten zählt.¹⁷

Diese Information ist für den hiesigen Ansatz sehr bedeutsam, weil sie mit einer eindeutigen Wertung der Slawen verbunden ist. In der Vergangenheit war man nämlich der Meinung, die Einteilung der Menschheit in drei große Gruppen würde nicht nur mit einer spezifisch verstandenen „Genetik“ zusammenhängen, sondern auch, dass daraus bestimmte Eigenschaften der

¹⁴ Hier erkennt man Einflüsse von Josephus Flavius (die vielleicht durch Vermittlung Isidors von Sevilla übernommen wurden, der ebenfalls das Werk dieses jüdischen Historikers benutzt hat, siehe Josephus Flavius, *Jüdische Altertümer*, hrsg. von H. Clementz, Halle 1900, S. 34-37 (1, 6).

¹⁵ A.D. van den Brincken, *Das geographische Weltbild um 1300*, Berlin 1989, S. 9-32; H. Klein-schmidt, *Understanding the Middle Ages. The Transformation of Ideas and Attitudes in the Medieval World*, Woodbridge 2000, S. 46ff.

¹⁶ In Bezug auf das in Polen entstandene oder mit Polen verbundene Quellenmaterial siehe K. Pieradzka, *Genealogia biblijna i rodowód Słowian w pierwszej księdze „Annales“ Jana Długosza*, „Nasza Przyszłość. Studia z Dziejów Kościoła i Kultury Katolickiej w Polsce“ (1958), S. 83-116.

¹⁷ CIPB, S. 221.

einzelnen Völker resultierten, die obendrein nicht nur „angeboren“, sondern sakral sanktioniert seien.¹⁸

Die angesprochene Verschiedenheit der drei Menschheitsgruppen wurde von unserem Autor zusätzlich noch auf andere Weise unterstrichen. Der Autor des CIPB bemerkt nämlich bereits in den ersten Versen seines Textes, die Sprache der Semiten sei rau, weil ihre Klänge im hinteren Teil des Gaumens entstehen würden, während die Japhetiten zur Klangbildung ihrer Sprache angeblich die Zähne benutzten. Dahingegen würden sich die Worte der Hamiten angeblich auf vom Gaumen erzeugte Klänge begründen.¹⁹ Für ein tieferes Verständnis der zitierten Worte wären breitere Untersuchungen über die damals verwendete Phraseologie und eine nähere Betrachtung der damals benutzen symbolischen Vergleiche erforderlich – dafür bleibt in der vorliegenden Skizze jedoch kein Raum, denn das ist bereits ein anderes Thema. Aber schon die Tatsache, dass die oben zitierte Äußerung in einem höchst offensichtlichen Kontext der intellektuellen Kultur der Zeit und des Ortes der Entstehung des uns interessierenden Werkes hineingestellt wurde, erlaubt uns festzustellen, dass sich der Autor, indem er sich von den Böhmen, Polen und Ruthenen distanzierte, diese in gewissem Sinne als sich und den anderen Europäern gegenüber „rassisch“ fremde Menschen ansah.²⁰ Es geht dabei aber nicht nur um die Betonung, dass sich die Slawen körperlich von den Japhetiten unterschieden, welche der Autor ja als die angeblich ursprünglichen und gleichsam „eingeborenen“ Bewohner Europas ansah, sondern dass

18 Nicht zufällig beziehen sich die grundlegenden lateinischen Bezeichnungen der Nation (und die nichtlateinischen übrigens auch) wie *gens* oder *natio* auf die „Geburt“, siehe B. Zien-tara, *Populus – gens – natio. Z zagadnień wczesnośredniowiecznej terminologii antycznej*, in: *Cultus et cognitio. Studia z dziejów średniowiecznej kultury*, hrsg. von S.K. Kuczyński u.a., Warszawa 1976, S. 673-682.

19 CIPB, s. 221: *fili Sem loquuntur in gutture [...] filii Cham in palato, ut Rutheni et Slavi, filii Iaphet ad dentes verba promunt et premunt ut Allemanni et Galli*.

20 Die Möglichkeit sprachlicher Verständigung galt früher bis zu einem gewissen Grade sogar als ein Maßstab des Menschseins überhaupt, siehe A.F. Grabski, *Polska w opiniach...*, S. 36-37, natürlich wird die Frage der „Rasse“ hier rein konventionell verstanden; mehr zu dieser Frage: R. Hoffmann, *Outsiders by Birth and Blood: Racist Ideologies on Peripheries of Medieval Europe*, „Studies in Medieval and Renaissance History“ VI (1983), S. 1-34; Th. Hahn, *The Difference the Middle Ages Makes: Color and Race before the Modern World*, „Journal of Medieval and Early Modern Studies“ XXXI (2001) 1, S. 1-37; G.M. Fredrickson, *Racism. A Short History*, Princeton 2002; jedoch wurde das Problem des Auftretens quasi-rassistischer Ansichten in Bezug auf die Slawen (und mit der Zeit auf die verschiedenen europäischen Völker gegenseitig) dort überhaupt nicht wahrgenommen – L.A. Tyszkiewicz, *Słowianie w historiografii antycznej do połowy XI wieku*, Wrocław 1990, und idem, *Słowianie w historiografii wczesnego średniowiecza od połowy VI do połowy VII wieku*, Wrocław 1994, sowie idem, *Wschodni sąsiedzi Niemiec w historiografii końca X i początków XI stulecia*, „Śląski Kwartalnik Historyczny. Sobótka“ XXXVII (1982), S. 1-12; und vgl.: L. Wolff, *Inventing Eastern Europe. The Map of Civilization on the Mind of Enlightenment*, Stanford 1994.

die Slawen darüber hinaus von Grund auf minderwertigere Menschen sein sollten. Die in seinem Werk präsentierte Klassifizierung bedeutete darüber hinaus eine damals für jeden Leser offensichtliche – stark in der biblischen Tradition verwurzelte²¹ – niedrige Beurteilung des kulturell-zivilisatorischen Wertes der Slawen. Bestens bekannt ist schließlich die traditionell abwertende Haltung der mittelalterlichen Autoren nicht nur Ham selbst gegenüber, sondern auch gegenüber seinen angeblichen Nachkommen, was schon in der damaligen Zeit oft mit einem quasi-rassistischen Herangehen an die Bewohner Afrikas verbunden war.²²

Unter den in traditionellen Gemeinschaften lebenden Menschen herrschte generell die Überzeugung vor, dass alle ihre Mitglieder gemeinsame Vorfahren hätten und daher – wie man es formulierte – „eines Blutes“ seien. Wie wir bereits oben anmerkten, verband sich diese Ansicht darüber hinaus mit der sie zusätzlich sakral legitimierenden Überlieferung der Bibel, die alle Menschen von den drei Söhnen Noahs ableitete.²³ Übrigens wurden die einzelnen Mitglieder der Gemeinschaft auch unabhängig vom Christentum, d.h. auf der Basis eigener mythologischer Stammestraditionen als miteinander verwandt und von einem gemeinsamen Vorfahren abstammend angesehen.²⁴ Diese Verwandtschaft sollte gemeinsame körperliche und psychische Eigenschaften der Mitglieder dieser Gemeinschaften unterstreichen. Man glaubte, die Eltern würden mit ihrem „Blut“ den Kindern auch Charaktereigenschaften sowie psychische und sogar soziale Veranlagungen vererben. Weil man davon ausging, dass die Stammes- und politischen Gemeinschaften gleichsam eine große Familie bildeten, wurden Theorien über angeblich „genetisch“ gute und schlechte Menschen geschaffen, wobei viele meinten, die diesen Gemeinschaften zugeschriebenen Eigenschaften seien beständig und unveränderlich, da die Menschen „sie im Blut haben,“²⁵ es sei denn, sie vermischten sich mit anderen Völkern, die ihnen dann neue Eigenschaften verleihen könnten.

²¹ Was auch in der Neuzeit Konsequenzen hat – S. Haynes, *Noah's Curse. The Biblical Justification of American Slavery*, Oxford 2002.

²² D.M. Goldenberg, *The Curse of Ham...*, S. 183ff.

²³ Die Vielfalt der Motive des Turmbaus zu Babel im mittelalterlichen Schrifttum sammelte A. Borst, *Der Turmbau von Babel. Geschichte der Meinungen über Ursprung und Vielfalt der Sprachen und Völker*, Stuttgart 1957-1963: I: *Fundamente und Aufbau*, 1957; II, 1-2: *Ausbau*, 1958-1959; III, 1-2: *Umbau*, 1960-1961; IV: *Schlüsse und Übersichten*, 1963.

²⁴ E. Meletinsky, *Poetics of Myth*, New York 2013, S. 163-176.

²⁵ Als Beispiel mögen die im Hochmittelalter und in der Neuzeit sehr modernen Tabellen mit Zusammenstellungen der Eigenschaften bestimmter Nationen (Völker) dienen, siehe H. Orłowski, *Die Lesbarkeit von Stereotypen. Ein Plädoyer*, in: *Frühneuzeitliche Stereotype. Zur Produktivität und Restriktivität sozialer Vostellungsmuster*, hrsg. von M. Czarnecka, T. Jabłocki, Th. Borgstedt, Bern-Berlin-Bruxelles 2010, S. 15-27; siehe auch (besonders hinsichtlich des Mittelalters die Übersicht und Analyse der Bedeutungen von Begriffen): B. Zientara, *Populus – gens – natio...*, S. 673-682.

Dazu wäre zu bemerken, dass im 13. Jahrhundert, d.h. nach der Epoche der Kreuzzüge, in Europa durchaus bekannt war, dass die Mauren Mauretania sind, die Äthiopier eine dunkle Hautfarbe haben bzw. „schwarz“ sind.²⁶ Schließlich kennen wir zahlreiche damalig künstlerische Darstellungen, in denen die rassischen Unterschiede der Afrikaner untereinander unterstrichen werden.²⁷ Daher könnte man die These aufstellen, dass es sich bei der erwähnten Bemerkung des Autors des CIPB um keinen sachlichen, auf irgendwelche Überlegungen gestützten Kommentar handelte, sondern eher um eine Art Invektive, die seinen Widerwillen gegen die Slawen manifestierte. Auf eine solche Interpretation der erwähnten Quelle würde auch unser Wissen von der niedrigen Wertschätzung der sogenannten Hamiten in der damaligen Literatur insgesamt verweisen.

Es gibt noch ein weiteres Motiv, das mit dem oben angeführten Argumenten korrespondiert. Dem hier zitierten Autor zufolge sollen die von Ham und aus seiner angeblich afrikanischen Heimat abstammenden Menschen andere brutal angegriffen und aus den ihnen gehörenden (weil ja durch göttliches Urteil ihnen zugeteilten) Gebieten verdrängt haben: also die Nachkommen Sems aus einem Teil der Regionen Asiens und insbesondere die von Japhet abstammenden Menschen aus weiten Gebieten Ost- und Mitteleuropas. Und eben für diesen letzten Fall hatte der Chronist konkret die Slawen vor Augen (und die Ruthenen, die jedoch wohl als ein nichtslawisches Volk angesehen wurden), welche die ursprünglich germanischen Territorien Mittel- und Osteuropas „unrechtmäßig“ besetzt haben sollten.

Eine längere Phrase ist hierbei besonders interessant, weil sie einiges über das spezifisch geographische und historische Wissen des hier besprochenen Autors verrät – daher wollen wir diese näher betrachten. Als Beginn der hier zu besprechenden Phrase fungiert die Entfaltung des biblischen Schemas:

[Die Söhne Japhets – d.h. hauptsächlich die Germanen – sollten bewohnen] in Europa den ganzen Raum von dem Fluss, den sie Dnjepr nennen [oder] den sie den Fluss der Vandalen nennen, der durch Kiew fließt, bis hin zur Donau und Weichsel. Weil die Söhne Japhets, die im mittleren Asien bis nach Kiew lebten, [in einem Land] genannt Oberes Ruthenien, die Tyrannei der Söhne Hams nicht ertragen wollten, be-

²⁶ Zum Beispiel wurde der hl. Mauritius um das Jahr 1250 im Dom zu Magdeburg als „Schwarzer“ dargestellt, siehe auch: M. Zufferey, *Der Mauritiuskult im Früh- und Hochmittelalter*, „Historisches Jahrbuch“ CVI (1986), S. 23-58; abgesehen vom hl. Mauritius verhielt man sich sogenannten „Äthiopiern“ gegenüber zumindest misstrauisch: D.H. Strickland, *Saracens, Demons, Jews. Making Monsters in Medieval Art*, Princeton-Oxford 2003, S. 79-87.

²⁷ Es kam allerdings vor, dass der hl. Mauritius (ein Afrikaner) als Mensch mit weißer Haut dargestellt wurde, ähnlich wie auch alle drei heiligen Könige eine weiße Hautfarbe hatten, obwohl deren symbolische Bedeutung doch gerade im Repräsentieren der gesamten Ökumene, also auch Afrikas, gesehen wurde.

gaben sie sich daher zu Schiff zu den westlichen Inseln und siedelten sich dort an, und zwar in Schottland, Britannien, Island, Friesland und in Schweden.²⁸

Die Tyrannei, Brutalität und wilde Kampfeslust war im Verständnis des bayerischen Anonymus den „Europäern“ also derart unangenehm, dass sie den slawischen Völkern „das Gebiet von Ruthenien bis an den Rhein“ (sic!) überließen, aber jene hörten dennoch nicht auf, sich auszubreiten und die rechtmäßigen Bewohner aus den ihnen gehörenden Gebieten zu verdrängen.²⁹

Der besprochene Text des Anonymus gehört zu den sogenannten Weltchroniken und bildet eine Kompilation verschiedenster Werke, auch antiker, so dass nach der Beschreibung der Verteilung der Völker im Universums in diesem Werk auch – wie es scheint – recht zufällig zusammengestellte, aus anderen Texten abgeschriebene Fragmente der antiken und der frühmittelalterlichen Geschichte angeführt wurden. Dieser Umstand bewirkt, dass die Narration unseres Anonymus im Falle der Schilderung der Genese und Verbreitung der Slawen etwas inkohärent in seiner Logik ist – ein Phänomen, welches übrigens sogar in homogenen Erzählungen mit mythologischem Charakter der Fall ist.³⁰

Im zitierten Werk wird also zuerst von der Verdrängung der Japhetiten durch slawische „Ham“-Völker aus Mitteleuropa berichtet, während derselbe Autor später – in der Sequenz über die römische Geschichte – wieder zu den Slawen zurückkehrt. Diesmal jedoch informiert er die Leser darüber, dass es Justinian war, der angeblich gegen dieses Volk zog und es besiegte sowie aus seiner Heimat vertrieb, die sich damals in Pannonien befunden haben soll.³¹ Die von Justinian besiegten Slawen seien den Norden geflohen und dort auf

28 CIPB, S. 221: [*Iapheti filii qui habitant*] *In Europa omnem terram a flumine quod dicitur Neper, qui dicitur Wandalicus fluuius, quod fluid ante Kywe, usque ad Danubium et Wizlam. Filii autem Iaphet, qui habitant in media Asia et ultra Kywe, que nunc dicitur superior Ruzia, tirannidem filiorum Cham sustinere nolentes, navigio ad inferiores occidentis insulas venerunt et eas possederunt, videlicet Hiberniam, Britanniam, Hislandiam, Frisiam et Sueciam.*

29 CIPB, S. 221: *Scлавis locum dando a Ruzia usque ad Renum, possesse sunt, sed iterato confortati minorem et majorem Cyciam possederunt et adhuc ad pristinos limites possessionis sue contra orientem se extendere et dilitare et Slavos subprimere non obmittunt [...].*

30 Die ihre eigene, spezifische Logik besitzen, mit einer Struktur, die oft der Kohärenz der Überlieferung zuwider aufgebaut ist. Der Satz über die slawische Expansion bis zum Rhein entspricht dem imaginären Lechit-Imperium des polnischen Chronisten Wincenty Kadłubek (12/13. Jahrhunderts) – *Die Chronik der Polen des Magisters Vincentius*, hrsg. von E. Muhle, Darmstadt 2014; Anscheinend hat der Anonyme den Text des Krakauer Bischofs-Chronisten gekannt.

31 Der Gedanke, dass die Slawen aus Pannonien verdrängt wurden und sich über Europa ausbreiteten, ist aus mehreren Überlieferungen bekannt, siehe die ruthenische *Erzählung der vergangenen Jahre* – *Die Nestorchronik*, hrsg. von L. Müller, München 2001, S. 6. Unlängst wurde die Ethnogenese der Slawen in einer neuen Konzeption untersucht von F. Curta, *The Making of the Slavs*, Cambridge 2001.

die „Felder Germaniens“ gestoßen, die nach der Ausrottung eines Teils der Germanen und der Verjagung der Reste durch die Hunnen menschenleer geblieben waren. Der erwähnte Autor präzisiert dabei die Lage jener „Felder“ und schreibt, diese würden das Gebiet „von den Saale bis zur Weichsel“ einnehmen, die unser Autor als „Fluss der Vandalen“ bezeichnet.³² Derjenige Teil der Slawen, der diese Gebiete einnahm, soll begonnen haben, sich eben von diesen Feldern (pol. *pole* = Feld) her als Polanen (d.h. Polen) zu bezeichnen. In derselben Zeit soll ein anderer „Slawe und Böhme“ mit seinen Leuten, ähnlich wie gleichzeitig die Polen, vor Justinian aus Ungarn abgezogen und ins „Tal Germaniens“ (Böhmen) gelangt sein, das ebenfalls früher von den Hunnen entvölkert worden war, und dieses besetzt haben.³³

Auf diese Weise beschließt der Autor des CIPB seine Narration, die er der spezifisch verstandenen Ethnogenese der Slawen widmet – wie wir heute sagen würden. Doch im weiteren Verlauf finden sich in seinem Text, wie bereits erwähnt, Informationen über die mitteleuropäischen slawischen Länder Böhmen, Schlesien und Polen. Dort besitzen sie dann allerdings schon einen anderen Charakter und Informationswert als die älteren Partien des Textes und haben für uns eigentlich keine größere Bedeutung mehr. Deshalb ist es nicht notwendig, diese hier zu analysieren.

Wenn wir daher zur Besprechung der Bedeutung des Motivs der im CIPB enthaltenen slawischen Ethnogenese zurückkehren, bemerken wir, dass die spezifische Auslegung von der hamitischen Herkunft der Slawen – wie es scheint – überhaupt nicht in der Tradition des deutschen Schrifttums steht, auch nicht des europäischen – falls dieses Motiv dort überhaupt vorkommt (in den sogenannten Chorographien). Zur Veranschaulichung wollen wir einige derartige Texte anführen. In der seit dem Hochmittelalter sehr populären und oft kopierten (es gibt heute etwa 50 Abschriftenexemplare) österreichischen *Chronik von den 95 Herrschaften*,³⁴ einer Kompilation aus verschiedenen Quellen

32 Aber er identifiziert den Namen Vandalen nicht mit den Polen, wie dies im Mittelalter oft der Fall war – zur Frage dieses Namens siehe: R. Steinacher, *Wenden, Slawen, Vandalen. Eine frühmittelalterliche pseudologische Gleichsetzung und ihre Nachwirkung*, in: *Die Suche nach den Ursprüngen. Von der Bedeutung des frühen Mittelalters*, hrsg. von W. Pohl, Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften Philosophisch-Historische Klasse: Denkschriften, CCCXXII: Forschungen zur Geschichte des Mittelalters, VIII, Wien 2004, S. 329-353.

33 CIPB, S. 223: *Deinde Iustinianus, contra Slavos pergens, multos es eis peremit. Tunc a facie eius fugientes, quidam eorum venerunt ad campos Germanie, quos, occisis et fugatis ab Hunonibus Germanis, vacantes usque in Salam repperunt a Wizla, qui Wandalicus amnis dicebatur propter terminos, et eos possidentes, ydyomate suo ab eis se Polonos, id est a campis campestres, appellaverunt. Tunc etiam Bohem Slavus similiter ut Poloni de Ungaria cum omni cognatione sua fugiens, vallem Germanie intravit et cede Hunorum depopulatum possedit et nomen suum posteritati sue et valli reliquit.*

34 *Österreichische Chronik von den 95 Herrschaften*, hrsg. von J. Seemüller, MGH Deutsche Chroniken, VI, Hannover 1909, S. 1-224.

(aus Werken Ottos von Freising, Martinus Polonus / Martin von Tropau, und anderen), wird die Geschichte der Welt von Anbeginn bis zur Gegenwart des Autors geschildert.³⁵ Der Text wurde von einem anonymen Autor im ausgehenden 14. Jahrhundert in deutscher Sprache in Prosa verfasst. Manchmal wird der Wiener Leopold Stainreuter (ca. 1340-1400) als Autor genannt, aber das ist nicht gesichert. Dieses Werk skizziert die angeblichen Verbindungen der Erben des österreichischen Thrones mit dem biblischen Noah. Auch wird, was in dieser Situation ganz natürlich ist, die Genealogie der Völker in der dem Autor bekannten Ökumene abgeleitet. Zu den von Japhet-stämmigen Völkern bewohnten europäischen Ländern gehören: *Polan*, *Pehaim* (Böhmen – Tschechien), *Ungerland* (Ungarn).³⁶

Ähnlich sah dies auch der anonyme Autor der schwäbischen Fortsetzung der *Kaiserchronik* (ausgehendes 13. Jahrhundert), in der er die romanische (*welsch*), deutsche (*tiutsch*) und slawische Sprache (*wint*) in einer Gruppe anordnete.³⁷ Der ungefähr zur gleichen Zeit lebende Jans Enikel (ein Wiener Literat und Patrizier), der die 12 „christlichen“ europäischen Sprachen von den 72 Erbauern des Turms zu Babel ableitete, setzte die romanische (*walsch*), slawische (*windisch*) und deutsche Sprache (*diutsch*)³⁸ nebeneinander.

Der Unterschied des CIPB gegenüber dem gesamten Rest der mittelalterlichen deutschen Literatur hinsichtlich der Frage zur Genese der Slawen bedeutet jedoch nicht, dass dieses Werk keinerlei Verbindungen mit einer Tradition besaß. Wir finden die Wurzeln der wichtigsten Thesen zur Genese der Slawen, wie sie vom anonymen Autor entfaltet werden, mühelos in einem Teil des deutschen Schrifttums des Mittelalters wieder, das – was hier hervorgehoben werden muss – stark in der westeuropäischen literarischen Tradition antiker Herkunft verwurzelt ist.

Das Thema ist sehr umfangreich, und hier können nicht alle Nuancen vorgestellt werden. Daher wollen wir uns lediglich darauf konzentrieren, die wichtigsten Merkmale des Problems zu skizzieren, zu denen drei Dinge gehören: (1) die Frage der Abstammung der Slawen aus Afrika, dann (2) die ihrer Besetzung früher germanischer Gebiete in Ostmitteleuropa und schließlich (3) die Frage der slawischen Barbarei als Folge der Herkunft dieses Volkes.

Der literarischen Tradition Europas am fremdesten, erscheint der Gedanke, die Slawen zu den hamitischen Völkern und ursprünglichen Bewohnern

³⁵ Mehr zu dieser Chronik: http://www.geschichtsquellen.de/repOpus_01146.html (Zugang 9. Februar 2018).

³⁶ *Österreichische Chronik von den 95 Herrschaften*, S. 8.

³⁷ *Kaiserchronik – zweite schwäbische Fortsetzung*, hrsg. von E. Schröder, MGH Scriptorum qui vernacula lingua usi sunt, I, 1, Berlin 1964, S. 411f., vv. 21, 136.

³⁸ Der Text der Chronik online – Jans /der/ Enikel, *Weltchronik*: <http://www.dunphy.de/ac/je/wch1.htm>, vv. 27400, 27409, 27419 (Zugang 9. Februar 2018).

Afrikas zu zählen. Aber wenn wir weiter über dieses Problem nachdenken, dann bemerken wir zweifellos eine Verbindung dieser Konzeption mit einem intellektuellen Phänomen, welches in den östlichen Gebieten des karolingischen Staates geboren wurde und später in Deutschland und Ostmitteleuropa übernommen wurde. Wie erkennen nämlich, dass *Wenden*, *Winiden* und ähnliche Begriffe die ältesten auf deutschsprachigem Gebiet feststellbaren deutschen Bezeichnungen für Slawen bilden.³⁹ Es gibt dahingehend im Allgemeinen vielerlei Beispiele, die zeigen, wie im Mittelalter ähnlich klingende Namen miteinander verbunden und einander gleichgesetzt wurden. Im Falle des altdeutschen Begriffs *Wenden*, *Winiden* bildete die damit verbundene Bezeichnung den Namen des germanischen Volkes der Vandalen, das im 5. Jahrhundert n.Chr. die Römer in Unruhe versetzte und durch die westlichen, europäischen Gebiete des Imperiums zog, um sich schließlich in Afrika niederzulassen und dort eine Herrschaft zu begründen, von dessen Territorium aus es dann auch vernichtende Kriegszüge nach Italien unternahm.

Dass die Slawen als Vandalen bezeichnet wurden, war in den deutschen Gebieten bereits in der Zeit des frühen Mittelalters bekannt. Gegen Ende des 10. Jahrhunderts entstand ein Text, in welchem der polnische Herrscher Mieszko I. als „ein Fürst der Vandalen“ bezeichnet wurde.⁴⁰ Da dieses Phänomen gut bekannt ist und oft beschrieben wurde, ist es nicht notwendig, die in der wissenschaftlichen Literatur schon seit langem anerkannten Inhalte hier zu wiederholen.⁴¹ Aber wie mir scheint, wurde dieses Phänomen – außer im hier bemerkten Falle des CIPB – nie mit der Herkunft der Slawen aus Afrika verbunden. Eine vandalische Nomenklatur der Slawen kam im Prinzip nur im gelehrten Schrifttum vor, im Kreis geistlicher Autoren aus dem Domkapitel- oder Klostermilieu. Einen Brauch, den Namen eines antiken germanischen Volkes mit der zeitgenössischen Bezeichnung der Slawen zu verbinden, konnte die zu Beginn des 12. Jahrhunderts entstehende deutschsprachige Epik gar nicht, die sich an weltliche, schwächer oder überhaupt nicht gebildete Kreise richtete und in beträchtlichem Maße auch von Laien geschaffen wurde.⁴²

Die Zugehörigkeit jedoch des Autors des CIPB zu geistlichen Kreisen scheinen mehrere Prämissen zu dokumentieren. Bemerkenswert ist nämlich

³⁹ R. Steinacher, *Wenden, Slawen, Vandalen...*, S. 333; siehe auch: J. Sowa, G. Reisinger, *Das Ethnicon Slawi in den lateinischen Quellen bis zum Jahr 900*, Glossar zur frühmittelalterliche Geschichte im östlichen Europa, VI, Stuttgart 1990, S. 106ff.

⁴⁰ Gerhard von Augsburg, *Vita Sancti Uodalrici. Die älteste Lebensbeschreibung des heiligen Ulrich*, hrsg. von W. Berschin, A. Häse, Heidelberg 1993, S. 380 (II, 22).

⁴¹ J. Sowa, G. Reisinger, *Das Ethnicon Slawi...*, S. 106 und passim, nach dem Verzeichnis.

⁴² O. Ehrisman, *Die Fürsten über Polan. Polen in der deutschen Heldendichtung des Mittelalters*, in: *Deutsche Polenliteratur*, hrsg. von G. Koziółek, Wrocław 1991, S. 33-44; siehe auch: G.T. Gillespie, *A Catalogue of Person Named in German Heroic Literature (700-1600), Including Named Animals and Objects and Ethnic Names*, Oxford 1973.

seine Gelehrsamkeit und seine Fähigkeit, verschiedene Informationen miteinander zu verbinden und auf deren Grundlage neue zu kreieren. Evident konnte er schließlich die im spätrömischen Schrifttum auftretenden Motivfäden, aus denen er dann die These von der afrikanisch-hamitischen Herkunft der Slawen ableitete. Die Außergewöhnlichkeit der These deutet dahin, dass sie durch einen selbständigen, intellektuellen Verarbeitungsprozess des Autors entstand, die wiederum seiner Weltanschauung oder (auch) den aktuellen Bedürfnissen seiner Umgebung entsprach.

Durch genau die gleiche Kreativität zeichnete sich der anonyme Autor des hier besprochenen Textes aus, als er über die Besiedlung „von halb Germanien“ durch die Slawen informierte. Zusätzlich verband er, dank seiner Erfindungsgabe, das ihm bekannte Wissen über die antike Herkunft, aufgrund der damaligen geographischen Terminologie, mit seiner Kenntnis der heimischen Etymologie des ethnischen Namens der Polen.

Das Phänomen, dass ganz Ostmitteleuropa in der mittelalterlichen Literatur bis hin zum Schwarzen Meer als Germanien bezeichnet wurde, ist umfangreich, ziemlich komplex und reich an Bedeutungsnuancen. Bisher gibt es keine adäquate Arbeit zu diesen Fragen.⁴³ Ein derartiger Duktus, der offensichtlich dem antiken römischen Schrifttum entstammt, trat gleichzeitig in der Literatur sowohl der deutschen als auch der slawischen Gebiete in Erscheinung. Aber in den erstgenannten erhielt sie dann oft eine besondere Bedeutung.

Zur Veranschaulichung dieses Problems wollen wir zunächst einen Schaffensausschnitt näher betrachten, das dem Gesamtwerk eines Autors entstammt, der als einer der hervorragendsten Historiographen des Mittelalters gilt: Otto von Freising (gest. 1158). Erwähnungen der Länder und Völker der Slawen finden sich in zwei seiner historiographischen Werke. Ein Fragment seines Textes unterscheidet sich dabei deutlich von allen anderen und erweist sich für die von uns erörterte Thematik als wichtig. Dieser Passus findet sich im Werk *Die Taten Friedrichs (Gesta Friderici)*, das der Bischof von Freising zu schreiben begann, das dann aber von seinem Schüler Rahewin fortgeführt wurde, der es im Auftrag seines Meisters zu Ende brachte.

Eben dieser Rahewin – was für uns ohne größere Bedeutung ist, weil er eh nur ein Epigone seines Meisters war – ist der Autor der Schilderung des Feldzuges von Friedrich Barbarossa gegen Polen, der im Jahre 1157 stattfand.⁴⁴ Dieser Teil des Werkes besitzt als eine der wenigen Erwähnungen Polens oder

⁴³ Dieses Thema wird skizzenhaft behandelt von B. Kürbis, *Kształtowanie się pojęć geograficznych o Słowiańszczyźnie w polskich kronikach przeddługoszkowych*, „*Slavia Antiqua*“ IV (1953), S. 252-282.

⁴⁴ *Otonis et Rahewini Gesta Frederici I. imperatoris*, hrsg. von G. Waitz, B. von Simson, MGH Scriptorum rerum Germanicarum, XLVI, Hannover-Leipzig 1912, S. 167-170 (III, 1-5); zur Beurteilung des Landes und der Menschen siehe: H.-P. Apelt, „*Gesta Friderici I. imperatoris*“. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichtsschreibung des 12. Jahrhunderts, München 1971, S. 32-34.

anderer slawischer Länder überhaupt im gesamten deutschen Schrifttum den Charakter einer geschlossenen und dabei doch recht entwickelten Struktur.⁴⁵ Der Passus beginnt mit einer Schilderung der Lage des Landes, das der nach Ruhm strebende und Gerechtigkeit üben wollende Monarch ansteuerte.⁴⁶ Wichtig für uns ist, dass Rahewin zufolge Polen zwar von Slawen bewohnt war, dieses Land den Beschreibungen der Geographen zufolge jedoch am Rande des Oberen Germaniens lag.⁴⁷

Diese Erwähnung ist von ihrer Genese her nicht mit den später entstandenen Inhalten der Überlieferung des CIPB verbunden, aber doch informieren beide Autoren darüber, dass die Gebiete Ostmitteleuropas im Prinzip das frühere Germanien darstellten, welches schließlich mit ihrer Heimat zu identifizieren sei – mit Deutschland, das jetzt von Slawen bewohnt ist.⁴⁸ Der grundsätzliche Sinnzusammenhang dieser beiden sowie zahlreicher ähnlicher Berichte, in denen über den ursprünglichen nichtslawischen Charakter der ostmitteleuropäischen Gebiete informiert wird, soll hier genügen.

Interessanterweise jedoch kommen derartige Information über den germanischen Charakter der Gebiete zwischen Elbe und Schwarzem Meer in der deutschen Epik im Prinzip gar nicht vor. Diese Autoren verwendeten die Schablonen antiken geographischen Wissens nicht und situierten den Sitz der Slawen daher klar außerhalb Germaniens.⁴⁹ Sie schilderten die Lage der slawischen Gebiete auch dem damaligen Sachverhalt gemäß, d.h. beginnend von der Elbe nach dem Osten hin, wobei sich dieser gewöhnlich in ihnen unbekanntem Räumen verlor. Dabei schrieben sie oft überhaupt nicht von Völkern, sondern von „Sprachen“, wobei dieser Begriff jedoch nicht nur im üblichen und heute bekannten Sinne verstanden wurde, sondern darüber hinaus als ein bestimmtes, dem betreffenden Volk oder der ethnischen Gruppe zugehöriges Gebiet. Nicht ohne Grund schrieb Walther von der Vogelweide

45 Eine in ihrem Charakter ähnliche Narrationsstruktur schuf auch Otto in dem noch von ihm verfassten Teil der „Taten Friedrichs“, als er dem Leser Ungarn präsentieren wollte. In beiden Fällen kam eine für die Scholastik typische Art der Beschreibung zur Anwendung, die auf der Situierung des beschriebenen Objekts (Landes) im Raum, auf seiner allgemeinen Charakteristik und danach auf der Spezifizierung typischer Eigenschaften beruhte.

46 S. Bagge, *Ideas and Narratives in Otto of Freising's „Gesta Frederici“*, „Journal of Medieval History“ XXII (1996), S. 345-377, hier S. 350f.

47 Zu einer solchen Art der Erfassung Mitteleuropas siehe z.B. A.F. Grabski, *Polska w opiniach...*, S. 85f.

48 *Ottonis et Rahewini Gesta Frederici I.*, S. 167.

49 Aber ein derartiges, praktisches Verständnis des Begriffs Germanien kam auch in Arbeiten gelehrten Charakters vor – siehe zum Beispiel das Werk *Imago mundi* von Honorius Augustodunensis, eines in Augsburg wirkenden und dort nach 1215 verstorbenen Autors, in welchem von zwei Germanien die Rede ist: einem inneren, in den Gebieten vom Rhein bis zur Elbe gelegenen, und einem äußeren, das sich mehr oder weniger mit Skandinavien deckte – *Honorii Imago mundi*, hrsg. von R. Wilmans, MGH Scriptores, X, Hannover 1852, S. 132-134.

(gest. um 1230), seine Heimat erstreckte sich von der Elbe bis zum Rhein, wobei er vor allem das Gebiet der Verbreitung der deutschen Sprache im Sinn hatte.⁵⁰

Zu klären bleibt noch, wie sich in der mittelalterlichen deutschen Literatur die vom Autor des CIPB vertretenen Ansichten vom barbarischen Charakter der Slawen verfestigte, die ein minderwertiges und den rechtmäßigen Bewohnern Europas fremdes Volk sein sollten. Auch in diesem Falle ist das Problem, das nicht etwa nur auf das mittelalterliche Deutschland beschränkt bleibt, wieder außerordentlich weitreichend und wir können lediglich Beispiele seines Vorkommens aufzeigen.

Beginnen wir mit einer skizzenhaften Darstellung der wohl drastischsten Schilderung slawischer Barbarei, die im mittelalterlichen Schrifttum existierte. Im Jahre 1108 wurde in der Kanzlei des Magdeburger Erzbischofs Adalgod eine Art Brief oder Manifest an die Bischöfe und deutschen Herren verfasst, besonders an die nord- und ostdeutschen, in welchem dieser Metropolit zu Kreuzzügen zur Verteidigung der angeblich von heidnischen Ostseeslawen und Lutizen bedrohten Kirche aufrief.⁵¹

Die in diesem Schreiben verwendete Argumentation, welche die Christen zu militärischen Anstrengungen bewegen sollte, enthält interessante topische Formulierungen, welche die Heiden als wahre Barbaren stilisierten.⁵² Bemerkenswert ist bereits zu Beginn des Werkes, dass der Autor die Abtrünnigkeit

⁵⁰ A.F. Grabski, *Polska w opiniach...*, S. 86; siehe auch: B. Zientara, *Populus – gens – natio...*, S. 681f.

⁵¹ *Epistola pro auxilio adversus paganos (slavos)* – es gibt einige Ausgaben, z.B.: *Urkundenbuch des Erzstifts Magdeburg*, hrsg. F. Israel, I, Magdeburg 1937, Nr. 193, S. 251; H. Helbig, L. Weinrich, *Urkunden und erzählende Quellen zur deutschen Ostsiedlung im Mittelalter*, I, Ausgewählte Quellen zur Deutschen Geschichte des Mittelalters, XXVI, 1, Darmstadt 1968, S. 96-103; auch: W. Wattenbach, *Handschriftliches*, „Neues Archiv der Gesellschaft für ältere deutsche Geschichtskunde“ VII (1882), S. 624-626; zu diesem Text gibt es viele Kommentare, siehe z.B.: H. Krabbo, *Eine Schilderung der Elbslawen aus dem Jahre 1108*, in: *Papsttum und Kaisertum. Forschungen zur politischen Geschichte und Geisteskultur des Mittelalters. Paul Kehr zum 65. Geburtstag dargebracht*, hrsg. von A. Brackann, Aalen 1973, S. 250-262; G. Constable, *The Place of the Magdeburg Charter of 1107/08 in the History of Eastern Germany and of the Crusades*, in: *Vita religiosa im Mittelalter. Festschrift für Kaspar Elm zum 70. Geburtstag*, hrsg. von F.J. Felten, N. Jaspert, Berliner historische Studien, XXXI (= Ordensstudien, XIII), Berlin 1999, S. 283-299; G. Constable, *Early Crusading in Eastern Germany: The Magdeburg Charter of 1107/08*, in: idem, *Crusaders and Crusading in the Twelfth Century*, Farnham 2008, S. 197-214.

⁵² Dieses Werk wurde vor allem von historischer Seite untersucht; zu den diese Frage behandelnden wichtigsten Texten können neben den bereits erwähnten noch folgende hinzugefügt werden: H. Beumann, *Kreuzzugsgedanke und Ostpolitik im hohen Mittelalter*, in: *Heidenmission und Kreuzzugsgedanke in der deutschen Ostpolitik des Mittelalters*, Darmstadt 1963, S. 129-135; P. Knoch, *Kreuzzug und Siedlung. Studien zum Aufruf der Magdeburger Kirche von 1108*, „Jahrbuch für die Geschichte Mittel- und Ostdeutschlands“ XXIII (1974), S. 1-33; F. Lotter, *Die Konzeption des Wendenkreuzzugs. Ideengeschichtliche, kirchenrechtliche und historisch-politische Voraussetzungen der Missionierung von Elb- und Ostseeslawen um die Mitte des 12. Jahrhunderts*, Sigmaringen 1977.

der Slawen betont, die schließlich schon in der zweiten Hälfte des 10. Jahrhunderts den Deutschen unterlegen und nominell getauft worden waren.⁵³ Dieser Umstand stürzte die Betroffenen noch mehr ins Unglück, weil sie als eine Gemeinschaft angesehen wurden, die den Christen gründlich und unwiderrufflich feindlich gesinnt war, denn Heiden sind schließlich:

Menschen ohne Mitleid, die uns hart unterdrücken und sich [sogar] ihrer Unmenschlichkeit rühmend, durch den irrigen Kult ihrer Götzen die Kirchen Christi ihrer Heiligkeit beraubten, die Altäre zerstörten, und auch das, wovon die menschliche Seele [überhaupt] zu hören fürchtet, haben sie uns gegenüber ohne [jegliche] Scheu verübt. Sehr oft überfielen sie unser Land, raubten [es] aus, ohne irgendjemanden zu schonen; sie mordeten, zerstörten und quälten [die Menschen] mit raffinierten Foltern, schlugen vielen die Köpfe ab und opferten sie ihren Götzen. Anderen rissen sie die Eingeweide heraus und umwickelten mit ihnen die abgeschnittenen Hände und Füße [der gequälten Menschen] und verspotteten dann unseren Christus. [...]. [Noch] andere brachten sie aufs Schafott, um sie in noch schlimmeren Qualen einen solchen Tod sterben zu lassen, der jämmerlicher war als jeder andere, [denn die Unglückseligen] mussten lebendig zuschauen, wie sie durch Abhacken einzelner Glieder [des Leibes] gequält werden, und am Ende wurden sie nach Aufschneiden des Bauches niederträchtig ausgeweidet. Vielen wurde noch bei lebendigem Leibe die Haut abgezogen, und danach zogen sie [d.h. die Heiden, Anm. des Verf.] sich diese [den getöteten Kriegsgefangenen] vom Kopf gerissenen Häute über, um dann unerkannt und straflos in das Land der Christen eindringen zu können, weil es dann schien, dass sie Christen waren, [und ungehindert] ihre Beute fortzutragen.⁵⁴

Manche wollen in den hier vorgestellten Schilderungen gewisse realistische Elemente entdecken. So wurde zum Beispiel die Information über das Skalpieren von Christen dadurch erklärt, dass die Slawen, die ihre Haare auf charakteristische Weise kurzgeschnitten hielten, sich durch Überstreifen der den Gefangenen heruntergerissenen langen Haare der Deutschen maskieren und auf diese Weise ihre Feinde überlisten wollten.⁵⁵ Da es nur wenige Quellen dazu gibt, ist schwer zu beurteilen, ob es sich im Falle unseres Textes nicht eigentlich doch nur um Reminiszenzen antiker Bräuche handelt,⁵⁶ über die

53 L. Weinrich, *Der Slawenaufstand von 983 in der Darstellung des Bischofs Thietmar von Merseburg*, in: *Historiographia mediaevalis. Studien zur Geschichtsschreibung und Quellenkunde des Mittelalters. Festschrift Franz-Josef Schmale zum 65. Geburtstag*, hrsg. von D. Berg, H.-W. Goetz, Darmstadt 1988, S. 77-102.

54 W. Wattenbach, *Handschriftliches*, S. 625.

55 H. Krabbo, *Eine Schilderung der Elbslawen...*, S. 261f.

56 R. Cowan, *Head-Hunting Roman Cavalry*, „Military Illustrated“ CCLXXIV (2011), S. 32-39; J. Axtell, W. Sturtevant, *The Unkind Cut, or Who Invented Scalping*, „The William and Mary Quarterly“ XXXVII (1980) 3, S. 451-472.

der Autor aus der Lektüre antiker Schriftsteller⁵⁷ oder sogar aus dem Alten Testament (2 Makk 7, 7) informiert war. Unabhängig von der Genese dieser Informationen erfüllte ihr Vorkommen im Text eine bestimmte Funktion – es ging nämlich darum, die Slawen als ein hinterhältiges, arglistiges Volk zu charakterisieren, dem man nicht vertrauen dürfe. Die weiteren Phrasen des Briefes vertiefen diesen Duktus noch, der im Endeffekt aus den Slawen eine Art von „Antigesellschaft“ machte, welche sich diametral von normalen Völkern unterscheidet. Daher lesen wir:

Als es ihren Zauberern gefiel, ein [kultisches] Saufgelage zu veranstalten, riefen sie bei diesem Fest so: „Unser Pripegala will Köpfe, solche Opfer müssen ihm gebracht werden.“ Pripegala ist, wie sie sagen, ein Priapos und ein schamloser Belfegor. Sie schneiden [bei diesem Fest] vor den Altären ihrer Profanation [d.h. ihres Glaubens, der eigentlich eine Profanation ist, Anm. des Verf.] den Christen die Köpfe ab, erheben Kelche voller Menschenblut und schreien mit schrecklicher Stimme: „Ein heiliger Tag der Freude! Christus wurde besiegt! Den Sieg errang unser höchst siegreicher Pripegala!“ Dieses Elend ertragen wir nur mit Seufzen und fürchten [es] unablässig, weil sie sich ständig ausbreiten und ihnen alles glückt.⁵⁸

Nicht zu übersehen sind die Ähnlichkeiten der in den oben zitierten Worten enthaltenen Charakteristik der Slawen mit den vorher analysierten Inhalten des CIPB. Aber es gibt keinerlei Information, dass dieser Appell Adalgods besonders bekannt und verbreitet gewesen wäre. Und es gibt auch keine „buchstäblichen“, ganz konkreten Ähnlichkeiten. Somit scheint es, dass beide Werke in einem bestimmten gemeinsamen intellektuellen Kontext erwachsen sind und dessen extremsten Blütrieb darstellen, denn schließlich gibt es keine deutschen oder europäischen mittelalterlichen Texte, die in Bezug auf die Slawen genauso stark negativ wären. Dazu weiter unten noch mehr.

Zunächst wollen wir noch einen Blick auf den Schluss von Adalgods Brief werfen. Um die Kriegslust anzufachen, berichtete der Verfasser von einem Bündnis christlicher Herrscher und von Vorbereitungen zu einem Feldzug, um dann zum Schluss noch hinzuzufügen:

Diese Heiden sind die schlechtesten [Menschen], aber ihr Land ist das beste [, reich an] Fleisch, Honig, Mehl [...] und Vögeln. Wenn der Boden bestellt wird, dann [liefert er] vollen Reichtum an Erträgen, so sehr, dass kein anderes Land damit verglichen werden kann. Das sagen die, denen das bekannt ist. Warum möchtet ihr Sachsen, Franken, Lothringer, Flamen, die ihr doch überaus ruhmreich und siegreich seid, deshalb

57 Herodot, *Historien* (IV, 64).

58 W. Wattenbach, *Handschriftliches*, S. 625.

nicht eure Seelen erretten und, wenn es euch gefällt, dieses beste Land zur Besiedlung gewinnen?⁵⁹

Wir haben bereits festgestellt, dass der Autor des besprochenen Werkes seine Narration auf eine spezifische Dichotomie gründete: die Welt der Christen wurde direkt mit dem himmlischen Jerusalem, dem Reich Christi, verglichen;⁶⁰ das Gegenteil davon bildete die Welt der Heiden, die das hier allegorisch zitierte Babylon repräsentieren – eine teuflische Gemeinschaft, geradezu die Antithese zum rechtmäßigen, christlichen Jerusalem. Auf eine solche Interpretation der erwähnten Phrasen verweisen auch die Bezüge auf kultische Kelche voller Blut, das während der Trinkgelage genossen wurde, sowie die Bezugnahme auf die Unreinheit Pripegalas, des Gottes der Slawen, womit die sogenannte Hure Babylon assoziiert wird.⁶¹ Aber der Autor dieses Briefes ging über die Welt jüdisch-christlicher Vorstellungen noch hinaus. Die Schilderung der märchenhaften Fruchtbarkeit der slawischen Länder war keineswegs nur eine gewöhnliche Verdrehung der Tatsachen, die bei den Adressaten des Briefes Neid und Eroberungslust wecken sollte. Dies war nämlich eine topische Formulierung, welche die Slawen innerhalb einer Sphäre situierte, die von Religionswissenschaftlern und Erforschern der Geisteswelt der Indoeuropäer als „wanisch“ bezeichnet wird.⁶² Oberflächlich wird die Bezeichnung „wanisch“ gewöhnlich nur als „weiblich“ interpretiert, aber das ist eine grobe Vereinfachung. Teilweise wurde das tatsächlich so verstanden, so dass die „wanischen“ Völker außer einem schönen, fruchtbaren Land, welches reiche Erträge lieferte, auch herrliche Frauen besitzen sollten, die sich darüber hinaus durch eine ungezügelte Sexualität auszeichneten, was natürlich mit der Fruchtbarkeit verbunden war. Daher sollten die Slawen in den topischen Beschreibungen auch immer zahlenmäßig viele sein. Aber eigentlich bedeutete „wanische Weiblichkeit“ keineswegs körperliche Schwäche, eher Wildheit – Barbarei, fehlende Kampfregeln, Anarchismus, Neigung zu Unrecht, Unberechenbarkeit, teuflische List und Grausamkeit

⁵⁹ Ibidem, S. 626.

⁶⁰ R. Konrad, *Das himmlische und das irdische Jerusalem im mittelalterlichen Denken. Mystische Vorstellung und geschichtliche Wirkung*, in: *Speculum historiale. Geschichte im Spiegel von Geschichtsschreibung und Geschichtsdeutung. Festschrift Johannes Spörl*, hrsg. von C. Bauer, L. Boehm, M. Müller, München 1965, S. 523-540.

⁶¹ M. Rissi, *Die Hure Babylon und die Verführung der Heiligen. Eine Studie zur Apokalypse des Johannes*, Stuttgart 1995.

⁶² J. Lindow, *Norse Mythology. A Guide to Gods, Heroes, Rituals, and Beliefs*, Oxford 2002, S. 49-53; S. Arvidsson, *Aryan Idols. Indo-European Mythology as Ideology and Science*, Chicago 2006, S. 221-282; U. Dronke, *The War of the Æsir and Vanir in Völuspá*, in: *Idee-Gestalt-Geschichte. Festschrift Klaus von See. Studien zur europäischen Kulturtradition*, hrsg. von G.W. Weber, Odense 1988, S. 223-238.

und noch weitere Eigenschaften, die als Gegensatz zu der als human angesehenen Zivilisation verstanden wurden.⁶³

All dies können wir in den ausgewählten Formulierungen des Briefes von Erzbischof Adalgod bemerken. Ähnliche Töne finden wir aber auch in der Beschreibung Polens, die durch Rahewin gemacht wurde. Dieser bemerkte nämlich, die Bevölkerung des Landes der Piasten sei aufgrund der naturgegebenen Wildheit dieses Landes und wegen der Nachbarschaft zu Völkern, die von der Zivilisation noch weiter entfernt waren, so wie „das Eisen von verrostetem Eisen rostet“, völlig barbarisch und sehr kampflustig geworden.⁶⁴ Im Norden, am Meer, würden sich – so Rahewin – die Menschen bei Hungersnöten gegenseitig auffressen, und es solle dort so kalt sein, dass man den Boden nicht bestellen konnte, so dass die dortigen Bewohner entweder von der Jagd oder vom Mord lebten. Daher waren alle Bewohner Piraten und überfielen die „Inseln des Ozeans“ (*insula oceani*) sowie Irland, Britannien, Dänemark – obwohl sie doch so weit von diesen Ländern entfernt wohnten. Mit eben dieser ungezügelten Wildheit erklärt Rahewin dann auch die Rebellion zweier Brüder gegen den Ältesten der Geschwister, den Landesherrscher Władysław, den Gatten Agnes von Babenberg und Verwandten des Reichsmonarchen, der wegen der auf ihm lastenden Pflicht, die Prinzipien der Ordnung und Gerechtigkeit aufrechtzuerhalten (deren Garant er ja war), bis in die Randgebiete seines Imperiums ziehen musste, um die Barbaren zu bändigen.⁶⁵

Eigentlich erkennen wir in dem oben zitierten Fragment der „Taten Friedrichs“ eine gewisse Umformung der knapp beschriebenen dichotomen topischen Figur von „Männlichkeit“ (mit der „Vernunft“ der Zivilisation assoziiert) und „Weiblichkeit“ (mit dem Wahnsinn der Barbarei verknüpft)⁶⁶ hin zu dem den antiken Autoren bekannten Schema. Diese verstanden ihren Kulturkreis nämlich als zivilisierten Süden im Gegensatz zum barbarischen Norden.⁶⁷

⁶³ W.R. Jones, *The Image of the Barbarian in Medieval Europe*, „Comparative Studies in Society and History“ XIII (1971) 4, S. 376-40; L. Kaljundi, *Waiting for the Barbarians: Reconstruction of „Otherness“ in the Saxon Missionary and Crusading Chronicles, 11th-13th Centuries*, in: *The Medieval Chronicle V*, hrsg. von E. Kooper, Amsterdam-New York 2008, S. 113-127.

⁶⁴ Ottonis et Rahewini, S. 167 (III, 1); das dort bezeugte Motiv anarchischer Kampflust (und noch andere Eigenschaften) sind mit dem Archetyp des sogenannten barbarischen Nordens verbunden, siehe: D. Fraesdorff, *Der barbarische Norden...*, S. 37ff.; M. Boletsi, *Barbarism and ist Discontents*, Stanford 2013, S. 57-107.

⁶⁵ Ottonis et Rahewini, S. 168 (III, 2); siehe auch: *Das Briefbuch Abt Wibalds von Stablo und Corvey*, hrsg. von M. Hartmann, MGH Briefe der deutschen Kaiserzeit, IX, Hannover 2012, Nr. 451; Ch. Uebach, *Die Ratgeber Friedrich Barbarossas (1152-1167)*, Marburg 2008, S. 54; und: S. Bagge, *Kings, Politics, and the Right Order of the World in German Historiography c. 950-1150*, Leiden 2002, S. 364ff.

⁶⁶ In der nordischen Religion wurde die Sphäre der Zivilisation durch Asen („männliche“ Götter) repräsentiert, dagegen „weibliche“ Götter (Wanen) verkörperten die dunklen Mächte der Natur und Barbarei, siehe J. Lindow, *Norse Mythology...*, S. 49-53.

⁶⁷ D. Fraesdorff, *Der barbarische Norden...*, S. 46-52.

Im europäischen Schrifttum gibt es recht viele Berichte, gleichsam inspiriert von den oben erwähnten topischen Schemata, welche oft in lapidarer Form verwendet wurden und dadurch nur schwerlich eindeutig definiert und von gewöhnlichen Meinungen unterschieden werden können.

Daher scheint es plausibel, dass es sich nur um eine spezifische Phraseologie handelt, welche die in der Chronik Thietmars enthaltenen und gegen Polen gerichteten Formulierungen mit der Topik der „Barbarei“ verbindet. Der Merseburger Bischof schrieb nämlich u.a., dass das Volk, über das Bolesław der Tapfere (Chrobry) herrscht, „wilde Sitten und abstoßende Bräuche“⁶⁸ habe, wobei der Chronist das Verhalten der Untertanen der Piasten mit dem Vieh oder einem „störrischen Esel“ vergleicht. Gleichzeitig lobte er die vom Herrscher angewandten grausamen Strafen bei Verstößen seiner Untertanen gegen die Fastengebote oder gegen die eheliche Treue.⁶⁹ So als wäre er überzeugt, das „wanische“ Volk müsse durch einen „männlichen“ Rechtsherrscher in Zucht gehalten werden, um eine Zivilisation errichten zu können.

Es gibt recht viele vereinzelte und verstreute Erwähnungen deutscher Quellen aus der Zeit des frühen Mittelalters, in denen wir mehr oder weniger scharf formulierte Informationen über die Barbarei von Slawen und auch von Christen finden. Selbst Herzog Bolesław Schiefmund (Krzywousty; gest. 1138) wohlgesonnene Geschichtsschreiber, die seine christlichen Eigenschaften loben, bemerken, dass der in seinem Namen in Pommern wirkende und die dortigen Heiden bekehrende Otto von Bamberg die dortige Sprache „so gründlich [beherrschte...], dass wenn ihn jemand in dieser barbarischen Sprache hätte reden hören, nicht vermuten würde, es mit einem Deutschen zu tun zu haben. Offensichtlich verlieh ihm die göttliche Vorsehung diese Gnade, dass er die Sprache des barbarischen Volkes verstehen und sich ihrer sogar bedienen konnte.“⁷⁰ Hinzuzufügen wäre, dass der Autor dieser Worte jene „barbarische Sprache“ sehr wohl mit der polnischen (slawischen) Sprache assoziierte, denn vorher hatte er ja berichtet, sein Held habe sich mehrere Jahre lang in Polen aufgehalten als Seelsorger der Salierin Judith, der Herrscherin über diese „Barbaren“ als Gattin des Herzogs Władysław Herman.⁷¹

68 Die Chronik des Bischofs Thietmars von Merseburg und ihre Korveier Überarbeitung, hrsg. von R. Holtzmann, MGH *Scriptores rerum Germanicarum* N.S., IX, Berlin 1935, S. 495 (VIII, 2): *Sunt etiam illi mores alii hiis multo inferiores, qui nec Deo placent nec indigenis nil nisi ad terrorem prosunt. [...] In huius sponsi regno sunt multae consuetudines variae; et quamvis dirae, tamen sunt interdum laudabiles.*

69 Die Chronik des Bischofs Thietmars, S. 495 (VIII, 2).

70 Die *Prüfeninger Vita Bischof Ottos I. von Bamberg nach der Fassung des Großen Österreichischen Legendars*, hrsg. von J. Petersohn, MGH *Scriptores rerum Germanicarum*, LXXI, Hannover 1999, S. 50 (1, 2).

71 Die *Prüfeninger Vita Bischof Ottos...*, S. 52f. (1, 4).

Noch eine sehr wichtige Sache muss an dieser Stelle erwähnt werden: Ähnlich wie in den weiter oben analysierten Fragen der biblischen Abstammung der Slawen oder der Zugehörigkeit ihrer Länder zu Germanien, waren die Motive des „barbarischen Nordens“ oder des „wanischen Slawentums“ in der Historiographie und überhaupt in der sich auf antikes Wissen stützenden quasi-wissenschaftlichen Literatur präsent. In der deutschen Epik des Mittelalters, die aus heimischen Traditionen erwuchs und in Vernakularsprache gepflegt wurde, traten diese Motive jedoch nicht in Erscheinung, obwohl in ihr doch gewöhnlich Inhalte der antiken Geschichte auftauchten.⁷² Natürlich kam es vor, dass die in den Epen auftretenden Slawen als Fremde und manchmal sogar als Feinde angesehen wurden, aber derartige Attribute waren nicht damit verbunden, dass man ihnen etwa eine Reihe stereotyper Eigenschaften zuschrieb, wie sie in dem in höfischen und kirchlichen Kreisen entstandenen und an Schemata antiker Gelehrsamkeit anknüpfenden Schrifttum mit ihnen in Zusammenhang gebracht worden wären.⁷³

Das Wissen von der Genese des oben zitierten sogenannten Adalgot-Appells als Ausdruck und Zeugnis eines ernsthaften politischen und militärischen Konflikts an der Grenze Sachsens mit den Ländern der Ostseeslawen (Obodriten und Wilzen) erlaubt uns, die Umstände der Entstehung des CIPB unter ähnlichen Umständen zu betrachten – eines Werkes, dessen Autor sich ähnlich ablehnend über die Slawen äußerte wie der Magdeburger Erzbischof zweihundert Jahre zuvor.

Wenn wir recht gehen in der Annahme, dass sich hinter den Formulierungen des Anonymus aus dem ausgehenden 13. Jahrhundert (welche einen die Deutschen von ihren östlichen Nachbarn trennenden tiefen Widerwillen zum Ausdruck bringen) ein ernsthafter politischer Konflikt verbirgt, dann lässt sich an der diese beiden Ethnien trennenden ausgedehnten Grenze damals nur ein Gebiet wirklich erbitterter Konflikte finden, die zu einem gewissen Teil den Charakter eines Nationenkonflikts besaßen.

Diese Frage bedarf selbstverständlich weiterer Forschungen und Überlegungen, die den Rahmen dieser Skizze sprengen würden, aber es scheint, dass die ungewöhnlich ehrgeizige Politik des böhmischen Ottokar II. Přemysl, der bereits viele deutsche Gebiete dominierte und von sich abhängig machte und am Ende sogar Herrscher des Reiches werden wollte, dazu geführt hat, dass sich bei dem dort ansässigen Adel Widerstand regte, der dann sogar eine

⁷² Verschiedene Aspekte der Historizität der mittelalterlichen deutschen Epik bespricht: F. Kragl, *Die Geschichtlichkeit der Heldendichtung*, *Philologica Germanica*, XXXII, Wien 2010, S. 55ff. (insbesondere im Kontext der hier behandelten Fragen); auch: J. Heinze, *Einführung in die mittelhochdeutsche Dietrichepik*, Berlin-New York 1999, S. 94ff.

⁷³ O. Ehrisman, *Die Fürsten über Polan...*, passim; G. Eis, *Zu Dietrichs Slawenkämpfen*, „Zeitschrift für deutsches Altertum“ LXXXIV (1952) 3, S. 70-84.

gewisse nationale Note trug. Dies wäre insbesondere in der letzten Zeit der Přemyslidenherrschaft der Fall, als Ottokar übrigens auch selbst, entmutigt durch die starke Unterstützung deutscher Fürsten für Rudolf von Habsburg, zu stereotypen Argumenten Zuflucht nahm, um die Deutschen zu diffamieren. Dieses dokumentiert das sogenannte Manifest des böhmischen Königs gut, welches ihm Anhänger und die bewaffnete Unterstützung slawischer Herren gewinnen sollte – besonders der schlesischen und auch der polnischen und pommerschen Herzöge.⁷⁴

Daher werden wir uns wohl bemühen müssen, den anonymen Schöpfer des CIPB in klösterlichen Kreisen oder Domkapiteln zu suchen, die mit dem Hofe eines deutschen Adligen in Verbindung standen, der wiederum mit dem böhmischen König in scharfem Konflikt stand. Aber das ist bereits Thema für einen anderen Beitrag.

ABSTRACT

This article aims to analyse the motif of the origin of the Slavs and their place in Europe, which is included in the source mentioned in the title, dating back to the 13th century. This is a serious matter as the anonymous author of the account, usually associated with Bavaria, wrote his words on the Slavs in a way surprisingly different from other German intellectuals. The contents are highly critical of this people who, according to the anonymous author, was alien to other Europeans and, in general, was supposed to have come from Africa – it was biblical Ham who was the protoplast of the Slavs.

The article suggests that the ant-Slavic opinions of the above mentioned source originated in Bohemia, in an unspecified German milieu, brought into conflict with the Slavic elites of the country, which often happened there at that time, unlike in other regions of the borderland German-Slavic territory of the day.

⁷⁴ Es handelt sich um das sogenannte Manifest von Ottokar Přemysl II., siehe *Codex diplomaticus et epistolaris Regni Bohemiae*, V, 1, hrsg. von J. Šebánek, S. Dušková, Praha 1974, Nr. 305; mehr dazu z.B. in: A. Barciak, *Ideologia polityczna monarchii Przemysła Otokara II. Studium z dziejów czeskiej polityki zagranicznej w drugiej połowie XIII wieku*, Katowice 1982, S. 43; J.K. Hoensch, *Přemysl Ottokar II. von Böhmen. Der goldene König*, Graz-Köln-Wien 1989, S. 219ff.

MIŁOSZ SOSNOWSKI
POZNAŃ

TOWARDS THE NEW EDITION OF COLLECTED WORKS OF BRUNO OF QUERFURT – TEXTUAL TRADITION AND LITERARY CONTEXT¹



BRUNO OF QUERFURT AND HIS FOUR WORKS

Bruno of Querfurt,² also known south of the Alps under his monastic name of Boniface, is one of the more interesting³

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² Brief treatments are M. Manitius, *Geschichte der lateinischen Literatur des Mittelalter*, II: *Von der Mitte des zehnten Jahrhunderts bis zum Ausbruch des Kampfes zwischen Kirche und Staat*, München 1923, pp. 231-236; J. Widajewicz, *Brunon z Kwerfurtu*, in: *Polski słownik biograficzny*, III (1937), pp. 24-26; J. Ostroski, *Bruno de Querfurt, ou Boniface*, in: *Dictionnaire d'histoire et de géographie ecclésiastiques*, X, Paris 1938, col. 963-966; H.L. Mikoletzky, *Brun von Querfurt*, in: *Neue Deutsche Biographie*, II (1955), pp. 674-675; J. Szymański, *Brunon z Kwerfurtu*, in: *Hagiografia polska*, I, ed. R. Gustaw, Poznań 1971, pp. 219-227; W. Wattenbach, R. Holtzmann, F.-J. Schmale, *Deutschlands Geschichtsquellen im Mittelalter. Die Zeit der Sachsen und Salier. Neuauflage*, III, Darmstadt 1971, pp. 18-21; D. Berg, *Brun von Querfurt*, in: *Die deutsche Literatur des Mittelalters. Verfasserlexikon*, I, Berlin-New York 1978², pp. 1053-1056; W. Fritze, *Brun von Querfurt*, in: *Theologische Realenzyklopädie*, VII, Berlin 1981, pp. 233-236; F. Lotter, *Brun v. Querfurt*, in: *Lexikon des Mittelalters*, II, München-Zürich 1982, col. 755-756; F.W. Bautz, *Brun von Querfurt*, in: *Biographisch-Bibliographisches Kirchenlexikon*, I, Hamm 1990², col. 766-767; F. Brunhölzl, *Geschichte der lateinischen Literatur des Mittelalters*, II: *Die Zwischenzeit vom Ausgang des karolingischen Zeitalters bis zur Mitte des elften Jahrhunderts*, München 1992, pp. 424-428, 620; O. Engels, *Brun von Querfurt*, in: *Lexikon für Theologie und Kirche*, II, Freiburg im Breisgau 1994³, col. 724; *Compendium Auctorum Latinorum Medii Aevi (500-1500)*, II, fasc. 4, eds. M. Lapidge, G.C. Garfagnini, C. Leonardi, F. Santi et al., Firenze 2007, pp. 507-508. Further bibliography can be found online in Repertorium "Geschichtsquellen des deutschen Mittelalter" (www.geschichtsquellen.de/repPers_118674749.html – access: 10 October 2018) and "Mirabile" Archivio digitale della cultura medievale (www.mirabileweb.it/calma/bruno-querfurtensis-n-974-ca-m-9-3-1009-ca-/963 – access: 10 October 2018).

³ Despite Bruno being mentioned in almost every history of Central and Eastern Europe at the turn of the first millennium, the only book-length biography is more than a century old

figures of the so-called Ottonian Renaissance.⁴ He was born perhaps sometime

H.G. Voigt, *Brun von Querfurt: Mönch, Eremit, Erzbischof der Heiden und Märtyrer. Lebenslauf, Anschauungen und Schriften eines deutschen Missionars und Märtyrers um die Wende des 10. und 11. Jahrhunderts, ein Beitrag zur Geschichte Deutschlands und Italiens im Zeitalter Ottos III. und zur ältesten Kirchengeschichte Ungarns, Rußlands, Polens, Schwedens und Preußens*, Stuttgart 1907. Other book-length treatments by a single author are R. Wenskus, *Studien zur historisch-politischen Gedankenwelt Bruns von Querfurt*, Mitteldeutsche Forschungen, V, Münster 1956; J. Tyszkiewicz, *Brunon z Querfurtu w Polsce i krajach sąsiednich w tysiąclecie śmierci: 1009-2009*, Pułtusk 2009 and G. Białyński, *Misja prusko-litewska biskupa Brunona z Kwerfurtu*, Olsztyn 2010. The primary sources for Bruno's life have been printed together first by H.G. Voigt, *Brun von Querfurt...*, pp. 450-478, in German translation. It was only recently superseded by the bilingual Latin-Lithuanian edition *1009 metai: Šv. Brunono Kverfurtiečio misija*, ed. I. Leonavičiūtė, foreword E. Gudavičius, Vilnius 2006, pp. 70-211. A spur of research connected with the millennium of Bruno's death brought about multi-author books and conference volumes e.g. *Der heilige Brun von Querfurt: eine Reise ins Mittelalter. Begleitband zur Sonderausstellung Der heilige Brun von Querfurt – Friedensstifter und Missionar in Europa, 1009-2009 im Museum Burg Querfurt (19. Juni bis 20. Dezember 2009)*, eds. J. Rudolph, M. Kühnel, Querfurt 2009; *Brunon z Kwerfurtu. Patron lokalny czy symbol jedności Europy i powszechności Kościoła*, ed. A. Kopiczko, Olsztyn 2009; *Brun von Querfurt: Lebenswelt, Tätigkeit, Wirkung. Fachwissenschaftliche Tagung am 26. und 27. September 2009 auf der Burg Querfurt*, ed. A. Sames, Querfurt 2010; *Bruno z Kwerfurtu. Osoba, Działo, epoka*, eds. M. Falkowski, M. Dygo, Pułtusk 2010.

4 Individual studies on Bruno or aspects of his thought are too numerous to list here. He was not an enthusiast of *Renovatio* or other evolving concepts of Otto III, on which most vocally R. Wenskus, *Studien...*, pp. 91-185. On Bruno's tacit treatment of the so-called Gniezno Summit in 1000 see idem, *Brun von Querfurt und die Stiftung des Erzbistums Gnesen*, "Zeitschrift für Ostforschung" V (1956), pp. 524-537, but cf. K. Görich, *Otto III. Romanus Saxonicus et Italicus. Kaiserliche Rompolitik und sächsische Historiographie*, Sigmaringen 1995² (Historische Forschungen, XVIII), pp. 18 ff. Another early study of Bruno's ideas about pagans (from various perspectives) is H.-D. Kahl, *Compellere intrare. Die Wendenpolitik Bruns von Querfurt im Lichte hochmittelalterlichen Missions- und Völkerrechts*, "Zeitschrift für Ostforschung" IV (1955) 3, pp. 380-401. Other more recent and substantial accounts are J. Strzelczyk, *Diabeł Swaróżyć czy św. Maurycy? Bruno z Kwerfurtu – apostoł ludów wschodnich*, in: idem, *Apostołowie Europy*, Warszawa 1997, pp. 210-229; I. Wood, *The Missionary Life: Saints and the Evangelisation of Europe, 400-1050*, Harlow 2001, pp. 207-244; J. Kujawiński, *Spotkanie z „innym”*. Średniowieczny misjonarz i jego „sacrum” w oczach pogan, "Roczniki Historyczne" LXX (2004), pp. 7-64 (esp. 16 ff.); M. Sas, *Działalność św. Brunona z Kwerfurtu*, "Teki Historyka" XXVIII (2009), pp. 32-95; P. Wiszewski, *Domus Bolesłai: Values and Social Identity in Dynastic Traditions of Medieval Poland (c. 966-1138)*, Leiden-Boston 2010, pp. 14-27; A. Pleszczyński, *The Birth of the Stereotype. Polish Rulers and Their Country in German Writings c. 1000 A.D.*, Leiden-Boston 2011, pp. 148-162; K. Kollinger, *Polityka wschodnia Bolesława Chrobrego (992-1025)*, Wrocław 2014, pp. 61-157; T.M. Barnwell, *Missionaries and Changing Views of the Other from the Ninth to the Eleventh Centuries*, PhD thesis, University of Leeds, pp. 140-233 (etheses.whiterose.ac.uk/8741 – access: 10 October 2018). For Bruno's ideas of martyrdom and monasticism see: J. Wong, *Il "triplex bonum" nella vita dei primi discepoli di San Romualdo. Dalla prassi monastica al senso teologico-spirituale*, "Vita monastica" LV (2001) 217, pp. 5-46; P. Tomea, *La colpa e il martirio. Agiografia e autobiografia nella "Vita Quinque Fratrum" di Bruno di Querfurt*, in: *San Romualdo. Agiografia, Storia e Spiritualità (Atti del XXIII Convegno del Centro Studi Avellaniti, Fonte Avellana 23-26 Agosto 2000)*, Verona 2002, pp. 175-220; R. Fornaciari, *Romualdo di Ravenna, i suoi discepoli Benedetto di Benevento e Giovanni e il monachesimo missionario dell'eta ottoniana*, in: *San Romualdo...*, pp. 237-266; M. Sosnowski, *Kategorie związane*

in the mid-970s⁵ to a family of counts of Querfurt in Saxony. Querfurt was in the diocese of Halberstadt, but Bruno went on to study at the cathedral school in Magdeburg,⁶ the seat of the archbishopric founded by Otto I, aiming at the Christianization of Polabian Slavs. The school reached a certain degree of renown under its first master Otrich –according to Bruno: *quasi Cicero unus*⁷ – who famously debated Gerbert of Aurillac.⁸ Bruno studied in Magdeburg under the third schoolmaster, Gebhard,⁹ together with his relative Thietmar, later bishop of nearby Merseburg and a chronicler. After finishing school and staying in Magdeburg as a canon, he was selected to king's *capella*, which seems like a first step toward reaching the highest posts within the Ottonian church.¹⁰ And yet, during the Roman expedition of Otto III, Bruno decided to leave the chapel and enter the monastery of St. Boniface on Aventine, where he assumed the monastic name of Boniface. Sometime later, leaving the monastery as well, he became a hermit under Romuald of Ravenna but

z misją i męczeństwem w pismach św. Brunona z Kwerfurtu, in: *Cognitioni Gestorum. Studia z dziejów średniowiecza dedykowane Profesorowi Jerzemu Strzelczykowi*, eds. D.A. Sikorski, A.M. Wyrwa, Warszawa 2006, pp. 205-230; M. Miladinov, *Margins of Solitude: Eremitism in Central Europe between East and West*, Zagreb 2008, pp. 67-84; M. Sosnowski, *Studia nad wczesnymi żywotami św. Wojciecha: tradycja rękopiśmienna i polemika środowisk*, Poznań 2013, pp. 84-157.

5 His date of birth (974 or between 974 and 978/979) is conjectural, based on the date of birth of Thietmar of Merseburg (975) and his information that both he and Bruno went to Magdeburg cathedral school at the same time. Scholars also add the canonical age of thirty for episcopal election and combine this with Bruno's consecration in 1004. If the canonical age was strictly enforced, we cannot be sure; cf. H.G. Voigt, *Brun von Querfurt...*, p. 17; W. Meysztowicz, *Szkice o świętym Brunie-Bonifacym*, in: *Sacrum Poloniae Millenium. Rozprawy – szkice – materiały historyczne*, V, Roma 1958, p. 455.

6 He might have received some schooling in Halberstadt, as suggested by a later source, but his contemporaries never mention it; *Vita s. Brunonis episcopi et martyris Querfordensis*, ch. 1 and 3, ed. H. Kauffmann, in: *Monumenta Germaniae Historica* (henceforth: MGH) *Scriptores* (henceforth SS), XXX/2, Lipsiae 1934, pp. 1360-1361.

7 *Vita sancti Adalberti altera*, 5, ed. J. Karwasieńska, in: *Monumenta Poloniae Historica* (henceforth: MPH) s.n., IV/2, pp. 5-6 (also in shorter redaction, *ibidem*, p. 47).

8 An extensive, perhaps biased, account is given by Richer of Reims (*Historiae*, III, 53-65, ed. H. Hoffmann, MGH SS, XXXVIII, Hanover 2000, pp. 199-205), a pupil of Gerbert; P. Riché, *Gerbert d'Aurillac. Le pape de l'an mil*, Paris 1987, pp. 57-63; M. Pierpaoli, *Storia di Ravenna. Dalle origini all'anno Mille accresciuta di una appendice su Cultura et scuola in Ravenna antica dal V al X secolo*, Ravenna 1990, pp. 309-311; J. Glenn, *Politics and History in the Tenth Century: The Work and World of Richer of Reims*, Cambridge 2004, p. 65.

9 On the succession of *magistri* see: *Das Erzbistum Magdeburg*, I: *Das Domstift St. Moritz in Magdeburg*, eds. G. Wentz, G. Schweineköper, Berlin-New York 1972 (*Germania Sacra* AF I, 1), pp. 369-370; on education in medieval Magdeburg see S. Pätzold, *Von der Domschule zu den Studia der Bettelorden: Bildung und Wissenschaft im mittelalterlichen Magdeburg*, „*Concilium Medii Aevi*“ IV (2001), pp. 81-97.

10 W. Huschner, *Brun von Querfurt und St. Mauritius zu Magdeburg*, „*Sachsen und Anhalt*“ XXVI (2014), pp. 47-71 suggested that he was indeed a candidate for the Magdeburg archbishopric after Gisilher (d. 1004), but no contemporary or later source hints at this.

soon he was discussing grand missionary plans with the young emperor and with Benedict of Benevento, a bright disciple of Romuald.¹¹ Better known than exact circumstances of Bruno's decisions are his general reasons for making them.

Primarily, he seems impressed by the recent martyrdom of Adalbert (Wojciech), the second bishop of Prague in Bohemia and missionary-martyr in Prussian lands.¹² This much we know from Bruno's own writings as well as from contemporary account of Thietmar and various later texts. Adalbert was educated at Magdeburg under Otrich. He considered his Bohemian flock to be *mali christiani* and was worried that his office as their bishop compounds his own sins with theirs – thus putting their, as well as his own salvation at risk. Unable to enforce the Christian law concerning marriages, celibacy of the clergy and various other matters he deemed important, Adalbert tried at making amends by taking part in an *ad hoc* evangelizing in Hungary, where large segments of the mixed Hungarian-Slavic population were still pagan.¹³ In his eyes this was apparently not enough and the bishop decided to leave his see, either temporarily or for good. His hagiographers present this flight as a planned, if ultimately failed, pilgrimage to Jerusalem, but we cannot be sure.¹⁴ He took the long route, by first visiting Rome, then Monte Cassino, where he took advice from St. Neilos of Rossano with his Greek milieu,¹⁵ and returned to Rome in order to enter the St. Boniface monastery, where Bruno was also later to stay. Some years later Adalbert was ordered back to Prague, only to find his diocesans – as his hagiographers never fail to mention – to be unrepentant sinners. Thus, he again fled to Rome, only to

11 On those and other stages of Bruno's life cf. A. Sames, *Brun von Querfurt – Stationen seines Lebens*, in: *Der heilige Brun von Querfurt. Eine Reise...*, pp. 21 ff.; P. Fütterer, *Vom kaiserlichen Hofkaplan zum Erzbischof der Völker – Brun von Querfurt in Italien*, in: *Der heilige Brun von Querfurt. Eine Reise...*, pp. 37 ff.

12 The literature on Adalbert is abundant, a simple enumeration of the works printed before 1999 takes a whole book, cfr. A. Witkowska, J. Nastalska, *Święty Wojciech (+997). Życie i kult. Bibliografia do roku 1999*, Lublin 2002. The last two decades saw an unending stream of publications as well.

13 E.g. T. von Bogyay, *Adalbert von Prag und die Ungarn – ein Problem der Quellen-Interpretation*, „Ungarn-Jahrbuch“ VII (1976), pp. 9-36; more generally see N. Berend, J. Laszlovszky, B.Z. Szakács, *The Kingdom of Hungary*, in: *Christianization and the Rise of Christian Monarchy. Scandinavia, Central Europe and Rus' c. 900-1200*, ed. N. Berend, Cambridge 2007, pp. 325, 327, 331-333; N. Berend, *Magyars: Settlement, Traditional Beliefs and Christianization*, in: N. Berend, P. Urbańczyk, P. Wiszewski, *Central Europe in the High Middle Ages. Bohemia, Hungary and Poland c. 900–c. 1300*, Cambridge 2013, pp. 125-138.

14 On Adalbert's withdrawals from Prague and their chronology see: D. Kalhous, *Svatý Vojtěch v Římě: nevyřešené otázky*, „Antiqua Cuthna“ III (2014) 1, pp. 73-84.

15 See D. Kalhous, *East Meets West, West Meets East? Constructing Difference in the First Life of St Adalbert and in the Life of St Neilos*, in: *Greek Monasticism in Southern Italy. The Life of Neilos in Context*, eds. B. Crostini, I.A. Murzaku, New York 2018, pp. 282-307.

be soon reminded by a synod that he is legally obliged to stay at his diocese. Faced with adversarial synodal decisions Adalbert managed to obtain from Gregory V, the new German pope, a conditioned authorization to evangelize *ad gentes*, if Bohemians were to cause more trouble. They certainly did, first by killing almost all the members of Adalbert's family and then by insolently responding to his letter asking them if they still wanted him to be their bishop. After a brief hesitation, already at the court of Bolesław I of Poland – where his oldest brother remained at the time – Adalbert decided to try to convert the Prussians, at the south-eastern coast of the Baltic Sea. His death there in 997 spurred many influential people – with emperor Otto III at their head – to stimulate a cult, which was finally established some two years later. Contemporary sources never suggest that Adalbert was proclaimed saint by the pope, but his martyrdom was sufficient claim to sanctity.

The first biography of Adalbert is considered to have been commissioned by Otto III. We do not know for certain by whom and where it was composed and the debate continues.¹⁶ The traditional identification of the author as John Canaparius (d. 1004), abbot of St. Boniface seems only thinly grounded, but one readily acknowledges a degree of author's familiarity with local Roman circumstances and some similarities to hagiography produced in Italy at the time. An alternative explanation, offered recently by Johannes Fried, is that the author was working in the milieu of Notker of Liège. This suggestion – of a mixed circle of intellectuals discussing Adalbert somewhere north of the Alps in order to produce his biography – is nevertheless hard to verify (or disprove). This first *vita* (inc. *Est locus in partibus Germaniae*) survives in numerous manuscripts, with new ones periodically coming to light.¹⁷ Jadwiga

16 It was reopened by J. Fried, *Gnesen – Aachen – Rom. Otto III. und der Kult des hl. Adalbert. Beobachtungen zum älteren Adalbertsleben*, in: *Polen und Deutschland vor 1000 Jahren. Die Berliner Tagung über den Akt von Gnesen*, eds. M. Borgolte, B. Scheller, Berlin 2001², pp. 235-279 and then rekindled by J. Hoffmann, *Vita Adalberti. Früheste Textüberlieferungen der Lebensgeschichte Adalberts von Prag*, Essen 2005. Both J. Fried and J. Hoffmann try to move the production of this text north of the Alps from Rome, as traditionally postulated, starting with G.H. Pertz. In the meantime, Vera von Falkenhausen suggested certain similarities of this text to Italo-Greek Latin hagiographies, V. von Falkenhausen, *Gregor von Burtscheid und das griechische Mönchtum in Kalabrien*, "Römische Quartalschrift" XCIII (1998), pp. 215-250. See recent reassessments in G. Labuda, *W sprawie autorstwa i miejsca napisania Żywotu Pierwszego św. Wojciecha*, "Studia Źródłoznawcze" XLII (2004), pp. 115-130; M. Sosnowski, *Studia...*, pp. 25-66, 197 ff.; C.-N. Gaşpar, *Preface: Life of Saint Adalbert Bishop of Prague and Martyr*, in: *Saints of the Christianization Age of Central Europe (Tenth-Eleventh Centuries)*, Budapest-New York 2013, pp. 88-92 and M. Sosnowski, *Hagiografia doby chrystianizacji w nowej odstonie*, "Kwartalnik Historyczny" CXXII (2015) 4, pp. 880-883.

17 The most important seems to be the long-lost late-11th century Roman passional of Santa Cecilia in Trastevere, containing the chronologically earliest copy of the so-called Aventine redaction of *Vita prior*. It is now in the Grey Collection of the National Library of South

Karwasińska, the first critical editor of this text, distinguished between its three versions: the transalpine redaction (or Ottonian; *Bibliotheca Hagiographica Latina* [henceforth: BHL] 37), the substantially revised Aventine redaction (the second Aventine redaction according to J. Karwasińska, the first being the alleged original one, now lost) with manuscripts confined to Italian peninsula (BHL 37a), and finally the Monte Cassino redaction (BHL 37b, a reworking of the Aventine text), the shortest of the three but with substantial additions, which tries to paint a more positive picture of the Cassino monastery, while diminishing the saintly splendor of St. Boniface community.¹⁸ It is generally agreed that the first two redactions are early, the second one rewritten no later than a couple of years after Adalbert's death – the third one seems to be a product of somewhat later period.¹⁹

Those first two redactions of *Est locus* were already in circulation when Bruno of Querfurt started writing his own account of Adalbert.²⁰ His text (inc. *Nascitur purpureus flos*; BHL 38; henceforth also VAA rl) certainly seems to be written in reaction to them, differing especially on political, historical and eschatological plane.²¹ What is more, Bruno was an “outsider-insider” – he

Africa (Ms Grey 48.b.4, f. 87v-92v). It was first mentioned briefly by B.V. Churms, *Medieval and Renaissance Manuscripts in the Grey Collection. A Preliminary Catalogue*, Cape Town 1984, p. 16, then by F. Dolbeau, *Le légendier de Sainte-Cécile-au-Transtévère retrouvé au Cap (République Sud-africaine)*, “*Analecta Bollandiana*” CII (1984) 3-4, p. 302. A short catalogue description by Christoph Stroux, with bibliography up until 1990, can be found in C. Steyn, *The Medieval and Renaissance Manuscripts in the Grey Collection of the National Library of South Africa*, Cape Town, II, Salzburg 2002, pp. 196-201. Not only the copy of Adalbert's Life, but also the passionate as whole certainly deserves a separate study. Another recovered witness (of the Ottonian redaction) was recently studied by S. Wiczorek, *Piętnastowieczny rękopis Vita sancti Adalberti prior ze zbiorów biblioteki klasztornej w Herzogenburgu (z aneksem w sprawie niektórych lekcji kodeksu Klosterneuburg, Stiftsbibliothek 707)*, “*Studia Źródłoznawcze*” LV (2017), pp. 101-125.

18 J. Karwasińska, *Les trois rédactions de “Vita I” de S. Adalbert. Conférence tenue à la Bibliothèque de l'Académie polonaise de Rome le 25 nov. 1958*, Roma 1960 (Academia Polacca di Scienze e Lettere, Biblioteca di Roma, Conferenze, IX); eadem, *Introduction*, MPH s.n., IV/1, Warszawa 1962, pp. XXII-XXIX, with references to her major preparatory studies published in «*Studia Źródłoznawcze*».

19 Cf. M. Sosnowski, *Studia...*, pp. 66-70, where I tried to argue for a dating to the last decades of the 11th century.

20 R. Wenskus, *Studien...*, p. 16 ff.; cf. J. Karwasińska, *Introduction*, MPH s.n., IV/2, Warszawa 1969, p. XXIII ff. Both point to Bruno using primarily the Aventine redaction, as was previously suggest by A. Kolberg and H.G. Voigt.

21 On Bruno's political and historical worldview and reasons for writing Adalbert's biography see: R. Wenskus, *Studien...*; J. Karwasińska, *Świadek czasów Chrobrego – Brunon z Kuerfurtu*, in: *Polska w świecie. Szkice z dziejów kultury polskiej*, eds. J. Dowiat, A. Gieysztor, J. Tazbir, S. Trawkowski, Warszawa 1972, pp. 91-105; for contrast between hagiographieprs according to models of *vita contemplativa* and *vita activa* see: F. Lotter, *Das Bild des hl. Adalbert in der römischen und der sächsischen Vita Lotter*, in: *Adalbert von Prag – Brückenbauer zwischen dem Osten und Westen Europas*, ed. H.H. Henrix, Baden-Baden 1997, pp. 77-107; the most detailed

does not seem to have known Adalbert personally, but he was acquainted with most of the key people involved in spreading his cult (i.e. primarily Otto III and his circle, Henry II, Bolesław Chrobry) and perhaps also with the anonymous authors of the first two redactions of *Est locus*. Another generally recognized reason for Bruno's writing *Nascitur* was the perceived sinfulness of his own, and also of the world around him.²² Waiting for episcopal consecration, unsure about his forthcoming missionary work, he mulls over the salvific power of Adalbert's martyrdom. The third and proximal reason, also pointed to by scholars, seems to have been a try at influencing Henry II, the new German king.²³ The recently deceased Otto III, hand in hand with the Polish ruler Bolesław the Brave, fully supported Bruno's own missionary aims, which seemingly, also to his contemporaries, mirrored those of Adalbert. The emperor's death put those plans to a halt and caused much unease for Bruno and for his two Romualdine companions from Italy, Benedict of Benevento and John, who were waiting, already in Poland, for him to obtain the papal authorization. The election of Henry II seemed to offer prospect of continuity – the new king distinguished himself in the eyes of Saxon clergy, including Bruno, by re-establishing the diocese of Merseburg.²⁴ Bruno imagined Henry replacing Otto III as the earthly patron of his missionary effort.²⁵ He wrote

comparison of strictly "factual" stratum G. Labuda, *Dwa najstarsze żywoty św. Wojciecha w wzajemnym stosunku. Stopień wiarygodności*, in: *Benedyktyńska praca. Studia historyczne ofiarowane O. Pawłowi Szczaniekiemu w 80. rocznicę urodzin*, eds. J.A. Spież, Z. Wielgosz, Kraków 1997, pp. 49-76; on the cluster formed by early biographies of Adalbert and by other works by Bruno see: I. Wood, *The Missionary Life...*, pp. 207-244; see also M. Sosnowski, *Studia...*, pp. 84-153.

22 R. Michałowski, *The Gniezno Summit. The Religious Premises of the Founding of the Archbishopric of Gniezno*, Leiden 2016, esp. pp. 311-314; M. Sas, *Działalność...*, pp. 62-66. This is even more visible in Bruno's later works. To a point he shares this perception with (or projects his perception on) some of his saintly heroes, like Adalbert, Benedict of Benevento or Romuald; cf. I. Wood, *The Missionary Life...*, pp. 219-220, 231-240. The solution he offers – especially compared to Romuald – are quite different.

23 R. Wenskus, *Studien...*, pp. 186-197 traces the changes in the way Bruno approaches Henry; this has been also recently highlighted by A. Kuźmiuk-Ciekanowska, *Piśmiennictwo świętego Brunona z Kwerfurtu*, in: *Święty Brunon. Patron lokalny...*, pp. 303-317.

24 Its dissolution was understood as an offence against St. Lawrence and a reason for the Polabian Uprising in 983 – an event that sent shock waves that were still reverberating twenty years later; see L. Weinrich, *Der Slawenaufstand von 983 in der Darstellung des Bischofs Thietmar von Merseburg*, in: *Historiographia Mediaevalis. Studien zur Geschichtsschreibung und Quellenkunde des Mittelalters. Festschrift für Franz-Josef Schmale zum 65. Geburtstag*, eds. D. Berg, H.-W. Goetz, Darmstadt 1988, pp. 77-87; on Bruno's perception of this M. Tomaszek, *Brunon z Kwerfurtu i Otton II: powstanie słowiańskie 983 roku jako grzech cesarza*, "Kwartalnik Historyczny" CIX (2002) 4, pp. 5-23.

25 R. Michałowski, *Misjonarz i pan misji we wczesnym średniowieczu*, in: *Lustro. Teksty o kulturze średniowiecza ofiarowane Halinie Manikowskiej*, ed. W. Brojer, Warszawa 2013, pp. 29-57 (esp. 50-52) discusses the changing perceptions of who, the king or the missionary, is the true leader of missionary endeavor.

the biography of Adalbert in 1004,²⁶ but this *passio* (inc. *Nascitur purpureus flos*; BHL 38, heretofore also: VAA rl) was still far from complete, with abounding loose ends and imperfections, that he was to try and refine at a later date.

Bruno's consecration in late 1004 must have been circumscribed by certain limitations concerning the missionary theatre, probably connected to the wars between Henry and Bolesław. Hence, instead of going the hermitage in Poland – where Benedict and John died in late 1003 while waiting for him with growing impatience and anguish – or to preach to the Polabians, Bruno went to Hungary, ruled by Henry's brother-in-law, king Stephen I.²⁷ The considerable time he spent there – he subsequently complained to Henry in a letter (on which below) – was largely fruitless. He went on to preach to nomadic Pechenegs, via Kiev, where he met Vladimir I, the ruler of Rus'. He even directed a small troop of missionaries to Swedes (*Suigi*), ordaining a bishop who supposedly baptized the ruler and a thousand people before being forced to flee.²⁸ This is all well-known, yet the circumstances and chronology of Bruno's life between the ordination in 1004 and his death in the late winter of 1009 are not securely identified.²⁹

As noted already by G.H. Pertz, it was probably during Bruno's long stay in Hungary³⁰ that he re-wrote his own *passio* of Adalbert, shortening the first redaction considerably but also making a number of additions (BHL 39, the shorter redaction, henceforth also: VAA rb), one of which discusses Adalbert's

26 For the the dating see: J. Karwasińska, *Introduction*, MPH s.n., IV/2, pp. VII, XVIII-XX, XXV-XXVII with bibliography of older research. This has been quite securely deduced from internal evidence (after the re-establishment of Merseburg as bishopric in 1004 and shortly (*hoc anno*) after the news of the death of Adalbert's oldest brother in Autumn of 1004 reached Bruno).

27 V. Múcska, *Bruno z Querfurtu a Uhorsko*, "Historia Slavorum Occidentis" I (2014) 6, pp. 62-73.

28 This seems settled, although recently B. Nilsson, *Kring några bortglömda tankar om Suigi och Olof Skötkonungs dop*, "Fornvännen" XCVIII (2003), pp. 207-213 tried to revive an old hypothesis (first put forward by A. Kolberg) that the land of *Suigi* had nothing to do with Sweden and suggested that *ultra mare* – where Bruno sent the troop – refers to the Black Sea. This has been refuted by W. Duczko, *Ett kungligt dop: Olof skötkonung och Bruno av Querfurt*, "Fornvännen" CIII (2008), pp. 283-287. A summary of this discussion see K. Kollinger, *Polityka wschodnia...*, pp. 112 ff.

29 For uncertainties of chronology cf. J. Karwasińska, *Introduction*, MPH s.n., IV/3, pp. 15-16; cf. J. Strzelczyk, *Diabeł Swaróżyc...*, p. 220; W. Meysztowicz, *Szkice o świętym Brunie...*, pp. 454-496; M. Sas, *Działalność...*, pp. 48-49, n. 127; K. Kollinger, *Polityka wschodnia...*, pp. 112 ff., *passim*; V. Múcska, *Bruno z Querfurtu...*, pp. 62-73; M. Sosnowski, *Kilka uwag o chronologii życia i twórczości Brunona z Kwerfurtu*, "Roczniki Historyczne" LXXXII (2016), pp. 63-76.

30 Whether Bruno went to Hungary twice or only once, and exactly how long he stayed there, remains unresolved; cf. V. Múcska, *Bruno z Querfurtu...*, pp. 62-73. Similarly, the problem of his hypothetical visits (how many and when) to Poland bores varying opinions, cf. the works in previous fn. as well as J. Tyszkiewicz, *Brunon z Querfurtu...*, *passim*.

old acquaintance in Hungary.³¹ News of the death of Benedict of Benevento and John, the two Italian hermits turned missionaries waiting for him in Poland, could have reached him when he was still in Saxony.³² Their death in late 1003 – together with the two Slavic novices and a cook – perhaps ended Bruno's urgent reasons and hopes of going to Poland, if he indeed still harboured them in 1004. With all his partners in the failed missionary effort dead – Otto III was supposed to enter the monastery in Poland as well³³ – Bruno was grief-stricken and increasingly blaming himself – and also Henry's wars with Bolesław – for the failure. The stay in Hungary was unproductive from the point of view of evangelizing and perhaps during this "free" time Bruno also wrote the bulk of the "Passion of Benedict and John and their companions" (inc prol. *Adiuva Deus*; inc. *Quem res loquitur*; BHL 1147; henceforth also: VQF).³⁴ The text he probably constructed at first, a highly polished draft, seems to have been somewhat similar to his *Passio Adalberti*, with crescendo of various failures and about-faces inevitably proceeding toward the redemptive martyrdom.³⁵ It is in VQF that Bruno increasingly devotes attention to himself and his various sins and disappointments.³⁶ His final work was written in the late 1008 after leaving the steppe north of the Black Sea and before embarking on his journey *ad Pruzos*.³⁷ It was a letter to Henry II (inc. *Viro aecclesie pio Henrico regi*; henceforth also: *Epistola*), much-commented on by modern scholarship and variously described as a report

31 The date and place of composition of VAA rb is discussed by J. Karwasińska, *Introduction*, MPH s.n., IV/2, pp. XVIII-XIX; cf. R. Wenskus, *Brun von Querfurt...*, p. 526 as well as research cited there, especially by G.H. Pertz, W. Kętrzyński, M. Perlach and H.G. Voigt.

32 J. Karwasińska, *Introduction*, MPH s.n., IV/3, pp. 15, but cf. *Vita quinque fratrum* 21, ed. J. Karwasińska, MPH s.n., IV/3, pp. 71-72.

33 The most extensive treatment, even if to be used with caution, is W. Meyszowicz, *La vocation monastique d'Otton III, "Antemurale" V* (1958), pp. 27-69.

34 Cf. J. Karwasińska, *Introduction*, MPH s.n., IV/3, pp. 15-16. On why the composition of VAA rb and the bulk of VQF can be seen outside of Poland and probably in or around Hungary cf. M. Sosnowski, *Kilka uwag...*, pp. 63-76, where I discuss the distribution of copies, Bruno not correcting the blatant geographical errors of VAA rl, and the vagueness of his information about Poland. Perhaps a certain Hungarian brother in the Polish hermitage was his source of information (see VQF 29, MPH s.n., IV/3, p. 78).

35 In her introductory remarks J. Karwasińska states that there are no traces of authorial redactions within VQF (*Introduction*, MPH s.n., IV/3, pp. 15-16), then discusses the passages which are doubled and reworked in the witness (ibidem, p. 17) and finally, in the edition, she prints redactional versions (ibidem, pp. 71, 80-81). More on this see below, where I discuss VQF.

36 I. Wood, *The Missionary Life...*, pp. 233-236; P. Tomea, *La colpa...*, passim; T. Michałowska, *Autobiografia średniowieczna – poszukiwania (Brunon z Kwerfurtu)*, in: *Od średniowiecza ku współczesności. Prace ofiarowane Jerzemu Starnawskiemu w pięćdziesięciolecie doktoratu*, red. J. Okoń, Łódź 2000, pp. 95-104.

37 For the dating see: J. Karwasińska, *Introduction*, MPH s.n., IV/3, pp. 16, 88, 90; for *ad Pruzos* ibidem, p. 100; cf. M. Sosnowski, *Kilka uwag...*, pp. 66-69, 75-76.

for the king, a princely mirror, a spiritual testament, a final adieu and/or the last try at compelling the German king into an alliance with Bolesław, now unable to support the missionary.³⁸ It might have been at this late time in 1008 that Bruno added the local Polish miracle accounts in *Passio Benedicti et Iohannis*.³⁹ These introduced a certain imbalance to the composition, which Bruno was not able to refine – especially the ending, now doubled, seems unfinished (more on this later).⁴⁰

FOUR DUBIA

No less than four other texts have been hypothetically linked with Bruno in the scholarship of the previous and current century.⁴¹ The most prevalent and debated one is *Liber de passione martyris* (“Book on the passion of the martyr”, i.e. Adalbert), mentioned by the anonymous chronicler (so-called Gallus Anonymus), author of the *Gesta principum Polonorum*, written in the 1110s close to the court of the Polish ruler Bolesław III Wrymouth (Krzywousty).⁴² In the long debate on the contents and authorship of this seemingly-lost text some scholars, starting with Wojciech Kętrzyński and especially Stanisław

38 I. Wood, *The Missionary Life...*, pp. 236-239 highlights the diversity of Bruno’s aims. Starting with H. Zeissberg, *Die öffentliche Meinung im 11. Jahrhundert über Deutschlands Politik gegen Polen*, “Zeitschrift für die österreichischen Gymnasien” XIX (1868), pp. 83-100 the political interpretation of *Epistola* is a dominant strain of research; recently see: W. Fałkowski, *The Letter of Bruno of Querfurt to King Henry II*, “Frühmittelalterliche Studien” XLIII (2009) 1, pp. 417-438; A. Pleszczyński, *The Birth of a Stereotype: Polish Rulers and their Country in German Writings c. 1000 A.D.*, Turnhout 2011, pp. 144-161, passim. Closely connected are those works which try to distill Bruno’s ideas of forced conversion and discuss them within the framework of holy war, see: H.D. Kahl, *Compellere intrare...*, pp. 161-193, 360-401, R. Wenskus, *Studien...*, pp. 149 ff.; a recent overview M. Ščavinskias, *On the Crusades and Coercive Missions in the Baltic Region in the Mid-12th Century and Early 13th Century. The Cases of the Wends and Livonians*, “Zeitschrift für Ostmitteleuropa-Forschung” LXIII (2014) 4, p. 503. There are numerous works on individual missions described in *Epistola* – e.g. J. Tyszkiewicz, *Brunon z Querfurtu...*; see also fn. 245 and 262 below.

39 Hinted at by J. Karwasińska, *Introduction*, MPH s.n., IV/3, p. 17.

40 J. Karwasińska, *Introduction*, MPH s.n., IV/3, pp. 17-18; W. Berschin, *Biographie und Epochenstil im lateinischen Mittelalter*, IV/1, Stuttgart 1999 (Quellen und Untersuchungen zur lateinischen Philologie des Mittelalters, XII/1), p. 172, n. 501; M. Sosnowski, *Kilka uwag...*, pp. 71, 75-76.

41 Not counting the “hymns and liturgical prayers” that Bruno “could have” composed in Poland, as mentioned in passing by Z. Kozłowska-Budkowa, *Początki piśmiennictwa w Polsce X i XI w.*, “Analecta Cracoviensia” VII (1975), p. 237. Needless to say, the primary sources are silent on such compositions.

42 *Galli Anonymi cronicae et gesta ducum sive principum Polonorum*, I, 6, ed. K. Maleczyński, MPH s.n., II, Kraków 1952, pp. 18 ff.; cf. *Gesta Principum Polonorum – The Deeds of the Princes of the Poles*, eds. P.W. Knoll, F. Schaer, T. Bisson, Budapest-New York 2003 (Central European Medieval Texts, III), pp. 34 ff.

Kętrzyński and Heinrich Gisbert Voigt,⁴³ proposed that it was written by Bruno of Querfurt and contained a laudatory account of the co-called Gniezno Summit in the year 1000.⁴⁴ In the long history of the reception of this hypothesis, the responses varied from accepting it as a bundle (i.e. an unknown biography of Adalbert was written by Bruno and was available to the chronicler) to denying the very existence of *Liber de passione* itself.⁴⁵ This debate will surely continue but here we are only interested in whether Bruno could have been the author of *Liber de passione*. This part of the hypothesis was convincingly dismantled by Reinhard Wenskus.⁴⁶ As far as we can tell from all of Bruno's writings of uncontested authorship, he was purposefully tacit (from 1004 to 1008/9) about the Gniezno Summit, about Radim-Gaudentius (St. Adalbert's half-brother) being the first Archbishop of Gniezno, about the rest of bishoprics established in 1000 (with a notable exception of bishop Unger).⁴⁷ What is more, Bruno never describes any event, be it of secular or mixed secular-ecclesiastical type (Gniezno Summit was the latter) in an overly laudatory manner, praising the associated secular pomp – conversely, it can be argued that there is a hint of irony in some of his accounts.⁴⁸ The unidentified biography that Gallus has supposedly used in composing his chronicle would be full of splendid display, the magnificence of which would

43 S. Kętrzyński, *O zaginionym żywocie św. Wojciecha*, "Rozprawy Akademii Umiejętności. Wydział Historyczno-Filozoficzny" XVIII (1902), pp. 252-299; H.G. Voigt, *Der Verfasser der römischen Vita des heiligen Adalbert. Eine Untersuchung mit Anmerkungen über die anderen ältesten Schriften über Adalbert, sowie einige strittige Punkte seiner Geschichte*, Prag 1904, pp. 89, 104, 123 ff.

44 Its importance was aptly summarized by G. Althoff, *Otto III*, transl. P.G. Jestic, University Park 2004, p. 90: "The entire debate over Ottonian eastern policy might be summarized in the efforts to understand Otto III's journey to Gniezno in the year 1000 and to uncover what precisely happened there"; the best book-length treatment argues similarly R. Michałowski, *The Gniezno Summit...*, esp. chapters 2 and 3.

45 The history of research is briefly summarized in M. Sosnowski, *Studia...*, pp. 175-180. For recently expressed doubts about its existence or content see: S. Jaros, "...sicut in libro de passione martiris potest propensius inveniri". *Die vermeintliche Quelle und der politische Kontext der Darstellung des "Aktes von Gnesen" bei Gallus Anonymus*, "Zeitschrift für Ostmitteleuropaforschung" LXII (2013) 4, pp. 555-579; P. Żmudzki, *Liber de passione martyris i Vita s. Stanislai. Na marginesie książki Wojciecha Drelicharza o idei zjednoczenia królestwa*, "Kwartalnik Historyczny" CXXII (2015) 4, pp. 856-867.

46 R. Wenskus, *Studien...*, pp. 202-246 (summarized on pp. 243-246). Prior to Wenskus also M. Perlbach was vocally opposing the idea of Bruno as the author, cf. M. Perlbach, *Zu den ältesten Lebensbeschreibungen des heiligen Adalbert*, "Neues Archiv der Gesellschaft für ältere deutsche Geschichtskunde" XXVII (1902), pp. 68-70 (first printed in Polish as M. Perlbach, *Przyczynki do krytyki najdawniejszych Żywotów św. Wojciecha*, "Kwartalnik Historyczny" XIV (1900), pp. 379-408).

47 Cf. R. Wenskus, *Brun von Querfurt...*, passim.

48 E.g. on Otto III entering Rome, the imperial coronation and the subsequent synod in Rome (I cite VAA rl, MPH s.n., IV/2, p. 23; for VAA rb, see ibidem, pp. 56-57).

rather repulse Bruno or make him recoil in discomfort. Last but not least, to agree to Bruno's authorship of *Liber de passione*, one would have to assume two changes of his heart – since both the earliest (1004) and the latest (1008) of his compositions unequivocally display an indifferent or hostile attitude to secular pomp.

Only one change of heart is needed in the case of another text putatively attributed to Bruno, yet other objections arise as well. The text in question is the laudatory dedicatory poem (inc. *Scribere qui tibi digna putat*),⁴⁹ composed by a certain Bruno – in a single late-14th-century copy it precedes the Stratagems by Frontinus.⁵⁰ The poem was first edited and commented upon by an eminent classicist Friedrich Haase, who first suspected it was written by Bruno of Cologne (d. 965) for his brother Otto I, but at the end of his commentary he hypothesized the poem being centuries younger, composed by Bruno of Verona for his patron, the Emperor Sigismund of Luxembourg (d. 1437).⁵¹ In any case, ever since the wider dissemination of the poem by Karl Strecker in *MGH Poetae* (1937) it was the notion of Bruno of Cologne authoring the poem that sat well with scholars, especially after the influential mid-20th-century article by Josef Fleckenstein.⁵² Then, in 1987, Johannes Fried published an article proposing Bruno of Querfurt as the poem's author, the recipient being Otto III.⁵³ Fried postulated that the content of the poem better fits both the circumstances of the late 990s than early-960s and an author less significant than Bruno the Great writing to his brother Otto. Subsequent works touching upon this subject tend⁵⁴ not to concur with Fried, either reverting to

49 D. Schaller, E. Könsgen, *Initia carminum Latinorum saeculo undecimo antiquiorum*, Göttingen 1977, p. 658 (no. 1482); *Compendium Auctorum Latinorum Medii Aevi (500-1500)*, eds. M. Lapidge, G.C. Garfagnini, C. Leonardi, F. Santi et al., II/4, Firenze 2000, p. 507. The most recent edition is by Karl Strecker in *MGH Poetae* V/1-2, Leipzig 1937, pp. 377-378.

50 Praha, Národní knihovna, VIII.H.25, f. 146va (the poem), ff. 146vb-181va (Frontinus); see: *Catalogus codicum manu scriptorum latinorum qui in C.R. Bibliotheca publica atque Universitatis Pragensis asservantur*, ed. J. Truhlář, Pragae 1905, pp. 608-609; on the manuscript cf. L. Faivre d'Arcier, *Histoire et géographie d'un mythe. La circulation des manuscrits du "De excidio Troiae" de Darès le Phrygien (VIII^e-XV^e siècle)*, Paris 2006, p. 79.

51 F. Haase, *De latinorum codd. mss. subscriptionibus commentatio cum Hrabani Mauri, ut videtur, ad Lotharium Imperatorem et Theodori Gazae ad Antonium Panormitam epistolis et carmine Brunonis*, in: *Index lectionum in Universitate Litterarum Vratislaviensi per hiemem a. MCCCCLX a die XV. mensis Octobris habendarum*, Vratislaviae 1860, pp. 20-24.

52 J. Fleckenstein, *Brunos Dedikationsgedicht als Zeugnis der karolingischen Renovatio unter Otto d. Grosse. Zu Carl Erdmanns neuer und Wilhelm Wattenbachs alter Deutung*, "Deutsches Archiv" XI (1954-1955), pp. 219-226.

53 J. Fried, *Brunos Dedikationsgedicht*, "Deutsches Archiv für Erforschung des Mittelalters" XLIII (1987), pp. 574-583 with a list of previous publications discussing the authorship.

54 Exceptions to this, at least the ones that I know of, are simply accepting Fried's opinion without discussing it, cf. H. Müller, *Die Kölner Erzbischofe von Bruno I. bis Hermann*

Bruno the Great⁵⁵ or proposing someone else as an author. Those last ones, more fundamentally, raise doubts whether the origin of the poem laid in the Ottonian period at all.⁵⁶ The suggestion put forward by J. Fried is attractive – purportedly offering a glimpse into Bruno’s mindset while he was a chaplain and courtier and before his monastic conversion – but also baffling,⁵⁷ especially at closer inspection. But since, in contrast to *Liber de passione martyris*, this poem actually survives, one needs to look closer at Fried’s argument, starting with the sole manuscript witness of the poem. This was heretofore done by Peter Christian Jacobsen, but only briefly and using a microfilm.⁵⁸

The autopsy of the codex containing the poem does not offer remarkable results, at least concerning the authorship.⁵⁹ The two-column, dense layout is

11. (953-1056), in: *Kaiserin Theophanu. Begegnung des Ostens und Westens um die Wende des ersten Jahrtausends*, eds. A. von Euw, P. Schreiner, Köln 1991, p. 21; W. Maleczek, *Otto I. und Johannes XII. Überlegungen zur Kaiserkrönung von 962*, in: *Medievalia Augiensia*, ed. J. Petersohn (Vorträge und Forschungen, LIV), Stuttgart 2001, p. 167.

55 G. Wolf, *Erzbischof Brun I. von Köln*, in: *Die Kölner Universität im Mittelalter: geistige Wurzeln und soziale Wirklichkeit*, ed. A. Zimmermann, Berlin-New York 1989 (Miscellanea Medievalia, XX), p. 306, fn. 77; H. Keller, *Machabaeorum pugnae. Zum Stellenwert eines biblischen Vorbilds in Widukinds Deutung der ottonischen Königsherrschaft*, in: *Iconologia sacra. Mythos, Bildkunst und Dichtung in der Religions- und Sozialgeschichte Alteuropas. Festschrift für Karl Hauck zum 75. Geburtstag*, ed. H. Keller, Berlin 1994, p. 434; idem, *Widukinds Bericht über die Aachener Wahl und Krönung Ottos I.*, “Frühmittelalterliche Studien” XXIX (1995), p. 400, fn. 50; P. Schwenk, *Brun von Köln (925-965). Sein Leben, sein Werk, und seine Bedeutung*, Espelkamp 1995, p. 142, fn. 670; H. Mayr-Harting, *Church and Cosmos in Early Ottonian Germany. The View from Cologne*, Oxford 2007, pp. 62-63; D. Bachrach, *Warfare in Tenth-Century Germany*, Woodbridge 2012, pp. 122-123 (esp. fn. 110). See also the following fn.

56 On the proposed authorship of Rather of Verona (d. 974), a friend of Bruno of Cologne, see: P.Ch. Jacobsen, *Lateinische Dichtung in Köln im 10. und 11. Jahrhundert*, in: *Kaiserin Theophanu...*, pp. 173-175; cf. H. Hoffmann, *Buchkunst und Königtum im ottonischen und frühsalischen Reich, I: Textband*, Stuttgart 1986 (Schriften der Monumenta Germaniae Historica, XXX, 1), pp. 8-9, fn. 8.

57 The same can be said of two other J. Fried’s hypotheses concerning the authors of anonymous texts: of the first *Vita* of Adalbert being written by Notker of Liège (discussed briefly above), and *Gesta principum Polonorum* (= the so-called Chronicle of Gallus, also mentioned above) being authored by Otto of Bamberg. In both examples the purported authors are not known to have produced any literary work, hence to argue their authorship there is no need for – and indeed no possibility of – making textual comparisons.

58 P.Ch. Jacobsen, *Lateinische Dichtung...*, pp. 174-175 (on microfilm, see fn. 8).

59 The composite manuscript is a collection written in a similar time (probably late-14th century) by different hands. The poem along with Frontinus and subsequent *Historia Daretis Frigii* (this was already noted by P.Ch. Jacobsen, *ibidem*, pp. 174-175), start with a new quire and also have a slightly different mise-en-page than the parts (i.a. *Facta et dicta memorabilia* by Valerius Maximus) before it, the script is less cursive than previous *bastarda* and of higher grade, it is also written on a different parchment, currently tinted more yellow. This part may be a bit earlier than Valerius Maximus. The initials are decorated in pen flourishes of alternate red-blue coloring (counter color), while previous texts also have a number of painted

typical of the late medieval book manuscripts, showing no traces of visually following the earlier antigraph, apart from perhaps the division of the text of Stratagem itself. The scribe was nevertheless aware that he is copying poetry, putting verses *a linea* and filling the blank spaces with horizontal lines ending with the last letter of the word. Apart from that there are no divisions introduced in the poem (like stanzas etc.). As noted by F. Haase, some words are written on erasures,⁶⁰ and the prior readings are not legible. The Prague witness of Stratagem was simply listed but not analysed by Gotthold Gundermann in his seminal study of manuscript tradition of this text.⁶¹ My cursory collation of the witness shows that the text of Frontinus displays the transposition of some of the material, which is typical of almost all extant copies, but without tries at rearranging them, which – if present – would signal that the antigraph of the Prague copy was written in the 13th century at the earliest.⁶² Prague Frontinus belongs to the second, inferior, text type, with the best witness of the group being the Paris codex (BNFr Latin 7420), written probably at the beginning of the 11th century.⁶³ A sample collation – with the choice of *loci* oriented by introductory remarks of Robert Ireland in his Teubner edition of Stratagem – shows primarily the errors common with this group.⁶⁴ Importantly, within this group the Prague copy sometimes sides with δ text-type,⁶⁵ and

initials covered with gold flake (f. 1, 2v, 13v, 27v, 41v, 55v, 70v, 83v, 95, 107v). The manuscript was either ordered, put together or bought by *Mauricius de Kunicz in Praga*, as the note on the back fly-leaf informs (*Hic continetur Valerius Maximus, Frontinus De re militari et Hystoria Daretis Frigii De bello Troyano. Hunc librum comparauit Mauricius de Kunicz [or: Kunitz] in Praga*). It is probably the same Mauricius of Kounice (?), who owned the Prague Chapter copies of Vergilius and Petrarch's *De Bello Scipionis* (respectively call no H 5 and L 86; cf. A. Podlaha, *Soupis rukopisu Knihovny Metropolitni kapituly pražské*, Praha 1922, pp. 117, 249). E. Rauner (*Petrarca-handschriften in Tschechien und in der Slowakischen Republik*, Padova 1999, pp. 210-233) sees in him a copyist of those as well.

⁶⁰ F. Haase, *De latinorum...*, pp. 20-23.

⁶¹ G. Gundermann, *De Iulii Frontini Strategematon libro qui fertur quarto*, in: *Commentationes Phililogae Ienenses*, I, Lipsiae 1861, p. 108.

⁶² The presence of those transpositions and their nature are briefly explained in the introduction to *The Stratagem, and the Aqueducts of Rome*, ed. M.B. McElwain, transl. C.E. Bennett, Harvard 1925 (Leob Classical Library, CLXXIV), pp. XXVIII-XXIX. For a more thorough and updated discussion see the more recent Teubner edition *Iulii Frontini Stratagemata*, ed. R.I. Ireland, Leipzig 1990, pp. XX-XXI.

⁶³ This after R.I. Ireland, see previous fn.

⁶⁴ For those common errors see: *Iulii Frontini Stratagemata*, pp. XIV-XV. The examples from Prague codex (foliation follows), common with the group: f. 175b: *innumeras hostium] innumerabiles h.*; f. 179b: *incipere] recipientibus*; f. 165vb: *quarum metu illi cum aduertarent etc.] q. m. i. continuerunt etc.*

⁶⁵ For placement of examples in R.I. Ireland's introduction and edition, see note above. Examples of Prague Frontinus siding with δ against γ (foliation of Prague Frontinus); f. 157b: *expectationemque euerris* (written as *euris* with macron over "ri") *certaminis] e. questris c.*; f. 159vb: *confligere] defligere*; f. 177va *imperare] om.*; f. 156vb: *hostes] hos hostes*.

sometimes with γ .⁶⁶ In other words, without detailed collation of the whole text, preferably also with the heretofore unused witnesses, it is impossible to decide whether this mix of readings from δ and γ is an effect of – perhaps even late, 14th-century – contamination⁶⁷ or perhaps the antigraph of Prague Frontinus was stemmatically older than bifurcation of the tradition into δ and γ – what R. Ireland calls the β archetype.⁶⁸ R. Ireland only ventures a guess that β was produced in France, without dating of this particular text-type.

Considering the existing knowledge about the textual tradition of Frontinus, the Prague witness could therefore be copied from an antigraph both earlier or later than mid-10th century. This obviously does not deny either of the hypotheses on authorship, of Bruno of Querfurt and of Bruno of Cologne (or Rather of Verona, as P.Ch. Jacobsen hypothesizes). Since the codex itself does not provide any indication for the authorship, we can only discuss the internal evidence of this relatively short poem. J. Fried himself admitted that the comparative material is scarce,⁶⁹ and pointed to the usage of topos of humility (supposedly as in Bruno's VQF) and to the following phrases: *sceptra tenere* (supposedly as in *sceptra gerebat* on Otto I in VAA), *spes populi* (supposedly as *spes orbis* in *Epistola*), *barbaries seua* (supposedly similar to two uses of *barbarus* in VAA) and finally *errare* (as in VAA where the suppression of Merseburg bishopric is termed *error*). P.Ch. Jacobsen already pointed to the general unspecificity of poem's expressions and difficulties of linking them with any particular author, time or place,⁷⁰ but for my aims it seems necessary to consider each of J. Fried's claims. The first is the common employment of the topos of humility, which is one of the most pervasive in the Middle Ages and as such proves little. But there is more to be said here, as Bruno in his authentic writings seems keen on subverting this topos – first in VQF prologue, where his addressee is not the reader but specifically God, and then in the *Epistola*, where the humility of initial *captatio* is just an entry point into criticism so harsh that one can suspect at least a hint of irony in

66 Cf. notes above. Examples of Prague Frontinus siding with γ against δ , foliation from Prague Frontinus; f. 149vb: *imminere*] *in itinere*; 155b: *aduersus cercireos nauali prelio decertaturus*] *classe dimicaturus aduersus cecireos*; f. 165va *callidromi montis*] *calli montis dromi*; f. 153b: *reliquum opera*] *reliqua o.*; f. 169va: *eius turres*] *eis t.*; f. 177va: *redisse*] *sedisse*.

67 An example of prior γ reading changed to δ (which is also the correct reading) on f. 173b: from *imperatum* to *impetum*. Importantly, the Prague Frontinus does not display readings consistent with the K codex (siglum sensu R.I. Ireland), which is a known contamination of δ and γ , cf. *Iulii Frontini Stratagemata*, pp. XVI, XXV.

68 *Iulii Frontini Stratagemata*, pp. XVII-XVIII (on β – text), p. XXV (stemma). The example of (f. 148va): *e chodinum*] *rhodinum* seems to sit well with Ireland's observations on β .

69 J. Fried, *Brunos Dedikationsgedicht...*, p. 582: "Es ist wenig, womit aufzuwarten ist, und das Wenige ist dürftig".

70 P.Ch. Jacobsen, *Lateinische Dichtung...*, p. 174.

the intermittent employment of the *topos*. Other claims raise doubts as well. With the usage of *sceptra* the general problem is that one can use a limited number of verbs with this noun to express the idea of ruling (*tenere, gerere, movere, gubernare, regere* come to mind) and in this particular example the Bruno-poet uses a different one (*tenere*) than Bruno of Querfurt (*gerere*). When we read of the *error* in the poem, we have no clue what it is referring to – and there is no reason to agree that *error* means exactly the same thing as a single usage pointed to by J. Fried, out of about ten that we find in Bruno's works.⁷¹ The next noun J. Fried focuses on, *barbaries* is actually a word that Bruno himself never uses, instead employing *barbarismus* (see below). He admittedly also uses *barbarus* (as an adjective and a noun), but this word has various meanings for Bruno, not just the one (pagan Prussians) pointed to by J. Fried based on two examples (one of them – *barbarum nescio quid frendunt*⁷² – is actually a phrase from Jerome's *Vita s. Pauli eremitae*). It also means "non-Latin" (in VAA: *auditoribus enim usus erat Lacialiter fari, nec ausus est quisquam coram magistro lingua barbara loqui*⁷³) as well as ethically un-Christian (VAA: *Quis curat regnante barbarismo fas christianum*⁷⁴). What we are left with then is *spes*, respectively of poet's *populus* and Bruno's *orbis*,⁷⁵ of wider connotation. Bruno is writing about the "hope" of the world as a whole (perhaps not even restricted to Christianity), and the poet's usage suggests a more limited scope (at most a *populus Christianus*, but perhaps narrower), importantly adding *probitas, columen, presidium, specimen, gratia, cura, paternus amor, laus, iubilatio, summus honor* – a litany of terms, none of which one finds in Bruno's shorter or longer passages on emperors.⁷⁶ On closer inspection the examples provided by Fried not only are far from proving Bruno's authorship of the poem – due to semantic differences in usage they seem to point to someone other composing it.

Finally, we come to the circumstances of the late 990s and Bruno being a chaplain of Otto III in whose milieu the idea of *Renovatio* was emerging. As has already been pointed to by P.Ch. Jacobsen, the authorship of Bruno would require the poem to be composed in the short timeframe sometime in 997.⁷⁷ This in itself seems feasible, especially considering the length of the

71 For VAA cf. MPH s.n., IV/2, pp. 8, 13, 18, 19, 38, 40 (9 loci in rl, 8 loci in rb). Fried refers to the one on p. 13. The word is not present in VQF and in *Epistola* it is used only once (MPH s.n., IV/3, p. 101).

72 VAA rl 25, MPH s.n., IV/2, p. 31 (for rb cf. p. 62).

73 Ibidem, pp. 6, 48.

74 Ibidem, pp. 19, 55.

75 Ibidem, pp. 105, 106.

76 We have to admit that Bruno used another expression *dulce decus* (cf. Hor. Carm. 1.1.2) *aureę Romę* in the lament on Otto III's death in VQF (MPH s.n., IV/3, p. 48).

77 P.Ch. Jacobsen, *Lateinische Dichtung...*, p. 174.

poem, and would be only a minor problem if the textual similarities between it and the rest of Bruno's works were unambiguous.

There is one more aspect of the poem that warrants inspection. It is exclusively interpreted as dedicatory in nature – the author is understood to be offering a copy of Frontinus' collection⁷⁸ of military examples from Greek and Roman history⁷⁹. However, for someone who knows Bruno's uncontested works, this choice seems strange. He does not seem to cite or allude to Strategems. Moreover, Bruno never seems interested in details of military nature and in rare cases he mentions battles and wars in more than a blurry focus, the details always serve as a jumpstart for a moral exposition.⁸⁰ Later in this article, I will try to highlight how despite his monastic and eremitical conversion, Bruno remained fond of *alta scientia*⁸¹ and classical poetry. Stratagems with their modest structure of consecutive examples presented in simple language hardly fit those interests. All this is not to mean that Bruno of Querfurt could not have written the dedicatory poem surviving in a Prague copy of Frontinus. He might as well have, but there are no external and hardly any internal traces suggesting that. Although for reasons of clarification the introduction to the planned edition needs to discuss both the poem and the lost *Liber de passione martyris*, it should not include the text of the verse as Bruno's own.

The same can be said of the third text conjecturally linked to Bruno. It is an inscription on a stone slab (inc. *OSSA TRIUM*) of apparently funerary nature, uncovered in 1959 outside the northern apse of the Gniezno Cathedral.⁸² Dated to the 11th century and published by Brygida Kürbis, the very text of the inscription, considerably damaged and only partly extant, as well as its interpretation remain contested.⁸³ The first to explicitly propose Bruno's

78 Strategems were not a particularly rare text in the Carolingian and Ottonian period – G. Gundermann (*De Iulii Frontini...*, pp. 93-110) mentions five copies surviving from the 8th to 11th century.

79 Since Strategems in the Prague manuscript are copied together with *Historia Daretis Frigii* perhaps we should provisionally add this latter text to the collection offered by the composer of the poem.

80 For instructive examples see the massacre of the Slavnik family (MPH s.n., IV/2, pp. 27 ff.), the short mention of Mieszko of Poland winning *arte* (MPH s.n., IV/2, pp. 8-9).

81 Cf. MPH s.n., IV/2, p. 7 (the expression used to describe the fruits of Adalbert's education in Magdeburg).

82 For a history of research see: T. Płóciennik, *L'inscription OSSA TRIUM... à la cathédrale de Gniezno*, "Cahiers de Civilisation Médiévale" L (2007) 200, pp. 401-408; a more detailed argument in Polish see idem, *Kilka uwag na temat inskrypcji gnieźnieńskiej OSSA TRIUM...*, in: *Architektura romańska w Polsce. Nowe odkrycia i interpretacje. Materiały z sesji naukowej w Muzeum Początków Państwa Polskiego w Gnieźnie*, ed. T. Janiak, Gniezno 2009, pp. 661-676.

83 For most, if not all, reconstructions see the works by T. Płóciennik in previous note.

authorship were Gabriela Mikołajczyk and Bogdan Bolz,⁸⁴ followed in this mainly by B. Kürbis.⁸⁵ The hypothesis is based on the assumption that the inscription concerns the remains of three brothers (*ossa trium fra<trum>*), that the meaning of the *fratrum* is monastic, and that these brothers are indeed the three of five saints of VQF, namely Isaac, Matthew and Christinus, supposedly buried separately from Benedict of Benevento and John. Built upon this assumption is the second one, namely that the best candidate for composing such a text must have been Bruno of Querfurt. The linking of the inscription to Bruno is contradicted by a number of challenges, aptly highlighted by Tomasz Płóciennik, whose argument I largely follow here.⁸⁶

First and foremost, despite the modern title, essentially invented by Reinhard Kade (more on this later), the so-called *Vita quinque fratrum* never presents all the martyrs as *fratres*. There is no instance of Bruno using the term *frater* for Christinus, who is always presented as a boy (*puer*), a cook (*coquus*) and a servant (*minister*).⁸⁷ It is difficult to imagine Bruno would change his mind, and recast Christinus as a “brother”, in conflict with the *passio* he has just written (or was indeed writing at the time). What is more, a later re-burial of martyrs and their split-up into two groups is something Bruno probably would have mentioned in the text that he was working on in his last years. Such separation is indeed conceivable, considering the need of spreading both the cult and the power of the relics, but crucially Bruno makes no mention of it. To the contrary, in the chapter on burial in VQF he was keen to show it was God’s will not to allow the separation of saints.

Another set of problems arises when looking at the vocabulary of the inscription, also discussed by T. Płóciennik, and suggested as similar to Bruno’s language especially by B. Kürbis. Since the damage to the extant part of the inscription makes much of the text illegible, the confident readings are not numerous (*Ossa trium tumulo fra<...> | <...>nus militie puidit du<...> | Qui leg<.s<...> morti dire<...> | Ac animas horum regi <...> | O <...>*). As similar to Bruno’s language B. Kürbis pointed to the following: *<mu>nus militiae* because Bruno sometimes writes about monastic life using military terminology (which in itself is not unusual in hagiography; also, the inscription may

⁸⁴ G. Mikołajczyk, B. Bolz, *Gnieźnieńska inskrypcja nagrobna z początków XI stulecia*, “Symbolae Philologorum Posnaniensium” VI (1979), pp. 139-166.

⁸⁵ B. Kürbis, *Płyta nagrobna z inskrypcją*, in: *Gniezno, pierwsza stolica Polski. Miasto świętego Wojciecha. Katalog wystawy zorganizowanej w dniach od 29 września 1994 do 31 stycznia 1995 roku przy współudziale Muzeum Archidiecezjalnego i Archiwum Archidiecezjalnego w Gnieźnie*, Gniezno 1995, pp. 116-119; eadem, *Inskrypcja nagrobna w katedrze gnieźnieńskiej z początku XI wieku*, in: *Christianitas et Cultura Europae. Księga jubileuszowa Profesora Jerzego Kłoczowskiego*, I, ed. H. Gapski, Lublin 1998, pp. 551-566.

⁸⁶ See fn. 82 above.

⁸⁷ MPH s.n., IV/3, pp. 65-66, 68, 82.

concern the burial of actual *militēs*), the *puduit* supposedly echoing the *penitentia* of the martyrs' murderers in VQF. Only this last similarity was preserved by T. Płóciennik – not as a proof a Bruno's authorship, but rather as a plausible echo of the author being acquainted with VQF. This may as well be, but it is important to highlight that Bruno never uses *pudicitia* (nor *puduit* of the inscription), and when he writes of *penitentia* (*penitens* etc.) it means something else. Being "penitent/sorry" and being "ashamed" are actually quite apart.

Proposing Bruno's authorship of the inscription requires a number of multi-level hypotheses that are all weak (precise dating of the epigraph to the early 11th century; identification of Isaac, Matthew and Christinus as *tres fratres*; the partitioning of five saints into groups, contrary to VQF and to later Cosmas' Chronicle). Only then can Bruno be proposed as the author, adding another frail (see above on the language of inscriptions vs Bruno's textual corpus) hypothesis. Taken together, as systematically debated by Płóciennik, this amounts to not much more than fantasy.

The last *dubium* discussed here is actually a quote in VQF. The readers of Bruno will remember that he muses on whether the death of Otto III fulfilled the prophecy of Sibyl of Cumae:

It seems however that his death fulfilled the prophecy of Cumean Sibyl, who predicted many true things about the advent of the Savior, the redemption, and the temporal judgement, and among the prophecies related to Rome, where it spoke of kings, it was of this ceasar Otto that she said the following: "A king born in purple dies at the gate of the city in a land that is not his". And that has the appearance of the truth, since the emperor's death thundered forth as the land rebelled and the city closed its gate.⁸⁸

The obvious problem with Bruno's quote is that we do not know of such prophecy in the extant Sibylline corpus.⁸⁹ Bruno – who is rather reliable in his quotes as will be shown in the latter part of this article – must have read or heard such a prophecy and there is no reason to doubt its existence. Anke Holdenried recently proposed that "a German bishop who was critical of Otto III in writing, was resident in a Byzantine community in Rome on the Aventine Hill and showed an interest in Sibylline prophecy would seem a suitable candidate for the kind of person likely to have had input into the

⁸⁸ Adapted from *Life of the Five Brethren*, transl. M. Miladinov, in: *Saints of the Christianization Age...*, p. 235. For the Latin text see: *ibidem*, p. 234 and MPH s.n., IV/3, p. 47.

⁸⁹ Cf. M. Sosnowski, *Studia...*, pp. 152-155 with a discussion of older research, starting with E. Sackur, *Sibyllinische Texte und Forschungen. Pseudomethodius, Adso und die Tiburtinische Sibylle*, Halle a. Saale 1898, p. 124; cf. especially R. Wenskus, *Studien...*, pp. 99-101; K. Görich, *Otto III...*, pp. 43-44.

Tiburtina".⁹⁰ Holdenried stops short of naming Bruno the author, saying that "someone like him may have contributed to its final form", also adding that "if Bruno did read the text, he may have seen things in it quite different from the imperial associations upon which scholars have focused. The text's reference to ancient pagans might well have put in mind the pagan Slavs he was about to evangelize". The interpretation above has its minor problems, like the purportedly Byzantine character of community on Aventine or the presentation of this community as a missionary center.⁹¹ There are more substantial reservations to be raised, already pointed to by Levi Roach, such as the close contact between the Aventine community and Otto III, the positive image of the emperor in texts written there, and – importantly for our aims – the especially warm and personal feelings of Bruno toward Otto III, making him "a most improbable candidate for author" of a text expressing an opposition toward the emperor.⁹² We do not know whether the actualization of the prophecy known to Bruno as Cumean Sibyl was actually hostile to Otto III – it does not follow from the short snippet cited in VQF. We might as well discover at some point a manuscript containing a Sibylline prophecy, be it "Cumean" or "Tiburtine", with the quote and its relevant context, but for now we are limited to what we have. What seems most interesting in Bruno's quote – and wasn't specifically pointed to by previous researchers – is that the prophecy calls the king *in purpura natus*, which is a direct Latin translation of the Greek Πορφυρογέννητος.⁹³ Bruno uses this term for Otto III twice, in VAA (both redactions) and in VQF⁹⁴ – but otherwise the circle of texts using the expression seems small.⁹⁵

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⁹⁰ A. Holdenried, *Many Hands without Design: The Evolution of a Medieval Prophetic Text*, "The Mediaeval Journal" IV (2014) 1, pp. 23-42 (esp. 39-40).

⁹¹ This is due to reliance on opinions of Bernard Hamilton cited by Holdenried, which were dismantled by J.-M. Sansterre, *Le monastère des Saints-Boniface-et-Alexis sur l'Aventin et l'expansion du christianisme dans le cadre de la "Renovatio Imperii Romanorum" d'Otton III. Une révision*, "Revue Bénédictine" C (1990) 4, pp. 493-506.

⁹² L. Roach, *The Legacy of a Late Antique Prophecy: The Tiburtine Sibyl and the Italian Opposition to Otto III*, "The Mediaeval Journal" V (2015) 1, pp. 1-33 (esp. 11-13).

⁹³ More on this in M. Sosnowski, *Studia...*, p. 155.

⁹⁴ MPH s.n., IV/2, pp. 23, 56; MPH s.n., IV/3, p. 47.

⁹⁵ Limited to *Liudprandi Legatio 15*, ed. J. Becker, MGH SS rerum Germanicarum, XLI, Hannoverae-Lipsiae 1915, p. 184 (*Inaudita res est, ut porphyrogeniti porphyrogenita, hoc est in purpura nati filia et purpura nata, gentibus misceantur*) and *Annales Weissemburgenses*, sub anno 912, ed. O. Holder-Egger, MGH SS rerum Germanicarum, Hannoverae-Lipsiae 1984, p. 33 (hand B: *Constantinus filius Leontis Porphyrogenitus, id est in purpura natus*). The 10th century was also a time of the most frequent usage of this term in Byzantium, mainly for propaganda of legitimacy, cf. Γ. Μαυσείδου, *Ο όρος "Πορφυρογέννητος" ως έκφραση πολιτικής νομιμότητας*, "Δωδώνη" XXII (1993), pp. 317-350 (I used the English abstract pp. 347-350).

The dubia discussed above do not bear hallmarks of Bruno's idiosyncratic style and worldview, nor are suggested by external criteria to have been written by him. We are thus again left with four texts. Their authorship seems to be beyond doubt.⁹⁶ Those four works have been printed more than once,⁹⁷ but almost all of the editions suffer from certain weaknesses, some stemming from incorrect manuscript tradition understanding, some from the assumed editorial principles, and some simply from the inadequate appreciation of Bruno's literary and theological equipment, now greatly enhanced by digital corpora of classical and Christian texts. The newest modern critical editions by Jadwiga Karwasińska – excellent by the standards of their time – are not free from those weaknesses either, not least because the geography of manuscript tradition was difficult to overcome when Europe was divided by the Iron Curtain.⁹⁸ From the point of view of usability, it is worth stressing

96 Wojciech Kętrzyński contested the authorship of VAA (briefly in MPH, VI, Lwów 1893, pp. 383-384; then at length: W. Kętrzyński, *Najdawniejsze żywoty św. Wojciecha i ich autorowie*, "Rozprawy Wydziału Historyczno-Filozoficznego Akademii Umiejętności w Krakowie" XXXVII (1898), esp. pp. 90-94, 114-120) and was disproved primarily by M. Perlbach, *Zu den ältesten...*, esp. pp. 55-70. In the mid-20th century Oldřich Králík presented, in a number of publications (e.g. *Šest legend hledá autora*, Praha 1966) an eccentric interpretation of the beginnings of hagiographical writing in Bohemia and Poland. He convinced no one, and was quickly refuted by J. Karwasińska and D. Třeštk, *Radim, Kristián, vojtěšské legendy a textologie*, "Československý časopis historický" XV (1967) 65, pp. 691-704. This did not deter O. Králík, who produced a book devoted to the subject (*Filiace vojtěšských legend*, Praha 1971). The ensuing discussion did not resolve other various problems of attribution and dating of the earliest hagiography concerning Bohemia and Poland, but they did so for Bruno's authorship of *Nascitur*. As for VQF, its authorship and time of composition was doubted by G. Vedovato, *Camaldoli e la sua congregazione dalle origini al 1184. Storia e documentazione*, Cesena 1994 (Centro Storico Benedettino Italiano, Italia Benedittina, XIV), p. 3, who hypothesized that it was a 17th-century forgery by Guido Grandi OSB Cam. It seems that Vedovato was unaware of the research on VQF (e.g. he stated in 1994 that there is no critical edition of the text). This was noticed and replied to by R. Witkowski, *Żywot Pięciu Braci Męczenników jako źródło do dziejów monastycyzmu. Na marginesie książki Giuseppe Vedovato*, in: *Męczennicy z Międzyrzecza 1003-2003. Materiały z sympozjów 9-10.11.2001, 8-9.11.2002*, ed. R. Tomczak, Paradyż 2003, pp. 183-206.

97 The editions of VAA, VQF and *Epistola* – until 1962, 1969 and 1973 respectively – are listed by J. Karwasińska in: MPH s.n., IV/2, pp. XXIX-XXX; MPH s.n., IV/3, pp. 20-21, 87-89, 92-93. Subsequently published are editions of VAA rb (bilingual Latin-German, based on the chronologically oldest copy and briefly discussed below, *Heiligenleben zur Deutsch-Slawischen Geschichte. Adalbert von Prag und Otto von Bamberg*, eds. L. Weinrich, J. Strzelczyk, Darmstadt 2005, pp. 70-117), of VAA rl, reprinted without apparatus from J. Karwasińska, and conflated with passages unique to rb (bilingual Latin-Czech, introduces "classical" spelling throughout: *Život Svatého Vojtěcha*, ed. M. Kyralová, foreword J. Sláma, Praha 2017); of VQF (bilingual Latin-English: *Life of the Five Brethren by Bruno of Querfurt*, ed. M. Miladinov, in: *Saints of the Christianization Age...*, pp. 183-313 – I discussed this volume in detail in M. Sosnowski, *Hagiografia...*, pp. 877-902, esp. pp. 894-900) and of *Epistola* (a diplomatic edition, briefly mentioned below: *Diplomata Hungariae Antiquissima*, I, ed. G. Györffy, Budapest 1992, pp. 44-48).

98 It is important to remember that Karwasińska's manuscript study took place in 1950s, soon after the ending of the Allied-occupation of Austria and Germany.

that Bruno's works – which often should be read together – have never been edited in a single physical volume.⁹⁹

My research strategy was to attack the works by Bruno at two complementary angles. The first was the reexamination of the manuscript tradition, preparing new transcriptions, collating them and revisiting the arguments put forward by previous scholars. Especially the formerly unused manuscript copies helped to question some of the assumptions and decisions made previously. The second angle was the search, with heretofore unavailable modern means, for the quotations, hidden quotes and allusions present in those texts, i.e. their “cultural baggage” – in order to improve the apparatus (both biblical and fontium) and enhance our understanding of Bruno. The effects of my research allow to expect the new edition to overcome some major deficiencies of previous ones, even if a number of important questions will inevitably remain unanswered.

MANUSCRIPT TRADITION REVISITED – NEW WITNESSES OF VAA RL

The necessary point of departure for any further critical investigation of *Nascitur* is the manuscript tradition as described and analysed by J. Karwasińska, as well as by the previous research, especially of G.H. Pertz, A. Bielowski, H.G. Voigt, W. Kętrzyński, M. Perlbach and R. Wenskus.¹⁰⁰ Since J. Karwasińska painstakingly, but not always reliably,¹⁰¹ noted the variety of readings in her apparatus, the first fruit of manuscript autopsy were corrections and restitutions, dozens per manuscript copy.¹⁰²

⁹⁹ The editions by J. Karwasińska nominally form an MPH volume, but they are printed as separate booklets (fascicles 2 and 3). I will return to the problem of presentation below.

¹⁰⁰ W. Kętrzyński, *Najdawniejsze żywoty...*, pp. 89-129. As a reaction to W. Kętrzyński's article, and more convincingly M. Perlbach, *Zu den ältesten...*, pp. 35-70; see also H.G. Voigt, *Der Verfasser...*, esp. 38-41, 109-120 and scattered observations in idem, *Brun von Querfurt...*, passim; an important survey with lasting observations in R. Wenskus, *Studien...*, pp. 7-68, who discusses all the oldest *vitae*; There were more analytical works comparing the readings of individual witnesses, but they suffer from numerous misreadings (Josef Teige) or exotic presuppositions (Augustin Kolberg), see: J. Teige, *Různočtení legend českých svatých z rukopisů královské dvorské a a státní knihovny mnichovské*, “Sitzungsberichte der Königlichen-Böhmischen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften, Klasse für Philosophie, Geschichte und Philologie” (= Věstník Královské České společnosti nauk, Třída filosoficko-historicko-jazykozpytná) IV (1891), pp. 51-56; A. Kolberg, *Die vita II s. Adalberti vom hl. Bruno nach der Prager Handschrift XIII. D. 20*, “Zeitschrift für Geschichte und Altertumskunde des Ermlands” XV (1905), pp. 120-206. These and other analytical works are cited in: MPH s.n., IV/2 introduction by J. Karwasińska.

¹⁰¹ For some witnesses Karwasińska used only black and white microfilms and was not able, due to Cold War restrictions, consult all the manuscripts by autopsy.

¹⁰² Not all of these are meaningful for collation or constitution of text, but my filling out of some of the more glaring omissions points to a stronger connection between some of the

Until recently, only the following two witnesses were available for the longer redaction of *Nascitur* (unless otherwise noted, all sigla *sensu* J. Karwasińska):

- *Kv* = Zámek Kynžvart, Ms. 40 (20-D-22/I), ff. 143-156. One of multi-volume parchment legendary (ca. 29x20 cm) that belonged to the Ochsenhausen Abbey (Baden-Württemberg) was first uncovered by A. Bielowski.¹⁰³ It was written in the 2nd half of the 12th century at the Benedictine abbey Sankt-Blasien (Black Forest, dioc. Konstanz), of which Ochsenhausen was a priory until 1391.¹⁰⁴ The *tabule* on f. IIv list no less than 29 numbered legends with dates of the respective *feriae*, but it does not include all texts of the original composition, nor was it supplemented by later additions. The series of legends (mostly passions) covers the months of September-November, and then breaks the calendar continuity to include the saints for February (Julian, Blaise, Brigid), interspersed with Florian (May 4) and Adalbert (April 24); Karwasińska reasonably posited that the legends breaking off from the calendar order must have been acquired after the previous volumes were already finished.¹⁰⁵ The second extant volume (Zámek Kynžvart, Ms. 41, *olim* 20-D-22/II) covers the months of July and August.¹⁰⁶ *Nascitur* (rubric: *Passio sancti Adelberti episcopi et martyris*) is the penultimate hagiographical text of the original volume, followed by *Vita Brigidae virginis* (BHL 1457) with some later additions. A clean copy with some contemporary additions and corrections, it was written by at least two scribes (change of hand on f. 145r, l. 3). There is no internal division into chapters or *lectiones*, and the only decoration is the red

witnesses, especially of the shorter redaction (e.g. *Pr2* to *Sb*; *Tr* to *Ab* and *Ad3*; corrections in *Ab*, *Ad3* making them closer to each other; see below).

103 Brunona život š. Wojciecha, ed. A. Bielowski, MPH, I, Lwów 1864, pp. 188-189.

104 See H. Houben, *St. Blasianer Handschriften des 11. und 12. Jahrhunderts. Unter besonderer Berücksichtigung der Ochsenhauser Klosterbibliothek*, München 1979 (Münchener Beiträge zur Mediävistik u. Renaissance-Forschung, XXX), pp. 86-92, 145-146, 156 and 92-99 (for Zámek Kynžvart, Ms 41); H.-D. Mück, *Handschriften der ehemaligen Bibliothek der Benediktiner-Reichsabtei Ochsenhausen vom 9. bis 14. Jahrhundert*, in: *Libri sapientiae, libri vitae: von nützlichen und erbaulichen Schriften: Schätze der ehemaligen Bibliothek der Benediktiner-Reichsabtei Ochsenhausen*, Ochsenhausen 1993, pp. 82-105, n. 3, pp. 88-90; see also F. Čáda, *Rukopisy knihovny státního zámku v Kynžvartě*, Praha 1965, n. 40, pp. 60-64; cf. J. Karwasińska, MPH, IV/2, pp. VII-VIII.

105 Cf. J. Karwasińska, MPH, IV/2, pp. VIII.

106 Notably, it contains (f. 171r-v) the *Praefatio Adelberti episcopi in passionem sancti Gorgonii martyris* (BHL 3616) sent to Milo, bishop of Minden (d. 996) – the authorship of Adalbert of Prague was long suspected, but recently P.Ch. Jacobsen attributed it to archbishop Adalbert of Magdeburg (d. 981), previously a monk at St. Maximin in Trier, see: *Miracula s. Gorgonii. Studien und Texte zur Gorgonius- Verehrung im 10. Jahrhundert*, Hannover 2009 (MGH Studien und Texte, XLVI), esp. pp. 188-194.

floral initial in pen, similarly to other texts in the volume. Still the best and most complete witness, *Kv* is nevertheless isolated in its readings against the commonalities in a growing corpus of fragmentary copies and indirect tradition of VAA rl (see below).

- *S = De probatis sanctorum historiis etc., vol. 2, Coloniae Agrippinae 1571 (1st ed.), pp. 826-840. An early modern print (editio princeps of VAA and of any of Bruno's works) by Laurentius Surius (+1578), a Carthusian monk in Cologne and hagiographer, was possibly based on a currently lost 16th century (1st half) manuscript of an Augustinian canon Antonius Geens (1543+) of Rooklooster (Rouge-Cloître) priory south of Brussels.¹⁰⁷ In his very short introduction, Surius does not reveal the source and admits that in a number of places he has slightly modified the text at his disposal (*stylum aliquot locis modice correxit F. Laur. Surius*). *De probatis* went through no less than five editions, but only the first two were the work of Surius himself (the second having been prepared by him, but published posthumously).¹⁰⁸ The chapter numbering was introduced in the fourth edition (1618) – in the previous ones there are only unnumbered paragraphs. Surius' textual interventions are, for the most part, introduced silently.¹⁰⁹ Even if the major ones usually are not difficult to detect (as Surius was keen to correct lexical barbarisms and syntax he considered unfitting for his humanist readers), the scattered minor differences that separate *S* from *Kv* are more challenging to assess. Karwasińska rightly considered the comparison with VAA rb helpful, but a large number of differences are confined to fragments that are particular to VAA rl.¹¹⁰ Surprisingly, all the previous editors of *Nascitur* ignored the asterisked marginal notes (they variously appear*

¹⁰⁷ The reconstruction of the lost manuscript and the discussion of it as a possible source for Surius, see M. Coens, *Un manuscrit perdu de Rouge-Cloître décrit d'après les notes d'Héribert Rosweyde et d'Aubert le Mire*, „Analecta Bollandiana“ LXXVIII (1960) 1, pp. 53-83 (esp. 71); cfr. J. Karwasińska, MPH, IV/2, p. IX.

¹⁰⁸ *De probatis sanctorum historiis etc.*, II, Coloniae Agrippinae 1578², pp. 924-937; *De vitis Sanctorum ab Aloysio Lipomano etc.*, II, Venetiis 1581³, f. 257r-261v; *Vitae sanctorum ex Probatis etc.* [= *De probatis etc.*], IV, Coloniae Agrippinae 1618⁴, pp. 289-297; *Surius: Historiae seu Vitae Sanctorum: iuxta optimam Coloniensem editionem*, IV, Augustae Taurinorum 1875⁵, pp. 544-562.

¹⁰⁹ In accordance with Surius' methods on which see P. Holt, *Die Sammlung von Heiligenleben des Laurentius Surius*, «Neues Archiv» XLIV (1922), pp. 341-364; S. Spanò Martinelli, *Cultura umanistica, polemica antiprotestante, erudizione sacra nel «De probatis sanctorum historiis» di Lorenzo Surio*, in: *Raccolte di vite di santi dal XIII al XVIII secolo: strutture, messaggi, fruizioni*, ed. S. Boesch Gajano, Fasano di Brindisi 1990, pp. 131-141; I was not able to consult H. Hebenstreit-Wilfert, *Wunder und Legende: Studien zu Leben und Werk von Laurentius Surius (1522-1578), insbesondere zu seiner Sammlung De probatis Sanctorum historiis*, Tübingen 1975 [dissertation].

¹¹⁰ Cf. J. Karwasińska, MPH, IV/2, p. VIII.

in 1571, 1578, 1581 editions¹¹¹), which sometime seem to provide the authentic manuscript reading that Surius considered erroneous. Since the previous editors relied solely on the 1571 edition, they were not able to take into account the slight variations present in the later prints (especially the 1578 edition).

All in all, the reliability of *S* has remained the main problem of the constitution of VAA rl. More than two decades after J. Karwasińska's edition, in 1993 Klaus Nass uncovered an additional witness:

- *Wt* (my siglum¹¹²) = Niedersächsisches Landesarchiv, Staatsarchiv Wolfenbüttel, 12 Slg 11 no 8. A single large (48 × 33 cm) parchment sheet, written in two columns in high-quality transitional script with many hallmarks of an early Gothic (dated by K. Nass to early 13th century), it probably comes from a *legendarium* of an unknown origin and contains chapters 23-29 of VAA rl.¹¹³ Written without internal subdivisions, the text has been checked and corrected by a contemporary hand. Subsequently the *folio* was used as a documents folder and from the notes written on it K. Nass was able to identify the apparent time and place of its reuse (and probably the destruction of the codex) – before mid-16th century in Burg Plesse, near Göttingen in Lower Saxony.

K. Nass compared the newly found readings with the then-accessible textual tradition of VAA rl and noticed that *Wt* shows some similarities to *S* against *Kv* and concluded that the basis for *Wt* must have belonged to a different tradition than both *Kv* and *S*. Probably not knowing that J. Karwasińska's edition was correcting the *Kv* with *S* and sometimes with readings from manuscripts of the shorter redaction, K. Nass used the main text (as if it was simply *Kv*) as his *comparandum*.¹¹⁴ Meanwhile, noting that in certain readings

¹¹¹ The fourth edition (1618) adds more numerous asterisked marginal notes, but these are usually built on comparing the text of *Nascitur* with *Vita prior* (*Est locus*) as printed by H. Canisius (*Antiquae Lectiones*, II, Ingolstadt 1604, pp. 332-354) and with *Annales Ecclesiastici* by C. Baronius.

¹¹² Instead of a more sensible *Wb*, which in the textual tradition of the oldest *Adalbertiana* was already assigned to the Windberg legendary (Munich, Clm 22241) by J. Karwasińska, *Introduction*, MPH s.n., IV/1, p. 14.

¹¹³ K. Nass, *Wolfenbütteler Funde*, "Deutsches Archiv für Erforschung des Mittelalters" XLIX (1993), pp. 165-167.

¹¹⁴ *Ibidem*, pp. 166-167. The following is a list of readings changed in the main text from *Kv* by J. Karwasińska, and not taken into account by K. Nass when collating *Wt* (page and verse numbering according to MPH s.n., IV/2): p. 29, 12 (*ulnis*; *Kv*: *annis*), p. 29, 16 (*lingua monent*; *Kv*: *linguam mouent*); p. 29, 23-30, 1 (*quiescere* following the *Tr* witness the VAA rb; *Kv*: om.); p. 30, 13 (*flagrant* after *S*; *Kv*: *fraglant*); p. 31, 7 (*Ros* after witnesses of VAA rb; *Kv*: *Res*); p. 31, 7 (*tum* after witnesses of VAA rb; *Kv*: *dum*); p. 31, 19 (*Dei* after *S* and witnesses of

the text printed by Surius (S) concurs with the manuscripts of shorter redaction, against the sole *Kv*, J. Karwasińska decided to introduce at least some of those readings into the main text of VAA rl. Apparently unaware of that, K. Nass' analysis produced inaccurate conclusion, namely that *Wt* contains more common readings with *Kv* against *S* than vice versa.¹¹⁵ In fact, it is the other way around. Importantly, *Wt* clearly shows that although Surius obviously tinkered with his text, it was to a lesser degree than J. Karwasińska could assume. In this light, some readings of the previously solitary *Kv* can be judged inferior compared to "Surian" wording, now also attested by a manuscript witness. It is reasonable to assume that the text of *Wt* as a whole, would display the characteristics of the extant fragment, but this is only a conjecture.

Fortunately, in 2016 I became aware of another witness for the longer redaction.¹¹⁶ This time it was an epitome, surviving in a two-volume legendary from the 15th-century Magdeburg.¹¹⁷

- *Mgd* (my siglum) = Berlin, Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin, Preußischer Kulturbesitz, Ms. Magdeb. 26, ff. 313a-314va. A massive two-volume (the second is Ms. Magdeb. 138) legendary, from Magdeburg or environs, written on paper in two columns by many hands in bastarda of varying quality (VAA rl executed rather poorly). The winter volume (Ms. Magdeb. 26) is dated by a colophon to 1459.¹¹⁸

The "Magdeburg Legendary" contains a series of previously unused manuscript copies of texts relevant not only to Bruno and St. Adalbert but

VAA rb; *Kv*: om.; p. 32, 23 (*quam habes* after Ad3 of VAA rb; *Kv*: *habe quam*); p. 32, 12 (*mugitibus* after S and witnesses of VAA rb; *Kv*: *mugitus*); p. 32, 14f. (*terra nostra non dabit fructum, arbores non parturiunt* after witnesses of VAA rb; *Kv*: om.); p. 33, 28 (*Unum* after S; *Kv*: *Unus*); p. 34, 22 (*maior* after S and witnesses of VAA rb; *Kv*: om.); p. 34, 22 (*timentis* after Ab, Ad3 of VAA rb; *Kv*: *mentis*), p. 24, 25 (*quod* after VAA rb; *Kv*: *quo*); p. 29, 13 (*Kv*: *corde*; S and *Wt*: *in corde*); p. 33, 20 (*Kv*: *insperato faciat*; S and *Wt*: *insperato te faciat*); p. 34, 22 (*Kv*: om.; S and *Wt*: *maior*). I discussed this – prior to being able to consult *Wt* – with a table of readings in M. Sosnowski, *Studia...*, pp. 73-78.

¹¹⁵ K. Nass, *Wolfenbütteler Funde*, p. 167: "Das Fragment stimmt in den meisten Fällen mit *Kv* überein".

¹¹⁶ U. Winter, *Die Manuscripta Magdeburgica der Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin Preußischer Kulturbesitz*, I, Wiesbaden 2001, p. 95; described as shorter redaction, although BHL no. suggests VAA rl.

¹¹⁷ It is conjectured that because the cathedral library in Magdeburg burned in mid-15th century, the milieu quickly needed a new legendary which now survives as *Mgd*. Both winter and summer volumes have formal descriptions, see: U. Winter, *Die Manuscripta...*, pp. 86-100 and U. Winter, K. Heydeck, *Die Manuscripta Magdeburgica*, II, Wiesbaden 2004, pp. 118-140. For a more narrative description and analysis of the contents cf. U. Winter, *Das Legendarium Magdeburgense in der Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin – Preussischer Kulturbesitz* (Mss. Magdeb. 26 und 138), in: *Scrinium Berolinense. Tilo Brandis zum 65. Geburtstag*, I, eds. P.J. Becker, E. Bliembach, H. Nickel, R. Schipke, G. Staccioli, Berlin 2000, pp. 320-327.

¹¹⁸ f. 424rb; cf. U. Winter, *Manuscripta Magdeburgica*, I, p. 87.

also to “Five Brothers” (of VQF).¹¹⁹ My article with a detailed discussion of those witnesses is currently available,¹²⁰ so below I only signal my main textual findings relevant to VAA rl.

Despite the imposing size of *Legendarium Magdeburgense*, the text of *Nascitur* was not copied *in extenso*, but rather in an abbreviated form (on internal grounds, I posit that it was either during the composition of the legendary, or shortly before). The abbreviator seems utterly unimpressed with Bruno’s meandering thought and rhetorical outbursts – he leaves them all out, apparently preferring to keep to the “facts”, that is recognizable stories, events or miracles. Moreover, those stories that are left in, are usually much reworked or abridged, making large parts of the text rather inconvenient for purposes of VAA rl constitution. Readings in such reworked passages are to be selectively supplemented in the apparatus, but they prove useful.¹²¹ Despite this rather ruthless approach, the abridger did retain selected passages *in extenso* and these oftentimes also agree with *S* against *Kv*. Although none of those more substantial fragments overlap with *Wt*, some restitutions are possible. A case of this is a passage missing in all three *Kv*, *S* and *Wt* and present only in manuscripts of VAA rb (*terra nostra non dabit fructum, arbores non parturiunt*), that is nevertheless supported as belonging to VAA rl, because *Mgd* contains a reworked version of it (*fit terre sterilitas*).¹²² This would mean that *Mgd* was copied from an antigraph that was at least sometimes better than, or even perhaps stemmatically prior to *Kv*, *Wt*, *S*.

The effect of investigating *Mgd*, just as it was with *Wt*, is a higher relative valuation of readings of *S* (together with *Wt* and/or *Mgd*) against those of *Kv*. Two new (one fragmentary the other being an abbreviation) witnesses allowed to reappraise the textual tradition of *redactio longior*, make certain restitutions to VAA rl, confirm or reject some conjectures offered by witness of VAA rb.

I also introduced into the discussion of VAA rl the readings of the 17th-century *Antiphonale* in the Benedictine abbey or Rajhrad in Moravia (*Rh3*):

119 Ms. Magdeb. 26 contains *Passio Brunonis* (BHL 1471b, BHL 1472) on ff. 372b-373vb, *Passio s. Adalberti* (BHL 38) on ff. 313a-314b, while in Ms. Magdeb. 138 one finds *Miracula s. Adalberti* (BHL 44-45) on ff. 154vb-157b and *Passio Quinque Fratrum* (BHL 1148) on ff. 368va-369b. As I have demonstrated, *Passio Brunonis*, (see fn. below), seems an important supplement to the edition by Kaufmann (MHG SS, XXX/2, Lipsiae 1934, pp. 1360-1367), who considered this oldest witness to be lost (*ibidem*, p. 1358, fn. 15).

120 M. Sosnowski, *Święci Wojciech i Brunon z Kwerfurtu w tzw. Legendarium Magdeburgense – utwory hagiograficzne i kalendarz*, “*Studia Źródłoznawcze*” LVII (2019), pp. 11-30.

121 Just one example *superiori* (*S*, *Mgd*, codd. r.b.) against *superiore* (*Kv*); cf. MPH s.n., IV/2, pp. 26, 58.

122 J. Karwasińska followed manuscripts of VAA rb here, but it was an uncertain supplementation (MPH s.n., IV/2, p. 32). It seemed to be even more risky, when *Wt* also proved to lack the passage.

- *Rh3* (my siglum) = Rajhrad, Knihovna Benediktinského opatství Rajhrad, R 30, ff. 264v-267 (olim B/K.II.a.8 and Brno, UKB R 30). Dated by colophon (1613) and located by cotemporaneous ownership note (*Monasterij Rayhradensis Ord. S. Benedicti*) it is probably local.¹²³

A closer inquiry suggests that the readings for St. Adalbert in this antiphony were not based on an earlier lost manuscript, but rather on a popular printed *Vitae Sanctorum* by Franciscus Haraeus,¹²⁴ who in turn slightly modified the text he took from Surius. *Rh3* is therefore unusable for *constitutio textus* of VAA rl, but it forms a part of the largest extant geographical cluster (Moravian) of manuscript copies of *Nascitur*.

Shortly before submitting this article, I became aware of another abbreviation of VAA rl:

- *Mf* (my siglum) = Jena, Thüringer Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek Jena, Ms. El. f. 26, ff. 230va-232va. This first part of a legendary (*Legenda aurea* forms a bulk of it¹²⁵) once belonged to Premonstratensians of Mildenfurth (Thuringia). It was written in the 1st half of the 14th century in two columns put on parchment in a Gothic bookhand (*textualis*). Adalbert and a number of other saints are placed at the end, in what doesn't seem like a late afterthought. Only after those additional saints, one finds a colophon on f. 235vb: *prima pars noui libri passionalis comparata per Theodoricum sacerdotem de G<erasure>*, but it is obviously difficult to tell whether priest Dietrich compiled the collection or simply commissioned it.¹²⁶

The text (inc. *Adelbertus alto sanguine patre Bohemo*; no BHL number) was discovered by Anna Kozłowska,¹²⁷ who has published the briefly introduced transcription.¹²⁸ The text of *abbreviatio* has not been discussed since, not to

¹²³ See the catalogue description by V. Dokoupil, *Soupis rukopisů knihovny Benediktinů v Rajhradě*, Praha 1966 (Soupisy rukopisných fondů Universitní knihovny v Brně, IV), pp. 26-28.

¹²⁴ *Vitae sanctorum. Ex probatissimis authoribus et potissimum ex Surio, breui compendio summa fide collectae per R.D. Franciscum Haraeum, Ultraiectinum, S. Theologiae Licentiatum, Antverpiae* 1590.

¹²⁵ It is referenced by B. Fleith, *Studien zur Überlieferungsgeschichte der lateinischen Legenda Aurea*, Bruxelles 1991 (Subsidia Hagiographica, LXXII), p. 136 (no. LA 292).

¹²⁶ For a modern catalogue entry with bibliography see: B. Tönnies, *Die Handschriften der Thüringer Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek Jena, I: Die mittelalterlichen lateinischen Handschriften der Electoralis-Gruppe*, Wiesbaden 2002, pp. 80 ff.

¹²⁷ E. Burda, A. Kozłowska, *Handschriftliche Polonica in den Sammlungen der Universitätsbibliothek Jena*, Jena 1989 (Bibliographische Mitteilungen der Universitätsbibliothek Jena, XLIX), p. 15.

¹²⁸ A. Kozłowska, *Leksyk dotyczący Boga w żywotach św. Wojciecha*, "Studia Warmińskie" XXVII (1990), pp. 158-165 (edition 163-165). A. Kozłowska wondered whether Theodoricus

mention introduced into the discussion of VAA rl.¹²⁹ I was able to add another witness (15th century) of this text to the list:

- *Mls* (my siglum) = Nicolaus-Matz-Bibliothek, Michelstadt, D687, f. 333rb-340rb. A legendary, formed chiefly by *Legenda Aurea*,¹³⁰ written in bastarda in two columns on paper by a certain Albertus de Rotenfeils, probably in South-Western Germany, before 1448 (f. 334 by corrector's hand: *1448 4 post cantate*) – it is currently preserved in Michelstadt (Hesse).¹³¹

The character of this abbreviation – as was previously the case with *Mgd* – to a certain point locates it between direct and indirect witness. Since I am currently preparing a separate article about this text and its copies, I can only offer provisional remarks. As already noticed by A. Kozłowska, *Adalbertus alto sanguine* is an “almost mechanically” abbreviated VAA rl, supplied with a changed ending,¹³² The story is condensed unevenly – the most visibly reduced part is the missionary journey and subsequent martyrdom (the “changed ending” *sensu* A. Kozłowska), taking slightly more than one hundred words, while the text up to this point takes over 5 thousand words. There are no fragments, that would suggest the milieu. As noticed by J. Karwasieńska, Czech copies from 14th century add proper Slavic names of Adalbert's parents and otherwise slightly “Bohemize” the story.¹³³ *Mgd*, discussed above, carefully retains all information about Magdeburg, even adding some small amplifications. There are no such machinations in *Adalbertus alto sanguine*. Here the stated “ethnic” difference between the father (*patre bohemo*) and mother (*matre uero sclaua*) would suggest an author somewhat distant from Slavic territories. At the same time, it is difficult to ignore that some of the removed passages (the mention of Adalberts consanguinity with *Henricus rex*, as well as the lengthy story of failures of Otto II due to his offending St. Lawrence by allowing the suppression of the diocese of Merseburg) were something a German audience would seem interested in.

can be identified as a Dominican hagiographer Dietrich of Apolda (13th/14th century), but this does not seem plausible.

129 To be sure it is not mentioned in H. Fros, *Inédits non recensés dans la BHL*, “Analecta Bollandiana” CII (1984), pp. 163-196, 355-380.

130 B. Fleith, *Studien...*, pp. 164-165 (no. LA 423).

131 J. Staub, K.H. Staub, *Die mittelalterlichen Handschriften der Nicolaus-Matz-Bibliothek (Kirchenbibliothek) in Michelstadt*, Michelstadt 1999 (www.michelstadt.de/fileadmin/DAM_Michelstadt/Tourismus_Kultur/Dokumente/Mittelalterliche_Handschriften.pdf – access: 10 October 2018).

132 A. Kozłowska, *Leksyk...*, p. 163.

133 MPH s.n., IV/2, pp. X-XI.

The mode of abbreviation – passages and phrases retained *in extenso* – makes the text useful for valuing its readings as an indirect witness of *redactio longior*. The collation of two manuscripts shows that 15th-century *Mls* is certainly an overall worse witness, but provisional investigation suggests that it does not necessarily stem from *Mf*, as the former contains three readings missing in *Mf*¹³⁴ (and one correct against an erroneous reading in *Mf*), that are attested in manuscripts of VAA. The numbers are small, and perhaps these can be seen as conjectures supplied *ope ingenii* by an otherwise carefree copyist of *Mls*. On the other hand, one proper name in *Mls* is correct against the confused reading of *Mf*.¹³⁵

Whatever their interdependence turns out to be after detailed research, *Mf* and *Mls*, similarly to *Wt* and *Mgd* show certain common readings with *S* against *Kv*, that need attention, even if some may ultimately be independently made corrections.¹³⁶ The most suggestive is the story about the widow supported by Adalbert's gift (only in VAA rl), where *Kv* implies that it was Adalbert who called upon the widow to give her his cape and deliver a speech, and rest of witnesses *S*, *Mgd* and *Mf* suggest that he ordered someone from his retinue to do so and allow for a different understanding of what are Adalbert's words and what is the narrative and commentary.¹³⁷

All in all, the four new witnesses of the longer redaction allow for a more rational choice of readings – controlled by manuscripts of the shorter redaction – and for a higher relative valuation of *S* as well as a better understanding of how VAA circulated.

CIRCULATION OF REDACTIONS OF VAA

With these four “new” manuscripts added to the tradition of VAA rl, it is worth briefly revisiting J. Karwasińska's assumptions about the circulation of *redactio longior*. Even though there are only four independent witnesses of this text, they all come from different regions of the medieval Germany (*Kv* – Benedictines of Sankt-Blasien in Black Forest; the manuscript that *S* is based on was probably written at Rouge-Cloître near Brussels but its antigraph is of unknown origin and it is difficult to imagine it not coming

¹³⁴ peccandi non cum una sed cum [*om. Mf*]; querens cibum et potum ut [*om. Mf*]; ab eo quod [*om. Mf*].

¹³⁵ bolizlauri] zolizlauri *Mf*.

¹³⁶ imbuendus *S*, *Mgd*, *Mf*] inficiendus *Kv*, *codd. r.b*; sancto crismate *Kv*, *codd. r.b.*] secundo crismate *S*, *Mf*; inciperet *S*, *Mf*] inchoaret *Kv*, *codd. r.b.* More examples will be produced in the forthcoming article.

¹³⁷ I discussed this account in *Mgd* and *S* – without the support of *Mf* and *Mls* – in M. Sosnowski, *Święci Wojciech i Brunon...*

from somewhere in Germany; *Mgd* comes from Magdeburg in Saxony; and *Wt* from southern Lower Saxony; *Mf* – from Thuringia; *Mls* – probably from South-Western Germany). This wide geographical range – wide in comparison to other Bruno's works – suggests that VAA rl reached a relatively high level of popularity in the Middle Ages, even if it was confined to territories north of Alps.¹³⁸ Previously, apart from the Black Forest *Kv*, the traces of use of VAA rl came mostly from Medieval Saxony¹³⁹ and – what is rarely mentioned – from Bohemia and Poland. It is this version that is quoted in 12th-century historiography in Saxony¹⁴⁰ (from early local copies), it was probably that same redaction that was used in Poland (from later imported copies, I posit) to produce the first local hagiographical text (*Tempore illo* – 12th or 13th century) and then in the late-13th century to supplement *Vita prior* (and *Tempore illo*) in composing a very successful *In partibus Germaniae* (I discuss both those texts under “Tradition *sensu lato*” below). As is widely acknowledged, Bruno wrote the longer redaction during his stay in Saxony in 1004 and this could have assisted in its relatively wide circulation.

On the other hand, as previously demonstrated by W. Kętrzyński, M. Perlbach and J. Karwasińska, the circulation of the shorter redaction still seems to be limited to medieval south-eastern German (Austro-Bavarian) territories and later also to Czech lands. This is no more than guesswork, but a text written in Hungary – as first proposed by Pertz and discussed above – could have been brought back to Bavaria,¹⁴¹ and only then – at a later date – be transferred to Bohemia.

¹³⁸ His works would seemingly be of interest to various milieus he was in contact with while in Italy (Romuald's circle, Monte Cassino, monasteries in Rome, especially the Aventine community).

¹³⁹ MPH s.n., IV/2, pp. V-VI; MPH s.n., IV/3, pp. 14-16; cf. E. Kessel, *Die Magdeburger Geschichtschreibung im Mittelalter bis zum Ausgang des 12. Jahrhunderts*, “Sachsen und Anhalt” VII (1931), pp. 109-184.

¹⁴⁰ See note above and W. Kętrzyński in fn. 100. Only S. Haarlander, *Vitae episcoporum. Eine Quellengattung zwischen Hagiographie und Historiographie, untersucht an Lebensbeschreibungen von Bischöfen des Regnum Teutonicum im Zeitalter der Ottonen und Salier*, Stuttgart 2000, p. 480 cites the shorter redaction as the source of an account of Otto II being punished by St. Lawrence in *Gesta Archiepiscoporum Magdeburgensium* (ed. W. Schum, MGH SS, XIV, p. 389). Perhaps this is a clerical error, as both redactions are here nearly identical, especially when compared to *Gesta*.

¹⁴¹ Perhaps similarly to *Hystoria de predicatione Brunonis* (BHL 1471) by a certain Wipertus, who claims to be Bruno's companion, which is preserved in a manuscript from 11th-century Tegernsee Abbey (currently in Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 18897); for the newest edition of this text with a discussion of the codex and its one known apograph with bibliography up to 2011 see: M. Sosnowski, *Anonimowa Passio s. Adalperti martiris* (BHL 40) oraz *Wiperta Historia de predicatione episcopi Brunonis* (BHL 1471) – komentarz, edycja, przekład, “Rocznik Biblioteki Narodowej” XLIII (2012), pp. 5-74.

THE MANUSCRIPT TRADITION OF VAA RB – A NEW WITNESS AND REVALUATIONS

The manuscript tradition of the shorter redaction as studied and subsequently utilized by J. Karwasińska consisted of six copies.¹⁴² Karwasińska established that VAA rb existed in two recensions, which she termed “Bavarian” (two manuscripts) and “Bohemian” (four manuscripts) due to the geographical proliferation of their copies. Both of those recensions – apart from scattered minor differences between them – varyingly present the text closer to VAA rl.¹⁴³ According to Karwasińska both recensions have arisen early from what could be best called Bruno’s unfinished draft, which was copied twice in a different final form, but without the possibility of consulting the author nor a complete copy of VAA rl anymore. I will revisit this in the introduction to the edition, but here I need to state that despite agreeing with the general picture painted by Karwasińska, I am willing to put more stress on the fact that the “Bohemian” recension is now available only in late (14th century) manuscripts with local (and recent) interventions into the subject matter and style that are oftentimes difficult, if even possible, to differentiate from readings *ope codici*, which could be closer to Bruno’s own draft. I am therefore inclined to use a manuscript of the so-called Bavarian recension as the leading witness and to control the text of VAA rb with copies of VAA rl more systematically than Karwasińska was disposed to.

Below I will describe the previously known copies only briefly, leaving the detailed findings for the edition’s introduction. The two oldest copies of VAA rb are textually close 12th-century witnesses of “Bavarian recension” (*sensu* Karwasińska):

- *Ab* = Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 2552, ff. 40r-50r.¹⁴⁴ This is one of the three volumes of a *passionale*, written at the Cistercian abbey at Aldersbach (dioc. Brixen) in one column on parchment and paleographically dated to the second half of the 12th century.¹⁴⁵ Another volume of the *passionale* from Aldersbach is also extant (Clm 2546), but it has a somewhat different layout,¹⁴⁶ and a seemingly coeval note

¹⁴² J. Karwasińska, *Introduction*, MPH s.n., IV/2, pp. IX-XI.

¹⁴³ *Ibidem*, pp. XII-XIX.

¹⁴⁴ Microfilm scans available at Bayerische Staatsbibliothek Digitale Sammlungen <<https://daten.digitale-sammlungen.de/~db/0002/bsb00020954/images/>>

¹⁴⁵ D. Frioli, *Lo scriptorium e la Biblioteca del monastero cisterciense di Aldersbach*, Spoleto 1990, pp. 58-59, 112-113, *passim*; E. Klemm, *Die romanischen Handschriften der Bayerischen Staatsbibliothek, I: Die Bistümer Regensburg, Passau und Salzburg. Tafelband*, Wiesbaden 1980, pp. 144-145; cf. J. Karwasińska, MPH s.n., IV/2, p. X (with some doubts concerning the previous 1st half of 12th century dating); see also K. Halm, W. Meyer, *Catalogus codicum Latinorum Bibliothecae Regiae Monacensis*, II/2, München 1894, p. 7.

¹⁴⁶ D. Frioli, *Lo scriptorium...*, p. 52, *passim*.

connecting it to Adam, abbot of Ebrach (1126-1161), on the front fly-leaf.¹⁴⁷ Those characteristics suggest that – even if this volume remained in Aldersbach, as understood by the ownership notes – it actually might be a part of another set of passionals made at the scriptorium concurrently. There are some erasures and corrections that make the text of VAA rb closer to readings found in a slightly later *Ad3*, but all seem contemporary, even if some perhaps by another hand. *Ab* is the sole witness used by L. Weinrich in his recent edition (see fn. 97).

- *Ad3* = Admont, Benediktinerstift, Cod. 393, ff. 204v-221v. This parchment passional of unknown provenance, but currently in the Benedictine abbey in Admont (Styria, Austria), was written in late-12th-century transitional script by many hands, with some 12-13th-century South German (“Oberdeutsch”) glosses¹⁴⁸ (*Nascitur* is not glossed). The passional opens with a cluster of three texts devoted to St. Emmeram (usually 22 September), the first being *Vita Emmerami* (BHL 2540) by Meginfrid of Magdeburg (fl. 11th century).¹⁴⁹ Subsequent hagiographies, even if some quite rare (Clarus of Vienne, Gamalbert of Michaelsbuch composed at St. Emmeram in Regensburg), are all to be found in *Magnum Legendarium Austriacum*. Some rubrics testify to the selection of texts being made between this volume and another one.¹⁵⁰ VAA rb, as recognized by O. Holder-Egger and demonstrated by J. Karwasińska,¹⁵¹ is textually very close to *Ab* and likewise displays the same division of text into quasi-chapters. Corrections by contemporary hands as well as later ones generally match the readings present in *Ab*.¹⁵² Importantly

147 Clm 2546, front fly-leaf: *A. uenerabili abb[at]i de eberach*. On Adam, see: F. Geldner, *Abt Adam von Ebrach*, “Veröffentlichungen für fränkische Geschichte, Reihe VII A: Fränkische Lebensbilder” II (1968), pp. 8-25. According to E. Klemm, *Die romanischen Handschriften...*, p. 145 the note is in 15th-century hand, but it seems considerably earlier, cf. D. Frioli, *Lo scriptorium...*, p. 276, fn. 5.

148 See online “Datenbank der althochdeutschen und altsächsischen Glossenhandschriften”, BStK: (glossen.germ-ling.uni-bamberg.de/bstk/8a – access: 10 October 2018). The handwritten catalogue by J. Wichner, *Catalogus codicum manu scriptorum Admontensis* (p. 80) is also available online, at: manuscripta.at/diglit/wichner_1888/0203 – access: 10 October 2018.

149 F.J. Worstbrock, *Meginfrid of Magdeburg*, in: *Verfasserlexikon*, VI, Berlin 1987, col. 305 (with this manuscript).

150 f. 257r: *Vita Petronelle et passio Felicule secuntur sed in hoc libro scribere desisto in alio cum detineatur*.

151 O. Holder-Egger, *Aus Münchener Handschriften*, p. 578; J. Karwasińska, MPH s.n. IV/2, pp. XII-XV (there are some minor errors in the examples from *Ab*, *Ad3* but the findings are sound).

152 f. 204v where the word *magna* [*pauperum cura*] erased and overwritten with *larga* (as in other witnesses of VAA rb); 205r where previously *infiendos* corrected to *infiendis*

Ad3 also includes some readings omitted in *Ab*.¹⁵³ *Ad3* was the sole witness used in the G. H. Pertz's edition published in MGH SS IV.

The oldest witness of VAA rb currently in Czech lands is an opening section (copied *in extenso*) divided into liturgical readings, and comes from a lectionary-homiliary in Rajhrad:

- *Rh* = Rajhrad, Knihovna Benediktinského opatství Rajhrad, R 376, ff. 161v-162v (olim D/K.I.aa.16 and UKB R 376). This parchment lectionary-homiliary (29,5 × 20,5 cm, but originally somewhat larger), now incomplete at the beginning and at the end, was produced by a number of scribes at an unknown place,¹⁵⁴ either at the end of the 12th century or sometime early in the 13th – the hands changes to more angular script on f. 116r and starting with f. 125r some of the initials are more elaborate.¹⁵⁵ The latter part contains seven (Karwasińska mentions six) *lectiones* on Adalbert (rubric: *Natale sancti Adalberti*), which only consist of the first opening chapters (1-4). A close analysis of this copy highlights that *Rh*, while certainly containing the Bohemian recension, nevertheless displays a number of readings common with *Ab*, *Ad3* against the other Czech copies.¹⁵⁶ This subsequently allows for a provisional repositioning of *Rh*: even though *Rh* is generally closest to later Czech manuscripts, it suggests that the original text of what was to become the currently extant Bohemian recension had some readings closer to Bavarian recension. It is also important to note that *Rh*, as well as the *Rh2* discussed below, were copied from antigraphs that did not yet display certain “Bohemizing” interventions present in *Pr2* and *Sb*¹⁵⁷ (on sigla see below). For those reasons, it is unfortunate that *Rh* contains only a short fragment of the text.

It is only from mid-14th century and later that properly local witnesses, forming the aforementioned “Bohemian recension”, start to appear. J. Karwasińska

¹⁵³ This suggested to Karwasińska that they were not copied from the same antigraph.

¹⁵⁴ It is not necessary to see the antigraph of *Rh* as coming from one of the Benedictine abbeys in Bohemia (Břevnov, St. George) – it could have arrived from neighboring South-Eastern German territories as well.

¹⁵⁵ V. Dokoupil, *Soupis rukopisů knihovny Benediktinů v Rajhradě*, pp. 170-172 suggests the earlier of the dates; see also J. Zachová, *Úvodem*, in: *Legendy Wolfenbüttelského rukopisu*, ed. J. Zachová, Praha 2010, p. 16; see also M. Sosnowski, *Nowe świadectwa rękopiśmienne Żywota drugiego św. Wojciecha w benedyktyńskim klasztorze w Rajhradzie na Morawach*, „*Studia Źródłoznawcze*” LIV (2016), pp. 79-96.

¹⁵⁶ M. Sosnowski, *Nowe świadectwa...* 92-94: even if overall the text excludes *Ab* and *Ad3* (and the last common ancestor of the two) as its antigraph.

¹⁵⁷ For “Bohemizing” interventions see *ibidem*, pp. 90-93, 96; cf. J. Karwasińska, *Introduction*, MPH s.n., IV/2, pp. X-XI.

demonstrated how close they are textually (especially *Pr2* and *Sb*, and *Sb* to *Tr*).¹⁵⁸ It is worth adding that at the time of putting those copies on parchment, the hagiographical and liturgical landscape was substantially different than before the end of the 13th century. The arrival of *Legenda Aurea* and the idea of abbreviated legendary was quickly implanted in Bohemia as elsewhere, and judging by manuscript copies, the image of St. Adalbert in Czech lands was determined by *Sanctus Adalbertus ex piis parentibus* (BHL 47),¹⁵⁹ a shorter text seemingly based on a bit earlier *In partibus Germaniae*, a Polish compiled vita (see below). The copying of older biographies in the mid-14th century and later seems to be an exercise in conscious cultivation of historical memory.¹⁶⁰

- *Pr2* = Praha, Archiv Pražského hradu, Knihovna Metropolitní kapituly u sv. Víta v Praze, G 5 (aliter G V), ff. 8v-16v. This sumptuously written and decorated historical collection (ca. 25 × 34 cm), laid down in two columns in Gothic bookhand in Bohemia before 1343, is well known especially to Czech medievalists. It contains three *vitae* of St. Adalbert (*Est locus* – BHL 37, VAA rb, and *Quattuor immensi* – BHL 41), five hagiographies of St. Wenceslaus, the Chronicle of Cosmas and his continuators, a compilation of St. Vitus Annals as well as later additions.¹⁶¹ The previous attested owners of the codex were: the St. Vitus cathedral chapter in Prague since 1535, and before that the Augustinian canons in Roudnice (est. 1333). It has been long established that the collection's origin lays in the intellectual milieu of bishop of Prague Jan IV of Dražice (1301-1343), the founder of Roudnice monastery, and it has been speculated that the codex could have been prepared as a study book for the then-margrave of Moravia and later king and emperor Charles IV Luxemburg.¹⁶² *Pr2* (rubric: *Item de eodem*) remains the best overall witness of the “Bohemian recension”, and as such it was used as the leading witness in the VAA rb edition by J. Karwasińska.

158 J. Karwasińska, *Introduction*, MPH s.n., IV/2, pp. XXI-XXII.

159 Cf. A. Vidmanová, *Legenda aurea a Čechy*, in: *Jakub de Voragine. Legenda aurea*, Praha 1984, pp. 45-46 (this part of the introduction is missing in the 3rd ed., Praha 2012).

160 J. Karwasińska, *Introduction*, MPH s.n., IV/2, p. XXVII.

161 A. Podlaha, *Soupis rukopisu Knihovny Metropolitní kapitoly praské*, II, Praha 1922, pp. 87-88 gives a brief catalogue description; cf. J. Pekař, *Die Wenzels- und Ludmila- Legenden und die Echtheit Christians*, Prag 1906, s. 79-82; *Cosmae Pragensis Cronica Boemorum*, ed. B. Bretholz, MGH SS rerum Germanicarum n.s., II, Berolini 1923, pp. LXXVI-LXXVIII; *Legenda Christiani Vita et passio sancti Wenceslai et sancte Ludmille ave eius*, ed. J. Ludvíkovský, Praha 2012 (reprint of 1978 ed.), p. 113; J. Karwasińska, *Studia krytyczne nad żywotami św. Wojciecha, biskupa praskiego. Vita I, „Studia Źródłoznawcze” II* (1958), s. 63; for illuminated initials cf. J. Krása, *Knižní malba*, in: *Dějiny českého výtvarného umění*, I/2, Praha 1984, p. 405.

162 Z. Hledíková, *Biskup Jan IV. z Dražic (1301-1343)*, Praha 1991, pp. 158-159; *Kronika Františka Pražského*, ed. J. Zachová, Praha 1997, p. VI.

A later copy belonged to an Augustinian convent in Brno, Moravia:

- *Sb* = Brno, Moravská zemská knihovna, A 44, ff. 234v-244v. Paleographically dated to the 2nd half of the 14th century this codex was written in two columns in Gothic bookhand, perhaps by or for Augustinians in Brno, to whom it belonged before the secularization, and it contains a copy of the third part of *Speculum Sanctorale* of Bernard Gui¹⁶³ supplemented with three quires of vitae of St. Adalbert (*Est locus, Nascitur* and an account of translation of Adalbert to Bohemia adapted from Cosmas' chronicle), St. Wenceslaus, Five Brothers (again, adapted from Cosmas), and St. Sigismundus.¹⁶⁴ Augustinians were brought to Brno ca. 1350 by the margrave of Moravia, John Henry Luxemburg (Jan Jindřich),¹⁶⁵ the younger brother of emperor Charles IV, who could have studied *Pr2* in his earlier years (see above). The copy (rubric: *Item de eodem sancto Adalberto uita et passio*), uniquely divided into nine parts, is almost identical textually to *Pr2*, but according to Karwasińska, the latter was not a direct antigraph of *Sb*.¹⁶⁶ It is plausible, although there are some readings suggesting otherwise.¹⁶⁷ Karwasińska's apparatus is particularly unreliable noting readings from this witness.

The last copy used in J. Karwasińska's edition is a late-14th-century:

- *Tr* = Praha, Národní knihovna, XIII.D.20, ff. 253-268. This hagiographical collection was written between 1368 and 1389 and, as stated in the ownership note, was a gift to recently-founded Augustinian convent in the Třeboň-Wittingau monastery in South Bohemia by their founders, counts of Rožmberk.¹⁶⁸ The youngest witness of VAA rb, *Tr* contains numerous scribal errors as well as some purposeful changes, intending to present the counts of counts of Rožmberk as the descendants of

¹⁶³ Its popularity in medieval Bohemia is attested by the list of copies in A. Vidmanová, *Zlatá legenda Jakuba de Voragine a legendy o českých světcích*, "Listy filologické" CIX (1986) 1, p. 43, n. 10.

¹⁶⁴ V. Dokoupil, *Soupis rukopisů knihovny augustiniánů na Starém Brně*, Praha 1957, pp. 46-48.

¹⁶⁵ For an overview of the history of this convent see D. Foltýn, *Encyklopedie moravských a slezských klášterů*, Praha 2005, pp. 173-180, 208-215.

¹⁶⁶ J. Karwasińska, MPH, IV/2, p. XI.

¹⁶⁷ E.g. in the phrase: *Numquid non est catholicus melior pagano*. *Pr2* has *uel peior* superscripted. Sometime later *Sb* simply has: *peior*. The chronologically last *Tr* has: *melior uel peior* in the main text. Karwasińska does not try to explain this coincidence. On the other hand, if the subarchetype of *Pr2*, *Sb* and *Tr* contained *melior uel peior*, then each copyist could have selected the reading, which suited them best.

¹⁶⁸ *Catalogus codicum manu scriptorum latinorum qui in C.R. Bibliotheca publica atque Universitatis Pragensis asservantur*, II, Pragae 1906, pp. 232-233.

Adalbert's Slavnik family.¹⁶⁹ Karwasińska posited that textually *Tr* is closest to *Sb*, but that it was not an apograph of the latter. This thesis is further confirmed by more than a dozen of common readings, missing in Karwasińska's apparatus, that additionally set apart *Tr* and *Sb* against *Pr2*. Importantly, some of the minor readings are identical to "Bavarian recension" witnesses, especially to *Ad3*, and it is likely that *Tr* is contaminated with readings from "Bavarian" recension or its antigraph itself carried such a contaminated text.¹⁷⁰ Třeboň is very close to Austria, the possible place of origin of *Ad3*. *Tr* (rubric: *Item de eodem*) was used as the main witness in the VAA rb edition by A. Kolberg.

I was able to identify one more witness for VAA rb, a selection of liturgical readings in a mid-14th-century breviary (produced around the same time as *Pr2*):

- *Rh2* (my siglum) = Rajhrad, Knihovna Benediktinského opatství Rajhrad, R 394, ff. 307vb-308b. A high-quality, illuminated breviary produced, perhaps in Brno or Rajhrad, as the colophon informs *per fratrem Petrum expensis fratris Vitkonis prepositi in Raygrad* in 1342.¹⁷¹ The readings for Adalbert (rubric: *De sancto Adalberto*) are taken from VAA rb (chapters 1-2), and are copied *in extenso* – my published analysis suggests they were not copied from *Rh* nor from nearby *Sb* in Brno, and that the antigraph lacked the "Bohemizing" reworking present in the common ancestor of *Pr2* and *Sb*.¹⁷²

A revaluation of *Rh* and introduction of *Rh2* are important for updating the *stemma* and providing a more complex (and complicated) history of the text's circulation, even if this is far from secure. Significantly, the dissemination of VAA rb is still restricted to the same set of geographically close regions as before (Bavaria, Styria, Moravia, Bohemia). The new findings allow to uphold the previous hypotheses of the limited circulation of the shorter redaction: originally written during or soon after Bruno's stay in Hungary¹⁷³

169 J. Karwasińska, MPH, IV/2, p. XI.

170 Ibidem, p. XI noticed those as well, but has not tried to take them into account. A. Kolberg thought that *Tr* is actually closer to *Ad3* than to *Pr2* (which is not the case), but his analysis was based only on earlier editions; see A. Kolberg, *Text der vita II S. Adalberti vom h. Bruno nach der Prager Handschrift XIII.D.20*, "Zeitschrift für die Geschichte und Altertumskunde Ermlands" XV (1905), pp. 120, n. 1. Alternatively those similarities can be explained by the ancestor of *Tr* (not necessarily the immediate one) being earlier stemmatically than the common ancestor of *Pr2* and *Sb*.

171 V. Dokoupil, *Soupis rukopisů knihovny Benediktinů v Rajhradě*, pp. 195-197.

172 M. Sosnowski, *Nowe świadectwa...*, pp. 84-87, 92-94.

173 See fn. 30, 31, 34 above.

it was soon transferred to Bavaria, perhaps (as posited by Karwasińska) in two recensions, or the original draft was copied there twice to produce those two recensions. Either way, one of them was later brought to Czech lands in a form somewhat closer to *Ab*, *Ad3* (as *Rh* suggests) and after some local tries at evening out its numerous wrinkles (and after certain “Bohemizing” interventions) produced the currently extant “Bohemian” recension.¹⁷⁴ This is best discussed together with the heretofore poorly studied¹⁷⁵ tradition *sensu lato* of VAA in Czech lands.

THE EARLY CIRCULATION OF VAA IN CZECH LANDS – COSMAS AND *QUATTUOR IMMENSI*

The evidence for early, 12th-century, circulation of the text of VAA in Bohemia is circumstantial. The first seemingly certain date would be the writing down of *Rh* with *lectiones* taken from VAA rb (see above), dated to late 12th or early 13th century, but the origin of this fragmentarily surviving lectionary has not been convincingly linked to a scriptorium in Moravia or Bohemia.¹⁷⁶ Usually the first mention of *Nascitur* being used in Bohemia is reserved for the first Czech chronicler, Cosmas of Prague (d. 1125).¹⁷⁷ Nonetheless, contrary to an often-repeated opinion, hardly any textual evidence of Cosmas using Bruno’s *passio* of Adalbert has been demonstrated, especially in a manner similar to him relying on and quoting the first *Est locus*, a text much better circulated. Certainly, scholars have shown bits and pieces of information that are not

¹⁷⁴ See also fn. 206 below.

¹⁷⁵ J. Karwasińska, *Introduction*, MPH s.n., IV/2, pp. XXVIII-XIX only very briefly discussed the “later knowledge” of VAA, hardly distinguishing between both redactions, without trying to use those indirect witnesses for *constitutio textus*.

¹⁷⁶ The collection of saints (Adalbert, Wenceslaus and notably Godehard among John Evangelist, Silverster, Maurus, Sebastian, Agnes, Blaise, Agatha, Scholastica, Benedict, Mark, Philip and Jacob, Jacob the Apostle, Alexander and Evencius) does not necessarily point to Czech lands, as it can just as well be found in Saxony and elsewhere; cf. V. Dokoupil, *Catalogus Codicum [...] Rajhradensis*, Praha 1966, pp. 170-172, who claims from contents (“k obsahu”) that the best candidates are Rajhrad, Břevnov or Broumov. The existence of a scriptorium at Broumov, a provosty of Břevnov, seems doubtful at the time of *Rh* production.

¹⁷⁷ *Die Chronik der Böhmen des Cosmas von Prag*, ed. B. Bretholz, in: MGH SS rerum Germanicarum n.s. II, Berlin 1923. There are two English translations – the latter I was not yet able to consult, cf. *Cosmas of Prague. The Chronicle of the Czechs*, transl. L. Wolverson, Washington 2009 (Medieval Texts in Translation); *Cosmas of Prague. Chronicle of the Czechs*, eds. J.M. Bak, P. Rychterová, J. Hasil, I. van Rensvoude, transl. P. Mutlova, M. Rady, L. Švanda, Budapest-New York 2019 (Central European Medieval Texts, IX).

to be found in the first *vita*, and which Cosmas could have supplied from *Nascitur*,¹⁷⁸ but they might as well come from oral tradition in Prague.¹⁷⁹

The only textual trace suggesting that Cosmas actually read VAA, as far as I know, is Bruno's and Cosmas' common usage of two popular proverbs (*In ore mel in corde fel* and *Dilige denarium sed parce dilige formam*),¹⁸⁰ which at first would not seem enough to infer the knowledge of VAA by Cosmas. On the other hand, in the electronic corpora of dMGH, eMGH, Library of Latin Texts, and *Patrologia Latina* I was not able to find another text, apart from VAA rl and Cosmas, that would use both those proverbs. In other words, if Cosmas actually borrowed both proverbs from Bruno, it would mean that he used the longer redaction – unattested in Czech lands so far – because the second of the two (from *Disticha Catonis* IV.4) is not present in the shorter redaction. Thus, the extant line of Czech manuscripts (all of them of VAA rb) cannot be assumed to have the local continuity since early 12th century.¹⁸¹ To sum up, as J. Karwasińska suggested before it still seems that the shorter redaction quickly found its way to Southern Germany but was not intensively copied and it was only brought to life again when imported to Bohemia and copied there in the later Middle Ages (see above). Cosmas could have used a locally available copy of VAA rl (or its reworking containing both proverbs above), but it is not accessible to us anymore and this putative chronologically old witness does not grant authority to extant Czech copies, because they all contain VAA rb.

178 Scholars usually cite D. Třeščík, *Kosmova Kronika. Studie k počátkům českého dějepiscetví a politického myšlení*, Praha 1968, pp. 57-59, who in turn cites R.F. Kaindl, *Zu Cosmas, "Mitteilungen des Instituts für Österreichische Geschichtsforschung" XVI (1895) 2*, pp. 350-351, where one finds only two examples (the editor of Cosmas, Berthold Bretholz seemed unconvinced by this, cf. MGH SS rerum Germanicarum n.s. II, p. 52, fn. 6). D. Třeščík claims that further cases are numerous, but the only one he bothers to provide is even more dubious than R.F. Kaindl's (D. Třeščík, *Kosmova Kronika...*, p. 129).

179 In one of the examples *Cosmae Chronica* 1.29 (MGH SS rerum Germanicarum n.s. II, p. 53) writes that the ambush and subsequent murder of Adalbert's brothers at Libice happened *sub quadam festiva die*. This is not attested in VAP, but is discussed by Bruno, who says that the ambush started on Friday, the vigil of the feast of St. Wenceslaus and continued on the next day. An argument from silence is rarely convincing, but it is difficult to understand, why Cosmas, who is trying to present the murder as a wrongdoing of *comites* and an offence against God (*comites versi in Dei odium*), would not employ by association their offence against St. Wenceslaus, following the interpretation put forward by Bruno.

180 Noted in the apparatus of Lisa Wolverton (*Cosmas of Prague...*, p. 143, fn. 148 and p. 86, fn. 250); cf. *Cosmae Chronica* 1.33, 2.24 (MGH SS rerum Germanicarum n.s., IX, pp. 57, 117); for VAA cf. MPH s.n., IV/2, pp. 11, 27, 59.

181 Cosmas did not know VQF and his account of the five martyrs is based upon an entirely different tradition, see M. Matla, *Opowieść Kosmasa o Pięciu Braciach Męczennikach i jej potencjalne źródła – krótki przyczynek do dyskusji*, "Historia Slavorum Occidentis" II (VII) 2014, pp. 13-38.

The only local Czech text that extensively uses Bruno's VAA, mixing *Nascitur* with *Est locus*, is the hagiographical poem *Versus de passione s. Adalberti* (BHL 41, inc. *Quattuor immensi* [henceforth: *Q.i.*]), which nevertheless has no agreed-upon date of composition (the only witnesses are the *Pr2* and *Tr*, discussed above). It was certainly written after *Nascitur*, but its dating was fiercely contested, with some scholars considering it a work of the late 10th, late 11th or early 12th century, and others dating it to mid-13th or even 14th century.¹⁸² *Q.i.* uses Bruno's information and even certain phrases, but those are reworked in verse to a point of being unusable for the constitution of *Nascitur*.¹⁸³ Both R. Wenskus and then J. Karwasińska were mainly interested in showing that *Q.i.* was not written before two first biographies of Adalbert, as suggested primarily by Mathilde Uhrlirz and Oldřich Králík. J. Karwasińska also produced a series of valuable internal arguments that suggest the dating to late 13th century, about half a century before the first local witness of VAA rb (*Pr2*).¹⁸⁴ Importantly, J. Karwasińska also demonstrated that *Q.i.* used VAP in the "Ottonian" redaction, with readings closest to extant Bohemian witnesses (of 14-15th century) as well as to the Austrian copies (12th/13th-century exemplars of *Magnum Legendarium Austriacum* [henceforth: MLA]).¹⁸⁵

J. Karwasińska has not tried to assess, which redaction of VAA the author of *Q.i.* used, especially since there are no traces of them using passages that are particular to only one redaction. Additionally, since *Q.i.* is a verse reworking of both earlier vitae, it does not seem a good candidate for studying the particular readings. With all caution the remarks above advise, I would like to draw attention to the apparent name of the leader of the Prussian crowd (*Sicco* in *Pr2* of *Q.i.*),¹⁸⁶ which was already given in VAP (all redactions) and in VAA is only attested in the shorter redaction. The later witness (*Tr*) has *Suiggo* in the main text, corrected on the margin (*al[iter?] sicco*).¹⁸⁷ At first glance, the

182 D. Třeštík, *Radim, Kristián, vojtěšské legendy a textologie*, "Československý časopis historický" LXV (1967) 5, pp. 691-704 and J. Karwasińska, *Studia krytyczne nad żywotami św. Wojciecha, biskupa praskiego. IV. Miejsce Versus de passione s. Adalberti w szeregu żywotów*, "Studia Źródloznawcze" IX (1964), pp. 25-39 with an overview until 1960s. As far as I know, there are no new arguments, with Czech scholars subscribing to views of Josef Vilikowský (*Q.i.* was composed before Cosmas, i.e. late 11th, early 12th century), cf. J. Vilikowský, *Versus de passione s. Adalberti. Několik poznámek*, "Sborník filosofické fakulty University Komenského v Bratislavě" VI (1929), pp. 315-357.

183 Traced by R. Wenskus, *Studien...*, pp. 43-63 with detailed discussion of literature. After R. Wenskus cf. J. Karwasińska, *Studia krytyczne...*, pp. 33-34; D. Třeštík, *Radim...*, pp. 691-704. The point of departure for future studies is still J. Vilikowský, *Versus de passione...*, pp. 315-357.

184 J. Karwasińska, *Studia krytyczne...*, pp. 25-39.

185 Ibidem, pp. 39-40.

186 *Fontes Rerum Bohemicarum* (henceforth: FRB), I: *Vitae sanctorum et aliorum quorundam pietate insignium*, ed. J. Emler, Praha 1873, pp. 313-334 (here p. 333).

187 *Tr*, f. 282.

explanation seems clear: both Bruno and the later author of *Q.i.* independently introduced the name, following the copies of *Est locus*, a biography that is the main source for *Q.i.* after all. The problem with this obvious explanation lies in the fact, that with one exception the extant Czech manuscripts of VAP invariably have a reading *Siggo*.¹⁸⁸ Only the late 14th-century *St*, a witness added to Bernard Gui's *Speculum Sanctorale*, belonging to Premonstratensians at Strahov since mid-15th century (but not written there) has *Sicco*.¹⁸⁹ This is perhaps significant, since apparently all the manuscripts (including copies of MLA) that J. Karwasińska describes as carrying the text-type similar to extant Czech copies also have a reading *Siggo*. There are two explanations possible: either the author of *Q.i.* had a different prototype of *Est locus* than any other Czech copy (except the one which arrived in Strahov in mid-15th century), or – perhaps a little less difficult – that they used the name found in a copy of *Nascitur* instead. Since the name *Sicco* is not attested in the “longer redaction” of VAA, this would (unsurprisingly) mean that *Q.i.* author had the “shorter redaction” at hand.¹⁹⁰ This would also be in contrast to Cosmas (12th century), who was using the “longer redaction”, which is no longer extant in Czech lands.

* * *

J. Karwasińska having appropriately divided the manuscript tradition of VAA rb into Bavarian and Bohemian recension, seems to have tacitly assumed – as this is never stated directly – that the text must have been in circulation in Czech lands very early. This is in contrast to her opinion about the circulation of the first *Vita* in Bohemia, which she posited was brought from South German lands.¹⁹¹ It is telling that the Czech witnesses of VAA do not even briefly mention the Břevnov monastery, or Adalbert's connections to any other religious establishments in Bohemia. In respective manuscript traditions of the two earliest *vitae* only the two late *Est locus* copies (*Pr3* and *Tr* – *sensu* J. Karwasińska) carry such additions and their confused information¹⁹² cannot be traced back to an early historical consciousness of the convent.¹⁹³ According

188 VAA 30, MPH s.n., IV/1, p. 45, note a (readings).

189 Knihovna pražské metropolitní kapituly, call no. G XXIII/2 (non vidi). The reading of *Tr* (the same manuscript as discussed above as the witness of VAA rb, it also contains a copy of VAP) is changed from *siggo* to *sicco*, but this could be explained by copyist comparing the name in two different texts or two witnesses of the same one.

190 Readings in VAA rb are: *Sikko Ab, Ad3*] *Sicco Pr2, Sb, Tr*.

191 J. Karwasińska, *Introduction*, MPH s.n., IV/1, pp. XVIII-XIX.

192 Cf. MPH s.n., IV/1, p. 27, fn., p. 28 fn. On those copies cf. *ibidem*, pp. XVII-XVIII (on *Tr* see also the present article above, where it is briefly discussed).

193 J. Šrámek, *Otazníky nad nejstaršími dějinami břevnovského konventu: Kosmův vztah k českým klášterům, aneb na okraj jeho Kroniky Čechů*, in: *Mladá historie: sborník studentských prací oboru historie*, ed. J. Stejskal, Olomouc 2008, pp. 117-138.

to J. Karwasińska, *Est locus* was brought to Bohemia from Bavaria – as shown by common readings – at an unspecified moment before the first quarter of the 12th century, *terminus a quo* being the Cosmas Chronicle.¹⁹⁴ Unsurprisingly, I posit a similar direction and chronology of importing *Nascitur*. First in the longer redaction, used by Cosmas and not extant now, and later in the “shorter redaction”, which is now found in four to five copies (the number depending on the origin of *Rh*). This does not mean that the extant Bavarian text of VAA rb is always to be preferred, but the value of readings offered by its witnesses should not be underestimated. All this brings up the question of the *constitutio textus* proposed in J. Karwasińska’s edition, which I will deal with after briefly discussing the indirect tradition in Poland.

TRADITION *SENSU LATO* – INDIRECT WITNESSES IN LATER MEDIEVAL POLAND
(*TEMPORE ILLO* AND *IN PARTIBUS GERMANIAE*)

Looking for traces of VAA distribution I now turn to the late medieval Polish (that is locally composed) hagiographies. They are not particularly useful for selecting readings from the available manuscript tradition, but they allow to discuss the circulation of VAA in Poland, even if the results are not decisive.

The oldest vita of St. Adalbert unquestionably composed in Poland and for local audiences is *De sancto Adalberto episcopo* (BHL 41, inc. *Tempore illo* [henceforth: TI]) surviving in one manuscript copy from late-13th century.¹⁹⁵ As shown by its first editor, Wojciech Kętrzyński, TI mixes information from VAA with VAP in biographical parts, while profusely adding some local stories about Adalbert travelling and performing miracles in Poland.¹⁹⁶ The evidence for the redaction used by the author was already deduced from common readings by the first editor and by M. Perlbach¹⁹⁷ – it was the longer redaction, which was available in Poland at the time of the composition of TI. A detailed analysis appears to confirm it, even if there are some readings, that allow to hypothesize about the wording of the VAA prototype for TI vs the extant manuscript tradition.¹⁹⁸

194 Cf. MPH s.n., IV/1, p. XVIII.

195 Kraków, Archiwum i Biblioteka Krakowskiej Kapituły Katedralnej, Ms. 148, ff. 130v-138v.

196 The best edition is by M. Perlbach in: MGH SS, XV/2, Hannoverae 1888, pp. 1178-1184. Since M. Perlbach did not see the manuscript and was not able to use TI’s indirect tradition (i.e. witnesses of *Miracula s. Adalberti* – BHL 44-45) also worth consulting is an otherwise deprecated edition by W. Kętrzyński, MPH, IV, Lwów 1884, pp. 213-218.

197 Summed up in M. Perlbach, *Zu den ältesten...*, pp. 64-65.

198 In the questioning of Adalbert by the pagans in *Tempore illo* seems to mix both redactions (TI: *quis et unde*; VAA rl: *quis esset*; VAA rb: *unde esset*). One explanation is that for

The second local Polish biography of Adalbert is *In partibus Germaniae* ([henceforth: IPG]; customarily titled after incipit; BHL 43-45), a seemingly late-13th century compilation of VAP, VAA and TI, structured into a *vita* accompanied by an extended collection of miracles.¹⁹⁹ The proportions compared to TI are reversed – *Est locus* dominates the narrative, while *Nascitur* is accessory. This text, surviving in two recensions, was very popular and quickly went on to become the standard hagiography of Adalbert in Poland, with some copies exported and even produced abroad. The text of *vita* section, which is of interest to us here, remains unpublished. My comparison of IPG (15 copies) with VAP apparatus in J. Karwasińska's edition unsurprisingly revealed that the local hagiographer used the Ottonian redaction in a manuscript that is closest to the surviving copies from the Kingdom of Poland and Silesia. The readings of IPG that can be traced directly to Bruno's text are not numerous and, unfortunately, they are too brief to allow discerning the redaction and arguments can be put forward for either one being used in late 13th century Poland.²⁰⁰ Interestingly the text of IPG itself has two recensions, and at least once they both use VAA in a different manner.²⁰¹ I find it difficult at this stage to decide which redaction

the opening question (but not the rest) TI used the Ottonian redaction of VAP (*quis et unde esset*). Another, most attractive explanation, is that the archetypes of both redactions of VAA had *quis et unde esset* (or a variant of it), and the TI author's copy of VAA rl had a stemmatically older reading. When Adalbert gives an answer to pagans, problematic readings abound. TI has *Bolezlavus rex christianissimus possidet*. VAA rb offers various readings (*Ab, Ad3: B. princeps christianissimus Domino procurat; Pr2, Sb, Tr: B. princeps christianissimus dominus p.*) just as VAA rl (*Kv: B. proximus christiano dominio p.; Wt: B. proximus christiano dom[i]no p.; S: B. proximus christo domino p.*). TI agrees (*christianissimus*) with VAA rb, but all VAA rl witnesses, although they make sense, could be corrupted (and TI had a prototype with better reading). This is impossible to solve securely. It is the hand of the TI author that seems to have shifted the recipient of dream with chalices from Gaudentius to Adalbert (VAA rl directly mentions Gaudentius as the recipient; VAA rb is less clear about this).

199 As it remains unedited, historians rarely work on IPG; for the most extensive comments see W. Drelicharz, *Idea zjednoczenia królestwa w średniowiecznym dziejopisarstwie polskim*, Kraków 2012 (Monografie Towarzystwa Naukowego Societas Vistulana I), pp. 243-246 (with a try at a very precise dating); P. Węcowski, *Początki Polski w pamięci historycznej późnego średniowiecza*, Kraków 2014 (Monografie Towarzystwa Naukowego Societas Vistulana, II), pp. 74-82 (with a list and brief description of manuscript copies as well as its later influence).

200 Adalbert's father description in IPG as *patre propinquo nepote Henrici regis Romanorum* obviously comes from VAA but is reworked from: *Heinrico regi accessit proximus nepos* (rl and rb). The same goes for Latin explanation of the name Wojciech (IPG: *quod consolatio seu consolator exercitus interpretatur*; both redactions of VAA: *quod nomen interpretatum sonat consolatio exercitus*). An interesting case is Adalbert's miraculous learning in Magdeburg (MPH s.n., IV/2, p. 6 and 47-48), where VAA rl has a delicious explanation that would probably be kept by the Polish hagiographer, but this is an argument from silence. Conversely, the information on Adalbert preaching in Hungary in IGP looks like it was taken from VAA rb, but the necessary information - out of sequence - is also to be found in VAA rl.

201 The words of the demon ejected from the possessed are reworked by those recensions alternatingly from VAP and VAA. One has *Quid mihi et uobis?* (VAP) [...] *Amplius hic manere non*

of IPG is earlier. As a consequence, I can only hypothesize that either the subsequent redactors still had VAA available and introduced its version into the story, or conversely, they reverted to more popular VAP (in this case their knowledge of VAA is not necessary to assume).

CONSTITUTIO TEXTUS OF PREVIOUS EDITIONS OF VAA – WHAT WE HAVE

Since the editions of VAA prior to MPH s.n. IV/2 were based on a small number of manuscripts, only the latter will be discussed here as well the ones subsequent to it. Importantly, the constitution of the text of VAA rb (six copies) by J. Karwasińska was less limited than in the case of the longer redaction. A reader of this edition will readily notice that the leading witness for the shorter redaction is the *Pr2* copy from 14th-century Bohemia and not any of the two previous 12th-century copies from Bavaria and Styria (*Ab*, *Ad3*). Already at first glance it is striking: since the printed text largely follows the form found in *Pr2*, the edition presents orthography, proper names etc. typical of the 14th-century Bohemia for the edition of the writer of the early-11th century, post-Carolingian Saxony. What is more important, J. Karwasińska clearly prefers to relegate the conflicting, sometimes better, readings of the Bavarian recension witnesses to the apparatus. The rationale for this is mentioned and explained with just two sentences.²⁰² What has not been noticed by subsequent commenters or reviewers, J. Karwasińska decided that the “Bavarian” text has been “sufficiently made public” by G.H. Pertz in MGH and that she can limit her aims to presenting the “Bohemian recension”. Somewhat buried in the lengthy introduction, this statement has serious implications – both theoretical and practical – for our understanding of what the edition of VAA rb by J. Karwasińska is and what it is not.

The main theoretical implication is as follows: we do not currently have a critical edition of the shorter redaction of *Nascitur*, trying to recover the archetype of both recensions. This is in addition to the fact, that since a number of new manuscripts of both VAA rl and rb have been uncovered, the current edition is not based on a complete recensio of extant manuscripts. J. Karwasińska compares the various versions as if preparing the reconstruction of it, but abandons the project at the end of the introduction and subsequently edits only one – and attested in late manuscripts – of the extant recensions. To complicate it further, the MGH edition by G.H. Pertz – to which J. Karwasińska

possum (VAA), the other has *Quid molesti estis michi?* (VAA). Similarly, in the miracle of healing a woman who was not able to eat bread, the majority of manuscripts across redactions of IPG have *septem annis* (like VAP in Ottonian redaction), and two late witnesses have *per triennium* (like VAA and VAP in Italian manuscripts, hardly attested north of Alps).

²⁰² J. Karwasińska, *Introduction*, MPH s.n., IV/2, p. XXXI.

refers the inquisitive reader – is based on *Ad3*, which should not be used as a sole witness, as *Ab* seems better overall. Needless to say, the practical effect is that the readers – who are interested in Bruno’s text – have to make this last stage of editorial work themselves. For this task, they need on their desktop both the MPH s.n. edition (preferably in two copies, since the redactions are not printed on facing pages), as well as an old MGH volume, preferably supplied by photocopies of *Ab* (which are currently available online²⁰³). Already a bothersome task, it still does not consider the new manuscript witnesses, which – as signalled above – allow for some revision of the *stemma* and especially numerous revaluations of individual readings. This alone would be a sufficient rationale for trying to produce a new edition.

The newest available edition of *Nascitur* (VAA rb), by Lorenz Weinrich in a useful bilingual collection, does not even touch upon problems just mentioned and simply transcribes and corrects the chronologically oldest witness of Bavarian recension (*Ab*),²⁰⁴ the one not used by G.H. Pertz in MGH edition. From the point of view of the reader interested in getting closer to Bruno’s composition from 1008 this edition might simply replace having *Ab* on the desktop, but it does not help with the editorial work that remains to be done by readers themselves. Oddly, the simplified apparatus tends to actually not give the source of readings in cases when L. Weinrich corrects the witness.

REDICTIONS, HISTORY OF MANUSCRIPT TRADITION, CONTAMINATION

It is hard to overstate the importance of the strict division of manuscript tradition of *Nascitur* into two redactions. As is well recognized, the shorter one not only subtracts certain passages and rewords a considerable number of phrases but it also adds a number of passages. In what has been noted by J. Karwasińska, but without consistently drawing practical conclusions,²⁰⁵ neither the previously known manuscripts (together with *S* for that matter), nor the recently introduced ones show traces of contamination across redactions.²⁰⁶ In other words, Bruno’s VAA was copied rather faithfully and,

²⁰³ Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 2552 available at Münchener Digitalisierungszentrum Digitale Bibliothek (mdz-nbn-resolving.de/urn:nbn:de:bvb:12-bsb00020954-5 – access: 10 October 2018).

²⁰⁴ *Die Heiligenleben des Bischofs Adalbert von Prag*, in: *Heiligenleben zur Deutsch-Slawischen Geschichte...*, pp. 70-116.

²⁰⁵ J. Karwasińska, *Introduction*, MPH s.n., IV/2, pp. XX, XXX.

²⁰⁶ Within redactions there are – to be sure – certain places, where e.g. *Sb* seems to subsequently correct a reading to conform with *Pr2* or where readings in *Ad3* are corrected into those present in *Ab* (so within their respective manuscript lines). But otherwise I was

more importantly, there are no traces of additions peculiar to a particular redaction in copies of the other one.

This means that common readings in those separate lines of manuscript tradition are best considered as stemming from their respective archetypes. Otherwise we would have to imagine that copyists mended their texts only on a word-by-word and phrase-by-phrase basis and seeing additional material never decided to include the “missing” passages. It is worth highlighting that this additional material is substantial and hard to miss by a copyist. The only explanation for this is that at no point in the subsequent copying process those two redactions met at the same pulpit or, at the very least, no one produced a copy compiling those the two redactions. For the editor this should mean that potentially all conformities in readings across redactions, barring isolated emendations *ope ingenii*, can be derived from the antigraph of a particular copy and, ultimately, from the copy produced for or by Bruno. This allows, as Karwasińska herself sometimes did, for a better control of the readings of one redaction with the witnesses of the other redaction – especially if used consistently. This was something J. Karwasińska could do more often, and in the end her choice of the primacy of *Kv* (inevitable, as it was the sole manuscript copy) and especially of *Pr2* for VAA rb (for reasons described above) prevented her from being consistent. The archetypes of both redactions, I imagine, were closer to each other than the present critical edition suggests, preferring *Kv* and *Pr2* as *codices optimi*.

The approach proposed here will not overcome the currently insoluble problem of passages evidently corrupt in the one or the other line of manuscript tradition.²⁰⁷ It allows, however, putting forward hypotheses as to what these passages have looked like when Bruno was composing them. This is a reconstruction on a higher plane than the one described above (the commonalities between individual witness or groups of witnesses across redactions) and risks going into the cloudy territory of looking for a text not “as it looked like” but rather “as it was probably intended to look like”. Fortunately, such passages are not numerous and both the apparatus and

not able to detect influences of *Ab*, *Ad3* in *Pr2*, *Sb*, *Rh2* and vice versa. The presence in *Tr* of a small number of readings common with *Ab*, *Ad3* against *Pr2*, *Sb* could be hypothetically explained by contamination, but it also displays two omissions (common with *Ab*, *Ad3*) of material present in *Pr2*, *Sb*. Assuming the existence of a common ancestor to Czech line prior to the writing down of *Ab*, *Ad3*, the late and error-filled *Tr* could be closer to it than the extant ones; cf. J. Karwasińska, *Introduction*, MPH s.n., IV/2, p. XXII, especially critical of A. Kolberg, *Die vita II...*, pp. 120-206 (here 120) for positing that *Tr* is closer to *Ad3* than *Pr2* (it is not – M.S.) and generally preferring the readings of *Tr* over any other codex. It does not help that J. Karwasińska’s apparatus omits some of the *Ab*, *Ad3*, *Tr* similarities mentioned above.

²⁰⁷ Of the most outstanding examples is the description of the mode of dividing by Adalbert his episcopal income, cf. MPH s.n., IV/2, pp. 10, 50.

editorial signs in the main text allow warning the reader that what they are about to approach is a hypothesis of this kind, and give a rationale for the decision.

THE PROBLEM OF PRESENTATION

The existence of two authorial redactions of VAA presents the editor with the problem of useful presentation. An attempt at solving this is practice was first made by G.H. Pertz, who decided to print *Ad3* as the main text, and in a smaller type on the lower margin he added the additional found in *S*.²⁰⁸ Then, August Bielowski used *Kv* as the main witness and added the material found only in VAA rb on the lower margin.²⁰⁹ J. Karwasińska's edition – the first to print both redactions as separate works – first gives the whole text of VAA rl, followed by VAA rb. This separation – in contrast to previous presentations – inadvertently resulted in historians usually reading only the longer 1004 redaction and bypassing the shorter 1008 one. Close reading and comparison of the two redactions requires either constant flicking of pages between two redactions or having two copies of the volume opened on different pages.²¹⁰ In other words, an unintended effect of this technical editorial decision is that there is only a handful of historians who bother to study both redactions comparatively. With the current MPH presentation this is inconvenient and sometimes simply impossible, considering the limited availability – out of Poland – of all editions at one institution.²¹¹ This is compounded by the choice to edit not VAA rb as such but rather the “Bohemian recension” – the comparative reading of the redactions, trying to grasp the evolution of VAA as a whole, requires not only two copies of the same MPH volume but also a copy of MGH with G.H. Pertz's edition.

An obvious solution to those problems is to print both redactions on the facing pages, perhaps with VAA rb, in rare cases when it is advisable, subdivided into two columns. This allows not only for comparative historical

²⁰⁸ MGH SS, IV, ed. G.H. Pertz, Hannoverae 1841, pp. 506-612. In Pertz's numbering of witnesses (p. 480) our *S* = 3, while 1 is reserved for *Ad3* (apparently without autopsy, as it was delivered “a Chmelio”) and 2 for the edition in *Acta Sanctorum*, based on *Pr2* (provided already with some emendations to Henschen by a Czech Jesuit Bohuslav Balbín).

²⁰⁹ *Brunona żywot św. Wojciecha*, ed. A. Bielowski, in: MPH, I, Lwów 1864, p. 189 (rationale), pp. 189-222 (edition).

²¹⁰ Due to technical reasons, a considerable number of books published in Poland before 1989 required the readers themselves to cut the quires open. This is of course anecdotal, but in the many of the exemplars I managed to check, only the quires of the VAA rl have been prepared for reading.

²¹¹ A total of 1000 copies of MPH s.n., IV/2 of were printed in 1969, and 700 of MPH s.n., IV/3 in 1973.

or philological interpretation of the two redactions, but also, crucially, for comparison of the readings in the apparatus across redactions (for the rationale, see above) as well as for better control of editorial decisions by the user.

Since the last two texts written by Bruno both survive in single medieval copies, the editorial problems they pose are of different nature. Consequently, I will touch upon them here only briefly – mainly on their manuscripts, problems of transcription and peculiarities of the witnesses – relegating the more demanding aspect of research (apparatus of literary borrowings and allusions) to the last part of this article.

PASSIO BENEDICTI ET IOHANNIS SOCIORUMQUE SUORUM (VQF) – EDITORIAL PROBLEMS

The earlier of the remaining two works by Bruno is a *passio*. Outwardly devoted to a stillborn missionary endeavor of two Italian hermits and their death somewhere in Poland, this text is much more.²¹² Since Bruno was supposed to partake in and be an organizational leader of this effort – he never managed to arrive – he gives a highly engaged insider story. This time Bruno does not write about the hero he admired but had never met (as with St. Adalbert), but mainly about close personal friends, chiefly about two of them: Benedict of Benevento, a presbiter turned monk, then hermit and finally a martyr-saint, and Otto III, the young emperor. Bruno's personal and institutional connections with luminaries of the period are revealed in successive passages, sometimes deeply intimate; and it is in VQF, that he fully introduces himself into the story, writing about his misgiving, his often-conflicting reasons, sins and the theological, eschatological and political sense of it all. This meandering narrative, interspersed with musings on various subjects, has both endeared him to historians and frustrated them, but at the same time it has perhaps rendered the story unattractive to contemporaries and later readers. It survives in a single manuscript:

- *Hb* (my siglum) – Staatsbibliothek Berlin, theol. lat. oct. 162, ff. 21-49v – this small (ca. 18 × 12 cm, block of text ca. 14 × 10 cm) tripartite

212 For the following paragraph cf. primarily I. Wood, *The Missionary Life...*, pp. 233-236 (and 215-220, 226-244 for Bruno in general); idem, *Shoes and a Fish Dinner: The Troubled Thoughts of Bruno of Querfurt*, in: *Ego Trouble. Authors and Their Identities in the Early Middle Ages*, eds. R. Corradini, M. Gillis, R. McKitterick, I. van Renswoud, Wien 2010, pp. 249-258; J. Karwasińska, *Świadek czasów...*, pp. 91-105; W. Berschin, *Biographie...*, IV/1, pp. 172-177; B. Kürbis, *Purpureae passionis aureus finis. Brun von Querfurt und die Fünf Märtyrerbrüder*, in: *Europas Mitte um 1000. Beiträge zur Geschichte und Archäologie*, I, eds. A. Wiczorek, H.-M. Hinz, Stuttgart 2000, pp. 519-526; P. Tomea, *La colpa...*, pp. 175-220.

15th-century miscellany,²¹³ has been formed *inter alia* from a parchment passional of unknown origin (ff. 1-110), written in one column in a transitional script of the 12th century (2nd half?). The barely legible ownership note of the passional identifies the Benedictine Abbey in Huysburg (dioc. Halberstadt) as the possessor, but the dating of this note is not clear.²¹⁴

This passional, due to its contents, has been aptly characterized as an Eastphalian collection.²¹⁵ Its decorations and script – both shared with some other Huysburg codices – are said to display affinities to hands working in scriptoria of Hamersleben and Lamspringe.²¹⁶ It contains fourteen hagiographies, starting with Wolphere's second *vita* of St. Gothard of Hildesheim (BHL 3582), composed between 1054-1061 and also includes the late 10th century "Life of St. Wenceslaus" by Gumpold of Mantua (BHL 8821),²¹⁷ the latter of which Bruno could have read. As already noted by Reinhard Kade, two legends (*Constantii* and *Sisinii, Diocletiani et Florentii*) are supplied with brief appendices, in the same hand as the main text, noting the transfer of relics to Magdeburg.²¹⁸ It does not necessarily mean that the passional originated there,²¹⁹ but rather vaguely points to a connection with Magdeburg.²²⁰ Notable in *Hb* is also a rare redaction

213 The new formal description by B. Braun-Niehr is available in "Manuscripta Mediaevalia" (www.manuscripta-mediaevalia.de/dokumente/html/obj31101702 – access: 10 October 2018). For a more narrative and VQF oriented account cf. M. Sosnowski, *Miejsce powstania i historia pasjonatu theol. lat. oct. 162 ze zbiorów Biblioteki Państwowej w Berlinie*, "Studia Źródłoznawcze" LIV (2016), pp. 3-19, written after the autopsy in 2014 and without knowledge of B. Braun-Niehr's description (the only one available was the retroconversion from A. Fingernagel, *Die illuminierten lateinischen Handschriften deutscher Provenienz der Staatsbibliothek Preussischer Kulturbesitz Berlin; 8.-12. Jahrhundert*, I, Wiesbaden 1991, still available at (www.manuscripta-mediaevalia.de/dokumente/html/obj90432270,T – access: 10 October 2018).

214 The note was first published by H. Hoffmann, *Handschriftenfunde*, Hannover 1997 (MGH Studien und Texte, XVIII), p. 28, in whose opinion the script is late medieval. I argued that it still has characteristics of the transitional script (i.e. 12th/13th century); M. Sosnowski, *Miejsce powstania...*, p. 6.

215 A. Fingernagel, *Die illuminierten...*, I, p. 22.

216 A. Cohen-Mushlin, *Scriptoria in Medieval Saxony. St. Pancras in Hamersleben*, Wiesbaden 2004, pp. 171-176.

217 The newest edition is *Legendy Wolfenbüttelského rukopisu*, ed. J. Zachová, Praha 2010, pp. 77-90 (without using *Hb*).

218 R. Kade, *Introduction*, MPH SS, XV/2, p. 711.

219 As held by P. Bertrand, *Le trésor des reliques de Magdebourg sous les Ottoniens*, in: *Autour de saint Maurice. Actes du colloque Politique, société et construction identitaire, 29 sept-2 oct 2009, Besançon-Saint-Maurice*, ed. N. Brocard, F. Vannotti, A. Wagner, Saint-Maurice 2013, p. 188, n. 41, who also noted that translatio of Constantius has been published by Bollandists from a manuscript in Böddeken (*Acta Sanctorum Ianuarii*, II, p. 1153). A different order of enumerating the saints as well as some minor variations in readings are worth highlighting.

220 Similarly, a rare redaction (f. 52v-55v) of the passio of Spoletan bishop Sabinus (BHL 7453h) – as noted by B. Braun-Niehr (see fn. 213 above) – survives in a 15th century Magdeburg

of *Passio Miniatis*, known from only one other copy produced in the 11th century in or for the Benedictine abbey of Saints Peter and Paul (Abdinghofkloster) in Paderborn.²²¹ I hypothesized about this copy of VQF originating from an antigraph coming from the circles close to Bruno's family and their monastery (Eilversdorf-Marienzell) in Querfurt or the milieu of Magdeburg, where the members of Bruno's family subsequently held the offices of burgraves and bishops.²²² This would perhaps explain both the relative obscurity of this text itself, as well as the nearness of the witness to the Bruno's own draft, perceived by editors already in the 19th century.²²³

Discovered in a family library by young Reinhard Kade looking for a dissertation subject,²²⁴ VQF was quickly published by him in MGH²²⁵, republished with some conjectures and without consulting the manuscript in MPH by W. Kętrzyński²²⁶ and close to a century later by J. Karwasińska – working on microfilm – in the MPH s.n.²²⁷ Recently this last edition has been republished, with some additional conjectures, by Marina Miladinov with facing English translation.²²⁸ M. Miladinov, who previously investigated the eremitical life in the 10th/11th century, convincingly prefaced the translation, and succeeded in pointing to a number of previously unknown allusions and quotations from classical and Christian sources. I will come back to those issues later in the present article.

R. Kade's groundwork, such as identifying the author, giving the text the customary modern title (VQF), dividing it into chapters generally found acceptance and was followed by subsequent editors and researchers. In the first task he was helped by the identification of the author in the manuscript (*edita a Brunone episcopo qui et Bonifacius dicitur*), and in the second – despite having at his disposal no less than two rubrics with *incipit* titles better suiting the contents of the text – he went for *Vita quinque fratrum*, probably to clearly connect his newly-found text with annalistic and chronicles'

Legendary (Berlin, Staatsbibliothek, Ms. Magdeb. 26), already mentioned when discussing the textual tradition of VAA rl (siglum Mgd in VAA rl tradition).

221 *Le Passioni di san Miniato martire fiorentino*, ed. S. Nocentini, Firenze 2018, pp. 24-25 discusses both witnesses (the other being Vatican, BAV, Reg. Lat. 481).

222 M. Sosnowski, *Miejsce powstania...*, pp. 12-14.

223 For the idea that the witness is a direct copy of Bruno's draft see: W. Kętrzyński, *Introduction*, MPH, VI, pp. 384-385; J. Karwasińska, *Introduction*, MPH s.n., IV/3, p. 17.

224 E. Kade, *De Brunonis Querfurtensis Vita quinque fratrum Poloniae nuper reperta*, Leipzig 1883.

225 *Brunonis vita quinque fratrum*, ed. R. Kade, MGH SS, XV/1, Hannover 1888, pp. 709-738.

226 *Brunonis Vita quinque fratrum*, ed. W. Kętrzyński, MPH, VI, pp. 388-428.

227 *Vita quinque fratrum eremitarum [seu] Vita uel passio Benedicti et Iohannis sociorumque suorum*, ed. J. Karwasińska, MPH s.n., IV/3, Warszawa 1973, pp. 27-84.

228 *Life of Five Brethren*, ed. M. Miladinov, in: *Saints of the Christianization Age...*, pp. 196-313.

notes from Poland and Bohemia about the death of “five brothers” in 1003.²²⁹ The customary title should be avoided as the text does not conform to the standard of *vita* (apart maybe for Benedict of Benevento) as it is rather a *passio*. Additionally, there are no “five brothers”, nor five hermits in the text – Bruno writes of two brothers, two novices and a cook. Manuscript titles are to be preferred. The first displays some genological hesitation (*Incipit prologus in uitam seu passionem sanctorum Benedicti et Iohannis sociorumque suorum*), while the second (*Incipit passio sanctorum Benedicti et Iohannis ac sociorum eorundem*) plainly announces a *passio*, while both correctly identify the heroes as “Benedict and John with their companions”.

It is worth noting that in all of Bruno’s texts the division into chapters as well as their numbering is customary and was introduced by 19th-century editors, first by G.H. Pertz for VAA and then by R. Kade for VQF – for reasons of convenience it was usually followed by later editors. Yet, it is problematic especially for VQF, where longer chapters of the initial *passio* are supplemented by a rapid succession of chapters on miracles, of varying length but some only contain a brief paragraph. When introducing the chapters, R. Kade followed the larger red initials in the manuscript and arrived at the total number of 31. Yet, W. Kętrzyński not seeing the manuscript and without any explanation decided to additionally divide the final section and printed the text in 32 chapters. J. Karwasińska in the introduction announces that she will trail R. Kade²³⁰ but the chapter numbering of the printed text actually follows W. Kętrzyński’s.

J. Karwasińska worked on the black-and-white microfilm of the manuscript (available in the National Library of Poland), which after closer inspection and the autopsy of the manuscript itself, proves to be far from satisfactory. Thus, she inevitably missed certain erasures and subsequent corrections, was not able to see – and use – the vertical red lines in pen (starting at f. 22) at the beginnings of larger syntactic units. I noticed close to four hundred differences between the manuscript and the printed text, and while most of those are obviously due to editorial principles of MPH,²³¹ still some are due to misreading the text on microfilm. A different problem is posed by the punctuation in the manuscript, which sometimes suggests another – grammatically correct – syntax or division. This problem is

²²⁹ The complicated history of both the cult and research on it is briefly treated in J. Karwasińska, *Introduction*, MPH s.n., IV/3, pp. 9-12.

²³⁰ MPH s.n., IV/3, p. 18.

²³¹ E.g. all proper names in the edition start with capital letters, while only some of the names are written in this way, since the manuscript uses a gradation of importance of proper names. Nonetheless, despite this gradation being mentioned in the introduction to the edition (MPH s.n., IV/3, p. 17), its appearances are only occasionally cited in the apparatus, without any rationale for the selection.

multiplied, obviously, when dealing with a multitude of witnesses – as in VAA – presenting a variance in modes of punctuation which, usually, reflects the scribe’s understanding of the copied text.

What seemed to me the most interesting textual problem of VQF at the onset of my research were the pale lines (*pallidae lineae*) reported by J. Karwasińska on the microfilm and supposedly coming from the copyist, who noticed a doubling of certain passages. She argued that given the age of the copy and indeed the proximity to Bruno’s manuscript, those lines could have been copied *in extenso* together with the text.²³² The autopsy of the manuscript suggests that those mysterious lines are made in modern pencil. The problem of double usage of those passages remains, but the marginal signs pointing to them are probably the product of an observant 19th-century reader (perhaps R. Kade or O. Holder-Egger, who occasionally offered his own conjectures in the apparatus of R. Kade’s edition) rather than medieval scribe, not to mention them being the copied vestiges of Bruno’s own notes.

A certain number of direct quotes in VQF have been corrected by the editors based on the reading found in the printed editions of source texts. This is usually perilous, since it foregoes the probability of the author himself using an “incorrect” quote (misremembering, remembering correctly but from a “corrupt” copy, changing the reading on purpose). A case in this is the manuscript reading: *qui fecit que ventura sunt* (Is 45:11) conforming to Vetus Latina instead of *qui scit que ventura sunt*, a Vulgate reading into which the editors changed the text. Similarly, Bruno uses Vetus Latina in *Mihi uindictam et ego retribuam* (Rom 12:19), whereas the editors (except for R. Kade) corrected it to Vulgate’s *Mihi uindicta* etc. But sometime those conjectures were more fortunate. In the lengthy judgment of Otto II, Bruno apparently introduces a quote: *Penitentia aboleri peccata indubitanter credimus, etiamsi in ultimo spiritu peniteat amissa, et publica lamentatione peccata prodantur*. The source for this quote is Gennadius of Massilia (Marseilles), but Bruno probably thought it was St. Augustine, to whom the text is often attributed in manuscripts.²³³ The manuscript variance of Gennadius’ text suggests other readings (*admissa, admissor, admissorum, admissarum, admissurum*²³⁴). Not knowing it and without realizing it is a quote from Gennadius, W. Kętrzyński

²³² MPH s.n., IV/3, p. 60, fn. k-k: *principium et finis eius locis pallidis lineis in marginibus signata sunt. Vestigium id sit signorum ab ipso Brunone in autographo factorum an a scriba aut lectore aliquo certe dici non potest*; cf. *ibidem*, p. 17, where it is stated more cautiously.

²³³ *The Liber ecclesiasticorum dogmatum attributed to Gennadius 46*, ed. Turner, “The Journal of Theological Studies” VII (1905) 25, p. 98 (= *De ecclesiasticis dogmatibus 47, Patrologia Latina* [henceforth: PL], XLII, col. 1221), but it is also found in various canonical collection (*Hibernensis, Sangermanensis, Wigorniensis, Polycarpi etc.*) and *florilegia* (eg. *Florilegium Frisingense (Clm 6433)* 9, ed. A. Lehner, *Corpus Christianorum Series Latina* 108D, Turnhout 1987, p. 9).

²³⁴ See previous footnote.

proposed *admissa* in place of *amissa*, which J. Karwasińska rejected and reverted to the manuscript reading. This time therefore, realizing it is a quote the editor should appropriately signal the correction and explain the multitude of suggestions in the apparatus. The most recent editor and translator, M. Miladinov – who readily recognized Gennadius – reinserted W. Kętrzyński's *admissa* into the main text but has not commented upon the source-text manuscript variance.²³⁵

Surviving in a unique 12th-century manuscript, VQF seems to have been a very rarely consulted work until its publication in the 19th century. The two other medieval texts depicting the story of Benedict, John and their companions before the mid-12th century are Peter Damian's *Vita beati Romualdi* (BHL 7324) from the 1040s²³⁶ and the *Chronicle of Czechs* by Cosmas of Prague (this fragment: BHL 1148).²³⁷ As is well known, both are clearly independent of Bruno's narrative (or of each other) and seem to derive respectively from oral accounts in the Romualdine milieu and from the local Bohemian tradition, written or not.²³⁸ All later accounts – the main being the 15th-century *Annales* by Jan Długosz – can be traced to Peter Damian and/or Cosmas.²³⁹ My research allowed to uncover only a single case of an obvious familiarity with VQF. Outside of Benedictine or Romualdine tradition, it was Alexander Minorita, a lay brother of the Franciscan order, active in Bremen before the mid of 13th century.²⁴⁰ Alexander produced successive redactions of his commentary on Revelation, in which at varying length he presented Otto III as the fifth apocalyptic angel (Ap 16:10).²⁴¹ Introducing the passage as *de eo namque dicit historia*, Alexander goes on to say that Otto was *vincens peccata de iuvene carne*

235 *Life of Five Brethren*, p. 230 – it is of course understandable considering the aims of bilingual edition.

236 *Petri Damiani Vita beati Romualdi*, cap. 28, ed. G. Tabacco, Roma 1957 (Fonti per la storia d'Italia XCIV), pp. 61-64.

237 *Cosmae Chronica* 1.38, ed. B. Bretholz, MGH SS rerum Germanicarum n.s., II, pp. 68-72.

238 See M. Matla, *Opowieść Kosmasa...*, pp. 13-37.

239 *Joannis Dlugossi Annales seu Cronicae incliti regni Poloniae*, lib. 2 (Anno 1005), Warszawa 1964, pp. 247-250. For the later sources compiling Cosmas, Długosz, *Annales Camaldulenses* see: K. Nizio, *Nieznany przekaz historii Pięciu Braci męczenników w rękopisie BK 1624. Pamiętnik Biblioteki Kórnickiej Z. 23, "Pamiętnik Biblioteki Kórnickiej" XXIII (1993), pp. 163-180 (edition pp. 175-180).*

240 For the latest detailed study of Alexander see: S. Schmolinsky, *Der Apokalypsenkommentar des Alexander Minorita. Zur frühen Rezeptionsgeschichte Joachims von Fiore in Deutschland*, 1991 (MGH Studien und Texte, III); for shorter treatments cf. D. Berg, in: *Die deutsche Literatur des Mittelalters. Verfasserlexikon*, I, 1978², pp. 220-222; C. Schmitt, in: *Lexikon des Mittelalters*, I, München-Zürich 1979, pp. 377.

241 See redactional strata reproduced in brackets in the edition *Alexander Minorita, Expositio in Apocalypsim*, cap. 16, ed. A. Wachtel, MGH QQ zur Geistesgesch., I, Weimar 1955, pp. 335-339.

and *quod ipse deliciosus adolescens uxore non fruereetur*.²⁴² Previously unnoticed, the first phrase is a verbatim quote and the second is a slightly reworked – but only for reasons of grammatical conformity – phrasing from VQF, where Bruno’s long judgment of Otto, in an extensive recapitulation, uses the same words.²⁴³ Are we to understand that what Alexander quotes as *historia* was actually VQF itself? The phrasing is identical and a direct quote from VQF seems like an obvious explanation, but we cannot rule out an indirect transmission, – that the Franciscan commentator used another source, which was directly quoting VQF.²⁴⁴

EPISTOLA AD HENRICUM REGEM – A LOST WITNESS RECOVERED AND EDITORIAL PROBLEMS

A similar set of problems is posed by the last of Bruno’s works, the letter he wrote to the German king, Henry II. Composed shortly before departing on his last mission to Prussians in late 1008 or early 1009, Bruno wrote his report, and biting critique of Henry’s dealings with Bolesław and Polabian Slavs, either in Poland – as traditionally thought – or at least partly in Rus’, where Bruno seems to have spent a large share of 1008.²⁴⁵

Epistola was recovered by historians in the 19th century, with the first editions²⁴⁶ based on an early modern manuscript copy made for Zacharias Conrad von Uffenbach,²⁴⁷ an 18th-century scholar and collector. The medieval antigraph of Uffenbach’s copy was first used for the purpose of editing the

²⁴² Ibidem, p. 338.

²⁴³ Cf. VQF VII, MPH s.n., IV/3, p. 46: *delicioso adolescente uxore non fruente* and ibidem, p. 47: *uincens peccata de iuvene carne*.

²⁴⁴ A lost 12th-century Saxon saga-like chronicle was posited by E. Bernheim, *Die sagenhafte sächsische Kaiserchronik aus dem 12. Jahrhundert*, “Neues Archiv der Gesellschaft für Ältere Deutsche Geschichtskunde” XX (1895), pp. 60, 92-93; cf. Wachtel’s comments in *Alexander Minorita*, p. 338, fn. 1.

²⁴⁵ On the problems of chronology surrounding the composition of *Epistola* cf. W. Meysztowicz, *Szkice o świętym Brunie...*, pp. 454-496; K. Kollinger, *Polityka wschodnia...*, pp. 112 ff., passim; V. Múcska, *Bruno z Querfurtu...*, pp. 62-73; M. Sosnowski, *Kilka uwag...*, pp. 63-76.

²⁴⁶ The first was А.Ф. Гильфердинг, *Неизданное свидетельство современника о Владимире Святом и Болеславе Храбром*, Москва 1856 [an offprint from “Русская беседа” I (1856)], pp. 1-34. J. Karwasińska, *Introduction*, MPH s.n., IV/3, pp. 87-89, 92-93 enumerates almost all editions of *Epistola*, but she missed *Témoignage d’un contemporain sur saint Vladimir, publié pour la première fois en françois par le prince Augustin Galitzin*, Paris 1861 (a bilingual Latin-French text, based on Hilferding’s edition).

²⁴⁷ R. Jung. *Uffenbach, Zacharias Konrad von*, in: *Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie* XXXIX, Leipzig 1895, pp. 135-137; on Uffenbach’s copy cf. J. Karwasińska, *Introduction*, MPH s.n. IV/3, p. 89.

letter by Wilhelm von Giesebrecht and Philipp Jaffé sometime before 1860.²⁴⁸ Subsequently the letter has been edited a considerable number of times, usually without consulting any manuscript.²⁴⁹ The last two editions are by J. Karwasińska²⁵⁰ and György Györffy.²⁵¹ The sole medieval witness is:

- Ks (my siglum) – Kassel, Landesbibliothek und Murhardsche Bibliothek, 4° Ms. philol. 1, f. 142v-144v (*aliter* 151v-153v) – an 11th-century collection of texts on grammar, written on parchment in one column in a late-Carolingian minuscule and brought to the Electoral Library perhaps from Fulda like many of the codices currently in Kassel.²⁵²

The codex was examined and published about by Hartmut Hoffmann in his influential *Buchkunst und Königtum*. According to H. Hoffmann, who distinguished as much as seven hands writing the codex, the script displays a series of characteristics setting it apart from hands working in the Fulda scriptorium, but very much identical to a series of manuscripts and charters produced in Mainz at the turn of 10-11th century.²⁵³ This set of features H. Hoffmann even termed “Willigisschrift”,²⁵⁴ after the archbishop Willigis of Mainz (d. 1011), whom the readers of Bruno’s VAA mainly remember as the troublemaker who “sang an old song” reminding Adalbert of his legally sanctioned episcopal duties in Prague.²⁵⁵ For our aims, this means that the sole *Epistola* witness is almost contemporaneous with Bruno’s writing it. The attribution to Mainz scriptorium also better explains how and why was the

248 W. von Giesebrecht, *Geschichte der deutschen Kaiserzeit*, II, Braunschweig 1860, 2nd ed., pp. 648-651. Both W. von Giesebrecht and Ph. Jaffé actually edited the text before, the former in the first edition of *Geschichte der deutschen Kaiserzeit*, the latter together with Slovenian philologist F. Miklosich as *Brief des heiligen Brun an Kaiser Heinrich II*, in: *Slavische Bibliothek oder Beiträge zur slavischen Philologie und Geschichte*, II, Wien 1858, pp. 307-312.

249 See notes above. August Bielowski used a transcript sent from Kassel (cf. MPH, I, pp. 223-228), and J. Karwasińska (*Introduction*, MPH s.n., IV/3, pp. 88, 92) used a microfilm.

250 *Epistola ad Henricum regem*, ed. J. Karwasińska, MPH s.n., IV/3, pp. 97-106.

251 *Diplomata Hungariae Antiquissima. Accedunt epistolae et acta ad historiam Hungariae pertinentia ab anno 1000 usque ad annum 1196*, ed. G. Györffy et al., I, Budapest 1992, pp. 44-48.

252 *Die Landesbibliothek Kassel 1580-1930*, ed. W. Hopf, II: *Handschriftenschatze der Landesbibliothek Kassel*, ed. G. Struck, Marburg 1930, pp. 18-27.

253 H. Hoffmann, *Buchkunst...*, pp. 226-230 (characteristics of scripts from Mainz), 240 (description of the Kassel codex).

254 There are some minor errors in his description of the Kassel codex and H. Hoffmann admits that some features of the “Willigisschrift” appear only in hands of the marginal notes in the manuscript.

255 Retained by both redactions, see: MPH s.n., IV/2, pp. 23 and 57: *zelo iuris tactus Magontinus episcopus antiquam cantilenam cantat*. This is of course a rephrasing of VAP, not retained only the late Monte Cassino redaction; MPH s.n., IV/1, pp. 33, 62: *Archiepiscopus uero Willigisus ueterem querimoniam canens*.

text available for copying in the first place. Whether or not *Epistola* was made public,²⁵⁶ it must have reached Willigis, who was not only one of the most important prelates in the Empire, he was also an Archchancellor of Germany. After his death, a former abbot of Fulda, Erkenbald (1011-1021) was chosen as the next Archbishop and Archchancellor. The last Archbishop of Mainz in the lifetime of Henry II (d. 1024), when the letter's content would still be immediately significant, was Aribo (1021-1031) and H. Hoffman's proposed history of this particular script suggests it falling out of use in the 1030s.²⁵⁷ This re-dating also allows to question the idea that *Epistola* was added to a codex containing Latin grammarians, because Bruno's style was something especially worthy of emulating. *Epistola* is not annotated – as are some other texts in the codex – and the traces of someone using it are scarce.²⁵⁸

The editor of *Epistola* cannot hope to correct the readings by comparing them with another exemplar, as the only other copy is Uffenbach's apograph discussed below. Three main problems are difficult to overcome. One is the legibility of the witness itself – especially the last verso page, considerably more worn than the previous folios.²⁵⁹ Another, rarely mentioned problem, is the punctuation in *Ks*.²⁶⁰ A good example is the passage concerning the missionary effort among Pechenegs, where the number thirty – usually understood as the number of baptized Pechenegs – can also be understood as the number of missionaries as well as – perhaps most plausibly – the number of envoys from the part of Pecheneg territory than remained “untouched” by Bruno and his helpers.²⁶¹ This passage was important in the discussion of possibility of converting large numbers of steppe-dwellers (as opposed to members of sedentary societies) – this is now less sure.²⁶² There are other, perhaps less spectacular, examples.

²⁵⁶ An interesting possibility of Thietmar of Merseburg composing parts of his “Chronicle” as a response to Bruno's Letter, was raised by T. Gackowski, *Księgi V i VI Kroniki Thietmara z Merseburga polityczną odpowiedzią na Brunonowy List do Henryka II*, “Teki Historyka” XXXVI-XXXVII (2009), pp. 91-125.

²⁵⁷ H. Hoffmann, *Buchkunst...*, p. 229, with the last manuscript dated to ca. 1035 (Wien, ÖNB, Cod. 612).

²⁵⁸ The verso of the last folio is damaged from wear, but this is easily explained by the codex not having a proper cover for some time after writing.

²⁵⁹ Cf. J. Karwasińska, *Introduction*, MPH s.n., IV/3, p. 89.

²⁶⁰ Mentioned in passing by J. Karwasińska, *ibidem*, p. 92.

²⁶¹ M. Sosnowski, *Illo Pieczyngów nawrócił Brunon z Kwerfurtu?*, in: *Gemma Gemmarum. Studia dedykowane Profesor Hannie Kócce-Krenz*, ed. A. Różanski, Poznań 2017, pp. 397-406.

²⁶² Recently A. Paroń, *Brunona z Kwerfurtu wyprawa do Pieczyngów – aspekty misyjne i polityczne*, “Slavia Antiqua” LIV (2013), pp. 97-116 (a useful discussion of previous scholarship in fn. 5) understands the number 30 to be symbolic and considers the mission successful. Similarly (only the elite was baptized and the number is probably symbolic) in a detailed discussion by K. Kollinger, *Polityka wschodnia...*, pp. 61-86.

Since the latest two editors (J. Karwasińska, G. Györffy) misread only an insignificant number of words, the principal changes in the new edition's text will stem from different understanding of punctuation, as well as from my spotting a small number of quotes and allusions. Additionally, the apparatus can now consider the Uffenbach's apograph:

Uf(my siglum) – Hamburg, Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek Hamburg,
Cod. hist. 321, pp. 238-255, a. 1716

At the time of Karwasińska's edition it was considered lost during the Second World War (Kriegsverlust), but has since been returned to Hamburg from Armenia in 1992.²⁶³ This manuscript does not currently have any modern printed or online formal description, and the 1720 printed Uffenbach's catalogue treats it very briefly.²⁶⁴ The usability of *Uf* is threefold. Since the oldest editions were based solely on *Uf*, it is now easier to explain, regroup and attribute the numerous errors and conjectures made by Hilferding, Papłoński, Miklosich, Jaffe, Giesebrecht (five different editions) and even Bielowski.²⁶⁵ This will allow for the textual apparatus to give a clearer view of subsequent editorial interventions and omissions in respect to the *Uf*. The apograph also contains a number of marginal notes – by hand of *amanuensis* as well as a subsequent commenter (perhaps Uffenbach himself) – which were omitted by all editors and which show an early 18th century understanding of the various lexical and historical problems in explaining Bruno's letter. Finally, since Uffenbach's secretary consulted *Ks* close to 300 years ago, it is possible that the last manuscript page was less weathered than it currently is and his readings are more secure than ours. This obviously requires caution as the writer of *Uf* was not above making silent conjectures.

BRUNO QUOTING AND ALLUDING – *STATUS CAUSAE*²⁶⁶

The second strand of my research consisted of finding the sources for many expressions, allusions and quotes Bruno introduces as such, as well as spotting

²⁶³ As I have been kindly notified by Julia Schneider of Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek Hamburg.

²⁶⁴ *Bibliotheca Uffenbachiana Mssta: seu catalogus et recensio msstorum codicum qui in bibliotheca Zachariae Conradi ab Uffenbach Trajecti ad Moenum adservantur*, Halae Hermundurorum 1720, col. 1234, where in vol. LXXXV (4 t.), no. XXXV: *Prolixa Brunonis Episcopi ad Henricum Regem Epistola de conversione Vngarorum, Borussorum et Livonum e Codice membraneo vetustis*.

²⁶⁵ As foreseen by J. Karwasińska, *Wstęp*, in: MPH, IV/3, p. 89.

²⁶⁶ This as well as all the following paragraphs have been presented at the conference "Zapozyczenie, cytaty, reinterpretacja" (Institute of History, Polish Academy of Sciences, Warsaw 2018). Currently in print, in Polish, are the conference proceedings (M. Sosnowski, *Bruno z Querfurtu a cytaty*). Here I aim to present the examples not covered there, but some repetitions are inevitable. See also my article on classical tradition in the oldest vitae of St. Adalbert,

and recognizing the ones that he more or less seamlessly weaves into his own syntax. Using them, in both explicit and hidden modes, Bruno seems to produce for his texts their own anticipated context, of literary and spiritual works. Only rarely does he identify them, putting the onus of recognizing them on the reader. It is because of that we can expect at least some of his borrowings to be something else than intentional intertextual allusions.

Obviously, this research is built upon the collective knowledge of previous commenters, some quite unusual,²⁶⁷ but, remarkably, not every editor seemed interested in exploring these matters. Thus, the work started early with an *editio princeps* of VAA rl by Surius, who on the margins of the text identified 21 biblical passages (from *Sap.*, *Rom.*, *Luc.*, *Matth.*, *Act.*, *Ioh.*, *Prou.*, *Ps.*, *Bar.*, *Apoc.*, *Iob*, *II Cor.*) and individual quotes from Vergil (*Aen.*) and Jerome (*Ep. 13 ad Paulinum*).²⁶⁸ The Bollandist edition of the shorter redaction was more austere, but retained the majority of Surian discoveries.²⁶⁹ In 1841 G.H. Pertz (VAA rb) supplemented the apparatus with single quotes from Virgil (*Ecl.*) and Persius (*Sat.*), but A. Bielowski in 1864 MPH edition (VAA rl) hardly added anything of importance.²⁷⁰ When J. Truhlář translated and reprinted A. Bielowski's Latin text he did not bother with quotations at all.²⁷¹ The same can be said of A. Kolberg, when he published VAA rb from *Tr.*²⁷² W. Kętrzyński, in his 1893 edition of VQF, gave an explicit rationale for retaining only a handful of allusions and quotations pointed to by R. Kade: the classical phraseology and allusions are trite, universally found, and an effect of memorizing fragments of classical texts at school. Similarly, he decided to forego biblical allusions since – as he explained – medieval writing as such was permeated with language of the Scriptures.²⁷³ In 1907 H.G. Voigt published his monograph on Bruno together with translations of *Nascitur* and of VQF and apart from producing a very useful list of biblical quotations and

M. Sosnowski, *Tradycja klasyczna u wczesnych hagiografów św. Wojciecha – środki i cele*, in: *Stilo et animo. Prace historyczne ofiarowane Profesorowi Tomaszowi Jasińskiemu w 65. rocznicę urodzin*, ed. M. Dorna et al., Poznań 2016, pp. 53-66.

²⁶⁷ August Klostermann in a review of Nestle's *Septuagint* studies informed of one such quote in VQF (see the review in "Theologisches Literaturblatt" XXVIII (1907), col. 485). In the spirit of J. Karwasińska we could supply this by a relevant fragment from Gregory's *Moralia in Iob*, c. 53.6, in: PL, LXXV, col. 1072.

²⁶⁸ *De probatis Sanctorum Historiis*, II, pp. 826-840.

²⁶⁹ *Acta Sanctorum Aprilis*, III, eds. G. Henschen, D. Papebroch, Antverpiae 1675, pp. 187-198; cf. also the Paris-Palmé edition *Acta Sanctorum Aprilis*, III, ed. J. Carnadet, Parisiis-Romae 1866, pp. 189-200.

²⁷⁰ He drew attention (MPH, I, p. 191, fn. 5) to a certain passage's similarity to Ruotger's *Vita Brunonis*, but failed to notice that both are adapted from Iuv. Sat. VII.159 (as in J. Karwasińska, MPH s.n., IV/2, p. 5, fn. 14, who also retained Bielowski's comment).

²⁷¹ FRB, I, pp. 266-304.

²⁷² A. Kolberg, *Die vita II...*, pp. 119-208.

²⁷³ See W. Kętrzyński's introduction to VQF in: MPH, VI, p. 385.

allusions in all of Bruno's works,²⁷⁴ his apparatus offered a completely new stratum of information about the literary context. He was the first to try and explain some obscure passages with references to Christian writers, like John Cassian (*Institutiones, Collationes*) or Benedict of Nursia (*Regula*), and to Greek fathers, whom Bruno could have known in some lost or still unpublished Latin translations.²⁷⁵ Some allusions remain puzzling,²⁷⁶ but H.G. Voigt's generous explanations were adopted and added to by J. Karwasińska. In the meantime, M. Manitius provided a small number of classical poetic phrases and allusions,²⁷⁷ followed more profusely by W. Berschin.²⁷⁸ J. Karwasińska's edition shows a much better awareness of literary context put forward by Bruno than its predecessors, but it is still far from complete.²⁷⁹ The most recent published²⁸⁰ additions seem to be from M. Miladinov²⁸¹ and myself²⁸² and concern the texts of VAA and VQF.

BRUNO QUOTING AND ALLUDING – THE CLASSICS AND SCRIPTURES²⁸³

During my research, I managed to uncover numerous further examples of previously unknown quotations and echoes used by Bruno. What follows is just a small selection from the edition currently in preparation.

274 H.G. Voigt, *Brun von Querfurt...*, pp. 305-309.

275 Cf. *ibidem*, apparatus of translation on pp. 333-436.

276 E.g. H.G. Voigt claims that in VAA 11 (p. 343, fn. 6) the long litany beginning with *pura bonitas* and ending with *cara misericordia Deus* echoes Basil's *Hexaameron* I.2.13 (cf. MPH s.n., IV/2, p. 11, v. 14-16; J. Karwasińska's footnote and introduction both retain this suggestion).

277 M. Manitius, *Geschichte...*, II, p. 233, fn. 4.

278 W. Berschin, *Biographie...*, IV/1, pp. 169, 172.

279 E.g. on Bruno's treatment of Gregory the Great, furthering what J. Karwasińska put in her apparatus cf. Th. Matus, *Mysł i nawiązania do Grzegorza Wielkiego w Vita quinque fratrum. Obserwacje na marginesie przypisów do wydania krytycznego*, in: *Męczennicy z Międzyrzecza...*, pp. 105-111.

280 When finishing this article I was yet to consult the recent Italian translation of VQF in *Privilegio d'amore. Fonti camaldolesi. Testi normativi, testimonianze documentarie e letterarie*, ed. C. Falchini, Magnano 2007.

281 Especially important is M. Miladinov, *Margins of Solitude...*, pp. 79-84 (but note that Bruno does not display a knowledge of Greek; on the other hand, especially the Latin-Greek Aventine monastery milieu could have provided *ad hoc* translations) and the apparatus of *Saints of the Christianization Age...*, p. 252, fn. 1; p. 279, fn. 5; p. 278, fn. 3. For some of *loci* in this edition (p. 230, fn. 2; p. 232, fn. 3; p. 290, fn. 3; p. 266, fn. 1) and generally on apparatus cf. M. Sosnowski, *Hagiografia...*, pp. 888-889.

282 E.g. M. Sosnowski, *Studia...*, pp. 80, 96, 118, 124, 152; *idem*, *Kategorie...*, pp. 205-230; *idem*, *Czy Otton został zbawiony (Passio Benedicti et Iohannis sociorumque suorum, cap. VII)*, in: *Pierwsze Polsko-Czeskie Forum Młodych Mediewistów. Materiały z konferencji naukowej – Gniezno 27-29 września 2005 roku*, eds. J. Dobosz, J. Kujawiński, M. Matla-Kozłowska, Poznań 2007, pp. 53-56.

283 See fn. 266.

Bruno looks adept at and eager to use poetic tags, short phrases adapted from classical poetry – he seems to try and emulate or at least to follow the anonymous author of the previous Adalbert's vita, whose proficient use of classical literature was recently demonstrated by Cristian-Nicolae Gașpar.²⁸⁴ More often than not the sources of Bruno's phrases are school readings, not outstanding in the *curricula* at educational centers, such as Magdeburg. They might as well come from collections of excerpts, florilegia and so on – it is usually hard to tell. Some examples, at least of quotes, suggest repeating from memory.²⁸⁵ Poetic phrases and tags are usually too short to display the exact reading of the source quote, but are nevertheless recognizable. There are dozens such phrases, especially in *Nascitur* but also in VQF – and they seem to serve a couple of functions, apart from and sometimes next to being simply ornamental:

- of modulating the atmosphere of the narrative (epic for epic or idyllic for idyllic are more easily interpreted – even if one detects a hint irony; the same can be said of satires)
- of a simile, that is bringing Adalbert's life and the classical (especially epic) events to the same plane
- of strikingly, briefly, changing the language register, especially when they are accumulated
- of re-capturing the attention and of signaling something of importance, like a change.

Only rarely there is a close connection of the theme between the source material and Bruno's narrative.²⁸⁶ Poetic phrases are oftentimes interlaced with

284 See the introduction and especially the apparatus of the bilingual edition in the *Saints of the Christianization Age...*, pp. 77-181. See also C. Gașpar, (Re)claiming Adalbert: Patristic Quotations and Their Function in Canaparius' Vita S. Adalberti, in: *Promoting the Saints: Cults and Their Contexts from Late Antiquity until the Early Modern Period. Essays in Honor of Gábor Klaniczay for His 60th Birthday*, ed. O. Gečser, Budapest 2011, pp. 31-40. On the use of paradoxes by author of *Est locus*, see: S. Wiczorek, *Bona stultitia. O znaczeniu paradoksów retorycznych w najstarszym żywocie św. Wojciecha*, "Kwartalnik Historyczny" CXXII (2015) 3, pp. 417-454.

285 Compare VQF (MPH s.n., IV/3, p. 30 and fn. 27) on Benedict of Benevento: *Ergo dimissa terra natiuitatis suę montem [suprascr. manu eadem: SIRAPTI] illum adiit, de quo dictum est in carminibus gentilium: "Vides ut alta senacteis stet candida niue"* with Hor. Carm. 1.9.1: *Vides ut alta stet nive candidum Soracte*. It seems implausible that Bruno had Horace in a copy so mangled. The proper name "Sirapti" is attested around year 1000 e.g. in Benedict's of Monte Soracte *Chronicon*; cf. *Il Chronicon di Benedetto monaco di S. Andrea del Soratte e il Libellus de imperatoria potestate in urbe Roma*, ed. G. Zucchetti, Roma 1920, p. 229 (s.v. Seraptis, Siraptis, Soractis, Syraptis mons) and commentary in B. Spieralska-Kasprzyk, *Summae Romanorum barbariei signum: Étude linguistique sur la Chronique de Benoît de Saint André*, Warszawa 2016, p. 347.

286 E.g. when describing Adalbert's change of heart and mores as a bishop in Prague and later, when certain people remind him of his previously frivolous life, Bruno (MPH s.n.,

ones alluding to Scriptures and patristic or later Christian authors, producing a striking effect. As an example, let us take a fragment poorly recognized by previous editors:

Igitur ad frontem scolę hospes processit, *ianuas timoris* (Aug. Sermo XIV in Natali Cypriani Martyris 2; cf. Aug. Enarr. II.10 in Ps. 30)²⁸⁷ intrat, ubi plures *epulas appositas*²⁸⁸ cernere erat, quas, prout cuique *uene in leuo pectore saliant*,²⁸⁹ amena turba discipulorum *auido ore*²⁹⁰ carpebat.

Only Iuvenal is recognized as such in J. Karwasińska's edition. Approaching the front of the school, the guest enters the "gates of fear". This is an expression from a sermon on feast of St. Cyprian, reflections on imitating the martyrs attributed in the manuscripts to St. Augustine.²⁹¹ The sermon proposes not only that the narrow road leading to salvation is full of dangers and difficult to stay on, but the road itself is hard to enter. A narrow gate (*angusta porta*) leads to it; and nearby, the devil (*ille tentator*) temptingly leaves open two much broader gates, one of earthly desire (*ianua cupiditatis*) and one of fear (*ianua timoris*). Leaving out some of the details, suffice it to say that the sermon not so much suggests getting rid of desire and fear, but rather recommends redirecting those feelings toward something else, modifying them (*Non auferatur cupiditas sed mutetur. Timor non extinguitur, sed in aliud transferatur*). This modification will be a characteristic feature of Adalbert in Bruno's narrative. The school is a territory of unnecessary and ultimately harmful fear, Bruno seems to suggest, and Adalbert's fear will be redirected from earthly matters (e.g. the fear of being lashed by the teacher) to sublime and eschatological (the fear of damnation on the Final Judgement). The hero, by an act of internal conversion, will be brought to the "narrow gate" at a later time in the story. Just after this clear allusion to Augustine, stacking a number of short classical phrases, Bruno describes both the inside of the school and the content of the learning it offers. Adalbert sees the "dishes served up" (*epulas appositas* echoing Virgil, cf. above) – a metonymy for classical learning described by words taken from

IV/2, p. 10) uses *Virg. Aen.* 2.274: *o quantum mutatum ab illo*; but cf. *Ovid. Met.* 15.46). The whole paragraph from *Nascitur* containing this quote was plagiarised by a Spanish Benedictine Benoît Gonon to construct almost a quarter of his short vita of a certain Bertholdus, cf. *Vitae et sententiae patrum occidentis libri VII digestae [etc.] accesserunt insuper ad calcem insignium quorundam Eremitarum Orientis vitae*, ed. B. Gonon, Lugduni 1625, p. 223.

²⁸⁷ Aug. Sermo XIV in Natali Cypriani Martyris 2, PL, XLVI, col. 863. Similarly, but less clearly explained, the expression also in Aug. Enarr. in Psalmos, in Psalmum 30, Enarratio II.10, PL, XXXVI, col. 236.

²⁸⁸ Echoes *Virg. Aen.* 6.604-605 et *Virg. Georg.* 3.526-527.

²⁸⁹ Cf. *Iuv. Sat.* 7.159-160.

²⁹⁰ Cf. *Apul. Met.* 11.13.

²⁹¹ *Sancti Augustini Hipponensis episcopi sermones inediti*, ed. D.A.B. Caillau, Paris 1842, p. 24.

this very learning. Pupils, a pleasant-looking crowd, tear into those dishes with the Apuleian “voracious mouth” (*avidō ore*). They are full of energy – Bruno seems to say – inverting (*uenę in leuo pectore saliuunt*) Juvenal’s phrase from Sat. 7, where the meaning is the opposite (the teacher is blamed for the lack of energy of his students). This piling up of poetic phrases is briefly suspended, only to return at the end of the narrative of Adalbert’s education. It is for a reason that Bruno counted the school years as “three times three” (*ter ternos*) instead of simply “nine” – this is a Horatian phrase (Od. 3.19.13-15) fitting the description of Latin at the cathedral school. Just as well fitting is a longer phrase (*in arena studii palestram exercet ingenii*) adapted from the prologue of Fabius Planciades Fulgentius (5th-6th century) to his *Mythologies*, another text commonly used at school.²⁹² Maybe it is worth adding that the rationale Bruno gives for writing VQF, even if decisively different because of its eschatological themes, is nevertheless similar in argument to Fulgentius’ stated reasons.²⁹³ In any case, the school episode ends with, already recognized in previous editions, Vergilian *Sat prata biberunt!* (Ecl. 3.111), and Adalbert returns home, unsurprisingly *portans secum dulces sapientię liquores*.²⁹⁴ This has an earlier analogue in *septem panes sapientiae*, a metaphor for seven arts, which Adalbert was sent to learn in Magdeburg. To conclude, Bruno built his story of Adalbert’s school years with an accumulation of phrases borrowed or adapted from mostly classical texts included in the canon of school readings. This image masterly reflects the contents of the curriculum and is a display of learning on the part of Bruno, as well as an indirect laudation of Magdeburg’s qualities. Since both Adalbert and his hagiographer learned at the same cathedral school, we can assume that Bruno projects his own impressions of education on his hero, or at least reminisces about his own past. The image waxes nostalgic but the reader is advised beforehand not to assume that

292 Only a couple of years later we find this phrase used at the Stavelot Abbey, in a prologue (BHL 7126) to the 11th-century redaction of *Miracula s. Remacli*, ed. O. Holder-Egger, MGH SS, XV/1, p. 428, v. 23-25: *habes adhuc arenam tui studii, ubi exerceas palestram ingenii*. On the reception of Fulgentius see: L.G. Whitebread, *Fulgentius the Mythographer*, Columbus 1971, pp. 24-26.

293 Cf. Fulgentius’: *sicut enim liuoris nota est silere quod noueram, ita non crimen est enarrare quod senseram* (*Mitologiarum libri tres*, p. 35) with Bruno’s *Damnatio est, uidens et sciens sancta ut silentio preteream*.

294 The last two words would seem borrowed from, or even alluding to a *Commentarius in LXXV psalmos*, Ps. LXXIII, par. 15, PL, XXI, col. 951: *Tu dirupisti fontes et torrentes, ut manarent liquores sapientiae et fidei, ut irrigarent falsitatem Gentium, ut sua dulcedine atque irrigatione caeteros converterent*. If it is indeed a work of Rufinus of Aquileia or Alcuinus (H. Brewer, *Der Pseudo-Rufinische “Commentarius in LXXV psalmos” ein Werk Alkuins, “Zeitschrift für Katholische Theologie” XXXVII* (1913), pp. 668-675) then it could be seen as Bruno’s source. But the text has also been attributed to early-12th century Letbertus of St-Ruf in Avignon (A. Wilmart, *Le commentaire sur les Psaumes imprimé sous le nom de Rufin’*, “Revue Bénédictine” XXXI (1914), pp. 258-276).

classical learning is sufficient or even a good in itself. It is the Augustinian *ianua timoris* preceding the accumulation of classics that suggest caution.

Elaborately constructed passages, like the one described above, are numerous especially in *Vita altera*. W. Berschin, in whose opinion with Bruno's works the "Ottonian style reaches a climax",²⁹⁵ spotted and discussed some undiscovered literary echoes, but the passages he analyses are nevertheless not fully explored. Berschin gives an example of the description of Adalbert and his companions resting before the missionary struggle, pointing mainly to ornamental function of borrowed phrases and contrasting the atmosphere with Christomimetism of *Est locus*.²⁹⁶ Below is the fragment, with previously unrecorded borrowings (those found by Berschin identified in brackets, all borrowings in *italics*):

Gaudentius [...] missarum sollemnia *in lęto gramine* (Verg. Georg. II.525) celebrat. Post parum obsonii recumbentes accipiunt, ut *in fortitudine cibi* (3 Reg 19:8) positum uigorem *fessa membra*²⁹⁷ resumerent et uiam longam sine labore reparati pedes cicius minarent. *Pulsa fame*²⁹⁸ recreati surgunt et pergere incipiunt, et non longe ab eo loco, ubi cibum sumunt, inualescente lassitudine caput ponunt et uexata corpora somno indulgent; *dormitauerunt omnes et dormierunt* (Mt 25:5). *Adest sonitus armorum*²⁹⁹, *fulgurans hasta*³⁰⁰, *sonans clipeus*³⁰¹ et *gladius acutus*.³⁰²

Previous editions only note the penultimate one (*sonans clipeus*) and refer the reader to Iob 39:23, which should probably be supplanted by Vergil's Aeneid (for example 9.709), which reflects the change of atmosphere to epic from the peaceful rural ambiance of the introductory "Georgics" (II. 525). In reality the passage is swollen with no less than nine classical and Scriptural phrases – I suspect there are even more of them in just this little snippet of text. The most remarkable one seems to be *pulsa fame* – an extremely rare phrase in the Middle Ages, I was only able to find one other instance of its usage. Yet this single other instance is, tellingly, also an Ottonian hagiography, a "Life of s. Wenceslaus" by Gumpold of Mantua,³⁰³ a text which Bruno in

295 W. Berschin, *Biographie...*, IV/1, p. 177.

296 *Ibidem*, p. 172.

297 Stat. Theb. 870-871 (*nec sole aut pulvere fessa | membra labant*).

298 Cf. *Gumpoldi Vita Venzeslai ducis*, MGH SS, IV, p. 216, v. 8 (*pulsa fame sacietatis*); cf. Sen. Thy. 734-736: *cruore rictus madidus et pulsa fame | non ponit iras: hinc et hinc tauros premens | uitulis minatur dente iam lasso piger*.

299 cf. Ov. Met., 5.154; Verg. Aen. 9.252.

300 cf. Hab 3:11 et Nah 3:3.

301 cf. Verg. Aen.9.709 sed etiam Iob 39:23.

302 cf. Ps. 57(56):5 (et Sap. 18:16).

303 On Gumpold see basic F.J. Worstbrock, *Gumpold*, in: *Die deutsche Literatur des Mittelalters Verfasserlexikon*, III, 1981², pp. 302-303; I. Wood, *The Missionary Life...*, pp. 195-197;

fact should have known, not only considering how important Wenceslaus was to Adalbert, but also that it might have influenced – or even was written for – Otto III.³⁰⁴ A fellow bishop-hagiographer could be the source of Bruno's expression, but ultimately it is derived – maybe by both of them – from Seneca's *Thyestes* (v. 732-736). A disturbing play about cannibalism and fratricide, which was poorly circulated in the Early Middle Ages,³⁰⁵ it could have nevertheless made it to the Ottonian imperial and episcopal courts and elsewhere.³⁰⁶ The hypothetical library amassed by Otto III, primarily in Italy, could have also included it.³⁰⁷

Especially in *Nascitur* there are many passages like the two explored above, multiplied by number of *loci* in them. The classical phrases in VQF, although certainly present, are much more scattered and their number is lower. It is impossible to discuss more of them here; and it would be tedious to examine the ones that contain only one or two such classical phrases. The apparatus of the new edition will be a good starting point for “re-discovering” of Bruno's literary context and cultural baggage.

CHRISTIAN AUTHORS, HIDDEN BORROWINGS AND TWO REDACTIONS³⁰⁸

Importantly, Bruno also quotes patristic and later Christian authors. Especially when he announces them, which is not always the case, their function is different from the one given to poetic tags. Bruno tends to derive a certain dogmatical authority from them, assuring his readers, and probably himself, that his interpretation of events is sound. Those quotes tend to be longer than just two-three words phrases. The most important authorities are Augustine

W. Berschin, *Biographie...*, IV/1, pp. 87-93; J. Banaszkiwicz, *Gumpold, Vavřinec a Kristián, čili krátce o tom, jak se sněžná a severní Bohemia stávala součástí 'požehnané' Evropy*, in: *Dějiny ve věku nejistot. Sborník k příležitosti 70. narozením Dušana Třeštika*, ed. J. Žemlička, Praha 2003, pp. 47-52.

³⁰⁴ On this particular point see: I. Wood, *The Missionary Life...*, pp. 195-197.

³⁰⁵ G. Guastella, *Seneca Rediscovered: Recovery of Texts, Redefinition of Genre*, in: *Brill's Companion to the Reception of Senecan Tragedy*, ed. E. Dodson-Robinson, Leiden-Boston 2017, pp. 77-78.

³⁰⁶ For the supposed predilection of Ottonian dynastic milieu (where Hrosvit flourished), for drama see: C. Symes, *Ancient Drama in the Medieval World*, in: *A Handbook to the Reception of Greek Drama*, ed. B. van Zyl Smit, Chichester 2016, pp. 113-114.

³⁰⁷ See: L.D. Reynolds, N.G. Wilson, *Scribes and Scholars. A guide to the Transmission of Greek and Latin Literature*, Oxford 1991³, pp. 107-108. Only the Letters of Seneca remain of the collection now in Bamberg, on which F. Mütterich, *The Library of Otto III*, in: *The Role of the Book in Medieval Culture*, II, ed. P. Ganz, Turnhout 1986, pp. 11-26. This library was considered a figment of scholarly imagination by H. Hoffmann, *Die Bibliothek Ottos III.*, in: idem, *Bamberger Handschriften des 10. und des 11. Jahrhunderts*, Hannover 1995, pp. 5-34. For our aims it is enough that these works were available and circulating at all.

³⁰⁸ See fn. 266.

and Gregory the Great – those two Church Fathers are nearly everywhere in Bruno's works – and this has already been persuasively shown on multiple occasions by J. Karwasińska's introduction and apparatus as well as by later commenters³⁰⁹. To be sure, there are even more places where the Gregorian and Augustinian stratum is clearly visible.

Nonetheless, what I was most interested in, were those occasions where the borrowings from Christian author are "hidden", that is the cases where Bruno apparently weaves someone else's wording into his own composition. I am not sure that those were supposed to be spotted by his readers, considering the way he uses them and especially because those texts were not part of school curriculum.

The examples below come from the longer redaction of *Nascitur*, the one written supposedly in Saxony in 1004, with good access to libraries, be it at Magdeburg³¹⁰ or elsewhere. When J. Karwasińska and previous commenters described the difference between both redactions, they noticed that what Bruno has removed, was deleted mainly for reasons of clarity.³¹¹ Maybe he considered the discarded fragments as too meandering – certainly for modern historians interested in Adalbert's mission they seemed off-topic. Those passages are interesting because they give an insight into Bruno at work. J. Karwasińska, following some earlier scholars,³¹² persuasively described how Bruno's works, apart from the *Letter to Henry* – which he simply had to finish for practical reasons – are a work-in-progress and do not seem to be properly completed.³¹³

A fine example of Bruno at work with his sources is the chapter 32 of the longer redaction, which was to be drastically reworked in the shorter redaction – only about a quarter of the text remained.³¹⁴ What was left out is of special interest. When in 1004 Bruno was writing the longer redaction

309 See fn. 279 above.

310 The cathedral library at Magdeburg burned in 1449, so the rich scope of its collections can be conjectured from the imperial patronage of Otto I, i.e. it must have been rich in books. On this P.G. Schmidt, *Lateinische Literatur Magdeburgs von ottonischer zu staufischer Zeit*, w: *Der Magdeburger Dom. Ottonische Gründung und staufischer Neubau*, ed. E. Ullmann, Leipzig 1989, pp. 220-221.

311 J. Karwasińska, *Introduction*, MPH s.n., IV/2, pp. XV-XVII, XXVI.

312 Some early voices suggesting that VQF is unfinished were W. Kętrzyński (MPH, VI, pp. 384-385) and T. Wojciechowski (*Eremita reguły św. Romualda, czyli benedyktyni włoscy w Polsce XI wieku*, in: idem, *Szkice historyczne jedynastego wieku*, Kraków 1904, p. 15). H.G. Pertz (MHG SS, IV, p. 579) on the other hand considered the second redaction of VAA as a final product, even if at times somewhat obscure.

313 MPH s.n., IV/2, pp. XVIII-XX, XXV-XXVI; MPH s.n., IV/3, pp. 16-17. Mirrored later by e.g. W. Berschin, who says that the shorter redaction of VAA is "left unfinished" and VQF "falls apart at the end", see: W. Berschin, *Biographie...*, IV/1, p. 168, fn. 496; p. 172, fn. 501 (VQF).

314 Compare MPH s.n., IV/2, pp. 37-39 with p. 68.

of *Nascitur*, he had Ambrose Autpert (d. 784) at hand, namely his influential commentary on Apocalypse.³¹⁵ Written two centuries before by a Frankish (Provençal) abbot of the Italian monastery of San Vincenzo al Volturno, *In Apocalypsin* is an extensive work, well attested in post-Carolingian libraries.³¹⁶ Bruno cites it as a part of a lengthy commentary on Adalbert against the background of his times (chapters 30-32), near the end of *Nascitur*. Instead of giving the detailed exposition of the whole passage, let us start with Bruno's exclamation to Adalbert on the perversity of humanity. Bruno at first elucidates this with *Disticha Catonis* (I.27) – he calls Cato a poet – and a passage from Matthew (16:26), which he finds even more fitting:

Promittunt delectare et faciunt laborare, dicunt adiuuare et nesciunt non nocere. Cui conuenit illud poete: *Fistula dulce canit, uolucrum dum decipit auceps*,³¹⁷ immo conuenit illud euangelicum: *Quid prodest homini, si uniuersum mundum lucretur, animę uero suę detrimentum paciatur?*³¹⁸ Quod flet in sacro eloquio, qui securus sui, de nostro periculo est timidus, qui stantes inter mille gladios numquam dormientis diaboli, habentes et ingenite naturę centum pericula, nutrimus adhuc auaricię suam pestem, ut res extra nos perdat interius nos.

The passage was not really commented upon by modern scholars. In the 17th century the abbot of Gottweig, David Gregor Corner, quite reasonably interpreted the whole passage as *ad s. Adalbertum [...] oratio uetustissima anonymi cuiusdam*.³¹⁹ The *stantes inter mille gladios* and *habentes centum pericula* is certainly “us” (the humanity) but who stands on the other side of this comparison, who is this *securus sui* that “weeps in the sacred speech” because of the dangers we pose to ourselves? It doesn't seem to be Adalbert, because, as Bruno continues:

“Eheu”, inquit, “in presentium rerum uoluptatibus positi, quo amplius concupita adquirimus, eo amplius ac multiplicius os patens auaricię in inmensum aperimus.”³²⁰ Nescio, monstri³²¹ quid simile patimur; post

315 *Ambrosius Autpertus, Expositio in Apocalypsin*, ed. R. Weber, in: *Ambrosii Autperti Opera*, Turnhout 1975 (Corpus Christianorum Continuatio Mediaevalis, XXVII-XXVIIA). On Ambrose see briefly: H. Riedlinger, *Ambrosius Autpertus*, in: *Lexikon des Mittelalters*, I, col. 525; A. Mancone, *Ambrogio Autperto*, in: *Dizionario Biografico deli Italiani*, II, Roma 1960 ([www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/ambrogio-autperto_\(Dizionario-Biografico\)](http://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/ambrogio-autperto_(Dizionario-Biografico)) – access: 10 October 2018).

316 See the introduction and manuscript list of the edition by Weber in previous fn.

317 *Dist. Cat. I.27.*

318 Mt 16:26.

319 D.G. Corner, *Magnum promptuarium catholicae devotionis*, Gottweig-Vienna 1645, pp. 419-420 (1st ed. 1610).

320 Cf. Ambros. Autp. In Apocalypsin IX.20.14-15, CCCM 27A, p. 774.

321 *miseri S.*

expletionem uoluptatum amplius esurimus, et adeptis carnalium rerum uoluptatibus »sufficit!« numquam dicimus.³²² Hoc est commune malum omnium, maxime hec est miseria mei et si sunt meorum similium, qui tota spiritualia cogitare debuimus, prope sola carnalia cogitamus. Si quid potes, immo quia potes, nostris medere uulneribus.³²³ <Sed ad rem>.

The person contrasted to “us” finally gives the announced *sacrum eloquium*, or rather Bruno cites it. This is a highly personal passage, also potentially criticizing someone unknown to us today (*si sunt meorum similium*). Bruno admits the avarice the first place among vices (*commune malum omnium*) – and he primarily composes his confession and prayer with only slightly revised quotes from Ambrose Autpert. He also ends it with an apostrophe to Adalbert (*Si quid potes – uulneribus*), adapting an exhortation to public confession of sins from Origen’s homily in Jerome’s translation, which was included in the homiliaries in the Carolingian period and later.³²⁴ *Kv* follows this passage directly by chapter 33 (*Primum dux et magister nefarie cohortis*).³²⁵ Surius (S) instead completes the paragraph with *Sed ad rem*,³²⁶ which rings similar to a more polished expression in the middle of the prologue of VQF: *misimus prelocutionis spem; eamus iam ad rem*.³²⁷ The *sed ad rem* could plausibly go back to Bruno, but there is no way to confirm it securely. If it was indeed Bruno’s note to his readers – and to himself – it would suggest he understood that this passage, filled with quotes, was not *ad rem* and later decided to leave it out.

Not all such places were removed, when Bruno was preparing the shorter redaction. For example, despite reworking the relevant passage, Bruno decided not only to keep the relatively hidden passage from Cyprian – this

322 Cf. Ambros. Autp. In Apocalypsin IX.20.14-15, CCCM 27A, p. 774.

323 Cf. Origenes, Homilia 17 (in Lucam), PL, XXVI, col. 259: *Si enim hoc fecerimus, et revelauerimus peccata nostra non solum Deo, sed et his qui possent mederi uulneribus nostris atque peccatis, debentur peccata nostra ab eo qui dixit: Ecce ego delebo ut nubem iniquitates tuas, et sicut caliginem peccata tua (Isa. 44:22)*. It also apparently circulated as a compilation of Hom. 16 and 17 (Orig. Hom. XLII in Dominica intra Octavam Natalis Christi, PL, XCV, col. 1184), on which M. Rauer, *Origenes Werke*, IX, Leipzig 1930 (Die Griechischen Schriftsteller der ersten drei Jahrhunderte, XXXV), p. XXVI (the fragment in this edition on p. 119).

324 The compiled version (see note above) was included by Paul the Deacon into the homiliary commissioned by Charlemagne, see. F. Wiegand, *Das Homiliarium Karls des Grossen auf seine ursprüngliche Gestalt hin untersucht*, Leipzig 1897 (Studien zur Geschichte der Theologie und der Kirche, I/2), p. 28; E. Klosterman, E. Benz, *Form und Überlieferung der Matthäuserklärung des Origenes*, in: *Texte und Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der Altchristlichen Literatur*, II/ 2, ed. E. Klosterman, C. Schmidt, Leipzig 1932, p. 109. On Paul’s homiliary and its importance see: R. Grégoire, *Homéiliaires liturgiques médiévaux. Analyse des manuscrits*, Spoleto 1980, pp. 423-486.

325 MPH s.n., IV/2, p. 39.

326 *De probatis Sanctorum Historiis*, II, p. 840.

327 MPH s.n., IV/3, p. 28.

important quote was discovered by M. Miladinov³²⁸ – but augment it and add another passage from the same “Exhortation to martyrdom”.

There are more “hidden” (no to imply Bruno’s intention of hiding them) quotes, from John Cassian, from Augustine, or from Gregory the Great, unrecognized in previous editions. Instead of discussing them, I would like to point to further examples of Bruno weaving into his narrative of authors previously unknown to have been read by him. Often used is Haymo of Halberstadt (d. 853), whose homilies – or rather sentences from them – Bruno employs only in VQF. They do not seem to appear in *Nascitur* and it can be conjectured that Bruno must have had a book containing Haymo’s texts at hand. When Romuald of Ravenna offers to Benedict of Benevento the post of abbot of the monastery-hermitage, the latter responds:

*Ualde durum est, ut ille animas iudicandas suscipiat, qui suam ipsius custodire nescit.*³²⁹ *Illi ad animas regendas et aliorum actiones corrigendas procedere debent, quos et morum grauitas, et etatis maturitas, et diuturna sanctitas, atque temperata discretio indoneos reddit.*³³⁰

Quite surprisingly, the hermit from Benevento explains the refusal to his master from Ravenna with words almost entirely composed with quotes from Haymo. Similarly, after Bruno related the speech he gave to Benedict, before the latter went to Poland, he sums it up with:

*Non longe ab eo scriptum est: Ille in nomine Ihesu petit, qui anime sue salutem querit.*³³¹

The explanation, introduced as such, is again taken from a homily, which is variously attributed to Haymo and to Augustine.

When Bruno describes the positioning of the body of the martyr (head to the south, legs to the north) he offers a Scriptural comment:

*quarum parcium de diuerso uento in Canticis canticorum ita scriptum est: Surge aquilo et ueni auster, perfla ortum meum et fluent aromata illius,*³³²

immediately followed by a reinforcement, again introduced as a quote, from Haymo’s Exposition of Apocalypse: “hoc est: *recede, diabole, et ueni Sancte Spiritus, reple animam meam, ut appareant suaue olentes uirtutes eius*”.³³³ These are

328 M. Miladinov, *Margins of Solitude...*, pp. 79-82.

329 Haymo of Halberstadt, *Homilia 81* (In Octava Pasch.), PL, CXVIII, col. 494.

330 Haymo of Halberstadt, *Homilia 12* (Dominica teria post Pent.), *ibidem*, col. 604.

331 Haymo of Halberstadt, *Homilia 89*, *ibidem*, col. 545 (sometimes attributed to Augustine, cf. *Augustini Opera Omnia*, ed. D.A.B. Caillau, XXIV, sermo 17.5, p. 112); cf. Io 16:23-28.

332 Cant. 4:16.

333 Cf. Haymo of Halberstadt, *Expositio in Apocalypsin*, lib. 2, PL, CXVII, col. 996.

all almost verbatim quotes and presented as such. Sometimes nevertheless, Bruno seems to combine two separate quotes to produce his own version. For example, commenting on Otto's III failed plan to subdue Romans, first he gives a proverb (*sicut dictum est: homo cogitat, Deus ordinat*³³⁴), but then he adds: "et: *ue homini qui uult bonum, et cicius non facit, quia mox perdit illud*"³³⁶ seems to combine either a Latin translation of Vita of John the Almsgiver or reworked Galatians (6:10) with *Verba seniorum* in the translation of Rufinus of Aquileia.

All in all, it is necessary to repeat that the shorter borrowings, used as phrases, abound both in *Nascitur* and in VQF. Without explaining, let us enumerate the ones from Boethius, some spotted by previous research. On Otto III in VQF: *species digna imperio*;³³⁷ as a reaction to the slaying of Adalbert's brothers in VAA: *Proh diuinam humanamque fidem!*³³⁸ A woman in Magdeburg commenting on changed Adalbert in VAA: *Cur qui quondam eras pulcherrime letus homo, es nunc seuerus ut rigidus Cato*?³³⁹

To sum up, the literary baggage in the writings of Bruno³⁴⁰ is much more substantial than previously thought. Bruno builds his texts with numerous classical and Christian phrases, and, as I tried to demonstrate, their usage is not random but rather purposeful and geared toward producing a narrative that is both persuasive and beautiful, displaying the skills acquired at the Magdeburg cathedral school. Furthermore, Bruno often employs actual quotes, either strongly introduced as such (*sicut scriptum est, non longe a, satyricum illud*) or introduced weakly (*utique, inter hec, utique*) and sometimes even smoothly interweaved into his narrative. Barring the problem of our recognizing the latter form of borrowings, they also raise the question of

334 Cf. *Thesaurus proverbiorum medii aevi*, ed. S. Singer, VIII, Berlin 1995, pp. 159-160; cf. *Epistola*, MPH s.n., IV/3, p. 103; cf. Thietmari VII.31, in: MGH n.s., IX, pp. 454 ff.

335 Cf. BHL 4388 = *Vita S. Joannis Eleemosynarii auct. Leontio Neapoleos Cyprorum episcopo interprete Anastasio bibliothecario* 29, PL, LXXIII, col. 366: *vae illi qui vult facere bonum, et differt*; cf. *Gal* 6:10.

336 Cf. *Verba seniorum (Rufini)*, PL, LXXIII, col. 781: *Quidquid enim boni fecerit homo, ne exsultet in eo, quia mox perdet illud*.

337 *Boethius, In Isagogen Porphyrii*, III.3, *Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum*, XLVIII, ed. S. Brandt, Vindobonae 1896, p. 199.

338 *Boethius, In Ciceronis Topica*, lib. 2, proemium, in: *M. Tulli Ciceronis Opera*, V/1, Zurich 1833, p. 292.

339 Cf. *Boet. De Cons. Phil.* 7.15-16. This is perhaps dubious, as the phrase is short, but consider the motif of change and passage of time, common to both the woman's speech in VAA and in Boethius' full quote (*Ubi nunc fidelis ossa Fabricii manent | Quid Brutus aut rigidus Cato?*). Additionally, the phrase seems relatively rare.

340 On instances provided in this article and elsewhere with examples from liturgy, Church hymns, common proverbs cf. the forthcoming M. Sosnowski, *Bruno z Kwerfurtu a cytaty* (see fn. 266 above).

whether the author intended to hide them as well as whether he expected his readers to recognize them. Those “hidden borrowings” are almost universally quotes from patristic texts and Carolingian theologians, an apparently important source of both an inspiration and dogmatic validation for Bruno. Only briefly touched upon here, this raises the question of direction of this process: whether Bruno looked for validation of previously held convictions or, conversely, his readings were a source of inspiration. This question must probably be posed and the relevant answer given on a case-by-case basis. Finally, just as the classical and Scriptural phrases can be perhaps explained by schooling and monastic conversation (also him being a canon in Magdeburg and the chaplain of Otto), the longer quotes allow to hypothesize about the contents of the libraries Bruno had access to when he was writing (in Saxony, in Hungary or Bavaria etc.) as well as his “personal library”, the range of books he had at hand when travelling.

CONCLUSIONS

This article, a report from research and *ratio edendi*, started with briefly presenting Bruno of Querfurt and the four texts composed by him (VAA r1, VAA rb, VQF, *Epistola*). Then, a critical attention was given to four other texts that were hypothesized as having been written by him – the ostensibly lost *Liber de passione martyris* pointed to by a chronicler in 12th-century Poland as the source of his description of Otto III’s visit to Gniezno in 1000, a funerary inscription from Gniezno cathedral with inc. *Ossa trium*, a dedicatory verse of certain Bruno to an unnamed emperor (inc. *Scribere qui tibi digna putat*), a Sibylline prophecy quoted in VQF. Helped by the research of previous scholars, I tried to point to weakness of arguments, upon which the authorship hypotheses were built. The dedicatory verse was given the most attention, with my autopsy of the Prague manuscript containing it, and with collating of the text of Frontinus – which the verse introduces – with existing critical editions. This part of the article is concluded with the rejection of Bruno’s *dubia* from the corpus of his works that are to be edited in the volume currently in preparation.

The bulk of this article is devoted to my research into the manuscript tradition, as well as indirect tradition of Bruno’s works. It seems to have broadened considerably our understanding of how the extant manuscripts arisen and how to value their readings. Dozens of meaningful individual readings per almost every manuscript used by Karwasińska and reported in the apparatus proved erroneous. Importantly, the research has broadened the manuscript tradition itself. For the longer redaction of *Nascitur* (VAA r1) we went from a sole manuscript copy (*Kv*) to five manuscript witnesses

(*Kv*, *Wt*, *Mgd*, *Mf*, *Mls*) and subsequent appreciation of the readings in the 16th century edition by Surius (*S*). For the shorter redaction (VAA rb) we now have one more copy (*Rh2*), which while far from being very useful for ecdotic problems, shows that the text seems to have reached a certain popularity in 14th-century Moravia. The new text of VAA rb will try to overcome the limitations of J. Karwasińska's edition, who purposefully decided to base her text mainly on later medieval Czech manuscripts (*Pr2* as the leading witness), openly forcing the reader to use the old G.H. Pertz's edition (MGH IV) as well. This defect was not noticed in the 50 years that passed since the publication of *Nascitur* in MPH, but I consider it to be serious shortcoming. The solution to this problem lies within reach and stems from the fact the manuscript traditions of the respective redactions apparently never met on the same pulpit to produce a hybrid text.³⁴¹ This allows to control the readings not only, as traditionally, within redactions, but also across them. This was already realized by J. Karwasińska, but in practice her relying primarily on *Kv* and *Pr2* produced two redactions that are more distant to one another than was actually in the case, as I posit, of authorial redactions.

The new witnesses as well as the research into the indirect tradition allows for a better understanding of the transmission of Bruno's works and their reception. The geographical distribution of VAA r1 – witnessed by new manuscripts as well as the indirect tradition of Polish and Czech hagiography (and Cosmas), previously unstudied for such aims – seems to have been considerably wider than previously assumed, with VAA rb still confined to Bavaria and Styria as well as later medieval Bohemia and Moravia. Surprisingly, the very rare VQF – still known from only one manuscript copy – was apparently used in 13th century by a Franciscan writer Alexander Minorita. For *Epistola* we can now use the long-lost so-called Uffenbach copy, which allows to safely distinguish between conjectures *ope codicis* (i.e. Uffenbach's) and *ope ingenii* made by the 19th century editors.

The last part of the present article presents how should the new edition, currently in preparation, benefit from an intensive research into the literary context of Bruno's works – his quotes, allusions, classical and Christian phrases and echoes. Apart from furnishing the apparatus with those identifications, this research also allows for an insight into the authorial methods of employing classical poetry and epic, Church Fathers, Carolingian theologians, liturgical texts, monastic treatises and Church hymns, giving an insight into Bruno's reading of others, and of composing and rewriting his own texts as well as reasons for his doing so.

³⁴¹ As mentioned in this article, *Nascitur* as such was copied rather faithfully as well, without producing subsequent (post-authorial) redactions, in contrast to *Est locus*.

ABSTRACT

This article sums up the preparatory research for the new critical edition of collected works of Bruno of Querfurt (d. 1009), hoping to provide *ratio edendi*. After introducing Bruno's known textual production (two redactions of *Vita s. Adalberti* – BHL 38, 39; *Vita quinque fratrum* – BHL 1147; a letter to German king Henry II) the article then focuses on a series of other texts of varying length, suspected by scholars to have been composed by Bruno (a dedicatory verse written for an unnamed emperor; the lost *Liber de passione martyris* mentioned by the author the 12th century *Gesta principum Polonorum*; a funerary inscription from Gniezno cathedral; a Sibylline prophecy quoted by Bruno).

The bulk of the article discusses the manuscript tradition of redactions of *Vita Adalberti*, both copies that were previously known as well as the ones introduced during my research (6 manuscripts). It also presents the tradition *sensu lato*, the reworkings, extant fragments and passages quoted in other works, never discussed in this context previously. All those allow for an improved reconstruction of the original text, for better understanding of relationship between extant copies, and for a fuller comprehension of their circulation. The problems above are discussed against the background of the latest critical edition, prepared half a century ago by Jadwiga Karwasińska for the *Monumenta Poloniae Historica series nova*.

The last part of the article presents the research into the literary context of Bruno's works, i.e. the newly recovered quotes, allusions, classical and Christian phrases and echoes. Apart from supplying the apparatus with identifications, this also allows for an insight into the authorial methods of Bruno's employing classical poetry and epic, Church Fathers, Carolingian theologians, liturgical texts, monastic treatises and Church hymns, as well as his reasons for doing so.

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POZNAŃ

GALLUS ANONYMUS UND DIE REICHENAUER FÄLSCHER



Unser Wissen über die frühe polnische Geschichte im 10. bis 12. Jahrhundert verdanken wir den fremden, vornehmlich den deutschen, und den späteren Quellenüberlieferungen. Unter den Letzteren nimmt in der polnischen Geschichtsschreibung die *Polnische Chronik* einen besonderen Platz ein, etwa um 1113 am Hof Bolesławs Schiefmund (Krzywousty) (1102-1138) verfasst.¹ In seinem Werk stellte der dem Namen nach unbekannte Autor, in der heutigen Geschichtsschreibung als Gallus Anonymus gekannt, die Geschichte des polnischen Staates dar, und dies von derer mythischen Anfängen bis zur Herrschaftszeit des polnischen Herzogs Bolesław Schiefmund. Die größte Aufmerksamkeit schenkte der Autor den Heldentaten dieses letzten Herzogs Polens, und vornehmlich dessen Kampf gegen die heidnischen Pommeranen. Wegen dessen außerordentlicher historischer und künstlerischer Werte genießt das Werk seit der Entstehung moderner Geschichtsschreibung das andauernde Interesse zahlreicher Historiker, und zwar sowohl der polnischen als auch der fremden. Beinahe jeder polnische Mediävist hält es für seine Pflicht, seine Meinung über diese *Chronik* zu äußern. Die Meisterschaft der *Chronik* trug dazu bei, dass die wichtigsten Kompendien der mittelalterlichen Literatur und lateinischen Rhetorik auf dieses Werk stets verweisen.² Die *Chro-*

1 Dieser Beitrag liegt als neu bearbeiteter Auftrag in der Professor Idzi Panic gewidmeten Festschrift vor.

2 W. Meyer, *Gesammelte Abhandlungen zur mittelalterlichen Rhythmik*, II, Berlin 1905, S. 282-284; K. Polheim, *Die lateinische Reimprosa*, Berlin 1925, S. 55-87; M. Manitius, *Geschichte der lateinischen Literatur des Mittelalters*, III: *Vom Ausbruch des Kirchenstreites bis zum Ende des 20. Jahrhunderts*, München 1931, S. 407-410; T. Janson, *Prose Rhythm in Medieval Latin from the 9th to the 13th Century*, Acta Universitatis Stockholmiensis, Studia Latina Stockholmiensia, XX, Lund 1975, S. 73ff.

nik wurde mehrmals ins Polnische übersetzt und übte einen starken Einfluss auf das historische Bewusstsein der Polen aus.³ Der Bericht des Chronisten über den Streit König Bolesławs des Kühnen (1058-1079) mit dem Krakauer Bischof Stanislaus, der deutlich von den späteren hagiographischen Überlieferungen abweicht, ruft seit beinahe zweihundert Jahren heftige Streite hervor, und dies nicht nur unter den polnischen Historikern. Die von Professor Edmund Kotarski bearbeitete polnische Textauffassung der Chronik, zusammen mit einem Biogramm Gallus Anonymus, war bis vor kurzem im Internet in der Virtuellen Bibliothek der Polnischen Literatur zugänglich.⁴ Innerhalb der letzten fünfzig Jahre wurde die *Chronik* ins Russisch, Deutsch und Englisch übertragen.⁵

In meinen unlängst veröffentlichten Beiträgen versuchte ich zu beweisen, dass der Chronist mit dem romanischen Kreis verbunden war und man soll ihn mit dem Mönch vom Lido identifizieren, dem anonymen Verfasser der *Geschichte über die Translation des heiligen Nikolaus und seiner Gefährten*.⁶ Es sei außerdem gar nicht eine neue Behauptung, weil sie zum ersten Mal 1965 Danuta Borawska⁷ formuliert habe.

3 Als die bekannteste Ausgabe gilt diejenige der Biblioteka Narodowa Zakładu Narodowego im. Ossolińskich: Anonim tzw. Gall, *Kronika polska* [weiter: Gall Anonim], übers. von R. Grodecki, bearb. von M. Plezia, 6. Ausgabe, Wrocław-Warszawa-Kraków-Gdańsk-Łódź 1989.

4 <https://literat.ug.edu.pl/autors.htm>; ebenda waren auch Fragmente des lateinischen Textes.

5 Галл Аноним, *Хроника и деяния князей или правителей польских*, перевод Л.М. Поповой, Москва 1961; *Polens Anfänge. Gallus Anonymus: Chronik und Taten der Herzöge und Fürsten von Polen*, übers. von J. Bujnoch, Slavische Geschichtsschreiber, X, Graz-Wien-Köln 1978 sowie *Gesta Principum Polonorum: The Deeds of the Princes of the Poles*, translated and annotated P.W. Knoll, F. Schaer, Budapest-New York 2003.

6 *Monachi anonymi Littorensis Historia de translatione sanctorum Magni Nicolai, terra marique miraculis gloriosi, eiusdem avunculi alterius Nicolai, Theodorique martyris pretiosi, de civitate Mirea in monasterium S. Nicolai de littore Venetiarum*, *Recueil des historiens des croisades, Historiens occidentaux*, V, Paris 1895, S. 253-292; T. Jasiński, *Czy Gall Anonim to Monachus Littorensis?*, „Kwartalnik Historyczny“ (gewidmet Prof. Stanisław Trawkowski) CXII (2005) 3, S. 69-89; idem, *Fu il veneziano Monachus Littorensis l'autore della più antica cronaca polacca medievale?*, „Quaestiones Medii Aevi Novae“ XII (2007), S. 59-103; idem, *O pochodzeniu Galla Anonima*, Kraków 2008; idem, *Die Poetik in der Chronik des Gallus Anonymus*, „Frühmittelalterliche Studien. Jahrbuch des Instituts für Frühmittelalterforschung der Universität Münster“ XLIII (2009), S. 373-391; idem, *Gall Anonim's Precursors*, „Quaestiones Medii Aevi Novae“ XVI (2011), S. 337-364; idem, *Cursus velox cum consillabicatione in Kronice polskiej Galla Anonima i w Translacji św. Mikołaja Mnicha z Lido*, in: *Memoria viva. Studia historyczne poświęcone pamięci Izabeli Skierskiej (1967-2014)*, Warszawa-Poznań 2015, S. 114-131; idem, *Gall Anonim – poeta i mistrz prozy. Studia nad rytmiką prozy i poezji w okresie antycznym i średniowiecznym*, Kraków 2016.

7 D. Borawska, *Gallus Anonim czy Italus Anonim*, „Przegląd Historyczny“ LVI (1965), S. 111-119.

Obwohl Gallus eng mit der romanischen Welt, und vor allem dem italienischen Kreis, verbunden war, begegnet man in seiner *Chronik* auch Entlehnungen, die auf seine Beziehungen mit der deutschen Kultur verweisen. Wie wir uns noch im Folgenden überzeugen werden, ist es sehr wahrscheinlich, dass Gallus einige Zeit in dem berühmten Kloster Reichenau habe verweilen können. Indem man die Entlehnungen der *Chronik* des Gallus Anonymus zu erforschen versucht, muss man darauf hinweisen, dass das Vergleichen allerart Ähnlichkeiten in Chroniken und anderen historiographischen Texten für einen Forscher höchst gefährlich sein kann. Davon überzeugt uns zum Beispiel der weitgehende Unterschied zwischen den diesbezüglichen Erörterungen von Karol Maleczyński und Marian Plezia. Indem der erste von beiden Forschern in der *Polnischen Chronik* auf zahlreiche Zitate aus unterschiedlichen schriftlichen Quellen der Antike und des Mittelalters hinweist, so behauptete Marian Plezia, dass man hierin nur wenige eindeutige Zitate bescheinigen kann.⁸ Ohne Zweifel soll dieses Problem aufs neue von den Historikern und Latinisten erforscht werden, desto mehr, dass man bei derartigen Untersuchungen auch die *Geschichte über die Translation des heiligen Nikolaus und seiner Gefährten*, ein dem Gallus zugeschriebenes Werk, mitberücksichtigen soll. Den heutigen Forschungsstand berücksichtigend möchte ich lediglich auf einige überraschende Anknüpfungen der *Polnischen Chronik* an Werke hinweisen, derer Autoren zum Kreise von Dichtern und Schriftstellern gehörten, die im Reichenauer Kloster tätig waren.⁹ Selbstverständlich könnte Gallus diese Werke woanders kennen lernen, nicht unbedingt in der Bibliothek des Klosters Reichenau. Die einzelnen Beispiele jener Anknüpfungen lassen aber diese Frage genauer überlegen. Betrachten wir zuerst die Entlehnungen Gallus Anonymus', aus zwei Dichtungen Walahfrids von der Reichenau, genannt Strabo (808/809-849). Darüber berichtete ich genauer im Jahre 2016.¹⁰ Erinnern wir uns kurz an diesen Faden, dessen Einzelheiten jeder Leser im bereits zitierten Beitrag finden kann. Bereits im Jahre 1929 bemerkte Feliks Pohorecki, dass der trochäische Fünffzehnsilbler des Gallus' *De morte Boleszlai carmina* im ersten Vers an die zweite Strophe des Gedichtes Walahfrids – *In adventu Hlotharii imperatoris*¹¹ – anknüpft:

8 M. Plezia, *Kronika Galla na tle historiografii XII wieku*, Rozprawy Wydziału Historyczno-Filozoficznego – Polska Akademia Umiejętności, XLVI, Kraków 1947, S. 122ff.; *Galli Anonymi Cronicae et gesta ducum sive principum Polonorum*, ed. K. Maleczyński, Monumenta Poloniae Historica, Serie II, II, Cracoviae 1952, S. LXIff.

9 Außer Acht lasse ich das aktuelle Vorhandensein dieser Werke; hätte sich Gallus Anonymus in Reichenau aufgehalten, so – wie wir uns weiter überzeugen können – könnte er die meisten Bibliotheken schwäbischer Benediktinerabteien zur Verfügung haben.

10 T. Jasiński, *Gall Anonim...*, S. 360ff.

11 Monumenta Germaniae Historica [weiter: MGH] Poetarum Latinorum Medii Aevi [weiter: Poetae], II, Berolini 1884, S. 405-406.

<i>In adventu Hlotharii imperatoris</i> (zweite Strophe)	<i>Versus de morte Boleszlaii carmina</i> (erste Strophe)
Omnis aetas , ∴ omnis ordo corde dicens ∴ intimo	Omnis etas , ∴ omnis sexus , omnis ordo ∴ currite

Es zeigt sich aber, dass es gar nicht alles sei. Drei Verse des Gedichtes von Gallus knüpfen auch an ein weiteres Werk Walahfrids – *In adventu Caroli filii augustorum*:¹²

<i>In adventu Caroli filii augustorum</i>	<i>Versus de morte Boleszlaii carmina</i>
Nullus ordo , ∴ nulla rerum nunc silescat ∴ vastitas mens et lingua, ∴ cor, voluntas laudem dando ∴ personet (zweite Strophe)	Nullus vigor , ∴ nullus sensus, nulla mens in ∴ ducibus. (vierte Strophe)
Dicat omne ∴ plebis agmen, clerus ipse ∴ primitus, dives , pauper , ∴ sospes, aeger consonent in ∴ laudibus. (siebte Strophe)	Tanti viri ∴ funus mecum omnis homo, ∴ recole, Dives , pauper , ∴ miles, clerus , insuper agricole, (neunte Strophe)

Wie die oben angeführten Beispiele nachweisen, wäre es recht schwierig, den Zusammenhang Gallus' mit der Dichtung Walahfrids von der Reichenau zu bestreiten.

Lassen wir uns weitere Abhängigkeiten Gallus' von den im Kloster Reichenau entstandenen dichterischen Werken erörtern. Wie bekannt, begegnen wir in der *Geschichte über die Translation des heiligen Nikolaus* sowie in der *Polnischen Chronik* zwei beinahe identischen leoninischen Hexameter. Danuta Borawska machte uns darauf als Erste aufmerksam.¹³ In der *Geschichte über die Translation des heiligen Nikolaus*, die – meiner Meinung nach – früher als die *Polnische Chronik* entstanden ist, klingen sie wie folgt:

Praesul sancte Dei, caput huius materiei!
Perfice servorum, quae poscunt, vota tuorum.

In der *Polnischen Chronik* erscheinen die Leoniner in folgender Form:
Euge, serve Dei, caput huius materiei!
Perfice servorum, quae poscunt, vota tuorum.

Es ist selbstverständlich, dass diese gereimten Hexameterverse aus der Feder desselben Autors stammen. Jeder der beiden Leoniner stützt sich auf reinen zweisilbigen Reim zweier Wörter, mit streng bestimmten Quantitätsparametern. Die Wörter befinden sich vor der Zäsur *Penthemimeres* sowie am Versschluss. Diese Wortpaare werden von den Forschern ein wenig kolloquial als „Banalreim“ gekennzeichnet. Die in der *Geschichte über die*

¹² MGH Poetae II, S. 406.

¹³ D. Borawska, *Gallus Anonim czy Italus Anonim*, S. 119.

Translation des heiligen Nikolaus und in der *Polnischen Chronik* gebrauchten „Banalreime“ sind identisch: 1. *Dei – materiei* sowie 2. *servorum – tuorum*. Trotz der Gleichheit beider „Banalreime“, wie auch der meisten anderen Wörter, nehmen manche Forscher an, es handle sich hierbei um zwei Zitate zweier unterschiedlicher Schreiber-Dichter, die unabhängig voneinander ein Fragment eines uns unbekanntes Gebetes angeführt haben. Das Entstehen eines solchen Gebetes (das mehrere Verse zählte) mit reinem zweisilbigem Reim, ohne Hiatus und mit ungebrochener Hermannscher Brücke noch vor Gallus scheint jedoch wenig wahrscheinlich zu sein. Bereits in meinem Beitrag vom 2016 und dann in meiner Frau Professor Hanna Kóčka-Krenz gewidmeten Studie versuchte ich zu beweisen, dass Gallus (= Mönch vom Lido) sich den Kolophon Berns von Reichenau (gest. 1048) zum Vorbild genommen haben soll.¹⁴ Mögen wir hierbei den Kolophon Berns von Reichenau anführen, der, die Person des Empfängers – das heißt Abt Friedebold von St. Ulrich und Afra in Augsburg (1019-1030) – berücksichtigend, eben auf dieselben Jahre datiert werden kann:¹⁵

Presul summe **dei** regnantis culmine caeli
Suscipe **servorum** clementer **vota tuorum**.

Daraus ist ersichtlich, dass im Kolophon Berns von Reichenau alle „Banalreime“ Gallus' vorhanden sind, es fehlt lediglich das Wort *materiei*. Darüber hinaus sind noch zwei Wörter identisch und an derselben Stelle platziert (*presul, vota*), wobei die zwei weiteren Wörter zusätzliche grammatische und inhaltliche Ähnlichkeit aufweisen (*suscipe/perfice; summe/sancte*). Der Struktur nach sind zwei Leoniner aus dem Kolophon Berns von Reichenau beinahe identisch mit den Leoninern von Gallus und dem Mönch vom Lido. Es kann sich hierbei um keinen Zufall handeln, desto mehr, dass – wie es sich erweist – Gallus noch einmal auf ein weiteres Werk Berns von Reichenau zurückgreift. Außer dem Kolophon, der die *Vita s. Udalrici* eröffnete, kannte Gallus – darauf verwies bereits August Bielowski – ein sehr seltenes musikologisches Werk Berns von Reichenau, und zwar *De consona tonorum diversitate*:¹⁶

14 T. Jasiński, *Utwagi Wilhelma Meyera ze Spirya (1845-1917) o Kronice polskiej oraz addenda o najważniejszym leoninie Galla Anonima*, in: *Gemma Gemmarum. Studia dedykowane Profesor Hannie Kóčke-Krenz*, I, hrsg. von A. Różański, Poznań 2017, S. 253-271.

15 P.E. Müller, *Bitte, lass mich nicht allein: christliches Gebet im Wandel der Zeit*, St. Moritz 2005, S. 103; Bénédictins du Bouveret, *Colophons de manuscrits occidentaux des origines au XVI^e siècle*, II, Fribourg 1965, S. 128, Nr. 4557: „Wien lat. 573 f. 26v. - Vita s. Udalrici auctore Bernone. – cf. Chroust III, XX 9: Frideboldus abb. Augiensis 1020-30“. Die letztere Identifizierung falsch.

16 M. Gebert, *Scriptores ecclesiastici de musica sacra potissimum*, San-Blasius 1784, S. 114 sowie *Galli Chronicon*, hrsg. von A. Bielowski, MPH, I, S. 391, Anm. 4; *Galli Anonymi Cronicae*, S. 1f.

Bern von Reichenau <i>De consona tonorum diversitate</i>	Gallus Anonymus <i>Polnische Chronik</i>
Berno gratia Dei , etsi non merito, tamen officio abba, dilectissimis in Christo filiis Purchardo et Kerungo, unacum caeteris in dominicarum scholarum gymnasio Augiae vacantibus, de virtute in virtutem diatim proficere, ut Deum Deorum in Sion valeant conspicere .	Domino M(artino) Dei gratia summo pontifici, [...] supra montem Syon Domini sanctum gregem commissum vigilantia studio speculari, ac de virtute in virtutem gradiendo Deum Deorum facie ad faciem contemplari .

Vieles läßt darauf schließen, dass Gallus das Werk Berns von Reichenau kannte und dessen zwei Dedikationen ausnutzte: Die erste arbeitete er in seine eigene Dedikation zur *Polnischen Chronik* um, die zweite (das Kolophon) nutzte er zweimal zur Aufsetzung der Leoniner aus, die – wie ich bereits mehrmals unterstrichen habe – zum Schwungrad der Narration der *Geschichte über die Translation des heiligen Nikolaus* und der *Polnischen Chronik* wurden.

Es wäre schwer, die vorstehend angeführten Anknüpfungen Gallus' an vier Reichenauer Werke, die aus der Feder zweier Autoren aus dem Kloster Reichenau stammten, als reinen Zufall zu betrachten. Durchaus notwendig sind die weiteren Untersuchungen der Entlehnungen Gallus' sowie des dichterischen Erbes des Klosters Reichenau.¹⁷ Im Moment kann man hinzufügen, dass beinahe alle weiteren Werke, die von Gallus zitiert wurden und

17 Wegen Platzknappheit lasse ich das gesamte neuzeitliche und aktuelle wissenschaftliche Schrifttum, das der gegenständlichen Literatur und der Reichenauer Bibliothek gewidmet worden ist. Ich möchte lediglich einige grundlegende Abhandlungen hierfür erwähnen: P. Lehmann, *Die mittelalterliche Bibliothek*, in: *Die Kultur der Abtei Reichenau. Erinnerungsschrift zur Zwölfhundertsten Wiederkehr des Gründungsjahres des Inselklosters 724-1924*, hrsg. von K. Beyerle, II, München 1925, S. 645-656; K. Preisendanz, *Aus Bücherei und Schreibstube der Reichenau*, ibidem, II, S. 657-683; A. Holder, K. Preisendanz, *Die Reichenauer Handschriften*, I: *Die Pergamenthandschriften, Neudruck mit bibliographischen Nachträgen*, Wiesbaden 1970; K. Preisendanz, *Die Handschriften der Badischen Landesbibliothek in Karlsruhe*. 6. *Die Reichenauer Handschriften*, II: *Die Papierhandschriften, Fragmenta, Nachträge*, Neudruck, Wiesbaden 1971; *Die Abtei Reichenau. Neue Beiträge zur Geschichte und Kultur des Inselklosters*, hrsg. von H. Maurer, Bodensee Bibliothek, XX, Sigmaringen 1974 – hierin zahlreiche Beiträge zur Frage Schrifttum und Bibliothekhandschriften: Zur schriftlichen Überlieferung der Abtei Reichenau (S. 15-252); in dieser Sammlung sei insbesondere auf die wertvolle Abhandlung Kurt Hannemanns zu verweisen, siehe *Geschichte der Erschließung der Handschriftenbestände der Reichenau in Karlsruhe*, ibidem, S. 159-252. Digitalisierte Handschriften der Bibliothek Reichenau sind in der Badischen Landesbibliothek zu finden, <https://www.blb-karlsruhe.de/sammlungen/handschriften/bestand/reichenau/> (Zugang 14. Dezember 2018); ebenda sei die PDF Bearbeitung zu finden: D. Mayer, *Die Handschriften des Klosters Reichenau* (2005), hierin weitere bibliographische Hinweise. Hierzu siehe auch das im Rahmen eines zweistufigen (2004-2008 und 2008-2010) Forschungsprojekts entstandene Internetportal: *Karolingische Kultur in Reichenau und St. Gallen. Die karolingischen Bibliotheken der Reichenau und St. Gallen*, http://www.stgallplan.org/de/index_library.html (Zugang 15. Dezember 2018).

außerhalb des Reichenauer Klosters entstanden, zu Lebzeiten Gallus' in der Bibliotheksammlung dieses Klosters vorhanden waren.

Es besteht die Frage danach, ob wir in Reichenau irgendwelche Spuren des schriftstellerischen Schaffens Gallus' entdecken können. Um diese Frage zu beantworten, soll man erwägen, was Gallus in Reichenau getan haben könnte, ob er sich tatsächlich kürzer oder länger im Kloster Reichenau aufgehalten haben sollte. Gallus galt als hervorragender Stilist und Dichter. Gleichzeitig – worauf er selbst in seiner *Polnischen Chronik* verwies – arbeitete er bei der Redigierung von Dokumenten. Sind in den Chroniken, Heiligenleben beziehungsweise sonstigen Urkunden im Kloster Reichenau irgendwelche Spuren seines Aufenthalts im Kloster zu finden? Die Beantwortung dieser Frage scheint extrem schwer zu sein, weil sich in Reichenau – obwohl es wohl unglaublich erscheint – keine größeren historiographischen beziehungsweise hagiographischen Werke aus dem frühen 12. Jahrhundert erhalten haben. Ebenso schlimm scheint die Situation der im Kloster Reichenau ausgestellten Urkunden zu sein. Lassen wir uns jedoch näher mit diesem Problem beschäftigen, da der letztere Satz nur teilweise der Wahrheit entspricht. Es zeigt sich, obwohl außer einer beziehungsweise zwei authentischen Urkunden aus der Zeit des Abtes Ulrichs (Uldarich) II. (1088-1123), das heißt eines Zeitgenossen Gallus', keine echten Urkunden vorliegen, dass man auf Anregung dieses Abtes am Anfang des 12. Jahrhunderts mehrere Fälschungen entstehen ließ. Die meisten jener Dokumente wurden gar nicht für das Reichenauer Kloster ausgestellt. Das Erforschen dieser Zusammenhänge scheint aus zwei Gründen äußerst interessant zu sein. Erstens: Sogar eine flüchtige Analyse jener Fälschungen bekundet, dass man in der zeitgenössischen Diplomatie nichts Sicheres ohne moderne neolatinistische Methoden feststellen kann. Zweitens: In einer – leider nur in einer einzigen – Fälschung begegnen wir der Prosa, derer Poetik interessanterweise übereinstimmend mit der einmaligen Stilistik Gallus' klingt.

Der erste Forscher, der die Urkunden des Reichenauer Klosters kritisch analysierte, war Karl Brandi (1869-1946). Bereits am Anfang seiner wissenschaftlichen Laufbahn wurde Brandi bei seinem Meister Paul Scheffer-Boichorst (1843-1902) promoviert, und zwar mit der Arbeit *Kritisches Verzeichnis der Reichenauer Urkunden des 8. bis 12. Jahrhunderts*.¹⁸ Seine Dissertation – in einer wesentlich erweiterten Version – wurde im Auftrag der Badischen Historischen Kommission 1890 veröffentlicht.¹⁹ Die letztgenannte Arbeit Karl Bran-

18 Heidelberg 1890.

19 R. Brandi, *Die Reichenauer Urkundenfälschungen*, Quellen und Forschungen zur Geschichte der Abtei Reichenau, hrsg. von der Badischen Historischen Kommission, I, Heidelberg 1890, S. VI.

dis enthält das *Verzeichnis der Reichenauer Urkunden des 8.-12. Jahrhunderts*.²⁰ Anhand dieses Verzeichnisses kann man feststellen, dass sich der Stand der erhaltenen Urkunden des Klosters Reichenau aus der Zeit, in der sich dort Gallus Anonymus aufgehalten haben könnte, äußerst knapp präsentiert.

Es liegt vor, dass die letzte kaiserliche beziehungsweise königliche Urkunde aus der Zeit vor 1200 von Heinrich IV. im Jahre 1065 erstellt worden ist. Was die päpstlichen Urkunden betrifft, müssen wir gleichfalls eine weite Lücke feststellen: 1074-1140. Im 12. Jahrhundert gilt als die älteste päpstliche Urkunde die Bestätigung des fürstlichen Privilegs von Zähringen, die von Papst Innozenz II. 1140 ausgestellt worden ist. Ein päpstliches Dokument, das der erwähnten Urkunde von Papst Innozenz II. vorausgeht, ist die Bulle von Gregor VII. (1074). Unter den Urkunden, die fürs Kloster Reichenau von privaten Ausstellern vorbereitet worden sind, verfügen wir für das 11. und 12. Jahrhundert lediglich über zwei Dokumente, datiert auf 1059 und 1165. Gleich spärlich stellen sich die Urkunden der Reichenauer Äbte um die Jahrhundertwende 11./12. dar. Erhalten sind die Urkunde von Ekkehard II. (1073-1088) aus dem Jahr 1075, zwei Urkunden Abt Ulrichs II. (1088-1123) datiert auf 1100 und 1123 und schließlich die Urkunde Abt Fridelohs (1139-1159) aus dem Jahr 1142. Von all diesen Urkunden erwecken – aus chronologischen Gründen – lediglich zwei Dokumente Abt Ulrichs II. unser besonderes Interesse. Im ersten Dokument kann man wohl einige Rhythmen und Reime, darunter zwei Kadenzen mit abschließenden zweisilbigen Reimen und gleichzeitig mit Gallus' rhythmischer Lieblingsform *cursus velox* (*ántea possidérunt – stríctius habuérunť*) finden, dennoch unterscheidet sich der Stil der ganzen Urkunde wesentlich von der Prosa Gallus'.²¹ Das zweite Dokument, in Latein, ohne Reime und Rhythmen geschrieben, trägt kaum zu unseren Erhebungen bei.²²

Mit dieser Zusammenstellung würde dann unsere Diskussion über die Reichenauer Urkunden abgeschlossen sein, hätten die neuzeitlichen Historiker keine zahlreichen Fälschungen zur Verfügung. Man rechnet Karl Brandi als großes Verdienst an, dass er uns die erste kritische Bearbeitung der „im Original“ und als Abschriften erhaltenen zahlreichen Reichenauer Fälschungen zur Verfügung stellte. Nachdem Karl Brandi die äußeren und inneren Merkmale der Reichenauer Fälschungen detailliert analysiert hatte, kam er zur Überzeu-

²⁰ *Ibidem*, S. 114-123.

²¹ A. Schulte, *Über Reichenauer Städtegründungen im 10. und 11. Jahrhundert, mit einem ungedruckten Stadtrecht von 1100*, „Zeitschrift für die Geschichte des Oberrheins“ N.F. V (1890), S. 141.

²² *Fürstenbergisches Urkundenbuch*, V, Quellen zur Geschichte der Fürstenbergischen Lande in Schwaben vom Jahre 700-1359, hrsg. von dem Fürstlichen Archive, Tübingen 1885, S. 51, Nr. 85.

gung, dass man „Dreimal wurden überhaupt in der Reichenau Fälschungen von Kaiserurkunden in größerem Maßstabe vorgenommen“ sprechen kann.²³ Zum ersten Mal sollte der Fälscher gegen das Ende des 11. Jahrhunderts tätig werden und insgesamt drei Urkunden (Nummer 27, 37 und 45) gefälscht haben. Zum zweiten Mal sollte es am Anfang des 12. Jahrhunderts passieren, was zur Entstehung von zwei Fälschungen (Nummer 25 und 39) geführt haben soll.²⁴ In beiden Fällen – so Karl Brandi – „produzierte“ der Fälscher gefälschte Urkunden, die den Grundbesitz des Klosters Reichenau betrafen.²⁵ Als dritter Fälscher sollte der Kustos des dortigen Klosters, Odalrich (Oudalrich = Ulrich) gelten, der um die Mitte des 12. Jahrhunderts, und zwar nach 1142 und am wahrscheinlichsten um 1165, tätig war.²⁶ Er sollte bis auf 14 Urkunden gefertigt haben (Nummer 1-5, 7, 8, 32, 35, 44, 58, 59, 63, 92). Karl Brandi bemerkte, dass die Fälschungen Odalrichs zuerst einwenig schüchtern gewesen sein sollten. Er soll sich anfänglich lediglich auf kleine Vermerke beschränkt und dann Interpolationen zugelassen haben, indem er mit seiner schweren Hand die ungewöhnliche Schriftart nachzuahmen versuchte. Später wurde er vielmehr selbständig und fertigte Falsifikate, die unabhängig von den früheren Dokumenten redigiert und geschrieben wurden, ganz und gar nach seinem Geschmack. Viele Fälschungen, und darunter die meisten inhaltlich wichtigeren Urkunden, gaben als deren Aussteller Karl den Großen an. Diese Urkunden bezogen sich auf die wesentlichsten klösterlichen Rechte, Immunitäten, Militärflichten, Abgaben. Sie regelten höfische und dienstbare Pflichten der Untertanen des Klosters und schließlich legten sie die Pflichten der Klostervögte fest.²⁷ Karl Brandi zeigte sehr deutlich, inwieweit diese Fälschungen die Lage und Bedeutung des Klosters dem Staat und der Kirche gegenüber geändert sowie die Ordnung und Verwaltung des Klosters beeinflusst haben sollen.

Für unsere Erwägungen ist die Feststellung Karl Brandis von größter Bedeutung, dass Odalrich alle seinen Fälschungen in gereimter Prosa geschrieben habe. Dieselbe Prosa – nach der Meinung des Forschers – erscheint auch im authentischen Dokument, das von Odalrich 1163 für den Abt Ulrich III. eigenhändig erstellt worden ist.²⁸ Wie Karl Brandi bemerkte, handelte es sich

23 K. Brandi, *Die Reichenauer Urkundenfälschungen*, S. 68: „Dreimal wurden überhaupt in der Reichenau Fälschungen von Kaiserurkunden in größerem Maßstabe vorgenommen“.

24 Die Urkundenummern beziehen sich auf den von Karl Brandi erstellten Katalog aller das Kloster Reichenau betreffenden Urkunden (ibidem, S. 114-123). Im Falle der Urkunde Nr. 27 erwies sich Karl Brandi als nicht konsequent, weil er in seinem Katalog angegeben hatte, diese Urkunde soll im 12. Jahrhundert entstanden gewesen sein, und nicht gegen Ende des 11. Jahrhunderts.

25 Ibidem, S. 68.

26 Ibidem, S. 69.

27 Ibidem, S. 70.

28 Ibidem, S. 60, Anm. 4.

hierbei nicht um die einzigen Merkmale des Stils Odalrichs. Der deutsche Forscher schrieb u.a.: „verziert er seine Urkunden mit Assonanzen, Alliteration und allerlei stilistischen Schnörkeleien, wie Anaphern, Polysyndeton und anderem.“²⁹ Die unzähligen Beispiele für Reime, Alliterationen usw., die Karl Brandi anführte, erwecken hohe Anerkennung für Gelehrsamkeit und Beobachtungssinn des Gelehrten. Dem jungen deutschen Forscher waren jedoch die damals neuesten Entdeckungen der französischen Forscher der 80er Jahre des 19. Jahrhunderts über den mittelalterlichen cursus nicht geläufig. Es war der Grund hierfür, dass Karl Brandi keine Möglichkeit hatte, die dem Kustos Odalrich zugeschriebenen Urkunden weitergehend zu untersuchen. Trotzdem erwiesen sich die Festlegungen des jungen Forschers in dem Maße überzeugend, dass sich 1925 Karl Pohlheim, der prominenteste Kenner der mittelalterlichen Reimprosa, entschied, dem Kustos Odalrich das separate Unterkapitel seiner berühmten Monographie *Die lateinische Reimprosa* zu widmen.³⁰ Das Werk Pohlheims gilt bis heute als die beste und wohl unübertreffliche Monographie der Reimprosa. Dies bezeugt u.a. die Tatsache, dass die Arbeit Pohlheims 1963 wiederholt herausgegeben wurde. Am Rande soll vermerkt werden, dass zum höchst entzückenden Teil seiner Monographie die umfangreichen Studien über Reime und Rhythmen der Prosa Gallus Anonymus' gehören. In seiner Darstellung der Reime in den Odalrich zugeschriebenen Fälschungen widmete Karl Pohlheim seine Aufmerksamkeit auch dem Problem deren Rhythmik.

Zu den wichtigsten Leistungen Karl Brandis zählt seine Beobachtung, dass manche Reichenauer Fälschungen, die sich auf Rechte und Pflichten der in den Besitzungen des Klosters die gerichtliche Gewalt ausübenden Vögte bezogen, ihre Parallelen in den „merkwürdig verwandten Fälschungen in benachbarten Klöstern“ aufweisen.³¹ Der junge deutsche Forscher schrieb dann weiter: „Man findet nämlich außer in Reichenau noch in Ottobeuren, Kempten, Buchau, Lindau, Rheinau und Kloster Stein gefälschte Kaiserurkunden, welche sich in ihrer Haupttendenz gegen die Anmaßungen der Klostervögte richten; zwischen allen diesen Fälschungen besteht außerdem ein so inniger textlicher Zusammenhang, dass ihre Entstehungsverhältnisse eng miteinander verknüpft erscheinen.“³²

29 Ibidem, S. 61: „verziert er seine Urkunden mit Assonanzen, Alliteration und allerlei stilistischen Schnörkeleien, wie Anaphern, Polysyndeton und anderem“.

30 Berlin 1925, S. 112 ff.

31 Dieser Frage widmete Karl Brandi einen besonderen Exkurs, wo er u.a. ibidem, S. 107 schrieb: „Bezüglich der Texte der Reichenauer Fälschungen haben wir uns unter anderem auch mit einer Reihe von merkwürdigen verwandten Fälschungen benachbarter Klöster auseinanderzusetzen“.

32 Ibidem, S. 107: „Man findet nämlich außer in Reichenau noch in Ottobeuren, Kempten, Buchau, Lindau, Rheinau und Kloster Stein gefälschte Kaiserurkunden, welche sich in

Aufgrund einer tief greifenden Analyse kam Karl Brandi zum endgültigen Schluss, dass zur Entstehungsgrundlage aller diesen Urkunden die als Nummer 7 gekennzeichnete Urkunde geworden sein soll, die in der Urkundensammlung Mühlbachers als Nummer 447, in den *Regesta Imperii* als Nummer 460 und in der MGH-Urkundensammlung Karls des Großen als D Karol I 281 erscheint.

Bevor allerdings die Arbeit Karl Pohlheims herausgegeben worden war, stellte 1900 einer der Herausgeber der *Monumenta Germaniae Historica* – Johann Lechner – die Feststellungen Karl Brandis im großen Teil unter Frage. Leider übersah Karl Pohlheim die Arbeit Lechners. Lechner, der den Zugang zur Fotosammlung der authentischen und falschen Urkunden der karolingischen Herrscher, darunter auch Karls des Großen, hatte, bewies ohne den geringsten Zweifel, dass die endgültige Filiation der auf das Kloster Reichenau bezogenen Fälschungen nach Brandis Vorschlag weitgehender Korrekturen bedarf.³³ Er stimmte aber mit der Meinung Karl Brandis überein, dass für die am Anfang des 12. Jahrhunderts entstandenen Fälschungen das hierbei genannte Privileg, angeblich von Karl dem Großen zugunsten des Reichenauer Klosters erstellt (Mühlbacher 447, *Regesta Imperii* 460, D Karol I 281) als Schlüsseldiplom gilt. Erst nach der eingehenden Analyse dieser Urkunde – so Johann Lechner – kann man analoge Urkunden des 12. Jahrhunderts für „Kempten, Strassburg, Ottobeuren, Buchau, Rheinau, Lindau und Stein a. Rh.“ untersuchen.³⁴ Im Vergleich zu den Festlegungen Karl Brandis enthält dieses Verzeichnis zusätzlich eine Urkunde für das Straßburger Kapitel. Nachdem Johann Lechner eine tief greifende Analyse durchgeführt hatte, bewies er, dass die Entstehungsgrundlage jener Dokumente, nämlich die angebliche Urkunde Karls des Großen für das Reichenauer Kloster (RI 460, D Karol I 281) viel früher ausgestellt worden sein soll, als dies Karl Brandi vermutete, und zwar im ersten Viertel des 12. Jahrhunderts.³⁵ Der Autor kam zum berechtigten Schluss, dass es keineswegs der Kustos Odalrich gewesen sein könnte, der vor allem im dritten Viertel dieses Jahrhunderts tätig war. Alle diesen Fälschungen schrieb Johann Lechner einer und derselben Person zu, die in Reichenau wahrscheinlich – so nahm Lechner an – in den zwanziger Jahren des 12. Jahrhunderts tätig war.³⁶ Die Festlegungen Johann Lechners

ihrer Haupttendenz gegen die Anmaßungen der Klostervögte richten; zwischen allen diesen Fälschungen besteht außerdem ein so inniger textlicher Zusammenhang, daß ihre Entstehungsverhältnisse eng miteinander verknüpft erscheinen“.

³³ J. Lechner, *Schwäbische Urkundenfälschungen des 10. und 12. Jahrhunderts*, „Mitteilungen des Instituts für Österreichische Geschichtsforschung“ XXI (1900), S. 38f.

³⁴ *Ibidem*, S. 40.

³⁵ *Ibidem*, S. 41.

³⁶ *Ibidem*, S. 71ff.

wurden grundsätzlich durch die deutsche Wissenschaft akzeptiert, wobei der von diesem Forscher identifizierte Fälscher in der deutschen Fachliteratur als „der zweite Reichenauer Fälscher“ genannt wird.

Die Festsetzungen Karl Brandis und Johann Lechners wurden von Konrad Beyerle 1925 ausführlich referiert und manchmal ergänzt.³⁷ Der Forscher machte darauf aufmerksam, dass der so genannte zweite Fälscher nur mit Erlaubnis des Reichenauer Abtes Ulrich von Dapfen tätig sein, das heißt die Urkunden fälschen könnte.³⁸ Das neue Licht auf Aktivitäten des so genannten zweiten Fälschers ließen 1974 die von Hans Jänichen geführten genealogischen und prosopographischen Forschungen werfen.³⁹ Dieser Historiker nahm die grundsätzlichen Festlegungen Johann Lechners an, darunter – was für unsere Erwägungen von großer Bedeutung sei – dessen Ansicht über die Anwesenheit des so genannten zweiten (anonymen) Fälschers von Reichenau, der während des Abtes Ulrichs II. von Dapfen (1088-1123) tätig gewesen sein soll.⁴⁰ Er stimmte auch mit der Meinung Konrad Beyerles überein, dass die Erstellung so zahlreicher gefälschter Urkunden in Reichenau und mehreren benachbarten Klöstern und sonstigen kirchlichen Institutionen ohne Erlaubnis Abt Ulrichs II. von Dapfen durchaus unmöglich gewesen sein kann. Hans Jänichen setzte genau die Herkunft dieses Abtes Ulrich und Kustos Odalrichs, wie auch der zwei weiteren Äbte die um die Hälfte des 12. Jahrhunderts tätig waren, das heißt der Brüder Frideloh (1139-1159) und Ulrich (1159-1169) fest. Es wird – wie wir später erfahren – sehr wichtig für unsere weiteren Überlegungen über den möglichen Weg Gallus Anonymus' vom zeitweiligen Aufenthalt im Kloster Reichenau nach Polen sein. Hans Jänichen begründete überzeugend, dass der Kustos Odalrich (= Udalrich) derselben Familie entstammte, wie der Abt Ulrich (Udalrich) von Dapfen. Der Ansicht Hans Jänichens nach kamen die beiden Udalrichs, das heißt der Abt Udalrich (Ulrich) und der Kustos Odalrich, wie auch die zwei früher erwähnten Brüder Äbte von Heideck aus derselben Gegend her, nämlich „von Münsinger und Reutlinger Alp.“⁴¹ Die Sitze der Herren von Dapfen und der Herren von Heideck waren nicht mehr als 15 Kilometer voneinander

37 K. Beyerle, *Zur Einführung in die Geschichte des Klosters. I. Von der Gründung bis zum Ende des freiherrlichen Klosters (724-1427)*, in: *Die Kultur der Abtei Reichenau*, I, S. 128ff.

38 *Ibidem*, S. 136: „Sollen wir glauben, daß ein einzelner Mönch aus einigem Antriebe das ganze Fälschungswerk für die Reichenau und ein Halbdutzend anderer Klöster ins Werk gesetzt habe? Das Ausmaß der Fälschungen schließt diese Annahme aus. Es erscheint so gut wie sicher, daß der damalige Abt, Ulrich II. v. Dapfen, dabei die Hände im Spiel gehabt haben muß“.

39 H. Jänichen, *Zur Herkunft der Reichenauer Fälscher des 12. Jahrhunderts*, in: *Die Abtei Reichenau. Neue Beiträge zur Geschichte und Kultur...*, S. 277-287.

40 *Ibidem*, S. 278f., ebenda fehlerhaft 1098 anstatt 1088.

41 *Ibidem*, S. 280.

entfernt. Dapfen liegt im Großen Lautertal, ein wenig westlich von Münsingen und weniger als 5 Kilometer südlich von Gomadingen. Die Herren von Dapfen bildeten nach den Bestimmungen Hans Jänichens eine große Verwandtengemeinschaft, die dieser Historiker als Dapfen-Michelenstein-Calw bezeichnet, und mit der höchstwahrscheinlich die Grafen von Calw, die Stifter des berühmten Klosters Hirsau verwandt waren. Hans Jänichen erwähnt die ganze Liste der mit den Herren von Dapfen verwandten Herren, Burggrafen und Grafen, unter anderem die Herren von Hirschbühl, von Albeck, von Gundelfingen, von Tapfheim, von Michelenstein, von Metzingen-Frickingen, die Burggrafen von Augsburg usw. Zu den nächsten Cousinsen Abt Ulrichs von Dapfen gehörten seine Zeitgenossen und Äbte: Adalbert von Metzingen (1099-1124) Abt des Klosters Allerheiligen zu Schaffhausen und Ulrich von Hirschbühl Abt von Zwiefalten.⁴² Zu entfernten Verwandten gehörte Bruno Abt des Klosters Hirsau (1105-1120). Es wäre schwer mit der wichtigen Bemerkung Hans Jänichens nicht zu übereinstimmen, der wie folgt feststellte: „Wenn die Beziehungen zu den Reformklöstern schon so eng waren, so dürfen die zu den alten Reichsklöstern es nicht minder gewesen sein. Auch in den Damenstiften Buchau und Lindenau werden sich Basen und Tanten gefunden haben.“⁴³ Letzten Endes kam Jänichen zum Schluss, dass wenn eine *Fälscherwerkstatt* unter der Leitung Abt Ulrichs von Dapfen für alle möglichen kirchlichen Institutionen ihre Leistungen erbracht haben soll, und zwar für Ottobeuren, Kempten, Lindau, Buchau, Stein am Rhein, Einsiedeln, Rheinau, Schuttern und Straßburg, so müssten hierbei die familiären Beziehungen Abt Ulrichs von wichtiger Bedeutung gewesen sein. Zur Ergänzung der Feststellungen des deutschen Historikers können wir hinzufügen, dass die miteinander verwandten Äbte, Präpositen, Priorinnen usw. in Schwaben und den benachbarten Regionen, da sie sich seitens der Klostervögte sowie der Bischöfe von Konstanz und Straßburg bedroht sahen, zum Schutz ihrer Rechte nach massenhafter Erstellung gefälschter Urkunden griffen, wobei die Fälschung D Karol I 281 für Reichenau eine besonders wichtige Rolle gespielt haben soll.

Nach der Veröffentlichung der Abhandlung Hans Jänichens schien es, dass man zu diesen Festlegungen nichts mehr hinzufügen habe. Es geschah jedoch etwas Außergewöhnliches: Bei der Erschließung und Bearbeitung (2005) der Sammlung der Privaten Bibliothek Konrad Peutingers (1465-1547) entdeckte man ein umfangreiches Konvolut mit zahlreichen Abschriften der

⁴² Uodalrich, Udalrich – männliche Vornamen, die in den damaligen Urkunden abwechselnd erscheinen und in der zeitgenössischen deutschen Literatur die Form Ulrich annehmen.

⁴³ H. Jänichen, *Zur Herkunft...*, S. 281.

Reichenauer Urkunden. Es beinhaltet 33 im Reichenauer Kloster entstandenen Urkunden, darunter 16 Urkunden der deutschen Herrscher und 5 Urkunden der Reichenauer Äbte. Dank dieser Entdeckung konnten wir den lateinischen Originaltext von 12 Urkunden kennen lernen, die früher lediglich in der deutschen Fassung aus der *Chronik* Gallus Öhems (ca. 1445-1521) bekannt waren. Das gesamte Konvolut wurde 2010 von Rudolf Pokorny sorgsam herausgegeben.⁴⁴ Der Forscher behauptete, diese Urkundensammlung soll als Handarchiv des Reichenauer Fälschers Kustos Odalrich betrachtet werden. Die Hauptthesen Rudolf Pokornys riefen heftige Reaktion mehrerer deutscher Forscher hervor. In meinem Beitrag muss ich – wegen Platzknappheit – diese Festlegungen unbeachtet lassen sowie auf die Präsentation meiner eigenen Zweifel verzichten. Es kommt vielleicht noch künftig die richtige Zeit hierfür, wobei man lediglich feststellen muss, dass die Auftauchung des Konvoluts die meisten bisherigen Festsetzungen auf den Kopf stellen ließ. Geändert werden muss auch unsere Wahrnehmung des Schlüsselfalsifikats D Karol I 281.⁴⁵ Im Konvolut findet man eine ganz andere Abschrift dieser Urkunde sowie eine überraschende Urkunde Abt Ulrichs II. von Dapfen, höchstwahrscheinlich eine authentische Urkunde aus der Zeit um die Jahrhundertwende 11./12. Die letztgenannte Urkunde muss dem Falsifikat D Karol I 281 zugrunde gelegen haben, was Rudolf Pokorny in seiner Edition nachwies und unterstrich. Es bestehen hierfür keine Zweifel, da die Fälschung D Karol I 281 umfangreiche Fragmente enthält, die *in extenso* aus der neu aufgefundenen Urkunde Abt Ulrichs II. von Dapfen entnommen worden sind. Rudolf Pokorny nahm an, dass die authentische Urkunde Ulrichs II. von Dapfen höchstwahrscheinlich von dem so genannten zweiten Fälscher verfasst werden sollte; aus der Feder des Letzteren soll auch nach Rudolf Pokorny das Falsifikat D Karol I 281 hervorgegangen sein. Letzten Endes – so vermutet Pokorny aufgrund des Inhalts des Falsifikats – soll die letztgenannte Urkunde (D Karol I 281), erstellt von dem so genannten zweiten Fälscher, zusätzlich gegen Mitte des 12. Jahrhunderts vom Kustos Odalrich „extra gefälscht“ worden sein.

Was soll man von den letzteren Festlegungen Rudolf Pokornys sowie den früheren Karl Brandis und Johann Lechners halten? Es sei darauf hinzuweisen, dass der grundlegende Fehler, den alle diesen Forscher begangen haben, der Mangel an einer vertieften Analyse der rhetorischen Stilmittel jener Urkunden gewesen sein soll. Zwar beschrieb Karl Brandi die rhetorischen Figuren der Urkunden, wie Reime, Anaphorä, Alliterationen usw., doch vermied er

⁴⁴ R. Pokorny, *Augiensia: Ein neu aufgefundenes Konvolut von Urkundenabschriften aus dem Handarchiv der Reichenauer Fälscher des 12. Jahrhunderts*, MGH Studien und Texte, XLVIII, Hannover 2010.

⁴⁵ *Ibidem*, S. 29ff., Nr. 5.

vollkommen Reime und Akzente am Schluss der Kadenzen. Darüber hinaus ließen Karl Brandi und seine Nachfolger, ohne vertiefte Analyse, lediglich aufgrund beliebiger oder Wunschkriterien, die vorhandenen Urkunden unterschiedlichen Fälschern zuschreiben. Mit einem Wort haben diese Forscher zuerst den einzelnen Fälschern bestimmte Urkunden nach Belieben zugeteilt, und dann beschrieben sie flüchtig den Stil und die darin vorhandenen rhetorischen Figuren. Sogar die von diesen Forschern geführte Analyse der Reime sowohl der authentischen als auch der gefälschten Urkunden scheint äußerst oberflächlich zu sein. Es genügte wohl, nur die einzige Frage zu stellen, und zwar danach, um was für Reime es sich handelt: Ein- oder zweisilbige? Substantivische oder verbale? Und wenn es Verbalreime waren, dann auf was für Formen sie sich stützten? Auf aktive oder passive Form? Welchen Modus gebrauchte der Autor am liebsten? Hatten sie eine paroxytonische oder proparoxytonische? Der größte Fehler beruhte jedoch darauf, dass Karl Brandi, Johann Lechner und Rudolf Pokorny durchaus auf die Analyse des Cursus verzichtet haben. Zwar präsentierte Karl Pohlheim einige Informationen zu diesem Problem, doch er schrieb darüber ohne die Arbeit Johann Lechners zu kennen, die – trotz mancher Unvollkommenheiten – die Resultate der Untersuchungen Karl Brandis vollkommen erschütterte.

Selbstverständlich kann man im vorliegenden Beitrag solche Analyse angesichts der offenkundigen Platzknappheit nicht durchführen. Zu unserem Bedarf sei es wohl genügend, dass wir wenigstens die Urkunden des so genannten zweiten Fälschers und Kustos Odalrichs in dieser Hinsicht kurz analysieren. Beginnen wir mit Odalrich. Erhalten sind zwei mit Sicherheit authentische Urkunden von Armarius und Kustos Odalrich, vom Jahre 1142 und 1163. Die erste Originalurkunde enthält die folgende identifizierende Information: „Ego Ö. indignus presbyter et armarius et scolasticus iussu domni mei Frideloi abbatis hoc priuilegium scripsi“ (1142);⁴⁶ die zweite Urkunde ist lediglich als Abschrift zugänglich: „Ego Ö., presbyter indignus, custos ecclesiae, scholarum magister, scripsi hoc testamentum“ (1163).⁴⁷ Die erste Urkunde besteht gewissermaßen aus zwei Teilen: Der erste Teil, bis zum subordinierten Satz, der mit den Worten „ut a nullo qui hanc capellam“ beginnt, deckt sich genau mit der Disposition Abt Fridelohs von Reichenau und legt strikte die Ausstattung des von ihm gestifteten Anniversariums fest. Dieses Fragment wurde in reim- und rhythmusfreier Prosa geschrieben. Der zweite Teil wurde dagegen in Reimprosa redigiert. Zwar schließt Odalrich in diesem Teil der Urkunde nicht jeden Satz mit Reimen ab, doch verziern sie

46 [K.H.] Roth von Schreckenstein, *Aus dem Select der ältesten Urkunden*, „Zeitschrift für die Geschichte des Oberrheins“ XXXI (1879), S. 298-299.

47 *Württembergisches Urkundenbuch*, II, Stuttgart 1858, Nr. 380.

grundsätzlich die meisten Sätze. Diese Reime lassen sich verhältnismäßig präzise definieren. Es handelt sich hierbei um grammatische Reime, die beinahe ausschließlich auf Personalformen der Verben basieren. Meistens sind es reine und zweisilbige Paarreime. Als überwiegende Verbalform tritt das Passiv auf. Es ist offensichtlich, dass Odalrich – indem er seine Reime aufbaute – eben an Passivformen besonderes Gefallen gefunden haben soll. Manchmal sind die Reime unrein, aber eine derartige Mannigfaltigkeit der Reimprosa entsprach der damaligen Mode: Mögen wir hierbei ein Beispiel eines Dreireims anführen: *destruantur / constringuntur / ligabuntur*. Dieser Teil der untersuchten Urkunde überrascht mit zwei Regeln, die ausnahmslos befolgt werden: Alle Reime sind Verbalreime und darüber hinaus – und es scheint sehr wichtig zu sein – alle Reime sind als Paroxytona zu definieren (!).

Wenn wir die zweite Urkunde Odalrichs (1163) betrachten, zeigt es sich, dass wir grundsätzlich alle Bemerkungen wiederholen können, die wir bei der Analyse der ersten Urkunde (1142) formuliert haben. Im Falle der Urkunde aus dem Jahre 1163 haben wir gleichfalls mit grammatischen, reinen und meistens zweisilbigen Reimen zu tun, wobei sie überwiegend Paarreime sind, wie z.B.: *impugnaretur / interficeretur; reperiebatur / desolabatur; moreretur / constitueretur; detulerunt / venerunt; conspiciebat / impetebat; haberent / obtinerent; habuit / deposuit*. Nach wie vor konstruiert Odalrich gern seine Reime gestützt auf Passivformen der Verben, diesmal jedoch nicht in dem Maße wie in seiner Urkunde aus dem Jahre 1142. Häufiger tauchen auch Mehrreime auf, was sicherlich aus der Evolution des Prosastils Odalrichs resultiert. Es kann auch der Tatsache entspringen, dass die spätere Urkunde viel umfangreicher war, was dem Autor erlaubte, nach solchen Reimen zu greifen, die damals sehr hoch geschätzt waren. In der zweiten Urkunde erscheinen ein zweisilbiger Tiradenreim, bestehend aus nicht weniger als fünf sich reimenden Verben, nur dass der erste Reim unrein ist: *restituere / fecerunt / censuerunt / dederunt / reddiderunt*, wie auch zwei Vierreime: *convenerunt / habuerunt / tradiderunt / interfuerunt; tradidisset / abstulissent / possedisset / vixisset* sowie zwei Dreireime, von denen der erste gleichfalls nicht vollkommen rein ist: *tradidisset / abstulissent / possedisset* oraz *regnante / gubernante / regente*. Der letztere Reim ist einwenig den Reimen ähnlich, mit denen die *Geschichte über die Translation des heiligen Nikolaus* des anonymen Mönch vom Lido beginnt, den wir mit Gallus Anonymus identifizieren: *residente / imperante / gubernante / principante / disponente*. Indem wir diese Tatsache anführen, haben wir nicht zum Ziel, irgendwelche Identifizierung durchzuführen, weil diese Ähnlichkeiten lediglich von der einstigen Mode zeugen. Die vom Mönch von Lido gebrauchten Reime sind rhythmisch, diejenigen von Odalrich grundsätzlich nicht.

Ähnlich wie in der ersten Urkunde baut Odalrich seine Reime beinahe ausnahmslos auf der Basis der verbalen Personalformen auf. Wie gesagt wurden diese Verben in der ersten Urkunde immer auf der vorletzten Silbe

betont (Paroxytona); in der zweiten Urkunde sind sie auch größtenteils Paroxytona; nur zwei Reime in der zweiten Urkunde stützen auf Verbalformen, die als Proparoxytona gelten: *tradidit / extitit; habuit / deposit.*

Und was könnte man zur Frage der Rhythmik sagen? Im zweiten Teil der ersten Urkunde haben wir mit 15 rhythmuslosen und 14 rhythmischen Kadenzzen zu tun. Die meisten dieser Rhythmen, wenn nicht alle, haben keinen intentionalen Charakter. Da sich Odalrich in dieser Urkunde ausschließlich der Paroxytona bediente, auf die Rhythmen wie der *planus*, der *velox* und der *trispondaicus* sich stützen, muss es hin und wieder zur Entstehung von Rhythmen geführt haben. Letzten Endes können wir feststellen, dass die Lektüre des zweiten Teiles der Urkunde aus dem Jahre 1142 bezeugt, dass Odalrich der Rhythmik kein größeres Gewicht beilegte. Für ihn waren die zweisilbigen Reime wichtig, wobei er gar nicht für wichtig hielt, diese Reime mit Rhythmen zu verzieren. Und wie sieht dieses Problem in der zweiten Urkunde Odalrichs (1163) aus? Die zahlreichen rhythmuslosen Verse beweisen, dass sich der Kustos Odalrich nicht für rhythmische Prosa interessierte. Man muss jedoch darauf hinweisen, dass die Urkunde aus dem Jahre 1163 einweinig rhythmischer sei als diejenige aus dem Jahre 1142.

Zum Schluss soll aber die Frage danach gestellt werden, warum der erste Teil der Urkunde Odalrichs (1142) in reimloser Prosa geschrieben worden ist. Es kann nur eine Antwort hierauf geben: Weil – wie gesagt – der erste Teil sich genau mit der Disposition Abt Fridelohs von Reichenau deckt, können wir annehmen, dass die Eintragung über die Belastung der einzelnen Weinberge usw. selbst vom Abt beziehungsweise von dessen Sekretär erstellt worden sei, und der Kustos Odalrich diesen Vermerk in die von ihm redigierte Urkunde übernommen habe.

Wir verfügen demnach über ziemlich genau definierte Prosa der beiden Urkunden (1142 und 1163), die vom Kustos Odalrich unterzeichnet worden sind. Karl Brandi – der Grund hierfür bleibt unbekannt – schrieb dem Autor Odalrich noch ein weiteres Dokument zu, und zwar eine Urkunde aus dem Jahre 1165. Es zeigt sich jedoch, dass jene Urkunde, außer einigen zufälligen ungeschickten Reimen, die sich von den Reimen Odalrichs völlig unterscheiden, in reimloser Prosa geschrieben worden ist.⁴⁸ Der Stil dieser Urkunde kann als ungeschickt bezeichnet werden und sie stammt bestimmt nicht aus Odalrichs Feder, die wir in der Urkunde aus dem Jahre 1142 finden können. Karl Brandi war sich dieser letzten Tatsache bewusst, er erklärte es aber mit der Evolution der Schrift des Kustos.⁴⁹ Im Lichte der vorstehenden

⁴⁸ *Regesta Badensia. Urkunden des Großherzoglichen Badischen General-Landes-Archives*, hrsg. von C.G. Dümge, Karlsruhe 1836, Nr. 95.

⁴⁹ K. Brandi, *Die Reichenauer Urkundenfälschungen*, S. 54.

Charakteristik der Prosa Odalrichs kann man auf keine Gründe hinweisen, die uns berechtigen würden, die Urkunde aus dem Jahre 1165 mit Odalrich zu verbinden.

Indem wir die einzelnen Merkmale der Prosa Odalrichs erkannt haben, sollen wir in dieser Hinsicht alle zweifelhaften Reichenauer Urkunden betrachten und versuchen die Frage danach zu beantworten, ob diese Urkunden aus der Odalrichs Feder stammen können. Weil wir aber unser Hauptziel zu befolgen haben, das heißt die etwaigen Spuren Gallus' in Reichenau zu finden, mögen wir uns bei unseren Erhebungen auf die Schlüsselurkunde D Karol I 281 beschränken. Wie gesagt wurde diese Urkunde nach Karl Brandi wie auch nach Johann Lechner zur Grundlage zahlreicher späterer Fälschungen. Karl Brandi ließ sie dem Kustos Odalrich und Johann Lechner dem so genannten zweiten – im ersten Viertel des 12. Jahrhunderts tätigen – Fälscher zuschreiben. Im neuen Licht – wie früher bereits berichtet – ließ diese Urkunde die Entdeckung des Konvoluts aus der Peutingers Bibliothek erscheinen. Rudolf Pokorny bewies außer allem Zweifel, dass die Urkunde D Karol I 281 im großen Teil als eine *in extenso*-Abschrift aus der neu aufgefundenen Urkunde Ulrichs von Dapfen betrachtet werden soll. Leider ist diese Urkunde undatiert, und die Umstände deren Ausstellung zeugen – nach der Meinung Rudolf Pokornys –, dass sie nach 1094 und am wahrscheinlichsten vor 1097 entstanden sein soll (Nr. 32).⁵⁰ Pokorny ist der Ansicht, dass man nicht gänzlich ausschließen darf, dass diese Urkunde um das Jahr 1104 entstanden sein kann. Mögen wir also diese Urkunde näher betrachten. Sie wurde von einem geschickten Diktator entworfen, der sich aber der Rhythmik nicht bediente, wovon die nicht selten mehr als vier Silben zählenden Verben im Kadenzschluss (z.B. *confirmavimus, satisfecerit, determinavimus, aquisierit, exhibebitur*) oder mehrere vom Gesichtspunkt der Rhythmik überraschende Kadenzen (z.B. *habeatur alternatio*) sowie zahlreiche rhythmuslose Kadenzen zeugen. Der grammatische Reim erscheint hier und dort, wobei ihm der Diktator kein größeres Gewicht beilegt. Dies bezeugt auch die Wahl der Arenga (umstandsbedingt?), die grundsätzlich reimfrei ist. Zum Schluss mögen wir hinzufügen, dass die Kadenzen meistens mit proparoxytonischen Verbalformen enden, häufig im Konjunktiv. In einem Satz bediente sich wahrscheinlich der Diktator einer gewissen Form der Alliteration, weil die nacheinander folgenden Nebensätze dieser größeren Ganzheit mit Verben abschließen, die – mit einer einzigen Ausnahme – mit Buchstaben *co/a* beginnen (*cogat, coherceat, constituat, exigat, caveat*). Das Fehlen intentionaler Reime, der Gebrauch von aktiven Verbalformen und vor allem der Gebrauch der proparoxytonischen Betonung im Kadenzschluss lassen keine Zweifel zu, dass diese Urkunde

50 R. Pokorny, *Augiensia...*, S. 139, und insbesondere S. 141.

nichts mit der Prosa Kustos Odalrichs zu tun hat. So viel in aller Kürze zum Thema der Urkunde Abt Ulrichs II. von Dapfen.

Mögen wir uns nun mit der Urkunde D Karol I 281 näher beschäftigen. Der erste Teil der Urkunde stützt sich nicht auf die vorgenannte Urkunde Abt Ulrichs II. von Dapfen (Nr. 32). Verfasst ist diese Urkunde im „grobem“ Latein, deren Reime – außer der Arenga – grundsätzlich auf substantivischen Paroxytona, mit überwiegenden trispondaicus-Rhythmen basieren, obwohl es auch *velox*-Rhythmen gar nicht fehlen (*modesti defensores / iniurosi exactores; modestie amantiores / et defensores*). Der Fälscher legte der Rhythmik kein besonderes Gewicht bei, darauf weisen zahlreiche rhythmuslose beziehungsweise rhythmisch ungeschickte Kadenz hin. Der Text des ersten Teils ist in stilistischer Hinsicht nicht nur von der Prosa Odalrichs „Lichtjahre“ entfernt, sondern auch von der stilistischen Fassung der als Nr. 32 bezeichneten Urkunde. Die stilistische Unbeholfenheit jener Urkunde muss die einstigen Stilisten schockiert haben. Das ist jedoch noch nicht das Ende. Der Diktator der gefälschten Urkunde D Karol I 281 überrascht mit seiner Unbeholfenheit in dem Moment, als er in seine Urkunde das oben erwähnte Diplom Abt Ulrichs II. (Nr. 32) aufgenommen hat. Eigentlich haben wir hier nicht mit einer Teilung der Urkunde in zwei Teile zu tun. Wir sehen hierin vielmehr ein gewisses Potpourri: Von der Arenga abgesehen kommt der Text des Fälschers an erster Stelle, dann wird das Fragment der Urkunde Nr. 32 in den Text aufgenommen, dann kommt wieder das Fragment der Fälschung und erneut ein Teil der Urkunde Nr. 32. Der vorerwähnte Satz mit einer Alliteration, aus der Urkunde Nr. 32 herausgenommen, wurde ungeschickt zerschnitten. Wegen seiner Ungeschicklichkeit benutzte der Fälscher zweimal dasselbe Fragment dieses Satzes:

(D Karol I 281 – zum ersten Mal):

et nullum advocatum vel exactorem preter se sine abbatis permissione
sibi constitueret (rhythmuslos)

(D Karol I 281 – zum zweiten Mal):

nullum subadvocatum vel exactorem sine abbatis permissione usquam
sibi constituat

(die Urkunde Ulrichs II. von Dapfen Nr. 32):

nullum subadvocatum vel exactorem sine abbatis permissione usquam
sibi constituat.

Alle Ungeschicklichkeiten und Hilflosigkeit dieses Diktators sehen wir klar auf der Hand. Die einzige Ausnahme bildet hierbei die Arenga, die als Umarbeitung der authentischen und im Original erhaltenen Urkunde Heinrichs IV. vorliegt, welche 1065 für das Kloster Reichenau ausgestellt worden ist.⁵¹

51 DHIV 153.

Auch diese Arenga verdient jedoch in rhythmischer Hinsicht keine besondere Aufmerksamkeit. Wenn Rudolf Pokorny die Autorschaft der Urkunde Abt Ulrichs II. von Dapfen (Nr. 32) sowie der Urkunde D Karol I 281 demselben Autor – das heißt dem so genannten zweiten Fälscher zuschreiben will, soll man diese Ansicht im Ganzen ablehnen, und zwar in Hinsicht auf stilistische Unterschiede und das gesamte Niveau, das die beiden Redakteuren repräsentiert haben: Einerseits ein kompletter Ignorant (der erste Teil D Karol I 281), andererseits ein ziemlich geübter Diktator (Urkunde Nr. 32). Um dies noch mehr zu komplizieren, stellte Rudolf Pokorny fest, dass nach einer gewisser Zeit die gefälschte Urkunde D Karol I 281 – wie oben bereits erwähnt – zusätzlich vom Kustos Odalrich „extra“ gefälscht worden sei. Es wäre jedoch vergeblich, nach den Spuren der Prosa des Letzteren in der Urkunde D Karol I 281 zu suchen.

Sowohl die Arenga als auch Fragmente der Urkunde Abt Ulrichs II. von Dapfen (Nr. 32) beweisen, dass die Fälschung D Karol I 281 in Reichenau, anhand der hiesigen Archivalien entstanden ist. Wie wir bereits früher berichtet haben, soll diese Urkunde bedeutende Rolle bei der Verteidigung der Interessen mehrerer Klöster und anderer kirchlichen Institutionen innerhalb der Konstanzer Diözese gespielt haben. Wenn wir die Ungeschicklichkeit dieser Urkunde berücksichtigen, muss man überlegen, dass so zahlreiche kirchlichen Institutionen dringend erlangt haben, eine weitere gefälschte Urkunde für ihren Gebrauch aufgrund eines so mangelhaften Falsifikats, wie es die Urkunde D Karol I 281 war, zu erstellen. Wahrscheinlich tragen hierzu vier Ursachen bei: Erstens stellte Abt Ulrich II. diese gefälschte Urkunde gerne anderen Klöstern usw. zur Verfügung. Zweitens erlaubten die im Kloster Reichenau bewahrte *Weltchronik* Hermann des Lahmen (1013-1054) sowie die anderen historiographischen Werke, die zur Verfassung weiterer Falsifikate unentbehrlichen historischen Daten zu erlangen. Drittens muss das Reichenauer Falsifikat in Hinsicht auf dessen Äußere die Anerkennung der damaligen Urkundenkenner hervorgerufen haben. Viertens stand die Reichenauer „Fälscherwerkstatt“ stets zur Verfügung anderer Klöster, die von den Verwandten und Verschwägerten Abt Ulrichs II. verwaltet wurden.

Wie Johann Lechner bewies, der die bei der MGH gesammelten Fotobilder zur Verfügung hatte, kamen alle „im Original“ erhaltenen und auf die D Karol I 281 basierenden Urkunden aus einer und derselben Feder. Wie gesagt erstellte man aufgrund dieses Falsifikats die weiteren Urkunden für „Kempten, Strassburg, Ottobeuren, Buchau, Rheinau, Lindau und Stein a. Rh.“⁵² Leider ist die Urkunde D Karol I 281 nicht im Original erhalten. Man verfügt auch über kein „Original“ einer weiteren Urkunde, und zwar der aufgrund

52 J. Lechner, *Schwäbische Urkundenfälschungen...*, S. 40.

der Urkunde D Karol I 281 für Straßburg verfassten Urkunde D Karol I 224. Diesem letzteren Falsifikat mögen wir unsere besondere Aufmerksamkeit schenken, weil es in ungewöhnlicher Prosa geschrieben wurde, was bisher unbeachtet blieb. Bevor wir uns jedoch mit diesem Problem beschäftigen, mögen wir die Festlegungen Johann Lechners zu dieser Urkunde näher betrachten. Das Falsifikat D Karol I 224 – wie es Johann Lechner bewies – entstand nicht nur aufgrund der Urkunde D Karol I 281, sondern auch aufgrund der Fälschung für Kempten – D Karol I 222, die vom Reichenauer Fälscher auf der Grundlage der öfters erwähnten Urkunde D Karol I 281 redigiert wurde. Für unsere Erwägungen sei von großer Bedeutung, dass die Urkunde fürs Straßburger Kapitel vom Fälscher aus dem Reichenauer Kloster redigiert wurde. Darauf wies nicht nur die Analyse Johann Lechners hin, sondern vor allem der folgende Vermerk: „Der in M. 154 [D Karol I 224 – Anm. T.J.] auftretenden Intervenienten Lull von Mainz und Johannes von Konstanz gedenkt auch Hermannus contr. [Hermann der Lame – Anm. T.J.] anlässlich ihres Hinscheidens bei den Jahresnotizen von 781 und 786.“⁵³ Der Gelehrte, als er diese Urkunde bei der MGH *Diplomata* herausgegeben hatte, hegte hierin keine Zweifel und wiederholte seine früheren Festlegungen, diesmal mit eingehender Begründung.⁵⁴ Der Fälscher der Urkunde D Karol I 224 muss über das Falsifikat D Karol I 281 für Reichenau und das Falsifikat D Karol I 222 für Kempten verfügt wie auch den Zugang zur *Weltchronik* Hermann des Lahmen – des Reichenauer Mönchs – gehabt haben. Lechner wies nach, dass der so genannte zweite Fälscher bei der Verfassung seiner Falsifikate mehrmals nach dem Werk Hermann des Lahmen reichte.

Mögen wir nun die Poetik jener Urkunde näher betrachten:

In nomine sanctae et individuae trinitatis. Karolus divina favente clementia rex. Quoniam principem ac defensorem ecclesiarum nos fecit dominus, ne gratiae eius videamur esse ingrati, servitium eius augmentare, (p/4p – trispondaicus)

⁵³ Ibidem, S. 49.

⁵⁴ Vgl. Beschreibung der Urkunde D Karol I 224 – MGH *Diplomata*, DD Kar. 1, S. 300; im nachstehenden Zitat haben wir mit einer fehlerhaften Nummerierung zu tun: anstatt n° 281 erscheint hierin n° 282; ich bin jedoch mit den Festlegungen nicht einverstanden, dass es sich hierbei um eine und dieselbe Person handelt (Fälschung aus der ersten Hälfte des 12. Jahrhunderts ohne echte Vorlage, verfasst von demselben Reichenauer Fälscher, der nebst anderem auch die Fälschungen für Kempten n° 222, 223 und jene für Reichenau n° 282 anfertigte und für Strassburg ausserdem noch eine gefälschte Bulle Hadrians 7, Wiegand l. c. 1, 8 n° 13, Jaffé *Reg. pont.* 2. ed. n° 2401, ein Seitenstück zu jener für Kempten, fabricirte; für das Protokoll, mit Ausnahme der Datirung, den ersten Theil und Schluss der Urkunde ist die Fälschung für Reichenau n° 282 (VU. I) benützt, einzelne Stellen, die Recognition und Datirung sind gleichlautend mit der Fälschung für Kempten n° 222 (VU. II), also eine compilerische Verarbeitung von zwei anderen Machwerken; auch der eine Intervenient Lull ist als Erzbischof von Mainz in der Chronik Hermanns von Reichenau 754, MGH *Scriptores* V, 99, verzeichnet).

bene et oportune instituta **confirmare**, (p/4p – trispondaicus)
 emendanda **reformare** (p/4p – trispondaicus)
 et sedata ubique discordia pacem concordiam et tranquillitatem nos
 oportet **restaurare**. (p/4p – trispondaicus)
 Idcirco notum sit omnibus fidelibus nostris praesentibus scilicet et
 futuris, (pp/1-3p – velox)
 qualiter Etto venerabilis sanctae Argentinensis ecclesiae episcopus
 secum adducens magistrum suum bonae conversationis virum, Lul-
 lum videlicet Moguntinum metropolitanum et Iohannem reverendum
 Constantinensem episcopum (p/4pp – tardus)
 coram multis principibus celsitudinem nostram adiit flebiliter conque-
 rens suorum plerosque antecessorum, episcoporum scilicet, cum suis
 quibusdam **canonicis**, (p/4pp – tardus)
 praepositis videlicet decanis aedituis camerariis cantoribus et scho-
 lasticis,
 ecclesiastica potestate [in] tantum abuti, (p/3p – planus)
 ut, cum deberent simoniacae haeresis veri exstirpatores
 esse, impudenter effecti sunt iniuriosi **defensores**. (p/4p – trisponda-
 icus)
 Nam in datione praebendarum sub oblationis nomine quasi pro com-
 muni utilitate infinitam pecuniam **exigebant**, (pp/4p – velox)
 quam non, prout opus erat, fratribus, sed secundum paucorum praedic-
 torum voluntatem sibi tantum providentes inter se latenter **dividebant**.
 (p/4p – trispondaicus)
 Sed quoniam a omne genus simoniae ab Adriano papa suisque prae-
 decessoribus dampnatum ac omnimodis amputatum cognovimus,
 (p/4pp – tardus)
 placuit nostrae et astantium providentiae praefati Ethonis episcopi
 querelam sic modeste et utiliter temperare, (pp/4p – velox)
 ne utilitates ecclesiae prorsus videamur destruere (p/4pp – tardus)
 vel decretis patrum temere contraire. (pp/4p – velox)
 Rogatu igitur fratrum eiusdem episcopi et consilio principum pacem
 et concordiam diligentium ac provido consensu episcoporum, Lulli
 videlicet Moguntini, Ethonis et Iohannis, **statuimus** (p/4pp – tardus)
 et regali nostra auctoritate **confirmavimus**,
 quatenus ingredientes, si digni iudicentur scientia moribus et genere, ne
 appareant vacui in conspectu domini, de allode, quantum deo inspirante
voluerint, (p/4pp – tardus)
 matri ecclesiae devote **tribuant** (p/4pp – tardus)
 vel, si hoc **defuerit**,

septem libras illius monetae in caritatem et commune fratrum commodum voluntarie offerant (pp/3pp – tardus),

ut inde nostri memoriam agentes alacrius consolentur, (pp/4p – velox)

episcopus vero et praepositus, ne huius caritatis immunes habeantur, (p/4p – trispondaicus)

cum sint domini et magistri, tribus unceis auri donentur. (p/3p – planus)

Praecipimus quoque, ne defuncto priore aliunde veniens, (pp/3pp – tardus)

sed de ipsius ecclesiae gremio, si reperitur idoneus, episcopus eligatur; (pp/4p – velox)

Sed si nullus ibi dignus, quod minime credimus, invenjatur, (pp/4p – velox, falls *dialysis* vorausgesetzt)

tunc primum alter aliunde assumatur, (p/4p – velox)

ita tamen, ne Romana maiestas vel regalis honor offendatur; (p/4p – trispondaicus)

quem talem esse censemus, qui habeat vitae meritum, sapientiae doctrinam, castitatem, sobrietatem, non sit turbulentus,

non iracundus

et quanto magis extraneus, tanto melius moratus, providus et consideratus nec patrum traditiones destruendo alicui fiat offensus vel molestus. Volumus praeterea rea praesentis episcopi suorumque successorum in alio brevi determinatas a cunctis possessionibus fratrum sequestrari (p/4p – trispondaicus)

et non in mansionibus vel pernoctationibus uspiam ab eis inquietari, sed sine omni futura contradictione in praepositi et fratrum dispositione res claustrales inconvulsas manere. (p/3p – planus)

Si quis autem episcopus dux iudex, potens vel impotens, spiritalis vel secularis hoc nostrae dispositionis et confirmationis decretum mutare et violare praesumserit (p/4pp – tardus)

et memorati episcopi possessiones minuere aut ullas violentias vel perturbationes pro his statutis nostris inchoare tentaverit, (p/4pp – tardus)

centum libras auri optimi persolvat, medietatem fisco nostro, triginta archimandritae Moguntino, viginti Argenteratensi ecclesiae. (p/4pp – tardus)

Et ut haec nostrae firmitatis auctoritas melius observetur, (pp/4p – velox)

manu propria subter firmavimus (p/4pp – tardus)

et bulla nostra signari iussimus.

Amalbertus cancellarius advicem Luitperti archicancellarii recognovit et subscripsit.

Anno dominicae incarnationis DCCLXXIII, indictione XI, anno gloriosissimi Caroli quinto;

actum Romae in sancto die paschae ipso papa Adriano sedente in sede sua; in dei nomine feliciter amen; data Romae XIII kal. maii.

Signum domni Caroli

magni et serenissimi regis Francorum.

Bei der Analyse dieser Urkunde müssen wir uns stets daran erinnern, dass derer Verfasser zwei weitere Urkunden als Grundlage hierfür ausgenutzt haben muss: D Karol I 281 für Reichenau und D Karol I 222 für Kempten. Es bestehen keine Zweifel, dass er beauftragt wurde, eine Urkunde vorzubereiten, die sich – unter strikter Beachtung der vorerwähnten Urkunden – für das Straßburger Kapitel eignen würde. Der Verfasser dieser Fälschung hatte demnach keine freie Hand und musste sich auf stilistisch bedenkliche Urkunden beziehen und diese zitieren. Trotz dieser Einschränkungen ist jedoch eine Urkunde entstanden, die sich in stilistischer und rhetorischer Hinsicht vollkommen von allen übrigen Urkunden loslöste, die aufgrund des Falsifikats D Karol I 281 verfasst wurden. Der Text ist sehr rhythmisch – im Gegensatz zur Urkunde D Karol I 281 und zu allen anderen Urkunden, die aufgrund des letzteren Falsifikats entstanden sind. Die hierin vorhandene Rhythmik ist zweierlei: Erstens begegnen wir hier zahlreichen Rhythmen *tardus*, die für das 12. Jahrhundert charakteristisch waren, und die besonders häufig in der damaligen kaiserlichen Kanzlei gebraucht wurden. Zweitens finden wir hierin zahlreiche Rhythmen *trispodaicus* und *velox*. Die letzteren sind nicht selten in Form von zweisilbigen Paarreimen miteinander verknüpft:

pecuniam exigebant, (pp/4p - *velox*) / latenter dividebant. (p/4p – *trispodaicus*)

alacrius consolentur, (pp/4p – *velox*) / immunes habeantur, (p/4p – *trispodaicus*)

aliunde assumatur, (p/4p – *velox*) / honor offendatur; (p/4p – *trispodaicus*)

Zu tun haben wir hier auch mit ausgebauten zweisilbigen Mehrreimen, die mit Rhythmen *trispodaicus* und *velox* sowie mit anderen Rhythmen verziert werden:

eius augmentare, (p/4p – *trispodaicus*)

instituta confirmare, (p/4p – *trispodaicus*)

emendanda reformare (p/4p – *trispodaicus*)

oportet restaurare. (p/4p – *trispodaicus*)

Das oben zitierte Rhythmuspaar *velox-trispodaicus*: *alacrius consolentur* (pp/4p – *velox*) ist *de facto* ein Dreireim:

alacrius consolentur, (pp/4p – velox) / immunes habeantur, (p/4p – trispondaicus) / auri donentur. (p/3p – planus)

Die unten angeführte Phrase eröffnet einen Vierreim mit drei velox (invenjatur – mit dialysis, d.h. der Laut *i* wird als Konsonant *j* gelesen) und einem trispondaicus:

sed de ipsius ecclesiae gremio, si reperitur idoneus, episcopus eligatur;
(pp/4p – velox)

Sed si nullus ibi dignus, quod minime Credimus, inveniatur, (pp/4p – velox mit *dialysis*)

tunc primum alter aliunde assumatur, (p/4p – velox)

ita tamen, ne Romana maiestas vel regalis honor offendatur; (p/4p – trispondaicus).

Wir begegnen hierin der reinen Prosa Gallus', wobei um eine derartige Anhäufung von Rhythmen und Reimen, darunter auch Mehrreimen, könnten diese Urkunde sogar die *Polnische Chronik* beziehungsweise die *Geschichte über die Geschichte über die Translation des heiligen Nikolaus* des Mönches vom Lido beneiden. Unter mehreren tausenden Urkunden, darunter den päpstlichen (in denen Rhythmen trispondaicus und zweisilbige Reime vereinzelt vorkommen), gibt es keine einzige Urkunde, die in einer für Gallus so charakteristischen Prosa gedichtet würde. In der für Straßburg verfassten Urkunde – ähnlich wie in der *Polnischen Chronik* und der *Geschichte über die Translation des heiligen Nikolaus* – stützen sich die Kadenzen hauptsächlich auf Personalformen der Verben, die häufig als Paar- beziehungsweise Mehrreime, mit besonderer Berücksichtigung der Rhythmen velox und trispondaicus, auftreten. Es handelt sich hierbei um das meist charakteristische Merkmal der Prosa Gallus', das dank einem speziellen Computerprogramm ausschließlich in der *Polnischen Chronik*, der *Geschichte über die Translation des heiligen Nikolaus* sowie der *Lebensgeschichte des heiligen Landelin* (BHL 4698) nachgewiesen worden ist.

Der einzige geringe Unterschied in der Urkunde D Karol I 224 sei der hohe Anteil von tardus, was höchstwahrscheinlich auf den Versuch zurückzuführen sei, die Rhythmik der kaiserlichen Urkunden nachzuahmen. Es ist zu bemerken, dass man bei der Suche nach der für Gallus charakteristischen Prosa in den Urkunden des Klosters Reichenau alle Reichenauer Urkunden durchsehen müsste. Am Rande möchte ich hinzufügen, dass schon im Falsifikat für Kempten (D Karol I 222), im Vergleich zu D Karol I 281 einige Rhythmen velox zugelegt worden sind, wobei ein zusätzlicher Satz als typisch für die Prosa Gallus' gilt:

nisi pro aliqua necessitate ab abbate sepius advocetur, (velox)

suscipiatur ac tunc pro terrę qualitate preter vinum, quod ibi est rarum, honeste procuretur (trispondaicus).

In vielen Reichenauer Falsifikaten fehlen ähnliche Sätze nicht. Auf welche Zeit soll die Urkunde D Karol I 224 für das Straßburger Kapitel datiert werden? Johann Lechner meinte, dass die ganze Reihe der auf die Urkunde D Karol I 281 sich stützenden Falsifikate im ersten Viertel des 12. Jahrhunderts entstanden sein soll. Nachdem das Reichenauer Konvolut entdeckt worden ist, zeigt Vieles darauf hin, dass ein Teil jener Urkunden am Anfang des von Johann Lechner angezeigten Zeitintervalls entstanden sein muss. Der Streit um die Rechte der Vögte gipfelte im Jahre 1094, als Hermann, Vogt des Klosters Reichenau, im Übergang zur Klosterkirche von einem Mitglied der Klosterfamilie Reichenau ermordet worden war.⁵⁵ Der Streit des Straßburger Kapitels mit dessen Bischof erreichte seinen Höhepunkt um die Wende 1106/1107.⁵⁶ Es liegt das Schreiben des dortigen Kapitels vor, in dem dessen Mitglieder sich an den Papst Paschalis II. mit der Bitte wenden, dass er persönlich nach Straßburg kommt und gegen den hiesigen Bischof auftritt. Obwohl diese Urkunde mit keinem Datum versehen wurde, ließ Philipp Jaffé, aufgrund verschiedener überzeugender Voraussetzungen, die Urkunde auf die Wende 1106/1107 datieren. Man kann demnach nicht ausschließen, dass das Falsifikat D Karol I 224 bereits um 1007 oder 1008 entstanden ist. Man muss aber offen feststellen, dass eine andere Chronologie auch möglich sein kann und erst die neuen Untersuchungen – unter Berücksichtigung u.a. des *Reichenauer Konvoluts* – diese Fragen erläutern lassen.

Mögen wir damit übereinstimmen, dass Gallus tatsächlich gewisse Zeit im Kloster Reichenau verbracht habe, müssen wir die Frage beantworten, ob wir irgendwelche Verbindungen dieses Klosters mit Polen nachweisen können. Vielleicht irre ich mich, aber es bestehen meiner Meinung nach keine Hinweise auf irgendwelche Bande des Klosters mit Polen. Man muss jedoch noch auf eine weitere Frage hinweisen, die überrascht und an Gallus erinnert. Im Kloster Reichenau befindet sich nämlich das in der Welt einzige Exemplar einer Sequenz über den heiligen Adalbert samt Notenaufnahme, die noch vor der Einführung des aus vier Linien bestehenden Notenliniensystems entstanden sein muss: *Annua recolamus*.⁵⁷ Der Wortlaut der Sequenz lässt keine Zweifel zu, dass der Text nach dem Akt von Gnesen und vor dem Tod Ottos III. verfasst worden sein soll. Für Werke dieser Art beinhaltet es ziemlich reiche Informationen über das Leben des heiligen Adalbert. In dieser Sequenz kann man die „Philosophie“ Ottos III. finden. Wahrscheinlich

⁵⁵ Mehr hierzu siehe R. Pokorný, *Augiensia...*, S. 141, ebenda weitere Literatur und Quellen.

⁵⁶ *Urkundenbuch der Stadt Strassburg*, hrsg. von W. Wiegand, Strassburg 1879, I, Nr. 66 i 67, vgl. ibidem, S. 55, Anm. 1.

⁵⁷ H. Kowalewicz, *Zasób, zasięg terytorialny i chronologia polsko-lacińskiej liryki średniowiecznej*, Poznań 1967, S. 37ff.

wurde der Autor dieses Werks eben durch Otto III. inspiriert und es soll die religiöse Feier verherrlicht haben, die angesichts der Translation der Reliquien des Armes des heiligen Adalbert nach Rom organisiert worden ist. Jedenfalls endet die Sequenz mit diesem Faden. Meines Erachtens, obwohl es sich hierbei um reine Hypothese handelt, weil sie durch keine Untersuchungen nachgewiesen worden ist, kann der Kaiser jene Sequenz bei einem berühmten Musiker und Musikologen – Bern von Reichenau bestellt haben. Soll sich diese Hypothese als wahr erweisen (und die künftigen Forschungen sollen es mühelos beweisen beziehungsweise negieren), so könnten wir von einer Sensation sprechen. Zu jener Zeit war Bern noch nicht als Mönch im Kloster Reichenau ansässig und er soll diese Sequenz wahrscheinlich ins Kloster mitgebracht haben, als er 1008 Abt im Reichenauer Kloster wurde. Um eine an Informationen so reiche Sequenz schreiben zu können, muss man mit Sicherheit über die Vita des heiligen Adalbert verfügt haben, und dies über diejenige Verfassung, die auch die Ereignisse des Aktes von Gnesen und diejenigen aus der Zeit nach diesem Geschehnis umfasst. Wie bekannt berief sich Gallus auf eine derartige Vita des heiligen Adalbert in seiner *Polnischen Chronik*. Zweifelsohne soll kein historiographisches beziehungsweise hagiographisches Denkmal in Großpolen den militärischen Einfall des tschechischen Fürsten Břetislav I. überstanden haben. Wie gelang es Gallus, diese Vita des heiligen Adalbert zu gewinnen? Natürlich verfügen wir über keine Beweise hierfür, dass Gallus die Vita des Heiligen in Reichenau, unter den einst von Bern oder einem anderen Komponisten der Sequenz *Annua recolamus* gesammelten Materialien gefunden haben soll.

Indem wir über den Weg Gallus' von Reichenau nach Polen nachdenken, müssen wir einige Vorbehalte formulieren. Erstens: Wir können nicht mit Sicherheit feststellen, dass sich Gallus in Reichenau aufgehalten haben soll. Zweitens: Wenn er sich in Reichenau doch aufhielt, so konnte er sich nach Polen nicht direkt von Reichenau begeben, sondern von vielen anderen Ortschaften. Es zeigt sich, dass der Geburtsort Abt Ulrichs II. von Dapfen in der Nähe des berühmten Benediktinerklosters in Zwiefalten gelegen ist, und zwar etwa 20 Kilometer nördlich vom Kloster.⁵⁸ Wenn sich Ulrich II. in seine Heimat begab, führte der Weg zuerst von Reichenau nach Zwiefalten, wo – so bewies Hans Jänichen – die hiesige Benediktinergemeinschaft von Ulrich von Hirschbühl, einem Cousin Ulrichs II. von Dapfen angeführt wurde. Das Kloster in Zwiefalten – und dies weisen manche päpstlichen Vorrechte nach – verteidigte sich gegen die habgierigen Vögte. Ulrich II. von Dapfen, als Führer einer Familien- und Kirchengemeinschaft in Schwaben und zu-

58 Über die Beziehungen des Klosters Zwiefalten mit Polen siehe u.a. S. Wieczorek, *Zwiefalten i Polska w pierwszej połowie XII w.*, „Kwartalnik Historyczny“ CIII (1996) 4, S. 23-55.

gleich der nächste Nachbar des Klosters in Zwiefalten unterstützte mit seiner Autorität – wahrscheinlich ähnlich wie die hiesige Ritterschaft – das einen immer größeren Ruhm und ein hohes Ansehen genießende Kloster in Zwiefalten. Als sich die geistlichen Kreise um Herzog Bolesław III. Schiefmund nach Zwiefalten mit der Bitte wandten – es ist aber nur eine Vermutung – einen begabten Priester zu entsenden, der im schönen Stil die Geschichte des Geschlechts und des Staates Bolesławs III. Schiefmund darzustellen hätte, kann Abt Ulrich von Hirschbühl an die hervorragenden Errungenschaften der mit dem Kloster Reichenau verbundenen Stilisten gedacht haben. Diese Gemeinschaft war wohl allen Äbten und Priorinnen in Schwaben gut bekannt. Ob es tatsächlich so gewesen sei, können wir nicht Bescheid wissen, eine gut bekannte nekrologische Aufzeichnung aus dem Kloster Zwiefalten lässt jedoch darüber nachdenken: „Leopardus monachus nostre congregationis. Iste fuit capellanus ducis Boleslai hic sculpsit nobis plenaria et maiorem crucem in paraseve.“⁵⁹ Herrad Spilling ließ diese Aufzeichnung gründlich auswerten und dies sowohl in Hinsicht auf die von Leopardus gefertigten Gegenstände als auch auf die Herkunft dieses Klosterbruders. Letzten Endes ist sie zur Überzeugung gekommen, dass er ein Italiener gewesen sein muss. In der letzteren Zeit versuchte ich die italienische beziehungsweise dalmatinische Herkunft Gallus’ glaubhaft zu machen, obzwar es stets als offene Frage betrachtet werden soll. Wahrscheinlich war er romanischer Abstammung und man kann dasselbe von jenem Leopardus – dem Mönch in Zwiefalten – behaupten. Einer Identifizierung des Letztgenannten mit Gallus widerspricht seine handwerkliche Tätigkeit. Kann Gallus nicht nur Chronist sondern auch Goldschmied gewesen sein? Diese Ansicht scheint höchst fantastisch zu sein, obwohl manche Tatsachen für eine derartige Identifizierung sprechen. In seiner *Polnischen Chronik* schrieb Gallus, er erwarte seitens Herzog Bolesławs III. eine Belohnung für die Verfassung der *Polnischen Chronik*, weil er beabsichtige, sie in sein Kloster mitzunehmen, und genauer gesagt dorthin, wo er sein Gelübde abgelegt habe.⁶⁰ Er setzte demnach voraus, dass er Polen verlassen und in sein Mutterkloster zurückkehren werde. Mönch Leopardus hat eben so gemacht. Das Schreiben Gallus’ an die Kapläne des Herzogs, das das dritte Buch eröffnet, spricht dafür, dass Gallus einer der Kapläne Herzog Bolesławs III. gewesen sein soll. Leopardus war auch ein herzoglicher Kaplan. Es bedeutet, er wusste ausgezeichnet die Feder zu führen und bediente den Herzog, indem er seine Schreiben usw. verfasste. Er muss auch die heiligen Bücher und Liturgie gekannt haben. Sei es überraschend, dass er auch die

59 H. Spilling, *Sanctarum reliquiarum pignera gloriosa. Quellen zur Geschichte des Reliquienschatzes der Benediktinerabtei Zwiefalten*, Bad Buchau 1992, S. 16.

60 *Galli Anonymi Cronicae*, S. 120: *sed ut aliquem fructum mei laboris ad locum mee professionis reportarem.*

Goldschmiedekunst beherrscht haben kann? In jener Zeit fertigten die Mönche selbst die nötigen Paramente, darunter auch die anerkannten Meister der Feder. Ein beinahe Altersgenosse Gallus', Berthold von Zwiefalten, Abt und Chronist, Autor des *Liber de constructione monasterii Zwifildensis* schreibt, dass er eigenhändig (*me patrans*) zwei vergoldete Leuchter vollendet habe, an denen vier Cherubinen auf vier Evangelisten standen, und selbst (*a me excogitata*) zwei vergoldete und mit Kristallen verzierte Leuchter entworfen und hergestellt habe.⁶¹

In der *Polnischen Chronik* begegnen wir mehreren Aufzeichnungen über Goldschmiedewerke, aber sie weisen auf keine Verbindungen Gallus' mit Goldschmiedekunst, Bildhauerei oder sonstigem künstlerischem Handwerk hin. Gallus zählt häufig in seiner *Chronik* Gaben und Gegenstände aus Gold auf, die mit Perlen und kostbaren Edelsteinen besetzt waren. Bereits in dem wunderschönen als jambischer Achtsilber verfassten Gedicht, das seine *Chronik* eröffnet, berichtet er über eine in Gold gegossene Votivfigur des heiligen Ägidius: „Conflent auri congeriem / In humanam effigiem“. Diese Nachricht wiederholte er später in seinem wunderschönen Leoniner, der mehrere Alliterationen beinhaltet: „Pro puero puerum, pro falso perfice verum / Confice carnalem, retinens tibi materiale.“⁶² In diesem Gedicht erwähnt er auch weitere Schenkungen für den heiligen Ägidius: „Aurum, argentum, pallia / Dona que mittunt alia, / Vestes sacras et aureum / Calicem sat ydoneum.“⁶³ Bolesław der Tapfere (Chrobry), nach dem Gastmahl zu Ehren des Kaisers: „pincernas et dapiferos vasa aurea et argentea, nulla enim lignea ibi habebantur, cyphos videlicet et cuppas, lances et scutellas et cornua de mensis omnibus trium dierum congregare precepit et imperatori pro honore [...] presentavit.“⁶⁴ Wie wir wissen, berichtete Gallus eingehend über die Gaben, die der Kaiser angesichts des Aktes von Gnesen erhalten haben soll. Der Chronist lenkte unsere Aufmerksamkeit auf die technische Mannigfaltigkeit der goldenen und silbernen Gefäße, auf Verzierung mit unbekanntem Ornamenten und Edelsteinen: „Insuper etiam alia plura dedit vasa, scilicet aurea et argentea diversi operis, pallia vero diversi coloris, ornamenta generis ignoti, lapides preciosos et huiusmodi tot et tanta presentavit.“⁶⁵ Gallus ist auch davon überzeugt, dass er in seiner *Chronik* viele andere Goldschmiede-

61 *Liber de constructione*, MGH Scriptorum, X, S. 120. Wie solche Leuchter (in diesem Fall nur mit zwei Cherubinen) aussahen, siehe *Ornamenta ecclesiae. Kunst und Künstler der Romanik 1. Katalog zur Ausstellung des Schnütgen – Museums in der Josef-Haubrich-Kunsthalle*, Köln 1985, S. 261, Abb. B 57.

62 *Galli Anonymi Cronicae*, S. 5 und 59.

63 *Ibidem*, S. 5.

64 *Ibidem*, S. 21.

65 *Ibidem*.

werke aufzählen soll, wie zum Beispiel den goldenen Arm, den Bolesław III. Schiefmund seinem Komes Želislaw für seine Tapferkeit in Mähren schenkte oder das Sargreliquiar für den heiligen Adalbert: „In illo namque feretro auri purissimi octoginta marce continentur, exceptis perlis gemmisque pretiosis, que minoris quam aurum pretii non videntur.“⁶⁶ Interessante Aufzeichnungen über manche Werke der Goldschmiedekunst finden wir auch in der *Geschichte über die Translation des heiligen Nikolaus* des anonymen Mönchs vom Lido, den wir – wie bereits mehrmals betont – mit Gallus Anonymus identifizieren. Im vierten und fünften Kapitel, die den Wundern gewidmet sind, liest man, dass Bischof Azo einen Teil der Reliquien des heiligen Nikolaus *in argentea pypside* und ein edler Venezianer „in cuppa argentea deaurata, opere graeco caelata“ untergebracht hatten.⁶⁷ Selbstverständlich können diese Beispiele keinerlei als Beweise hierfür betrachtet werden, dass Gallus Anonymus sich mit der Goldschmiedekunst oder sonstigem Handwerk beschäftigte.

In der *Geschichte über die Translation des heiligen Nikolaus* finden wir eine äußerst interessante und wichtige Aufzeichnung. Zu Lebzeiten des Mönchs vom Lido wussten alle, dass die Reliquien des heiligen Nikolaus von Myra nach Bari gebracht wurden, wo sie von der christlichen Westkirche verehrt wurden. Der Mönch vom Lido – indem er dieses allgemeine Wissen bestreiten wollte – musste eine überzeugende Geschichte ausdenken, die eine erfundene Tatsache glaubhaft gemacht haben soll, laut der erst die Venezianer, während ihres Zuges ins Heilige Land, in Myra, in der hiesigen Basilika die wahren Reliquien des heiligen Nikolaus und seiner Gefährten gefunden haben sollen. Diesem Ziel soll die Erzählung über die vermeintliche „Versiegelung“ und Versteckung der Reliquien des heiligen Nikolaus durch den Kaiser Basileios gedient haben. Laut jener Geschichte will Kaiser Basileios die Reliquien des Heiligen nach Konstantinopel mitgebracht haben, aber selbst der heilige Nikolaus hätte es ihm unmöglich gemacht. Der Kaiser habe dafür an dem Heiligen Rache genommen (!) und seine Reliquien „versiegelt“ unter dem Boden der Basilika versteckt, damit niemand die Gebeine des Heiligen wegnehmen könnte. Den Venezianern gelang es aber, diesen Versteck zu finden (dank der Verehrung dieses Ortes seitens des hiesigen Erzbischofs) und sie haben die Gebeine des Heiligen ausgegraben: „Tunc vero juvenus Venetica suas vires exercuit; alii cuneos ferreos supponunt; alii desuper malleis percutiunt; alii laborantibus subveniunt, pro fatigatis recentes laborem subeunt; alii locum mundant; alii pro fractis ferramentis integra subministrant. Confracta denique, laborioso studio, massa vitri, post ipsam, non minus laboriosam de bitumine repererunt, in qua similiter penetranda plurimum laboris et sudoris

⁶⁶ Ibidem, S. 160.

⁶⁷ *Monachi anonymi Littorensis Historia*, S. 285.

exhauserunt. [Capitulum XIX. De tertia massa cuprea post aliam de bitumine]. Illa quoque diminuta, et de loco deportata, tertia restabat massa, fortior duabus ad solvendum, quaeque cupreo mausoleo, cum bitumine glomerata, ossa sanctissima glutinabat.⁶⁸

In dieser ausgedachten Geschichte erstaunt die Erzählung von drei Massen: der Glas- (*massa vitrea, massa vitri*), Bitumen- und Kupfermasse sowie eine sehr plastische Darstellung des Zerschlagens jener Massen. Wie ist der Mönch vom Lido zu einer solchen Beschreibung gekommen? Mögen wir den ersten Begriff: *massa vitrea, massa vitri* näher betrachten. Die zweite Variante dieses Begriffs (*massa vitri*) finden wir bereits bei Plinius dem Älteren (*Naturalis Historia* 36, 194): „hammonitrum atque haec recoquitur et fit vitrum purum ac massa vitri candidi“. Aus diesem Fragment ergibt sich, dass die „Glasmasse“, das heißt „reines Glas“, durch das Schmelzen der Fritte (*hammonitrum*) und deren Klärung (Blankschmelze) entsteht. Wir haben hier natürlich mit einer altertümlichen Überlieferung zu tun, mögen wir aber sehen, was man unter diesem Begriff (*massa vitrea*) im mittelalterlichen Venedig verstand. Unsere Situation scheint tatsächlich sehr günstig zu sein, weil die wichtigsten Forschungen zur Glasherstellung im frühen Mittelalter in Venedig eben die Polen gemeinsam mit den Italienern geführt haben. An diesen Untersuchungen nahmen mehrere polnische Archäologen und einige polnische Labors teil und die größten Verdienste in diesem Bereich sind der unlängst gestorbenen Eleonora Tabaczyńska (1931-2015) zuzuschreiben, die in ihrer Dissertation die Anfänge des venezianischen Glasgewerbes schilderte (1965).⁶⁹ Aufgrund der Untersuchungen von Teresa Stawiarska (2005) kann festgestellt werden, dass die Venezianer unterm Begriff *massa vitrea* Fritte verstanden haben sollen, die dort auch als *fritta di vitro*, in Umbrien *massacotto* und in Toskana *marzacotto* bekannt war.⁷⁰ Die Glasfritte wurde in unterschiedlichen Formen hergestellt, und zwar in Form von „Kuchen“ oder auch als gebrochener Werkstoff. Die letztere Form der Fritte entstand durch Abschreckung der frisch geschmolzenen und heißen Fritte mit Wasser. Die Venezianer lagerten und exportierten Fritte eben in diesen zwei Formen. Als der Mönch vom Lido über die „Glasmasse“ schrieb, meinte er höchstwahrscheinlich eine Knolle zerbrochener Fritte. Der Autor muss in Venedig – dort, wo Glas produziert wurde – Frittenstapel gesehen haben, diese Fritte wurde dann geschmolzen

68 Ibidem, S. 265.

69 E. Tabaczyńska, *Wczesnośredniowieczna huta szkła na wyspie Torcello Laguny Weneckiej*, „Acta Universitatis Nicolai Copernici. Nauki Humanistyczno-Społeczne. Archeologia“ XII (CLXXVII) (1987), S. 63-88.

70 T. Stawiarska, *Zagadnienie fryty w szklarstwie starożytnym i średniowiecznym*, „Acta Universitatis Nicolai Copernici. Nauki Humanistyczno-Społeczne. Archeologia“ XXIX (CCCLXX) (2005), S. 49.

und zum Schluss bekam man reines Glas. Bevor Fritte in einen Ofen geladen worden war, zerbrachen die Handwerker die vorhandenen Frittenstapel mit Hämmern und anderen Werkzeugen. In solchen Hüttenwerkstätten müssen auch Prismen mit „Kupfermasse“ vorhanden gewesen sein, wobei es sich um „einen bronzenen Sinter, flach geschweift (den sog. Kuchen), der zur Färbung der Glasmasse dienen konnte handeln konnte. Dieser Sinter beinhaltete ca. 83% Kupfer, ca. 9% Zinn und ca. 7% Blei.“⁷¹ Als der Mönch vom Lido die Bemühungen der hervorragenden venezianischen Jugend schilderte, welche die Gebeine des heiligen Nikolaus herausholte, war er wahrscheinlich durch die harte Arbeit der venezianischen Glashüttenleute inspiriert, welcher er wohl häufig beigewohnt haben muss. Warum ließ eben dieses Bild in seiner Erinnerung einen bleibenden Eindruck hinterlassen? Diese Frage können wir nicht beantworten, aber wenn sich der Mönch vom Lido mit allerart Goldschmiede- beziehungsweise Gießkunst beschäftigt haben soll, so muss für ihn eine Glashütte ein idealer Ort gewesen sein, an dem er die nötigen Rohstoffe gewonnen haben kann. Wie wir aus einem Werk des Altersgenossen Gallus' – Theophilus Presbyter – erfahren, galten das aus zerstampften und verriebenen farbigen Gläsern gewonnene Pulver sowie verriebene Fritte und Kupfer als wichtige Rohstoffe zum Auftragen von buntfarbigen Emailen auf Goldschmiedewerkstücke.⁷² Aus den Untersuchungen Eleonora Tabaczyńskas ergibt sich, dass ein Gießer in einer Glashütte gebrauchsfertigen Bronzesinter erlangt haben kann.

Man soll auch überlegen, wieso in Reichenau ein Italiener geweiht haben kann. Von Anfang an unterhielt Abt Ulrich II. von Dapfen enge Beziehungen mit dem Apostolischen Stuhl. Es ergab sich daraus, dass der Abt im kaiserlich-päpstlichen Streit von Beginn an zu den Anhängern des Papstes gehörte. Einen Nachweis hierfür stellt auch die Tatsache dar, dass seine Kandidatur zum Abt vom Herzog Welf IV., dem damaligen Parteigänger des Papstes, angemeldet wurde. Als Führer der päpstlichen Partei in dieser Region Deutschlands galt damals der Konstanzer Bischof Gebhard III. Dieser geistliche Oberer, indem er die päpstliche Unterstützung nutzte, bemühte sich, alle kirchlichen Institutionen innerhalb seiner Diözese, darunter auch Kloster Reichenau, seiner Gewalt zu unterordnen.⁷³ Infolge dieser Aktivitäten gelang es ihm, das Recht zu erlangen, den Abt des Reichenauer Klosters auszuweihe wie auch die ganze Klosterinsel Reichenau – mit Ausnahme der Konventsmitglieder – seiner bischöflichen Gewalt zu unterstellen. Ulrich II., obwohl er Mitglied desselben politischen Lagers war, versuchte aus ganzer

71 E. Tabaczyńska, *Wczesnośredniowieczna huta szkła...*, S. 67.

72 Theophilus Presbyter, *Schedula*, cap. LIV, de electro und weitere Kapitel.

73 K. Beyerle, *Zur Einführung...*, S. 128ff.

Kraft die Einflüsse Gebhards III. zu bekämpfen. Er weigerte sich, die Weihe vom Konstanzer Bischof Gebhard III. entgegenzunehmen und begab sich 1095 zum Papst Urban II., der ihm auf der Synode von Piacenza persönlich die Abtsweihe erteilte. Seine persönlichen Beziehungen mit dem Apostolischen Stuhl erlaubten Ulrich II. den Einfluss des Konstanzer Bischofs erfolgreich einzuschränken. Als Beweis jener engen Beziehungen mit dem Papsttum galt zweifelsohne die 1108 berufene Synode im Kloster Reichenau, an der sich der päpstliche Legat Divizo beteiligte. Dank der Entdeckung des Reichenauer Konvoluts verfügen wir nun über neue Informationen zu diesem Ereignis.⁷⁴ Meiner Meinung nach soll eben angesichts der Vorbereitungen zu jener Synode zur Anknüpfung der Beziehungen Gallus Anonymus' mit dem Kloster Reichenau gekommen sein.

Es bleibt noch eine weitere Anmerkung zu kommentieren. Karol Maleczyński bemerkte, dass Gallus – indem er über die Bestattungsfeierlichkeiten Mieszkos, Sohn Bolesław des Kühnen berichtete – deutlich an das feierliche Anniversarium und die erneute Beisetzung Heinrich IV. anknüpfte, die Heinrich V. 1111 in Speyer zu Ehren seines Vaters organisierte.⁷⁵ „Nullius enim regis vel principis exitium apud etiam barbaras nationes tam diutino merore legitur conclamatum, nec exequie tethrarcharum magnificorum ita lugubres celebrantur, nec anniversarium cesaris ita fuerit cantu lugubri celebratum.“⁷⁶ Es wäre schwer, mit dieser Ansicht Karol Maleczyńskis nicht zu übereinstimmen. Diese Geschehnisse, die in diesem Teil des Reiches – und darunter auch in Schwaben – lauten Widerhall fanden, können in Gallus' Erinnerung für lange Zeit geblieben sein, falls er damals in Reichenau oder in einer anderen Benediktinerabtei geweiht beziehungsweise engere Beziehungen mit den in Straßburg (unweit von Speyer gelegenen) lebenden Geistlichen gepflegt hat.

Mögen wir unsere bisherigen Erörterungen rekapitulieren. Als sicher kann angenommen werden, dass die Festlegungen der deutschen Gelehrten über die Reichenauer Fälscher einer Revision und neuer Untersuchungen bedürfen. In diesem Beitrag beschränkten wir uns lediglich auf die Definierung der Prosa Kustos Odalrichs. Diese Feststellung soll zum Ausgangspunkt für weitere

⁷⁴ R. Pokorny, *Augiensia...*, S. 123, und insbesondere S. 125-126. Pokorny ist der Meinung, es muss keine echte Synode gewesen sein, sondern lediglich ein Aufenthalt des Legaten in Reichenau. Mit dieser Meinung bin ich völlig einverstanden.

⁷⁵ Siehe RIplus Regg. B Augsburg 1 n. 404, in: Regesta Imperii Online – [http://www.regesta-imperii.de/regesten/20-18-1-augsburg/nr/fcdface1-16df-4cb8-8421-f105ca9356db.html?tx_hisodat_sources\[action\]=show&tx_hisodat_sources\[controller\]=Sources&cHash=07a270cc5558fd1584e7b6f36e8173f0#rinav](http://www.regesta-imperii.de/regesten/20-18-1-augsburg/nr/fcdface1-16df-4cb8-8421-f105ca9356db.html?tx_hisodat_sources[action]=show&tx_hisodat_sources[controller]=Sources&cHash=07a270cc5558fd1584e7b6f36e8173f0#rinav) (Zugang 18. Dezember 2018).

⁷⁶ *Galli Anonymi Cronicae*, S. 56 sowie ebenda Anm. 4 und ebenda Einführung S. LXX. Vgl. *Ekkehardi Uraugiensis Chronicon*, MGH Scriptores, VI, S. 245: *Igitur imperator Heinricus mense Augusto quam plurimos episcopos atque abbates, nonnullos etiam principes Spiram convocat; quorum assensu et cooperatione patris sui anniversarium permagnifice celebrat.*

Forschungen werden. Jede Urkunde, die für Reichenau und alle mit Reichenau verbundenen kirchlichen Institutionen in dieser Region ausgestellt worden ist, soll gleichfalls mit Hilfe derselben Methoden, unter besonderer Berücksichtigung der Reim- und Rhythmuslehre, untersucht werden. Im vorliegenden Beitrag verwiesen wir lediglich darauf, dass die Odalrich zugeschriebene Urkunde vom Jahre 1165 nicht aus seiner Feder stammte. Er redigierte auch die unlängst gefundene Urkunde Ulrichs II. von Dapfen – Nr. 32 – nicht. Odalrich hatte auch nichts mit der für die Reichenauer Fälschungen äußerst wichtigen Urkunde D Karol I 281 zu tun. Diese zwei letzteren Feststellungen (Nr. 32 und D Karol I 281) sind in Hinsicht auf die Lebensjahre Odalrichs durchaus offensichtlich, aber in Hinsicht auf die frühere Literatur möchten wir diese Tatsache bestätigen. Diese Urkunden kennzeichnen sich durch einen ganz unterschiedlichen Stil. Als sicher muss auch angenommen werden, dass die Urkunde Nr. 32 nicht aus der Feder des so genannten zweiten Fälschers stammt. Wir haben auch nachgewiesen, dass der so genannte zweite Fälscher mit Sicherheit keine einzige Person gewesen sei. Das Privileg D Karol I 281 muss ein nicht besonders scharfsinniger Notar-Diktator erstellt haben, der ziemlich ungeschickt sein eigenes Werk (den ersten Teil D Karol I 281) mit der Urkunde Nr. 32 verbunden haben soll. Dass sich dieser Fälscher zweifellos der Urkunde Nr. 32 bediente, stellte Rudolf Pokorny fest, der aber dessen nicht bewusst war, dass der Autor des ersten Teils der Urkunde D Karol I 281 mit dem Notar-Diktator der Urkunde Nr. 32 nicht identisch war. Als beinahe sicher und bestimmt als höchstwahrscheinlich soll angenommen werden, dass die Urkunden für „Kempten, Strassburg, Ottobeuren, Buchau, Rheinau, Lindau und Stein a. Rh.“ in Reichenau, in der hiesigen Fälscherwerkstatt entstanden sein sollen. Mit Sicherheit kann man feststellen, dass sie nicht aus der Feder einer einzigen Person stammen, weil die Urkunde D Karol I 224 für das Straßburger Kapitel von einem begabten Notar-Diktator erstellt worden sein soll, den man wahrscheinlich mit Gallus Anonymus identifizieren kann. In der *Polnischen Chronik* finden wir mehrere charakteristische Entlehnungen aus Schriftwerken, die im Kloster Reichenau entstanden sind. Der Aufenthalt Gallus' in diesem Kloster wie auch seine Autorschaft der Urkunde D Karol I 224 halte ich für sehr wahrscheinlich.

Alle sonstigen Festlegungen sollen lediglich als Hypothesen, und manchmal sogar weniger als Hypothesen, sondern nur als Erwägungen darüber gelten, wie könnte es dazu gekommen sein, dass Gallus in Reichenau erschienen sein soll. Ich halte es für möglich, dass er im Kloster Reichenau im Rahmen der Beziehungen Ulrichs II. von Dapfen mit dem Apostolischen Stuhl erschien, deren Höhepunkt die Synode beziehungsweise der Besuch des päpstlichen Legaten Divizo in Reichenau (1108) war. Gallus muss gar nicht persönlich mit dem Verwaltungsdienst des Apostolischen Stuhls oder des Legaten

verbunden sein. Er kann als begabter Redakteur von Urkunden gewonnen worden sein, auf den man während der Reisen Ulrichs II. beziehungsweise dessen Botschafter nach Italien Aufmerksamkeit lenkte. Den hypothetischen Aufenthalt Gallus' in Reichenau oder überhaupt in Schwaben würde ich ungefähr auf die Jahre 1107-1111 datieren. Soll sich diese Ansicht bewahrheiten, so kann man vermuten, dass er ungefähr im Jahre 1107 in Reichenau die Urkunde D Karol I 224 für Straßburg erstellt und im Jahre 1111 noch in Schwaben vom Anniversarium und der wiederholten Beisetzung Heinrichs IV. in Speyer erfahren haben soll. Diese Datierung hat jedoch einen höchst hypothetischen Charakter, weil Johann Lechner die Erstellung der Urkunde D Karol I 281 vielmehr auf die zwanziger Jahre des 12. Jahrhunderts datiert, und diese Urkunde muss der Urkunde D Karol I 224 vorangegangen sein. Im Lichte des Streits des Straßburger Kapitels mit dessen Bischof und im Lichte des Streits des Klosters Reichenau mit dessen Vögten wie auch im Zusammenhang mit der Tötung des Vogtes Hermann (1094) und schließlich im Lichte der Urkunde Nr. 32 bin ich der Meinung, dass die Urkunde D Karol I 281 höchstwahrscheinlich um die Jahrhundertwende 11./12. (plus/minus ca. 5 Jahre) und die Urkunde D Karol I 224 circa um 1107 entstanden sein müssen. Es sind jedoch lauter Hypothesen und sie bedürfen weiterer Untersuchungen. Erst nach der Lösung aller Fragen in Hinsicht auf die Reichenauer Fälschungen kann dieses Problem präzisiert werden. Demzufolge kann man nicht ausschließen, dass Gallus die Urkunde D Karol I 224 viel später niedergeschrieben hat.

Sollen sich unsere Vermutungen bewahrheiten, so kann man nicht ausschließen, dass Gallus von Reichenau dank der Vermittlung des Klosters Zwiefalten nach Polen gekommen sein kann, dessen Abt Ulrich von Hirschbühl mit dem Abt des Klosters Reichenau – Ulrich II. von Dapfen – eng verwandt war, dessen Stammgüter in der nächsten Nachbarschaft des Klosters Zwiefalten gelegen waren. Wie wir Bescheid wissen, war später der ehemalige Hofkaplan Bolesławs III. Schiefmund – Leopardus – im Kloster Zwiefalten tätig, den die hervorragende Kennerin der Geschichte und Denkmäler des Klosters Zwiefalten für einen Italiener anerkannt hatte. Kann dieser Mönch, der fürs Kloster Zwiefalten „plenaria et maiorem crucem in parasceve“ ausgemeißelt hat, mit Gallus Anonymus (= Mönch vom Lido) identifiziert werden? Wir verfügen über keine Beweise hierfür und das Interesse Gallus' und des Mönchs vom Lido für Goldschmiede- und sonstige Handwerkskunst sei zu gering, damit man auf dieser Grundlage zu weiteren Schlussfolgerungen kommen könnte. Hierbei muss ich auch hinzufügen, dass es mir nicht gelungen ist, in Zwiefalten literarische Denkmäler gefunden zu haben, die in der für Gallus charakteristischen Prosa geschrieben worden seien.

ABSTRACT

It can be considered as certain that the findings of German researchers relating to the forgers from the Reichenau abbey require a review and new studies. In this article, we have limited our study to a definition of the prose of custodian Odalric. This approach allowed to demonstrate that the document dating back to 1165 and attributed to Odalric was actually not written by him. He was not the author of the newly discovered document of Ulrich II von Dapfen – no. 32 either. Moreover, Odalric had nothing to do with the document D Charles I 281, which was crucial as regards the Reinechau forgeries. It should also be considered as certain that document no. 32 was not the work of the so-called second forger from Reinechau. The Privilege D Charles I 281 was drawn up by the not so clever notary-dictator, who in a quite clumsy manner combined his own work (first part of D Charles I 281) with the document discovered by Rudolph Pokorny (no. 32). It should be viewed as highly likely that the documents for “Kempten, Strassburg, Ottobeuren, Buchau, Rheinau, Lindau und Stein a. Rh.” were created in Reichenau, in the “forgery workshop” (*Fälscherwerkstatt*) located there. Most certainly, we can accept that they were not the work of one person since the document for the chapter of Strasbourg (D Charles I 224) was drawn up by an extremely talented notary-dictator whom we identified as Gallus Anonymous. In *Gesta principum Polonorum* we find several characteristic borrowings from the works which were created in the Reichenau abbey. I consider as highly likely that Gall visited that monastery and drew up the document D Charles 224 I.

III. CURRENT RESEARCH

HANNA KÓČKA-KRENZ
POZNAŃ

FORMING THE ELITES OF THE EARLY-PIAST STATE IN FUNERARY SOURCES*



The rule of Mieszko I was marked by breakthrough cultural changes in the centre of his domain, both of political, social and ideological nature.¹ The changes, dimly lit by written sources, can be identified by the interpretation of material sources known to archaeologists.² The issue particularly interesting to medieval historians is the process of the emergence of elites, whose status was reflected in East-Central Europe, among others, in the funerary ritual, which consisted in putting the unburnt body of a deceased person in a distinguishing itself grave pit, named in specialist literature as the chamber grave.³ One has to emphasize that chamber graves are the objects diversified in shape, size, dimensions, the type of structure and the way of laying a body to rest in them as well as equipping the deceased with gifts, which makes the criteria of identifying them ambiguous. The most general definition of this form of burial has recently been suggested by Andrzej Janowski, according to whom “the chamber grave can be an ossuary in a stationary wooden structure in the

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1 H. Samsonowicz, *Ziemie polskie w X wieku i ich znaczenie w kształtowaniu się nowej mapy Europy*, Kraków 2000; H. Samsonowicz, „Długi wiek X”. *Z dziejów powstawania Europy*, Poznań 2002.

2 M. Kara, *Najstarsze państwo Piastów – rezultat przełomu czy kontynuacji? Studium archeologiczne*, Poznań 2009.

3 A. Janowski, *Groby komorowe w Europie Środkowo-Wschodniej. Problemy wybrane*, Szczecin 2015.

shape of a small building/chamber raised over the dead body in the place of the funeral.”⁴ As archaeological indicators of such a burial Dariusz Błaszczyk recognized the traces of wood in the casing of the grave pit, its significant size and depth in the ground (1-1.5 m.) as well as the multi-layered structure of the filling of the interior, which was formed by the remains of the decomposed timber used for constructing the grave pit. As the most important among these features he indicated the big dimensions of the grave pit.⁵ Having considered this, he numbered among chamber graves, following the authors of studies on archaeological excavations, a few graves identified in burial grounds in the Greater Poland centre of the state of the first Piasts. In the older timespan, dated to the 2nd half of the 10th century till the mid-11th century, the scholar included six tombs excavated in the burial ground in Dziekanowice near Ostrów Lednicki and two tombs in Sowinki near Poznań, whereas in the later timespan, dated to the 2nd half of the 11th century till the mid-12th century – one grave in the burial ground in Poznań-Śródka.⁶ As regards the issue of religious and ethnic background, he argued that “chamber graves on the Polish territory were heterogeneous burials of the elites of the state of the first Piasts, both the local and strangers” and this form of grave cannot be considered as an indicator of ethnicity but as a sign of the progressing Christianization of the people representing upper social strata.⁷ This view corresponds to Helena Zoll-Adamikowa’s statements, according to whom the abandoning of earlier sepulchral traditions (cremation) was not the result of transformations taking place in traditional beliefs of the Slavs but was influenced by external actions, either imposed or accepted by the local population, mainly in consequence of the approval of a new, Christian eschatology.⁸

The fact that archaeologists recognize individual graves to be chamber ones in the cemeteries established by the main political centres of the state of the time provokes a question about the causes of giving them a distinctive form, especially that they are considered to be ‘initial’ burials, understood as

4 A. Janowski, *Grób komorowy jaki jest, każdy widzi... inaczej. Kilka słów o definicji*, in: *Pochówki w grobach komorowych na ziemiach polskich w okresie wczesnego średniowiecza*, eds. D. Błaszczyk, D. Stępniewska, Warszawa 2016, pp. 10-33.

5 D. Błaszczyk, *Między ziemią a niebem: wczesnośredniowieczne pochówki w grobach komorowych na ziemiach polskich w kontekście europejskim*, in: *Pochówki w grobach komorowych...*, pp. 34-49. **An important comment:** D. Błaszczyk is the author of the monograph published under a similar title: *Między ziemią a niebem. Groby komorowe na obszarze państwa pierwszych Piastów*, Warszawa 2017. Because of this my references to these books are additionally provided with the year of their edition.

6 D. Błaszczyk, *Między ziemią a niebem...* (2016), p. 35, fig. 1; p. 37, fig. 3.

7 Ibidem, p. 43.

8 H. Zoll-Adamikowa, *Przyczyny i formy recepcji rytuału szkieletowego u Słowian nadbałtyckich we wczesnym średniowieczu*, “Przegląd Archeologiczny” XXXV (1988), pp. 183-229; J. Strzelczyk, *Mieszko Pierwszy. Chrzest i początki Polski*, Poznań 2016.

first graves, located in the middle of burial fields.⁹ The answer to this question should be sought, I think, in the oldest sacral buildings of Poznań and Ostrów Lednicki, which played not only liturgical but also sepulchral roles. The Christian representatives of the Piast dynasty must have been buried inside them¹⁰ as comparative studies reveal that such prominent locations were chosen for senior clergy or the members of the ruling families, usually the founders of the temples.¹¹

The first person who in all likelihood was granted such an honour was princess Dobrawa († 977). The location of her burial was not recorded in written sources, but we possess indirect signs which indicate that it could have been the chapel by the palas (Lat. *palatium*) erected in the ducal part of the fortified settlement of Poznań because this little aisleless church also performed sepulchral functions.¹² This is indirectly indicated by the interior of its nave, where one can notice the outline of a deep cut, filled in with the soil mixed with the particles of the broken flooring. This distinct interference in the flooring of the chapel makes us conclude that at the foot of its altar was an underfloor grave, where probably its founder was buried, which was recorded in the 13th century *Polish Chronicle*.¹³ If this guess is correct, we would face a material trace of the translation – most likely to the cathedral church – of the remains of Dobrawa¹⁴ when the palace chapel underwent destruction and was never rebuilt on its old foundations. At present we do not know what shape was given to this original tomb – whether it rose above the floor or whether it

9 D. Błaszczuk, *Między ziemią a niebem...* (2016), p. 42.

10 K. Jasiński, *Rodowód pierwszych Piastów*, Poznań 2004, pp. 61, 83; R. Michałowski, *Princeps fundator. Studium z dziejów kultury politycznej w Polsce X-XIII wieku*, Warszawa 1993, p. 131.

11 F. Oswald, *In medio Ecclesiae. Die Deutung der literarischen Zeugnisse im Lichte archäologischer Funde*, "Frühmittelalterliche Studien" III (1969), pp. 313-326; Z. Kurnatowska, *Jeszcze raz o grobowcach poznańskich*, in: *Scriptura custos memoriae. Prace historyczne*, ed. D. Zydorek, Poznań 2001, pp. 503-510; cf. J. Dobosz, *Monarcha i możni wobec Kościoła w Polsce do początku XIII wieku*, Poznań 2002.

12 H. Kóćka-Krenz, *Najstarsze kościoły poznańskiego grodu*, in: *Kościoty w dobie chrystianizacji*, ed. M. Rębkowski, Wolińskie spotkania mediewistyczne, Szczecin 2016, pp. 117-135.

13 (*Casimirus*)...(ecclesiam), *quam Dambrouca ad honorem genetricis dei beatae Marie in castro Ostrow fundaverat: Kronika polska*, ed. L. Cwikliński, in: *Monumenta Poloniae Historica*, III, Lwów 1878, p. 622.

14 Perhaps she was laid to rest in the grave marked no. 180 (pre-romanesque grave) during excavations, containing a silver pendant and a bead of mountain crystal; cf. P. Pawlak, *Cmentarzyska przedlokacyjnego Poznania*, in: *Civitas Posnaniensis. Studia z dziejów średniowiecznego Poznania*, eds. Z. Kurnatowska, T. Jurek, Poznań 2005, pp. 59-109; cf. *ibidem*, p. 61; M. Kara, *Przemiany kultury funeralnej na ziemiach dorzecza Warty w okresie formowania się państwa Piastów w świetle nowszych ustaleń archeologii*, in: *Viator per devia scientiae itinera. Studia nad problematyką okresów przedrzymskiego, rzymskiego, wędrówek ludów i wczesnego średniowiecza*, eds. A. Michałowski, M. Teska, M. Zólkiewski, Poznań 2015, pp. 303-313; cf. *ibidem*, p. 309.

was marked with a tombstone integrated into it. However, one has to notice that the palace chapel itself served as a monumental setting for the burial, distinguishing itself with its mass in the topography of the ducal seat.

Poznań Cathedral, whose construction commenced towards the end of Mieszko I's life,¹⁵ is another religious building of the fortified settlement, where also – in an explicit way – its position as the monarch's church, definitely performing sepulchral functions, was marked. In the centre of its central nave two rectangular graves, distinctly raised above the floor, were built in.¹⁶ The older one, enclosed with a corbel vault, was built of blocks of calcareous tufa and rock tiles, covered with the coating of dark-green gabbro stone.¹⁷ The later grave was erected in the form of a quadrilateral structure of rock shavings covered with limestone plasters, with a wooden floor inside. It was surrounded by a low wall, with the entrance on the north closed with a gate (?).¹⁸ Between them was the Altar of the Holy Cross, usually put in the centre of the temple as its mystical core.¹⁹ Hence, we would be dealing in Poznań Cathedral with the establishment of the mausoleum, resting place – as it is assumed – of the first Piast rulers, Mieszko I and Boleslaw I the Brave (Bolesław I Chrobry).²⁰ Thereby, on the axis of the cathedral church, in its very centre was isolated an emblematic space, containing the graves of the people of exceptional rank.²¹ The form given to them must have been known not only to the dwellers of the fortified settlement of Poznań but also to the local people participating in the liturgy celebrated in the cathedral.

15 Z. Kurnatowska, M. Kara, *Początki architektury sakralnej na grodzie poznańskim w świetle nowych ustaleń archeologicznych*, in: *Początki architektury monumentalnej w Polsce. Materiały z sesji naukowej, Gniezno, 20-21 listopada 2003 roku*, eds. T. Janiak, D. Stryniak, Gniezno 2004, pp. 47-70.

16 Z. Kurnatowska, *Archeologiczne świadectwa o najstarszych grobowcach w katedrze poznańskiej*, "Roczniki Historyczne" LVI (1990), pp. 71-93; Z. Kurnatowska, *Jeszcze raz o grobowcach...*

17 Such an interpretation, put by K. Józefowiczówna, *Z badań nad architekturą przedromańską i romańską w Poznaniu*, Wrocław-Warszawa-Kraków 1963, was accepted by A. Bukowska, *Najstarsza katedra w Poznaniu. Problem formy i jej genezy w kontekście architektury około roku 1000*, Kraków 2013, pp. 70-73, 77, analyzing the contents of the destructive layer, lying in this place; here is a critical remark (fn. no. 140) towards the interpretation of a fragment of a plate of gabbro as an element of a portable little altar, put by P. Urbańczyk.

18 A fragment of a stone doorpost and the remnants of an iron mandrel have been preserved; cf. Z. Kurnatowska, *Jeszcze raz o grobowcach...*, p. 504.

19 Z. Kurnatowska, *Jeszcze raz o grobowcach...*, p. 505.

20 K. Jasiński, *Rodowód pierwszych Piastów*; H. Kóčka-Krenz, *Archeologiczne świadectwa o najstarszych świątyniach na Ostrowie Tumskim w Poznaniu*, "Ecclesia. Studia z dziejów Wielkopolski" II (2006), pp. 23-38; A. Bukowska, *Najstarsza katedra...*, pp. 141-143.

21 J. Meier, *Ahnengrab und Rechtstein. Untersuchungen zur deutschen Volkskunde und Rechtsgeschichte*, Berlin 1950; Z. Dalewski, *Władza, przestrzeń, ceremoniał. Miejsce i uroczystość inauguracji władcy w Polsce średniowiecznej do końca XIV w.*, Warszawa 1996, pp. 33-35, 38-39.

The oldest cemetery,²² documented by archaeological excavations, the resting place of the dwellers of the fortified settlement of Poznań and nearby settlements, was established to the east of the stronghold, behind the hamlet separated by an arm of the River Warta and its tributary, slightly to the north, the River Cybina (the so called Ostrówek).²³ It was used between the end of the 10th century or the early 11th century and the early 13th century and its limited (fenced?) space resulted in a multi-layered arrangement of burials. Two graves, where bodies of women were entombed, were notable for the number and quality of the objects deposited there. Among them, grave no. 170 was identified by D. Błaszczyk as a chamber grave²⁴ even though the researchers of this burial ground do not use this term to name it. They only stress that it singles out with the dimensions of the grave pit (2.8 × 1.3-1.45 m) and the quality of the grave gifts.²⁵ A woman aged 25-35, whose attire was partly made of silk, was buried in an oak chest, provided with a padlock and fixed with iron bars, approximately 2 m long and 70-75 cm wide, whereas the other deceased (in 60 per cent of the graves) were buried in different types of structures made of pine wood, sometimes in stone casing. The head of the deceased woman was adorned with silver temple rings ending with the figures of a lamb and bird (rooster or peacock), her neck – a silver small chain of gouged links, and her left hand – two silver rings. Next to this hand was laid a two-pronged fork (?), rimmed in a bone or horn handle, while at the feet of the deceased woman, in the space isolated by a partition – a buckle with iron bands together with some other unidentified iron objects. Undoubtedly, the woman resting in this grave, buried in the second half of the 11th century or at the turn of the 11th and 12th centuries, belonged to social aristocracy. No traces have been preserved which would allow us to reconstruct the overground structure of the grave, but we cannot rule out that it was marked within the space of the cemetery by being raised above the level of useable area. In my opinion, however, there is no formal basis to recognize this burial as a chamber grave.²⁶

22 The burial ground in Poznań-Sołacz is also dated back to the end of the 10th century; cf. Z. Kurnatowska, M. Kara, *Na tropie Poznania*, in: *Civitas Posnaniensis...*, pp. 9-26. However – because of its fragmentary reconnaissance and limited opportunities of precise dating one cannot date chronological relations between the cemeteries at Śródka and Sołacz. Having considered their location in relation to the religious centre – Poznań Cathedral, one should expect the earlier functioning of the cemetery next to the fortified settlement.

23 P. Pawlak, *Cmentarzyska przedlokacyjnego Poznania*, in: *Civitas Posnaniensis...*, pp. 59-109, esp. pp. 62-68; E. Pawlak, P. Pawlak, *Serce miasta jest po prawej stronie. Archeologia o przeszłości poznańskiej Śródki i Ostrówka*, Poznań 2015, pp. 49-86.

24 D. Błaszczyk, *Między ziemią a niebem...* (2016), p. 35.

25 E. Pawlak, P. Pawlak, *Serce miasta...*, pp. 74-79.

26 Dariusz Błaszczyk in his monograph entitled: *Między ziemią a niebem. Groby komorowe na obszarze państwa pierwszych Piastów*, Warszawa 2017, in fig. 1 on p. 16 and in the catalogue

Another central site in the state of the first Piasts, where – like in Poznań – the deceased were buried inside the church, is the fortified settlement on Ostrów Lednicki.²⁷ This church was built near the northern section of the ramparts, vis-à-vis the ducal residence, probably soon after Mieszko I converted to Christianity. It was a small, aisleless church, build of wood on stone foundations, enclosed in the south with a rectangular presbytery, surrounded in the western and southern sides with a small cemetery, where in the early Middle Ages 34 dead people were buried, as assumed by the researchers of Ostrów Lednicki – members of elitist families. Among them, particularly interesting are two tombs, inserted in the nave of the church.²⁸ The first one, located by its northern wall, included the remains of the skeleton of an adult person, whereas in the other one – by the southern wall – judging by its small size as no human remains have survived in it – a child was buried; inside the tombs have survived the relics of the coffin and a gold ring. These two tombs were built in a similar way, in the form of a box made of sandstone blocks and calcareous tufa, elevated above the floor, 70 cm high. The bottom, where the oak coffins with the deceased, leaning against crosswise joists, were laid – was made of plaster mortar screed, which was used to cover the walls and lid of the tombs. Their chronology was established on the basis of stratigraphic analyses and related to the second phase in the functioning of the church, dating back to the mid-11th century.²⁹ Similarly to the palace chapel and the cathedral of the Poznań fortified settlement, also the tombs in the little church on Ostrów Lednicki, clearly marked inside, were built, where the dead members of the Piast dynasty who were Christian were laid to rest.

The time of establishing this intra-ecclesial necropolis corresponds to the beginning of the cemetery on the eastern bank of the lake (Dziekanowice, the Borough of Łubowo, archaeological site no. 22a).³⁰ Structures considered

part of the grave from the burial ground in Poznań-Śródka does not consider it to be a chamber tomb anymore, although in the chapter on the chronology of the chamber tombs of the later horizon he still includes it among the chamber tombs of the later horizon, only giving it the phrasing ‘perhaps’.

²⁷ *Ostrów Lednicki. Rezydencjonalno-stołeczny ośrodek pierwszych Piastów*, eds. Z. Kurnatowska, A.M. Wyrwa, Warszawa 2016.

²⁸ J. Wrzesiński, in co-operation with M. Kara, *Chronologia i fazy użytkowania tzw. II kościoła na Ostrowie Lednickim*, in: *Ostrów Lednicki...*, pp. 173-202; cf. p. 179.

²⁹ J. Wrzesiński, in co-operation with M. Kara, *Chronologia i fazy użytkowania...*, pp. 179, 206-207.

³⁰ A. Wrzesińska, J. Wrzesiński, *Próba interpretacji struktury społecznej ludności na cmentarzysku. Doniesienie wstępne, "Studia Lednickie" V (1998), Dział A – Wczesnośredniowieczne cmentarzysko w Dziekanowicach, stanowisko 22*, pp. 13-27; A. Janowski, *Groby komorowe...*, pp. 102-103.

to be chamber were distinguished there, as six out of 1650 people buried there³¹ had been laid to rest in the ground in a way different from the other members of the local population. Their grave pits were cut more deeply and had additionally been marked with four-sided enclosures (?), preserved in the form of ditches approximately 30 cm wide and 65-70 cm deep (measured from today's level), outlining the space 3.25-3.80 m × 4.40-5 m. Three men were buried in them (aged more than 50, 50 and 18 or 19), two young women (aged 23 and 30) and a 2-3-year-old child. All the deceased were buried in oak coffins with the dimensions corresponding to their postures, laid in the middle of the enclosure. Modest furnishings identified in the tombs did not much differ from the ones laid in the other graves at this cemetery. One of the adult men and the child were given to their coffins a knife with a wooden handle wrapped with a silver wire, placed into a leather sheath. The other adult man was buried without grave goods. The older of the women was given two knives hidden in a one (double) leather sheath, a whetstone of phyllite and a small application of gold-plated silver. Only the neck of the twenty-three-year old woman was decorated with 14 pendants, a cross hinge and two beads. The dead woman was additionally provided with a coin of Otto and Adelaide (end of the 10th century-1020).³² These burials form a compact array;³³ they were most likely enclosed with an overground structure, whose remnants are the ditches arranged in a quadrangle and the negatives of two posts on the western side of one man's grave. Two of them were built in the second half of the 10th century, which was shown by the carbon isotope analysis (burials of the eighteenth-nineteenth-year old man and the fiftieth-fifty-fifth-year old man), the chronology of the other burials covers the period from the second half of the 10th century till the first half of the 11th century.³⁴

The last of the early-medieval burial grounds from the territory of the early-Piast domain excavated so far, where the bodies were laid to rest in tombs of the distinctive form, is the cemetery in Sowinki near Poznań, located on a promontory, on the left bank of the River Warta.³⁵ At this fully recognized

31 Such a large number of burials was caused by the fact that the necropolis was in use for a long time – from the second half of the 10th century till the end of the 13th century; A. Wrzesińska, J. Wrzesiński, *Groby komorowe z Dziekanowic, gm. Łubowo, woj. wielkopolskie*, in: *Pochówki w grobach komorowych...*, pp. 80-89.

32 *Srebrny naszyjnik z kaptorgami i krzyżowatą zawieszka z Dziekanowic*, eds. J. Wrzesiński, A. Wyrwa, Biblioteka Studiów Lednickich, XXIV, C, 3, Dziekanowice-Lednica 2011; A. Wrzesińska, J. Wrzesiński, *Groby komorowe z Dziekanowic...*, p. 86.

33 Three of them are clearly located in one line, on the east-west axis, and the other three are adjacent to them from the south; cf. A. Janowski, *Groby komorowe ...*, p. 192, fig. 18.

34 D. Błaszczuk, *Między ziemią a niebem...* (2017), pp. 135-139.

35 A. Krzyszowski, *Ein reiches Gräberfeld aus dem 10./11. Jh. in Sowinki bei Poznań*, "Slavia Antiqua" XXXVI (1995), pp. 49-71; A. Janowski, *Groby komorowe...*, pp. 107-108; D. Błaszczuk, *Między ziemią a niebem...* (2016); idem, *Między ziemią a niebem...* (2017), pp. 149-151.

cemetery 158 people were buried in 150 graves.³⁶ Three burials, considering the type of furnishings of the deceased, were determined to be chamber graves, a resting place of the representatives of the social elite of the day.³⁷ Moreover, two of them distinguished themselves with big grave pits with the traces of wooden structures. Young men were buried in them, laid to rest in coffins. They were provided with two knives in a double leather sheath, decorated with ferrules of gold-plated bronze with the motif of an adder or a dragon, as well as a wooden buckle with iron bands placed by the feet. One of them was added a touchstone of phyllite and a quarter of a dirham, whereas the other – spurs and a spear with an iron tip; this grave – according to A. Krzyszowski and D. Błaszczuk – is a resting place of a ducal notable, who had been given a settlement near Poznań by the ruler ‘in return for his service to the ducal court (on Ostrów Tumski in Poznań)’.³⁸ The third of the burials did not distinguish itself with its dimensions, but with the character of the furnishings. A young man was laid to rest in this grave, who was recognized to be a tradesman, as his coffin was equipped with a scale with weights placed in a box, and some fishing tackle, awls, scissors, 3 knives, 2 whetstones and a wooden buckle with iron ferrules.³⁹ One has to remark, however, that also other deceased buried at this cemetery were lavishly equipped – in coins, pieces of weaponry, everyday objects and ornaments.⁴⁰

The graves recognized to be the chamber graves at the burial grounds in Dziekanowice and Sowinki are distinguished by big dimensions and traces of wooden casing of an unspecified structure within which the deceased were laid to rest in oak coffins. D. Błaszczuk, following A. Krzyszowski, argues that the graves of the people buried in Sowinki may have been covered with a burial mound,⁴¹ but they may well have been encased with wooden log walls,⁴² which – placed directly on the ground – have not left traces in the earth.⁴³ However, the cases of the graves from Dziekanowice, elevated above the ground level, could have been formed from the planks tucked into sill

36 A. Krzyszowski, D. Błaszczuk, *Datowanie radiowęglowe grobów komorowych z wczesnośredniowiecznego cmentarzyska w Sowinkach (stan. 23A) w Wielkopolsce*, “Folia Praehistorica Posnaniensia” XXI (2016), pp. 213-234.

37 Ibidem, pp. 216-217.

38 Ibidem, p. 217.

39 A. Krzyszowski, *Frühmittelalterliches Grab eines Kaufmannes aus Sowinki bei Poznań in Großpolen*, “Germania” LXXV(1997) 2, pp. 639-671.

40 A. Krzyszowski, *Ein reiches Gräberfeld...*

41 D. Błaszczuk, *Między ziemią a niebem...* (2017), pp. 149-151.

42 Such a possibility is suggested by D. Błaszczuk in the above quoted work.

43 This is in the case of the houses built in the log structure (also known as framework structure) which have been preserved on the Polish Lowland in the form of a layer of earth, in the shape resembling a rectangle, reflecting the outline of the interior of a hut.

beams, whose remnants are four-sided grooved hollows. Irrespective of the applied technique, they were probably clearly visible at both cemeteries in their use. The structures in question do not possess the features typical of chamber graves known from Scandinavia or Ruthenia. On those territories they had the form of some wooden space usually covered with a burial mound, where the deceased was laid to rest in a sitting or recumbent position – upright but without a coffin, equipped with grave goods of different provenance, often with horses.⁴⁴ On the other hand, the persons from the centre of the state of the Piasts were buried, without exception, in oak coffins and in the clothes whose supplement were ornaments (inherent in women) and everyday objects, including those connected with the profession of the deceased.⁴⁵ However, it has to be added that two men buried at the cemetery in Sowinki were provided with buckets, put by their legs, containing – as a gift – meat food,⁴⁶ whereas an adult woman buried at the cemetery in Dziekanowice was given a coin put under the cross hinge, stressing the middle part of the necklace. Their presence is considered as an indication of the religious syncretism, which was typical of the first stage of Christianization.⁴⁷

Stone graves excavated in the temples of Poznań and Ostrów Lednicki have survived until the present as in vestigial form and nowadays we do not know what was the setting for the burials of the persons laid to rest in them. We can only assume that their bodies were clad and adorned in line with their social standing and find that they were protected by oak coffins. Nevertheless, the furnishings of the grave were not their most important characteristic. It was its form and the place where it was put. All those tombs took the central space in the temple, were topped by a tombstone and clearly elevated above the floor level. Their monumental, architectural casing was also the mass of the palace chapel in the fortified settlement in Poznań and the small aisleless church in the fortified settlement on Ostrów Lednicki. Together with the tombs inside Poznań Cathedral, highlighted with a low wall, they formed the installations which should be ascribed the functions of the mausoleums of the

44 D. Błaszczuk, *Między ziemią a niebem...* (2017), p. 111, table 5.

45 A. Krzyszowski, *Naczynia ceramiczne i wiaderka klepkowe z wczesnopiastowskiego cmentarzyska w Sowinkach k. Poznania*, in: *Grób w przestrzeni, przestrzeń w grobie. Przestrzenne uwarunkowania w dawnej obrzędowości pogrzebowej*, T. Kurasiński, K. Skóra, Łódź 2014, pp. 137-158.

46 This is indicated by the analyses of the samples taken from their insides; cf. A. Krzyszowski, *Naczynia ceramiczne...*, p. 149; a bucket was given to a woman laid to rest in the grave no. 170 from Poznań-Śródka; cf. E. Pawlak, P. Pawlak, *Serce miasta...*, pp. 74-79.

47 H. Zoll-Adamikowa, *Przyczyny i formy recepcji rytuału szkieletowego...*; S. Suchodolski, *Numizmatyka średniowieczna. Moneta źródłem archeologicznym, historycznym i ikonograficznym*, Warszawa 2012.

Piast dynasty.⁴⁸ In all probability their forms influenced the shape and kind of furnishings in elite burials established at out-of-church cemeteries in the Piast domain. This alleged fact is made possible by the cultural context and the time sequence of the burials in casing excavated there, which is particularly clear in the case of the burial ground in Dziekanowice, established next to the fortified settlement on Ostrów Lednicki. Given the C-14 analyses, two out of the graves distinctive by their look contained the burials of men who had died in the second half of the 10th century. Within a day's journey – approximately 30 km – from the fortified settlement in Poznań a young man was laid to rest at the cemetery in Sowinki at that time.⁴⁹ Undoubtedly, both fortified settlements were the centres of power in the early-Piast state, which played multiplicitous roles – political, administrative, military, cultural and sacral.⁵⁰ On behalf of the ruler from these centres – which is proven by the fact that first temples were erected there – people were Christianized. This action first spread onto upper strata of the society of the day. The cemeteries located in their vicinity, established in the second half of the 10th century, soon after the Baptism of Mieszko I, had to comply with the formal requirements of the new religion, monitored by the clergy present in the fortified settlements. Thus one has to accept the opinion prevailing in specialist studies that the deceased laid to rest in their individual spacious graves were Christians (at least formally), members of the princely court.

Having considered the above, I would like to argue that at cemeteries in Dziekanowice and Sowinki were built the wooden tombs which referred in their structure to intra-ecclesial burials of the members of the Piast dynasty. Those were for sure elite burials, thus the resting places for the persons belonging to upper social strata, who had formed the prince's closest milieu, who – following the ruler's example – had decided to accept Christianity, which in consequence led to the transformation in funerary customs, including the dead from their families.⁵¹ The tombs erected as the initial ones at both cemeteries were not – in my view – chamber graves, which could be suggested by their remnants left in the ground. They were, however, the expression of *imitatio*, the imitation of intra-ecclesial tombs, which were secured for the members of the Piast dynasty. By erecting tomb structures which referred to them with their external shape at the cemeteries located near the centres of power of the state, the members of the princely court emphasised the position of their own family, and at the same time manifested their approval

48 Cf. Z. Dalewski, *Władza, przestrzeń, ceremoniał...*

49 D. Błaszczuk, *Między ziemią a niebem...* (2017), pp. 136, 138, 150.

50 Z. Kurnatowska, *Początki Polski*, Poznań 2002.

51 M. Kara, *Przemiany kultury funeralnej...*

to the new funerary custom in its elite form, and stressed their affiliation to Christian communities in early-medieval Europe.

translated by Robert Bubczyk

ABSTRACT

At the two burial grounds established near the central fortified settlements of the state of the first Piasts – in Dziekanowice near Ostrów Lednicki and in Sowinki near Poznań – burials have been excavated, which are distinctive by the dimensions of their grave pits and the quality of the equipment of the dead. In specialist studies they have been recognized as the so called chamber graves, where the dead members of the elites of the state of the first Piasts were laid to rest. Those graves – surrounded by certain fencing, did not, however, contain wooden chambers, and the bodies of the deceased were buried in oak coffins. The grooved hollows which surround them allow us to assume they were encapsulated by wooden structures, elevated above the ground. They were the expression of *imitatio*, the imitation of intra-ecclesial graves, reserved for the members of the Piast dynasty, whose relics have been preserved in the so-called IInd church on Ostrów Lednicki and in the main hall of the oldest cathedral in Poznań. By erecting tomb structures which referred to them with their external shape at the cemeteries located near the centres of the state, the members of the ducal court emphasised the position of their own family, manifesting their approval for a new funeral custom in its elite shape and stressing their affiliation to the Christian communities in the early Medieval Europe.

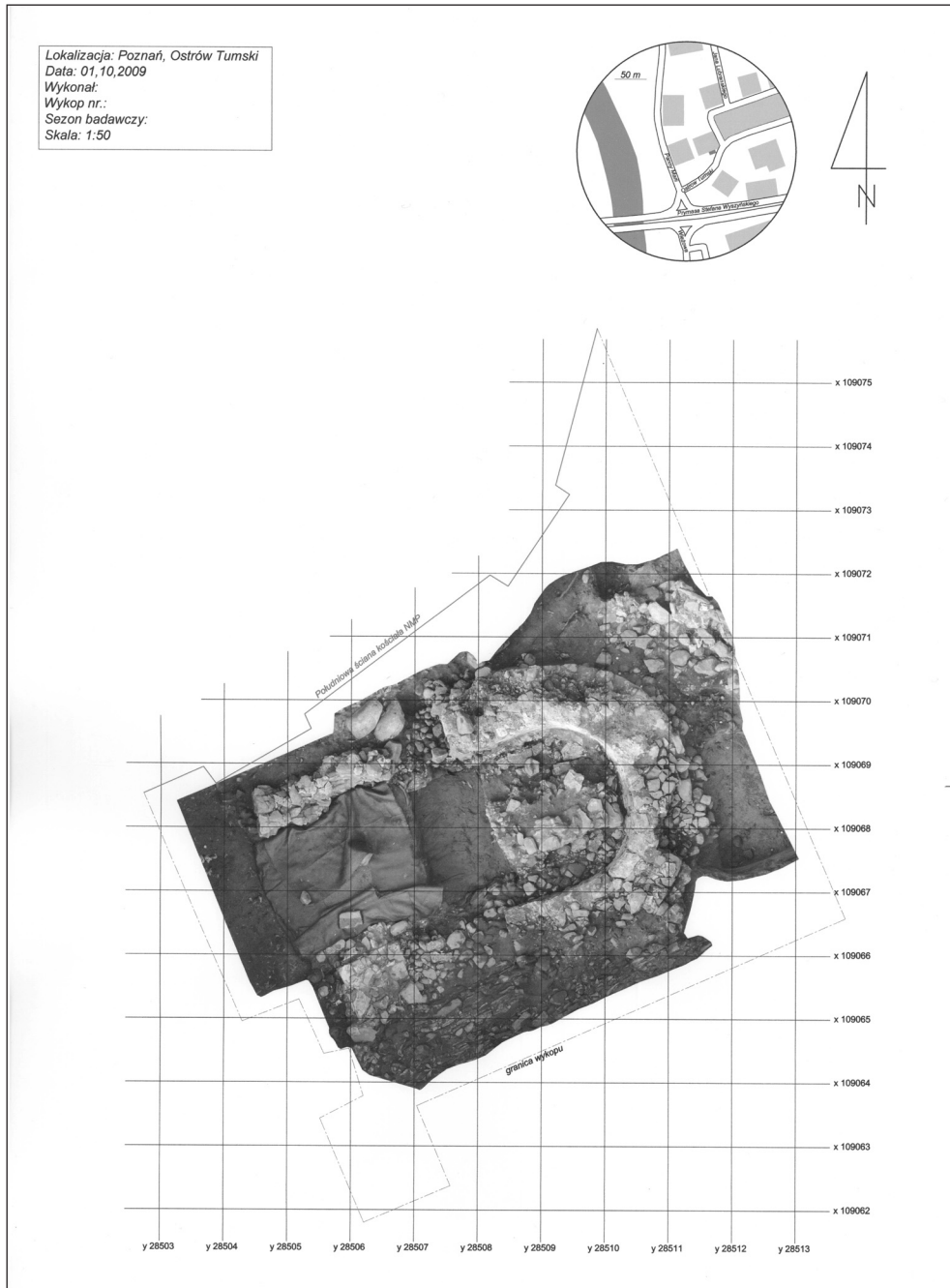


Fig. 1. Poznań – Ostrów Tumski. Remnants of the palace chapel from the 2nd half of the 10th century. Scan by A. Gołembnik.



Fig. 2. Poznań – Ostrów Tumski. Profile of the interior of the palace chapel (cut by the base [Lat. *stipes*] of the altar) – solid lines in yellow in the photo mark the outline of the pit filled with the particles of the plaster floor. Photo by A. Sikorski.

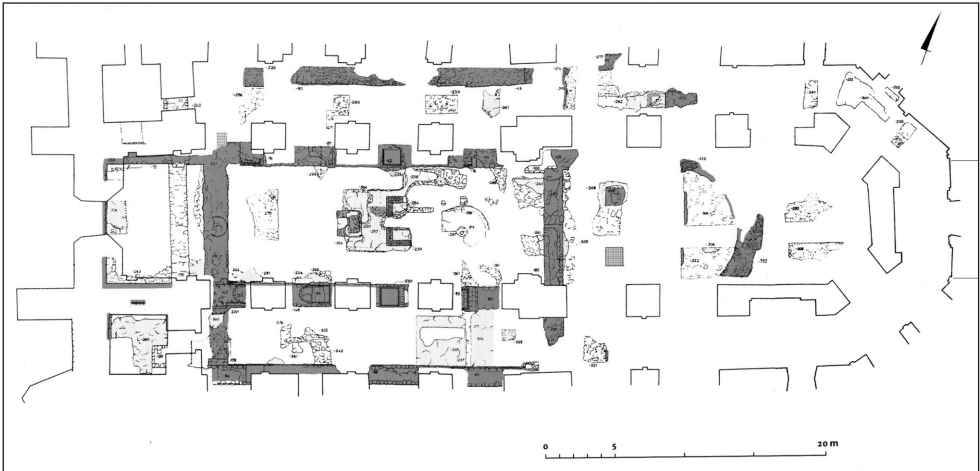


Fig. 3. Poznań – Ostrów Tumski. Projection of the remnants of the pre-Romanesque cathedral including tombs in the central nave; after: A. Bukowska, *Najstarsza katedra w Poznaniu. Problem formy i jej genezy w kontekście architektury około roku 1000*, Kraków 2013, p. 139, fig. 127.



Fig. 4. Poznań – Ostrów Tumski. Remnants of pre-Romanesque tombs. Photo by A. Róžański.

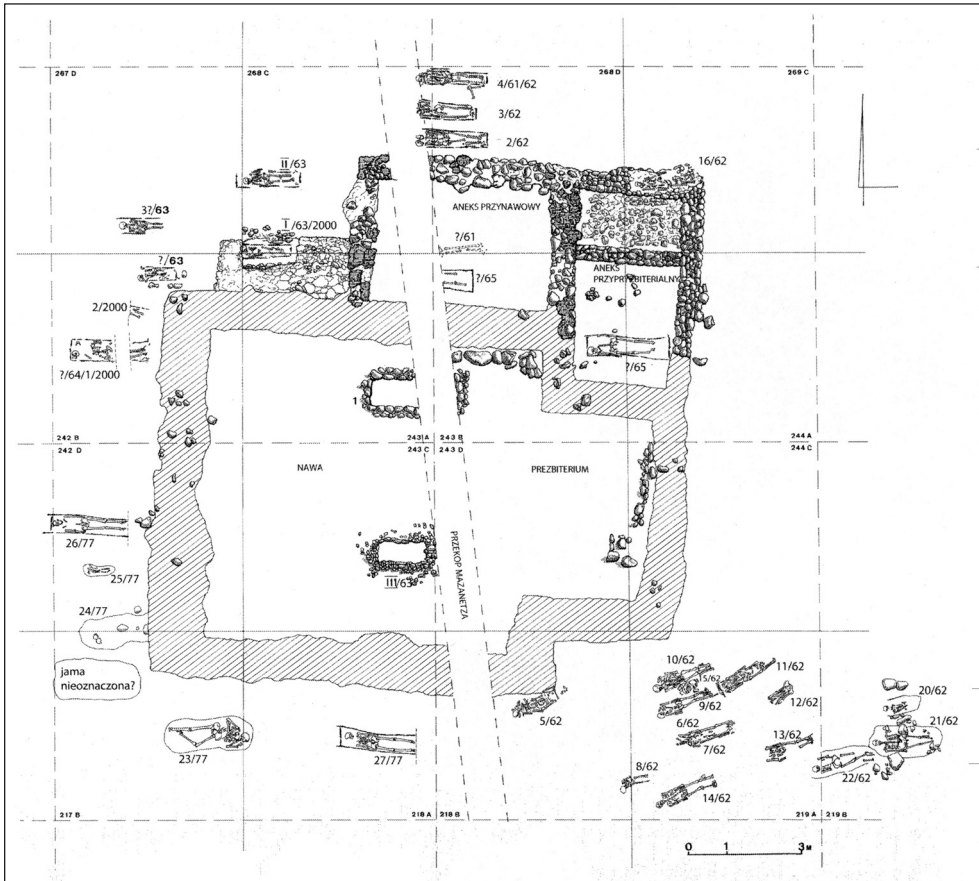


Fig. 5. Ostrów Lednicki. Outline of the foundations of the so called IInd church with the remnants of two tombs inside the site, after: J. Wrześciński, in co-operation with M. Kara, *Chronologia i fazy użytkowania tzw. II kościoła na Ostrowie Lednickim*, in: *Ostrów Lednicki. Rezydencjonalno-stołeczny ośrodek pierwszych Piastów*, eds. Z. Kurnatowska, A.M. Wyrwa, Warszawa 2016, pp. 173-202.

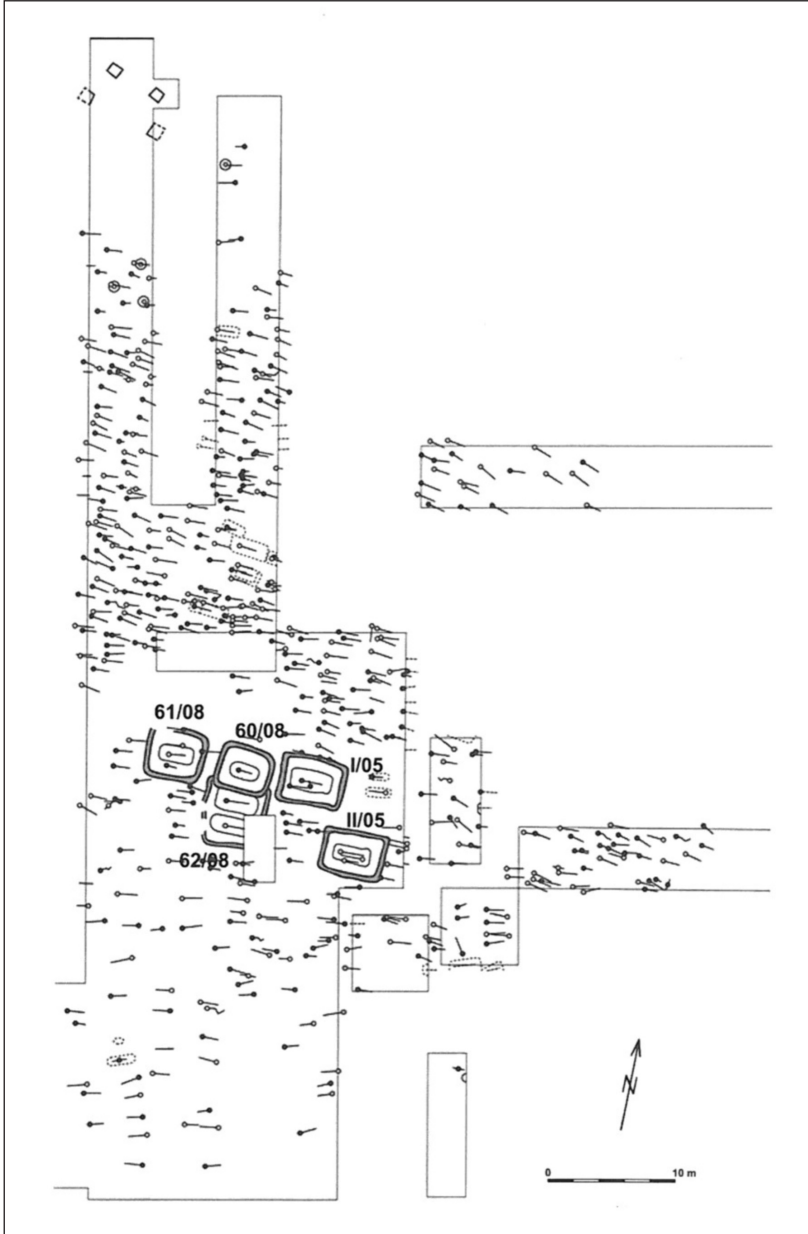


Fig. 6. Dziekanowice, district of Łubowo, site 22. North-west part of the burial ground with “chamber” tombs; after: A. Wrzeńska, J. Wrzeński, *Groby komorowe z Dziekanowic, gm. Łubowo, woj. wielkopolskie*, in: *Pochówki w grobach komorowych na ziemiach polskich w okresie wczesnego średniowiecza*, eds. D. Błaszczyk, D. Stępniewska, Warszawa 2016, pp. 80-89; cf. p. 82, fig. 2.

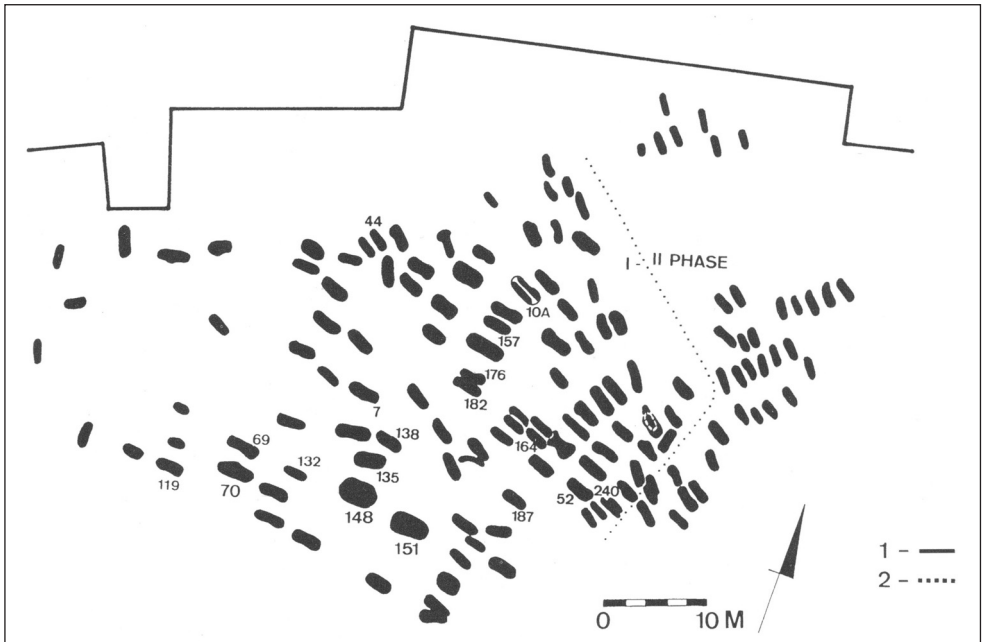


Fig. 7. Sowinki, district of Mosina. Plan of a burial ground with the location of “chamber” tombs (no. 70, 148 and 151); after: A. Krzyszowski, *Ein reiches Gräberfeld aus dem 10./11. Jh. in Sowinki bei Poznań in Großpolen*, “*Slavia Antiqua*” XXXVI (1995), pp. 49-71.

MARZENA MATLA
POZNAŃ

INFLUENCE OF SOUTHERN CULTURES AND GREAT MORAVIA AN PEOPLE ON POLISH LANDS (LATE 9TH AND 10TH CENTURIES)*



The history of Poland in the late 9th and 10th centuries, while increasingly better known with the advance of historical and archaeological research, remains in many aspects the subject of lively debate. The hot topics include inter alia the issue of the political affinity of the Polish territory, the state-building models (organisational and administrative) used by the Piasts consolidating their rule, the reception channels of Christianity, and – last but not least – the origins of the dynasty itself. Another interesting and still clouded issue is the presence of ethnically foreign peoples on the lands consolidated under the Piasts' rule and their potential political and cultural influence. Unfortunately, written sources, scarce and often ambiguous in message, on the one hand, allow for different interpretations of the course of political events, but on the other, no less importantly, make virtually no mention of migration or foreign presence. Attempts have been made to explain these phenomena through linguistic study, particularly in the field of toponomastics, however more useful evidence is provided by archaeology and the transformations of material culture it unveils or the presence of artefacts of foreign cultural provenances, especially within grave fields.¹ However, it remains a matter

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of concern to many historians whether and to what extent material traces of a foreign culture can be regarded as evidence of the actual presence of other ethnic groups or if they constitute imports, indicating that local elites would imitate neighbouring peoples' upper classes, possibly by adopting their lifestyles and marks of social status – a phenomenon that has been repeatedly documented in Central Europe.

Without question, migration of social groups is driven by a number of factors, which are impossible to fully address here.² This paper is primarily concerned with the relation between this process and the political transformations of the region, especially in the late 9th century and throughout the 10th century. At the beginning of this period, Great Moravia and the Kingdom of the East Franks were undoubtedly two unrivalled powers in this part of Europe. Soon, however, in the early 10th century, both of them faced a crisis in the aftermath of which only the latter was reborn in a new form.³ It should be noted that while the distance of the Polish territory from the Kingdom of the East Franks precluded early political and military contacts, as far as Great Moravia is concerned, historiography abounds in discussions of a possible relation of dependence between Svatopluk the Great and the territories of the Lesser Poland and Silesia – a suggestion that has lately attracted more and more scepticism.

Defining the range of Great Moravia's expansion is not an easy or straightforward task. Most researchers agree that Svatopluk ruled over Moravia proper, Slovakia, parts of the Tisza River Basin and the northern Pannonia, and exerted dominance over Bohemia.⁴ Yet there is a significant discord regarding the question of whether the Moravian ruler conquered Southern Poland (Lesser Poland as far as the Bug and Styr rivers, and Silesia

² *Migracje: dzieje, typologia, definicje*, eds. A. Fudal, W. Wysoczyński, Wrocław 2006; K. Boryslawski, *Migracje*, in: *Migracje. Funeralia Lednickie. Spotkanie 15*, eds. W. Dzieduszycki, J. Wrzesiński, Poznań 2013, pp. 173-182.

³ Cf. D. Třeštík, *Pád Velké Moravy*, in: *Typologie raně feudálních slovanských států*, Praha 1987, pp. 27-76; W. Strömer, *Ostfränkische Herrschaftskrise und Herausforderung durch die Ungarn. Zur Ausformung des sogen. jüngeren bayerischen Stammesherzogtums und zum Wandel der Herrschaftsverhältnisse in Bayern*, in: *Baiern, Ungarn und Slawen im Donauraum*, eds. W. Katzinger, G. Marckhgott, Linz-Donau 1991, pp. 59f.; E. Hlawitschka, *Vom Frankenreich zur Formierung der europäischen Staaten- und Völkergemeinschaft 840-1046*, Darmstadt 1986, p. 95ff.; K. Polek, *Państwo wielkomorawskie i jego sąsiedzi*, Kraków 1994; I. Panic, *Ostatnie lata Wielkich Moraw*, Katowice 2000; R. Deutinger, *Von Ludwig dem Kind zu Heinrich I.: Weichenstellungen im frühen 10. Jahrhundert*, in: *Fulda und Quedlinburg. Die königlichen Bestattungsorte*, Petersberg 2019, pp. 112-126.

⁴ L. Havlík, *Uzemní rozsah Velkomoravské říše v době posledních let vlády krále Svatopluka*, "Slovanské studie" III (1960), pp. 72-74; H. Łowmiański, *Początki Polski. Z dziejów Słowian w I tysiącleciu n.e.*, IV, Warszawa 1973, pp. 325-358, in particular p. 351 – the map; G. Labuda, *Studia nad początkami państwa polskiego*, II, Poznań 1988, p. 110f (excluding Panonia); K. Polek, *Państwo wielkomorawskie...*, p. 55.

as far as the Oder) and Polabia; some experts believe Moravia's conquests did reach thus far,⁵ others deny it.⁶

Regarding southern Poland, written sources provide no clear evidence. The conquest of Lesser Poland is inferred from the *Life of Methodius*, where its author mentions Methodius's prophecy about the forced baptism of a prince settled *въ Вислѣ* or *въ Вислѣхѣ*:⁷ "Methodius also possessed the gift of prophecy, for many of his prophecies came to pass. We shall relate one or two of these. A very powerful pagan prince settled on the Vistula and began mocking Christians and doing evil. Communicating with him, Methodius said: 'My son, it would be better for you to be baptised of your own will in your own land, so that you will not have to be baptised against your will as a prisoner in a foreign land; and remember me.' And so it came to pass".⁸ There has been some controversy about the causal relationship between information about Methodius' prophecy and the actual conquest.⁹ Even without negating the reliability of the *Life*,¹⁰ as Gerard Labuda pointed out, it could be considered no more than an indication that the prince of Vistulans was baptised "in a foreign land", which gives no insight as to the fate of the land of his own.¹¹ It may be reasonable to assume that the prince

5 J. Widajewicz, *Państwo Wiślan*, Kraków 1947, pp. 55, 60f., 72ff.; H. Bulín, *Slezsko a říše velkomoravská*, "Slezský sborník" LVIII (1960), pp. 19-22; L. Havlík, *Územní rozsah...*, pp. 72-74; H. Łowmiański, *Początki Polski...*, IV, pp. 357f., 472ff.; P. Ratkoš, *Územný vývoj Veľkej Moravy (Fikcie a skutočnosť)*, "Historický časopis" XXXIII (1985), pp. 213f.; E. Rymar, *O genezie powstania i przyczynach upadku państwa wielkomorawskiego – inaczej, "Slavia Antiqua" XXXII (1989-1990)*, p. 97; K. Wachowski, *Północny zasięg ekspansji Wielkich Moraw w świetle badań archeologicznych*, in: *Śląsk i Czechy a kultura wielkomorawska*, ed. K. Wachowski, Wrocław 1997, p. 22; L.A. Tyszkiewicz, *Warunki polityczne włączenia Śląska do państwa Piastów*, in: *Śląsk około roku 1000. Materiały z sesji naukowej we Wrocławiu w dniach 14-15 maja 1999 roku*, Wrocław 2000, pp. 74f.

6 G. Labuda, *Studia...*, II, pp. 110, 119ff.; I. Panic, *Ostatnie lata...*, pp. 81ff., 118. Also, increasingly sceptical despite initially accepting Svatopluk's partial expansion to the north, K. Polek, *Wielkie Morawy a Europa Środkowa. Dylematy polityczne i religijne*, in: *Środkowoeuropejskie dziedzictwo cyrylo-metodiańskie*, ed. A. Barciak, Katowice 1999, p. 52f.; idem, *Udział Moraw i Czech w chrystianizacji Małopolski we wczesnym średniowieczu*, in: *Początki chrześcijaństwa w Małopolsce*, red. J. Gancarski, Dzieje Podkarpacia, V, Krosno 2001, pp. 43, 46.

7 Lectures of manuscripts are different, see *Żywot Konstancyi i Metodego (obszerne)*, translation and commentary by T. Lehr-Splawiński, Poznań 1959, p. 115 and fn. 58.

8 Ibidem, p. 114; English translation in *Medieval Slavic Lives of Saints and Princes*, ed. M. Kantor, Ann Arbor 1983, pp. 119-121.

9 G. Labuda, *Studia...*, II, pp. 125-128; B. Kürbis, *Krąg czesko-morawski a pierwsza chrystianizacja Polski*, in: *Cyryl i Metody apostołowie i nauczyciele Słowian. Studia i dokumenty*, ed. J.S. Gajek, 1: *Teologia dialogu*, VI, Lublin 1991, p. 152

10 Cf. reasoning in: K. Ożóg, *Misja metodiańska w świetle historiografii prawosławnej. Proroctwa Metodego*, in: *Chryścianizacja Polski południowej. Materiały sesji naukowej odbytej 29 czerwca 1993 roku*, ed. J. Małecki, Kraków 1994, pp. 164-168.

11 G. Labuda, *Studia...*, II, pp. 127-128.

was baptised when imprisoned in Moravia during one of his plunders,¹² while Vistulans might have been ruled at the time by some other member of the dynasty. If this was the case, Methodius' prophecy cannot be used as evidence of Moravian expansion to the north. Scholars have rejected the idea that the description of the borders of the bishopric of Prague included in the charter of Henry IV of Germany from 1086 (which regards, among others, the territory of southern Poland and is supposed to be a reflection of the alleged Great Moravian metropolis) comes from the Great Moravian era. Equally it is questionable to associate the names Prohor and Prokulf from the *Catalogue of Cracow Bishops*¹³ with that period. Let us note that, despite determined efforts, no trace (and no archaeological evidence) has as yet been found of the expansion of Christianity in Lesser Poland in late 9th and early 10th centuries (no places of worship or bone burial fields).¹⁴

The matter is similarly ambiguous with Silesia, whose dependence is only mentioned in Cosmas's chronicle from the early 12th century. The Bohemian chronicler mentions that King Arnulf of East Francia gave to Svatopluk the rule over Bohemia and other lands as far as the Oder, and thence towards Hungary as far as the River Hron.¹⁵ The very fact that the Bohemian chronicler gives Arnulf credit for the extent of Svatopluk's rule suggests that his information regarding the 9th and 10th centuries was not accurate¹⁶ and that, to a large extent, he based this particular passage on the chronicle of Regino

12 This possibility is allowed for by J. Leśny, *Wiślanie*, in: *Słownik starożytności słowiańskich. Encyklopedyczny zarys kultury Słowian od czasów najdawniejszych*, VI, Wrocław 1977, p. 490; K. Polek, *Państwo wielkomorawskie...*, p. 48.

13 Cf. M. Matla-Kozłowska, *Pierwsi Przemysłidzi i ich państwo (od X do połowy XI wieku). Ekspansja terytorialna i jej polityczne uwarunkowania*, Poznań 2008, pp. 170-219.

14 H. Zoll-Adamikowa, *Wczesnośredniowieczne cmentarzyska szkieletowe Małopolski*, II, Wrocław-Warszawa-Kraków 1971, pp. 139-142; idem, *Formy konwersji Słowiańszczyzny wczesnośredniowiecznej a problem przedpiastowskiej chrystianizacji Małopolski*, in: *Chryścianizacja Polski południowej...*, pp. 131-140. Historically, the existence of Methodian rite in southern Poland has been criticised by: G. Labuda, *Studia...*, II, pp. 151-166; J. Dobosz, *Monarchia i możni wobec Kościoła w Polsce do początku XIII wieku*, Poznań 2002, pp. 17-24; L. Moszyński, *Czy misja cyrylotodiańska dotarła do Małopolski*, in: *Początki chrześcijaństwa...*, pp. 23-33; K. Polek, *Początki chrześcijaństwa na terenach na południe od Karpat i w Małopolsce*, in: *Święty Świerad i jego czasy. Materiały z sympozjum naukowego w Tropiu 10-11 lipca 1998*, ed. S. Pietrzak, Nowy Sącz 2001, pp. 122-128.

15 *Eodem anno Svatopluk rex Moravie, sicut vulgo dicitur, in medio exercitu suorum delituit et nusquam comparuit. Sed re vera tum in se ipsum reversus, cum recognovisset, quod contra dominum suum imperatorem et compatrem Arnolfum iniuste et quasi inmemor beneficii arma movisset, qui sibi non solum Boemiam, verum etiam alias regiones hinc usque ad flumen Odram et inde versus Ungariam usque ad fluvium Gron subiugarat [...], Cosmae Pragensis Chronica Boemorum*, ed. B. Bretholz, *Monumenta Germaniae Historica. Scriptores rerum Germanicarum in usum scholarum* (nova series), II, Berlin 1923, lib. I, 14, pp. 32-33.

16 M. Matla-Kozłowska, *Pierwsi Przemysłidzi...*, pp. 313-316.

of Prüm (around the year 890) – probably amplifying the account – and on some unspecified tradition.¹⁷

It must be added that archaeology, too, provides no argument to settle the issue of Svatopluk's conquests.¹⁸ What is certain is that the cultural influence of Great Moravia is becoming increasingly better documented with the progress of the archaeological study, and relics associated with the southern neighbour are being found in many regions of Poland.¹⁹ Upper Silesia is undoubtedly a special site, due to its geographical location, though it was Czech Silesia where Moravian influence was the strongest. In today's Czech Silesia, traces of the presence of Great Moravians (including representatives of the cultural group) are better pronounced. They are indicated, for example, by the presence of the bone burial fields of a Great Moravian type in Stěborice near Opava or in Opava-Malé Hoštice or the character and concentration of the finds in Hradec upon Moravici (with isolated bone graves) and Chotěbuz-Podobora.²⁰

17 Cf. Labuda, *Studia...*, II, p. 122ff. The influence of tradition is implied by the unreliable information about Svatopluk spending his last days in a monastery on the Zobor mountain (*Cosmae Pragensis Chronica*, lib. I, 14, pp. 33-34), which is never mentioned in any contemporary source.

18 Older studies analysed by D. Abłamowicz, *Górny Śląsk a Wielkie Morawy. Fakty i mity*, in: *Śląsk i Czechy...*, p. 77f. The supporters of the theory of dependence of Lesser Poland and Silesia on the basis of influences in the material culture, the disappearance of some strongholds from Silesia and Lesser Poland in the 9th century and the appearance of imports of southern provenance, are: (partially) L. Leciejewicz, *Wczesne średniowiecze Śląska w badaniach polskich po II wojnie światowej*, "Śląski Kwartalnik Historyczny Sobótka" XLI (1986) 3, p. 336; J. Szydłowski, *Czy ślad ekspansji Świętopelka?*, in: *Studia z dziejów cywilizacji. Studia ofiarowane Profesorowi Jerzemu Gąssowskiemu w pięćdziesiątą rocznicę pracy naukowej*, ed. A. Buko, Warszawa 1998, p. 49ff.; K. Wachowski, *Północny zasięg...*, pp. 21f.; idem, *Śląsk a Wielkie Morawy i Czechy. Aktualne dylematy historyka i archeologa*, in: *Viae historicae. Księga jubileuszowa dedykowana Profesorowi Lechowi A. Tyszkiewiczowi w siedemdziesiątą rocznicę urodzin*, Acta Universitatis Wratislaviensis, no. 2306, Historia 152, Wrocław 2001, pp. 172-174. Among others, the opponents of the concept were: A. Żaki, *Kraków wiślański, czeski i wczesnopiastowski*, in: *Chryścianizacja Polski południowej...*, pp. 55ff.; J. Poleski, *Kontakty interregionalne mieszkańców Małopolski w VI-X wieku*, in: *Śląsk i Czechy...*, p. 58 and the later works of the author, cited below.

19 More recent summary: J. Poleski, *The Contact between Tribes Inhabiting the Oder and Vistula Basins and the Moravian State in the 9th and Early 10th Century*, "Quaestiones Mediae Aevi Novae" XX (2015), pp. 369-394; idem, *Kontakty plemion zamieszkujących tereny Polski z państwem morawskim i państwem czeskim w IX i X wieku a problem kształtowania państwa pierwszych Piastów*, in: *Spór o początki państwa polskiego. Historiografia, tradycja, mit, propaganda*, eds. W. Drelicharz, D. Jasiak, J. Poleski, Kraków 2017, pp. 49-98; older studies – cf. *Śląsk i Czechy a kultura wielkomorawska*, ed. K. Wachowski, Wrocław 1997.

20 P. Kouřil, *Slovanské osídlení Českého Slezska*, Brno-Český Těšín 1994, passim; idem, *Severní předpolí Moravské brány a zásah velkomoravský*, in: *Śląsk i Czechy...*, ed. K. Wachowski, Wrocław 1997, pp. 65-75; idem, *Raně středověký bojovnícký hrob z Hradce nad Moravici*, "Slovenská archeológia" LII (2004) 1, pp. 55-76; P. Kouřil, J. Gryc, *Der Burgwall in Chotěbuz-Podobora und seine Stellung in der Siedlungsstruktur des oberen Odergebietes vom 8. bis zum 9./10. Jahrhundert*, in: *Frühgeschichtliche Zentralorte in Mitteleuropa. Internationale Konferenz und Kolleg der Alexander*

Apart from these sites in Czechia, conclusions about Moravian expansion to Silesia have also been drawn on the basis of traces of destruction (by fire or otherwise) of ramparts in some of the strongholds around the Moravian Gate and Cieszyn Silesia, and to a lesser extent in Upper Silesia (Lubomia near Włodzisław, Międzyzwiecie, Kamieniec). In the opinion of Jerzy Szydłowski, the devastation was caused by Svatopluk's military expedition against Vistulans through the Moravian Gate.²¹ Nevertheless, while the previously discussed findings in Czech Silesia make it possible to reasonably conclude that Svatopluk conquered the Golensizi tribe which inhabited the area, in this particular case, as justly pointed out by Krzysztof Polek, the objective might have been simply to secure the strategically important Moravian Gate.²² It must be said that other traces of ravages and fires do not present themselves clearly as results of the Moravian attack, primarily because dating of most of the strongholds in Silesia is still unsatisfactory, making it all the more challenging to date with any kind of precision the aforementioned devastations, which could have had a number of possible causes.²³ Similarly, in Lesser Poland, movable relics do not allow for drawing any far-fetched conclusions, though attempts have been made to treat the hoard of axe-like grzywnas discovered in Kraków at Kanoniczna Street (i.e. outside Wawel, the main seat of the ruling power) as the evidence. The find was to be evidence of a military conflict between Vistulans and Svatopluk of Great Moravia, and possibly of an allegiance (tribute) of the former to the latter.²⁴ Some suggest, however, that it might have constituted a private treasure amassed to trade with Moravia, a booty seized during a raid on Moravia, or a part of a tribute intended for the Vistulan prince.²⁵ Indeed, most credibility should be given to the conclusion

von Humboldt-Stiftung zum 50. Jahrestag des Beginns archäologischer Ausgrabungen in Pohansko bei Břeclav, 5-9.10.20009, Břeclav, Tschechische Republik, eds. J. Macháček, Š. Ungerman, Bonn 2011, pp. 217-243; P. Boroń, E.M. Foltyn, *Na północ od państwa (wielko)morawskiego. Z problematyki badań Górnego Śląska i zachodnich krańców Małopolski w dobie karolińskiej*, "Zborník Slovenského Národného Múzea" (2011), *Archeologia Supplementum* 4, pp. 24-31; P. Kouřil, M. Tymonová, *Slovanský kostrový mohylník ve Stěbořicích*, Brno 2013.

21 J. Szydłowski, *Czy ślad ekspansji...*, pp. 49-53. For example, P. Kouřil, *Severní předpolí...*, p. 73, taking the expansion into consideration we would date the destruction of Chotěbuz-Podobora stronghold to the phase of decline of the Great Moravian state.

22 K. Polek, *Udział Moraw...*, p. 42.

23 Cf. D. Abłamowicz, *Górny Śląsk a Wielkie Morawy...*, p. 78; P. Boroń, E.M. Foltyn, *Na północ od państwa...*, p. 11. Indisputably, fires can be caused by a number of random events, not necessarily military attacks; in the last instance in the 9th century it could have been some tribal conflict, totally unrelated to the Moravian expansion.

24 E. Zaitz, *Wczesnośredniowieczne grzywny siekieropodobne z Małopolski*, "Materiały Archeologiczne" XXV (1990), pp. 172f.; M. Homza, *Vzťahy Spiša a Malopolska od príchodu Slovanov po začlenenie Spiša do Uhorského štátu*, "Archaeologia Historica" XVIII (1993), p. 21.

25 G. Labuda, *Studia...*, II, p. 148; K. Radwański, *Kraków miasto rezydencjonalne Wiślan i pierwszych Piastów*, "Sprawozdania z Czynności i Posiedzeń PAU" LXI (1997), p. 32.

drawn by Piotr Boroń that it was most probably used for manufacture and trade (as commodity money).²⁶ While there are tangible indications that some tribal strongholds in Lesser Poland were destroyed by a fire or even military operation, as Jacek Poleski emphasises, insufficient data regarding the chronology of strongholds' existence make it impossible to pinpoint the time of their fall (and therefore the likely aggressor).²⁷ It follows from the foregoing that written and archaeological sources give no evident substance to the proposition that Moravians conquered Lesser Poland or Silesia, albeit on the other hand – considering Svatopluk's political panache – some short-lived or loosely constituted (tributary) dependence of smaller regions cannot be altogether ruled out. Still, it must be remembered that this is not the only possible reason for the presence of southern comers on the Polish land.

Movable relics of Great Moravia or relating to its culture appear most numerous in Silesia²⁸ and Lesser Poland.²⁹ Most often we find among them elements of equestrian equipment, militaries, elements of clothing, various forms of commodity money, tools or jewellery. However, the question of grave fields, which could unequivocally confirm the migration of people from

26 P. Boroń, *Orzekomych pieniężnych funkcjach przedmiotów żelaznych z wczesnośredniowiecznego Śląska*, "Studia i Materiały z Dziejów Śląska" XXIII (1998), pp. 7-15.

27 J. Poleski, *Grodzisko wczesnośredniowieczne w Naszacowicach – problem upadku grodów wczesnośredniowiecznych na terenie Małopolski*, in: *Osadnictwo i architektura ziem polskich w dobie Zjazdu Gnieźnieńskiego*, eds. A. Buko, Z. Świechowski, Warszawa 2000, pp. 289f.; idem, *Małopolska X w. w świetle źródeł archeologicznych*, in: *Gemma gemmarum. Studia dedykowane Profesor Hannie Kóćce-Krenz*, ed. A. Róžański, I, Poznań 2017, pp. 182f.; A. Buko, *Archeologia Polski wczesnośredniowiecznej*, Warszawa 2005, p. 95.

28 Cf. K. Jaworski, *Naleziska wielkomorawskie w Gilowie, Niemczy i Starym Książu na Dolnym Śląsku*, in: *Śląsk i Czechy...*, pp. 113-125; idem, *Grody w Sudetach (VIII-X w.)*, Wrocław 2005, passim; A. Pankiewicz, *Relacje kulturowe południowego Śląska i północnych Moraw i Czech w IX-X wieku w świetle źródeł ceramicznych*, Wrocław 2012, passim; P. Boroń, E.M. Foltyn, *Na północ od państwa ...*, pp. 5-37; P. Boroń, *Na przedpolu Bramy Morawskiej – obecność wpływów południowych na Górnym Śląsku i zachodnich krańcach Małopolski we wczesnym średniowieczu*, "Historia Slavorum Occidentis" III (2012) 2, pp. 36-66; E.M. Foltyn, *Południowe elementy kulturowe w wczesnośredniowiecznych materiałach archeologicznych z Górnego Śląska (VII-X wiek). Z historii badań (I)*, in: *Transkarpackie kontakty kulturowe w okresie lateńskim, rzymskim i wczesnym średniowieczu*, Krosno 2013, pp. 239-291.

29 J. Poleski, *Kontakty interregionalne...*, in: *Śląsk i Czechy...*, pp. 51-63; idem, *Kolejne zabytki awarskie i wielkomorawskie z grodziska w Naszacowicach*, in: *Słowianie i ich sąsiedzi we wczesnym średniowieczu*, ed. M. Dulicz, Warszawa-Lublin 2003, pp. 215-222; idem, *Wczesnośredniowieczne grody w dorzeczu Dunajca*, Kraków 2004, passim; idem, *Transkarpackie kontakty mieszkańców Małopolski w VII-X w. n.e.*, in: *Transkarpackie kontakty kulturowe...*, pp. 307ff.; idem, *Kontakty kmenů v povodí Visly a Odry s Velkou Moravou*, in: *Velká Morava a počátky křesťanství*, ed. P. Kouřil, Brno 2014, pp. 150-154; idem, *Małopolska X w. w świetle...*, in: *Gemma gemmarum...*, p. 163-212 (see also note 19); J. Ginalski, M. Glinianowicz, P.N. Kotowicz, *Elementy "południowe" w kulturze materialnej mieszkańców Kotliny Sanockiej w IX-X w.*, in: *Transkarpackie kontakty kulturowe...*, pp. 381-432.

the lands (formerly) belonging to the Mojmirid dynasty, is rather debatable. Although Krzysztof Wachowski was once inclined to link the traces of Great Moravia with the bone burial fields in Ługi, Wąsacza and Niemcza (the so-called 'Niemcza I'),³⁰ in the light of newer research only Niemcza I can still be considered in this context, although here, too, the determinants of chronology are very poor (see below).

At the same time, individual relics or small groups of relics usually do not have an unambiguous meaning and clearly defined provenance, hence it cannot be ruled out that they arrived in the means of commercial exchange, as gifts, trophies or even that they are local imitations.³¹ Significantly, J. Poleski points to the similarity of the cultures of both areas as an important problem in terms of the links between the material culture of southern Poland and Great Moravia. Although the local, Great Moravian production has clearly made its mark in jewellery and parts of clothing (e.g. belt fittings), the author points out that more pronounced differences are revealed in relation to Moravian culture which acquired external influences, and was, therefore, as such, Christianised, e.g. in relation to funeral rites, religious and defensive building engineering (the method of constructing ramparts with so-called dry wall). On the other hand, in terms of weapons and equipment of the riders, where we observe strong Carolingian influence, it is difficult to distinguish between local and foreign production,³² which makes the determination of the relic's provenance more difficult. Moreover, according to the mentioned researcher, in the second half of the 9th century, the people of southern Poland adopted some patterns of weapon and equestrian equipment from Great Moravia.³³ These circumstances certainly hinder the attempts to recognise the presence of foreign groups where there are few relics at our disposal, especially moving ones. Here, I set aside the issue of specifying in that manner of the extent of Moravian conquests, to which such relics entitle even less – the fact that Lesser Poland and Silesia belonged to the sphere of influence of Greater Moravian culture cannot be directly translated into political connections of the regions.³⁴

30 K. Wachowski, *Cmentarzyska doby wczesnopiastowskiej na Śląsku*, Wrocław 1975, pp. 69, 100f., 137f.; idem, *Próba periodyzacji okresu przedpiastowskiego na Śląsku*, in: *Słowiańszczyzna w Europie średniowiecznej*, ed. Z. Kurnatowska, I: *Plemiona i wczesne państwa*, Wrocław 1996, p. 57.

31 Z. Klanica, *Slezsko a stará Morava*, in: *Śląskie Prace Prahistoryczne*, II: *Śląsk Górny i Opawski w dobie plemiennej wczesnego średniowiecza*, ed. J. Szydłowski, Katowice 1991, pp. 31f.; J. Poleski, *Kontakty plemion...*, p. 54.

32 J. Poleski, *Kontakty kmenů...*, p. 150; idem, *Kontakty plemion...*, pp. 52f.

33 J. Poleski, *Kontakty plemion...*, p. 56.

34 Cf. P. Urbańczyk, *Politická příslušnost Slezska v desátém století v nejnovější polské historiografii*, in: *Dějiny ve věku nejistot. Sborník k příležitosti 70. narozenin Dušana Třeštíka*, Praha

More interesting in the context of potential migration seems to be the fact that fortifications of some Polish strongholds bear a certain resemblance to the defensive structures of southern areas. The examples are strongholds with walls built of stone, wood and earth, or timber ramparts with stone siding (otherwise known as dry stone walls) consisting of stones either loosely laid out or connected by clay, which are attributed to the Moravian-Czech-Serbian area.³⁵ The earliest examples to appear – and in the greatest number – are said to be the ones in Silesian strongholds dated to the 9th-10th century.³⁶ Individual occurrences were noted in Greater Poland (the defensive rampart on Mount of Lech in Gniezno, alternatively Moraczewo)³⁷ or Lesser Poland (Kraków-Okół, Wiślica).³⁸ In more recent studies, this group is joined by the Gniewkowo stronghold (district of Świdnica), dated to the late 9th or early 10th century.³⁹

Undoubtedly, unlike movable relics which could be easily transported, the technique of erecting fortifications required the presence of people specialising in the task. Therefore, Józef Kaźmierczak stated that “it can only be the result of economic penetration by small groups of people coming from the south”.⁴⁰ The research conducted so far has also led to sceptical opinions about the Moravian-Czech origin of these structures and a hypothesis about the direct

2003, p. 295; S. Moździoch, *Castrum munitissimum Bytom. Lokalny ośrodek władzy w państwie wczesnopiastowskim*, Warszawa 2002, p. 16.

35 W. Hensel, *Słowiańszczyzna wczesnośredniowieczna. Zarys kultury materialnej*, 4th edition, Warsaw 1987, p. 488; J. Kaźmierczyk, *Grodzisko w Dobromierzu koło Bolkowa. Studium do badań pogranicza Państwa Wielkomorawskiego na Śląsku*, “Studia Archeologiczne” XIII (1983), p. 239; idem, *Dolny Śląsk a Morawy i Czechy w IX i X wieku*, in: *Studia z dziejów Ziemi Kłodzkiej*, ed. R. Gładkiewicz, Acta Universitatis Wratislaviensis, no. 832, Historia 103, Wrocław 1990, pp. 21ff.

36 Examples of the sites indicated in Silesia: Dobromierz, Gilów, Graniczna, Niemcza, Ślęża, Witostowice, Będkowie, Strzegom, Piotrowice, Żlinice, Pogórzyn, see J. Kaźmierczyk, *Grodzisko w Dobromierzu...*, pp. 234ff. and il. 50; idem, *Dolny Śląsk...*, in: *Studia z dziejów Ziemi Kłodzkiej*, pp. 21ff.; K. Jaworski, *Znaleziska wielkomorawskie...*, in: *Śląsk i Czechy...*, pp. 113ff.; Z. Klanica, *Ślęzsko a starą Morawą*, pp. 31ff.; K. Wachowski, *Problem oddziaływań wielkomorawskich w południowej Polsce w świetle nowych badań*, “Przegląd Archeologiczny” XLII (1994), pp. 129ff.; idem, *Północny zasięg...*, pp. 9f.

37 T. Sawicki, *Wczesnośredniowieczny wał obronny z konstrukcją kamienną na Górze Lecha w Gnieźnie*, in: *Kraje słowiańskie w wiekach średnich. Profanum i sacrum*, ed. H. Kóčka-Krenz, Poznań 1998, pp. 123-135; idem, *Powstanie i rozwój wczesnośredniowiecznego zespołu grodowego*, in: *Gniezno. Wczesnośredniowieczny zespół grodowy*, ed. T. Sawicki, co-ed. M. Bis, Warszawa 2018, pp. 127-131; Cz. Strzyżewski, M. Łastowiecki, M. Kara, *Wczesnośredniowieczne grodzisko w Moraczewie pod Ostrowem Lednickim. Komunikat o wynikach badań archeologicznych w latach 1977-1981*, “Wielkopolskie Sprawozdania Archeologiczne” VI (2003), p. 83.

38 J. Kaźmierczyk, *Grodzisko w Dobromierzu...*, p. 238; idem, *Dolny Śląsk...*, p. 21.

39 S. Rodak, D. Werczyński, *Badania wykopaliskowe na wczesnośredniowiecznym grodzisku w Gniewkowie, pow. świdnicki, w 2007 roku*, „Śląskie Sprawozdania Archeologiczne” LIII (2011), pp. 43-54. However, the suggested dating of the site must be considered insufficiently substantiated in the face of scarcity of material.

40 J. Kaźmierczyk, *Dolny Śląsk...*, p. 32.

influence of the Frankish areas,⁴¹ however this thesis has not met with general acceptance. It can be agreed that imitation is more likely to be reckoned within the contact zones. In the 9th century, Moravian lands (or Polabia) was such a contact area with the Carolingian Empire to an undoubtedly greater extent.⁴² Therefore, in view of the more recent dating of strongholds and the increasing number of discovered movable relics of southern provenance, it is more likely that it was Great Moravia – where the structure with a stone siding is indeed the most typical fortification⁴³ – which was the transmitter of these patterns to further areas. Thus, the constructions inspired by stone architecture and its adaptations would first appear in Great Moravia, then in the Czech or Polish area.⁴⁴

After the collapse of the Great Moravian state, the southern impulses did not cease; however, they were now coming from the country ruled by Přemyslids – which in many respects has become the territorial and cultural heir to the Mojmirid dynasty – and from the Slovakian territory.⁴⁵ This phenomenon is worth noting also because, due to the rather wide range of dating of some archaeological relics or chronology of strongholds, it is not always easy to separate – especially in Silesia – the influences of Great Moravia from the

41 B. Dzieduszycka, *Ze studiów nad wczesnośredniowiecznymi technikami budownictwa obronnego. Umocnienia wczesnośredniowiecznego Kaszowa w województwie wrocławskim*, "Slavia Antiqua" XXIV (1977), pp. 90f.

42 Cf. H. Brachmann, *Zur Herkunft und Verbreitung von Trocken- und Mörtelmauerwerk im frühmittelalterlichen Befestigungsbau Mitteleuropas*, in: *Studia nad etnogenezą Słowian i kulturą Europy wczesnośredniowiecznej*, eds. G. Labuda, S. Tabaczyński, I, Wrocław 1987, pp. 199-215, esp. 211f.; R. Procházka, *Vývoj opevňovací techniky na Moravě a v českém Slezsku v raném středověku*, Brno 2009, p. 267. Recently, the discussion has been summarised by E.M. Foltyn, *Południowe elementy kulturowe...*, pp. 255-259, 264-272, who also agrees with the thesis about the Moravian-Czech origin of these structures.

43 R. Procházka, *Vývoj opevňovací techniky...*, passim; cf. R. Procházka, *Zur Konstruktion der Wehrmauern der slawischen Burgwälle in Mähren im 8. bis 12./13. Jahrhundert*, in: *Frühmittelalterlicher Burgenbau in Mittel- und Osteuropa: Tagung, Nitra vom 7. bis 10. Oktober 1996*, eds. J. Henning, A.T. Ruttkay, Bonn 1998, pp. 363-370.

44 Recently, A. Pankiewicz has remained sceptical, *Relacje kulturowe...*, pp. 263f and would rather support the older thesis by Kaźmierczyk about the local origin of the stone siding by pointing to its appearance on the settlement of the Graniczna stronghold in the first half of the 9th century. However, considering the fact that the dating of the Graniczna stronghold is still ambiguous (researches propose different times of the beginnings of its functioning from the 8th to the end of the 9th century), at present this location does not seem to be the best indicator of the origin of this type of structure.

45 M. Šolle, *Stará Kourim a projevy velkomoravské hmotné kultury v Čechách*, Praha 1966; idem, *Čechy v době velkomoravské*, in: *Velká Morava mezi východem a západem: sborník příspěvků z mezinárodní vědecké konference: Uherské Hradiště, Staré Město 28.9.-1.10.1999*, Brno 2001, pp. 389-396; I. Boháčová, N. Profantová, *Čechy a Velká Morava – svědectví archeologie*, in: *Velká Morava...*, pp. 134-144; N. Profantová, *Velkomoravské vlivy v Čechách*, in: *Přemyslovci. Budování českého státu*, ed. P. Sommer, D. Třešťík, J. Žemlička, Praha 2009, pp. 106-107.

slightly later 'Czech' ones, so they could be – and sometimes have been – an intermediary in the transfer of patterns created there. This conclusion also applies to the aforementioned fortified construction technique, also known in the Czech lands.⁴⁶ Yet, in this case too, the determination of the provenance of this cultural element, and thus drawing further conclusions on this basis, are limited by the extent to which the strongholds have been examined, their chronology and the resulting difficulties with correct identification of these structures. In addition to the question of inspiration, it should be noted that not all the examples of the typically 'southern' stone wall siding mentioned so far are in fact treated as truly similar in the foregoing discussion.⁴⁷ Recently, J. Poleski has limited the number of facilities comprising the so-called dry wall to three: in Silesia – Dobromierz (dyke from the 9th century) and Niemcza (dyke from the 9th century and dyke from the 10th century); in Lesser Poland – Wiślica.⁴⁸

For the above reasons, when considering the presence of the Great Moravian population, I will limit my considerations to the sites where the number of elements of the Great Moravian provenance is particularly large, grave fields are identified or there are grounds for their existence, the sites with Moravian influence unusual in terms of location (no close proximity to the Great Moravian areas), and finally, the sites where southern origin may be indicated by toponomastics.

In Silesia, among strongholds we find one in Gilowo, which is an example of a gord showing a clear influence of the Great Moravia, both in movable and immovable elements. This site, dated by Krzysztof Jaworski to the last decade of the 9th century, considered to be short in existence (about 20 years), is one of the facilities with an impressive number of Great Moravian features and artefacts – as Jaworski summarizes, the most plentiful on Polish territory.⁴⁹ In addition to the so-called stone siding over the wood and earth parts of the fortification, according to the researcher, the southern inspirations are visible in the layout of the stronghold and its dimensions, or in the specifics of the

46 R. Procházka, *Vývoj opevňovací techniky...*, pp. 59ff.

47 Cf. overview of Polish sites in this respect – R. Procházka, *Vývoj opevňovací techniky...*, pp. 36ff.; see also P. Boroń, E.M. Foltyn, *Na północ od państwa...*, pp. 16-18.

48 J. Poleski, *Kontakty plemion...*, p. 54.

49 More recent study of the site: K. Jaworski, *Grody w Sudetach (VIII-X w.)*, Wrocław 2005, pp. 76ff., 125ff., 279f.; K. Jaworski, A. Pankiewicz, *Badania na grodzisku z końca IX - początku X wieku w Gilowie koło Niemczy w latach 2004-2006*, "Śląskie Sprawozdania Archeologiczne" L (2008), pp. 181-207; K. Jaworski, *Wielkomorawski gród z przełomu IX i X wieku w Gilowie koło Niemczy na Przedgórzu Sudeckim*, in: *Referaty historyczne wygłoszone na sesji popularno-naukowej w Niemczy podczas Europejskich Dni Dziedzictwa, Niemcza 19 września 2009, Niemcza 2009*, pp. 1-8; K. Jaworski, *Nowe wielkomorawiana z grodziska z końca IX i początku X wieku w Gilowie na Dolnym Śląsku*, in: *Mezi raným a vrcholným středověkem: Pavlu Kouřilovi k šedesátým narozeninám přátelé, kolegové a žáci*, Brno 2012, pp. 209-234.

internal structures (he even mentions “almost twin similarities”), which are comparable to the 9th century Mařina stronghold in Great Moravia.⁵⁰ Likewise, various types of movable relics, found virtually on the whole site, show southern analogies. Moravian and Czech influences have been noticed in Gilów ceramics (production technology and design; flask-type dishes, pottery signs which are rare in Poland),⁵¹ the influence of Great Moravia is reflected by stone objects (e.g. spindle whorls, quern-stones), tools (knives, foundry crucibles), jewellery (lead lunule, 3 globular buttons (gombiks), part of an earmuff). K. Jaworski points out that the largest collection is made up of the militaries – spurs and elements of a spur set, less of arrowheads – and it is “the richest” in the Polish lands.⁵² In his opinion, the settlement confirms the political and economic influence of the Great Moravia. In other words, it could be a Great Moravian investment development inhabited by Moravians.⁵³ No church or grave field was discovered at the site, although the state of the stronghold’s survey (10%) should be regarded as modest.⁵⁴ In any case, I believe the assumption that the arrival of the Christian population to new lands must automatically involve the formation of churches in a short period of time is unfounded. In the first stage of Christianity in Central Europe, churches were the work of rulers and elites, and they served them first and foremost – and therefore, in the Christianised Great Moravia or Czech territory, the churches are not to be found in every stronghold. Similar examples are provided by the Christianisation process of the early Piast monarchy. Nevertheless, if the researcher’s findings on the stronghold’s chronology are correct, and if the number and versatility of the southern patterns resemblances are considered, the presence of foreign population should be allowed for the possibility. In this context, it is interesting that Jaworski would be willing to connect the older grave field in Niemcza with the stronghold in Gilów.

It is worth recalling that the Niemcza stronghold itself was also studied in the context of the presence of foreigners.⁵⁵ Originally, the local wooden-earth

50 K. Jaworski, *Nowe velkomoraviana...*, pp. 211ff., 219, 220f., 227.

51 A. Pankiewicz, *Relacje kulturowe...*, pp. 180-186, 257-259; K. Jaworski, *Nowe velkomoraviana...*, pp. 226f.

52 K. Jaworski, *Nowe velkomoraviana...*, pp. 209f., 221-226.

53 K. Jaworski, *Wielkomorawski gród...*, pp. 4f.; K. Jaworski, A. Pankiewicz, *Badania na grodzisku...*; K. Jaworski, *Nowe velkomoraviana...*, p. 209. The fact that both ceramics and stone objects show traces of their manufacture on site is thought to indicate that both men and women were present in the strongholds. The possibility of the presence of a new group of settlers from Bohemia is also allowed for, cf. K. Jaworski, A. Pankiewicz, *Badania na grodzisku...*, p. 203; K. Jaworski, *Nowe velkomoraviana...*, p. 227.

54 K. Jaworski, *Nowe velkomoraviana...*, pp. 227ff.

55 Individual periods of the stronghold’s existence are not clearly distinct due to the still insufficient examination of the site, cf. K. Jaworski, *Niemczański zespół grodowy na przełomie pierwszego i drugiego tysiąclecia*, in: *Śląsk około roku 1000. Materiały z sesji naukowej we Wrocławiu*

defensive constructions, with the so-called stone siding, were believed to have had an earlier, 'Great Moravian' phase and later the 'Czech' phase.⁵⁶ However, the latest research seems to indicate that the stronghold did not function before the 10th century, while the best identified and dendrochronologically dated stronghold's fortifications come from the second half of the 10th century, which was the phase of the Czech influence.⁵⁷ There are not many relics referring to Greater Moravia, yet it is not the case for the artefacts reflecting the Czech culture.⁵⁸ The Czech stage can also be associated with the grave field of Niemcza II discovered here.⁵⁹ However, from our perspective, the more important seems the so-called 'Niemcza I' grave field, discovered at the end of the 19th century in the northern part of today's Niemcza (800 m north of the medieval stronghold), considered to be the oldest grave field. In the past, it was dated to the 7th(?)-8th century,⁶⁰ nowadays K. Jaworski and Aleksandra Pankiewicz date it to the 9th century or the beginning of the 10th century, which would allow to link it with the population of Great Moravia, but in the researcher's opinion, it may have been a burial place for people from Gilów, situated about 2.5 km away.⁶¹ Unfortunately, the dating of this grave field is based on scarce ceramic shreds.⁶² According to Pankiewicz, three vessels have features of pottery from the Greater Moravian circle, however, the other two have features linking them with the 8th century.⁶³ Apart from

w dniach 14-15 maja 1999 roku, eds. M. Młynarska-Kaletynowa, E. Małachowicz, Wrocław 2000, pp. 149-162; idem, *Niemcza w pradziejach i wczesnym średniowieczu*, in: *Niemcza. Wielka historia małego miasta*, ed. M. Młynarska-Kaletynowa, Wrocław 2002, pp. 11-26; idem, *Grody w Karpatach...*

56 J. Kaźmierczyk, *Grodzisko w Dobromierzu...*, pp. 237f.

57 A. Pankiewicz, *Relacje kulturowe...*, pp. 188-191, 261. The author dates the oldest ceramics to the first half of the 10th century, however a late-Crolingian rivet plate spur with a buckle found in the older layer could evidence an earlier origin (ibidem, 101f.). Still, I find it difficult to consider this single finding of a weapon element a sufficient dating determinant.

58 Great Moravian relics were presented by K. Jaworski, *Nowe wielkomorawiana...*, p. 228.

59 Basing on the coins dated to the 980s, S. Suchodolski, *Skarb monet i ozdób z X wieku oraz inne monety znalezione na cmentarzysku w Niemczu*, "Wiadomości Numizmatyczne" XXVIII (1984) 1-2, pp. 92-105.

60 K. Wachowski, *Cmentarzyska doby wczesnopiastowskiej...*, pp. 69, 100. This chronology should be considered with a great amount of scepticism.

61 K. Jaworski, *Grody w Karpatach*, p. 226; idem, *O Wielkomorawianach pochowanych na Śląsku*, in: *Migracje. Funeralia Lednickie. Spotkanie 15*, eds. W. Dzieduszycki, J. Wrzesiński, Poznań 2013, pp. 164f.; idem, *Nowe wielkomorawiana...*, pp. 216f., 228f.; A. Pankiewicz, *Relacje kulturowe...*, p. 261f.

62 Published before the War by H. Kurtza, cf. K. Jaworski, *Niemczański zespół...*, p. 151; K. Jaworski, *O Wielkomorawianach...*, pp. 162-164.

63 A. Pankiewicz, *Relacje kulturowe...*, pp. 186f., 261f., although, the author points out that these artefacts do not allow for an unambiguous determination of the time when the grave field was in use.

a few skeletons, only several vessels, a quern-stone (in a woman's grave) and some arrowheads were discovered in this grave field. According to Jaworski, the presence of quern in the grave is also similar to the findings from the area of former Czechoslovakia, as in Poland they are known only from the later phase of Niemcza.⁶⁴ Unfortunately, the verification studies, which were undertaken, have not resulted in any further findings in this area.⁶⁵ In view of the weakness of the equipment and dating material of the grave field, it is difficult to come up with more definitive conclusions, although the possibility of links between the grave field and nearby Gilów seems to be an interesting research proposal.

For a number of strongholds, in relation to which the presence of southern elements (including defensive structures) was indicated, the situation is not so obvious. As an example, this can also be referred to the stronghold in Dobromierz, which was frequently mentioned in literature in the context of southern influences. Apart from the similarities to the southern culture present in the fortifications of the stronghold (the so-called stone siding), Józef Kaźmierczyk also notes the appearance of larger hall building or ceramics of southern features.⁶⁶ In a more recent discussion, J. Poleski dates the fortifications back to the 9th century, however Jaworski and Pankiewicz point out that the great majority of the ceramics found here date to the 10th century, therefore they consider the stronghold and its fortifications to have originated in the 10th century (perhaps in its middle), and as such falling under the influence of the Czech culture.⁶⁷ At present, quite a number of findings of southern provenance are located in Lubomia, which, together with fortifications and a hypothetical hall building with analogies in Greater Moravia, suggest closer links to the south.⁶⁸ Nonetheless, we should not forget that the stronghold was located close to areas where Moravian presence is better documented (Hradec and Opava at a distance of about 25-30 km), hence we can assume that the culture of the southern neighbours was merely imitated. In view of the still insufficient research results and inconclusive chronology of other strongholds, the lack of relics bearing resemblance to the Great Moravian culture in spite of the relative proximity to Moravian centres (e.g. Upper Silesia could be affected by the Great Moravian centre in

⁶⁴ K. Jaworski, *O Wielkomorawianach...*, p. 164.

⁶⁵ Verification studies were carried out in this area by A. Pankiewicz in 2011, cf. K. Jaworski, *Nieznana srebrna lumula z wczesnośredniowiecznego cmentarzyska szkieletowego w Niemczy*, in: *Gemma gemmarum...*, p. 1247.

⁶⁶ J. Kaźmierczyk, *Grodzisko w Dobromierzu...*, pp. 159-244, esp. 228, 239f.

⁶⁷ A. Pankiewicz, K. Jaworski, *Wielkomorawski gród...*, in: *Referaty historyczne...*, p. 5; A. Pankiewicz, *Relacje kulturowe...*, pp. 102f., 197, 264.

⁶⁸ P. Boroń, E.M. Foltyn, *Na północ od państwa...*, pp. 18-22.

Olomouc), and the lack of grave fields lead to the conclusion that the nature of the southern impact on Silesia still has to be regarded as impossible to prove beyond doubt.

As was already mentioned, the area of Lesser Poland, together with Silesia, form an area with the largest number of Greater Moravian findings – the fact reported in J. Poleski's recent works. This applies to similar artefacts: equestrian equipment, militaries, jewellery, elements of clothing, commodity money and tools.⁶⁹ However, it should be noted that there are no defensive structures in this site dating to the Greater Moravian period, nor any grave fields that could potentially suggest the presence of the Greater Moravians.⁷⁰ Although the stone siding technique (the so-called dry wall) was applied to fortifications of "Grodzisko" site in Wiślica in the earliest phase of its existence, this period is associated with the Czech rule and the second half of the 10th century.⁷¹

The name Sandomierz, which is supposed to mean *the stronghold of Sędomir* or *Sudomir*, was also mentioned as evidence of the expansion of Great Moravia or Bohemia into the lands of Lesser Poland.⁷² So far, the discussion has been held between supporters of the Polish⁷³ and Moravian-Czech origin.⁷⁴ The rare occurrence of this name in Lesser Poland prompted Tadeusz Lalik to seek for the name owner in the Czech-Moravian area.⁷⁵ He pointed out that such names appeared in Moravia among representatives of middle-class knights, as well as in the territory of present-day Slovakia among Hungarian-Slavic nobility. Therefore, the author concluded that Sudomir was rather of Moravian

69 J. Poleski, *Kontakty plemion...*, pp. 55ff.; see also fn. 29.

70 J. Poleski, *Małopolska w X wieku*, pp. 187ff.

71 W. Gliński, J. Koj, *Z nowszych badań nad wczesnośredniowieczną Wiślicą*, "Slavia Antiqua" XL (1999), pp. 141-144, 146; J. Poleski, *Kontakty plemion...*, p. 54.

72 Research review cf. A. Buko, *Początki Sandomierza*, Warszawa 1998, pp. 47-50, 54; idem, *Trzy wcielenia Sudomira*, "Zeszyty Sandomierskie" I (1994), pp. 35f.

73 S. Bąk who studied the genesis and evolution of this name assumed it is related to a personal name, which in the modern language would be "Sandomir", and is composed of the following parts: "sąd" and "mir" (*mirъ), where the second part is a transformation of the adjective *mérъ (found only in name compounds) which, in the Praeslavic era, was synonymous to the component *slavъ. Even though its original meaning has been superseded, the name Sędomir does not differ in meaning from the name Sędziszław which means a man "famed in appraising, i.e., wise in council". Therefore, S. Bąk had no doubts that Sandomierz was founded by Sędomir (who owned the stronghold for some time), nor that the name had a pre-Polish origin, S. Bąk, *Powstanie i rozwój nazwy Sandomierz*, "Prace Filologiczne" XVI (1934), pp. 231-248, esp. 231-235.

74 In fact, the occurrence of this name south of the Carpathians (in Moravia) had been already pointed out by K. Górski, cf. K. Górski, *Ród Odrowążów w wiekach średnich*, "Rocznik Polskiego Towarzystwa Heraldycznego we Lwowie" VIII (1926-27), p. 7.

75 The name Sudo (Sąd or Sędziszław) is common, while outside of Lesser Poland only the name "Sandomierz" is used in the area of today's Mińsk Mazowiecki.

or Czech origin and arrived with the Přemyslids, or maybe even with the Great Moravian Mojmirids who had been conquering the area.⁷⁶

Meanwhile, the Great Moravian thread does not hold in the light of recent research studies on medieval Sandomierz. The foundation of the oldest stronghold in Sandomierz is being dated to the late 10th century, whereas the dating of the foundation process itself is a matter of dispute. On the one hand, its oldest known fortifications are from the middle of the 12th century,⁷⁷ on the other hand, its location is not obvious – Castle Hill (Wzgórze Zamkowe)⁷⁸ or Gostomianum Hill are most often indicated.⁷⁹ Therefore, we can only consider the rural type of settlement in the preceding period.⁸⁰ Under these circumstances, Andrzej Buko, allowing for the Czech or Moravian origin of the name, concludes that Christian settlers from the south (Bohemia, Moravia) settled on one of the hills in Sandomierz and that Sudomir arrived with them. According to the author, Sudomir helped to develop the settlement on Castle Hill but did not contribute to building the stronghold.⁸¹ Buko believes that the memory of Sudomir (due to religious differences or attempts at missionary action) had survived, so the Polans who built the new stronghold, might have named it Sandomierz in deference to Sudomir's Christianity or perhaps built the stronghold in the location bearing his name. Moreover, Buko did not exclude that Sudomir was the founder of a rural colony, associated with the colonisation of Lesser Poland during the Přemyslid expansion.⁸²

Unfortunately, in the vicinity of Sandomierz and the stronghold itself, there are no other distinct traces of material culture from the late 9th and early 10th century that would point to the Great Moravian influence.⁸³ As a result,

76 T. Lalik, *Sandomierskie we wcześniejszym średniowieczu. Prowincja, księstwo, województwo*, in: *Studia Sandomierskie. Materiały do dziejów miasta Sandomierza i regionu Sandomierskiego*, eds. T. Wąsowicz, J. Pazdura, Łódź 1967, p. 47 and fn. 35; idem, *Sandomierz w świetle źródeł pisanych*, in: *Sandomierz. Badania 1969-1973*, ed. S. Tabaczyński, I, Warszawa 1993, p. 54. They didn't exclude the possibility that this name might bear traces of the Czech supremacy, see A. Gieysztor, *Krajobraz międzyrzecza Pilicy i Wisły we wczesnym średniowieczu*, in: *Studia Sandomierskie...*, p. 31 and fn. 33; S. Tabaczyński, *Materiały kopalne w narracji historycznej o początkach i rozwoju ośrodka grodowo-miejskiego w Sandomierzu*, in: *Sandomierz...*, pp. 471f.

77 A. Buko, *Początki Sandomierza*, pp. 58-59.

78 S. Tabaczyński, *Materiały kopalne...*, pp. 480ff.; A. Buko, *Początki Sandomierza*, pp. 56ff.

79 Among others M. Florek, *Sandomierski ośrodek grodowo-miejski w średniowieczu. Przemiany przestrzenne i funkcjonalne*, Warszawa 2005, pp. 25f.

80 A. Buko, *Początki Sandomierza*, pp. 20f., 48; on ceramic material before the middle of the 10th century see also J. Gąsowski, *Początki Sandomierza w świetle badań archeologicznych (do XIII wieku)*, in: *Studia Sandomierskie...*, p. 188; A. Buko, *Wczesnośredniowieczna ceramika sandomierska*, Wrocław-Warsaw-Kraków 1981, pp. 188-191.

81 A. Buko, *Początki Sandomierza*, p. 51.

82 A. Buko, *Trzy wcielenia...*, p. 36f.; idem, *Początki Sandomierza*, p. 48f.

83 For a more recent analysis of the research on the foreign peoples in this region see M. Florek, *Osadnictwo obcoplemienne i obcoetniczne w okolicach Opatowa i Sandomierza we*

the issue cannot be definitely resolved with the use of toponomastics only.⁸⁴ Nonetheless, even if we accept the foreign origin of the name Sandomierz and locate it in the Moravian-Slovakian area (it should be stressed here that the name Sudomir, common in this region, is scarcely used in the Bohemian Basin),⁸⁵ it does not necessarily mean that we deal with a settlement group and not an individual who was somehow connected with the area or the later builders of the stronghold. Bearing in mind the confirmed presence of the Moravian elites' representatives in Greater Poland, equally probable is the thesis of Marek Flork on the link between the name and some Moravian "in the service of Gniezno's sovereigns."⁸⁶

As a side note, I would like to add that a research study was conducted on strontium isotopes of the population in one of the older grave fields in Sandomierz on Old Town Hill (Wzgórze Staromiejskie), site 1, dated to the end of the 10th or beginning of the 11th century to the beginning of the 12th century, however it did not lead to a discovery of any indicators of potential southern origin of the population (rather northern and eastern ones, perhaps also from other Polish lands).⁸⁷ Although newer studies allow for the possibility of foreigners' migration to the Sandomierz region, they do not point to the Czech-Moravian area.⁸⁸

Apart from southern Poland areas that are the closest to Moravia, influences in the material culture were stated in Greater and Central Poland.⁸⁹ Let us

wcześniejszym średniowieczu w świetle źródeł archeologicznych i toponomastycznych, "Slavia Antiqua" LIX (2018), pp. 281-312.

84 E. Kowalczyk's conclusion that a late confirmation of occurrence of the name Sędomir on Polish grounds (Greater Poland, Mazovia) does not necessarily mean that it had not occurred earlier, cf. E. Kowalczyk, *Czwarte wcielenie Sędomira, "Zeszyty Sandomierskie" II* (1995), pp. 47f. It should be noted that the earliest reports of Sandomir in Poland come from the land of Łęczycza from 1391, cf. *Księgi sądowe łęczyckie od 1385 do 1419*, ed. A. Pawiński, I, in: *Teki Pawińskiego*, IV, Warszawa 1897, no. 1952, p. 186; Z. Klemensiewicz, T. Lehr-Splawiński, S. Urbańczyk, *Gramatyka historyczna języka polskiego*, Warszawa 1955, p. 103; *Słownik staropolskich nazw osobowych*, ed. W. Taszycki, V, 1, Wrocław-Warszawa-Kraków 1977, p. 34.

85 In the Czech region, names derived from the name Sudomir are confirmed by sources relating to the 14th century, see A. Sedláček, *Místopisný slovník historický království českého*, Praha 1998, pp. 846f.

86 M. Florek, *Sandomierski ośrodek...*, p. 23.

87 D. Błaszczuk, M. Bajka, Z. Bełka, M. Florek, *Pochodzenie osób pochowanych na wczesnośredniowiecznym cmentarzysku w Sandomierzu, stan. 1 w świetle badań trwałych izotopów strontu*, in: *Animos labor nutrit. Studia ofiarowane Profesorowi Andrzejowi Buko w siedemdziesiątą rocznicę urodzin*, eds. T. Nowakiewicz, M. Trzeciński, D. Błaszczuk, Warszawa 2018, pp. 271-278.

88 M. Florek, *Osadnictwo obcoplemienne...*, pp. 285f., 298-306.

89 M. Kara, *Archeologia o początkach państwa Piastów (wybrane zagadnienia)*, in: *Kolory i struktury średniowiecza*, ed. W. Fałkowski, Warszawa 2004, pp. 269f., 273ff.; idem, *Najdawniejsze państwo...*, passim; L. Kajzer, *Z badań wczesnego średniowiecza na terenie Polski Centralnej*, in: *Słowianie i ich sąsiedzi...*, pp. 57, 59; J. Poleski, *Kontakty plemion...*, passim.

start with Greater Poland. While analysing the breakthrough that occurred in the Gniezno Upland around the year 900 (the general chronological frame being the turn of the 10th century – the beginning of the third quarter of the 10th century), Michał Kara points to the eclecticism of the local culture and the appearance of influences from the north, west, and east, as well as from the southern, Danubian areas.⁹⁰ Clues that are more significant from that perspective are connected with Poznań itself, more specifically, with the bone burial field discovered in the interwar period in Poznań Sołacz (about 4 km to the north-west of the former stronghold in Ostrów Tumski). The findings of Zofia Kurnatowska and Michał Kara show that the Poznań-Sołacz grave field, dating to the second half of the 10th century, is one of the oldest bone burial fields in Greater Poland. Its identified part presents itself as elite, with a ritual bearing features of the Great Moravian culture. It is interesting that the researchers revealed analogies between this necropolis and Czech and Slovak grave fields, especially in the Malé Kosihy and Čakajovce from Nitra region, dating to the 10th century. These analogies to Slovak burials include the grave form with a structure of a quasi-coffin, the corpse orientation (east-west axis) and the inventory, especially the ornaments.⁹¹ On the basis of identified equipment and type of the funeral ritual, researchers concluded that the Great Moravian elites had been buried here.⁹² According to the authors, the name Poznań defined as a *Poznan's stronghold* might be another possible indicator that the Great Moravian elites from the Nitra region were present in Greater Poland. Even though this name was not known in Poland before the end of the 12th century and was not used by elites, it was known in the lands of the former Great Moravian state belonging to the family of the so-called Hont-Pázmány who formed part of the royal entourage of the King Stefan of Hungary, among whom, at the turn of the 11th century, the *dux Poznan* appears. The Slavic version of the name (together with the names of other members of the family) and the position of its representatives, together with their clear links with the Nitra region (where their estates were located) allowed the aforementioned researchers to assume the Great Moravian roots of this family, who later became influential at the Hungarian court.⁹³ The

90 M. Kara, *Archeologia o początkach...*, pp. 279f.; idem, *Najdawniejsze państwo...*, pp. 257ff.

91 The inventory has been preserved in the form of clay vessels, elements of clothing (iron firesteels and knives, often attached to the belt), ornaments (silver or brown rings, decorative metal pendants, glass beads or semi-precious stones, brown or silver temple rings).

92 Z. Kurnatowska, M. Kara, *Na tropie Poznana – eponima naszego miasta*, in: *Civitas Posnaniensis. Studia z dziejów średniowiecznego Poznania*, eds. Z. Kurnatowska, T. Jurek, Poznań 2005, pp. 9-26; M. Kara, *Archeologia o początkach...*, pp. 273-275; newest analysis M. Kara, *Wczesnośredniowieczne cmentarzysko z Poznania-Sołacza przy ul. Góralskiej nr 7*, in: *Gemma gemmarum...*, pp. 131-161.

93 Z. Kurnatowska, M. Kara, *Na tropie Poznana...*, pp. 9, 12f., 17.

methods of statehood formation used by Piasts, bearing resemblance to the patterns present in Great Moravia, supported by other singular findings of southern provenance, are considered to be further evidence of the Great Moravia's elites presence in Greater Poland, in Poznań itself. They are also believed to be indicators of potential traces of the presence of Moravians in Kuyavia (Morawy grave field).⁹⁴ The researchers link the arrival of those Moravian elites with the fall of the Great Moravian state at the beginning of the 10th century.⁹⁵ Przemysław Urbańczyk takes a step further and allows for a possibility that Moravian refugees, who left traces in the Poznań territory, might have been the representatives of the Mojmirid dynasty.⁹⁶ It must be said that, despite the fact that only a small part of the grave field was found (due to its destruction),⁹⁷ the indicated southern analogies do not raise any doubts, even though the assertion of the presence of the Mojmirids is rather unlikely.

Equally interesting conclusions are drawn from the studies of the stronghold in Czerchów, near Łęczyca. More univocal is the dating of the stronghold's development to the end of the 9th or the beginning of the 10th century (dendrochronological dates indicate the time of the tree felling after 871). It existed for a relatively short time and was destroyed as early as in the 10th century in the military onslaught⁹⁸ which most likely was launched by the Piasts. More significant, however, is the inventory of the military movable relics. These include parts of equestrian equipment (bit, spurs), weapons (axes, bradatica), costume adornments (chain, silver beads) and commodity money (Silesian type iron bowls). According to Marek Trojan, these artefacts show great similarity to their southern counterparts, which means they remain under the strong influence of the elite Great Moravian and Carolingian culture (the latter transmitted through the first). They also point to the presence of elite horse warriors in the studied areas.⁹⁹ The author considers the southern influences to be indirect; he does not associate them with the political impact of the Great Moravia.¹⁰⁰ Tomasz Jurek brought an interesting contribution to

94 Ibidem, pp. 12, 14ff.

95 Ibidem, pp. 15, 17.

96 P. Urbańczyk, *Mieszko Pierwszy Tajemniczy*, Toruń 2012, pp. 144-165.

97 The site verification excavations under the direction of A. Dębski carried out in the recent years did not result in any further findings (apart from one bone fragment), A. Dębski, *Wokół wczesnośredniowiecznego cmentarzyska na poznańskim Sołaczcu*, in: *Badania archeologiczne na Nizinie Wielkopolsko-Kujawskiej w latach 2013-2017*, Poznań 2018, pp. 193-198.

98 M. Trojan, *Grodzisko w Czerchowie na tle lokalnej sytuacji osadniczo-kulturowej we wczesnym średniowieczu*, in: *Początki Łęczycy*, eds. R. Grygiel, T. Jurek, II: *Archeologia o początkach Łęczycy*, Łódź 2014, pp. 657-661; M. Kara, *Najstarsze państwo Piastów*, Poznań 2009, p. 313.

99 M. Trojan, *Grodzisko w Czerchowie...*, p. 661.

100 Ibidem, pp. 663-664.

the issue, associating the phenomenon with the migration of population from the falling Great Moravian state. Namely, he noted that the stronghold's name was most likely derived from the name *Czerch* (*Czyrch*).¹⁰¹ As he points out, this name is virtually unknown in Poland; it is more common in Bohemia and Moravia. What is more, the Czech name *Crh*, *Crha* is slavification of the name *Cyryl*, not used in early-medieval Poland. He, therefore, considers the name to be a proof that the Czerchów builders were refugees from Great Moravia, who named the stronghold either after their commander (Cyril-Czyrch) or in honour of St. Cyril. The author also believes that this southern community gained a special position in the local tribal community or even reconstructed the tribal stronghold in Łęczycą.¹⁰²

The results of the research in Czerchów are certainly compromised by the lack of identified grave field, the uncertain chronology of the stronghold and a wider dating range of the relics themselves – according to Marek Trojan, the wider period of the first half of the 10th century should be considered.¹⁰³ Nevertheless, as opposed to southern Poland, due to its location it is hard to regard Czerchów as a typical area of neighbouring territories 'cross-border' influences, whereas Moravian material culture also seems to be supported by toponomastics. It is interesting to note that this phase of presence of the Greater Moravian elite culture in this area was short-lived and ended in the 10th century without any continuation.¹⁰⁴ All these circumstances seem to prove that this was a short-term settlement of a foreign population (a group of warriors?), whose culture has not been adopted by the local community.

Another site discussed in this paper is Morawy village, located in Kuyavia. Unfortunately, the Morawy grave field (radziejowski district) was studied only partially in the 1930s and did not survive to present times.¹⁰⁵ As a result, it is impossible to establish its full extent or entire chronology.¹⁰⁶ A number of premises, however, seems to indicate that the grave field was originally much larger but later the area was severely devastated and diminished.¹⁰⁷ In the

¹⁰¹ T. Jurek, *Pierwsze wieki historii Łęczycy*, in: *Początki Łęczycy*, eds. R. Grygiel, T. Jurek, III: *W kręgu historii i historii sztuki*, Łódź 2014, pp. 19-20.

¹⁰² T. Jurek, *Pierwsze wieki...*, pp. 19-20.

¹⁰³ M. Trojan, *Grodzisko w Czerchowie...*, pp. 663-664, showing also other artefacts from Moravia, as well as other areas, even if of a wider chronology.

¹⁰⁴ *Ibidem*, p. 664.

¹⁰⁵ Most recent analysis of the site, M. Danielewski, *Jedenastowieczne cmentarzysko w Morawach*, "Historia Slavorum Occidentis" (2017), 3, pp. 23-42; *idem*, *The Early Medieval Village of Morawy: A Grave Field from the 11th Century*, "Slavia Antiqua" LVIII (2017), pp. 115-136.

¹⁰⁶ An attempt of another verification excavations undertaken in 2015 was not successful – M. Danielewski, Morawy site no. 1, 2015 archaeological studies report (AZP 46-43 area), 2015. DWUOZW.

¹⁰⁷ M. Danielewski, *Jedenastowieczne cmentarzysko...*, pp. 28-30.

examined section of the field 17 graves were found, including 16 bone burials (the deceased were arranged on their backs, with their hands along the torso, with different head orientations) and one cremation grave.¹⁰⁸ The identified grave equipment and the ¹⁴C dating method used allow to conclude that the grave field functioned in the second half of the 11th century.¹⁰⁹ The Greater Moravian influences were observed in the bronze, gold-plated globular button with a geometrical pattern, which shows a strong analogy – as Krystyna Musianowicz pointed out – to the finding from one of the graves from the Nitra-Zobor grave field dated to the second half of the 10th century.¹¹⁰ Two globular buttons found there are nearly identically ornamented as the one from the Morawy (Kuyavia) grave field; the only difference lays in dimensions, as the Slovak ones are bigger.¹¹¹ Unfortunately, the Morawy button was an isolated artefact, unconnected to any site, but found on the field where the graveyard was discovered – hence the researchers combine the gombik with the older phase of the cemetery, preceding the phase from the 11th century.¹¹² Basing on the observed analogies and the chronology of this kind of jewellery, the artefact was dated to the second half of the 10th century. Trying to establish the route it followed to the area, Musianowicz noted that the name Morawy might suggest it was a “prisoners of war” settlement and assumed that “this might be some settlement for the prisoners of war brought from the Nitra region to Kuyavia in the second half of the 10th century.”¹¹³

While speaking about the nature of the name Morawy, it should be pointed out that the link between the names given by the “foreign tribes” or “foreign ethnic groups” to the settlements for displaced persons, including the “prisoners of war” settlements, has been raised many times in literature, not only in relation to the name we are interested in here.¹¹⁴ Unfortunately,

¹⁰⁸ Description of graves and equipment: M. Danielewski, *Jedenastowieczne cmentarzysko...*, pp. 27-28, 31-35.

¹⁰⁹ K. Musianowicz, *Guz ze wsi Morawy, pow. Radziejów*, “Wiadomości Archeologiczne” XXXIV (1969), 3-4, pp. 358; M. Danielewski, *Jedenastowieczne cmentarzysko...*, pp. 37-38.

¹¹⁰ K. Musianowicz, *Guz ze wsi...*, pp. 355-360; Z. Kurnatowska, M. Kara, *Na tropie Poznana...*, p. 15f.

¹¹¹ More recent reproduction, see *Velká Morava a počátky...*, p. 418, no. 334.

¹¹² K. Musianowicz, *Guz ze wsi...*, p. 355; Z. Kurnatowska, M. Kara, *Na tropie Poznana...*, p. 16.

¹¹³ K. Musianowicz, *Guz ze wsi...*, p. 358. M. Danielewski suggests caution in this matter, pointing out that it cannot be confirmed that this name had been in use in Middle Ages and that the button (*gombik*) is an isolated finding, see M. Danielewski, *Jedenastowieczne cmentarzysko...*, pp. 27, 36; he considers the question open.

¹¹⁴ Among others, H. Modrzewska, *Osadnictwo jenieckie we wcześniejszym średniowieczu polskim. Uwagi o sprawie obcego elementu etnicznego w topomastyce polskiej*, “Kwartalnik Historii Kultury Materialnej” XVII (1969) 3, pp. 345-383; J. Sláma, *K některým ekonomickým a politickým projevům raně středověkého přemyslovského státu*, „Archeologické rozhledy” XXXVII (1985),

toponomastics is rarely supported by the material culture of the area.¹¹⁵ From that perspective Morawy village is quite special. The 16 bone graves identified here were equipped in a similar way as other typical Polish graves, i.e. without apparent features of foreign (or primarily elite) culture: 15 beads, 7 temple rings, 9 knives, 1 clay vessel, 1 spindle whorl, 1 bucket rim – they might be considered scarce (the same applies to other not mentioned isolated findings).¹¹⁶ The chronology of the identified section of the site where the bone graves were found, dated to the second half of the 11th century differs significantly from the elite artefact in the form of a button (*gombik*), as these items grew steadily rarer in the first half of the 10th century to disappear completely from the graves dated to the second half of that century.¹¹⁷ The finding in Kuyavia is of a special nature, as the globular buttons of this type are considered a symbol of the Great Moravian aristocracy.¹¹⁸ It is worth noting that no identical relic was found in the Czech-Moravian area, apart from the Nitra-Zobor site.¹¹⁹ It seems, therefore, that the graves found in Kuyavian Morawy dated to the second half of the 11th century might be a continuation of an older necropolis functioning in the area (as evidenced by the finding of the globular button), a necropolis set up by a Christian community that had arrived from the south and probably integrated with the local elite. However, the nature of this settlement remains questionable. In the view of the Piasts' political activity in the south, it is rather doubtful that it was a settlement for prisoners of war. The earliest interventions of the Polish rulers in the south took place at the beginning of the 11th century. Bolesław Chrobry seized Moravia

pp. 334-342; idem, *Ekonomické proměny v přemyslovském státě za panování nástupců Boleslava II.*, in: *Přemyslovský stát kolem roku 1000. Na paměť knížete Boleslava II. (†7. února 999)*, eds. L. Polanský, J. Sláma, D. Třeštík, Praha 2000, p. 264; J. Žemlička, *Čechy v době knížecí (1034-1198)*, Praha 1997, p. 423, fn. 72.

115 Let us point out at two examples of interesting analogies from the Czech area of the links between naming/toponomastics and potential cultural affiliation of the population. In Moravany in the Pardubice area, a Slavic grave field dated to the second half of the 11th century or the beginning of the 12th century was discovered (the whole find hasn't been preserved). There, among the equipment, apart from the three chunky temple rings, the bronze beads clad with a yellow enamel were found, analogies to which appear in Moravian grave fields from the early 12th century (J. Frolík, *Nálezy ze slovanského pohřebiště v Moravanech*, "Archeologické rozhledy" XXXIII (1981), pp. 319-320). In Úherce near Loun, the stronghold whose name points to a Hungarian settlement, a ring originating from the Bijelo Brdo culture was discovered (P. Meduna, *Krátce k Týncům*, "Studia Mediaevalia Pragensia" VII (2006), *Na prahu poznání českých dějin. Sborník prací k počtě Jiřího Slámy*, p. 86).

116 M. Danielewski, *Jedenastowieczne cmentarzysko...*, pp. 30-35.

117 Z. Kurnatowska, M. Kara, *Na tropie Poznana...*, p. 15; H. Chorvátová, *Kultúrně-historický význam gombikův*, "Studia mediaevalia Bohemica" I (2009) 1, p. 17; N. Profantová, *Ke změnám ve vývoji hmotné kultury 10. století v Čechách*, "Archaeologia Historica" XXXVIII (2013) 1, p. 34.

118 H. Chorvátová, *Kultúrně-historický...*, p. 18.

119 Information provided by Doctor Naďa Profantová (AÚ AV ČR, Praha).

around the year 1003. That seizure did not have the nature of armed conflict or conquest.¹²⁰ Bolesław it could probably subjugate the Nitra area, too.¹²¹ Nevertheless, also in this respect, his cooperation with the representative of the Arpads, the duke Ladislas the Bald and the local elite is envisaged as possible;¹²² this puts into question the abduction of the population. Before we address the issue, let us discuss one more site – the grave field in Bodzia.

The clearly multi-ethnic grave field in Bodzia in Kuyavia dates to the 10th century and the first thirty years of the 11th century (980/990-1030/1035).¹²³ According to A. Buko: “The grave field in Bodzia combines various elements of funeral rites into an eclectic entity. These elements are characteristic of the western, eastern and southern Europe at the end of the 10th century and the first half of the 11th century, but at the same time they form an entirety that is typical only of the described (...) grave field described.”¹²⁴ The elite grave field, which was unusual for the Polish grounds of that time¹²⁵ and comprised graves of warriors, suggests a rich community with a high social position, most likely a foreign ethnic group, showing features of the Baltic zone (especially the older part), the Kievan Rus’ (the Varangians and Rus culture) and the steppe peoples, a fact also confirmed by strontium isotope tests, pointing to southern Scandinavia, and Kievan Rus’.¹²⁶ This diversity of burials and graves’ equipment, indicating influences from different parts of Europe¹²⁷ is not only determined by the early political and military activity of the Piasts, but also by the role of long-range trade in building their state. In view of the fact that no settlement was discovered in the vicinity of the

120 M. Matla-Kozłowska, *Pierwsi Przemysłidzi...*, pp. 394f.

121 Ibidem, p. 396; a wider analysis of the discussion and sources cf. P. Hudáček, *Štefan I. a Boleslav Chrabrý. Obsadenie časti Uhorska podľa Galla Anonyma a Uhorsko-poľskej kroniky (prvá časť)*, “Historia Slavorum Occidentis” (2018) 4, pp. 27-75.

122 P. Hudáček, *Štefan I. a Boleslav...*, pp. 67ff.

123 A. Buko, M. Kara, *Chronologia cmentarza*, in: *Bodzia. Elitarny cmentarz z początków państwa polskiego*, ed. A. Buko, Warszawa 2016, pp. 449-452, cf. Appx. A i Appx. B, pp. 453-455. This is the older cemetery in Bodzia, the adjacent younger cemetery dates to the end of the 11th century, in: *ibidem*, p. 507.

124 A. Buko, *Cmentarzysko w Bodzi w świetle wyników badań interdyscyplinarnych*, in: *Bodzia. Elitarny cmentarz...*, p. 507; citation translated by E. Rozenek.

125 M. Kara, *Cmentarzysko w Bodzi w kontekście praktyk funeralnych ludności ziem polskich 2. połowy X-XI w.*, in: *Bodzia. Elitarny cmentarz...*, pp. 485f.

126 A. Buko, *Cmentarzysko w Bodzi...*, pp. 504-506; T. Douglas Price, K.M. Frei, *Badania izotopowe pochówków z Bodzi*, in: *ibidem*, pp. 433-435. The genetic tests performed were not much, see W. Bogdanowicz, T. Grzybowski, M.M. Buś, *Analiza genetyczna wybranych grobów z cmentarza z Bodzi*, in: *ibidem*, s. 443f.

127 M. Müller-Wille, *Cmentarzysko w Bodzi w kontekście odkryć w północno-zachodniej i wschodniej Europie*, in: *Bodzia. Elitarny cmentarz...*, pp. 459-480, esp. 480; A. Buko, *Cmentarzysko w Bodzi...*, pp. 489-507.

grave field, A. Buko supposes that the deceased may have lived in a central stronghold in Włocławek, about 14 km away.¹²⁸

More interesting for us, though less distinct, are other directions of influences, namely southern, Danubian, which are expressed by the characteristics of coffins with ribbony fitting, presence of jewellery and its type,¹²⁹ and finally, the nature of the Charon's obol – larger than we usually find in other grave fields in the Polish territory and the Baltic region.¹³⁰ As Stanisław Suchodolski states, the location of coins is also different, as they mainly appear near the head and on the chest, which is most often used in the southern area, i.e. in the Greater Moravian state, as well as on the Czech and Hungarian lands.¹³¹

For the purposes of this paper, the most significant is the grave of the grown woman (30-35 year of age; grave no. D171), one of the oldest in the grave field, perhaps dating as far as to the late 980s or early 990s.¹³² The woman was buried in a larger burial chamber, lined with wood, in a rectangular oak box, with her head oriented to the south.¹³³ The following items were found inside: gold plate, the coin of Boleslav II, Duke of Bohemia (972-999), silver plate, glass bead with a gold insert, a knife, a unique set of 85 small red mineral beads, a wooden bucket.¹³⁴ For the unique set of 85 mineral beads made of arsenic sulphide (realgar), only one analogy was discovered (in terms of morphology and material), namely a find from a cemetery near the church of St. George in Kostol'any pod Tribečom, dated to the turn of 10th and 11th century.¹³⁵ As the authors emphasise however, the issue of origin of the mineral still needs to be clarified; they also note that, in the Middle Ages, the realgar occurred in Slovakia (near Kremnica or Banská Štiavnica).¹³⁶ Apart from these elements, another significant fact is the presence of a gold blade in the form of the Charon's obol (in addition to the Czech coin), placed next to the jaw of the woman's skeleton. The only analogies known come from two

128 A. Buko, *Cmentarzysko w Bodzi...*, pp. 506f.

129 M. Kara, *Cmentarzysko w Bodzi...*, p. 485; A. Buko, *Cmentarzysko w Bodzi...*, pp. 500, 502; W. Duczko, *Status i magia. Ozdoby elit z Bodzi*, in: *Bodzia. Elitarny cmentarz...*, pp. 131-151.

130 S. Suchodolski, *Obol zmarłych*, in: *Bodzia. Elitarny cmentarz...*, pp. 285-303; A. Buko, *Cmentarzysko w Bodzi...*, pp. 499f.

131 S. Suchodolski, *Obol zmarłych*, p. 302. He does not determine however, whether these are accidental similarities or intentional action.

132 A. Buko, M. Kara, *Chronologia cmentarza*, p. 449.

133 R. Czech-Błońska, J. Krajczewski, *Zespół unikalnych paciorków z grobu D171*, in: *Bodzia. Elitarny cmentarz...*, p. 215; A. Buko, *Cmentarzysko w Bodzi...*, p. 492.

134 R. Czech-Błońska, J. Krajczewski, *Zespół unikalnych paciorków...*, pp. 215-228, here p. 215.

135 *Ibidem*, pp. 216, 225-228. The woman buried there wore a necklace of 38 beads, 27 of which were similar to the ones found in Bodzia.

136 *Ibidem*, p. 228.

graves in Ukraine and several Great Moravian ones.¹³⁷ It should be borne in mind that Kostol'any pod Tribečom is also located in Nitra region (at present, about 26 km away from Nitra).

It is worth noting that yet another find from the Kuyavia grave field leads us to the Land of Nitra. The Bodzia necropolis is only 25 km away from Kuyavian village Morawy. We don't know where the population buried in Bodzia was settled. In the light of more recent discoveries, Włocławek seems an unlikely answer, as it appears it was originally located on the right bank of the Vistula, in Zarzeczewo,¹³⁸ while the grave field is situated on the left bank. In spite of the fact that the role of watercourses in separating early grave fields from the settled areas has been confirmed, it is rather hard to imagine that the stronghold's inhabitants would build a grave field on the other side of the Vistula, 21-25 km away. Thus, it is assumed that the people buried in Bodzia lived in a nearby settlement. On the other hand, if we were to consider the possibility of contacts between local communities, the distance of 25 km between the grave field in Bodzia and the one in Morawy, possible to cover in one day,¹³⁹ is no longer so large and probably means that the people living close to their grave fields could communicate. This might explain the presence in Bodzia of a singular grave bearing Great Moravian features, especially given that there are links to the region of Nitra in both grave fields.

Looking further, at the grave fields from Kuyavia and Greater Poland addressed here, we will notice that Poznań-Sołacz also features links to Nitra. At the same time, all these grave fields are presumed to be associated with the second half or the end of the 10th century, which makes it impossible to link them with the fall of the Great Moravian state nor with the Piast's conquests in the south in the 11th century. What would be then the explanation for those migrations? To answer that question, we should first take a look at the history of the Great Moravian territory after the fall of the Mojmirid dynasty.

There were many factors that contributed to the fall of Great Moravia,¹⁴⁰ and the invasion of Hungarians only sealed it. Without addressing the entirety

¹³⁷ Ibidem, p. 316.

¹³⁸ M. Danielewski, *Sieć grodowa na Kujawach oraz jej funkcje od połowy X do końca XIII wieku*, Poznań 2016, pp. 132, 287.

¹³⁹ Cf. G. Berings, *Transport and Communication in the Middle Ages*, in: *Kommunikation und Alltag im Spätmittelalter und früher Neuzeit. Internationaler Kongress, Krems an der Donau, 9. bis 12. Oktober 1990*, ed. H. Hundsbichler, Wien 1992, p. 70; N. Ohler, *Cestování ve středověku*, Jinočany 2003, p. 159.

¹⁴⁰ D. Třeštík, *Pád Velké Moravy*, in: *Typologie raně feudálních slovanských států. Mezin. konf. Praha 18.-20. listopadu 1986. Ústav čs. a světových dějin ČSAV: Sborník příspěvků*, Praha 1987, pp. 27-76; K. Polek, *Państwo wielkomorawskie...*, pp. 60ff., 68ff.; D. Kalhous, *Náčelnictví, nebo stát? Několik poznámek k článku Jiřího Macháčka o charakteru Velké Moravy*, "Archeologické rozhledy" LXVI (2014), p. 179; I. Štefan, *Mocní náčelníci od řeky Moravy? Poznámky ke struktuře raných států*, "Archeologické rozhledy" LXVI (2014), p. 165.

of the historical conditions, it is worth noting that at the preceding stage, i.e. after Mojmir II (894) came to power, a civil war was waged in Moravia between him and his aspiring brother Svatopluk II, who was supported by Arnulf, the ruler of East Francia. The fights reached their climax in the years 898-899. In 898, Mojmir II, having defeated his brother, imprisoned him and his retinue/supporters in some stronghold from where he was not released until 899. His Frankish allies organised a military campaign and freed Svatopluk who then withdrew with his rescuers to Bavaria.¹⁴¹

It is impossible to establish the exact date of the fall of Great Moravia. In the light of the existing source data, this probably happened in the years 905-906 – until around 901 an alliance between Moravians and the nomads still existed.¹⁴² Speaking about the fall of the Great Moravian state, it is important to stress that we refer to the collapse of the central superior power, destruction of the military capacity of the Moravian rulers and, probably, also the killing of some members of the aristocracy.¹⁴³ Even though some written sources refer to a terrible devastation of the Svatopluk's former state, as well as of the settlement of Hungarians in its territory and the original inhabitants' flight to the neighbouring lands,¹⁴⁴ whenever this information relates to the first stage after the disaster, it refers only to a part of the fallen state, especially part of the Tisza River Basin, Pannonia and, perhaps, the southernmost part of Slovakia.¹⁴⁵

¹⁴¹ K. Polek, *Państwo wielkomorawskie...*, p. 63; D. Třeštík, *Počátky Přemyslovců. Vstup Čechů do dějin (530-935)*, Praha 1997, p. 285f.; J. Steinhübel, *Nitrianske kniežatstvo. Počiatky stredovekého Slovenska. Rozprávanie o dejinách nášho územia a okolitých krajín od sťahovania národov do začiatku 12. storočia*, Bratislava 2004, p. 152.

¹⁴² D. Třeštík, *Kdy zanikla Velká Morava?*, "Studia Mediaevalia Pragensia" II (1991), pp. 9-27; M. Wihoda, *Morava v době knížecí 906-1197*, Praha 2010, p. 87; P. Kouřil, *Staří Maďaři a jejich podíl na kolapsu a pádu Velké Moravy aneb Spojenci, sousedé, nepřátelé*, in: *Pád Velké Moravy aneb Kdo byl pohřben v hrobu 153 na Pohansku u Břeclavi?*, eds. J. Macháček, M. Wihoda, Praha 2016, pp. 104-108.

¹⁴³ P. Ratkoš, *Pramene o staromaďarských bojových akciách a zániku mojmirovskej Veľkej Moravy*, "Slavia" LV (1986) 2, p. 148; D. Třeštík, *Pád Velké Moravy...*, p. 37; P. Kouřil, *Staří Maďaři a Morava z pohledu archeologie*, in: *Dějiny ve věku nejistot: sborník k příležitosti 70. narozenin Dušana Třeštíka*, Praha 2003, p. 111. Cf. I. Panic, *Ostatnie lata...*, p. 196.

¹⁴⁴ See e.g. *Reginonis abbatis Prumiensis Chronicon Chronicon, cum continuatione Treverensi*, ed. F. Kurze, *Scriptores rerum Germanicarum in usum scholarum ex Monumentis Germaniae historicae recusi*, Hannoverae 1890, a. 894, p. 143; Konstantyn Porfirogeneta, cap. 13, 41, in: *Testimonia najdawniejszych dziejów Słowian. Seria grecka, II: Pisarze z V-X wieku*, ed. A. Brzóstkowska, W. Swoboda, Wrocław 1989, p. 306; 3, pp. 451-452; *I Żywot Nauma*, in: *Magnae Moraviae Fontes Historici. Prameny k dějinám Velké Moravy, II: Texty biografické, hagiografické, liturgické*, Brno 1967, p. 179; *Legenda Christiani. Vita et passio sancti Wenceslai et sancte Ludmille ave eius*, ed. J. Ludvíkovský, Praha 1978, cap. 1, p. 16; discussion and listing of sources (in addition to works mentioned above) L. Havlík, *Kronika o Velké Moravě*, Brno 1992, pp. 234ff.

¹⁴⁵ Among others, also the following authors link the information to the Tisza River Basin and Pannonia: M. Wihoda, *Morava v době...*, p. 89; A. Kónyová, *Přvod Maďarov a maďarský kmeňovývzťah do konca 10. storočia*, in: *Dejiny Uhorska (1000-1918)*, ed. P. Kónya et al., Bratislava 2014, p. 28.

The Hungarian aggression affected the area of southern Moravia the most. It was the centre of the Mojmirid domain and many strongholds located there bear traces of invasions (varying in degree of severity), such as fires, dyke demolitions, remains of Hungarian militaries, especially arrowheads, and skeletons without burial chambers. Undoubtedly, the largest catastrophe occurred in the Mojmirid centre Mikulčice, however the invasions were also carried out in Staré Město – Uherské Hradiště, Břeclav – Pohansko, Staré Zámky k. Líšně, Starchotín-Petrova louka, Znojmo – Hradisko sv. Hipolita.¹⁴⁶ Nevertheless, these events did not lead to a complete fall or depopulation of the affected region nor did they bring about an immediate Hungarian colonisation.¹⁴⁷ There is no doubt, however, that in this period the life in proper Moravia begun to shift towards highlands, especially towards Central Moravia and Upper-Moravian Basin, where we also observe a clear continuation of the settlement from the Great Moravian era till the 11th century. In the second half of the 10th century, new strongholds were built here, and other especially Olomouc – established in the Great Moravian era, were extended.¹⁴⁸

The situation in the 10th-century Slovakia was different, although in this case too we lack credible written sources describing the history of the region. In more recent studies, some authors accept that the annexation of this territory by Hungarians took place in the 920s,¹⁴⁹ however the value of

146 Z. Měřinský, *Morava v 10. století ve světle archeologických nálezů*, "Památky archeologické" LXXVII (1986), pp. 18-80; P. Kouřil, *Starí Maďari a Morava...*, in: *Dějiny ve věku nejistot...*, pp. 112-126; idem, *Starí Maďari a jejich podíl...*, pp. 111-120; idem, *Archeologické doklady nomádského vlivu a zásahu na území Moravy v závěru 9. a v 10. století*, in: *Bitka pri Bratislave v roku 907 a jej význam pre vývoj stredného Podunajska*, eds. T. Štefanovičová, D. Hulínek, Bratislava 2008, pp. 117-122.

147 Cf. L. Poláček, *Raná grafitová keramika a otázka osídlení Mikulčic v 10. století*, "Archeologické rozhledy" LI (1999), pp. 754ff.; B. Klíma, *Hradiště sv. Hypolita ve Znojmě. Deset let archeologických výzkumů velkomoravského centra (1986-1995)*, "Sborník prací Pedagogické fakulty Masarykovy univerzity v Brně", řada společných věd XVII (1999), pp. 47-49; Č. Staňa, *Pronikání Boleslava II. na Brněnsko ve světle archeologických objevů*, in: *Přemyslovský stát kolem roku 1000. Na paměť knížete Boleslava II...*, pp. 202ff.; L. Galuška, *Velkomoravská hradba v Uherském Hradišti-Rybárnách*, "Archeologické rozhledy" LVIII (2006), p. 503ff.; P. Kouřil, *Starí Maďari a jejich podíl...*, pp. 115ff.

148 J. Bláha, *Topografie a otázka kontinuity raně středověkého ústředí v Olomouci*, in: *Přemyslovský stát kolem roku 1000...*, pp. 190-192; idem, *Archeologické poznatky k vývoji a významu Olomouce v období Velkomoravské říše*, in: *Velká Morava mezi...*, p. 63; Z. Měřinský, *Befestigte Zentren der frühen Přemysliden-Periode in Mähren und Schlesien (Thesen)*, "Archaeologia Historica" XXXI (2006), pp. 55ff.; idem, *Morava v 10. a na počátku 11. století*, in: *Bitka pri Bratislave...*, pp. 98f., 101; R. Procházka, M. Wihoda, *Polský průnik na Moravu a hrad Přerov v kontextu dějin 10. století*, in: *Świat Słowian wczesnego średniowiecza*, Szczecin 2006, pp. 624ff.; P. Kouřil, *Starí Maďari a jejich podíl...*, pp. 120ff. According to some researchers, Hungarian patrolling garrison under the lead of P. Kouřil stationed here, *Starí Maďari*, pp. 134f.; M. Wihoda, *Morava v době...*, p. 89.

149 J. Steinhübel, *Nitrianské kniežatstvo...*, pp. 160-164; idem, *Maďari, Slovakia, Bavori a Sasi v rokoch 896-933*, in: *Bitka pri Bratislave...*, pp. 42, 47f.

the sources reporting this possibility is doubtful.¹⁵⁰ We will, therefore, refer to the existing archaeological research. It shows that in the first decades of the 10th century, the Hungarian colonisation – as evidenced by the location of small Old Hungarian cemeteries with graves of warriors and women – reached as far as the lower Ipel', Nitra, Sered', Hlohovec.¹⁵¹ Simultaneously, coins found in these graves show that no Hungarian presence occurred in the southern part of the region of Nitra in the first two decades of the 10th century.¹⁵² The nomads' presence has not left a clear mark in the northern parts of Slovakia where we can observe traces of further growth which had begun in the Great Moravian era. Some strongholds from this territory have survived the fall of Moravia, which is evidenced by the continuation of the craftsmanship techniques (ex. goldsmithing) dating back to the Great Moravian era.¹⁵³ The situation is similar in the Nitra territory, which apparently was not affected by the disaster and the major armed conflict. Generally, we do not observe here the destruction of the main strongholds and the ensuing fall. On the contrary, the permanence of the original inhabitants settlement is apparent, expressed *inter alia* by: the maintenance of the grave fields, the continuation of ceramics and housing construction which had begun in the Great Moravian era, including the lack of elements typical for the Hungarian culture of the time, and, perhaps, also by the continuity of church architecture in Nitra, which suggests that in the 10th century no mass migration of the population (or its liquidation) occurred.¹⁵⁴

150 The credibility of the Hungarian sources used in this context is highly questionable, and the information they contain about the fate of the Nitra region is, if not a pure invention, merely a distorted version of tradition, not necessarily referring in its essence to the 10th century. On the subject of Hungarian sources relating to the Bohemian Duke Vratislav's rule over Nitra, which is assumed by J. Steinhübel, see D. Třeštík, *Počátky Přemyslovců...*, pp. 362f.; M. Matla-Kozłowska, *Pierwsi Przemysłodzi...*, pp. 103ff.

151 A. RuttKay, *O slovensko-maďarských vzťahoch po rozpade Veľkej Moravy a na prahu vzniku stredovekého Uhorska (Archeologické a historické aspekty)*, "Slovanské štúdie" II (1992), pp. 161-164; M. Hanuliak, *Komunikácie Slovenska z 10.-13. storočia v kontexte trás vojenských akcií*, "Archaeologia Historica" XXIII (1998) 1, p. 237; D. Čaplovič, *Včasnostredoveké osídlenie Slovenska*, Bratislava 1998, pp. 123f.; T. Štefanovičová, *Slovensko v 10. storočí*, in: *Bitka pri Bratislave...*, pp. 139f.

152 J. Steinhübel, *Maďari, Slovania...*, p. 47.

153 A. RuttKay, *Najnovšie príspevky*, p. 89; idem, *Problematika historického vývoja na území Slovenska v 10.-13. storočí z hľadiska archeologického bádania*, in: *Veľká Morava a počátky...*, pp. 141f.; D. Čaplovič, *The Area of Slovakia in the 10th Century – Development of Settlement, Interethnic and Acculturation Processes (Focused on the Area of Northern Slovakia)*, in: *The Neighbours of Poland in the 10th Century*, ed. P. Urbańczyk, Warszawa 2000, pp. 148, 152-154; P. Kouřil, *Starí Maďaři*, p. 111.

154 G. Fusek, *Osídlenie Nitry v 10. storočí. Kontinuita alebo diskontinuita?*, in: *Bitka pri Bratislave...*, p. 298; T. Štefanovičová, *Slovensko v 10. storočí*, p. 144; P. Bednár, M. RuttKay, *Nitra and the Principality of Nitra after the Fall of Great Moravia*, in: *Veľká Morava a počátky...*, p. 234.

Grave fields' observations form quite an interesting picture in this matter.¹⁵⁵ Grave fields from the Great Moravian era survived throughout the first half of the 10th century, while, at the same time, another type of grave fields developed, starting from the Great Moravian era and surviving after the times of the Hungarian Kingdom. Separately, there are small Old Hungarian grave fields (showing marks of the nomads' culture) functioning until the 970s-980s; two such grave fields were established also at the verge of the Nitra settlement area. Importantly, from the beginning of the second half of the 10th century, new grave fields were being formed – much larger than the previous ones and bearing graves of both Hungarians and Slavs. They are of the Bijelo Brdo culture, a synthesis of the Old Hungarian and local Slavic cultures. In the agglomeration of Nitra, the grave fields of this type (Nitra-Šindolka; Nitra Zobor) began to arise no earlier than in the second half of the 10th century, where Great Moravian traces can still be seen in the older graves (in the jewellery). Later grave fields of this kind were found at the end of the 10th century – both in Nitra and in the near-by, supporting settlements. Nitra-Zobor at the turn of the 11th century and Čakajovce are examples of such grave fields,¹⁵⁶ of which similarities were noticed in the Polish source material. The observed transformations of grave fields lead the researchers to assume a peaceful, non-confrontational coexistence of Hungarian newcomers with local Slavic society,¹⁵⁷ which is hard to disagree with. Undoubtedly, the local elites cooperated with Hungary and took part in the formation of the elites of the newly emerging Arpad monarchy, as depicted by the already mentioned example of the Hont-Pázmány family, which estates located in south-western Slovakia, concentrated in the region of Nitra.¹⁵⁸ Naturally, the cooperation of some elites does not exclude the possibility that certain groups – families, individual representatives of the elites – were not able to come to an agreement with the new lords and, thus, conflicts occurred which led these elites and parties closely related to them to migrate. The example of Bojná I (Valy), 40 km north of Nitra, which disappeared in the early or first

155 Most recent summary cf. G. Fusek, *Osídlenie Nitry v 10. storočí...*, pp. 299-301; cf. M. Hanuliak, *Hroby a ich svedectvo k dejinám Nitry v 9.-12. storočí*, in: *Nitra v slovenských dejinách*, ed. R. Marsina, Martin 2002, pp. 113-124.

156 G. Fusek, *Osídlenie Nitry v 10. storočí...*, pp. 300f.; T. Štefanovičová, *Slovensko v 10. storočí*, pp. 141f., 146; P. Bednár, M. Ruttkay, *Nitra...*, p. 233.

157 M. Hanuliak, *Veľkomoravské pohrebiská. Pochovávanie v 9.-10. storočí na území Slovenska*, Nitra 2004, pp. 215-219; G. Fusek, *Osídlenie Nitry v 10. storočí...*, p. 301; T. Štefanovičová, *Slovensko v 10. storočí*, pp. 140f.

158 Cf. J. Lukačka, *Proces formovania vyššej šľachty (aristokracie) vo včasnostredovekom Uhorsku na príklade veľmožského rodu Hont-Poznanovcov*, in: *Šlechta v proměnách věků*, eds. T. Knoz, J. Dvořák, Brno 2011, pp. 80-94; idem, *K otázke etnického pôvodu veľmožského rodu Hont-Poznanovcov*, "Forum Historiae" IV (2010) 2, pp. 1-13.

half of the 10th century as a result of a fire, in the area of which hundreds of arrowheads were found, mostly Old Hungarian, documenting the activity of nomads,¹⁵⁹ seems to indicate that even in this region individual, dramatic confrontations with nomads occurred.

The results of archaeological research presented above suggest that the Hungarians did not directly control the entire area formerly ruled by Svatopluk, but rather that, apart from Pannonia or the Tisza River Basin, only South-Western Slovakia came under their direct influence. Probably, at the beginning of the 10th century the Hungarians were not keen to conquer vast areas, but rather interested in tangible material benefits, hence the destruction of some of the rich old Great Moravian centres. The rule over the individual regions was probably taken over by the local aristocracy by means of paying tribute, but also through cooperation with the Hungarians and participation in their expeditions to the West,¹⁶⁰ which made the existence of smaller territorial entities easier.

How, in the light of the known fate of the former Great Moravian state, should we interpret the appearance of the Moravian population in the Polish lands, as observed in archaeological research? I believe we can speak of two potential stages of migration, although our findings can be merely hypothetical. As regards the first phase, i.e. the presence of the Great Moravians in Gilów in Silesia, or in Czerchów, the phenomenon may be associated with the collapse of Great Moravia, but also with the preceding period, i.e. the civil war between Mojmir II and Svatopluk II. Perhaps not all Svatopluk's supporters found refuge in Bavaria with him, and in the face of the Mojmir II' victory some of them decided to flee to the north.

I would give a slightly different explanation of the arrival of people identified in Greater Poland, i.e. Poznań-Sołacz or Kuyavia. It should be noted that the presence of Hungarians in the agglomeration of Nitra was more pronounced, meaning that the number of grave fields where they too were buried increased not so much just after the fall of Great Moravia, but perhaps from the second quarter or around the middle of the 10th century. This process coincides with the end of the plundering and nomadic life style of the Hungarians. After the defeat of the Hungarian forces in 955 inflicted by the forces of Otto I by the Lech river near Augsburg, the nomads might was broken. Most likely they suffered a further defeat at the hands of Boleslav I of

¹⁵⁹ K. Pieta, *Bojná. Slovensko*, in: *Velká Morava...*, p. 228; M. Ruttkay, *Strongholds – Routes – Frontiers – LIDAR. New Finding of the Research on Early Medieval Strongholds in Slovakia*, in: *Archäologische Studien zum frühen Mittelalter*, ed. G. Fusek, Nitra 2017, pp. 167f.

¹⁶⁰ M. Wihoda, *Morava v době...*, p. 90; P. Kouřil, *Staří Maďaři a Morava*, p. 136; idem, *Archeologické doklady...*, p. 117; Z. Měřínský, *Morava v 10. a na počátku...*, p. 101; R. Procházka, M. Wihoda, *Polský průnik...*, p. 626.

Bohemia in the same year.¹⁶¹ This ended their expeditions to the West and confined them in the Carpathian Basin, which resulted in the change of their models of functioning and state-building. This could have been the reason why, as soon as around the middle of the 10th century and also in the following decades, some of the ambitious Slavic elites started to consider the land too crowded. After all, building economic foundations in the same area was the basis for the livelihood of both groups. Such chronology would generally correspond with the chronology of the grave fields in Poznań-Sołacz, the grave in Bodzia or a hypothetical grave field in Morawy village in Kuyavia. In Slovakia, traces of the trade relations with the Baltic region in the 10th century have been discovered,¹⁶² which may point to the pursued direction of migration.

translated by Piotr Gumola

ABSTRACT

The purpose of this paper is to identify possible cases of influx of people from areas of Great Moravia to Poland from the end of the 9th century to the 10th century, based on written, archaeological and linguistic sources. The author of the article states that the fact of conquering southern Poland (Lesser Poland and Silesia) by Svatopluk of Moravia in the 9th century lacks evidence. Nevertheless, indications of possible presence of incomers from the south are provided by archaeological sources. In Silesia, the presence of Great Moravians can be associated with the stronghold in Gilów (end of the 9th century and beginning of the 10th century), where the relics of Great Moravian origin are the most abundant in Poland, while the stronghold itself shows Moravian similarities in terms of layout and defensive structures (with a dry wall). In Greater Poland, the population coming from the south can be linked with the skeleton grave fields of Sołacz (second half of the 10th century), displaying close similarities to the grave fields in the Nitra region of Slovakia. Traces of migration are also noticeable in the region of Kuyavia-Łęczyca. Relics (including military items) pointing to a possible presence of a group of Great Moravian warriors were discovered in the stronghold in Czerchów. Moreover, the name of the stronghold itself may be a testimony to the Moravian origin. Successive relics of Moravian provenance are connected with the Morawy grave field in Kuyavia and one of the graves in the cemetery in Bodzia. The chronology of the relics and respective sites allow to presume that migrations from the lands of Great Moravia to Poland developed in two main phases – the first one at the end of the 9th century or the beginning of the 10th century (during the struggle for power by the sons of Svatopluk or after the collapse Great Moravia), and the other in the second half of the 10th century (the period of consolidation of the Hungarian rule in the territory of Slovakia).

¹⁶¹ M. Matla-Kozłowska, *Pierwsi Przemysłidzi...*, pp. 136f.; J. Sobiesiak, *Bitwa na Lechowym Polu (955 rok)*, in: *Od Lechowego Pola (955) do Mediolanu (1158). W służbie monarchów Rzeszy. Relacje czeskich źródeł narracyjnych o wyprawach Przemysłidów*, Lublin 2011, pp. 11-31.

¹⁶² A. Ruttikay, *O slovensko-maďarských...*, p. 163; D. Čaplovič, *The Area of Slovakia...*, in: *The Neighbours of Poland...*, p. 149.

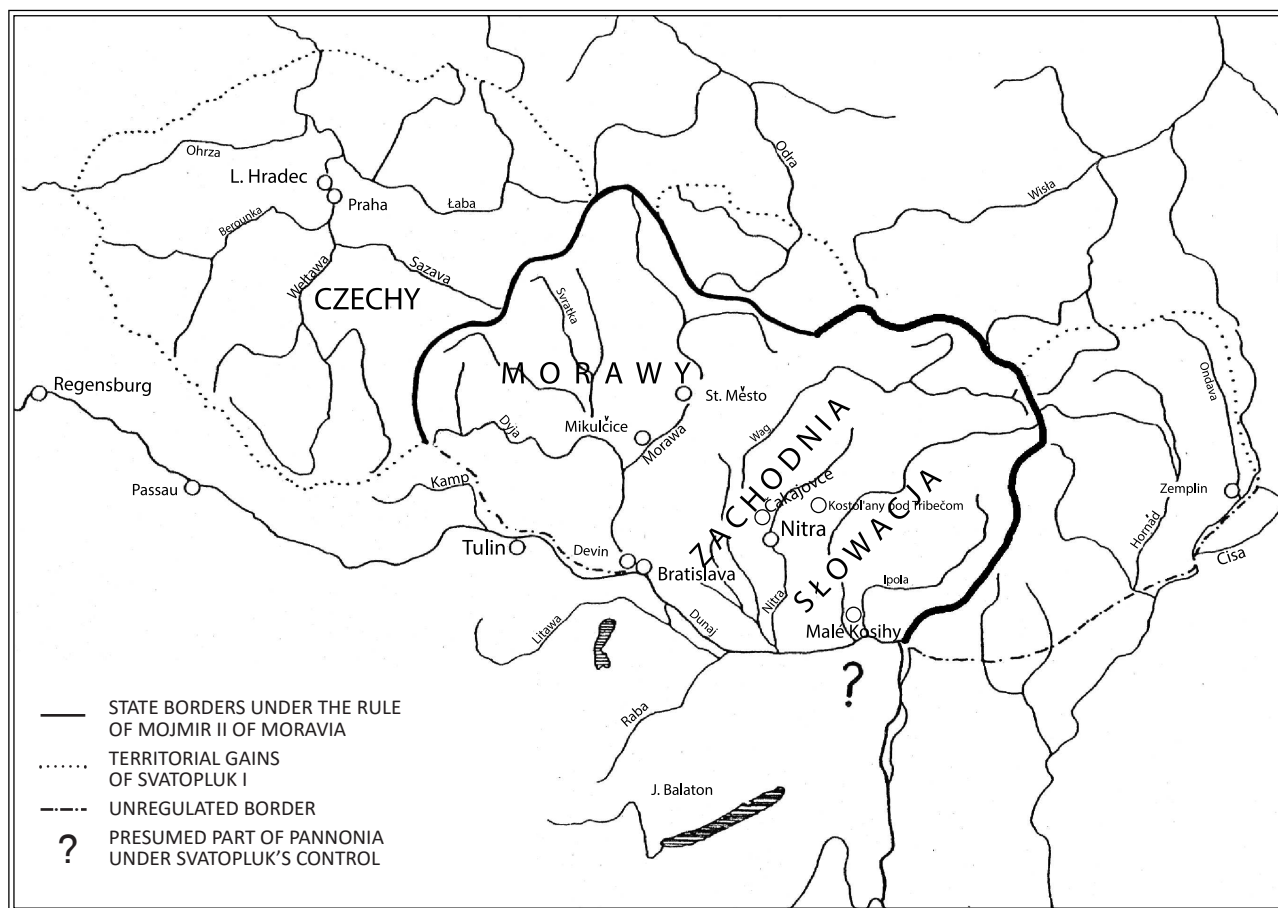


Fig. 2. Borders of the Moravian State in the 9th century according to K. Polek, *Państwo wielkomorawskie i jego sąsiedzi*, Kraków 1994.

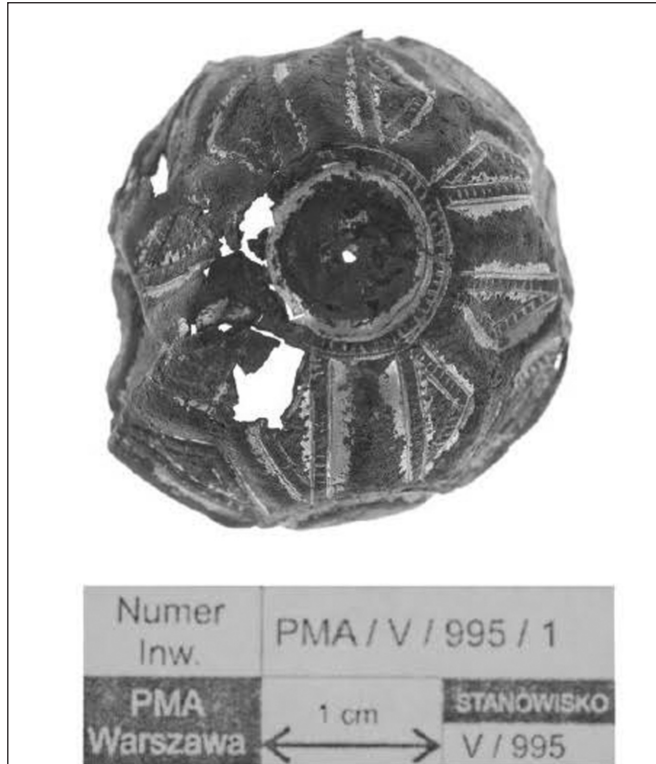


Fig. 3. Photographs – gold-plated button (*gombik*), locality of Morawy, collections of the State Archaeological Museum in Warsaw.

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THE LAW OF LOVE

RELATIONS BETWEEN THE SECULAR AND SPIRITUAL AUTHORITY IN EARLY KINGDOM OF JERUSALEM



I

In this article I wish to present the vision and practice of mutual relations between *regnum* and *sacerdotium*, which developed and evolved during the period of settlement of the Kingdom of Jerusalem and the Crusader states. I will focus on the first quarter of the century of the Franks' presence in the Holy Land and endeavour to explain the principles of the state organisation, the essence of law and authority, and its ideology, as well as the relations between the secular and spiritual power.

Although none of the ducal or royal archives from the four Crusader states have survived in our time, quite a number of archival files originating from the Latin East are available. They were compiled by Reinhold Röhrich, and new sources of that type have been revealed since then.¹ Also Hans Mayer published a monumental work on the royal chancellery in the Kingdom of Jerusalem, in which he included a number of documents that have been unknown to date.² Valuable sources can also be found in the Cartulary of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre. Some documents concerning monasteries have survived, mainly from the area of the Kingdom of Jerusalem. The disappeared archive of the Knights Templar constitutes obviously the heaviest loss of all. There survived, however, sources relating to Venice, Genoa and Pisa, as well as a significant number of papal letters and documents devoted to the Holy

¹ R. Röhrich, *Regesta Regni Hierosolymitani (1097-1291)*, Innsbruck 1893-1904 (henceforth: RRH).

² H.E. Mayer, *Die Kanzlei der lateinischen Könige von Jerusalem*, Hanover 1996, pp. 887-925.

Land. Sources concerning churches were published by Rudolph Hiestand, along with papal privileges for the Knights Templar and the Knights of the Order of St John of Jerusalem. Legal documents originating mainly from the 13th century were published by J. Riley Smith and P.E. Edbury.³

In the research work on the law and authority in the Crusader states it is also necessary to draw from narrative sources. In my work, I primarily focused on the chronicles describing the First Crusade and the first years following the capture of Jerusalem produced by William of Tyre, Fulcher of Chartres, Albert of Aix and Raymond of Aguilers.

II

In his letter to Emperor Henry of 7 December 1074, Pope Gregory VII refers to the crusade intended to carry aid to Christians in the East as an act of love, of laying down one's life for the brothers by defending the law of Christ. The law of Christ, which is love, is the essence and reason for undertaking such a work.⁴ Gregory VII believes that Christianity constitutes unity, nevertheless he points out at controversies and disagreement between the East and the West. In the planned crusade, he sees an opportunity to resolve the disputes by the power of his authority – both in terms of *filioque* and the controversies surrounding the Armenian Church.

At the same time, the crusade was an answer to the rising of the new piety and transitions in spiritual life. When in Clermont Pope Urban II called for a crusade to be undertaken, at the same time he offered a chance to lay people, so they too could follow Jesus in a perfect manner. Holiness, which had been so far accessible to monks mainly, was now accessible also for the knights. Hungry for that holiness, they set out with such a zeal and enthusiasm. They were to become "a living sacrifice, holy and pleasing to God."⁵ The sign of that sacrifice was the cross – the symbol of Passion, and on the other hand of the closeness of the Saviour. This was a clear sign that lay people could also follow Christ. Also the chroniclers describing the conquest of Jerusalem stressed that a successful attack took place on Friday – "the day on which the whole world was redeemed by Christ on the cross."⁶ Shortly after that event, a fragment of

³ J. Riley-Smith, *Feudal Nobility and the Kingdom of Jerusalem, 1174-1277*, London 1973; P.W. Edbury, *John of Ibelin and the Kingdom of Jerusalem*, Woodbridge 1997.

⁴ *Das Register Gregors VII*, wyd. E. Caspar, in: *Monumenta Germaniae Historica Epistolae selectae*, Berlin 1920, II, 31, pp. 165-168. See *The Crusades. A documentary survey*, ed. J.A. Brundage, Milwaukee 1962, p. 10f.

⁵ Romans 12.1.

⁶ Fulcher of Chartres, *Historia Hierosolymitana (1095-1127)*, ed. H. Hegenmeyer, Heidelberg 1913 (henceforth: FC), I, XXVII, 10, pp. 299-300; *The First Crusade. "The Chronicle of Fulcher of Chartres" and Other Source Materials*, ed. E. Peters, Philadelphia 1998, pp. 90-91.

the Holy Cross was presumably found. It became a characteristic relic of the foundation of the Kingdom of Jerusalem, a treasure which was a testimony to the exceptional cooperation of man and God and their mutual proximity (*thesaurum suum et nostrum*).⁷ Since then, the Real Cross had become a sign and testimony of victory, from the battle of Ascalon to the battle of Hattin.

The proper call for the crusade is the next step in the implementation of the divine law into the Christian world. The first one was the introduction of the peace and truce of God, and the freedom of Church. In fact, in the eyes of the contemporary, that step consisted in the renewal and restoration of the original purity. At the same time, Urban II would see the crusade as a sort of extension of the order based on law.⁸ According to Fulcher of Chartres, thanks to Urban II and the calling of the crusade, order and peace could be implemented in the entire Christian world. The wounds inflicted by the schism of Wilbert were healed.⁹

From the beginning, the crusade was promoted as a journey of the Chosen People to the Promised Land. Instead of manna from heaven, God sent rich yields and crops to the entire Earth, the trees bear unique fruits, so those who accepted God's orders would not miss anything.¹⁰ Just following the conquest of the Nicaea in June 1097, one of the most prominent crusaders, Stephen Count of Blois and Champagne (1089-1102),¹¹ wrote in a letter to his wife Adela that the conquest of the town by the crusaders at that time was not accidental.¹² With God's mercy, they defeated the enemy on anniversary of the Council of Nicaea. Then, the holy fathers defeated the Arian heresy and under the command of the Holy Spirit confirmed the truth about the Holy Trinity. It should also be noted that the Franks regarded Islam not as a separate religion, but as a highly pathological heresy. Now, the crusaders defeated the Muslims, becoming the successors of the holy fathers and executors of God's will.¹³

7 FC, I, XXX, 4, p. 310.

8 FC, I, III, 2, p. 132f.

9 FC, V, p. 143f.

10 FC, I, VI, 2, p. 154. See *The First Crusade...*, p. 57.

11 Stephen died during the battle of Ramla on 17 or 19 May 1102. Adela, daughter of William the Conqueror, married Stephen around 1083. In 1120, she entered the convent in Marcigny, where she died on 8 March 1137. The letters of Stephen to Adela bear interesting testimony to the trust and love he showed to his wife.

12 *Epistulae et charta ead historiam primi belli sacri spectantes quae super suntae voaequales ac genovinae. Die Kreuzzugsbriefe aus den Jahren 1088-1100. Eine Quellensammlung zur Geschichte des ersten Kreuzzuges*, ed. H. Hagenmeyer, Innsbruck 1901 (henceforth: EC), no. IV, pp. 138-140.

13 *Ibidem*, p. 140.

III

One of the most important objectives of the crusade was to carry help to Christians in the East and ensure durable reunification. As a matter of fact, the schism of 1054 did not exist in the consciousness of the contemporary. After listing those who fell at Nicaea and Antioch, one of the knights wrote in a letter to the archbishop of Reims: "Gaudeat mater Occidentalis ecclesia! quae tales genuit, qui et sibi tam gloriosum nomen acquirerent et Orientali ecclesiae tam mirabiliter succurrerent."¹⁴

Simeon II, the Byzantine patriarch of Jerusalem, and Adhemar de Monteil, bishop of Le Puy and papal legate during the crusade,¹⁵ on 18 October 1097 wrote jointly a letter in which they addressed the Christian world on behalf of all the Church in the East, stressing their unity. They indicated that they primarily prayed for the salvation of their souls and this was the main aim of the expedition. At the same time, it was a call for real military aid to the Christians who even with "God's help" feel "surrounded by pagans". Simeon would have a vision where everyone who joins the crusaders and goes on an expedition to Jerusalem, will be crowned by God on the days of the Judgment Day.¹⁶ The authors of the letter emphasized that those who took the cross but did not go the East would be excommunicated, if they do not join the expedition soon.¹⁷

The crusaders were called to fight in the place where "the Saviour fought himself", where "he suffered for humanity" and where "he called people to follow him". Since "God died for people, now people had to be ready to perish", but for "themselves, so as they could live in God" even if they "die in this world". In the "land of the living, that was flowing with milk and honey", they were to "earn a double glory". As Stephen of Blois wrote, "the chosen army of Christ, goes invincible to the throne of Lord Jesus."¹⁸

Having conquered the Antioch, Adhemar called a council which he chaired from June to August 1098. The council restored all the rights in relation to the Patriarchate of Antioch and confirmed the decision of the council in Clermont, according to which churches in the territories gained from Muslims by a Christian duke were to belong to the latter's domain.¹⁹ When the reconstruction of the Antiochian churches began, the next and obvious step was to reintroduce Christian clerics there. A dilemma of a quite delicate nature emerged there. For centuries, the head of the Christian Church

¹⁴ Ibidem, no. VII, p. 145.

¹⁵ Ibidem, no. VI, p. 141.

¹⁶ Ibidem, p. 142.

¹⁷ Ibidem.

¹⁸ Ibidem, no. X, p. 149.

¹⁹ G. Bresc-Bautier, *Le cartulaire du chapitre du Saint-Sépulcre de Jérusalem*, Paris 1984, no. 89, pp. 203-204.

in Antioch, and thus its patriarch, was a Greek, just like the majority of the Antiochian clergy was formed of Greeks. Patriarch John IV Oksita stayed in the town during the siege and Muslims publicly offended him and tortured. He was freed when Antioch capitulated. Then, he was expected to lead the Antiochian Christians again – after all the crusade was called with the intention to carry help to the churches in the East. The problem was, however, that Prince Bohemond would find it more difficult to deny Antioch to the Byzantine Emperor if its patriarch was a Greek bishop. Despite this, at the beginning of July, John IV was restored to the dignity of patriarch, probably as a result of firm insistence of Adhemar of Monteil who throughout the expedition maintained close relations with the Greek Church, fulfilling the wishes of the pope and many of the participants in the crusade. Uncertain as to whether the emperor would come to Antioch, John dealt with church matters and tried not to interfere with issues relating to the political future of the city. Therefore, a compromise was reached at least for some time.²⁰

Just after capturing Jerusalem, the bishops and princes wrote a letter to the pope, in which they informed him about the conquest of Jerusalem and the election of Godfrey (Godefroy) of Bouillon as Defender of the Holy Sepulchre (“*ecclesiae S. Sepulcri advocatus*”).²¹ In that letter, they described the miracles which the “God’s Army” experienced in the victorious advance from Nicaea to Jerusalem. As the authors of the letter note, Jerusalem was captured only thanks to piety and fidelity to God. Earlier, a council composed of bishops and princes decided to organise a procession around the city composed of barefoot crusaders. Eight days later, the town was captured. This happened on the Holiday of Sending Out of the Twelve. The crusaders view this fact as deeply symbolic. On the day when the Apostles set out to preach the Gospel throughout the world, the crusaders entered Jerusalem to bring God’s justice and truth to those who betrayed God. For the crusaders, it was like a closing of history which was to attain its fullness. When the crusaders captured Jerusalem and strengthened their power through military victories, in fact the whole world fought for them: “*pugnabat certe orbis terrarum pro nobis.*”²²

At the end of July 1099, Godfrey of Bouillon announced the conquest of Jerusalem and his election as king.²³ A few days later, he sent a letter to the Church in the West, in which he also communicated his election as king

20 EC, p. 249f.

21 Ibidem, no. XVIII, p. 167.

22 Ibidem, p. 172.

23 H.E. Mayer, *Die Urkunden der lateinischen Könige von Jerusalem. Diplomata regum Latinorum Hierosolymitanorum*, Hanover 2010 (henceforth: Mayer, UKJ), 3:1461-2, no. II/2 (RRH no. 25).

– *in regem*, while asking for any support for the newly created kingdom.²⁴ Similarly, Arnulf of Chocques announced his election and joined the calls for assistance.²⁵

The shape of the Kingdom of Jerusalem was only being formed and without a doubt different visions of organisation of the state clashed. A rejection of the crown by Godfrey could be against the wishes of the mighty and the barons, in particular. It is because it questioned the independence of the kingdom. A lack of king, a strong influence of Italian cities, a threat from the Byzantine emperor and finally the pope's plans for Jerusalem risked a disaster from the point of view of the ambitions of lay lords in Outremer. Interestingly, on many occasions Godfrey was titled king of Jerusalem.²⁶ Without a doubt, most of Godfrey's companions wished him to accept the crown, or at least he was regarded as king in the relations with the Papacy and the Empire. The humility of Godfrey could arouse in them fears of his weakness.

William of Tyre provides an interesting account of the election of Godfrey of Bouillon as Defender of the Holy Sepulchre.²⁷ It presumably happened on the eighth day after the capture of Jerusalem, thus on 22 July 1099. The eighth day had also a symbolic significance as the period after which Christ was circumcised and given the name;²⁸ it was a day when the firstborn child was given to God. In the context of description of celebrations following the conquest of Jerusalem, this day can be regarded as the eighth day of the octave of an extraordinary holiday. The princes gathered to elect one of them as ruler, calling on the aid of the Holy Spirit, as with bishop elections, or – in biblical times – the first so-called Council of Jerusalem.²⁹

When the princes gathered for the election, a message came to them from the bishops and clergy who did not participate in the sessions. As William of Tyre recounts, they convened a separate meeting, driven by arrogance and search for own interest. It seems that the clergy was aware of the fact that the vision of the Holy Land as the Papacy's protectorate was becoming increasingly distant. They attempted to counter this. Therefore, they wrote in the letter: "Without a doubt, it is true that spiritual matters are more important than the worldly ones and thus they should be dealt with as first". The clergy wished to "maintain proper order" and, before electing a secular ruler, they demanded first an election of the head of the God's Church which would be carried out among the clergy. At the same time, the bishops warned that if

24 EC, no. 20[XX?], p. 176 (RRH no. 26).

25 Ibidem.

26 Mayer, UKJ, 3:1463-5, no. II/4.

27 William of Tyre, *Historia rerum in partibus transmarinis gestarum*, IX, 1-2, 5.

28 Luke 1.59.

29 Cf. Acts 15.28.

princes do not maintain proper order, everything they announce or resolute shall be ineffective and without any force.

They referred to the notion of *ordo* as a fundamental right. This is the law of God, a part of the logic of creation. Opposing it is tantamount to opposing God. At the same time, the resolutions and laws passed contrary to it actually do not exist and are not law. The specific conditions of the crusade, when the customs and laws of various nations and groups clashed with each other and the lack of specific solutions resulted in the need to search for new sources of settlement of legal matters, became an excellent opportunity for the development of the idea of law as the order established by God and in some sort incorporated in the logic of creation and economy of salvation.

William of Tyre notes that, although the proposition put forward by the bishops seems to be just, in fact it stems from Arnulf's arrogance who in this way wanted to seize power in Jerusalem and, therefore, it had to be rejected. Arnulf would be a man of bad morals, dissolute, and moreover a son of a priest. He wanted to become a patriarch contrary to the holy canons and against the will of all the righteous men. William describes all the then clergy as spoilt and seeking profit only. Without a doubt Arnulf was a man featuring qualities that were contrary to the then idea of a good bishop. The most crucial, as we can learn from William's description, was nevertheless the conflict between two different visions of how the newly created Kingdom of Jerusalem should function.

In accordance with the vision of the clergy, it was the bishop who should hold the supreme power in Jerusalem as the defender and patron of the Church. Only him could approve the election of a secular ruler, whose power was not independent. Being dependent on the bishop, the ruler should primarily ensure freedom to the Church, which matched the vision of Gregory VII. At the same time, if Arnulf had become a patriarch, he could have regarded himself as someone assuming the role that was equal to that of the Pope. Just as the pope, he would be a patriarch and although Jerusalem was not a diocese of St. Peter, it was a patrimony of God himself. The king of Jerusalem was to be dependent on the patriarch and not on the pope.

The princes, however, ignored the demands of the clergy. They believed that the election which they would conduct would be compatible with the will of God. Therefore, all of them under oath reported the faults and virtues of the lords and candidates for the ruler of Jerusalem. It was Godfrey who was considered as the most worthy; in a procession, accompanied by hymns and songs, he was led to the Sepulchre.

On the other hand, as regards the election of the patriarch of Jerusalem, Fulcher of Chartres concludes that the canons who served in the Church of the Holy Sepulchre chose not to elect the patriarch before the pope expresses his wishes. He sees in the canons assigned to major sites of Christianity a body

which could elect the patriarch of Jerusalem under a canonical procedure. Nevertheless, due to the uniqueness of the place and circumstances, he draws their attention to the fact of obeying the pope's will. Interestingly, he does not mention anything about other church bishops or dignitaries who arrived to Jerusalem together with the crusade. Shortly afterwards, he notes however that Daimbert was elected patriarch by the prince and other commanders.³⁰ The election of the bishop of Caesarea was described in similar terms.³¹ It seems that, at that time, the right to elect bishops was vested in the ruler, however the choice was frequently consulted with other bishops, canons and clergymen. In the Kingdom of Jerusalem, attempts were made to introduce a sort of co-power of *regnum* and *sacerdotium*, which is also reflected in some later laws provided by the council of Nablus.

One of the first decisions of Godfrey was to establish twenty secular canons with prebends at the Church of Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem. Their prebends were to be funded with donations from the faithful.³² The Church of the Holy Sepulchre was a central place in Jerusalem. Although M. Cecilia Gaposchkin considered that no special cult of the Sepulchre existed, the entire Jerusalem was equally holy.³³ It must be noted, however, that already since the conquest of Jerusalem, the crusaders had addressed the Church of the Holy Sepulchre with special attention. It was to play a key role not only as the theological heart of Christianity, but it was to be closely associated with the ideology of power in Jerusalem, which was promoted by Godfrey.

On Christmas Godfrey presented patriarch Daimbert with goods belonging earlier to the Byzantine patriarch and confirmed all the new acquisitions.³⁴ On the one hand, it was the effect of recognition that the Church was one, and the differences between the Greeks and Latinists were only of ritual and liturgical nature. On the other hand, Latin bishops exploited the situation in order to extend their influence and deprive the Byzantines of their rights and ownership.

30 Ibidem, XXXIII, 20, p. 333.

31 Ibidem, II, X, pp. 404-405.

32 *La Chanson de Jérusalem*, ed. N.R. Thorp, Tuscaloosa 1992, p. 157; P. Riant, *Inventaire critique des lettres historiques des croisades*, "Archives de l'Orient Latin" I (1881) 141, pp. 199-200 (RRH no. 27).

Albert of Aachen, *Historia Ierosolimitana*, ed. S. Edgington, Oxford 2007 (henceforth: AA), p. 454.

33 M.C. Gaposchkin, *Invisible Weapons. Liturgy and the Making of Crusade Ideology*, Ithaca, NY 2017, p. 185.

34 William of Tyre, *Historia rerum in partibus transmarinis gestarum*, <http://www.thelatinlibrary.com/williamtyre.html> (henceforth: WT [accessed 14 November 2019]), p. 440; Mayer, UKJ 1:99-101, no. 4.

Patriarch Daimberthimself used the title of servant of the canons of the Holy Sepulchre: "S. Sepulcri adiutorum seruus."³⁵ This shows that in the circles of power in Jerusalem, both spiritual and secular, a quite specific vision of the ideology of power and forms of its exercise had already been developed. The canons of the Holy Sepulchre would be a supreme institution, at least in the ideological sense. The patriarch himself, as well as the prince – Defender of the Holy Sepulchre – would exercise their power through that institution to some extent. The specificities of the Holy Land led Godfrey and Daimbert to attempt to create an authority on the model of early Church. The Church dispersed all over the world now returned to its beginnings. Its task was also to return to its original purity. Therefore, the canons of the Holy Sepulchre were to stand guard, awaiting the second coming of Christ just as the apostles awaited the resurrection of the Lord and the advent of the Holy Spirit. Authority in Jerusalem was intrinsically connected with eschatology.

On 2 February 1100, Godfrey donated to the Church of Holy Sepulchre one quarter of the whole town of Jaffa.³⁶ Authority was to belong to the Church of the Holy Sepulchre and the community formed around it, while the secular ruler and the spiritual ruler, i.e. the patriarch, were to be its servants. Moreover, liturgy celebrated in the church and in particular on the holiday of capture of Jerusalem was to be a key eschatological "portal".³⁷

At the same time, on 1 April 1100, Godfrey approved all the rights of the God's church in Jerusalem. He became himself a member of the community of that church: "homo Sancti Sepulchri ac noster reffectus fideliter deo et nobis se amodo militaturum spopondit."³⁸ On the same day, Godfrey granted to Patriarch Daimbert, who acted on behalf of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, the tower of David and the whole town of Jerusalem. Nevertheless, he did this on the condition that he would retain their ownership until the time he would have extended its domain to Old Cairo – Babylon or other towns. If Godfrey died without a legitimate male successor however, Jerusalem and the entire Jaffa was to be transferred to the Church of the Holy Sepulchre.³⁹ It should be noted that this was extremely likely in view of the fact that Godfrey did not have a wife. Entire Jerusalem was donated to God and so was the proper meaning of that donation.

In mid-July 1100, in his will Godfrey confirmed all his grants to the Church of the Holy Sepulchre and to Patriarch Daimbert.⁴⁰ Godfrey's attention,

35 EC, no. XXI, p. 176.

36 WT, pp. 441, 456; Mayer, UKJ 1:101-2, no. 5.

37 M.C. Gaposchkin, *Invisible Weapons...*, p. 131f.

38 William of Tyre, *Historia rerum...*, X, 4, p. 419; WT, p. 456; Mayer, UKJ 1:103-4, no. 7.

39 WT, pp. 441, 456; Mayer, UKJ 1:103-4, no. 7 [1]. See FK, p. 741, in relation to Christmas of 1099; also Mayer, *Bistümer, Klöster und Stifte im Königreich Jerusalem*, Stuttgart 1977, pp. 21-37.

40 WT, p. 456-7; Mayer, UKJ 1:107-8, no. 10.

however, was not only directed to the Latinists, but also to the Christians of other rites. He released all the Syrians, Armenians, Jacobites, Nestorians and Greeks from levies which they had to pay to Muslims. Instead, they had to pay a cargo and trade tax of approximately 1/24.⁴¹

The short, only one-year long rule of Godfrey of Bouillon is an extremely interesting stage in the history of the Kingdom of Jerusalem. The ruler, who refused to accept the crown, had his own vision of the organisation of the Franks in Outremer. As we can read in the chronicles, letters or even legal acts of the crusades, Godfrey and the crusaders believed to be members of the new Chosen People. This new Israel entered the new Promised Land which was to be not only an earthly kingdom, but also a real apocalyptic kingdom of God with people. This was the vision of the Apocalypse of St. John the Apostle to which the crusaders often referred.

At the same time, it was not clear to everyone how the secular authority and spiritual authority and their mutual relations in the Jerusalem Kingdom should be organised. By electing Godfrey of Bouillon as ruler, many mighty lords considered it obvious that he would crown himself as king. This did not happen however. The role which Godfrey seemed to assign to the Holy Church of the Sepulchre and its canons was interesting as well. Moreover, he was not alone in his efforts since the patriarch himself officially recognized to be the servant of the canons of the Holy Sepulchre. Granting Jerusalem to them was an act of political, spiritual and theological character.

At the same time, however, Godfrey strived to ensure to his (or not his) state a military and political success. Negotiations with representatives of the Italian towns, letters dispatched to the West with calls for aid and the arrival of crusaders as well as the rights relating to the holding of fiefdoms were to lay foundations for the transformation of the crusader movement as an armed pilgrimage into a realand well-organised state. Even if it was envisaged as a "God's State", Godfrey was aware that God would rule it through people, at least in the nearest future. He also tried to ensure support and unity to all Christians by providing them with a significant tax reduction and unification under one patriarch. The aid brought to tormented brothers in the East was not meant to be an empty slogan only. Referred to as one of the main reasons for undertaking the crusade, it turned out to be difficult to implement, in particular in view of the disputes between the clergymen of various rites. However, it should be noted that a rapprochement occurred on many fields among the Latinists, Greeks, Armenians, Syrians and Christians of other rites.

⁴¹ Francesco Amadi, *Chronique*, oprac. R. de Mas Latrie, Paris 1891, p. 25; Mayer, UKJ, 3:1467, no. as. II/6.

IV

Towards to the end of July 1000, the main barons of the Kingdom sent a mission to notify Baldwin of Boulogne, count of Edessa, of the death of Godfrey of Bouillon and to invite him to assume power in Jerusalem.⁴² At the same time, shortly after the Godfrey's funeral, Daimbert, patriarch of Jerusalem, sent an envoy to Bohemond of Taranto to inform him of the grants made by Godfrey for the Jerusalem church and himself, and of Godfrey's death. He let him also know about the capture of David's Citadel by count Guarnerius and about the message sent to Baldwin of Boulogne, count of Edessa. Moreover, he presented subsequent events linked to the death of Guarnerius and the further occupation of David's Citadel which was to be handed over to Baldwin. He called on Bohemond as proponent and promoter of the reform and freedom of the Church to write to Baldwin and forbid him to come to Jerusalem without Daimbert's permission. He asked Bohemond to stop Baldwin by force if necessary.⁴³ However, Bohemond was busy with the fights against Turks at Melitene, where he supported his Armenian ally, Prince Gabriel.⁴⁴

Patriarch Daimbert strived to maintain the fragile state of things from the times of the reign of Godfrey of Bouillon. He acted on behalf of the canons of the Holy Sepulchre as it were, without a doubt trying to consolidate his authority as patriarch. He is not "the servant of canons" any more, but he is acting as their legal representative and the real head. He sought support of Tancred and Bohemond who as allies would help him preserve freedom for the Church; they would thus fulfil their duty of righteous rulers in the spirit of the Gregorian reform, providing protection and freedom to the spiritual power. On the other hand, Daimbert wanted to act as heir of the whole Kingdom and administrator of the whole power. Nevertheless, despite the last will of Godfrey of Bouillon, considering the real balance of political power and opposition of the most significant lords in Jerusalem, the chances for the continuation of the prince's vision of the Kingdom were practically impossible to materialise. In August 1100, Baldwin of Boulogne invited Baldwin of Bourg to take his place as count of Edessa, and left to Jerusalem himself.⁴⁵

Baldwin of Bourg was ultimately crowned as king at Christmas of 1100. The place of Christ's birth was regarded as more appropriate to the coronation than Jerusalem. Baldwin would not consider himself worthy of wearing

42 AA, p. 528.

43 WT, p. 456-8; AA, p. 522 (RRH no. 32).

44 AA, VII, 28, pp. 522-525.

45 Ibidem, pp. 528-530.

a crown made of gold and precious stones at the place where Jesus Christ – “King of kings and Lord of lords” – was humiliated and tormented to death for the salvation of the world wearing a crown of thorns.

An interesting account is given of the assumption of power by Baldwin I. Patriarch Daimbert did not appear during the greeting of the ruler in Jerusalem and was accused by the chronicler of sins of jealousy and hatred.⁴⁶ Just one year after the capture of Jerusalem, the relations between the secular and spiritual powers were still unclear. Daimbert could still hope that in the land of the Saviour this would be the church authority which would actually rule. However, he did not possess appropriate instruments to implement these ideas. The princes found it much easier to present the Church with *fait accompli*. Finally, for the coronation of Baldwin I in Bethlehem, the choice of the site is not coincidental as well. It seems that it was the patriarch who wanted the coronation of the ruler to take place outside the Holy City, which is to belong to the spiritual and not secular authority. Himself, he died on the way from Rome, where he sought aid in the fight against Baldwin.⁴⁷ According to his vision, the Kingdom of Jerusalem was to be a City of God, ruled by the archbishop. Pope Paschal II supported his views, however he did not have real tools to implement those ideas under the specific conditions of Jerusalem.

At the same time, the first task of Baldwin I as king was to separate law and justice. Baldwin was to become the new Solomon who led by wisdom was to surpass all thanks to his ties with God. Baldwin was not worthy of wearing the crown in Jerusalem, however he was supposed to be the tool of divine justice in that city especially. When the king administered justice during the first days of his reign, Geldemar, who was referred to above, appeared in front of him. He lodged a complaint against Tancred who occupied the town of Haifa, which was promised to him as a gift from prince Godfrey for his military service, if he managed to conquer it. When Tancred heard about Godfrey’s death, he presumably captured the town and therefore violated justice. In reality, it was the next step in the dispute about who may be the successor of Godfrey and what shape the kingdom was to assume. However, when the king sent a mission to Tancred, the latter replied that he did not recognize him as king or judge of the Kingdom of Jerusalem:

Tancredus autem nullam se de hiis responsionem coram illo habiturum respondit, eo quod nescireteum regem ciuit atis et iudicem regni Ierusalem.⁴⁸

46 FC, II, III, pp. 368-369.

47 Ibidem, II, XXVI, pp. 465-468.

48 AA, VII, 44, p. 552.

According to the account of the chronicler, Tancred used quite interesting arguments that can tell us a lot about the then perception of Jerusalem and the Kingdom. Baldwin was not to be *regem civitatis*, while this phrase should be primarily understood in such a way that he is not the king of the city of Jerusalem. It is because the city of Jerusalem is not only a city. It is the image of the whole Kingdom of God. Jerusalem is the Kingdom of God, covering everything and all. Not only Baldwin may not wear the crown in Jerusalem, but he may not as well be the king, since he would usurp divine authority in that way. He opposes God in the worst possible way, he is guilty of pride, "the root of all sin". For Tancred, the role of judge in Jerusalem may only be assumed by that who does not judge himself, but who submits his judgment to God.

Baldwin's answer was interesting as well. He sent messengers through which he assured that he was not hiding from justice. He called on Tancred to demonstrate what injustice he committed against his brother. Baldwin presents a simple doctrine according to which he may be king who respects justice understood as fulfilment of the spirit of the law and not the letter of law.⁴⁹

Following long negotiations when Tancred faced a possible war with the Kingdom of Jerusalem, he agreed to with draw. On 8 March 1101, King Baldwin I concluded an agreement with Tancred of Hauteville, who was the then ruler of Antioch, under which he was to return the rule over Haifa and Tiberias, however on condition that, if he handed over his power in Antioch (of which he was the regent after he had refused to return the principality to the Byzantine emperor – as previously promised by Bohemond) within fifteen months, his estates would be returned to him.⁵⁰ Tancred recognized his defeat and the inability to implement the will of Godfrey of Bouillon. At the same time, Bohemond paid out his prize to those who supported him and put him on the throne.

Also in March 1001, Cardinal Maurice of Porto, papal legate, convened a council in Jerusalem. This happened in response to allegations made against Patriarch Daimbert by King Baldwin to Pope Paschal II⁵¹.

The dispute between the patriarch and the king increasingly exacerbated. The appeal to the Pope was extremely favourable from Baldwin's perspective. In this way, on the one hand it gave the Pope an opportunity to influence the Kingdom of Jerusalem and the patriarch who could not refuse to submit to the authority of Rome. This was also a reminder that the ideas of Daimbert

49 Ibidem, VII, 45, p. 552.

50 Ibidem, pp. 552-554; Mayer, UKJ1:123, no. 19.

51 Ibidem, VII, 45, p. 554.

had no chances of being realised in the political reality of the time. From the theological point of view, the patriarch could be the most significant representative of the spiritual authority in the place where God was meeting with people, however in reality it did not change the fact that he was subordinate to the pope and dependent on the worldly power.

The king accused the patriarch of perjury, betrayal of the Kingdom of Jerusalem and murder (according to him Godfrey was killed by Bohemond on the way between Jerusalem and Edessa). He was also accused of sacrilege of the True Cross, which he supposedly committed by breaking it up and dispersing.⁵²

Daimbert was suspended in his powers of patriarch. The council was nevertheless interrupted and the ruler reached an agreement with the patriarch who promised to pay him three hundred bezants in return for discontinuation of the case. The king would persuade the papal legate that he withdrew his accusations because the Jerusalem Church was still young and weak and the patriarch should not be deprived of his office during such a great holiday as the approaching Easter, to the indignation of pilgrims and delight of pagans.⁵³

At the same time, the words of the king reflect an extremely interesting thought in the context of the new identity of the Chosen People. The king is saying that the papal legate should listen to the opinion of the king and other members of the church of Jerusalem because "with our blood this holy Church is preserved and we are fighting for it until death."⁵⁴ Therefore, the king continues to acknowledge the great theological importance of the church of Jerusalem and the role of people in the work of salvation. Clearly eschatological references can be noted here.⁵⁵ Undoubtedly, the king and the elites considered that they deserved an exceptional place in the Church, not only because of being members of the community in such a unique location as Jerusalem, but mainly because of their own deeds. They came to resemble the Saviour by giving their lives to God in Jerusalem. God uses them as he used his son once.

These events took place before Easter, when Daimbert wanted to consecrate the holy oils on Holy Thursday on the Mount of Olives. In the description of the chronicler, the fact that the reconciliation occurred before Easter is essential. Reconciliation of the spiritual authority with secular authority was a necessary condition for peace and security. A united kingdom could benefit

52 Ibidem, VII, 48, p. 556.

53 Ibidem, VII, 50, p. 558.

54 Ibidem.

55 Acts 2.10; Acts 12.9-11.

from God's grace, freedom from external and internal enemies, fully drawing on the merits of the holy city.⁵⁶

A new chapter in the relations between the ruler and the Church opened however. The patriarch had to acknowledge his political defeat, although he was still hoping to keep the patriarchal throne. Despite personal friendship with the papal legate,⁵⁷ he was aware that the church of Jerusalem was not able to assume a role superior to that of the worldly ruler due to an intransigent attitude of Baldwin and his strong position.

Ultimately, Baldwin won his dispute with Patriarch Daimbert, who suffered a total political defeat. In the presence of the papal legate, the vision of the Kingdom of Jerusalem as the kingdom of spirit ruled by spiritual rulers sank into oblivion. This vision was already shattered and distorted by intrigues and political actions of Daimbert and for long had not had much in common with the original ideals of Godfrey. The new papal legate, Cardinal Robert of Saint Eusebius, judged Daimbert who had been accused by ones of simony and by others of murder of Greek Christians in Cephalonia, which the Genoese committed on its orders; others accused him of betrayal of King Baldwin, and some of the embezzlement of money and sacrifices of the faithful, which he supposedly hid for his own profit. Daimbert was found guilty, removed from office and excommunicated. Evremar was elected in his place.⁵⁸

The words describing Patriarch Evremar as, on the one hand, servant of God in the temple of his Grave, and on the other hand as devoted helper (*adiutor*) of King Baldwin in the fight against the Saracens and unfaithful, best depict the situation of the Church in Jerusalem. Continuous fights for the patriarchal throne led to the weakening of the authority of the clergy. The king profited from the situation by skilfully using the Holy See to maintain control over the appointment of patriarchs and the organisation of the patriarchate.

A few years later, a dispute broke out between Evremar and Arnulf of Chocques. Evremar claimed his rights to Jerusalem as the one who had been elected patriarch of Jerusalem under canonical law, however archdeacon Arnulf did not want to concede. Therefore, the pope decided to send another legate, Ghibbelin of Arles whose mission was to resolve the whole matter.⁵⁹ On 4 December 1106, Pope Paschalis II wrote a letter in which he addressed King Baldwin I, the clergy and the people of Jerusalem. The Church of Jerusalem

⁵⁶ AA, VII, 51, p. 560.

⁵⁷ Ibidem.

⁵⁸ Ibidem, IX, 16-17, pp. 656-658.

⁵⁹ PK, pp. 104-107, no. 8 (RRH no. 49).

suffered depravity, first because of the matter of Daimbert, and now again because of Evremar. In the first half of 1108, the council in Jerusalem, taking place under the leadership of the papal legate, confirmed the pope's decision to remove Evremar from the patriarchate. At the same time, Evremar was elevated to the position of archbishop of Caesarea.⁶⁰

In winter of 1009/1010, the church council resumed its works after the first sessions had been held at the beginning of 1008. Ghibbelin of Arles was then elected patriarch. This was a symbolic date closing the first decade of existence of the Kingdom of Jerusalem. That date can be regarded as such for several reasons. Ghibbelin, who had been consecrated bishop by Gregory VII himself, was taking the place of Evremar with a clear reputation of success of the royal policy. The king skilfully exploited the papacy, advancing accusations against his political opponents. The election of Ghibbelin was also a fiasco for the local elites of the clergy, which were not able to present their own candidate who could be appointed as bishop. In fact, this evidenced the dependence of the Church on the king. The idea of primacy of spiritual authority in Jerusalem turned out to be just a chimera.

At the same time, everything depended on the adopted perspective. Considering the exceptional circumstances of the Holy Land, the limits between the worldly authority and the spiritual authority were perceived completely differently. Both the king and the patriarch were burdened with duties and responsibility considerably exceeding the traditional division of these powers. This can be clearly derived not only from the documents and chronicles of the Crusader states, but also from the letters of bishops and popes that were sent to the East. The king and the patriarch were supposed to lead together the battling and triumphing Church to the Heavenly Jerusalem. On the expiration of the first decade, the balance of political forces clearly favoured the king, however the theological perspective was completely different.

Ghibbelin of Arles died two years later and was replaced by Arnulf ultimately returning to the patriarchal throne after several years. Then, tremendous scandals hit the patriarchate in connection with the patriarch's lifestyle.

The trial of Arnulf can be seen as a kind of epilogue summarising the first years of existence of the Latin patriarchate in Jerusalem. The patriarch of Jerusalem was accused of simony, dissolute lifestyle and violation of canon law by recognising and blessing the third marriage of Baldwin I. At the beginning of 1115, the church council chaired by Berengar, bishop of Orange

60 WT, p. 501 (RRH no. 50); William of Tyre, *Historia rerum...*, XI, 4.

and papal legate, removed the patriarch from office finding him guilty of simony. Arnulf appealed against the decision to the pope himself.⁶¹

On 19 July 1016, Pope Paschalis II wrote a letter informing the king, the Church of Jerusalem, both the clergy and the layman of his judgment in the case of Patriarch Arnulf, which would be a response to the allegations of birth as illegitimate child, of holding sexual relations with women and the fact of his appointment as patriarch of Jerusalem by King Baldwin, instead of an election held under canon law.⁶²

The leader of the group of accusers was Evremar, archbishop of Caesarea, who summoned two women as witnesses, of which one would be a Muslim – a Saracen. The Pope sent his legate to the East. Arnulf and many others of his *brother bishops* were summoned to Italy. The Pope notes that multiple letters reached him with a request to acquit Arnulf and to grant him dispensation as an illegitimate child. Numerous protests erupted against the allegedly biased decision of papal legates. The king, the bishops, the abbots and numerous other priests of the Kingdom of Jerusalem stood up for him. The mighty clergymen swore an oath that they had elected Arnulf patriarch of Jerusalem without concerns or fears of violence and duress on the part of the king. Moreover, Arnulf himself swore that he was not guilty of any offences. That is why the Pope reinstated Arnulf as patriarch of Jerusalem. At the same time, to justify the dispensation, he referred to a citation from the First Epistle of Peter: "...because love covers over a multitude of sins."⁶³

V

Following the death of Baldwin I and the appointment of his successor – Baldwin II – the image of relations between *regnum* and *sacerdotium* in the Kingdom of Jerusalem was to undergo deep transformations. The Council of Nablus held on 16 January 1120 constitutes one of the most interesting events in the context of relations between the secular and spiritual authority in the Kingdom of Jerusalem. Interestingly, from among the chroniclers, Fulcher of Chartres who was the most contemporary to those events (he died in 1127) did not mention the council at all. On the other hand, William of Tyre did so by devoting one of the chapters of his chronicles to the council, however he did not mention any of its conclusions, which he justified by claiming that they were commonly known in the entire Kingdom of Jerusalem then. In principle, he reproduced only the introduction to the canons and referred to a list of

⁶¹ RRH, no. 81.

⁶² E. de Rozerie, *Cartulaire de l'église du Saint Sépulcre de Jérusalem*, Paris 1849, no. 11, p. 11.

⁶³ 1 Peter 4.8.

dignitaries attending the council.⁶⁴ Cerbano Cerbani, a Venetian clergyman, acted in a similar fashion; around 1125-1133 he described the translation of the body of Saint Isidore of Chios to Venice and, on that occasion, mentioned that council held by the Church.⁶⁵ Furthermore, he claimed that during the council's sessions it was agreed to send a mission to Venice to request assistance for the Crusader states. Then, the same mission would go to see Pope Callixtus II with the same request. Cerbano mentioned the patriarch of Jerusalem and the patriarch of Antioch as participants of that council.

The council of Nablus was a meeting of a mixed character – of the clergy and of *Curia Regis*. Although the archbishop of Jerusalem could chair the council, King Baldwin II played an equally important role, which was pointed out in the *Prologue*, where they are both named as initiators of the event. Although in the prologue the patriarch is mentioned before the king, already in the first article of the code a reference is made to the chairing of the council by the king of Jerusalem: “[...] I Baldwin, the second king of Latin Jerusalem, opening in the spirit of God, as he had commanded, this holy assembly.”⁶⁶ It should be noted that both in the *Prologue* to the articles of the council in Nablus and in the account of William of Tyre, the participants of the meeting include not only the king and the clergy, but also the most eminent barons which formed the core of *Haute Court*.

Hans Eberhard Mayer⁶⁷ came to the conclusion that the meeting of the dignitaries of the kingdom in Nablus should not be treated as a church council but as a session of the Royal Council. At the same time, he points out at the account of William of Tyre who reported in his chronicle the essence of the meeting, as it seems: “[...] conventus publicus et curia generalis, but also apud neapolimurbem Samariae concilium celebratur.”⁶⁸

The object of the meeting included both matters of organization and financing of the Church (primarily the tithe) and issues of morality, while the resolutions adopted at the meeting contained very severe penalties for the listed moral offences. Without a doubt, the key to the understanding of the causes of these resolutions was the situation of the Kingdom of Jerusalem at that time.

The *Prologue* of the code begins with the words: “In the 1120th year of the Incarnation of the Lord – after, as our sins demand, the country of Jerusalem was devastated by many calamities and for four years it was laid waste, with

64 William of Tyre, *Historia rerum...*, I. XII, c. XIII.

65 Cerbanus Cerbani, *Translatio mirifici martyris Isidori a Chio insula in civitatem Venetam*, in: *Receuil des historiens des Croisades. Historiens occidentaux*, V, Paris 1895, p. 322.

66 Ibidem, art. I, p. 44.

67 H.E. Mayer, *The concordat of Nablus*, “Journal of Ecclesiastical History” XXXIII (1982), p. 532.

68 William of Tyre, *Historia rerum...*, L. XII, c. 13.

its crops consumed by locusts and its walls by frequent Saracen assaults and plots, and with so many of its pilgrims and citizens murdered [...]."⁶⁹ A look at the situation of the Kingdom of the time was enough to understand that these words were not only a stylistic effort but a real description of the difficulties that the Kingdom of Jerusalem faced then. A fairly laconic reference to frequent assaults by Saracens and the resulting deaths of many pilgrims should be noted as well. That situation required the implementation of safety measures, primarily on the pilgrimage routes and the author directs the narrative to another event witnessed at the time: the formation of the Order of the Knights Templar which was created for that purpose precisely. It was probably then when Hugues de Payens or rather Hugues de Paganis⁷⁰ made vows together with his companions before the patriarch of Jerusalem.⁷¹

The order of the Knights Templar was probably established between 14 January and 13 September 1120.⁷² Undoubtedly, the most favourable opportunity for making vows was the council in Nablus. The hypothesis is confirmed by the fact that Christian settlers in Outremer experienced harsh conditions and the meeting in Nablus was held in an atmosphere of depression and contrition. A reference to the murder of pilgrims, as can be found in the *Prologue*, probably referred to the events that took place around 1119, when about 700 Christian pilgrims fell into a trap and most of them were murdered or held captive. A relief sent by Baldwin II proved to be unsuccessful.⁷³

The fact of making the vows by the first Knights Templar during the deliberations of the council is indirectly referred to in article twenty of the criminal code from Nablus, which allowed self-defence to the members of the clergy (and the Knights Templar are monks-knights): "If a cleric should bring arms for the sake of defence, let him not be held culpable."⁷⁴

This may be further attested to by a heated debate on the theology of war and participation of the clergy in bloodshed, that is precisely in connection with the newly created order. Many critical comments were addressed to the western clergy by Anna Komnene, who with indignation mentioned numerous priests commanding the knights, leading them to attack.⁷⁵ It seems that it was precisely at that time when an idea began to emerge in the Holy Land according to which *causa defensionis* represented an exception from

69 M. Małecki, *Kodeks...*, p. 40.

70 M. Moiraghi, *Tajemnica templariuszy*, Kraków 2009, pp. 19-37.

71 B. Frale, *Templariusze*, Warszawa 2008, p. 25.

72 Here, I accept the reasoning of Malcolm Barber. See M. Barber, *Templariusze*, Warszawa 1999, p. 17f.

73 *Ibidem*, p. 15f.

74 M. Małecki, *Kodeks...*, article XX, p. 63.

75 Anna Komnena, *Aleksjada*, transl. O. Jurewicz, II, Wrocław 2005, L. X c. 8, pp. 420-421.

the prohibition on the clergy to shed blood, while the idea of the Knights Templar would be part of a unique and specific “defence of necessity”. This interpretation was not immediately accepted or acknowledged by the then Europeans, as shortly after the formation of the order, Bernard of Clairvaux took his pen (although not without personal hesitations) to defend the new ethos of a monk – a warrior, and to consolidate the new shape of theology of violence in face of criticism from many Christians.⁷⁶

This new attitude of the Christian West towards violence was the fruit of transitions occurring in the era of the Gregorian revolution. Andre Vauchez stressed the eschatological dimension of the spirituality, noticeable in the policy of Gregory VII.⁷⁷ According to the vision of that pope, western society should constitute a battlefield on which the faithful subjects of Christ would fight a decisive battle with dark forces surrounding the Church. It was not supposed to be a spiritual fight only, especially reflected in the monastic ethos, but the Church had the right to resort to physical violence, if it was to serve salvation.

Some arguments seem to indicate that it was during the council of Nablus that patriarch Garimond and Gerard, prior of the Basilica of St. Sepulchre, called on the archbishop of Compostela, Diego Gelmirez, and his subordinates to send armed aid in form of military units, money and food as soon as possible.

Based on the reading of the *Prologue* to the code of Nablus and using other sources, it can easily be concluded these were times of crisis for the Kingdom of Jerusalem. The pilgrimage routes remained insecure, the country faced a four-year period of poor harvest and famine, which in 1120 could have contributed to the exemption from levies on food articles in Jerusalem. In addition to poor crops and invasions by Saracens, a military disaster was mentioned as well – the lost Battle of Ager Sanguinis and the size of the defeat which was shocking for the Latins.⁷⁸ Then Ilghazi surrounded and completely crushed the Franks – only two barons escaped alive. Roger himself was killed in the fight together with the flower of his knighthood, and the prisoners were murdered as well.⁷⁹

In Compostela, the patriarch begged for donations and in 1120 the cantor of the Holy Sepulchre sent a particle of the Holy Cross to his former church

76 K.F. Komarnicki, *Etos mnicha wojownika w kontekście teologii wojny na podstawie Reguły Templariuszy i Pochwały Nowego Rycerstwa św. Bernarda z Clairvaux*, “Rocznik Teologii Katolickiej” XII (2013) 2, pp. 197-218.

77 A. Vauchez, *Duchowość średniowiecza*, Gdańsk 2004, p. 47f.

78 M. Małecki, *Kodeks...*, p. 41.

79 Ibidem. There, description of the battle in the footnote.

in Paris with a discrete request to be admitted to the Paris chapter, especially that in 1114 he did not take part in the formation of the community by the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, and in 1121 he still lived in Jerusalem in his own home.⁸⁰ Thus, fears for the very existence of the kingdom could be seen.

VI

The *Prologue* of the code of Nablus clearly referred to the history of Chosen People. It concerned in particular the contacts of the Jewish nation with women of different cultures and nations. These contacts obviously threatened the cohesion of the nation and the monotheistic religion, to which the prophets of the Old Testament pointed. Sexual intercourse thus became the main problem. It was seen as a source of decline of the state, not excluding the fall of the ruler of a rank such as King Solomon. This was mainly as a result of violating moral traditions that the Israelites moved away from God and became idolaters contrary to the first commandment.⁸¹

The *Prologue* of the code of Nablus expressed similar statements – strict laws were established “in order to curtail the decayed customs people.”⁸² Fulcher of Chartres, who lived in that time, did not however report any extraordinary decline in the morals of the whole people but referred to one fact only to justify natural disasters – the bigamy of the first king of Jerusalem, Baldwin I.⁸³ The authors of the code may have considered that by that fact precisely the Chosen People – the Kingdom of Jerusalem abandoned God, and Baldwin like Solomon turned away from the path of law and justice. It is therefore likely that the council was intended to constitute a propitiatory prayer and reinstate the covenant between God and his Chosen People, which had been severely weakened.

Thus, a quite simple conclusion emerged: if that kingdom was to survive until the glorious advent of the Messiah, it must become internally pure and united, and using the words of *Song of Songs* the kingdom should be the Bride remaining in purity for the sacred Groom, i.e. Christ. Fidelity to God in matters of sexual conduct was largely an indicator of respect of the covenant in relation to Him.

One can say, simplifying the matter considerably of course, that it was a council of spiritual salvation for the morally declining city, a sort of concordat between Jerusalem and the Church (in the first three canons); at the

80 H.E. Mayer, *Historia wypraw krzyżowych*, Kraków 2008, pp. 128-129.

81 Neh. 13.23-27.

82 M. Małecki, *Kodeks...*, Prolog, p. 40.

83 FC, II, 60, pp. 602-605.

same time, all the adopted canons were to form a new covenant with God. One of the premises supporting such an interpretation of that view was the wide availability of the canons of the councils in the Kingdom according to William of Tyre.

The excerpt of the *Prologue* cited below may be crucial for the understanding of the whole essence of the council in Nablus: "For since, at that time especially, the people of the aforesaid country followed every degrading desire – and therefore, weakened, they tempted misfortune every day – it seemed to them that the sole refuge was to pray for the mercy of God and to put in place some restraints of justice on the sins of the plummeting people. Then, after the people gave up their sins, as we have read happened amongst the Israelite people, divine vengeance might be held back. And the mercy of God, who desires not death, but the correction of sinners, delivered the penitent sons from the threatening danger of the enemy."⁸⁴

It seems that the citing of this particular passage from the Holy Bible, from the Book of Ezekiel was not accidental. The context of the cited passage refers to the restoration of the Kingdom of God, however it should be considered to what extent it reflected the understanding of the council and was a stylistic figure, a conventional justification. Nonetheless, the context of these passages of the Book of Ezekiel is an extraordinary reflection of the circumstances in which Jerusalem found itself in that time and this analogy must have been obvious to people whose conscience was in a large degree based on the Holy Bible. This may highlight a deep identification of the elites of the Kingdom with the New Jerusalem.

The Book of Ezekiel describes the crisis and the path to restore a purified Kingdom of God: It is very likely that the elites of the Kingdom saw an analogy between these events referring to the Chosen People of the Old Covenant and those which affected the Kingdom of Jerusalem at the beginning of the 12th century and that they consciously included a passage from *The Book of Ezekiel* in *The Prologue* to emphasise that they turned away from sin and wished to follow the law and justice to save the Kingdom.

Moreover, it may be of some significance when considering the fight for *libertas ecclesiae*, to which I will also refer below; in this context, the restoration of the Kingdom of God may mean turning away from sinful deeds, the return of the people to God and the establishment of order between *regnum* and *sacerdotium*, as the *Prologue* states that the council was convened "to raise up the Church and fix firm the country."⁸⁵

⁸⁴ M. Małecki, *Kodeks...*, *Prolog*, p. 41. See Ezek. 33.10 (all the citations of the Bible after: *Biblia Tysiąclecia*, ed. IV, Poznań 2003).

⁸⁵ M. Małecki *Kodeks...*, *Prolog*, p. 40.

VII

The original idea of the Holy Land as papal fiefdom did not survive not only because of personal ambitions but also the local reality that required efficient and strong secular authority to preserve the existence of the Kingdom. At the same time, it should be noted that it was an internal power in the state – that of secular barons – which played a decisive role in the political processes of the Kingdom. This in turn weakened the position of papal legates who found it hard to impose anything as long as the king enjoyed support of the strongest barons in the state. The spiritual authority became an important player only when the king took decisions that were not popular among the barons, and this made concessions to the Church necessary. It seems that the council of Nablus was such a concession.

Nonetheless, it is clearly noticeable that, although the patriarch of Jerusalem was mentioned twice before the king,⁸⁶ it was the king who actually chaired the council. The purpose of the council however, as stated in the *Prologue* itself was “raise up the Church and fix firm the country.”⁸⁷ During the deliberations of the council in Nablus, it was decided that the king should return the tithes to the bishops. In the next article, which provides for the handing over of the tithes, the king and the barons confessed to *superbia*⁸⁸ – pride. At the same time, having acknowledged their guilt, they asked for forgiveness.⁸⁹ In the next article patriarch Garmundus confirmed the acceptance of the tithes by the Church.

It should be noted that the system of tithes in the Kingdom of Jerusalem was quite specific, since they belonged personally to the bishops and not to individual parishes. This state of affairs was justified by the underdeveloped church administration as the Church had not yet possessed a proper structure at the time.⁹⁰ A question arises however, what exactly led Baldwin II to hand over the tithes which he had held in person to date. It seems that the concordat of Nablus – as the event was referred to by Hans Eberhard Mayer⁹¹ – was the first formal normalisation of the situation existing between the secular and spiritual authorities. Although in Europe the investiture controversy had already entered its last phase, in the East, the Church clearly remained pre-Gregorian and private to a large extent.

86 M. Małecki *Kodeks...*, *Prolog*, p. 40-42.

87 *Ibidem*.

88 *Ibidem*, article II, p. 45.

89 M. Małecki, *Kodeks...*, article II, p. 45.

90 H.E. Mayer, *The Concordat...*, pp. 533-534.

91 *Ibidem*, p. 536.

In the context of the reform of the Church and the fight for *libertas ecclesiae* it is worth mentioning the dispute between Baldwin and Patriarch Daimbert, who denied Baldwin I emoluments for knights on the grounds of the following statement: he who serves the altar, should also make a living of it, to which Baldwin would reply that if circumstances so require, also a Christian knight should make a living of the altar, especially in face of the danger that Saracens appropriated those goods themselves by force.⁹² In view of such a response, the papal legate tried to intervene – a threat of excommunication was even at stake. However, king Baldwin was a stubborn “king of pre-Gregorian era” and the threat was ignored – he collected considerable levies from the Church despite increasingly strong protests by the patriarchs. The dispute ultimately led to Daimbert’s exile, which shows the attitude of king towards *libertas ecclesiae* and the Gregorian reform.⁹³ In the context of these events, an admonishment letter addressed to Baldwin was written by no other person than Archbishop Anselm of Canterbury himself, one of the most outstanding theologians of the time. Congratulating to Baldwin on his elevation to the throne of king of Jerusalem, he admonished him that he who treats the Church as his private property shall turn from son into a stranger. The admonition had virtually no effect which was not a surprise.⁹⁴

The situation of the Church in Jerusalem and the impact of the Gregorian reform on the relations there were therefore different from the European heritage of the crusaders. In general, we do not have any reports of cases of simony; it should be noted however that people like Patriarch Arnulf could be vulnerable to such a phenomenon.⁹⁵ On the margin of this digression, it is worth reminding the phenomenon of imposing by the rulers of the kingdom of their candidates to episcopal thrones, which meant the lack of free, canonical election of bishops. One example that is known in history is the one of Queen Melisende, who without scruple imposed candidates of her bishops to episcopal thrones in Outremer.⁹⁶ The Holy Land was not the only exception in that respect, as similar events occurred in England and also in Poland, and only the reign of Pope Celestine III, who abolished the royal entitlement to approve episcopal elections, brought truly free elections of the clergy.

In any event, compared to Europe, the Kingdom of Jerusalem is not specially different, which means that the kings had a strong influence on the election of bishops, even in times of Pope Innocent III so important to the reform of the Church. The situation was mainly caused – which is

92 After: H. E. Mayer, *The Concordat...*, p. 536f.

93 Ibidem, p. 537.

94 Ibidem, p. 538.

95 Ibidem.

96 William of Tyre, *Historia rerum...*, L. XVIII, c. 20.

understandable – by local conditions, that is the need to unite forces in the fight against the common Muslim enemy; hence the practice of royal supervision over episcopal elections was tolerated by the Pope and the local Church. The strict policy of Baldwin towards the Church did not meet with effective opposition of church authorities and the example of the king was followed by the barons such as Tancred of Galilee. Therefore, until the nineties of the 12th century, the kings of Jerusalem never gave up their control over the election of bishops, always preserving and enforcing their right to choose between the nominated candidates.⁹⁷

A quite interesting suggestion was put forward by Hans Eberhard Mayer.⁹⁸ In his view, during the election, Baldwin II probably reached an agreement with Joscelin II, promising the Edessa county to him. At the same time, he concluded a settlement with Arnulf who was mentioned above, and these could be the assurances to hand over the tithes (which happened in Nablus) that were the price set by the Church of Jerusalem in exchange for the anointing of the king which took place on 14 April 1118.⁹⁹ However, the reasons presented by H.E. Mayer, who claimed that the council in Nablus was only “the payment of the price” for the election of Baldwin, seems to be largely unfounded. Even if one accepts that Baldwin entered into an arrangement with Arnulf, not later than two weeks after the anointing he died and, by recommendation of the same king, the next patriarch was a clergyman from Picardy, Warmund of Picquigny (about whose past not much information exists). This was an appropriate choice since Warmund, who represented a combination of the practical mind of Arnulf with a truly pious nature, won over widespread respect among the barons.¹⁰⁰ This appointment, which occurred shortly after the death of the then Pope Paschalis, restored good relations between Jerusalem and Rome.¹⁰¹ Nonetheless, the issue of a possible implementation of the promises given by Baldwin to Arnulf was revived. Even if Baldwin actually promised some concessions to the Church to Arnulf, it seems however that the premature death of the patriarch and the election of Warmund led to a “reset”. It is unlikely that the council convened two years later was the fruit of efforts by Arnulf who had already been dead for long. Baldwin must therefore have been driven by much wider and deeper motives. It is possible that the plan was to strengthen the alliance with the Church and put an end to all disputes in view of a difficult political and military situation

97 H.E. Mayer, *The Concordat...*, p. 539.

98 *Ibidem*.

99 S. Runciman, *Dzieje wypraw krzyżowych*, II: *Królestwo Jerozolimskie i frankijski wschód 1100-1187*, Katowice 2009, p. 130.

100 *Ibidem*.

101 William of Tyre, *Historia rerum...*, L. XII, c. 6.

in the Kingdom. Another motive, which should not be overlooked, could be the intention to show the Pope and the Emperor a way of reaching conciliation by the two of them. In this way, the king of Jerusalem could wish to become a global player, immediately after the Pope and the Emperor, and thus ensure their support and assistance in the fight with unbelievers.

Therefore, handing over the tithes and admitting guilt by Baldwin II in the first three canons essentially ended the dispute between the Church and the Kingdom, although the issue of canonical elections and freedom of the Church did not arise at the time. Since the tithe was paid not in relation to the place (a given parish) but to the bishop, and this due to a precarious situation in administrative and religious terms on many lands, it became necessary for the bishop to circulate the tithes within the administrative limits of specified lands and not beyond them.¹⁰² Of course, the problem did not exist in Europe where local tithes applied and not personal as in the Kingdom of Jerusalem. Assurances given to the local clergy were therefore necessary so as the barons can feel confident that the tithes returned by them would be used within the limits of their domains.¹⁰³

H.E. Mayer advanced a thesis in that connection suggesting that the silence of Fulcher of Chartres on the council of Nablus and its conclusions stemmed from his ambivalent attitude towards these issues. On the one hand, as a clergyman, he could be satisfied with decisions taken during the council with respect to the Church of Jerusalem, on the other – as a long-standing chaplain of Baldwin I, he could consider this event a failure of his policy of “firm hand” towards the Church.¹⁰⁴

Further, the silence of William of Tyre about the wording of the same canons seems to be justified by the fact of their common availability, of which the chronicler mentions on the pages of his work. Therefore, the reasons presented by H.E. Mayer for the silence of William of Tyre on the content of the canons themselves seem unnecessary. H.E. Mayer was of the opinion that if indeed Arnulf was their initiator, William passed over their content due to his spitefulness as a critic of that priest. At the same time, as a zealous advocate of *libertas ecclesiae* he did not want to admit in face of his adversary that the conduct of the latter was right. It may be that, as a royal chronicler, he preferred to leave this concordat unsaid as it was embarrassing for the relations between the king and the clergy.¹⁰⁵ It is also possible that the silence resulted from the fact of unfulfilled expectations of its initiators? Maybe the

102 M. Małeckki, *Kodeks...*, article I, III, pp. 44, 46.

103 H.E. Mayer, *The Concordat...*, p. 541.

104 Ibidem.

105 Ibidem, p. 542.

council, which was intended to lay the foundations for the organisation of the new kingdom, did not in practice play such an important role? I will still try to answer these questions.

H.E. Mayer as the first historian called the resolutions of the council in Nablus a concordat,¹⁰⁶ because he believed that they had been designed to establish a new order between the secular authority and the Church. Then, also the mission sent to the Venetians and the Pope would gain a new significance.

Could Baldwin II count on a quick reconciliation of the Emperor's authority and papal authority, which when untied could support the Holy Land and ensure the newly created Kingdom a safe existence or even expansion? Or maybe he expected that combined efforts of a united *regnum* and *sacerdotium* would be directed towards Jerusalem and seal the reconciliation? Of course the compromise reached in Nablus could actually be a model inspiring that idealistic solution in the hope of applying a similar one throughout Europe, while the papacy and the empire would resume close cooperation. Baldwin II believed that this would be the secular authority precisely which would provide the Church with a living space, protection and freedom. *Libertas ecclessiae* would not mean freedom from secular authority, but freedom protected and ensured by the secular authority.

It seems possible that the intention of the so-called concordat of Nablus was to implement the original ideas of reform of Pope Gregory through a new order between *regnum* and *sacerdotium*. The matter of the tithes and secular interference in the church estates from the point of view of the law had already been resolved by the canons of the First Council of Lateran in 1123 and the Second Council of Lateran in 1139.

As regards the tithes, the council in Nablus had adopted the rules which were later introduced by the councils of Lateran; the latter however deprived the laymen of the administration of the church estates. The vision of the councils departed from the vision of the authors of the Nablus canons who envisaged a close cooperation between the spiritual and secular authority, aimed at ensuring the freedom of the former, while the reform of the Church ended with a demand of freedom from the secular authority itself.

VIII

John of Ibelin wrote one of the most extensive legal treaties of the Middle Ages. In one of the books of his work created in mid-13th century and known

106 Ibidem, p. 543.

as *Le Livre des Assises*, he presented the essence of the authority in the Kingdom of Jerusalem:

In the Kingdom of Jerusalem there are two rulers: one spiritual and one secular.

The patriarch of Jerusalem is the spiritual ruler while the king of the Kingdom of Jerusalem is the secular ruler.¹⁰⁷

Since the beginning of existence of the Kingdom of Jerusalem, two different visions of its organisation, nature and essence of power had clashed. The idea of the pope that the Kingdom of Jerusalem should be a protectorate of the Holy See could not materialize. However, the vision of the elites of the crusader clergy, who viewed Jerusalem as an episcopal capital equal to Rome, where the secular ruler would be subordinated to the spiritual ruler, did not survive the clash with reality either. At the same time, secular princes were not able to implement the harsh pre-Gregorian policy and bring the Church under secular control.

A relatively strong authority of the king by medieval standards was however completely differently viewed by observers from other cultural civilisations. A Muslim perspective on the king, the authority and the judiciary of Franks is extremely interesting as well. In his *Book of Learning by Example*, Usama ibn Munikdh reported the following story:

The Franks – let Allah leave them – do not have any other virtues apart from courage, however their knights enjoy priority and a high position; no one is so highly valued as knights. They are the ones to give opinions, issue judgements and decisions. And so once I asked them to give a fair judgement about a flock of sheep, which was seized in the forest by the lord of the town of Benijas. Peace reigned between us and the Franks then, and I was staying in Damascus. I told king Fulcher son of Fulcher: “He acted unjustly – he took our animals when the sheep had lambs; lambs were born and died immediately. He returned sheep to us without lambs”. Then the king said to six or seven knights: “Raise and pronounce a judgement in this case!”. They came out of the meeting room and deliberated behind closed doors until they have reached a unanimous opinion. Then, they returned to the meeting room of the king and said: “We decided that the ruler of Banijas should compensate them for what they had lost”. And the king ordered to pay him a compensation. But he addressed me, insisted and begged until I accepted four hundred dinars from him. Such a ruling, if approved by the knights as well, can be changed neither by the king nor by any person from among the princes of the Franks. It is because a knight is a great honour for them.¹⁰⁸

¹⁰⁷ John of Ibelin, *Le Livre des Assises*, ed. P.W. Edbury, Leiden-Boston 2003, 225, p. 590.

¹⁰⁸ *Kitab al I'tibar. Księga pouczających przykładów dzieło Usamy ibn Munkidha*, ed. and transl. J. Bielawski, Wrocław 1975, pp. 130-131.

The first years following the conquest of Jerusalem was a time of huge euphoria. The crusaders were led from victory to victory over divided rulers in Palestine. These were not easy victories however, and political and military reason was not blunted by successive triumphs.

The capture of Jerusalem was to be the culminating point of the world history, a new beginning; an eternal spring of the world was to start. As M.C. Gaposchkin put it, the crusade was a *monastery en route*¹⁰⁹ and the crusader would be *temporary monks*.¹¹⁰ Being a crusader, however, meant to find oneself in the heart of the mission of Christianity, being a crusader meant to be a true Christian, that is to say a second Christ.

The crusaders were true Israelites.¹¹¹ The Old Testament would only be an announcement of a new journey to Jerusalem. For the crusaders, the New Testament was not a closed book, but the work of God which was still continued and fulfilled precisely by them, co-redeemers of the world.

Therefore, the first years following the conquest of Jerusalem were a sort of advent, anticipation of the one who would turn everything into the new. These ideas inspired the attitude of Godfrey who refused the crown and focused on building a community around the Holy Sepulchre which was to embody the vigilant Church. The spiritual authority and the secular authority were to unite on Earth so as every creature could connect with Heavenly Jerusalem.

An extraordinary and peculiar passion of unity in diversity can be captured in the various works undertaken during the crusade and after its completion. A strict unity of the faithful of different rites, freeing all Christians from injustice (also economic), the unity of the secular and spiritual power, incessant common prayer and permanent vigil in anticipation of the coming of the Lord are the ideas to which a lot of political and theological energy was devoted.

At the same time, both Godfrey and Baldwin I efficiently dealt with internal and military policies of their state. They achieved numerous military victories, strengthening the presence of Franks in the Holy Land. The treaties and alliances with Muslim rulers feuding with one another proved to be equally effective. Baldwin I appeared to be an agile politician, who was able to dominate his opponents both the mighty lords and the clergy. Paradoxically, the papacy proved to be an ally of Baldwin who under the cover of implementation of reformist ideas of the Papacy gained considerable power over the Church of Jerusalem which changed its initial projects of supremacy of spiritual authority into internal feuds, disputes and scandals.

109 M.C. Gaposchkin, *Invisible Weapons...*, p. 94.

110 Ibidem, p. 211.

111 Ibidem, p. 183.

The reign of Baldwin II brought an opportunity to organise mutual relations differently. The council of Nablus was the fruit of many ideas, plans and needs. Among the general pessimism and fear of the wrath of God, it was to provide an answer to everything that had caused acrisis in Jerusalem; it was a specific renewal of the covenant between God and his people. "Prayers of piety and works of justice"¹¹² were to constitute the longed-for salvation for the tormented people.

On the one hand this renewal consisted in creating an appropriate framework for cooperation between the king and the Church. The Nablus concordat cannot be assimilated only to apolitical reward handed over by Baldwin to the Church, in exchange for his elevation as Mayer suggests.¹¹³ The assembly of secular dignitaries and the clergy of the Kingdom was essentially intended to solve the problems that existed not only in *Outremer*, but primarily affected the entire Christian world due to the so-called investiture controversy. Granting control over the tithes to the Church and specifying the rules for close cooperation of *regnum* and *sacerdotium* was an attempt to pave a common way for these two forces not only in the Kingdom of Jerusalem; it was also designed to be a model for the western world divided by the conflict of the Pope and the Emperor. From the point of view of Jerusalem, it was a world deprived of power needed to defend the holiest place in the universe as this power was wasted in a fratricide dispute. As early as in 1122, the Concordat of Worms completed an important phase of that specific clash, however both the papacy and empire ended up weakened.¹¹⁴ Perhaps due to the short interval between Nablus and Worm, the first one could not play a role that was attributed to it by its initiators. In view of the political reality and mechanisms of the global game, instead of two united forces two weakened poles were formed who began to drift apart. If the demands of Nablus had been implemented in the entire Christian world, Jerusalem could have counted on a much larger support and would have more chances to remain a Christian city. And although history followed a different path, it is worth remembering the interesting initiative of those who gathered in Jerusalem not only to save the Kingdom under threat, but to combine Church and secular authority to establish a new order, to improve "the condition of the Church and the Earth."¹¹⁵

It seems difficult to identify direct beneficiaries of the solutions adopted during the council of Nablus. On the one hand, it can be said that the Church proved to be victorious by receiving a security for the collection of the tithes

112 M. Małecki, *Kodeks..., Prolog*, p. 40.

113 H.E. Mayer, *Historia...*, pp. 129-130.

114 K. Skwierczyński, *Recepcja...*, pp. 39-40.

115 M. Małecki, *Kodeks..., Prolog*, p. 40.

and by strengthening its positions in relation to the king. On the other hand, the king gained an ally in the Church, by specifying the framework of close cooperation and by ensuring the Church its freedom it becomes its guarantor at the same time. The object of the resolutions of the council of Nablus were the misdeeds that played a role in the marriage scandal of Baldwin, as noted by Mayer,¹¹⁶ such as bigamy and homosexuality of which the king was accused, and also sexual intercourse with Saracens as well as pimping which was charged to Adelaide. The conclusion that the victorious Church allegedly harmed the pre-Gregorian Jerusalem monarchy should be met with criticism. It was patriarch Arnulf, who only a few years earlier had been accused of adultery and contacts with Saracen women, and the offences of the clergy were severely punished by the code of Nablus, often vesting the king and the patriarch with the power of last resort in the resolution of disputes. It was in Nablus when the powers of the royal tribunals were defined and expanded. Therefore, instead of pointing at victors, it would be appropriate to state that both forces were strengthened and united in the fight against the common enemy.

translated by Piotr Gumola

ABSTRACT

The article is devoted to the issue of relations between the secular and spiritual authority since the capture of Jerusalem in 1099 until the Council of Nablus in 1120. It essentially focuses on the nature and theological importance of the crusade and the crusader states as well as the eschatological significance of Jerusalem, which have a huge impact on the perception of power and mutual relations between *regnum* and *sacerdotium*.

The crusaders viewed themselves as the new Chosen People, regarding themselves as presumed co-redeemers of the world. By conquering Jerusalem they were to bring about the second advent of Christ. These ideas inspired the attitude of Godfrey who refused the crown and focused on building a community around the Holy Sepulchre which was to embody the vigilant Church. However, this idea fell into oblivion when following the death of Godfrey the patriarch and the new king Baldwin clashed in the fight for real dominance in the Kingdom of Jerusalem. Paradoxically, the papacy proved to be the ally of Baldwin who under the cover of implementation of reformist ideas of the Papacy gained considerable power over the Church of Jerusalem. Whereas the Church's initial projects of supremacy of spiritual authority turned into internal feuds, disputes and scandals.

Finally, the article presents the subject of the council of Nablus analysed in the context of development of the political system of the Kingdom of Jerusalem and the reform of the Church. This council was essentially envisaged to lead to the formation of a new covenant between God and the Kingdom of Jerusalem – based primarily on the respect for moral norms and customs. The authors of the code of Nablus intended to create a new order between *regnum*

116 Ibidem.

and *sacerdotium*, where the secular authority was to ensure the so-called freedom of the Church. Granting the control over the tithes to the Church and specifying the rules for close cooperation of *regnum* and *sacerdotium* constituted an attempt to trace a common path for these two forces not only in the Kingdom of Jerusalem but it was also designed to be a model for the western world divided by the conflict of the Pope and the Emperor.

MAGDALENA SATORA
 WARSZAWA

CRITICAL EDITION OF THE PROCEEDINGS AGAINST THE TEMPLARS IN PARIS (1309-1311)



Over the several last decades, researchers studying the history of the Templars have directed a renewed interest towards the publication of sources pertaining to various aspects of the Order's activity. Historians are keen to point out the shortcomings of the existing editions, including, above all, their fragmentary character, and turn to entire groups of previously unpublished documents that remain virtually unexploited in research.¹ The gaps have been partially filled by the recently published editions of source documents related to the Templar trial which preceded the Order's suppression in 1312. This primarily include the records from the Templar interrogations conducted at various stages of the proceedings: immediately after the arrest of the Order's members in France in October 1307,² during the subsequent inquisition trials

¹ The issues were discussed, for instance, during the conference organised by Monumenta Germaniae Historica and Historisches Seminar der Ludwig-Maximilians-Universität in Munich, on 24-27 February 2014. The session yielded a volume which, on the one hand, pointed to the key shortcomings of the existing source material publications, and on the other, suggested new directions for research pertaining to the so far unexplored documents and signalled the projects of new editions covering groups of largely poorly known sources – *The Templars and Their Sources*, eds. K. Borchardt, K. Döring, P. Josserand, H. Nicholson, London-New York 2017.

² M. Miguet, *Templiers et Hospitaliers en Normandie*, Paris 1995, p. 138; A. Gilbert-Dony, *Les derniers templiers de Caen: étude des documents relatant leurs tribulations (1307-1311)*, "Bulletin de la Société des antiquaires de Normandie" XLII (1994-1997), pp. 190-193; A. Nicolotti, *L'interrogatorio dei Templari imprigionati a Carcassonne*, "Studi Medievali" LII (2011) 2, pp. 697-729; A. Baudin, G. Brunel, *Les templiers en Champagne. Archives inédites, patrimoines et destin des hommes*, in: *Les Templiers dans l'Aube*, Troyes 2013, pp. 63-69; S.L. Field, *The Inquisitor Ralph of Ligny, Two German Templars, and Marguerite Porete*, "Journal of Medieval Religious Cultures" XXXIX (2013), pp. 1-22; idem, *Torture and Confession in the Templar Interrogation in Caen, 28-29 October 1307*, "Speculum" XCI (2016) 2, pp. 319-327.

held in various countries,³ as well as in the course of the investigations waged against the Order as a whole by the dedicated papal commissions assigned to that task. Among the latter, modern editions have been published for documents from the proceedings conducted in the British Isles, Cyprus, as well as Italy.⁴ So far, however, no critical edition has been provided for sources related to the investigation instigated by papal commissioners in Paris, between 1309 and 1311, i.e. the most significant and extensive proceedings in the entire case brought against the Templar Order. The trial records detail all activities undertaken by the commission, pertaining both to the preliminary stage of the work undertaken between August 1309 and April 1310, as the commissioners awaited the arrival of Templars willing to defend their Order and subsequently organised the trial with the participation of over six hundred brothers arriving in Paris, as well as containing the records of two hundred thirty-one witness interrogations.

Researchers exploring this stage of the Templar trial base their analyses primarily on the edition of the source documents prepared by Jules Michelet and his associates at the Archives Nationales, dating back to the first half of the 19th century.⁵ This two-volume publication contains not only documents related to the trial launched against the Order by the papal commission in Paris, but also records of the interrogations of Templars conducted immediately

3 *Le procès des Templiers d'Auvergne (1309-1311). Edition de l'interrogatoire de juin 1309*, eds. R. Sève, A.M. Chagny-Sève, Paris 1986; J.M. Sans i Travé, *L'inedito processo dei Templari in Castiglia (Medina del Campo, 27 aprile 1310)*, in: *Acri 1291. La fine della presenza degli ordini militari in Terra Santa e i nuovi orientamenti nel XIV secolo*, ed. F. Tommasi, Perugia 1996, pp. 227-264; F. Tommasi, *Interrogatorio di Templari a Cesena (1310)*, in: *Acri 1291...*, pp. 265-300; B. Frale, *L'interrogatorio ai Templari nella provincia di Bernardo Gui: un'ipotesi per il frammento del Registro avignonese 305*, in: *Dall'Archivio Segreto Vaticano. Miscellanea di testi, saggi e inventari*, I, Città del Vaticano 2006, pp. 199-272; *The Proceedings against the Templars in the British Isles*, ed. H.J. Nicholson, I-II, Farnham 2011; *The Trial of the Templars in the Papal State and Abruzzi*, ed. A. Gilmour-Bryson, Città del Vaticano 1982; *The Trial of the Templars in Cyprus: A Complete English Edition*, ed. A. Gilmour-Bryson, Leiden 1998; A. Nicolotti, *L'interrogatorio dei Templari imprigionati a Carcassonne*, "Studi Medievali" LII (2011) 2, pp. 697-729.

4 *The Proceedings against the Templars...*; *The Trial of the Templars in the Papal State...*; *The Trial of the Templars in Cyprus...*

5 *Le procès des Templiers*, I-II, ed. J. Michelet, Paris 1841. Fragments of documents from the Paris trial had already been published earlier. A selection of the records was first put out in print in the 17th century by the French erudite Pierre Dupuy (*Traitez concernant l'histoire de France: sçavoir la condamnation des Templiers avec quelques actes, l'histoire du schisme, les papes tenant le siège en Avignon et quelques procez criminels*, Paris 1654; idem, *Histoire de l'Ordre militaire des Templiers, ou Chevaliers du Temple de Jerusalem, depuis son établissement jusqu'à sa décadence & sa suppression*, Bruxelles 1751), followed by a German-Danish philologist and theologian Daniel Gotthlif Moldenhawer (*Der Prozeß gegen den Orden der Tempelherren aus den Originalacten der päpstlichen Commission in Frankreich*, Hamburg 1792). However, since the publication of the Michelet edition, it has not been used by researchers.

after their arrest in Paris⁶ and later on in Mas-Deu (in 1309).⁷ Subsequently, another edition of documents related to the Templar trial was prepared in early 20th century by Georges Lizerand, however, this publication contained only several selected records from the Paris proceedings.⁸ Michelet's edition remains, therefore, the most comprehensive source material base available to researchers to date.

By and large, historians do not question the value of this publication. In 1986, a reprint of it was published with an introduction by Jean Favier. No modifications to the content were introduced relative to the original edition. It was not until a short analysis of the text was published in 1990 in "Bibliothèque de l'École des chartes" by Anne-Marie Chagny-Sève that attention was drawn to numerous transcription errors made by Michelet which considerably hinder identification of the names and places mentioned in the documents.⁹ More importantly, the discussed edition is also burdened with significant deficiencies which greatly limit its value as the basis for further research on the matter, specifically:

1. It is based on only one of the two existing, original manuscripts. It also fails to include the surviving rough draft/notes left behind by one of the notaries taking part in the proceedings;
2. It contains only a fragmentary index of names and places and the proposed identification of the persons involved is often incorrect, among other factors due to the aforementioned transcription errors;
3. Apart from the personal index, it fails to provide any additional critical apparatus.

In an attempt to remedy the above problems, a new critical edition of the Paris investigation documents was prepared and was published in early 2020.¹⁰ In the course of working on it, it was discovered that filling in the gaps present in Michelet's publication yielded considerably more new content and previously unknown information than might have been originally expected. The new edition settles numerous problems that have so far eluded researchers, verifies

⁶ *Le procès des Templiers*, II, pp. 275-420.

⁷ *Ibidem*, pp. 421-515.

⁸ *Le Dossier de l'affaire des Templiers*, ed. and transl. G. Lizerand, Paris 1923 (repr. 1964, 1989), pp. 146-195.

⁹ A.-M. Chagny-Sève, Jules Michelet. *Le procès des Templiers (Paris: Editions du C.T.H.S., 1987; 2 volumes in-8, XVI-684 et VI-542 pages [Ministère de l'Éducation nationale. Comité des travaux historiques et scientifiques. Format, 2])*, "Bibliothèque de l'École des chartes" CXLVIII (1990) 1, pp. 221-222.

¹⁰ *Processus contra Templarios in Francia. Procès-verbaux de la procédure menée par la commission pontificale à Paris (1309-1311). Édition critique, I-II*, ed. M. Satora, Later Medieval Europe, XXI, Leiden 2020.

various detailed assumptions made about the Paris trial, and indicates new research avenues and questions that require further analysis. The most important of them will be briefly discussed in the below review of the main challenges and issues faced in the preparation of the edition, as well as the benefits of the solutions proposed therein.

THE PRESERVED MANUSCRIPTS OF THE PARIS TRIAL RECORDS

Two of the three original manuscripts of the proceedings against the Templar Order in Paris survive until this day.¹¹ The first, written in the form of a paper codex, is preserved in the manuscript department of the Bibliothèque nationale de France (BnF).¹² It was the one used by Michelet as the basis for his edition. The second is preserved in the Archivio Segreto Vaticano, in the Archivum Arcis¹³ collection, and it was not available to researchers for many years. Michelet was aware of its existence but, as he admits in the introduction to his work, he was unable to take advantage of it.¹⁴ When a dozen or so years ago, the situation finally changed, historians started pointing to the need to collate the two manuscripts.¹⁵ The general assumption, however, was that the two were largely parallel, with one being the original and the other a copy.¹⁶ But upon a careful analysis of the two manuscripts, it was discovered that in fact both are originals, written simultaneously by two different notaries,¹⁷ and as such, are not entirely identical.

¹¹ The existence of the third manuscript is evidenced in the source document itself. In a letter sent by the commissioners to the Pope upon conclusion of the trial, three copies of the trial records are mentioned – two made on parchment and one on paper (*Processus contra Templarios in Francia...*, I, fol. 219r). One of the parchment manuscripts did not survive. We also know nothing about its intended purpose or later history.

¹² Bibliothèque nationale de France (henceforth: BnF), Ms Lat. 11796. In recent years, the BnF also released its digital copy, <https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b100328115> (accessed 14 November 2019).

¹³ Archivio Segreto Vaticano, A.A. Arm D 206, D 206 bis.

¹⁴ *Le procès des Templiers*, I, p. III.

¹⁵ H. Nicholson, *Introduction*, in: *The Proceedings against the Templars...*, I, pp. xxii-xxiii; D. Carraz, *Rezension von: Helen J. Nicholson (ed.), The Proceedings against the Templars in the British Isles*, Aldershot: Ashgate 2011, “sehepunkte” XII (2012) 3, <http://www.sehepunkte.de/2012/03/20990.html> (accessed 14 November 2019).

¹⁶ L.-L. Lavocat, *Procès des frères et de l'ordre du Temple d'après des pièces inédites publiées par J. Michelet et des documents imprimés anciens et nouveaux*, Paris 1888, p. 215; *The Proceedings against the Templars...*, I, pp. xxii-xxiii; S.L. Filed, *La fin de l'ordre du Temple à Paris: le cas de Mathieu de Cressonessart*, in: *La fin de l'ordre du Temple*, ed. M.A. Chevalier, Paris 2012, p. 109; A. Luttrell, *The Election of the Templar Master Jacques de Molay*, in: *The Debate on the Trial of the Templars (1307-1314)*, eds. J. Burgtorf, P.F. Crawford, H.J. Nicholson, Farnham 2010, p. 23, note 18.

¹⁷ It was recently pointed out in A. Demurger, *La persécution des templiers. Journal (1307-1314)*, Paris 2015, p. 357, note 3.

The Vatican manuscript is in the form of a parchment roll (*rotulus*) consisting of 96 membranes attached serially, not all of which survived to this day. 15 middle membranes are missing – 61st through 75th – covering a part (58) of witness statements. The remaining membranes remain in mostly good condition, with the exception of the two first membranes from the first part of the manuscript and membranes 76th and 77th – the initial membranes of the second part of the manuscript which show signs of mould and moisture damage. Their condition is bad enough in fact to render them largely illegible. For the same reasons, only parts of the text on membranes 3rd through 6th and membrane 53rd can now be read.¹⁸

The manuscript was written by a single hand, in a clear and fully legible handwriting. Its author was Bernard Filliol, a papal notary originally from the Limoges diocese (the Duchy of Aquitaine), i.e. most likely a native speaker of the Occitan language.¹⁹ This information is particularly pertinent to the assessment of the document's value and research significance as a vast majority of the brothers involved in the Paris trial originated from the territories of the Kingdom of France and spoke either French or Occitan themselves. In turn, the author of the second manuscript, the one used by Michelet, was an Italian by the name of Florimond Dondedieu of Mantua.²⁰ While language differences may not have been as significant when it came to writing down the testimonies as such, since they were all translated into Latin and are therefore practically identical in both documents (apart from minor mistakes and some omissions in certain parts of the texts), they mattered greatly when it came to writing down names. An analysis of the two manuscripts revealed that the most evident and numerous discrepancies could be identified with regard to the spelling of names which the scribes apparently recorded as they heard them. And given the fact that there are approximately two thousand names of both people and places mentioned in the text, some of which reappear several or even over a dozen times throughout the document, that particular issue weighs considerably on our ability to correctly identify the respective people and places, which in turn, given the character of the source document, becomes a key factor in its full understanding. In this respect, the Vatican manuscript proves very helpful since the names included therein tend to be considerably more accurately spelt as compared to those in the Paris document, likely on account of the aforementioned language differences. For this reason, the Vatican manuscript constitutes an important source primarily

¹⁸ For more detailed material description of the Vatican manuscript, see *Introduction*, in: *Processus contra Templarios in Francia...*, I, pp. 25-29.

¹⁹ *Processus contra Templarios in Francia...*, I, fol. 219v, A².

²⁰ *Ibidem*, fol. 219r.

in the context of the recently intensifying prosopographical studies devoted to the Templars.²¹

Another factor evidencing the particular value of the Vatican manuscript is the fact that upon the conclusion of the Paris commission sitting, it was the one that ended up at the Roman Curia and was most likely the basis for the debate on the final resolution of the Templar matter that took place during the council of Vienne (1311-1312).²² Meanwhile, the Paris manuscript was, according to the information included in the document itself, to be deposited in the treasury of Notre-Dame Cathedral after the conclusion of the trial and was not to be disclosed to anyone without the special consent of the Pope himself.²³ Furthermore, one should also consider the fact that the latter document was written on paper, i.e. a material considerably less valuable than the parchment used for the Vatican manuscript, which suggests that the former was treated as an additional copy, likely prepared in case the other two parchment documents were somehow damaged or lost.

As follows from the above, it may be the case that the Vatican manuscript constitutes the more important copy, one which may indeed provide some new insights in the context of research conducted on both the Paris trial as such or more broadly, the final decades in the history of the Templar Order. This, in turn, leads to the conclusion that new edition of the trial records ought to rely primarily on the Vatican copy. Unfortunately, due to the already mentioned absence of a significant number of the membranes and the damage to others, the existing gaps are too extensive for this solution to be fully viable. Hence, the new edition is, by necessity, also based on the Paris manuscript, but this time collated with the Vatican document.

Apart from the discussed issue of identifying the names, the Vatican manuscript also provides researchers with other new insights complementing the content of the Paris manuscripts. They are primarily due to the inaccuracies of the latter document's author who was not above omitting certain sections of the text as well as the names of persons mentioned in the records. The

21 The most extensive recent prosopographical studies based on the Templar trial documents have been conducted by A. Demurger. See especially: idem, *Le "peuple templier" ou du bon usage d'un procès*, in: *La fin de l'ordre du Temple*, pp. 43-60; idem, *Éléments pour une prosopographie du "peuple templier". La comparution des templiers devant la commission pontificale de Paris (février-mai 1310)*, in: *Élites et ordres militaires au Moyen Âge. Rencontre autour d'Alain Demurger*, eds. P. Josserand, L.F. Oliveira, D. Carraz, Madrid 2015, pp. 17-36; idem, *Le Peuple templier 1307-1312. Catalogue prosopographique des templiers présents ou (et) cités dans les procès-verbaux des interrogatoires faits dans le royaume de France entre 1307 et 1312*, Paris 2019.

22 As follows from the text of the source document – *Processus contra Templarios in Francia...*, I, fol. 219r.

23 Ibidem.

existence of said omissions becomes apparent only once the two manuscripts are collated, which means that historians could not have been previously aware of them. Such omissions are present for instance in the lists of brothers prepared during each hearing of a group of Templars or individual witnesses conducted by the commissioners or their emissaries.²⁴ Meanwhile, said lists constitute a very important source of information for historians as they provide an opportunity to trace the involvement of respective brothers in the subsequent stages of the proceedings. The Vatican manuscript contains certain additions thereto, which facilitates the verification of earlier findings. Specifically, in its text we come across six names completely unmentioned in the Paris document.²⁵ Conversely, there are no instances where the Paris manuscript would in any way complement the Vatican text.

Apart from the two surviving copies of the proceedings, we are also able to refer to a third source document directly related to the Paris trial, i.e. the rough draft compiled by one of the notaries taking part in the sessions of the commission. It is maintained by BnF²⁶ and has been partially included in the edition of the Templar hearings conducted in Auvergne.²⁷ The editors concluded that the notes were drafted by one of the commissioners, not by a notary. However, the analysis of the three manuscripts conducted while preparing the present edition seems to contradict this conclusion. A comparative study of the handwriting indicated that the author of the rough draft was in fact, most likely, the notary of the French king, Bernard Humbaud of Barcelona.²⁸ His notes include: a questionnaire serving as the

²⁴ Most of the Templars taking part in the trial stood before the commission several times. First when they declared the willingness to defend their Order (*Processus contra Templarios in Francia...*, I, fol. 15v-59v, *passim*), next in the course of two meetings during which the list of charges (*ibidem*, fol. 23r-25r, 25v-29r) which the proceedings were to investigate was read, and subsequently when they gave their testimonies (*ibidem*, fol. 45r-218v) or refused to further participate in the trial (*ibidem*, fol. 72r). At the stage of preliminary proceedings preceding the hearings, the commissioners encouraged the brothers to elect several procurators who would stand before the commission as representatives of all the Templars involved. Consequently, the notaries participating in the proceedings were dispatched to all prisons in Paris where the Templars were being held to determine whether they wished to nominate their representatives – *ibidem*, fol. 29r-44v. See also *ibidem*, II, Annexe 2: *Liste des templiers participant à la procédure devant la commission pontificale à Paris (1309-1311)*, pp. 967-1167.

²⁵ This pertains to the lists of brothers standing before the papal commission for the first time (*Processus contra Templarios in Francia...*, I, fol. 19v, 22r, 25r), taking part in one of the meetings (28 March) convened by the commissioners (*ibidem*, fol. 28r), held in various prisons located throughout Paris (*ibidem*, fol. 34r), or refusing to further participate in the trial (*ibidem*, fol. 72r).

²⁶ BnF, Baluze 395.

²⁷ *Le procès des Templiers d'Auvergne...*, pp. 265-268.

²⁸ BnF, Ms Lat 11796, fol. 219v; A.A. Arm. D 206bis, fol. 21bis; Baluze 395.

basis for the interrogations, containing one hundred twenty-seven articles identical to those included in the proceedings;²⁹ the text of the oath taken by the witnesses interrogated during the inquisition trial, which likely served as a template used by the commission;³⁰ fragments of the testimony given by one of the Templars;³¹ as well as the names of brothers sworn in by the commissioners during two subsequent days of hearings, in February 1311.³² Although relatively short, the document provides valuable insights into the working methods of the commission as a whole as well as of the notaries writing documents. It also includes an interesting clue for future research on the swearing-in procedure employed during the Paris trial in the form of the mentioned text of the oath taken by the testifying witnesses. It allows one to infer the models employed by the commissioners and leads to an interesting conclusion that the investigation did not in fact adhere to any recognised, fully formalised procedure known to exist in either canon or secular law. Furthermore, a closer examination of the text reveals that the commission did not use the full formula in the course of all the interrogations conducted.³³ This, in turn, leads to questions regarding the reasons behind those and other procedural choices made by the commissioners in the course of the proceedings, and emphasises the need for a more in-depth analysis of this particular aspect of the trial which has not been fully explored by historians to date.

IDENTIFICATION AND INDEX OF NAMES AND PLACES

As mentioned above, the most important challenge faced by researchers analysing the Paris proceedings and editors of said source document stems from the great number of persons mentioned therein. And their correct identification is pivotal to the full understanding of its content. This is true both in terms of analysing the involvement of the respective brothers in the proceedings, as well as interpreting and evaluating the reliability of their testimonies, many of which often mentioned the same events and referred to the same persons. This task is hindered by two key factors: firstly, a given person may be referred to differently in different parts of the manuscript. For

²⁹ *Processus contra Templarios in Francia...*, I, fol. 23r-24v.

³⁰ *Ibidem*, II, Annexe 1: *Fragment de manuscrit α, non inclus dans les procès-verbaux*, p. 965.

³¹ *Ibidem*, I, fol. 104v.

³² *Ibidem*, fol. 117v, 121r.

³³ During the interrogations of several first witnesses, the order to maintain the secrecy of testimonies was not enforced. It was first mentioned by the commissioners after the interrogation of the seventh witness – *Processus contra Templarios in Francia...*, I, fol. 55r.

instance, the respective brothers could be identified by the names of places they originated from or the house in which they lived or served a particular function.³⁴ There are also cases where only the given name or function served in a house or province is provided.³⁵ Another already mentioned problem is the misspelling of names, evident predominantly, although not exclusively, in the Paris manuscript.

An attempt to reconcile those differences was made in recent years by Alain Demurger. The results of his study allowed a vast majority of the problems falling under the first of the mentioned categories to be resolved. Having analysed all the lists of Templars compiled during the respective stages of the proceedings, the researcher concluded that brothers facing the commission in groups, usually arriving from outside Paris, continued to stand before the commissioners in the same groups at later stages.³⁶ This insight was exploited in the course of work on the new edition and provided the basis for determining the comprehensive list of Templars participating in the Paris trial, intended to facilitate the reader's better understanding of the source material and at least partially replace overly extensive footnotes. The list, provided as an annex to the edition, is composed of eight hundred twenty-eight names. It includes basic information regarding each brother's career within the Order, participation in the Paris trial and the preceding inquisition investigations, as well as places where his name appears in witness testimonies given at various stages of the proceedings.³⁷ In a vast majority of the cases, it was possible to determine the involvement of the respective Templars in the subsequent stages of the trial. Some controversy arises only with regard to a single name included in the list. A certain André *Mosterii* from the Amiens diocese is mentioned only once in the entire document. He was included, by both scribes, in a group of brothers taking part in one of the meetings convoked by the commissioners for the purposes of reading out the charges brought against the Order.³⁸ The same list also includes another name, specifically André Le Métayer originating

34 E.g. Robert de Saint-Just, who is also referred to as Robert de Beauvais and Robert de Saint-Pantaléon, the place where he served as the commander. See *Processus contra Templarios in Francia...*, I, fol. 61r and the index indicating other mentions.

35 E.g. Albert de Grumesnil, who is most often referred to in Templar testimonies as Albert, the chaplain of Sommereux – *ibidem*, fol. 62r-63r, 122v, 124r, 167v, 171r-171v, 177r-177v.

36 A. Demurger, *Le "peuple templier"...*; *idem*, *Éléments pour une prosopographie...*; *idem*, *La persécution de templiers...*, pp. 186-188.

37 *Processus contra Templarios in Francia...*, II, Annexe 2: *Liste des templiers...* The model for this list was derived from the annex provided by Helen J. Nicholson to the edition of the proceedings against the Templars in the British Isles – *The Proceedings against the Templars...*, II, pp. 496-581.

38 The reference is made here to the meeting of 28 March 1310 – *Processus contra Templarios in Francia...*, I, fol. 27v. See also *ibidem*, II, Annexe 2: *Liste de templiers...*, no. 20.

from the same diocese,³⁹ with this person appearing also in another section of the document. It seems likely that the two were in fact one and the same person included twice in the proceedings due to the notaries' error. Should this assumption prove true, the number of Templars taking part in the Paris proceedings should be reduced by one, but it seems unlikely that the matter can be conclusively resolved at this point.

Apart from the group directly involved in the trial, the proceedings also mention approximately one thousand other members of the Order. Unfortunately, Demurger's conclusions offer no help when it comes to identifying them. Therefore, a key task in this case is related to resolving issues concerning the discrepancies observed in the spelling of names appearing in the two manuscripts. In extreme cases, the texts may contain up to even twenty-thirty versions of the same name.⁴⁰ However, a far more common situation entails the presence of several repeated and largely similar forms.⁴¹ The identification of respective Templars is naturally also greatly facilitated by any mention to the diocese they originated from, the house they lived in, as well as the specific context in which they were mentioned. All such data were utilised in determining the basic information pertaining to each respective brother appearing in the text, as well as verifying the testimonies in which they were mentioned. Due to the overwhelming number of such instances, the decision was made to avoid, similarly to the case of Templars participating in the Paris trial as such, the use of extensive footnotes and limit the content only to basic information on each of the names next to their first mention in the source text.⁴² In some cases, this may lead to a confusion when a given

³⁹ Ibidem, I, fol. 28v. See also ibidem, II, Annexe 2: *Liste de templiers...*, no. 19.

⁴⁰ The most extreme case is a village of Janville which appears in the text under the names of: *Corvella, Enval, Envalle, Gentevilla, Genvilla, Genvile, Germilla, Grenvilla, Grevilla, Invalle, Jamalle, Jamvalle, Jamvila, Jamvoile, Jamvilla, Janvila, Jemval, Jemvilla, Jemville, Jenivilla, Jenval, Jenvalle, Jenvoile, Jenvilla, Yemval, Yemvilla, Yenvalle, Yenvoila, Yenvilla* – *Processus contra Templarios in Francia...*, I, fol. 8r-8v, 9v-10r, 11r, 12r, 14r, 15v, 17r-17v, 18v, 28r-28v, 29v-30r, 31r, 32v, 45r, 62v, 67v, 69r, 71v-72r, 91r, 99r, 117r, 119r, 121r, 122r-122v, 140r, 144v, 176v, 217v, 219r.

⁴¹ E.g., the name of one of the notaries participating in the proceedings, Bernard Filliol, appears in several alternative forms: *Filhoi, Filhol, Filholi, Filholus, Filhous, Filiholi, Filioli, Fliholi* (ibidem, fol. 4r-219v, *passim*); the name Jean, borne by the largest number of Templars mentioned in the source document, was transcribed in five different forms: *Jehan, Joannes, Johan, Johannes, Johen*.

⁴² The solution was also employed by A. Gilmour-Bryson in the edition of the records from the Cyprus trial (*The Trial of the Templars in Cyprus...*). However, in the documents which she edited the number of names appearing in the text is relatively small. The publishers of the proceedings against the Templars in Auvergne (*Le procès des Templiers d'Auvergne...*) gave up on including notes altogether, instead providing extended information on each of the participants in the comprehensive index. In her edition of documents from the Templar trial in the British Isles (*The Proceedings against the Templars...*, II), which contains numerous names mentioned in a variety of contexts, H.J. Nicholson employed yet another solution by providing notes

person's name reappears in different forms throughout the manuscript, which adds to the importance of the detailed index of names provided for the reader's convenience. It employs certain solutions somewhat deviating from the standard approach, as the index includes all the versions of the given name appearing in the document, also in the critical apparatus. Apart from the forms found in the two collated manuscripts, it also mentions versions of names incorrectly spelt by Michelet which, nonetheless, have functioned in literature since the 19th century. In the case of place names that have been successfully identified, each entry also includes its modern form. This task proved to be impossible only for two hundred fifty names out of the total of over two thousand appearing in the text. In sixty cases, the modern name could be provided but the exact location could not be determined due to the existence of a number of localities bearing the same name within the given geographical area defined based on the available source information.⁴³ One should bear in mind, however, that in many cases the posited identification is only a suggestion that needs to be corroborated in the course of further, more detailed studies. Doubts related to the same may stem from spelling discrepancies identified between the two manuscripts but also from other concerns that need to be taken into account whenever an attempt is made to identify a specific person or place. As an example of problems that were not conclusively resolved and therefore require further research, one could mention the case of the "Vienne diocese" mentioned in the testimonies of several brothers. Demurger identified eight Templars who – in various contexts, during the 1307 interrogations in Paris, the proceedings conducted by the papal commission, or the Cyprus trial – declared the same as their place of origin.⁴⁴ Given the fact that at the time, the Vienne archdiocese was located outside the borders of the Kingdom of France, while the monastic careers of said brothers would be related to houses located in Champagne, Demurger assumed that an error must have occurred in the records. The researcher suggested that the testifying Templars did not in fact refer to the Vienne diocese, but rather two small localities of Vienne-la-Ville and Vienne-le-Château, both located in the vicinity of Châlons-en-Champagne, Champagne.⁴⁵ Such an interpretation is indeed plausible and seems rather logical at first glance, but for two factors suggesting the contrary to be true. Firstly: the same diocese name was provided in both manuscripts of the Paris

facilitating their identification also in some places where they reappeared in the text, but not in all, which forced the reader to nonetheless heavily rely on the index.

⁴³ E.g. Marcilly (*Processus contra Templarios in Francia...*, I, fol. 9r), La Folie (*ibidem*, fol. 11r), Châteaueux (*ibidem*, fol. 106r) and others.

⁴⁴ A. Demurger, *La persécution...*, p. 297.

⁴⁵ *Ibidem*, pp. 297-299.

trial records,⁴⁶ as well as in documents pertaining to the Cyprus hearings.⁴⁷ Were this a mistake, one would have to assume it was made several times in a row by three different scribes, which is doubtful at best. Secondly: as evidence supporting his theory, Demurger mentioned the case of a Templar house mentioned in the manuscript under the names of *Valloysa* or *Valoysa*, located in the Vienne diocese⁴⁸ which, in his opinion, ought to be identified as *Avalleur* in the department of Aube, Champagne. It seems, however, that this identification is not correct. The commandery of *Avalleur* is in fact mentioned in the Paris trial records under the names of *Valeure*, *Valeurre*, *Valeyre*, *Valoire*, *Valoyre*, or *Valoyrie*,⁴⁹ but never in the form specified above. It is more likely, therefore, that the reference here is to the Templar house of *La Valloire* (*Beaurepaire*) in Auvergne, one that was indeed located within the former Vienne diocese, mentioned as such only once in the entire source document. This interpretation is further supported by the context in which it appears. The testifying witness described staying in *Chalon-sur-Saône* on his way from Paris to the house in question.⁵⁰ One look at the map will reveal that such a journey would indeed be plausible. On the other hand, the commandery of *Avalleur* was in fact located closer to Paris than *Chalon-sur-Saône*. The aforementioned factors weaken the viability of Demurger's thesis, albeit do not completely contradict it. The situation is complicated even further by the repeated reference in the documents to a place named *Vienesium* or *Viennesium*,⁵¹ which should most likely be identified as the region of *Vienne* (*Viennois*), mentioned interchangeably with the name of the town or diocese of the same name. In this case, one could just as easily understand it as the area of *Vienne* in Auvergne, one of the two localities proposed by Demurger, or even the vicinity of the *Vienne* river cutting across the region of *Nouvelle-Aquitaine*. Hence, this particular question remains at least partially open. This is but one example of several issues related to identifying place names that continue to be unresolved.

THE PARIS MANUSCRIPT – WHAT WE DO NOT FIND IN MICHELET'S TRANSCRIPT

Upon closer analysis, the Paris manuscript also reveals a number of traits that are key to the correct understanding of the entire text but were not duly reflected in the transcript prepared by Michelet. One of such aspects is the

46 *Processus contra Templarios in Francia...*, I, fol. 17r, 26v, 150r, 183r and others.

47 *The Trial of the Templars in Cyprus...*, pp. 101. 241.

48 *Processus contra Templarios in Francia...*, I, fol. 56r.

49 *Ibidem*, fol. 104r, 114r, 135v-136v, 144v.

50 *Ibidem*, fol. 56r.

51 *Ibidem*, fol. 146r, 149r, 166v, 205v-206r, 212r.

evident lack of consistency and certain carelessness of the author. The spelling of many words is erratic, variable in time or in the respective sections of the manuscript. The same pertains both to names and other Latin words. To exemplify the problem, one could mention the names of two dioceses: Cahros, mentioned as *diocesis Carturcensis*⁵² or *diocesis Caturcensis*,⁵³ and Clermont, which the manuscript initially refers to as *diocesis Claromontensis*⁵⁴ or *diocesis Claramontensis*,⁵⁵ but later uses the second form almost exclusively.⁵⁶ As was the common practice in 19th century source document publications, Michelet took it upon himself to correct many such errors and inconsistencies without informing the reader of it in any way, but at the same time left many sections of the text unaltered, hence prompting a partially distorted reception of the published source. The reader ought to be made aware of all inconsistencies and errors existing in the original document as they constitute an important indication of the text's reliability and the extent of caution one needs to employ in its interpretation, particularly with regard to identifying proper names. Indeed, should one consider the same in conjunction with the previously discussed impact of the original author's native language on the spelling of the respective names, which becomes apparent only once the two surviving manuscripts are collated, one inescapably arrives at the conclusion that the Paris manuscript constitutes a somewhat unreliable source in this respect. For this reason, in the new edition the decision was made not to standardise the spelling of the respective words and only indicate such inconsistencies in the introduction.⁵⁷

The margins of the Paris manuscript contain a variety of side notes and drawings, none of which were mentioned by Michelet even though they may prove potentially very valuable to researchers. Some of them were added at the stage of preparing the final version of the manuscript, others appeared over the course of the subsequent centuries. The former includes over ninety supplements to the omitted fragments of the text which evidence, similarly to the aforementioned spelling inconsistencies, the overall carelessness of the author.⁵⁸ Besides them, the margins also contain a variety of additional information, identical in both manuscripts, likely included by the notaries to facilitate easier navigation of the text by the reader. For instance, this was

52 E.g. *ibidem*, fol. 19r, 59v and others.

53 E.g. *ibidem*, fol. 99v, 194r and others.

54 E.g. *ibidem*, fol. 4v, 16r, 25r, 110r and others.

55 E.g. *ibidem*, fol. 4 r, 15v and others.

56 E.g. *ibidem*, fol. 121r, 133r, 183r and others.

57 M. Satora, *Introduction*, in: *Processus contra Templarios in Francia...*, I, p. 39. Examples of inconsistent spelling of Latin words are also provided therein.

58 E.g. *ibidem*, fol. 89v, 121v, 169, 217v and others.

likely the purpose of assigning numbers to the respective witnesses giving their testimonies. The numbers were provided not only at the beginning of each hearing but also next to any mention of a given witness appearing in the other people's testimonies. This allowed the authors to emphasise the relationships between the respective interrogated brothers and facilitated the verification of their accounts. A closer analysis of the numbers noted on the margins revealed that in at least two cases, the authors made a mistake by incorrectly indicating witnesses with names or surnames identical to those of the people actually discussed.⁵⁹ Apart from it, however, the notation is largely accurate.

Additional information is also provided by notarial marks found at the top and bottom margins of the respective pages, in various places throughout the manuscript.⁶⁰ At first, it seemed that the placement of them was random (in the second manuscript the notarial marks are found at the places where the subsequent membranes are joined together⁶¹). However, upon closer analysis of the respective pages of the manuscript, which vary slightly in terms of size, it was revealed that the notarial marks were placed at the beginning and end of each section from which the text was originally composed. Eventually, the sections were combined to form a uniform document, likely when the work was being bound, and many sheets had to be trimmed to fit in the binding.⁶² This information adds to our knowledge about the original creation of the Paris manuscript and its subsequent history.

As already mentioned above, the margins also contain various notes and drawings added at a later time, most probably in the 17th century. These are likely to have been made by Pierre Dupuy who prepared the first publication of a part of the proceedings, an assumption further corroborated by the comparison of the handwriting in the notes with that in his description of the source documents maintained at the BnF.⁶³ While his comments are usually limited to only a few words of summary next to the hearing they pertain to, hence no additional information is usually conveyed by them, the drawings are an altogether different story. The most notable of the latter include: a drawing of two Templars riding a single horse with the devil sitting behind them – an illustration of a story related by one of the witnesses;⁶⁴ a bearded head most likely representing the idol mentioned by the Templars;⁶⁵ as well as a female head, partially ruined tower and sinking boat sketched at the margin

59 Ibidem, fol. 117v, 175v, Annexe 2: *Liste de templiers...*, nos. 442, 639.

60 E.g. ibidem, fol. 1, 12v-13, 24v-25 and others.

61 Ibidem, ill. 3.

62 For more information on the manuscript's history see M. Satora, *Introduction*.

63 BnF, Ms Français 3876.

64 *Processus contra Templarios in Francia...*, I, fol. 203v. See also the illustration on the cover and in M. Satora, *Introduction*.

65 Ibidem, fol. 105r, 203r.

of a testimony containing a story which alludes to the mythological motif of Medusa.⁶⁶ The drawings convey interesting examples of how the testimonies given during the Paris trial were perceived and interpreted by an educated 17th century reader and the author of works pertaining to the Order and its downfall. As such, they certainly warrant a closer analysis and further study.

* * *

The documents from the Paris trial against the Templar Order continue to inspire research interest despite having been first published already nearly two hundred years ago. The new edition provides a base for further studies on the trial and the final decades of the Order's existence. By taking into account the second surviving manuscript of the proceedings, previously not analysed by historians, the edition provides new insights and information necessary for a better understanding of the document. Among other benefits, the collation facilitates easier identification of the people involved in the events, which, given the specific character of the source, is crucial to its proper interpretation. In this context, new, previously unavailable tools provided to researchers in this edition prove particularly, specifically the complete index of names and places mentioned in the Paris trial records and the list of all Templars involved in the proceedings held before the papal commission. Additional insights are also gained from the reanalysis of the Paris manuscript – previously transcribed by Michelet, albeit without the critical apparatus that constitutes an indispensable element of modern source document publications. Given the above, it is believed that the new, critical edition of the Paris proceedings may, at least to some extent, answer the postulates regarding publications of sources pertaining to the Knights Templar voiced by contemporary researchers studying the history of the Templar Order.

translated by Robert Bubczyk

ABSTRACT

In the early 2020 a new edition of the Paris proceedings against the Templar Order (1309-1311) was published. By contrast with the edition by Jules Michelet, which was published for the first time in the first half of the 19th century, based on one of the two existing manuscripts, this one is based on both manuscripts and includes a modern critical apparatus. In this article the most important challenges connected with preparation of the new edition have been discussed as well as the results which were produced thanks to the proposed solutions. Also the most important findings, which resulted from collating both existing manuscripts, have been outlined as well as some new directions in studies which can be shown at the same time.

66 Ibidem, fol. 209r.

V. IN MEMORIAM

PROFESSOR KAROL MODZELEWSKI (1937-2019)



Karol Modzelewski was born on 28 November 1937 in Moscow as Kirill Budniewicz. In 1945 he arrived with his family in Poland, where he received his new surname Modzelewski after his stepfather. His first name was also changed into Karol. Only then did he begin to learn Polish. In 1954 he passed his A-level exams in The Klement Gottwald General Education Secondary School number 14 in Warsaw and in the same year he commenced his studies in history at Warsaw University. He studied in the Faculty of History of this university, and he wrote his M.A. thesis under the academic supervision of professor Aleksander Gieysztor. After graduating from university he spent one year on work placement in the Historical Institute of Warsaw University. In 1961-1962 he was granted a scholarship by the Fondazione Giorgio Cini in Venice, during which he wrote a monograph on the estate of the Venetian monastery of San Zaccaria in the Middle Ages. The work was published in Italy. He was expelled for political reasons from doctoral studies, which he had started in the Historical Institute of Warsaw University in 1962, after two years. In 1965-1967, 1968-1971 and in 1981-1984 he was imprisoned for his activity as an oppositionist. In 1972-1981 Modzelewski was employed in the Institute of History of Material Culture at the Polish Academy of Sciences (Polska Akademia Nauk – PAN), and in 1987-1992 in the Historical Institute at PAN. He received his PhD in 1974, under the academic supervision of Aleksander Gieysztor, based on the dissertation entitled *The Economic Organization of the Piast State (10th-13th Centuries)* (*Organizacja gospodarcza państwa piastowskiego /X-XIII w./*). He received his qualification as a university professor (Pol. *habilitacja*) in 1978 in the Historical Institute of PAN, based on a dissertation on social and economic structures in Lombard and Carolingian Italy. This work is entitled *La transizione dall'antichità al feudalesimo* and was published in the volume *Storia d'Italia. Annali*, vol. I: *Dal feudalesimo al capitalismo* in 1978.

In turn, in 1987 the book entitled *Peasants in the Early-Piast Monarchy (Chłopi w monarchii wczesnopiastowskiej)* was published, which formed the basis for starting the procedures to award Karol Modzelewski the title of full professor. He received this academic title from the Polish President in 1990. In 1992-1994 he worked in the Historical Institute at Warsaw University, in the Department of Medieval History. In 2004 he became a member-correspondent of the Polish Academy of Sciences, and from December 2007 – its Vice-President.

I have already mentioned that Karol Modzelewski was a scholarship holder of the Fondazione Gorgio Cini in Venice (1961-1962). Moreover, he lectured as a visiting professor in École des Hautes Études en Science Sociales, in College de France and at La Sapienza University in Rome.

Professor Karol Modzelewski was the author of almost one hundred publications in different languages, including some works of key importance for Polish and European medieval studies, such as: *The Economic Organization of the Piast State* (1975, second edition in 2000), *La transizione dall'antichità al feudalesimo* (1978), *Peasants in the Early-Piast Monarchy* (1987), or *Barbarian Europe (Barbarzyńska Europa)* (2004). The latter outstanding book was the result of studies which professor Modzelewski conducted since the 1990s on social institutions and cultural patterns of Germanic and Slavic tribal communities just before their Christianisation. *Barbarian Europe* is an original, novel and thoroughly documented synthesis which explains the origin of the European civilization. It is a perfectly written history, both on the basis of a masterly analysis of sources, and numerous European historical studies on the subject, of developing social structures, primarily of Germanic tribes. In this book the author set out his convincing arguments in a discussion with the most prominent European historians dealing with these issues. This work has already been very highly ranked in European medieval studies as its author suggested a new interpretation of the origin of Europe. He considered the concept, according to which the European civilization was shaped only by the legacy of classic culture of ancient Greece and Rome as well as Christianity and the universal organization of the church, to be biased and oversimplified. Among the most significant components which comprised the roots of European culture, in addition to the Mediterranean legacy and Christianity, he also included the legacy of peoples from outside the Mediterranean circle, inhabiting the territories outside the borders of the Roman Empire, named by the Romans with one common term *barbaricum* – Germans, Slavs, Balts and Celts. In his work he carried out a comparative analysis of the basic social structures, legal traditions and cultural patterns of the tribes belonging to the title barbarians. The work by Karol Modzelewski, although devoted to the history of the early Middle Ages, simultaneously concerns problems and questions still relevant today – about the European identity and belonging to Europe understood not only as a geographical concept but also as a cultural

canon. In 2006 the book was published in French, and next in Lithuanian (2007) and Italian (2008). It was awarded with the KLIO Award (2004), the award of the Foundation for Polish Science (2007) and the award granted by the monthly magazine "Odra".

Among scholarly achievements of professor Karol Modzelewski predominate outstanding, large-scale and often copybook studies of social and economic issues in Poland and medieval Europe. They have been published in languages: Italian, French, English and German.

Professor Karol Modzelewski was also one of the founding fathers of independent Poland, a politician who, from the beginning of his professional career, carried out activity as a dissident against the Polish People's Republic. He paid for his doings with years in prison. He was a famous and respected activist of the "Solidarity" movement, and for some time he held a position as the spokesman of the National Liaison Committee of this trade union as well as a member of the National Committee, elected during the 1st National Convention of the "Solidarity". In June 1989 he was elected a senator for the Polish Parliament of the 1st term (1989-1991). In 1998, together with Jacek Kuroń, he was awarded the Order of the White Eagle. He was the author of the autobiography *We Will Exhaust the Mare of History. Confessions of a Battered Rider (Zajeżdżymy kobyłę historii. Wyznania poobijanego jeźdźca)* (2013), in which he critically reviewed his ideological and political activity, beginning from the 1950s, and also criticised the way the transformation of the system of government in Poland had been carried out, indicating negative outcomes of this transformation, connected with the dominance of the neo-liberal model.

Karol Modzelewski died on 28 April 2019 in Warsaw, and was buried on 8 May 2019 at the Powązki Military Cemetery.

Andrzej Radziwiński

translated by Robert Bubczyk

PROFESSOR ANDRZEJ POPPE (1926-2019)*



Old-Russian and Byzantine research studies are manifestly scarce in our country as they require a specific linguistic, substantive and methodical background. During my own career of professor, which has lasted already for twenty-six years, I managed to direct only two researchers to that field of study (docent Poppe and docent Wasilewski).¹

Despite the lapse of time, the assessment of Professor Aleksander Gieysztor is still relevant. Although Byzantine research studies have been conducted in Poland since long, the Old Russian ones begin to develop only now. An undeniable contribution to their development was brought by Andrzej Poppe, who without any exaggeration can be referred to as the most recognizable specialist in that field worldwide. He lived in turbulent times. That period certainly left a mark on his character.

He was born on 12 July 1926 in Wołomin, near Warsaw, and died on 31 January 2019. He was son of Witold and Eugenia Poppe (née Bartieniewa, born on 24 December 1898), husband of Dr Danuta Poppe (they married in 1954) and father of two sons: Leszek, Doctor of Chemistry and Paweł, Doctor of Medical Sciences. The father of Professor, Witold Poppe, was a Polish mechanical engineer and entrepreneur working in St Petersburg. The mother came from a family of medical doctors (her father was a physician at the court of the tsar in St Petersburg). After completing the Institute of Ladies of Noble Birth (Institut Blagorodnyh Devic) she enrolled in medical studies as well. After the outbreak of the October Revolution, Witold and Eugenia Poppe, who were involved in the anti-Bolshevik movement, were forced to exile. Around 1919, they reached Wołomin, where a large colony of white emigrants was set up. It was there precisely that in 1926 Andrzej Poppe was born. He was an only child. From 1929, he had been raised by his mother only, who earned her living working as an educator and hygiene worker.

* The text in the Polish language version will be published in volume V of "Mediewiści" (2019). In the issue number LVIII of "Przegląd Wschodni" a full list of papers published by Andrzej Poppe will be available.

¹ Reply by Aleksander Gieysztor of 25 July 1975 to letter WH-540-14/75 of 30 May 1975. The document forms part of the legacy of Andrzej Poppe handed over to the Archive of the Polish Academy of Sciences (under preparation).

At the outbreak of World War II, Andrzej Poppe stayed in the vicinity of the monastery of St Onuphrius in Jabłeczna. Being just thirteen years old, and separated from his mother, he could rely on himself only. After these lands had been occupied by the Red Army in mid-September, he found his way to Minsk, where until the German invasion he had graduated from the seventh and eighth grade of a ten-year primary school. During the German occupation, he wandered around Belarus and the Vilnius Region, taking up occasional jobs (in rural areas or at a bakery). In 1943, he was arrested by the invaders as suspected of involvement in the underground movement. After three months in the Lukiškės Prison in Vilnius, he was transferred to the camp in Antakalnis, from where he managed to escape before deportation to Germany. In August 1944, after the Red Army had entered Belarus and the Vilnius Region he was drafted into the Front Labour Service and following training he worked as a miner at the foot of the Ural Mountains (in the Molotov district, previously and currently known as Perm Oblast). For two years, he was a hewer and after completing a special course he became junior mining technician.

In 1946, he renounced the Soviet Union's citizenship. In September, together with a transport of displaced persons from Vilnius he arrived in Poland. With the help of the Red Cross, he found his mother and settled in Ozorków together with her. Here, he took up a job at the statistics and planning section of a plant in the cotton industry. On 8 November of the same year, he joined the Polish Workers' Party. He changed his job soon and, on 15 June 1947, he became inspector of the Łódź Branch of the Special Commission for the Fight Against Fraud and Economic Sabotage at the Polish Council of State for the district of Łęczyca and the town of Ozorków. From September 1947 to September 1949, he performed his basic military service. After completion, he was directed to a two-year Pre-University Training College in Łódź, which was located at Piotrkowska Street 249/251. He graduated from it with honours, which allowed him to elect university studies of his preference. His choice was the Institute of History at the University of Warsaw. For the supervisor of his Master's dissertation, Andrzej Poppe chose an outstanding medievalist, Aleksander Gieysztor. During his studies, he prepared four articles and two reviews.² His first works focused on the history of Slavic studies³ and epigraphy.⁴

2 A. Poppe, *Po sledam driewnich kultur. Driewniaja Rus* [Review], "Kwartalnik Historii Kultury Materialnej" (henceforth: "KHKM") II (1954) 1-2, pp. 197-204; idem, A.W. Arcichowski, *Nowogrodskie gramoty na bieriestie (iz raskopok 1952 g.)*, "KHKM" III (1955) 1, pp. 216-223.

3 A. Poppe, *Z postępowych tradycji historiografii miast polskich: Ignacy Daniłowicz, "Przegląd Zachodni"* (1953) 9-10, pp. 365-368; idem, *U źródeł postępowej historiografii szlacheckiego rewolucjonizmu: Zorian Dołęga Chodakowski (1784-1825)*, "Kwartalnik Historyczny" (henceforth: "KH") LXII (1955) 2, pp. 13-35.

4 A. Poppe, *Zabytki staroruskiej kultury piśmienniczej na korze brzoazowej w Nowogrodzie Wielkim*, "KH" LXI (1954) 2, pp. 365-374; *Napis staroruski z XII w. na rękojeści noża z Drohiczyzna*,

In principle, from the beginning, the works of Andrzej Poppe – then student of history – were thoroughly rooted in source studies. His Master's dissertation defended on 12 July 1955 was published in 1958: *Wołyń Town. Selected Issues of Early Medieval Settlements on the Polish-Rus Frontier (Gród Wołyń. Z zagadnień osadnictwa wczesnośredniowiecznego na pograniczu polsko-ruskim)*.⁵ Although so many years have passed, the dissertation as well as most of the study papers of Andrzej Poppe haven't lost their relevance. In the dissertation, he proved that Wołyń town was the present Gródek village lying by the Bug river. He rejected the thesis that Wołyń was the main town of the Volhynian Region. The work discussed many important issues relating to Czerwień, for instance. According to his findings, the concept of 'Czerwieńskie Grody' (Czerwień Towns) emerged as a result of mistakenly deciphered *abbreviatio per suspensionem* of *The Tale of Bygone Year (Primary Chronicle)* by copyists who pointed to the years 1018 and 1031. The author considered that the correct record was the one for the year 981. He masterfully applied the method, to which he himself referred to as historical combinatorics, i.e. associating facts and combining relevant details. In this way, new and extremely scholarly interpretations of the past were developed. After years, he would write of himself:

As I set out to acquire the principles of the skills and tools of the craft of medieval studies, I looked for models in the works of scholars who could, regardless of their national affiliation, generally be considered heirs of the school of Leopold Ranke. My particular research interests quickly became focused on the history of the East Slavs, supplemented, of course, by the often wide-ranging of Byzantine and West European problems that study of East Slavic questions entails. In pursuit of those interests, I have not hesitated to combine a well-developed caution in formulating hypotheses with an openness to working concepts, while always seeking to avoid, however, the kind of unchecked speculation that can lead to the utterly fantastic conceptualizations that are sadly so popular among many archaeologists of early medieval Eastern Europe today. Overall, I have preferred a model much like that of combinatorial mathematics, with its method for confronting a set of known facts with various carefully weighed, verifiable hypotheses. While not ruling out a role of intuition, I have allowed it to serve as the raw material for my thinking, appreciating how far off the road it can sometimes lead us.

"KHKM" III (1955) 3, pp. 621-624, Russian language version: *Drevnerusskaâ napis XII stoletîâ na rukoâtke noža iz Drogičina*, "Problemy Istočnikovedeniâ" V (1956), pp. 328-333, extended version: *Zabytek epigrafiki staroruskiej z Drohiczyzna: napis na rękoejści noža z XII wieku*, "Studia Źródłoznawcze" (henceforth: "SZ") I (1957), pp. 89-108.

5 "Studia Wczesnośredniowieczne" IV (1958), pp. 227-300.

After half a century of research subjected to the hard rigors of the medievalist's craft, I believe I have succeeded in filling in several small and a few medium-sized gaps in our knowledge of medieval Rus'.⁶

As an already experienced researcher, he persuaded his students that authorities did not exist and therefore that everyone could be wrong, even him. On the other hand, other researchers are required to point out at errors identified in the reasoning of other scientists and speaking precisely – of other students. According to Professor Poppe, all the researchers are students, some older, other younger. At the time when they cease to be students, they will be only an official with title of master, doctor, professor etc. A Master's seminar student so formed (and not limited by any authorities) was to be open to a critical approach to sources and texts and thus become a valuable participant in a research discussion. This was exactly because of that approach to the sources, which was deeply rooted in the research methodology of Andrzej Poppe, his texts are still relevant today.

Let's get back to year 1955, however. After defending his Master's thesis, Andrzej Poppe enrolled in post-graduate doctoral studies at the Institute of History of Material Culture of the Polish Academy of Sciences. He studied there from 1 October 1955 to 30 June 1959. Initially, he chose rural economy on Belarussian lands in the 16th-17th century as his research specialisation to change it three years later to European medieval studies, in particular Slavic, under the research direction of Professor Aleksander Gieysztor. At the Institute, he began working on new issues such as Old Rus building construction,⁷ and – collaborating with the editors of the *Dictionary of Slavic Antiquities* (*Słownik starożytności słowiańskich*) – he explored deeper the problem of settlement, historical geography, source studies and genesis of Rus towns.⁸

6 A. Poppe, *Introduction*, in: idem, *Christian Russia in the Making*, Variorum Collected Studies, Aldershot Hampshire-Burlington, VT 2007, pp. VII-VIII.

7 The assumptions dictionary under preparation were presented by Andrzej Poppe in the article: A. Poppe, *Budownictwo staroruskie XI-XV w. Materiały do słownika terminologicznego. Zasady opracowania, próba słownika*, "KHKM" V (1957) 3-4, pp. 583-605. During his work at the Institute of History of Material Culture of the Polish Academy of Sciences he prepared and edited for printing in 1959 the work: idem, *Materiały do słownika terminów budownictwa staroruskiego*, Wrocław 1962.

8 Andrzej Poppe was the author of eighty one entries, including A. Poppe, *Madżak*, in: *Słownik starożytności słowiańskich* (henceforth: SSS). *Zeszyt dyskusyjny*, Wrocław 1958, p. 67; idem, *Bełz*, ibidem, p. 13; idem, *Przemysł*, ibidem, p. 101f. Andrzej Poppe was involved in the elaboration of the volumes of the *Dictionary of Slavic Antiquities*. It is worth recalling for example such entries as: *Bełz*, in: SSS, I, 1, Wrocław 1961, p. 102f.; *Drohiczyn*, in: SSS, I, 2, Wrocław 1962, p. 386f.; *Grody Czerwieńskie*, in: SSS, II, 1, Wrocław 1964, p. 168; *Kijowski klasztor pieczerski*, in: SSS, II, 2, Wrocław 1965, pp. 413-415; *Kormilec*, ibidem, pp. 478-480; *Latopisarstwo staroruskie*, in: SSS, III, 1, Wrocław 1967, pp. 22-27; *Latopis ławrentjewski*, ibidem, p. 21f.; *Latopis hipacki*,

Already then, he became known as a rigorous reviewer.⁹ It was because he regarded reviews and polemics as an essential element of a historian's work. In his opinion, constructive criticism helps shape the research techniques. On the other hand, he considered any recognition as courtesy, which from the research point of view did not contribute much. He educated his disciples in the same spirit. Consistency in the practical application of these beliefs led to him being perceived as a strict researcher and often uncompromising.

Beginning from the academic year 1955/1956, Andrzej Poppe taught classes at the Faculty of History of the University of Warsaw in Rus Palaeography in the second term. Having failed to submit his doctoral thesis on time, he was forced to terminate his doctoral studies at the Institute of History of Material Culture of the Polish Academy of Sciences. Thanks to Alexander Gieysztor, on 1 September 1959, he was employed at the Faculty of History of the University of Warsaw on the position of senior assistant. As an academic teacher, he taught classes in general history of Middle Ages, introduction to historical research and auxiliary sciences of history. In addition, at a later stage, during Master's seminars he conducted, he taught methodology of Old Rus studies. In 1960, he defended his doctoral thesis on the subject of *Legend of Boris and Gleb on the Background of Old Rus Historiography from 11th Century* (*Legenda o Borysie i Glebie na tle historiografii staroruskiej w XI wieku*). Contrary to the view which prevailed in professional literature of that time, Andrzej Poppe ascertained a late development of the cult of Boris and Gleb. He determined the date of canonisation at 1072. Under the Resolution of the Council of the Faculty of History of 29 November 1960, he obtained the academic degree of Doctor of Humanities. On 1 October 1961, he was appointed adjunct at the Department of History of Poland to the Eighteenth Century and Auxiliary

ibidem, p. 20f.; *Mstisza Šwenedlycz*, ibidem, p. 323f.; *Mścislaw Udaty*, ibidem, p. 326; *Nowogród Wielki*, in: SSS, III, 2, Wrocław 1968, pp. 421-425.

⁹ A. Poppe, *Istoria Ukrainskoj RSR, vol. 1* [Review], "KH" LXIII (1956) 2, pp. 133-137; idem, *W sprawie genezy miast staroruskich (uwagi na marginesie drugiego wydania M.N. Tichomirow: Driewnierusskije goroda, Moskwa 1956, "Przegląd Historyczny" (henceforth: "PH") XLVIII (1957), pp. 553-568; idem, W. Kuraszkiewicz, Gramoty Nowogrodzkie na brzozonej korze, Warszawa 1957* [Review], "PH" XLIX (1958) 1, pp. 157-160; idem, N.A. Nieszczerskij, *K woprosu ob istocznikach Powiesti wriemiennych let, Trudy Otdela Drevnerusskoi Literatury XIII (1957)* [Review], "SZ" III (1958), pp. 273-276; idem, R.P. Dmitrijewa, *Projekt serii monograficznych issledowanij izdanij pamiatnikow driewnierusskoi literatury. Trudy Otdela Drevnerusskoi Literatury II (1955)* [Review], "SZ" IV (1959), pp. 184f.; idem, N. Woronin, *Władimir, Bogolubowo, Suzdal, Jurjew Polskoj. Sputnik po driewnim gorodam Władimirskoj ziemi, Moskwa 1958* [Review], "KHKM" VII (1959) 3, pp. 505-508; idem, A.W. Arcichowski, B.I. Borkowski, *Nowogrodskie gramoty on bieriestie. 1: Iz raskopok 1953-1954 g., 2: Iz raskopok 1955 g. Moskwa 1958* [Review], "PH" L (1959) 4, pp. 864-869; idem, I.I. Srezniewskij, *Materiały dla slovaria driewnierusskogo jazyka, Graz 1955-1956, Moskwa 1958* [Zap.], "SZ" IV (1959), p. 214.

Sciences of History at the Faculty of History of the University of Warsaw. Later, he was concerned with settlement studies,¹⁰ epigraphy¹¹ and Rus culture.¹² Moreover, he studied the widely understood auxiliary sciences of history.¹³ When dealing with the history of material culture, in 1965, he published in Wrocław the paper: *Materials to the History of Old Rus Fabric (Materiały do dziejów tkaniny staroruskiej, Wrocław 1965)*.¹⁴ After being awarded the title of Doctor, his academic efforts were dominated by research on the development of the Church in Rus,¹⁵ which brought him international recognition. The basis of his habilitation (he was awarded his habilitation degree on 7 January 1969¹⁶) was the paper: *Church and State in Rus in the 11th Century (Państwo i kościół na Rusi w XI w., Warsaw 1968, Warsaw University Dissertations)*.¹⁷ It was reviewed by Aleksander Gieysztor, Henryk Łowmiański and Tadeusz

10 The entries in the *Słownik starożytności słowiańskich* referred to above, as well as the articles, e.g. idem, *Deâki pitannâ zaseleniâ pol'sko-russkogo rubeža v rannemu serednëveče*, "UIŻ" (1960) 6, pp. 55-65.

11 A. Poppe, *Poriadnâ zapís na postrojku cerkvi sv. Troicy na Klopske okolo Novgoroda 1420 g.*, "Problemy Istočnikovedeniâ" IX (1961), pp. 386-407; idem, *Graffiti i data spodruženniâ Sofii Kyivskoj*, "Ukrains'kij istoričnij zhurnal" (1968) 3, pp. 93-97.

12 A. Poppe, *Dans la Russie médiévale X-XIII^e siècles: écriture et culture*, "Annales. Economies, sociétés, civilisations" (1961) 1, pp. 12-35.

13 A. Poppe, *Chronologia utworów Nestora-hagiografa*, "Slavia Orientalis" XIV (1965) 3, pp. 287-305; idem, *Le traité des azymes "Λεοντοσ μητροπολιτου τησ εν Ρωσσαι περισθλλβλσ"*: *quand, où et par qui a-t-il été écrit?*, "Byzantion" XXXV (1965), pp. 504-527; idem, *Eščë raz o nazovanii novgorodsko-pskovskih eretikov strigol'nikami*, in: *Sbornik „Dreonâ Rus“ v čest N.N. Voronina*, Moskva 1966, pp. 204-208; idem, *O roli ikonografičeskikh izobraženii v izučenii literaturnykh proizvedenii o Borisie i Glebe*, "Trudy Otdela Drevnerusskoj Literatury" (henceforth: "TODRL") XXII (1966), pp. 24-45; idem, *Učreditel'naâ gramota 1136 g. knâzâ Rostislava Mstislaviča*, in: *Arheografičeskij ežegodnik za 1965 g.*, Moskva 1966, pp. 49-74; idem, *Opowieść latopisarska o wyprawie "na Greków" w 1043 r. Jej redakcje i okoliczności powstania*, "Slavia Orientalis" XVI (1967) 4, pp. 349-362; idem, *Kompozycja fundacyjna Sofii Kijowskiej. W poszukiwaniu układu pierwotnego*, "Biuletyn Historii Sztuki" XXX (1968) 1, pp. 1-27.

14 He also published the article: A. Poppe, *Iz istorii drevnerusskoj tkani u odeždy: votola*, "Acta Baltico-Slavica" II (1965), pp. 135-153.

15 A. Poppe, *Uwagi o najstarszych dziejach kościoła na Rusi part 1: Początki metropolii i sprawa architektury*, "PH" LV (1964) 3, pp. 369-391; idem, *Uwagi o najstarszych dziejach kościoła na Rusi, cz. 2: Metropolia Perejeślawska: traktat o azymach*, "PH" LV (1964) 4, pp. 557-572; idem, *Zasnuvannâ Sofii Kievskoj*, "UIŻ" (1965) 9, pp. 97-104; idem, *Uwagi o najstarszych dziejach kościoła na Rusi, cz. 3: Metropolia czernihowska*, "PH" LVI (1965) 4, pp. 559-572; idem, *Fundacja biskupstwa smoleńskiego*, "PH" LVII (1966) 4, pp. 538-557; idem, *Russkie mitropolii Konstantinopol'skoj patriarii v XI v.*, "Vizantijskij Vremennik" XXVIII (1967), pp. 85-109; idem, *Russkie mitropolii Konstantinopol'skoj patriarii v XI v.*, "Vizantijskij Vremennik" XXIX (1968), pp. 95-104.

16 The post-doctoral programme was opened by the Scientific Council of the Faculty of History of the University of Warsaw on 7 May 1968. Andrzej Poppe passed his post-doctoral examination on 7 January 1969. On the same day, the Research Board adopted a resolution granting him the degree of *doktor habilitowany*.

17 Andrzej Poppe received an award for that from the Minister of Education.

Manteuffel. That paper analysed in a masterly fashion the functioning and creation of the diocesan organisation in Rus of the 11th century and *de facto* in the 12th century. He explained *inter alia* the cause of emergence of mysterious metropolis in Chernihiv and Pereiaslav.

As a result of his uncompromising attitude and consistency his university career was curbed after 1968. Furthermore, according to the Record Questionnaire drawn up by the Security Service on 28 August 1968, “during the political events at the University of Warsaw he was a leading hooligan at the Faculty of History, supporter and proponent of opposition views”.¹⁸ According to the reply given on 25 July 1969 by Section “C” (Operational Recording and Archive of the Ministry of Internal Affairs) and Deputy Director of Section I of the Government Protection Bureau at the Ministry of Internal Affairs, Andrzej Poppe:

was actively involved in the excesses that took place at the University of Warsaw in March 1968. Among other things, he was took part in the collection of signatures under the petition against taking the *Dziady* (poem) play off the scene. He encouraged students to participate in the illegal meetings and strikes and to oppose the orders of the University authorities. He stood up against the policy of the Party and Government of the Polish People’s Republic.¹⁹

It is also worth recalling his activities of which the traces I couldn’t find at the Institute of National Remembrance. In the paper by Tadeusz Rutkowski, *Historiography and Historians in the Polish People’s Republic. Sketches (Historiografia i historycy w PRL. Szkice,*²⁰ Warsaw 2019) we can read that Andrzej Poppe was involved in the “Solidarity” movement at the University of Warsaw. On 14 December 1981, i.e. immediately after the imposition of the Martial Law, he led a meeting of the trade union attended by seven or eight people. During the meeting, he appointed persons charged with the care of arrested employees of the Institute of History of Warsaw University and their families.²¹ In addition, from the accounts of Dr Danuta Poppe, I learned that Andrzej Poppe together with his spouse had been strongly involved in the opposition movement. During the Martial Law, together with his wife and sons he took an active part in the “Solidarity” underground movement. He dealt with distribution of clandestine press, circulated donations in Poland

¹⁸ IPN BU 0224/651, Record Questionnaire concerning Andrzej Poppe, p. 5; cf. microfilm from materials: IPN BU 01286/2667/j.

¹⁹ IPN BU 0224/651 (as in fn. 15), p. 13.

²⁰ See pp. 279-281.

²¹ In the period of the Martial Law, Andrzej Poppe participated regularly, among others with Marek Baranski, Barbara Grochulska and Rafał Karpinski, in the meetings of the “Solidarity”, see: T. Rutkowski, *Historiografia i historycy w PRL...*, p. 281.

received from numerous friends from abroad: Food, clothing and above all medicines (the lists of people whom he helped survived and forms part of his extensive legacy). Throughout the period of the Martial Law, one of the activists of "Solidarity" was hiding in the flat of Professor Poppe and his wife on Gdańska Street. Trips to the West were an opportunity of intermediation between the hiding leadership of "Solidarity" in the country and for example the trade unions in the Federal Republic of Germany or the "Free Europe" radio. Perhaps the first (and in any case one of the first) radio programme of Solidarity written down on canvas (so as it does not rustle), hidden under the lining of winter overcoats, was carried by Professor's wife to the Professor who then stayed in Frankfurt (at the turn of 1982 and 1983). The programme was immediately transmitted by telephone to the Free Europe radio and could resound from the "Solidarity" transmitters in the country, usually placed on the roofs. Unfortunately, the closely guarded text of the programme on the canvas disappeared.

It is difficult to determine the extent to which the activities of Professor Poppe were known to the then security services. Perhaps it was exactly the knowledge of those activities which led to his career in Poland in late 1960s to being curbed. Undoubtedly, the argument of Professor Poppe with the then rector of the University of Warsaw, Zygmunt Rybicki, contributed to that fact. Following the events of March 1968, the rector was imposed by the party, while Andrzej Poppe lobbied for a free election to that office. As a result, Professor Poppe faced various sorts of insults at the University, including a delay in his promotion. Although he fulfilled some functions,²² and on 1 May 1970 he was appointed docent at the Institute of History of the University of Warsaw, his promotion was prevented. An application for granting the title of professor of the University of Warsaw to Andrzej Poppe was submitted at the turn of 1974/1975. The national reviewers of his scientific achievements were Professors Aleksander Gieysztor and Henryk Łowmiański. Support for his professional promotion was also expressed in writing in a letter of 11 September 1976 by Ihor Ševčenko of Harvard University. Despite such strong support, Andrzej Poppe had to wait to be granted the title of Professor of University of Warsaw until 1 October 1987²³ (the title was awarded under the resolution of the Polish Council

²² On 9 July 1969, Poppe was appointed member of the Research Board of the Institute of History of the University of Warsaw. He was also Manager of Part Time College of History at the Faculty of History of the University of Warsaw (1 October 1969-30 September 1971).

²³ Professor Poppe repeatedly demanded to be promoted. In a letter of 30 April 1984 to Professor Kazimierz Dobrowolski, Rector of the Warsaw University, we read: "At the turn of the years 1974/75, the Institute of History of the University of Warsaw applied for the award of the title of associate professor for me. Following the closing in October 1976 of the formal procedure at the Faculty, in June 1977, the Senate of the University of Warsaw expressed its position in

of State of 17 September 1987). In the new reality, he got another promotion very quickly. On 1 August 1992, he became professor at the University of Warsaw: Having retired on 30 September 1996, he worked 1/3-time at the Institute of History where he taught classes to students until 2006.

Although the university career of Professor Poppe was restricted in Poland in the years 1968-1987, it flourished abroad. Being aware of the very limited interest in research on eastern Slavdom in Polish historiography, by means of publications in international languages and attending research forums he tried to share his research achievements with a wider audience. In 1968, he went to France to complete a three-month scientific internship programme (University of Aix-en-Provence) and again in the period from 15 February to 15 August 1984. As a *visiting fellow*, he visited twice the Byzantine centre of Dumbarton Oaks at Harvard University in Washington (1 September 1973-30 June 1974 and in the academic year 1985/1986) while in 1988, he spent a year in All Souls College at Oxford. As a *visiting professor*, he was at universities in Moscow (6 January-10 February 1976), Münster (academic year 1978/1979), Frankfurt am Main (30 September 1982-31 March 1983), Munich (14-16 December 1983), the University of California in Los Angeles (1985/1986 for a period of 11 months), Heidelberg (in 1992), Mainz (in 1995), Budapest (academic year 1996/1997), and Kyoto (in 1998). Readings and lectures at conferences, symposia and seminars led him to multiple other events, of which it is worth mentioning the Byzantine seminars, celebrations of the Millennium of Baptism of Rus in 1988 in Ravenna and Rome, a seminar on the Roman Gate in Pisa or a symposium in Boso. In addition, in the course of his professional career, Andrzej Poppe travelled on official visits to the USSR, Russia, Ukraine and Belarus, Bulgaria, England, German Democratic Republic, Federal Republic of Germany, Yugoslavia, Czechoslovakia, Switzerland and Austria.

Along with foreign travels the number of foreign-language publications by Andrzej Poppe increased. In them, he discussed issues of hagiography,²⁴

the matter. In the letter of the Rector of 14 July 1981, I was notified that the application was received by the Council of Ministers. This sentence was repeated at the meeting of the Board of the Faculty of History in November 1983. During that time, I wasn't even once informed officially on the cause of prolonged delay. I believe that following this long and vain effort gives I have the right to seek explanations. I expect that you, Rector, as the employer share this point of view. To avoid any misunderstanding, I stress that by addressing you, Rector, I do not ask for intervention, but to urge the superior instances to present in writing the reasons for which my promotion as a research worker of the University of Warsaw is constantly delayed and to express your own position in the matter [...]". This document is part of the enormous legacy of Professor Andrzej Poppe which was handed over to the Archive of the Polish Academy of Sciences.

²⁴ For example: A. Poppe, *Opowieść o męczeństwie i cudach Borysa i Gleba. Okoliczności i czas powstania utworu, "Slavia Orientalis" XVIII (1969), pp. 267-292, 359-382; idem, O vremeni*

history of the Church in Rus,²⁵ source studies,²⁶ relations of Rus with other countries,²⁷ and palaeography,²⁸ epigraphy/iconography,²⁹ sphragistics,³⁰

naroždeniâ kul'ta Borisa i Gleba, "Russia Mediaevalis" I (1973), pp. 6-29; idem, *Il Martirio di Boris e Gleb*, in: *Forme della Santità russa. Atti del VIII Convegno ecumenico internazionale di spiritualità ortodossa*, Bose 21-23 Settembre 2000, Bose-Milano 2002, pp. 47-81; idem, *Svâtye vencenosy. Kak vozniak kul't Borisa i Gleba*, "Rodina" XI/XII (2002), pp. 92-97.

25 For example: idem, *Zasnovannâ mitropolii Rusi i Kievî*, "UIŽ" (1969) 6, pp. 91-105; idem, *Le prince et l'Église en Russie depuis la fin du X^e siècle et jusqu'au début du XII^e siècle*, "Acta Poloniae Historica" (henceforth: "APH") XX (1969), pp. 95-119; idem, *Russko-vizantijskie cerkovno-političeskie otnošeníâ v seredine XI v.*, "Istoriâ SSSR" (1970) 3, pp. 108-124; idem, *Zur Geschichte der Kirche und des Staates der Rus' im 11. Jh. Titularmetropolen. Das heidnische und christliche Slaventum*, "Slavica: Annales Instituti Slavici Universitatis Debreceniensis" II (1970) 4, pp. 64-75; idem, *L'organisation diocésaine de la Russie aux XI^e-XII^e siècles*, "Byzantion" XL (1970), pp. 3-54; idem, *Istoki cerkovnoj organizacii drevnerusskogo gosudarstva*, in: *Stanovlenie rannefeodal'nyh slavânskikh gosudarstv*, Kiev 1972, pp. 69-76; idem, *The Political Background to the Baptism of the Rus*, "Dumbarton Oaks Papers" (henceforth: "DOP") XXX (1976), pp. 17-24, reprint in: idem, *The Rise of Christian Russia*, London 1982, no. 2; *The Original Status of the Old Russian Church*, "APH" XXXIX (1979), pp. 5-45, reprint in: idem, *The Rise of Christian Russia*, London 1982, no. 3; idem, *Pierwszych sto lat chrześcijaństwa na Rusi*, "Przegląd Humanistyczny" XXXIII (1989) 4 (283), pp. 1-17; idem, *Once Again concerning the Baptism of Olga, Archontissa of Rus'*, "DOP" XLVI (1992), pp. 271-278; idem, *The Christianization and Ecclesiastical Structure of Kyivan Rus' to 1300*, "Harvard Ukrainian Studies" XXI (1997) 3-4, pp. 311-392; idem, *Wokół chrztu Rusi*, in: *Narodżiny średniowiecznej Europy*, ed. H. Samsonowicz, Warszawa 1999, pp. 212-230.

26 For example: A. Poppe, *K čteníu odnogo mesta v "Povesti vremennyh let"*, "TODRL" XXIV (1969), pp. 54-57; idem, *Ze studiów nad najstarszym latopisarstwem ruskim. Sweneld – ojciec Mstiszy czy Sweneld – ojciec zemsty?*, "SZ" XVI (1971), pp. 85-102; idem, *Kultura piśmiennicza dawnej Rusi*, "Slavia Orientalis" XXI (1972) 4, pp. 365-382; idem, *O zapisi igumena Sil'vestra*, in: *Kul'tura drevnej Rusi. Sbornik statej v čest M.K. Kargera*, Leningrad 1974, pp. 51-52; idem, A.A. Šahmatov i spornye načala russkogo letopisaniâ, *Drevnââ Rus'*, "Voprosy medevistiki" XXXIII (2008) 3, pp. 76-85.

27 For example: A. Poppe, *La dernière expédition russe contre Constantinople*, "Byzantinoslavica" XXXII (1971) 1, pp. 1-29; 2, pp. 233-268; idem, *Ruś i Bizancjum w latach 986-989*, "KH" LXXXV (1978) 1, pp. 3-23; idem, *Das Reich der Ruś im 10. und 11. Jahrhundert: Wandel der Ideenwelt*, "Jahrbücher für Geschichte Osteuropas". Neue Folge XXVIII (1980) 3, pp. 334-354, reprint: idem, *The Rise...*, no. 1; idem, *Gertruda-Olisava, ruskaâ knâgini. Peresmotr biografičeskikh dannyh*, in: *Imenoslov. Istoričeskaâ semantika imeni*, II, Moskva 2007, pp. 205-225; idem, *Gab es eine ottonische Ostpolitik, die die Kiewer Rus' im Blickfeld hatte?*, "The Earliest States of Eastern Europe" (2014) [Moskva 2016]: *Old Rus' and medieval Europe: The Origins of States*, ed. T. Jackson, pp. 379-400.

28 A. Poppe (together with D. Poppe), *Anna regina. Przyczynek paleograficzny*, in: "O rzeczach minionych". *Scripta rerum historicarum Annae Rutkowska-Płachcińska oblata*, "Studia i Materiały z Historii Kultury Materialnej" LXXI (2006), pp. 239-246; idem, *The Autograph of Anna of Rus', Queen of France*, in: *Tentorium Honorum: Essays Presented to Frank E. Sysyn on His Sixtieth Birthday*, Toronto 2010 and "Journal of Ukrainian Studies" XXXIII-XXXIV (2010), pp. 401-406.

29 For example: A. Poppe, *O napisach ruskich na Drzviach Plockich*, "Notatki Plockie" (1971) 5, pp. 16-19; idem, *Dlaczego drzwi plockie zwano korsuńskimi*, "Notatki Plockie" (1973) 2, pp. 16-20; idem, *Iconografia e tecnologia della Porta di Novgorod. Riesame della questione*, in: *La porta di Bonanno nel duomo di Pisa e le porte bronzee mediovali Europee*, Pisa 1999, pp. 212-230.

30 A. Poppe, *Krušvickaâ pečat' Vsevoloda Arosłaviča, w Material'na ta duchovna kul'tura piodennoi Rusi. Materiali k 100-littû vid dnâ narodžennâ V. J. Dovženka (1909-1969)*, Kiiv-Černihiv

settlement,³¹ chronology,³² Slavic studies,³³ internal policy of Rus,³⁴ genealogy/dynasty.³⁵ In addition to the papers already mentioned, the most important ones include: *The Rise of Christian Russia* (London 1982, [“Collected Studies”, CLVII]), *Christian Russia in the Making* (Aldershot, Hampshire-Burlington, VT 2007 [Variorum Collected Studies]; *Studiy na Rusi. Istoki i načal’naâ istoriâ Kievo-Pečerskogo monastyra* (Kiiv 2011 [“Ruthenica. Supplementum”, III]).

The reputation Andrzej Poppe gained within the international scientific circles enabled him to become one of the editors and contributors to the journal “Russia Mediaevalis” published in Munich in the years 1973-2001 (volumes I-X). This required from him personal contact and correspondence with the co-editors and colleagues from the journal, as John Fennel from London, Ludolf Müller from Tübingen near Stuttgart, Edgar Hoesch from Fribourg, Franz Hermann Tinnfeld from Munich. He was *inter alia* member of the editorial of the journal “Trends in History” appearing in New York and the journal: “Ukraïns’kij istoričnij žurnal”. After the fall of the Soviet empire, personal contacts with numerous Russian and Ukrainian researchers, so frequent both in the time of USSR and the Polish People’s Republic, were, with a few exceptions, reduced to correspondence exchange, which actually was very intense in the last year of the Professor’s life.³⁶ A special note should be made on the cooperation with editors of the new edition of the works of Mykhailo Hrushevsky, that is Frank E. Sysyn from the Ukrainian Institute in Canada. It bore fruit in the form of an extensive introduction and many comments as well as additions to the *History of Ukraine-Rus*.³⁷

2012, pp. 226-229 (new edition of the monograph: *Pieczęć ruska z Kruszwicy*, “Slavia Antiqua” XXVI (1979), pp. 121-126).

31 A. Poppe, *Z warsztatu staroruskiego redaktora. Przyczynek do studiów nad Zadonszczyzną*, in: *Słowianie w dziejach Europy. Księga ku czci H. Łowmiańskiego*, Poznań 1974, pp. 175-182.

32 For example: A. Poppe, *K voprosu o ul’tramartovskom stile v Povesti vremennyh let*, “Istoriâ SSSR” (1974) 4, pp. 175-178; idem, *K metodike proverki letopisnyh dat*, in: *Rus’ drevnââ i novaâ. Sbornik v čest’ D.S. Lihačeva*, Leningrad 1976, pp. 369-372.

33 A. Poppe, *Christianisierung und Kirchenorganisation der Ostslawen in der Zeit vom 10. bis zum 13. Jahrhundert*, “Österreichisches Ost- und Südosteuropa-Institut” I (1988), pp. 458-506.

34 For example: A. Poppe, *Spuścizna po Włodzimierzu Wielkim. Walka o tron kijowski 1015-1019*, “KH” CII (1995) 3/4, pp. 3-22; idem, *O pričine pohoda Vladimira Svâtoslaviča na Korsun’*, “Vestnik Moskovskogo Universiteta” ser. Istoriâ (1997) 2, pp. 45-58.

35 For example, A. Poppe, *Rurykowicze*, in: *Dynastie Europy*, ed. A. Mączak, Wrocław 1997, pp. 289-316.

36 It is worth adding that the legacy of Professor Andrzej Poppe comprises a full correspondence with researchers from abroad.

37 A. Poppe, *Introduction*, in: M. Hrushevsky, *History of Ukraine-Rus’, I: From Prehistory to the Eleventh Century*, transl. M. Skorupsky, eds. A. Poppe, F.E. Sysyn in cooperation with U.M. Pasicznyk, Edmonton-Toronto 1997, pp. XLIII-LIV; he was to author of supplements to the footnotes of M. Hrushevsky on pages: 412-414, 417, 420, 422, 426f., 429f., 433f., 436-439, 443, 448f., 470f., 491f.

Despite such substantial academic achievements, Andrzej Poppe has not received many awards. This was due to the fact that he did not attach much importance to decorations and crosses of merit. In addition to the already mentioned award of the Minister of Education and several smaller university prizes, he received a commemorative medal "For the Achievements for the Płock City" for the valuable research and epigraphic studies published in "Notatki Płockie" as well as orthographic studies on Rus inscriptions on the Płock Gates. Only very late, that is in 2018, his achievements were appreciated and he was granted the "Przegląd Wschodni" Award for his lifetime research, work and publications.

Let's refer again to the opinion of Aleksander Gieysztor of 25 July 1975. There, we read among other things that:

Just as the research work of docent Poppe I have also followed his teaching activities from the beginnings, i.e. from his work as senior assistant lecturer at the Institute of History of the University of Warsaw. He can be distinguished by high demands he sets to himself and his students during classes which he teaches in a wide range of topics of general history of Middle Ages, introduction to historical studies and auxiliary sciences of history. For several years, he has successfully conducted a Master's thesis seminar, which in some time will produce his PhD students. Although six years have passed since he was granted the habilitation degree, no Doctor's degree were granted under his direction and this was because of the nature of the field of specialization he represents.³⁸

Due to his uncompromising approach and fight against connections at the University, Andrzej Poppe did not have many disciples. From the formal point of view, his only a student was Hieronim Grala who defended his PhD thesis in 1990. In 2006, the author of this present text defended his Master's dissertation under the direction of Professor Poppe. According to the suggestion of the then professor emeritus, who because of his position could not apply for statutory research, the official PhD thesis supervisor was Sławomir Gawlas. Nevertheless, Andrzej Poppe exercised care over the thesis and supervised the academic development of the then PhD student Adrian Jusupović.

Let me complete this posthumous tribute to Andrzej Poppe with the words of Aleksander Gieysztor:

A man of his own convictions and persistence, absorbed by his research techniques, docent Poppe is a reliable man of science, not looking for any other field of development. If some of the traits of his strong character

38 Reply of Aleksander Gieysztor of 25 July 1975 (as in fn. 1).

are not always approved of, or may even create some tensions, among our colleagues the view prevails that this academic is a true scholar.³⁹

Adrian Jusupović
translated by Piotr Gumola

39 Ibidem.

PROFESSOR OTTO GERHARD OEXLE (1939-2016)



Professor doctor honoris causa mult. Otto Gerhard Oexle, who died on 16 May 2016, was one of the greatest German medievalists, with an extremely wide array of research interests. He was also a great friend of Poland and Polish historians. Work conducted by Otto Gerhard Oexle often transformed our perception of the past and contributed to the development of European historiography. He was equipped with a flawless historian's research tool kit, an interdisciplinary knowledge on humanities, and a unique ability to pose just the right questions to studied historical sources. His incisive approach to research and deep knowledge of broader historical context ensured the high quality and certitude of his research.

Otto Gerhard Oexle was born on 28 August 1939 in Singen am Hohentwiel in Baden-Württemberg. He studied History, German Linguistics and Romance Linguistics at the University of Freiburg, and later complemented his studies at the University of Cologne and in Poitiers – in France. He was the student of three major German scholars: Medievalist Gerd Tellenbach, Antiquarian Herbert Nesselhauf, and Romanist Hugo Friederich.

Professor Oexle acquired his doctoral degree in 1965 at the University of Freiburg, on the basis of the dissertation entitled *Genealogy of the Carolingian Dynasty from Metz* [*Karolingergenealogien aus Metz*], which he wrote under the supervision of Professor Gerd Tellenbach. In the same year, he became an assistant at the University of Münster. In 1973, at the same university, he received his post-doctoral degree on the basis of the dissertation entitled *Social and Historical Research of Religious Communities in the Zone of Influence of West Francia* [*Sozialgeschichtliche Forschungen zu geistlichen Gemeinschaften im Westfränkischen Einflussbereich*]. Two years later, the scholar became a Professor at the University of Münster. The scholar also conducted work at the University of Hannover.

In 1987, Otto Gerhard Oexle was appointed director of the Max Planck Institute of History in Göttingen, and remained at the post until his retirement in 2004. As already indicated, Professor Oexle was a great friend to Polish historians and greatly contributed to initiating and maintaining long-term cooperation between German and Polish academia, and broadening the scope

of cooperation between researchers from both of those countries. In 2001, he inspired the opening of the Polish Historical Mission of the Max-Planck-Institut für Geschichte. In the same year, an agreement was signed with the Nicolaus Copernicus University to publish a series of works devoted to the history of the Church in the state of the Teutonic Order and in Royal Prussia, entitled "Prussia Sacra" (four volumes published as of now).

Scientific achievements of Professor Otto Gerhard Oexle, medievalist historian, mostly concerned social history and were part of various projects, including the multidisciplinary project, "Social Groups in Medieval Society" (e.g. "Gruppen in der Ständegesellschaft: Lebensformen des Mittelalters und ihre historischen Wirkungen" (1998) and the book *Medieval Society. Mentality – Social Groups – Forms of Life* [*Spółczesność średniowiecza. Mentalność – grupy społeczne – formy życia*], which was published in Polish in 2000).

Some areas of Professor Oexle's research deserve a special mention, for example his analysis of the mentality and social norms in different social groups in the estate-based Medieval society, as well as the identity and culture of such groups. In the course of that research, the scholar tried to answer why the numerous Medieval institutions of society were directly shaped by certain forms of common, daily coexistence of people, rather than by theological, philosophical or legal theories. Social groups were also the subject of Professor Oexle's research on the phenomenon of memorials, in which he analysed various forms of social customs which connected the living with the dead. Memorials included types of religious thought or religious rites, but they could also be other expressions of memory, for instance in art and historiography (e.g. *Memoria und Erinnerungskultur im Alten Europa – und heute*, 2001).

An important area of interest of Professor Oexle was historiography, especially in the context of its influence on historical cognition, and of defining the relationship between historical and natural sciences (*Naturwissenschaft und Geschichtswissenschaft. Momente einer Problemgeschichte*, 1998). In the course of his research, Professor Oexle also wrote on the role played by German historiography in the period of National Socialism and the tendencies among German historians after 1945 (*Zweierlei Kultur. Zur Erinnerungskultur deutscher Geisteswissenschaftler na 1945*, 1997; *Zusammenarbeit mit Baal. Über Mentalitäten deutscher Geisteswissenschaftler 1933 – und nach 1945*, 2000). In total, he authored and edited almost 300 monographs, collective publications, articles and communications.

Importantly, in 2011, students of the Professor published a large compilation of his articles which illustrate his most important research interests (*Die Wirklichkeit und das Wissen. Mittelalterforschung – Historische Kulturwissenschaft – Geschichte und Theorie der historischen Erkenntnis*).

Professor Otto Gerhard Oexle was a member of numerous scientific societies and organizations in Germany and other European countries, including: Konstanzer Arbeitskreis für mittelalterliche Geschichte, Akademie der Wissenschaften in Göttingen, Royal Historical Society in London, or the Russian Association of Medievalist and Early Modern Historians in Moscow.

Two universities honoured his contributions by awarding him the *honoris causa* title: in 2001, Université Paris I Panthéon-Sorbonne, and in 2003, Nicolaus Copernicus University in Toruń.

Andrzej Radzimiński

translated by Piotr Gumola

PROFESSOR JERZY WYROZUMSKI (1930-2018)



Jerzy Leśław Wyrozumski died on Friday, 2 November 2018 in Cracow. He was Professor Emeritus of Jagiellonian University, former dean of the Faculty of Philosophy and History and vice-Rector of *Almae Matris*, Active Member and General Secretary of the Polish Academy of Learning, a long-standing president of the Society of the Friends of the History and Monuments of Cracow, *Doctor Honoris Causa* of six universities, one of the most prominent Polish historians.

Professor Wyrozumski was born in Trembowla in 1930, in a middle-class family. At baptism, he was given the names of Leśław, Grzegorz and Antoni. Interestingly, the forename of Jerzy mistakenly appeared on his school diploma from Trembowla where he began education, which he later continued in Lviv for a short period of time. When towards the end of the war the Wyrozumski family was hurriedly leaving their hometown, only the most valuable documents were taken, including the Professor's school diploma. After the war, during their stay in Koźle, new documents were issued for the future professor and since the only proof of his identity was his school diploma bearing the forename of Jerzy mistakenly inscribed by his teacher that forename precisely was formally assigned to young Wyrozumski. Although he was commonly known as Jerzy Wyrozumski, his closest friends called him Leszek.

He passed his secondary school examination in the above-mentioned town of Koźle. While as an adolescent he had dreamt of undertaking studies at a technical university, he eventually chose liberal arts and enrolled at the Faculty of History at the Jagiellonian University. It was 1950. Influenced by lectures of Professor Roman Grodecki, he became fascinated by economic and social history. In 1953, for one of the seminars led by Professor Grodecki, he prepared a paper called *The Beginnings of Social Care in Polish Mining Industry (Początki opieki społecznej w górnictwie polskim)*, which he later published in the memorial book dedicated to his master. During the graduate seminar under the supervision of Professor Grodecki, he wrote a master thesis on *Salt Trade in Medieval Poland (Handel solą w Polsce w wiekach średnich)*. Already then he gained a reputation of a great expert in Latin. Among others, for many years

he gave classes in Medieval Latin for history students and, in 1965, he even published a manual book for Medieval Latin practice.

Following graduation, Jerzy Wyrozumski briefly worked for a state archive and, in March 1995, he was appointed assistant lecturer at the Jagiellonian University to which he remained faithful until his retirement in 2000. Initially, Professor Wyrozumski conducted research studies in the history of weaving, mining, salt trade and towns. One of the main tasks of the Department of History of Feudal Poland at the Jagiellonian University headed by Roman Grodecki, and where Jerzy Wyrozumski assumed the position of assistant lecturer, was the compilation of files comprising materials relating to the history of Polish towns. The work involved not only searching printed source materials but conducting research on manuscript documents in various Polish archives. In addition to research studies, the young assistant lecturer performed numerous administrative duties, including taking minutes of the meetings of the Department. Those minutes, which survived until today, not only constitute a great source depicting the "daily life" of the Department during the hard times of the fifties, but they also bear testimony to the extraordinary meticulousness of the future professor. The first papers of young Jerzy Wyrozumski include texts dealing with the Cracow congregation of weavers, Cracow salt breweries found on the borderland between Poland and Silesia in the second half of the 16th century and the first half of the 17th century as well as biographical articles written for *The Polish Biographical Dictionary (Polski Słownik Biograficzny)*. Professor Wyrozumski also devoted a number of texts to municipal issues, discussing the origins of the towns in Jasło area or writing short syntheses of the history of Sławkowo and Tymbark to the jubilee issue of the monograph of Polish towns. In 1963, Jerzy Wyrozumski defended his doctoral dissertation on the weaving industry in Lesser Poland in late Middle Ages, which following numerous vicissitudes was published in 1972. Earlier, in 1968, Professor Wyrozumski qualified as a university professor after defending his post-doctoral thesis: *State Salt Industry in Poland until the End of the 14th Century (Państwowa gospodarka solna w Polsce do schyłku XIV wieku)*.

In addition to broadly understood economic and social history, this was political history which was an important area of research conducted by Professor Wyrozumski. A series of dissertations and articles, such as biographies of Casmir III Piast, the Great (Kazimierz Wielki) and Jadwiga of Poland, belonged to that field of research. In 2005, Professor Wyrozumski was awarded the *Doctor Honoris Causa* degree by the Bydgoszcz University named after the last Piast on the Polish throne, i.e. the Kazimierz Wielki University in Bydgoszcz. A short book about Jadwiga of Poland is of extreme importance as a major part of that work was used in the elaboration of *positio causa* in the canonisation process of Jadwiga. For his contribution to the canonisation of

Jadwiga Professor Wyrozumski was honoured with the Pontifical Equestrian Order of Saint Sylvester Pope and Martyr by John Paul II himself and with the *Bene merenti medal* awarded by the Pontifical Academy of Theology in 1998. Moreover, two Hungarian universities, in Pécs and Miskolc, awarded the *honoris causa* degree to Professor Wyrozumski as well. During the ceremony in Pécs, he gave his lecture, which at the same time was an expression of gratitude for his distinction, ...in the Latin language. In 2011, he received the Officer's Cross of the Hungarian Order of Merit from the Hungarian president.

Another prolific area of research studies of Professor Wyrozumski covers the history of medieval culture, including in particular the earliest stages of the culture of arts as well as the role of Cracow University and other European universities. In his research career, Professor Wyrozumski devoted much attention to the history of the Catholic Church in medieval Poland and hagiography. Important papers in that field were written on the subject of archbishops of Gniezno from the 13th and 14th centuries and the history of Catholic Church in Cracow in the 14th century, the life mission of the saints: Saint Hyacinth, Adalbert of Prague, Saint Gereon and Saint Stanislaus of Cracow.

The History of Poland to Year 1505 (Historia Polski do roku 1505), published as a four-volume outline of the history of Poland, commonly known as "the Cracow triplets" after its three authors (Jerzy Wyrozumski, Józef A. Gierowski and Józef Buszko) was a great success, not only on the publishing market. Its 13 editions (it was first published in 1978) served students for many years. In 1999, the part of the book covering the Piast dynasty was considerably extended to be published as the second volume of *The Great History of Poland (Wielka Historia Polski)* published by Wydawnictwo Fogra publishing house. The biography of Casimir III the Great by Professor Wyrozumski was equally popular among readers.

Jerzy Wyrozumski successfully completed the re-edition of *The Chronicles of Jan Długosz (Jana Długosza Roczniki czyli Kroniki sławnego Królestwa Polskiego. Ks. 12, 1445-1461)*, which appeared both in Latin and Polish with a beautiful graphic layout. At the same time, Professor Wyrozumski promoted knowledge about the most eminent Polish historian of the Middle Ages and his works, e.g. by supporting the "Wieniawa" Interregional Educational Association in Kłobuck, where Jan Długosz was the local parish church administrator.

Municipal issues formed a distinct area of Professor's interests. As early as in 1958, one of the first texts he published was concerned with Cracow weaving groups. Then, Professor Wyrozumski contributed as co-author to the elaboration of a number of monographs on towns, including Krosno, Dukla and Strzyżowa. In 1980, Jerzy Wyrozumski assumed the post of President of the Society of the Friends of the History and Monuments of Cracow, which he held uninterruptedly until 2015. In the 1970s, Wydawnictwo

Literackie publishing house from Cracow decided to publish *The History of Cracow (Dzieje Krakowa)* in several volumes. The first volume of that series, which dealt with the medieval history of Cracow, was to be written by Józef Mitkowski, professor of Jagiellonian University whose expertise in the subject was the most extensive. Unfortunately, Józef Matkowski's death in 1980 thwarted those plans and Jerzy Wyrozumski was tasked with the writing of the medieval history of the former capital of Poland. The result of his work appeared to be impressive. It came with the publication in 1992 (although the work had been completed already in 1985) of a bulky volume counting 573 pages titled *Cracow Till Late Middle Ages (Kraków do schyłku wieków średnich)*. The reader of the book is left with the impression that it was written by someone who not only loved Cracow but by someone who had been born and brought up there. Three main and extensive parts feature the history of pre-chartered Cracow, the development of the town as tri-city (consisting of Cracow, Kazimierz and Kleparz) and the history of Cracow towards the end of Middle Ages.

Professor Wyrozumski devoted many of his works to the history of Cracow, especially on the 750th anniversary of the granting to the city of the charter under German law. He was particularly interested in issues of the location of the city centre in its pre-chartered phase. He believed that the centre, that is the heart of pre-chartered Cracow, was located in the area adjacent to the Basilica of Holy Trinity, All Saints' Church and the Monastery of the Franciscan Order. The economic life of medieval Cracow and its connections, mainly trade relations with other European towns formed another distinct area of interests pursued by Jerzy Wyrozumski. That topic prevailed in the work of Professor Wyrozumski from the beginning of his research career. He didn't abandon it in later years either as he returned to the study of these issues from time to time. Medieval guilds, associations of journeymen and municipal confraternities which had existed in the Middle Ages were described by Wyrozumski in two dissertations: *Professional and Religious Partnerships in Medieval Cracow (Korporacje zawodowe i religijne w średniowiecznym Krakowie)* and *Daily Life in Medieval Cracow (Życie codzienne w średniowiecznym Krakowie)*. Two texts about relations between Cracow, Lviv and Nuremberg were based on conference papers prepared for the International Cultural Centre in Cracow, where for years Professor Wyrozumski headed the Research Centre and where he once initiated himself a series of history seminars. Professor Wyrozumski devoted a few important papers to the history of Jews in medieval Cracow.

Holding numerous and responsible posts, Jerzy Wyrozumski became known as defender of independence of institutions which he led. In 1980, he became President of the Society of the Friends of the History and Monuments of Cracow and was actively involved in the protection of independence of the Society, in particular during the martial law. In the years 1987-1990, he fought

for the autonomy of the Jagiellonian University as its pro-vice chancellor, when he contributed in person to the defence of arrested students. A beautiful testimony to his courage is a picture taken by an anonymous photographer, showing Professor Wyrozumski standing in front of the Collegium Novum with his arms wide open talking with a group of communist police officers surrounding the university premises. The photograph, which was adequately enlarged and framed, was handed over to Professor in 2005 during jubilee celebrations in the seat of the Society. It is worth mentioning that the picture has been recently put up for a charity auction of The Great Orchestra of Christmas Charity (Wielka Orkiestra Świątecznej Pomocy) by his wife Professor Bożena Wyrozumska. Professor Wyrozumski was also an active defender of The Polish Academy of Learning as its General Secretary from 1994. When in 2002 Anna Rybicka published her book on the Institute for German Work in the East in Cracow, in which she accused some Polish professors in Cracow of collaboration with the German invader, Jerzy Wyrozumski together with his wife published in print the unpublished manuscript of Stanisław Kutrzeba *In Defence of a Calumniated Institution (W obronie spotwarzonej instytucji)* to defend the Academy against allegations then appearing in the press.

Professor Jerzy Wyrozumski used to call himself a Cracovian by choice. In his interview for Andrzej M. Kobos in 2007, he frankly admitted that shortly after coming to Cracow "there were no great reasons for him to love Cracow". After a few decades, Professor Wyrozumski grew emotionally attached to this city and, as he admitted in the interview, now he could say with full confidence that "I love Cracow and I identify with that city". For everything what Professor did for Cracow, the city honoured him with the *Cracoviae merenti* medal.

Professor Jerzy Wyrozumski stimulated the research work in Poland. He held numerous important positions, of which the following are worth mentioning: Active Member of the Polish Academy of Learning and its General Secretary (1994-2016), the above-mentioned position of President of the Society of the Friends of the History and Monuments of Cracow (1980-2015), Chairman of the Board of the Foundation for the Promotion of Culture in Cracow, Chairman of the Museum Board of State Art Collections at Wawel, Head of the Research Centre of the International Cultural Centre in Cracow, a member of the Central Committee for Degrees and Titles. His research and social achievements earned him many decorations and medals: The Pontifical Equestrian Order of Saint Sylvester Pope and Martyr, the Officer's Cross of the Hungarian Order of Merit, the Estonian Order of the Cross of Terra Mariana. The great research work of Professor Wyrozumski was appreciated by Polish and foreign universities which conferred the *Doctor Honoris Causa* degree on him. He was nonetheless not able to receive the last distinction in his lifetime (doctor's degree at Jan Kochanowski University in Kielce). It

was handed over to his family during his funeral ceremony at the Church of St. Anne in Cracow.

The ashes of Professor Wyrozumski were buried in the Lane of Honor at the Rakowicki Cemetery in Cracow on 9 November 2018.

Professor Jerzy Wyrozumski's life is a great example of an eminent academic who was endowed with remarkable modesty and integrity and who could be always relied on.

Stanisław A. Sroka

translated by Piotr Gumola

VI. BOOK NOTICES

Dagmara Adamska, *Wieś – miasteczko – miasto. Średniowieczne osadnictwo w dorzeczu górnej i środkowej Oławy* (Village – Small Township – Town. Mediaeval Settlements in the Basin of the Upper and Central Oława), Wydawnictwo LTW, Łomianki 2019, 568 pp., bibliography, index of proper names, illustrations, maps, Zusammenfassung.

This post-doctoral dissertation by Dagmara Adamska focuses on the history of settlements in a relatively small part of Lower Silesia – the basin of the upper and central Oława, a left-bank tributary of the Odra. The author used extremely numerous sources, beginning with written documents from the period, the foundation chronicles of the Cistercian monastery in Henryków – the so-called *Księga Henrykowska* /Book of Henryków/, followed by archaeological and architectonic monuments, sources of names (i.a. a register of 70.000 so-called field names) to modern iconographic and cartographic sources. The publication is divided into nine chapters composed of subchapters arranged in a chronological-problem order. The author distinguished three periods (chapter 2-5): early mediaeval settlements (from the tribal period to the 12th century), 13th-century colonisation, and settlement stabilisation in the 14th-15th century. Particular emphasis was placed on 13th-century colonisation when thanks to the policy pursued by Silesian dukes named Henry, and subsequently by Duke Bolko I, and due to the involvement of Church institutions and knights the examined terrain, previously a region of scattered settlements, witnessed a completion of the settlement network. “Problem” chapters discuss: the ownership structure (with a division into Church and knight property), the morphology of the countryside (indicating the popularity of circular village configurations), and names of localities. The closing chapter focuses on *Przeobrażenia krajobrazu osadniczego* (Transformations of the Settlement Landscape). Here a synthetic presentation pertains to the dynamics of the settlement process spanning from moulding the urban network (encompassing Ziębice, Strzelin, Wiązów, and, eventually, Przeworno), and a presentation of suburban settlements (“suburbs”) to a characteristic of the transformations of the rural landscape,

displaying out houses and a road network. Cautious mention is made of the ethnic affiliation of the participants of settlement undertakings in the examined territory, acknowledging that the preserved evidence, chiefly onomastic, could reflect the language of chancery officials and not necessarily that of the residents. The presented study by D. Adamska is not only an excellent example of research from a rarely studied historical-economic domain but also significantly enhances knowledge about the socio-economic past of mediaeval Silesia.

Wojciech Mrozowicz

Através do olhar do Outro. Reflexões acerca da sociedade medieval europeia (séculos XII-XV). À travers le regard de l'Autre. Réflexions sur la société médiévale européenne (XII^e-XV^e siècles), eds. José Albuquerque Carreiras, Giulia Rossi Vairo, Kristjan Toomaspoeg, Instituto Politécnico de Tomar, Tomar 2018, 278 pp., introduction in Portuguese and French, biographical notes.

This publication is associated with an international conference held in Tomar on 3-5 November 2016. The point of departure of all the reflections contained in the presented volume is the phenomenon of the Other, currently enjoying considerable popularity in the humanities and social sciences. The authors conceived it within a bi-polar perspective as that which is external and different. Related or more distant persons or entire social groups belonging to a distinct religious, social, ethnic or cultural group are thus conceived as the "other". The publication reflects the interdisciplinary character of the undertaking, on the one hand, by means of a cross-section approach to the phenomenon of "otherness", resorting to assorted disciplines and branches of knowledge (history, literary studies, history of art, cartography, theology, and Queer Studies), and, on the other hand, by referring to the configuration of the articles divided into three thematic axes: 1) *Pour une définition de l'inclusion et de l'exclusion de l'Autre (For a definition of inclusion and exclusion of the Other)*; 2) *L'Autre comme expression de Proximité (The Other as an expression of Proximity)*; 3) *L'Autre par l'antonomase: la Femme (The Other by the antonomase: the Woman)*.

The discussed study contains ten articles by authors from five countries (Estonia, France, Italy, Portugal and Spain), preceded by an introduction in Portuguese and French. Pierluigi Lia presented the institutionalisation of the exclusion of the "other" with the aid of the concept of *crudelitas*, enabling the stigmatisation of the "other" as a wild animal – only mankind envisaged as *communitas fidelium* is capable of attaining salvation. Juliette Sibon embarked upon an attempt at defining the Jewish "nation" in the Middle Ages by applying a semantic approach to the self-definition and self-determination of

ethnic groups. Marek Tamm endeavoured to create a catalogue of symbols, determinants of social and religious minorities in the Latin world. Fulvio Delle Donne broached the perception of ethnic and religious differences in 12th and 13th century chronicles by demonstrating how with the assistance of normative sources Frederick II used the Jewish community in the kingdom of Sicily for the purposes of political propaganda. Pierre-Vincent Claverie described the *modus vivendi* of the Franks and Muslims at the time of the Crusades, at the same time recalling that, apart from military confrontations, this was a period involving assorted social-cultural interactions. Sandra Sáenz-López Pérez perceived “otherness” as a structural element of mediaeval cartography. Giulia Rossi Vairo analysed the iconographic programme of the tombstones of kings Roger II and Dionysius I of Portugal, which linked the realistic depiction of the “others” (Moors and black people) with the political aspirations of both monarchs. Two articles recognise the woman as the “other”. Joana Ramôa Melo portrayed two models functioning in the Middle Ages in reference to women: piety and governance. Rafael Mérida Jiménez analysed the homosexuality and homoeroticism of women in the Late Middle Ages as possible determinants of “otherness”. In an article summing the presented reflections Kristjan Toomaspoeg declared that the “other” appears to be an essential component of social reality, making it possible to embark upon an attempt at self-identification.

Tomasz Pełech

Paweł Babij, *Wojskowość Słowian Połabskich* (Military History of Polabian Slavs), I, Wrocławskie Studia z Historii Wojskowości, V, Wydawnictwo Chronicon, Wrocław 2017, 335 pp., ill., indices, bibliography, Zusammenfassung.

The first of two planned volumes of a monographic study on the military history of Polabian Slavdom is composed of an introduction and four chapters, of which the opening one focuses on written and archaeological sources used in research presented both in the book’s first volume and in the second, as yet unpublished volume. The second paper discusses the natural conditions and configurations of settlements in early mediaeval Polabia, with attention paid to political and tribal divisions. Chapter three considers the history of wars waged by Polabian Slavs as well as their political organisms until the loss of independence in the 12th century. Here the author described the strategic position of particular parts of the region and transformations there in as well as the periodisation of the military-political history of the land of Polabia. The distinguishing feature of the initial period – to the middle of the 9th century – consisted of a wide range of Slavic proto-state organisms. In time – in the course of the disintegration of the Carolingian monarchy

– they too, devoid of an external threat, succumbed to fragmentation. A re-consolidation of Polabian tribes took place as a reaction to Ottonian expansion; the culmination of this process assumed the form of the Lusatian Union whose decline initiated a period of a successive political dissolution of Polabia and its gradual conquest by neighbouring lands.

The last chapter analyses sources arranged in a chronological-problem order. The chapter's summary includes all the key research problems, such as levy en masse and the ducal squad, the size of armed forces, and the role played by mercenary detachments. The author stressed that to the second half of the 10th century Polabia was dominated by a levy en masse of all men capable of bearing arms, and thus by a peasant infantry under the command of a small number of riders originating from the stratum of wealthy lords. In time, response to defeats suffered in confrontations with the powerful Ludolfings and as a result of the creation of supra-tribal political structures resulted in the development of mounted squads kept by dukes, wealthy lords, and priests. The forces were mobilised according to a territorial principle with strongholds as their rallying points. When the need arose mercenaries or levy en masse expeditions were deployed. The presented publication contains a list of abbreviations, indices: names of localities and persons, a bibliography, a summary in German (Zusammenfassung), and, additionally, monochromatic illustrations, chiefly plans and maps (a coloured map of the Land of Polabia shows the location of tribes, main settlements, and strongholds, border land forests as well as land and sea routes).

Piotr Piętkowski

Dániel Bácsatyai, *A kalandozó hadjáratok nyugati kútfoi* (Plundering Raids in the Light of Western Sources), HM Hadtörténeti Intézet és Múzeum, Budapest 2017, 296 pp., ill.

This publication by Dániel Bácsatyai is a successive study on so-called *kalandozások*, i.e. the period of Magyar plundering raids conducted across almost the whole of Europe. It would appear that nothing new could be introduced into the existing state of research on the early presence of the Hungarians in Central Europe. Meanwhile, the author pursued two objectives: the creation of a source text book containing a thorough discussion of the most important Latin sources concerning Magyar raids as well as a detailed assessment of sources from the period. The second goal involves an attempt to discover an answer to questions that have been disconcerting historians and pertain to Hungarian diplomacy and the creation by tribal leaders of an intentional military-political-economic policy, whose symptoms assumed the form of the titular raids. The author achieved those purposes, and the level of his knowledge of German, Italian, and French sources as well as the ease

with which he operates with extremely extensive scientific literature are the reasons why the presented publication is truly noteworthy both from the view point of researchers dealing with the history of Hungary and from the perspective of historians specialising in sources.

Adam Lubocki

Dániel Bagi, *Divisio regni. Országmegosztás, trónviszály és dinasztikus történetírás az Árpádok, Piastok és Přemyslidák birodalmában a 11. és a korai 12. században (Divisio regni. State Division. Struggle for the Throne and Dynastic Historiography in the Árpád, Piast and Přemyslid States during the 11th Century and at the Onset of the 12th Century)*, Kronosz Kiadó, Pécs 2017.

This extensive study by D. Bagi encompasses three most important states of early mediaeval Central Europe. Main emphasis has been placed on Hungarian issues, with Bohemia and Poland, the two neighbours of the Árpád state, constituting a backdrop and a source of analogies for Hungarian themes, as the author noticed in the introduction. The topic focuses on two seemingly different questions, with the first part pertaining to divisions of the state and concentrating predominantly on the so-called *Ducatus*, i.e. the territory presented to heirs to the Hungarian throne. This rather controversial issue has been absorbing the attention of Hungarian scholars for numerous decades. Upon the basis of Polish and Bohemian examples D. Bagi attempted to propose a new approach to the examined problem.

The second part of the publication deals with the struggle for power waged by assorted representatives of governing dynasties. Here, the author endeavoured to draw conclusions concerning the reasons for, and circumstances of assorted phenomena, with essential significance belonging to the form of inheriting power.

The presented publication casts new light on numerous heretofore unresolved questions, although the Hungarian language might prove to be a barrier for a wider reception of the opinions held by the historian from Pécs.

Adam Lubocki

Biskup Otton z Bambergu i jego świat (Bishop Otto of Bamberg and His World), Wolińskie Spotkania Mediewistyczne, IV, eds. Marian Rębkowski, Stanisław Rosik, Wydawnictwo Chronicon, Wrocław 2018, 356 pp., articles and summaries in Polish and German.

This publication is the outcome of the IV Wolin Mediaevalist Meetings, held on 5-7 August 2016: reflections collected in the volume focus on St. Otto

of Bamberg (d. 1139) and the Christianisation of Pomerania in the 1120s, associated with his activity. This problem range constitutes a point of departure for research into the shaping of Europe a civilisation on Polish lands. The presented study consists of 16 articles, of which 14 are in Polish, supplemented with summaries in German; two articles in German are accompanied by Polish-language summaries. The material contained in the volume has been divided into four thematic axes, of which the first: *“Świat” Ottona z Bambergu: memoria i wartości* (The “World” of Otto of Bamberg: Memoria and Values) by Stanisław Rosik and Marcin Stabrowski paints a literary portrait of Otto, his contemporaries’ recollections of the bishop, the onset of the tradition of the Apostle of Pomerania based on hagiography written decades after his death, as well as the place of Pomerania in the socio-cultural space of the 12th century. The second axis: *Między Niemcami a Polską. Bamberg i jego biskup* (Between Germany and Poland. Bamberg and Its Bishop) encompasses five papers (Andrzej Pleszczyński, Adam Krawiec, Jerzy Strzelczyk, Marcin R. Pauk, Stefan Pfaffenberger). Particular authors portrayed the bishop of Bamberg against the backdrop of a multi-hued political, ideological, and intellectual backdrop of the 12th-century Polish Kingdom and German Reich. In the third part: *Otton z Bambergu i Pomorze* (Otto of Bamberg and Pomerania) Marian Rębkowski, Felix Biermann, and Kinga Zamelska-Monczak brought the reader closer to the Pomeranian-Lusatian region of Otto’s missionary activity from an archaeological view point, while Adrien Quéret-Podesta described an expedition conducted in 1147 by Henry Zdík, the bishop of Olomouc, drawing attention to the Crusades – a thoroughly European event in the history of Pomerania. The last thematic axis: five articles (Grzegorz Wejman, Monika Rusakiewicz, Hadrian Kamiński, Wojciech Mrozowicz, Paweł Migdalski) is collection of reflections on the significance of the mission and cult of St. Otto of Bamberg as well as his role in wider socio-cultural processes, such as shaping Pomeranian identities across the centuries or the manner in which the Christianisation activity of the bishop of Bamberg was seen in historiography of the People’s Poland era.

Tomasz Pelech

Marie Bláhová, Zuzana Lukšová, Martin Nodl, *Karel IV. v soudobých kronikach* (Charles IV in Chronicles of His Times), Argo, Praha 2016, 272 pp., colour ill., bibliography, index of persons and places.

This anthology of Czech translations of texts from the reign of Emperor Charles IV of Luxembourg – part of the 700th anniversary of his birth – presents the ruler and his times. The first text by Martin Nodl depicts Charles IV as a “restorer” and, for all practical purposes, a legislator of the Holy Roman

Empire of the German Nation, and a “founder” of Nové Město (Neustadt) and the University of Prague (pp. 13-29). The following text is by Marie Bláhová, who showed the likeness of Charles IV in chronicles from his reign (pp. 31-64). In doing so, she drew particular attention to works contained in the anthology, indubitably the most prominent historiographic sources portraying the great representative of the Luxembourg dynasty: an autobiography by Charles IV, fragments of the chronicle of Francis of Prague, and *Cronica ecclesiae Pragensis* by Beneš Krabice of Weitmil; the autobiography appears in a new translation by Zuzana Lukšova (pp. 66-92). The remaining two texts (pp. 94-129 and 160-240), translated by M. Bláhová, consist of revised and updated translations from an earlier edition (*Kroniky doby Karla IV*, Praha 1987). Particular source texts have been granted publication notes and commentaries in the footnotes. The volume features an excellent supplement: a “pictorial biography” of Charles IV composed of colour illuminations borrowed from mediaeval and early modern translations of the life of the Emperor from manuscripts in the Austrian National Library in Vienna (call no. Cod. series nova 2618 and Cod. 581).

Wojciech Mrozowicz

Marcin Böhm, *Rola flot obcych w procesie ostatecznego rozkładu sił morskich Cesarstwa Bizantyńskiego (1118-1204)* (The Role of Foreign Fleets in the Ultimate Disintegration of the Naval Forces of the Byzantine Empire /1118-1204/), Wydawnictwo Napoleon V, Oświęcim 2016, 240 pp., appendices, summary in English, bibliography, maps and ill., index of persons, index of places.

The book by Marcin Böhm, researcher from the University of Opole, refers to his previous publications focused on Byzantine maritime history. The author presented the disintegration of the war fleet of the Byzantine Empire after the death of Emperor Alexius I Comnenus (ruled in 1081-1118) to the conquest of Constantinople at the time of the Fourth Crusade (1202-1204). In doing so he enquired into the causes of the fall of the Byzantine naval forces, indicating that the prime factor was their confrontation with the Norman fleet as well as those of the Italian republics (Pisa, Genoa, Venice) and the Crusaders in the 1118-1204 period. The publication is composed of an introduction, four chapters, an end, and appendices, with the first chapter divided into three subchapters.

In the first subchapter the author defined the concept of a foreign fleet from the view point of Byzantium. Next, he described the organisation and structure of imperial naval forces; the last subchapter deals with the types of ships deployed by the Empire and its enemies. The second chapter, also composed of three subchapters, presents battles waged by Byzantium and the

Normans in 1113-1194, with particular emphasis placed on confrontations between the sea forces of the opponents. The first subchapter portrays the development of the Norman war fleet in 1113-1146 in this rather brief time it became a serious threat for the Empire. The next subchapter describes Norman-Byzantine conflicts in 1147-1158, while in the last subchapter M. Böhm discussed the activity of the imperial fleet vis-à-vis the Normans during the 1166-1194 period. The third chapter is an analysis of relations between Byzantium and Italian city republics. Here the content is divided into two subchapters, with the first one examining the devious role played in imperial politics by Venice, which from a loyal ally turned into a fervent enemy. The second subchapter depicts complicated interactions between Byzantium, Genoa, and Pisa as, on the one hand, a potential counter balance for the might and significance of Venice, and, on the other hand, a possibly grave threat owing to their maritime power.

The fourth chapter was divided into four subchapters in order to consider the confrontation and cooperation of the Empire and the Crusaders. The first part discusses naval battle swaged in the course of the Second Crusade, and the following part – Franco-Byzantine collaboration during the reign of Manuel I and the organisation of a war expedition to Egypt in 1169, in which an enormous role was assigned to the imperial fleet. Part three concerns naval conflicts at the time of the Third Crusade, in whose course King Richard I the Lionheart of England conquered Cyprus (which formally belonged to Byzantium but was ruled by the rebel Isaac Comnenus). The last chapter is a description of the confrontation of the Byzantine fleet and the invaders during the Fourth Crusade, which resulted in the seizure of Constantinople by the Franks. The presented publication is supplemented with three appendices on the role of the Byzantine fleet in battles waged along the Danube and other in land water courses, a prosopography of imperial commanders of sea forces, a list of rulers, a summary in English, a complete bibliography, maps, and illustrations.

Tomasz Pelech

Chronica de Gestis Hungarorum e Codice Picto Saec. XIV. The Illuminated Chronicle. Chronicle of the Deeds of the Hungarians from the Fourteenth-Century Illuminated Codex, edited and translated by János M. Bak, László Veszprémy, *Central European Medieval Texts*, IX, Central European University Press, Budapest-New York 2018, 435 + XLIII pp., ill., edition in Latin and English.

Central European University Press published *The Illuminated Codex* (Latin: *Chronicon Pictum*) as part of the *Central European Medieval Texts* series. The chronicle in question is one of the variants of the so-called *Chronicle*

Compilation, i.e. a work written at the 14th-century court of Louis the Great. This extremely significant work depicts the entire history of Hungary from mythical beginnings in the East to the author's contemporaneity. In accordance with findings made by Hungarian historiography early history is discussed upon the basis of *Gesta Ungarorum*, quite possibly recorded already in the second half of the 11th century, i.e. rendering the historical text truly invaluable. Its authorship is attributed to Kálti Márk, a Franciscan firmly connected with the court of Queen Elizabeth Łokietkówna (daughter of King Władysław the Elbow /Łokietek/). Among other editions of *Compilation*, *Chronicon Pictum* remains conspicuous for its extremely lavish illustrations brilliantly supplementing the contents. The current edition is bilingual (Latin and English) and is the first English-language edition of this Hungarian work.

Adam Lubocki

Collegarum et Discipulorum Gratitude. Studia ofiarowane prof. Andrzejowi Radziwińskiemu z okazji 60. urodzin (Collegarum et Discipulorum Gratitude: Studies Presented to Prof. Andrzej Radziwiński upon the Occasion of His 60th Birthday), eds. Radosław Biskup and Krzysztof Kwiatkowski, Towarzystwo Naukowe w Toruniu, Toruń 2018, 282 pp.

The presented publication, issued to mark the 60th birthday of Professor Andrzej Radziwiński, is a collection of studies written by the Professor's closest collaborators, including his students.

The introduction brings the reader closer to the Professor's biography and is followed by a bibliography of his publications from 1985-2017. In turn, the collected studies are divided into two parts. The first: *Kościół w średniowieczu: duchowieństwo – prawo kanoniczne – piśmienność (The Church in the Middle Ages: Clergy – Canon Law – Literacy)* contains texts concerning the upper clergy from the territory ruled by the Teutonic Knights, sources for the history of the Church in this particular region, and renowned specialists dealing with canon law. Part two: *Dzieje najnowsze (Modern History)* encompasses studies on Polish-German diplomatic relations and Polish-Norwegian trade contacts prior to the Second World War.

The first part of the collection opens with a text by R. Biskup: *Monumenta Ecclesie Sambiensis. O zawartości i funkcjach nowożytnego kopiařa średniowiecznych dokumentów biskupów sambijskich i ich kapituły (Monumenta Ecclesie Sambiensis. On the Contents and Functions of a Modern Cartulary of the Mediaeval Documents of the Bishops of Sambia and Their Chapter)*. The author presented the construction, probable history, and contents of a 17th-century cartulary of Sambian documents kept at Geheimes Staats Archiv Preußischer Kulturbesitz Berlin-Dahlem.

In: *Duodecim articuli fidei. Duodecim apostoli – rękopis z Historia scholastica i Speculum Theologiae Biblioteki Uniwersyteckiej w Toruniu a działalność fundacyjna księcia Lutera z Brunszwiku (Duodecim articuli fidei. Duodecim apostoli – A Manuscript from Historia scholastica and Speculum Theologiae from the University Library in Toruń)* Marta Czyżak discussed the contents of the titular manuscript and pondered on the fate of the titular book.

In turn, Radosław Krajniak wrote about the life of Andreas Schonaw (*Między Prusami, Italią i Śląskiem. Kariera Andreasa Schonawa (ok. 1390-26 VII 1444)*). Between Prussia, Italy and Silesia. The Career of Andreas Schonaw / ca. 1390-26 July 1444/), examining the clergyman's origin and family ties, education, court and chancery activity, and attempts to obtain the canonry of Warmia and other benefices.

The text by K. Kwiatkowski: *Biskup warmiński Heinrich IV Vogelsang po bitwie pod Grunwaldem / Tannenbergiem / Žalgirisem, w lecie i na jesieni 1410 roku: regionalny władca duchowny wobec kryzysu systemu władztwa krajowego (Heinrich IV Vogelsang, the Bishop of Warmia, after the Battle of Grunwald / Tannenberg / Žalgiris in the Summer and Autumn of 1410: Regional Church Ruler Facing a Crisis of the Local Governance System)*, is about the activity of the bishops of Prussia at the time of the war waged in 1409-1411 by the Polish Kingdom together with the Grand Duchy of Lithuania against the Teutonic Order. The author focused on Heinrich IV Vogelsang, the bishop of Warmia, and his undertakings in the second half of 1410.

In: *Wzorzec duchownego w średniowiecznej instrukcji wizytacyjnej Inquisitorium clericorum z diecezji sambijskiej (Model of the Clergyman in a Mediaeval Visitation Instruction Inquisitorium clericorum from the Diocese of Sambia)* Marcin Sumowski considered the titular mediaeval model. In doing so, he discussed the function fulfilled by mediaeval inquisitors and their significance in the formation of the concept of an ideal member of the clergy. An integral part of the text consists of an edition of two versions of the formulary used in the diocese of Sambia.

The first part ends with Leszek Zygnier's *W kręgu płockich kanonistów późnego średniowiecza (Jakub z Kurdwanowa – Mikołaj z Mirzyńca – Dzierśław z Karnic) (Within the Circle of Płock Canonists from the Late Middle Ages /Jakub of Kurdwanów – Mikołaj of Mirzyniec – Dzierśław of Karnice/)* – a portrayal of three most outstanding representatives of this domain, stressing their impact upon the intellectual level of the Church milieu in 15th-century Płock.

The second part of the collection contains two texts on the 20th century. Elżbieta Alabrudzińska discussed Polish diplomacy during the term of office of Minister of Foreign Affairs August Zaleski (*Dyplomacja polska wobec Niemiec w latach 1926-1932/Polish Diplomacy toward Germany in 1926-1932/*). In turn, *Det Bergenske Dampskibsselskab jako przykład przedsiębiorstwa prowadzącego*

transport komplementarny w portach polskiego obszaru celnego w latach 1921-1937 (Det Bergenske Dampskibsselskab as an Example of a Complementary Transport Enterprise in Ports of the Polish Customs Zone in 1921-1937) by Jordan Siemianowski reflects on the attitude of the Norwegian steam ship company toward its trade partners.

Alicja Sumowska

Environment, Colonization, and the Baltic Crusader States, ed. A. Pluskowski, *Environmental Histories of the North Atlantic World*, 2, Terra Sacra I, Brepols Publishers, Turnhout 2019, XXVIII + 548 pp., 189 b/w ill. + 8 colour ill., 41 b/w tables; *Ecologies of Crusading, Colonization, and Religious Conversion in the Medieval Baltic*, ed. A. Pluskowski, *Environmental Histories of the North Atlantic World*, 2, Terra Sacra II, Brepols Publishers, Turnhout 2019, XX + 246 pp., 73 b/w ill. + 9 colour ill., 22 b/w tables.

In 2019 Brepols Publishers issued a two-volume collected work edited by Aleksander Pluskowski, part of the *Environmental Histories of the North Atlantic World* series. Volume I: *Environment, Colonization, and the Baltic Crusader States – Terra Sacra I* contains over 550 pages, and volume II: *Ecologies of Crusading, Colonization, and Religious Conversion in the Medieval Baltic – Terra Sacra II* is more than 250 pages long. The presented publication is the outcome of the joint years-long efforts of archaeologists, archivists, and historians studying transformations of the geographical and cultural landscape of the Baltic region at the time of the Northern Crusades and colonisation. Both volumes propose a complex interpretation of the problems, challenges, and potential of pertinent contemporary archaeological studies. Volume I contains introductory chapters: *Methodology and Interpretative Framework*; *Chronology*; *Sites in Livonia: The Historical and Archaeological Background*; *Sites in Prussia: The Historical and Archaeological Background*. The research outcome, presented in the successive volume and based on an analysis of, i.a. palynological, zooarchaeological, geoarchaeological, and archaeobotanical sources, expands the state of knowledge about the impact of the Crusades and colonization upon the flora and fauna of Livonia and Prussia; it also outlines transformations in assorted domains of the daily life, i.a. economic and spiritual, of communities residing in the examined terrains. The first volume is a synthetic presentation of the outcome of research, while the next volume describes detailed local case-study analyses. The presented reflections are additionally portrayed by means of diagrams, tables, and illustrations and, finally, summed up by the editor of the two volumes. The unquestioned merit of the studies is their interdisciplinary character. Both volumes are published in English.

Anna Maleszka

Gdańska kronika Bernta Stegmanna (1528) (The *Gdańsk Chronicle* by Bernt Stegmann /1528/), commentary and ed. Julia Możdżeń; with cooperation of Kristina Stöbener and Marcin Sumowski, Towarzystwo Naukowe w Toruniu, Fontes, CXVII, Toruń 2019, 371 pp., introduction in Polish and German, ill., indices.

The presented publication is an edition of (and a study on) the oldest extant Gdańsk chronicle written in 1528 by Bernt Stegmann. The source edition is preceded by a copious introduction in Polish and German, and contains source addenda, illustrations, and indices of places and persons.

The introduction starts with reflections about Bernt Stegmann and the objective of his work. The author determined that the chronicler was undoubtedly a Gdańsk burgher, who identified himself both with the town and Prussia. Thoroughly educated, Stegmann was familiar with the history of the region and knew Latin. The leitmotifs of the chronicle included proving the correctness of the undertakings of the Prussian Confederation aimed at casting off the supremacy of the Teutonic Knights in Prussia and indicating the negative and positive examples of governance over Gdańsk. Into the contents of the chronicle Stegmann introduced events from the history of Gdańsk, as well as those from the past of the region and the world, together with moral teachings and political directives intent on teaching the readers and moulding their identity. Thus the chronicle may be described as universal and part of a pragmatic and didactic current.

In a further part of the introduction the author discussed existing editions of fragments of the Stegmann *opus*, contained in the multi-volume *Scriptores Rerum Prussicarum* series; in doing so she demonstrated their incompleteness and selectiveness, and thus accentuated the already postulated need for a re-edition of the sources. The introduction also examines the origin of the components of the compilation, the structure of the extant original of the manuscript, and the reception of the chronicle. J. Możdżeń identified the compilation's copyist and successive owners. Finally, she described writing skills by discussing the applied scripts, ornaments, and datation, as well as the publishing instruction applied in the edition.

The second and most important part of the publication consists of a complete edition of the chronicle text accompanied by a scientific apparatus.

Alicja Sumowska

Kazimierz Ginter, *Wizerunek władców bizantyńskich w Historii kościelnej Ewagriusza Scholastyka* (Image of Byzantine Rulers in *The Ecclesiastical History* by Evagrius Scholasticus), Byzantina Lodziensia, XXXV, Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Łódzkiego, Łódź 2019, 344 pp., bibliography, summary in English, index of persons, index of places and ethnic names.

This book by Kazimierz Ginter (Pontificia Università della Santa Croce) is the outcome of years-long research initiated at a seminar held by Prof. Maciej Salamon (Jagiellonian University) dealing with the image of emperors in *The Ecclesiastical History* by Evagrius Scholasticus. The discussed publication is composed of an introduction, an end, a biography, a summary in English, and an analytical part divided into chapters (respectively: six and eleven) discussing the titular topic. Part I concentrates both on a presentation of the source of reflections, i.e. *The Ecclesiastical History* and its author: Evagrius Scholasticus (ca. 532/537-ca. 594), a Byzantine historian of the Church. K. Ginter described Evagrius' life, literary workshop, and factors moulding his world outlook. In doing so he portrayed the intellectual ambiance of the epoch and indicated that it was suffused with religious reading matter, on the one hand, and ancient literary tradition, on the other hand. Moreover, K. Ginter examined *The Ecclesiastical History* against a broad historical-literary context, pointing to its similarity and differences in relation to earlier writings belonging to the genre of Church history, as well as other works dating from late antiquity (chronicles, hagiographies, panegyrics, squibs or documents).

Part II analyses the images of 11 emperors, starting with Constantine the Great (ruled in 306-337) to Maurice (582-602). This selection of was by no means accidental: the indicated rulers symbolically encompassed *The Ecclesiastical History* in its entirety since Evagrius portrayed Maurice, with whom he was close, as the New Constantine. In the opinion of the author likenesses of particular emperors were composed of personality traits, outer appearances, and political accomplishments, i.e. successes and failures in the course of their reigns. The presented publication also demonstrates that Evagrius based the images of Byzantine rulers in *The Ecclesiastical History* on categories originating in antiquity and referring to the neo-Platonic and neo-Pythagorean philosophical discourse. Nonetheless, appraisals of particular emperors are much more complex and remain the outcome of numerous essential factors, which include Evagrius' personal convictions associated with, e.g. the chronicler's affiliation with decurions, a local, Antiochian cultural circle, family experiences, and religious convictions. It is noteworthy that in his analysis of sources the author resorted to *Thesaurus*

Linguae Graecae, which enabled him to determine connections between *The Ecclesiastical History* and other ancient and Byzantine texts. The publication ends with a copious bibliography, a summary in English, an index of persons, and an index of geographical and ethnic names.

Tomasz Pełech

Kamil Kajkowski, *Obrzędowość religijna Pomorzan we wczesnym średniowieczu. Studium archeologiczne* (Religious Observances of the Pomeranians in the Early Middle Ages), Wydawnictwo Chronicon, Wrocław 2019, 494 pp., indices, bibliography.

This is the first extensive presentation of religious observances in early mediaeval Pomerania discussed predominantly from the vantage point of archaeology. The monograph is composed eight chapters. The introduction and presentation of the state of research into the religiosity of pre-Christian Slavs are followed by methodological reflections and an examination of the source basis encompassing archaeological, historiographic, linguistic, and ethnological sources. Four successive analytical chapters consider sanctuaries (their morphology, topography, the phenomenon of so-called cult strongholds, buildings, sepulchral sites), figural visual arts, sacrifices made as part of the observance of a cult, as well as amulets and magic objects. The end chapter contains a summary of the research, and analyses are supplemented by two appendices in the form of tables. The first lists boat burials in Pomerania, and the second is a register of deposits of animal skeletons from Western Slavdom. The work is enhanced by numerous illustrations, photographs and drawings of archaeological monuments, several maps and site plans, a copious bibliography (102 pp.), and indices of the names of localities and supranatural figures.

Piotr Piętkowski

Karol IV Luksemburski (Charles IV of Luxembourg), *Liber de gestis meis / Księga moich uczynków*, transl. Magdalena Nowakowska, preface, afterword, footnotes and bibliography Anna Paner, Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Gdańskiego, Gdańsk 2019, 178 pp., text in Polish and Latin, bibliography, index of persons.

This publication of a Polish translation of an autobiography of Charles IV refers to the 700th anniversary of his birth, commemorated in 2016. Contrary to tradition the autobiography appears under a new title: *Liber de gestis meis*, which the editor – Anna Paner – justified by referring to the first-person narration by Charles IV. In the introductory chapter the editor characterised the text by presenting concisely and competently the prime problems

associated with its origin, reception from the Middle Ages to the present day, construction, stylistics, and broached topic. The afterword presents the biography of Charles IV encompassing not only the period described in the autobiography (i.e. to 1346), but also spanning to his death in 1378.

The translation into the Polish precedes the edition of the Latin text. From an editorial point of view it must be noted that the publication lacks information about its basis (information in note 1 on p. 63 refers to the foundation of the translation). Moreover, no mention is made of the range of intervention into the Latin text. Already an initial examination makes it possible to ascertain that in comparison with the Josef Emler edition (*Fontes rerum Bohemicarum*, III, 1882) introduced changes pertain not only to the title but also to the division of the text into paragraphs, punctuation, spelling, and applied graphic symbols (brackets, ellipsis). The Polish-language translation should be regarded as successful. Only in exceptional cases was the translator capable of avoiding the pitfalls of mediaeval terminology, e.g. in the literal translation of the term: *Polonia Inferior* as *Dolna Polska* (p. 85, 86 – instead of Greater Poland) or while resigning from an identification of the town of Landshut (p. 108 – Kamienna Góra in Upper Silesia). The commentary in the footnotes of the Polish text consists primarily of an identification of figures, places, Biblical quotes, and historical events mentioned in the autobiography.

Wojciech Mrozowicz

Katalog rękopisów średniowiecznych Biblioteki Uniwersyteckiej w Toruniu (Catalogue of Mediaeval Manuscripts at the University Library in Toruń), prep. Marta Czyżak with the cooperation of Monika Jakubek and Arkadiusz Wagner, Wydawnictwo Naukowe Uniwersytetu Mikołaja Kopernika, Toruń 2016, LVIII + 520 pp., sources in Latin and German, study in Polish, colour ill., bibliography, concordances, indices of cited manuscripts, incipits, persons, subjects, and a geographical index.

The University Library in Toruń was established in 1945. Its 72 medieval manuscripts (from the turn of the 11th century to the beginning of the 16th century) originate from earlier collections of German libraries; the majority – as many as 66 – come from the Königsberg State and University Library, which included a book collection from the castle library of Prince Albrecht Hohenzollern, created in 1529. The most valuable are codices belonging to the Teutonic Order, in particular two illuminated German *Apocalypses* by Heinrich von Hesler (call no. 44/III and 64/III), the illuminated German *Catena Aurea* by Thomas Aquinas (call no. 68/V and 76/V) or *Kronike von Pruzinlant* by Nicolaus of Jeroschin (call no. 54/III). The catalogue was prepared jointly by

the mediaevalist Marta Czyżak together with art historians Monika Jakubek-Raczkowska and Arkadiusz Wagner, an expert on old bindings.

In accordance with the classical configuration of a catalogue of mediaeval manuscripts the Toruń volume begins with an introduction (pp. XI-XXXIV in Polish, pp. XXXV-XLVI – in German) discussing the history and contents of the collection as well as the history of pertinent research. The last part of the introduction presents the catalogue's principles.

Particular descriptions were edited in Polish and are divided into three parts: a line containing general information about the codex (call number, language, datation, material, format, number of leaves), followed by a description of its contents (information about the location of the text within the codex, name of the author – whenever established, normalised title, incipit and explicit, bibliographic note) and a description of the outer appearance of the codex (including that of its structure – setting, information on foliation/pagination, catchwords, a characteristic of writing material – an identification of watermarks or a description of the parchment, a characteristic of the duct and ornaments, a slightly surprising list of additional texts, i.e. notes and glossa, a description of the binding, a reconstruction of the history of the codex, and a bibliography). The catalogue was prepared meticulously, but it must be mentioned that the series of sermons in manuscript 14/II, presented as unknown, had been precisely registered by J.B. Schneyer (*Wegweiser zu lateinischen Predigtreihen des Mittelalters*, 1965, p. 99). Special emphasis is due to the graphic layout, exceptional in publications of this sort – the volume contains lavish illustrations with superior reproductions of the described codices.

Wojciech Mrozowicz

Liber vetustissimus Gorlicensis. Das älteste Görlitzer Stadtbuch. Najstarsza księga miejska zgorzelecka 1305-1416 (1423), prep. Krzysztof Fokt, Christian Speer, Maciej Mięka, I: (1305-1343), *Fontes iuris Polonici. Prawo miejskie (Town Law)*, IV, Towarzystwo Naukowe "Societas Vistulana", Kraków 2017, 488 pp.; II: (1343-1389), *Fontes iuris Polonici. Prawo miejskie (Town Law)*, V, Towarzystwo Naukowe "Societas Vistulana", Kraków 2018, 840 pp., source texts in Middle High German and Latin, foreword and introduction in German and Polish, in each volume: bibliography, index of places, persons and subjects, CD with an image of the original.

The publication of so-called *Czerwona księga/Rotes Buch*, i.e. the oldest municipal town book of records of Zgorzelec (Görlitz) and, simultaneously,

one of the oldest books from the German cultural circle, is the outcome of cooperation involving Polish (Krzysztof Fokt and Maciej Mikuła) and German (Christian Speer) historians. The book in question – of great significance for becoming acquainted with the history of Zgorzelec and the borderland of Lusatia and Upper Silesia – comes from the 14th century and the early 15th century. Its original is kept in a department of the State Archives in Wrocław in Bolesławiec. In a concise *Wprowadzenie/Introduction* (in German, pp. 11-34, and Polish, pp. 35-58), Ch. Speer presented the history of research dealing with the titular book and then thoroughly described its outer appearance as well as problems connected with datation and the languages in which *Rotes Buch* was written. It is worth stressing that entries in German appeared very early. Subsequently, Ch. Speer demonstrated, against the backdrop of a characteristic of the municipal system of Zgorzelec, the practice of keeping the book conceived as specific testimony documenting activities undertaken in the presence of a jury court. The general characteristic of such activities consists almost exclusively of private law entries, i.a. “contracts, ordinance sin case of death [...], contracts dealing with the purchase and sale of houses, manors and farmsteads”, etc. The introductory part of the publication ends with a presentation of concepts applied in registers preceding the publication of each entry in *Rotes Buch*, a list of terms defining degrees of affinity/kinship, and, finally, other documentation prepared in the Zgorzelec chancery. In places, specific editorial principles devised for the purpose of the presented edition veer from the practise of publishing Old German texts. The edition itself – two volumes with a total of 6 284 entries – was carefully prepared, and the added CD enables researchers to conduct an individual verification of doubtful places. Commentaries to texts edited in German (numbered with letters) and subject commentaries (numerical) are concise and unambiguous. The announced third volume will complete an undertaking of great importance for studies on the history of town culture in Central Europe.

Wojciech Mrozowicz

Paweł Migdalski, *Słowiańszczyzna północno-zachodnia w historiografii polskiej, niemieckiej i duńskiej* (North-western Slavdom in Polish, German, and Danish Historiography), Wydawnictwo Templum, Wodzisław Śląski 2019, 424 pp., ill., bibliography, indices of places and persons.

A study on the history of historiography focused on the history of north-western Slavdom, i.e. Wagria/Wagriem (incorporated into Holstein), the region of historical Mecklenburg, and Western Pomerania all the way to the inclusion

of those lands into the structure of the German Reich, and, as a consequence, into the region of German language and culture. The publication is arranged in chronological order and divided – with the exception of the introduction and the end – into five chapters dealing with historiographic epochs: 1) Middle Ages, 2) modern era (16th-18th century), 3) first half of the 19th century: renaissance of interests in Slavonic antiquities, 4) second half of the 19th-century-beginning of the 20th-century: the formation of modern nations and states, 5) 1918-1945: controversies concerning the historical role played by north-western Slavdom within the context of national traditions. The construction of each chapter takes into consideration essentially three perspectives mentioned in the title: Polish, Danish, and German, although in the case of the latter importance is attached to the multi-track character of historiography, with emphasis placed on the Saxon current, followed by its Mecklenburg, Pomeranian, Lübeck, and Holstein counterparts. Competition between the above-mentioned states, concerning the possession of north-western Slavdom, is discernible also in the interpretation of its history in their historiography.

The author drew attention above all to such problems regularly considered in historiography – often already in the Middle Ages – as the Christianisation mission in Pomerania and Polabia, German colonisation, the disappearance of the Slavs, the legitimisation of the rule and spheres of impact of neighbouring states in this region, and the role played by centres inhabited by Scandinavians (Jomsborg) in the history of the region and bordering states. These motifs became especially significant from the 19th century – a time of growing ethnic conflicts in partitioned Poland and Denmark (the Schleswig conflict). During this period, researchers representing all discussed historiographies eliminated outdated and petrified historiographic myths. The fall of the Second German Reich, the renaissance of the Polish state, and their restoration of Schleswig to Denmark in the aftermath of World War I stirred the impact of politics of memory upon historiography dealing with Slavdom, and in particular Pomerania; the latter found itself within the range of a particular interest of Polish historiography, which even shifted the earliest events from the history of the state to this terrain. The author noticed that despite the rising impact of nationalism upon historiography, autonomous discourses, especially regional ones pertaining to Slavdom, continued to exist starting with the 19th century. The presented study is not restricted to analyses of historiography but also takes into account the accomplishments of other disciplines, such as archaeology, linguistics or ethnography. Moreover, the monograph is outfitted with an extensive bibliography as well as a wide-ranging table of contents in three languages – Polish, English, and German, indices of

places and persons, and a large selection of photographs and reproductions referring to the above.

Stanisław Rosik

Maciej Mikuła, *Prawo magdeburskie (Ius municipale Magdeburgense) w Polsce XIV-pocz. XVI w. Studium o ewolucji i adaptacji prawa (Municipal Magdeburg Law / Ius municipale Magdeburgense / in Poland 14th-Early 16th Century: A Study in Evolution and Adaptation of Law)*, Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego, 2nd revised edition, Kraków 2018, 383 pp., appendices, list of tables and diagrams, bibliography, summary, index of persons and places.

This publication by Maciej Mikuła fills a gap in source studies concerning mediaeval legal acts published during the post-war period. So far *Ius municipale Magdeburgense*, known also as *Liber primus iuris municipalis*, *Weichbild* or *das Sächsische Weichbildrecht*, has not been the topic of a comprehensive monograph analysing the evolution of Magdeburg law in Polish lands. The author embarked upon an analysis of 21 preserved manuscripts of *Weichbild*, taking into consideration also German-language manuscript monuments. The fundamental object of the examination is the evolution and adaptation of the Latin text of Magdeburg law. M. Mikuła posed new research questions: What effect did the absence of a standardised text of Magdeburg law have for legal praxis in Poland? What was the source of the differences between editions of the legal text, and, finally, what significance did the publishing of Jan Łaski's *Statutes* in 1505 have for the development of legal culture? The borderline caesura coincides with the mid-16th century, a time of the Polonisation of the titular legal text thanks to the printed works of Bartłomiej Groicki, edited by Mikołaj Jaskier, the writings of Paweł Szczerbic, and the adaptation of *Constitutio Criminalis Carolina* from 1532.

M. Mikuła analysed predominantly the contents of the mediaeval manuscript foundation, starting with a comparison of preserved German texts of the Silesian-Little Poland configuration, known as the Konrad of Opole configuration. Their mutual confrontation and comparison with *Weichbild* sources provided the author with a list of variations of the German text, which he used for determining the basis of the Latin translations. The next step involved a comparison of the Latin texts and the establishment of textual differences. Upon this basis M. Mikuła distinguished the foundation of translations of the legal content from the German into Latin, and defined the role played by German manuscripts in the origin of the textual distinctiveness and novel character of the translations. Emphasis must be placed on the fact that the author did not restrict his research

method merely to a substantive analysis is of the source contents, but also applied a codicological analysis of extant manuscripts. Thus we encounter a lot of information associated with an analysis of scribe scripts, the arrangement of the text within the leaves, a description of manuscript quaternions, etc. Furthermore, the book contains more than 10 colour photographs of particular manuscripts and prints.

Chapter I is an analysis of *Weichbild* in the Silesian-Little Poland configuration (known as the Konrad of Opole configuration). The following chapter explores the evolution of the Latin text based on data contained in the appendices. Appendix I is an extensive *Tabela konkordancyjna artykułów* (Concordance Table of Articles, pp. 191-196), composed of two folding tabular sheets. Appendix II (pp. 197-270) is a collection of *Różnice w tekstach łacińskich Weichbildu* (Differences in Latin *Weichbild* Texts). Here, the author distinguished eight types of modifications: 1. regulation modification, 2. changes intent on clarifying ambiguities, 3. changes introducing ambiguities, 4. additions confirming the existing regulation, 5. omission of superfluous fragments, 6. linguistic changes consisting of the introduction of synonyms, 7. grammar and spelling changes, 8. changes of sequences of words and phrases. While describing extant manuscripts M. Miśkiewicz followed the above points. Appendix III compares the concurrence of Latin and German texts (pp. 271-313). Appendix IV is a source edition containing the *Weichbild* text from a manuscript kept in the Archdiocesan Archive of Gniezno, call no. 104 (pp. 315-353). Chapter III consists of an analysis of *Weichbild* contents in printed Jan Łaski's *Statutes* from 1505, while chapter IV examines addenda introduced by scribes and users – glossae, references, and notes made on margins. The book is, therefore, composed of two parts – a substantive analysis and source studies (the latter comprise half of the contents) containing material constituting a foundation of the analysis in question. Concluding, M. Miśkiewicz declared that the author of the first translation of *Weichbild* was Konrad of Sandomierz (work completed prior to 1359). A new version was ready before 1368, demonstrating a distinctive impact of the Cracow version and containing *ortyls* (*Urteile*, verdicts). The text printed by Jan Łaski was based on the Sandomierz and Cracow versions (without verdicts), which it compared. The author indicated that despite the publication of the printed version of the *Weichbild* text in 1505, new manuscript versions not only continued to function but were created (even after 1535); more, certain manuscripts still copied the printed text and expanded it. M. Miśkiewicz connected the origin of Paweł Szczerbic's second edition of the text of Magdeburg law (1581) with an intention of taking those modifications into consideration and as part of a wider, Renaissance current of a reform and codification of the law, aiming at an ultimate unification of legal texts.

Julia Możdżeń

Nicholas Morton, *Encountering Islam on the First Crusade*, Cambridge University Press, New York-Cambridge 2016, XII, 319 pp., list of figures and tables, bibliography, index.

The author of this publication is Nicholas Morton, a researcher connected with Nottingham Trent University and specialising in the history of the Crusades and Crusade-era monastic orders. The study in question focuses on the perception of Oriental communities (Turks, Arabs, etc.) by Latin chroniclers during the First Crusade. The fundamental premise accepted by the author is a search, conducted even in the most unreliable descriptions about the enemies of the Crusaders, for reference to actual events, practices, social norms or customs of the presented peoples. The book includes an introduction, five chapters, and closing conclusions. The first chapter describes factors affecting the perception of the world of Islam by representatives of Latin culture during the period preceding the Crusades, with particular attention paid to theological thought, chivalric culture, *chansons de geste* and their like, and military conflicts. The author stressed that the Franks were not totally ignorant about the opponent to be soon tackled. The second chapter analyses the Crusade appeal of Pope Urban II and the image of the foe contained in the texts of a papal sermon given at the Council of Clermont. In the subsequent chapter the author presented the events of the First Crusade, concentrating not so much on descriptions of armed clashes but on mentions dealing with the customs, culture, and principles of the political life and religion of the peoples encountered by the Franks. N. Morton performed a clear-cut division into interactions involving the Crusaders and the Seljuk Turks, Arabs, and subjects of the Egyptian Fatimids. Chapter four draws particular attention to the identification of the Turks, who comprised an ethnic minority in the Middle East and whose degree of Islamisation should be regarded as problematic. Nonetheless, it was they who acted as the main enemies of the Crusaders. Chapter five depicts the consequences of the First Crusade and examines the impact exerted by intensified interactions with the world of Islam upon the latter's perception in Western Christianity. The publication ends with a bibliography and an index.

Tomasz Pelech

Agnieszka Patała, *Pod znakiem świętego Sebalda. Rola Norymbergi w kształtowaniu późnogotyckiego malarstwa tablicowego na Śląsku* (Under the Sign of St. Sebaldus. The Role of Nuremberg in Moulding Late Gothic Table Painting in Silesia), Wydawnictwo Via Nova, Wrocław 2018, 352 pp., 273 colour and black-and-white ill., bibliography, index of persons and subjects.

This capacious study by Agnieszka Patała embarks upon cultural transfer, i.e. the flow of ideas, artists, and works between Nuremberg and Silesia during the Late Middle Ages and the threshold of the modern era. The point of departure is a discussion on the significance of Nuremberg as the artistic centre of Germany and Europe, with the author portraying determinants of the development of artistic *oeuvre* unhindered by guild regulations, as well as such distinguished representatives as Michael Wolgemut, Wit Stwosz, and Albrecht Dürer. A. Patała paid considerable attention to the cult of St. Sebaldus, the patron saint of Nuremberg, whose likenesses are featured in and outside the town, thus making it possible to determine the origin of the artworks, their authors, or sources of inspiration. Contacts between Nuremberg and Silesia facilitated firm trade relations, including, in particular, the activity of the Scheurlein merchant family discussed in great detail. The analytical part of the publication deals with the most significant artists from Nuremberg: Wilhelm Kalteysen von Oche, Hans Pleydenwurff, Master of the St. Barbara Altarpiece, Master from 1486/1487 (Meister der Jahreszahlen), and Master of the Gościszowice Polyptych (or the workshops associated with them), whose works – adapted directly or a source of inspiration for local artists – played a prominent role in the development of Silesian table painting. The lavishly illustrated book expands the research workshop of historians specialising in Silesian Gothic art and constitutes a significant contribution to becoming acquainted with Silesian-Frankish cultural and trade relations.

Wojciech Mrozowicz

Tomasz Pełech, *Obraz „obcego” w Aleksjadzie Anny Komnenny. Przypadek Normanów* (The Image of the “Other” in *The Alexiad* by Anna Komnene. The Case of the Normans), Chronicon, Wrocław 2016, 254 pp., bibliography, ill., index of persons, English summary.

This monograph on the emergence of the image of Sicilian Normans within the socio-cultural milieu of Byzantine elites during the 12th century focuses attention on the portrayal of Viking successors in *The Alexiad*, a contemporary work by Anna Komnene/Comnena, dedicated to her father, Emperor Alexios I.

The first of three chapters discusses a *corpus* of works (headed by *The Alexiad*) and, predominantly, proposes introductory methodological reflection on the problem from the perspective of studies dealing with the phenomenon of otherness. Chapter two outlines the historical background of events described in *The Alexiad*, i.e. relations between Byzantium and the Normans in the 11th-12th century, at that time intensified within the context of the Crusade movement. The closing chapter, encompassing almost two-thirds of the monograph, concentrates on titular issues; first, it characterises, according to the case study principle, the presentation of particular Norman protagonists (Roussel de Bailleul, Robert Guiscard, his son, Bohemund "the Younger", and Tancred), and then, according to the "group portrait" formula, of the Guiscard women and a holistic likeness of the Normans against the backdrop of a general review of the Westerners. Within the conducted analyses the author described the morphology of the cultural (literary) accomplishments of the Normans, the roles ascribed to them in the titular work, the origin of concrete aspects of creating their image (*causa scribendi*), and the *topica* and symbolism within the range of such depictions of "others". Treating the mas "barbarians" enabled Anna Komnene to accentuate the identity features of her milieu based on a confrontation with otherness. T. Pelech stressed that in *The Alexiad* the Normans of South Italy appear to be a community with its own customs and principles of social life, and, primarily, strongly militarised. The publication is enhanced by several photographs of monuments showing the cultural ambiance of the Komnenos epoch in Byzantium (mainly from Istanbul); it also contains a bibliography, an index of persons, and a summary in English.

Joanna Rosik

Piotr Piętkowski, *Biskupstwo pomorskie jako początek biskupstwa kamieńskiego* (The Pomeranian Bishopric as the Beginning of the Bishopric of Kamień), *Scripta Historica Medievalia*, IV, Wydawnictwo Chronicon, Wrocław 2015, 188 pp., ill., indices, bibliography, Zusammenfassung.

This monograph concerns the origins of Church organisation in the duchy of West Pomerania – created upon the basis of the mission of St. Otto of Bamberg (1120s) – from the establishment of the local bishopric with a seat on Wolin (1140) to about 1180. While discussing the beginnings of the titular diocese the author turned to the hagiography of St. Otto, concentrating on the role played in the latter's missions by Adalbert, the first bishop of Pomerania; subsequently, P. Piętkowski wrote about Adalbert's assumption of the office and activity as bishop ordinary. A similar presentation concerned two successive pontificates of the bishops of Pomerania: Conrad and Siegfried; at

the time of the latter the capital of the diocese was transferred to Kamień (1176). The monograph analyses the emergence of the original Church network in the main centres of the duchy ruled by the Gryfici dynasty (House of Griffin), and, subsequently, a system of monasteries (Benedictine in Stołpie on the Piana, Premonstratensian in Grobe, Broda, and Białoboki, and Cistercian in Kołbacz). Next, the author considered hypotheses concerning the shaping of diocesan borders and endowment, and, finally, focused on a multigenerational debate on the diocese's exemption, traditionally dated 1180 (naturally, within the context of the strivings of neighbouring metropolises – Gniezno and Magdeburg – aimed at the subjugation of the Pomeranian Church). In a critical examination of the present-day state of research, based on an extensive source survey, P. Piętkowski referred not only to narrative sources and documents but also to archaeological excavations and findings, in particular those depicting the beginnings of Christianity in Pomerania, as well as the iconography of bishops' seals and ducal coins. Some of those monuments are available in lavish illustrations contained in the publication similarly as several maps; a separate appendix contains photographs of the oldest Pomeranian documents from Landes archiv Greifswald. The work also includes indices of persons and places, a bibliography, and a German summary (Zusammenfassung).

Stanisław Rosik

Piotr Piętkowski, *Rzeki pomorskie w świetle źródeł historycznych i archeologicznych do końca XII wieku* (Pomeranian Rivers in the Light of Historical Sources to the End of the 12th Century), Wydawnictwo Chronicon, Wrocław 2017, 157 pp., ill., indices, bibliography, Zusammenfassung.

A monographic presentation of the oldest sources (to the 13th century) referring to the rivers of Pomerania as well as their significance for the local communities to the 12th century. This useful introduction to studies on the river network is addressed to historians, archaeologists, or regionalists specialising in mediaeval Pomerania. An outline of the state of research is followed by two fundamental chapters dedicated to historical and archaeological sources.

The first chapter lists the oldest mentions of the most important rivers of the region, i.e. the Vistula, the Odra, and the Piana, to be found in historical writings and hagiography (i.e. *Gesta principum Polonorum* by Gallus Anonymus, the lives of St. Otto, *Chronica Sclavorum* by Helmold, *Gesta Danorum* by Saxo Grammaticus) as well as in mediaeval documents analysed from the view point of hydronymy and hydrography, so as to subsequently accentuate the utilitarian significance of rivers (i.a. the question of customs houses situated next to crossings, the rafting of timber and other

commodities, or, naturally, fisheries). The author maintains that the fact that the overwhelming majority of the analysed source information pertaining to Pomeranian rivers refers to Western Pomerania was determined by the creation of a local chancery earlier than in Eastern and Central Pomeranian centres, i.e. the Lands of Sławno and Słupsk.

The archaeological chapter discusses settlements in river valleys, the river infrastructure (ports, mills, etc.), boat and ship building, fishing, the functioning of water routes, the significance of rivers for the development of settlements and defensive systems (strongholds), as well as the ritual and symbolic-religious meaning of rivers for pre-Christian and recently Christianised communities in Pomerania. The publication also contains an imposing number of photographs and drawings (archaeological monuments and the present-day landscape, as well as mediaeval documents, including the oldest Pomeranian document issued in Uznam in 1159), maps, diagrams, a geographical index, a bibliography, and a summary in German (Zusammenfassung).

Paweł Babij

Political Functions of Urban Spaces and Town Types through the Ages: Making Use of the Historic Towns Atlases in Europe / Politische Funktionen Städtischer Räume und Städtetypen im zeitlichen Wandel. Nutzung der historischen Städteatlanten in Europa, eds. R. Czaja, Z. Noga, F. Opll, M. Scheutz, Towarzystwo Naukowe w Toruniu, Wydział Humanistyczny Uniwersytetu Pedagogicznego w Krakowie, Böhlau Verlag, Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, Kraków-Toruń-Vienna 2019, 538 pp. + ill., articles in English and German.

Publishing cooperation between the Faculty of Humanities of the Pedagogical University in Cracow, the Scientific Society in Toruń, and Böhlau Verlag produced *Political Functions of Urban Spaces and Town Types through the Ages: Making Use of the Historic Towns Atlases in Europe* (parallel title: *Politische Funktionen städtischer Räume und Städtetypen im zeitlichen Wandel. Nutzung der historischen Städteatlanten in Europa*), issued in 2019 and edited by Roman Czaja, Zdzisław Noga, Ferdinand Opll, and Martin Scheutz. The bilingual collection of 20 articles is divided into three categories: 1. *Genius loci*; 2. Political Functions of Urban Spaces through the Ages; 3. Town Types as Tools for Comparative Urban Research and the Use of European Town Atlases. The publication presents the outcome of research conducted, and debates held by members of the International Commission for the History of Towns. Articles in the first part of the volume deal with the political functions of space (town halls, squares, etc.) in assorted European towns. This topic is

one of the problems discussed as part of the Commission's four-year research programme referring to the functions of urban space. The chronological range, therefore, is not limited to the Middle Ages – the volume also contains texts dealing with the modern era: the 19th and 20th century. The second part of the volume brings the reader closer not only to the typology of towns in various regions of Europe, but also to reflections on the possibility of devising a methodology of comparative studies by resorting to historical atlases of European towns.

Anna Maleszka

Camille Rouxpetel, *L'Occident au miroir de l'Orient chrétien. Cilicie, Syrie, Palestine et Égypte (XII^e-XIV^e siècles)*, École française de Rome, Bibliothèque des Écoles françaises d'Athènes et de Rome, CCCLXIX, Rome 2015, XIII + 581 pp., appendices, bibliography, indexes, list of illustrations.

An amended version of a Ph.D. dissertation written at a seminar held by Prof. Jacques Verger (Université Paris-Sorbonne). Camille Rouxpetel considered the perception of Eastern Christians by their Latin counterparts in a wide time perspective (from the 12th century to the 14th century). The sources originate both from the period when the Crusades and Frankish settlements in Syria and Palestine intensified contacts between newcomers from the West and local groups of Christians (Syrians, Armenians, Copts, the Eastern Orthodox, etc.) as well as from the 14th century when the Crusaders were ousted by the Mamluks from the Levant. The publication is divided into three parts, each containing three chapters.

The first part discusses predominantly pilgrimages to the Holy Land. Initially, pilgrims travelling to holy sites resorted to information found in the Bible, acts of universal synods, papal decrees or other earlier sources. The intensification of contacts between Latin and Eastern Christians resulted in an expansion of sorts of the intellectual horizons of the representatives of the West. Nonetheless, a major part of the descriptions of "others" replicates schematic narration schemes by referring to such names as "Ethiopians" or "Nubians", earlier applied in Latin culture for describing the Copts.

The second part deals with the specificity of Eastern Christians as viewed by representatives of Latin Christianity. The author indicated features differentiating Western and Eastern Christians, present in descriptions written by the Franks (travellers, missionaries, pilgrims, etc.) and drawing attention to, i.a. the custom of wearing beards or turbans by members of Oriental communities. C. Rouxpetel also proposed reflections concerning Eastern rites by referring to the example of Burchard of Mount Sion, who went as far as to question the charge of heresy aimed at the Nestorians.

Part three analyses relations between the Franks and local Christians in battles waged for the Holy Land at the time of the Crusades. Moreover, the author declared that the encounter with the creed of the Eastern Churches exerted a prominent impact upon representatives of the West who, while attempting to define the religious identity of their brothers in faith, demonstrated particular interest in the latter's different rituals, rites, convictions, and spiritual attitudes. C. Rouxpetel stressed that the Franks treated the world of Eastern Christianity as a source of fascination owing to, i.a. the antiquity of cultural and monastic tradition.

In order to explain the phenomenon of the "encounter" of assorted branches of Christianity the author made use of the category of "otherness", albeit it entailed experiencing "otherness" distinctive for exceptional proximity. C. Rouxpetel studied the contexts of the origin of particular sources and the mentions contained therein in reference to their-cultural background together with an *a priori* imposed interpretation framework of Western culture, which resulted in representatives of Latin Christianity often describing not so much that which they actually saw but that which there were enjoined to perceive *via* the prism of theological discussion, Biblical tradition, or well-established systems of the presentation of "others". Thus the applied rhetoric created situations in which Eastern Christians could be seen by their Western counterparts as a group situated between schismatics and heretics. The publication ends with three appendices (biographical notes, list of sources, maps), a bibliography, and four indices (persons; groups, "nations" and monastic orders; localities; and an analytical index).

Tomasz Pelech

Monika Rusakiewicz, *Wineta. Korzenie legendy i jej recepcja w historiografii zachodniopomorskiej do XVI wieku* (Vineta. Roots of a Legend and Its Reception in West Pomeranian Historiography to the 16th Century), Wydawnictwo Chronicon, Wrocław 2016, 150 pp.; appendix: drawings and maps, bibliography, index of persons, Zusammenfassung.

This monograph presents the birth and progress from the 11th to the 16th century of the legend of Vineta (Wineta), a famous township of the Baltic Slavs, ultimately engulfed by the sea. Particular chapters focus on the presence of this motif in successive monuments of historiography: chronicles by Adam of Bremen and Helmold of Bosau, followed by *Protocollum* by Augustine of Stargard, and, finally, the writings of Johannes Bugenhagen and Thomas Kantzow. In the case of the first mentioned source the analysis concerns the still historical albeit already legendary Iumne at the Odra estuary (probably Wolin), which in the almost a hundred years older text by Helmold (the

1160s) became Vineta, known only for its ruins. The author concentrated on the function fulfilled by this motif in historiography; in the works of both mentioned chroniclers it proved to be coincident in as much as it referred to their leading theme – a mission conducted among pagans. In the narration by Adam of Bremen admiration for the customs of the inhabitants of Iumne, based on the good barbarians topos, constituted an inducement of sorts calling for their evangelisation, while in the conception presented by Helmold sentencing Vineta to oblivion produced an awareness of the disappearance of those good barbarians from pagan Slavdom, thus recognising the latter as increasingly succumbing to moral decay.

The new significance of Vineta was accentuated by reflections presented in a chapter on Augustine of Stargard. Conceived as the town of the Vinetians, i.e. Baltic Slavs, Vineta was introduced into the legendary *origines* of the Pomeranians, which were to prove their antecedence from the beginning of time in relation to the Poles. This message expressed in *Protocollum*, written in the middle of the 14th century, proved to be of essential importance in the ideological defence of the independence of the bishopric of Kamień Pomorski against the claims of the Gniezno metropolis, intent on the former's subjugation. The author thus stressed the dimension of the reception of the Vineta motif, of key rank from the view point of historiography, within the frame work of the already emerging Pomeranian space of social-cultural memory, in which the motif in question found a permanent place, as demonstrated by further analyses. In *Pomerania*, written by Bugenhagen in the second decade of the 16th century, a recollection of this trade centre, populous and prosperous on a global scale, became a magnificent page in history, comprising an essential keystone of the Pomeranian community. Bugenhagen supported the localisation of Vineta on the island of Uznam, while Thomas Kantzow, who used the Bugenhagen narrative, inserted into the legend of Vineta a motif canonical up to this day, i.e. the sinking of the celebrated town, and did not shy from attempting to discover its ruins at the bottom of the sea. The monograph as a whole is thus a legible depiction of the evolution of the chronicle motif from a presentation of an historical emporium (Iumne) to tracing the Slavic Atlantis. The book contains diagrams, old maps, an index of persons, a bibliography, and a summary in German.

Joanna Rosik

Sakramentarze. Przewodnik po rękopisach (Sacramentaries. Guide to Manuscripts), prep. Andrzej Suski, introduction Jan Miazek, *Fontes scrutari*, I, Wydawnictwo Adam Marszałek, Toruń 2016, 1023 pp., bibliography, indices; *Rękopiśmienne mszały przedtrydenckie. Katalog sumaryczny* (Pre-Tridentine Missal Manuscripts. Summary Catalogue), prep. Andrzej Suski, *Fontes scrutari*, II, Wydawnictwo Adam Marszałek, Toruń 2017, 811 pp.; Andrzej Suski, Alessandro Tonioli, Manlio Sodi, *Pontificali pretridentini (secc. IX-XVI). Guida ai manoscritti e concordanza verbale*, *Fontes scrutari*, IV, Wydawnictwo Naukowe Uniwersytetu Mikołaja Kopernika, Toruń 2019, 732 pp.; *Libri Ordinarii. Przewodnik po rękopisach* (*Libri Ordinarii*. Guide to Manuscripts), prep. Andrzej Suski, introduction Jan Miazek, *Fontes scrutari*, V, Wydawnictwo Naukowe GRADO and Wydawnictwo Adam Marszałek, Toruń 2019, 565 pp., bibliography and indices in each volume.

The *Fontes scrutari* series is the outcome of the cooperation of faculties of theology at the Nicolaus Copernicus University in Toruń and Pontificia Università Lateranense in Rome. Up to now the series has been composed of five volumes, of which four are discussed in this presentation (the decidedly smaller size of vol. III is caused by the fact that it is an edition of the Latin *Letter to Decentius*, Bishop of Gubbio written by Pope St. Innocent I, prepared for publication and translated into the Polish by Waldemar Turek, Toruń 2017). The objective of all four volumes, edited exclusively (or, in one instance, co-edited) by Andrzej Suski, senior bishop of the diocese of Toruń, was to register source material for the history of Latin liturgy in the Middle Ages (to the Council of Trent). The monumental character of the volumes – both the imposing expanse of surveys conducted in library collections all over the world and their outer appearance (format, graphic layout, meticulous editorship) – will ensure a permanent place in historiography dealing with liturgical books.

Volume I discusses sacramentaries, i.e. liturgical books issued prior to the introduction of missals and used for Mass liturgy, sacraments, and sacramentalia from the Early Middle Ages to the 12th century. The volume is preceded by an introduction by Rev. Jan Miazek, depicting the historical development and typology of sacramentaries. The catalogue proper encompasses descriptions of 1179 manuscripts of sacramentaries (sometimes preserved only in fragments) from 236 centres. Particular descriptions include: the name of the institution storing the given manuscript, its call

number, a definition of the type of book, writing material, the number of leaves, the size of the manuscript, datation, origin, bibliography, and, finally, a characteristic of the contents (in the majority of cases based on pertinent literature, and for about 40 sacramentaries upon the basis of microfilms).

A catalogue of pre-Tridentine missal manuscripts contain seven more copious source material – a total of 5079 registered missals or their fragments kept in 608 centres. The scheme of description is identical as in the case of sacramentaries, the only difference being the absence of a characteristic of the contents. An introduction to this volume, also written by Rev. J. Miazek, is about the history of a given missal, including printed missals, which transcend the range of the discussed volume. Despite the imposing number of missals a survey carried out in Polish collections – the Wrocław University Library (omitted five complete missal manuscripts: I Q 193, I Q 226, I O 68, I O 70, Akc. 1948/725, and 22 preserved in fragments: Akc. 1955/32-33, 1955/35, 1955/40-43, 1955/52-55, 1955/57-63, 1955/144, 1985/36, 1985/39, 1988/14), the Kórnik Library of the Polish Academy of Sciences (omitted complete manuscript Ms 25 and fragmentary manuscript Ms 1712) or the Benedictine Abbey in Tyniec (one missal) – indicates certain gaps.

In turn, volume IV deals with handwritten records of a bishop's liturgical activity (*pontificales*) from the pre-Trent period. The co-authors of this presentation include – apart from Bishop A. Suski – Italian historians specialising in liturgy: Alessandro Tonioli and Manlio Sodi. An introduction demonstrates the significance of liturgical sources and the history of the Roman pontifical by presenting the transformations of its structure from the 10th century to the Council of Trent. The catalogue of pontificals is composed of 848 descriptions. Also in this case the scheme of the description resembles the one in previous volumes. A large part of the descriptions is supplemented by a characteristic of the contents (predominantly based on pertinent literature).

The last volume examines and registers *libri ordinarii*, i.e. books containing descriptions of the course of liturgy observed in assorted churches and monastic institutions. In the introduction Rev. J. Miazek proposed a concise history of *libri ordinarii* and related *ordines* books and *ceremoniales*. The catalogue includes 858 manuscripts of *libri ordinarii* described according to a scheme familiar from previous volumes and, whenever possible, accompanied by a characteristic of the contents (also predominantly based on pertinent literature).

Each of the described volumes was provided with an extensive bibliography and indices: chronological, topographic and others suitable for the specificity of particular types of liturgical books (e.g. typological). The inclusion of a selective bibliography of the publications of M. Sodi in

the volume on *libri ordinarii* comes as a surprise; the entire volume was dedicated to M. Sodi upon the occasion of the 75th anniversary of his birth.

Wojciech Mrozowicz

Kristin Skottki, *Christen, Muslime und der Erste Kreuzzug. Die Macht der Beschreibung in der mittelalterlichen und modernen Historiographie*, Cultural Encounters and the Discourses of Scholarship, VII, Waxmann Verlag, Münster-New York 2015, 554 pp., appendix, bibliography.

This publication by Kristin Skottki is an expanded and amended version of the author's Ph.D. dissertation presented in 2010 at the Faculty of Theology of the University of Rostock (Theologischen Fakultät der Universität Rostock). The author specialises predominantly in mediaeval studies conducted from a post-colonial perspective. The titular book poses a question concerning the existence of a mediaeval counterpart of the modern phenomenon of Orientalism known from publications by Edward Said, while at the time attempting to transcend interpretation frameworks functioning within this discourse. The publication consists of five chapters, of which three comprise a thorough introduction to a discussion on the comprehension of fundamental categories applied in postcolonial studies. The author divided their contents into three prime domains. The first chapter focuses on the state of research into such concepts as "Orientalism", "neo-Orientalism", "Occidentalism", "neo-Occidentalism" or "mediaevalism". The second chapter deals with colonialism, the Holocaust, Jihad, crusades, and the sacralisation of violence in reference to studies on the Crusades and the image of Islam in Latin chronicles. The author also drew attention to tolerance in the Middle Ages, as exemplified by William of Tyre, and proposed a concise description of historiography based on an analysis of the methodology of works by three authors: Robert W. Southern, Norman Daniel, and John Tolan. Upon this foundation K. Skottki analysed the manner in which the search for an "appropriate" (*richtigen*) image of Islam determines the historiography of the Crusades. Chapter three considers the sort of interpretation difficulties appearing in the case of so-called Crusade chronicles, claiming that witness accounts do not necessarily have to be the most reliable sources for the discovery of historical facts. Chapter four analyses six selected texts describing the First Crusade as well as *Bella Antiochena* by Walter the Chancellor. In doing so K. Skottki portrayed the narration strategies of particular writings, paying particular attention to the impact of Christian theology upon the image of Islam in the examined works. In the fifth chapter she focused on moments of intercultural interactions, taking into account religious conversion, tales about the joint origin of the Franks and

the Turks, and legends of cannibalism at the time of the First Crusade, so as to demonstrate the possibilities and limits of the co-dependence of Christians and Muslims. The presented study is enhanced with a copious bibliography and an addendum listing sources for the First Crusade and presenting the number of preserved manuscripts.

Tomasz Pelech

Studies on the Illuminated Chronicle, eds. János M. Bak, Laszlo Veszprémy, Central European University Press: National Széchényi Library, Budapest 2018, 220 pp.

The series of Hungarian mediaeval sources issued by Central European University Press includes *The Illuminated Codex* (Latin: *Chronicon Pictum*), together with detailed studies presented in a separate volume. The diverse reflections are upon occasions rather loosely connected with *Chronicon Pictum*. Alongside articles dedicated exclusively to the fourteenth-century text (*The Codex of the Illuminated Chronicle*, *The Text of the Chronicle of the Deeds of the Hungarians*, *The Illuminations of the Illuminated Chronicle*) the discussed volume contains also more general studies on heraldry, the reception of Attila in Hungarian tradition, dynastic conflicts or the image of an ideal mediaeval ruler as exemplified by Saint Ladislaus. The authors include, i.a. János M. Bak, György Rácz, Dániel Bagi, and the Polish expert on Hungarian history Richard Grzesik. The presented work is extremely important from the view point of studies on Hungarian mediaeval historiography, and its publication in English disseminates the outcome of studies conducted by leading experts on Hungarian sources. Just as essential is the all-sided approach to the topic, which will enable the reader to become better acquainted with this significant historical work.

Adam Lubocki

The Correspondence of John of Capistrano, I: Letters Related to the History of Poland and Silesia (1451-1456), eds. Paweł Kras, Halina Manikowska, Marcin Starzyński, Anna Zajchowska-Bottromiuk, Tadeusz Manteuffel Institute of History, Polish Academy of Science, Wydawnictwo KUL, Warszawa-Lublin 2018, 325 pp., texts in English and Latin, diagrams, index of names of persons and places.

The initiative of publishing a corpus of the correspondence of St. John of Capistrano was formulated by Italian researchers Letizia Pellegrini and Filippo Sedda at the onset of the second decade of the 21st century. The basis of letters specially prepared by the men compasses a total of 665, of which

50, referring to Poland and Silesia, are contained in the discussed edition whose introduction is composed of four articles. L. Pellegrini presented (pp. 21-34) the history of the project of an edition of the entire John of Capistrano correspondence, stressing the significance of this controversial figure ("two-faced monster") in European 18th-century history. Mention was made of the fact that the first to join the project were Polish researchers, headed by Pawel Kras, a historian from Lublin. In the successive article F. Sedda considered the foundation of the titular letters (pp. 35-46), discussed manuscripts containing the correspondence (dispatched and received), and proposed statistical observations illustrated with diagrams and showing the letters from various perspectives according to chronology, correspondents, or countries to which they referred. P. Kras (pp. 47-67) drew attention to the attitude of John of Capistrano towards Poland and Silesia during the 1451-1456 period. In addition, he described the correspondence of the future saint with representatives of Poland and Silesia, i.a. with King Casimir Jagiellon, Zbigniew Oleśnicki, the bishop of Cracow, Piotr Nowak, the bishop of Wrocław, and the burghers of Wrocław. The author also accentuated that originally the number of letters addressed to Polish and Silesian partners must have been twice or thrice as large. In the closing article Mieczysław Mejer wrote about the most characteristic language phenomena typical for the correspondence published in the discussed volume (pp. 69-83).

A precise editorial note (pp. 85-87) precedes the actual edition of the letters (pp. 89-317) arranged in chronological order. Each published example contains: an establishment of the time and place of origin, a concise register, fundamental data about the given letter (information about the original and copies, registers, earlier editions, remarks), the original Latin text and, on opposite pages, a parallel translation into the English. The original text is accompanied by letter footnotes (in Latin), and the English translation – by a commentary (in English) in the form of numerical footnotes. The presented edition expands the essential source basis for becoming acquainted with the biography and contacts of John of Capistrano as well as the history of Poland and Silesia at the beginning of the second half of the 15th century. It should be also acknowledged as an excellent inauguration of an edition of the complete corpus of the correspondence of John of Capistrano.

Wojciech Mrozowicz

Wigand von Marburg, *Nowa kronika pruska* (New Prussian Chronicle), prep., intro. and eds. Sławomir Zonenberg, Krzysztof Kwiatkowski, transl. Sławomir Zonenberg, Krzysztof Kwiatkowski with cooperation with Roman Spandowski, commentaries Krzysztof Kwiatkowski, Sławomir Zonenberg, Radosław Golba, Wydawnictwo Towarzystwa Naukowego w Toruniu, Toruń 2017, 666 pp., maps, ill., CD, appendix, list of sources and studies, index of persons, index of places.

Nowa kronika pruska by Wigand of Marburg is a new critical edition of the contents of a Latin translation of a 14th-century rhymed chronicle (*Chronica nova Prutenica*) by a Teutonic Order herald. Additionally, it contains a Polish translation. The presented publication is an example of a complex source study and contains an extensive source studies and historical commentary (S. Zonenberg), a military history introduction (K. Kwiatkowski), and a codicological discussion of the preserved Latin manuscript (a total of 122 pages). The second part consists of a new critical edition of the Latin translation of the chronicle by Wigand of Marburg and a translation into the Polish. A parallel arrangement of the Latin and Polish text is a valuable cognitive operation making it possible to conduct a simultaneous confrontation of both versions in the course of reading them; it is also a brilliant didactic aid for students. An additional asset of the presented publication is a CD featuring a digital version of the manuscript – the foundation of the source edition and the translation, originating from a copy kept at Geheimes Staatsarchiv Preußischer Kulturbesitz Berlin-Dahlem. Apart from an accurate edition of the contents of the source and its translation, the authors wished to prepare the text of the chronicle and palaeographical material in a manner helpful in academic didactics – a goal they certainly achieved.

The text of the Polish translation is supplemented with an extensive footnote apparatus. On the other hand, the Latin edition contains, i.a. textual variants and erroneous elaborations of words from the 19th-century Theodor Hirsch edition, published in: *Scriptores rerum Prussicarum* and containing an artificial division of the text alongside numerous mistakes and inaccuracies. Similarly, the 19th-century translation by Edward Raczyński using anachronic Polish – up to now the only available version – was encumbered with multiple errors, which the S. Zonenberg and K. Kwiatkowski edition sets right. Moreover, its authors embarked upon the task of preparing a geographical commentary regarding the historical contents of the chronicle. The appendices contain two folding maps: *The Geographical Horizon of the Chronicle by Wigand of Marburg* (*Horyzont geograficzny kroniki Wiganda z Marburga*); the first is for the 1311-1351 period, and the second – for 1352-1394. Both maps localise

castle-towns, castles, monasteries, towns, rivers, and geographical lands mentioned in the source.

Separate attention is due to the introductions. S. Zonenberg wrote extensively on the function of history in Teutonic Order chronicles, characterising the genre of the rhymed chronicle against a wider backdrop of the epoch; furthermore, he discussed the state of research dealing with the Wigand *opus* and devoted much attention to the biography of the chronicler and the purposes of writing the chronicle. The introduction then considers the known original fragments of the chronicle and the circumstances of the origin of the Latin translation by Konrad Gesselen (1464) as well as other translations published in more recent times. The military history introduction by K. Kwiatkowski contains an analysis of the chronicle conceived as a source for learning about the military history of the Teutonic Order, and poses questions about its cognitive worth, Wigand's comprehension of the concept of "war", the self-image of the Order discernible in the chronicle, and the depiction of the enemy and described conflicts. Upon the basis of the chronicle K. Kwiatkowski proposed a characteristic of the military structures and organisation of the Teutonic Order's governance over Prussia and the geo-environmental factors of the Knights' military activity (i.e. geographical horizon, lines of communication, weather conditions, familiarity with landforms). Finally, both authors offer a comprehensive description of the Berlin manuscript and the principles of its edition as well as those of the Polish translation.

Julia Możdżeń

translated by Aleksandra Rodzińska-Chojnowska

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