



Quaestiones Medii Aevi Novae

vol. 25 + 2020

FROM THE WORLD OF THE OLD SLAVS:

ARCHAEOLOGY – HISTORY – MEMORY

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Fundacja
Centrum Badań Historycznych

Warszawa 2020

QUAESTIONES MEDII Aevi NOVAE

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Journal accepted in the ERIH PLUS list.

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www.qman.com.pl

Published and financed by:

Faculty of History of Gdańsk University

Institute of History of Maria Curie-Skłodowska University

Ministry of Science and Higher Education

(no. 0163/NPRH4/H3b/83/2016)



**NATIONAL PROGRAMME
FOR THE DEVELOPMENT OF HUMANITIES**

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ISSN 1427-4418

Printed in Poland

Subscriptions: Published in December. The annual subscriptions rate is:
in Poland 38,00 zł; in Europe 32 EUR; in overseas countries 42 EUR

Subscriptions orders should be addressed to:

Center of Historical Research Foundation

Faculty of History University of Warsaw

ul. Krakowskie Przedmieście 26/28, PL 00-927 Warszawa; e-mail: redakcja@qman.com.pl;

www.qman.com.pl

Citi Handlowy, 00-923 Warszawa, ul. Senatorska 16

Account: 78 1030 1582 0000 0008 5091 6004

Impression 500 spec.

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I. FROM THE WORLD OF THE OLD SLAVS: ARCHAEOLOGY – HISTORY – MEMORY

TOMASZ JASIŃSKI
POZNAŃ

BETRACHTUNGEN ZUR URHEIMAT DER SLAWEN

EINLEITUNG



Von der Urheimat der Slawen wurden bereits mehrere tausende Abhandlungen geschrieben. Je ausführlicher die Sache in den letzten Jahren besprochen wurde, desto größere Zweifel sind daraus entstanden. Zwar war unter den polnischen Wissenschaftler die Ansicht des Krakauer Archäologen Kazimierz Godłowski betreffs der Dnjeprherkunft der Slawen (aus dem Gebiet der Kiewer Kultur) immer populärer, in der weltlichen Wissenschaft standen jedoch viele hervorragende Forscher einem Konsens in dieser Angelegenheit ganz fern. Sie waren nach wie vor von der Tatsache beunruhigt, dass die Slawen, als sie zum ersten Mal in den unbestrittenen byzantinischen Quellen aus dem Anfang des 6. Jhs. aufgetreten sind, ein großes Volk waren, das die meisten Gebiete von Byzanz beherrschte, samt den von ethnischen Griechen bewohnten Gebieten. Es wurden Fragen gestellt: Woher sind sie gekommen? Wo haben sie sich zuerst „versteckt“? Die Zweifel sind so groß und jede Antwort auf diese Fragen erscheint so wenig überzeugend, dass der Weg zum Konsens nach wie vor sehr weit ist. Als Reaktion auf diese „Quadratur des Kreises“ haben manche Forscher nach untypischen Lösungen gesucht. Als Beispiel kann man hier den Standpunkt des rumänisch-amerikanischen Mediävisten und Archäologen Florin Curta von 2001 nennen, der zu einer solchen Schlussfolgerung gekommen ist: „the making of the Slavs was less a matter of ethnogenesis and more one of invention, imagining and labeling by Byzantine authors“¹

1 F. Curta, *The Making of the Slavs: History and Archeology of the Lower Danube Region, c. 500-700*, Cambridge 2001, S. 349; siehe auch: *Tworzenie Słowian. Powrót do słowiańskiej etnogenezy*, in: *Nie-Słowianie o początkach Słowian*, hrsg. von P. Urbańczyk, Poznań-Warszawa 2006, S. 27-55.

Obwohl diese Ansicht von mehreren Forschern enthusiastisch aufgenommen wurde, war jedoch die Feststellung von der so späten und in so kurzer Zeit verlaufenden Entstehung der slawischen Sprache, wie sie Curta nennt, ein völliges Missverständnis. Die Ratlosigkeit der Forscher auf der Suche nach der Urheimat der Slawen veranlasste sie zur Schaffung neuer methodologischer Annahmen betreffs der Herausbildung der Ethnie oder der Sprache. Obwohl wir diese Annahmen für weniger brauchbar für unsere Erwägungen halten, sind jedoch manche der in diesem Kreis entstandenen Arbeiten zweifellos bemerkenswert. Wegen des hier dazu mangelnden Platzes verweisen wir die Leser auf die neuesten Übersichtsarbeiten, welche diesem Themenkreis viel Aufmerksamkeit schenken. Unter ihnen kann man u.a. den Aufsatz der polnischen Sprachwissenschaftlerin (Mediävistin) Karolina Borowiec² und den des belarussischen Historikers Aleksander W. Litwinski³ nennen. Eine Übersicht der wichtigsten Theorien über die Herkunft der Slawen hat neulich Eduard Mühle in seiner großen Slawenmonografie⁴ geliefert.

1. STAND DER FORSCHUNGEN ÜBER SPRACHLICHE KONTAKTE DER SLAWEN MIT DEN SÜDLICHEN NACHBARN

Generell muss festgestellt werden, dass uns weder sprachwissenschaftliche und archäologische Methoden noch die Analyse der Überlieferungen von antiken Geografen oder Historikern einem Konsens über den ursprünglichen Sitz der Slawen näherbringen. Auch die anthropologischen oder genetischen Forschungen bringen uns diesem Ziel nicht näher – zumindest auf der heutigen Forschungsstufe – sie werden aber sicherlich in Zukunft die Richtigkeit einer dieser Hypothesen beweisen. Es gibt natürlich kein Rezept, das uns vor Fehlern bei der Bestimmung des Ursitzes der Slawen bewahren würde. Es ist unbestritten, dass Slawen und Balten zur Ostgruppe der indoeuropäischen Sprachen gehörten, also mit Iranisch, Arisch, Armenisch und Albanisch verwandt waren. Die Zugehörigkeit der slawischen Sprache zu dieser Gruppe indoeuropäischer Sprachen veranlasste viele Forscher zu Studien über sprachliche Kontakte mit den nächsten südlichen Nachbarn der Slawen, nämlich den iranischen Völkern. Diese Kontakte beinhalten durchaus wichtige Informationen betreffs der slawisch-iranischen Nachbarschaft. Die Erforschung dieser Kontakte hat eine sehr lange Tradition und verdient wegen ihres

2 K. Borowiec, *Kanon wiedzy na temat tzw. etnogenezy Słowian. Czas przełomu*, „Kwartalnik Językoznawczy” (2012) 1, S. 26.

3 А.В. Литвинский, *Методологические аспекты локализации прародины славян в историографии конца XX – начала XXI века*, „Вестник Барановичского Государственного Университета”, Серия «Исторические науки и археология. Экономические науки. Юридические науки» VI (2018), S. 28-36.

4 E. Mühle, *Słowianie. Rzeczywistość i fikcja wspólnoty VI–XV wiek*, Warszawa 2020.

Gewichts starke Aufmerksamkeit. Bei deren Schilderung – obwohl es die hauptsächlichliche Beweisgrundlage der vorliegenden Bearbeitung wird – werden wir uns auf die wichtigsten Arbeiten und wesentliche Forschungsergebnisse beschränken, damit sich der Leser eine Meinung über das Thema der slawisch-iranischen sprachlichen Kontakte bilden kann.⁵

Wesentliche Forschungen zu diesem Thema hat der deutsche Indogermanist Johannes Schmidt (1843–1901) initiiert. In seiner 1872 veröffentlichten Abhandlung zur Verwandtschaft zwischen den indoeuropäischen Sprachen hat sich dieser Wissenschaftler für das Vorhandensein einer baltoslawischen Gemeinschaft in ferner Vergangenheit ausgesprochen und bemerkt, dass die heutigen Sprachen, die dieser Gemeinschaft entstammen, am stärksten mit dem Deutschen verwandt sind.⁶ Er fügte auch hinzu, dass die Slawen in der Vergangenheit im Südosten mit iranischen Völkern in Kontakt traten, da die Pontos bewohnenden Skythen ja Iraner waren.⁷ Die von J. Schmidt genannten gemeinsamen Wörter in den slawischen und iranischen, und weiter baltoslawischen und (iran)arischen Sprachen wurden zum Forschungsthema am Ende des 19. und am Anfang des 20. Jhs. Eine besondere Rolle haben bei diesen Forschungen am Anfang des 20. Jhs. drei Wissenschaftler gespielt: Antoine Meillet, Jan Rozwadowski und Max Vasmer. A. Meillet (1866–1936), ein hervorragender französischer Indogermanist, verfasste zu diesem Thema drei Abhandlungen und eine wichtige Rezension. In all diesen Arbeiten verlieh er seiner Ansicht Ausdruck, dass man im Fall der slawischen und iranischen Sprachen, obwohl sie viele Ähnlichkeiten aufweisen, dennoch von keinen sprachlichen Entlehnungen sprechen darf, sondern lediglich von einem gemeinsamen Nachlass der urindoeuropäischen Gemeinschaft.⁸

Von einer besonderen Verwandtschaft zwischen der urslawischen und der uriranischen Sprache berichtete A. Meillet bereits in seiner ersten Arbeit zu manchen Aspekten der Deklination in der urslawischen Sprache;⁹ bei der Erforschung der urslawischen Personalpronomen bemerkte er damals, dass einige Genitivformen der ersten Person 'ich', nämlich urslawische *mene, eine verhältnismäßig nahe Entsprechung *manā* in Altpersisch finden. Zwar hat diese letzte Form – wie er weiter schreibt – ihre Entsprechung im Sanskrit, aber dieser Genitiv im Sanskrit unterscheidet sich noch stärker von der urslawischen Form als es im Fall der persischen Sprache war. A. Meillet meint deshalb, dass die dem urslawischen Genitiv *mene ähnliche Form des

5 Weniger bedeutende Arbeiten, darunter auch Studien, die in der Forschung auf breite Kritik gestoßen sind, wurden in diesem Artikel nicht berücksichtigt.

6 J. Schmidt, *Die Verwandtschaftsverhältnisse der indogermanischen Sprachen*, Weimar 1872, S. 9.

7 Ibidem.

8 A. Meillet, *Les dialectes indo-européens*, Paris 1908, S. 131.

9 Idem, *Recherches sur l'emploi du génitif-accusatif en vieux-slave*, Paris 1897, S. 94.

persischen Genitivs eines der außergewöhnlichsten Zeugnisse einer dialektischen Ähnlichkeit zwischen der slawischen und der iranischen Sprache darstellt.¹⁰ Wichtig für die künftigen Erwägungen ist die Feststellung von A. Meillet, dass das urslawische Wort *bogŭ* 'Gott' keine Entlehnung aus dem Iranischen ist: „Pour *bogŭ*, on n'a d'autre raison d'admettre un emprunt que le sens: c'est seulement en iranien et en slave que le mot indo-européen représenté par. iran. *baga* = signifie « dieu » ; mais ceci ne prouve pas l'emprunt”.¹¹

Sehr wichtig waren die Aussagen von M. Vasmer (1886–1962) und einem seiner Meister, nämlich J. Rozwadowski (1867–1935). In seinem 1913 veröffentlichten Artikel bemerkte M. Vasmer, dass in den baltischen Sprachen keine Entlehnungen aus iranischen Sprachen stichhaltig festgestellt wurden, dagegen in den slawischen schon; aus diesem Grund kann man – wie M. Vasmer geschrieben hat – die Urheimat der Slawen nicht weit im Norden in Russland bestimmen, weil das fern von den Sitzen der Iraner in Südrussland wäre.¹²

M. Vasmer nannte folgende iranische Entlehnungen aus der urslawischen Epoche: *bogŭ* 'gott', *čaša* 'schale', *choměstorŭ* 'hamster' von wedisch. *hamaēstar* 'einer der zu boden wirft', *chŭmelŭ* 'hopfen', *chvostŭ* 'traubenkamm, büschel', *kotŭ kotŭcv* 'bude, stall' und *sobaka* 'hund', *sŭto* 'hundert' und schließlich *toporŭ*.¹³ Zusammenfassend stellte der Forscher fest, dass die Liste der iranischen Entlehnungen in der slawischen Sprache zwar nicht besonders lang ist, man kann ihr jedoch kein analoges Verzeichnis von iranischen Entlehnungen in der baltischen Sprache gegenüberstellen.¹⁴ Diese iranisch-slawische Nachbarschaft wird auch nach M. Vasmer durch wenige altgriechische Entlehnungen in der slawischen Sprache unterstützt. Sie beweisen, wie dieser Slavist meint, dass „słowiańska praojczyzna leżała nad jakąś rzeką uchodzącą do Morza Czarnego”¹⁵ [die slawische Heimat an irgendeinem in das Schwarze Meer mündenden Fluss lag]. Bloß ein einziges Wort *korablŭ* 'schiff' reicht nach M. Vasmer als Beweis; dieses Wort konnte wegen des *b* nicht später als um die Zeit der Geburt Christi aus dem Griechischen entliehen worden sein.¹⁶ Aufgrund all dieser Lehnwörter hält es M. Vasmer für sicher, dass Slawen lange Zeit in der Nachbarschaft der iranischen Skythen verweilten.¹⁷

10 Ibidem, S. 94 f.; idem, *Rec. Slavisches etymologisches Wörterbuch von Dr Erich Berneker, Lief I-III (a-dvoigajŭ)*, Heidelberg 1908-1909, „Rocznik Slawistyczny” II (1909), S. 66.

11 Ibidem, S. 66. Siehe auch seine Bearbeitung aus dem Jahr 1926: A. Meillet, *Le vocabulaire slave et le vocabulaire indo-iranien*, „Revue des Études Slaves” VI (1926), S. 165-174.

12 M. Vasmer, *Kritisches und Antikritisches zur neueren slavischen Etymologie*, „Rocznik Slawistyczny” VI (1913), S. 173.

13 Ibidem, S. 173 ff.

14 Ibidem, S. 176.

15 Ibidem, S. 177.

16 Ibidem.

17 Ibidem, S. 178.

J. Rozwadowski meint dagegen, dass unter den Wörtern, die M. Vasmer genannt hat, „sei es etymologische Gleichstellungen, sei es iranische Entlehnungen, in diesem Verzeichnis zurzeit als sicher nur *bogъ*, *čaša*, *sobaka i toporъ*, eventuell auch *svto* fungieren können“.¹⁸ Die verbesserte, ursprünglich von M. Vasmer verfasste Liste der iranischen Entlehnungen in der urslawischen Sprache ergänzt Rozwadowski durch neue Vorschläge. Besondere Aufmerksamkeit schenkt J. Rozwadowski dem Wort *divъ* ‘dziw t.j. cud, ale z wyraźnym odcieniem zjawiska potwornego (*portentum, monstrum*)’ [dziw, d.h. Wunder, aber mit besonderer Schattierung eines schrecklichen Phänomens (*portentum, monstrum*)] und weist auf die Verwandtschaft mit avestisch *daēva* ‘demon, zły duch, djabeł’ [Dämon, böser Geist, Teufel] hin.¹⁹ Danach fügt er hinzu: „Uwaga Awest. *daēva-* doszło do swego znaczenia, jak wiadomo, przez przeciwstawienie i walkę pojęć i wyobrażeń religijnych Zaratusztry z wiarą dawniejszą. Ztąd *daēva-* oznacza w najstarszych częściach Awesty boga starej wrogiej wiary, a z chwilą zwycięstwa religii Zaratusztry stał się synonimem demona itp.“²⁰ [Anmerkung Awest. *daēva-* bekam seine Bedeutung, wie bekannt, durch Gegenüberstellung und Kampf der Begriffe und der religiösen Vorstellungen des Zarathustra mit dem ehemaligen Glauben. Daher bedeutet *daēva-* in den ältesten Teilen des Avesta den Gott des alten feindlichen Glaubens, und als der Zoroastrismus gesiegt hatte, wurde es zum Synonym eines Dämons usw.]. Die Bedeutung dieses Wortes in slawischen Sprachen nochmals erwägend, kam J. Rozwadowski zu der Schlussfolgerung, dass in diesem Wort „w tem znaczeniu widnieje wpływ irański. Nie mamy do czynienia z prostym zapożyczeniem, tylko z przeniesieniem znaczenia na podobny wyraz rodzimy (zapewne też prapokrewny)“²¹ [in dieser Bedeutung ein iranischer Einfluss zu sehen ist. Wir haben es hier mit keiner einfachen Entlehnung zu tun, sondern mit einer Übertragung der Bedeutung auf ein ähnliches einheimisches Wort (sicherlich urverwandt)].

Zum Schluss zieht J. Rozwadowski noch eine sehr wichtige Schlussfolgerung; er nimmt nämlich an, dass man die Wörter iranischer Herkunft in zwei Gruppen einteilen kann, wobei die erste von ihnen „slovo bogъ svetъ sramъ divъ nebo zъlъ vѣtъ gatati vъpiti kajati kaznъ“ ist, „to znaczy wszystko pojęcia z zakresu religijnego i etycznie – moralnego. Wobec tego można do tej grupy dołączyć może także *briti vlasъ* ze względu na obrzędowe znaczenie strzyżenia włosów, a także może *sv-dravъ gojъ*

18 J. Rozwadowski, *Stosunki leksykalne między językami słowiańskimi a irańskimi*, „Rocznik Orientalny” I (1914/1915), S. 101.

19 Ibidem, S. 103.

20 Ibidem, S. 101.

21 Ibidem, S. 104.

*gojiti město z zakresu życiowego*²² [d.h. alle Begriffe aus dem religiösen und ethisch-moralischen Bereich. Zu dieser Gruppe kann man deshalb auch *briti vlasъ* wegen der Ritualbedeutung des Haarschneidens sowie etwa *sv-dravъ gojb gojiti město* aus dem Lebensbereich zurechnen]. Die zweite Wörterkategorie (*radi kupъ samъ bo ničъ gora osvъ tožiti žlědica*) bezeichnete J. Rozwadowski als eine Sammlung, die keine Bedeutungsgruppe bildet.²³

Letztendlich hat J. Rozwadowski diese Entlehnungen oder lexikalischen Übereinstimmungen wie folgt definiert: „szczegółowej zgodności leksykalnej słowiańskoirañskiej na większą skalę wogóle niema, na tem tle tem większego znaczenia nabiera zwarta grupa takich zgodności z zakresu wyobrażeń religijnych i moralno-etycznych oraz z dziedziny życia codziennego, w której zdaje się niewątpliwie odbijać wpływ irański na Słowian”²⁴ [Es gibt gar keine groß angelegte lexikalische slawisch-iranische Übereinstimmung, an Bedeutung gewinnt vor diesem Hintergrund eine einheitliche Gruppe solcher Übereinstimmungen aus dem Bereich der religiösen und moral-ethischen Vorstellungen sowie aus dem Bereich des Alltags, in dem der iranische Einfluss auf die Slawen zweifelsohne sichtbar wird]. Der semantische Einfluss iranischer Begriffe auf heimische Wörter – schrieb J. Rozwadowski – kann darauf hinweisen, dass sich der von Helmold überlieferte Glauben der nordwestlichen Slawen an den *guten* und den *bösen* Gott (*Diabol sive Zcerneboch*) aus dem iranischen Dualismus herleitet.²⁵

Die Bestimmungen und Erwägungen Rozwadowskis zusammenfassend kann man sagen, dass drei Bemerkungen dieses Gelehrten von wesentlicher Bedeutung sind: (1) das Feststellen von Übereinstimmungen in den religiösen und ethisch-moralischen Begriffen in den slawischen und iranischen Sprachen; (2) das Feststellen von analogen Übereinstimmungen, obwohl in geringerem Maße, im Alltagswortschatz; (3) das Bemerkens der Möglichkeit einer semantischen Evolution des Wortes *divъ* unter dem Einfluss der iranischen Sprache, in der eine analoge semantische Evolution infolge der Lehre von Zarathustra stattfand.

Zu den slawisch-iranischen Übereinstimmungen ergriff 1933 auch der italienische Indogermanist Vittore Pisani (1899-1990) das Wort.²⁶ In seiner 1935 veröffentlichten Abhandlung behauptete er, slawisch-iranische sprachliche Übereinstimmungen seien ein Überbleibsel der gegenseitigen Kontakte, die bereits nach dem Zerfall der indoeuropäischen Gemeinschaft statt-

22 Ibidem, S. 105.

23 Ibidem.

24 Ibidem, S. 106.

25 Ibidem. Siehe das volle Zitat (*Helmoldi presbyteri bozoviensis Cronica Slavorum*, ed. B. Schmeidler, MGH SRG, Hannoverae 1937, S. 102 f.).

26 V. Pisani, *Slavo e iranico*, in: *Atti del III Congresso Internazionale dei Linguisti, Roma, 19-26 settembre 1933-XI*, hrsg. von B. Migliorini, V. Pisani, Firenze 1935, S. 371-379.

fanden. Zu den ersten Kontakten soll es um das Jahr 1200 v. Chr. gekommen sein. Dies waren nach V. Pisani keine unmittelbaren Kontakte und es sei dazu durch Vermittlung der phrygisch-armenischen Bevölkerung aus Kleinasien gekommen. Den Beginn der weiteren Kontakte bestimmt Pisani auf das 8. Jh. v. Chr.; diesmal waren es schon direkte Kontakte, die sich aus der Nachbarschaft der Slawen und Skythen ergaben. In dieser Zeit, bemerkt er, ist der religiöse Einfluss der Iraner auf die Slawen sichtbar, die von ihren Nachbarn das Wort *bogъ* und viele andere Wörter aus dem Bereich des religiösen Glaubens entlehnt haben.

Nach der Stellungnahme dieses italienischen Indogermanisten sind die Studien über slawisch-iranische Kontakte für fast 30 Jahre in Stagnation verfallen. V. Pisani selbst hat sich zu diesem Thema noch mehrmals geäußert, aber auf diese späteren Feststellungen des italienischen Indogermanisten von der Wende der 60er und 70er Jahre werden wir weiter unten noch zurückkommen. 1954 erschien eine wichtige Monografie von Walter Porzig (1895–1961) *Die Gliederung des indogermanischen Sprachgebiets*.²⁷ Dieser Forscher hat darauf aufmerksam gemacht, dass man die slawischen Entlehnungen aus der iranischen Sprache dadurch identifizieren kann, dass um die Hälfte des 2. Jahrtausends v. Chr. die sprachlichen Kontakte zwischen der baltisch-slawischen und der arischen Zone infolge des Übergangs der Arier über den Kaukasus unterbrochen wurden.

Viel Platz hat den sprachlichen slawisch-iranischen Kontakten Kazimierz Moszyński (1887–1959) gewidmet, ein bekannter polnischer Ethnologe und Ethnograph und einer der Meister von K. Godłowski. In seiner Monografie *Pierwotny zasięg języka prasłowiańskiego* nennt er eine ganze Reihe slawisch-iranischer Übereinstimmungen und gibt deren Etymologien an,²⁸ leider wurden diese von Sprachwissenschaftlern allgemein als völlig beliebig angesehen. Aus diesem Grund werden wir sie im vorliegenden Aufsatz außer Acht lassen.

1962 und 1963 sind zwei wichtige Arbeiten über sprachliche slawisch-iranische Kontakte erschienen. Deren Verfasser, Andriej Anatoliewicz Zalizniak (1935-2017), war ein außergewöhnlicher Wissenschaftler – Slawist, Romanist (Schüler von André Martinet), Kenner des Sanskrit, der Birkenrindentexte von Weliki Nowgorod, schließlich Verfasser grundlegender Arbeiten zur Authentizität des berühmten Werkes *Słowo o pętku Igora*.²⁹ Bevor er die meisten dieser Entdeckungen machte, schrieb er im Alter von 27 und 28 Jahren zwei sehr wichtige Arbeiten auf dem hier für uns interessanten

27 W. Porzig, *Die Gliederung des indogermanischen Sprachgebiets*, Heidelberg 1954.

28 K. Moszyński, *Pierwotny zasięg języka prasłowiańskiego*, Wrocław-Kraków 1957, S. 82-97.

29 Siehe T. Hodana, *Najnowsze spory o autentyczność „Słowa o wyprawie Igora”*, „Przegląd Ruscystyczny” CXXXV (2011) 3, S. 21-25.

Gebiet: (1) *Проблемы славяно-иранских языковых отношении древнейшего периода*³⁰ und *О характере языкового контакта между славянскими и скифо-сарматскими племенами*.³¹

In der ersten Abhandlung schilderte A. Zalizniak zuerst die slawisch-iranischen Ähnlichkeiten (схождения) im Bereich der Fonetik, Morphologie und Syntax;³² man kann nicht leugnen, dass der Umfang dieser Übereinstimmungen sehr weit und erstaunlich ist. Danach stellte dieser russische Wissenschaftler iranische Parallelen für folgende Pronomen und Funktoren zusammen (местоимения и служебная лексика): *ovъ, mene, tebe* (< *teve), *ni—v, ni—vto, samъ, kъde, kъ* (kъn-), *radi und bo*;

er führte auch eine Analyse von 39 slawisch-iranischen Übereinstimmungen durch, die wir hier ohne die iranischen Parallelen nennen:

blagъ; bogъ; briti, brijo; в.-луж. *čara* 'борозда', чеш. *čara* 'черта'; *xvorъ; xraniti*; русск. *дешёвый; divo, divъ; drъžati, drъžъ; gy(b)noŭi, gybelъ*; русск. (диал.) *укра, кра* 'льдина', др.-русс., чеш., польск. *kra; kajati* (se); **kotъ, kotъcb; krъčii, krъcbъ* (<*kry); *lěsti, lězъ; nebo; —nъziti, —nъzъ*; русск. *прѣтъ, прѣю* и т. д.; *pro—strъ—tъ; slovo; sluxъ; slъza*; русск. *cop* и родственные слова; *sramъ, sv—dravъ; tajati; tegnoŭi*, ср. также каузатив (чеш. *tužiti* и др.); *tъkati, tъkъ; *oŭkati; vĕra; vlasъ*; русск. *ворожить* и т. д.; *vъpiti, vъpijo; xadъ; zъlvъ; žlĕdica*, польск. *żłódz*, укр. ожеледа и др.; *žrъti, žъro; žrъtova, žъrbъcb*.³³

In der Zusammenfassung bemerkte A. Zalizniak, dass ein Großteil dieser Übereinstimmungen zur mythologischen und religiös-ethischen Ebene gehört.³⁴ Es ist nach ihm nicht unbegründet zu denken, dass diese Tatsache das unbestrittene Vorhandensein einer religiös-mythologischen und kulturellen Gemeinschaft der Iraner und Slawen in der Vergangenheit widerspiegelt.³⁵

Die wichtigste Festlegung von A. Zalizniak, von grundlegender Bedeutung für unsere Erwägungen, war das Feststellen gemeinsamer semantischer Veränderungen in der religiösen Terminologie der urslawischen und uriranischen Sprache; dies waren: (1) eine Sakralisierung des Wortes *nebo* in den slawischen und iranischen Sprachen, welches ursprünglich 'Nebel,

30 A.A. Зализняк, *Проблемы славяно-иранских языковых отношении древнейшего периода*, „Вопросы словянского языкознания“ VI (1962), S. 28-43.

31 Idem, *О характере языкового контакта между славянскими и скифо-сарматскими племенами*, „Краткие сообщения Института славяноведения АН СССР“ XXXVIII (1963), S. 3-22.

32 Ibidem, S. 33.

33 Einzelne Lexeme (Stichwörter), von Andrirej Zalizniak unterschieden, habe ich durch Semikolons getrennt.

34 Ibidem, S. 41.

35 Ibidem.

Wolke³⁶ bedeutete; (2) das Wort **deiwoš* 'himmlisch', bei den Urindoeuropäern 'Gott', gewann die Bedeutung 'Dämon'; (3) im Sinne von 'Gott' begann man das Wort 'Reichtum, Reichtumgeber' (slawisch *bogŭ*) zu benutzen. Auf diese Weise nahmen die Slawen an der iranischen Evolution in Richtung Dualismus teil; hier hat A. Zalizniak, indem er sich auf J. Rozwadowski berief, an den Bericht Helmolds von dem bösen (schwarzen) und guten Gott erinnert.³⁷

In der zweiten der genannten Arbeiten von A. Zalizniak zu den sprachlichen Kontakten der Skythen und Sarmaten mit den Slawen hat der Verfasser angenommen, dass diese Kontakte nicht später als im dritten Viertel des 1. Jahrtausends v. Chr. begonnen haben.³⁸ Er rekonstruiert und beschreibt die Phonetik der Sprachen von Skythen und Sarmaten sowie von den Slawen, vergleicht deren Vokale und Konsonanten und kommt letztendlich zu der Schlussfolgerung, dass dies in phonetischer Hinsicht in dieser Zeit ziemlich verwandte Sprachen waren. Die Wörter mit derselben Bedeutung waren in den beiden Sprachen, d.h. in der slawischen und der skythisch-sarmatischen, weniger unterschiedlich. A. Zalizniak schreibt, dass die lexikalische Übereinstimmung zwischen der urslawischen und skythisch-sarmatischen Sprache zwar groß ist, sie umfasst jedoch nur einen kleinen Teil des ganzen Wortschatzes, und in Wirklichkeit sind solche übereinstimmenden Phrasen „äußerst selten“ aufgetreten. All diese Erwägungen führen den russischen Autor zur Feststellung, dass „einfaches gegenseitiges Verstehen zwischen Slawen und Skythen in der erforschten Epoche praktisch unmöglich war“.³⁹

In der 1965 veröffentlichten Abhandlung zu den sprachlichen slawisch-iranischen Beziehungen ist Oleg Nikoľajewicz Trubaczow (1930–2002) zu der Schlussfolgerung gekommen, dass die Ostslawen wider Erwarten ziemlich schwache Kontakte zu Skythen und Sarmaten pflegten.⁴⁰ Die weitere Suche führte ihn zu einem interessanten Ergebnis;⁴¹ die Westslawen,

36 Vgl. J. Rozwadowski, *Stosunki leksykalne...*, S. 104: „*nebo* 'niebo': aw. *nabah* (in der Form Plur. *nabās čā*) 'ts.'; dagegen stind. *nābhas* – = gr. *νέφος* zeigt als die älteste Bedeutung vor allem 'Nebel, Wolken'; siehe auch A.A. Zalizniak, *Проблемы...*, S. 36: „*nebo* – ав. *nabah* – 'небо, воздушный простор'. В славянском и иранском имело место одинаковое семантическое развитие и.-е. **nebhes* – 'облако' (ср. инд. *nābhas*, гр. *νέφος* и др.). Следует обратить внимание на аналогичное семантическое развитие в хетт. *nepiš* 'небо'“. Diese Tatsache war auch (durch Vermittlung von Roman Jakobson) Aleksander Gieysztor bekannt, *Mitologia Słowian*, Warszawa 1982, S. 34.

37 A.A. Zalizniak, *Проблемы...*, S. 42.

38 Idem, *О характере...*, S. 3: „Можно думать, однако, что он начался не позже третьей четверти I тысячелетия до н. э.“.

39 Ibidem, S. 21.

40 О.Н. Трубачев, *Из славяно-иранских лексических отношений*, „Этимология“ (1965), S. 3-81.

41 Ibidem, S. 9.

und vor allem die Ahnen der künftigen urpolnischen Slawen, sollen nämlich in der Vergangenheit (bevor sie ihre etwas mehr südlich gelegenen Sitze verlassen haben) intensive sprachliche Kontakte mit Skythen oder Sarmaten gepflegt haben. Die folgenden polnischen, urpolnischen oder dialektischen polnischen Wörter hielt O. Trubaczow für Entlehnungen oder Überbleibsel nach slawisch-iranischen Kontakten: poln. *baczyć* 'смотреть, наблюдать, замечать'; poln. *patrzyć, patrzeć* 'смотреть, видеть'; poln. Dialekt *szatrzyć* 'знать, смыслить, уметь'; poln. *trawać* 'продолжаться, длиться, упорствовать'; Poln. *tuszyć* 'вселять надежду'; poln. *zawawy* 'живой, проворный, резвый'; poln. Dialekt. *pitwać* 'coire cum femina'. O. Trubaczow konkludiert, dass wir unter den slawisch-iranischen Kontakten eine besondere Gruppe aussondern können, nämlich *polono-iranica*.

Zum Thema der Kontakte zwischen der slawischen und iranischen Sprache hat sich 1967 auch der Schüler von A. Meillet – Émile Benveniste (1902–1976), ein Indogermanist mit besonderen Errungenschaften auf dem Gebiet der Iranistik geäußert.⁴² Als wichtiges Beispiel für sprachliche Kontakte zwischen Slawen und Iranern nennt É. Benveniste die Übereinstimmung des altslawischen Wortes *svętiŭ*⁴³ mit avestischem Wort *spānta-*. Die Übereinstimmung auf beiden Seiten ist das Ergebnis einer komplizierten und langwierigen Entwicklung, die man lediglich aufgrund der iranischen Sprachüberlieferungen zu rekonstruieren vermag. In der bravourösen Beweisführung, die die außergewöhnlichen Kompetenzen von É. Benveniste als Iranist bestätigt, erklärt dieser Wissenschaftler, wie sich dieses Wort letztendlich in der iranischen Sprache gestaltet hat. Er macht uns darauf aufmerksam, was am wichtigsten ist, nämlich dass dieses Wort in der iranischen Sprache eine neue religiöse oder magische Bedeutung gewonnen hat, sehr weit von den ursprünglichen wedischen Grundlagen entfernt, und dass es in der slawischen Sprache gleichzeitig mit der Aufnahme des Christentums analog wie in der iranischen Sprache eine religiöse Bedeutung („Heiligkeit“) gewann.⁴⁴

Für ein urindoeuropäisches Erbe hält É. Benveniste auch das slawische Lexem *sramŭ* 'honte' und das ihm präzise entsprechende avestische Wort: *fšarəma-* 'honte'. Diese Wörter haben dieselbe Bedeutung und treten ausschließlich im (Pan)slawischen und (Pan)iranischen auf.⁴⁵ Unerwartet

42 É. Benveniste, *Les relations lexicales slavo-iraniennes*, in: *Janua Linguarum. Studia memoriae Nicolai van Wijk dedicata*, Series maior, XXXI, Paris 1967, S. 197-202.

43 Französische Slawisten, darin Antoine Meillet und Émile Benveniste, benutzen das Zeichen ŭ zur Markierung des Lautes ы, also *svętiŭ* ist gleich *svęтѣ*. Weiter zu den Standards dieser Aufzeichnungen siehe G. Holzer, *Urslawische Wortlautungen*, in: *Miklosichiana Bicentennialia. Zbornik u част двестоте годишњице рођења Франца Миклошича*, hrsg. von J. Грковић-Мејдор, А. Лома, Београд 2013, S. 65.

44 É. Benveniste, *Les relations...*, S. 198.

45 Ibidem.

sind die Bemerkungen dieses französischen Gelehrten in Bezug auf die Übereinstimmung der Lexeme mit ihrer grammatischen Funktion. Deren Übereinstimmung im Rahmen des Slawischen und des Iranischen – stellt É. Benveniste fest – ist überraschend.⁴⁶ Der Wissenschaftler nennt zwei solche Beispiele; das erste ist das altslawische Lexem *radi* (ἔνεκα), das sich in seiner Funktion, seiner Bedeutung und seiner syntaktischen Stellung ganz mit dem altpersischen *rādiy* (à cause de) deckt.⁴⁷ Diese Übereinstimmung bezieht sich nur auf die persische Sprache; in keiner anderen iranischen Sprache ist dieses Wort zu finden. Mit einer ähnlichen Situation haben wir es im Fall der urslawischen Präposition *kŭ*⁴⁸ 'à' zu tun, die eine identische Entsprechung nur in einer der iranischen Sprachen hat, nämlich in Sogdisch: *ku* 'à'. Genauso wie *rādiy* in keiner der iranischen Sprachen außer Persisch auftritt (in heutigem Persischen klingt es: *rā*), so kommt *ku* ausschließlich in Sogdisch vor. Diese Entlehnungen sind sehr alt; wenn es um *radi* geht, muss diese Entlehnung spätestens im 5. Jh. v. Chr. erfolgt sein.⁴⁹

Zum Schluss wollte sich É. Benveniste noch mit der mehrmals erwoگenen Frage befassen, nämlich wie man die Übereinstimmung des urslawischen Lexems *bogŭ*⁵⁰ 'dieu' mit dem avestischen *baga-* 'dieu' interpretieren kann. Diesen Fragepunkt hat er samt einem anderen slawisch-iranischen Lehnwort besprochen; das altslawische Lexem *slovo* 'parole' hat nämlich eine avestische Entsprechung: *sra vah-* 'parole'.⁵¹ É. Benveniste meint, dass der Begriff *baga-* 'fortune' sowohl in der indischen als auch in der iranischen Sprache erhalten geblieben ist. Wichtig ist, dass dieser Begriff in einem bestimmten Zeitpunkt in der iranischen Sprache auf den Begriff – 'Gott' erweitert wurde, was jedoch in der indischen Sprache nicht der Fall war. Besonders bemerkenswert ist die Tatsache, dass ein identischer Prozess wie im Iranischen auch im Altslawischen stattfand, wo man auch begonnen hat, das Wort *bogŭ* als Bezeichnung des Begriffes – 'Gott' zu benutzen.⁵² Der französische Gelehrte weist darauf hin, dass es dazu kam, obwohl diese Etymologie und ihre Derivate in der slawischen Sprache ursprünglich mehr Übereinstimmungen mit dem Wedischen als mit iranischen Sprachen hatte.

46 Ibidem.

47 Vgl. auch A. Gieysztor, *Mitologia...*, S. 35: „Co najdziwniejsze, inskrypcja Dariusza mówi: «bagahja radi», «dla boga», a więc tak, jak w jakiejś skamielinie językowej trwa do dziś dnia w języku rosyjskim boga radi” [Das Erstaunlichste von allem ist, dass die Inschrift des Darius lautet: «bagahja radi», «für Gott», also ähnlich wie in einem sprachlichen Fossil bis heute in der russischen Sprache *boga radi* fort dauert].

48 *kŭ* = **kъ* – Anm. T.J., siehe oben Anm. 98.

49 É. Benveniste, *Les relations...*, S. 198.

50 *bogŭ* = **bogъ* – Anm. T.J.

51 Ibidem, S. 199.

52 Ibidem, S. 202.

Der iranische Einfluss auf die urslawische Sprache in diesem Bereich ist umso mehr zweifellos.

1969 und 1971 hat V. Pisani, der sich bereits in den 30er Jahren des 20. Jhs. zu diesem Thema äußerte, sehr wichtige Arbeiten zu slawisch-iranischen sprachlichen Kontakten verfasst.⁵³ In seinem ersten Aufsatz schildert V. Pisani die Umstände für die Herausbildung der baltischen und slawischen Sprachen. Er bemerkte, dass der alte Streit darum, ob die urbaltisch-slawische Sprache überhaupt vorhanden war, ein Missverständnis sei. Der italienische Indogermanist schreibt, dass wir eher annehmen sollten, dass im Laufe der mehrere Jahrhunderte lang dauernden Nachbarschaft derjenigen indoeuropäischen Stämme, die sich später – zumindest teilweise – in die Gemeinschaften von Balten und Slawen verwandelten, gerade diejenigen eine gemeinsame sprachliche Innovation ausgearbeitet haben, welche durch all diese Stämme oder nur durch einen Teil von ihnen, und manchmal sogar durch solche Nachbarstämme aufgenommen wurde, die in der Zukunft weder Balten noch Slawen geworden sind. Wie dies praktisch ausgesehen hat, illustriert V. Pisani anhand folgender Beispiele, die wir hier *in extenso* anführen, damit man die Denkweise des italienischen Indogermanisten einfacher nachvollziehen kann:

„als Beispiele nenne ich etwa den nur im Baltischen und Slavischen auftretenden Übergang der sogenannten Sonanten in Gruppen von *i* und Liquida bzw. Nasal; die slavischen und lettischen, doch nicht litauischen Palatalisierungen; die berühmten Endungen mit *m* statt *bh*, die auch im Germanischen auftauchen; die pronominale Deklination der Adjektiven, die nur im Germanischen und Baltischen, nicht im Slavischen hervortritt. Diese Ereignisse haben im Laufe vieler Jahrhunderte stattgefunden; und die Verschiedenheit der räumlichen Ausdehnung der Isoglossen kann uns eine Idee geben des Wechsels der Beziehungen im Innern der noch nicht oder nicht zu eng gruppierten indogermanischen Stämme Europas“.⁵⁴

V. Pisani bemerkt, dass sprachliche Kontakte der späteren Balten und Slawen mit Iranern gleichzeitig mit der Ansiedlung der Skythen (ca. 8. Jh. v. Chr.) in Südrussland und dann der Sarmaten (ca. 3. Jh. v. Chr.) stattfanden.⁵⁵ Diese Iraner haben als Herrschende einen großen Einfluss auf die Slawen ausgeübt, besonders im kulturellen, sowohl religiösen als auch

53 V. Pisani, *Baltisch, Slavisch, Iranisch*, „Baltistica“ V (1969) 2, S. 133-140 und idem, *Weiteres zu den iranisch-slavisch-baltischen Beziehungen*, „Baltistica“ VII (1971) 1, S. 17-19.

54 Ibidem, S. 136.

55 Ibidem, S. 138.

sprachlichen Bereich.⁵⁶ In der weiteren Argumentation hat V. Pisani einige bekannte Entlehnungen aus dem Iranischen genannt und darauf aufmerksam gemacht, was am wichtigsten in seiner Beweisführung war – nämlich dass diese Entlehnungen in der slawischen Sprache präsent waren und dass sie meistens in baltischen Sprachen fehlen; manchmal vermochten sich jedoch einige iranische Wörter in baltischen Sprachen durchzusetzen. Beobachten wir näher die von dem italienischen Indogermanisten angeführten Beispiele: z.B. das Ersetzen des urindoeuropäischen **deiwo-* ‘Gott’ (ähnlich das litauische *diēvas*) nur in der slawischen Sprache, und nicht in der litauischen, durch das Wort *bogū*, welches dem iranischen *baga-* gleich ist; weiter das slawische, nicht aber litauische Pronomen *ovŭ*, dem iranischen *ava-* entsprechend; das in der baltischen Sprache fehlende slawische Lexem *radi*, welches dem persischen *radio* entspricht; die slawische Ordnungszahl *prŭvŭ*, dem avestischen *paourva-* entsprechend, im Gegensatz zu *pŭrmas* usw.⁵⁷ Wichtig ist – stellt V. Pisani fest – dass neue Entlehnungen manchmal weiter nach Norden zu den Balten durchzudringen vermochten, wie es diese Beispiele zeigen: lit. *dėšinas* dem slawischen *desňnŭ* und Avest. *dašina-* oder die Monophthongisierung, etwa wie mit *ai in ě*, die zuerst unter Skythen begann, sich bei den Slawen „durchsetzte“, um dann wenige Spuren in der baltischen Sprache zurückzulassen, z.B. *viėnas* mit **oinos*.⁵⁸

V. Pisani illustriert den Prozess der Herausbildung der getrennten baltischen und slawischen Sprache, indem er sich auf den von Władimir Toporow (1928–2005) und O. Trubaczow verfassten Atlas der Hydronymie des oberen Dnjeprgebietes beruft; der italienische Wissenschaftler bemerkt, dass wir aufgrund dieses Atlases drei Schichten von Namen aussondern können. Die älteste Schicht bilden die sog. urbaltischen Namen, die im Norden zahlreich und südlich vom Prypjat immer seltener sind. Die zweite Schicht bilden iranische Bezeichnungen, deren Zahl in Richtung Südosten immer größer wird. Die jüngste Schicht bilden slawische Namen; diese Schicht entstand durch Verschmelzung des „prabaltischen Stratums und des iranischen Superstratums“.⁵⁹ Was die erste Schicht betrifft, so umfasste sie nach V. Pisani anfangs einen ziemlich einheitlichen sprachlichen Typ, der von der Ostsee bis an das Schwarze Meer reichte. Durch „Iranisierung“ des südlichen Teils des urbaltischen Gebiets – schreibt der italienische Indogermanist – kam

56 Ibidem, S. 138: „Aber zugleich übten gewiss in diesen Arealen die iranischen Herrscher sei es als Superstrat, sei es als überlegenes Adstrat einen gewaltigen Einfluss aus, ebenso in kultureller, besonders religiöser – dafür brauche ich nur an die schamanischen Spuren, die Meriggi [= Bruno Meriggi – Anm. T.J.] in der slavischen Dichtung erfolgreich erwiesen hat, zu erinnern –, wie auch in sprachlicher Hinsicht“.

57 Ibidem, S. 138.

58 Ibidem.

59 Ibidem, S. 139.

es zur Entstehung des *Slavismus*; das Gebiet des Slavismus hat sich in der Anfangsperiode (im Gegensatz zur frühmittelalterlichen Zeit) nicht auf nördliche Gebiete Osteuropas verbreitet; dies war nach V. Pisani einer der Gründe für das Erhalten der baltischen Gemeinschaft in Litauen und Lettland, die von der slawischen Gemeinschaft verschieden war. V. Pisani ist zu einer solchen Schlussfolgerung gekommen: Wie bei der Entstehung des Slawentums die von Skythen und Sarmaten überlieferten Einflüsse der griechischen und vorderasiatischen Welt eine große Rolle gespielt haben, so waren bei der Entstehung der Gemeinschaft der Balten die von Germanen überlieferten Einflüsse aus der römischen Welt ebenfalls wichtig. Germanische Einflüsse, sichtbar in baltischen Sprachen, trugen zur Herausbildung der Balten bei, infolge dessen die Verbreitung des Slavismus nach Norden in dieser frühen Periode gehemmt wurde: „Am Ende der skizzierten Entwicklung waren in Osteuropa zwei sprachliche Einheiten entstanden: die baltische und die slavische. Wohlgedenkt: Einheiten, d.h. Komplexe von untereinander durch viele bedeutende Isoglossen zusammengehaltenen Mundarten, aber keine Ursprachen, insoweit dieser Ausdruck eine monolithische, einheitliche Sprache bedeuten soll“⁶⁰

Zwei Jahre später hat V. Pisani zum Thema der Slawenethnogenese wiederholt das Wort ergriffen. Damals schrieb er, „daß die Bildung einer slavischen relativen Einheit aus der Masse der indogermanischen Dialekte Mittel- und Osteuropas der Iranisierung zu verdanken ist, die von Skythen und Sarmaten ebenso in politischer und ethnischer wie in sprachlicher Hinsicht ausgeübt worden ist“.⁶¹ Im weiteren Teil des Aufsatzes nannte er noch ein Beispiel einer Verschiebung der sprachlichen Innovationen aus dem Ort ihrer Entstehung, also aus dem iranischen Gebiet, durch das slawische Gebiet bis zu den Grenzen des baltischen Terrains, zu den baltischen Prussen. Durch eine der Arbeiten von Wasilij Abajew angeregt, analysierte der italienische Sprachwissenschaftler die Deklination der Personalpronomen in der ersten und zweiten Person. Wie wir bereits wissen, hat A. Meillet in diesem Bereich auch schon früher eine große Übereinstimmung im Urslawischen und Uriranischen bemerkt. V. Pisani hat eine neue Analyse dieser Deklination durchgeführt, indem er sich auf Unterschiede zwischen iranischen Sprachen (u.a. der ossetischen, welche in die Diskussion von W. Abajew eingeführt wurde) und der urslawischen und litauischen sowie altpreußischen konzentrierte. Aufgrund dieser Analyse hat er bewiesen, dass wir es im Fall dieser Deklination mit einer Isoglosse iranischer Herkunft zu tun haben, welche mit ihrer Reichweite sowohl slawische als auch manche baltischen Sprachen umfasst. Weiter stellt V. Pisani fest: „Hier haben wir also eine jener Isoglossen irani-

60 Ibidem.

61 V. Pisani, *Weiteres...*, S. 17.

schen Ursprungs, die ebenso die slavischen wie auch die, oder richtiger einige baltischen Sprachen umfassen. Daß unsere Isoglosse aus Osten stammt und sich gegen Westen hin ausgebreitet hat, wird m. E. vom Altpreußischen bestätigt: diese westlichste baltische Sprache nimmt an der Umbildung der Pronominalparadigmen im ganzen nicht teil, nur der Dativ *mennei* ist wohl nach dem alten Genetiv **mene* (aber Genetiv *maisei* ist neu!) umgebaut".⁶² Diese interessante Bemerkung von V. Pisani kann man nur geografisch näher bestimmen: diese Isoglosse hat sich weniger vom Osten nach Westen verbreitet, sondern mehr vom Südosten nach Nordwesten.

1985 wurde die den slawisch-iranischen sprachlichen Kontakten gewidmete Habilitationsschrift des polnischen Wissenschaftlers Józef Reczek (1936–1988) veröffentlicht.⁶³ Der größte Vorteil dieser Abhandlung ist die Polemik mit zahlreichen zweifelhaften Iranismen in der slawischen Sprache. Im deren Rahmen analysierte der Verfasser u.a. 12 Lexeme, die früher von O. Trubaczow vorgeschlagen wurden, welche dieser als *polono-iranica* bezeichnet hat. Der Krakauer Forscher stellte fest, dass diese 12 polnischen Lexeme, welche O. Trubaczow aus der skythisch-sarmatischen Sprache herleitet, eine seltsame Sammlung bilden, die bei völliger Missachtung der philologischen Daten erstellt wurde. Polnische, von dem russischen Wissenschaftler ethymologisierte Wörter dienen – wie J. Reczek schreibt – zur Rekonstruktion skythisch-sarmatischer Wörter, welche von den Lechitenslawen entlehnt worden seien. Unter vier Substantiven hat J. Reczek nur im Fall des Wortes *raróg* die Möglichkeit einer iranischen Herkunft bemerkt, „gdyby się udało komuś wyjaśnić sprawę nagłosu“ [wenn es jemandem gelingen würde, die Sache mit dem Anlaut zu klären].⁶⁴ Unter den Verben kann man nach J. Reczek nur das Lexem *trwać* für eine iranische Entlehnung halten.

Nach der Analyse der bisherigen zahlreichen Vorschläge und nach der Annahme der Aufteilung in zwei chronologische Perioden (bis zum 4. Jh. v. Chr. und nach dem 4. Jh. v. Chr.) beurteilte J. Reczek einige zehn iranische Lexeme als Entlehnungen.⁶⁵ Im weiteren Teil der Abhandlung analysiert J. Reczek dann die Schlüsselbegriffe für sprachliche slawisch-iranische Verhältnisse: *bogъ*, *božbnica*, *divъ* und *rajъ*. Letztendlich hat er angenommen, dass diese Wörter in der zweiten Periode entlehnt worden sind, weil das Wort *božbnica* „nie poświadczają języki staroirańskie i jest on najprawdopodobniej tworem średnioirańskim“ [in altiranischen Sprachen nicht bestätigt wird und es höchstwahrscheinlich ein mitteliranisches Gebilde ist].⁶⁶

62 Ibidem, S. 19.

63 J. Reczek, *Najstarsze słowiańsko-irańskie stosunki językowe*, Kraków 1985.

64 Ibidem, S. 53.

65 Ibidem, S. 55 ff. ein mehrseitiger Index mit wertvollen linguistischen Kommentaren.

66 Ibidem, S. 57.

J. Reczek vermutet, dass beide Wörter (*bogъ* und *božbnica*) zusammen zu den Slawen gelangten. Von dem slawischen Wort *divъ* schreibt der Krakauer Wissenschaftler dagegen, dass „bywa uważany albo za pożyczkę ze staroirañskiego *daiva-*, albo za wyraz rodzimy, który tylko uległ wpływowi irańskiemu, albo wreszcie za wyraz, którego znaczenie da się wywieść na gruncie słowiańskim, wychodząc od zmiany znaczenia wyrazu *bogъ*. Żadnej z tych możliwości wykluczyć się nie da” [es für eine Entlehnung aus dem altiranischen *daiva-* oder für ein einheimisches Wort gehalten wird, welches nur dem iranischen Einfluss unterlag, oder aber schließlich auch als ein Wort, dessen Bedeutung man auf dem slawischen Grund herleiten kann, indem man von einer Veränderung der Bedeutung des Wortes *bogъ* ausgeht. Keine Möglichkeit ist hier auszuschließen].⁶⁷ Letztendlich kommt J. Reczek zu folgender Schlussfolgerung: „Często przyjmowana w pracach dotyczących starej religii Słowian teza o wpływie religii starych Irańczyków (których?) na religię Słowian nie ma za sobą poważnych argumentów językowych” [Hinter der in den Arbeiten zur ehemaligen Slawenreligion oft angenommenen These vom Einfluss der Religion der ehemaligen Iraner (welcher?) auf die Religion der Slawen stehen keine ernsthaften sprachlichen Argumente].⁶⁸

Als es schien, dass die Forscher ihre ganze Invention betreffs der slawisch-iranischen sprachlichen Verhältnisse bereits ausgeschöpft hatten, hat 2000 ein serbischer Sprachwissenschaftler – Aleksandar Loma (Александр Лома) das Wort ergriffen. Seine Bestimmungen auf diesem Gebiet waren das nebensächliche Forschungsergebnis seiner Untersuchungen, die anfangs lediglich auf den Bereich der Iranistik beschränkt waren.⁶⁹ Der Verfasser bemerkt, dass Slawisch und Iranisch ganz sicher Schwestersprachen sind, im Rahmen der indoeuropäischen Familie nahe aneinander stehend.⁷⁰ In den beiden Sprachen können wir deshalb – wie A. Loma schreibt – das Vorhandensein mehrerer Übereinstimmungen notieren, deren Entstehung durch ein gemeinsames Erbe erklärt werden kann. Einen Teil dieser Übereinstimmungen verbinden die Forscher mit der Periode der dialektischen Differenzierung der späteren urindoeuropäischen Sprache, jedoch ein Teil von ihnen widerspiegelt spätere Verhältnisse, nämlich gegenseitige Entlehnungen aus der Periode, in der es zu gegenseitigen Kontakten kam. In der Einleitung bemerkt auch A. Loma, was auf den ersten Blick etwas überraschend erscheint, dass man auf diesem Forschungsgebiet bisher keinen gro-

67 Ibidem.

68 Ibidem.

69 A. Loma, *Skythische Lehnwörter im Slawischen. Versuch einer Problemstellung*, „Studia etymologica Brunensia” I (2000), S. 333-350.

70 Ibidem, S. 133.

ßen Erfolg erzielt hat.⁷¹ Dies ergibt sich aus der Tatsache – erklärt Aleksandar Loma – dass die Ähnlichkeit zwischen diesen Sprachen so groß ist, dass es nur wenige sprachliche formale Kriterien gibt, welche die Entlehnungen vom gemeinsamen Erbe unterscheiden lassen; dies ist eine völlig andere Situation als im Fall der germanischen Entlehnungen in slawischen Sprachen, die man aufgrund von verschiedenen Merkmalen leicht zu erkennen vermag.⁷² Der serbische Wissenschaftler bemerkt jedoch schließlich, dass dieser Kriterienmangel nicht selten aus der falschen Prämisse der Iranisten erfolgt, die die altiranische avestische Sprache mit der uriranischen gleichsetzen. Es zeigt sich nämlich, dass nicht in allen iranischen Sprachen dieselben Lautregeln wie in der avestischen Sprache galten.

In manchen Sprachen der mittelliranischen Periode – in anderen als in der avestischen – sind solche fonetischen Phänomene aufgetreten, dass eventuelle Entlehnungen aus diesen Sprachen eine Spur in der urslawischen Sprache hinterlassen müssten. Die Schlüsselfrage ist nach A. Loma, zu welcher Gruppe der iranischen Sprachen Skythisch und Sarmatisch gehörten.⁷³ Die früheren Forscher meinten, dass diese Sprache von Vertretern desselben Typus vom Dialekt iranischer Sprache wie Avestisch verwendet wurde; A. Loma hat jedoch bewiesen, dass dieses sprachliche Erbe, das wir nur dem Skythischen zuschreiben können, vom Avestischen verschieden ist. Der serbische Forscher nimmt als bewiesen an, dass sich das Sarmatische zur heutigen ossetischen Sprache im Kaukasus entwickelt hat, und zwar durch die spätantike und frühmittelalterliche alanische Sprache.⁷⁴

Die Bezeichnung des Ortes des Skythischen in der Familie der iranischen Sprachen und dessen Unterscheidung von der sarmatischen Sprache veranlasste A. Loma, die wichtigsten sprachlichen Umbildungen im Skythischen zu definieren und anzuführen, welche im Laufe des Prozesses der Desintegration des ursprünglichen indogermanischen Erbes entstanden sind. Die ersten drei Umbildungen nahm der serbische Indogermanist nach dem polni-

71 Ibidem, S. 333.

72 Ibidem, S. 333 f. – der Autor führt diese formalen Kriterien für Germanismen auf.

73 Die Literatur zu diesen Sprachen ist recht umfangreich; es sei nur auf die wichtigsten Veröffentlichungen verwiesen: wegweisend sind die Arbeiten des bedeutenden ungarischen Iranisten J. Harmatt, *Studies on the History of the Sarmatians*, Budapest 1950; idem, *Studies in the Language of the Iranian Tribes in South Russia*, Budapest 1952; idem, *Studies in the History and Language of the Sarmatians*, Acta Universitatis de Attila József Nominatae, Acta antiqua et archaeologica, XIII, Szeged 1970; К.Т. Гребальн, *Скифский язык: опыт описания*, „Вопросы языкознания“ V (1995), S. 50-59; M. Mayrhofer, *Einiges zu den Skythen, ihrer Sprache, ihrem Nachleben*, Wien 2006; С.В. Кулланда, *Скифы: язык и этнос*, Москва 2016; R. Schmitt, *Scythian Language*, in: *Encyclopaedia Iranica*, online edition, 2018, <http://www.iranicaonline.org/articles/scythian-language> [Zugang: 11.05.2020]; dort die weitere Literatur.

74 A. Loma, *Skythische Lehnwörter...*, S. 335.

schen Sprachwissenschaftler Krzysztof Tomasz Witczak,⁷⁵ dem Vorläufer auf diesem Feld, an (Skyth. $\theta < idg. *k$; Skyth. $\delta < idg. *g, *gh$; Skyth. $l < d$), und er fügte noch zwei eigene hinzu (Skyth. $s < *kw$ oraz $\chi < f$).⁷⁶ Dies hat A. Loma zu der Frage bewegt, ob man „za pomocą scytyjskiego sita fonetycznego“ [mithilfe des skythischen fonetischen Siebes] auch zu glaubwürdigen Errungenschaften im Bereich der Slawistik kommen kann.⁷⁷ Als Forschungsergebnis nennt der serbische Wissenschaftler „fünf Dutzende“ neuer etymologischer Vorschläge. Alle neuen Bestimmungen stellt A. Loma im Anhang zusammen, den er folgend betitelt: „Prawdopodobne zapożyczenia ze scytyjskiego („scytyzmy“) w językach słowiańskim, a częściowo w bałtyckim i germańskim [tłumaczenie T.J.]“ [Wahrscheinliche Entlehnungen aus dem Skythischen („Skythismen“) in der slawischen und teilweise der baltischen und germanischen Sprache (Übers. T.J.)]. Diese Wörter wurden gemäß den oben von A. Loma angenommenen sprachlichen Umbildungen aufgeteilt, alphabetisch geordnet und genau erklärt mit Beispielen aus dem Skythischen, aus mehreren anderen iranischen Sprachen und aus dem Altindischen. Wir beschränken uns lediglich auf die Anführung der slawischen Vorschläge und lassen die skythischen sowie zahlreiche iranische Parallelen beiseite.

(1) Mit $t < skyth. \theta = apers. \theta = avest., osset., echtslav. s, aind. ś, lit. š < idg. *k$:

***(j)ata** (auch po^o) „Obdach, Regendach, Hütte, Stall, Grotte, Laden, Metzgerei, Schlachtbank“; ***кѣрт-ѣти / -ити / -ати** „sehnen, siechen“; ***lata** s. u.; ***натъ** „Stengel und Blätter vom Knollengemüse sowie von Gurken, Kürbissen, Melonen und Bohnen“; ***otava** „zweites Heu, Grummet“; ***рѣтъно** „Brandmal, Flek“; ***portiti** „schicken, senden, begleiten“; ***port'a** „Schleuder“; ***talogъ** s. u.; ***torpъ** „Rübengrube“ (nur südsl.); ***torъ** „Mist, Dünger“ (nur südsl.); ***(v)ot'e** „Obst, Gemüse“;

(2) Mit $s < skyth. s$ (auch $ś$?) = $apers. s = avest. sp, echtsl. sv, aind śv, lit šv < idg. *kw$:

***lososъ** „Lachs“; ***sani** „Schlitten“; ***sobolъ**, ***Volosъ** s. u.; ***въсь** „all, ganz“.

(3) Mit $d < skyth. \delta = apers. \delta = avest., osset., echtslav. z, aind. j, h, lit. ž < idg. *g, *gh$:

75 K.T. Витчак, *Скифский язык: опыт описания*, „Вопросы языкознания“ V (1992), S. 50-59.

76 A. Loma, *Skythische Lehnwörter...*, S. 336.

77 Ibidem, S. 336 f.

***ьрдо** „Anhöhe“; ***дѣбъ** „Eiche“; ***ход-** / **шѣд** „gehen“; ***ѡдѣти** „ersticken, bedrängen“ auch „angeln“; ***вѣд’а-** / **вѣда** „Augendeckel, Lid, Braue“; ***водѣти** / **вадѣти** (südsl.) „dämmen, stauen; bewässern; Wasser leiten, zuführen“.

(4) Mit *l* < skyth. *l* = apers., avest., osset., balt., echtslav. *d*, aind. *d*, *dh* < idg. **d*, *dh*:

***болгъ** „gut, mild“; ***хвала** „Lob“; ***хъмел’ъ** „Hopfen“; auch (und urspr.) „berauschendes Getränk, Trunkenheit“; *(j)**алонъ** „gelt“; ***лата** „Zwieckel, Einsatz, (Stoff)lasche; Blütenblatt“; ***лохъ** „Landmann; gemiener, dummer Mensch“; ***ложити** nur skr. und slovak. „Feuer anlegen“; ***iono** „Mutterleib“, urspr. „Behälter“; ***лудъ** „verrückt, irrsinnig, albern“; ***лукъ** „Lauch“; ***мысл-ити** „denken“; ***олово** „Blei“; ***олъ** (u-Stamm) „Bier“; ***sobolъ** „Zobel“; ***talogъ** „Bodensatz“; ***volъ** „Ochse“; ***вѣрлѣ** „steil, tüchtig“.

(5) Mit sl. *x* < skyth. χ < airan. *f*, gr. (in LW) *ph*:

***халѡга** „Umzäunung“; ***кошъ** „Korb“.

Diese Feststellungen, so bemerkt A. Loma, werfen neues Licht auf den Einfluss der Skythen auf die weit gefasste materielle und geistige Kultur, nämlich auf die Viehzucht, und besonders auf Pferdezucht und Reiterkunst sowie Verkehr: (***(j)aloěv**, ***volv**, ***torv**, ***пѣтно**, ***отава ѡдѣти**, ***sani**), Ackerbau (***(v) ot’e**, ***ob-vot’e ‘se’**, ***natv**, ***lukv**, ***torpv**, ***хъмел’v**, ***olv**), Fischerei (***nevodv**, ***lososv**, ***ѡда**), Bauwesen (***халѡга**, *(j)**ата**) und Hausgeräte (***кошv(n)-**, ***лонvсv**), Metallurgie (***олово**), Gerberei (***дѣbv**), Kampfausrüstung (***laty *port’a**) und andere, etwa wie Tiernamen (***sobolv**) usw. Danach betont A. Loma, dass der Einfluss der Skythen sich nicht nur auf die Wirtschaft und die materielle Kultur beschränkt; man kann auch eine Einwirkung auf den Wortschatz aus der gemeinschaftlichen Ebene und dem Gebiet des geistigen Lebens feststellen (***лохv**, ***lomača**, ***mogyla**, ***Volosv**, ***bolgv**, ***xvala**). Außerdem bemerkt der serbische Wissenschaftler, dass eine Reihe seiner Etymologien, etwa wie „ganz“, „denken“, „gehen“ usw., beweist, wie tief das Skythische in den grundsätzlichen Wortschatzbestand der Slawen eingedrungen ist (***vbsv**, ***mysliti**, ***xoditi**, ***ludv**, ***portiti** usw.).⁷⁸

2015 erschien ein wichtiger Aufsatz des tschechischen Indogermanisten und Nostratisten Václav Blažek, der sich entschieden hat, die iranisch-slawischen Übereinstimmungen nochmals zu analysieren. Er bemerkte, dass man im Laufe der Forschungen in diesem Bereich viele Fehler machen kann. Um

78 A. Loma, *Skythische Lehnwörter...*, S. 339.

dies zu vermeiden, hat er sich bei seinen Studien auf Lexeme konzentriert, die in west- und südslawischen Sprachen bestätigt sind. Die Entlehnungen in diesen Sprachen, welche von den ehemaligen slawisch-iranischen Kontakten entfernt waren, erhöhen die Wahrscheinlichkeit, dass (1) die analysierten Iranismen das Erbe der ehemaligen Kontakte (vor dem Zerfall der slawischen Einheit im 6. Jh. n. Chr.) vertreten; (2) sie keine Folge jüngerer Einflüsse sind, bei denen vorwiegend Turkvölker vermitteln (2. Jahrtausend n. Chr.). Indem V. Blažek historische Verbindungen berücksichtigte sowie aufgrund der fonetischen Regel der iranischen Sprachen, stellte er fest, dass wir die iranischen Entlehnungen zweifach betrachten können, nämlich (1) aus der Sicht der Zeit der Entlehnung und (2) der semantischen Reichweite. Im Rahmen des ersten Kriteriums unterschied der tschechische Wissenschaftler vier Epochen iranischer Entlehnungen, die er mit den vier ersten Buchstaben des Alphabets markierte.

A – dies ist die älteste Schicht der iranischen Entlehnungen; diese Wörter haben avestische Entsprechungen (**bstv*, **gunja*, **kajati se*, **rajv*, **vasnv* / **vasnja*, **θr-* in der Form **tr-*, wie in **patriti*, **šatriti*, **vθtrv*) oder deren Altertümlichkeit erfolgt aus dem Erhalten der Konsonantengruppe **hr-* in der Form **xr-* (**xromv*). Aus dem Mangel an deutlichen Analogien in baltischen Sprachen kann man schließen – wie V. Blažek bemerkt – dass diese Entlehnungen nach dem Zerfall der baltisch-slawischen Gemeinschaft erfolgten. Diese Wörter wurden aus dem Iranischen entlehnt, dessen damalige Entwicklungsetappe man als zwischen Avestisch und dem Zerfall der iranischen Ursprache beschreiben kann.⁷⁹ In der absoluten Chronologie fand dies, dem Indogermanisten zufolge, um 1200 statt.

B – die zweite Schicht der Entlehnungen, die V. Blažek unterscheidet, sind Wörter mit Merkmalen, die charakteristisch für mitteliranische Sprachen sind, vor allem an die hotano-sakische Sprache erinnernd (**čaša*, **govorv*, **kamo*, **korsta*, **kθrv*, **sěrv* / **šěrv*, **tamo*, **vθnē*; mit der Veränderung **θr-* > **r-*: **čirv*, **mirv*, **mira*, **širv*) oder dem iranischen Dialekt von größerem Altertümlichkeitsgrad als die literarische Sprache aus Hotan ähnlich.⁸⁰ Hier muss man – schreibt V. Blažek – zwei außergewöhnliche sogdisch-slawische Parallelen (**kv*, **sirv*) nennen. Von der ersten von ihnen – wie wir es bereits oben geschildert haben – schrieb É. Benveniste viel, der das Erhalten dieses Wortes in der sogdischen Sprache für ein Zeugnis der Kontakte von Urslawen, zu einem gewissen Zeitpunkt, nur zu einem der iranischen Völker hielt. V. Blažek meint dagegen, dass die Außergewöhnlichkeit dieser Entlehnungen nicht aus ihren

⁷⁹ Ibidem, S. 72: „Очевидно, это заимствования из раннего иранского диалекта, по древности находящегося между языком Авесты и еще не дифференцированным иранским праязыком“.

⁸⁰ Siehe – https://www.academia.edu/1748443/Introduction_to_Khotan_Saka_in_German [Zugang: 26.09.2021].

sogdischen Merkmalen resultiert, sondern aus der Tatsache, dass sie nur aus dem Sogdischen bekannt sind. In dieser Gruppe nennt V. Blažek auch die Zusammensetzung („сложение“) **prodati*, die aus dem Präfix ‘для’ und dem Verb ‘дать’ besteht, was in der slawischen und in den iranischen Sprachen: Sogdisch, Baktrisch, Paschtunisch, Pamirsprache identisch ist. Es ist schwer, eine annähernde Chronologie dieser Entlehnungen zu bestimmen, wie V. Blažek bemerkt; vielleicht erfolgte dies nach dem Zerfall der gemeinsamen sakischen, paschtunischen und baktrischen Protosprache. Wegen der unvollständigen Lexik der baktrischen Sprache fällt es schwer, diesen Zerfall zu datieren. An dieser Stelle beruft sich V. Blažek auf die *Historien* von Herodot und erinnert daran, dass Herodot davon erzählt, dass die mittelasiatischen Massageten in nicht näher bestimmter Vergangenheit die sog. Skythen-Nomaden hinter den Fluss Arakses (IV, 11) verdrängt haben, d.h., wie der tschechische Wissenschaftler ergänzt, hinter die Wolga. An einer anderen Stelle [VII, 64] berichtet Herodot von skythischen Saken und fügt hinzu, dass die Perser alle Skythen Saken nennen. Wenn man die beiden Berichte miteinander verknüpft, kann man sich bewusst machen – so bemerkt V. Blažek – wie nahe die iranischen Völker, die um das Jahr 500 v. Chr. eine dem späteren sakischen Schrifttum ähnliche Sprache benutzten, „mit dem Teil, zu dem auch Westukraine gehörte“, an die Urheimat der Slawen herankamen.

C – diese Schicht von Entlehnungen bilden Wörter, die der ossetischen Sprache nahe stehen, d.h. – wie V. Blažek bemerkt – es sind wahrscheinlich Wörter sarmatischer oder alanischer Herkunft (**gornv*, **xata*, **kobyła*, **sirv* / **sin’v*, **ščene*). Den späten sarmatischen oder alanischen Einfluss auf slawische Sprachen kann man auf die Periode von der Zeitrechnungswende bis zu den ersten Jahrhunderten unserer Zeitrechnung datieren, als die Sarmaten, und genauer deren Teil, nämlich die Alanen, die Skythen von Herodot auf dem Gebiet der Westukraine ersetzt haben.

D – die in chronologischer Hinsicht letzte Schicht der iranischen Entlehnungen in der slawischen Sprache, noch vor dem Zerfall der urslawischen Gemeinschaft, bilden dem tschechischen Indogermanisten gemäß die Wörter (**toporv*, **tulv*, **radi* und **vina*), die in den Zeiten der Parther und Sassaniden aus Persien eingedrungen sind. Eine gewisse Rolle konnte in diesem Fall nach V. Blažek der von Armeniern organisierte Handel spielen.

Die für die Wissenschaftler interessantesten Lexeme **bogv*, **divv* und **kotv* / **kotvcbv*, **město* können, nach Meinung des tschechischen Wissenschaftlers, Entlehnungen sein, die sowohl im Rahmen der Gruppe A als auch der Gruppe B entstanden sind. Indem er die iranischen Entlehnungen in der urslawischen Sprache aus semantischer Sicht betrachtet, bemerkt er, dass unter den verhältnismäßig alten Entlehnungen Lexeme von religiösem oder ethischem Inhalt vertreten sind: **bogv*, **čbstv*, **divv*, **govorv* / **gvarv*, **gornv*, **xvala*, **kajati se*, **mirv*, **rajv*, **sormv*, **vasnv* / **vasnja*, **vina*. Die negative Konnotation

des slawischen Wortes *divъ beweist nach V. Blažek, dass in der iranischen Ausgangssprache bereits eine Veränderung der ursprünglich positiven oder neutralen Bedeutung stattgefunden hat, die dem vedischen *devá-* 'ōor, god' entspricht. Der tschechische Gelehrte zweifelt nicht daran, dass diese „Umpolung“ („смену полюсов“) mit der Reform von Zarathustra zusammenhängt. Andere semantische Ebenen, d.h. außerhalb der religiösen und ethischen Ebene, sind schlechter vertreten: Bauwesen (*kotъ / *kotъcъ, *xata, *město), Handel (*prodati) und Handelsgegenstände (čáša, *gunja), darunter Werkzeug und Waffen (*toporъ, *tulъ). Andere semantische Felder – bemerkt V. Blažek – sind nur durch einzelne Wörter vertreten. Es ist erwähnenswert, dass der iranische Einfluss offensichtlich in den Bereich der Adverbien (*kamo, *tamo, *vbně) und der Präpositionen (*kъ, *radi) eingedrungen ist.

Mit der Schilderung dieser Publikation möchte ich die Präsentation der Werke über slawisch-iranische Kontakte abschließen. Nicht alle Arbeiten konnten in diesem Papier dargestellt werden. Aus Platzgründen verweise ich auf die Literaturlisten in den besprochenen Publikationen. Besonders akribische Literaturverzeichnisse zu diesem Thema sind in zwei Werken enthalten: von J. Reczek und V. Blažek. Ich habe auch eine Reihe allgemeiner, oft hervorragender Studien ausgelassen, die den slawisch-iranischen sprachlichen Übereinstimmungen viel Raum widmen, z. B. solche wichtigen Publikationen wie diejenigen von Gołab, Taborska oder dem israelischen Linguisten Dan Shapira. Auch mehrere Werke über mythologische Übereinstimmungen zwischen Slawen und Iranern habe ich hier nicht berücksichtigt. Es sei darauf hingewiesen, dass in letzter Zeit viele anerkannte Werke über die Geschichte, Archäologie und Sprachen der Skythen und Sarmaten erschienen sind. Der wissenschaftliche Einfallsreichtum der Wissenschaftler auf diesem Gebiet ist erstaunlich und verdient höchstes Lob.

2. VON DER LAGE DER URHEIMAT DER SLAWEN

Ein zentrales Thema bei der Frage, wo die Urheimat der Slawen liegt, sind die sprachlichen Übereinstimmungen mit iranischen Völkern in Bezug auf die religiösen Überzeugungen. Aus diesem Grund wäre es notwendig, die iranische Religionsreform des Zarathustra und die damit verbundenen Veränderungen in der religiösen Terminologie zu diskutieren. Aber ist es angemessen, dass ich etwas zu diesem Thema schreibe, wenn die bedeutendsten Gelehrten, manchmal in Zusammenarbeit miteinander, in der hervorragenden *Encyclopaedia Iranica* ständig aktualisierte Einträge zu diesem Thema verfasst haben?⁸¹ Dort können die neuesten Forschungs- und Literaturlisten eingesehen werden. Man sollte noch hinzufügen, dass ein junger

81 <http://www.iranicaonline.org/> [Zugang: 03.05.2020].

Wissenschaftler, Amir Ahmadi von der Monash University in Melbourne, kürzlich eine hervorragende Monographie zu diesem Thema veröffentlicht hat.⁸² Es reicht also, wenn ich daran erinnere, dass unter dem Einfluss der Lehre Zarathustras oder seiner Schüler: „the old IE. term for the heavenly gods, the cognate of OInd. devá-, Lat. deus, etc., was generally devalued in Iranian to “false or evil god” and ultimately “demon” (Av. *daēva*-, Old Pers. *daiva*-, Mid. Pers. *dēw*, usw.).⁸³ Im Sinne ‘Gott’ begann man den Begriff *baga*- zu benutzen. Wie allen Forschern allgemein bekannt war und was neulich *expressis verbis* V. Blažek formulierte, „tylko w irańskich i słowiańskich językach to słowo [tj. **divъ*- uwaga T.J.] ma negatywne znaczenie” [nur in iranischen und slawischen Sprachen hat dieses Wort [d.i. **divъ* –T.J.] eine negative Bedeutung].⁸⁴ Obwohl wir nicht wissen, wann Zarathustra gelebt hat

82 A. Ahmadi, *The Daēva Cult in the Gāthās. An ideological archaeology of Zoroastrianism*, London-New York 2015; Amir Ahmadi ist Autor von mehreren Arbeiten über Zarathustrismus, Ghathach, Avesta – <https://monash.academia.edu/amirahmadi> [Zugang: 03.05.2020].

83 Siehe hervorragendes Stichwort BAGA in: *Encyclopaedia Iranica*, <http://www.iranicaonline.org/articles/baga-an-old-iranian-term-for-god-sometimes-designating-a-specific-god>.

84 В. Блажек, *Irano-slavica...*, S. 75: „Только в иранских и славянских языках это слово имеет негативное значение”. Von meiner Seite aus möchte ich nur hinzufügen, dass es eine sehr lange Diskussion über die Etymologie von *divъ* gegeben hat; die ursprüngliche Bedeutung ist erst auf der Grundlage von dialektischem Material richtig dargestellt worden, siehe *Słownik prasłowiański*, Bd. III, hrsg. von F. Sławski, Wrocław-Warszawa-Kraków-Gdańsk 1979, S. 225 f. Im Protoslawischen hat der Begriff **divъ* unter iranischem Einfluss ebenfalls seine ursprüngliche Bedeutung aufgegeben und bedeutet nun einen Dämon. Das Stichwort *divъ*, das im Proto-Slawischen Wörterbuch enthalten ist, macht dies deutlich: „Böser Geist, Dämon; monströses Ungetüm”. Die Autoren dieses Beitrags, Wiesław Boryś und Franciszek Sławski, mussten bei der Darlegung ihres Standpunkts damals wissenschaftlichen Mut beweisen, da es sich um eine Ansicht handelte, die der Autorität eines der bedeutendsten Slawisten – Oleg Nikolajewitsch Trubaczow – widersprach. Dieser Gelehrte vertrat in dem ein Jahr zuvor veröffentlichten Band 5 des Ethymologischen Wörterbuchs der Slawischen Sprachen die Auffassung, dass die Hauptbedeutung von **divъ* „чудо диво” sei. Dies war zweifellos ein Irrtum, der sich daraus ergab, dass Oleg Trubaczow, wie es aus seiner Arbeit hervorgeht, aus dem gesamten slawischen Erbe nur ein einziges ukrainisches Wort kannte (*див*), das „злой дух” bedeutete, und dessen Bedeutung er mit einer persischen (iranischen) Entlehnung durch Vermittlung des Türkischen zu erklären versuchte, siehe *Этимологический словарь славянских языков. Праславянский лексический фонд*, hrsg. von O.H. Трубачёв, Москва 1978, S. 35. Diese Frage, einschließlich der Möglichkeit, dass die Slawen das Wort von den Iranern (Persern) über die türkische Sprache entlehnt haben, wird von einer bulgarischen Slawistin sehr ausführlich erörtert – U. Dukova, *Die Bezeichnungen der Dämonen im Bulgarisch*, München 1997, S. 22, letztendlich hält sie jedoch für höchstwahrscheinlich: „Diese Unsicherheit der Bedeutungen [des Wortes *div*] ist ein Nachteil der phonetisch klaren und semantisch gut begründeten Herleitung von urslav. **divъ* aus ide. **deiuós*. Jedenfalls widersprechen die angeführten Texte nicht einer solchen Interpretation, so daß genügend Grund vorhanden ist, die angeführten Belege von *div* in den slavischen Sprachen für Spuren eines urslav. **divъ* ‘böser Geist’ <ide. **deiuós* ‘Gott’ zu halten. Urslav. **diva* ‘Nymphe’ muß aber vor der Bedeutungsverschlechterung von **divъ* sein”. Sehr zurückhaltend äußerten sich dazu auch L. Moszyński, *Przedchrześcijańska religia...*, S. 25 und J. Reczek, *Najstarsze słowiańsko-irańskie stosunki...*, S. 58.

und wann und in welchem Ausmaß seine Lehren in das religiöse Leben der einzelnen iranischen Völker eingedrungen sind, wissen wir aus sprachlichen Quellen, dass in allen iranischen Sprachen der bisherige Gott aller Indoeuropäer und darin auch aller Iraner zu einem Dämon, einem bösen Gott, geworden ist. Die Bezeichnung dieses Gottes in der avestischen Sprache lautete *daēuuua-* und in der altpersischen *daiva-*.⁸⁵ In den iranischen Sprachen hat dieses Wort jedoch seine ursprüngliche Bedeutung verloren und ist bald dämonisiert worden. Die Wissenschaftler sind sich nicht einig, wann dies geschah, und vieles deutet darauf hin, dass es sich um einen schrittweisen Prozess handelte.⁸⁶

Anstelle von *daiva-*, als dessen Gegensatz, ist ein neuer guter Gott aufgetreten: zuerst *bagas* genannt, und im Laufe der Zeit infolge sprachlicher Wandlungen nahm er weitere Formen an. Die Entthronung des alten Gottes und das Erscheinen eines neuen an seiner Stelle war zweifellos ein revolutionäres Ereignis, welches den religiösen Glauben aller iranischen Völker erschütterte. Wir können nur spekulieren, ob diese Revolution das Werk von Zarathustra selbst oder von seinen (direkten oder indirekten) Schülern war.⁸⁷ Es ist jedoch bekannt, dass das Auftreten des guten Gottes (*bagas*) im iranischen Glauben auch eine Neuerung in der iranischen Sprache war. Ich betone diese „Neuerung“, weil ich damit hervorheben möchte, dass es zwar Äquivalente des iranischen Wortes (*bagas* – Reichtum, Geber usw.) in den indoeuropäischen Sprachen gab, die Entscheidung, diesen Begriff in diesem Sinne zu verwenden und ihn bei der Konstruktion eines neuen religiösen Systems einzusetzen, jedoch eine individuelle, einzigartige Entscheidung war. Dies wurde von É. Benveniste bewiesen, wie wir oben geschrieben haben; der Begriff *bagā-* ‘Glück’ (nach Benveniste) ist sowohl in der indischen als auch in der iranischen Sprache erhalten. Es ist wichtig zu erwähnen, dass Zarathustra oder seine Schüler diesen Begriff irgendwann auf den Begriff „Gott“ ausdehnten, was jedoch in der indischen Sprache nicht

85 Siehe C. Herrenschildt und J. Kellens, *Daiva*, in: *Encyclopædia Iranica*, 2011, <http://www.iranicaonline.org/articles/daiva-old-iranian-noun> [Zugang: 24.03.2020] – dort gewaltige Literatur; es gibt auch eine gedruckte Version: *Encyclopædia Iranica*, Bd. VI, 1993, S. 599-602. Zahlreiche Veröffentlichungen zu diesem Thema versammelte auch S. Ronis, *A Demonic Servant in Rav Papa's Household. Demons as Subjects in the Mesopotamian Talmud*, in: *The Aggada of the Bavli and its Cultural Word*, hrsg. von G. Herman, J.L. Rubenstein, Brown University 2018, S. 9 f., Anm. 22. Ähnlich die englische Iranistin siehe M. Boyce, *A History of Zoroastrianism*, Leiden-New York-Köln 1996, S. 23.

86 C. Herrenschildt, J. Kellens, *DAIVA*, <http://www.iranicaonline.org/articles/dai-va-old-iranian-noun/>.

87 Ibidem: „In the reform hypothesis the rejection of the **daivas* is considered to have been the work of Zoroaster (Lommel, S. 88-92; cf. Gershevitch; Bianchi, 1978, S. 19-22; Gnoli, S. 73-83). This interpretation is intimately connected with explanation of Mazdaism by means of the dialectical schema: thesis, antithesis, and synthesis“.

geschah. Besonders wichtig für unsere Überlegungen ist, dass der gleiche Prozess wie im Iranischen auch im Protoslawischen stattfand, wo das Wort *bogъ* ebenfalls begann, den Begriff „Gott“ zu beschreiben.⁸⁸ É. Benveniste stellt fest, dass dies geschah, obwohl dieses Lexem und seine Ableitungen im Protoslawischen ursprünglich mehr Konvergenz mit den vedischen als mit den iranischen Sprachen aufwiesen. Der Einfluss der iranischen Religion in dieser Hinsicht auf die protoslawische Sprache ist also absolut unbestreitbar.

Es besteht kein Zweifel, dass die Slawen neben den Iranern die einzigen Indoeuropäer waren, welche neue religiöse Begriffe aus den Lehren Zarathustras und seiner Schüler übernahmen. In allen slawischen Sprachen tritt ausnahmslos der iranische Begriff *bogъ* auf. Noch wichtiger für unsere Überlegungen ist die Tatsache, dass im Protoslawischen der alte Begriff Gott *divъ* seine ursprüngliche Bedeutung änderte und, wie in den iranischen Sprachen, so etwas wie „Dämon“ zu bedeuten begann. Wir wissen, dass das Wiederfinden dieser „ursprünglichen“⁸⁹ Bedeutung des Wortes *divъ* einige Anstrengungen seitens der Linguisten erfordert hat; erst der Griff zu den Dialektismen ließ die Forscher in den neuesten Untersuchungen bemerken, dass sich hinter der Bedeutung von *divъ* „fremd“ eine weitere, ältere Bedeutung „Dämon, Ungeheuer“ verbirgt.⁹⁰ Für den letzten Erforscher dieses Fragepunktes war diese Sache nicht mehr zweifelhaft.⁹¹ Die Tatsache, dass alle Slawen das religiöse System ihrer iranischen Nachbarn übernommen haben, wird durch zwei weitere einzigartige religiöse Begriffe zweifelsfrei belegt. Nämlich das Wort *nebo*, das in anderen indoeuropäischen Sprachen – wie wir uns erinnern – Wolke oder Nebel bedeutete und in der iranischen Religion vergöttlicht und dann in dieser Form von den Slawen übernommen wurde; dasselbe gilt für das Lexem *spanta-*, das, wie É. Benveniste bewies, im Protoiranischen mit übernatürlichen Kräften verbunden war.

Eine ähnliche Umwandlung fand – zweifellos unter iranischem Einfluss – im Slawischen statt, wo dieses Lexem (*svętvъ*) schließlich mit Heiligkeit in Verbindung gebracht wurde. Wir haben also vier gemeinsame ungewöhnliche iranisch-slawische Begriffe, die keinen Zweifel daran lassen, dass die Slawen das religiöse System der iranischen Völker (zumindest in den Grundzügen) übernommen haben. Natürlich gibt es noch viele weitere solcher Wörter; verschiedene Wissenschaftler haben dies hervorgeho-

88 É. Benveniste, *Les relations...*, S. 202.

89 Ich schreibe in Anführungszeichen, weil es sich de facto um eine „sekundäre“ Bedeutung des Wortes *divъ* handelt, das ursprünglich so viel wie „Gott“ bedeutete.

90 *Słownik prasłowiański...*, Bd. V, S. 225 f.

91 Siehe oben Anm. 84.

ben, und kürzlich wurde eine ganze Liste slawischer Entlehnungen aus dem Bereich der Religion und der Ethik von V. Blažek neu vorgestellt und dokumentiert. Der semantische Bereich der gemeinsamen Lexeme umfasst auch zahlreiche Begriffe aus dem Gebiet des sozialen und wirtschaftlichen Lebens.

Da der Erhaltungszustand der skythischen und sarmatischen Sprache jedoch so spärlich ist, dass man (wenn auch gegen jede Logik) immer noch an der Gemeinsamkeit dieser Begriffe in den slawischen und iranischen Sprachen zweifeln kann, haben wir uns deshalb auf zwei – für Zarathustras Religionsreform entscheidende – Wörter konzentriert: *bogъ* und *divъ*. An diesem Punkt muss die Bedeutung der Entdeckung von A. Loma unterstrichen werden, nämlich dass die skythische Sprache mit einigen Sprachen der mitteliranischen Periode verwandt war, darunter Sogdisch und Persisch. Dies bedeutet, dass die meist verwendeten Wörter im Protoslawischen, nämlich *кѣ* und *radi*, nicht aus dem Sogdischen und Persischen, sondern nur aus dem Skythischen entlehnt wurden. Die letztgenannte Sprache hat *de facto* nicht überlebt, und wir können die Reste ihres Wortschatzes teilweise rekonstruieren (immer hypothetisch), indem wir das Protoslawische mit anderen iranischen Sprachen der mitteliranischen Epoche vergleichen.

Unter welchen Umständen entlehnten die Slawen all diese Wörter, insbesondere die wichtigsten Begriffe der Zarathustra-Reform? Dies muss zu einer Zeit geschehen sein, als die Slawen in ihrer alten Heimat zusammenlebten. Wäre es anders gewesen, dann hätte diese äußerst schwer zu akzeptierende Reform, die eine Verleugnung der bisherigen Religion anordnet und die Verurteilung des eigenen Gottes erzwingt, nicht das gesamte Slawentum erfasst. Und aus sprachlichen Quellen wissen wir doch, dass sie alle Slawen umfasst hat. Wie sich die Situation entwickelt hätte, wenn die Lehren des Zarathustra die Slawen erreicht hätten, nachdem sie ihre ursprünglichen Siedlungsgebiete bereits verlassen hatten, zeigt uns die Entwicklung der Situation in den finno-ugrischen Sprachen. Die verschiedenen finno-ugrischen Völker haben ihre eigenen, getrennten Bezeichnungen für „Gott“, die Ungarn – *isten*, die finnischen Völker – *jumala*, in verschiedenen phonetischen Varianten, die Udmurtier – *инмар* (*inmar*); *Кылчын* (*Kylčín*) / *Кылдысин* (*Kyldysin*); *куазь*, und die Mordwinier, die mit den Skythen und höchstwahrscheinlich mit den skythischen asiatischen Saken in Kontakt kamen, verwendeten das Wort – *pavas*, *pas*, das von der iranischen Form *bagas* stammt.⁹² Dies wäre bei den Slawen der Fall, wenn, wie J. Nalepa und der bekannte russische Archäologe V. Siedow glauben, die Slawen aus dem Oder- und Weichselbecken stammen würden. In einer solchen Situation hätten zahlreiche iranische religiöse Begriffe und viele andere keine Chance

92 A. Zalizniak, *О характере...*, S. 10, Anm. 13.

gehabt, von der pontischen Steppe bis zur Weichsel und zur Oder und dann weiter bis zur Elbe vorzudringen.⁹³

Wo lag also die Urheimat der Slawen? Um diese Frage zu beantworten, kann man nicht mit einer Analyse archäologischer Quellen oder antiker Überlieferungen beginnen. Diese Quellen können nur dann von Nutzen sein, wenn wir die Lage der slawischen Urheimat auf der Grundlage linguistischer Untersuchungen bestimmen. Die oben erwähnten linguistischen Studien lassen keinen Zweifel daran, dass die Protoslawen in unmittelbarer Nähe der iranischen Völker, zunächst der Skythen und später der Sarmaten, ansässig waren. Obwohl man germanische oder keltische Entlehnungen den iranischen Entlehnungen gegenüberstellen könnte, geht es nur aus den iranischen Entlehnungen hervor, dass die Iraner den Slawen ihr Glaubenssystem noch in der Urheimat aufgezogen haben. Es handelte sich nicht um ein „volkstümliches“ System, das sich durch die natürliche Evolution entwickelt hat, sondern um ein System, das von einem einzelnen religiösen Reformator und seinen Schülern geschaffen wurde. Die Aufnahme dieser Religion durch die Slawen bestand nicht darin, dass sie dem slawischen Pantheon einen weiteren Gott (*godъ*) hinzufügten, sondern darin, dass sie sich von ihrer bisherigen Religion lossagten und ihren Gott (*divъ*) als Dämon betrachteten.

Die den Slawen von den Iranern auferlegte schwierige religiöse Reform und darüber hinaus die Übertragung zahlreicher religiöser und ethischer Begriffe sowie vieler Wörter aus dem Bereich des sozialen und wirtschaftlichen Lebens in die urslawische Sprache lassen vermuten, dass die Slawen in ihrer Urheimat lange Zeit unter dem enormen politischen Einfluss der Skythen und später der Sarmaten standen. Die Auferlegung einer Religionsreform, die den grundlegenden Glauben der Slawen verletzte und ihren Gott zu einem Dämon machte, konnte nicht ohne starken Druck durchgesetzt werden. Es konnte nicht anders sein, denn auch bei den iranischen Völkern wurde diese Reform, zumindest in ihrer Anfangsphase, durch militärische Aktionen und Eroberungen gewaltsam durchgesetzt. Schließlich ist noch hinzuzufügen, dass der iranische Einfluss auf die Varietät des wichtigsten Pronomens (*ja*) in der protoslawischen Sprache, die Entlehnung einer der beiden wichtigsten Präpositionen (*nach/zu = kv*), eines der wichtigsten Präpositionalausdrücke (*wegen – radi*) und schließlich die Entlehnung eines der wichtigsten Begriffe des damaligen Familienlebens (*verwaist – *sirъ*) und vieler gebräuchlicher Wörter, einschließlich wichtiger Adjektive, Verben usw. nur im Falle der besonderen Nachbarschaft der Slawen und Iraner stattgefunden haben kann.

93 S. Pawlas, *Obraz Boga/bogów w wybranych językach ugrofińskich. Praca doktorska wykonana pod kierunkiem prof. Csaby Gy. Kissá*, Uniwersytet Warszawski, Wydział Neofilologii, Katedra Hungarystyki, Warszawa 2012, S. 90 ff., 153, 237 f. – Repositorium der Universität Warschau.

Sprachwissenschaftliche Studien lassen keinen Zweifel daran, dass die Iraner, namentlich die Skythen und Sarmaten, Nachbarn der Protoslawen waren. Diese Studien bestätigen auch, dass die Protoslawen die Balten von den iranischen Völkern getrennt haben. In sprachlicher Hinsicht stellte das Slawentum eine „Barriere“ dar, die den Übergang des iranischen Vokabulars und der iranischen sprachlichen Neuerungen zu den Balten, also den nördlichen Nachbarn der Slawen, manchmal verhinderte und manchmal erschwerte. Die Wirksamkeit dieses „Dammes“ wird durch die Stellungnahmen von M. Vasmer und V. Blažek bestätigt. Der erste Gelehrte stellte fest, dass es in den baltischen Sprachen im Gegensatz zu den slawischen Sprachen überhaupt keine iranischen Entlehnungen gibt.⁹⁴ V. Blažek stellte fest, dass es für die älteste Schicht iranischer Entlehnungen im Protoslawischen überhaupt keine parallele Entlehnungen im Baltischen gibt. Was die Stellungnahme von M. Vasmer anbetrifft, so wissen wir heute dank V. Pisani, dass die Situation etwas komplizierter war. Iranische Sprachinnovationen verbreiteten sich relativ leicht in der slawischen Umgebung, wurden aber mit zunehmender Entfernung schwächer und drangen nur zum Teil in den baltischen Sprachraum ein. Aus den Studien dieser und vieler anderer Gelehrter geht hervor, dass die Slawen die Balten und die Iraner voneinander getrennt haben.

Hatte also V. Pisani Recht, als er schrieb, dass die slawische Sprache durch den Einfluss der iranischen Völker auf den ursprünglich relativ homogenen Sprachraum entstanden ist, aus dem sich im Laufe der Zeit die baltische und die slawische Sprache entwickelt haben? Letztere, so schreibt Pisani, soll im Zuge der „Iranisierung“ des südlichen Teils eines riesigen Sprachgebiets entstanden sein, das sich vom Schwarzen Meer bis zur Ostsee erstreckt. Die Ansicht, dass der Einfluss der iranischen Sprache eine wichtige Rolle bei der Entstehung des Protoslawischen gespielt hat, ist nicht von der Hand zu weisen, aber die physiographischen Bedingungen haben mehr zur Entstehung dieser Sprache beigetragen. Diese Tatsache wird am deutlichsten, wenn man sich die Karte ansieht, die auf der Grundlage der Karte von Georgi Alexandrowitsch Chaburgajew (1931–1991), einem Slawisten, Dialektologen und Experten für Sprachgeographie, erstellt wurde. Dieser Wissenschaftler, der sich auf zahlreiche linguistische und archäologische Studien stützte, erstellte 1979 eine Karte, in der er, ähnlich wie Pisani, jedoch unabhängig von ihm, die Pionierforschung von W. Toporow und O. Trubaczow über die Hydronymik des Dnjeprgebietes berücksichtigte.⁹⁵ G. Chaburgajew hat auf seiner Karte neben den sprachlichen Daten auch zwei äußerst

94 M. Vasmer, *Kritisches und Ankritisches...*, S. 176: „Diese Liste ist freilich nicht groß, aber ich glaube, dass man, auch wenn man das zweifelhafte streicht, ihr kein ebenbürtiges Verzeichnis iranischer Lehnwörter im baltischen gegenüberstellen kann“.

95 Г.А. Хабургаев, *Этнонимия „Повести временных лет“*, Москва 1979, S. 76, Karte 12.

wichtige physiografische Elemente eingetragen, nämlich die nördliche Grenze des Tschernosems und die Reichweite der Schwarzmeerwaldsteppe. Wie unschwer zu erkennen ist (siehe Karte 1), fallen die nördliche Ausdehnung des Tschernosems und die nördliche Reichweite der Waldsteppe sowie die südliche Ausdehnung der „dichten“ („сплошной“) baltischen Hydronymie im Wesentlichen zusammen. Wir haben also eine klare physiografische Grenze, die wesentlich zur Trennung der beiden Sprachgebiete beigetragen hat. In der südlichen Zone herrschten andere Kommunikationsbedingungen, Ackerbau und Viehzucht entwickelten sich etwas anders, und auch die Bedingungen für die Interaktion der nomadischen Bevölkerung mit sesshaften Einwohnern waren anders. Im Waldsteppengebiet konnten die Nomaden die Bewohner leicht unter Kontrolle bringen, im Gegensatz zu den Bewohnern, deren Siedlungen sich in der Zone schwer zu durchquerender Wälder und Sümpfe befanden.

Die Namen der archaischen slawischen Hydronymie (auf der Grundlage der Erkenntnisse von Toporow und Trubaczow) auf der Karte G. Chaburgajews verweisen deutlich darauf, dass die Slawen das Schwarzmeerwaldsteppengebiet von den Quellen des Dnjestr und der Theiß bis zu den Quellen des Seim, eines linken Nebenflusses der Desna bewohnten; auf unserer Karte (Karte 1) vom „östlichen“ zum „westlichen“ Rahmen. Es sollte hinzugefügt werden, dass das von den Slawen bewohnte Tschernosem⁹⁶ einer der fruchtbarsten Böden der Welt war und immer noch ist; man darf jedoch nicht vergessen, dass die Slawen ihr Einkommen mit ihren südlichen Nachbarn, den gefährlichsten Nomaden der antiken Welt, teilen mussten: Skythen, Sarmaten und später auch Hunnen, und etwas früher auch Goten. Versuchen wir, das Gebiet, das die Slawen bewohnten, etwas genauer zu definieren. Hier sind die Erkenntnisse des bedeutenden russischen Archäologen V. Siedow hilfreich. In einer Reihe von Werken, darunter in seiner häufig überarbeiteten und ergänzten Monographie über die Ursprünge der Slawen, finden wir äußerst wichtige Informationen über die Geschichte dieses Gebiets in der ausgehenden Periode der Tschernjachow-Kultur.⁹⁷

96 Die einzige Ausnahme ist ein kleines Gebiet zwischen dem Mittellauf des Flusses Prypjat und der Nordgrenze der Waldsteppe. In diesem Gebiet vermischen sich die slawischen und baltischen Hydronyme; es ist anzunehmen (da es nicht innerhalb der Waldsteppen- und Tschernosemzone liegt), dass dies eines der frühesten Gebiete der slawischen Expansion war.

97 Zunächst ist jedoch festzustellen, dass Walentin Sedow die Slawen aus den polnischen Gebieten ableitete. Ihm zufolge führte die Entstehung der pommerschen Kultur im heutigen Danzig-Pommern (= Pommerellen) und ihr späterer Einfluss auf die Lausitzer Kultur im Osten zur Entstehung der Kultur der Glockenbestattungen, die bereits eine slawische Kultur sein sollte. Das Eindringen dieser Kultur und der pommerschen Kultur sowie einer weiteren Kultur aus den polnischen Gebieten, nämlich der Przeworsk-Kultur, in die Sarubinzy-Kultur sollte zur Bildung der Ostslawen führen. Heute geht man davon aus, dass die Przeworsk-Kultur multieth-

Indem dieser Wissenschaftler den Tschernjachow-Kulturräum untersuchte, stellte er fest, dass innerhalb seiner Grenzen die Podolien-Dnjeprregion (*Подольско-Днепровский регион*) deutlich hervorsticht. Sie erstreckt sich über die Waldsteppe vom Mittellauf des Südlichen Bug (= *Волг=Південний Буг*) bis zu den Quellen der Sula,⁹⁸ des linken Nebenflusses von Dnjepr.⁹⁹ Das Gebiet zeichnet sich durch einen hohen Anteil an Bestattungen aus, die meist über keine Ausstattung verfügen.¹⁰⁰ Diese Merkmale sind charakteristisch für frühmittelalterliche slawische Bestattungen.¹⁰¹ Das zweite bemerkenswerte Merkmal der Ansiedlung in dieser Region ist die Entwicklung und starke Verbreitung der viereckigen Halberdhütte mit einem Herd oder einer Steinfeuerstelle in einer der Ecken. Diese Behausung ist – wie W. Sedow bemerkt – in allen Einzelheiten identisch mit den slawischen Halberdhütten, die aus der zweiten Hälfte des 1. Jahrtausends bekannt sind.¹⁰² Diese Tatsache ist umso bemerkenswerter, als Halberdhütten im Tschernjachow-Kulturgebiet mit Ausnahme der Podolien-Dnjeprregion sehr seltene Bauformen sind, während in der genannten Region Halberdhütten manchmal die dominierende Form von Wohngebäuden darstellen und in einigen Siedlungen sogar die einzige.¹⁰³ Hinzu kommt die Keramik, die W. Sedow in genetischer Hinsicht als die gleiche Keramik wie die slawische im dritten Viertel des 1. Jahrtausends betrachtet.¹⁰⁴

nisch war und sich in der Anfangszeit unter keltischem und später unter germanischem Einfluss entwickelte: *Wandalowie – strażnicy bursztynowego szlaku*, Państwowe Muzeum Archeologiczne w Warszawie, 8 marca – 16 czerwca 2004. Katalog wystawy, Lublin 2004 – dort weitere Literatur. Zur Przeworsk-Kultur siehe *Kultura przeworska. Procesy przemian i kontakty zewnętrzne*, hrsg. von K. Kot-Legieć, A. Michałowski, M. Ołędzki, M. Piotrowska, Łódź 2019.

98 Der linke Nebenfluss des Dnjepr bis zu den Quellen des Udaj, des rechten Nebenflusses der Sule. Die Identifizierung dieser Region als charakteristischer Teil des Tschernjachow-Kulturgebiets und ihre Verbindung mit den Anten, einschließlich der späteren archäologischen Kulturen von Prag und Pienkov, wurde von Walentin Sedow in seinen anderen Veröffentlichungen bestätigt – siehe В. Седов, *Анты*, in: *Этносоциальная и политическая структура раннефеодальных славянских государств и народностей*, hrsg. von Г.Г. Литаврин, Москва 1987, S. 18, siehe auch А.В.Майоров, *Контакты славянского и сарматского населения северного Причерноморья в первые века нашей эры: языковые и культурные аспекты*, „Старожитності Степового Причорномор'я і Криму“ XII (2005), S. 316, akzeptiert voll und ganz die Ansichten von Walentin Sedow, samt der Identifizierung der Slawen mit der Przeworsk-Kultur.

99 В. Седов, *Происхождение и ранняя история славян*, Москва 1979, S. 96 ff.; idem, *Славяне: Историко-археологическое исследование*, Москва 2002, S. 188 ff.

100 Idem, *Происхождение...*, S. 97.

101 Idem, *Славяне...*, S. 188.

102 Idem, *Происхождение...*, S. 97.

103 Ibidem, S. 97: „Однако там они остаются сравнительно редким исключением, в то время как в Подольско-Днепровском регионе полужемлянки иногда являются господствующей формой жилища, а на некоторых поселениях (например, в Демьянове и Черепине) – единственной формой домостроительства“.

104 Ibidem, S. 98.

Und nun die für uns wichtigste Beobachtung des russischen Archäologen. Anhand des archäologischen Materials, schreibt W. Sedow, können wir feststellen, dass in der Podolien-Dnjeprregion eine slawisch-iranische Symbiose stattfand.¹⁰⁵ Nach Ansicht dieses russischen Wissenschaftlers waren die Slawen in der Zeit der Tschernjachow-Kultur ein dynamischeres Element als die Iraner, was durch die zunehmende Slawisierung der Sarmaten im Laufe der Zeit bewiesen wird. Anzeichen für diesen Prozess sind die veränderte Ausrichtung der Gräber (nach Westen) und die Verringerung der Ausstattung in den Gräbern oder sogar der vollständige Verzicht auf diese Ausstattung. Je näher das Ende der Tschernjachow-Kultur rückt, desto schneller verschwinden die iranischen archäologischen Denkmäler.

Was ist von den Erkenntnissen W. Siedow über die Podolien-Dnjeprregion zu halten? Ich glaube, dass alle faktografischen Feststellungen des russischen Wissenschaftlers die tatsächlichen Siedlungs- und Kulturverhältnisse auf diesem Gebiet vollständig widerspiegeln. W. Siedow bemerkte sie, obwohl diese Fakten seinen allgemeinen Vorstellungen über die angebliche Herkunft der Slawen aus dem Weichselgebiet „widersprachen“. Aus diesem Grund interpretierte er diese Erkenntnisse, wahrscheinlich unbewusst, auf eine eigentümliche Art und Weise, so dass sie seine Ansicht über die Herkunft der Slawen aus den polnischen Gebieten nicht auf den Kopf stellten. Er nahm daher an, dass sich diese slawisch-iranische Symbiose, über die er sogar ausführlicher schrieb, nur auf Ostslawen bezog, wie er annahm, nur auf die Anten. Wir wissen, dass dies nicht stimmt, denn die Iraner haben ihre Spuren in der ursprünglichen Sprache der Slawen, der vorlawischen Sprache, hinterlassen.

Es war das große Verdienst dieses russischen Archäologen, die Slawen auf dem Gebiet der Tschernjachow-Kultur „aufzuspüren“ und ihre Symbiose mit dem iranischen Volk anhand der Quellen perfekt zu beschreiben, was den oben dargestellten Erkenntnissen der Sprachwissenschaftler entspricht und sogar auf einen noch größeren Einfluss der iranischen Sprache und Kultur auf die Slawen hinweist, als diese Studien vermuten lassen.

Unter Berücksichtigung der Erkenntnisse von Sprachwissenschaftlern über slawisch-iranische Sprachbeziehungen und auf der Grundlage der Erkenntnisse von W. Siedow und G. Chaburgajew glaube ich, dass die Urheimat der Slawen die Schwarzmeerwaldsteppe war, die sich von den Quellen des Dnjestr und der Theiß bis zu den Quellen des Seim, des linken Nebenflusses der Desna, erstreckt. Das von W. Siedow identifizierte Gebiet, nämlich die Podolien-Dnjeprregion, war wahrscheinlich der Hauptkern dieser Urheimat. Hier entwickelte sich im 3. und vor allem im 4. Jh. n. Chr. die

¹⁰⁵ В. Седов, *Славяне...*, S. 189: „Таким образом, на основании археологических материалов устанавливается, что в Подольско-Днепровском регионе черняховской культуры имел место славяно-иранский симбиоз“.

geistige Kultur (Leichenverbrennung und Bestattungen ohne Ausstattung) sowie die materielle Kultur (Halberdhütten mit Herd und Töpferwaren ähnlich wie in Prag) der Slawen, die in den ersten Jahrhunderten der zweiten Hälfte des 1. Jahrtausends n. Chr. auf riesigen Gebieten in Ost-, Süd- und Mitteleuropa in Erscheinung trat. Offensichtlich handelte es sich dabei nicht um die Entstehung der Protoslawen, die bereits vorher existierten, sondern nur um ihre endgültige Herausbildung. Die „Entiranisierung“ der Slawen spielte in diesem Prozess eine wichtige Rolle. Das oben beschriebene Gebiet der Podolien-Dnjeprregion kann um eine Enklave zu beiden Seiten des Dnjepr erweitert werden, die fast bis zur Mündung des Dnjepr reicht, genauer gesagt bis zur unteren Grenze des heutigen Kachowkaer Stausees. Ich berücksichtige diese Enklave aufgrund der früheren Karte von W. Siedow.¹⁰⁶

Die alte Heimat der Slawen, die sich an der Schwarzmeerwaldsteppe von den Quellen des Dnestr bis zu den Quellen des Seim befand, war eine wirksame „Barriere“ gegen die Verbreitung iranischer Spracheinflüsse bei den Balten. Aus diesem Grund kann das Gebiet der Kiewer Kultur nicht als die Urheimat der Slawen angesehen werden; die Kiewer Kultur, die sich hauptsächlich am linken Ufer des Dnjepr befand, konnte die Balten nicht besonders wirksam von den Iranern trennen. Außerdem lag sie innerhalb der baltischen Hydronymie und im Allgemeinen außerhalb der Waldsteppe, was, wie wir weiter unten zeigen werden, von großer Bedeutung war. Die Größe der Podolien-Dnjeprregion betrug etwa 100.000 bis 110.000 Quadratkilometer, und die Fläche der archaischen slawischen Hydronymie, die Gebiete südlich des Prypjat ausgenommen, belief sich auf etwa 230–240.000 Quadratkilometer. Nach der Slawisierung der Sarmaten, dem Rückzug der Goten und dem Fall der Hunnen wuchs die Bevölkerung der Slawen, die zum ersten Mal seit etwa 1300 Jahren „sich selbst überlassen“ waren und das fruchtbarste Land der Welt bewirtschafteten, rasch an. Nur diese Länder können ein solches Bevölkerungswachstum ermöglichen.

Als Jordanes die Slawen zum ersten Mal erwähnt, hatten sie bereits die gesamte Waldsteppe und die Steppe am Schwarzen Meer besetzt. Dadurch konnten sie ihre Bevölkerung in kurzer Zeit so stark vermehren, dass sie problemlos weite Teile Mittel-, Ost- und Südeuropas zu überfluten vermochten. Weder das Prypjat-Watt noch das Becken des mittleren (Kiewer Kultur) oder oberen Dnjepr oder gar das Oder- und das Weichselbecken konnten zu Zeiten der extensiven Landwirtschaft und der ausgedehnten Bewaldung in diesem Teil Europas die Voraussetzungen für einen so starken Bevölkerungszuwachs schaffen. Solche Bedingungen konnte nur die Schwarzmeerwaldsteppe bieten.

Dass die Waldsteppe und die Steppe des Schwarzen Meeres zur Zeit der Skythenherrschaft intensiv von landwirtschaftlichen Gemeinschaften

106 Idem, *Происхождение...*, S. 96.

genutzt wurde, bestätigt Herodot in seinen Historien, indem er zahlreiche Bauern erwähnt, darunter hellenistische Skythen, skythische Pflüger (Σκύδαι ἀροτῆρες) und skythische Bauern (Σκύδαι γεωργοί). Alle waren in der Landwirtschaft tätig, die hellenistischen Skythen ebenso wie die Alizonen „haben im Übrigen die gleiche Lebensweise wie die Skythen; sie säen jedoch und ernähren sich von Getreide, außerdem von Zwiebeln, Knoblauch, Linsen und Hirse. Außerhalb der Alizonen leben die Skythen-Pflüger, die ihr Getreide nicht für die Ernährung, sondern für den Verkauf aussäen“. Herodot schreibt weiter: „Und wenn man an Borysthenes vorbeikommt, ist das erste vom Meer aus das Land Hylaja; wenn man von dort aus hinaufsteigt, wohnen dort die skythischen Bauern; diese werden von den am Fluss Hypanis wohnenden Hellenen Borystheniten genannt und sie selber nennen sich Olbiopolites. Diese skythischen Bauern wohnen im östlichen Teil des Landes, der drei Tagesmärsche weit ist, und sie reichen bis zum Fluss, der Pantikapes genannt wird; und im Norden ist dieser Teil des Landes weit auf elf Segeltage den Fluss Borysthenes hinauf“.¹⁰⁷ Herodot kommt noch mehrere Male auf diese skythischen Bauern zurück (Buch IV, 53-54). Schon in der Frühzeit wurden diese beiden Fraktionen der Skythen, d.h. die Pflüger und vor allem die Bauern, mit den Slawen identifiziert.

Pavol Šafárik vertrat Ende der 1830er Jahre in seinen *Slawischen Altertümlichkeiten* die Auffassung, dass die skythischen Bauern und ihre Verwandten mit großer Wahrscheinlichkeit einem „slawischen Stamm“ angehörten. P. Šafárik schrieb: „Ihm zufolge lebten die skythischen Bauern (Σκύδαι γεωργοί) nordwestlich der Nomadenskythen, beginnend an der Mündung des Flusses Pantikapes, d.h. des heutigen Końskie Wody [heutiger Fluss Kinśka – linker Nebenfluss des Dnjepr] neben dem Dnjepr aufwärts 3 und entlang 10 Tagesreisen. Entsprechend dieser Dimension ist davon auszugehen, dass sich ihre Siedlungen nach Norden fast in Richtung des heutigen Flusses Psole erstreckten. Ihre Verwandten, die skythischen Pflüger (Σκύδαι ἀροτῆρες), bewohnten das Gebiet des Mittellandes vom unteren Dnjepr bis zu den Quellen von Bohu und Dnjestr“.¹⁰⁸ In der russischen Literatur wurde wiederholt die Ansicht vertreten, dass die Skythen-Pflüger und

107 Herodot erwähnt auch die Alizonen unter den in der Gegend lebenden Bauern.

108 P.J. Szafarzyk, *Stawiańskie starożytności*, Bd. I, Poznań 1842, S. 376; näher von der Lokalisierung mancher der genannten Stämme siehe J. Kolendo, *Pustki osadnicze w Europie barbarzyńskiej według przekazów autorów antycznych*, „Przegląd Historyczny“ LXXVIII (1987) 3, S. 357-374; W. Sieber, *Das Bild Europas in den Historien: Studien zu Herodots Geographie und Ethnographie und seiner Schilderung der persischen Feldzüge*, Innsbruck 1995, S. 162 ff.; B. Panzer, *Quellen zur slavischen Ethnogenese. Fakten, Mythen und Legenden* (Originaltexte mit Übersetzungen, Erläuterungen und Kommentaren), Lang 2002, S. 12; P. Kochanek, *Die Vorstellung vom Norden und der Eurozentrismus: eine Auswertung der patristischen und mittelalterlichen Literatur*, Mainz 2004, S. 81 f.; H. Parzinger, *Die Skythen*, München 2016, S. 63 ff.

Skythen-Bauern Slawen waren.¹⁰⁹ Diese Frage wird in Zukunft vor allem durch genetische Forschungen zu klären sein, und ich möchte meinerseits nur betonen, dass diese Völker Gebiete der Waldsteppe bewohnten, welche in ihren Grenzen denen ähneln, die wir als Heimat der Protoslawen im 4. Jh. n. Chr. bestimmt haben. Dafür spricht zum einen ihr demografisches Potenzial, zum anderen die „Symbiose“ mit den Skythen, die sich aus ihrem Namen ergibt.¹¹⁰ In diesem letzten Fall benutze ich bewusst die Bezeichnung von W. Siedow,¹¹¹ weil ich meine, dass dieses System zuerst von den Skythen entwickelt wurde und die Sarmaten zu seinen Nutznießern wurden, nachdem sie die Skythen besiegt und vertrieben hatten. Diese aus dem Namen hervorgehende Vorherrschaft der Skythen über die „Pflüger“ und „Bauern“ (analog zur Bezeichnung der hellenistischen Skythen) wird meines Erachtens durch linguistische Studien über den Einfluss der iranischen Sprachen auf die protoslawische Sprache bestätigt.

Wir wissen nicht, was den Slawen die Herrschaft der Hunnen brachte, welche die Goten besiegten und sie aus diesen Gebieten vertrieben, obwohl bekanntlich ein Teil der gotischen Bevölkerung hiergeblieben ist. Wir können nur vermuten, dass die Slawen, die reiche Erfahrungen im Zusammenleben mit Nomadenvölkern (Skythen und Sarmaten) gesammelt hatten, die schwierige hunnische Herrschaft relativ gut überstehen konnten. Nach dem Zerfall ihres Staates, zu Beginn des 6. Jhs., begannen sie eine Expansion nach Byzanz. Jordanes erwähnt damals zwei große slawische Völker, die an den nördlichen Ufern des Schwarzen Meeres lebten, nämlich die Sklavinen und die Anten. Dies ist die erste unbestreitbare Erwähnung der Slawen in schriftlichen Überlieferungen. Es ist bezeichnend, dass die Slawen nach diesem Bericht ein Gebiet bewohnen, das ihrer angestammten Heimat mehr oder weniger ähnlich ist. Die Abweichung von der ursprünglichen Ausdehnung der slawischen Besiedlung dürfte sich darauf beschränken, dass die Slawen in ihrer Expansion bereits ein Stück nach Westen vorgedrungen waren und natürlich die von den Nomaden verlassenen Steppengebiete besetzten.

109 Ich übergehe die umfangreiche Literatur zu dieser Passage aus den *Historien* des Herodot; was die Ansichten der russischen Gelehrten betrifft siehe T. Lehr-Spławiński, *Zagadnienie pochodzenia Słowian w świetle nauki polskiej i rosyjskiej*, „Światowit“ XX (1948/1949), S. 46 ff.; В.В. Мавродин, *Образование древнерусского государства*, Ленинград 1945, S. 16.

110 Das Ausmaß der „Skythisierung“ des unteren, mittleren und sogar oberen Dnjeprbeckens, einschließlich der Umstellung des Bestattungsrituals auf das Skythische, in der letzten Hälfte des 1. Jahrtausends v. Chr. fasst unter anderem der weißrussische Gelehrte zusammen С.Е. Рассадин, *Первые славяне. Славяногенез*, Минск 2008, S. 281.

111 Wir dürfen jedoch nicht vergessen, das Walentin Sedow (fälschlicherweise) davon ausging, dass die Slawen von der Wechsel sich um die Sarmaten „kümmerten“, während es umgekehrt war; erst nach dem Einfall der Goten ging die Herrschaft der Sarmaten über den gesamten slawischen Raum zurück.

Jordanes' Darstellung der Slawen wirft ein Problem auf, denn an anderer Stelle erwähnt er ein drittes slawisches Volk oder einen dritten slawischen Stamm, nämlich die Veneter.¹¹² Wie J. Kolendo bin ich der Meinung, dass dieser Begriff ursprünglich für die Balten verwendet wurde, und zwar nicht nur für die Nordbalten, die das Gebiet des späteren Samlandes bewohnten, sondern allgemein für einen bedeutenden Teil der Balten, die das Becken der Memel und des oberen und mittleren Dnjepr bewohnten. Zur Zeit der Unruhen im Skythenstaat floh ein Teil der slawischen Bevölkerung nach Norden, was die Slawisierung eines Teils der Balten am Dnjepr einleitete. Im Laufe der Zeit ging der Name Veneter von den Balten auf Slawen über, und es ist wahrscheinlich, dass es sich bei dem von Jordanes erwähnten venetischen Stamm um die slawischen Veneter handelte, die nach Nordwesten expandierten.

3. ÜBER EINE WEITERE UNGEWÖHNLICHE NACHBARSCHAFT DER SLAWEN

Es stellt sich noch die Frage, ob die Slawen oder ihre Vorfahren bereits in der Schwarzmeerwaldsteppenregion lebten, als die Skythen dorthin kamen. Oder kamen die Slawen in dieses Gebiet, als es bereits von den Skythen besiedelt und beherrscht war? Wir müssen bedenken, dass wir, wenn wir in diesem Fall von Slawen schreiben, ihre Vorfahren meinen, deren „Slawentum“ nur *in statu nascendi* bestand.

Aus den *Historien* von Herodot wissen wir, dass die pontische Steppe vor der Ankunft der Skythen von den Kimmerern bewohnt war. Wer war das Volk der Kimmerer in sprachlicher Hinsicht? Bisher konnte die Wissenschaft diese Frage noch nicht beantworten. Aus den wenigen erhaltenen Namen geht hervor, dass zumindest die Elite iranischer Herkunft war oder zumindest iranisiert wurde. Dies schließt nicht aus, dass es sich bei der Kimmerer-Sprache um eine eigenständige indoeuropäische Sprache gehandelt haben könnte, die enger mit dem Thrakischen oder Protoarmenischen als mit dem Iranischen verwandt war.¹¹³ Nachdem wir nun einige grundlegende Informationen über die Kimmerer präsentiert haben, wollen wir kurz auf eine Abhandlung des hervorragenden Wiener Slawisten Georg Holzer aus dem Jahr 1989 über Entlehnungen aus einer unbekanntem indoeuropäischen Sprache in den urslawischen und urbaltischen Sprachen eingehen.¹¹⁴ In dieser Arbeit, die bei den Wissenschaftlern auf

¹¹² Von allen linguistischen Aspekten dieses Ethnonyms neulich siehe Z. Babik, *Wspólnota...*, S. 843 f.; von den Veneten im Allgemeinen – J. Strzelczyk, *Zapomniane narody Europy*, Wrocław-Warszawa-Kraków 2006, S. 13-50.

¹¹³ A. Loma, *Skythische Lehnwörter...*, S. 334.

¹¹⁴ G. Holzer, *Entlehnungen aus einer bisher unbekanntem indogermanischen Sprache im Urslawischen und Urbaltischen*, Wien 1989.

großes Interesse stößt,¹¹⁵ beweist G. Holzer, dass es deutliche Spuren von Entlehnungen aus einer unbekanntem indoeuropäischen Sprache im Urslawischen und teilweise auch im Urbaltischen gibt. Werfen wir einen genaueren Blick auf die Argumentation des Wiener Slawisten. Er behauptet, dass 45 slawische Wörter und 11 baltische Wörter, die sich mit ihnen überschneiden, aus einer unbekanntem indogermanischen Sprache entlehnt wurden. Dies beweist er anhand einer Untersuchung der Etymologie dieser Wörter, die sich besser und überzeugender definieren oder überhaupt feststellen und vor allem sprachrechtlich und semantisch auf die proto-indoeuropäischen Wortstämme und Morpheme zurückführen lässt, wenn wir sechs fremde Lautgesetze bei der Untersuchung ihrer Etymologie anwenden.¹¹⁶ G. Holzer stellt die Hypothese auf, dass diese Wörter, bevor sie von den Slawen und Balten entlehnt wurden, zuerst in einer anderen Sprache verwendet wurden, nämlich in einer Sprache, die durch diese sechs Lautgesetze definiert ist. Diese Sprache mit sechs Stimmgesetzen, aus der die slawischen und baltischen Entlehnungen stammen sollen, nennt der österreichische Wissenschaftler konventionell: „Temematische Sprache“. Diese Bezeichnung sieht ziemlich seltsam aus und klingt auch so; dahinter verbirgt sich, wie der Autor selbst erklärt, ein Akronym (Merkwort) aus den Anfangsbuchstaben der Konsonantenarten, deren Umwandlung in dieser Sprache dank den erwähnten sechs Lautgesetzen chronologisch erfolgte.

Der Wiener Slawist listet die folgenden Wörter auf, die im Slawischen als Entlehnungen aus der „temematischen“ Sprache betrachtet werden können: *borzda* ‘Fruchte’; *proso* ‘Hirse’; *bъrvъ* ‘Hirse’; *zobъ* ‘Hafer, Futer’; *zona* ‘taube Körner’; *loboda* ‘Gänsefuß, Melde’; *smъrdъ* ‘Bauer’; *sebrъ* ‘Bauer’; *těsto* ‘Teig’; **krotъ* ‘gezähmt’; *sverěpъ* ‘ungezähmt’; *za-tvoriti* ‘schließen’; *pъto* ‘Fessel, Strick’; *zvon-* ‘*Hund’; *těxa* in *těšiti* ‘säugen’; *toliti* ‘Durst stillen’; *tele* ‘Kalb’; **drevъ* ‘alt’; *bolna* ‘Fell, Haut’; *golěnbъ* ‘Unterschenkel’; *bedro* ‘Oberschenkel’; *ědro* ‘Busen, Eingeweide’; *zъbrъ* ‘Wisent, *hornlos’; **bedro* ‘Feder, Flügel’; *soepetъ* ‘Honigwabe’; *trъtъ* ‘Drohne’; *prokъ* ‘Vorrat, Rest’; *gъrnnъ* ‘Topf, Kessel’; *svobodъ* ‘frei’; *slobodъ* ‘frei, könnend’; *sirъ* ‘verwaist’; *trъtъ* ‘Wache, Schar’; *gojъ* ‘Ruhe, Friede’; *iz-gojъ* ‘Freigekaufter’; *mbsta* ‘Rache, Strafe’; *pъtati* ‘achtgeben, fragen’; *ne-pъtja* ‘Vorwand’; *dolga* ‘Brett, Fußboden’; *porъkъ* ‘Turm, Katapult’; *tvъrdъ* ‘eingeschlossen’; *tvъkъ* ‘zusammenpassend’; *gvězda/žvaizda* ‘Stern’; *pojetъ* ‘singt’; *edro* ‘Kern, Hode’; *golъbъ* ‘Taube’.¹¹⁷

115 F. Kortland, *An Indo-European substratum in Slavic?*, in: *Languages in Prehistoric Europe*, hrsg. von A. Bammesberger, T. Venneman, M. Bieswanger, J. Grzega, Heidelberg 2003, S. 253-260; R. Matasović, *Substratum words in Balto-Slavic*, „Filologija“ LX (2013), S. 75-102; G. Holzer, *Kritisches und Antikritisches zum „Temematischen“*, „Filologija“ LXXI (2018), S. 61-73.

116 G. Holzer, *Entlehnungen...*, S. 9.

117 Ibidem, S. 50.

Die oben genannten Lautgesetze sowie eine Reihe von Kriterien, die ausführlich diskutiert wurden, lassen nach G. Holzer annehmen, dass die Urslawen und Urbalten bei der Entlehnung der genannten Wörter diese als proto-indoeuropäisches Erbe behandelt haben. Jedes der entlehnten Wörter wurde von dem Wiener Slawisten im Rahmen von Themenbereichen diskutiert: Ackerbau, Viehzucht, Imkerei, Bevorratung, Gesellschaft, Zimmerei, Sonstiges. Bei der Analyse dieser Wörter richtete sich G. Holzer nach den bereits erwähnten Lautgesetzen und zahlreichen weiteren Kontrollkriterien, die im einleitenden Teil vorgestellt wurden. Bezeichnend ist, dass jede der erwähnten Entlehnungen gründlich etymologisch analysiert wurde, wobei der Autor sehr akribisch über den Stand der Forschung auf diesem Gebiet berichtete.

Das letzte Kapitel der Arbeit widmet der Autor der Identifizierung der „temematischen“ Sprache mit derjenigen der Kimmerer. G. Holzer schreibt, dass es sich hierbei um eine Arbeitshypothese handelt, die, obwohl sie sich aufgrund vieler Daten fast von selbst aufdrängt, im Allgemeinen weit weniger sicher ist als die Ansicht, dass eine solche „temematische“ Sprache existierte und dass es eine Schicht von Entlehnungen aus der „temematischen“ Sprache in der urslawischen und in der urbaltischen Sprachen gibt.¹¹⁸ Von der Anwesenheit der Kimmerer in der Vergangenheit in der Schwarzmeersteppe zeugen außer schriftlichen Überlieferungen auch antike geographische Bezeichnungen: (1) Κιμμέριον ἄκρον (im Kuban-Gebiet), (2) Κιμμερικὸς Βόσπορος (die Straße von Kerč); (3) Κιμμέριον (eine Ortschaft auf der Krim); (4) Κιμμέριον ὄρος (ein Berg auf der Krim). Auf der Grundlage des ethnischen Namens von Kimmerern, der Umwandlungen in akkadischen Aufzeichnungen, der Analyse der Hydronymie des Schwarzen Meeres, der wenigen Personennamen von Kimmerern und des kleinen „Lexikons“ der Kimmerersprache, das aus 7 (!) Wörtern besteht, die in anderen Sprachen als dem Slawischen oder Baltischen erhalten sind, argumentiert G. Holzer überzeugend, dass alle diese Reste der Kimmerersprache den Lautgesetzen unterliegen, die er für die „temematische“ Sprache ermittelt hat. Er setzt also ein Gleichheitszeichen zwischen dem rekonstruierten Teil der „temematischen“ Sprache und der Sprache der Kimmerer.

Das Verhältnis der Entlehnungen aus der Sprache der Kimmerer im Slawischen (45) und Baltischen (11) spricht dafür, dass wir es hier mit einem ähnlichen Wortentlehnungsmechanismus zu tun haben wie bei den Skythen

¹¹⁸ Ibidem, S. 177: „Es handelt sich dabei um eine Arbeitshypothese, die sich zwar durch manche Einzeldaten fast aufdrängt, im großen und ganzen aber dennoch weitaus unsicherer ist als die Annahme, daß das Temematische (...) existiert hat und daß es eine temematische Lehnwortschicht im Urslawischen und Urbaltischen gibt“.

und Sarmaten, die im Laufe der Zeit die Sitze der Kimmerer besetzten. Von den Skythen und Sarmaten haben die Slawen viel mehr Wörter entlehnt als die Balten. Es ist sehr wahrscheinlich, dass die Slawen durch die Skythen von den Kimmerern und durch die Sarmaten von den Skythen „geerbt“ wurden. Daher halten wir die Nachbarschaft der Slawen und der Kimmerer für sehr wahrscheinlich, was unserer Meinung nach die sprachwissenschaftliche Reichweite der Hypothese von G. Holzer bestätigt. Die Slawen wären also im Süden zunächst mit den Kimmerern, dann mit den Skythen, danach mit den Sarmaten und schließlich, bevor sie die Urheimat verließen, mit den Hunnen benachbart gewesen. Für einen kurzen Zeitraum zwischen der Herrschaft der Sarmaten und der Hunnen hätte die Urheimat der Slawen unter dem Einfluss der Goten gestanden.

Fassen wir unsere Feststellungen und Ansichten zusammen:

Aufgrund der unterschiedlichen Siedlungsbedingungen und des Einflusses der Iraner (V. Pisani) bildete sich unter den indoeuropäischen Völkern, die im Raum vom Schwarzen Meer bis hin zur Ostsee lebten, eine slawische Gemeinschaft heraus. Infolge des „Bruchs“ dieser Völkergemeinschaft entstanden im Norden die Balten und im Süden die Slawen.

Slawen bewohnten die Schwarzmeerwaldsteppe vor dem Zerfall der slawischen Gemeinschaft.

Die Slawen waren im Norden mit den Balten und im Süden mit den iranischen Völkern der Schwarzmeersteppe, zunächst den Skythen und später den Sarmaten, benachbart. Einige sprachliche Daten deuten darauf hin, dass die ersten südlichen Nachbarn der Slawen, noch vor den Skythen, die Kimmerer gewesen sein könnten, die im 8. Jh. die Schwarzmeersteppe verlassen haben.

Die Skythen, die die Steppe am Schwarzen Meer eroberten, zwangen den Slawen ihre Hegemonie auf, später wurde ihre Rolle von den Sarmaten übernommen; die jahrhundertelange Herrschaft der iranischen Völker über die Slawen hinterließ ihre Spuren in der urslawischen Sprache, in der viele iranische Lehnwörter aus dieser Zeit erhalten geblieben sind. Wahrscheinlich noch während der Skythenherrschaft übernahmen die Slawen unter anderem die iranische Religionsterminologie und Elemente der Religionsreform Zarathustras.

Das Gebiet der Kiewer Kultur kann nicht als die Urheimat der Slawen angesehen werden; es lag hauptsächlich im Bereich des linken (oberen und mittleren) Dnjeprufers. Ein solches Gebiet hätte die Balten nicht wirksam von den Iranern trennen können, und es lag außerdem in der baltischen hydronymischen Zone. Da es sich außerhalb der Waldsteppe befand, hätte die dort lebende Bevölkerung nicht in der Lage sein können, eine so große Bevölkerung hervorzubringen, die ganze Landstriche in Mittel- und Südeuropa hätte besiedeln können.

Entgegen den Annahmen von Kazimierz Godłowski¹¹⁹ bildete sich in der Tschernjachow-Kultur, insbesondere im Gebiet der Podolien-Dnjeprregion, im 3. und vor allem im 4. Jh. n. Chr. die geistige (Brandbestattung und Begrabungen ohne Ausstattung) und materielle (Halberdhütten mit Herd und Keramik ähnlich der Prager Kultur) Kultur der Slawen heraus, die in den ersten Jahrhunderten der zweiten Hälfte des ersten Jahrtausends n. Chr. in weiten Gebieten Ost-, Süd- und Mitteleuropas auftrat.

übersetzt von Joanna Rosik

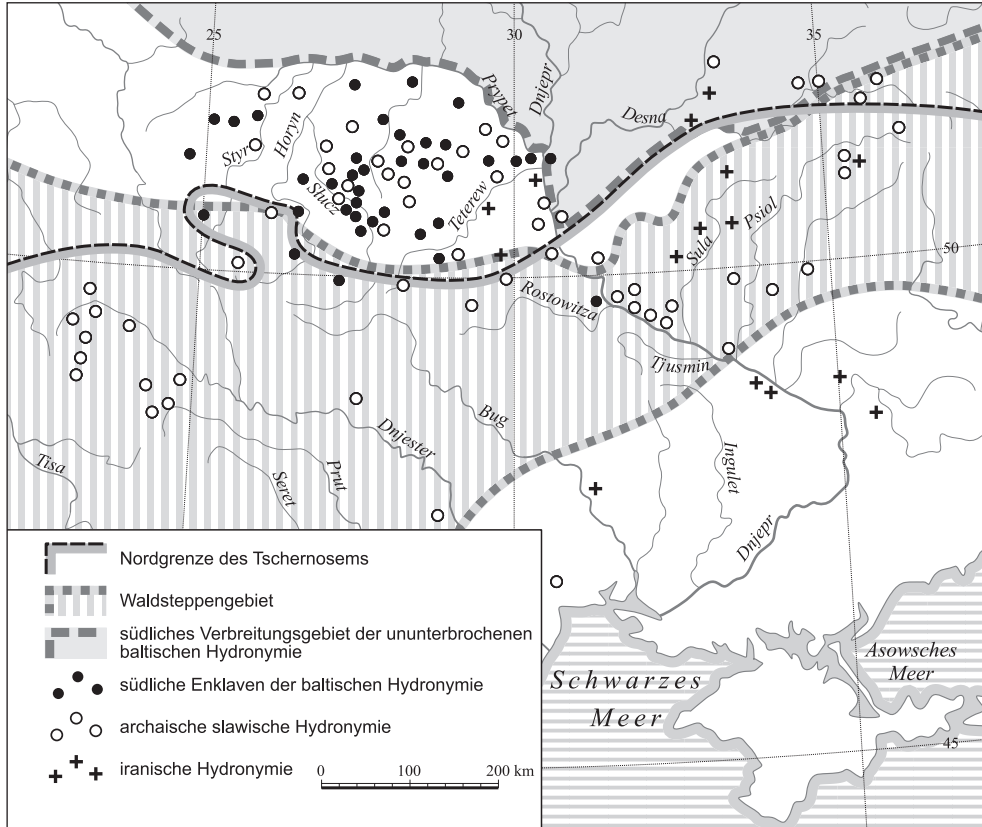
ABSTRACT

Reflections on the original homeland of the Slavs

The author begins with a brief overview of the discussion on the original homeland of the Slavs in Polish scholarship. He then discusses in detail the state of research on Iranian borrowings in the proto-Slavic language. The overview of the research shows that - to the south - the Slavs were neighbours with Iranian peoples, first the Scythians and later the Sarmatians, and that to the north they neighbored the Balts. On the basis of Vladimir Toporov and Oleg Trubachev's research on the hydronymy of the Dnieper basin and Georgi Khaburgayev's linkage of this research with physiographic conditions, as well as Vittore Pisani's theoretical considerations, the author concludes that the original homeland of the Slavs was the Black Sea forest steppe. The distinctive features of Slavic culture, mainly material culture, were formed in the 3rd and 4th centuries AD, primarily in the Podolia-Dnieper region.

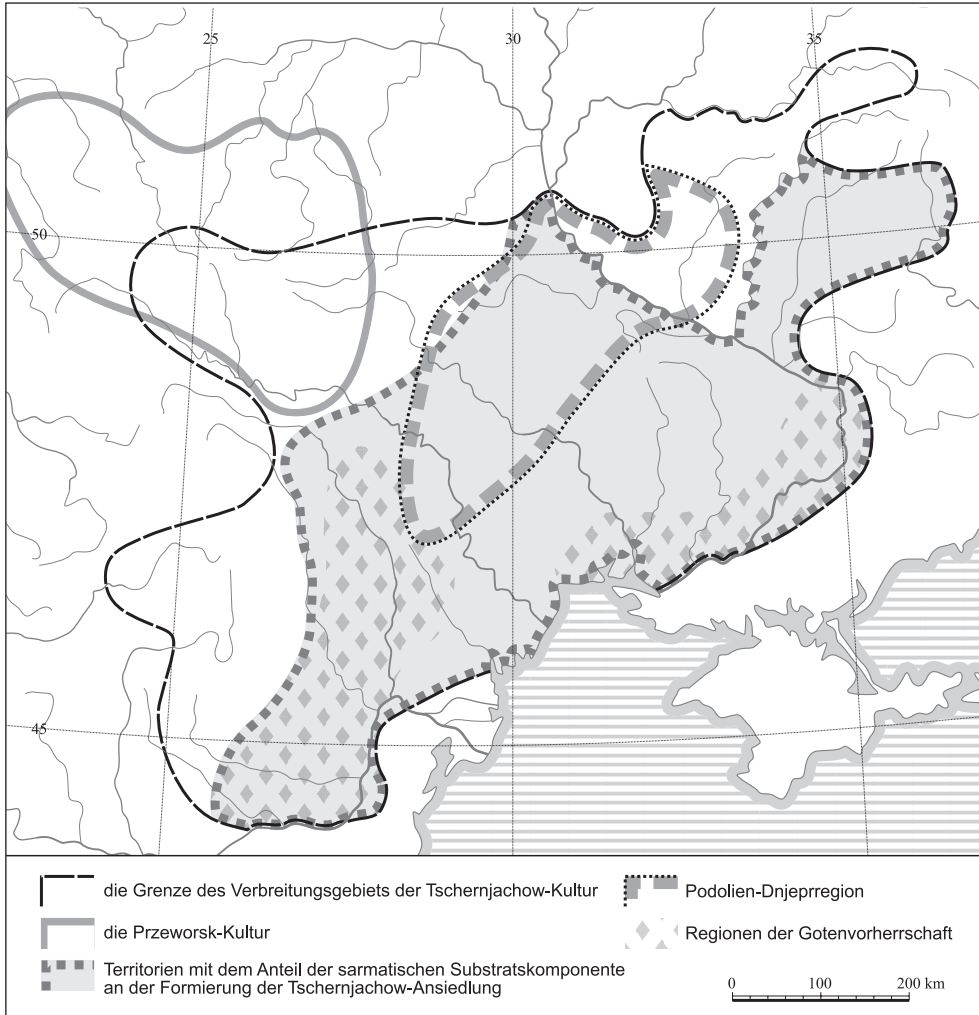
Keywords: Iranian borrowings in the proto-Slavic language, original homeland of the Slavs, Scythians, Sarmatians, Goths, the Black Sea forest steppe

119 Um Missverständnisse auszuschließen, zitieren wir in dieser Fußnote die (von uns nicht geteilte) Annahme des Krakauer Archäologen K. Godłowski, *Zagadnienie...*, S. 233: „Nie jest również wykluczone, że w obrębie niewątpliwie etnicznie niejednorodnej kultury czerniachowskiej znajdowały się także pewne grupy ludności pra- lub protosłowiańskiej, które jednak nie mogły odegrać żadnej istotnej roli w ostatecznym procesie krystalizacji wczesnośredniowiecznego słowiańskiego modelu kulturowego“ [Es ist auch nicht ausgeschlossen, dass es innerhalb der zweifellos ethnisch heterogenen Tschernjachow-Kultur auch einige Gruppen der ur- oder protoslawischen Bevölkerung gab, die jedoch im endgültigen Kristallisationsprozess des frühmittelalterlichen slawischen Kulturmodells keine bedeutende Rolle spielen konnten].



Karte 1: Mittel- und Südnjeprgebiet in der 1. Hälfte des 1. Jahrtausends n. Chr. nach Georgij Aleksandrowicz Chaburgajew (1931–1991); Autor: R. Przebitkowski.

Map 1: Central and South Dnieper Region in the first half of the first millennium AD based on Georgij Aleksandrowicz Chaburgajew (1931–1991); author: R. Przebitkowski.



Karte 2: Ethnokulturelle Differenzierung der Tschernjachow-Kultur nach Walentyn Wasiliewicz Siedow (1924–2004); Autor: R. Przebitkowski.

Map 2: Ethnocultural diversity of the Chernyakhov culture based on Valentin Vasiyevich Sedow (1924–2004); author: R. Przebitkowski.

STANISŁAW ROSIK
WROCLAW

TRIGLAV AND THE “GOD OF THE GERMANS” IN SZCZECIN
IN THE 1120s. FROM STUDIES OF THE RELIGION
OF THE SLAVS AND ITS CHRISTIAN INTERPRETATION
IN THE MIDDLE AGES (AN EXAMPLE OF OTTO
OF BAMBERG’S HAGIOGRAPHY)



In about 1120 the Polish ruler Bolesław III the Wrymouth subdued Western Pomerania in a military campaign. One of the conditions of the peace treaty concluded stipulated that the conquered would adopt Christianity.¹ Implementation of this provision was a task beyond the capabilities of the local ruler, i.e., the western-Pomeranian duke Wartislaw. Although he was baptized, his rule relied on the support of his pagan subjects.² He had to take into account not only the consent of the lords, but also of the assemblies that were strictly connected with native pre-Christian worship and functioned in the main centres of the local communities. Therefore the key to the success of mission-

1 See: *Ekkehardi Uraugiensis chronica*, ed. D.G. Waitz, in: *Monumenta Germaniae Historica* [further: MGH] *Scriptores*, VI, Hannover 1844 [further: Ekkehard of Aura], under the year 1124, p. 262; Herbord, *Dialog o życiu św. Ottona biskupa bamberskiego*, *Monumenta Poloniae Historica* [further: MPH] nova series, VII, part 3, ed. K. Liman, J. Wikarjak, Warszawa 1974 [further: Herbord], III, 5. For more about this subject, cf. e.g., G. Labuda, *Historia Kaszubów w dziejach Pomorza*, vol. I: *Średniowiecze*, Gdańsk 2006, pp. 91ff.; S. Rosik, *Crucial conquests*, in: *Europe reaches the Baltic. Poland and Pomerania in the Shaping of European Civilization (10th-12th centuries)*, ed. S. Rosik, Wrocław 2020, pp. 346-357.

2 When attempting to introduce a new religion the duke risked that the assembly (cf. *thing, wiece*) would decide that he had lost the right to exercise power (see S. Rosik, *Conversio gentis Pomeranorum. Studium świadectwa (XII wiek)*, Wrocław 2010, pp. 130, 562-569). In this situation an extraordinary phenomenon emerged in the 11th-12th centuries in some Slavic communities, especially among the Elbslavs, when baptized dukes, already politically involved with their Christian neighbours, ruled over pagan subjects. More about the subject see: H.-D. Kahl, *Heidnisches Wendentum und christliche Stammesfürsten. Ein Blick in die Auseinandersetzung zwischen Gentil- und Universalreligion im abendländischen Hochmittelalter*, “Archiv für Kulturgeschichte” XLIV (1962), pp. 72-119; K. Modzelewski, *Barbarzyńska Europa*, Warszawa 2004, pp. 356ff.

ary efforts in the western-Pomeranian duchy was to win over to Christianity the most important local urban centres and strongholds, i.e., by persuading their assemblies to abandon the vernacular religion and adopt the new.

This difficult task was accomplished by St Otto of Bamberg, whom ecclesiastical tradition dubbed the Apostle of the Pomeranians.³ His first expedition to the Baltic in 1124-1125 brought about the conversion of the most important centres in Wartislaw I's duchy, e.g., Pyrzyce, Kamień, Lubin,⁴ "Grodziec" (*Gridiz*), "Kłodona" (*Clodona/Cloden*), Kołobrzeg, and Białogard, and – most importantly – the most populous ones: Wolin and Szczecin (cf. map 1 and 2),⁵ where, after Otto's return to his homeland, a pagan reaction took place. In Wolin it was short-lived, but in Szczecin it resulted in the emergence of dual faith consisting in the worship of the Christian God – also called "the God of the Germans" – and the native Triglav.⁶

This syncretic system of beliefs was eradicated during the missionary's second trip to the Baltic in 1128 (cf. map 3), but the very fact that it had emerged in the public life of the biggest town in contemporary Pomerania inspires reflection on the processes and phenomena taking place in the sphere of Slavic beliefs and worship in response to the influence of Christianity and its pressures in both religious as well as political and military aspects. These are the issues this article addresses, concurrently presenting an overview of the religions of the Baltic communities from the perspective of the intellectual culture of the Christian milieux from which the medieval accounts hail.

To find out about the religion of the Slavs and its Christian interpretation in the Middle Ages, we need to turn to the contemporary literary narratives, whose references to the religious phenomena from pagan circles served the purpose of formulating various messages intended to affect the worldview and moral attitudes of those to whom these works were

3 J. Petersohn, *Apostolus Pomeranorum. Studien zur Geschichte und Bedeutung des Apostel-epithetons Bischof Otto I. von Bamberg*, "Historisches Jahrbuch" LXXXVI (1966) 2, pp. 257-294; cf. J. Strzelczyk, *Apostołowie Europy*, Warszawa 2010, pp. 221-239.

4 We should mention here the recent fascinating archaeological discoveries in Lubin on the island of Wolin dated to the 12th century (the remains of a church and a cemetery – cf. fig. 1) connected with a Christian community established during St Otto's mission, cf. *Lubin. Early Medieval Stronghold at the Mouth of the Oder River*, ed. M. Rębkowski, Szczecin 2018.

5 On Otto's itinerary during his missions cf. e.g., M. Rębkowski, *Chryścianizacja Pomorza Zachodniego. Studium archeologiczne*, Szczecin 2007, pp. 25-40; cf. idem, *Die Christianisierung Pommerns. Eine archäologische Studie*, Bonn 2011, pp. 20-31; S. Rosik, *Conversio...*, pp. 176-496.

6 See *Die Prüfeninger Vita Bischof Ottos I. von Bamberg nach der Fassung des Großen Österreichischen Legendars*, ed. J. Petersohn, MGH *Scriptores rerum Germanicarum in usum scholarum*, LXXI, Hannover 1999 [further: *Vita Prieflingensis*] II, 15; III, 5; Ebo, *Żywot św. Otona biskupa bamberskiego*, ed. J. Wikarjak, K. Liman, MPH *nova series*, VII, part 2, Warszawa 1969 [further: Ebo], III, 1; Herbord III, 16.

addressed.⁷ However, these literary impressions were fundamentally influenced by the interpretation of Slavic beliefs and cults from the perspective of cultural categories inherent in *Christianitas*, ranging from the linguistic stratum to frequently stereotypical opinions reflecting the attitude to foreigners and the premises of Christian theology.

This is an issue unto itself, whose exploration in recent decades has clearly accommodated anthropological inspirations, facilitating the assessment of how useful particular sources are in the research of vernacular religion, in this case that of the Slavs. The medieval writers were not so much interested in becoming acquainted with foreign beliefs and cults as in referring to them in a way to shape the memory of the past. In so doing, they combined cognitive functions with the pragmatic aims of contemporary hagiography and historiography.⁸ This is clearly seen in the triptych of the lives of St Otto, written over the two decades after his death in 1139 – that is, during the lifetimes of witnesses of Otto's achievements. Therefore, before we move on to the main issue indicated in the title of this article, let us devote more attention to the specific nature of these sources in order to understand them better.

* * *

The earliest of the three lives of the bishop from Bamberg was the *Vita Prieflingensis*, most probably written up until 1146 by an anonymous Benedictine monk from St George's monastery in Prüfening near Regensburg.⁹ Thereafter

7 About *causa scribendi* in relation to medieval hagiography cf. e.g., E. Potkowski, *Problemy kultury piśmiennej łacińskiego średniowiecza*, "Przegląd Humanistyczny" III (1994), p. 34; idem, *Książka i pismo w średniowieczu. Studia z dziejów kultury piśmiennej i komunikacji społecznej*, Pułtusk 2006, pp. 11ff.

8 The fundamental dimensions of the phenomenon were identified almost a century ago, introducing the notion *interpretatio Christiana*, which prompted medieval writers to view paganism as the work of the devil and mere stupidity. Therefore, it was emphasized that the native beliefs and worship of the barbarians were assessed from the perspective outlined in the Bible, described with the use of topoi, stereotypes, and literary borrowings. The development of this research trend brought about appreciation of individual authors' ingenuity in depicting detailed pictures and a comprehensive vision of paganism. The outline of the research of *interpretatio Christiana* and current research theses cf. S. Rosik, *Interpretacja chrześcijańska religii pogańskich Słowian w świetle kronik niemieckich XI–XII wieku (Thietmar, Adam z Bremy, Helmold)*, Acta Universitatis Wratislaviensis, Historia, CXLIV, Wrocław 2000, p. 13-33; idem, *The Slavic Religion in the Light of 11th- and 12th-Century German Chronicles (Thietmar of Merseburg, Adam of Bremen, Helmold of Bosau)*, *Studies on the Christian Interpretation of pre-Christian Cults and Beliefs in the Middle Ages*, East Central and Eastern Europe in the Middle Ages, 450–1450, LX, Leiden-Boston 2020, pp. 10-38.

9 The view that its author was the local librarian, Wolfger (cf. H. Fichtenau, *Wolfger von Prüfening*, „Mitteilungen des Instituts für österreichische Geschichtsforschung” LI (1937), pp. 313-357), remains a hypothesis. More about the author and his work cf. J. Petersohn, *Einleitung*, in: *Vita Prieflingensis*, pp. 1-43, esp. 17ff., and footnote 10 below.

are two works by the authors from St Michael's abbey in Michelsberg near Bamberg: Ebo and Herbord, the former writing ca 1152 and the latter ca 1159. Herbord's account has the structure of a dialogue (a convention rarely used at that time) and draws extensively on the work of both predecessors.¹⁰ Ebo also probably made use of *Vita Prieflingensis* – only half as long as his own work¹¹ – developing its original idea of recognizing Otto as a great apostle whose prestige equalled that of St Peter and St Paul.¹² The bishop from Bamberg died on the eve of both saints' holiday, and this became an additional premise for equating his deeds with those of St Peter and St Paul¹³ This interpretation of Otto's achievement goes back to approximately the time of his first mission.

Ekkehard of Aura (died in 1126) announced the intention to convert of "the tribe of Pomeranians" during Otto's first mission just a year at the latest after it had been accomplished,¹⁴ quoting Otto's full report of his achievements.¹⁵ It became the foundation stone of the memory of Otto as

10 A short presentation of the triptych of the lives of St Otto of Bamberg and their origins (including scholarly debate about this matter) cf. e.g., J. Strzelczyk, *Einleitung*, in: *Heiligenleben zur Deutsch-Slawischen Geschichte. Adalbert von Prag und Otto von Bamberg*, ed. L. Weinrich, J. Strzelczyk, in: *Ausgewählte Quellen zur Deutschen Geschichte des Mittelalters, XXIII*, ed. H.W. Goetz, Darmstadt 2005, pp. 18f., 23-26; S. Haarländer, *Vitae episcoporum. Eine Quellengattung zwischen Hagiographie und Historiographie, untersucht an Lebensbeschreibungen von Bischöfen des Regnum Teutonicum im Zeitalter der Ottonen und Salier*, Stuttgart 2000, pp. 527-535. More about the subject also cf. K. Liman, *Wstęp*, in: Ebo, pp. V-XXIV; idem, *Dialog Herborda. Ze studiów historycznoliterackich nad biografiją łacińską XII wieku*, Poznań 1975.

11 This is substantiated by the similarities in the structure of both works, but the issue is still under discussion, see S. Rosik, *Conversio...*, pp. 97f.

12 Ebo III, 27. *Vita Prieflingensis* (II, 17) refers to Otto as *vir apostolicus*, i.e., someone who accomplished a deed in common with those of the Apostles and shared their glory (cf. *ibidem*, II, 1: "...cum beatis apostolis, cum quibus commune gessit officium, et laudes eum habere communes". However, from the beginning of his work Ebo addresses Otto *Apostolus Pomeranus* (cf. Ebo, Prologus). See also footnotes 3, 22, 24.

13 This is confirmed by the entry in the obituary in the abbey in Michelsberg commemorating the day of Otto's death (cf. *Das Necrolog des Klosters Michelsberg in Bamberg*, ed. J. Nospickel, MGH Libri Memoriales nova series, Hannover 2004, p. 422), but it is not certain whether it was not added later under the influence of the emerging tradition which recognized him as the Apostle of the Pomeranians (cf. J. Nospickel, *Einleitung*, in: *ibidem*, pp. 98f.).

14 Ekkehard of Aura, under the year 1124, p. 262. Similarly, as early as in 1125, the Bohemian chronicler Cosmas of Prague announced the success of Otto's first Pomeranian mission, cf. *Cosmae Pragensis Chronica Boemorum*, ed. B. Bretholz, MGH Scriptores nova series, II, Berlin 1923, III, 72. See e.g., J. Sobiesiak, *The Oldest Connections of Poland with Western Pomerania in Medieval and Modern Czech Historiography*, in: *Poland, Pomerania and Their Neighbours' Shaping of Medieval European Civilisation (10th-12th centuries)*, ed. S. Rosik, *Scripta Historica Europaea*, I, Wrocław 2020, pp. 317-328.

15 Ekkehard of Aura, under the year 1125, p. 263f. About the significance of the report in shaping the *memoria* of Otto see: S. Rosik, *Conversio...*, pp. 85-92. Also see: M. Wehrmann, *Die Lehr- und Predigtätigkeit des Bischofs Otto von Bamberg in Pommern*, "Baltische Studien" NF 26 (1924), pp. 157-189.

the apostle of the pagans. The report was also featured in *Vita Prieflingensis*, where two of the three books are devoted to matters concerning the Pomeranian missions.¹⁶ The monk from Prüfening described the first expedition in the second book and the second in the third. Here he mentioned the conversion of "the province of Wnzlow" in the lands of the Lutici,¹⁷ but focused on countering the dual faith in Szczecin and consolidating the conversion of the Pomeranians with the establishment of a bishopric.¹⁸

Ebo emulated the pattern outlined in *Vita Prieflingensis*, but expanded the third book, devoting much more attention to the second mission. "The province of Wnzlow" was presented as the second *gens* in the theatre of Otto's missions, called "Uznoim" (Usedom/Uznam), thus heightening the glory of his missionary achievement by attributing to him the conversion of another people (besides the Pomeranians).¹⁹ What is more, he presented only the second expedition as the definitive conversion of the Pomeranians, showing their apostasy in Szczecin and – earlier – in Wolin as a squandering of the major successes of his first mission.²⁰ In this view the reconversion of the apostates constitutes the second part of the missionary work on the Baltic undertaken again in 1128, while the events pivotal for the conversion of the whole western-Pomeranian duchy were placed in the centres of *gens Uznoim*, with Usedom itself being declared as the most important.²¹

Herbord was sceptical about such a view of the second mission and, perhaps first of all, about giving Otto the title of *Apostolus Pomeranorum*; his work is *de facto* a polemic with Ebo's ideological message.²² The voices of both authors from

16 *Vita Prieflingensis* II, 21; Ebo (II, 12) also used the report to recapitulate Otto's activity during the first trip to Pomerania. Cf. also Herbord II, 18.

17 *Vita Prieflingensis* III, 4.

18 The process of establishing a diocese in Wolin was completed in 1140 (cf. e.g., J. Petersohn, *Der südliche Ostseeraum im kirchlich-politischen Kräftespiel des Reichs, Polens und Dänemarks vom 10. bis 13. Jahrhundert*, Köln-Wien 1979, pp. 262ff.; P. Piętkowski, *Biskupstwo pomorskie jako początek biskupstwa kamieńskiego*, Scripta Historica Mediaevalia, IV, Wrocław 2015). The monk from Prüfening stresses that Otto of Bamberg (died in 1139) succeeded in persuading the pope to bless the ring intended for the first bishop of Pomerania (cf. *Vita Prieflingensis* III, 15).

19 Ebo III, 3.

20 *Ibidem*, II, 18; III, 3.

21 Here a convention took place on the day of Pentecost, headed by Wartislaw I and attended by the lords, where the decision was made to allow missions in the whole duchy of western Pomerania (cf. Ebo III, 6; Herbord III, 3). Thus, it would have been a "new Pentecost" as in the Acts of the Apostles, determining the beginning of a new Church. For more about Ebo's interpretation of history and Herbord's polemic cf. S. Rosik, *Conversio...*, pp. 408-415.

22 Ultimately St Otto's title of the Apostle of the Pomeranians was universally accepted at the stage of his canonization in 1189, even though in the pope's document giving consent for the procedure he is called *vir apostolicus* (as in *Vita Prieflingensis* II, 17), cf. *Commendatio pii Ottoni Babenbergensis Episcopi ac Pomeranorum Apostoli, et de gestis eius*, in: MGH Scriptorum, XII, ed. G.H. Pertz, Hannoverae 1856, pp. 910f. For more about the issue see: J. Petersohn, *Apostolus Pome-*

Michelsberg constitute a contribution to the then on-going debate on monastic reform. Ebo, a supporter of maintaining the Benedictine rule from Hirsau, emphasized its virtues, invoking the authority of Otto of Bamberg, who – out of concern for the monks' morale and overall discipline²³ – introduced this rule in Michelsberg abbey. In this respect his authority was elevated by the fact that, as the Apostle of the Pomeranians, he was awarded the same rank as St Peter (the Apostle of Judea), St Paul (of Greece), St Thomas (of India), and St Gregory (of the Angles).²⁴ The fact that people who were not Jesus' original disciples appeared on this list was based on the theological conviction that sanctity equalling that of the Church's early days could still be attained in the domain of missionary work with the pagans even "when the world has grown old and the evening of the age has come".²⁵

Even though he did not question the significance of the success of converting the Pomeranians, Herbord claimed – with a spark of irony – that an appropriate balance should be maintained when assessing the means of missionary activity. From this perspective, the comparison between Otto and St Peter was the same as that between... Mantua and Rome.²⁶ Contrary to the Prince of the Apostles, who – possessing neither silver nor gold – miraculously healed the unfortunate, thus proving the truth of his mission, Otto won over pagan souls with worldly riches, ostentatious demonstrations, and gifts.²⁷ However, this was not a consequence of the personal involvement and moral conduct of the bishop of Bamberg, but of the specific nature of "the last hour" – when the world was "descending into evil".²⁸ In this situation the space best suited to manifest sanctity and grace was that of monasteries – places bringing to mind the inn from the Gospel parable of the good Samaritan. Here the souls injured by evil were to find spiritual and earthly support.

ranorum..., pp. 284ff.; S. Rosik, *Conversio...*, pp. 47-57. On the other hand, Herbord uses the term *apostolus* in his description of the Pomeranian missions as a *terminus technicus* synonymous with a missionary (including Otto's companions, cf. Herbord II, 24; III, 5).

23 Otto not only promoted the ideals of *vita religiosa* (see e.g., E. Demm, *Reformmönchtum und Slawenmission im 12. Jahrhundert. Wertsoziologisch-geistesgeschichtliche Untersuchungen zu den Viten Bischof Ottos von Bamberg*, Lübeck-Hamburg 1970; J. Wollasch, *Mönchtum des Mittelalters zwischen Kirche und Welt*, München 1973, pp. 95f., 106f., 118f., 134f.), but he also – as emphasized by his hagiographers – was to have practiced them himself, ultimately deciding that he would be buried in the abbey in Michelsberg and not in his own cathedra (cf. Ebo III, 27).

24 Ebo III, 27: "Nam cum Petrus Iudeam, Paulus Greciam, Andreas Achaïam, Iohannes Asiam, Thomas Indiam, Gregorius Angliam, ceterique dominici gregis arietes, singuli suos eterno iudici reportant manipulos, Otto etiam inter eos Pomeraniam gaudens adducet..."

25 Ebo II, 1: "...senescente iam mundo et die seculi advesperascente...". More about historiography in Ebo's work cf. S. Rosik, *Conversio...*, pp. 522ff.

26 Herbord II, 35.

27 Ibidem.

28 Ibidem I, 18: "...novissima hora est, et mundus in maligno positus est..."; cf. 1 J 2, 18; 5, 19.

Therefore Herbord praised investments in the monasteries' infrastructure, the beauty of ecclesiastical space as manifesting God's glory more fully in the liturgy, but also in the economy²⁹ to support "Christ's poor" – both monks and the poor in literal sense. Thus the hagiographer promoted the ideas of monastic reform in the contemporary Cistercian spirit³⁰ and valued most highly Otto's foundations benefitting monks.³¹ Even when presenting Pomerania as a land already won over for the Christian cause, he asked the question: can monasteries appear there?³² His affirmative answer points at the optimal plan for the further development of the new Church on the Baltic. It is thus no accident that it was within monastery walls that Herbord located the greatest miracles attributed to Otto, which – according to the Gospels – were to accompany those who believe in Christ, such as healing the blind and the lame or restoring the dead to life.³³ All of this was said to have happened in the abbey in Michelsberg as *gloria postuma*, i.e., at the grave of the bishop from Bamberg, which attracted pilgrims long before his canonization (1189).³⁴

What is more, Herbord interpreted Otto's missionary endeavours as the implementation of Bolesław III the Wrymouth's plans, who, having conquered the Pomeranians, was said to have given them a choice in a truly crusading spirit: baptism or death.³⁵ In this view it is indeed hard to judge Otto

29 Herbord stresses that granaries in monasteries were full and the cows from their pastures were fat (cf. *ibidem*).

30 It is worth remembering here that they were not the ideals of the founding generation of the Cistercians but those of St Bernard's generation (for more about the subject cf. A. Vauchez, *Duchowość średniowiecza*, transl. H. Zaremska, Gdańsk 1996, pp. 70-74). See also e.g., E. Demm, *Reformmönchtum...*, pp. 24ff.; S. Rosik, *Orbis Romanus – Christianitas – Pomerania. Pomorzec w „świecie” Ottona z Bambergu: pamięć współczesnych i początki tradycji (rekonesans)*, in: *Biskup Otton z Bambergu i jego świat*, ed. M. Rębkowski, S. Rosik, Wolińskie Spotkania Mediewistyczne, IV, pp. 20f.

31 Herbord (I, 42) considered monks the jewel in the crown of the whole clergy as "spiritual people" (*populus spiritualis*).

32 Herbord II, 41.

33 Herbord I, 18: "Ibi enim caeci vident, surdi audiunt, claudi ambulant, leprosi mundantur, mortui resurgunt, pauperes euangelizantur", cf. Mt 11, 5. However, following his predecessors, he repeated the descriptions of miraculous events from Otto's missions (cf. Herbord II, 23; III, 26, 27, 28, 29).

34 Herbord I, *Dialogus loco proemium* (p. 3f.). Cf. e.g., J. Petersohn, *Jubiläum, Heiligsprechung und Reliquienerhebung Bischof Ottos von Bamberg im Jahre 1189*, "Bericht des Historischen Vereins Bamberg" CXXXV (1989), pp. 43f.

35 *Ibidem*, II, 5: "Et quia paganismo tenebantur, dux eos aut penitus elidere, aut ferro ad fidem christianismi conatus est impellere". This interpretation of Bolesław III Wrymouth's wars with the Pomeranians reflecting the crusading spirit does not seem to correspond exactly with the spirit of his times, but corresponds with St Bernard's ideas – a luminary of the age from the Cistercian circles (cf. e.g., H.-D. Kahl, *Die weltweite Bereinigung der Heidenfrage – ein*

by the same standards as Christ's first disciples. Herbord similarly interpreted Polish military intervention in Pomerania³⁶ during Otto's second expedition as support in thwarting the apostasy of the Pomeranians and thus the continuation of the Polish ruler's patronage over his mission. It is thus a radical reinterpretation of Ebo's account, who also noted attempts at the forcible conversion of the Pomeranians by Wrymouth, though emphasizing their futility.

By no means did Ebo condemn harassing pagans and idolaters with military incursions, but he appreciated more highly the peace which St Otto was to establish between the Poles and Pomeranians by uniting them in one community of faith.³⁷ Quite importantly, according to Ebo, the neighbourly hostilities were not terminated by the success of Otto's first mission; he noted that the Pomeranians had invaded Poland and desecrated the graves of Wrymouth's ancestors.³⁸ This corresponds to the emphasis placed on the apostasy of the Pomeranians, which to him was tantamount to the annihilation of an important part of the first mission's effects. The second, which brought about the definitive conversion of the western-Pomeranian duchy, was – according to Ebo – undertaken with respect to the liberty of the Pomeranians because it happened at the invitation of their ruler, Wartislaw, and the assembly

übersehenes Kriegsziel des Zweiten Kreuzzugs, in: *Spannungen und Widersprüche. Gedenkschrift für František Graus*, ed. S. Burghartz et al., Sigmaringen 1992, pp. 63-89), whose model of spirituality fascinated Herbord (see above, footnote 30). However, the sources contemporary to Wrymouth's conquests say that the aim of the wars was to force the Pomeranians to convert. Gallus Anonymus – who was then present in Poland – wrote at the time of the wars (cf. *Galli Anonymi cronicae et gesta ducum sive principum Polonorum*, ed. K. Maleczyński, MPH nova series, II, Cracoviae 1952, Prohemium, p. 7: “[Poland] A mare autem septemtrionale vel amphitrionale tres habet affines barbarorum gentilium ferocissimas naciones, Selenciam. Pomoranium et Pruziam, contra quas regiones Polonorum dux assidue pugnat, ut eas ad fidem convertat”), as did Ekkehard of Aura ca. 1125 (cf. Ekkehard of Aura, under the year 1124, p. 262: “...ad gentem scilicet Pomeranorum, quam nuper idem dux [Bolesław – S.R.] sibi finitimam subegerat et ad christianitatis confugium impulerat”). For more about the subject cf. S. Rosik, *Bolesław Krzywousty*, Wrocław 2013, pp. 196ff.; D. von Güttner-Sporzyński, *Poland, Holy War, and the Piast Monarchy, 1100-1230*, Europa Sacra, XIV, Turnhout 2014, pp. 77-106.

36 However, according to the hagiographers of St Otto, fighting never took place. The expedition marching to engage the Pomeranians was turned back by St Otto, who negotiated the agreement between Bolesław III the Wrymouth and Wartislaw – Ebo III, 13; Herbord III, 10; cf. e.g., S. Rosik, *Bolesław Krzywousty...*, pp. 220ff.; Z. Dalewski, *Pomerania in the politics of the 12th century*, in: *Europe reaches the Baltic...*, pp. 487ff.

37 Ebo II, 18: “Nam dux Polizlaus, sicut erga Deum cultoresque Dei religione ac pietate insignis, ita erga idolatras et criminosos debiti rigoris asperitate fuit inplacabilis. Singulis quippe annis, collecto exercitu valido, terras paganorum devastare solebat, ut vel timore gladii iugo christiane fidei subigerentur. Quod ubi ministerio pii Ottonis factum est, arma in pacem mutata sunt, cunctique de latibulis, ubi absconditi erant, accepta per beatum presulem securitate, prodeuntes, baptismi gratiam consecuti sunt”.

38 The story is doubtful as a description of actual events from the time between Otto's missions, cf. e.g., S. Rosik, *Conversio...*, pp. 371ff.

of their nobles.³⁹ In his account the patron of the undertaking was not only the pope – as during the previous mission – but also the emperor.⁴⁰

In his polemic with this view of the events, Herbord not only appreciated the Polish conquest but also omitted Lothar's patronage over the mission and did not repeat Ebo's mention of the attack of the Pomeranians on Poland. Herbord interpreted the second mission – similarly as the monk from Prüfening before him – solely as the completion of the work initiated during the first one, especially in that he treated the theatre of both missions as one: Pomerania, without distinguishing the province of "Wnzlow" and other *gens*.⁴¹ In Herbord's view Otto's second mission was a kind of inspection carried out by a superior supervising the process of building the new Church⁴² that had began four years before, and remedying the mistakes made by neophytes, including the idolatrous syncretism, which leaves no room for the vision of the demise of the first mission's results, in the way developed by Ebo in connection with the apostasy in Wolin and Szczecin.

* * *

The examples above were selected to outline the views of Otto's biographers quoted in the debate on his life and work taking place in the environments cultivating his memory, for this determines the context in which the information on the religious life of the pagans on the Baltic appears in his hagiographies. Taking into account the place and role of this information within the literary vision of the world constitutes the key to their analysis in terms of the description of Slavic beliefs and worship in the Middle Ages and their examination in religious studies. This becomes especially significant in reflection on the phenomenon of syncretism in Szczecin in the 1120s, which was variously interpreted in *vitae Ottonis*, from a general theological assessment to its historical significance, to the detailed description of its manifestations.

The author of *Vita Prieflingensis* compares this dual faith to the Biblical sin of the Samaritans, who combined the worship of God with the cult

39 Ebo III, 6.

40 Ibidem, III, 3 and 6.

41 To counter the significance which Ebo attributed to the convention in Usedom in 1128 (cf. footnote 21 above), Herbord (II, 14-18) raised the status of the first stations in Otto's Pomeranian itinerary in 1124-1125, i.e., Pyrzyce and Kamień, which he combined with the idea of the birth of the original ecclesiastical community (*primitivus populus*) following the model from the Acts of the Apostles. More about the subject cf. S. Rosik, *Conversio...*, pp. 213-227.

42 As the *cura exteriorum* sometimes practiced by the contemporary bishops, cf. e.g., E.L. Grasmück, "Cura animarum". *Zur Praxis der Seelsorge in der Zeit Bischof Ottos von Bamberg*, "Bericht des Historischen Vereins Bamberg" CXXV (1989), pp. 115-146.

of pagan deities (idolatry).⁴³ Thus the misdeed is presented as a manifestation of the imperfection of neophytic faith, ultimately remedied by the effective intervention of the ecclesiastical superior.⁴⁴ Considering Szczecin's importance in Pomerania, this phenomenon threatened the success of the whole mission, even though it had a limited range in as much as Christianity had survived in Wolin and other important centres of the duchy. Herbord also considered the apostasy of the residents of Szczecin as "the sin of the Samaritans",⁴⁵ but he stressed that a group closely following the worship of Christ had remained in the town.⁴⁶

This information confirms the conviction that the pagan reaction in its very nest did not utterly thwart the effects of Otto's mission, which in turn inspired Herbord to defy Ebo's interpretation of the events. Ebo saw the apostasy – including that in Wolin – as a metaphorical sowing of tares among the wheat. He thus resorted to a parable from the Gospel, however specifically, as he concluded that the effects of sowing the Gospel during the first mission were largely wasted. Considering Ebo's praise of the perfection of Otto's apostolic accomplishments, so important in his work, it would be difficult to disagree. It paved the way for presenting the protagonist's full glory as "a new Apostle" in the third book – as mentioned above – in search of key arguments advocating his holiness. We can thus see how the authors' *causa scribendi* affected the theological assessment of the phenomenon born in the pagan environment, which constitutes a perfect example of its interpretation in the contemporary culture of the Christian circle.

43 Vita Prieflingensis III, 5: "Reddita est antiquitatis hystoria, qua refertur, quod populus Samarię cum deos gentium coleret, Domino nichilominus serviebat".

44 Otto's expeditions to the western-Pomeranian duchy constituted an element in accomplishing a long-term missionary strategy consisting in establishing a network of churches that were subsequently permanently supervised (in practice also by exchanging letters and gifts, cf. Vita Prieflingensis III, 2) until the missionary's death. Ultimately, a separate diocese was to be established there thanks to Otto's efforts in co-operation with the rulers of Poland and Pomerania. More about this subject cf. S. Rosik, *Conversio...*, pp. 350f., 636ff.; idem, *Die Strategie und Praxis der Mission Bischof Ottos von Bamberg in Pommern*, in: *Bischof Otto von Bamberg in Pommern. Historische und archäologische Forschungen zu Mission und Kulturverhältnissen des 12. Jahrhunderts im Südwesten der Ostsee. Beiträge einer Tagung aus Anlass des 875. Todestages des Pommernmissionars vom 27. bis 29. Juni 2014 in Greifswald*, ed. F. Biermann, F. Ruchhöft, Studien zur Archäologie Europas, III, Bonn 2017, pp. 33-38.

45 Herbord III, 16. That is why Herbord interpreted the dual faith as a sin requiring penance and reconciliation, cf. ibidem, III, 20: "Quicumque enim sese apostasiae vicio inquinaverant, Spiritus sancti virtute faciente compuncti, per manus impositionem in fonte lacrimarum suarum loti, ecclesiae sanctae reformantur".

46 Ibidem, III, 14: "Homines autem de civitate inter se divisi erant, aliis adhuc in fide manentibus, aliis autem ex maiori parte ad paganismum reversis".

The subject of the missions is intrinsically entwined with the issue of eradicating native worship, stereotypically interpreted as idolatry.⁴⁷ Therefore, it transpires that the essence of the apostasy in Wolin and Szczecin was the return to the worship of idols,⁴⁸ while in the literary version (no doubt in part reflecting historical reality) Otto's most fervent opponents were the "priests of idols". Eradicating the syncretism in Szczecin in 1128 was possible – here all three hagiographers agree – only after Otto defeated the most prominent of them in a public debate in the town's central square.⁴⁹ After this event the fate of idolatry was sealed in the whole of Pomerania.

Szczecin is presented as the metropolis of the whole of Pomerania; its religious authority in pre-Christian times was respected even by the residents of Wolin, who claimed excellent ancient origins perpetuated in the legend,⁵⁰ maintaining that the town – originally known as Iulin – was named after its (alleged) founder, Julius Caesar.⁵¹ For its part, Szczecin was supposed to be the town of Triglav, worshipped as a three-headed idol placed in the main local temple.⁵² From the perspective of Pomerania's pagan past these two centres are the most important in Otto's hagiographies, which is exemplified by *Vita Prieflingensis*. Also, they are the only towns whose pagan temples ("kącina" in the local language⁵³) are mentioned by the authors of the lives of St Otto.

47 Cf. e.g., *Vita Prieflingensis* II, 11 (*ydolatrię sordes*), III, 5 (*ydolatrię consuetudo*); Ebo II, 1 (*error idolatrie*), II, 9 (*idolatrie tenebrae*), II, 16 (*idolorum cultura*), III, 1 (*idolatrie sordes*); Herbord III, 7 (*radix idolatriae*), III, 9 (*idolatria*).

48 These rites were already presented in *Vita Prieflingensis* II, 17, interpreted as "theatrical games" (*ludi scenici*); cf. M. Cetwiński, „*Per totam civitatem ludos scenicos agi*”. *Teatr na Pomorzu w XII wieku?*, in: *Pomorze słowiańskie i jego sąsiedzi w X–XV w.*, ed. J. Hauziński, Gdańsk 1995, pp. 19–24.

49 *Vita Prieflingensis* III, 8, 10, 12; Ebo III, 16, 20; Herbord III, 18, 24. See J. Banaszkiwicz, *Otto z Bambergu i pontifex idolorum. O urzędzeniu i obyczajach miejsca wiecowego pogańskiego Szczecina*, in: *Biedni i bogaci. Studia z dziejów społeczeństwa i kultury ofiarowane Bronisławowi Geremekowi*, M. Aymard et al., Warszawa 1992, pp. 275–284; S. Rosik, *Conversio...*, pp. 454ff., 471ff.

50 The legend of Julius Caesar offered ample justification for situating the bishop's seat in Wolin. For more about the issue see e.g., R. Michałowski, *Zjazd gnieźnieński. Religijne przesłanki powstania arcybiskupstwa gnieźnieńskiego*, Wrocław 2005, pp. 23ff.; S. Rosik, *Orbis Romanus...*, pp. 25ff.

51 The holiest object adored in the town was also said to be "Caesar's spear" (cf. *Vita Prieflingensis* II, 5; Ebo III, 1; Herbord III, 26). Cf. L.P. Słupecki, *Slavonic Pagan Sanctuaries*, Warsaw 1994, p. 85; S. Rosik, *Conversio...*, s. 239 ff.

52 *Vita Prieflingensis* II, 11: "In ea siquidem civitate domus duę [...], in quibus ab stulto paganorum populo deus Triglous colebatur"; Ebo III, 1: "Stetin vero amplissima civitas [...] tres montes ambitu suo conclusos habebat, quorum medius, qui et alcior, summo paganorum deo Trigelawo dicatus, tricapitum habebat simulacrum..." (cf. Herbord II, 32).

53 Otto's hagiographers associated the Latin transcription *contina* with Latin *continere* – contain (i.e., idols), see Herbord II, 31: "Sclavica lingua in perlisque vocibus latinatatem attingit [sic! – S.R.], et ideo puto ab eo quod est continere continas esse vocatas" (cf. *Vita Prieflingensis* II, 11). In fact "kącina" was a building covered with a roof (cf. fig. 5), not necessarily for sacred

Ebo devotes more attention to pagan temples, offering an extensive account of missionary activity in the centres of *gens Uznoim* and also describing the temples in Wolgast and Gützkow. He linked the former with the Roman theme, interpreting Yarovit worshipped there as Mars,⁵⁴ and emphasizing the artistry and cost of building the latter. How illusory was its beauty is seen in a dramatic description of an event which took place after a “joyful show” of destroying the statues dragged outside.⁵⁵ Upon the temple’s destruction a hideous swarm of flies flew out of the building – so big that it eclipsed the sun, invading the eyes, noses, and mouths of those present. The flies were of course the materialization of demonic powers,⁵⁶ which – chased away with a sign of cross – eventually left the town through its gates and flew to Rügen.⁵⁷

Thus Ebo placed the theatre of Otto’s mission in the wider context of theologically interpreted geographical space. Directing the swarm of flies to Rügen illustrates the world being presented along the lines of historical reality from the time of the chronicle’s writing, when the Rani (Rugians) remained the leaders of the vestiges of pre-Christian Slavdom.⁵⁸ It is no accident that Helmold of Bosau, better informed about these matters, right here placed the hotbed of Slavic idolatry (and its demons).⁵⁹ Thus Ebo represented views widely circulating in Germany, striving to present the paganism on the Baltic as a single domain,⁶⁰ constituting the earthly substance of Satan’s

purposes see e.g., F. Sławski, *Słownik etymologiczny języka polskiego*, vol. I, Kraków 1952, pp. 318f.; L.P. Słupecki, *Slavonic Pagan Sanctuaries...*, pp. 12f.; thus the custom of calling Slavic temples “kačina” is based on an erroneous interpretation of the information from *vitae Ottonis*.

54 Ebo III, 8; Herbord III, 6. Yarovit may also have been associated by the hagiographers with a god of war because the Latin transcription of his name “Gerovitus” sounds like Latin *guerra* (war).

55 Ebo III, 10. A detailed description of the destruction of the statues provides valuable information about the practice of the *abrenuntiatio diaboli* (more about the analysis of symbolism and theology of the ritual see S. Rosik, *Conversio...*, pp. 584ff.).

56 About the diabolical symbolism of flies (beginning with the Biblical *Beelzebul* – the “Lord of Flies”), cf. e.g., S. Kobielius, *Bestiarium chrześcijańskie. Zwierzęta w symbolice i interpretacji. Starożytność i średniowiecze*, Warszawa 2002, pp. 215-217.

57 Ebo III, 11.

58 The Rani (Rugians) were considered as such until the fall of Arkona (1168), see footnote 59 and fig. 6. In Otto’s hagiography it is confirmed by their (unsuccessful) expedition to Szczecin to avenge the severance of the alliance for reasons of adherence to paganism and to punish the town for its conversion to Christianity, cf. Ebo III, 23; Herbord III, 30-31.

59 *Helmoldi presbyteri Bozoviensis Cronica Slavorum*, ed. B. Schmeidler, MGH *Scriptores rerum Germanicarum in usum scholarum*, Hannover 1937 [further: Helmold], I, 52: “Inter multiformia autem Slavorum numina prepollet Zuantevith, deus terrae Rugianorum, utpote efficacior in responsis, cuius intuitu ceteros quasi semideos estimabant”; II, 108: “simulachrum illud antiquissimum Zuantevith, quod colebatur ab omni natione Slavorum”; cf. S. Rosik, *The Slavic Religion...*, pp. 273ff., 322f., 356ff.

60 According to Ebo (II, 1), this pagan community that included the Pomeranians also included “Prussian brothers”.

rule. He stressed that Otto set off on his second expedition to combat this *regnum diaboli*.⁶¹ Following this line of thinking in interpreting space, Pomerania acquired the name of Satan's "atrium", which he lost when Christ's rule was proclaimed there during the first mission of the bishop from Bamberg.⁶²

In his description of Otto's mission, Herbord's horizon of "mystical geography" is narrower than that of Ebo. In his account of the episode from Gützkow, he did not repeat the theme of the demons escaping to Rügen, but instead told of Otto's sermon, which included an extensive lecture on ecclesiology. In the description of Otto's travels featured in Herbord's *Dialogue*, this episode crowns the process of building a new ecclesiastical community, called Otto's "bride", i.e., Pomerania.⁶³ Its main centres, even when we agree that the lands which Ebo named as those belonging to *gens Uznoim* lay within its borders, were still Wolin – as the seat of the bishopric⁶⁴ – and of course Szczecin as the metropolis of the whole country.⁶⁵

Our Triglav worshipped in Szczecin was unanimously presented as the Pomeranians' most important deity – thus, not only by Herbord but also by the monk from Prüfening and Ebo. In their narrations the Pomeranians constituted one people (*gens*), who the Gospel was addressed to from the dawn of Christianity.⁶⁶ It is thus a case of incorporating the history of *gens Pomeranorum* in the common memory of the past binding together the space of "cultural" Europe in the Middle Ages.⁶⁷ This is one of the dimensions of the complex process of adopting yet another community of the so called barbarians by the community of *Christianitas*, comprising the equally significant social and political transformations within which Pomerania had formed in its geographical and social scope in the 10th-12th centuries.

61 Ebo III, 7.

62 Ebo II, 14.

63 Herbord III, 1. The "bride" (*sponsa*) in this context is a metaphorical reference to the symbolism of the Church as the "Bride of Christ"; cf. S. Rosik, *Conversio...*, pp. 390f., 517f.

64 Herbord II, 37. The hagiographer stresses the location of Wolin in the centre of *Pomerania* (including also some of the lands of the Lutici).

65 Herbord II, 5.

66 Cf. e.g., Ebo II, 1: "Igitur senescente iam mundo et die seculi advesperascente, cum divine pietatis dignatio Pomeranos eatenus paganitatis errore depressos, splendore fidei illuminare decrevisset, iuxta quod scriptum est: In omnes gentes primum oportet predicari euangelium, idoneum eis verbi ministrum scilicet pium Ottonem episcopum destinavit". For more about the issue: S. Rosik, *Conversio...*, pp. 532ff.

67 In this case the legendary Roman themes present in Pomerania's past were also important. About the significance of this common legendary memory in creating the cultural community of the West in the Middle Ages cf. e.g., H. Samsonowicz, *Zagajenie*, in: *Słowiańszczyzna w tworzeniu Europy (X–XII/XIV w.). Pytania o strategię badań: europeizacja a przełom cywilizacyjny*, ed. S. Rosik, Wrocław 2008, pp. 17f.

* * *

Etymologically, the name Pomerania (Polish: Pomorze) means a relatively narrow strip of land directly adjoining the sea,⁶⁸ and in this meaning was it used in various Slavic lands. However, in the 11th century its meaning was extended to denote a vast country neighbouring Poland across the forests and bogs on the Noteć and Prussia in the east – reaching the lands on the lower Vistula.⁶⁹ As early as the 1070s Adam of Bremen pointed out that the Odra river constituted the western border of Pomerania, separating it from the Lutici.⁷⁰ Yet, in this case it would be hard to recognize the river itself as a demarcation line; for it was an area situated on the river and in its estuary that formed a borderland between two zones inhabited by tribal communities, where Pomerania turns out to be younger than the Lutici mentioned in the sources as early as in the 980s.

The oldest evidence of the Pomeranians' existence is an entry in *Annales Altahenses maiores* for the year 1046 mentioning that their duke Zemuzil attended the emperor's convention in Merseburg.⁷¹ The hypothetical territorial extent of his rule is still under debate because Pomerania within the borders mentioned above was not at that time a politically unified country, but rather a zone inhabited by many tribal entities confronting the expansion of their neighbours, primarily Poland from as early as the 10th century.⁷² Indeed, this culminated in their submission to Poland. And it is with the time of the subordination of these lands to the first Piasts, and then with the abolition of this dependence in the first half of the 11th century, that Pomerania was formed as a zone that was not only coastal, but reached nearly two hundred kilometers inland.

Pomerania was perceived by its neighbours primarily as an area of their expansion and as a target of missionary activity. When the efforts were being made to incorporate it into the Christian realm, it was defined as *gens Pome-*

68 In this case there was no clear-cut distinction between a sea and a lake, cf. J. Rosik, S. Rosik, *Morze czy... „Morzyc”? Na tropie dawnych pojęć warunkujących ogląd wód (w kręgu przekazów o nadbałtyckiej Słowiańszczyźnie z XI i XII wieku)*, in: *Populi terrae marisque. Prace poświęcone pamięci Profesora Lecha Leciejewicza*, ed. M. Rębkowski, S. Rosik, Wrocław 2011, pp. 139-144.

69 E.g., J.M. Piskorski, *Pomorze plemienne...*, pp. 18-29; G. Labuda, *Historia Kaszubów...*, pp. 38f.; P. Migdański, *Excursus: the Polish-Pomeranian border in the 12th century*, in: *Europe reaches the Baltic...*, pp. 535-540. More about this subject see below, footnote 74.

70 *Magistri Adam Bremensis Gesta Hammnaburgensis Ecclesiae Pontificum*, ed. B. Schmeidler, MGH *Scriptores rerum Germanicarum in usum scholarum*, Hannoverae-Lipsiae 1917 [further: Adam] II, schol. 14; III, 22.

71 *Annales Altahenses maiores*, ed. L. Giesebrecht, L.B. Oefele, MGH *Scriptores rerum Germanicarum in usum scholarum*, Hannoverae 1891, under the year 1046, p. 41.

72 See e.g., E. Rymar, *Rodowód książąt pomorskich*, vol. I, Szczecin 1995, p. 83; J.M. Piskorski, *Pomorze plemienne...*, pp. 30ff., esp. 58ff.; G. Labuda, *Historia Kaszubów...*, pp. 79, 86-88.

ranorum.⁷³ Nevertheless, at that time local communities, and especially their elites, identified themselves – at least in part – with the Pomeranian element,⁷⁴ and this relatively new identity was becoming a factor in Pomerania's participation (especially that of its elites) in forming a community of communication with their Christian neighbours, lasting at least from the times of their submission to the monarchy of the first Piasts in the 10th-11th centuries. It is thus hardly surprising that the western-Pomeranian duchy was identified as a Pomeranian one at the time of Otto's missions. What is more intriguing, however, is when Szczecin – unanimously presented by Otto's hagiographers as Pomerania's metropolis – became a part.⁷⁵

It is possible that, from as early as the times of the first Piasts, Szczecin may have been considered part of Pomerania because it was situated in the zone of their expansion neighbouring Greater Poland. But it is not certain whether Szczecin was not controlled by the Elbslavs – members of the Lutician federation.⁷⁶ Otto of Bamberg himself wrote in the report of his first mission that he had been active in the lands of the Pomeranians, including a few towns of the Lutici, listing among others Wolin, Szczecin, Lubin and "Grodziec" (*Gresch*), i.e., the centres on the lower Odra and in its estuary.⁷⁷ Which of them did he recognize as belonging to the Lutici? Maybe all? The issue remains unresolved, but one way or another we need to stress that Szczecin at that time maintained close cultural connections with the Lutici, especially in the sphere of religious worship, which is substantiated by roofed temples, multiheaded idols, and the great role played by hippomancy in divination.⁷⁸

Similarly as in Radogoszcz or Arkona, in Szczecin, too, the assemblies gathered at the temple, while the developed system of religious worship bound the whole community together, at the same time ensuring its

73 S. Rosik, *Conversio...*, pp. 57-68.

74 It may even have been a legacy of the subordination of these lands to the first Piasts, see e.g., G. Renn, *Die Bedeutung des Namens „Pommern“ und die Bezeichnungen für das heutige Pommern in der Geschichte*, Greifswald 1937, pp. 11-14; L. Leciejewicz, *U źródeł konfliktu Pomorzan z państwem Piastów w X-XI wieku*, "Archaeologia Historica Polona" VIII (2000), p. 39.

75 According to Herbord (II, 5), at the final stages of the Polish conquests ca 1120, Bolesław III the Wrymouth's victorious army captured the besieged Szczecin. It is quite possible that it was only then that the control of the town was transferred to the western-Pomeranian duke, Wartisław I, as the Polish ruler's subject, which supports the hypothesis that the western-Pomeranian duchy originated on the Parsęta (cf. lately, e.g., M. Rębkowski, *Jak powstało Pomorze? Studium tworzenia państwowości we wczesnym średniowieczu*, Warszawa 2020); however, it is also possible that the impulse for its formation came from lands in the Odra estuary.

76 For example the Ukrani (discussion cf. J.M. Piskorski, *Pomorze plemienne...*, pp. 93f., 157f.).

77 Ekkehard of Aura, under the year 1125, pp. 264: "...Pyriz, Stetin, Vulin, Gamen, Colbrech, Belgrado, Lubin, Gresch" ("...Pyrzyce, Szczecin, Wolin, Kamień, Kołobrzeg, Białogard, Lubin, >>Grodziec<<"). Cf. above footnote 5.

78 Archaeological findings in Pomerania also confirm the cult significance of the horse, cf. e.g., fig. 4.

supralocal political significance. Yet in the case of Szczecin it would be hard to perceive it as a federation emulating the Lutician model with Radogoszcz/Rethra as its core, which probably disintegrated as early as the 1060s.⁷⁹ The Rani, who replaced them – subsequently becoming the leaders among the Elbslavs – failed to form a similar organization; their political status depended on their military power and the fame of the temple in Arkona, where gifts and requests for oracles were said to come from “all over” (pagan) Slavdom.⁸⁰ Szczecin, possibly situated within the sphere of their influence, never stopped building its own importance (similarly as Arkona⁸¹), which was substantially aided by its economic and population potential.

Szczecin as an urban centre perfectly exemplifies the evolution of the world of Slavic tribes on the Baltic. As early as the 9th-10th centuries, Wolin – sometimes recognized as a merchant republic⁸² – opted for this way of development. But in the second half of the 11th century it was outdistanced by Szczecin. At the time of Otto’s missions there were ducal residences in both centres, but they were not strongholds like Kamień, i.e., ducal seats in the literal sense (*castrum ducis*). Thus, in Szczecin and Wolin the superior authority had to take into account the power of the local population, especially that of the assembly.

The formation of these towns represented one of the variants of internal consolidation of tribal communities in the Elbslavs’ zone and on the lower Odra at the time of pressure from Christian neighbours. Hence, the centralization of power by the assembly and the temple as well as worship of a selected deity as the community’s main patron were of key significance. This process was part of a broader phenomenon of the evolution of the Elbslavs’ religion in the 10th-12th centuries, which aimed at developing the worship of the deities/patrons of particular tribes,⁸³ which is exemplified by the appearance of Radogost

79 A symptom of the crisis of the Lutici federation was the civil war in 1057-1058 (cf. Adam III, 22; Helmold I, 21; for more information on these events see e.g., P. Babij, *Wojskowość Słowian Połabskich*, vol. I, Wrocławskie Studia z Historii Wojskowości, V, Wrocław 2017, pp. 154ff.), and finally the capture of Rethra and its burning by Burchard, the bishop of Halberstadt (1068), cf. *Annales Augustani*, ed. G.H. Pertz, MGH Scriptorum, III, Hannover 1839, under the year 1068, p. 128.

80 Helmold I, 52 (“de omnibus Slavorum provinciis”). See also above footnote 59.

81 See above, footnote 58.

82 See e.g., L. Leciejewicz, *Sporne problemy genezy niezależności politycznej miast przy ujściu Odry we wczesnym średniowieczu*, [w:] *Ars historica. Prace z dziejów powszechnych i Polski*, ed. M. Biskup et al., Poznań 1976, pp. 295-309. Novgorod in Rus’ (among others) is pointed out as an analogy.

83 Helmold of Bosau confirms that this development in the worship of tribal patrons in Polabia was also present in the Obodrite-Wagri lands (cf. Helmold I, 52 and 84). However, it is possible that the chronicler oversimplified the picture of the Slavic pantheon to unify its elements in one system comprising the whole of Slavdom – discussion cf. S. Rosik, *Slavia universa? O współczesnym oglądzie kultury duchowej Słowian i jego mitologizacji (w nawiązaniu do eseistyki Marii Janion)*, “Przegląd Humanistyczny” LIII (2009) 4, pp. 1-17; idem, *The Slavic Religion...*, pp. 376ff., 383f.

(the name is probably a local byname for Svarožic) worshipped in Rethra among the Redari – the leaders of the Lutici.⁸⁴

It is possible that also in Rethra, and certainly in Arkona and Szczecin, the official worship had been monopolized by one supreme deity. This by no means meant that the worshippers negated the divine nature of other deities, and thus it would be impossible to conclude that a kind of Slavic monotheism had evolved.⁸⁵ A more precise term describing the phenomenon would be monolatry, i.e., selecting one of many deities to be worshipped. The phenomenon – known since antiquity with the classic example of Judaism – is recognized as a preliminary stage on the way to monotheism.

Indeed, we may seek analogies of this phenomenon in the development of Polabian-Pomeranian cults, especially when we take into consideration the fact that deities like Svantevit or Triglav were attributed with universal competences,⁸⁶ which hindered the development of worship of other figures from the Slavic pantheon. The status of a community's deity-patron in its public life equalled that of God in Christian societies. Thus, this direction in the development of religion of Baltic Slavs may be interpreted as an attempt of those responsible for the worship, especially priests, to provide the tribal communities with supernatural support, following the example of Christianity.

The combination of religion with politics resulted in the emergence of a profoundly theocratic system of governance (or hierocratic, considering the role played by the temple and priests). The Lutici, the Rani, and Szczecin are examples of communities consolidating around the assembly and the temple. In this way, the worship of Triglav turns out to be the key factor determining the collective identity of the community living in the town and in its vicinity. Controlling a community functioning in such a way was a challenge for the western-Pomeranian ducal authority. As a separate entity, the community's potential for consolidating with the emerging state structures was limited by the local social and political system. In this situation, Christianization might significantly contribute to its closer integration with the duchy's structures, but from the point of view of the inhabitants of Szczecin it constituted not only a revolutionary change in their social and

84 Scholars stress the connection between the theonym Radogost (Redigast), the toponyms Radogošć and Rethra, and the ethnonym Redari (Redars). More about the subject cf. e.g., S. Urbańczyk, *Dawni Słowianie. Wiara i kult*, Wrocław-Warszawa-Kraków 1991, p. 188; A. Gieysztor, *Mitologia Słowian*, Warszawa 2006, p. 169; J. Strzelczyk, *Radogoszcz*, in: *Słownik starożytności słowiańskich*, vol. IV, part 2, ed. G. Labuda, Z. Stieber, Wrocław-Warszawa-Kraków 1972, p. 450f.

85 So, e.g., V. Procházka, *Organisace kultu a kmenove zřizeni polabsko-pobaltských slovanů*, in: *Vznik a počatki slovanů*, II, Praha 1958, p. 155; Z. Váňa, *Svět slovanských bohů a démonů*, Praha 1990, p. 49.

86 See below, footnote 98.

religious life, but also a real limitation of their community's political significance in the domestic and foreign arena.

Thus the worship of Triglav proved to be a significant factor in the competition for control over the communities living on the lower Odra and its estuary. Recognizing the inhabitants of Szczecin as Pomeranians had also become a – *de facto* local – determinant of their identity as pagans. Yet the fact remains that this worship formed in the sphere of long-ranging cultural interactions, ones also reaching far beyond Slavic lands.

* * *

The polycephaly of Slavic cult statues is relatively well substantiated in medieval written sources – apart from Otto of Bamberg's hagiographers, it was mentioned by Helmold of Bosau,⁸⁷ Saxo Grammaticus,⁸⁸ and Henricus of Antwerp.⁸⁹ This written evidence is confirmed by archaeological finds, including the four-faced figurine of Sviatovid dated to the 9th century (cf. fig. 2-3), discovered in Wolin.⁹⁰ These objects are characteristic of the zone of Viking penetration in the early Middle Ages,⁹¹ even though polycephaly itself had been a universal motif in many cultures since antiquity.⁹² Therefore in the context of Triglav, it is of key significance to reflect on its importance in narrower temporal and territorial scopes, i.e., the changes taking place in the realm of beliefs and worship of Baltic Slavs in the 11th and 12th centuries.

Evidence of these beliefs was the emergence of relatively new theonyms, especially those ending in suffix -vit, such as Svantevit Rugievit, Yarovit, and others, like Radogost. The etymology of these names – contrary to the more ancient ones (e.g., Svarog) – can be easily explained in the context

⁸⁷ In his general characteristic of Slavs' idolatry, cf. Helmold I, 84.

⁸⁸ In reference to the Rani cf. Saxo Grammaticus, *Gesta Danorum / The History of the Danes*, vol. I, ed. K. Friis-Jensen, transl. P. Fisher, Oxford 2015, XIV, 39, 38-41; cf. e.g., L.P. Stupecki, *Slavonic Pagan Sanctuaries...*, pp. 24-50; J. Banaszekiewicz, *Pan Rugii – Rugievit i jego towarzysze z Gardźca: Porewit i Porenut (Saxo Grammatyk, Gesta Danorum, XIV, 39, 38 – 41)*, in: *Słowiańszczyzna w Europie średniowiecznej*, vol. I, ed. Z. Kurnatowska, Wrocław 1996, pp. 75-82; A.L. Miś, *Przedchrześcijańska religia Rugian, "Slavia Antiqua" XXXVIII (1997)*, pp. 105-149.

⁸⁹ *Henrici de Antwerpae Tractatus de captione urbis Brandenburgensis*, ed. O. Holder-Egger, in: MGH, *Scriptores*, XXV, Hannoverae 1880, p. 482; cf. *Excerptum chronice principum Saxonie*, ed. O. Holder-Egger, in: *ibidem*, pp. 480f.; *Chronicae episcopatus Brandenburgensis fragmenta*, ed. O. Holder-Egger, in: *ibidem*, pp. 484f.

⁹⁰ Sometimes identified with Svantevit, cf. J. Strzelczyk, *Mity, podania i wierzenia dawnych Słowian*, Poznań 2007, p. 204.

⁹¹ See esp. J.P. Lamm, *On the cult of multiple-headed gods in England and in the Baltic area*, "Przegląd Archeologiczny" XXXIV (1987), pp. 219-231.

⁹² See e.g., R. Pettazzoni, *L'onnicienza di Dio*, Torino 1955, *passim*.

of Slavic languages.⁹³ Triglav, the deity "of three heads", constitutes a similar case; it can be associated with the three-peaked mythical mountain, which was believed to have emerged from the primeval ocean, giving birth to the pan-cosmic entity comprising three spheres: heavenly, earthly, and the underworld. It is no coincidence that the name has been associated with the highest mountain in Slavic lands – namely, Triglav in the Julian Alps (Slovenia).⁹⁴

Otto's hagiographers also emphasize that Szczecin was situated on hills,⁹⁵ of which the highest was dedicated to Triglav. It is thus a premise for associating Triglav with the idea of the beginnings of the oecumene, its foundation and continuing existence, which well corresponds with the explanation of the symbolism of the statue offered – according to Ebo – by pagan priests: he has three heads because he rules three kingdoms – heaven, earth, and the inferno.⁹⁶ He is thus an omnipotent being, whose close analogy is Svantevit (the universality of his power is translated with the symbolism of four, reflecting the four dimensions of the cosmos). The name means "Saint Lord" ("svent" – saint + "vit" – lord, ruler), while the sanctity has the dimension of supernatural power.⁹⁷ In both cases, i.e., Szczecin and Rügen, polycephaly represents the idea of divine omnipotence, which well corresponds with the interpretation of the polycephalic divine representation as omniscience.⁹⁸

In this context Ebo's intriguing information about Triglav is worth noting; he claimed that the eyes of the idol's heads were covered with a gold *cidaris* (head-

93 See e.g., H. Łowmiański, *Religia Słowian i jej upadek (w. VI–XII)*, Warszawa 1979, p. 193; S. Urbańczyk, *Dawni Słowianie...*, p. 109.

94 A. Gieysztor, *Mitologia...*, pp. 152f., 163f.

95 Ebo sometimes mentions three (Ebo III, 1) and sometimes four hills (*ibidem*, II, 9) in the town.

96 *Ibidem*, III, 1: "...summo paganorum deo Trigelawo dicatus, tricapitum habebat simulacrum, [...] asserentibus idolorum sacerdotibus ideo summum deum tria habere capita, quoniam tria procuraret regna, id est celi, terre et inferni..."

97 The name Yarovit has a similar meaning as a combination of "jar(o)" – strong, powerful – and "vit" – lord, cf. e.g., S. Urbańczyk, *Dawni Słowianie...*, p. 181; J. Strzelczyk, *Mity, podania...*, pp. 84f.

98 The idea of omniscience in this case refers to omni-seeing (looking in all directions) – for the classic discussion of the issue see: R. Pettazzoni, *L'onniscienza di Dio...*, *passim*; see also e.g., S. Brather, *Mehrköpfige Gottheit*, in: *Reallexikon der germanischen Altertumskunde*, vol. XIX, Berlin-New York 2001, pp. 500-505. This multitude of faces was also explained as, e.g., a symbol of the deity's many competences, but it seems that the universal symbolism of numbers is more justified: four, three or even seven (as in the case of Rugievit worshipped in Rügen and his five-faced companions). For a more extensive discussion on the symbolism of the Slavic idols' polycephalism see S. Rosik, *Udział chrześcijaństwa w powstaniu policefalnych posągów kultowych u Słowian zachodnich*, *Prace Historyczne*, XVII, Wrocław 1995, pp. 58-63; *idem*, *The Slavic Religion...*, pp. 342ff.

band, diadem?),⁹⁹ which rendered him blind to human sins. This explanation seems an obvious instance of *interpretatio Christiana*,¹⁰⁰ but the very fact of covering the eyes – even though we still need to bear in mind the hagiographer's *licentia poetica* – suggests certain mythological associations. On the one hand it emphasizes the deity's extraordinary sanctity, whose blindness in a sense isolates him from human affairs and enables focusing on heavenly matters.¹⁰¹ But on the other it refers to the hypothesis of Triglav's chthonic genesis, i.e., subterranean darkness where he was believed to have originally existed.

Three-headedness does sometimes concern mythical subterranean creatures,¹⁰² while the colour of Triglav's heads – silver according to *Vita Prießlingensis* – has lunar, nocturnal connotations, ones close to chthonic.¹⁰³ Similarly, the colour of Triglav's horse used in divination was black.¹⁰⁴ An aquatic equivalent of the chthonic sphere in mythologies is the waters of the marine element, which in Triglav's case explicitly refers not only to the myth of the cosmic mountain in the primeval ocean, but also to his rule over the sea, so important in the existence of the residents of Szczecin. As far as details are concerned, these few mythological associations connected with Triglav remain within the sphere of speculation, which means it is difficult to verify in scholarly debate. Yet with a high degree of probability we may adopt the view that the chthonic sphere – also due to its ties with divination¹⁰⁵ – played a significant role in the deity's worship.

On the other hand, however, the fact remains that Triglav's worship also displays a solar element seen in the *cidaris* – made of gold – wrapped around his head. According to Ebo, gold was used to make a figure of Triglav, a special object of priestly worship, which they hid away from Otto outside the "province" of Szczecin.¹⁰⁶ In the case of both statues, gold constitutes a motif which

99 Triglav "...tricapitum habebat simulacrum, quod aurea cidari oculos et labia contegebant..." (cf. Ebo III, 1).

100 Which is substantiated by the fact that the category of sin was alien to the pre-Christian Slavs, similarly as to the followers of other vernacular religions, cf. e.g. B. Meriggi, *Die Anfänge des Christentums bei den Baltischen Slaven*, "Annales Instituti Slavici" VI (1969-1970): *Das heidnische und christliche Slawentum*, vol. II, Wiesbaden 1970, p. 49; H. Łowmiański, *Religia Słowian...*, p. 235.

101 The reference point here could be the "god of gods" mentioned by Helmold (I, 84), who was only concerned with heavenly matters.

102 More about the subject cf. e.g., A. Gieysztor, *Mitologia...*, pp. 151ff., esp. 155.

103 E.g., S. Kulišić, *Stara Slovenska religija u svetlu novijih istraživanja posebno balkanoloških*, Sarajevo 1979, pp. 40f., 185-187.

104 Herbord II, 33. It is worth mentioning that as a part of eradicating pagan worship the horse was sold abroad to become a carthorse.

105 L.P. Słupecki, *Wyrocznie i wróżby pogańskich Skandynawów*, Warszawa 1998, pp. 144f.

106 According to Ebo (II, 13) Otto gave an order to destroy the gold figure after it was found by his companion, Herman. He gained access to it, pretending that he wanted to make an offering for saving his life at sea, which – incidentally – proves that Triglav (at least according to Ebo) was the lord of the marine element.

well corresponds with elevating the deity to the peak of the pantheon; in a wider comparative perspective it represents a tendency to consolidate rule over society reflected in mythology.¹⁰⁷ It is a process characteristic of Polabian communities struggling with the pressure from Christian monarchies,¹⁰⁸ which in the mythical sphere promoted the idea of theocracy (Triglav as a mystical ruler of the people) and the tendency to develop the monolatry mentioned above. It is quite possible that this was the direction in the evolution of the worship of the Lutici in Rethra and – certainly so – those of the Rani in Szczecin and – if Henricus of Antwerp is to be believed – in Brenna/Brandenburg, where Triglav was said to have been worshipped, too.¹⁰⁹

Triglav's rule over heaven, earth, and the subterranean sphere constitutes an antithesis of Christ's pan-cosmic rule.¹¹⁰ The power of hierophany, the effectiveness of the oracle, was to convince the believers of sufficient support in confrontation with enemies, and to provide welfare and security. However, it failed to prove itself in the military confrontation of ca 1120, when Szczecin was conquered by Bolesław III the Wrymouth's army. The obligation of conversion imposed on the defeated was tantamount to recognizing the worship of the God of Christians in the public sphere, even though the cult had earlier spread in Pomerania and even in Szczecin.¹¹¹ It was actually then that syncretism began, which – however – was not acceptable in the public sphere. Half a century earlier Adam of Bremen wrote about the same phenomenon developing in *Iumne* in the Odra estuary¹¹² – most probably Wolin.¹¹³

* * *

During the process of their Christianization, the Elbslavs began to perceive the God of the Christians as ethnically alien, which is aptly rendered

107 M. Eliade, *Traktat o historii religii*, transl. J. Wierusz-Kowalski, Łódź 2¹⁹⁹³, pp. 127f.

108 For more about this issue see: A. Gieysztor, *Mitologia...*, pp. 104f.; S. Rosik, *Awans Słońca w mitologii przedchrześcijańskich Słowian*, in: *Człowiek, sacrum, środowisko. Miejsca kultu we wczesnym średniowieczu*, ed. S. Moździoch, Wrocław 2000, pp. 55.

109 Cf. footnote 89.

110 Cf. Phil 2, 10. Here we may add the covering of the eyes to hide away people's sins, cf. Ebo III, 1: "...et faciem cidari operire pro eo quod peccata hominum, quasi non videns et tacens, dissimularet".

111 See e.g., Vita Prieflingensis II, 3 and 9; Ebo II, 8 and 9; Herbord II, 11, 26 and 28. For more examples and a broader discussion of the issue see S. Rosik, *Conversio...*, pp. 126-133.

112 Adam II, 22: "Nam et advenae Saxones parem cohabitandi legem acceperunt, si tamen christianitatis titulum ibi morantes non publicaverint". For broader analysis of the passage about *Iumne* see S. Rosik, *The Slavic Religion...*, pp. 226ff.

113 For a discussion of 20th-century scholars' discussions of this issue, see e.g.: J.M. Piskorski, *Pomorze plemienne...*, pp. 90f.; P. Migdalski, *Poland and Pomerania – from Slavic tribes to diverging Road: tracing historiographic narratives*, in: *Europe reaches the Baltic...*, pp. 63f.

by the phrase the “God of the Germans” (*Teutonicus Deus*). According to Ebo, the inhabitants of Szczecin resorted to this notion at the time when they were practicing syncretism.¹¹⁴ Admittedly, it should be taken into account that the author merely perpetuated the opinion about the Slavs, widely-held in German circles. Whatever the case, in this way he highlighted the fact that the former considered Christ to be one of many gods – patrons of individual tribal communities.¹¹⁵ Here the worldview of the converted “barbarians” clearly diverged from the idea propagated by the missionaries that pagan gods – sometimes seen as nothing else but mere material artefacts – did not really exist. Therefore, the very destruction of idols and eradication of their worship – part and parcel of missionary procedures (i.e., *abrenuntiatio diaboli*) – aimed at persuading the pagans that their gods were helpless or even did not exist.

Scholars sometimes claim that the worshippers of pagan gods witnessing the scenes of eradicating idolatry, described by contemporary authors, perceived them as acts of deicide, believing the catastrophe would plunge the world into chaos and nihilism due to the annihilation of the order guaranteed by the interplay of the supernatural powers personified by gods.¹¹⁶ Naturally, it is quite possible that certain individuals did experience such psychological effects, but the conviction that this was the emotional response of the whole of the converted community – especially its elites – is not convincingly confirmed by contemporary sources, and is even contradicted by them.

Firstly, the very act of destroying a statue was not tantamount to the death of the deity, which is substantiated by the return of the worship of Triglav in Szczecin. Secondly, even if sometimes the act had been interpreted in such a way, Indo-European mythologies feature the motif of deicide, even involving the end of the world, but in the context of passing away of the old reality replaced by a new one, as exemplified by Rangarök.¹¹⁷ The idea of a metaphysical void in heaven – as it was defined by Martin Heidegger in his deliberations about Friedrich Nietzsche’s words “Gott ist tot”¹¹⁸ – in relation to the worldview and mindset of “barbarians” must be rejected. It would be more appropriate to talk about redefining the pantheon, which in the case of Pomerania involved the recognition of the God of the Christians as a fig-

114 Ebo III, 1.

115 For further study of this phenomenon constituting a kind of *interpretatio Slavica* of the God of Christians, cf. e.g., H.-D. Kahl, *Heidnisches Wendentum...*, pp. 88-95; H. Łowmiański, *Religia Słowian...*, p. 193; Ch. Lübke, *Zwischen Triglav und Christus. Die Anfänge der Christianisierung des Havellandes*, “Wichmann-Jahrbuch des Diözesangeschichtsvereins Berlin” NF, III (1994-1995), pp. 15-35; S. Rosik, *Conversio...*, pp. 362-367.

116 See esp. K. Modzelewski, *Barbarzyńska Europa...*, pp. 427ff.; M. Janion, *Niesamowita Słowiańszczyzna. Fantazmaty literatury*, Warszawa 2007.

117 See e.g., L.P. Słupecki, *Mitologia skandynawska w epoce wikingów*, Kraków 2003.

118 See M. Heidegger, *Drogi lasu*, transl. J. Gierasimiuk et al., Warszawa 1997, pp. 171-216.

ure deserving worship and subsequently formalizing the dual faith that emerged during the pagan reaction.

The pretext for syncretism – if we follow the scenario handed down to us by St Otto's hagiographers – was a natural disaster: a plague among both humans and cattle, considered to be the revenge of the abandoned native gods, of which people were effectively convinced by pagan priests.¹¹⁹ Yet when one of them – after partial destruction of St Wojciech's church in the town centre by the outraged crowd – attempted to smash Christ's altar with an axe, his body suddenly froze. Shocked, he professed (dual) faith, announcing that "the God of the Germans" was powerful and should be worshipped together with Triglav.¹²⁰ This miracle, typical of a hagiography, was to prove that the Pomeranians had no choice but to recognize Christ's power and that Otto's missionary achievement did not fail entirely.

From the mythological (theological) perspective this is a case of the parallel worship of deities of converging competences and thus it would seem natural that they should become one,¹²¹ following the scope of *interpretatio Slavica*, e.g., the "Black God" (*deus niger*, "Zcerneboch") mentioned by Helmold and worshipped by the Elbslavs, equated with the Devil ("Diabol").¹²² Yet, the emergence of this tendency was prevented by the particular circumstances of introducing Christianity in Pomerania. On the one hand, the missionaries emphasized the difference between Christ and pagan gods (in whose case the possible option was their diabolization¹²³). On the other hand, the Baltic

119 Vita Prieflingensis III, 5; Ebo III, 1; Herbord III, 16.

120 Ebo III, 1: "Ille [pagan priest – S.R.] autem arrepta securi, cum alcus dextram librasset, subito dirigit, et resupinus corruens clamore lamentabili dolorem suum protestatus est. Accurrens vulgus causam doloris requirit; at ille graviter ingemiscens: Heu proch dolor! inquit, quante potentie, quante fortitudinis est Teutonicus Deus, et quis resistet ei? Ecce ego, quia sacram eius edem contingere presumpsi, quomodo percussus sum! Illis vero attonitis et quid agerent inquirentibus, pontifex eorum: Edificate, ait, hic domum dei vestri iuxta edem Teutonici Dei, et colite eum pariter cum diis vestris, ne forte indignatus interitum huic loco quantocius inferat". Thus, according to Vita Prieflingensis III, 5, and Herbord III, 16; cf. L.P. Słupecki, *Slavonic Pagan Sanctuaries...*, pp. 72f. For further analysis of sources about this matter cf. S. Rosik, *Conversio...*, pp. 357ff.

121 The phenomenon of equating the pagan highest deity with the Christian God is confirmed in the sources devoted to Lithuania of the 14th century (this view was to have been professed by duke Gedymis in the words addressed to the papal legates in 1324; cf. H. Łowmiański, *Elementy indoeuropejskie w religii Bałtów*, in: *Ars historica...*, pp. 152f.).

122 Helmold I, 52; for a broader discussion of the issue see the recent: S. Rosik, *The Slavic Religion...*, pp. 312-322 (there is also literature on the matter).

123 Nota bene, the attempts made by scholars in the 19th and 20th centuries to interpret Triglav as the Slavic version of the Holy Trinity have no sufficient evidence in the sources; they also do not stand up to criticism from the perspective of religious studies. For more cf. S. Rosik, *Udział...*, passim.

Slavs were already forming tribal identities or identities stemming from tribal origins, focusing on the town, which assumed that they were the people of a specific, unique god in accordance with the tendency toward monolatry mentioned above. Thus, Christians were perceived as a separate people with their “God of the Christians”, i.e., “the God of Germans”.¹²⁴

The fact that his worship appeared in Szczecin as an officially recognized cult revolutionized the identity of the town’s residents. Yet this was not permanent, which is substantiated by the return of worship of Triglav, albeit in a new form, i.e., as an element of syncretism. This enabled pagan priests to respect the fact that at least some of the town’s inhabitants had adopted the worship of Christ and that Szczecin remained under the authority of a Christian monarchy. In this way the introduction of both cults restored the unity of the community and enabled the recognition of Szczecin as a city devoted to Triglav in an already Christian western-Pomeranian duchy. This syncretic religious system was to optimize the supernatural support for the community as a cult addressed to the most effective hierophany. Thus, from the mythological perspective Triglav maintained his power,¹²⁵ but in confrontation with political facts on the ground the power of “the God of Germans” could not be ignored.

This demonstrates that worship and myth were constantly striving to keep up with developments in social life. In this way the mistrust of “the God of the Germans” had been overcome, while the language barrier was no longer a factor in defining the religious community, which is a striking example of the erosion of the worldview formed in tribal times. Interestingly, here syncretism developed following the principle of dualism (Christ – Triglav), i.e., differently than, e.g., in Denmark or Hungary in the 10th century, countries which officially professed syncretism, i.e., where the Christian God was worshipped along with many other gods.¹²⁶ The difference resulted from the evolution of the religious system in Szczecin towards monolatry.

Monolatry itself favoured a mental change which in the long run enabled the introduction of monotheism, yet on a short-term basis – at the time of resisting the expansion of Christian neighbours and the struggle to

124 See above, footnote 115.

125 In light of medieval sources, Triglav, like Svantevit or Yarowit, as a god-ruler had military powers, but also agrarian powers, no less important for the community’s existence. See e.g., S. Urbańczyk, *Dawni Słowianie...*, p. 181; A. Gieysztor, *Mitologia...*, pp. 133ff.; J. Strzelczyk, *Mity, podania...*, pp. 84f.

126 This is mentioned by contemporaries, e.g., Widukind of Corvey (about Denmark) and Thietmar (about Denmark and Hungary); cf. *Widukindi, monachi Corbeiensis, Rerum gestarum Saxoniarum libri tres*, in: *Quellen zur Geschichte der sächsischen Kaiserzeit*, ed. A. Bauer, *Ausgewählte Quellen zur deutschen Geschichte des Mittelalters*, VIII, Darmstadt 1990, III, 65; *Kronika Thietmara*, ed. and transl. M.Z. Jedlicki, Poznań 1953, II, 14; VIII, 4.

win over people's hearts and minds in the 1120s – it hindered the process of Christianization, ultimately contributing to the emergence of officially recognized syncretism in Szczecin. Therefore, the lives of Otto of Bamberg present its eradication as the crowning of the process of grafting Christianity onto the whole country.¹²⁷ There is probably a grain of truth in this due to the significant role which the town played in the duchy and thus during both missions of the Apostle of Pomeranians. According to *Vita Prieflingensis*, the silver-plated heads severed from the statue of Triglav were sent to the Holy See during Otto's stay in Pomerania in 1124-1125 as evidence of the conversion of *gens Pomeranorum*.¹²⁸

IN CONCLUSION:

Our discussion began with the world presented in Otto of Bamberg's hagiography as a significant contribution to the debate about the protagonist in the circles cultivating his memory and ended with the world of ancient Slavs, i.e., the issues of social and religious transformations in Pomerania in the first half of the 12th century. This afforded a closer look at how specifically Christian, especially the literary culture of the Middle Ages interpreted Pomeranians' beliefs and cults. This offers premises for evaluating the usefulness of certain information from Otto's hagiographies in research into the evolution of the religion of Baltic Slavs at the time when attempts were being made to Christianize them. A significant dimension of the changes ultimately leading to the emergence of syncretic forms of religious life, was that of overcoming the mistrust of the Christian God in the social life of the "barbarians". While the process of involving them in creating the civilizational unity of contemporary Europe developed, they finally became members of the community permeated with the memory of Latin civilization, which adopted them owing to the significant contribution of creative interpretation by St Otto of Bamberg's hagiographers.

translated by Bartłomiej Madejski

127 Albeit somewhat surreptitiously, syncretism survived for generations in Pomerania, ultimately affecting the process of the emergence of folk religion within Christian society.

128 *Vita Prieflingensis* II, 12; cf. Herbord II, 32. In fact western Pomerania. Western-Pomeranian dukes held the title of *dux Pomeranorum* even though the country's eastern part situated on the Vistula (later called Pomerelia) was also referred to as Pomerania, which is substantiated in the sources from the 12th century, e.g., the life of St Adalbert called *Tempore illo* – cf. *De sancto Adalberto episcopo*, ed. W. Kętrzyński, in: MPH, IV, Warszawa ²1961, chap. 12, p. 217.

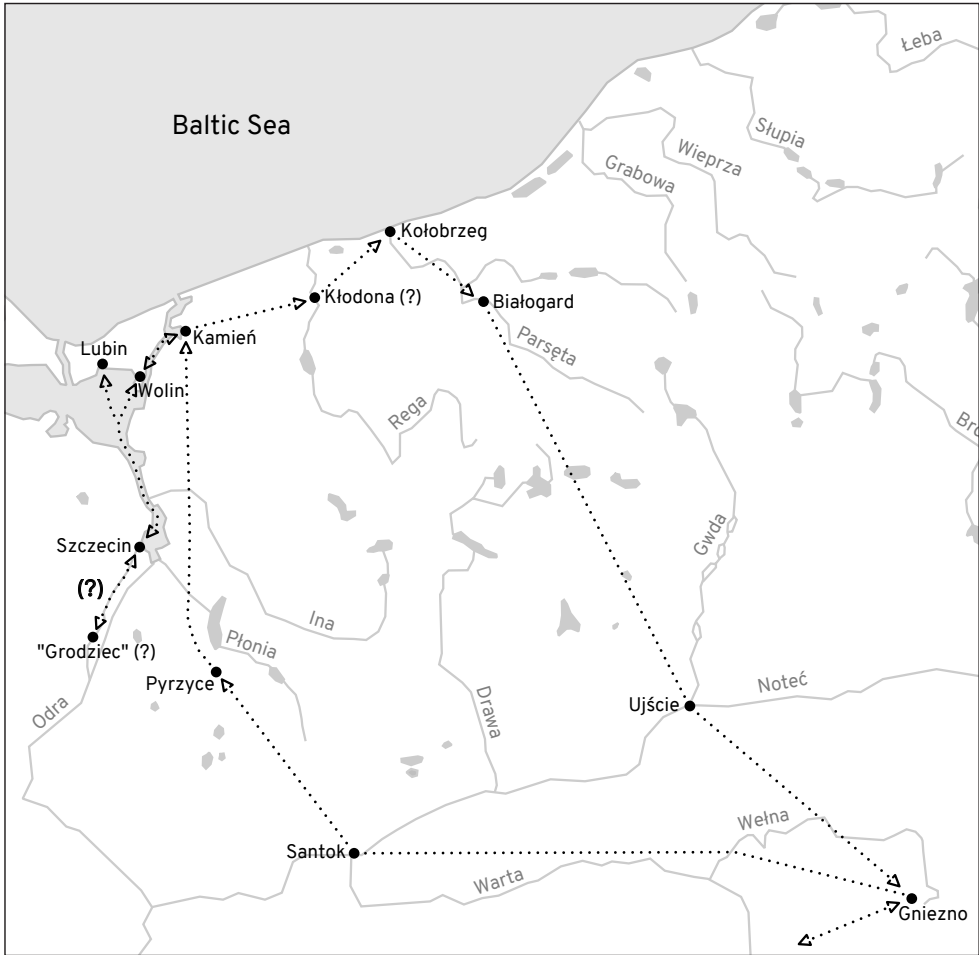
ABSTRACT

In the hagiography of St. Otto of Bamberg, written in the 12th century, great importance is ascribed to the apostasy of the Pomeranians he converted in the years 1124-1125. What thereafter arose in Szczecin (Stettin) was a syncretic cult of the Christian God and the native Triglav, and this was abolished during the second journey of the “Apostle of Pomerania” to the Baltic Sea (1128). The article highlights the telltale interpretation of this syncretic phenomenon in the particular lives of St Otto in order to show the origins of his *memoria* and cult within the context of the debate on the reforms of religious life in German monastic communities. The second matter highlighted is the dynamics of social and religious change observable among the Baltic Slavs at the time of their Christianization on the basis of the above-mentioned sources, as it showed a tendency to “domesticate” the hitherto alien Christian God through a redefinition of the native pantheon.

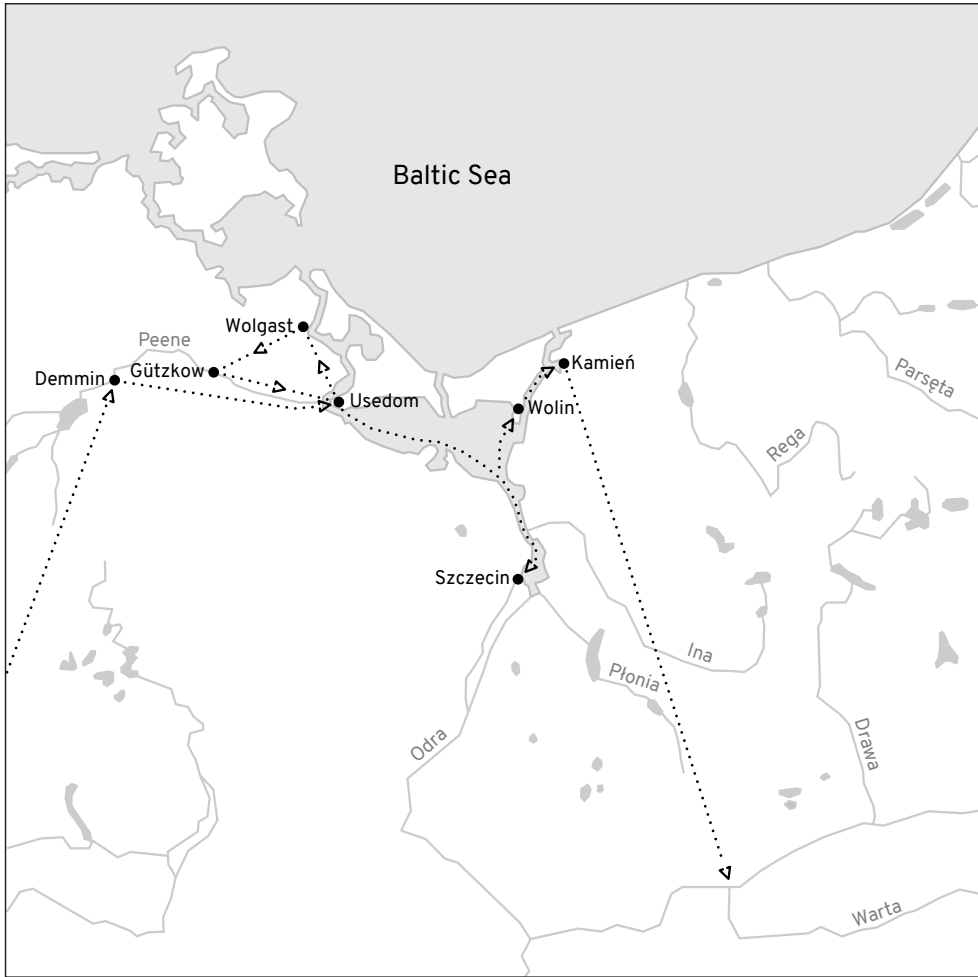
Keywords: St Otto of Bamberg, conversion of Pomerania, Triglav, religion of the Slavs, religious syncretism, “dual faith”



Map 1. Pomerania in the first half of the 12th cent.; author: K. Wachowiak.



Map 2. The itinerary of St Otto of Bamberg in western Pomerania, 1124-1125; author: K. Wachowiak.



Map 3. The itinerary of St Otto of Bamberg in western Pomerania, 1128; author: K. Wachowiak.



Fig. 1. The cemetery adjacent to the Church founded by Bishop Otto of Bamberg. Photo: A. Janowski; after: *Lubin. Early Medieval Stronghold at the Mouth of the Oder River*, ed. M. Rębkowski, Szczecin 2018.



Fig. 2-3. A miniature idol from Wolin, so-called Svia-tovid. Photos: on the left – Institute of Archaeology and Ethnology, Polish Academy of Sciences, Wrocław; on the right: S. Rosik.

Fig. 4. The small bronze figure of a horse from Wolin (11th cent.). Photo: The Regional Andrzej Kaube Museum in Wolin.





Fig. 5. A reconstruction of the Lutician temple in Gross Raden (11th cent.).
Photo: S. Rosik.



Fig 6. The spit of Arkona. Photo: S. Rosik.

ANDRZEJ JANOWSKI
SZCZECIN

DEVELOPMENT OF EARLY MEDIEVAL STRONGHOLDS IN THE REGA BASIN



The Rega is the twenty-fourth longest river in Poland and the longest of nine rivers in Przymorze (Maritime Region), i.e., the rivers that drain into the Baltic Sea between the Vistula and Odra rivers. According to a range of sources, its length varies from 167.8 km to 199 km and together with its tributaries it drains an area of approximately 2,723.3 km².¹ The region has been subject to numerous explorations extending back over two hundred years, first by seekers and antique enthusiasts, later by cartographers who noted such landmarks as kurgans and strongholds, and, as time went by, also by professional explorers and archaeologists. Despite the fact that research has been carried out over a long time, knowledge about the historical past of the Rega basin has until recently been quite modest. Many sites were charted, but only a few were penetrated by means of archaeological excavations, though methodical excavations were not undertaken.² This was mainly due to objective reasons and the limited number of medievalists interested in studying the region in depth, especially considering that excavations in the areas surrounding Kołobrzeg³ and Wolin⁴ were much more appealing and yet to be undertaken. In time, it became clear

1 B. Cedro, *Evolution of the River Rega Valley near Łobez in Late Pleistocene and Early Holocene*, "Geochronometria" XXVIII (2007), pp. 55f.; <https://pl.wikipedia.org/wiki/Rega> [access: 10.01.2020].

2 Cf. A. Janowski, *Stan i perspektywy badań nad wczesnośredniowieczną przeszłością powiatu gryfickiego*, in: *Trzebiatów – Spotkania pomorskie 2008*, ed. J. Kochanowska, Pruszcz Gdański-Trzebiatów 2009, pp. 25-38; A. Janowski, *Stan i perspektywy badań nad okresem wczesnego średniowiecza na terenie powiatu łobeskiego*, in: *Trzebiatów – Spotkania pomorskie 2009*, ed. J. Kochanowska, Pruszcz Gdański-Trzebiatów 2010, pp. 16-28, 305f.; A. Janowski, *Grodziska wczesnośredniowieczne w dorzeczu Regi*, Scripta Historica Europaea, III, Wrocław 2020, pp. 15-39.

3 W. Łosiński, *Początki wczesnośredniowiecznego osadnictwa grodowego w dorzeczu dolnej Parsęty (VII-X/XI w.)*, Wrocław-Warszawa-Kraków-Gdańsk 1972.

4 W. Filipowiak, *Wolinianie. Studium osadnicze, część I. Materiały*, Szczecin 1962.

that the drainage of the Rega river was one of the least archaeologically explored regions of Pomerania.⁵

The project "Poland and Pomerania in shaping European Civilisation from Slavic Tribes until ca. 1200" was to be an attempt to verify the state of affairs and to change the perception of the Rega. Considering the fact that lack of knowledge concerned primarily strongholds – that is, relics of walled settlements which exercised symbolic, military, administrative and treasury functions – emphasis was placed on their exploration. Work was organised in stages and excavations were preceded by thorough library research of archives and cartographic sources as well as the results of LIDAR laser penetration of the surface.⁶ In the course of these undertakings information about over 50 certain and alleged strongholds was collected. Within the framework of the project archaeological excavations were carried out in 34 of them and work included sites which had been known earlier and 7 new or rediscovered ones. Above all, these activities provided for the verification of the timeline of settlements, some of which turned out not to have been early medieval strongholds (cf. fig. 1). In many cases it was possible to support archaeological observations via the results of radiocarbon dating, which considerably increased the probability of their accuracy. Knowledge about the time in which the strongholds were established and the time they existed supported with information about other sites which surrounded them makes possible the attempt to characterise the development of early medieval settlements in the Rega basin.

The timeline of the beginnings of Slavic settlements in Western Pomerania is a thorny issue in the literature on the subject. Previously some scholars had been inclined to date them as early as the 6th century;⁷ today a more common view would be the 7th to 8th centuries⁸ or even the middle of the 8th century.⁹ Moreover, their spatial distribution seems interesting.

5 W. Łosiński, *Osadnictwo plemienne Pomorza (VI-X wiek)*, Wrocław-Warszawa-Kraków-Gdańsk-Lódź 1982, pp. 150f., tab. 19.

6 A. Janowski, G. Kiarzys, *Laser w służbie archeologii. Instruktywny przykład z dorzecza Regi*, in: *Trzebiatów – Spotkania pomorskie 2015*, ed. J. Kochanowska, Trzebiatów 2016, pp. 23-42.

7 A. Porzeziński, *Zasiedlenie Pomorza Zachodniego w VI-VII wieku n.e. w świetle dotychczasowych wyników badań archeologicznych*, "Slavia Antiqua" XXII (1975), pp. 29-64; A. Porzeziński, *Pomorze Zachodnie w okresie wędrówek ludów i w początkach wczesnego średniowiecza*, "Materiały Zachodniopomorskie" NS IV/V (2007/2008), pp. 75-124.

8 W. Łosiński, *Osadnictwo plemienne w dorzeczu Parsęty we wczesnym średniowieczu*, in: W. Łosiński, *Pomorze Zachodnie we wczesnym średniowieczu. Studia archeologiczne*, Poznań 2008, pp. 65-68.

9 Cf. M. Dulnicz, *Kształtowanie się Słowiańszczyzny Północno-Zachodniej*, Warszawa 2001, p. 209; W. Łosiński, *Osadnictwo plemienne w dorzeczu...*, pp. 63-66, here is an overview of the discussions.

In the lower catchment the oldest remains of settlements are located to the west of today's Płoty¹⁰ and to the north of Gryfice.¹¹ The area to the east of the river has been penetrated to a lesser extent, although (paradoxical as it may seem) it was here that two strongholds – in Wicimice and Łabuń Wielki – were built at a distance no further than 4 km from each other in the 8th century. The first one arose among the marshes in the floodplains of the Pniewka, while the latter one arose further south on the bank of the Rekowa river. Relics of their fortifications, whose defence value was a minor one from the contemporary perspective, seem to indicate that a military function might not have been a priority. Perhaps their establishment needs to be considered more in symbolic terms. However, in my opinion few remains of settlements and the lack of a clear centre do not justify considering the lower catchment of the Rega to be an independent settlement unit, as claimed by Władysław Łosiński.¹² The existence of a stronghold in Kocierz at that time cannot be confirmed, whereas the stronghold in Rymań located on the eastern border of the catchment needs to be considered rather in terms of settlement structures that were formed in the Parsęta basin on the Dębosznica river and, together with the stronghold in Gołańcz Pomorska, formed the western border of that settlement cluster (fig. 2-3).

In the case of the middle catchment of the Rega river the situation was similar and initially only a limited area was settled; it was located practically entirely on the western bank of the Rega, between today's Resko and Łobez and to the south-west of Łobez. It was here that strongholds were set up, initially in Resko and Smorawina, and from the early 8th until the end of that century further ones in Cieszyno, Ginawa, Wieleń Pomorski (site 1), Wiewiecko, Zdroje and Zwierzynek. Worth noting is a different location of some of them in comparison to strongholds constructed on the lower course of the river. Structures in Cieszyno, Wieleń Pomorski, and Wiewiecko were constructed on the inlier of the moraine plains. The stronghold in Ginawa was built on the edge of a several-kilometre long tunnel valley which connected to the valley of the Brzeźnicka Węgorza river. Such a location predestined it to the role of a point controlling a ford. Only a settlement in Łobżany (site 1) located on

10 Cf. A. Krzyszowski, *Wyniki badań archeologicznych na inwestycji „Budowa gazociągu wysokociśnieniowego DN 500 relacji Nowogard-Płoty, w woj. zachodniopomorskim”*, Poznań 2007 (typescript in Archive of Voivodeship Conservator of Monuments in Szczecin).

11 A. Krzyszowski, *Sprawozdanie z nadzoru archeologicznego i ratowniczych prac wykopaliskowych na inwestycji „Awaryjna wymiana gazociągu wysokociśnieniowego Płoty-Gorzysław, w woj. zachodniopomorskim”*, Poznań 2004 (typescript in Archive of Voivodeship Conservator of Monuments in Szczecin); A. Krzyszowski, *Grób typu Alt-Käbelich z osady w Otoku, powiat Gryfice*, in: *Świat Słowian wczesnego średniowiecza*, ed. M. Dworaczyk, A.B. Kowalska, S. Moździoch, M. Rębkowski, Szczecin-Wrocław 2006, pp. 481-498.

12 W. Łosiński, *Osadnictwo...*, pp. 45f., 151, fig. 7.

the riverbend of the Rega and a settlement in Starogard Łobeski (possibly located on the site of an earlier settlement) are known from that period.

Initially, the upper catchment of the Rega was the least settled.¹³ Only one site is known in the area which can be dated to the 7th-8th centuries (Zarańsko, site 3), along with a further 16, the beginnings of which might go back to the turn of the 7th or the beginning of the 8th century. These were scattered settlements and the only stronghold was a structure in Słonowice located on the eastern bank of the Stara Rega river, which was probably built on the remains of an old stronghold from the Hallstatt period.

Hence there was little interest in settlement areas on the Rega from the 7th and 8th centuries. Only a few strongholds were scattered over a vast area and there is no indication that any of them might have exercised a commanding role. Settlements were also further away from the main course of the Rega, which could indicate that the river was not a major transport route. In that period the area was more like a 'buffer zone' between the territory of Wolin and the Parsęta basin. Major and clear changes in the settlements occurred in the 9th century, and the acceleration of processes on the Rega aligns with a clear development of a network of settlements across the whole territory of Pomerania.¹⁴ The period was marked by a considerable increase in the size of settlements, sometimes as a result of integrating smaller units into bigger ones. Integration and spatial development are distinctive characteristics for settlements in the 9th century, and this resulted in settling areas which previously had not been colonised.

Settlement expansion can be observed on the lower course of the Rega, in the Gryfice plain¹⁵ (fig. 4). It was then that areas on the eastern bank of the river were settled, i.e., in areas of Lubieszewo there was also expansion of the ecumene to the west and to the north of Gryfice. Contrary to earlier opinions, the remains of settlements in the area of Trzebiatów can hardly be traced. The distribution of settlements in the coastal area is latitudinal and there might well have been evidence of some route joining the Parsęta Basin and the area of Wolin. Finds of Arabic coins in Trzebiatów and Pogorzelica dated to the 830s could also point to the exist-

13 Cf. W. Chudziak, W. Siemianowska, *Zółte settlement centre against the Pomeranian background*, in: *The Island in Zółte on Lake Zarańskie. Early medieval gateway into West Pomerania*, ed. W. Chudziak, R. Kaźmierczak, Toruń-Szczecin 2014, pp. 425-429; W. Chudziak, *Omnēs viāe Albam ducunt. Z badań nad pograniczem pomorsko-wielkopolskim we wczesnym średniowieczu*, "Slavia Antiqua" LIX (2018), p. 213.

14 W. Łosiński, *Osadnictwo plemienne...*; idem, *Dynamika zasiedlenia ziem pomorskich u schyłku doby plemiennej (VI-XI w.)*, in: *Studia z dziejów i kultury zachodniej Słowiańszczyzny*, ed. J. Żak, J. Ostojka-Zagórski, Poznań 1983, pp. 109-112; W. Łosiński, *Zur Besiedlungsdynamik Pommerns in frühen Mittelalter (6.-11. Jh.)*, "Slavia Antiqua" XXXI (1988), pp. 9-11.

15 Cf. W. Łosiński, *Osadnictwo plemienne...*, pp. 45f, fig. 8.

ence of such a route.¹⁶ The issue of settlements in this part of the region can hardly be interpreted in unambiguous terms. Most settlements are clustered in quite a narrow strip, ranging from 2 to 4 km wide along the riverbed of the Rega. To the east of the riverbed, as far as the Parsęta basin, there are no settlements. A strip of sparse settlements also borders the Rega to the west. It cannot be ruled out that the settlements uncovered here were not the result of settlement activity carried out from the areas located on the Rega, but from Wolin and were its eastern outpost. This is argued by the fact that both strongholds, in Wicimice and Łabuń Wielki located to the east of the Rega, were abandoned in that period, just as the stronghold in Rymań located on the eastern periphery of the catchment. Only one stronghold was erected in their stead, in Łęczna, but it was located to the west of the Rega, about 10 km away from Płoty. Such a situation could have been the result of the fall of local structures on the eastern bank of the river, or, what is more likely, their clear re-evaluation. It seems that a more prominent role was then exercised by a settlement cluster in the area of Lubieszewo.¹⁷

In the period under discussion there were equally clear changes in the middle part of the catchment (fig. 5). The number of known sites dating back to the period is over three times larger than in the previous period. However, contrary to the lower course of the Rega, there was an abrupt development of fortified structures. In fact, all strongholds which were built in the 8th century were still used until about the middle of the century. The settlements in Cieszyno and Wieleń Pomorski (site 1) located on the southern reaches of the catchment disappeared at that time. The gap was probably filled by structures in Zwierzynek and Sielsko. No smaller changes took place on the Brzeźnicka Węgorza river. The strongholds in Ginawa and Źdroje were abandoned, but two new ones were set up: Przytoń and Brzeźniak. Both were located on peninsulas, or, more likely, on offshore islands on the lakes Przytońskie and Brzeźno. The stable system

16 Cf. M. Bogucki, P. Ilisch, D. Malarczyk, P. Chabrzyk, A. Kędziński, M. Kulesza, T. Nowakiewicz, R. Wawrzczak, *Frühmittelalterliche Münzfunde aus Polen 2011-2013. Addenda Et Corrigenda*, in: *Frühmittelalterliche Münzfunde aus Pommern Inventar V*, ed. M. Bogucki, P. Ilisch, S. Suchodolski, Warszawa 2016, cat. no. 297 and 302. Maybe with this time horizon the find of the fragment of *early Abbāsid dirham*, should also be combined. The coin is dated 774-775 but it was probably in circulation for a long time – cf. A. Kuczkowski, D. Malarczyk, *Znalezisko wczesnoabbasydzkiego dirhama w Trzebiatowie, pow. Gryficki, "Materiały Zachodniopomorskie" NS XI (2015) 1*, pp. 161-164.

17 R. Wołagiewicz, *Z badań archeologicznych w Lubieszewie nad osadnictwem w późnej starożytności i wczesnym średniowieczu*, in: *Ziemia Gryficka*, vol. I, ed. T. Białecki, Poznań 1971, pp. 35-57; A. Porzeziński, *Lubieszewo, gm. Gryfice – wczesnośredniowieczny kompleks osadniczy z VIII-XII wieku n.e.*, "Materiały Zachodniopomorskie" NS VI/VII (2009/2010) 1, pp. 123-166.

of the network of strongholds in the area to the west and south west from Łobez resulted in the stable system of settlements. The stronghold in Łobez-Świetoborzec located near the confluence of the Reska Węgorza and the Rega might have been the centre of the region. A deposit of Arabic coins dated back to the period after 867 was uncovered in Karnice, about 10 km away.¹⁸ In the 9th century there were definitely more settlements in areas located to the east of the Rega, across the Mołstowa river, which previously marked a clear border line. A stronghold in Rusinowo was one of the strongholds which were set up in the area.

However, in the 9th century the biggest changes occurred in lake districts and the upper course of the Rega, i.e., areas previously the least settled. The strongholds in Donatowo, Oleszno were constructed in the 840s; not much later strongholds arose in Lipce, Żółte as well as Łąkowo, Niemierzyno, and Zagórzyce(?). Settlements in Donatowo, Oleszno, Łąkowo, and Żółte were built on clearly outlined peninsulas of lakes. Others were built on marshes. Some of the strongholds were surrounded by open settlements.¹⁹ There might have been a few reasons¹⁹ for such an intensive building activity. At that time the Rega river marked a border line between communities living on its right bank and the population that inhabited the western part of the Drawskie Lake District and so the strongholds may have been built to protect the territory. The frontier type would also be indicated by a strip of forests, which in the 13th century was still referred to as *dessertum... Sarthicze circa Draunam fluvium*.²⁰ Said changes might also have resulted from shifts of transport routes at that time, which meant strengthening the existing infrastructure. One of its elements was a stronghold and a settlement on an offshore island in Żółte, which was built at the end of the century on Zarańsko Lake. Research results show that this site may have exercised comprehensive social and economic functions. In the opinion of Wojciech Chudziak, its location made it a transport node. The node was to serve traffic on the route along the Stara Rega river, which joined the Baltic coast and the upper Drawa catchment and farther south with Greater Poland.²¹ Settlement transformations visible in the next century confirm this hypothesis.

An increase in the military function which can be observed in the 9th and the first half of the 10th centuries was probably connected with the increasing

18 G. Horoszko, J. Piniński, P. Ilisch, D. Malarczyk, T. Nowakiewicz, M. Bogucki, A. Kowalówka, M. Kulesza, *Frühmittelalterliche Münzfunde aus Polen Inventar II – Pommern*, Warszawa 2016, cat. no. 105.

19 W. Chudziak, W. Siemianowska, *Żółte settlement...*, pp. 427-429.

20 W. Chudziak, *Omnnes viae...*, p. 215.

21 *Ibidem*, p. 214.

importance of rivers in Przymorze (the upper Rega and the Parsęta) as transport routes, as they were a natural connection between the hinterland and the Baltic coast. The building of strongholds which were centres of defence and symbols of power of an individual community over its dependent territory also gives proof of transformations in the social and political organisation in Pomorze. According to Władysław Łosiński, transformations in the settlement networks in Przymorze (Maritime Region) resulted in two models of organisation which stood for two different levels of the development of a tribal system.²² In the first case a network of small strongholds was subordinated to a superior centre; however, in the latter there was no central stronghold and defence centres together with their surrounding areas were autonomous units. There is a clear decline of big strongholds which were substituted by smaller ones (0.25-0.5 ha) in Western Pomerania in the 9th and the first half of the 10th century; however more numerous and stronger fortified centres were surrounded by a network of open settlements.²³ According to Władysław Łosiński, establishing new social and political structures was connected to early feudal relationships and small strongholds were the seats of the emerging class of noblemen. They were simultaneously centres of local communities and neighbour relationships, which could be identified with the *civitates* mentioned by the *Bavarian Geographer*.²⁴

Władysław Łosiński²⁵ saw here a big multi-tribal body, which was to populate catchments of the Parsęta and the Rega of the total area 2000 km². It was to include 7 small tribes which were characterised by a similar form of a defence settlement. I am of the opinion that the state of contemporary knowledge does justify putting forward such far-reaching hypotheses. There are no premises to see an advanced territorial organisation in the lower and the middle catchment of the Rega. It cannot be ruled out, however, that territories on the western frontier of the catchment made up the eastern frontier of the territory inhabited by the Wolinians. The issue looked different in the southern part of the catchment. According to findings by Władysław Łosiński,²⁶ one of the most vast

22 W. Łosiński, *Osadnictwo plemienne...*, p. 195.

23 Idem, *Dynamika zasiedlenia...*, p. 112; idem, *Zur Besiedlungsdynamik...*

24 Idem, *Osadnictwo plemienne...*, pp. 194f.; idem, *Dynamika zasiedlenia...*, pp. 112, 115. About *civitas* cf. recently M. Bláhová, S. Rosik, *Klucz do poznawania cywilizacyjnych przemian w dorzeczu Wisły i Odry we wczesnym średniowieczu: civitas (od Geografa bawarskiego do Kroniki Thietmara)*, in: *Europa sięga nad Bałtyk. Polska i Pomorze w kształtowaniu cywilizacji europejskiej (X-XII wiek)*, ed. S. Rosik, *Scripta Historica Europaea*, V, Wrocław 2020, pp. 123-132 (cf. idem, *The key to recognizing civilizational changes in the basin of the Vistula and Odra rivers in the Early Middle Ages: civitas (from The Bavarian Geographer to Thietmar's Chronicle)*, in: *Europe reaches the Baltic. Poland and Pomerania in the Shaping of European Civilization (10th-12th Centuries)*, ed. S. Rosik, *Scripta Historica Europaea*, VI, Wrocław 2020, pp. 127-137).

25 W. Łosiński, *Osadnictwo plemienne...*, p. 197, fig. 64.

26 Ibidem, p. 157.

settlement clusters was inhabited by a tribe living in catchments of the upper Drawa and the upper Rega, which some scholars identify with the *Thafnezi* tribe mentioned by the *Bavarian Geographer*. Said tribe was to have *civitates CCLVII* and its name was read as the Drawians.²⁷

The variety of territorial as well as social and political structures in the territory of Pomerania indicate differences in political structures and seems to confirm that scholars who were against the hypothesis of the existence of one big tribe in the territory of Pomerania – the Pomeranians – were right. Names which appear in the 11th and the 12th century sources: *Bomerani* (1046), *Pomorani* (1075: Adam of Bremen), *Pomorani*, *Pomorania* (first quarter of the 12th century: Gallus Anonymus), *Pomerania* (second half of the 12th century: Herbord)²⁸ became the basis of a hypothesis for some scholars that one big tribe existed: the Pomeranians.²⁹ Currently there are three opinions in the historical literature, the first of which presumes that Pomerania was one geographical, ethnic, and political body; the second that it was divided into two parts: the western and the eastern one; finally, the third stipulates it was not any defined whole.³⁰ From the archaeological point of view, it needs to be assumed that many clusters visible on ethnic charts are the traces of existing separate tribal structures (the so-called small tribes) at different stages of organisation.

The settlement zones existing in the 9th century were not subject to any major changes in the next century, and these observations are generally the same as findings made by Władysław Łosiński³¹ (fig. 6). However, in comparison to the earlier period, the density of the network of settlements increased. Stability is particularly visible in the upper catchment of the Rega (fig. 7). An overwhelming majority of strongholds which were built in the 9th century was also in use in the following one, with the exception of the stronghold in Łobez-Świętoborzec, which was abandoned at the beginning of the 10th century. The others survived at least until the middle of that century. It was then that the strongholds in Donatowo and Przytoń were abandoned, and

27 L. Leciejewicz, *Plemiona zachodniopomorskie we wczesnym średniowieczu*, "Archeologia Polski" V (1960) 1, p. 92. Results of recent research do not justify such conclusions and indicate that the territory of the *Thafnezi* was on the border of contemporary Germany and Czechia – cf. J. Nalepa, *O nowszym ujęciu problematyki plemion słowiańskich u „Geografa Bawarskiego”*. *Uwagi krytyczne*, "Slavia Occidentalis" LX (2003), pp. 9-63; M. Łuczyński, „Geograf Bawarski” – nowe odczytania, "Polonica" XXXVII (2017), p. 77.

28 A. Piskozub, *Pomorze jako pojęcie geograficzno-historyczne*, "Przegląd Zachodniopomorski" (1963) 4, p. 22.

29 H. Łowmiański, *Początki Polski*, vol. V, Warszawa 1973, pp. 411-420.

30 Cf. J. Spors, *O domniemanej jedności plemiennej i państwowej Pomorza we wczesnym średniowieczu*, in: *Spółczesność i państwo Polski Średniowiecznej*, VI, ed. S.K. Kuczyński, Warszawa 1994, pp. 23-37; J.M. Piskorski, *Pomorze plemienne...*, pp. 30-60, here are older works.

31 W. Łosiński, *Osadnictwo plemienne...*, pp. 45f., fig. 10.

in the 970s/980s the settlements in Nętno and Oleszno ceased to be used. Structures in Lipce, Żółte, Niemierzyno, Rusinowo, and Łakowo and possibly in Słonowice survived until the end of the 10th century. Interestingly, the development in Tarnowo on the right bank of the Stara Rega at the fort was possibly the only new investment. A group of deposits and individual finds of Arabic dirhams dated back from 907 until after 932 (sites Świdwin, Rydzewo, Łabędzie, Przyrzecze³²) were uncovered in the area. The finds were deposited almost longitudinally further south to Żółte and Drawsko Pomorskie, where there are also deposits of silver, but dated to the final quarter of the 10th and the beginning of the 11th centuries. In my opinion, the relevance of all these transformations to the conquest from Greater Poland, the territory of the Gniezno State, does not seem unjustified.³³ The Piasts made endeavours to conquer territories located on the Rega and the Parsęta out of the desire to gain access to a transport route which would provide for further territorial expansion north and gaining access to the sea. Until recently the prevailing view was that the Piasts commenced their attempts to conquer Pomerania in the east and that those areas were controlled by Mieszko I as early as in the 980s.³⁴ It seems that such findings were based mainly on an early dating of Gdańsk, the beginnings of which were dated to as early as the 980s and were associated with the building campaign carried out by the Piasts. The results of recent excavations in Gdańsk³⁵ and Chełmno,³⁶ as well as the results of the analysis of the timeline of strongholds located on the Vistula³⁷ suggest that expansion towards the Vistula

32 Cf. G. Horoszko, J. Piniński, P. Ilisch, D. Malarczyk, T. Nowakiewicz, M. Bogucki, A. Kowalówka, M. Kulesza, *Frühmittelalterliche Münzfunde...*, cat. no. 221, 176 and 132; M. Bogucki, P. Ilisch, D. Malarczyk, P. Chabrzyk, A. Kędzierski, M. Kulesza, T. Nowakiewicz, R. Wawrzczak, *Frühmittelalterliche Münzfunde...*, cat. no. 298.

33 W. Chudziak, *Omnes viae...*, p. 215.

34 Cf. G. Labuda, *Dzieje polityczne (VI-XI wiek). Ekspansja państwa polskiego na Pomorze (X-XII wiek)*, in: *Historia Pomorza*, vol. I: *do roku 1466*, ed. G. Labuda, Poznań 2¹⁹⁷², pp. 307f.; J. Powierski, *Uwagi o wynikach badań nad dziejami Pomorza Gdańskiego w średniowieczu, ze szczególnym uwzględnieniem osiągnięć ostatniego ćwierćwiecza i potrzeb badawczych*, Część I, "Rocznik Gdański" L (1990), pp. 79-81.

35 W. Łosiński, *Początki wczesnośredniowiecznego Gdańska – problem widziany z oddalenia, "Slavia Antiqua" XLII (2001)*, pp. 51-62; B. Kościński, H. Paner, *Nowe wyniki datowani grodu gdańskiego – stanowisko 1 (wyk. I-V)*, in: *XIV Sesja Pomoroznawcza 2*, ed. H. Paner, M. Fudziński, Gdańsk 2005, pp. 11-47.

36 W. Chudziak, *Zasiedlenie strefy chełmińsko-dobrzyńskiej we wczesnym średniowieczu (VII-XI wiek)*, Toruń 1996; W. Chudziak, *Wczesnośredniowieczna przestrzeń sakralna in Culmine na Pomorzu Nadwiślańskim, Mons Sancti Laurentii, I*, Toruń 2003.

37 A. Janowski, *Grody nadwiślańskie na Pomorzu Wschodnim we wczesnym średniowieczu*, Toruń 2004 (PhD Thesis – Typescript); W. Chudziak, *Początki państwowości piastowskiej na Pomorzu Nadwiślańskim – główne problemy w świetle źródeł archeologicznych*, in: *Spór o początki państwa polskiego. Historiografia, tradycja, mit, propaganda*, ed. W. Drelicharz, D. Jasiak, J. Poleski, Kraków 2017, pp. 119-138.

was a secondary one in relation to the intention of the Piasts, who originally strove to conquer the western part of the region, which was economically more advanced, with rich trade and craft centres (Szczecin, Wolin, Kołobrzeg). It is significant that major strongholds in Greater Poland were built on rivers draining into the Warta, along which they had a convenient connection with centres located on the Odra, and along the Noteć as well as the Drawa and the Gwda with the Rega and the Parsęta. Worth mentioning here is that the map of Poland from 1570 by Wacław Grodecki that shows that the Gwda and the Parsęta make up one catchment. The rivers merge at the town of Czarne near the lakes Wielimie and Wierzchno. This offers evidence that to the knowledge of people at that time there was such a connection. Today the riverbeds are a few kilometres away from each other; however, the distance is not large and the area is free from obstacles, so it was possible to arrange a portage for carrying boats between the two bodies of water. The stronghold in Żółte might have been in control over such a portage.³⁸

The situation in the middle and the lower course of the Rega was different. Following the period of stagnation in the 9th century the building of strongholds resumed. Six new developments: Lubin, Bielikowo, Bądkowo, Dobra, Karwowo, and Nowogard can be dated to the middle of the century; however, only the first two survived until the end of the century. Other than in the upper course, they did not form clusters, but their spatial distribution was relatively even as they were located in the distance 10–15 km away from each other. Four were built in the immediate vicinity of the Rega while two (Nowogard and Dobra) on the south-western fringe of the catchment. A few treasures have come down to our times, and they too, just like the strongholds, were scattered over the area.³⁹ It cannot be ruled out that transformations in the settlement network were caused by changes in the direction of transport routes. Earlier they had run latitudinally along an east-west line joining the Parsęta catchment with Wolin. The fall of the strongholds in Bardy and Kędrzyno located on the western frontier of the Parsęta catchment and the development of a stronghold in Kołobrzeg-Budzistowo, which was set up in the 9th century, as well as a number of smaller develop-

38 W. Chudziak, E. Siemianowska, *Problem przyłączenia Pomorza do państwa pierwszych Piastów. Głos archeologa*, in: *Tradycje i nowoczesność. Początki państwa polskiego na tle środkowoeuropejskim w badaniach interdyscyplinarnych*, ed. H. Koćka-Krenz, M. Matla, M. Danielewski, Poznań 2016, pp. 187-206; W. Chudziak, E. Siemianowska, *Z badań nad systemem komunikacji we wczesnym średniowieczu*, in: *Pradoliny pomorskich rzek. Kontakty kulturowe i handlowe społeczeństw w pradziejach i wczesnym średniowieczu*, ed. M. Fudziński, W. Świętosławski, W. Chudziak, Gdańsk 2017, pp. 293-300; E. Siemianowska, *O przewłokach raz jeszcze*, "Studia Geohistorica" V (2017), pp. 127-129.

39 Cf. G. Horoszko, J. Piniński, P. Ilisch, D. Malarczyk, T. Nowakiewicz, M. Bogucki, A. Kowalówka, M. Kulesza, *Frühmittelalterliche Münzfunde...*, cat. no. 72, 141, 160, 201, 236.

ments in its hinterland,⁴⁰ mainly along the riverbed, changed the existing layout into a longitudinal one, from north to south. Their linear arrangement reflects not only the direction of settlement trends, but also the role of those strongholds as points securing the transport route which ran here. Areas in the Rega basin found it difficult to compete with areas surrounding Kołobrzeg, which were rich in salt. It seems that the Rega in its lower and the middle course ceased to strive towards being the major transport route, especially that the Parsęta catchment ensured a relatively easy extension of the route alongside the Gwda and the Drawa, and together with it, to the Gniezno State. As a result, a bishopric was established in Kołobrzeg in 1000. Areas in the upper catchment of the Rega, where there was a dense network of watercourses and ribbon lakes, also ensured favourable conditions for travelling.⁴¹

The 11th century brought about further changes in the development of settlements. Władysław Łosiński noted⁴² that strongholds established in the tribal period ceased to exist and the development of a network of settlements was based on open settlements. The number of unidentified sites dated to that period in archaeological materials continues to increase, which needs to be associated not so much with an actual development of settlements, but the expansion of cultivated areas and transformations in farming.

Firstly, about the middle of the century strongholds in Rusinowo and Tarnowo on the eastern banks of the Mołstowa and the Stara Rega, i.e., on the eastern frontier of the catchment (fig. 8) were abandoned. Strongholds located on the Rega itself (Bądkowo, Karwowo) and on western (Nowogard) and southern frontier (Dobra) did not survive much longer either. The only stronghold which survived the transformation period was the structure in Łakowo, located to the east of the Rega. Following a short period of disintegration of old structures relatively early, i.e., about the middle of the 11th century, the structures in Donatowo, and especially the settlement on an island on Zarańskie Lake in Żółte were re-settled. This is also confirmed by coin finds.⁴³ It could be assumed that the disappearance of older strongholds typical for tribal structures and a lack, at least in the first half of the 11th century,

40 W. Łosiński, *Osadnictwo plemienne w dorzeczu...*, pp. 67f.; L. Leciejewicz, M. Rębkowski, *Uwagi końcowe. Początki Kołobrzegu w świetle rozpoznania archeologicznego*, in: *Kołobrzeg. Wczesne miasto nad Bałtykiem*, ed. L. Leciejewicz, M. Rębkowski, Warszawa 2007, pp. 306-308.

41 W. Chudziak, W. Siemianowska, *Żółte settlement...*, fig. 10.8.

42 W. Łosiński, *Osadnictwo plemienne...*, pp. 67-68.

43 Cf. M. Bogucki, P. Ilisch, D. Malarczyk, P. Chabrzyk, A. Kędziński, M. Kulesza, T. Nowakiewicz, R. Wawrzczak, *Frühmittelalterliche Münzfunde...*, cat. no. 272; G. Horoszko, J. Piniński, P. Ilisch, D. Malarczyk, T. Nowakiewicz, M. Bogucki, A. Kowalówka, M. Kulesza, *Frühmittelalterliche...*, cat. no. 272.

of any new building activity must have been related to some major transformations in the social and political structure in that part of Western Pomerania. To what an extent could the crisis of the Piast State following the death of Bolesław the Brave have impacted the fall of settlement structures and transport routes?⁴⁴ Giving an unequivocal answer would be difficult, but there can be no doubt that internal chaos severely weakened the expansionary drive of the Piasts. It is symptomatic that relatively quickly, i.e., around the middle of the 11th century, during the reign of Casimir I the Restorer, the functioning of some centres located on the Rega was restored. It cannot be ruled out, however, that this happened in different circumstances and on different principles. Was it perhaps triggered by the birth of west Pomeranian statehood, as initiated by the Pomeranian Duke Zemuzil/Siemomysł?⁴⁵ That ruler, together with Polish Prince Casimir I the Restorer and the Bohemian Prince Bretislav I, took part in the Congress of Merseburg on 24 June 1046. The scope of power of Zemuzil/Siemomysł, just as his genealogy, remain in the sphere of hypotheses and scholarly disputes.⁴⁶ According to the results of the latest research, the western border of his sovereignty was supposed to be the Rega, to the east the Łeba, and to the south – the upper courses of the Drawa, Gwda, Wda, and Brda.⁴⁷ The seat was probably Kołobrzeg or Białogard, the only strongholds on the Parsęta which survived the period of transformations.⁴⁸ It was easiest to lay the foundations of a new domain and its organisation, which was the cornerstone of a new economic, military and fiscal structure, on past tribal divisions. The new structure probably related to tribal settlement structures and, other than in Greater Poland, it was not established by building new strongholds, but by adapting the already existing ones. That fact that Kołobrzeg and Białogard exercised the functions of a capital could be XLIX seen in the directions of the later campaigns of Bolesław Wrymouth in the first quarter of the 12th century.

The 12th century marks an irretrievable end of strongholds in the Rega catchment. Only the centres in Łąkowo and Donatowo in the upper course of the river survived until that moment, although there is uncertainty

44 In the context of the fall of strongholds in the territory of the Piast State cf. A. Danielewski, *Struktura grodowa w drugiej połowie XI wieku: czy lata 30. XI wieku wyznaczają przełom dla funkcjonowania organizacji grodowej w Polsce?*, "Historia Slavorum Occidentis" II (2014) 7, pp. 130-155.

45 W. Chudziak, E. Siemianowska, *Problem przyłączenia...*, pp. 195f.; A. Janowski, *Grodziska...*, p. 127; M. Rębkowski, *Jak powstało Pomorze? Studium tworzenia państwowości we wczesnym średniowieczu*, Warszawa 2020, p. 92.

46 Cf. J. Sochacki, *Relacja roczników altajskich o księciu pomorskim Zemuzile*, in: *Średniowiecze polskie i powszechne*, IV, ed. I. Panic, J. Sperka, Katowice 2007, pp. 74-92; here are older works.

47 M. Rębkowski, *Jak powstało...*, pp. 94f.

48 L. Leciejewicz, *Plemiona...*, pp. 106f.; M. Rębkowski, *Jak powstało...*, pp. 94-97.

whether in that period the settlements still exercised their original function. The role of the Rega itself changed; moreover, it no longer marked the western border of the sovereignty, but was in the centre of the domain of the House of Griffin.⁴⁹

translated by Dorota Gonczaronek

ABSTRACT

The article presents the results of the studies on the issue of origins, development and decline of early medieval strongholds in the Rega Basin (Western Pomerania, Poland). These places are considered the most important points in former settlement structures which fulfilled not only residential but also administrative, fiscal, ceremonial and military functions. The first strongholds in this area are dated on the 7th-8th centuries, and the last one on 2nd half of 11th and the beginning of the 12th century. Their greatest development and significance took place in the 9th-10th centuries.

Keywords: Western Pomerania, Rega Basin, Early Middle Ages, strongholds

49 M. Rebkowski, *Jak powstało...*, pp. 107-115.

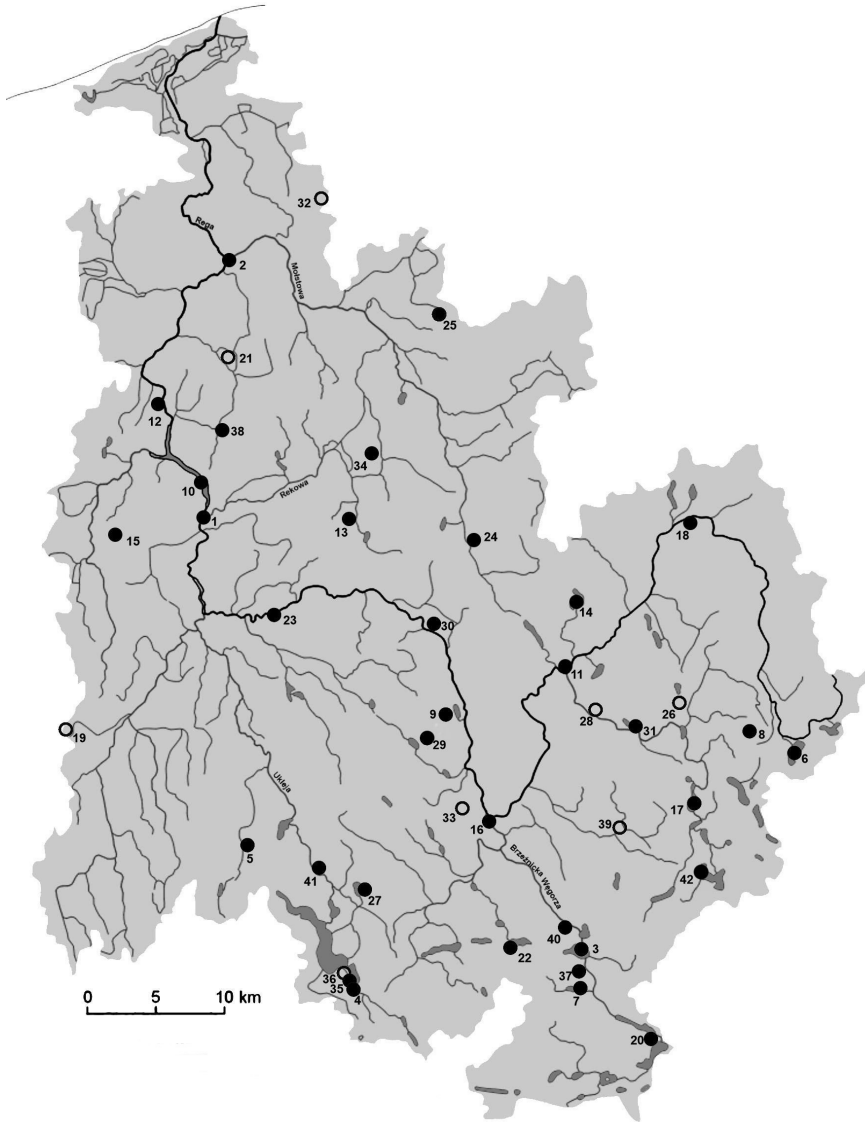


Fig. 1. Location of certain (●) and hypothetical (○) early medieval strongholds in the Rega basin: 1 – Bądkowo, 2 – Bielikowo, 3 – Brzeźniak, 4 – Cieszyń, 5 – Dobra, 6 – Donatowo, 7 – Ginawa, 8 – Karsibór, 9 – Karwowo, 10 – Kocierz, 11 – Lipce, 12 – Lubin, 13 – Łabuń Wielki, 14 – Łąkowo, 15 – Łęczna, 16 – Łobez-Świętoborzec, 17 – Nętno, 18 – Niemierzyno, 19 – Nowogard, 20 – Oleszno, 21 – Przybiernowo, 22 – Przytoń, 23 – Resko, 24 – Rusinowo, 25 – Rymań, 26 – Rzepczyno, 27 – Sielsko, 28 – Słonowice, 29 – Smorawina, 30 – Starogard Łobeski, 31 – Tarnowo, 32 – Uniestowo, 33 – Unimie, 34 – Wicimice, 35 – Wieleń Pomorski (site 1), 36 – Wieleń Pomorski (site 2), 37 – Wiewiecko, 38 – Wyszobór, 39 – Zagórzycze, 40 – Zdroje, 41 – Zwierzynek, 42 – Żółte (cf. A. Janowski, *Grodziska...*); elaborating by A. Janowski.

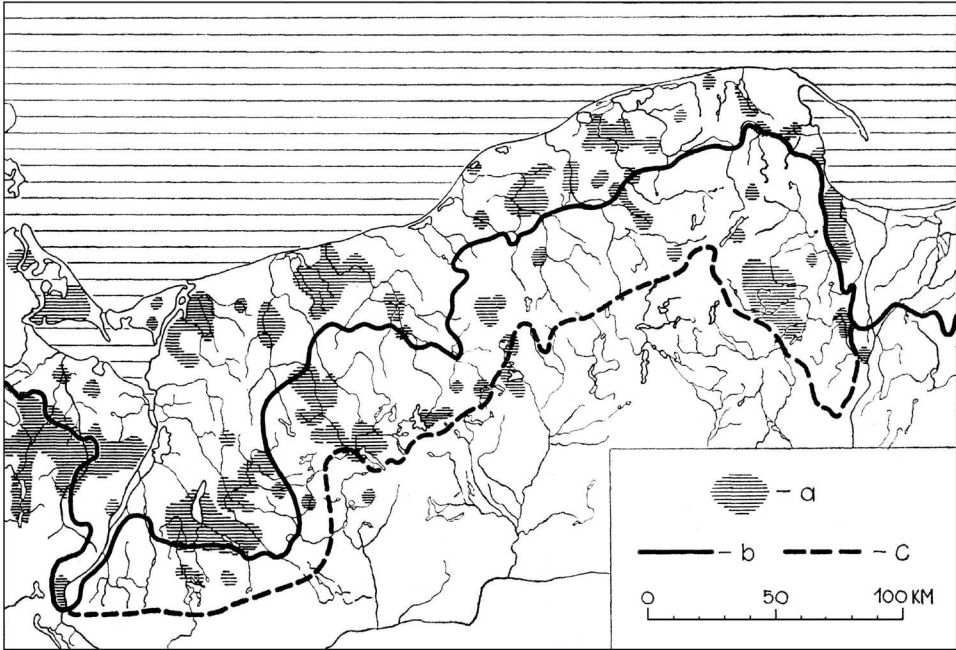


Fig. 2. Settlement of Pomerania in the 7th-8th century (cf. W. Łosiński, *Osadnictwo...*, Fig. 7).

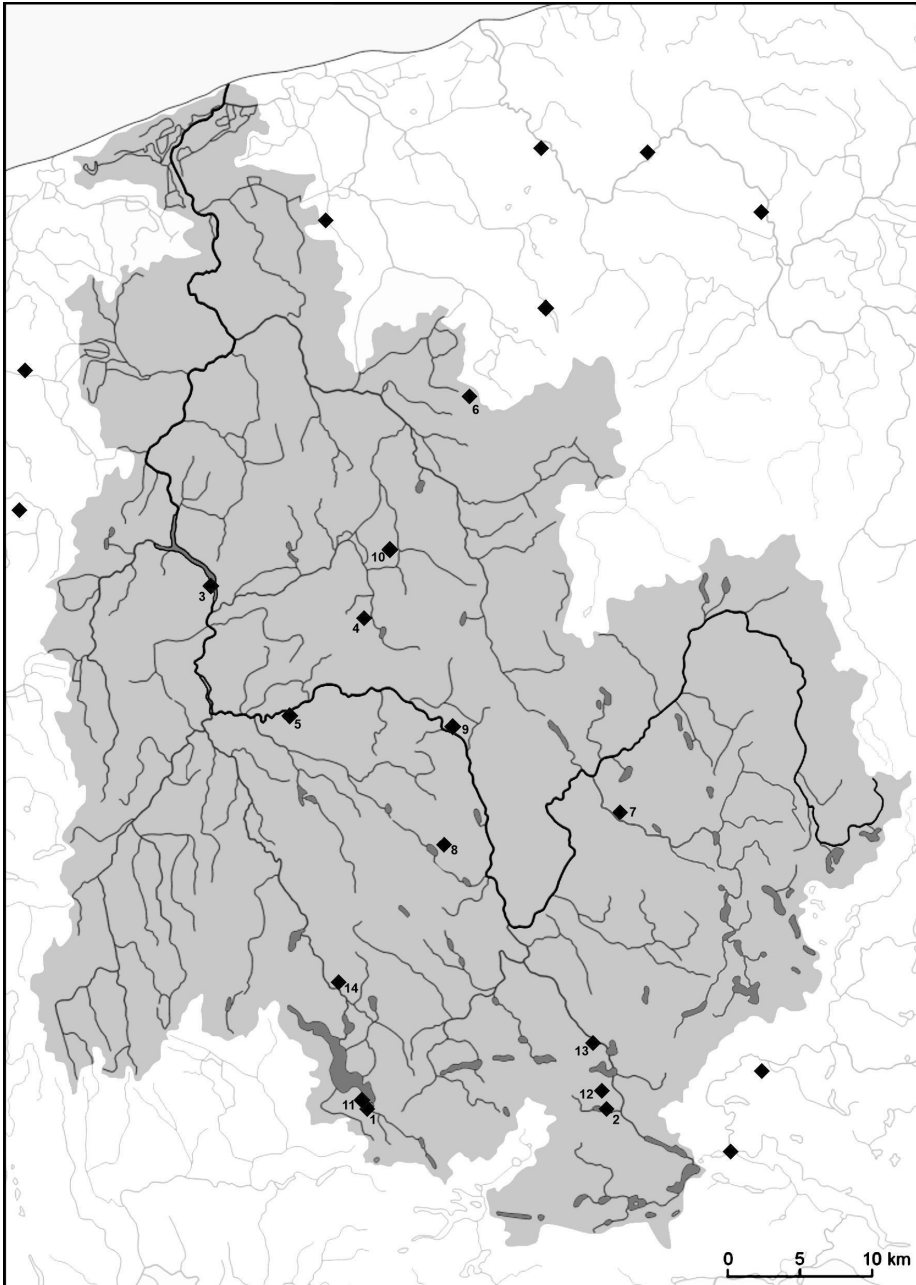


Fig. 3. Strongholds in Rega basin in the 8th century on background of strongholds on neighboring areas: 1 – Cieszyno, 2 – Ginawa, 3 – Kocierz, 4 – Łabuń Wielki, 5 – Resko, 6 – Rymań, 7 – Słonowice, 8 – Smorawina, 9 – Starogard Łobeski, 10 – Wicimice, 11 – Wieleń Pomorski (site 1), 12 – Wiewiecko, 13 – Zdroje, 14 – Zwierzynek (cf. A. Janowski, *Grodziska...*); elaborating by A. Janowski.

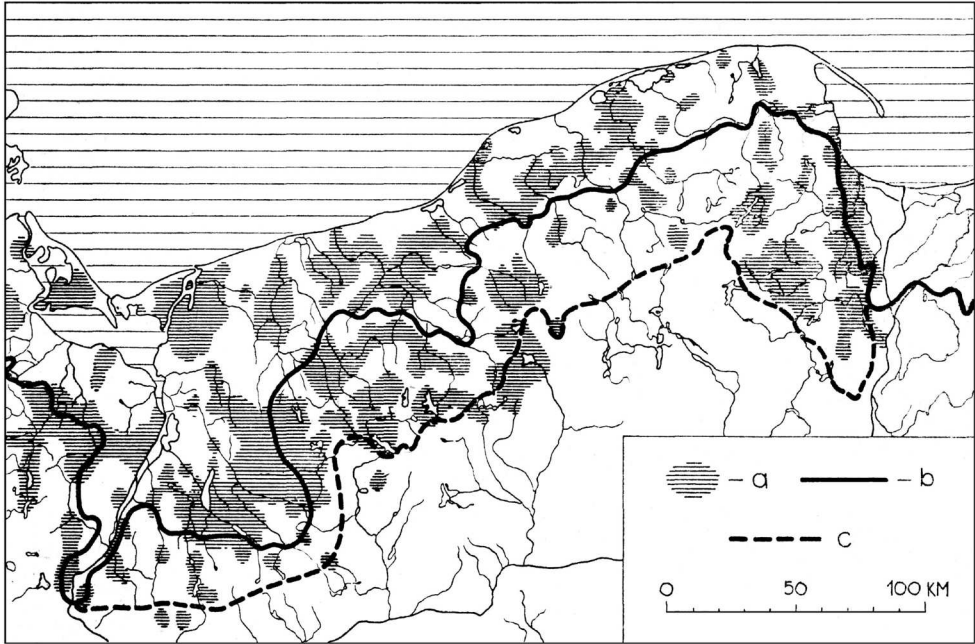


Fig. 4. Settlement of Pomerania in the 9th century (cf. W. Łosiński, *Osadnictwo...*, Fig. 8).

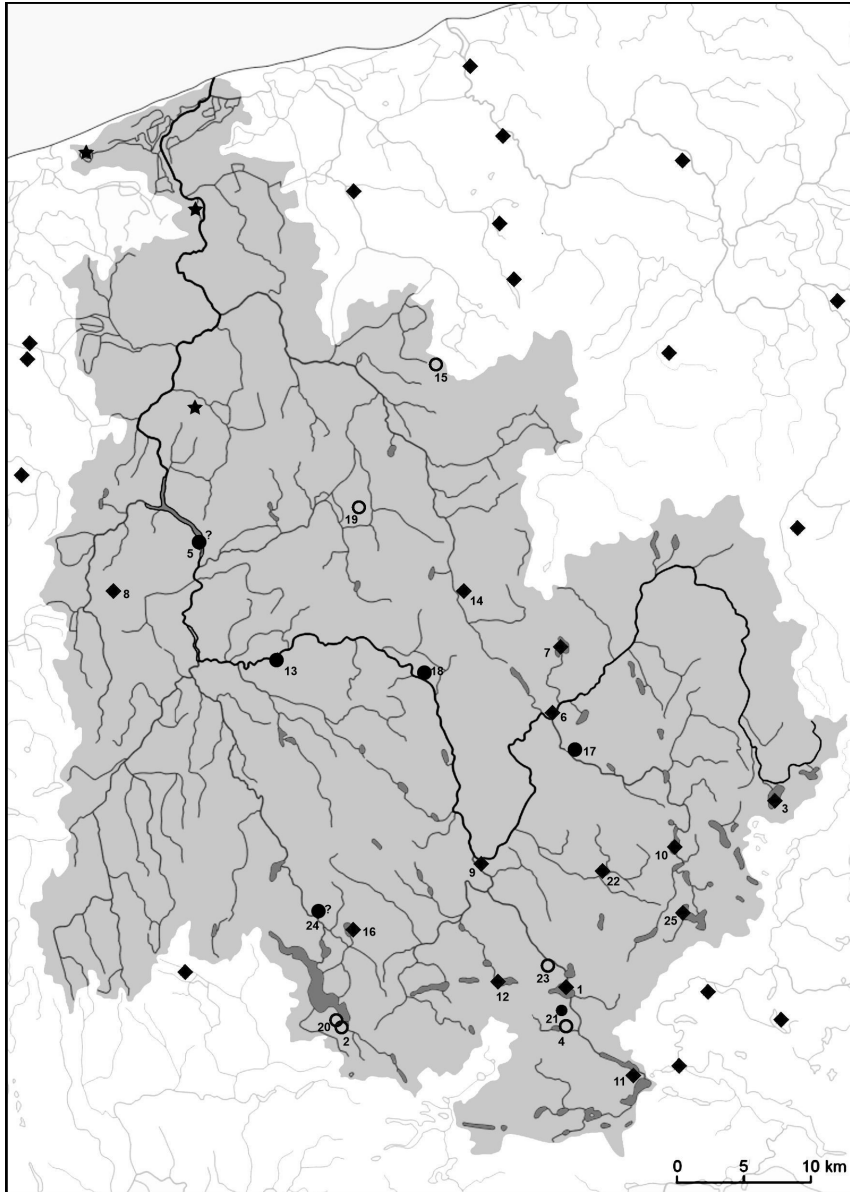


Fig. 5. Strongholds in Rega basin in the 9th century on background of strongholds and finds of coins on neighboring areas. Legend: ● – strongholds existing all the century, ○ – strongholds which fall in this century, ◆ – newly created strongholds, ★ – coin finds. 1 – Brzeźniak, 2 – Cieszyno, 3 – Donatowo, 4 – Ginawa, 5 – Kocierz, 6 – Lipce, 7 – Łakowo, 8 – Łęczna, 9 – Łobez-Świętoborzec, 10 – Nętno, 11 – Oleszno, 12 – Przytoń, 13 – Resko, 14 – Rusinowo, 15 – Rymań, 16 – Sielsko, 17 – Słonowice, 18 – Starogard Łobeski, 19 – Wicimice, 20 – Wieleń Pomorski (site 1), 21 – Wiewiecko, 22 – Zagórzyce, 23 – Zdroje, 24 – Zwierzynek, 25 – Żółte; elaborating by A. Janowski.

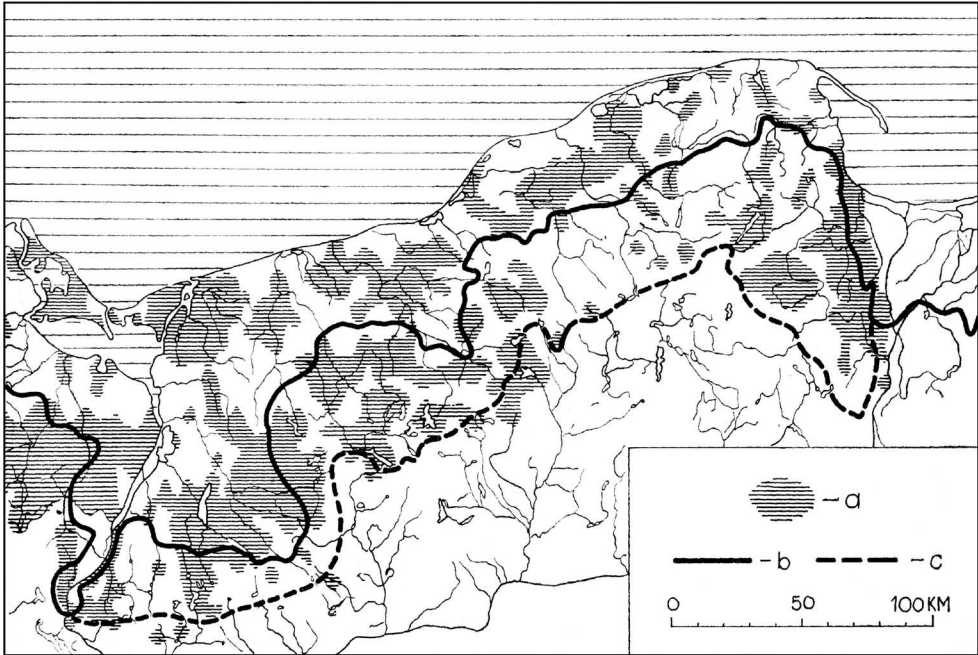


Fig. 6. Settlement of Pomerania in the 10th century (cf. W. Łosiński, *Osadnictwo...*, ryc. 9).

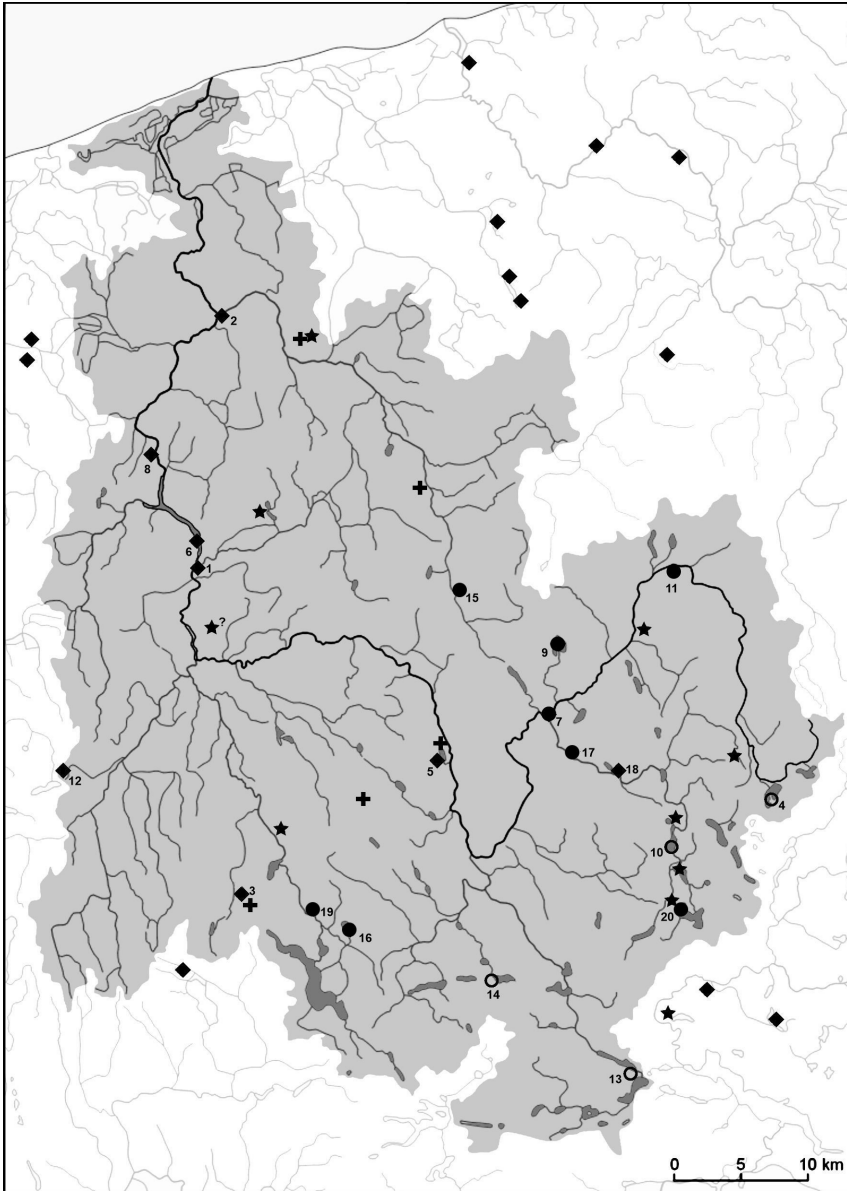


Fig. 7. Strongholds in Rega basin in the 10th century on background of strongholds, cemeteries and finds of coins on neighboring areas. Legend: ● – strongholds existing all the century, ○ – strongholds which fall in this century, ◆ – newly created strongholds, ★ – coin finds, ✚ – cemeteries. 1 – Bądkowo, 2 – Bielikowo, 3 – Dobra, 4 – Donatowo, 5 – Karwowo, 6 – Kocierz, 7 – Lipce, 8 – Lubin, 9 – Łakowo, 10 – Nętno, 11 – Niemierzyno, 12 – Nowogard, 13 – Oleszno, 14 – Przytoń, 15 – Rusinowo, 16 – Sielsko, 17 – Słonowice, 18 – Tarnowo, 19 – Zwierzynek, 20 – Żółte; elaborating by A. Janowski.

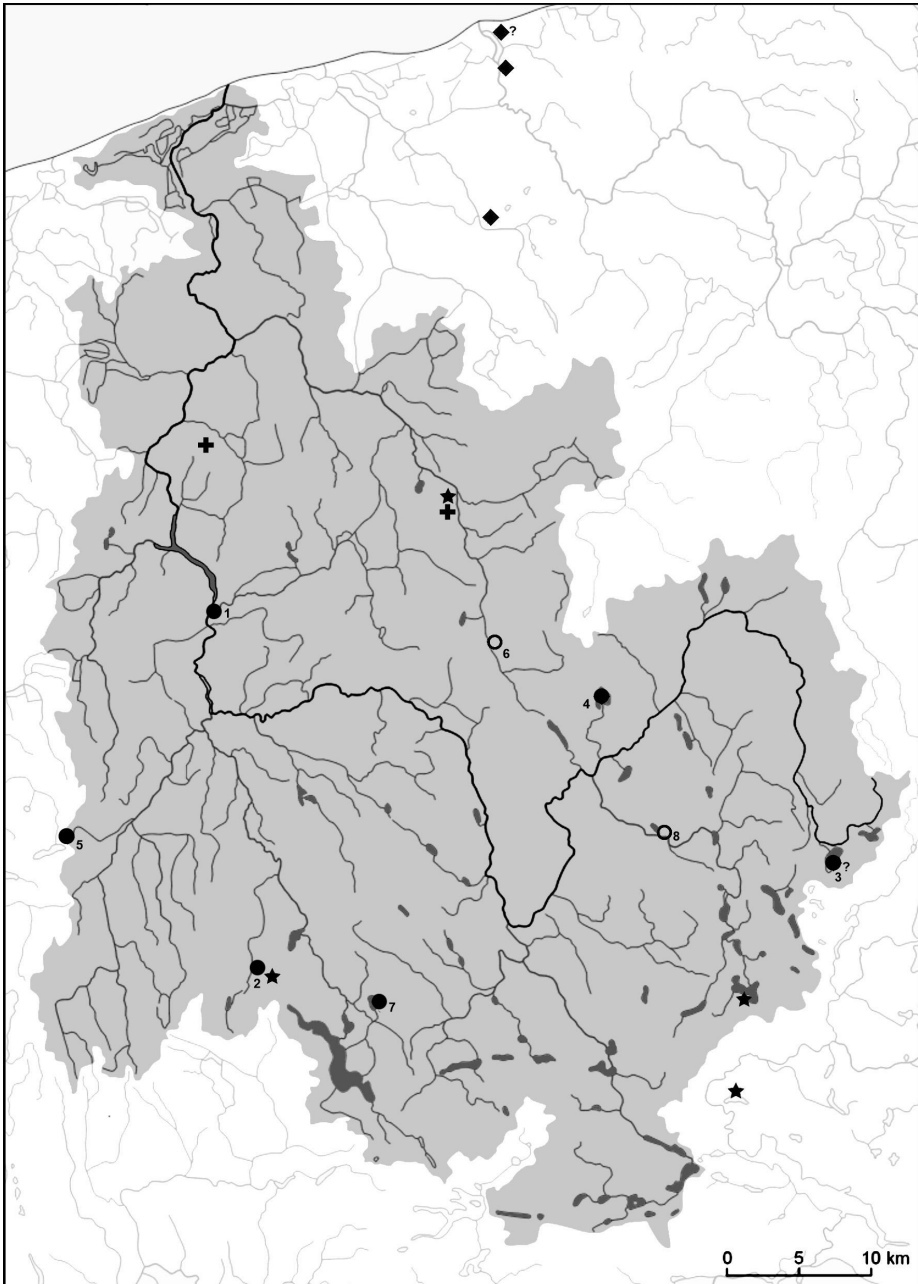


Fig. 8. Strongholds in Rega basin in the 11th century on background of strongholds, cemeteries and finds of coins on neighboring areas. Legend: ● – strongholds existing all the century, ○ – strongholds which fallen in this century, ★ – coin finds, ✚ – cemeteries. 1 – Badkowo, 2 – Dobra, 3 – Donatowo, 4 – Łakowo, 5 – Nowogard, 6 – Rusinowo, 7 – Sielsko, 8 – Tarnowo; elaborating by A. Janowski.

FELIX BIERMANN
SZCZECIN

VORGESCHICHTLICHE RINGWÄLLE DER NIEDERLAUSITZ IM FRÜHEN MITTELALTER UND DIE LAGE DER POLNISCHEN BURG SCICIANI



1. EINLEITUNG

Die frühmittelalterliche Burgenlandschaft der Niederlausitz bestand fast nur aus kleinen, gleichförmigen Niederungsringwällen des Tornower Typs. Diese sind gut erforscht, denn zum einen wurden aufgrund des in der Region lange aktiven Braunkohletagebaus mehrere davon vor ihrer Abtragung vollständig ausgegraben, und zum anderen widmete sich in den 1990er Jahren das von der Deutschen Forschungsgemeinschaft finanzierte Projekt „Germanen–Slawen–Deutsche“ ihrer Untersuchung.¹ Auch wenn es weiterhin unterschiedliche Sichtweisen zur Funktion dieser Burgen gibt, ist doch gewiss, dass sie eine Erscheinung des letzten Drittels des 9. und des 10. Jahrhunderts waren. Dazu kommen in der Niederlausitz lediglich einzelne spätslawische Burgen, und aus früherer Zeit fehlen sie ganz.²

Auf der Suche nach Befestigungen aus den anderen Epochen der Slawenzeit – dem 8./9. und 11./12. Jahrhundert – hat man der mehrfach

1 Vgl. J. Henning, *Germanen-Slawen-Deutsche. Neue Untersuchungen zum frühgeschichtlichen Siedlungswesen östlich der Elbe*, „Prähistorische Zeitschrift“ LXVI (1991), S. 119-133; idem, *Archäologische Forschungen an Ringwällen in Niederungslage: die Niederlausitz als Burgenlandschaft des östlichen Mitteleuropas im frühen Mittelalter*, in: idem, A.T. Ruttkay, *Frühmittelalterlicher Burgenbau in Mittel- und Osteuropa*, Bonn 1998, S. 9-30; F. Biermann, *Slawische Besiedlung zwischen Elbe, Neiße und Lub-sza. Archäologische Studien zum Siedlungswesen und zur Sachkultur des frühen und hohen Mittelalters*, Universitätsforschungen zur prähistorischen Archäologie, LXXV, Bonn 2000.

2 Ein einzelnes Jahrringdatum „nach 701“ (letzter gemessener Jahrring: 691) aus einer Pfostenreihe unter dem ins späte 9. und 10. Jahrhundert datierten Burgwall von Lübbenau ist nicht als Befestigungsrest zu interpretieren. Das Datum ist in seiner Aussagekraft auch fraglich, weil entsprechendes frühslawisches Fundmaterial fehlt, vgl. E. Kirsch, A. Mehner, *Der Schlossberg von Lübbenau, Lr. Oberspreewald-Lausitz*, „Veröffentlichungen zur brandenburgischen Landesarchäologie“ XXXVI/XXXVII (2002/2003), S. 205.

archäologisch nachweisbaren frühmittelalterlichen Nachnutzung vorgeschichtlicher Burgwälle wiederholt besondere Relevanz beigemessen. W. Hülle nahm beispielsweise an, die erneuerten Erdwerke der spätbronze- und früheisenzeitlichen Lausitzer Kultur hätten den Slawen als Volks- oder Fliehburgen gedient. Er betonte dies insbesondere für die Wallburgen von Falkenberg, Kosilenzien und Malitschkendorf.³ Auch J. Herrmann hielt eine frühgeschichtliche Nachnutzung der Befestigungsanlage von Zützen als „Fluchtburg“ für möglich.⁴ Nach K.-H. Marschalleck wurden der letztgenannte Ringwall und andere Burgen dieser Art „im 9. nachchristlichen Jahrhundert teilweise von den Slawen wieder erneut zu Befestigungen ausgebaut“.⁵ J. Herrmann betrachtete einen der hier fokussierten vorzeitlichen Ringwälle, das „Alte Schloss“ von Lieberose, sogar als eine „altslaw[ische] Niederungsburg auf der Stelle älterer S[ie]dl[ungen] bzw. einer spätbr[onze]z[e]itl[ichen] Burg“.⁶ P. Grimm und J. Herrmann maßen dem vorgeschichtlichen Burgwall von Malitschkendorf im frühen Mittelalter in diesem Sinne eine zentrale Bedeutung zu: Nach P. Grimm sei es „durchaus berechtigt, ihn als Mittelpunkt und Zufluchtsstelle des Gaus Schlieben aufzufassen“, der 973 als *pagus Zliuuiini* schriftlich erwähnt wird.⁷ Im Osten der Niederlausitz gab es sogar eine ostfränkisch-deutsche Verwaltungsburg auf vorzeitlicher Basis: Die im Jahre 1000 als Burgward überlieferte *civitas Niempsi* – Niemitzsch (Polanowice) im Gubener Alten Land, am Ostufer der Neiße – lag auf den Wällen einer spätbronze-/früheisenzeitlichen Burg.⁸

3 W. Hülle, *Westausbreitung und Wehranlagen der Slawen in Mitteldeutschland*, Mannus-Bücherei, LXVIII, Leipzig 1940, S. 60-62 Abb. 12 (der Forscher nennt den Burgwall von Malitschkendorf, wie in der älteren Literatur üblich, nach der nahen Stadt Schlieben).

4 *Corpus archäologischer Quellen zur Frühgeschichte auf dem Gebiet der Deutschen Demokratischen Republik (7.-12. Jahrhundert)*, 4. Lfg. Bezirke Cottbus, Dresden, Karl-Marx-Stadt, Leipzig, hrsg. von J. Herrmann, P. Donat, Berlin 1985, Nr. 93/79.

5 K.-H. Marschalleck, *Urgeschichte des Kreises Luckau (Nieder-Lausitz)*, Kirchhain 1944, S. 105.

6 *Corpus archäologischer Quellen zur Frühgeschichte auf dem Gebiet der Deutschen Demokratischen Republik (7.-12. Jahrhundert)*, 3. Lfg. Bezirke Frankfurt, Potsdam, Berlin, hrsg. von J. Herrmann, P. Donat, Berlin 1979, Nr. 68/9.

7 P. Grimm, *Die vor- und frühgeschichtlichen Burgwälle der Bezirke Halle und Magdeburg*, Berlin 1958, S. 85; *Corpus* 4..., Nr. 90/15, 16; vgl. hierzu auch F. Biermann, *Besiedlung...*, S. 57. Die Nennung von *Zliuuiini*: Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Diplomatum Regum et Imperatorum Germaniae II: Ottonis II. et III. Diplomata, Bd. II, Teil 1, Die Urkunden Ottos des II., hrsg. von Th. Sickel, Hannover 1888, Nr. 30.

8 G. Domański, *Niemcza Łużycka. Centrum polityczno-gospodarcze w X-XIII wieku*, in: *Lokalne ośrodki władzy państwowej w XI-XIII wieku w Europie środkowo-wschodniej*, hrsg. von S. Moździoch, Wrocław 1993, S. 173-186; F. Biermann, *Besiedlung...*, S. 368 f., mit älterer Literatur; I. Spazier, *Mittelalterliche Burgen zwischen mittlerer Elbe und Bober*, Forschungen zur Archäologie im Land Brandenburg, VI, Wünsdorf 1999, S. 203.

Man dachte auch an frühmittelalterliche Kultplätze: Menschliche Knochen von den Burgwällen Schönwalde, Malitschkendorf und Burg im Spreewald veranlassten R. Grenz zu der Annahme eines dort praktizierten slawischen Schädelkultes, obgleich diese Gebeine, von vornherein nicht gut dokumentiert, nach aller Wahrscheinlichkeit der vor- und nicht der frühgeschichtlichen Siedlungsphase jener Fundplätze zuzuweisen sind.⁹

Insbesondere wurde aber *Sciciansi* (auch *Cziczani* oder *Ciani*), die im frühen 11. Jahrhundert mehrfach schriftlich erwähnte Burg des polnischen Herzogs Bolesław Chrobry († 1025) in der Niederlausitz, wiederholt als Erneuerung eines vorgeschichtlichen Wehrbaus aufgefasst, namentlich in Bezug auf die Anlagen von Burg im Spreewald und Zützen. Generell fokussierte man sich bei der Suche nach *Sciciansi* auf vorgeschichtliche Burgen, weil die Ringwälle des Tornower Typs aufgrund ihrer geringen Größe und früheren Zeitstellung dafür ersichtlich nicht in Frage kamen und es andere Burgen der betreffenden Zeitspanne in der Niederlausitz kaum gibt.

Um über die Burgwälle der Lausitzer Kultur nähere Informationen zu gewinnen und damit verbundene archäologisch-landesgeschichtliche Fragen aufzuhellen, wurde in den Jahren 2015–17 ein amtliches Metalldetektor-Prospektionsprogramm durchgeführt, in dessen Rahmen zehn Monumente der Niederlausitz und des westlich anschließenden Elbe-Elster-Landes systematisch abgesucht wurden (Abb. 1).¹⁰ Über die Ergebnisse, die zur slawischen Nachnutzung gewonnen werden konnten, erfolgt hier ein Überblick, der insbesondere die oben umrissenen Fragestellungen zur Zeitstellung und Funktion sowie zur Lage von *Sciciansi* behandelt.

⁹ R. Grenz, *Das Opfer des menschlichen Hauptes bei den Westslawen in Mittel- und Ostdeutschland*, „Zeitschrift für Ostforschung“ XII (1963), S. 538–540.

¹⁰ Die Untersuchungen beschränkten sich auf die im heutigen Bundesland Brandenburg gelegenen Befestigungen. Daher finden der im westlich anschließenden Sachsen-Anhalt gelegene Burgwall von Gerbisbach (mit frühmittelalterlicher Nachnutzung; D.-W. Buck, *Die Billendorfer Gruppe*, I: Katalog, „Veröffentlichungen des Museums für Ur- und Frühgeschichte Potsdam“ XI (1977), S. 79; *Corpus 4...*, Nr. 89/11 [nach J. Herrmann sogar im Schwerpunkt frühmittelalterlich]) sowie die im polnischen Teil der Niederlausitz gelegenen Burgwälle von Polanowice, Wicina und Staresiedlo keine Berücksichtigung. Staresiedlo und Polanowice weisen, wie im letzteren Falle schon betont, ebenfalls eine slawische Nachnutzung, in Polanowice sogar einen erneuten Befestigungsausbau auf (vgl. *Starosiedle in the Lubusz Land: Prehistoric and Early Medieval Settlement/ Starosiedle w Ziemi Lubuskiej: osadnictwo starożytnie i wczesnośredniowieczne*, hrsg. von Z. Kobyliński, Warszawa 2014; G. Domański, *Niemcza Łużycka...*, S. 173–186; vgl. auch F. Biermann, *Besiedlung...*, S. 368 f.). Die dritte Burg, Wicina, wurde hingegen in der Slawenzeit nicht mehr genutzt (*Wicina. Badania Archeologiczne w latach 2008–2012 oraz skarb przedmiotów pochodzących z Wiciny*, hrsg. von A. Jaszewska, S. Kałagate, Zielona Góra 2013).

2. DIE FRÜHGESCHICHTLICHEN BURGEN DER NIEDERLAUSITZ

Die Niederlausitz war seit dem späten 7. Jahrhundert für ein halbes Jahrtausend im Wesentlichen slawisch besiedelt. Daran hatte die ostfränkisch-deutsche Eroberung im 10. Jahrhundert zunächst wenig geändert. Erst im späten 12. und 13. Jahrhundert kam es im Zuge der deutschen Ostsiedlung zur namhaften Zuwanderung fremder Bevölkerungsgruppen und auch zur Veränderung der sprachlichen Verhältnisse, der sich die in der Region bis heute lebenden Sorben aber zu entziehen vermochten. Die Niederlausitzer Slawen werden erstmals beim wohl ins späte 9. oder frühe 10. Jahrhundert datierten Bayerischen Geographen als *Lunsizi* schriftlich überliefert.¹¹ An die slawische Frühgeschichte der Region erinnern nicht nur Orts- und Flurnamen, sondern auch archäologische Denkmale, unter denen die Burgwälle besonders hervorragen.

Bestimmend sind die zahlreichen kleinen, recht gleichartigen Rundwälle in Niederungslage, die seit den bedeutenden Ausgrabungen J. Herrmanns in Tornow bei Calau in den 1960er Jahren als Burgwälle vom Tornower Typ bezeichnet werden.¹² Sie sind durch geringe Flächenmaße meist von 50–60 m Außendurchmesser, Kreisform, starke Wälle, Tunnel Tore mit Erdbrücken und die Position in der feuchten Niederung gekennzeichnet. Diese Fortifikationen wurden früher bereits in das 7. Jahrhundert datiert, können nach umfangreichen dendrochronologischen Datierungsprogrammen seit den 1990er Jahren aber zuverlässig als Erscheinung des letzten Drittels des 9. und des 10. Jahrhunderts aufgefasst werden. Sie sind als Sitze kleiner Herrschaftsträger im Stammesgebiet der *Lusizi* zu deuten, die sich im Laufe des 9. Jahrhunderts herausgebildet und, bei zunehmender militärischer Konkurrenz und in gegenseitiger Orientierung, mit dem Befestigungsbau begonnen hatten. Die Muster und Ausgangspunkte dieser fortifikatorischen Entwicklung sind wohl östlich der Oder, in Großpolen und dem nördlichen Niederschlesien, zu suchen, wo derartige Burgwälle etwas früher aufkommen. Die Vielzahl der Burgwälle in der Niederlausitz – bekannt sind etwa 40 Anlagen – spricht für eine kleinteilige, segmentäre Herrschaftsstruktur bei den *Lusizi*, die von Konflikten zwischen Herrschaftsträgern geringer Reichweite geprägt war.¹³ Tatsächlich ist auch keine Hauptburg der *Lusizi* nachweisbar: Die zuweilen als solche betrach-

¹¹ Zuletzt S. Rossignol, *Überlegungen zur Datierung des Traktates des sog. Bayerischen Geographen*, in: *Der Wandel um 1000*, hrsg. von F. Biermann, T. Kersting, A. Klammt, Beiträge zur Ur- und Frühgeschichte Mitteleuropas, LX, Langenweißbach 2011, S. 305–316.

¹² J. Herrmann, *Tornow und Vorberg. Ein Beitrag zur Frühgeschichte der Lausitz*, Berlin 1966.

¹³ Vgl. zu den Burgen, ihrer Datierung und ihrer hier angerissenen Deutung: F. Biermann, *Besiedlung...*, S. 124–140, 281–290.

tete Burg *Liubusua*, von Thietmar von Merseburg († 1018) dreimal erwähnt, hatte mit der Niederlausitz nichts zu tun. Sie lag bei Löbsal in Sachsen.¹⁴

Die kleinteiligen Herrschaftsverhältnisse erwiesen sich als recht widerstandsfähig gegen äußere Gegner – fremde Heere mussten es mit zahlreichen Herren aufnehmen, asymmetrische Kriegsführung verbrauchte die Kräfte im noch urtümlichen, sumpf- und waldreichen Land, und die relativ geringe wirtschaftliche Bedeutung der Region verlockte nicht zu kriegerischen Bemühungen. Ein erster überlieferter Feldzug des ostfränkischen Königs Heinrich I. († 936) im Jahre 932 etablierte allenfalls eine lose Ober- und Tributherrschaft. An den Herrschafts- und Burgenstrukturen im Lande änderte sich wenig.¹⁵

Erst in den 960er Jahren unterwarf Markgraf Gero († 965) die *Lusizi* in einem harten Feldzug.¹⁶ Im Anschluss ließ er eine Zwingburg über der Niederlausitz errichten: Die zum Jahre 1010 erstmals erwähnte Burg *Jarina*, die archäologische und historische Forschungen auf dem „Grünen Berg“ bei Gehren unfern Luckaus lokalisieren konnten.¹⁷ Diese Burg war für die Region nach Gestalt und Geländeposition neuartig: Die etwa 160 x 160 m Fläche umfassende Abschnittsbefestigung überragte als Höhenburg auf einem Ausläufer des Lausitzer Grenzwalls das Land und verdeutlichte in ihrer beherrschenden Lage, herausragenden Größe und Stärke die neuen Machtverhältnisse. Die kleinen Ringwälle wurden in dieser Zeit aufgegeben – kaum ein Burgwall des Tornower Typs wird über das dritte Viertel des 10. Jahrhunderts hinaus weitergenutzt; gelegentliche Spuren späterer Verwendung sind vage, undeutlich und meist mit offener Siedlungstätigkeit verknüpft.¹⁸ Mit der ostfränkischen Unterwerfung der Niederlausitz in den 960er Jahren endete im Großen und Ganzen die Phase kleiner Herrschaftsträger in der Niederlausitz, und damit auch diejenige ihrer Burgen.

Die neue Herrschaft war zunächst nicht allzu intensiv, wie u. a. die Ereignisse in den polnisch-deutschen Auseinandersetzungen nach 1002 erkennen lassen: Deutsche Heere sammelten sich in der Regel an oder nahe der Elbe, um von dort aus durch herrschaftlich gering erfasstes, offensichtlich sehr wald- und sumpfreiches Gebiet mit schwierigen Wegeverhältnissen ostwärts zu marschieren. Die Burg von Gehren war wohl noch im frühen 11. Jahrhundert einer

14 R. Gebuhr, F. Biermann, K. Gebuhr, *Liubusua. Wege zur Lösung eines alten Forschungsproblems*, „Jahrbuch für Brandenburgische Landesgeschichte“ LIV (2003), S. 7-50.

15 Vgl. F. Biermann, *Besiedlung...*, S. 283 f.

16 Widukind von Corvey, *Res gestae Saxonicae/Die Sachsengeschichte*, übersetzt und hrsg. von E. Rotter, B. Schneidmüller, Stuttgart 1981, III, 67.

17 R. Gebuhr, *Jarina und Liubusua. Kulturhistorische Studie zur Archäologie frühgeschichtlicher Burgen im Elbe-Elster-Raum*, Studien zur Archäologie Europas, VI, Bonn 2007. Die Errichtung durch den Markgrafen ergibt sich u. a. aus den bei Ausgrabungen gewonnenen Jahringdaten und der Mitteilung Thietmars von Merseburg, dass die Burg nach Gero benannt worden war.

18 Vgl. I. Spazier, *Burgen...*, S. 37-41; F. Biermann, *Besiedlung...*, S. 62 f., 102.

der wenigen sicheren Stützpunkte in der Niederlausitz.¹⁹ Im Laufe der Zeit entstanden aber weitere Burgen (teils auf älteren Grundlagen), die der herrschaftlichen und administrativen Durchdringung des Gebietes dienten. Einige scheinen in schriftlichen Quellen seit dem Jahre 1000 als Burgwarde auf,²⁰ zwei weitere können wir auf archäologischer Basis als derartige Verwaltungsburgen identifizieren: das „Burglehen“ bei Lübben²¹ und der „Schlossberg“ von Cottbus, jeweils große Ringwälle von ca. 120 m Außendurchmesser.²² An einigen weiteren Orten kann man solche Befestigungen vermuten.²³ Jedenfalls gab es im 11. Jahrhundert viel weniger Burgen als in der vorangehenden Zeit, die dafür aber deutlich größer waren als die Tornower Ringwälle. Seit dem fortgeschrittenen 12. Jahrhundert setzten sich nach und nach dann neue Formen des Befestigungsbaus durch.²⁴

Im frühen 11. Jahrhundert, in der Zeit der Auseinandersetzungen mit König Heinrich II. († 1024), konnte auch Polen unter Bolesław Chrobry zeitweise Herrschaft in der Niederlausitz ausüben. Bolesław baute oder nutzte hier zumindest eine Burg, besagtes *Sciciani*. Aber schon in den 1030er Jahren endete diese Episode.

3. SCICIANI/CIANI/CZICZANI

Über diesen Ort hören wir in drei Namensvarianten von Thietmar von Merseburg. Es war eine polnische Burg, die die Chronik in *Lusici* verortet.²⁵ Sie muss also in der Niederlausitz gelegen haben, so dass anderwärtige Loka-

¹⁹ 1010 war sie Etappe eines deutschen Feldzugs nach Polen (Thietmari Merseburgensis Episcopi, *Chronicon*/Thietmar von Merseburg, *Chronik*, neu übersetzt und erläutert von W. Trillmich, *Ausgewählte Quellen zur deutschen Geschichte des Mittelalters*, Freiherr vom Stein-Gedächtnisausgabe, IX, Darmstadt 1957 [weiter: Thietmar], VI, 57).

²⁰ Niemitzsch (Polanowice) an der Neiße im Jahre 1000 als burgwardium (G. Billig, *Die Burgwardorganisation im obersächsisch-meißnischen Raum*, Veröffentlichungen des Landesmuseums für Vorgeschichte Dresden, XX, Berlin 1989, S. 144), ferner „duas civitates Triebus et Liubucholi“ mit zugehörigen Dörfern (Trebbus bei Doberlug und Leibchel nordöstlich Lübbens?), vgl. *Codex diplomaticus Anhaltinus*, I, Abt. 3, hrsg. von O. von Heinemann, Dessau 1873, S. 418.

²¹ Vgl. R. Breddin, *Beobachtungen auf dem „Burglehn“ von Lübben-Steinkirchen*, „Ausgrabungen und Funde“ XIII (1968), S. 141-147; *Corpus* 4..., Nr. 95/15; F. Biermann, *Besiedlung...*, S. 343.

²² G. Wetzel, *Der Schloßberg in Cottbus*, „Veröffentlichungen des Museums für Ur- und Frühgeschichte Potsdam“ XXIII (1989), S. 181-208.

²³ Möglicherweise u. a. in Golßen, Klöden, Lübbenau und Mühlberg (vgl. G. Wetzel, *Schönfeld und Seese. Beiträge zur Ur- und Frühgeschichte der Niederlausitz*, „Veröffentlichungen des Museums für Ur- und Frühgeschichte Potsdam“ XIX (1985), S. 88-90 Abb. 69; E. Kirsch, A. Mehner, *Schlossberg...*, S. 213).

²⁴ Vgl. I. Spazier, *Burgen...*, S. 26-41.

²⁵ Das deutsche Heer wird beim Erreichen des Lausitzgaus von *Sciciani* aus angegriffen (Thietmar VII, 16), was die Lage des Ortes in der Niederlausitz sichert; wären die Angreifer von weiter her gekommen, hätte Thietmar deren Ausgangspunkt weder gekannt noch genannt.

lisierungen – etwa in Kleinseitschen in der Oberlausitz²⁶ – ausgeschlossen sind. Es war eine offensichtlich sehr stattliche Anlage. Hier empfing Bolesław 1012 den deutschen Emissär Waltard, Erzbischof von Magdeburg († 1012), in repräsentativer Art und Weise. 1017 war der Polenherzog erneut in *Sciciansi* und im Folgejahr erwartete er dort seine vierte Gemahlin: Oda aus der Familie der Ekkehardiner, Tochter des Markgrafen von Meißen. Als die Braut dort eintraf, war bereits die Nacht eingebrochen. In der von zahlreichen Lichtern erhellten Burg, so vermerkt der Chronist, bereitete viel Volk Oda einen großen Empfang. Im Zuge der Auseinandersetzungen Boleslaws mit König Heinrich II. unternahmen polnische Krieger 1015 einen Ausfall auf deutsche Truppen, die in die Lausitz einrückten. Letztere konnten den Angriff zurückschlagen und dabei einen sächsischen Krieger in piastischen Diensten, Herich den Stolzen, gefangen nehmen.²⁷

Nach 1018 wird *Sciciansi* nicht wieder schriftlich erwähnt. Diese für die polnische Westpolitik jener Zeit bedeutende Burg ist bislang nicht eindeutig lokalisiert. Die unlängst von J. Henning erneut angeregte Verbindung des Burgwalls von Presenchen bei Luckau mit *Sciciansi*, motiviert durch die Nähe Presenchens zum namensverwandten Dorf Zinnitz und die besondere Größe jener Befestigung, ist unwahrscheinlich, da es sich dabei lediglich um einen relativ umfänglichen Burgwall des Tornower Typs handelte, der ausweislich von Keramik und Jahrringdaten nicht über die 970er Jahre hinaus genutzt worden ist; das fast vollständige Fehlen von spätslawischer Keramik schließt seine Verwendung noch 1012–1018 aus.²⁸ Der spätslawische Burgwall im „Schlossberg“ von Cottbus, den G. Wetzel mit *Sciciansi* identifizierte, passt gut nach Gestalt und Zeitstellung, jedoch keineswegs hinsichtlich des bereits im mittleren 12. Jahrhundert erstmals überlieferten Ortsnamens Cottbus (*Chotibuz*).²⁹

Zwei andere Lokalisierungsvorschläge betreffen vorgeschichtliche Anlagen: Namenkundlich liegt eine Verbindung *Sciciansis* mit dem Dorf Zützen

26 So u. a. W. Coblenz, *Bolesław Chrobry in Sachsen und die archäologischen Quellen*, „*Slavia Antiqua*“ X (1963), S. 273, 278-280; Kleinseitschen lag im Gebiet der Milzener.

27 Thietmar VI, 69 (1012, Empfang Waltards); VII, 16 (1015, Ausfall und Lokalisierung in der Niederlausitz); VII, 51 (1017, Anwesenheit Boleslaws); VIII, 1 (1018, Empfang Odas).

28 J. Henning, *Neue Burgen im Osten. Handlungsorte und Ereignisgeschichte der Polenzüge Heinrichs II. im archäologischen Befund*, in: *Aufbruch ins zweite Jahrtausend, Innovation und Kontinuität in der Mitte des Mittelalters*, hrsg. von A. Hubel, B. Schneidmüller, *Mittelalter-Forschungen*, XVI, Ostfildern 2004, S. 163-167; die jüngsten Presenchener Jahrringdaten lauten „nach 963“, zweimal „nach 970“, 975 +/-5, vgl. J. Henning, *Ringwälle...*, S. 13.

29 G. Wetzel, *Schloßberg...*, S. 201-203. Das merkt auch J. Henning, *Neue Burgen...*, S. 166 an und führt Ähnliches überdies für Lübben aus. Auf eine andere Wallanlage in Cottbus machte den Verfasser freundlicherweise V. Mende (Berlin) aufmerksam, die jedoch wahrscheinlich nicht mittelalterlich ist.

nördlich von Luckau nahe, wo sich der große spätbronze-/früheisenzeitliche Burgwall „Horstberg“ befindet, und der „Schlossberg“ von Burg im Spreewald weist eine relativ intensive spätslawische Nachnutzung sowie auch einen wohl frühmittelalterlichen Ausbau auf.

4. DIE VORGESCHICHTLICHEN BURGWÄLLE DER NIEDERLAUSITZ

Diese Anlagen gehen auf die späte Bronze- bzw. frühe Eisenzeit zurück, namentlich die Lausitzer Kultur und deren Billendorfer Stufe. Es sind viel weniger als die frühgeschichtlichen Burgen, aber sie sind sehr groß und sehr mächtig ausgebaut.³⁰ Es handelt sich um rundlich-ovale Befestigungen von 100 x 125 bis zu 180 x 225 m Ausdehnung, deren Wälle teilweise 6–7 m hoch erhalten sind. Hervorzuheben ist, dass diese Burgen in aller Regel nur aus einem Ringwall bestehen. „Die Urnenfelderzeit kannte nur einteilige Burgen“, hob J. Herrmann hervor, was er auf die bescheidene herrschaftlich-soziale Differenzierung der burgenbauenden Gruppen zurückführte.³¹ Es sei nirgendwo „eine Gliederung der Befestigung in Burg oder Akropolis und Vorburg nachgewiesen worden“.³² Das gilt auch überregional.³³ Zwei Ausnahmen, die Burgwälle von Falkenberg und von Burg im Spreewald, sind wohl tatsächlich jeweils anders zu erklären (siehe unten).

Systematische Forschungen haben an diesen Burgen nicht stattgefunden, aber es gibt etliche Notgrabungen teils schon aus der archäologischen Frühzeit, namentlich am Burger „Schlossberg“, am 1933 im Braunkohle-tagebau abgebaggerten „Alten Schloss“ von Senftenberg – mit fast kom-

30 Vgl. zu diesen Burgen: J. Herrmann, *Burgen und befestigte Siedlungen der jüngeren Bronze- und frühen Eisenzeit in Mitteleuropa*, in: *Siedlung, Burg und Stadt. Studien zu ihren Anfängen*, hrsg. von K.-H. Otto, J. Herrmann, Deutsche Akademie der Wissenschaften Berlin, Schriften der Sektion für Vor- und Frühgeschichte, XXV, Berlin 1969, S. 56-94; idem, *Burgen und befestigte Siedlungen der jüngeren Bronzezeit und frühen Eisenzeit*, in: *Archäologie in der Deutschen Demokratischen Republik. Denkmale und Funde 1: Archäologische Kulturen, geschichtliche Perioden und Volksstämme*, hrsg. von J. Herrmann, Stuttgart 1989, S. 106-118; D.-W. Buck, *Die Billendorfer Gruppe*, II: Text, „Veröffentlichungen des Museums für Ur- und Frühgeschichte Potsdam“ XIII (1979), S. 40-47; idem, *Befestigte Siedlungen der Lausitzer Kultur im Norden der DDR*, in: *Beiträge zum bronzezeitlichen Burgenbau in Mitteleuropa*, Berlin/Nitra 1982, S. 97-118; H. Koepke, *Der Burgwall von Zützen, Lkr. Dahme-Spreewald*, „Veröffentlichungen des Brandenburgischen Landesmuseums für Ur- und Frühgeschichte“ XXX (1996), S. 46f. Abb. 5; ferner: O. Nakoinz, J. Kneisel, I. Beilke-Voigt, J. Dräger, *Befestigungen der Bronze- und Eisenzeit zwischen Marburg und Uppsala*, in: *Enge Nachbarn. Das Problem von Doppelburgen und Mehrfachburgen in der Bronzezeit und im Mittelalter*, hrsg. von I. Beilke-Voigt, O. Nakoinz, Edition Topoi/Berlin Studies of the Ancient World, XLVII, Berlin 2017, S. 30-34; Marschalleck, *Urgeschichte...*, S. 103-105.

31 J. Herrmann, *Burgen 1969...*, S. 78.

32 Idem, *Burgen 1989...*, S. 117.

33 Vgl. O. Nakoinz et al., *Befestigungen...*, S. 54.

pletter Freilegung – sowie am „Horstberg“ von Zützen.³⁴ Die Ausgrabungen erwiesen in allen Fällen mächtige Holz-Erde-Befestigungen und dicht besiedelte Innenhöfe, insbesondere bemerkenswerte Pfostenbaustrukturen in Senftenberg.³⁵ Zu den Burgwällen zählen mehrfach ausgedehnte Vorburgsiedlungen. Die Massen der an Plätzen wie Malitschkenendorf, Zützen und Burg im Spreewald auftretenden spätbronze-/früheisenzeitlichen Lesefunde sind spektakulär. „Auf den heute beackerten Burgen“, so bereits K.-H. Marschalleck, „liegen daher die Siedlungsreste, wie Gefäßscherben, Herdsteine und Lehmewurfstücke der Häuser vielfach wie gesät umher, und wenige Einstiche in die Burgwälle von Zützen (Horstberg) und Goßmar haben genügt, um auf geringer Fläche ein riesiges Scherbenmaterial zutage zu fördern“.³⁶ Auf dem „Batzlin“ von Lübbenau waren die Scherben, einem Bericht von 1886 zufolge, so massenhaft verstreut, dass „der Besitzer sie jahrelang in die Spree werfen musste, um überhaupt ackern zu können“.³⁷

Es waren offensichtlich Zentren ihrer Zeit. Eisenschlacken, Buntmetallschmelzstücke, Knochen- und Geweihartefakte belegen handwerkliche Tätigkeiten, importierte Metallsachen weitgespannte Handelsverbindungen, diverse Kultobjekte religiöse Zentralfunktionen. Eine dreikantige Pfeilspitze reiternomadischen Typs, die bei unseren Untersuchungen in Zützen zutage kam,³⁸ untermauert die Hypothese, dass der Untergang dieser Burgwalllandschaft im 6. vorchristlichen Jahrhundert bis um 500 v. Chr. auch mit skythischen Einfällen zu tun gehabt hat. Deutliche entsprechende Beobachtungen – Pfeilspitzen skythischen Typs, Hammeräxte, Zerstörungshorizonte, Skelettreste von damals getöteten Personen – ließ der Burgwall von Wicina im Osten der Niederlausitz zu.³⁹

Die genaue Datierung der Anfänge des Befestigungsbaus fällt aufgrund des typochronologisch unsensiblen Fundmaterials schwer. Radiokarbondaten sind unzuverlässig und ergeben kein klares Bild.⁴⁰ Wichtig ist hier ein

34 Zu den frühen Grabungen in Burg: A. Götze, *Der Schlossberg bei Burg im Spreewald*, „Prähistorische Zeitschrift“ IV (1912), S. 264-349; zu Senftenberg: J. Herrmann, *Die früheisenzeitlichen Burgen von Podrosche, Kr. Weißwasser, und Senftenberg in der Niederlausitz*, „Veröffentlichungen des Museums für Ur- und Frühgeschichte Potsdam“ V (1969), S. 87-108; zu Zützen: H. Koepke, *Zützen...*, S. 46.

35 J. Herrmann, *Podrosche...*, S. 87-108.

36 K.-H. Marschalleck, *Urgeschichte...*, S. 164.

37 Bericht von W. Wilke aus dem Jahre 1923 unter Bezug auf Mitteilungen von H. Jentsch von 1886, Ortsakte des BLDAM.

38 F. Biermann, F. Georgi, *Mythen über die Skythen*, „Archäologie in Deutschland“ I (2018), S. 43.

39 Vgl. A. Jaszewska, S. Kałagate, *Wicina...*, S. 265 f.

40 O. Nakoinz et al., *Befestigungen...*, u. a. S. 30-34.

Jahrringdatum aus Burg im Spreewald von 860 vor Chr. +/-10, das allerdings nicht dem Burgwall selbst, sondern einer Uferbefestigung an seinem Rande entstammt.⁴¹ Zwei Hölzer aus dem Wall von Zützen ergaben nicht ganz belastbare Jahrringdaten von 1023 und 943 v. Chr.⁴² Ansonsten muss man erneut in den polnischen Teil der Niederlausitz blicken: Der bereits erwähnte Burgwall von Wicina, Objekt größerer Ausgrabungen, kann aufgrund zahlreicher dendrochronologischer Daten in die Zeit vom mittleren 8. Jahrhundert bis nach 571 v. Chr. eingeordnet werden.⁴³

Diese Burgwälle waren bereits ca. 1200 Jahre zerstört, als die Slawen in die Lausitz einwanderten. Sie dürften bereits damals ähnlich wie heute ausgesehen haben – bewaldete Wall- und Grabenanlagen auf Erhebungen im Sumpf. Es ist nicht gewiss, ob den frühmittelalterlichen Menschen klar war, dass sie hier Befestigungsanlagen vor sich hatten. Wenn wir vergleichend auf die geschichtlichen Epochen sehen, so weisen die vielen Flurnamen von Burgwällen als „Schlossberg“, „Altes Schloss“, „Schanze“, „Gröschkenberg“ (von sorbisch *hrodžišćo*, Burgwall) oder eben „Borchelt“ und „Burgwall“ zwar darauf hin, dass man auch ohne wissenschaftliches Rüstzeug den Charakter der Erdwerke als Wehrbauten verstehen konnte. In der Forschung des 19. Jahrhunderts wurde aber lange darüber diskutiert, ob es sich dabei um Kultstätten oder Fortifikationen handelte.⁴⁴ Die frühmittelalterlichen Bewohner der Niederlausitz werden zumindest die fortifikatorischen Nachnutzungsmöglichkeiten vorhandener Wall- und Grabenanlagen erkannt haben, zumal etliche davon – etwa der Burger „Schlossberg“ oder jener von Malitschkendorf – an wichtigen Punkten auch der frühgeschichtlichen Siedlungs- und Verkehrslandschaft lagen.

5. DIE METALLSUCHPROSPEKTIONEN DER JAHRE 2015–17 UND IHRE ERGEBNISSE

5.1 Allgemeines

Im Rahmen eines kleineren Kooperationsprojektes des Brandenburgischen Landesamtes für Denkmalpflege und Archäologischen Landesmuseums (BLDAM, Zossen-Wünsdorf) sowie der Universitäten Göttingen und Greifswald wurden in den Jahren 2015–17 alle zehn bekannten und mehr oder weniger gut erhaltenen Lausitzer Burgwälle im deutschen Teil der Niederlausitz und im westlich anschließenden Elbe-Elster-Land durch Lese-

41 C. Korluß, R. Methner, S. Jahns, *Archäologische Untersuchungen am Schloßberg in Burg, Landkreis Spree-Neiße*, in: *Einsichten. Archäologische Beiträge für den Süden des Landes Brandenburg 2004/2005*, „Arbeitsberichte zur Bodendenkmalpflege in Brandenburg“ XVI (2006), S. 34 f.

42 H. Koepke, *Zützen...*, S. 95 Anm. 83.

43 A. Jaszewska, S. Kałagate, *Wicina...*, S. 265 f.

44 Vgl. F. Biermann, *Besiedlung...*, S. 17, mit älterer Literatur.

fundaufnahmen und Detektorsurveys untersucht: Burg (Fpl. 1) im Landkreis Spree-Neiße, Falkenberg (Fpl. 2), Kosilenzien (Fpl. 1), Malitschkendorf (Fpl. 1) und Schönwalde (Fpl. 1) im Landkreis Elbe-Elster, Goßmar (Fpl. 2), Lieberose (Fpl. 1) und Zützen (Fpl. 1) im Landkreis Dahme-Spreewald sowie Groß Mehßow (Fpl. 3) und Lübbenau (Fpl. 2, „Batzlin“) im Landkreis Oberspreewald-Lausitz (Abb. 1). Die Arbeiten stützten sich dabei auf ehrenamtliche Mitarbeiterinnen und Mitarbeiter des BLDAM und standen unter Leitung des Verfassers.⁴⁵ Teams von bis zu zehn Personen begingen die Wallanlagen und deren unmittelbare Vorburgsiedlungen in systematischer Weise. Sie bargen Metallfunde unter GPS-Einmessung aus dem Oberboden. Je nach Notwendigkeit wurden die Fundplätze einmal oder mehrfach begangen und teilweise hernach noch weiter prospektiert. Ausgrabungen fanden nicht statt. Die Aktivitäten sollten nicht nur wissenschaftliche Erkenntnisse über vor- und frühgeschichtliche Burgen bringen, sondern auch illegalen Aktivitäten dieser Art vorbeugen, wobei sie in einigen Fällen dafür wohl schon zu spät kamen. Zudem ging es darum, das Potential der noch jungen Methode für wissenschaftliche Fragestellungen weiter zu prüfen.

Die örtlichen Voraussetzungen waren unterschiedlich, in der Regel aber recht gut: Die Burgen liegen durchweg im Wald oder unter Wiesen und Feldern und bieten gute Bedingungen für Begehungen. Freilich unterliegen die Ergebnisse diversen Einschränkungen, die bereits an anderem Orte erläutert worden sind,⁴⁶ und die vergleichenden Auswertungen entgegenstehen. Die Resultate waren sehr unterschiedlich und reichten von einzelnen und unklaren bis hin zu Hunderten von bedeutenden Funden, die natürlich meistens aus der Vorgeschichte stammten. Teilweise und in unterschiedlichem Ausmaß lieferten die Burgen aber auch frühmittelalterliche Funde, und diese stehen hier im Fokus. Dabei geht es weniger um deren detaillierte typologische Besprechung als mehr um deren historische Aussage.

45 Beteiligt waren O. Beyer, O. Blum, M. Fenner, F. Georgi, M. Guthke, D. Koall, B. und W. Melchior, L. Pahl, C. Puppa, A. Schulz, F. Slawinski und S. Wolter. Das Engagement von F. Georgi, M. Fenner und L. Pahl ist besonders hervorzuheben. Vonseiten des BLDAM unterstützten Dr. M. Agthe, Dr. T. Kersting, Dr. S. Schwarzländer und D. Westendorf das Projekt; T. Edelmann (Stralsund), C. Herghelgiu (Hannover) und A. Paulsen (Zollchow) halfen bei der Aufarbeitung. Dr. K. Frey (Prenzlau) gab wichtige Hinweise zu diesem Text. Allen genannten Personen gilt herzlicher Dank.

46 Vgl. F. Biermann, *Neue Wege der Burgwallforschung. Metalldetektorprospektionen auf Brandenburgs slawischen Befestigungen*, „Archäologie in Berlin und Brandenburg“ (2015) [2017], S. 91-93; idem, *Wissenschaftliche Metalldetektorprospektionen auf slawischen Burgwällen in Brandenburg*, in: *Współczesne metody badań wczesnośredniowiecznych grodów Europy Środkowo-Wschodniej*, hrsg. von K. Chrzan, S. Moździoch, S. Rodak, Wrocław 2019, S. 155-168.

5.2 Zützen, Burgwall „Horstberg“

Besonders ergebnisreich waren die Untersuchungen am „Horstberg“ von Zützen, der aufgrund des Ortsnamens wiederholt mit *Sciciani* verknüpft worden ist.⁴⁷ Der mit etwa 170 x 200 m Fläche riesige, trotz Überpflügung noch als ausgeprägte Erhebung mit Innenflächenkessel und Ringgrabensenke wahrnehmbare, rundlich-ovale Burgwall liegt auf einem Horst in der Dahmeniederung (Abb. 2). Westlich, östlich und südöstlich schließen sich Vorburgesiedlungen an.⁴⁸ Die Anlage hat bei Begehungen und kleineren Ausgrabungen der letzten anderthalb Jahrhunderte, insbesondere bei vier Sondageschnitten G. Wetzels aus dem Jahre 1985, große Mengen von Funden erbracht; noch heute sind die Areale des Burgwalls und der östlichen Vorburgesiedlung nach jedem Pflügen von Scherben, aber auch Tierknochen, Geweihsachen und Herdstainen übersät. Neben jungbronze- und vor allem früheisenzeitlichen Materialien liegen unter den Lesefunden auch slawische Funde vor, freilich im Promillebereich. H. Koepke konnte bei seiner Bearbeitung des Burgwalls nur etwa neun slawische Scherben identifizieren, durchweg mittelslawische Varianten des verzierten und unverzierten Menkendorfer Typs.⁴⁹ Sie sind nur allgemein in das 9. und 10. Jahrhundert zu datieren. Ferner gab es einen wohl slawischen Spinnwirtel.⁵⁰ Diese Funde beschränkten sich auf die westliche Vorburgesiedlung, während von der Hauptburg, Köpkes Recherchen zufolge, keine frühmittelalterlichen Funde vorlagen. Die Ausgrabungen belegten eine bedeutende, mehrfach ausgebaute vorgeschichtliche Wallbefestigung, im Inneren des Kessels starke, holzkohle- und fundreiche Kulturschichten von bis zu 1,7 m Stärke. Eine slawische Kulturschicht oder gar Befestigungsreste ließen sich nicht erkennen.⁵¹

Bei den ausgedehnten Detektorsurveys, die vorwiegend im Jahre 2016 stattfanden, seitdem aber noch ständig ergänzt wurden, fanden sich gut 280 vormoderne Metallsachen,⁵² erwartungsgemäß in der großen Masse vorgeschichtliche, vor allem eisenzeitliche Buntmetallobjekte: Tüllenbeile,

47 Diese Verbindung vertraten z. B. R. Lehmann, *Zützen (Kr. Luckau)*, in: *Handbuch der historischen Stätten Deutschlands*, Bd. X: *Berlin und Brandenburg*, hrsg. von G. Heinrich, Stuttgart 1995, S. 409, und W. Trillmich in: Thietmar, u. a. S. 441; ferner etwas vorsichtiger K.H. Marschalleck, *Urgeschichte...*, S. 177.

48 Vgl. zum Burgwall: Ortsakte des BLDAM; H. Koepke, *Zützen...*, S. 41-120; ferner D.-W. Buck, *Billendorfer Gruppe I...*, S. 84; idem, *Siedlungen...*, S. 115 f.; F. Biermann, *Besiedlung...*, S. 347, mit weiterer Literatur.

49 H. Koepke, *Zützen...*, S. 93-95 Abb. 34; vgl. ferner K.H. Marschalleck, *Urgeschichte...*, S. 330 f.; J. Herrmann, *Burgen 1969...*, S. 86; *Corpus 4...*, Nr. 93/79; F. Biermann, *Besiedlung...*, S. 347.

50 H. Koepke, *Zützen...*, S. 44.

51 Ibidem, S. 48-54.

52 BLDAM Maßnahmennummer LAU 2015:127, Sachkatalognummer 2015:525.

Dolchfragmente, Pfeilspitzen – darunter die bereits erwähnte dreiflügelige Ausprägung der skythischen Art – und Nadelköpfe, zahlreiche Schwalbenschwanzanhänger, Teile vom Pferdegeschirr, zwei bemerkenswerte Objekte mit zoo- und anthropomorphen Applikationen. Es gab aber auch slawische Sachzeugen (Abb. 3): Drei kreisaugenmarkierte Kugelzonnengewichte mit Bronzemantel und Eisenkern (um 1,6 cm Höhe) belegen Handelstätigkeit seit der Zeit um 1000 (Abb. 4.1, 2).⁵³ Wahrscheinlich spätslawisch ist auch ein fragmentierter bandförmiger Buntmetall-Fingerring mit Linien-Rautenmuster, was auch für 12 Eisenmesser mit abgesetzten Klingen gelten dürfte. Zwei spätslawische Buntmetall-Messerscheidenbeschlagfragmente und ein bronzenes Messergriffplättchen, ferner eine Eisentülle wohl zu einer Lanzenspitze, einige eiserne und buntmetallene Beschläge unklarer Funktion und das Fragment vermutlich eines Schläfenrings ergänzen das Bild.

Interessant sind zwei Riemenzungen aus Buntmetall: eine 2,6 cm hohe, unverzierte, wappenförmige Riemenzunge mit halbrundem Annex sowie drei Nietlöchern an der Basis, die wegen ihrer blechartigen Ausführung wahrscheinlich eine Auflage besaß (Abb. 4.3), sowie ein gegossenes, stark profiliertes, mit einem floralen Ornament versehenes Exemplar mit fünfeckiger Zunge und abgesetzter, querrillenverzierter, von zwei Nietlöchern durchbrochener Basis (2,8 cm Länge) (Abb. 4.4). Auch zwei Silbermünzen liegen vor: Ein vollständiger Otto-Adelheid-Pfennig (Hatz III6a, ca. 985–1000) (Abb. 4.5) und ein Bruchstück wohl ebenfalls von einer solchen Münze.⁵⁴ In einem Feuchtgebiet südwestlich der Burg kam eine kleine, leicht asymmetrische Hakenpflugschar von 12 cm Höhe zutage, die aus der späten Slawenzeit stammen dürfte, aber nicht unbedingt mit der frühgeschichtlichen Nutzung des Burgwalls zu tun hat (Abb. 5). Ob zwölf Eisenschlacken vom Burg-Siedlungskomplex, die Pendants bereits im zuvor vorliegenden Lesefundmaterial besitzen, mit der eisenzeitlichen oder slawischen Nutzung des Burgwalls zu tun haben, ist ungewiss.⁵⁵ Sie könnten durchaus ins frühe Mittelalter gehören, da Eisenschlacken in dieser Epoche sehr geläufig sind, was nicht im selben Maße für die Spätbronze-/Früheisenzeit gilt.

Die frühgeschichtlich-mittelalterlichen Funde – unter Auslassung der Schlacken – streuen über die westliche Vorburgesiedlung, die auch zuvor

53 Die Wägstücke von Zützen und den anderen hier besprochenen Fundorten entsprechen durchweg Typ B, näherhin Typ B 2 nach H. Steuer, *Waagen und Gewichte aus dem mittelalterlichen Schleswig. Funde des 11. bis 13. Jahrhunderts aus Europa als Quellen zur Handels- und Währungsgeschichte*, „Zeitschrift für Archäologie des Mittelalters, Beiheft“ X, Bonn 1997, S. 44-51. Der Typus kommt im 10. Jahrhundert auf und bestimmt das 11./12. Jahrhundert (ibidem, S. 49 f.).

54 Frdl. Bestimmung Dr. L. Ilisch, Münster.

55 So auch H. Koepke, *Zützen...*, S. 93.

bereits die meisten slawischen Materialien geliefert hatte, beziehen nun aber deutlich auch den Burgwall mit ein. Die östliche Vorburgsiedlung liefert weiterhin nur sehr wenig slawisches Material (Abb. 3).

5.3 Burg im Spreewald, Burgwall „Schlossberg“

Der „Schlossberg“ von Burg ist sicherlich der bekannteste Burgwall der Niederlausitz überhaupt.⁵⁶ Die ausgedehnte Anlage mitten im Spreewald ist trotz diverser Störungen des 19./20. Jahrhunderts – Durchschnitt durch eine Bahnlinie, Einbau eines Bismarckturmes, Abgrabung im Nordosten – eine immer noch sehr eindrucksvolle Befestigung. Sie hat insgesamt 220 x 290 m Fläche und setzt sich aus zwei Teilen zusammen: Einer ovalen Wallanlage der üblichen spätbronze-/früheisenzeitlichen Form von 180 x 225 m Fläche gesellt sich im Süden eine eigenständig mit Wall und Graben befestigte, höher aufragende, ebenfalls ovale Wallbefestigung von 95 x 140 m Fläche zu (Abb. 6, 7). Damit ist der „Schlossberg“, wenn wir von der ganz andersartigen und insgesamt sehr eigentümlichen Burg von Falkenberg (siehe unten) absehen, die einzige Lausitzer Befestigung mit zwei eigenständigen Burgteilen in der Niederlausitz.

Inwieweit der südliche, kleinere Burgwall eine Hauptburg oder „Akropolis“ der Lausitzer Befestigung oder einen späteren Einbau bildete, ist nicht abschließend geklärt. Für Letzteres sprach sich insbesondere J. Herrmann aus: „Die ursprünglich einteilige, großräumige jungbronze-früheisenzeitliche Burganlage wurde im frühen Mittelalter durch Abzweigung zur Hauptburg im S[üd] O[osten] verändert“.⁵⁷ Er vermutete darin nicht nur eine Hauptburg der Lusizi, sondern auch *Sciciansi*: „Als der polnische Herrscher Boleslaw im ersten Viertel des 11. Jh. die Niederlausitz [...] in den polnischen Feudalstaat einzugliedern versuchte, ließ er in der Niederlausitz die Burg *Ciani* (*Cziczani*, *Sciciansi*, von polnisch, *trzcini* – Schilfrohr) erbauen. Sie lag bei Burg im Spreewald, auf dem heutigen Schloßberg [...]. Auf einer Befestigungsruine der jüngeren Bronzezeit bzw. der frühen Eisenzeit entstand die polnische Burg mit etwa 60–80 m Durchmesser. *Ciani* war so groß, daß Boleslaw darin residierte“, hier diplomatische Verhandlungen und die Heirat mit Oda erfolgen konnten und es „war stark genug, um 1015 einen Ausfall gegen ein deutsches Heer zu unternehmen, das an *Ciani* vorbei nach

⁵⁶ Vgl. zum Überblick: D.-W. Buck, *Billendorfer Gruppe I...*, S. 32 f.; H. Rösler, *Burg, Kr. Cottbus* (Bez. Cottbus), in: *Archäologie in der Deutschen Demokratischen Republik. Denkmale und Funde*, Bd. II: *Fundorte und Funde*, hrsg. von J. Herrmann, Stuttgart 1989, S. 448-449; ferner J. Herrmann, *Burgen 1969...*, S. 87; D.-W. Buck, *Siedlungen...*, S. 110; zu mittelalterlichen Funden: *Corpus 4...*, Nr. 96/6; F. Biermann, *Besiedlung...*, S. 358, mit weiterer Literatur; allgemein: Ortsakte des BLDAM.

⁵⁷ *Corpus 4...*, Nr. 96/6.

Zentralpolen zog“.⁵⁸ Dem folgte G. E. Schrage: „Im Zusammenhang mit der polnischen Besetzung der Lausitz wurde auch der große Burgwall von Burg im Spreewald neu angelegt. In jüngerer Zeit brachte man den Schloßberg von Burg mit dem bei Thietmar für das Jahr 1012 erstmals erwähnten *Sciciani* in Verbindung“.⁵⁹ D.-W. Buck, H. Rösler und G. Wetzel schätzten die Menge des slawischen Fundmaterials vom „Schloßberg“ dafür hingegen als zu gering ein.⁶⁰

Vom „Schloßberg“, dessen beackerte Teile fortwährend enorme Lese- und Fundmassen liefern, liegt aus Begehungen und kleineren Grabungen ein umfangreicher Fundstoff vor, der neben dem natürlich vorherrschenden spätbronze-/früheisenzeitlichen wieder auch slawisches Material umfasst. 1897 nahm A. Götze archäologische Untersuchungen vor, als die Trasse besagter Bahnlinie durch die nördliche Großburg geschachtet wurde, und war dort 1909 nochmals zusammen mit C. Schuchhardt aktiv. Götze publizierte die Resultate beider Maßnahmen im Jahre 1912. In den oberen Abschnitten des mächtigen Kulturschichtenpaketes traf er eine erhebliche Menge mittelslawischer Tonware meist des verzierten Menkendorfer Typs, überdies große Quantitäten spätslawischer Keramik an.⁶¹ Insbesondere das spätslawische Material ist zahlenmäßig deutlich umfangreicher als auf anderen vorgeschichtlichen Burgwällen. Dazu kamen mehrere frühmittelalterliche Eisensfunde, die teilweise eine erneute militärische Nutzung und die Präsenz von Eliten im frühen Mittelalter anzuzeigen vermögen: Neben Messern und einer zweiteiligen Trense gibt es zwei Sporen mit geradem Bügel und langem Dorn – typische Formen des späten 10. Jahrhunderts – sowie auch Eisenschlacken. Inwieweit diverse Knochen- und Geweihartefakte, darunter Schlittknochen und Pfieme, vor- oder frühgeschichtlich sind, ist

58 *Die Slawen in Deutschland. Geschichte und Kultur der slawischen Stämme westlich von Oder und Neißة vom 6. bis 12. Jahrhundert. Ein Handbuch. Neubearbeitung*, hrsg. von J. Herrmann, Veröffentlichungen des Zentralinstituts für Alte Geschichte und Archäologie der Akademie der Wissenschaften der DDR, XIV, Berlin 1985, S. 215-217 (Zitat); ferner idem, *Siedlung, Wirtschaft und gesellschaftliche Verhältnisse der slawischen Stämme zwischen Oder/Neißة und Elbe. Studien auf der Grundlage archäologischer Materials*, Deutsche Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin, Schriften der Sektion für Vor- und Frühgeschichte, XXIII, Berlin 1968, S. 324, 326 f. Anm. 40; *Corpus 4...*, Nr. 96/6 (hier auch zur Hauptburg der *Lusizi*).

59 G.E. Schrage, *Slawen und Deutsche in der Niederlausitz. Untersuchungen zur Siedlungsgeschichte im Mittelalter*, Berliner Historische Studien, 15/*Germania Slavica*, VI, Berlin 1990, S. 46 f.

60 D.-W. Buck, H. Rösler, *Ein Wallprofil von der Siedlung der Lausitzer Kultur bei Burg, Landkreis Cottbus*, in: *Beiträge zum bronzezeitlichen Burgenbau in Mitteleuropa*, Berlin/Nitra 1982, S. 124; G. Wetzel, *Schloßberg...*, S. 201. Zu einem früheren Zeitpunkt war D.-W. Buck (*Billendorfer Gruppe I...*, S. 33; idem, *Billendorfer Gruppe II...*, S. 44) hingegen davon ausgegangen, die slawische Neunutzung könne befestigt und der südliche Burgteil ein frühmittelalterlicher Einbau gewesen sein.

61 A. Götze, *Schloßberg...*, S. 288, 321 f. Taf. 30.

ungewiss.⁶² Götze hob hervor, „dass auch im Innern des Kessels [...] die slawischen Funde keine starke Schicht ausmachen“.⁶³

Eine Nachgrabung D.-W. Bucks und H. Röslers von 1982, die ein 11 m langes Teilstück des Wallprofils am Bahneinschnitt nochmals öffnete, konnte keine slawische Kulturschicht nachweisen: Es gab nur jungbronze-/früh-eisenzeitliche Befunde und Funde. Da auch auf dem höheren Burgteil im Süden slawische Lesefunde selten seien, spreche alles dafür, dass es lediglich eine slawische unbefestigte Siedlung auf der Ruine des vorgeschichtlichen Burgwalls gegeben habe.⁶⁴

Im Jahre 2005 fanden Notgrabungen im südlichen Vorgelände des Burgwalls statt, im Randbereich des Sumpfstreifens eines Fließes. In der Jungbronze- und Früheisenzeit existierte hier eine Wasserschöpfstelle nebst hölzerner Uferbefestigung; Tritthorizonte und Sedimente lieferten viele Funde jener Zeitstellung. Auch die Schwemmschichten und ein vermutlicher Tritthorizont der Slawenzeit waren mit 320 Keramikscherben relativ fundreich. Möglicherweise wurde ein Graben jener Zeitstellung vor dem Burgwall angeschnitten, dessen Charakter – etwa als Befestigungselement – ungewiss verbleibt. Zudem wurden eine muldenförmige Grube und eine Feuerstelle erfasst, die auf slawische Siedlungstätigkeit am Uferand verweisen. Bei der Tonware handelt es sich um verzierten Menkendorfer Typ und Gurtfurchenware, ferner eine Umbruchscherbe des Tornower Typs – dieses Fundensemble verweist in die zweite Hälfte des 10. und die erste Hälfte des 11. Jahrhunderts.⁶⁵ Eine geophysikalische Vermessung von 2006 ergab insbesondere im Bereich der Hochburg Hinweise auf eine Binnengliederung durch halbkreisförmige Gräben, doch ist eine Interpretation nicht ohne weiteres möglich.⁶⁶ Einige spätmittelalterliche blaugraue Scherben, die vom „Schlossberg“ vorliegen,⁶⁷ können ebenso wie etliche glasierte neuzeitliche Keramikfragmente mit einer späteren Siedlungs- und Agrarnutzung des ortsnah gelegenen Terrains verbunden werden.

62 A. Götze, *Schlossberg...*, S. 325 Taf. 31; *Corpus 4...*, Nr. 96/6; J. Herrmann hält eines dieser Stücke für einen Hakensporn, was aber nicht zutreffen dürfte. N. Goßler, *Untersuchungen zur Formenkunde und Chronologie mittelalterlicher Stachelsporen in Deutschland (10.-14. Jahrhundert)*, in: „Bericht der Römisch-Germanischen Kommission des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts“ LXXIX (1998), S. 644, weist die beiden Sporen seiner Gruppe „A? e (Gerader Stachel)“ und dem 10. Jahrhundert zu.

63 A. Götze, *Schlossberg...*, S. 288.

64 D.-W. Buck, H. Rösler, *Wallprofil...*, S. 119-126.

65 C. Korluß et al., *Untersuchungen...*, S. 36 f. Abb. 14, 16-19.

66 J. Miethe, H. Petzold, *Geophysikalische Untersuchungen am Schloßberg in Burg. „Oberburg“ und „Unterbürg“, Senftenberg 2006*, unveröffentlichter Bericht in der Ortsakte des BLDAM.

67 Z. B. Fundmeldungen vom 18.12.1975, 10.12.1979, 02.03.1982, 14.07.1983, 10.03.1986, Ortsakte des BLDAM.

Unsere Detektorprospektionen in Burg erbrachten insgesamt ein nur kleines Fundmaterial, obwohl die Suchbedingungen gut waren (Abb. 7).⁶⁸ Das weiträumig bekannte Bodendenkmal war bereits zuvor zum Objekt illegaler Sondengänger geworden – entsprechende Aktivitäten sind aktenkundig.⁶⁹ Unter den gut 80 relevanten Metallfunden, die erneut vorwiegend der späten Bronze- und frühen Eisenzeit entstammen, sind etliche frühmittelalterliche Dinge, die die slawische Nutzung des Fundplatzes nachhaltig unterstreichen: Drei eiserne Messer, ein spätslawischer Buntmetall-Messerscheidenbeschlag (Abb. 4.7) und ein mit 1,6 cm Durchmesser recht kleiner slawischer Schläfenring; das Schmuckstück aus massivem Silber mit S-förmigen Ende ist in das frühe 11. Jahrhundert zu setzen (Abb. 4.6). Als Zeugen von Handelstätigkeit sind zwei bronzemantelte Kugelzonengewichte aufzufassen (1,1 und 1,7 cm Höhe) (Abb. 4.8, 9). Ein eisernes Sichelfragment mit Griffangel zeugt von Landwirtschaft. Dazu kommen ein Wellrandhufeisen, wiederum Eisenschlacken und diverse Eisensachen, deren Datierung nicht immer klar ist.

Die Funde stammen sowohl vom südlichen als auch vom nördlichen Burgteil; das entspricht der Aussage älterer Grabungsbeobachtungen und Lesefunde, die slawische Aktivität auf dem ganzen Fundplatz andeuteten. Es ergibt sich aber ein Schwerpunkt auf der südlichen Hochburg. Einige Funde aus dem Terrain nördlich vor der Burg können mit einer offenen Vorburgsiedlung zu tun haben, aber auch mit dem Erdreich bei Abtragungs- und Planierungsarbeiten vom Burgwall verlagert worden sein (Abb. 7).

5.4 Malitschkendorf, Burgwall

Im Burgwall vom Malitschkendorf, einem ovalen, ausgezeichnet erhaltenen Ringwall von 120 x 185 m Fläche in der weiten Kremitzniederung (Abb. 8, 9), zu dem auf der Nord- und wohl auch Südseite eine offene Siedlung gehörte, haben ebenfalls kleine Ausgrabungen seit dem 19. Jahrhundert sowie wiederholte Lesefundaufnahmen eine slawische Nachnutzung nachgewiesen.⁷⁰ Es handelte sich im Wesentlichen um Tonscherben, die neben den ungeheuren Massen bronze- und früheisenzeitlicher Gefäßfragmente im Inneren der Burg geborgen wurden: mittelslawische Scherben (vor allem

⁶⁸ BLDAM Maßnahmennummer LAU 2016:19, Sachkatalognummer 2016:23.

⁶⁹ Z. B. Meldung an das BLDAM am 04.04.2005, Anzeige am 07.04.2005, Ortsakte des BLDAM.

⁷⁰ Zur Burg: D.-W. Buck, *Billendorfer Gruppe I...*, S. 62-64; idem, *Siedlungen...*, S. 113; zu frühmittelalterlichen Funden: *Corpus 4...*, Nr. 90/15, mit weiterer Literatur; ferner idem, *Burgen 1969...*, S. 86; W. Hülle, *Westausbreitung...*, S. 61, 74; F. Biermann, *Besiedlung...*, S. 354; zum Burgwall im Siedlungskontext: A. Faustmann, *Die ur- und frühgeschichtliche Besiedlung des Schliebener Beckens*, in: *Neue Forschungen zur Siedlungsarchäologie in Ostdeutschland*, hrsg. von K.-D. Jäger, *Alteuropäische Forschungen N. F.*, IV, Weißbach 2000, S. 47-150; allgemein: Ortsakte des BLDAM.

von Gefäßen des Menkendorfer und Tornower Typs) sowie spätslawische Tonware, wobei sich letztere insbesondere im Nordosten des Burgkessels fand; es gibt auch einige Kugeltopfscherben. Im British Museum in London werden neben einer Anzahl von Geweih- und Knochenartefakten auch ein geöster Wetzstein frühmittelalterlicher Gestalt sowie ein slawischer Spinnwirtel verwahrt.⁷¹ P. Grimm und J. Herrmann vermuteten hier, wie gesagt, den „Burgmittelpunkt der 973 erwähnten Siedlungskammer“ *Zliuuini*.⁷² W. Radig suchte in Malitschkendorf hingegen – vergeblich – die große Burg, die Thietmar von Merseburg als ausgedehnte und ältere *civitas* neben der *urbs Liubusua* beschrieb; letztere habe möglicherweise bei den unfern gelegenen Orten Lebusa oder Schlieben gelegen.⁷³

Sowohl der Burgwall als auch die nördliche Vorburgsiedlung erbrachten bei unseren Detektorprospektionen ein reichhaltiges, selbstredend wiederum vorwiegend spätbronze-/früheisenzeitliches Fundmaterial, aus dem hier mehrere komplette und fragmentierte Tüllenbeile sowie ein „Einstückhort“ mit einem schweren Halsring hervorgehoben seien.⁷⁴ Unter den etwa 150 vormodernen Metallfunden sind aber auch recht viele aus der Slawenzeit: Ein fein punzverzierter und ein undekoriertes Buntmetall-Messerscheidenbeschlag (Abb. 4.12), eine Schelle aus demselben Material, ein silberner Schnallendorn, zwei eiserne tordierte Trensenknebel sowie drei Wellenrandhufeisen; eine kleine Eisenaxt, eine eiserne Tüllenpfeilspitze, eine Dornpfeilspitze sowie die Tüllen von vier weiteren Pfeileisen sind der Bewaffnung zuzurechnen, vier Messer, ein Bleispinnwirtel, ein kleiner lyraförmiger Feuerstahl (6 cm Länge) (Abb. 4.11) sowie das Fragment eines möglichen zweiten Feuerschlägers, ein tordierter eiserner Eimerhenkel, eine Eimerattasche, eine Eisenschnalle und das Flickstück eines Buntmetallgefäßes der Tracht und dem Hausrat. Ein stark aufgewölbter, fragmentierter Spornschenkel mit ausgebrochener Öse war Teil eines Reitutensils (und Statussymbols) des 11./12. Jahrhunderts; zum Pferdegeschirr gehörte möglicherweise ein durchbrochen gearbeiteter, rechteckiger Buntmetallanhänger, der ein Tier mit ovalem Auge zeigt (Abb. 4.14). Das Stück ist nicht genau einzuordnen, aber wohl bereits dem 12./13. Jahrhundert zuzuweisen. Eine große Bartaxt von 17 cm Höhe gehört ebenfalls bereits ins späte Mittelalter, kann aber natürlich – ebenso wie Fragmente einer Radehacke – bei späteren Rodungsaktivitäten

71 Dokumentation in der Ortsakte des BLDAM.

72 P. Grimm, *Burgwälle...*, S. 85; *Corpus 4...*, Nr. 90/15, 16 (Zitat); F. Biermann, *Besiedlung...*, S. 57.

73 W. Radig, *Heinrich I. Der Burgenbauer und Reichsgründer*, Führer zur Urgeschichte, XIV, Leipzig 1937, S. 84-86; Quellenstelle: Thietmar VI, 59.

74 BLDAM Maßnahmennummer LAU 2016:77, Sachkatalognummer 2016:246.

hier verloren worden sein. Zwei silberne Hochrandpfennige des jüngeren Typs mit Kleeblattkreuz und Kreuz stammen aus der Mitte oder zweiten Hälfte des 11. Jahrhunderts (Abb. 4.15, 16).

Besonders interessant ist ein fragmentierter Buntmetallbeschlag von 3,6 cm Höhe im Hohl-guss in Lilienkreuzform mit Nietlöchern, der im Zentrum ein Gesicht mit zwei großen mandelförmigen Augen und einer Nase aufweist (Abb. 4.10). Das Stück, das eine christliche Symbolik aufnehmen könnte, findet mehrere Analogien im abodritisch-lutizischen Norden, wo es auch erzeugt worden sein dürfte; es mag ein Emblem in Zeitphasen widerstreitender Glaubensrichtungen gewesen sein.⁷⁵ Überdies gibt es eine starke, gegossene, vergoldete Buntmetallscheibe mit der reliefierten Darstellung eines Greifen (2,8 cm Durchmesser). Weder auf der Rückseite noch auf dem Rand sind Reste einer Nadel- oder Ösenkonstruktion erkennbar (Abb. 4.13). Man kann an eine aus dem Westen stammende Scheibenfibel der Salierzeit denken, eher aber an einen Pferdegeschirranhänger etwas späterer Zeit. Vielleicht hat die Schmuckscheibe auch als Spielstein gedient.⁷⁶ Ein dünner gepresster Buntmetall-Gürtelbeschlag in Muschel- oder Palmettenform mit zwei großen Zierbuckeln wurde nachträglich an der Basis mit sechs feinen Durchlochungen, unten mit einer größeren Bohrung versehen, an der Eisenreste sichtbar sind (Höhe 2,5 cm, Breite 25 cm) (Abb. 4.17). Offenkundig wurde dieses antikisierende Stück, das aus dem fränkischen Westen stammen mag, in Malitschkendorf einer neuen Funktion zugeführt. Die mittelalterlichen Funde stammen sowohl aus dem Burgwall als auch von der nördlichen Vorburgsiedlung, mit Schwerpunkt im Burghof (Abb. 9).

⁷⁵ Vgl. z. B. D. Paddenberg, *Die Funde der jungslawischen Feuchtbodensiedlung von Parchim-Löddigsee, Kr. Parchim, Mecklenburg-Vorpommern*, Frühmittelalterliche Archäologie zwischen Ostsee und Mittelmeer, III, Wiesbaden 2012, Taf. 49.4877. Das Fundstück wird an anderer Stelle mit seinen Parallelen ausführlich besprochen.

⁷⁶ Ein ähnliches Stück zeigt P. Grimm, *Tilleda. Eine Königspfalz am Kyffhäuser, 2: Die Vorburg und Zusammenfassung*, Schriften zur Ur- und Frühgeschichte, XL, Berlin 1990, S. 168 Taf. 59 h, aus der Pfalz Tilleda am Kyffhäuser. Er nennt es einmal Knopf, einmal Emailfibel, und datiert es bereits in das 10. Jahrhundert. Eine ähnliche Scheibenfibel publiziert M. Schulze-Dörrlamm aus einem Grab des 11. Jahrhunderts in Osnabrück (M. Schulze-Dörrlamm, *Schmuck*, in: *Das Reich der Salier 1024-1125. Ausstellungskatalog Mainz*, Sigmaringen 1992, S. 134 Kat.-Nr. 2 A 16). Kleine Scheiben ähnlicher Form und Dekoration deutet N. Goßler als Anhänger hoch- bis spätmittelalterlichen Pferdegeschirrs (N. Goßler, *Reiter und Ritter, Formenkunde, Chronologie, Verwendung und gesellschaftliche Bedeutung des mittelalterlichen Reitzubehörs aus Deutschland*, Beiträge zur Ur- und Frühgeschichte Mecklenburg-Vorpommerns, XLIX, Schwerin 2011, S. 47 Taf. 10.249.1, 254). S. Leenen hält ähnliche Objekte des ersten Drittels des 13. Jahrhunderts von der Isenburg an der Ruhr für Zierscheiben, die man an Taschen, Gürteln oder am Zaumzeug präsentieren konnte (S. Leenen, *Zierscheiben*, K. 20, in: *Aufbruch 1225! Ritter, Burgen und Intrigen. Das Mittelalter an Rhein und Ruhr. Ausstellungskatalog Herne*, Mainz 2010, S. 457-458).

5.5 Lübbenau, Burgwall „Batzlin“

Eine Sonderstellung nimmt der „Batzlin“ bei Lübbenau ein, ein länglich-ovaler, ca. 1 m aufragender Horst von 150 x 220 m Fläche mitten im Oberspreewald (Abb. 10, 11). Seine Lage innerhalb mooriger Feuchtgebiete und das Fehlen jeglicher sichtbarer Wallspuren lässt ihn eher als Inselsiedlung denn als Burgwall erscheinen. Kleine Suchschnitte, die R. Breddin und D.-W. Buck im Jahre 1966 niederbrachten, belegten aber nicht nur eine dichte Siedlungs-Befundlage der Jungbronze-/Früheisenzeit mit Gruben, Feuerstellen und Kulturschichten, sondern auch einen zweiphasigen, wohl nicht allzu starken Holz-Erde-Wall jener Zeitspanne, der in späterer Zeit komplett planiert worden war. Vermutlich diente sein Erdreich der Aufschüttung des feuchten Terrains in der Umgebung. Über den Schichten der Lausitzer Kultur befanden sich die Gruben und Straten einer ebenfalls sehr intensiven spätslawischen Besiedlung. Diese ist auch durch größere Quantitäten spätslawischer, ferner einzelne mittelslawische Scherben belegt.⁷⁷

Hier erbrachten unsere Metallsuchprospektionen nicht nur spätbronze-/früheisenzeitliche Metalle, sondern fast zu gleichen Teilen auch solche spätslawischer Zeitstellung.⁷⁸ Unter den insgesamt mehr als 100 Funden sind eine Messergriffplatte und ein fragmentierter lanzettförmiger Gürtelhaken aus Buntmetall, außerdem weitere Buntmetallbleche unklarer Zuordnung, eine eiserne Eimerattasche, ein tordierter, vor- oder frühgeschichtlicher Trensenknebel, ein offener Buntmetall-Fingerring mit Kreisaugenzier (Abb. 4.25) und ein weiterer, zeitlich unklarer Fingerring, sechs Eisenmesser, ein mögliches Fragment einer kleinen Hammeraxt und ein Buntmetall-Gefäßrest zu nennen. Besonders interessant ist ein 1,5 cm hoher, fünfeckig-zungenförmiger Beschlag aus Silber mit Tauschierungen und zentraler herzförmiger Zier zwischen Randleisten, der vier (möglicherweise nachträglich eingebrachte) Niet-Durchlochungen aufweist (Abb. 4.24). Dieser Trachtbestandteil, der in östlich-reiternomadisches Milieu verweisen könnte, wird als elitäres Ausstattungsstück durch einen eisernen Pyramidenstachelsporn des späten 11. bis 12. Jahrhunderts ergänzt (Abb. 12.1).⁷⁹ Eine gegossene zungenförmige Bronze-Riemenzunge mit drei Durchlochungen an der nicht abgesetzten

⁷⁷ R. Breddin, D.-W. Buck, *Untersuchungen auf der befestigten Lausitzer Siedlung von Lübbenau, Kr. Calau*, „Veröffentlichungen des Museums für Ur- und Frühgeschichte Potsdam“ V (1969), S. 113-117; J. Herrmann, *Burgen 1969...*, S. 86; D.-W. Buck, *Billendorfer Gruppe I...*, S. 28 f.; idem, *Siedlungen...*, S. 113; zu den mittelalterlichen Funden: *Corpus 4...*, Nr. 94/15; F. Biermann, *Besiedlung...*, S. 350; idem, *Der Burgwall von Fergitz (Uckermark) und die Inselsiedlungen der Slawenzeit im brandenburgischen Raum*, in: *Historische Gewässernutzung im nordostdeutschen Gebiet. Archäologische und geographische Perspektiven*, hrsg. von idem, K.-U. Heußner, Studien zur Archäologie Europas, XXVIII, Bonn 2016, S. 128; allgemein: Ortsakte des BLDAM.

⁷⁸ BLDAM Maßnahmennummer: LAU 2016:160; Sachkatalognummer: 2016:685.

⁷⁹ Das Stück ist stark verbogen. Zur Datierung vgl. N. Goßler, *Untersuchungen...*, S. 585 f.

Basis und feiner Tremolierstichzier längs des Mittelgrates (4,5 cm Länge) ist völkerwanderungszeitlich und etwa in das 5. Jahrhundert zu datieren, mag aber im frühen Mittelalter erneute Nutzung erfahren haben (Abb. 12.3).

Drei bronzemantelte, teils mit Markierungen versehene Kugelzonengewichte (1,5, 1,9 und 2 cm Durchmesser) (Abb. 4.23; 12.2), nicht weniger als 16 silberne Hochrandpfennige des mittleren und späteren 11. Jahrhunderts (Balkenkreuz- und Krummstabpfennige, meist aus der Saale-Region, darunter zwei Obole) (Abb. 4.18–22) sowie ein etwas älteres Geldstück in der Art eines Otto-Adelheid-Pfennigs bilden zusammen Indizien für Handelstätigkeit, die man auf dem heute eher abgelegenen erscheinenden Burgwall nicht unbedingt erwartet hätte.

Unter den bei unseren Maßnahmen geborgenen Keramikscherben stehen 95 Lausitzer immerhin 71 spätslawische Scherben gegenüber, dazu tritt ein Wandstück des Tornower Typs aus dem fortgeschrittenen 10. Jahrhundert. Es wird mithin deutlich, dass der „Batzlin“ im Mittelalter weit über 100 Jahre lang besiedelt worden ist – vom späten 10. bis in das 12. Jahrhundert – und dass sich hier eine sehr intensive Nutzung mit Präsenz von Eliten und wohl auch Marktgeschehen ergab. Ob die Anlage im frühen Mittelalter nochmals befestigt worden ist, bleibt offen; angesichts der reichen und vielfach elitären Funde ist es nicht unwahrscheinlich.

5.6 Die übrigen vorgeschichtlichen Ringwälle

Die Metallsuchprospektionen auf den übrigen Burgen ergaben keine oder kaum frühmittelalterliche Funde. Dass nicht alle Lausitzer Burgen Nachnutzung erfahren hatten, war bereits beim „Alten Schloss“ von Senftenberg, das 1933 vor seiner Zerstörung im Braunkohletagebau beinahe komplett ergraben worden war, deutlich geworden: A. Götze traf dort eine dichte früheisenzeitliche Befundlage, aber keine slawischen Funde an.⁸⁰ Der Burgwall von Goßmar, eine mit 100 x 125 m relativ kleine, früheisenzeitliche Anlage auf einem Geländesporn im Luckauer Moor, hatte bislang keine slawischen Funde geliefert⁸¹ und dabei blieb es auch nach unseren Aktivitäten von 2016. Dasselbe gilt für die „Schwarze Burg“ von Schönwalde bei Sonnewalde, eine ovale, stark abgetragene Wallanlage von etwa 170 x 195 m Fläche; beide Detektorsurveys waren allerdings insgesamt wenig ergebnisreich.⁸² Gänzlich fundlos, sowohl in Bezug auf Zeugen der Vor- als auch der Frühgeschichte, blieben die Untersuchungen am Burgwall im „Schweinert“ bei Falkenberg/Elster, von dem zuvor nur vor-

⁸⁰ J. Herrmann, *Podrosche...*, S. 97-108.

⁸¹ K.H. Marschalleck, *Urgeschichte...*, S. 254 f.; J. Herrmann, *Burgen 1969...*, S. 86; D.-W. Buck, *Billendorfer Gruppe I...*, S. 82; idem, *Siedlungen...*, S. 111.

⁸² K.H. Marschalleck, *Urgeschichte...*, S. 302 f.; J. Herrmann, *Burgen 1969...*, S. 86; D.-W. Buck, *Billendorfer Gruppe I...*, S. 49 f.; idem, *Siedlungen...*, S. 114 f.

geschichtliche Scherben bekannt waren.⁸³ Nicht einmal solche konnten wir hier bergen. Die Anlage von 100 x 140 m Ausdehnung ist wegen ihrer Gliederung in Haupt- und Vorburg sowie ihrer eckigen Gestalt bemerkenswert, ansonsten aber ziemlich rätselhaft. Möglicherweise ist es auch an dieser Anlage, ähnlich wie am Burger „Schlossberg“, zu jüngeren Ausbauten gekommen.⁸⁴

Der Burgwall „Gröschkenberg“ von Groß Mehßow, eine lang-ovale Ringwallanlage von 120 x 170 m Fläche, ist verschliffen und durch die Anlage eines Friedhofs im zentralen Bereich der erhaltenen Kuppe stark gestört. Als ältere Lesefunde liegen neben großen Mengen von bronze- und eisenzeitlicher Keramik auch einige slawische Scherben vor, vorwiegend des verzierten Menkendorfer Typs.⁸⁵ Die Detektorprospektionen erbrachten selbst kaum frühgeschichtliche Funde (zwei eiserne Messer und einen Eiskrebs), aber erneut eine Menkendorfer Scherbe als Hinweis auf eine offenkundig nicht allzu intensive Nachnutzung des alten Befestigungsareals und seiner Vorburgsiedlung.

Der mit 165 x 235 m Fläche sehr große, hervorragend erhaltene Burgwall von Kosilenzien hat bei älteren Begehungen ebenfalls diverse slawische Funde erbracht, insbesondere eine eiserne Lanzenspitze sowie weitere Utensilien aus diesem Material, ferner eine wellenverzierte Tonscherbe des 9./10. Jahrhunderts.⁸⁶ Unsere Untersuchungen erbrachten keine frühmittelalterlichen, aber auch kaum vorgeschichtliche Funde, was auf gründliche Plünderung der Anlage durch illegale Sondengänger hindeuten könnte.

Slawische Funde – angeblich sogar des 7./8. Jahrhunderts – werden schließlich vom „Alten Schloss“ bei Lieberose gemeldet, einem gut erhaltenen, ovalen Ringwall von etwa 160 x 130 m Fläche auf hohem Geländesporn in der Niederung.⁸⁷ Bei insgesamt spärlichem Fundaufkommen konnten wir frühmittelalterliches Sachgut jedoch mit dem Detektor nicht nachweisen.

6. AUSWERTUNG

Betrachten wir die Resultate älterer Forschungen und jene unserer Detektorprospektionen zusammen, dann lassen sich auf sieben von elf Lausitzer

⁸³ J. Herrmann, *Burgen 1969...*, S. 64, 87; D.-W. Buck, *Billendorfer Gruppe I...*, S. 59; idem, *Siedlungen...*, S. 111.

⁸⁴ D.-W. Buck, *Billendorfer Gruppe II...*, S. 44, hält Falkenberg hingegen für den einzigen Burgwall der Lausitzer Kultur bzw. Billendorfer Gruppe, dessen Zweiteiligkeit ursprünglich sein könnte.

⁸⁵ Zur Burg: D.-W. Buck, *Billendorfer Gruppe I...*, S. 26; idem, *Siedlungen...*, S. 111; zu frühmittelalterlichen Funden: *Corpus 4...*, Nr. 94/8; F. Biermann, *Besiedlung...*, S. 349.

⁸⁶ Zur Burg: D.-W. Buck, *Billendorfer Gruppe I...*, S. 19; idem, *Siedlungen...*, S. 112; zu frühmittelalterlichen Funden: W. Hülle, *Westausbreitung...*, S. 75; J. Herrmann, *Burgen 1969...*, S. 87; *Corpus 4...*, Nr. 91/4, mit älterer Literatur; F. Biermann, *Besiedlung...*, S. 354.

⁸⁷ *Corpus 3...*, Nr. 68/9; D.-W. Buck, *Siedlungen...*, S. 112; F. Biermann, *Besiedlung...*, S. 342 f.

Burgwällen in der Niederlausitz Nachweise frühmittelalterlicher Nachnutzung führen – letztere war mithin nicht die Regel, aber üblich. Inwieweit es zu erneuter Nutzung kam, hing von der Position der Burgwälle innerhalb der frühmittelalterlichen Siedlungslandschaft ab. Dass beispielsweise die Burgwälle von Falkenberg und Senftenberg nicht erneut besiedelt wurden, hat damit zu tun, dass sie sich in Gebieten befinden, die von den Slawen nur dünn oder gar nicht besiedelt wurden.⁸⁸ Das allein war aber nicht ausschlaggebend: Beispielsweise erhob sich der von frühmittelalterlicher Nachnutzung freie Burgwall von Goßmar mitten im intensiv genutzten Kerngebiet der *Lusizi* um das heutige Luckau.

Hinsichtlich der Zeitstellung der Nachnutzung deuten Keramik-, Münz- und Kleinfunde einen Schwerpunkt in fortgeschrittener mittel- und in spätslawischer Zeit an, etwa vom späten 10. bis in das 12. Jahrhundert. Natürlich ist hier methodenkritisch zu beachten, dass die an metallenen Sachgut gegenüber früheren Epochen erheblich reichere spätslawische Phase bei Metallsuchprospektionen stets hervortritt. Aber die Keramik bestätigt das Bild: Wenn nicht spätslawisches Geschirr dominiert („Batzlin“, Burg, Malitschkendorf), dann handelt es sich um Tornower und (meist verzierte) Menkendorfer Ware des 10. Jahrhunderts. Anscheinend setzte die Nutzung der alten Burgwälle erst richtig ein, als jene des Tornower Typs ihre Hochzeit hinter sich hatten; nachdem die *Lusizi* vom ostfränkisch-deutschen Reich, zeitweise auch von Polen unterworfen worden waren, erfolgte eine verstärkte Nutzung der alten Wehrbauten. Dass es sich bei den Nachnutzungen der Burgwälle um „Volksburgen“ handeln könnte, die gar bereits vor dem Bau der Tornower Burgen als Befestigungen gedient hätten, ist angesichts der chronologischen Verhältnisse mithin ausgeschlossen.⁸⁹

Es deutet sich zugleich eine unterschiedliche Intensität und Laufzeit der Nachnutzung an – der „Batzlin“ wurde offenkundig vom späten 10. bis in das 12. Jahrhundert intensiv genutzt, was auch für Malitschkendorf gelten dürfte. Burg und Zützen existierten bei ähnlichen Anfängen wohl nur während des 11. Jahrhunderts, und in Groß Mehßow gab es eine lediglich sehr schwache Wiederbesiedlung bereits im 10. Jahrhundert.

Zur Funktion lässt sich zunächst feststellen, dass nichts auf kultische Zwecke der frühmittelalterlichen Nutzung der alten Burgwälle hinweist; der einzige Fund mit möglichem religiösem Bezug, der kreuzförmige Beschlag aus Malitschkendorf, ist in dieser Deutung wie in seiner Verwendung unsicher. Vielmehr deuten diverse Sachzeugen – die Messer, Keramikscherben, Kleingerät, landwirtschaftliche Utensilien – auf Siedlungsnutzung hin. Überdies zeigen Wägstücke und Münzen („Batzlin“, Burg, Malitschkendorf, Zützen) Handelstätigkeit an, Reitersporen („Batzlin“, Burg, Malitschkendorf)

88 Vgl. F. Biermann, *Besiedlung...*, S. 47-50 Abb. 9, 10.

89 Vgl. zu dieser Überlegung ibidem, S. 51.

und gehobene Trachtbestandteile („Batzlin“, Malitschkendorf) die Präsenz von Eliten, weitere Reiterausrüstung, Speer- und Pfeilspitzen (Kosilenzien, Malitschkendorf u. a.) die Anwesenheit von Reitern und Kriegern. Es ist auf der Grundlage von Metalldetektorfunden generell schwer zu sagen, ob solche Sachgüter zentralörtliche Funktionen zu spiegeln vermögen oder nicht; die Fundzahlen sind zu stark von sekundären Faktoren beeinflusst, zudem fehlen in der Niederlausitz noch die Vergleichsmaßstäbe. Immerhin, für Burg, Malitschkendorf und „Batzlin“ zeichnen sich – auch in Bezug auf ältere Funde – herausgehobene Fundsensembles ab.

Ein geringer frühmittelalterlicher Fundniederschlag, wie er in Groß Mehßow, Kosilenzien und Lieberose erkennbar ist, lässt sich wohl durch die Besiedlung der alten Burgstandorte ohne Erneuerung der Befestigung erklären. Die Position der Burgwälle war meist auch unter frühmittelalterlichen Siedlungskriterien günstig, und die alten Wall-Grabenanlagen mögen einen zusätzlichen Gunstfaktor dargestellt haben – sie boten immer noch einen gewissen Schutz. Wir stellen zeitgleich auch eine verstärkte Nutzung von Inseln für die Besiedlung fest, was ähnliche Ursachen haben mag: Ein eigenständiger Burgenbau war nicht mehr möglich, nachdem das Land durch das Ostfränkisch-Deutsche Reich unterworfen worden war. Die Zeiten waren aber weiterhin kriegerisch und das Leben gefährlich, so dass Bedarf nach geschützten Siedlungspositionen bestand. Diesen erfüllten gleichermaßen Inseln und vorgeschichtliche Burgstätten.⁹⁰

Besonders im Falle des „Batzlin“ und von Burg lassen Art, Qualität und Quantität des Fundaufkommens zu, an eine herausgehobene Funktion der frühmittelalterlichen Neunutzungen zu denken. Die vielen Münzen, der Reitersporn und weiteres elitäres Sachgut auf dem „Batzlin“ deuten für diesen an und für sich abgelegenen Platz zentrale herrschaftliche und wirtschaftliche Funktionen an. Eine Erneuerung eines Teils oder sogar der ganzen Befestigung wäre plausibel anzunehmen, denn die Ausmaße des vorgeschichtlichen Wallrings entsprachen durchaus den Erfordernissen einer spätslawischen Großburg.⁹¹ Mitten im sumpfigen Spreewald gelegen, glich der „Batzlin“ durch seine Lage und durch die Reste des Lausitzer Walls im frühen Mittelalter von vornherein einer Inselburg. Möglicherweise diente die Anlage als ostfränkisch-deutsche Verwaltungsburg im Sinne eines „Burgwards“, ähnlich dem Lübbenauer „Burglehen“ oder dem Cottbusser „Schlossberg“; auch die im Jahre 1000 als Burgward überlieferte Burg von Niemitzsch (Polanowice) an der Neiße war, wie oben erläutert, über dem

⁹⁰ Vgl. F. Biermann, *Besiedlung...*, S. 64; idem, *Fergitz...*, S. 92, mit weiterer Literatur.

⁹¹ Zum Burgenbau der spätslawischen Zeit vgl. z. B. F. Biermann, *Burg und Herrschaft bei den nördlichen Westslawen*, in: *Die Burg. Wissenschaftlicher Begleitband zu den Ausstellungen „Burg und Herrschaft“ und „Mythos Burg“*, hrsg. von G.U. Großmann, H. Ottomeyer, Dresden 2010, S. 30 f.

dortigen vorgeschichtlichen Ringwall erbaut worden. Funde, Lage und Gestalt des „Batzlin“ ermöglichen diese Hypothese, doch ist ein Nachweis derzeit nicht zu führen und auch in Zukunft schwierig, da die Wallanlagen komplett abgetragen sind.

In Malitschkendorf und Zützen wäre Ähnliches denkbar – eine zumindest partielle Erneuerung und Nutzung als Grundlage für Befestigungen des späten 10. und 11. Jahrhunderts. Freilich kann es sich dort auch um offene, wenn auch wirtschaftlich durchaus florierende und intensiv belegte Siedlungen gehandelt haben. Auf erneuerte Wehranlagen weist nichts hin. Anders liegt der Fall aber am „Schlossberg“ von Burg: Mit der südlichen Hochburg haben wir nach aller Wahrscheinlichkeit eine frühmittelalterliche Neuanlage am Rande der vorgeschichtlichen Großburg vor uns (Abb. 6, 7). Die ovale, hoch ausgebaute, von Wall und Graben umgebene Burg von 95 x 140 m Fläche entspricht dem Typus spätslawischer Wallanlagen, den wir weiträumig für das späte 10. und 11. Jahrhundert belegen können.⁹² Im regionalen Befestigungswesen der Lausitzer Kultur findet sie hingegen keinerlei Parallelen, auch nicht in der völlig anders gestalteten und insgesamt viel kleineren Fortifikation von Falkenberg. Dass sich auf dem Areal der Burger Hauptburg neben slawischen Scherben auch vorgeschichtliche finden, spricht nicht gegen ihr frühmittelalterliches Alter, denn natürlich wurde die Burg aus Erdmassen der alten Wallruinen aufgeschüttet. J. Herrmanns Einschätzung ist hier mithin im Wesentlichen zu folgen. Die zahlreichen slawischen Funde, die bereits bei den Ausgrabungen in der Vorburg, aber auch bei unserer Prospektion gewonnen wurden, die Reitersporen, Wägstücke und der Schläfenring, belegen darüber hinaus eine intensive Nutzung und Besiedlung während des späten 10. und 11. Jahrhunderts. Hier hat sich im frühen Mittelalter offensichtlich eine Burg, nicht nur eine offene Siedlung befunden.

Kommen wir abschließend zur Frage zurück, wo sich *Sciciansi* befand. Die in die Zeit um 1000 fallenden Funde ermöglichen grundsätzlich, an Zützen zu denken, doch sind es nur wenige Stücke.⁹³ Viel plausibler erscheint im Ergebnis der Reihenuntersuchungen hingegen die vor allem von J. Herrmann vertretene These, dass es sich dabei um den „Schlossberg“ von Burg gehandelt hat. Hier haben wir eine große und offensichtlich intensiv genutzte Burg mit reichem Fundmaterial vor uns, die im späten 10. und 11. Jahrhundert in Verwendung war, zu der eine ausgedehnte Vorburg im Bereich des spätbronze-/früheisenzeitlichen Walls gehörte, und die durch ihre Lage

92 Siehe F. Biermann, *Burg...*, S. 30 f.

93 Vgl. hierzu auch F. Biermann, *Thietmars Welt im Spiegel der Archäologie*, in: *Thietmars Welt. Ein Merseburger Bischof schreibt Geschichte. Ausstellungskatalog Merseburg*, hrsg. von M. Cottin, L. Merkel, Petersberg 2018, S. 181-183.

an einem bedeutenden Übergang über den Spreewald eine verkehrsgeographisch neuralgische Position beherrschte. Dass von hier aus 1015 ein Ausfall auf ein ostfränkisch-deutsches Heer erfolgte, das den Spreewald zu queren beabsichtigte,⁹⁴ ist ebenso plausibel wie die Vorstellung, dass die Anlage mitten in den Mooren des Spreewalds einen großen Eindruck machte, gerade hell erleuchtet in der Nacht. Ihre Ausdehnung und prominente Lage vermochten den Machtanspruch Bolesławs zu verdeutlichen, vielleicht sogar unter bewusster Anknüpfung an die noch sichtbaren Relikte uralter Befestigungswerke zur Darstellung einer legitimierenden Tradition. Größe und Gestalt der Hochburg im Süden würden dafür sprechen, dass sie tatsächlich erst unter Bolesław im frühen 11. Jahrhundert erbaut worden ist. Burg war von Osten her gut zu erreichen und konnte zugleich der Durchsetzung von Herrschaft in der westlich anschließenden Niederlausitz dienen. Der Ortsname, 1315 als „Borg“ erstmals schriftlich überliefert,⁹⁵ mag an diese besondere Bedeutung des Platzes erinnern, die die Metallfunde der jüngsten Prospektion unterstreichen. Natürlich können diese Sachzeugen weitreichende Thesen nicht sichern, aber sie geben einen Anstoß, der Frage von *Sciciani*, aber auch jener der frühgeschichtlichen Nachnutzung der anderen vorgeschichtlichen Burgen in der Niederlausitz durch gezielte Prospektionen und auch Ausgrabungen weiter nachzugehen.

94 Nach Thietmar VII, 16, erfolgte der Angriff, als das deutsche Heer den Gau Lausitz erreichte (Nostris autem, ut ad pagum Lusici dictum venerunt, a presidio ex Ciani urbe egresso temptantur), so dass J. Herrmanns Darstellung die Quelle überreizt, das Heer sei beim Zug „an Ciani vorbei nach Zentralpolen“ angegriffen worden (*Die Slawen in Deutschland...*, S. 217). Es ist auch nicht wahrscheinlich, dass ein Heer mit östlicherem Ziel gerade den Pass wählte, der von einer starken gegnerischen Burg versperrt war. Aber richtig ist natürlich, dass die deutsche Armee auf dem Weg nach Schlesien oder Großpolen den Spreewald zu passieren beabsichtigte und der polnische Angriff diesem Ansinnen entgegenwirkte.

95 Die sorbische Form lautet Bórkowy, laut S. Körner (*Ortsnamenbuch der Niederlausitz, Studien zur Toponymie der Kreise Beeskow, Calau, Cottbus, Eisenhüttenstadt, Finsterwalde, Forst, Guben, Lübben, Luckau und Spremberg*, Deutsch-slawische Forschungen zur Namenkunde und Siedlungsgeschichte, XXXVI, Berlin 1993, S. 134) zu sorbisch „Nadel“- oder „Kiefernwald“. Diese Namensform ist aber erst seit dem 18. Jahrhundert überliefert, während mittelalterliche Nennungen die deutsche Form verwenden. Es ist daher anzunehmen, dass diese die auf den „Schlossberg“ bezogene Grundform ist; vgl. zu Burg auch R. Lehmann, *Historisches Ortslexikon für die Niederlausitz 2: Die Kreise Cottbus, Spremberg, Guben und Sorau*, Veröffentlichungen des Brandenburgischen Landeshauptarchivs, Neuaufgabe, Potsdam 2013, S. 19.

ABSTRACT

Prehistoric ringforts of Lower Lusatia in the early Middle Ages and the location of the Polish stronghold *Sciciani*

From 2015 to 2017, metal detector surveys took place on ten prehistoric fortifications in Lower Lusatia and the adjoining Elsterland, yielding diverse insights into the chronology, function and use of these sites. This paper focuses on the subsequent use of the fortifications during the early Middle Ages. The finds show that several ringforts were used again from the 10th to the 12th century, partly as open settlements, but also as fortifications. Some of these had central administrative and economic functions. In particular, the new finds support the hypothesis that the long-sought stronghold *Sciciani*, which the chronicler Thietmar of Merseburg mentions as the seat and fortification of the Polish ruler Bolesław Chrobry, is connected to one of these re-used fortifications: the *Schlossberg* of Burg im Spreewald.

Keywords: Prehistoric strongholds – Early Middle Ages – Lower Lusatia and Elsterland – Metal detector surveys – *Sciciani*

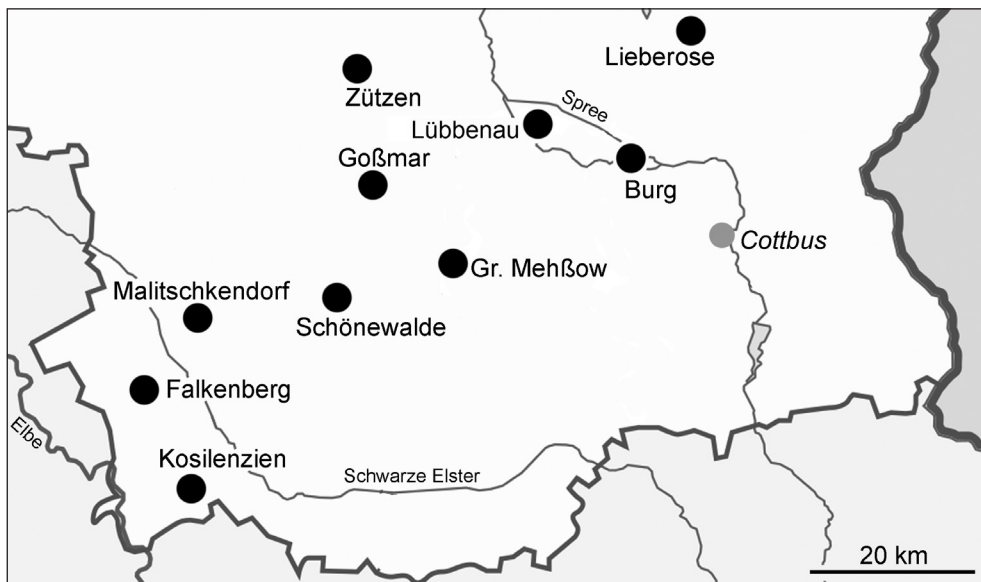


Abb. 1. Die im Rahmen des Projektes prospektierten spätbronze-/früheisenzeitlichen Burgen in der Niederlausitz und im Elbe-Elsterland (Kartierung Verfasser auf Grundlage von Wikimedia.Commons).



Abb. 2. Zützen, Ansicht des Burgwalls aus nordöstlicher Vogelperspektive (Foto J. Wacker).

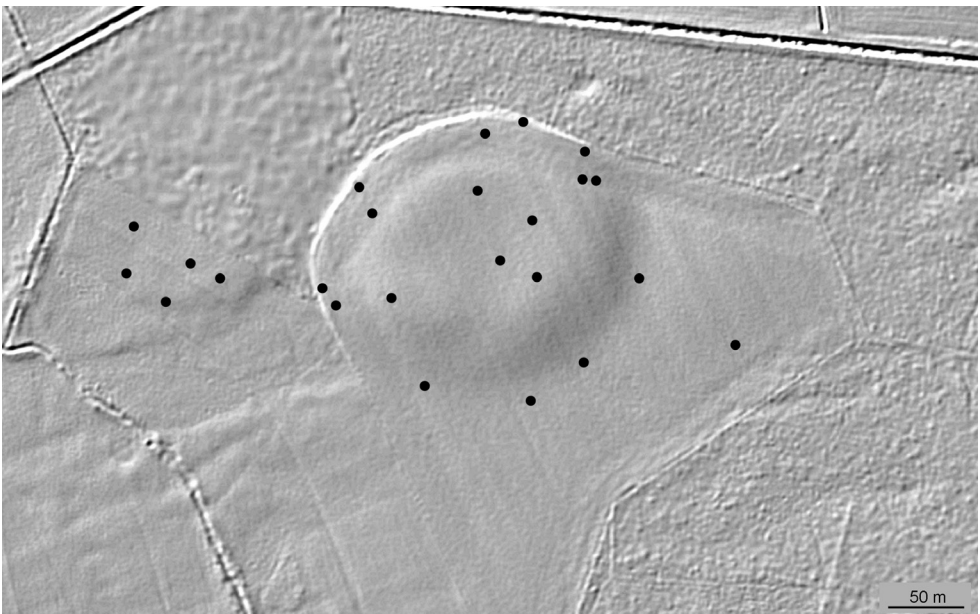


Abb. 3. Zützen, digitales Geländemodell des Burgwalls mit den mittelalterlichen Funden seit 2015 (schwarze Punkte) (Geobasis-DE/LGB, Bearbeitung Verfasser).

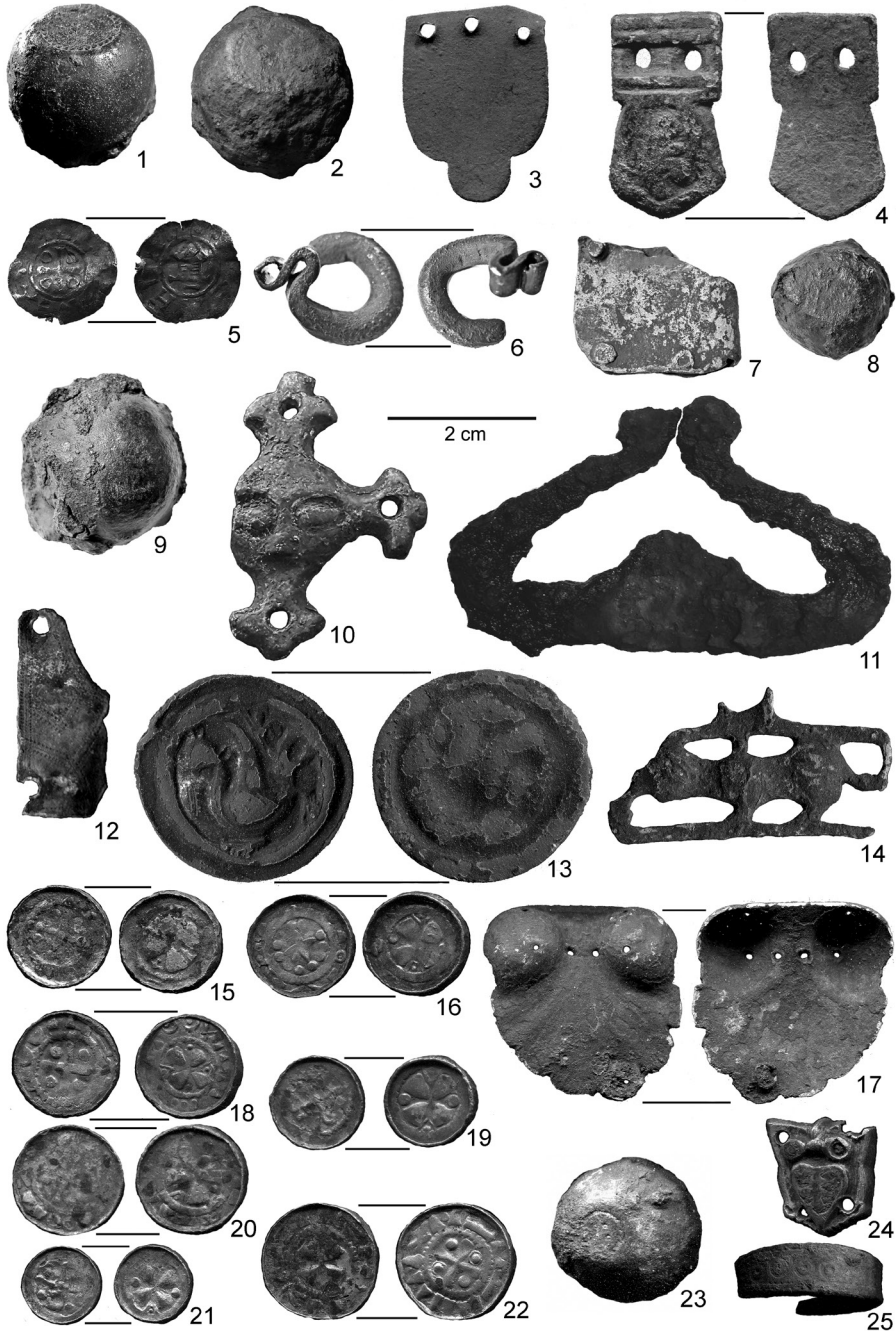


Abb. 4. Funde aus Buntmetall/Eisen (1, 2, 8, 9, 23), Buntmetall (3, 4, 7, 8, 10, 12–14, 17, 25), Silber (5, 6, 15, 16, 18–22, 24) und Eisen (11) von Burgwällen der Niederlausitz. 1–5 Zützen, 6–9 Burg im Spreewald, 10–17 Malitschkendorf, 18–25 Lübbenau, „Bat-
zlin“ (Fotos M. Fenner, Verfasser).

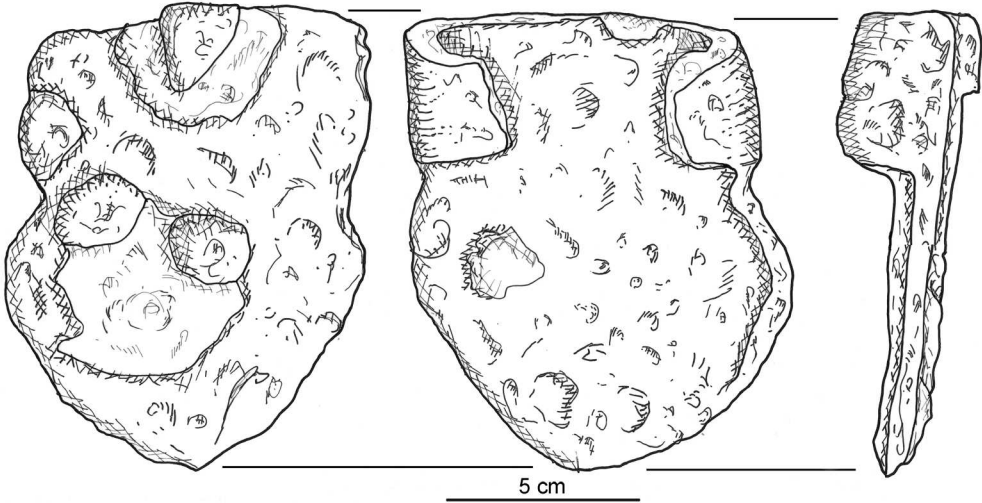


Abb. 5. Zützen, eiserne Hakenpflugschar aus sumpfigem Terrain unfern des Burgwalls (Zeichnung C. Hergheligi).



Abb. 6. Burg im Spreewald, Ansicht aus nordöstlicher Vogelperspektive. Links vom Bismarckturm ist die Hochburg sichtbar (Foto J. Wacker).

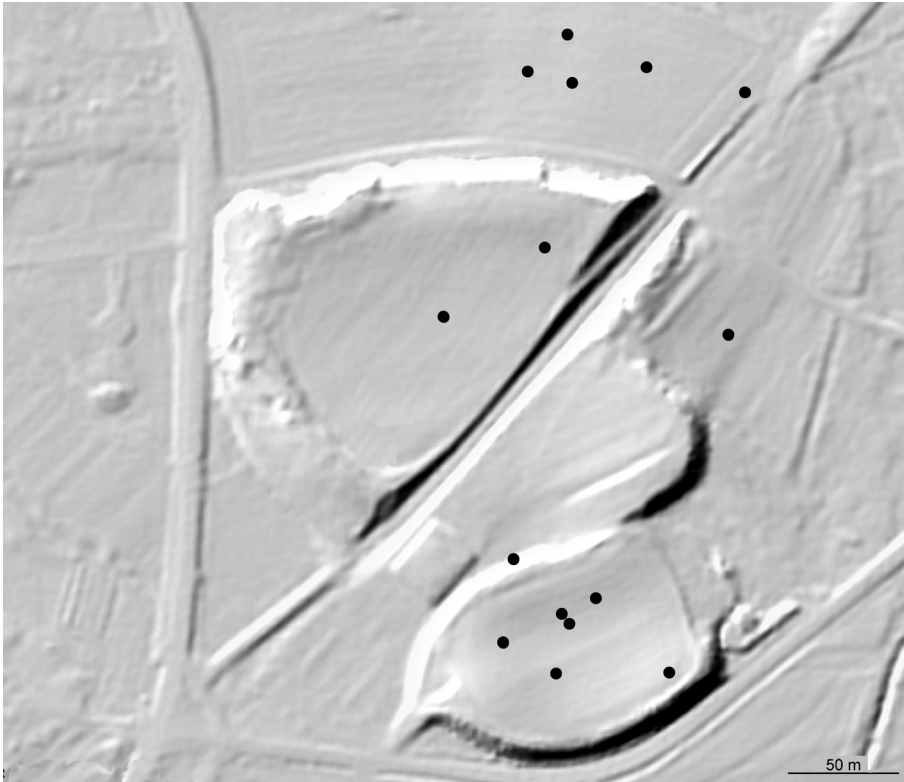


Abb. 7. Burg im Spreewald, digitales Geländemodell des „Schlossbergs“ mit spätbronze-/früheisenzeitlicher Großburg im Norden und wahrscheinlich jüngerer Hochburg im Süden sowie den mittelalterlichen Funden von 2016 (schwarze Punkte) (Geobasis-DE/LGB, Bearbeitung Verfasser).



Abb. 8. Malitschkendorf, der Burgwall von Nordosten (Foto Verfasser).

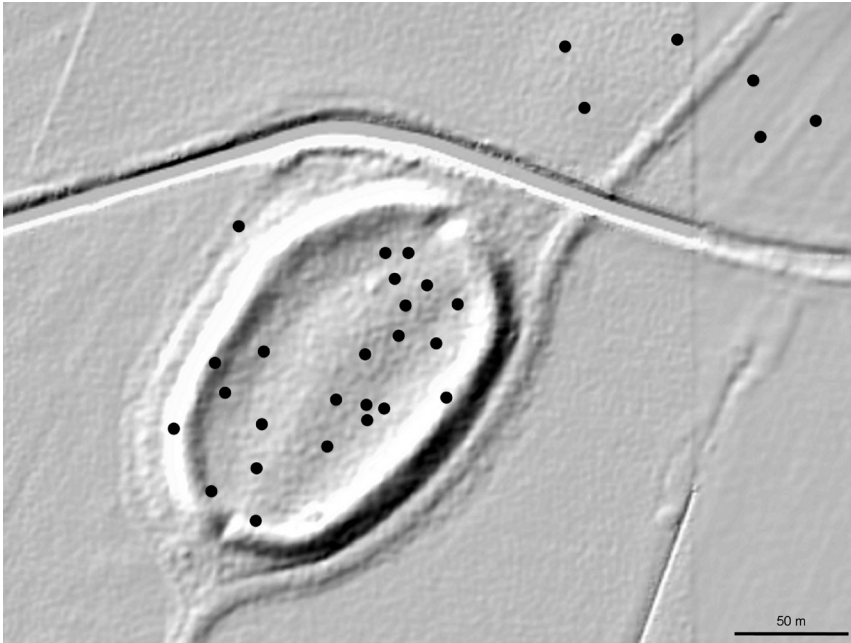


Abb. 9. Malitschkendorf, digitales Geländemodell des Burgwalls mit den mittelalterlichen Funden seit 2016 (schwarze Punkte) (Geobasis-DE/LGB, Bearbeitung Verfasser).



Abb. 10. Lübbenau, „Batzlin“ (im rechten Bildmittelgrund), Ansicht aus südwestlicher Vogelperspektive (Foto G. Wetzel).

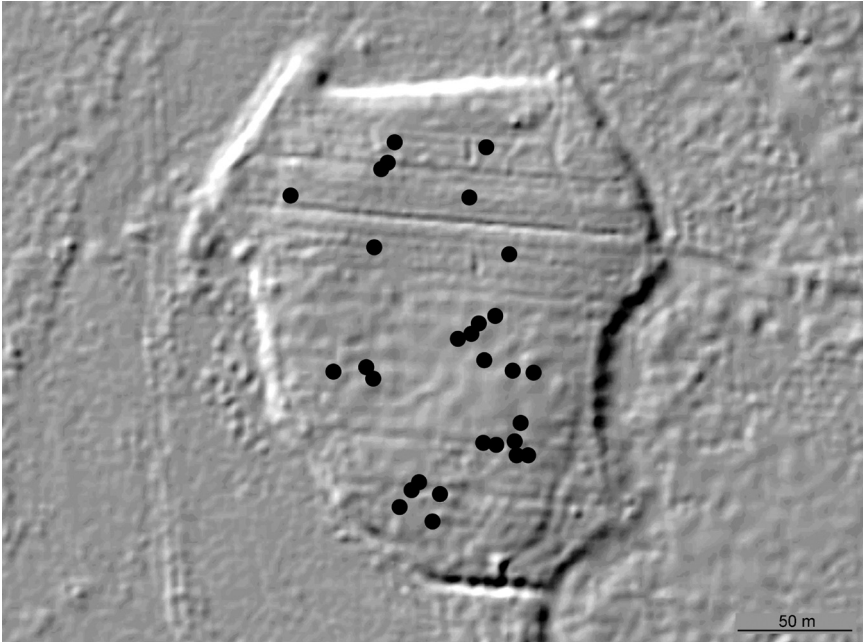


Abb. 11. Lübbenau, „Batzzlin“, digitales Geländemodell des Burgwalls mit den mittelalterlichen Funden seit 2016 (schwarze Punkte) (Geobasis-DE/LGB, Bearbeitung Verfasser).

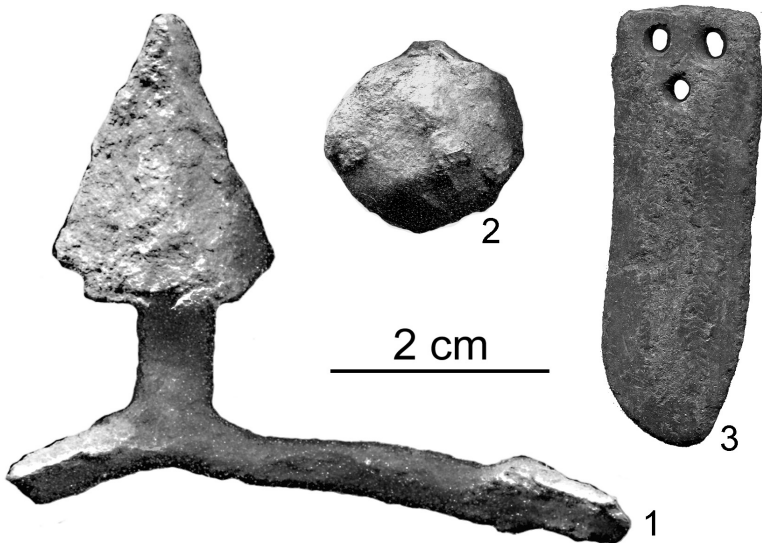


Abb. 12. Funde aus Eisen (1), Buntmetall/Eisen (2) und Buntmetall (3) von Lübbenau, „Batzzlin“ (Fotos Verfasser).

ANDRZEJ PLESZCZYŃSKI
LUBLIN

BACK TO THE MIDDLE AGES: THE *LONGUE DURÉE* OF STEREOTYPES IN THE MUTUAL PERCEPTION OF GERMANS AND POLES*



NEIGHBOURS WHO DO NOT UNDERSTAND EACH OTHER: GERMANS
AND POLES

The character of Polish-German relations has not only had a decisive influence on the history of Central and Eastern Europe, but has also been important for the history of the entire continent. West European historians have, for the most part, not recognized these connections.¹ Moreover, the role of stereotypes in formulating opinions about Poles and Slavs – also how the Poles and Slavs perceived the western region of Europe – has never aroused any special interest.² At the end of the last century, a slight shift took place in favour of appreciating the importance of the history of Central European countries in shaping the history of the continent. Several works were published dealing with the history

* The text was created as a part of the project of the National Centre for Science (Narodowe Centrum Nauki), decision no. 2018/31/B/HS3/02083, titled *Mutual stereotypes of Poles and Germans and their influence on the historiography of both nations in the 19th and 20th centuries*.

1 Compared to other West European scholars German researchers do not come off badly in this respect. Some works devoted to certain aspects of Slavic history are: R.F. Arnold, *Geschichte der deutschen Polenliteratur*, vol. I: *Von den Anfängen bis 1800*, Osnabrück 1966 (1st edition: 1900); Th. Wünsch, *Deutsche und Slawen im Mittelalter. Beziehungen zu Tschechen, Polen, Südslawen und Russen*, München 2008.

2 There are a few works devoted to certain aspects of the stereotypical view of Poland and Poles by the Germans, e.g.: H. Orłowski, *'Polnische Wirtschaft'. Zum deutschen Polendiskurs der Neuzeit*, Wiesbaden 1996; A. Will, *Kobieta polska w wyobraźni społeczeństw niemieckiego obszaru językowego od XIV w. do lat trzydziestych XX w.*, Wrocław 1983 actually, the book deals almost exclusively with the 19th and 20th centuries; also: *Deutsche Polenliteratur*, ed. G. Kozielek [G. Kosellek], Wrocław 1991); *Reformen, Revolutionen und Reisen: deutsche Polenliteratur*, ed. G. Kosellek, Wiesbaden 2000; see also: T. Szarota, *National Stereotypes as the Theme of Historical Research in Poland*, "Acta Poloniae Historica" LXXI (1995), pp. 55-68.

of stereotypes. However, they all were limited to some particular aspect of the problem.³ Moreover, this shift in the attitude of Western European researchers was short-lived and now, it seems, the situation is back to its previous state.

Stereotypes along with the whole broader issue of the perceptions and opinions of people as rooted in history are at the heart of creating a worldview that sets directions for social and political activity. The reflections developed in this article, therefore, represent a crucial sphere of political anthropology. The breadth and complexity of the problem justify a treatment which this brief outline can only give a basic idea. In essence it involves simplifying the process of mutual perception of neighbouring societies up to the point of falsehood and taking this falsehood as the basis for formulating opinions about them.⁴

I initially investigated the question of the stereotypical perception of Poles by the Germans in the Middle Ages.⁵ I eventually noticed that the basic structure of the mutual perceptions of Poles and Germans did not undergo any major changes during the course of the centuries. The external form of the stereotypes was naturally transformed, becoming adapted to the new times, but the nucleus, the internal meaning structure, remained the same.

In these considerations opinions about reality itself are not included. Only those statements, whose structure duplicates the old patterns, distorting the view of things to such an extent that the whole message should be located in the sphere of imagination will be examined here. However, even if I limit my analysis to the so-called conceptual *clichés*, the problem is very broad, and that is why what present here is only a selection of examples (a few of many possible ones) in order to provoke discussion.

³ The book which is the closest to the problem developed here but is devoted solely to modernity is: L. Wolff, *Inventing Eastern Europe. The Map of Civilization on the Mind of Enlightenment*, Stanford 1994; on the Middle Ages, see: D. Fraesdorff, *Der barbarische Norden. Vorstellungen und Fremdkategorien bei Rimbert, Thietmar von Merseburg, Adam von Bremen und Helmold von Bosau*, Berlin 2005; however, the description of the problem of Eastern-Central Europe is limited.

⁴ When I write about "stereotypes", I mean the thought construction which in a generalizing way simplifies to falsity the opinion about the described phenomenon – in this case about nations. There are many theoretical works on the problem, e.g.: *Stereotypes as Explanations. The Formation of Meaningful Beliefs about Social Groups*, ed. C. McGarty, V.Y. Yzerbyt, R. Spears, Cambridge 2002. Because the stereotype has been passed down in oral and literary traditions for centuries, it is related to what Ernst Curtius called *topos* – cf.: E.R. Curtius, *European Literature and the Latin Middle Ages*, transl. from the German by W.R. Trask, Princeton 1983.

⁵ I have sought to present the issue in several of my works, the most important of which are: *Przekazy niemieckie o Polsce i jej mieszkańcach w okresie panowania Piastów*, Lublin 2016; *The Birth of a Stereotype: Polish Rulers and their Country in German Writings c. 1000 A.D.*, Boston-Leiden 2011.

First, I will provide selected examples of stereotypes (in my opinion, representative of the problem) that still exist today. Their structure will be analyzed in an attempt to find the kernel of the message in them. Then the narrative will be explored in order to detect the earlier actual usage of the stereotypes that I have identified and described. This manner of journey in time will utilize a reverse chronology; that is, present day examples will be followed by those of the modern period, and finally the Middle Ages will come at the end. Certain structures analyzed here have some connections with antiquity; while taking note of them, they will not be developed. It was in the Middle Ages that the civilization of present day Europe was born, and within it the stereotypes analyzed here had their origin.

CONTEMPORARY MUTUAL STEREOTYPICAL VIEWS

Early in the millennium three British researchers from Leeds published a sociological study that systematically addressed the problem of the mutual stereotypes of Poles and Germans employed in international corporations.⁶ Only a small part of the study refers to history. However, the authors do distinguish (from a number of previous analyses) a network of concepts that are very useful in the historical research of the phenomenon that interests us. At the same time, when it comes to contemporary opinions, it is only the Polish side and its views about the Germans that are more clearly presented in the study, whereas how the Germans viewed the Poles is barely dealt with. This same gap is pervasive in other works by historians of modernity⁷ and Polish German philologists.⁸

Worth noting in the list contained in the study is that according to the authors, the stereotypical way the Germans and Poles described both themselves and their neighbours is typical for people living in the center and peripheries of civilization.⁹ As an analogy to the pairing of Germans – Poles,

6 M. Chapman, J. Clegg, H. Gajewska-De Mattos, *Poles and Germans: An international Business Relationship*, "Human Relations" LVII 8 (2004), pp. 983-1015.

7 E.g.: T. Szarota, *Niemcy i Polacy. Wzajemne postrzeganie i stereotypy*, Warszawa 1996; H. Orłowski, 'Polnische Wirtschaft'...

8 J. Dąbrowska, *Stereotype und ihr sprachlicher Ausdruck im Polenbild der deutschen Presse. Eine textlinguistische Untersuchung*, Studien zur deutschen Sprache, XVII, Tübingen 1999.

9 The paradigm has been and is very popular. It is used e.g. by R. Bartlett, 'Heartland and Border'. *The Mental and Physical Geography in Medieval Europe*, in: *Power and identity in the Middle Ages: Essays in memory of Rees Davies*, ed. H. Pryce, J. Watts, Oxford 2010, pp. 23-36; or: idem, *The Making of Europe. Conquest, Colonization and Cultural Change 950–1350*, London 1993. This way of understanding the history of Europe is also found in Poland – see: *Modernizacja struktur władzy w warunkach opóźnienia; Europa Środkowa i Wschodnia na przełomie średniowiecza i czasów nowożytnych*, ed. S. Gawlas, H. Grała, Warszawa 1999.

the researchers cite stereotypical opinions of the English about their Celtic neighbours and vice versa.¹⁰

According to the researchers, the inhabitants of the areas lying at the centre of civilization (Germans, English) generally characterized themselves as rational, self-controlled and reliable people, trustworthy professionals, quick to act, clean and decent, manifesting humanitarian qualities. Due to these and other “civilized” features, they had accumulated a deserved wealth.¹¹ In contrast, their neighbours (Poles, Irish, Welsh – inhabitants of the areas that were perceived as peripheral) were usually characterized as their polar opposites: untidy, impulsive, prone to senseless fighting, with a tendency to thievery and alcoholism and similar barbaric” features; consequently these people were financially poorer. Significantly, the people who were hurt by stereotypes often took them at a face value.¹²

And yet, those who were perceived as “barbarians” were often believed to live in more beautiful lands (although poorly cultivated), and they had extraordinarily attractive women.¹³ This was, however, a small consolation for them, since they themselves, as men, were inferior and less masculine than the representatives of their sex living in the centre of civilization.¹⁴

This very statement – repeated today in popular opinions about the exceptional beauty of Polish or Ukrainian women and (especially in Poland) of the good looks of German men – informs us that we are in the realm of imagination, i.e. a social construct. We will look at the matter more closely along with the archetype of these judgments later. For now, let us look at what Poles think about the Germans.

In the case of contemporary Polish views about their Western neighbours, the matter is complex because opinions are more difficult to submit to a certain generalization. Therefore, we find in them mythologized respect for the wealth and good organization of German society – the recognition of focus, order, punctuality, reliability and similar socially desirable characteristics¹⁵ – as well as a number of negative assertions Germans have been perceived to be very earthbound, lacking imagination, neither spontaneous nor creative, even thoughtless. They are said to form a ‘cyber-

10 M. Chapman, J. Clegg, H. Gajewska-De Mattos, *Poles and Germans...*, pp. 988ff.

11 I would like to emphasize once again that this reflection is about stereotypical and traditional views only.

12 M. Chapman, J. Clegg, H. Gajewska-De Mattos, *Poles and Germans...*, p. 1008.

13 A. Kochanowska-Nieborak, *Piękna Polka* – on-line: <http://www.polska-niemcy-interakcje.pl/articles/show/66> (07.09.2021).

14 Ibidem, also: A. Will, *Kobieta polska w wyobraźni...*, p. 48.

15 M. Chapman, J. Clegg, H. Gajewska-De Mattos, *Poles and Germans...*, p. 1008.

netic' society, cold and blindly obedient to power. Indeed, in some way they are non-human.¹⁶

Careful consideration of the assertions in these statements expressing the opinions of both Poles and Germans indicates we are dealing with a mixture of genuine opinions about reality (e.g. rich Germans, poorer Poles) and stereotypes. If we look at the most negative parts of them, we will notice in the pejorative (even rude) opinions that their basis is primarily the conviction that despite appearances strangers are not human; they are essentially only human-like entities, or to some extent incomplete people. Naturally none of the above-mentioned statements were directly expressed, but underlying them is the deeper understanding of both the Polish alcoholic, fighting or being economically mindless (*polnische Wirtschaft*), as well as perceiving the German cybernetic society as unthinking people who are ready to obey the extremely stupid, or even inhuman orders of their superiors.

This juxtaposition of features in which Poles and Germans characterize each other as strangers, when removed from a certain cultural overlay, reveals an ancient dichotomy in which people see themselves as belonging to the category of humankind and categorize the strangers as being non-human.¹⁷ A deeper analysis of this problem in modern times is no longer a task for the historian, but showing the roots of this phenomenon and its significance in the past is a historian's duty in this seminal matter.

LESS RECENT GERMAN STEREOTYPES ABOUT POLES

The framework of this outline prevents too many presentations of modern examples. The objects of our analysis must be distinct and expressive, containing as much content as possible useful for this discussion.

Nevertheless, let us retreat in time and look at the fragments of a certain work of Nazi cinematography. Here a word of explanation: in my opinion the period of fascism is not somehow representative of the history of the Germans and their national character. Nevertheless, the propaganda of that time somehow had to appeal to the recipients, and to manipulate their thoughts and emotions in order to achieve its goals. Thus, the analysis of the Nazi propaganda message makes sense in the context of what is being considered here.

¹⁶ Ibidem, pp. 1007f.

¹⁷ A.G. Hornaday, *Visitors from Another Space: The Medieval Revenant as Foreigner*, in: *Meeting the Foreign in the Middle Ages*, ed. A. Classen, New York-London 2002, pp. 71-95; E.M. Geenen, *Soziologie des Fremden. Ein gesellschaftstheoretischer Entwurf*, Wiesbaden 2002, pp. 28ff.; (*De*) *formierte Körper. Die Wahrnehmung und das Andere im Mittelalter* «Corps (Dé) formés: Perceptions et l'Altérité au Moyen-Âge» *Interdisziplinäres Seminar Straßburg*, 19. März 2010, ed. G. Antunes, B. Reich, Göttingen 2012.

There are significant scenes from the film *Kampfgeschwader Lützow* (directed by Hans Bertram, produced in Germany in 1941) which were intended to illustrate an episode from the 1939 September campaign in Poland, and which most accurately represents the modern narratives that present the problem that interests us here.¹⁸ Most importantly, the presentation of German troops entering Poland and the characteristics allegedly present among those Poles defending their country, can be recognized there.

The sequence of interest to us begins with a presentation of the army and the civilized country: at the outset, the German army passes through neat villages with brick houses in their homeland. The army has everything that characterizes a high level of technology: mechanized vehicles, armoured weapons and airplanes. Upon entering Poland Germans appear as a well-organized, orderly group, going righteous the open way. They are not many in number, but they have great skills and they fight effectively in battle.

Next, the images of Poland are shown. Interestingly, we do not see any buildings at all, only the lush countryside. Polish soldiers lurk in the bushes, where they resemble a horde of savages. There are many of them, but they act ineffectively. When they see the enemy the mass of mounted riders attacks impulsively; they rush into the fire of tank canons and machine guns, and are easily killed by representatives of a more advanced civilization.¹⁹ In principle, it can be said that the Poles are helpless in the face of the modern German army.

Researchers dealing with the problem of the hopeless cavalry charges of the Poles against German tanks usually focus on the battle of Krojanty (1.09.1939) as a source of the lies for German propaganda.²⁰ The cavalry unexpectedly came under fire from German armoured vehicles hidden in the forest, and before they could retreat, several dozen of them were killed. The Italian war correspondent exaggerated what was a chance encounter brought on by the Germans.²¹

Propaganda always uses certain codes and several archetypes existing in a given culture, even when it wants to create new qualities needed by its

18 The whole film can be seen at: <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=b3IE08JA2es> (23.08.2021); the fragment showing the charge of the Ulans at <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=z8kmKrKUNP8> (23.08.2021); commentaries are in: E. Leiser, *Deutschland, erwache! ' Propaganda im Film des Dritten Reiches*, Reinbek bei Hamburg 1968, pp. 28f.; also: D. Welch, *Propaganda and the German Cinema 1933–1945*, London-New York 2001, p. 180.

19 The picturesque absurdity of these alleged charges has traversed into the world's popular culture, like in a Stephen King novel, in which this famous author describes the trauma of a supposed witness to the mad raids of Polish *ulans*: See S. King, *The Dead Zone*, New York 1979, pp. 104f.

20 J. Piekalkiewicz, *Pferd und Reiter im Zweiten Weltkrieg*, München 1992, pp. 11ff.

21 M. Patricelli, *Le lance di cartone. Come la Polonia portò l'Europa alla guerra*, Torino 2004; J. Böhler, *Der Überfall. Deutschlands Krieg gegen Polen*, Berlin 2009, p. 96.

authors at a certain time. It must speak to the recipient in a comprehensible way, gain his/her trust and then shape his/her opinions according to its needs. Also, as presented in this film sequence, it reached for threads that existed at the time in German culture. These motifs were by no means new to contemporary Germany, nor were they the product of the fascist ideologists, as many believe. It should be noted, however, that the archetype of the mythologized narrative describing the “uncivilized” Pole apparent here does not come only from Germany, nor was the strength of its impact limited to Germany.

Nevertheless, in Germany this semantic structure acquired a special meaning because it was coupled with the state policy. This happened long before the Nazis came to power, reaching back to Prussia, a country that was completely militarized,²² perhaps because it was created by force during the long wars in the original areas of the Slavic and Baltic peoples.

‘POLNISCHE WIRTSCHAFT’

In the nineteenth century, when Prussia – a state initially somewhat foreign to most Germans – basically conquered the other German states, its authorities needed some kind of an all-German ideology that would bring together different peoples under the power of the Hohenzollerns. Thus, the mythology of (pan-) Germanic nationalism was formed, and it acquired a particularly anti-Polish (and anti-Slavic) character,²³ of which a particularly important ingredient was the conviction that the German people had a historical mission to civilize the ‘wild’ East.²⁴

It is in the context of this propaganda of contempt for Poles that the infamous term “*polnische Wirtschaft*” was created.²⁵ There are many different variations of this slogan. One of them was published in the form of a caricature in the Berlin satirical journal *Kladderadatsch*.²⁶ This parody is full of meaning. The illustration appeared in 1919, in the period of intense Polish-

22 It was said that in Prussia, the army had a state and not the state an army - see e.g.: B. Engelmann, *Preußen: Land der unbegrenzten Möglichkeiten*, München 1980.

23 F. Rash, *German Images of the Self and the Other. Nationalist, Colonialist and Anti-Semitic Discourse, 1871–1918*, London 2012, pp. 62-72; see also: S. Jaworska, *Anti-Slavic Imagery in German Radical Nationalist Discourse at the Turn of the Twentieth Century: A Prelude to Nazi Ideology?*, “Patterns of Prejudice” XLV (2011) 5, pp. 435-452.

24 V.G. Liulevicius, *The German Myth of the East. 1800 to the Present*, Oxford-New York 2009; V. Glajar, *The German Legacy in East Central Europe as Recorded in Recent German-Language Literature, Studies in German literature, linguistics, and culture*, Rochester 2004.

25 H. Orłowski, ‘*Polnische Wirtschaft*’...

26 *Kladderadatsch*, vol. LXXII, no. 30, 1919, 401, [<http://digi.ub.uni-heidelberg.de/diglit/kla1919/0391?sid=481fa7f4c2b2b94ebc8769c886630342>, (27.08.2018)].

German conflicts in connection with disputes on defining the boundaries of the emerging Second Polish Republic.

The illustration has two segments. In the upper part, we see a German family sitting in an inn, or actually in front of it, in the garden under a large tree. The father, satisfied with the meal, is paying the host. He is cheerful, and there is the mother, cuddling an infant at the breast, along with three children sitting on chairs. Everyone is happy, which is additionally emphasized by the shade cast by the tree that suggests sunny weather. The tree itself has strong topical meanings, undoubtedly symbolizing stability, power and other positive connotations traditionally associated with trees.²⁷ This part of the illustration is marked with the words "*Die deutsche Wirtschaft*", meaning: "a German inn, household", [it also means "the economy" or "a lifestyle"].

Contrasted with this idyllic picture of the Germans' life is a gloomy vision of Polish reality, whose polar relation to the German segment is clearly expressed in the caption at the bottom of the illustration: "... *und ihre Umwandlung in eine polnische Wirtschaft*" which means: "and its [i.e. this German inn, etc.] changing over [and even: reversal or transformation] into a Polish inn, economy, lifestyle". These words are placed under the lower engraving which depicts the interior of a dark, dirty dive, with a trash-strewn floor. As in the "German" image, in the foreground we see a table. However, this table is not, as above, a source of happiness but rather of anguish. The drunken father of the family has just poured vodka out carelessly from a glass and now glares at the wife who came to the table and asks him for something – we guess it is money for the two barefoot, tearful, probably hungry children. Upstage, behind the unfortunate family, a drunken rabble pummels one another with their fists. The impression of chaos is strengthened by the fact that the other people do not do anything about the riot.

Seemingly – apart from the general characteristic aimed at ridiculing Poles – this illustration in the German press has little in common with the previously mentioned Nazi propaganda scenes. However, they are indeed connected; both works are different manifestations of the same archetype.

In both narrations, cinematic and pictorial, there is chaos on the Polish side. Poles in both cases are restless people, prone to fighting, although – as the film reveals – they are unfit to lead a real, civilized war, because they are characterized as possessed by some primitive madness. The film documents the attack of mounted riders against tanks; in the illustration, one sees drunken men fighting, as well as drunkenness that is ruining a family.

27 M. Eliade, *Images and Symbols. Studies in Religious Symbolism*, New York 1961, pp. 44ff.

In both cases, the message suggested is that only irresponsible people can behave like this, disregarding other human beings. Depicting “uncivilized” Poland in the film as a country of woods and barbarians finds its equivalent in the illustration where one sees the misery of a stinking dive – *Polnische Wirtschaft*. Both narratives ascribe to Poles essentially vulgar barbarism and inhumanity.

In the 19th century and later in the 20th century, there are many Prussian and later German examples that mock Poland and the Polish character.²⁸ Yet, further examples do not add any new topical content that would be of particular interest to us.

MODERN POLISH STEREOTYPICAL PERCEPTIONS OF GERMANS

We can begin this section with a sketch of the broad problem of the Poles’ stereotypical view of the Germans with something equivalent to the previously discussed film, namely, with a film by Andrzej Wajda entitled *Lotna* and a scene showing the charge of Polish cavalry, who destroy several formations of German infantry and then ultimately hit a wall of German tanks. The brave Polish riders do not flee at the sight of the steel giants, but engage in a hopeless fight with them. In the end, one of the *ulans* with a sabre desperately hits the barrel of the tank.

The director explained that he wanted to emphasize their human courage and fierceness in battle. And there is something to this. If we look closely at the sequence, the Germans (differently than in the previously discussed Nazi film) are numerous – the *ulans* are charging through successive ranks of infantry, but the German Molochian army has a weapon – the tanks are steel giants – against which even the bravest men cannot achieve much.

The mythization of the Polish land as a kind of holiness, which must be defended at all costs against the German aggressor, is a common theme in Polish literature.²⁹ The most famous example is the novel by Bolesław Prus *Placówka* [The Outpost] (1886). The main character is a peasant to whose village German colonists come. In contrast to the Polish inhabitants

²⁸ Review of stereotypes about Poles in Germany: J. Dąbrowska, *Stereotype und ihr...*; T. Szarota, *Niemcy i Polacy...*; also a collection of texts: *Wokół stereotypów Niemców i Polaków*, ed. W. Wrzesiński, Acta Universitatis Wratislaviensis, Historia, CXIV, Wrocław 1993); *Niemcy i Polacy: Od obrazu wroga ku pojednaniu; satyryczne vis à vis; 1848 – 1991 = Deutsche und Polen: Vom Feindbild zur Aussöhnung; eine satirische Gegenüberstellung; 1848 – 1991*, ed. T. Szarota, Warszawa 1991, pp. 5-15; T. Szarota, *National Stereotypes as the Theme of Historical Research in Poland*, “Acta Poloniae Historica” LXXI (1995), pp. 55-68.

²⁹ K. Wajda, *Obraz Niemców w publicystyce polskiej lat 1871-1915*, in: *Wokół stereotypów Niemców...*, pp. 133-153.

of the area, depicted as individuals, the newcomers are like machines: well organized, acting collectively and extremely efficient. They gradually take over the land from the indigenous people. The protagonist of the novel is tempted by the Germans who want to take over his patrimony. However, at the end of the novel, a miracle happens: even in extreme desperation, the Polish peasant finds the strength to resist the German temptations and maintain possession of his native land.

Worth adding here is that the novel was written in the context of news reaching the writer from the Prussian part of Poland, where the authorities actually imposed a number of sometimes drastic anti-Polish administrative regulations. At the close of the nineteenth century the Prussian threat was powerful and the fear of losing Poland's ownership of the land to the Germans arriving in Poland had the consequence that cockroaches commonly started to be called *prusaki* – i.e. Prussians.

However, before World War I this derogatory name was associated only with the inhabitants of Prussia, and not with other German regions, which were generally highly regarded in nineteenth-century Poland.³⁰ Poles were in direct confrontation with Prussia, and aware that the idea for the past partitions of Poland had originated there. Moreover, at the end of the nineteenth century anti-Polish propaganda had been developed in Prussia.³¹ In this case, the fear of the inhabitants of that country led to morphing them into insects.

THE BEAUTIFUL POLISH WOMAN

An important component of the Prussian anti-Polish propaganda, besides the matters already mentioned here, was the phenomenon of the demonization of Polish women. Traditionally, in the German view, Polish women were ascribed a special beauty and feminine charm.³² This changed after 1890, and the Prussian government started to promote a certain type of literature (*Ostmarkenliteratur*), which tried to refashion this stereotype, emphasizing the threat to German interests that flowed from the unique attractiveness of Polish women. In these works, they were typically shown as a threat to order, morality, peace and German national identity, fitting into the category

³⁰ W. Wrzesiński, *Sąsiad, czy wróg? Ze studiów nad kształtowaniem obrazu Niemca w Polsce w latach 1795-1939*, Wrocław 1992.

³¹ The attitude of the Prussian and later German authorities to the dominated Polish territories had the features of colonialism: see N. Ferguson, *Civilization. The West and the Rest*, London 2011, pp. 185ff.; K. Kopp, *Germany's Wild East: Constructing Poland as Colonial Space*, Ann Arbor 2012.

³² A. Kochanowska-Nieborak, *Piękna Polka...*; see also: R. Jaworski, *Polish Women and the Nationality Conflict in the Province of Posen at the Turn of the Century*, in: *Women in Polish Society*, ed. R. Jaworski, B. Pietrow-Ennker, New York 1992, pp. 53-69.

of *femme fatale*, because they could lead German men to disaster if the latter were not able to resist their erotic charms. The old stereotype of the “beautiful Polish woman” was transformed into “a dangerous demon, who would entwine her enemy with her charm in order to destroy him. She incessantly spreads Polish patriotism and is the mother of all rebellion.”³³

A special newspaper, *Die Ostmark*, was established by the German Eastern Marches Society in order to defend the German state by denouncing the Polish national character in Greater Poland (*Wielkopolska*). It called on Germans to be cautious especially about Polish women, because: “The Polish woman is wise, eloquent, pursuing her interests, and loving intrigue. [...] There are specific and fervent national feelings in her. Her kindness is a dangerous weapon which she uses with pleasure to support Polish political interests.”³⁴

The issue of perceiving Polish women as the strength of the nation, overshadowing Polish men, is extremely interesting and is related to our topic, but a fuller presentation of the phenomenon goes far beyond the scope of this brief sketch. But even mentioning the existence of this problem and noting its general shape and structure, significantly supplements our review of the stereotypical view of Poles and Germans in the modern period.

THE MIDDLE AGES

It is finally time to go back in chronology and look at what the issue that interests us was like then. We will omit the period of early modernity and the late Middle Ages, even though in these times there are also interesting records confirming the stereotypical view of Poles and Germans of one another. The purpose of this article is not a full description of the phenomenon, but only an effort to mark its general features and structures and attempt to find their apparent genesis.

The birth and formation of the essential features of the stereotypical perception of Poles and Germans detailed in the first part took place in the period from the early Middle Ages to the 13th century inclusively. For both countries this was a time of challenges,³⁵ a period of the formation of stable levels of leadership, the possession of hereditary land with

33 M. Szyrocki, *Stereotyp pięknej Polki*, “Odra” XVII (1977), pp. 81-83.

34 “Die Ostmark” XXVI (1900), according to: D. Blecking, *Sport w komunikacji polsko-niemieckiej: od konfliktu do konkurencji* – <http://www.polska-niemcy-interakcje.pl/articles/show/67> (30.08.2021).

35 Poland and Germany in the thirteenth century are difficult to compare, because these countries were in fact different worlds. Nevertheless, in both during this period the process was underway of creating the so-called land authority of the nobility.

the right of ownership: that is, the creation of the so-called land authority of the nobility, which initiated a certain historical tradition, wider than the hitherto existing court and dynastic history, contributing in turn to the emergence of a national consciousness among the wider elites of both of these communities. The outlines of the worldview of emerging nations became pillars on which intellectual constructions explaining the world were to rest for centuries.³⁶

POLISH CHRONICLERS REFERRING TO GERMANS

Turning to the point at issue, let us start with the Poles and their view of the Germans in the Middle Ages. The matter is hardly straightforward because it must be remembered that the formation of the German nation-state (as well as of other modern European nations), only took place during the 19th century. In Poland, however, and similarly in the entire Slavic region, the collective name "Germans" ("Niemcy") was used to describe all those peoples inhabiting the medieval Holy Roman Empire whose languages could not be understood. In fact, until the end of the thirteenth century, the only information about the attitude towards "Germans" from secular, ordinary Poles was limited to this issue of communication difficulties. "The German" (Niemiec) is the person who does not speak.³⁷ And in older communities, the ability to speak was the basic determinant for being considered human.

Broader descriptions of Germans, with some stereotypes among them, can be found in the period under review here. They are in Polish texts expressing the opinions of elite circles, with the authors of these texts being exclusively clerics.

The theme of defending the independence of the Polish state from Germany – i.e. the Holy Roman Empire – was the main motif of these works, created in the circle of the Piasts' court. This topic is emphasized by the oldest chronicle written in Poland (from the years 1113-1116), written by Anonymous (so-called Gallus), which assumes in that period a interaction and friendly relations of Poland with the empire, while maintaining the former's autonomy.³⁸ But when the Emperor invaded the lands of the Piasts, he was depicted as a tyrant

³⁶ J. Hannam, *God's Philosophers. How the Medieval World Laid the Foundations of Modern Science*, London 2009; J. Strayer, *On the Medieval Origins of the Modern State*, Princeton 1970; H. Zmora, *Monarchy, Aristocracy and the State in Europe 1300-1800*, London-New York 2001, pp. 8ff.

³⁷ The Polish (and Slavic) word 'Niemcy' [i.e.: Germans] denotes people who cannot speak, unlike the Slavs whose speaking is comprehensible – K. Długosz-Kurczabowa, *Wielki słownik etymologiczno-historyczny języka polskiego*, Warszawa 2008, pp. 446f.

³⁸ A. Pleszczyński, *Das Reich und das Verhältnis des Piastenstaates zu ihm im Urteil der Chronik des sogenannten Gallus Anonymus, "Frühmittelalterliche Studien" XLIII (2009)*, pp. 297-314.

who was violating natural law.³⁹ Therefore, Bolesław Krzywousty (the Wry-mouth), who fought in 1109 “for Poland’s freedom (*pro libertate Poloniae*)”, was justified in doing so and was successful.⁴⁰

It is notable that (according to the chronicler) even “nature” in the land of Bolesław was active in defence of its rightful ruler: swamps and forests hindered the enemy from moving around the country, and flies and “fierce peasants” (*rustici mordaces*) attacked the Germans.⁴¹ Especially this last statement from Anonymous’ topical structure is intriguing, because it had its consequences.

The issues noted above are even more marked in the next work, written about a century later and called the chronicles of Wincenty Kadłubek. The matter is relevant due to the historiographer writing his work in a special manner and his story being strongly connected with the stereotypical perception of both Germany and the Germans in Poland.

The introductory part of the *Polish Chronicle* of Wincenty Kadłubek, the so-called fairytale stories, includes a narrative about “Wanda who did not want a German”. It is a very well known story in the Polish tradition and was later developed both by popular culture and old historical writing. The historians perceived the content of this narrative to be legendary in nature and rather naive, and it was not particularly interesting for them. It primarily aroused the interest of literary scholars and cultural historians.⁴² For us, this narrative is very important, because it has a very strong connection to the modern stereotypes.

Wincenty Kadłubek sets a narrative about Wanda at an unspecified time in the mythical beginnings of the Polish community in Krakow, which was founded and established as the capital of the state by Krak, the heroine’s father. After his death, Wanda became the leader of the Poles. Soon, the news of her extraordinary beauty reached a “certain tyrannical Leman.”⁴³ The chronicler, as shown by other phrases in his work, under-

39 *Galli Anonymi cronicae et gestae ducum sive principum Polonorum*, ed. K. Maleczyński, Monumenta Poloniae Historica, nova series, II, Kraków 1952, p. 125; also: 130: English edition: *The Deeds of the Princes of the Poles*, ed. P. W. Knoll, F. Schaer, Budapest 2003, p. 227.

40 *Galli Anonymi...*, pp. 130, 134; *The Deeds...*, pp. 227, 233.

41 *Galli Anonymi...*, p. 140; *The Deeds...*, p. 245.

42 See, the wider topical context of the story in: J. Banaszekiewicz, *Rüdiger von Bechelaren, którego nie chciała Wanda. Przyczynek do kontaktu niemieckiej ‘Heldenepik’ z polskimi dziejami bajecznymi*, “Przegląd Historyczny” LXXV (1984) 2, pp. 239-247 (here also a short bibliography); and: idem, *Polskie dzieje bajeczne Mistrza Wincentego Kadłubka*, Wrocław 1998, pp. 65-154.

43 *Magistri Vincentii dicti Kadłubek Chronica Polonorum*, ed. M. Plezia, Monumenta Poloniae Historica, nova series, XI, Kraków 1994, p. 12; the Latin-German edition: *Die Chronik der Polen des Magisters Vincentius*, ed. E. Mühle, Ausgewählte Quellen zur Geschichte des Mittelalters. Freiherr-vom-Stein-Gedächtnisausgabe, XLVIII, Darmstadt 2014.

stood this to mean a German ruler.⁴⁴ The Lord of these “Lemans” wanted to take Wanda for his wife and through this union seize the Krakow throne “with the intention of destroying this people [i.e. Poles].” Wanda refused, so the tyrant gathered a powerful army and invaded Poland. However, on the field of the decisive battle, the unique beauty of Wanda caused the “Leman” troops to lay down their weapons without a fight. Humiliated in this way, the tyrant could not bear the failure and committed suicide.⁴⁵ This detail is noteworthy: it is not the courage of the “male” Polish army that defends the independence of the country, but the extraordinary beauty of a woman, Wanda: an archetypal Polish woman.

The story became a part of the repertoire of Polish national mythology, and subsequent authors who repeated it added more and more to the account of “Wanda who did not want a German”. The most important thing here is that the idea of independence was placed at the very beginning of the history of the country and was related to femininity. For the mythological consciousness of traditional societies, the oldest period of the formation of their communities had a special meaning in which all the most important qualities of the nascent entity were revealed by the will of the supernatural.⁴⁶ We will return to this case. For now, let us remember the idea of the “femininity” of the Polish community, which in Kadłubek’s version collided with the “masculine” impulses of the “Leman tyrant”, the epitome of medieval Germany, identified with the Holy Roman Empire.

However, the empire was not necessarily understood as a political institution in the way it is often perceived today. That is, it was not associated with all Germans; for example, the Saxons were treated separately in the chronicle. Moreover, Kadłubek did not always describe the Empire as an enemy. Only in the account of the war of Bolesław Krzywousty (Wrymouth) with Henry V in 1109 can we find a broader description of the Polish-German struggle. In his pompous style, expanding the narrative of Gallus Anonymus, Kadłubek depicted the opponents of Bolesław Krzywousty with the term borrowed from the story of the suitor of the legendary Wanda. The chronicler used the phrase *furor impetus Lemanici* when describing Henry V’s expedition into Poland.⁴⁷

Another instance in the chronicle in which a certain distance is visible in relation to the Germans can be found in the passage where the chronicler noticed that the reason for the reluctance of Poles to accept Rycheza (consid-

44 Lemans i.e.: Alemans – this is how the Germans were referred to in the chronicle of Gallus Anonymus.

45 *Magistri Vincentii...*, pp. 12f.

46 El. Meletinsky, *The Poetics of Myth*, New York-London 2000, pp. 155ff.

47 *Magistri Vincentii...*, p. 103.

ered to be Emperor Otto III's sister and the mother of the duke Kazimierz Odnowiciel) was that she preferred her compatriots over the native inhabitants of the country, which allegedly caused her expulsion from Poland.⁴⁸ Her preferences concerned her appointment of Germans as dignitaries and to public offices.

Both these causes of reticence towards Germans appear frequently in Polish literature over the following centuries, and not only in historiography. The only thing that changed was the 'object' of the aversion, i.e. the Empire was first replaced by the March of Brandenburg, then the Teutonic Order, and later Prussia.⁴⁹ However, the thread of competition for offices and access to power was of greater importance only in the 13th century and at the beginning of the next century.

Particularly, the Archbishop of Gniezno, Jakub Świnka (1283–1314), raised such arguments against the Germans. He is supposed to have proclaimed at the synod in Łęczyca (1285): "[M]isfortunes have multiplied in the country by the influx of this nation [i.e. Germans], because the Polish nation is oppressed by them, insulted, harassed by wars, deprived of their praiseworthy laws and customs."⁵⁰ The main reason for the negativity, as then repeated in Polish annals, was the fact that the Germans refused to pay Peter's Pence, in addition to complaints that they occupied church and secular offices which should have belonged to the locals.

The archbishop did not hide his negative, even hateful attitude towards the Germans, and this is documented in the story by the Czech chronicler Piotr of Žytawa (Zittau). According to him, Jakub Świnka was to be present in 1300 at the coronation in Gniezno of the Czech king Wenceslas II, who became the Polish king. Jan Wulfing, the king's chaplain, gave a wonderful speech in Latin. Asked for an opinion, Jakub Świnka, sitting in the bishop's post next to the ruler, answered loudly that although he spoke eloquently, he was still a German and a dog's head (*caput canina*).⁵¹

Again, we find archetypical motifs in the quoted statements. The strangers who lurk and wait for an opportunity to seize the wealth of Polish lands (in this case church high office) that they want to take away from the locals, are so remarkably unpopular that non-human, animal qualities are being used to describe them.

Noteworthy here is that we find such attitudes specifically in religious writings. It is not known why there is a lack of evidence of any dislike of Ger-

48 Ibidem, p. 45.

49 Cf. e.g.: G. Labuda, *Polska granica zachodnia: tysiąc lat dziejów politycznych...*, Poznań 1971.

50 T. Silnicki, K. Gołąb, *Arcybiskup Jakub Świnka i jego epoka*, Warszawa 1956.

51 *Petra Žitavského Kronika Zbraslavská*, ed. J. Emler, *Fontes rerum Bohemicarum*, IV, Praha 1884, p. 82; online: <http://147.231.53.91/src/> (14.08.2021).

mans in lay contexts.⁵² We could guess that the reason was that the beginnings of literature written by lay people in Poland were relatively late; at the earliest they took place at the end of the Middle Ages, and more broadly not until the sixteenth century. But even then, however, one cannot state with certainty that extremely negative stereotypes dominated Polish opinions about Germans.⁵³

We know that a rivalry between the local nobility and the immigrants from Germany existed in medieval Bohemia.⁵⁴ So we may assume that perhaps there were some similar feuds in Poland. In contrast, German secular literature, which had been growing since the 11th century, and in the 13th century already had a rich collection of works, did not record any distinct anti-Slavic or anti-Polish prejudices. It cannot be said that the Polish or even Central European subject was especially interesting for the creators of the Old German epic, but there are still works in which there are figures of knights and Slavic rulers, and they are usually presented neutrally. However, this problem that already has its own literature.⁵⁵

In German medieval texts created in the circles of church intellectuals, in turn, we already have many stereotypes, whose structure could easily find its equivalents in the modern examples cited above. I have selected a few as the most representative for the problem that interests us.

We can begin our brief review with one of the oldest descriptions of the Slavs, which was made in the area of what later became Germany. A narrative of particular interest is contained in *Vita Sancti Sturmi*, the life of the first abbot of Fulda, written by his disciple, Eigil, at the turn of the eighth and ninth

52 The problems of Władysław Łokietek (Władysław I, the Elbow-high) with part of the German townspeople of Krakow, for example, and the rebellion of the mayor of Krakow, Albert, do not necessarily have to be interpreted in terms of national feuds as was typical interpreted in the past by the historian. Rather, the reason was only to support the position of the burghers in favor of the Bohemian rulers and their dislike of the Łokietek – see D. Abulafia, *New Cambridge Medieval History*, vol. V: 1198-1300, Cambridge 1995, p. 775.

53 K. Maliszewski, *Uwagi o wyznaniowych aspektach zbiorowego wizerunku Niemców w Polsce XVI-XVII wieku*, in: *Wokół stereotypów Niemców...*, pp. 73-81.

54 J. Sobiesiak, *Czechs and Germans: Nationals and Foreigners in the Work of Czech Chroniclers: from Cosmas of Prague (12th Century) to the Chronicle of the So-called Dalimil (14th Century)*, in: *Imagined Communities'. Constructing Collective Identities in Medieval Europe*, ed. A. Pleszczyński, J. Sobiesiak, M. Tomaszek, P. Tyszka, Leiden-Boston 2018, pp. 322-334; M. Nodl, *Nationalismus und Nationalbewusstsein zu Beginn des 14. Jahrhunderts und Karls Bemühen um ein konfliktfreies Bild des Zusammenlebens von Tschechen und Deutschen in Böhmen*, in: *Chronicon Aulae regiae'. Die Königsaal-Chronik, eine Bestandsaufnahme*, ed. S. Albrecht, Frankfurt a. Main 2013, pp. 187-224.

55 *Deutsche Polenliteratur...*; A. Pleszczyński, *Przekazy niemieckie...*, pp. 96-98.

centuries,⁵⁶ in which a “Man of God” crosses the river Fulda and encounters “a large number of Slavs who bathed in the river and washed their bodies.” These “derided the servant of our Lord and would [even] have struck him; but they were held back by God’s power and calmed.”⁵⁷ Expressed indirectly, as if between the lines, the inhabitants of the country were identified with nature, because after one single mention of a large number of bathers, nothing more was mentioned about them, as if they were *beasts which were countless there*. Moreover, the message is that this land where the Slavs lived then abounded in food. This is hardly coincidental, because we know that already uncivilized pristine areas were assumed to have an abundance of all victuals. This idea appears in various types of stories, the keystone of which was the myth of the so-called “Golden Age”: a time of paradise in which there were no rules of civilization or work, but every man was free and had plenty of food.⁵⁸

The narratives about the Golden Age in antiquity oddly coincided with another notion, a kind of geographical and cultural term, namely the definition of the so-called “barbarian North”.⁵⁹ Residents of areas on the Mediterranean, first the Greeks, then the Romans, wrote about the north of the continent as inhabited by hordes of savages, anarchic, cruel and warlike. Despite the cold climate of their homeland, these barbarians were portrayed naked and, wonderously, these frigid lands were said to abound not only in people, but also in a multitude of animals and crops in general. The logic of mythical thinking has specific rules.⁶⁰

The multitude of Slavs who lived in the forest traversed by the later first Abbot of Fulda is mentioned in *Vitae St. Sturmi*, and is associated with the sketches of the virgin regions outlined above. In European representations of meetings of “civilized” people with “wild” people, the former were always few in numbers, while the latter appear in a great multitude. Let us note, that this was exactly the way it was in the above-mentioned Nazi film, a large number of Polish *ulans* lurking in bushes. Also the nakedness of the “wild” bodies in the quoted medieval text is arche-

56 More about the source: W. Berschin, *Biographie und Epochenstil im lateinischen Mittelalter*, vol. III: *Karolingische Biographie 750–920 n. Chr.*, Quellen und Untersuchungen zur Lateinischen Philologie des Mittelalters, X, Stuttgart 1991, pp. 27-41; also: Repertorium “Geschichtsquellen des deutschen Mittelalters” online: www.dmgh.de/de/fs1/object/goToPage/bsb00000869.html?pageNo=366 (30.08.2021).

57 *Vita S. Sturmi*, ed. G.H. Pertz, *Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Scriptores*, II, Hannover 1829, pp. 366-377, 369; on-line: www.dmgh.de/de/fs1/object/goToPage/bsb00000869.html?pageNo=366 (30.08.2011).

58 B. Gatz, *Weltalter, goldene Zeit und sinnverwandte Vorstellungen*, Hildesheim 1967; R. Evans, *Utopia Antiqua. Readings of the Golden Age and Decline at Rome*, London-New York 2008.

59 D. Fraesdorff, *Der barbarische Norden...*

60 E. Meletinsky, *The Poetics of Myth...*, pp. 152-155.

typal and not only has ancient roots, but also modern associations, clearly demonstrated by numerous examples of European imaginings of the “barbarian” people.⁶¹

There were actually two types of “savages” in the Western intellectual tradition: the first one is a brutal barbarian; the other one is his mirror image: an extremely good man, naive, simple, even slow-witted, but always physically strong⁶² (the noble savage).

The above story from *Vitae St. Sturmi* uses the first archetype, and it is a narrative construction of a Christian author, and he adds another motif associated with savagery or lack of civilization, namely stench. Therefore, we should not be surprised by the fact that the Slavs – even though their bodies were washing in water – smelled awfully: this was a result of their paganism and lack of civilization. This was in contrast to the missionary who, despite a long journey, still smelled nice, not only because he was a holy man and he gave out an odor *sanctitatis*, but in this case, it was primarily because he was a civilized man.⁶³ It should be noted that the problem of stinking as a sign of lack of culture among the Poles was also represented in the “Polnische Wirtschaft” illustration mentioned above. There are other common elements between the descriptions of the Poles at the beginning of the 20th century and of the Slavs living at the Fulda and Men rivers around 800 A.D.: namely their great number, the virginity of the country, and the propensity for chaotic, thoughtless brutality.

It must be emphasized that in Germany in the Middle Ages the archetype of the “barbarian north” was not the only conception of the eastern neighbours’ territories. As already mentioned, the epic, in popular secular literature, did not employ it.⁶⁴ Even if it was used mainly in historiographic works, it cannot be said that the archetype had any racist intention. Race as a category of judging and dividing people was only created in the nineteenth century, distorting the observations of Darwin into the principles of social coexistence.⁶⁵

61 R. Barcan, *Nudity. A Cultural Anatomy*, Oxford-New York 2004, pp. 151f.

62 T. Ellingson, *The Myth of the Noble Savage*, Berkeley 2001. Many of the features of the “Noble Savage” as Slavs were present in the concepts of Johannes Gottfried Herder, see: P. Drews, *Herder und die Slaven. Materialien zur Wirkungsgeschichte bis zur Mitte des 19. Jahrhunderts*, München 1990, pp. 11-68.

63 C. Classen, D. Howes, A. Synnott, *Aroma. The Cultural History of Smell*, London-New York 1994, pp. 51-94.

64 A. Pleszczyński, *Przekazy niemieckie...*, pp. 96-98.

65 M. Hawkins, *Social Darwinism in European and American thought 1860–1945: Nature as Model and Nature as Threat*, Cambridge 1997. Although in the Middle Ages people were discriminated against on the basis of ethnicity, see: Richard C. Hoffmann, *Outsiders by birth and blood: racist ideologies and realities around the periphery of medieval European culture*, “Studies in Medieval and Renaissance History” XVI (1983), pp. 1-34 (the author does not attend to the problem of the Slavs).

The term “barbarian north” was not used solely to describe the Slavs and their lands. For example, Thietmar was inclined to describe the Scandinavians in this way, especially the Danes, whom he detested.⁶⁶ Generally, however, this Saxon chronicler was often remarkably objective and did not use ready-made patterns for describing and categorizing people. This is similarly true of Helmold of Bosau or Adam of Bremen. In the texts of their chronicles the full archetype with its extensive structure is not found, but only some of its general features, or rather the duality typical in the literature of the epoch, dividing the *oecumene* into a better or proper part, belonging to Christianity, and the evil, pagan part, as well as the newly baptized, therefore the lower Christians.⁶⁷

RAHEWIN OF FREISING REFERRING TO POLES AND THEIR COUNTRY

The author of the most comprehensive, compact description of Poland in the German literature of the earlier Middle Ages used quite forcefully the motifs of the archetype of the “barbarian north”. It is located in *Gesta Frederici* [*The Deeds of Frederick*] (I, Barbarossa).⁶⁸ Almost the whole work was written by Otto of Freising, but the part in which the fragment of interest appears was written by Rahewin, the disciple of his prematurely deceased master.⁶⁹

The task of the chronicle⁷⁰ was to emphasize the imperial splendour of Frederick.⁷¹ The plot of this part of Rahewin’s story concerns the expedition of the Reich monarch to Poland, undertaken in 1157 to restore Władysław II to the throne, who had been exiled earlier from the country by his younger half-brothers.⁷² Actually, Barbarossa’s actions did not diverge from similar steps of other German rulers who, using their military superiority over Central European dynasts, strengthened their influence in the region by sup-

66 D. Fraesdorff, *Der barbarische Norden...*, pp. 237ff.

67 V. Scior, *Das Eigene und das Fremde. Identität und Fremdheit in den Chroniken Adams von Bremen, Helmolds von Bosau und Arnolds von Lübeck*, Berlin 2002, pp. 208ff.

68 *Gesta Frederici seu rectius cronica*, ed. F.-J. Schmale, A. Schmidt, *Ausgewählte Quellen zur deutschen Geschichte des Mittelalters. Freiherr vom Stein Gedächtnisausgabe*, XVII, Darmstadt 1965 – the source is available on-line: dmgh.de (30.08.2021): *Otonis et Rahewini Gesta Frederici I. imperatoris*, ed. G. Waitz, *Scriptores rerum Germanicarum in usum scholarum separatim editi*, XLVI, Hannover-Leipzig 1912.

69 R. Deutinger, *Rahewin von Freising. Ein Gelehrter des 12. Jahrhunderts*, *Monumenta Germaniae Historica. Schriften*, vol. XLVII, Hannover 1996.

70 *Gesta Frederici...*, pp. 398ff.

71 S. Bagge, *Ideas and narrative in Otto of Freising’s Gesta Frederici*, “*Journal of Medieval History*” XXII (1996) 4, pp. 350f.

72 R. Holtzmann, *Über den Polenfeldzug Friedrich Barbarossas vom Jahre 1157 und die Begründung der schlesischen Herzogtümer*, “*Zeitschrift des Vereins für Geschichte Schlesiens*” LVI (1922), pp. 42–55.

porting some members of the monarchic families against others. Moreover, the behaviour of the Piast-juniors defending Poland was typical for similar situations: they avoided fighting with a stronger opponent and tried to delay the march of his army through various actions, like the one described below, hoping to find a solution that was the most beneficial for them.

Because the new ruler of the country, Bolesław IV Kędzierzawy (the Curly), was closely related through his mother to the German elite, he offered a large bribe, which to his mind resolved the whole matter. Obviously, a ritual was performed that Gerd Althoff calls *deditio* and which consisted in a demonstration of Barbarossa's advantage, but also a recognition of the opponent's rights and position.⁷³ However, Rahewin presented the expedition of Frederick in a way that highly idealized both the motives of the Reich monarch's actions and the very circumstances of the war. On account of this in his description the author reveals a whole range of *topoi*.

So opponents of Barbarossa, the latter being stylized as a real hero, had to be truly dangerous, which was a necessary condition for demonstrating the strength of the monarch-warrior: "The people there [i.e. in Poland] due to its inherent wildness in the neighborhood with other [wild] nations as well, are almost barbaric and extremely ready to fight."⁷⁴ Worth adding is that the Polish troops were taken to have been supported by other warlike peoples of the East – in reality Ruthenian warriors, Prussians, Pomeranians, and then mythical ones: Parthians, whose name was taken from the geography of antiquity. In this particular fragment – typical of a heroic stylization – there are not many interesting things, but the following is worth quoting:

The inhabitants of the provinces on the sea [...] constantly suffer from severe cold [...] they are geared only towards hunting and killing [...] they are [genuine] pirates and worry the island of the ocean, Ireland and Britain, and also Denmark.⁷⁵

The motif of the eternal cold of the northern regions of Poland and the life of war and permanent pirate invasions of their inhabitants are the ingredients of the archetype of the "barbarian north" already mentioned. There is nothing

⁷³ G. Althoff, *Zur Bedeutung symbolischer Kommunikation für das Verständnis des Mittelalters*, "Frühmittelalterliche Studien" XXXI (1997), p. 382.

⁷⁴ *Gesta Frederici...*, p. 398: *Natio [Polonorum] tam propria feritate quam vicinarum contiguitate gentium pene barbara et ad pugnandum promptissima.*

⁷⁵ *Gesta Frederici...*, p. 398: *Maris [...] provinciarum habitatores [...] cum perpetuis rigeant algoribus [...] venationibus et mortibus dediti sunt. [...] pyratiam exercent et insulas oceani, Hyberniam et Britanniam, Datiam quoque inquietant.*

in Rahewin's text about the fertility of the land, but we learn that hunting is the basis for the existence of the barbarians of this northern land, which could feed so many warriors that they were able to bother not only Denmark, but even distant Ireland and Britain.⁷⁶ Rahewin also stresses the motif of chaos likewise known to us as a component of the archetype; and iniquity existed in Poland manifested by its expulsion of the rightful ruler: "Therefore [i.e.: because of their wildness, Poles] are neither loyal to their princes, nor cherish their natural relatives with required friendly disposition."⁷⁷ The mistake of the Poles was to feel obliged to resist the Reich monarch, who was after all the guarantor of the civilized order in the Christian world.⁷⁸

GERMANIA IN MEDIEVAL EAST-CENTRAL EUROPE

There is another important element in the Rahewin narrative which does not originate, though, from the archetype discussed here, but seems to be very important for our problem, because it belongs to the learned tradition, which was once very present in the consciousness of Western Europeans, and not only to the Germans. At the very beginning of his "Polish" story, Rahewin writes: "However, Poland is now inhabited by the Slavs, in the opinion of the author's geographical descriptions, its area belongs to upper Germania."⁷⁹

To clarify the meaning of this statement, three things should be remembered. First, in the Middle Ages it was thought that the Reich monarchs were direct continuators of the Caesars from the ancient Roman Empire.⁸⁰ Second, in traditional communities the so-called "foundation myth" was essential. It had various forms and functions, but based on it, a people maintained that the oldest form of their community, as well as the range of its territory,

76 Perhaps this message was an echo of the Pomeranian Rallies of Racibor I to the Danish capital of Roskilde and Norwegian Konungahella, see: R. Zaroff, *Slavic Raid on Konungahella*, "Collegium medieval" XXVII (2014), pp. 6-22; also: L. Mohr, *Die Rache der Pommern. Über den Feldzug des Herzogs Ratibor I. wider Kungölo im Herzen Skandnaviens anno 1135 nach einer skandinavischen Quelle*. "Stier und Greif. Blätter zur Kultur- und Landesgeschichte in Mecklenburg-Vorpommern" XI (2001), pp. 94-102.

77 *Gesta Frederici...*, p. 398: *Unde [i.e.: barbariae causa Polani] nec principibus suis fidem nec natura propinquis debitam inveniantur gratiam conservare.*

78 R. Deutinger, *Rahewin von Freising...*

79 *Gesta Frederici...*, p. 398: *Est autem Polimia, quam modo Slavi inhabitant, sicut placet his, qui situs terrarum descriptionibus notant in finibus superioris Germanie.*

80 H. Thomas, *Julius Caesar und die Deutschen. Zu Ursprung und Gehalt eines deutschen Geschichtsbewusstseins in der Zeit Gregors VII. und Heinrichs IV.*, in: *Die Salier und das Reich*, ed. S. Weinfurter, vol. III: *Gesellschaftlicher und ideengeschichtlicher Wandel im Reich der Salier*, Sigmaringen 1991, pp. 245-277; W. Goetz, „*Translatio imperii*“. *Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte des Geschichtsdenkens und der politischen Theorien im Mittelalter und in der frühen Neuzeit*, Tübingen 1958.

were not only good, but basically the only proper way it could be.⁸¹ Third, in the past it was popular to combine all the peoples referred to in ancient Roman sources as *Germani* with medieval Germans. Therefore, Rahewin's reference to the time of antiquity and the statement that at that time the Polish lands were part of *Germania* created the basis for justifying the "natural" interventions in the area by the Reich's rulers and for the possible recovery of territories once belonging to *Germania*-Germany.⁸²

These ideas combined with the archetype of the "barbarian north" created a basis of some kind of German paternalism against all region of the so called East-Central Europe and sometimes justify aggression and war. This is what happened in the case of the neighboring Baltic Slavs in what is today Mecklenburg. An incentive for such activities, among others, was the so-called Manifesto of the Magdeburg Archbishop Adalgot (Adalgot) from 1108.⁸³ The matter is interesting for us, because again in this text we find our familiar *topoi*. The church dignitary describes in his text the pagan Polabian Slavs as real beasts in human skins, remorseless people who destroyed the temples of the Lord and mercilessly murdered Christians in various ways, often as a sacrifice to their gods.⁸⁴ And, what is especially important, Adalgot noticed:

These pagans are the worst people, but their land is the best [rich in] meat, honey, flour [...]. Why would you Saxons, Franks, people from Lorraine, Flanders, who are the most famous and victorious, not want to save your souls and now [at the same time], if you so please, acquire the best land in order to settle there?⁸⁵

⁸¹ H.-W. Goetz, *Geschichte als Argument: Historische Beweisführung und Geschichtsbewusstsein in den Streitschriften des Investiturstreits*, "Historische Zeitschrift" CCXLV (1987) 1, pp. 61ff.

⁸² In this case, the Germans competed in the modern period with the Swedes – see: W. Duczko, *Use of imaginary past in Sweden*, in: *Przez granice czasu. Księga jubileuszowa poświęcona Profesorowi Jerzemu Gąssowskiemu*, ed. A. Buko, W. Duczko, Acta Archaeologica Pultuskiensia, I, Pułtusk 2008, pp. 481-487.

⁸³ *Epistola pro auxilio adversus paganos (slavos)*, in: *Urkundenbuch des Erzstifts Magdeburg*, ed. F. Israël, part 1: 937-1142, *Geschichtsquellen der Provinz Sachsen und des Freistaates Anhalt, Neue Reihe*, XVIII, Magdeburg 1937, p. 251 (No. 193).

⁸⁴ H. Krabbo, *Eine Schilderung der Elbslawen aus dem Jahre 1108*, in: *Papsttum und Kaiserthum. Forschungen zur politischen Geschichte und Geisteskultur des Mittelalters. Paul Kehr zum 65. Geburtstag dargebracht*, ed. A. Brackmann, München 1926, pp. 250-262; F. Lotter, *Die Konzeption des Wendenkreuzzugs. Ideengeschichtliche, kirchenrechtliche und historisch-politische Voraussetzungen der Missionierung von Elb- und Ostseeslawen um die Mitte des 12. Jahrhunderts*, *Vorträge und Forschungen. Sonderband*, XXIII, Sigmaringen 1977; G. Constable, *Early Crusading in Eastern Germany. The Magdeburg Charter of 1107/08*, in: idem, *Crusaders and Crusading in the Twelfth Century*, Farnham 2008, pp. 197-214.

⁸⁵ *Epistola pro auxilio...*, p. 251: ...*Gentiles isti pessimi sunt, sed terra eorum optima carne, melle, farina... Quapropter o Saxones, Franci, Lotaringi, Flandrigene famosissimi et domitores mundi, hic poteritis et animas vestras salvificare et, si ita placet, optimam terram ad inhabitandum acquirere...*

As a response to this appeal, a crusade, with “fire and sword”, tried to destroy the land of Obotrites in 1147 and even a part of Western Pomerania that was already Christian (which had its own ruler, but subject to Polish dukes), and stopped at the besieged Szczecin, whose inhabitants demonstratively hung crosses on the walls of the city.⁸⁶

In principle, however, throughout the Middle Ages, relations between Poles and Germans, especially taking into account the turbulence of European history, did not go badly.⁸⁷ Over the centuries, a multitude of newcomers from the West settled in Poland and for that reason no major ethnic conflicts arose. Perhaps this situation led to the fact that neither in the mature Middle Ages nor in early modern times do we find the existence of the larger topic narrative similar to what is outlined here, as showing open hostility towards the Poles.

THE MYTHOLOGICAL ROOTS OF MUTUAL IMAGINATIVE PERCEPTION

The recorded content – if the text was preserved – became permanent. Thus, when the political situation changed at the end of the 18th and in the 19th century, the archetype was revived. It survives until today in some form in both nations, because both Polish stereotypes of the Germans, as well as their self-stereotypes and the German perception of themselves and of the Poles are strongly connected with it.

This was noticed by the British researchers mentioned at the very beginning of this article.⁸⁸ However, when they created the concept for their sociological research, they did not adequately include historical material. Therefore, they came to a false conclusion that the basis for the stereotypes they analyzed were real differences in the development of civilization, resulting in a sense of superiority or an inferiority complex. The examples presented in this article suggest, apart from the obvious real differences in the development and formation of stereotypes, that the genesis of the mythologized views of neighbours which we observe to this day was born not from a basis in reality, but from a primeval way of perceiving strangers, on which the ancient literary tradition and other creations of the human imagination were superimposed.⁸⁹ This does not mean, of course, that real differences in the development of the societies did not contribute in some way to shaping the stereotypes, which is a separate matter.

86 F. Lotter, *Die Konzeption des Wendenkreuzzugs...*, pp. 62ff.

87 F. Halbauer, *Deutsch-polnische Geschichtsbild-Probleme dargestellt an 1000 Jahren deutsch-polnischer Begegnung, zur Klärung eines beiderseits revidierten deutsch-polnischen bzw. polnisch-deutschen Geschichtsbildes*, Frankfurt am Main 1988.

88 M. Chapman, J. Clegg, H. Gajewska-De Mattos, *Poles and Germans...*

89 G. Simmel, *Inquires into the Construction of Social Forms*, vol. II, Leiden-Boston 2009, pp. 601-620.

We will be helped to better understand our problem by the structure of the ancient concept of the “barbarian north” as sketched out above, and similarly the so-called myth of the Golden Age. The latter issue should, however, be developed further because it will give us a basis for a deeper interpretation of the stereotypes outlined in this text. Let us note, therefore, that the basis for the narrative of the Golden Age, as well as the “barbarian north”, were the dual poles of nature and culture (civilization). The myth of the Golden Age gives precedence to nature and attributes positive qualities to it, especially the abundance of consumer goods, a simplicity of manners, freedom, and the like. If we go deeper into the matter, it will become apparent that apart from these properties, the human community in the precivilization period had other features as well. It was characterized by the lack of a family, which implied the non-existence of sexual order and the freedom of morals, which in effect meant at least the equality of women, if not their outright advantage. Lack of civilization also meant the lack of clothes, i.e. nakedness. All these features had sexual connotations, because it was believed that people who were deprived of moral standards had multiplied without restraint, which was manifested in the conviction of their being a multitude.

The value of all these qualities and others not mentioned here, positive in the myth of the Golden Age, could easily be reversed, as was the case in the “barbarian north” concept: nudity and sexual liberty became licentiousness, lack of order – anarchy and unpredictability, to which unreasonable aggressiveness was added. And all this corresponded ideally with the conviction that the equality of women, or their rule, meant the domination of foolishness, the madness coming from a lack of principles, and other negative features tied in traditional Indo-European communities to femininity.⁹⁰

Such beliefs were derived from ancient dualistic ideological concepts and have been recognized in Norse mythology, but in fact they formed the background of the worldview of ancient Indo-Europeans. It was there that the female was unpredictable, sexually unbridled, and that is why the base, immoral and lawless natural sphere was associated with the *Vanir*, the divine beings who were its carriers and representatives at the same time. Interestingly, the low and mundane creations (the *Vanir*) were to possess the warmth of home and children, and the abundance of all goods, ranging from food to valuables. Extending the observation onto social issues, it can be assumed

90 P. Allen R.S.M., *The Concept of Woman. The Aristotelian Revolution 750 BC – AD 1250*, Montréal-London 1985, pp. 77ff.; A.D. De Conick, *Holy Misogyny. Why the Sex and Gender Conflicts in the Early Church Still Matter*, London 2013; and also: Ch. Holtz-Bacha, *Stereotype: Frauen und Männer in der Werbung*, Wiesbaden 2011, pp. 11ff.

that the earthly representation of the *Vanir* sphere would be the rural population, the peasants.⁹¹

The polar opposite in relation to the above mentioned sphere was the domain of reason, spirituality, selfless pursuit of order, personified by the *Æsir*, the male wanderers, who represented civilization/culture. However, they were deprived of the comfort of home, food and other household goods (women, children). In the mythologized thinking of archaic societies, the Earth's equivalent of the *Æsir* were warriors, identified with the social elites.⁹²

The mythology of the old Scandinavians was not an exception, since we have long known in the Indo-Iranian beliefs there are structures similar to those sketched above. It is important to recognize that the tradition of each of the Indo-European peoples has always associated its civilization with moral and legal order and the power of male warriors.⁹³ Conversely, strangers, especially those who were not well-known or for whatever reason not accepted, were located outside of civilization, in a strange, contrarian world which had a natural-feminine characteristic, or they were suspected of not being fully human.

CONCLUSIONS

At this point, it is time to return to our basic thread, in order to combine the cited examples given above with the content outlined before, and to consider what results from it.

Let us note, therefore, that these last concepts give us the key to understanding the meaning of the former examples we find in the sources, as well the oldest perceptions of the Slavs recorded in Germany, which are almost contemporaneous. Let us also add that it is the case both with the stereotypes and self-stereotypes.

Thus, in the *Vita St. Sturmi*, the large number of Slavs was emphasized, because the *Vanir* people always have features related to fertility. The sense of virginity and the natural abundance of the country that abounded in animals and natural resources are similar. The inhabitants of this uncivilized world belong to these "natural resources", rather than to ordinary people.

91 J. Lindow, *Norse Mythology. A Guide to Gods, Heroes, Rituals, and Beliefs*, Oxford 2002, pp. 9-53; A. Guriewicz, 'Tripartitio Christiana-Tripartitio Scandinavica' (*W sprawie interpretacji "Pieśni o Rigu"*), "Kwartalnik Historyczny" LXXX (1973) 3, pp. 547-567.

92 G. Dumézil, *Gods of the Ancient Northmen*, Berkeley-Los Angeles-London 1977; also: idem, *Mitra-Varuna. An Essay on Two Indo-European Representations of Sovereignty*, Cambridge/Mass.-London 1988.

93 J. Banaszkiwicz, *Wątek "ujarzmienia kobiet" jako składnik tradycji o narodzinach społeczności cywilizowanej. Przekazy "słowiańskie" wcześniejszego średniowiecza*, in: *Człowiek w społeczeństwie średniowiecznym*, ed. R. Michałowski, Warszawa 1997, pp. 27-44.

Likewise, the threads of savagery and unreasonable aggressiveness can be interpreted in this way.

All elements in the description of the Slavs have been reflected in some form in German ideas about Poland over the centuries. Often the motif of exceptional cold was added, especially in the winter, as experienced in this country. However, it was not until the second half of the 19th century, and initially only in Prussia, that the description took on a decidedly anti-Polish character, and at that time the Poles often ceased to be accepted as belonging within the category of humans, and remained instead an element of nature that had to be conquered and managed. The traces of this kind of phenomenon can be seen in its fullest extent in the German film described at the very beginning of this article, where there is no sign of civilization, and the Polish cavalry were shown in the same way as Native Americans, Bushmen, or other “savage” peoples in European colonial representations.

Conversely – since traditional narratives were always dichotomous – the German self-stereotype emphasized not only their own meritorious efforts in the “civilization of the East”, but also the masculine features of its own community, which were viewed as correct, rational, truly cultural, and the most humanitarian. Therefore, in the German stereotype, the Polish community had to be opposite to the German one, i.e., *Vanir*, which best manifested the *topos* of the beautiful Polish woman, and which embodied a number of other features associated with femininity.

It is fascinating that in Poland in the Middle Ages this kind of narrative was accepted, something documented by the aforementioned story of Wanda, who did not want a German. This acceptance proved to be permanent. To this day, there is a belief in the unique beauty of Polish women, and also in the extraordinary agricultural properties of the country. There are also a number of other *Vanir* features which supposedly characterize the Polish community, and these are accompanied by a sense of being genetically inferior to the Germans. Paradoxically, the mythologized national consciousness also links the Polish “German complex” (feeling of inferiority) and corresponds with the statement of Archbishop Jakub Świnka that the Germans are in fact not human beings or as the modern confessors of Germanophobia proclaim: people – machines. All this is a somewhat separate large problem, very significant, but in this article there is no way to develop the issue.

The important thing is that this article shows an interesting feature of life, somehow virtual/imaginative, of certain plot structures, characterizing the communities of the Poles and Germans and in fact expressing – perhaps even augmenting – the dislikes and misunderstandings between them. These structures are manifested in different forms: sometimes they were poorly present in the texts, basically rudimentary, but in the long term these phenomena “strove” to fill out their shape, and “mutated”, not only shaping

the messages in which they “lived”, but also – and what is important – to some extent controlling the way their authors think.⁹⁴

The strength of these structures is astonishing and – as the British researchers have proved⁹⁵ – also today they could steer the views of corporation employees who think that they formulate objective opinions of their neighbours, but in fact they duplicate thousand-year-old conceptual clichés. Not only does this phenomenon refer to a small group of the lower strata, but often these stereotypes could also affect the thinking of politicians, economists, or even artists, and generally people from elite environments who shape the socio-political reality.

ABSTRACT

The aim of the article is to show the amazing durability of theoretical-cognitive clichés that model mutual stereotypes of perceiving and describing Poles and Germans. According to the author, there are still many common opinions (stereotypes) about Poles in Germany and Germans in Poland. Their roots go back to the Middle Ages and are based on very old matrices of perceiving and describing the world. They were based on the belief that the world of human civilization has features attributed to men, which were considered to be rationality, order, righteousness, and the like. In this sphere, the authors of such opinions located their own community. On the other hand, foreigners were to be the antithesis of the human world – that is, they were to belong to nature, which supposedly had feminine features that would be the opposite of the above male ones.

Keywords: Poles, Germans, stereotypes, theoretical-cognitive clichés, prejudices

⁹⁴ We see here numerous similarities with the conclusions of Richard Dawkins and his memetic school – see e.g.: idem, *The Selfish Gene*, Oxford 1976; R. Brodie, *Virus of the Mind: the New Science of the Meme*, Seattle 1996; or S. Blackmore, *The Meme Machine*, Oxford 1999.

⁹⁵ M. Chapman, J. Clegg, H. Gajewska-De Mattos, *Poles and Germans...*

PAWEŁ MIGDALSKI
SZCZECIN

EARLY-MEDIEVAL SLAVDOM AS A FACTOR LEGITIMIZING THE POLISH PRESENCE WESTWARD AS EXEMPLIFIED BY WESTERN POMERANIA

And thus were marching the victorious Slavic armies of the Soviet Union and Poland, marching across the Slavic lands, restoring their Slavic countenance eclipsed for centuries.¹

TADEUSZ KRASZEWSKI



In the spring of 1945 Polish administration began to extend across the lands situated to the west of the borders of pre-war Poland. It was then that the mythology of the Recovered Lands² was born, its very name recalling that these territories had in the past belonged to Poland. This mythology was a culmination of pre-war research carried out by Polish scholars, especially westward-looking historians from the university in Poznań. This school primarily focused on the times of the early Piasts, but also on the Slavic nature (identified with Polishness) of the onetime western Piast lands, something only thinly disguised by a German veneer.

Apart from searching for living Slavs (e.g., the Slovincians) and traces of Slavic culture (cultural enclaves, costumes, architecture, etc.), the official narrative primarily invoked themes from the history of early-medi-

1 T. Kraszewski, *Były i będą nasze. Popularne pogadanki o Ziemiach Odzyskanych*, Poznań 1946, p. 22.

2 About the myth of the Recovered Lands cf. G. Strauchold, *Myśl zachodnia i jej realizacja w Polsce Ludowej w latach 1945-1957*, Toruń 2003; P. Przybyła, *Narracje (i) infrastruktury. „Mit Ziemi Odzyskanych” w pamięci politycznej wczesnej Polski Ludowej (na przykładzie Góry św. Anny i Śląży)*, Poznań 2016, pp. 11ff. About the notion of the Recovered Lands cf.: J. Jasiński, *Kwestia pojęcia Ziemi Odzyskanej*, in: *Ziemie Odzyskane / Ziemie Zachodnie i Północne 1945-2005. 60 lat w granicach państwa polskiego*, ed. A. Sakson, Poznań 2006, pp. 15-25.

eval Slavdom. This article aims at presenting what role western Pomerania (*Pomorze*, in Polish) played in these narratives, and thus to show how the Polish People's Republic (1944/45-1989) resorted to the phenomenon of medievalism in its historical policy.³ Several themes referring to the mythology of the Recovered Lands and the related issues connected with historical policy have already entered scholarly debate,⁴ therefore this article's other aim is to structure the current state of knowledge about this subject in order to present the reception of Slavdom and its political use in western Pomerania.

It is worth remembering here that the love of Europe's Slavic past had flourished since the Romantic period, influenced by Johann Gottfried Herder's thought (who, according to Jerzy S. Bandkie, saw the Slavs as innocent lambs), the superpower role of tsarist Russia, and the processes shaping modern-day nations that began to search for their roots by looking back not only to the Middle Ages but also invoking Slavic themes. Good examples here include the national revival of the Czechs and the romance with the history of the Obodrites and their duke Niklot – the ancestor of the dynasty ruling German, after all, Mecklenburg till 1918.

This trend is clearly seen in the Polish historiography of the Romantic period and later, when Slavophilic ideology was being developed at the end of the 19th and in the first half of the 20th century by the representatives of Polish "western thought", who identified with the nationalist movement. As early as during World War I they proposed that the border of the soon to be reborn Poland should be shifted to the west, as far as the Odra-Nysa Łużycka line. The inter-war period saw the development of research into the origins of the Polish state, especially in the new academic centre in Poznań (among the historians: Kazimierz Tymieniecki; among the archaeologists: Józef Kostrzewski; among the historians of law: Teodor Tyc, Zygmunt Wojciechowski, and their disciples). They drew on Slavic themes (e.g., K. Tymieniecki sought analogies in the development of early Poland's political system in the Slavic communities on the Baltic)

3 In a wider context for Pomerania cf. remarks of S. Kwiatkowski, *West-Pomeranian Medievalism. The Outline of the Problem*, "Zapiski Historyczne" LXXX (2015) 5, pp. 5-19.

4 In the context of Pomerania this subject matter constitutes but a portion of the broader discussion – Z. Romanow, *Kreowanie „polityki pamięci” na Pomorzu Zachodnim w latach 1945–2000*, Poznań 2002 (= *Zeszyty Instytutu Zachodniego*, XXIV); idem, *Dzieje regionu w polityce i propagandzie władz Pomorza Środkowego w latach 1950-1975*, in: *Nad Odrą i Bałtykiem. Myśl zachodnia: ludzie – koncepcje- realizacja do 1989 r.*, ed. M. Semczyszyn, T. Sikorski, A. Wątor, Szczecin 2013, pp. 575-592; Z. Mazur, *Albumy o Ziemiach Zachodnich i Północnych*, in: *Wokół niemieckiego dziedzictwa kulturowego na Ziemiach Zachodnich i Północnych*, ed. Z. Mazur, Poznań 1997, pp. 30ff.; cf.: M. Zaremba, *Komunizm, legitymizacja, nacjonalizm. Nacjonalistyczna legitymizacja władzy komunistycznej w Polsce*, Warszawa 2003; P. Szulc, *Propaganda stalinowska na Pomorzu Zachodnim*, Szczecin 2015.

and located many events from Poland's beginnings in historical western Pomerania.⁵

During World War II this research, frequently in dispute with the conclusions of German scholars, was continued underground by e.g., Gerard Labuda, Józef Mitkowski, and Zygmunt Wojciechowski, who in doing so risked their lives under the German occupation. In a sense the results of the work carried out during the war and in its wake had prepared Polish elites for the incorporation of the lands situated to the west of the borders of pre-war Poland and became the basis for the historical policy officially implemented from at least 1944. The important and recurring element was that of the Slavic past of what were labelled Germanized lands. As a result of shifting Poland's borders to the west and incorporating a greater part of historical Pomerania in 1945, the researchers who grasped the gravity of historical circumstances and the need to legitimize the new territorial gains were faced with a unique challenge. In 1947 the historian of law, Józef Matuszewski, wrote that it was an urgent task to present the Slavic history of these lands as an integral part of the history of Poland.⁶ The medievalist Gerard Labuda, who and at the same time was one of the prominent initiators of the research into Pomeranian Kashubia, together with his brother-in-law in Szczecin, Alfred Wielopolski,⁷ wrote in a similar vein, emphasizing the need to search for the Slavic past. The same theme was undertaken by the scholars researching the origins of the Polish state in 1947/48-1966 as part of the "millennial project" celebrating Poland's one-thousandth anniversary.⁸

North-western Slavdom, including western Pomerania, is a region abounding in historical accounts and archaeological finds testifying to the religious beliefs of the Slavs. These sources did not function solely in scholarly debate or the educational sphere, as they became an important element in the historical policy regarding Pomerania in the second half of the 20th century. Popular science publications and tourist brochures mentioned local holy mountains – Góra Chełmska and Rowokół.⁹ Even

5 Cf. S. Fertacz, *Polska myśl słowiańska w okresie drugiej wojny światowej*, Katowice 2000; P. Migdałski, *Słowiańszczyzna północno-zachodnia w historiografii polskiej, niemieckiej i duńskiej*, Wodzisław Śląski 2019, passim; idem, *When did the first Polish rulers take the Pomerania? The history of certain paradigm in the Polish historiography*, in: *Poland, Pomerania and Their Neighbours' Shaping of Medieval European Civilisation (10th –12th Centuries)*, ed. S. Rosik, Wrocław 2020, pp. 351-366.

6 J. Matuszewski, *Studia nad prawem rugijskim*, part 1, Poznań 1947, p. 3.

7 Cf. G. Strauchold, *Mysł zachodnia...*, pp. 195ff. About G. Labuda's concept of Pomerania cf. J. Hackmann, *Gerarda Labudy koncepcja historii Pomorza*, "Przegląd Zachodniopomorski" XXXVIII (1994) 2, pp. 7-36.

8 For Pomerania cf. M. Rębkowski, *Badania milenijne na Pomorzu Zachodnim. Przebieg, znaczenie, skutki*, „Przegląd Archeologiczny” LXV (2017), pp. 117-131.

9 H. Janocha, *Okresy wędrówek ludów i wczesnego średniowiecza (od 375 do 1250 r. n.e.)*, in: *Pradzieje Pomorza Środkowego*, ed. M. Sikora, Poznań 1975, pp. 131, 164.

though in the late Middle Ages they were the destinations of Christian pilgrimages, special significance was ascribed to the early-medieval pagan period. Researchers were looking for places of pagan worship, e.g., in Trzebiatów¹⁰ and in Wolin, mentioned in many historical sources. A pagan temple (called “kačina” in the Slavic language – as recorded in the lives of St Otto of Bamberg), was first thought to be situated in Wolin’s 17th century bastion built in the place of an old stronghold that was even marked in 1967 in a mosaic showing the city plan displayed on the wall of the museum in Wolin. Later scholars tended to locate it in the Old Town, where a sensational artefact was found in 1973 – namely, a four-faced figurine of Sviatovid.¹¹ Prior to that the amateur archaeologist Aleksander Stafiński found a stone figurine of a Slavic deity identified with Belbuk,¹² known from early-modern accounts (Thomas Kantzow, 16th century), and showcased it in a museum which he had established. Another object of interest was a stone slab with a putative representation of a deity from Słupsk mentioned in German publications.¹³

Interest in places of worship entered the public sphere, especially in Wolin, where statues of pagan deities were erected. During one of the last stages in the celebration of the millennium of the Polish state in 1967 a monument of Triglav was placed on a hill near the town, while in 1975, after the discovery of the four-faced figurine of Sviatovid, another sculpture – Sviatovid’s bigger version – appeared in the town. It was also adopted by the local museum as its logo. Slavic deities were also depicted on other monuments. Sviatovid became especially popular; his statue was erected in Świnoujście, next to a hotel of the same name,¹⁴ while another representation was placed by Wiktor Tołkin in 1960 on a plinth with an inscription “We won’t forsake the land we come from” in Darłowo.¹⁵ Another important phenomenon which developed after 1945 was the cultivation of the tradition of the worship of Triglav (mentioned in the sources from Pomerania – Szczecin, and Polabia – Brenna) in Trzygłów (German: Trieglaff) near Gryfice and

10 W. Filipowiak, *Słowiańskie miejsca kultowe z Trzebiatowa, pow. Gryfice*, “Materiały Zachodniopomorskie” III (1957), pp. 75-98; idem, *Słowiańskie miejsca kultowe Pomorza Zachodniego w świetle badań archeologiczno-toponomastycznych*, „Przegląd Zachodniopomorski” XI (1967) 5, pp. 5-17.

11 I am currently preparing a more comprehensive work about Wolin.

12 A. Stafiński promoted this deity in his works and legends, e.g., in: A. Stafiński, *Podania z ziemi szczecineckiej*, “Literatura Ludowa” IV (1960) 4-5, p. 32; I. Skrzypek, *Przedchrześcijański posąg kamienny, tzw. „Belbuk”*, “Szczecineckie Zapiski Historyczne” V (2011), pp. 37-59.

13 H. Janocha, *Okresy wędrówek...*, pp. 163f.

14 Detailed documentation in the prepared work about Wolin.

15 A. Czechowicz, T. Gasztold, K. Strzałkowska, *Miejsca pamięci narodowej na Pomorzu Środkowym*, Koszalin 1976, p. 76.

in Tychowo, where an enormous erratic boulder – a natural monument – was named Triglav after 1945. Maria Kan dedicated her play “Triglav’s Black Horse” to this deity, staged in 1972 by the puppet theatre “Pleciuga” from Szczecin to commemorate the 1000th anniversary of the battle of Cedynia.¹⁶

Propagating the pagan cult was not only connected with the historical accounts mentioning its existence long centuries ago, as it also likely constituted a frontline in the confrontation with the Catholic Church, which itself deserves further study. This is especially evident in Wolin, where on the one hand successive monuments of Slavic deities were erected and the reconstruction of a Slavic pagan temple was planned in the bastion constituting a local landmark.¹⁷ On the other, attempts were made to remove historical church objects from the public sphere. In 1965 the ruins of St George’s church, traditionally believed to have been the seat of the Pomeranian bishopric in 1140, were demolished. There were plans to demolish another medieval building – St Nicholas’ church.¹⁸ Numerous local institutions were named after pagan deities, e.g., the pub “Triglav¹⁹” in Wolin’s central square, the schoolchildren’s water sports club “Triglav Wolin”,²⁰ the restaurant “Sviatovid”, the bookshop “Arkona” (the worship centre of the Rani tribe in Rugia), and the competition for *Sviatovid’s silver frying pan*.²¹ In 1972 there were plans to build a housing estate by the name of “Sviatovid”.²² Even the conservation authorities stressed the fact that the Old Town in Wolin used to be an area of pagan culture.²³ When in 1986 a plain air sculpture

16 Archiwum Państwowe w Szczecinie [State Archives in Szczecin] (henceforth quoted as APSz), Prezydium Wojewódzkiej Rady Narodowej w Szczecinie [Presidium of the Regional National Council in Szczecin] (henceforth quoted as PWRN), call no. 6297, pp. 3-25.

17 Archiwum Zachodniopomorskiego Wojewódzkiego Urzędu Ochrony Zabytków w Szczecinie [Archives of the Western-Pomeranian Regional Conservation Office] (henceforth quoted as AZWUOZ), call no. 1210, no pagination: Projekt zagospodarowania zabytkowych obiektów starego miasta w Wolinie [Plan of development of historical objects in the Old Town in Wolin].

18 Archiwum Państwowe w Szczecinie, Oddział w Międzyzdrojach [State Archives in Szczecin, Branch in Międzyzdroje] (henceforth quoted as O/Międzyzdroje), Prezydium Miejskiej Rady Narodowej w Wolinie [Presidium of the Municipal National Council in Wolin] (henceforth quoted PMRN w Wolinie), call no. 66, pp. 4f.; *ibidem*: Prezydium Powiatowej Rady Narodowej w Świnoujściu [Presidium of the District National Council in Świnoujście] (henceforth quoted as PPRN w Świnoujściu), call no. 1532, p. 55.

19 APSz, O/Międzyzdroje, PMRN w Wolinie, call no. 18, p. 73.

20 APSz, PWRN, call no. 13133; *Ostatni taki bosman, ostatni taki sternik morski...*, in URL: <http://www.wolin.pl/wolin/aktualnosci/1715-ostatni-taki-bosman-ostatni-taki-sternik-morski.html> (9 February 2015).

21 Known under this name in the sources at least in 1966-1967 – APSz, O/Międzyzdroje, PPRN w Świnoujściu, call no. 312, p. 14; *ibidem*, call no. 305, p. 30.

22 APSz, O/Międzyzdroje, PPRN w Świnoujściu, call no. 1533.

23 This was claimed by, e.g., the Regional conservation officer in Szczecin, Stefan Kwilecki, in December 1967 – APSz, O/Międzyzdroje, PPRN w Świnoujściu, call no. 1532, p. 55.

workshop was organized here, its theme was the Wolinians' religious beliefs; the sculptures were to decorate the reconstructed temple.²⁴

Apart from Wolin the other important place of pagan worship was the mountain mentioned above – Góra Chełmska near Koszalin, where archaeological excavations were carried out in 1959-1962. Their aim was to confirm the existence of a place of worship in the Slavic period. In the 1980s a plan was conceived to organize an archaeological reserve on the mountain, which, however, was never accomplished, except for exhibiting archaeological artefacts on the mountain top and a poster display. The exhibition as well as the outlines of the pagan temple's foundations (except for the outlines of the late-medieval walls of the pilgrimage destination) were removed after the place was handed over to the Catholic Church following the political changes in 1989. The Church established a Marian devotion sanctuary there, which in 1991 was visited by Pope John Paul II.²⁵

Another important element in the exploitation of Slavic themes in historical policy was the reference to the history of early-medieval Slavdom. The institutions whose task by definition was to popularize this narrative were museums. Their exhibitions, right from the moment when they were conceived by Polish scholars, were to present the ties between the region and Poland, out of necessity focusing on prehistory, i.e., the Slavic period, due to lack of evidence of such ties in subsequent periods.²⁶ This message was consolidated by the institutions founded in the later years, especially during the implementation of the millennium project, which involved extensive educational activity (lectures, lessons in museums, touring exhibitions). They often appeared as a result of the on-going archaeological excavations (Cedynia, Wolin, Stargard, Kamień Pomorski, Kołobrzeg).²⁷ The initiators working to establish a museum in Kołobrzeg wrote in 1957 that the museum's task was to "present and make available the results of archaeological excavations in Slavic Kołobrzeg, and the deep roots

24 APSz, O/Międzyzdroje, Wolińskie Towarzystwo Kultury w Wolinie [Cultural Society in Wolin] (henceforth quoted as WTK), call no. 3, p. 18.

25 H. Janocha, F.J. Lachowicz, *Góra Chełmska. Miejsce kultów i sanktuarium maryjne*, Koszalin 1991, p. 58.

26 Z. Romanow, *Kreowanie...*, pp. 9f.

27 W. Niemierowski, *Muzeum w Stargardzie, „Szczecin”*. Miesięcznik Pomorza Zachodniego (1961) 7-8, pp. 173f.; M. Jakoćewicz, *Muzeum Regionalne w Cedyni. Krótka historia działalności*, in: *Civitas Cedene. Studia i materiały do dziejów Cedyni*, vol. I, ed. P. Migdalski, Chojna–Szczecin–Cedynia 2014, pp. 189-216; P. Migdalski, *Kreowanie polityki...*, pp. 165f. Cf. P. Migdalski, *Die Rolle der Museen im Prozess der kulturgeschichtlichen Aneignung der westpommerschen Geschichte nach dem Zweiten Weltkrieg / Muzea w procesie kulturowego oswajanie przeszłości Pomorza Zachodniego po drugiej wojnie światowej*, "Museumsblätter – Mitteilungen des Museumsverbandes Brandenburg" XXX (2017), pp. 8-25.

of the prehistory of Pomerania's Lechitic tribes".²⁸ Such narratives predominated practically throughout the whole period of the existence of the Polish People's Republic, even in institutions not directly dedicated to prehistory. For instance, an early medieval section of an exhibition in the museum devoted to the Polish First Army in Stare Łysogórki (Siekierki) was set up in 1961, while the diocesan museum in Szczecin established in the 1980s did not shy away from mentioning the Slavic roots (i.e., the pagan religion) of these lands.²⁹

These narratives were complemented by archaeological reserves set up in the places of excavations and reconstructions in Wolin (Młynówka, Srebrne Wzgórze, and Wzgórze Wisielców, where in 1963-1964 a barrow cemetery was discovered and fenced in³⁰) and on Góra Chełmska near Koszalin. Open-air museums (known as "skansens" in Polish) were to demonstrate the enduring influences of native, i.e., Slavic, traditions. Among them was the Museum of the Slovincian Village in Kluki, and the never completed projects on the island of Bielawa in Lake Drawsko³¹ and in Kłos near Koszalin. The exhibitions devoted to the culture of the indigenous inhabitants of local villages (Jamno and Łabusz) housed in the museum in Koszalin constitute telltale testimony to these initiatives.

The idea to create a skansen in Wolin on the hill Wzgórze Wisielców was tabled in the late 1950s.³² Its scope and concept changed throughout the years, but in general terms it was to consist of archaeological and ethnographic sections complemented by a traditional Slavic inn. The archaeological part was to include a reconstruction of the early-medieval harbour (a 20-metre-long pier, a 50-metre-long quay), a 13-metre-long boat, houses of various constructions, a timber-framed semi-dugout (a bath house), streets, a rampart of various constructions (15 metres high!), a smithy shed, a smoking shed, a glass melting furnace – all of which would demon-

28 Archiwum Muzeum Oręża Polskiego w Kołobrzegu [Archives of the Weaponry of the Polish Army in Kołobrzeg], an appeal to the residents.

29 P. Migdalski, *Dzieje cmentarza wojennego żołnierzy 1 Armii Wojska Polskiego w Siekierkach*, in: „*Tym samym pociągami*”. *Przesiedlenia przymusowe, procesy dezintegracyjne i integracyjne na Pomorzu Zachodnim i Ziemi Lubuskiej w latach 1939–1949 w wyborze prac magisterskich powstałych na seminarium Jana M. Piskorskiego*, ed. K. Marciszewska, P. Migdalski, Chojna-Szczecin 2013, p. 146; R. Massalski, *Dzieje diecezji szczecińsko-kamieńskiej 1972-1992*, Szczecin 2016, pp. 151f.

30 APSz, Muzeum Narodowe w Szczecinie [National Museum in Szczecin] (henceforth quoted as MNSz), call no. 199, no pagination: W. Filipowiak, E. Nawrońska, *Osiągnięcia służby konserwatorskiej na obszarze województwa szczecińskiego w 25-leciu PRL*.

31 I. Skrzypek *Plany zagospodarowania wyspy Bielawy na jez. Drawsko w latach 60-tych XX wieku*, „*Zeszyty Siemczyńsko-Henrykowski*” IX (2016), pp. 121-144.

32 APSz, MNSz, call no. 185, no pagination: Założenia do rezerwatu archeologiczno-etnograficznego w Wolinie; F.J. [F. Jordan], *Ziemia oddaje prochy*. The interview with the director of the Museum of Western Pomerania, „*Kurier Szczeciński*” XV (1959), no. 225 issue A, p. 8.

strate how they had functioned one-thousand years ago. As follows from the documents and the memories of the man behind the idea of the skansen, Władysław Filipowiak – the archaeologist excavating in Wolin from 1952 – all these activities and, primarily, the inn (mentioned in documents as early as in 1140), where Slavic dishes were to be served, would have brought sufficient profit to sustain and contribute to the development of the skansen.³³ Interestingly, in the early 1970s the originators of the skansen were looking for a house with a narrow front and an arcade on the gable wall, which was then thought to be *an undeniably Slavic form* in Pomerania.³⁴

Apart from these ideas, there were attempts to reconstruct certain objects in the public sphere to illustrate the Slavic nature of ancient Wolin. In 1979 plans were drawn up to symbolically recreate objects connected with the Slavic past, ones that would give testimony to the appearance of a Slavic stronghold,³⁵ e.g., a fragment of the harbour with the information about the first “ship owner” from Wolin, Nedamir, mentioned in the lives of St Otto, the gate Brama Wikowa, a palisade, the lighthouse mentioned in the mid-11th century by Adam of Bremen, and wooden sculptures of warriors. Even though not everything was accomplished, the Brama Wikowa and a fragment of the harbour were completed in the second half of the 1980s, recreated on the basis of discoveries from the beginning of the decade.³⁶ Introduction of Slavic elements in the public sphere was accompanied by such events as Wolin Days, Kupala Night (from 1973) – sometimes called the Legend of Triglav – which culminated in parades of young people wearing historical Slavic costumes as well as the performance of *The Defence of (Slavic) Wolin against Viking Invasion*.³⁷ The legend of the flooded city of Vineta, written down by Helmold, was also invoked, e.g., when a fair bearing its name and an event for girl guides and boy scouts *Looking for the treasures of Vineta* were organized.³⁸

33 AZWUOZ, call no. 1207, no pagination: Ramowe założenia zagospodarowania przestrzennego skansenu archeologiczno-etnograficznego w Wolinie; APSz, MNSz, call no. 185, no pagination: Założenia do rezerwatu archeologiczno-etnograficznego w Wolinie.

34 AZWUOZ, call no. 1207, no pagination: Official note.

35 AZWUOZ, call no. 1200, no pagination: Szkicowy projekt oznakowania i zagospodarowania zabytkowych obiektów Miasta Wolina i najbliższej okolicy dla potrzeb turystycznych [An outline of marking and management of historical objects in Wolin and its environments for tourists].

36 APSz, O/Międzyzdroje, WTK, call no. 3, pp. 12, 37.

37 Cf. e.g., Archiwum Szkoły Podstawowej w Wolinie [Archives of the Primary School in Wolin], *Kronika Szkoły Podstawowej w Wolinie*, 1967-, no pagination: entry dated 26 September 1969; entry dated 15 June 1974; APSz, O/Międzyzdroje, Świnoujskie Towarzystwo Kultury w Świnoujściu [Cultural Society in Świnoujście], call no. 44: Sprawozdanie z działalności SKZW za okres od I.X.1969-31.XII.1969 r., no pagination.

38 APSz, O/Międzyzdroje, WTK, call no. 3, p. 19.

Quite significantly, these narratives were not exactly anti-German in their appeal, as were however many other themes connected with the mythology of the Recovered Lands. They were consistently created throughout the whole period of the Polish People's Republic, parallel to archaeological excavations. The Slavic character of Wolin was emphasized and – following G. Labuda's criticism of the credibility of Scandinavian accounts – the popular Nordic (Germanic) theme of Jomsborg was eliminated from the debate. Even though it had been highlighted by German scholars and frequently referred to by Polish researchers before 1945, it was replaced by the story of a large and affluent Slavic maritime harbour, mentioned, for instance, by Abraham ben Jacob (10th century) and Adam of Bremen (11th century), and consolidated in the legend of Vineta.³⁹ This underscored the fact that in the 10th and the early 11th centuries Wolin was controlled by the Piasts and subsequently almost totally destroyed several times by the Scandinavians.

Other examples of introducing Slavic themes into the public sphere include Sławomir Lewiński's sculpture of the pirate from Szczecin, Wyszak, recorded in the lives of St Otto.⁴⁰ It was erected in 1970 within the confines of the monumental, stately architectural layout from the beginning of the 20th century, symbolizing the city's ties with the sea and the Hanseatic League, which after the war was renamed Wały Chrobrego, testifying to the maritime aspirations of Szczecin and Poland.⁴¹

References to ancient Slavic history had a significant impact on conservation policy; recognizing an object or architectural layout as a witness of the Slavic past guaranteed they would survive post-war demolition.⁴² In 1954 the conservation office recommended that the regional authorities should preserve the rundling and local architecture in the village of Rekowo if they ever decided to reconstruct it, arguing that the existing form of village was typical of ancient Slavic settlements.⁴³ Similarly, information that a town had been a Slavic settle-

39 Cz. Piskorski, *Wineta – Królowa Bałtyku. Z zachodnio-pomorskich legend ludowych*, "Odra. Pismo literacko-społeczne" (1946) 19 [23.06.1946], pp. 4f.

40 About this place cf. J. Musekamp, *Między Stettinem a Szczecinem. Metamorfozy miasta od 1945 do 2005*, transl. J. Dąbrowski, Poznań 2013.

41 *Pomniki, akcenty rzeźbiarskie, tablice pamiątkowe Szczecina*, ed. J. Kozakowska, Szczecin 2012, pp. 106f.

42 Cf. J. Szablowski's remark, *Zagadnienie inwentaryzacji zabytków sztuki w Polsce*, "Biuletyn Historii Sztuki i Kultury" VIII (1946) 1-2, p. 23 – "otrzymujemy bogaty spadek w postaci zabytków śląsko-pomorskich, często z ducha obcego wyrosłych, niejednokrotnie jednak zdradzających wyraźne ślady polskości" ["we have received a rich legacy – Silesian and Pomeranian historical objects – often rooted in a foreign tradition, but frequently displaying clear evidence of Polishness"].

43 AZWUOZ, call no. II/87, p. 314.

ment and had preserved the Slavic arrangement of streets was the grounds for extending protection over a number of urban layouts in 1956-1957 (e.g., Chojna, Dobra, Płoty, Resko, Stargard, Wolin, Białogard).⁴⁴ At the same time a process of de-Germanizing the architectural cultural space developed, something aiming at getting rid of the Prussian-Wilhelminian “veneer”.⁴⁵ The first Polish mayor of Szczecin, the urban planner Piotr Zaremba, proposed in 1945 that the destroyed Old Town should be rebuilt with modern buildings, arguing that no evidence of Slavic architecture had survived, as it had been replaced during the building developments from the end of the 19th and the beginning of the 20th century. On the other hand, an effort was made to preserve the street network, which was to reflect the Slavic past.⁴⁶

Slavic origins were also emphasized in the cases of individual buildings. The conservation office in Szczecin wrote in its publications in the 1960s that “a great majority of historical objects in our province offer evidence of the Slavic past. An enormous number of archaeological excavations and many secular and sacred architectural objects, and primarily the Szczecin castle, testify to the outstandingly Slavic character of our region”. The Slavic heritage even included objects built during or after the colonization based on the German town laws in the mid- and late Middle Ages, such as defence walls, the Gothic barn from the former Cistercian monastery in Kołbacz, and ruins of village churches built from granite blocks.⁴⁷ The argument of Slavic heritage was used to prevent the demolition of stone churches in Kartno and Żeliszewiec in the mid-1950s.⁴⁸ One may only wonder if the tenement house belonging to the Loitz family (mid-16th century) in Szczecin would have been one of the first objects in Pomerania to be rebuilt if its original owners, the Loitz family, had not had ties with Poland⁴⁹ and if their name had not had, as it was frequently said at the time, the Slavic roots of Łosice/Łozice.⁵⁰

44 B. Makowska, *Forma ochrony konserwatorskiej miast – rejestr zabytków woj. zachodniopomorskiego*, in: *Odbudowa miast Pomorza Zachodniego po drugiej wojnie światowej. Wybrane problemy*, ed. P. Migdalski, Poznań-Stargard 2021, pp. 104-111.

45 The term after L. Bugajski, *Kwestia odbudowy zabytkowych zespołów staromiejskich na Ziemiach Odzyskanych*, “Przegląd Zachodni” (2014) 3, pp. 216f.

46 P. Zaremba, *Wspomnienia prezydenta Szczecina 1945–1950*, Poznań 1980, pp. 322, 636ff. As concerns Kamień Pomorski cf. B. Bubnowicz, „Kłęska urbanistyki”. *O powojennej odbudowie Kamienia Pomorskiego*, in: *Odbudowa miast Pomorza...*, pp. 160, 166f.

47 AZWUOZ, call no. 256, no pagination: Material prepared for television.

48 AZWUOZ, call no. II/243, no pagination: Pismo Kurii Biskupiej w Gorzowie Wlkp. do WKZ w Szczecinie z 9.03.1955 r. [The letter from the Bishop’s Curia in Gorzów Wielkopolski to the Regional Conservation Office in Szczecin of 9 March 1955].

49 APSz, Urząd Wojewódzki Szczeciński [Regional Administration Office in Szczecin] (henceforth quoted as UWS), call no. 5090, pp. 1, 3.

50 Cf. – among others – *Dole i niedole szczecińskich zabytków*, “Głos Szczeciński”, no. 2554 of 18 January 1958 in: APSz, Polskie Towarzystwo Turystyczno-Krajoznawcze Zarząd Okręgu

There was an intensive search for the traces of ancient Slavdom, which from as early as 1945 was carried out by scholars (archaeologists, historians, ethnographers) and regionalists, e.g., the amateur archaeologist from Szczecinek and initiator of establishing the local museum, Aleksander Stafiński, mentioned above. Resorting to older German scholarly publications, he looked for and identified the native roots of Szczecinek and local villages, documented remains of strongholds, and created legends invoking the Slavic past.⁵¹ His involvement in the Slavic cause, just like that of many other people, was sometimes too naive and one-sided, which he was gently but energetically reproached for in 1956 by the archaeologist and historian Lech Leciejewicz.⁵² Another such enthusiast was Jan Frankowski, active in Kołobrzeg, who – during a conference devoted to the reconstruction of the town destroyed during military operations in 1945 – suggested that it should be moved and built further away from the Baltic, as this was exactly what the ancient Slavs once did.⁵³

Ultimately, the most evident manifestation of medievalism was the restoration of the original (it would seem) Slavic and Polish linguistic environment in the public sphere. The process was known as reslavization.⁵⁴ Although Kazimierz Kolańczyk write in 1946 that “each Slavic name that we can find and restore is yet another claim of our rights”,⁵⁵ the process had a utilitarian dimension – former German names were to be replaced by ones comprehensible for the new population. Where such names could not be found in sources, e.g.,

[Polish Tourist and Sightseeing Society, Regional Office], call no. 144: p. 28; K. Błahij, *Klęska domu Loyców*, “7-my Głos Tygodnia”, no. 10, 17 February 1957, no. 11, 24 February 1957, in: *ibidem*, no pagination. Similar arguments are featured in many guidebooks, e.g., Cz. Piskorski, *Pomorze Zachodnie. Ilustrowany przewodnik wczasowy, turystyczny i uzdrowiskowy*, Warszawa 1951, pp. 21, 27f.; *idem*, *Na szczecińskiej ziemi*, Warszawa 1958, pp. 96f.; W. Dachowski, *Szczecin*, Szczecin 1980, pp. 6, 16; cf. J. Musekamp, *Między Stettinem...*, p. 259.

51 Among others, A. Stafiński, *Osada słowiańska Gwda i jej mieszkańcy*, “Literatura Ludowa” IV (1960) 4-5, pp. 25-27; *idem*, *Zabytki słowiańskie Szczecinka i okolicy*, “Zapiski Koszalińskie” VI (1960), pp. 31-51; *idem*, *Szczecinek i okolice*, Koszalin 1958. Another interesting article is the unsigned *Słowianie na Pomorzu Zachodnim. Sześć wieków historii Niemiec mówi nam o pradziejach Pomorza Zach.*, “Polska Zachodnia” (1946) 40 [06.10.1946], p. 6.

52 Archiwum Muzeum Regionalnego w Szczecinku [Archives of the Regional Museum in Szczecinek], call no. 8/4, no pagination – L. Leciejewicz’s letter of 5 September 1956.

53 H. Kroczyński, *Powojenny Kołobrzeg 1945-1950. Wybór źródeł*, Kołobrzeg 2004, p. 55.

54 There is extensive literature on this subject, the literature till 2010 is quoted in: P. Migdalski, *Szczecin po 1945 r. jako miejsce pamięci wymarłej Słowiańszczyzny połabskiej*, in: *Poznań – Szczecin – Wrocław. Trzy uniwersytety, trzy miasta, trzy regiony*, ed. W. Łazuga, S. Paczos, Poznań 2010, pp. 459f., for more recent literature cf. M. Wagińska-Marzec, *Wokół zmian nazewnictwa ulic na Ziemiach Zachodnich i Północnych po 1945 r. – wybrane aspekty*, “Rocznik Ziemi Zachodnich” I (2017), online: <https://rocznikziemzachodnich.pl/rzz/article/view/178>.

55 K. Kolańczyk, *O nazwy polskie na Ziemiach Odzyskanych*, “Przegląd Zachodni” (1946) 2, p. 543.

in the case of streets or city districts, new ones were invented, frequently referring to the Slavic past. In June 1945 Zdzisław Rajewski prepared the guidelines for the emerging centres of Polish administration, wherein he stressed the need to consolidate “the Slavdom lost throughout the 9th-13th centuries in the street names invoking the western Slavic tribes”. The suggestions included the names of tribes: the Obodrites, Lutici, Chizzini, Ukrani, Rani, the names of Pomeranian and Polabian dukes from the 12th century (Jaromar of Rugia, Bogusław I – the Pomeranian duke, Jaxa of Köpenick – the ruler of the Polabian Sprevani, Niklot of the Obodrites) as well as the names of researchers and writers whose interests focused on the region’s past (Wilhelm Bogusławski, Zorian Dołęga Chodakowski, Deotyima Łuszczewska, and Aleksander Majkowski).⁵⁶ One of the onomasts involved in the project, Rev. Stanisław Kozierowski, suggested in June 1945 that the names of the streets in Szczecin commemorating Barnim or Bogusław (recurring Slavic names of the dukes of the Griffin family) should be preserved as “they show us that even in the German times Szczecin had streets with the names of Slavic dukes”.⁵⁷

Reaching for Slavic names was not confined to the first post-war years. In 1957, during “the Thaw”, that brief moment of political relaxation following the end of the Stalinist period, a resolution was passed in Stargard “to consolidate in the memory of the living and their descendants the ancient Slavic names of the dukes ruling the land of Stargard” in order to celebrate the 300th anniversary of the military expedition to Pomerania led by Stefan Czarnecki – the Polish commander of the army fighting against the Swedish invaders in the 17th century. A few street names were changed to commemorate Bogusław IV (the Pomeranian duke at the end of the 13th century), Barnim (probably Barnim I from the mid-13th century), Wartislav (probably the first historical duke of Pomerania from the first half of the 12th century) and Świętopelk (possibly the Pomeranian duke from the beginning of the 12th century mentioned in Gallus Anonymus’ chronicle).⁵⁸

The public sphere was complete with the names of topographic objects invoking early-medieval Slavdom (Arkona Hill, Veletian Brook) and proper names of various institutions and companies (“Slavic”, “Wartislav”, “Vineta”, “Bolko”, “Triglav”, “Sviatovid”, “Arkona/Arkonian”, “Veletian”). It is thus hardly surprising that as early as in 1946 the first school superintendent in Szczecin, Stanisław Helsztyński, wrote that “when you read these

56 APSz, UWS, call no. 4949, pp. 5-13; cf. Z. Rajewski, *Nazwy ulic w miastach zachodnich, “Polska Zachodnia”* (1945) [16-18.11. 1945], p. 8.

57 Polska Akademia Nauk Archiwum w Warszawie Oddział w Poznaniu, Materiały Stanisława Kozierowskiego [Polish Academy of Sciences, Archives in Warsaw, branch in Poznań, Stanisław Kozierowski’s materials] (PIII-15), call no. 250, p. 66.

58 APSz, Branch in Stargard, Prezydium Miejskiej Rady Narodowej w Stargardzie [Presidium of the Municipal National Council in Stargard], call no. 9, p. 58.

names, you seem to hear the swoosh of lakes, the songs of birds that lived here, you seem to smell the forests which grew here, but above all you are enchanted and hear our brother, a Slav who worked and fought here, talking to us".⁵⁹

Szczecin seems to be a special case; its main part is situated on the left – Polabian – bank of the Odra, and it had become a place commemorating Polabia due to the concentration of the names invoking it.⁶⁰ When in the autumn of 1945 Polish administration was extending over the area to the west of the city, the newspaper "Kurier Szczeciński" wrote, quoting the mayor of Szczecin mentioned above, Piotr Zaremba, that we were there "to claim the heritage of the Veleti" (the Slavic confederation of Polabian tribes in the 8th-10th centuries). In any case, the administrative district formed in this area was for one year called Veletian.⁶¹ Generally, northern Polabia and its main centres were mentioned especially frequently in the 1940s,⁶² i.e., before "brotherly" communist East Germany was established, which comprised most Polabian lands. This meant that the hopes of shifting the Polish border even further west had to be relinquished. At that time the archaeologist mentioned above, Zdzisław Rajewski, recognized the Sviatovid from Arkona as a symbol of ancient and contemporary Slavdom and a symbol of community and warning.⁶³ The island of Rügen – in the early Middle Ages inhabited by the Rani tribe – and its main centre – the pagan sanctuary in Arkona, of which many traces have survived – seem to have acquired special significance.⁶⁴ The island was commemorated with many names in Szczecin; there were even voices suggesting incorporating it into Poland, which would ensure free passage from Szczecin to the Baltic (i.e., the ancient Slavic Sea).⁶⁵

59 S. Helsztyński, *W piastowskich grodach Pomorza zachodniego*, Szczecin 1995, p. 92. The book's reviewer, Aleksander Rogalski, wrote that it debunks the myth that this land "was Germanized and showed no signs of its originally Slavic life; it transpired that the German layer is very thin and light" – A. Rogalski, *W piastowskich grodach Pomorza Zachodniego*, "Polska Zachodnia" (1946) 28 [14.07.1946], p. 6.

60 More about the subject cf. P. Migdalski, *Szczecin po 1945...*, pp. 457-472.

61 *Na Zachód – po dziedzictwo Weletów. Polska przejmuje tereny na zachód od Szczecina*, "Kurier Szczeciński" (1945) 1, p. 2; APSz, UWS, call no. 57, p. 27; P. Zaremba, *Wspomnienia...*, p. 284.

62 W. Chojnacki, *Ziemia gromadzi prochy*, "Polska Zachodnia" (1946) 22 [02.06.1946], p. 2; Z. Rajewski, *Ziemie zachodnie w świetle wykopalisk*, Warszawa 1947.

63 Z. Rajewski, *Ziemie...*, p. 64.

64 L. Mocydlarz, *Nam od Arkony*, "Polska Zachodnia" (1946) 45-46 [10-17.11.1946], p. 20; B. Zakrzewski, *Ziemie Zachodnie w poezji*, "Polska Zachodnia" (1946) 27 [14.07.1946], p. 6; W. Brzeska, *Słowiański "Konik"...*, p. 20; A. Świrczyńska, *Arkona gród Świętowita. Z dziejów słowiańskiej Rugii czyli Rany*, Warszawa 1948.

65 Cz. Pilichowski, *Zagadnienie Rugii – sprawą ogólnościową*, "Polska Zachodnia" (1946) 11 [17.03.1946], p. 3; *Na Pomorzu Zachodnim*, „Mały Osadnik”, A supplement to "Polska Zachodnia"

As Pomerania had never belonged to Poland for any longer period of time, the Slavic narrative constituted one of the most important arguments legitimizing the Polish presence after 1945. It was a classic case of resorting to “historical rights”; it constituted an element in a broader system of the story of the Recovered Lands, thus becoming a foundation myth of the Polish People’s Republic, and thereby consolidating communist rule and affirming its patron’s role – the USSR as the guarantor Poland’s new western borders.⁶⁶ Slavic references also contributed to the idea of pan-Slavism and Slavophilia which Josef Stalin resorted to during the Great Patriotic War to form an anti-German “Slavic” coalition,⁶⁷ whose symbol in Poland had become the two swords handed over by the Teutonic Order’s envoys in 1410 to the Polish king before the Battle of Grunwald.⁶⁸

However, the narratives’ primary task was to convince the newly-arriving Polish settlers that it was not a foreign country, that originally it had been a Slavic land – as much as any elsewhere, to the east. In principle, these narratives were created by everyone – historians and archaeologists,⁶⁹ who provided the material basis, along with promoters of tourism, enthusiastic amateurs, writers, journalists, politicians, church officials, etc. – who made avail of all available means, from official speeches and celebrations to monu-

(1946) 29 [03.11.1946], p. 107; M. Musielak, *Polski Związek Zachodni 1944–1950*, Warszawa 1986, pp. 151f.; L. Pręcikowski, *Propaganda słowiańska w Polsce Ludowej...*, pp. 297f.; S. Jankowiak, *Jakie powinny być...*, pp. 231f.; P. Szulc, *Zniewolony eter. Polskie Radio Szczecin w latach 1945-1989*, Szczecin 2012, p. 97; idem, *Pomorze Zachodnie w propagandzie władz PRL w latach 1945-1947*, in: *Nad Odrą i Bałtykiem...*, p. 571.

⁶⁶ E. Kaszuba, *Między propagandą a rzeczywistością*, Warszawa-Wrocław 1997, p. 116; M. Gruszczyk, *Idea w służbie propagandy. Komitet Słowiański w Polsce 1945-1953 na tle ruchu nowosłowiańskiego*, Katowice 2019, pp. 125-144.

⁶⁷ Cf. e.g., M. Gruszczyk, *Działalność Komitetu Słowiańskiego w Polsce na tle ruchu nowosłowiańskiego po II wojnie światowej*, in: *Letnia Szkoła historii najnowszej 2011*, ed. P. Gasztold-Seń, Ł. Kamiński, Warszawa 2012, pp. 102-108; M. Gruszczyk, *Idea w służbie...*, pp. 24ff.; L.S. Pręcikowski, *Polska w „nowym ruchu słowiańskim” z działalności Komitetu Słowiańskiego w Polsce w latach 1945-1947*, “Acta Universitatis Lodziensis. Folia Historica” LXIX (2000), pp. 173-190; idem, *Propaganda słowiańska w Polsce Ludowej w latach 1944–1947 ze szczególnym uwzględnieniem roli Komitetu Słowiańskiego w Polsce*, “Studia z Dziejów Rosji i Europy Środkowo-Wschodniej” XL (2005), pp. 305f.

⁶⁸ Cf. A. Mazur, *Order Krzyża Grunwaldu 1943–1985*, Warszawa 1988, pp. 19-24; idem, *Order Krzyża Grunwaldu. Monografia historyczna*, Warszawa 2005, pp. 9-27; Z. Mazur, *Obchody świąt i rocznic historycznych na Ziemiach Zachodnich i Północnych (1945-1948)*, in: *Wspólne dziedzictwo? Ze studiów nad stosunkiem do spuścizny kulturowej na Ziemiach Zachodnich i Północnych*, Poznań 2000, p. 153-162; G. Strauchold, *Myśl zachodnia...*, pp. 94-96.

⁶⁹ Their role is emphasized by G. Labuda, *Jestem Kaszubą w Poznaniu*, in: idem, *Zapiski kaszubskie, pomorskie i morskie. Wybór pism*, Gdańsk 2000, p. 488; E. Rymar, *Dziedzictwo piśmiennicze księstwa Gryfitów ze szczególnym uwzględnieniem obszaru państwa polskiego*, “Bibliotekarz Zachodniopomorski” XLI (2000) 4, p. 26.

ments, pictures, radio,⁷⁰ press, and guidebooks, to cartoons,⁷¹ novels,⁷² tourist leaflets, legends, and proper names.

Promoting the ideology of the Recovered Lands constituted the *raison d'être* of that time, therefore it would be difficult to conclude that the various groups of people mentioned above merely seized an opportunity to ingratiate themselves with the new authorities and its propaganda, which is sometimes stated in the literature.⁷³ What is clear, however, is that the Slavic narratives propagated by the nationalists before 1945 and by the supporters of the communist authorities after 1945 endured, just like the academic circles where they were conceived and cultivated. We might hazard the guess that they made the most of the new political circumstances after 1945 to achieve their aims with mutual benefit. This is substantiated by the fact that these narratives were created throughout the whole period of the existence of the Polish People's Republic, with two exceptions: the Stalinist period (1948/1949-1956) and in 1972-1980, when following the agreement between Poland and the Federal Republic of Germany, the Polish authorities ceased to promote the mythology of the Recovered Lands. Additionally, in the mid-1960s the millennium project was completed, and this also contributed to curbing the tendency to invoke the early Middle Ages in contemporary culture.

However, the city of Wolin was an exception; here Slavic themes were unflaggingly of high prominence in the public sphere. Arguably the main motif was that centuries earlier it had been the most influential centre of pagan worship, which the communist state, embroiled in constant confrontation with the Church, juxtaposed with the Christian religion. It seems, however, that the local narrative was not as anti-German as the references to Polabia tended to be. An example of a similar policy, albeit on a smaller scale, is seen in Góra Chełmska and other holy mountains of Pomerania, where the pagan period was stressed and places of pagan worship were given more prominence than

70 Cf. R. Domke, *Ziemie Zachodnie i Północne w propagandzie lat 1945-1948*, Zielona Góra 2010, pp. 123f., 132f.; P. Szulc, *Zniewolony eter...*, pp. 93, 101, 287; *Fikcja czy rzeczywistość? Wybór audycji Polskiego Radia Szczecin z lat 1946-1989*, selected, introduced and edited by P. Szulc, Szczecin 2009, pp. 68, 94, 106, 225, 495.

71 R. Foltyn, *Dawny świat Słowian w polskim komiksie historycznym*, in: *Kulturowe projekcje Słowian w tradycji polskiej*, ed. D. Kalinowski, E. Foltyn, Słupsk 2016, pp. 208-234.

72 Cf. M. Cioska, *Obraz Niemca w "powieściach piastowskich"* (Z badań nad stereotypem etnicznym), in: *Z badań nad polską myślą polityczną 1939-1947*, Acta Universitatis Wratislaviensis, CCCLXIII, Nauki Polityczne, IX, Wrocław 1978, pp. 109-128; idem, *Kompensacyjne funkcje stereotypów etnicznych w powieściach piastowskich*, "Sobótka" XXXIII (1978) 2, pp. 258-263; R. Foltyn, *Obecność wczesnośredniowiecznej Słowiańszczyzny nadbałtyckiej i zaodrzańskiej w polskiej powieści historycznej lat 1945-1989*, "Acta Cassubiana" XVII (2015), pp. 160-180.

73 An example is the article by P. Knap, "Spacerkiem po bastionie polskości". *Propagandowy obraz dziejów Szczecina na łamach wybranych przewodników i informatorów miejskich (1945-1960)*, in: *Nad Odrą i Bałtykiem...*, pp. 715-721.

the centres of Marian devotion from the late Middle Ages. The remaining cases of commemorating Slavic temples and deities (e.g., Arkona, Belbuk) reflected local narratives without any political connotations.

Apart from the places of worship, the other theme was that of bygone Polabian Slavdom – a perfect example of Germanization, embodied by the Prussian policy from the end of the 19th century and – especially – German occupation during World War II, still vividly remembered. The theme recurred until the late 1940s, i.e., until the German Democratic Republic was established and the hopes of shifting the Polish border further west, especially in the Odra estuary, had to be relinquished. The memory of Slavic heroes was cultivated, especially the rulers putting up resistance to foreign invaders, such as Niklot, Jaxa, Bogusław – and the Piasts who strove to conquer these lands and consolidate their rule, including no less than Mieszko I, Bolesław I the Brave, and Bolesław III the Wrymouth; they became the archetypal heroes opposing German, or Germanic, *Drang nach Osten*. Another group was local figures mentioned in the sources, like the residents of Szczecin from the 12th century: Wyszak and Domasław.

In conclusion, we should note that even though the references to early-medieval Slavdom were to create an atmosphere of familiarity, heal anti-German war traumas, facilitate becoming accustomed to the new lands and legitimizing their incorporation after 1945, via building a bridge between ancient Slavic peoples and the modern times, they also were relevant for the current situation. The experience of World War II and the occupation brought to mind what had happened to the ancient Slavic peoples – the Wagri, the Obodrites – as described i.a., by Helmold in the 12th century. From this perspective they were the same victims as their 20th-century descendants. The emphasis on the existence and significance of Slavdom in the history of Pomerania was an extension of the debate about the origins of Slavic states, going on for decades between German and Slavic (including Polish) scholars. It was also a response to the ideology of the “drive to the east” initiated in Germany in the 19th century.

translated by Bartłomiej Madejski

ABSTRACT

Early-medieval Slavdom as a factor legitimizing the Polish presence westward as exemplified by Western Pomerania

In the mythology of the Recovered Territories created in Poland at the end of World War II, which legitimized the country's territorial acquisitions in the west, one of the main axes was connected with Slavic themes. Based on the analysis of archival sources, medieval accounts, and scholarly literature, the paper shows which narratives were referred to where, when,

and why. Analysis of the material shows that particular attention was paid to issues related to pagan beliefs and cults. The place where this was most often referred to was Wolin. Slavic themes occupied an important place in commentaries to exhibitions and in museum guides, in the creation of open-air museums and archaeological reserves, as well as in the care of historical monuments. Reconstructions of objects and monuments were also installed in the public space and names were given referring to ancient Slavic culture.

Keywords: historical policy, medievalism, Western Pomerania, Slavs

II. CURRENT RESEARCH

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MOSCOW TROOPS IN THE WARS OF POLAND AND LITHUANIA WITH THE TEUTONIC ORDER IN PRUSSIA IN 1414 AND 1422: TWO TIMELINE QUESTIONS



Undated letters sometimes pose the historian difficult questions about interpretation and may under certain circumstances mislead his or her research. They become particularly problematic when it comes to important and controversial topics. Two such cases in the field of wars between the Kingdom of Poland and the Grand Duchy of Lithuania on the one hand and the Teutonic Order in Prussia on the other at the beginning of the 15th century will now be covered succinctly in this article.¹

1

The first question is whether a statement in a letter of the Teutonic Order concerning 8000 troops from the Grand Duchy of Moscow in approaching Prussia should be dated to the year 1410 or 1414. The topic is particularly relevant in connection with research on the Battle of Grunwald (Tannenberg, Žalgiris) in 1410.

The letter is a copy on paper found in the Teutonic Order's Archives in Berlin.² Salutation, place, date of issue as well as a signature are all miss-

1 The author thanks Mr James Harrison, Dallgow-Döberitz (Germany) for revising the English manuscript.

2 Geheimes Staatsarchiv Preußischer Kulturbesitz Berlin, XX. Hauptabteilung Historisches Staatsarchiv Königsberg, Ordensbriefarchiv, no. 1315 (GStA PK, XX. HA StA Kbg., OBA 1315).

ing, but the content reveals that the letter was written by the Order's commander (*Komtur*) of Osterode (Pol. Ostróda) to its Grand Master (*Hochmeister*). The sheet has been folded from 29.5 x 22.5 to 11.5 x 7.5 cm, with the outsides being slightly soiled. There is no watermark. In the well-known "Regesta historico-diplomatica Ordinis S. Mariae Theutonicorum 1198-1525" the supposed date is noted cautiously as "[1410 after June 24?]"³

The commander reports about measures that were taken by Duke Janusz I (*hercoge Hans*) of Mazowia (around 1350 to 1429) in the event of war. The commander had obtained information on this from his *Schultheiss*⁴ (an official), who was obviously sent to Mazowia to collect information about the foreign policy situation. The *Schultheiss* reported not only about the measures taken by the Mazowian Duke in view of the danger of war, but also informed that the King of Poland on Margaret Day (13 July) or shortly thereafter would have a meeting with the Silesian ("Polish") princes (*fursten*) and those of Greater Poland. The Duke of Mazowia would also be there.

The most interesting statement in our context is that the Lithuanian Grand Duke Witold (Lit. Vytautas) was on the move in the wilderness with a large army and also has about 8000 men from Moscow as well as Tatars and countless other people with him: *Vortme hat her uns gesayt, das Weytold mit eyne grosen heer czihe in der wiltnisse und hat zunderlich ouch bey im wol 8000 manne von Moschkaw und ouch der tatere und sust anders folks ane czal*. In order to avoid the Mazowian people suffering damage during the passage of his army, Witold had ordered them to stay out of harm's way. It was believed that the Lithuanian army would invade into the Order's commandery of Elbing (Pol. Elbląg) at Ortelsburg (Pol. Szczytno) or Wildberg (Pol. Garbina).

In his letter, the commander finally reports about his concerns and an offer from a man named Böse Kuncze, who had a legal dispute with his Lord, the bishop, i.e. Jakob Kurdwanowski of Płock (ca. 1350-1425). He now offered to summon the bishop to the Polish King in order to enforce his rights. Under this pretext he could get to the King's courtyard to assess the situation and the intentions of the Poles. For this purpose, however, he needed a horse worth 10 marks and 120-180 *Groschen* to cover the travel expenses. Further important information in this regard will be touched upon later in this essay.

2

From many sources of the Teutonic Order at the time, Russians are mentioned as part of the opposing armed forces, but this is the first time that

³ *Regesta historico-diplomatica Ordinis S. Mariae Theutonicorum 1198-1525, I: Regesten zum Ordensbriefarchiv*, vol. I (1198-1454), ed. E. Joachim, W. Hubatsch, Göttingen 1948, no. 1315.

⁴ Ms. *Scholtis*.

troops from Moscow are explicitly mentioned being on the way to Prussia. This makes the letter to the Grand Master a particularly interesting document.

The relationship between Grand Duke Wassili I of Moscow and Grand Duke Witold/Vytautas of Lithuania at the beginning of the 15th century was covered thoroughly by historians in the countries concerned and in newer studies mainly by Sergey Polekhov, and shall therefore not be discussed in detail here.⁵ After having resolved their warlike disputes at the end of the first decade of the century, the two rulers signed a peace document, that has since gone missing, but which is mentioned in various printed sources.⁶

I have also found the peace mentioned in a document in the Teutonic Order's archives in Berlin. It is a memorandum on the events that led to the war with Poland-Lithuania and the treaty negotiations up to the conclusion of the armistice with Poland on 8 October, 1409.⁷ It may have been written in November 1409, because a time lag to the armistice can be seen.⁸ It can be assumed that it was used by the Order's envoys Werner von Tettingen and Count Albrecht von Schwarzburg on their diplomatic mission to King Sigismund of Hungary in November/December. The alliance treaty was signed on 20th December. In view of the important upcoming arbitration award of King Wenceslas of Bohemia before Invocavit 1410 (9th February), it can be assumed that he too was informed of the content. The provisions on an arbitration award to be held are contained in the armistice of 8th October and are also fixed in the memorandum.⁹

There are various German and Latin versions of this important document, which Erich Weise informs about in his edition of the State Treaties of the Teutonic Order.¹⁰ In the following, reference is made to the longer German version. A more detailed description is dispensed with here.

5 See the summary of a lecture by Polekhov in Russian: C.B. Polekhov, *Litovsko-russkie otnošenija v načale XV veka v svete maloizvestnykh dokumentov*, "Drevnjaja Rus'. Voprosy medievistiki" (2017) III (LXIX), pp. 105f. (with references). I thank Dr Polekhov for this important information. Cf. note 37.

6 According to Polekhov in an email of 2 March 2018: *Polnoe sobranie russkich letopisej*, XV, Petersburg 1863, col. 482; XVIII, Petersburg 1913, p. 155; *Scriptores rerum Prussicarum*, III, Leipzig 1863, p. 291. Also see *Codex epistolaris Vitoldi magni ducis Lithuaniae 1376-1430*, ed. A. Prochaska, *Monumenta medii aevi historica res gestas Poloniae illustrantia*, VI, Cracoviae 1882, no. CCCCXI, p. 183.

7 GStA PK, XX. HA StA Kbg., OBA 1223.

8 *Ibidem*, sheet 7v: ...us dem fredebrife, der czu der czeit von beyden teylen vorschreiben und vorsegild wart...

9 *Ibidem*, sheet 8r.

10 *Die Staatsverträge des Deutschen Ordens in Preußen im 15. Jahrhundert*, I (1398-1437), ed. E. Weise, Marburg ²1970, no. 76, pp. 77f.

A statement by the Grand Master during the negotiations with the Polish delegation at the Marienburg (Pol. Malbork) on 1st August, 1409 is important in our context. Ulrich von Jungingen claimed to be in possession of a sealed letter to him from Witold, in which the latter says that he has allied himself with the Russians, namely with the Grand Duke of Moscow, and also has a captain in Novgorod:

Doruff antwertte der homeister und sprach, als im herczog Witoud geschreben hat in syme vorsegelten brive, den der homeister noch heutiges tages hat, das her sich verbunden und voreynet habe mit den Russen, nemlich mit deme von Moscow, wedir alle menye gleich, und hat czu grossen Nougarten synen heuptman.¹¹

Witold had also verbally given further information about Russians and Tatars to emissaries of the Order.¹²

In the memorandum complaints are also brought against the Polish King, because Witold, “who is his great bailiff”, is now less linked with the Christians “than with the Russians, namely with them from Moscow, Great Novgorod (*Grose Nawgartin*) and from Pleskau, which are very powerful”, and also with the Samaites and Tatars.¹³

Of special interest is a letter from the Polish king Władysław Jagiełło in the so-called Formulary of Trident,¹⁴ in the fall of 1408, presumably to the Grand Master of the Teutonic Order, which S. Polekhov brought to my attention.¹⁵ This codex, which was probably created in Cracow in 1423/24 and was a gift to the Mazovian Duke Alexander before he moved to Trient/Trident (today Trento in Italy) as bishop, is an important collective manuscript, which mainly contains documents of the internal administration and the external politics in Poland in the 1st quarter of the 15th century, including important letters between the king and the Lithuanian Grand Duke. It is kept in the Chapter Archives of Trento (Germ. Trient).¹⁶ According to this important source, Wassili had on 15 September, 1408 at the river Ugra approved the declaration of peace

11 GStA PK, XX. HA StA Kbg., OBA 1223, sheet 5v.

12 Ibidem: *Ouch so hat her selber gesayt des homeisters erbern sendeboten, dem komphthur czu Ragnith und magistro Bartholomeo, techand czur Frauwenburg, wie das her Thatern bey im hette, wol mit 30 000 pferden, als her sprach, und synt nu keyne andere heyden mit im grenitczen, den Thatern und Russen, mit den her sich hat verbunden, und die Samayten, der her sich hat underwunden, zo mag eyn yderman merken und dirkennen, das is obir nymande andirs ist, den obir die cristenheit geschen.*

13 Ibidem, sheet 13r.

14 “*Liber disparata antiqua continens*” *Alexandro Masoviensi episcopo Tridentino dicatus*, ed. E. Winkler, *Elementa ad fontium editions*, II, Romae 1960, no. 67, pp. 42f.

15 As for this edition, see A. Larczyńska, *Prawdziwe czy zmyślone? Źródła epistolarne i dokumentowe w formularzu księcia mazowieckiego Aleksandra. Próba rekonstrukcji badawczego*, “*Studia z Dziejów Sredniowiecza*” XVIII (2014), pp. 141-155.

16 Review of the edition by J. Petersohn, “*Zeitschrift für Ostforschung*” XI (1962) 1, pp. 179f.

by kissing the cross, and returned all controversial countries to Witold and committed to providing military aid to fight all their enemies:

Et tandem sequenti die, hoc est sabbato, ipse dux Mosquensis omnes terras, districtus, castra fortalicia, et alia, pro quibus contencio fuerat exorta, ipso fratri nostro duci Witoldo restituit ex integro, munimentisque litterarum firmissimis ad facienda nobis et eidem duci Witowdo cum tota potencia sua contra omnes inimicos nostros subsidia opportune se astrinxit.¹⁷

3

The marriage of Wassili to Witolds daughter Sofia in 1391 meant the two grand dukes were now related. That is why Polish historian Julia Radziszewska has suggested that the oldest and most important Russian annals with details of the Battle of Grunwald could be traced back to a report sent by the Lithuanian Grand Duke to his son-in-law.¹⁸

It is therefore not surprising that our undated letter in Polish historical research has been connected with the Grunwald battle and dated "1410" in the 2004 book by Sławomir Józwiak from the University of Toruń (Germ. Thorn) about espionage and counter espionage in Prussia.¹⁹ He repeatedly refers to its content when describing the situation prior to the battle.²⁰ The 8000 Russians are mentioned, but nowhere in the book is it stated specifically that they are troops from Moscow.²¹ Modern political considerations and emotional "national" barriers are likely to have played a role in this cautious approach. The interpretation of Józwiak has been adopted, for example, by Henadz Sahanovič in an essay on the battle at Tannenberg and the Eastern Slavic Orthodox world.²² The Belarusian historian was not aware that Józwiak's statements on this issue are flawed.

17 "Liber disparata antiqua continens"... , p. 43.

18 J. Radziszewska, *Echa bitwy grunwaldzkiej w ruskich latopisach*, "Małopolskie Studia Historyczne" III (1960) 1/2, p. 79, note 65. Cf. S. Ekdahl, *Die Schlacht bei Tannenberg 1410. Quellenkritische Untersuchungen*, vol. I: *Einführung und Quellenlage*, ed. J. Vietig, Berliner Historische Studien, VIII, Einzelstudien, I, Berlin 1982, pp. 154-156; idem, *Grunwald 1410. Studia nad tradycją i źródłami*, transl. by M. Dorna, Kraków 2010, pp. 155-157.

19 S. Józwiak, *Wywiad i kontrwywiad w państwie zakonu krzyżackiego w Prusach. Studium nad sposobami pozyskiwania i wykorzystywaniem poufnych informacji w późnym średniowieczu*, Malbork 2004.

20 Ibidem, pp. 36, 84, 86, 99, 103, 149, 244.

21 See ibidem, pp. 99, 149.

22 H. Sahanovič, *Tannenberg und die ostslawische orthodoxe Welt*, in: *Tannenberg – Grunwald – Žalgiris 1410: Krieg und Frieden im späten Mittelalter*, ed. W. Paravicini, R. Petrauskas, G. Vercamer, Deutsches Historisches Institut Warschau: Quellen und Studien, XXVI, Wiesbaden 2012, pp. 313f.

In the large work of several Polish historians on the war of Poland and Lithuania with the Teutonic Order from 1409 to 1411, published six years later in the Grunwald anniversary year of 2010, the chapters on the 1410 campaign were written by Krzysztof Kwiatkowski, who teaches at the University of Toruń.²³ Unlike Józwiak, however, he claims that the letter is not from 1410, but from 1414.²⁴ Thus, the question arises which of these contradictory interpretations is the right one. When did the troops from Moscow, mentioned in the letter from the commander of Osterode, take part in the war against the Teutonic Order – was it in 1410 or 1414? Or is there a third option?

4

The key to a reliable answer can be found in another statement by Böse Kuncze, who is mentioned as an informant in the undated letter from the Commander of Osterode. Kuncze had told the *Schultheiss* that he recently had met and spoken with the Grand Master in Montau (Pol. Maławy) in Prussia: *do ich nu nehest by im was czu Montaw*.²⁵ He had a lot to relay on the topic, but the Grand Master had forbidden him to report it further.

Of particular interest to us is the fact that the Grand Master had visited Montau not long before the letter to him was written by the commander.²⁶ *Terminus post quem* is St. John's Day 24 June, *terminus ante quem* July 13, which is mentioned in the letter as a future date.²⁷ The question now is what year it was. In the search for an answer, we turn to the itineraries of the Grand Masters Ulrich von Jungingen (1407-1410)²⁸ and Michael Kűchmeister (1414-1422).²⁹ In order to make sure that it is not a source from the war in 1422, we also take a look at the itinerary of the subsequent Grand Master Paul von Rusdorf (1422-1441).³⁰

23 K. Kwiatkowski, *Wyprawa letnia 1410 roku*, in: S. Józwiak, K. Kwiatkowski, A. Szweda, S. Szybkowski, *Wojna Polski i Litwy z zakonem krzyżackim w latach 1409-1411*, Malbork 2010, pp. 238-563.

24 Ibidem, p. 254, note 67.

25 GStA PK, XX. HA StA Kbg., OBA 1315.

26 In Montau/Maławy there was an estate of the Teutonic Order.

27 As for St. John's Day it is told in the letter that the duke of Mazowia had held a meeting with his noblemen *in sente Johannis baptisten tage*.

28 S. Ekdahl, *Ulrich von Jungingen (26.VI.1407-15.VII.1410)*, in: *Die Hochmeister des Deutschen Ordens 1190-2012*, second increased and corrected edition, ed. U. Arnold, Quellen und Studien zur Geschichte des Deutschen Ordens, XL, Weimar 2012; idem, *Ульрих фон Юнгинген 26.VI.1407 – 15.VII.1410*, in: *Верховные магистры тевтонского ордена*, transl. by V. Matusova, Moscow 2015, pp. 110-123; idem, *Ulrich von Jungingen, Hochmeister des Deutschen Ordens*, in: *Neue Deutsche Biographie*, vol. XXVI, Berlin 2016, pp. 588-590.

29 W. Nöbel, *Michael Kűchmeister. Hochmeister des Deutschen Ordens 1414-1422*, ed. K. Wieser, *Quellen und Studien zur Geschichte des Deutschen Ordens*, V, Bad Godesberg 1969.

30 C.A. Lűckerath, *Paul von Rusdorf. Hochmeister des Deutschen Ordens 1422-1441*, ed. K. Wieser, *Quellen und Studien zur Geschichte des Deutschen Ordens*, XV, Bad Godesberg 1969.

Damian Szweda has published the itinerary of Ulrich von Jungingen.³¹ According to his research, the Grand Master visited Montau three times in 1408 and twice in 1409,³² but there is no evidence of a stay there in 1410. Wilhelm Nöbel has compiled the itinerary of Michael Küchmeister and found out that he visited Montau on 18 May and on 26 June, 1414.³³ As far as Paul von Rusdorf is concerned, he visited Montau once each year in 1424, 1427, 1428, and 1434, according to research by Carl August Lückerath.³⁴ The last year can be excluded in our context, because Grand Duke Witold/Vytautas, who is mentioned in the letter, had died four years earlier. The dates of his other stays do not fit to those mentioned in the undated letter to the Grand Master.

The investigation has thus led to the conclusion that Krzysztof Kwiatkowski is right with his criticism of dating the letter "1410". Instead, it was without doubt written in 1414. In that year Michael Küchmeister visited Montau both on 18 May and on 26 June, which fits very well to the content of the letter in question. Its author is therefore Johann von Bichau, who is documented between 1413 and 1421 as a commander of Osterode.³⁵ According to his information, 8000 men from the Grand Duchy of Moscow marched on Prussia in the summer of 1414.

5

Interestingly, there is also another undated letter from the Teutonic Order in which troops from Moscow are mentioned.³⁶ Sergey Polekhov draws attention to this in connection with his suggested date of the letter discussed earlier.³⁷ In contrast to the letter from 1414 it is not a copy, but an original. It is written by the Order's commander of Rhein (Pol. Ryn), who issued it in the town of Rastenburg (Pol. Kętrzyn) and sent it to the Grand Master.

31 D. Szweda, *Itinerary of the Grand Master Ulrich von Jungingen (1407-1410)*, in: *War in History. The History of Polish and General Military Science*, ed. A. Niewiński, Homo militans, VI, Lublin 2017, pp. 39-63 (with the itinerary on pp. 46-59). Online: http://www.kul.pl/files/954/war_6.pdf. I thank Mr Marcin Skrobek, Łódź, for reporting this work.

32 Ibidem, pp. 50, 53, 54, 57.

33 W. Nöbel, *Michael Küchmeister...*, itinerary on pp. 133-138. See pp. 133, 134.

34 C.A. Lückerath, *Paul von Rusdorf...*, itinerary on pp. 211-224. See pp. 213, 214, 215, and 219.

35 Traceable as commander of Osterode from 23 May 1413 to 17 June 1421. D. Heckmann, *Amtsträger des Deutschen Ordens in Preußen und in den hochmeisterlichen Kammerballeien des Reiches bis 1525/Dostojnicy zakonu niemieckiego w Prusach i baliwatach kamery wielkomistrzowskiej w Rzeszy do 1525 roku*, Toruń 2020, p. 413.

36 GStA PK, XX. HA StA Kbg., OBA 3794.

37 С.В. Полехов, *Лугвень, Новгород и восточная политика Витовта (1411-1414) в свете малоизвестных источников Кёнигсбергского архива*, in: *Мсціслаў і Мсціслаўскі край. Зборнік навуковых артыкулаў*, Мінск 2019, p. 70, note 46.

In the “Regesta” it is dated “(1422 July 1)”.³⁸ The name of the commander at that time is not present and unknown.³⁹

The commander refers to a man from Rastenburg, who he had sent to Mazowia to obtain news and had now returned. According to his report, Witold (Vytautas) will arrive at Pultusk (Pol. Pułtusk) in Mazowia “next Sunday” and cross the river Nare (Pol. Narew) there. On the same day the king of Poland will cross the river Vistula (Pol. Wisła, Germ. Weichsel) about four (Prussian) miles⁴⁰ from Pultusk at the small town *Sachrowtzyn* (Pol. Zakrowczyn). From there, both armies will march together “the old ways” 17 (Prussian) miles to the boundary at Neidenburg (Pol. Nidzica) in Prussia, where they will join with the troops of the duke of Mazowia.

Important in our context is what is subsequently revealed in the letter. The man from Rastenburg had also reported about another army beyond *Lomsz* (Pol. Łomża) at the border, “where the three bridges are”. The Grand Master had already been informed about that by the commander, the latter said. He added that it is publicly claimed that the troops belong to the Grand Duke of Moscow: *Unde sie sprechen offentlich, is sey der von Muscaw*. That army intends to invade Prussia at Johannisburg (Pol. Pisz) and march into the hinterland of Prussia in order to ravage it. By these means, parts of the Order’s forces will have to go there for defence purposes, whereby the other attacking armies of the Poles and Lithuanians will be relieved.⁴¹

Since this letter also speaks of troops from Moscow, the question arises as to whether we are dealing with another incorrect dating. Maybe it was also written in 1414? To answer this question, further investigation must be made.

First of all, it is worth noting that the letter was written by the commander of Rhein. That rules out the year 1414, because this part of Masuria was still under-developed and a commander was only appointed some years later.⁴²

On my request, Dr. des. Johannes Götz at the Geheimes Staatsarchiv in Berlin in May 2020 informed me that the paper of the letter does not

38 *Regesta historico-diplomatica...*, no. 3794.

39 Friedrich von Wilsdorf is documented as commander of Rhein from 10 December 1420 to 11 January 1422. Eckhard von Buchheim is documented as commander on 14 October 1423. See D. Heckmann, *Amtsträger...*, p. 444.

40 An old Prussian (“alt-kulmische”) mile at that time corresponds to about 7,7 kilometres.

41 As for the military operations that year see S. Ekdahl, *Der Krieg zwischen dem Deutschen Orden und Polen-Litauen im Jahre 1422*, “*Zeitschrift für Ostforschung*” XIII (1964) 4, pp. 614-651; C.A. Lückcrath, *Paul von Rusdorf...*, pp. 31-42; K. Neitmann, *Politik und Kriegführung des Hochmeisters Paul von Rusdorf 1422*, “*Zeitschrift für Ostforschung*” XXXIV (1985), pp. 330-378.

42 I thank Prof. Bernhart Jähnig, Berlin, for this information.

contain a watermark, which excludes that possibility of dating.⁴³ However, he draws attention to the interesting notes on the letter brought from Rastenburg to the Grand Master at Marienburg. Two of them read in translation: “[The messenger] came and left *Ylaw* [mod. Germ. Eylau, Pol. Ilawa] on the day Visitacionis Marie hora secunda after noon” and “Came and left Balga on Friday after Visitacionis Marie hora III after midnight”. The distance between the two places is about 60 kilometres. The conclusion of Götz is a good example of successful analysis. He writes: “According to Grotefend, Visitationis Mariae was on a Thursday in 1422, but on a Monday in 1414. So one can pose the question: Did the carrier, who brought this very urgent letter, need about three and a half days (from Monday to Friday – 1414) or a half day (from Thursday to Friday – 1422) for those 60 kilometres? In my opinion, the year 1422 is clearly preferable to 1414 considering the time it took to bring the letter.”⁴⁴

There is also a third item of proof about the correctness of the date 1 July, 1422, namely another interesting letter from the commander of Rhein to the Grand Master of the Order with additional messages about the intention of the Poles and Lithuanians to attack Prussia near Neidenburg (Nidzica).⁴⁵ It is dated Rastenburg 1422 on Friday after Visitationis Mariae, that is on 3 July. Although it does not mention the troops from Moscow, it is quite clear that the letters are related and written only two days apart.

6

Finally, attention should be drawn to a very short summary of a lost letter of the Teutonic Order in a codex of the former Königsberg State Archives from the 16th century, which is now kept in the manuscript department of the library of the Lithuanian Academy of Sciences in Vilnius.⁴⁶ In 1992 the manuscript was described by me as follows (here in the English translation): “Register (summaries from the correspondence of the Teutonic Order and other documents from the 14th-15th Centuries about various historical events). 16th century. 290 p. 36x23,5 cm. – The summaries are of different lengths and chronologically very mixed.”⁴⁷ An edition of the codex is now being prepared by Krzysztof Kwiatkowski and Ser-

43 Email of 27 May 2020. I could not do that research myself, because of a voluntary quarantine in Sweden, caused by the Coronavirus pandemic.

44 I thank Dr. des. Götz for this conclusive analysis.

45 GStA PK, XX. HA StA Kbg., OBA 3798. See *Regesta historico-diplomatica...*, no. 3798.

46 Lietuvos mokslų akademijos Vrublevskių biblioteka, Rankraščių rinkinys “Borussica”, Fondas 15-73 (LMAVB, RS, F 15-73).

47 S. Ekdahl, *Archivalien zur Geschichte Ost- und Westpreußens in Wilna, vornehmlich aus den Beständen des Preußischen Staatsarchivs Königsberg*, “Preußenland” XXX (1992) 2, p. 50.

gey Polekhov.⁴⁸ I am grateful to Dr. Polekhov, who focused my attention to the summary of the letter mentioned above, informed me about its content and sent me scanned pictures of the two pages in question. It briefly mentions preparations for war against Prussia by the people of Mazuria and Witold and the presence of the Tatar emperor (“Kaiser”) and the “Moscowian” in the large army of the latter: *Das sich die Masuren schicken zu krige wider Preussen ... and ... H[erzog] Wit[old] hat ein gros volck, hat bei sich den Taterischen keiser und den Moskauten ...*⁴⁹

Unfortunately, the date is missing. It can only be one of the years 1410, 1414 or 1422, because Witold/Vytautas died in 1430. The presence of Dželal ed-Din, son of the Tatar “emperor” (Chan) Tochtamysz in the Lithuanian army in 1410 is well documented,⁵⁰ as is the participation of Tatar troops in the war of 1414. However, an entirely reliable date seems difficult to ascertain.

Of particular interest in this context is a report, which was presented by an emissary of the Roman Emperor and King of Hungary Sigismund of Luxenbourg to King Wenceslaus IV of Bohemia at the end of 1411 and published by Sergey Polekhov in 2019.⁵¹ It tells of the good relations of the Polish king and the Lithuanian Grand Duke at that time with the Grand Duke of Moscow, the Tatars and other heathens. They had all met and made covenants that summer. Although the content of the report was presumably originally communicated by the Teutonic Order, there is no reason to doubt the information:

Gnediger konig, owch geruche euwir gnode czu wissen, daz meyme hirn dem Romisschen konige botschaft komen was, e ich von sin gnoden schit, wy das der konig von Polan mit herczoge Wytold desen somer yn der heidenschaft gewest ist und czu ym vorbot, alzo herczog Lyngwyn, synen bruder, der eyn hewptman ist czu Grossin Nograden, und den jungen Dackmusch, des keysers son us Taterye, und den hirn von Moske, der herczogis Wytoldis tachtir hot, und habin sich mit den

48 Detailed description of the manuscript and the project by K. Kwiatkowski, *Eine Sammlung von Quellenregesten und Quellenabschriften aus dem Kreis des Deutschen Ordens (1. Hälfte des 16. Jh.). Inhaltsübersicht und Editionsperspektiven*, in: *Editionswissenschaftliches Kolloquium 2015. Die Geschichte im Bild*, ed. H. Flachenecker, K. Kopiński and J. Tandecki, Publikationen des Deutsch-Polnischen Gesprächskreises für Quellenedition/Publikacje Niemiecko-Polskiej Grupy Dyskusyjnej do Spraw Edycji Źródeł, VIII, Toruń 2016, pp. 343-354.

49 LMAVB, RS, F 15-73, pp. 41f. I also thank Dr Rima Cicėnienė, Head of the manuscript department, who sent me scanned pictures of the two pages in question.

50 S. Chazbijewicz, S. Moćkun, *Tatarzy pod Grunwaldem*, Grunwald 2012, especially pp. 18, 35-48.

51 GStA PK, XX. HA StA Kbg., OBA 1768. C.B. Полехов, *Литвенъ...*, Source annex no. 1, pp. 73f.

vorbunden und vorschrebin und mit andern vil heyden, daz sy den-
nandir nicht gelossin mogen [...].⁵²

Thus, according to the sources discussed here, Moscow troops participated in campaigns against Prussia both in 1414 and 1422. Unfortunately it is not possible to say whether Wassili's men also took part in the main battle of 1410 due to a lack of sources. The above report could only be viewed as an indication of participation. There are different views on this in research. For example, while Henryk Łowmiański in an essay from 1954 speaks of the Russian solidarity with Witold and Jagiełło in their struggle against the Knights of the Teutonic Order,⁵³ Henadž Sahanovič takes the view that the Moscovians and Northern Russians had no direct relationship to the war with the Order. He rejects the opinion of Stefan M. Kuczyński that the signing of the peace treaty between Vassili and Witold in 1408 "was a diplomatic contribution of the Moscow Grand Duchy to the crushing of the Teutonic Order".⁵⁴ According to him, such a view is to be seen "at most from the pan-Slavic standpoint of the 20th century".⁵⁵

Sahanovič mentions the participation of 8000 "Ruthenians" (*Ruthenen*) in the battle of 1410, referring to the investigation by Sławomir Józwiak,⁵⁶ but adds that they could only have been subjects of Witold and Jagiełło. His conclusion is: "If you add the banners from the part of Rus that belonged to the Polish kingdom to Vytautas' Ruthenians, it follows that they must have represented the second largest force on the battlefield after the Poles."⁵⁷ At the time of writing, he was not aware that Józwiak's statements on this issue are flawed in two ways: First, there is no mention in Józwiak's book of the fact that the "Ruthenians" were troops from Moscow, and secondly, we now know that they were not on their way to Prussia in 1410, but in 1414.

The problem of a possible participation of Moscow troops on the battlefield of Grunwald/Tannenberg in 1410 has thus not yet been resolved. It seems however remarkable that the Grand Duke of Moscow, having made

52 C.B. Полехов, *Лугвень ...*, p. 74.

53 H. Łowmiański, *Agresja Zakonu Krzyżackiego na Litwę w wiekach XII-XV*, "Przegląd Historyczny" XLV (1954) 2-3, p. 365.

54 S.M. Kuczyński, *Wielka wojna z Zakonem Krzyżackim w latach 1409-1411*, Warszawa 1980, p. 243.

55 H. Sahanovič, *Tannenberg und die ostslawische orthodoxe Welt...*, p. 314. In this context, reference should also be made to his instructive book on Grunwald in Belarusian history with the subtitle "An attempt to deconstruct a political myth". Г. Сагановіч, *Грунвальд у беларускай гісторыі. Спроба разбору палітычнага міфа*, Мінск 2015 (with an English summary on pp. 395-399).

56 S. Józwiak, *Wywiad i kontrywiad...*, p. 99.

57 H. Sahanovič, *Tannenberg und die ostslawische orthodoxe Welt...*, p. 314.

peace with Witold/Vytautas on 15 September 1408, according to the statement of the Polish king, had committed himself to timely military help with all his might against all of their enemies: ... *cum tota potencia sua contra omnes inimicos nostros subsidia opportune se astrinxit*.⁵⁸ Was this just an empty promise without any impact on the political and military events in connection with the battle of 1410? Only further sources, still unknown, could possibly shed more light on this.

ABSTRACT

The research in this essay devotes itself to the question as to whether troops of the Grand Duchy of Moscow participated in the campaigns of the Kingdom of Poland and the Grand Duchy of Lithuania against the Teutonic Order in Prussia at the beginning of the 15th century. There are different and partly erroneous opinions on this subject in historiography. An analysis of existing written sources leads to the conclusion that Moscow troops took part in the wars of 1414 and 1422. Due to a lack of sources it cannot be clearly ascertained if that was also the case in 1410. However, attention is drawn to the fact that the war between the two duchies of Lithuania and Moscow in 1408 ended with peace on the Ugra River on September 15. The peace treaty itself is missing, but a letter from the Lithuanian Grand Duke Witold (Lit. Vytautas) to King Wladyslaw Jagiello of Poland gives important information about its content: namely, that Grand Duke Wassili I. of Moscow had promised to fight all their common enemies with all his armed forces. The question arises as to whether he made troops available for the wars against the Teutonic Order not only in 1414 and 1422, but also in 1410.

Keywords: Grand Duchy of Moscow, Grand Duchy of Lithuania, Kingdom of Poland, Teutonic Order in Prussia, Wassili I, Witold (Lit. Vytautas), Wladyslaw Jagiello, Ulrich von Jungingen, campaigns against the Teutonic Order in 1410, 1414 and 1422, Battle of Grunwald (Tannenberg, Žalgiris)

58 *"Liber disparata antiqua continens"...*, p. 43.

Loïc CHOLLET
NEUCHÂTEL

LE CHEVAL ET LA MORT. RITES FUNÉRAIRES, ÉTHIQUE CHEVALERESQUE ET REPRÉSENTATION DE L'ALTÉRITÉ CULTURELLE LORS DE LA CROISADE BALTE



À la fin du Moyen Âge, de nombreux chevaliers issus de la noblesse occidentale traversent le continent européen pour se rendre sur le rivage de la mer Baltique et prendre part à la croisade contre les Lituaniens¹. Emmenés par un grand-duc et une puissante aristocratie guerrière, ces païens mènent une lutte de longue haleine contre l'Ordre des Chevaliers teutoniques². Cet ordre religieux-militaire installé en Prusse au début du XIII^e siècle a pour mission de défendre et d'étendre le christianisme en Europe du Nord-Est³. Lors de leurs guerres contre les païens de Prusse, de Livonie puis de Lituanie, les Chevaliers teutoniques sont confrontés à des ennemis qui ne sont, malgré la différence religieuse, pas très éloignés de leurs

1 W. Paravicini, *Die Preussenreisen des Europäischen Adels*, vol. 1-2, Sigmaringen 1989-1995, vol. 3: *Adlig leben in 14. Jahrhundert. Weshalb sie führen : Die Preussenreisen des europäischen Adels*, Göttingen 2020 (vol. 4-5 à paraître); A.V. Murray, *Saracens of the Baltic : Pagan and Christian Lithuanians in the Perception of English and French Crusaders to Late Medieval Prussia*, « *Journal of Baltic Studies* » LXI (2010) 4, p. 413-429; A. Ehlers, *The crusade against Lithuania reconsidered*, dans : *Crusade and Conversion on the Baltic Frontier, 1150-1500*, dir. A.V. Murray, Aldershot 2001, p. 21-44; L. Chollet, *Les "Voyages en Prusse" vus de France : la perception de la croisade contre la Lituanie dans quelques sources francophones (1384-1414)*, « *Studia z Dziejów Średniowiecza* » XIX (2015), p. 51-80.

2 S.C. Rowell, *Lithuania Ascending : A Pagan Empire within East-Central Europe*, Cambridge 1994; D. Baronas, S.C. Rowell, *The Conversion of Lithuania : from Pagan Barbarians to Late Medieval Christians*, Vilnius 2015. Le terme de « païens » et de « paganisme » est consacré par l'historiographie pour parler de la religiosité des populations baltes, parmi les dernières d'Europe à avoir reçues le baptême.

3 Sur l'Ordre teutonique en Prusse et en Livonie, S. Gouguenheim, *Les Chevaliers Teutoniques*, Paris 2007; S. Ekdahl, *Christianisierung – Siedlung – Litauerreise. Die Christianisierung Litauens als Dilemma des Deutschen Ordens*, dans : *Lietuvos krikščionėjimas Vidurio Europas kontekste*, dir. V. Dolinskas, Vilnius 2005, p. 189-205; H. Boockmann, *Der Deutsche Orden, München 1982*; M. Tumlner, *Der Deutsche Orden im Werden, Wachsen und Wirken bis 1400 mit einem Abriss der Geschichte des Ordens von 1400 bis zur neuesten Zeit*, Vienne 1955.

voisins chrétiens⁴. Les guerriers baltes s'adaptent rapidement aux évolutions technologiques et disposent d'une cavalerie efficace⁵. Qui plus est, de nombreux clans se rangent du côté des Teutoniques et fournissent de précieux auxiliaires aux moines-soldats venus d'Allemagne⁶. Dès le XIII^e siècle, Teutoniques et Baltes se connaissent mutuellement⁷.

À partir des années 1330, de nombreux chevaliers de France, d'Angleterre et d'autres pays d'Europe occidentale viennent prêter main forte à l'Ordre teutonique, ceci jusqu'aux premières décennies du XV^e siècle, alors que la Lituanie est évangélisée en 1387 (1417 pour la province de Samogitie)⁸. L'enthousiasme de la noblesse européenne pour la croisade balte s'explique par le rôle que joue l'esprit de croisade dans l'idéologie chevaleresque, y compris après la chute de Saint-Jean d'Acres, le dernier bastion chrétien de Terre sainte (1291). La reconquête des lieux de la Passion n'étant plus possible, l'on se rend en Espagne, en Méditerranée orientale et dans la Baltique pour croiser le fer

4 Sur les sociétés baltes préchrétiennes et les interactions entre les Prussiens et leurs voisins chrétiens, M. Gładysz, *The Forgotten Crusaders. Poland and the Crusader Movement in the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries*, trad. P. Barford, Leiden-Boston 2012; D. von Güttnner-Sporzyński, *Poland, Holy War, and the Piast Monarchy, 1100-1230*, Turnhout 2014; idem, *Holy War and Proto-Crusading. Twelfth-Century Justifications for the Campaigns against the Pomeranians and Prussians*, dans : *Crusading on the Edge. Ideas and Practice of Crusading in Iberia and the Baltic Region, 1100-1500*, dir. T. Nielsen, I. Fønnesberg-Schmidt, Turnhout 2016, p. 225-244; W. Długokęcki, *Uwagi o genezie i rozwoju wczesnośredniowiecznych Prus do początków XIII wieku*, « Pruthenia » II (2006), p. 9-54; A. Pluskowski, *The Archaeology of the Prussian Crusade : Holy War and Colonisation*, Londres 2013, p. 43-88.

5 R. Bartlett, *The Making of Europe*, Londres 1994; E. Mugurevics, *Interactions between Indigenous and Western Culture in Livonia in the Thirteenth to Sixteenth Centuries*, dans : *The North-Eastern Frontiers of Medieval Europe : the expansion of Latin Christendom in the Baltic Lands*, dir. A.V. Murray, Farnham 2014, p. 275-285; l'importance de la culture équestre est attestée dans l'ancienne Prusse par les découvertes archéologiques : R. Shiroukhov, *Prussian Graves in the Sambian Peninsula, with Imports, Weapons and Horse Harnesses, from the 10th to the 13th Century : the Question of the Warrior Elite*, « Archeologia Baltica » XVIII (2012), p. 224-255.

6 K. Kļaviņš, *The Significance of the Local Baltic Peoples in the Defence of Livonia (Late Thirteenth-Sixteenth Centuries)*, dans : *The Clash of Cultures on the Baltic Frontier*, dir. A.V. Murray, Farnham 2009, p. 321-340; L. Chollet, *Cohabiter sur la frontière : l'Ordre teutonique et ses sujets de Livonie au début du XIV^e siècle*, dans : *Ordres militaires et territorialité au Moyen Âge. Entre Orient et Occident*, dir. M.-A. Chevalier, Paris 2020, p. 369-383.

7 S. Gouguenheim, *Les Guerres des ordres militaires furent-elles des guerres chevaleresques?*, dans : *Chevalerie et christianisme aux XII^e et XIII^e siècles*, dir. M. Aurell, C. Girbea, Rennes 2011, p. 291-313; R. Mažeika, *Granting Power to the Enemy Gods in the Chronicles of the Baltic Crusades*, dans : *Medieval Frontiers : Concepts and Practices*, dir. D. Abulafia, N. Berend, Aldershot 2002, p. 153-171.

8 Pour un point de vue récent au sujet de la conversion de la Lituanie, D. Baronas, *Christians in Late Pagan, and Pagans in Early Christian Lithuania*, « Lithuanian Historical Studies » XIX, 2014, p. 51-81; et pour l'impact sur les croisades baltes, W. Paravicini, *Vom Kreuzzug zum Soldzug : Die Schlacht bei Tannenberg und das Ende der Preussenfahrten des europäischen Adels*, dans : *Conflictus Magnus apud Grunwald 1410. Między historią a tradycją*, dir. K. Ozóg, J. Trupinda, Malbork 2013, p. 119-126.

avec les infidèles⁹. Capitalisant sur l'énergie de la chevalerie européenne, les Teutoniques organisent deux fois l'an des expéditions contre les païens de Lituanie¹⁰. Leurs hôtes sont accueillis avec faste; l'Ordre organise des banquets, des parties de chasse et des tournois pour satisfaire aux goûts de ceux qui mettent leurs épées à son service. Le séjour des volontaires laïcs en Prusse, plus rarement en Livonie, dure en général quelques semaines, parfois plusieurs mois. Dans les sources françaises, l'on parle de *rèse*, d'après l'allemand *Reisen* (« voyage » ou « expédition militaire »), mais aussi de *voyage de Prusse*.

Dans la seconde moitié du XIV^e siècle, la Prusse est une destination prisée de la noblesse occidentale. Le voyage lointain, l'aventure et le combat contre l'infidèle représentent une forme d'idéal chevaleresque, chanté par les poètes et valorisé par les moralistes. À l'aspect social et religieux d'une telle entreprise – le chevalier chrétien se doit de mettre son épée au service de Dieu – s'ajoute une curiosité pour les pays lointains, mise en avant par le chevalier Geoffroy de Charny (m. 1356) autant que par le théologien Jean Petit (m. 1411)¹¹. Cette soif d'exotisme a une implication sur la manière dont le monde balte est représenté dans les œuvres littéraires d'Europe occidentale. Plusieurs parmi les chevaliers revenus de Prusse racontent leurs souvenirs à des romanciers et à des chroniqueurs, ou les intègrent à leurs propres œuvres. À la fin du Moyen Âge, une « matière de Prusse » fait, peu à peu, son apparition dans les lettres françaises¹².

La plupart des souvenirs de Prusse qui nous sont parvenus reflètent une vision du monde essentiellement centrée sur l'aristocratie occidentale : ce qui importe à la majorité des auteurs sont les hauts faits des personnages à qui le roman ou la chronique est consacrée¹³. Comme le note Werner Para-

9 N. Housley, *The Later Crusades, 1274-1580 : from Lyon to Alcazar*, Oxford 1992; J. Paviot, *Noblesse et croisade à la fin du Moyen Âge*, « Cahiers de recherches médiévales et humanistiques » XIII (2006), p. 69-84; W. Paravicini, *Fahrende Ritter : Literarisches Bild und gelebte Wirklichkeit im Spätmittelalter*, dans : *Mittelalterliche Menschenbilder*, dir. M. Neumeyer, Ratisbonne 2000, p. 204-254; L. Chollet, *Dernières croisades. Le voyage chevaleresque en Occident à la fin du Moyen Âge*, Paris (à paraître).

10 Sur le phénomène des *rèses* de Prusse, W. Paravicini, *Die Preussenreisen...*; L. Chollet, *Les Sarrasins du Nord. Une histoire littéraire de la croisade balte (XII^e-XV^e siècles)*, Neuchâtel 2020, p. 141-167.

11 Geoffroi de Charny, *The Book of Chivalry*, éd. et trad. R.W. Kaeuper, E. Kennedy, Philadelphia 1996, p. 90-93; Jean Petit, *Les condicions qui sont requises à l'enfant d'un seigneur à estre droit gentilz*, dans : *Le Livre du champ d'or et autres poèmes inédits*, éd. P. Le Verdier, Rouen 1895, p. 132-133. Voir aussi W. Paravicini, *Von der Heidenfahrt zur Kavalierstour. Über Motive und Formen adeligen Reisens im späten Mittelalter*, dans : *Wissensliteratur im Mittelalter und in der Frühen Neuzeit*, dir. H. Brunner, N.R. Wolf, Wiesbaden 1993, p. 91-130; M. Nejedlý, *Spisy středověkých cestovatelů jako podnět k "poutím mimo vyšlapané stezky"*, dans : Guillebert de Lannoy, *Cesty a poselstva*, éd. et trad. J. Svátek et al., Prague 2009, p. 101-130.

12 L. Chollet, *Les Sarrasins...*

13 Par exemple, *Chronique des Quatre Premiers Valois*, éd. S. Luce, Paris 1862, p. 13-14; *Le Livre des Fais du bon messire Jehan le Meingre dit Boucicquaut, mareschal de France et gouverneur de Jennes*, éd. D. Lalande, Genève 1985, p. 76-77.

vicini, l'on vient surtout en Prusse pour augmenter son renom et pour rencontrer d'autres nobles, dont le compagnonnage peut s'avérer crucial lors d'épisodes guerriers ultérieurs¹⁴. La description d'une nature sauvage ajoute un *coloris* « local » aux violentes chevauchées contre les païens que l'on se plaît à peindre dans ce genre de textes. L'on insiste en particulier sur la forêt séparant la Prusse de la Lituanie, le plus souvent décrite comme couverte de neige et de glace : la « rèse d'hiver » est considérée comme typique de la croisade balte, du fait qu'habituellement l'on ne se bat pas lors de la saison froide en Occident¹⁵. Dans la plupart de ces écrits, les Lituanais ne jouent d'autre rôle que celui d'adversaires destinés à être tués, mis en fuite ou convertis¹⁶.

Quelques croisés occidentaux paraissent toutefois avoir fait preuve d'assez d'intérêt vis-à-vis des Baltes pour noter certaines de leurs coutumes¹⁷. Parmi celles-ci, les rites funéraires ont fourni de beaux morceaux de bravoure. Une peinture relativement standardisée de la manière dont les païens de la Baltique adressent le dernier adieu à leurs proches tient lieu de stéréotype littéraire à la fin du Moyen Âge, renforçant une tradition qui, dans la littérature religieuse d'Europe occidentale, remonte au IX^e siècle avec le témoignage du navigateur anglo-saxon Wulfstan, ajouté à l'adaptation vernaculaire du *Contre les païens* d'Orose¹⁸. Plusieurs éléments de ces descriptions présentent un parallèle saisissant avec certaines pratiques funéraires repérables dans l'Occident médiéval à partir du Moyen Âge central : la présence des chevaux et des armes du défunt lors de la cérémonie. Le but de cet article est de partir des romans, chroniques, encyclopédies ou documents juridiques concernant les funérailles des Baltes et de voir comment cet aspect particulier était perçu en Europe occidentale. La mise côte à côte des maté-

14 W. Paravicini, *Litauer : vom heidnischen Gegner zum adligen Standesgenossen*, dans : *Tannenbergr–Grunwald–Žalgiris 1410*, dir. W. Paravicini, R. Petrauskas, G. Vercamer, Wiesbaden 2012, p. 260; idem, *Die Preussenreisen...*, vol. 1, p. 310-313.

15 Par exemple, le récit de Jean Cabaret d'Orville, basé sur les souvenirs du chevalier Jean de Chastelmorand : Jean Cabaret d'Orville, *Chronique du bon duc Loys de Bourbon*, éd. A.-M. Chazaud, Paris 1876, p. 64.

16 Ainsi Guillaume de Machaut, l'un des premiers auteurs francophones à relater la croisade balte en tant que témoin oculaire : *Le Confort d'Ami*, éd. E. Hoepffner, Œuvres de Guillaume de Machaut, vol. 3, Paris 1931, p. 107-108.

17 R. Mažeika, L. Chollet, *Familiar Marvels? French and German Crusaders and Chroniclers Confront Baltic Pagan Religions*, « Francia – Forschungen zur westeuropäischen Geschichte » XLIII (2016), p. 41-62; L. Chollet, *Les Sarrasins...*, p. 400-439.

18 Sur le témoignage de Wulfstan, voir les études réunies dans *Wulfstan's Voyage*, éd. A. Englert, A. Trakadas, Roskilde 2009; S. Lebecq, *Ohthere et Wulfstan : deux marchands-navigateurs dans le Nord-Est européen à la fin du IX^e siècle*, dans : *Horizons marins, itinéraires spirituels*, dir. J.-C. Hocquet, A. Vauchez, Paris 1987, p. 167-182; S. Rossignol, *Early Towns and Regional Identities*, dans : *Ethnic Images and Stereotypes – Where Is the Border-line? (Russian-Baltic Cross-cultural Relations)*, dir. J. Nõmm, Narva 2007, p. 241-252.

riaux baltes et occidentaux permet d'émettre une hypothèse sur les valeurs communes que guerriers païens et chevaliers catholiques pouvaient, d'une certaine manière, partager.

Il est nécessaire de présenter, même succinctement, quelques éléments de méthodologie lorsqu'il s'agit d'aborder les coutumes et les systèmes de croyance des anciens Baltes, lesquels n'ont pas laissé de sources écrites. Les textes qui nous serviront de point de départ ont été écrits par des auteurs chrétiens, qui considéraient au mieux la culture balte comme une curiosité « exotique », au pire comme une religion rivale dévalorisée¹⁹. Ces sources écrites ne sont donc aucunement « objectives », mais elles ne sont pas non plus sans valeur pour les mythologues et les anthropologues travaillant sur l'histoire ancienne des populations baltes. Les spécialistes ont l'habitude de confronter les sources textuelles d'origine occidentale, mais aussi russe et arabe, aux données archéologiques, appelant parfois à l'aide la linguistique et le folklore (proverbes, locutions populaires, contes, chants ou coutumes traditionnelles)²⁰. Une telle démarche n'est pas sans risque, car les matériaux dits folkloriques recueillis au XIX^e et au XX^e siècles ne peuvent être considérés comme des témoignages intacts reflétant un passé vieux de plusieurs siècles; aussi, une grande prudence s'impose²¹. Notre propos n'est pas ici de reconstruire un quelconque système de croyance, mais de montrer comment un élément précis de la culture balte – la présence de chevaux aux funérailles – a été compris par les lettrés d'Europe occidentale.

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19 R. Mažeika, *Violent Victims : Surprising Aspects of the Just War Theory in the Chronicle of Peter von Dusburg*, dans : *The Clash of Cultures...*, p. 123-137; S.C. Rowell, *Lithuania...*, p. 39-40.

20 Par ex : M. Bertasius, *Horse Graves, Sacrifice, and the Performers of Public Rituals*, « *Archeologia Baltica* » XI (2009), p. 305-313; V. Vaitkevicius, *The Sun, the Moon, and the Orientation of Baltic Graves : A Mythological Approach to an Archaeological Problem*, « *Studia Mythologica Slavica* » XXI (2018), p. 7-25; idem, *The Fire – Centre of Ancient Baltic Religion*, dans : *The Lithuanian Millenium. History, Art and Culture*, Vilnius 2015, p. 27-33. Pour le monde francophone, citons les travaux d'A.J. Greimas (*Des Dieux et des hommes : études de mythologie lituanienne*, Paris 1985 ; *Le dit de Sovys, conducteur des âmes*, « *Lalies* » VI (1984), p. 42-58), que les médiévistes connaissent pour être, entre autres, l'auteur du Dictionnaire du moyen français. Voir aussi K. Nastopka, *Les recherches de Greimas sur la mythologie lithuanienne*, « *Semiotica* » CCIV (2017), p. 139-158.

21 R. Mažeika, *Why I am skeptical about applying modern folklore to explain medieval societies* (texte communiqué par l'auteure); voir aussi R. Valaitytė, *The Myth of Sovijus and its Relation to Lithuanian Cultural Memory*, « *Tarpdalykiniai kultūros Tyrimai* » I (2013) 1, p. 14-30; M. Tamm, *Culture ecclésiastique et culture folklorique dans la Livonie médiévale. Echos des 'exempla' dans les contes populaires estoniens*, « *Etudes finno-ougriennes* » XXVIII (1996), p. 29-68. Sur la culture balte préchrétienne, voir aussi E. Bojtár, *Foreword to the past. A cultural history of the Baltic People*, trad. S. Rédey, M. Webb, Budapest-New York 1999; *Baltų Religijos ir Mitologijos Šaltiniai*, éd. N. Vėlius, Vilnius 1996.

L'une des descriptions les plus spectaculaires des funérailles d'un prince lituanien est due au Français Philippe de Mézières, qui a visité l'État de l'Ordre teutonique en tant qu'ambassadeur du roi de Chypre en 1364²². Ses souvenirs personnels et les anecdotes que lui ont racontées les membres de l'Ordre lui ont fourni une belle description de la région balte insérée dans son œuvre la plus connue, *Le Songe du Vieil Pelerin* (1389)²³. Ce long roman allégorique comporte trois parties, dont la première est un tour du monde que l'auteur raconte avoir effectué en rêve, conduit par la Reine Vérité et ses suivantes. Ces figures allégoriques guident Philippe jusqu'en Inde et en Tartarie²⁴. Les sociétés rencontrées dans ces contrées lointaines, bien que païennes, font figure de modèles dont, nous dit l'auteur, les royaumes catholiques feraient bien de s'inspirer²⁵.

Tel est aussi le cas des Lituaniens. Avant de rejoindre l'Europe catholique, le petit groupe d'allégories passe par le grand-duché, dont les habitants sont « *gent sans lettre et sans clergie, mais assés bien combatans, tesmoings les vaillans croisiés de Prusse* »²⁶. Ces derniers représentent les Chevaliers teutoniques, dont Mézières cite à plusieurs reprises le témoignage oral comme source d'informations²⁷. Le poète continue en affirmant que « *Les chambrières des dames firent leur enquete et trouwerent que cest gent sont ydolatres* »²⁸. Immédiatement après, et comme pour expliciter en quoi consiste la religiosité de ces « *gent sans lettre et sans clergie* », l'auteur nous raconte comment se passent les funérailles de leur prince. Il s'agit probablement d'une allusion au dernier grand-duc décédé avant le passage de Mézières en Prusse, soit Gediminas, mort en 1341 ou 1342²⁹ :

Et quant leur roy est mort ses barons l'arment de toutes ses armes, et le metent sus un biau cheval bien armé de ses armes et entour le roy

22 S. Józwiak, J. Trupinda, *Organizacja życia na zamku krzyżackim w Malborku w czasach wielkich mistrzów (1309-1457)*, Malbork 2019, p. 211-213. Sur ce qui suit, L. Chollet, *Les Sarrasins...*, p. 372-377.

23 Philippe de Mézières, *Le Songe du Vieil Pelerin*, I, éd. J. Blanchard, Genève 2015, p. 206-226.

24 La « Tartarie » est à comprendre comme la Chine soumise à la dynastie d'origine mongole des Yuan.

25 Philippe de Mézières, op. cit., I, p. 188, 195. À la suite des voyageurs du milieu du XIII^e siècle, le caractère raffiné et ordonné des pays d'Orient, et en particulier de la Chine des Yuan, s'est imposé comme stéréotype dans les lettres occidentales : K.P. Phillips, *Before Orientalism. Asian Peoples and Cultures in European Travel Writing*, Philadelphie 2013, p. 148-171.

26 Philippe de Mézières, op. cit., I, p. 207.

27 W. Paravicini, *Die Preussensein...*, vol. 1, p. 270.

28 Philippe de Mézières, op. cit., I, p. 207. Sur l'assimilation traditionnelle des religions non-chrétiennes à l'idolâtrie, D. Barbu, « *Idolatriy" and Religious Diversity : Thinking about the Other in Early Modern Europe*, « Asdiwal. Revue genevoise d'anthropologie et d'histoire des religions » IX (2014), p. 39-50.

29 S.C. Rowell, *Lithuania...*, p. 130-131.

mort il font une grant assamblee de sapins composee en maniere que on fait les mesengiers, et par election les barons prennent le plus grant ami que le roy avoit, et li presentent cest honnour, c'est assavoir qu'il doye tenir compaignie a son seigneur qui tant l'ama et estre ars avec lui et aler en Paradis. Ledit ami se tient pour honnouré a toujours maiz de tenir compaignie a son seigneur et de sa propre volenté se met dedans le mesengier de bois emprés du roy son seigneur mort, qui est assis sus son cheval tout vif. Et lors les barons a grant devocion et a grans oroisons et regrés boutent le feu oudict mesengier de bois et ardent leur roy et son bon ami. Et les ames s'en vont tantost en Paradis ordené a telz gens³⁰.

Le mot « *Paradis* » est à comprendre ici comme un autre monde, qui n'est pas nécessairement celui où vont les âmes des bons chrétiens. Ce terme est en effet attesté avec le sens de « lieu de séjour des divinités païennes », en analogie avec le sens chrétien, par exemple dans le *Roman de la Rose* (XIII^e siècle) ou *Le Paradis de la Reine Sybille* d'Antoine de la Salle (1442-1444)³¹. L'idée est donc qu'une fois les corps brûlés avec le cheval et tout l'équipement militaire, les âmes du roi et de son fidèle ami s'en vont dans *un* au-delà. La crémation des morts est mentionnée par deux autres auteurs francophones écrivant au XV^e siècle, Jean Cabaret d'Orville, qui s'appuie sur le témoignage de l'ancien croisé de Prusse Jean de Chastelmorand, et Guillebert de Lannoy, l'un des derniers Occidentaux à participer à la croisade balte avant d'entreprendre un long voyage dans toute l'Europe du Nord-Est³². Aucun des deux ne fait mention du cheval ni de l'ami placé volontairement sur le bûché du roi. Ces deux éléments apparaissent par contre dans une œuvre historiographique de la Renaissance polonaise, faisant référence aux funérailles de Gediminas, le prince dont parle probablement Philippe de Mézières. D'après la *Chronique de Pologne, Lituanie, Samogitie et toute la Russie* de Matthieu Strykowski (m. vers 1582), une fois le grand-duc mort, sa dépouille eut droit aux honneurs suivants :

Tous ses fils se rendirent ensuite à Vilnius, avec toute la chevalerie, et ainsi, selon les habitudes princières et les rituels des païens, ils déposèrent un grand tas de pins recouvert de goudron à l'endroit où Vilnius est baigné par la Nérís. Ils préparèrent sa tombe, et ensuite tous ses

30 Philippe de Mézières, op. cit., I, p. 207.

31 *Dictionnaire Historique de la Langue Française*, vol. 2, dir. A. Rey, Paris 1992, p. 1422; *Altfranzösisches Wörterbuch*, vol. 7, dir. A. Tobler, E. Lommatsch, Berlin 1969, p. 192; L. Chollet, *Les Sarrasins...*, p. 415-416.

32 Jean Cabaret d'Orville, *Chronique du bon duc Loys de Bourbon*, éd. A.-M. Chazaud, Paris 1876, p. 65; *Œuvres de Ghillebert de Lannoy, voyageur, diplomate et moraliste*, éd. C. Potvin, Louvain 1878, p. 30.

sept fils, Montiwid, Narimantas, Algirdas, Kestutis, Lubartas, Janautas et Korybut allèrent à toute vitesse aux funérailles de leur père. Ils l'habillèrent d'excellents habits princiers et de manteaux, ceux qu'il préférerait de son vivant; son sabre, sa lance, son équipement d'archer avec ses arcs, des faucons et des chiens de chasses par pair, un cheval vivant avec la selle et une servante, sa plus fidèle amie, furent attachés avec lui et déposés sur un tas de bois. À la grande tristesse de la chevalerie rassemblée, ils mirent le feu autour du bois³³.

Cette chronique écrite plus de deux siècles après les faits n'est évidemment pas un acompte fidèle des funérailles de Gediminas, pas plus que l'extrait de Philippe de Mézières. Ces deux textes, indépendants l'un de l'autre³⁴, rejoignent pourtant une tradition littéraire bien attestée dans la Baltique médiévale en ce qui concerne les funérailles des princes païens de Lituanie. D'après la *Chronique de Livonie* d'Hermann de Wartberge (1378), quasiment contemporaine aux événements, le fils de Gediminas, Algirdas, mort en 1377 est brûlé « en grande pompe, avec dix-huit destriers, selon leurs rites »³⁵. Des honneurs similaires sont rendus à son frère Kestutis, décédé en 1382, selon l'historien polonais Jan Długosz, qui a composé ses *Annales seu Cronicae incliti regni Poloniae* entre 1460 et 1480 : « il est brûlé selon le rite ancien, avec des armes, des chevaux, des vêtements, ses chiens préférés et les plus chers »³⁶. À en croire le même auteur, les Samogitiens restés païens jusqu'au début du XV^e siècle « consumaient les cadavres de tous leurs proches avec des chevaux, des selles et des habits précieux » dans des foyers particulièrement réservés à cet effet et situés dans des forêts sacrées³⁷.

L'image est marquante. Elle demeure attachée aux guerriers païens de la Baltique, jusqu'au poème *Grażyna* d'Adam Mickiewicz (1823). Il reste à se poser la question du statut de telles descriptions comme documents historiques. Bien sûr, ce genre de témoignages ne doit pas être pris à la lettre, étant donné le risque évident de biais induit par la différence religieuse. Ils nous permettent par contre d'appréhender la manière dont certains lettrés catholiques se représentaient une culture aussi différente que celle des païens

33 Maciej Strykowski, *Kronika polska, litewska, zmozdka i wszystkiej Rusi*, I, éd. M. Malinowski, Varsovie 1846, p. 385-386.

34 S.C. Rowell, *Lithuania...*, p. 131.

35 Hermann de Wartberge, *Chronicon Livoniae*, dans : *Scriptores Rerum Prussicarum*, éd. T. Hirsch et al. (après : SRP), I-VI, Leipzig 1861-1968, II, p. 113; R. Mažeika, L. Chollet, *Familiar Marvels?*..., p. 55.

36 Jan Długosz, *Annales seu Cronicae incliti regni Poloniae*, dans : Joannis Dlugossi Senioris Canonici Cracoviensis, *Opera Omnia*, XII, éd. A. Przedziecki, Kraków 1876, p. 411; D. Baronas, S.C. Rowell, *The Conversion...*, p. 245.

37 Jan Długosz, op. cit., XIII, p. 160.

de la région balte. La manière dont les chroniqueurs de la croisade balte mettent en scène les peuples autochtones reste discutée dans l'historiographie : qu'on les considère comme une image inversée des bons chrétiens³⁸, comme des ennemis chevaleresques ou des modèles devant faire honte aux lecteurs³⁹, il est admis que les païens de Prusse, de Livonie et de Lituanie ne sont pas décrits de manière neutre. Pourtant, dès Henri de Livonie, l'un des tous premiers témoins de l'évangélisation de la Baltique (v. 1227), les princes païens sont individualisés, identifiés par des noms propres⁴⁰. Cela reste vrai en ce qui concerne les chroniques ultérieures⁴¹. Chez ces auteurs, comme le célèbre Pierre de Dusbourg, l'on trouve, à côté de *topoi*, quelques éléments qui donnent l'impression de détails plus réalistes, presque « ethnographiques », et qui ont sans doute pour but d'amuser le lecteur ou d'éveiller sa curiosité⁴².

Les auteurs écrivant en terres baltiques partagent un fond culturel commun, profane et religieux, avec leurs pairs d'Europe de l'Ouest⁴³. Les mêmes *topoi* largement répandus apparaissent dans des textes écrits en Prusse, en Allemagne du Nord ou à Paris : par exemple, l'immensité de la forêt et des espaces aquatiques entourant la Lituanie. Or, les nombreux cours d'eaux ainsi que le caractère marécageux et sauvage de la forêt séparant la Prusse de la Lituanie sont bien attestés⁴⁴. Le fait qu'un stéréotype reflète une certaine réalité ne saurait nous étonner, car les chroniqueurs, en tant qu'historiens mais aussi en tant que créateurs, prétendent convaincre leur public. Le but d'une description insérée dans une œuvre littéraire est de créer un effet de réel et pour que le mécanisme soit efficace, un chroniqueur doit rester vraisem-

38 Par exemple, V. Matuzova, *Mental Frontiers : Prussians as Seen by Peter von Dusburg*, dans : *Crusade and Conversion...*, p. 253-259.

39 S.C. Rowell, *Lithuania...*, p. 39. L'« autre » comme miroir de la société dont sont issus l'auteur et ses lecteurs est fréquent dans la littérature européenne : F. Hartog, *Le Miroir d'Hérodote*, Paris 1980, p. 52; T. Todorov, *Nous et les Autres. La réflexion française sur la diversité humaine*, Paris 1989, p. 297-303.

40 Le meilleur exemple est sans doute l'histoire du chef live Caupo, racontée par Henri de Livonie : *Heinrichs Livländische Chronik = Heinrichi Chronicon Livoniae*, éd. L. Arbusow, A. Bauer, Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Scriptores rerum Germanicarum in usum scholarum, XXXI, Hannover 1955, p. 20-21. Voir entre autres T.K. Nielsen, *Mission and Submission : Societal Change in the Baltic in the Thirteenth Century*, dans : *Medieval History Writing and Crusading Ideology*, dir. T. Lehtonen et K.V. Jensen, Helsinki 2005, p. 216-231; N. Blomkvist, *Discovery of the Baltic : the reception of a Catholic world system in the European north*, Leiden 2005, p. 551-558.

41 Par ex. la *Chronique rimée de Livonie* (1290-1293) : *Livländische Reimchronik*, éd. L. Meyer, Padeborn 1876; et la traduction française récente par *Chronique rimée de Livonie*, trad. D. Buschinger, M. Olivier, Paris 2019.

42 R. Mažeika, *Violent Victims...*, p. 125, parle d'« entertaining exotica ».

43 Sur ce point, P. Borsari, C. Høgel, L.B. Mortensen, E. Tyler, *What is European Medieval Literature?*, « Interfaces » I (2015), p. 7-24.

44 S.C. Rowell, *Lithuania...*, p. 49; T. Čelkis, *Keliais po viduramžiu Lietuva. II : XIII–XV amžiaus pradžios karo žygių sąlygos*, « Lituania » LIX (2013) 3 (93), p. 125-137 (résumé en anglais).

blable⁴⁵. Dans le cas des chroniques baltes, on remarque assez souvent une tendance à la rationalisation, une remise en cause des rumeurs. Les chroniqueurs aiment raconter des histoires pour « faire vrai », pour faire passer une leçon de morale ou plus simplement pour amuser leurs lecteurs, mais cela ne signifie pas que tout ce qu'ils racontent soit systématiquement faux⁴⁶.

À priori, les descriptions des funérailles baltes sont chargées d'un référentiel assez évident, qui pourrait les faire passer pour de simples reprises littéraires. La crémation d'un païen mort pourrait, par exemple, être un lointain écho des funérailles de César chez Suétone⁴⁷. On pourrait donc penser que les ducs lituaniens brûlés avec leurs montures sont tout droit issus de la matière antique, telle une image exhumée d'un fond culturel partagé par les lettrés de toute l'Europe catholique et plaquée sur les païens contemporains aux auteurs médiévaux. L'historien estonien Marek Tamm a montré de manière convaincante que la façon dont est décrite la divination prétendument pratiquée par les « idolâtres » de Livonie est directement calquée sur des textes de l'Antiquité⁴⁸. Et si les rites divinatoires sont considérés comme emblématiques du paganisme, que dire de la crémation, pratique en opposition totale avec l'enterrement prescrit par les normes chrétiennes⁴⁹.

Marqueur d'altérité par excellence, le bûcher funéraire fait de la religion balte une inversion du christianisme, construite à l'aide de *topoi* hérités de l'Antiquité⁵⁰. Bien au-delà du cas balte, cette coutume fait effectivement, pour les auteurs du Moyen Âge, partie des mœurs païennes. La littérature

45 N. Blomkvist, op. cit., p. 106-109, qui applique au cas balte les réflexions de C. Ginzburg, *Ekphrasis and Quotation*, « Tijdschrift Voor Filosofie » L (1988) 1, p. 3-19.

46 Comme le note R. Mažeika, *The Grand Duchy rejoins Europe. Post-Soviet developments in the historiography of pagan Lithuania*, « Journal of Medieval History » XXI (1995), p. 290 : « A topos can also be true ».

47 Suétone, *Vies des douze Césars*, éd. et trad. H. Ailloud, Paris 1989, LXXXIV, p. 59-60. Sur la réappropriation de Suétone par les auteurs du Moyen Âge, J. Monfrin, *Humanisme et traductions au Moyen Âge*, « Journal des savants », 1963, p. 161-190. Tacite mentionne la pratique de la crémation chez les Germains : *La Germanie*, éd. et trad. J. Perret, Paris 1949, XXVII, p. 86.

48 M. Tamm, *A New World into Old Words. The Eastern Baltic Region and the Cultural Geography of Medieval Europe*, dans : *The Clash of Cultures...*, p. 11-35; idem, *Signes d'altérité. La représentation de la Baltique orientale dans le De proprietatibus rerum de Barthélemy l'Anglais (vers 1245)*, dans : *Frontiers in the Middle Ages. Proceedings of the Third European Congress of the FIDEM (Jyväskylä, June 2003)*, dir. O. Merisalo, Turnhout-Louvain-la-Neuve 2006, p. 147-170.

49 M. Tamm, *Eastern Baltic...*, p. 30

50 Idem, *Inventing Livonia. The Name and Fame of a New Christian Colony on the Medieval Baltic Frontier*, « Zeitschrift für Ostmitteleuropa-Forschung » LX (2011) 2, p. 206-207. Pour une réflexion sur les problèmes de méthodologie concernant l'approche des pratiques païennes à travers les sources écrites chrétiennes, et l'écueil de la réduction à de simples « reprises littéraires », M.-A. Wagner, *Le cheval dans les croyances germaniques. Paganisme, christianisme et tradition*, Paris 2005, p. 435-444.

médiévale d'inspiration antique utilise volontiers ce thème pour illustrer les derniers honneurs rendus aux guerriers tombés sur le champ de bataille. L'auteur du *Roman d'Eneas* raconte que lors de l'invasion du Latium par Énée et ses compagnons, l'on profite d'une trêve pour dresser les bûchers et brûler les morts, « selonc la coustume de Troie »⁵¹. L'épisode est narré sans aucune nuance de condamnation, comme si l'on considérait logique que des païens aient accompli ces rites « *A la lor loy et a lor guise* »⁵².

Dans certaines sources russes et arabes, le bûcher funéraire est également lié au paganisme. Le court passage de l'adaptation russe de la *Chronique de Malalas* (XIII^e siècle) concernant l'histoire légendaire de Sovij, censé avoir introduit la crémation parmi les Lituanais, rapproche explicitement cette pratique de celle des anciens Hellènes⁵³. À la même époque, la chronique russe de Galicie-Volhynie mentionne le bûcher des Lituanais décédés sous le règne du roi Mindaugas (1253-1263), précisément pour signifier que celui-ci ne respecte guère les normes chrétiennes⁵⁴. Quant à lui, Ibn Fadlân, secrétaire d'une mission du calife de Bagdad auprès des Bulgares de la Volga dans la seconde décennie du X^e siècle, raconte avoir assisté aux funérailles d'un chef slave ou scandinave, immolé à la suite d'une impressionnante cérémonie avec une esclave, deux chevaux et d'autres animaux, ses armes et son bateau⁵⁵. Dans les textes arabes, le terme de « madjous » est utilisé pour parler des païens, censément adorateurs du feu : appliqué d'abord aux Perses, il devient caractéristique de l'Europe du Nord⁵⁶. C'est dans cette acceptation que l'utilise le géographe Al-Idrīsī, établi à la cour des Hauteville de

51 *Le Roman d'Eneas*, éd. et trad. A. Petit, Paris 1997, p. 388.

52 Ibidem, p. 388. Dans son adaptation du *Roman de Troie*, Benoît de Sainte-Maure fait ensevelir et non brûler Patrocle (Benoît de Sainte-Maure, *Le Roman de Troie*, éd. et trad. E. Baumgartner et F. Vieillard, 1998, p. 252-255). Le bûcher funéraire fait par contre son apparition dans le poème anglo-saxon de Beowulf (v. VII^e – IX^e siècle); *Beowulf*, éd. J. Queval, Paris 1981, p. 178-179.

53 A. Greimas, *Le dit de Sovys...*, p. 55.

54 *The Galician-Volynian Chronicle*, trad. G.A. Perfecky, München 1973, p. 63; G. Vėlius, *Istoriniai šaltiniai apie mirusiųjų deginimo paprotį Lietuvoje, išimtyis ar taisyklė?*, « *Lituanistica* » (2001), p. 65-72 (trad. R. Mažeika).

55 Ibn Fadlân, *Récit de voyage*, in *Voyageurs arabes*, trad. P. Charles-Dominique, Paris 1995, p. 58. Le peuple dont il s'agit est parfois considéré comme des Scandinaves (E. Weber, *Ibn Fadlân chez les Russes*, « *Slavica Occitania* » VIII (1999), p. 318), parfois comme des Slaves (S. Boskovic, *Les survivances du paganisme slave dans les rites funéraires serbes*, « *Revue du Centre Européen d'Etudes Slaves* » II (2013) [en ligne]).

56 B. Lewis, *Comment l'Islam a découvert l'Europe*, Paris 1992, p. 137; A. Melvinger, *Les premières incursions vikings dans les sources arabes*, Uppsala 1995, p. 70-85. Pourtant assez prolixe quant à l'organisation politique et militaire des peuples d'Europe centrale et orientale, Ibrahim ibn Yaquub ne dit rien de la religion des Bruzi, les Prusiens païens. Voir D. Mishin, *Ibrahim ibn-Ya'qub Al-Turtuhi's Account of the Slavs from the Middle of the Tenth Century*, « *Annual of Medieval Studies at Central European University Budapest* » (1994/1995), p. 189.

Sicile où il dirige l'exécution d'une mappemonde et en écrit le commentaire (après 1154)⁵⁷. Dans la section consacrée à l'Europe du Nord, on trouve une description du « pays des Madjous » où « les neiges y sont éternelles », ce qui correspond vraisemblablement aux territoires peuplés par les Baltes⁵⁸. L'héritage de la culture antique est commun aux lettrés arabo-musulmans et chrétiens, catholiques comme orthodoxes; il n'est donc guère surprenant que dans tous ces textes le feu, et en particulier la crémation, soit lié au paganisme des peuples du Nord et de l'Est. Afin d'y voir un peu plus clair en ce qui concerne les Baltes, il importe de faire un détour, aussi succinct soit-il, par l'archéologie.

Les enquêtes archéologiques récentes montrent que la crémation et la pratique de l'offrande funéraire ont vraisemblablement existé dans certains contextes et à certaines périodes du Moyen Âge balte, jusqu'au XIII^e siècle au moins⁵⁹. On sait également que l'inhumation côtoyait la crémation, très demandeuse en bois et de ce fait peut-être réservée à une élite sociale⁶⁰. L'offrande funéraire est, quant à elle, attestée de la Prusse à l'Estonie, en passant par la Lituanie⁶¹. Des différences régionales existent toutefois : les Sémigaliens se faisaient par exemple enterrer avec leurs armes, mais contrairement à leurs voisins lituaniens, pas avec leurs chevaux⁶².

Quelques traces laissées sur des sites de crémation situés dans ce qui était alors le pays prussien laissent entendre que des chevaux étaient brûlés lors de rituels jusqu'au XIII^e siècle, soit à l'époque où cette région a été évangélisée sous la houlette de l'Ordre teutonique. Il peut s'agir de restes de repas rituels pris sur les lieux de crémations, mais une offrande funéraire ne saurait être

57 P. Gautier Dalché, *Géographie arabe et Géographie latine*, « Medieval Encounters » XIX (2013) 4, p. 424; J.-C. Ducène, *L'Europe dans la cartographie arabe médiévale*, « *Belgeo* » III-IV (2008), p. 251-268; A. Nef, *Al-Idrīsī, un complément d'enquête biographique*, dans : *Géographes et voyageurs au Moyen Âge*, dir. H. Bresc, E. Tixier du Mesnil, Nanterre 2010, p. 63-64.

58 Al-Idrīsī, *Géographie*, trad. P.A. Jaubert, Paris 1840, vol. 2, p. 431.

59 M. Bertasius, op. cit., p. 305-313; A. Pluskowski, op. cit., p. 75-81; E. Bazaraitė, T. Heitor, *Comparative Study of Christian and Pagan Burial Constructions*, « *Mosklas – Lietuvos Ateitis/Science – Future of Lithuania* » V (2013) 3, p. 317-318; M. Tamm, *Eastern Baltic...*, p. 31-32, n. 84; S.C. Rowell, *Lithuania...*, p. 128-130.

60 E. Bazaraitė, T. Heitor, op. cit., p. 316-321; H. Valk, *Neighbouring but distant. Rural burial traditions of Estonia and Finland during the Christian Period*, « *Fennoscandia archaeologica* » XI (1994), p. 71.

61 H. Valk, op. cit., p. 71-72; S. Urbanavičienė, *Survivals of Paganism in 14th-17th Century Graves in Lithuania*, dans : *Rom und Byzanz im Norden*, vol. 2, dir. M. Müller-Wille, Stuttgart 1997, p. 131-142.

62 I. Vaškevičiūtė, *Semigallian Warrior Weaponry and its Reflection In Burial Rites in the Fifth to the 12th Century AD*, « *Archeologia Baltica* » VIII (2007), p. 214-222. Voir aussi les études portant spécifiquement sur les zones de peuplement core (V. Žulkus, *Kurland. Die Grenzen und die nördlichen Landschaften in 8.-13. Jahrhundert*, « *Archeologia Baltica* » VI (2006), p. 88-103), prussien (R. Shiroukhov, op. cit., p. 224-255) et lituanien (M. Bertasius, op. cit., p. 305-313).

exclue⁶³. Dans le nord du domaine prussien (région de Sambie-Natangie), il était fréquent d'enterrer les restes d'une personne incinérée au-dessus d'une tombe de cheval, jusqu'au XIII^e siècle⁶⁴. Même s'il reste difficile d'interpréter de tels matériaux, il semble envisageable que les pratiques rapportées par nos auteurs aient pu exister, à tout le moins à certaines époques, dans certains contextes et dans certaines régions du monde balte. Par ailleurs, l'offrande funéraire, par inhumation ou incinération, et notamment celle du cheval, paraît avoir été largement pratiquée dans l'Europe préchrétienne et une grande partie de l'Asie, y compris en ce qui concerne des tombes féminines⁶⁵.

Continuons notre enquête. Les Litvaniens sont apparentés par la langue et la culture à d'autres peuples baltes, pour lesquels nous disposons de sources écrites supplémentaires. Celles-ci ont été produites par des auteurs chrétiens à une époque antérieure aux récits concernant les grands-ducs litvaniens. L'un des premiers documents du point de vue chronologique est le court récit du navigateur anglo-saxon Wulfstan, qui à la fin du IX^e siècle, nous a laissé une description détaillée des rites funéraires des *Estum*, vraisemblablement une tribu balte de Prusse. La crémation, avec armes et vêtements, clôturé une série de rituels, parmi lesquels l'exposition du mort dans son domicile, des banquets en son honneur et une course à cheval au terme de laquelle les vainqueurs se partagent le patrimoine du défunt⁶⁶. Le second auteur d'Europe occidentale à décrire en détail les funérailles baltes est l'encyclopédiste Barthélemy l'Anglais, dans le paragraphe consacré à la Livonie du Livre XV de son *De proprietatibus rerum* (v. 1245). Bien qu'il ait montré un intérêt personnel à l'évangélisation de la Baltique, Barthélemy a recours à un ou des informateur(s) sur qui il ne nous renseigne guère⁶⁷. Largement diffusée et adaptée dans plusieurs langues, l'encyclopédie de Barthélemy a été traduite en français en 1372 par Jean Corbechon, sur commande du roi Charles V, dont Philippe de Mézières a été le conseiller⁶⁸. L'auteur du *Songe*

63 A. Pluskowski, op. cit., p. 77-81.

64 R. Shiroukhov, op. cit., p. 224-255.

65 M.-A. Wagner, op. cit., p. 101-111; A. Kehnel, *Le sacrifice du cheval. Une brève histoire de sa découverte d'Hérodote à Dumézil*, dans : *Le cheval dans la culture médiévale*, dir. B. Andenmatten, A. Paravicini Bagliani, E. Pibiri, Florence 2015, p. 5-32. Des tombes de femmes enterrées avec des armes, des pièces de harnais et des animaux, notamment des chevaux, ont été retrouvées dans le sud de la Russie et en Ukraine : V.I. Guliaev, *Amazons in the Scythia. New Finds at the Middle Don, Southern Russia*, « World Archaeology » XXXV (2003) 1, p. 112-125.

66 *Wulfstan's voyage and his description of Estland*, éd. et trad. J. Bately, dans : *Wulfstan's Voyage...*, p. 16-17. Sur le terme *Estum/Aesti* et son emploi chez Wulfstan, S. Lebecq, *Hommes, mers et terres du nord au début du Moyen Âge*, vol. 1, Villeneuve d'Ascq 2011, p. 229.

67 M. Tamm, *Signes d'altérité...*, p. 153-154; M.C. Seymour et al., *Bartholomaeus Anglicus and his Encyclopedia*, Aldershot 1992.

68 Barthélemy l'Anglais, Jean Corbechon, *Le Livre des propriétés des choses : une encyclopédie au XIV^e siècle*, éd. partielle et commentaires B. Ribémont, Paris 1999.

du *Vieil Pelerin* a donc pu y puiser de l'inspiration, même si son texte ne correspond guère à une simple reprise⁶⁹.

Après avoir affirmé que les habitants de Livonie ont récemment abandonné le culte des démons (autrement dit, le paganisme), Barthélémy se fend de quelques précisions sur leur religion, et notamment sur leurs coutumes funéraires :

Les dépouilles des morts n'étaient pas enterrées : ils faisaient un très grand bûcher et les brûlaient jusqu'à ce qu'elles soient réduites en cendres. Après la mort, ils revêtaient leurs amis de vêtements nouveaux et leur donnaient pour viatique des moutons, des bœufs et d'autres animaux. Ils leur attribuaient de même des esclaves hommes et femmes ainsi que bien des objets, qu'ils brûlaient avec les morts, croyant que ceux-ci, après la crémation, arriveraient sans encombre dans une région d'êtres vivants, où ils trouveraient, avec tous les esclaves et les bêtes qui avaient été brûlés pour eux, une terre où ils vivraient longtemps dans l'abondance⁷⁰.

Barthélémy donne un sens à la pratique de l'offrande funéraire : si les Livoniens brûlent le mort avec ses biens, c'est qu'ils croient que celui-ci en aura besoin dans l'autre monde. Le cheval n'est pas explicitement mentionné, mais on retrouve les compagnons humains et les animaux – du bétail en l'occurrence – placés sur le bûcher. L'auteur anonyme du *Descriptiones terrarum* (v. 1255) dit quant à lui que les Prussiens « ils consumaient les morts avec des chevaux et des armes et de nobles vêtements, parce qu'ils croient qu'ils peuvent les utiliser, avec d'autres choses brûlées, dans un monde à venir »⁷¹. La personne qui nous a laissé ces lignes était très probablement impliquée personnellement dans la mission auprès de différents peuples baltes⁷².

69 Voici comment Corbechon a rendu le passage consacré aux rites funéraires des natifs de Livonie : *Ilz ne mettoient point en terre les corps mors; mais les ardoient iusques à la cendre. Et quand vn de leurs amys estoit mort ilz le vestoient de robes neusves & luy bailloient bestes, or & argent, varletzs & chamberieres ainsi comme pour aller en vn grand voyage, & tout ce ilz boutoient au feu avec le mort & cuydoient que tout ce qui estoit avec luy deuil deuenir en vne region de vie & auoir le seruice des choses qui estoient arses avec luy* « *Le Grand Propriétaire de toutes choses* », éd. P. Farget, Paris 1556, col. 130.

70 Barthélémy l'Anglais, *De proprietatibus rerum*, éd. M. Tamm, *Signes d'altérité...*, p. 169; trad. ibidem, p. 165.

71 *Descriptiones terrarum*, éd. M. Colker, *America Rediscovered in the Thirteenth Century?*, « *Speculum* » LIV (1979) 4, p. 722; M. Tamm, *Eastern Baltic...*, p. 31. Le fait que la première phrase soit au passé, mais la seconde au présent, indique-t-il que, pour l'auteur, la croyance a survécu à la pratique?

72 Sur ce texte, M. Colker, *America Rediscovered...*, p. 712-726; J. Wenta, *Zu Gog und Magog. Einige Bemerkungen über die Verfasserschaft der "Descriptiones Terrarum"*, « *Etudes médiévales* » VII (2006), p. 331-339.

D'autres missionnaires ont certainement pu transmettre des informations sur la religion des Baltes au célèbre savant anglais Roger Bacon, qui consacre plusieurs passages de son *Opus maius* (1268) aux affaires baltes⁷³. Pour Bacon, les païens de Prusse « et ceux des nations voisines » se définissent essentiellement par leur attachement à la coutume, ce qui correspond à une tradition attestée chez plusieurs auteurs chrétiens, pour qui la religion païenne est avant toute chose un ensemble de rites cimentant la société⁷⁴. Le franciscain anglais met l'accent sur un certain matérialisme, qui se traduirait selon lui par la crémation des corps et la pratique de l'offrande funéraire :

Les vrais païens, comme les Prussiens et ceux des nations voisines, ont l'habitude de vivre selon la coutume et pas selon la loi de la raison. Leurs intérêts sont centrés sur les plaisirs, les richesses et l'honneur de cette vie, et ils croient que la vie à venir est similaire à celle-ci dans tous les aspects. Ainsi à leur mort ils se font brûler en public, avec leurs pierres précieuses, de l'or, de l'argent, leurs destriers, leur famille, leurs amis, toutes leurs richesses et leurs biens, espérant profiter de toutes ces choses après la mort⁷⁵.

L'interprétation des trois auteurs est la même : l'au-delà en lequel croient les Baltes ressemble à la vie d'ici-bas, et le défunt doit y retrouver les biens lui ayant appartenu⁷⁶. Il n'est pas rare qu'une telle « croyance » soit attribuée aux païens par les auteurs ecclésiastiques, et pas uniquement en référence à la Baltique. Dans son *De cognitione sui*, Hélinand de Froidmont (m. v. 1229) cite la description des Enfers dans l'Énéide, puis rappelle qu'il est erroné de croire « que les âmes des défunts apparaissent à beaucoup de gens pleurant les châtements de leurs péchés avec l'apparence qu'ils avaient lorsqu'ils vivaient : c'est-à-dire les paysans en habits campagnards, les chevaliers en armes, comme le vulgaire l'affirme au sujet de la mesnie Hellequin »⁷⁷. L'al-

73 On sait par exemple que le grand voyageur franciscain Guillaume de Rubrouck a transmis des informations au sujet des Tatars à Roger Bacon : N. Bouloux, *Les formes d'intégration des récits de voyage dans la géographie savante. Quelques remarques et un cas d'étude : Roger Bacon, lecteur de Guillaume de Rubrouck*, dans : *Géographes et voyageurs au Moyen Âge...*, p. 119-146.

74 S.C. Rowell, *Customs, rites and power in mediaeval and early modern Lithuanian society*, dans : *Kulturu Sankirtos*, dir. D. Kaukenas, Vilnius 2000, p. 46-64; L. Chollet, *Les Sarrasins...*, p. 429-432.

75 Roger Bacon, *Opus Maius*, éd. J.H. Bridges, Oxford 1897-1900 (rééd. Frankfurt am Main 1964), vol. 2, p. 369; trad. R.B. Burke, *The Opus majus of Roger Bacon*, Philadelphie-Londres 1928, vol. 2, p. 789.

76 *Baltų Religijos ir Mitologijos Šaltiniai...*, p. 76. C'est ainsi que l'on interprète de nos jours les trouvailles archéologiques des tombes coumanes : A. Kehnel, *Le sacrifice du cheval...*, p. 17-18.

77 Helinandus Frigidus Montis, *Flores Helinandi*, part. 2, cap. 10, *Patrologia Latina*, CCXII, col. 731 [en ligne : www.ml原因.uzh.ch].

lusion à ce cortège des âmes des morts, thème répandu dans la littérature médiévale de l'Europe occidentale, permet à l'auteur d'opposer la conception supposément païenne de l'autre monde à celle défendue par le christianisme⁷⁸. L'au-delà auxquels les païens sont censés croire serait, doit-on comprendre, inférieur à celui des chrétiens, puisqu'il ne serait qu'une simple répétition de la vie terrestre. C'est ce qui ressort de l'œuvre historiographique la plus connue pour le Moyen Âge balte, à savoir la *Chronique de la terre de Prusse* de Pierre de Dusbourg, composée en latin entre 1326 et 1331 et adaptée en allemand par Nicolas de Jeroschin entre 1331 et 1335 :

Les Prussiens croyaient aussi à la résurrection des corps, mais pas comme ils le devaient. Ils croyaient en effet que, si l'on est noble ou homme du commun, riche ou pauvre, faible ou puissant, on le resterait dans la vie future, après la résurrection. Pour cette raison, il était d'usage, quand un homme noble mourait, que ses armes et son cheval, tous ses serviteurs, ses parures précieuses, ses chiens de chasse et ses faucons et beaucoup d'autres choses rappelant son statut soient brûlés avec lui. Quand un homme du commun mourait, tout ce qui avait rapport avec son activité était brûlé. Ils croyaient que tout cela allait ressusciter avec lui pour lui servir comme dans sa vie précédente⁷⁹.

Au début du XIII^e siècle, Henri de Livonie note qu'après une tentative d'assaut menée contre Riga, les païens coures se replient de l'autre côté du fleuve Daugava et brûlent leurs morts, à la vue des défenseurs chrétiens de la ville⁸⁰. À la différence de Dusbourg, Henri ne lie pas la crémation des corps à la croyance en un au-delà, mais lorsqu'il relate que des femmes lituaniennes se sont pendues en apprenant le décès de leurs maris, il ajoute qu'elles l'ont fait en pensant les retrouver dans une autre vie⁸¹. Tout se passe comme si ces auteurs essayaient de donner du sens à des événements à première vue incompréhensibles : si ces femmes se suicident, c'est parce qu'elles croient qu'elles retrouveront leurs conjoints après leur mort; si les compagnons d'un personnage décédé brûlent ses biens avec lui, c'est parce qu'ils croient qu'il en aura besoin dans l'au-delà⁸².

Le parallèle entre les écrits composés en France et en Angleterre et ceux produits sur le rivage balte peut nous aider à comprendre la manière dont

78 M.-A. Wagner, op. cit., p. 563-565; sur la chasse sauvage ou mesnie Hellequin, voir *Le mythe de la Chasse sauvage dans l'Europe médiévale*, dir. P. Walter, Paris 1997.

79 Pierre de Dusbourg, *Chronicon Terre Prussie*, éd. SRP, vol. 1, p. 54.

80 *Heinrichs Livländische Chronik...*, p. 77; N. Blomkvist, op. cit., p. 173-174.

81 *Heinrichs Livländische Chronik...*, p. 28.

82 Un tel processus de rationalisation était déjà à l'œuvre chez les historiens de l'Antiquité : F. Hartog, op. cit., p. 194-199.

la religiosité des païens était interprétée dans l'Occident médiéval. Outre les chroniqueurs Henri de Livonie et Pierre de Dusbourg, qui d'une certaine manière n'étaient pas plus à l'abri d'une *interpretatio Romana* que les auteurs écrivant à Paris, un document juridique nous donne quelques éclaircissements. Il s'agit d'un traité conclu dans la ville de Christbourg, en 1249, sous la houlette du légat Jacques Pantaléon entre les Chevaliers teutoniques et les néophytes prussiens. Vaincus militairement, ceux-ci jurent de renoncer aux pratiques païennes⁸³. Parmi les usages à bannir, les rédacteurs du traité leur prêtent des coutumes qui nous sont maintenant familières :

En outre, les dits néophytes, (...) promirent fermement et fidèlement, d'une volonté spontanée, qu'eux ou leurs descendants ne conserveront pas leurs morts brûlés ni enterrés avec des chevaux ou des hommes, ni avec des armes ou des habits ou n'importe quoi d'autre de précieux, ni selon n'importe quels autres rites des païens, mais qu'ils enseveliront leurs morts selon la coutume des chrétiens, dans le cimetière et pas en dehors⁸⁴.

La christianisation réelle – et non seulement formelle – passe par la transformation des rites entourant la mort. Toutefois, l'ensevelissement est mentionné au côté de la crémation comme une pratique païenne, ce qui laisse entendre que les rédacteurs du traité disposaient de renseignements relativement précis quant aux différentes manières dont les Baltes rendaient les derniers honneurs à leurs proches⁸⁵. Contrairement aux auteurs de textes historiographiques ou savants, ils semblent ne pas s'être contentés de retenir uniquement la très spectaculaire crémation. Le document du traité de Christbourg fournit encore d'autres détails. Un peu plus loin, l'on apprend que les Prussiens :

Promirent de ne plus recevoir parmi eux les Tulissones ou Ligaschones, ces fieffés menteurs et histrions, qui pour ainsi dire en tant que prêtres des païens, président aux funérailles des défunts et sont, hélas !, promis aux tourments infernaux. Tenant pour bien ce qui est mal, ils louent les défunts pour les vols, pillages et autres crimes et péchés que ces derniers commirent de leur vivant. Criant les yeux levés au ciel, ils affir-

83 Sur le contexte historique, R. Wenskus, *Über die Bedeutung des Christburger Vertrages für die Rechts- und Verfassungsgeschichte des Preußenlandes*, dans : *Studien zur Geschichte des Preußenlandes. Festschrift Erich Keyser*, dir. E. Bahr, Marburg 1963, p. 97-118; H. Patze, *Der Frieden von Christburg vom Jahre 1249*, « *Jahrbuch für die Geschichte Mittel- und Ostdeutschlands* » VII (1958), p. 39-91; S. Gouguenheim, *Les Chevaliers...*, p. 148-150.

84 *Preussisches Urkundenbuch*, I, 1, éd. R. Philippi, Königsberg 1882, doc. 218, p. 161.

85 A. Pluskowski, op. cit., p. 78-80.

ment mensongèrement voir le défunt voler au milieu du ciel sur son cheval, orné de ses armes étincelantes, tenant au poing un épervier, et s'avançant dans l'autre monde à la tête d'une grande troupe. Avec de pareils et semblables mensonges, ils séduisent le peuple et le ramènent aux rites des païens⁸⁶.

La présence de ces personnages semble à première vue confirmer ce que disent les chroniqueurs et encyclopédistes de la même époque : quoi de plus « normal », en effet, que de voir un mort chevaucher en armes, avec son faucon sur le bras, s'il doit jouir de tous ses biens dans l'autre monde? Du point de vue des rédacteurs du traité, les *Tulissones* et les *Ligaschones* auraient tout intérêt à profiter des funérailles d'un puissant, événement marquant la vie d'une communauté, pour faire semblant de voir le défunt s'élever au-dessus du bûcher. Ces manipulateurs profiteraient de cette mise en scène macabre pour impressionner la foule et maintenir leur pouvoir. Les païens seraient donc de simples naïfs, faciles à convertir une fois la mainmise de leurs prêtres éliminée⁸⁷.

Or, ce passage peut être lu d'un autre point de vue. En décrivant la crémation des guerriers coures tombés devant Riga, Henri de Livonie précise que les survivants pleurèrent leurs compagnons et Philippe de Mézières souligne explicitement les lamentations des nobles lituaniens à la mort de leur roi⁸⁸. Pour Rimantas Balsys, les *Tulissones* et les *Ligaschones* du traité de Christbourg remplissent la fonction de pleureurs, chargés de rappeler les hauts faits des guerriers lors de leurs funérailles⁸⁹. Ces personnages, nous dit encore le texte du traité, affirment être en mesure de voir les âmes des défunts, d'une manière qui n'est pas sans rappeler les chamanes eurasiatiques⁹⁰. Pierre de Dusbourg attribue un trait similaire à un prêtre païen qu'il appelle *Criwe*, dont il fait une sorte de figure inversée du Pape, obéi de tous les Baltes⁹¹ :

⁸⁶ *Preussisches Urkundenbuch...*, I, 1, p. 161.

⁸⁷ L'idée du prêtre ou du sorcier « infidèle » et manipulateur comme principal adversaire des missionnaires apparaît encore en plein XX^e siècle, dans le contexte de la mission belge au Congo : P. Delisle, *Un Tintin au Congo flamand au service des missions chrétiennes*. Le Bâton du Féticheur, de *Renaat Demoen (1949-1950)*, « Revue d'histoire de l'Église de France » CI (2015) 246, p. 121-140.

⁸⁸ *Heinrichs Livländische Chronik...*, p. 77; Philippe de Mézières, op. cit., I, p. 207; R. Balsys, *Paganism of Prussians. Sacred Caste Tulissones, Ligaschones*, « Вісник Львівського університету. Серія історична » LI (2016), p. 84-85.

⁸⁹ R. Balsys, op. cit., p. 72-92.

⁹⁰ E. Bojtár, op. cit., p. 327-329. Voir aussi S. Gouguenheim, *Les Chevaliers...*, p. 149-150; A. Pluskowski, op. cit., p. 68.

⁹¹ S.C. Rowell, *Lithuania...*, p. 125-128. D'après Dusbourg, *Criwe* est censé siéger dans un lieu nommé *Romowe*, qu'il fait dériver du mot « Rome ».

Au sujet de leurs morts, il y avait aussi cette illusion diabolique: quand un membre de la famille d'un homme mort va voir Criwe, et lui demande s'il a vu quelqu'un passer autour de sa maison tel ou tel jour, ou lors d'une nuit particulière, Criwe décrit avec une grande précision l'apparence du mort avec ses armes et ses habits, ses familiers et ses chevaux, et pour plus de certitude, il affirme souvent qu'il a laissé une certaine figure avec sa lance ou un autre instrument sur le linteau de la porte⁹².

Que l'on considère les *Tulissones*, *Ligaschones* et autres Criwe comme des pleureurs, des chamanes ou des « fieffés menteurs », on doit en déduire que l'image du mort s'élevant au-dessus du bûcher, en armes et sur son cheval, avait une signification particulièrement importante dans la religiosité traditionnelle des Baltes⁹³. Si l'on compare avec ce que nous savons des autres systèmes mythologiques d'Europe et d'Asie centrale, il n'est pas trop imprudent de voir le cheval comme un agent psychopompe, rendant possible l'accès à l'au-delà⁹⁴. Un même raisonnement peut être, avec une certaine prudence, tenté pour ce qui concerne la crémation. Les anthropologues qui se sont penchés sur la question supposent que le feu était un élément sacré chez les Baltes, devant permettre d'entrer en communication avec l'autre monde, utilisé lors des rites funéraires ou des sacrifices⁹⁵. À cet égard, Pierre de Dusbourg et Wigand de Marbourg racontent la fin tragique de certains Chevaliers teutoniques ou d'autres chrétiens tombés aux mains des païens, et que ceux-ci auraient offerts à leurs dieux en les livrant aux flammes montés sur leurs chevaux⁹⁶.

Il n'est donc pas invraisemblable que le scribe chargé de rédiger le traité de Christbourg ait noté assez fidèlement ce qu'il avait entendu dire des coutumes funéraires baltes, peut-être par le truchement de missionnaires ou d'autres témoins. Dans ce cas, il leur a simplement donné un sens correspondant à la vision chrétienne de ce que devait être le paganisme : les prêtres

92 Pierre de Dusbourg, op. cit., p. 54.

93 M. Bertasius, op. cit., p. 307-312.

94 C. Westerdahl, *The Horse as a liminal agent*, « *Archeologia Baltica* » XI (2009), p. 323-324; E. Bazaraitė, T. Heitor, op. cit., p. 317. Sur le cheval psychopompe dans les anciennes religions d'Europe centrale et nordique, M.-A. Wagner, op. cit., p. 11 sq.

95 P. Walter, *The Ditty of Sovijus (1261)*, « *Archeologia Baltica* » XV (2011), p. 75-76; *Baltų Religijos ir Mitologijos Šaltiniai...*, p. 71.

96 Pierre de Dusbourg, op. cit., p. 101 (en 1261); *ibidem*, p. 185 (en 1320); Wigand de Marbourg, *Chronica nova Prutenica*, II, dans : SRP, p. 638 (en 1389), qui précise que les Lituaniens voulurent brûler un prisonnier chrétien sur son cheval, mais qu'ils durent le faire mourir par suffocation. Au XVI^e siècle, Matthieu Strykowski (op. cit., p. 386) raconte que des captifs teutoniques auraient été brûlés aux côtés de la servante, du cheval et des armes de Gediminas, amalgamant peut-être le bûcher funéraire avec le sacrifice de prisonniers. Sur ces questions, R. Mažeika, L. Chollet, *Familiar Marvels? ...*, p. 55-56; D. Baronas, S.C. Rowell, *The Conversion...*, p. 229-230; S.C. Rowell, *Lithuania...*, p. 124.

conduisant la cérémonie funéraire devenant des « histrions » qui « avec de pareils et de semblables mensonges, ... séduisent le peuple et le ramènent aux rites des païens »⁹⁷. Des phénomènes aussi marquants que la crémation des morts et la pratique de l'offrande funéraire, s'ils ont bien existé tels que décrits nos textes, devaient être connus de beaucoup parmi les chrétiens de la Baltique⁹⁸. Ces éléments, « exotiques » à souhait, n'ont pas manqué d'être notés par les missionnaires qui ont diffusé leurs connaissances en France et ailleurs. La courte notice des *Descriptiones terrarum* atteste du fait que certains missionnaires actifs sur le terrain ont pris soin de collecter ces informations⁹⁹. Barthélemy l'Anglais et Roger Bacon ont, quant à eux, vraisemblablement eu l'occasion d'entendre de telles histoires rapportées par des collègues franciscains ayant séjourné dans la région balte¹⁰⁰. Ce qu'Anne Kehnel appelle le « frisson de l'érudit », qui aime parsemer son texte de quelques curiosités exotiques pour maintenir éveillée l'attention de ses lecteurs, n'est sans doute pas étranger à l'intérêt des auteurs occidentaux pour ces coutumes spectaculairement « barbares »¹⁰¹.

Face à la diversité des types de funérailles pratiquées parmi les différents peuples et groupes sociaux baltes, seuls ceux qui font le plus de sens pour les auteurs chrétiens ont été retenus : la crémation et l'offrande de biens et de chevaux, parfois d'êtres humains. Ce genre d'obsèques, peut-être réservée à l'aristocratie¹⁰², peut évoquer des souvenirs de l'histoire antique et permet d'inscrire la religiosité des Prussiens, Livoniens et Lituaniens dans une filiation connue.

La présence d'armes et de chevaux aux funérailles n'est toutefois pas inconnue pour un auteur comme Philippe de Mézières. En plein cœur de l'Occident médiéval, certains grands seigneurs se font ensevelir avec leurs parures et leurs bijoux¹⁰³. Qui plus est, des chevaux sont présents aux funérailles de personnages tels que le duc de Bourgogne Philippe de Rouvre (1361) ou le comte de Flandre Louis de Male (1384), ainsi qu'au *requiem* en l'honneur du connétable Bertrand du Guesclin (1389)¹⁰⁴. À l'occasion de ces événements,

97 *Preussisches Urkundenbuch...*, I, 1, p. 161.

98 A. Pluskowski, op. cit., p. 80.

99 M. Colker, op. cit., p. 722; M. Tamm, *Eastern Baltic...*, p. 31.

100 N. Bouloux, op. cit., p. 119-146.

101 A. Kehnel, op. cit., p. 22-24.

102 E. Bazaraitė et T. Heitor (op. cit., p. 320) avancent que pour les XIII^e et XIV^e siècles environ, « only famous figures are cremated ».

103 T. Meier, *Die Archäologie des mittelalterlichen Königsgrabes im christlichen Europa*, *Mittelalter-Forschungen*, VIII, Stuttgart 2002; et le compte-rendu par E. Dąbrowska, « Le Moyen Âge » CXI (2005), p. 709-714.

104 Pour les cérémonies funèbres du duc de Bourgogne Philippe de Rouvres (1361) : E. Petit, *Histoire des ducs de Bourgogne*, vol. 9, Paris 1905, p. 252-253; de Louis de Male, comte de Flandre (1384) : B. Schnerb, *L'État bourguignon 1363-1477*, Paris 1999, p. 75-78; et le *requiem* de Bertrand du Guesclin (1389) : M.-A. Wagner, op. cit., p. 122; T. Lassabatère, *Du Guesclin. Vie et fabrique d'un héros médiéval*, Paris 2015, p. 431-432.

les animaux, revêtus de housses armoriées ou bardés de fer, sont conduits par des écuyers lors du cortège funéraire. Celui-ci est à la fois une mise en scène de la puissance du défunt et une célébration de la continuité dynastique¹⁰⁵. Plus modeste, le « cheval de deuil », à savoir un seul animal accompagnant le corps d'un chevalier vers l'église, est fréquent lors des enterrements seigneuriaux, et pas uniquement dans la haute aristocratie¹⁰⁶. De même, il est de coutume en Europe occidentale, en Savoie notamment, d'offrir les chevaux et les armes du défunt à l'abbaye où doit reposer le corps¹⁰⁷.

Peut-on voir un parallèle entre ces pratiques chères à la noblesse occidentale et ce que rapportent nos auteurs écrivant au sujet des funérailles baltes? Dans son étude dédiée à la symbolique du cheval dans le monde germanique, Marc-André Wagner a posé l'hypothèse que le cheval était considéré comme un agent psychopompe non seulement chez les anciens Germains, mais aussi dans de nombreuses autres civilisations, parmi lesquelles celle des Baltes¹⁰⁸. L'un des exemples les plus emblématiques, et assez bien connu grâce aux découvertes archéologiques, est celui de Childéric, le père de Clovis. Ce roi franc païen a été enterré sur son cheval, en 481. À côté de sa tombe se trouvent des fosses remplies d'une vingtaine de squelettes de chevaux. L'animal sur lequel le roi est assis rappelle vraisemblablement le rôle psychopompe traditionnellement attribué aux chevaux dans l'ancienne religion germanique, mais les équidés déposés autour de Childéric devaient sans doute marquer le rang du roi décédé et assurer son prestige politique¹⁰⁹. Car dès l'Antiquité, le cheval psychopompe mis en scène lors des funérailles des personnages de haut rang (que ce soit par un sacrifice ou par une course de chevaux) se confond avec une marque de prestige, réservée à l'aristocratie guerrière. De ce double symbolisme, seul le deuxième a survécu un certain temps parmi les usages de la noblesse européenne¹¹⁰.

105 M.-A. Wagner, op. cit., p. 121-131.

106 Ibidem, p. 127.

107 A. Paravicini Bagliani, *L'offrande des chevaux. Une question ouverte*, dans : *A Cheval entre histoire et droit*, dir. E. Maier et al., Lausanne 1999, p. 109-117; N. Pollini, *La Mort du Prince : rituels funéraires de la Maison de Savoie (1343-1451)*, Lausanne 1994, p. 88-90; C. Beaune, *Mourir noblement à la fin du Moyen Âge*, dans *La Mort au Moyen Âge*, Strasbourg 1975, p. 125-143; M. Gaude-Ferragu, *D'or et de cendres. La mort et les funérailles des princes dans le royaume de France au bas Moyen Âge*, Villeneuve d'Ascq 2005, p. 178-182.

108 M.-A. Wagner, op. cit.; voir aussi C. Doña, *Per le vie dell'altro mondo. L'animale guida e il mito del viaggio*, Medioevo Romano e Orientale, Studi 11, Catanzaro 2003.

109 M.-A. Wagner, op. cit., p. 112-120.

110 Ibidem, p. 121-131, 511-513. Une même conclusion est proposée par R. Shiroukhov (op. cit., p. 250) en ce qui concerne les guerriers prussiens, qui abandonnent l'enterrement avec chevaux une fois baptisés, mais continuent de se faire enterrer avec leurs éperons jusqu'au XV^e siècle; les éperons devenant ainsi un symbole de leur classe sociale, la chevalerie.

Pour M.-A. Wagner, un même fond culturel est décelable dans les pays de cultures germanique, slave, balte et jusqu'en Asie centrale. Motivé dans un premier temps par des raisons religieuses, l'enterrement avec chevaux serait peu à peu devenu un symbole de prestige¹¹¹. L'on peut imaginer que parmi les dix-huit destriers qui auraient, selon Hermann de Wartberge, été mis à mort lors des funérailles du prince Algirdas (1377), un seul ait été pensé comme un agent psychopompe, les autres ayant servi à mettre en scène la puissance du défunt. Encore qu'il soit évidemment difficile de séparer les fonctions sociales, politiques et religieuses d'une telle mise en scène. À l'époque païenne déjà, les chevaux aux funérailles princières peuvent aussi être un signe distinctif de l'aristocratie guerrière, pour qui cet animal est plus qu'un atout indispensable. C'est, au côté de ses armes, l'instrument de distinction par excellence de l'aristocrate.

Dans l'Occident médiéval, le chevalier est fréquemment associé à sa monture, ne serait-ce que par l'étymologie. Une telle proximité se trouve aussi dans la littérature dont sont friands nos croisés de la Baltique¹¹². Dans les chansons de geste, le cheval agit avec l'aide de Dieu pour tirer le héros d'un mauvais pas, et certaines montures à connotation surnaturelle sont même individualisées au point de porter un nom, comme Le Gringalet de Gauvain ou Bayard, le cheval des *Quatre fils Aymon*¹¹³. Le cheval « héroïque » quitte parfois le domaine de la fiction pour entrer dans celui de l'historiographie. Au XV^e siècle, le chroniqueur Georges Chastelain relate une mésaventure survenue au duc de Bourgogne Philippe le Bon (m. 1467), qui à la suite d'une dispute familiale, quitte Bruxelles sans autre compagnon que sa monture, à la tombée de la nuit. Il chevauche en direction d'une épaisse forêt, où il se perd. Son cheval lui sauve la vie en refusant de s'enfoncer dans une rivière que le duc épuisé – ou, selon le chroniqueur, victime d'une illusion diabolique – avait prise pour une route¹¹⁴...

Bien que la littérature cléricale soit relativement réservée quant à notre animal, celui-ci joue un rôle dans le discours de la croisade¹¹⁵. Des récits relatant des batailles survenues en Terre sainte ou dans la Péninsule ibérique mettent en scène des cavaliers venus du ciel pour prêter main forte aux

111 M.-A. Wagner, op. cit., passim.

112 B. Aguiriano, *Le cheval et le départ en aventure dans Les Romans de Chrétien de Troyes*, dans : *Le cheval dans le monde médiéval*, Aix-en-Provence 1992, p. 11-27.

113 J.-C. Vallecalle, "Gesta Dei Per Equos". Remarques sur le rôle providentiel du cheval dans *Les Chansons de Geste*, dans : *Le cheval dans le monde médiéval...*, p. 561-571; P. Walter, *Gauvain, le chevalier solitaire*, Paris 2013, p. 125-154.

114 Georges Chastelain, *Chronique des ducs de Bourgogne*, dans : *Cœuvres*, éd. J. Kervyn de Lettenhove, Bruxelles 1863-1866, III, p. 241-257; J.-C. Delclos, *Le Témoignage de Georges Chastelain, historiographe de Philippe le Bon et de Charles le Téméraire*, Genève 1080, p. 294.

115 D. Hüe, *L'orgueil du cheval*, dans : *Le cheval dans le monde médiéval...*, p. 257-276.

croisés¹¹⁶. Dans le même ordre d'idée, Jacques de Vitry (m. 1240) assimile les quatre chevaux de Zacharie 1, 8 (roux ou rouge, blanc, noir et bai) à quatre ordres religieux-militaires engagés dans la défense de la chrétienté (Templiers, Hospitaliers, Teutoniques et Ordre de Calatrava)¹¹⁷. Dans un *exemplum* devant servir à la prédication de la croisade, le même auteur met en scène un cheval emmenant le croisé mort pour la foi directement auprès de Dieu. Une thématique reprise par d'autres prédicateurs, jusqu'au début du XIV^e siècle¹¹⁸. Plutôt qu'une allusion au rôle psychopompe de l'animal, ce qui n'aurait aucun sens sous la plume d'un auteur chrétien, il s'agit sans doute d'une héroïsation du cavalier noble, du chevalier combattant pour l'Église¹¹⁹. Plus ambigu est ce conte allemand dont le héros est un jeune seigneur, qui entre dans l'Ordre teutonique après s'être emparé du cheval du diable, un animal noir à trois pieds. La démarche déséquilibrée, la couleur noire et le caractère diabolique de l'animal en font le passeur par excellence vers l'autre monde¹²⁰. Assis sur son cheval magique et renforcé par sa confiance dans le baptême, le jeune homme remporte maints exploits lors de batailles contre les Lituanais, avant de mourir quand il doit avouer la provenance de sa monture au grand-maître¹²¹.

Quoiqu'il puisse en être du caractère synchrétique de ce genre de récits, l'on constate que le cheval accompagnant son maître au combat puis dans la mort est une marque de prestige chevaleresque dans l'Occident chrétien, notamment lié au contexte de la croisade. En insistant sur le rôle de cet animal dans la cérémonie funéraire des grands-ducs lituanais, Philippe de Mézières donne une touche éminemment aristocratique à l'événement : ne concernant que le « roy » et ses « barons »¹²², celui-ci met en scène des Lituanais nobles, miroirs des courtisans français à qui l'auteur destine son *Songe du Vieil Pelerin*. Mézières rejoint ici la plupart des écrivains occidentaux de la fin du Moyen Âge, qu'ils se soient eux-mêmes rendus sur les bords de la Baltique ou qu'ils aient recueilli oralement les récits d'autres personnes. La croisade balte est traitée dans les œuvres littéraires d'Europe occidentale comme

116 K.V. Jensen, *Martyrs, Total War, and Heavenly Horses : Scandinavia as Centre and Periphery in the Expansion of Medieval Christendom*, dans : *Medieval Christianity in the North. New Studies*, dir. K. Salonen, K.V. Jensen, T. Jørgensen, Turnhout 2013, p. 89-120.

117 J.-B. Pitra, *Analecta novissima spicilegii Solesmensis*, II, Frascati 1888, p. 405; trad. par P.-V. Claverie, *Honorius III et l'Orient (1216-1227). Étude et publication de sources inédites des Archives vaticanes*, The Medieval Mediterranean, XCVII, Leiden-Boston 2013, p. 236.

118 M.-A. Wagner, op. cit., p. 552-553.

119 Ibidem, p. 552 sq.

120 C. Ginzburg, *Le Sabbat des sorcières*, Paris 1992, p. 213-242; K. Ueltschi, *Le pied qui cloche ou le lignage des boiteux*, Paris-Genève 2011 (p. 223-228 spécifiquement sur le cheval boiteux).

121 M.-A. Wagner, op. cit., p. 738-741.

122 Philippe de Mézières, op. cit., I, p. 207.

une activité réservée à la noblesse, où même les adversaires ressemblent à des chevaliers¹²³.

Chez les auteurs francophones, les « Sarrasins » de Lituanie se voient volontiers prêter des caractéristiques supposément typiques de la noblesse, comme le sens de l'honneur, le courage ou l'attachement aux armes et aux chevaux. En cela, ils sont proches des guerriers musulmans que représentent les chansons de geste, les chroniques et les romans jusqu'à la fin du Moyen Âge¹²⁴. Lorsqu'il décrit l'expédition du duc Louis II de Bourbon contre le port tunisien de Mahdia (1390), le chroniqueur Jean Froissart (m. 1404) met en scène plusieurs chefs sarrasins, alter-égos des seigneurs français dont il retrace les hauts faits : « *Entre les Sarrazins il y avoit ung jeune chevallier des leurs, lequel s'appelloit Agadinquor d'Oliferne; et estoit tousjours monté sur ung cheval appert et légier et bien courant, et sembloit, quant le dit cheval couroit, que il volast* »¹²⁵. Ce personnage, dont Froissart précise qu'il cherche à accomplir des exploits pour l'amour de la fille du roi de Tunis, représente la quintessence de l'infidèle noble, digne miroir des chevaliers chrétiens¹²⁶. Plus ambigu est le cheval Percefer du roi Pierre I^{er} de Castille, dit le Cruel, décrit par le trouvère Cuvelier dans sa *Chanson de Bertrand du Guesclin* (avant 1387). Ce magnifique animal à l'aura presque surnaturelle n'appartient en effet pas à un musulman mais à un chrétien considéré dans le récit comme proche de l'apostasie et dépeint en termes bien plus noirs que ses alliés maures¹²⁷. Qu'il soit là pour magnifier un adversaire noble ou pour lui prêter un caractère diabolique, l'étalon arabe de valeur inestimable reste un *topos* littéraire attaché à la représentation des infidèles.

123 Sur l'aspect exclusivement aristocratique de la croisade balte, et qui se reflète notamment dans son traitement littéraire : W. Paravicini, *La Prusse et l'Europe occidentale*, « Cahiers de recherches médiévales et humanistes » I (1996), p. 176-191; idem, *Litauer...*, p. 255-259; P. Dembowski, *Reflets chevaleresques du Nord-Est dans l'œuvre de Jean Froissart*, « Roczniki Humanistyczne » XXXIV (1986) 2, p. 137-143.

124 Le parallèle a été fait par A.V. Murray, *Heathens, Devils and Saracens. Crusader Concepts of the Pagan Enemy during the Baltic Crusades (Twelfth to Fifteenth Centuries)*, dans : *Crusading on the Edge. Ideas and Practice of Crusading in Iberia and the Baltic Region, 1100-1500*, dir. T. Nielsen, I. Fønnesberg-Schmidt, Turnhout 2016, p. 199-223. Sur l'affection des musulmans pour leurs chevaux dans les chansons de geste françaises, G. Gouiran, *Entre Sarrasins et Chrétiens, ou le cheval décapité*, dans : *Le cheval dans le monde médiéval...*, p. 239-255.

125 Jean Froissart, *Chronique*, dans : *Œuvres complètes*, éd. J. Kervyn de Lettenhove, Bruxelles 1867-1877, XIV, p. 229.

126 M.-T. de Medeiros, *Hommes, terres et histoire des confins*, Paris 2003, p. 264-265; sur une vision positive des musulmans dans la littérature médiévale européenne, C. Girbea, *Le Bon Sarrasin dans le roman médiéval (1100-1225)*, Paris 2014.

127 Cuvelier, *Chanson de Bertrand du Guesclin*, I, éd. J.-C. Faucon, Toulouse 1990, p. 307-308. T. Lassabatère, op. cit., p. 267-268, remarque que dans le poème de Cuvelier, le cheval de Pierre le Cruel le rapproche des rois sarrasins de chanson de geste, tout comme ses autres équipements magiques.

Les auteurs du Moyen Âge savent distinguer les païens baltes des musulmans et ont bien conscience que les Lituanais ne suivent en rien les préceptes de l'islam : l'insistance sur la crémation l'atteste clairement¹²⁸. Par le truchement des voyages en Prusse, les lettrés occidentaux ont appris à connaître les guerriers baltes, même s'ils ne se gênent guère de les modeler selon leurs intentionnalités propres. Chevaliers et écuyers de retour de Prusse transmettent volontiers leurs souvenirs aux écrivains qu'ils peuvent rencontrer aux cours princières d'Europe¹²⁹. Certains de ces voyageurs se sont informés au sujet de l'adversaire païen auprès des Chevaliers teutoniques, à l'instar de Philippe de Mézières qui dit explicitement s'être entretenu avec ses hôtes¹³⁰. Plusieurs parmi les visiteurs ont certainement entendu parler de la cavalerie lituanienne, plus légère que celle en usage dans les pays d'Occident mais néanmoins redoutablement efficace, s'ils ne l'ont pas rencontré eux-mêmes sur le champ de bataille¹³¹.

Parmi les traits qui distinguent les guerriers païens dans les sources narratives occidentales, les funérailles avec chevaux présentent une certaine analogie avec la tradition attestée en Europe de l'Ouest. Nobles païens et chrétiens semblent avoir gardé l'habitude de faire participer leurs chevaux, leurs familiers et leurs armes lors de la cérémonie marquant leur passage dans l'autre monde. La prégnance de cet usage d'un côté comme de l'autre de la frontière confessionnelle permet de dessiner un visage différent de l'aristocratie médiévale, et par la même occasion, de questionner l'imperméabilité de cette frontière : chevaliers chrétiens de France et nobles païens de Lituanie se ressemblent beaucoup plus qu'on ne pourrait l'imaginer au premier abord. Ces seigneurs guerriers s'affrontent certes pour des raisons d'ordre religieux, bien que les *rèses* soient progressivement devenues des expéditions relativement standardisées, où l'extrême violence exercée de part et d'autre à l'égard des populations n'empêche pas une certaine entente entre les commandants païens et chrétiens¹³². Ceux-ci se connaissent parfois personnel-

128 Sur la connaissance de l'islam dans l'Occident médiéval, J. Tolan, *Les Sarrasins : l'islam dans l'imagination européenne au Moyen Âge*, trad. P.-E. Dauzat, Paris 2003.

129 M. Nejedlý, op. cit., p. 101; W. Paravicini, *Die Preussenreisen...*, vol. 1, p. 230-231; P. Dobrowolski, "Miles christianus" czy turysta ? Uwagi o wyprawie Henryka hrabiego Derby do Prus w r. 1390-1391, « Poznańskie Towarzystwo Przyjaciół Nauk. Sprawozdania » C (1984), p. 36-46.

130 Philippe de Mézières, op. cit., I, p. 207, 209.

131 L'exemple le plus célèbre est la bataille de Tannenberg (Grunwald), où le retrait simulé de la cavalerie lituanienne joua un rôle décisif dans la défaite de l'Ordre teutonique et de ses hôtes occidentaux. Voir notamment S. Ekdahl, *Die Flucht der Litauer in der Schlacht bei Tannenberg*, « Zeitschrift für Ostforschung » XII (1963), p. 11-19.

132 R. Petrauskas, *Litauen und der Deutsche Orden : Vom Feind zum Verbündeten*, dans : *Tannenberg – Grunwald – Žalgiris...*, p. 237-252. À titre de comparaison, la guerre en Europe occidentale n'est parfois pas moins violente que lors des *rèses* : F. Viltart, "Exploitez la guerre par tous les moyens! " Pillages et violences dans les campagnes militaires de Charles Le Téméraire (1466-1476),

lement et savent faire preuve d'égards les uns envers les autres quand l'occasion l'exige¹³³.

Le respect mutuel entre seigneurs de religion différente va bien au-delà de la rivalité martiale entre ducs lituaniens et officiers teutoniques. Parmi les chevaliers venus du lointain Occident, quelques individus décident de quitter la Prusse pour se rendre auprès des grands-ducs, ainsi ce noble rhénan de la famille d'Isembourg, qui d'après Wigand de Marbourg serait allé rendre visite à Jagellon en 1382, soit à une époque où celui-ci n'avait pas encore reçu le baptême¹³⁴. Une fois convertis, Jagellon et son cousin Vytautas reçoivent la visite de plusieurs chevaliers occidentaux, comme le Bourguignon Guilbert de Lannoy, qui nous renseigne sur ses séjours en Prusse, en Lituanie et en Pologne en 1413-1414 puis 1421¹³⁵. En sens inverse, des princes et des seigneurs lituaniens ont quitté leur pays d'origine avant sa christianisation en 1387 pour se fondre dans la société catholique après avoir reçu le baptême. L'un d'entre eux, Butautas, deviendra un familier de l'empereur Charles IV, roi de Bohême¹³⁶.

Pour que des contacts se créent aussi facilement, une certaine intercompréhension doit avoir été possible entre combattants païens et chrétiens, y compris en ce qui concerne les volontaires venus de France ou d'ailleurs en Europe. Au-delà de la différence religieuse, les guerriers qui se rencontrent lors des combats et des trêves dans la Lituanie du XIV^e siècle partagent certaines valeurs en commun. À commencer par un fort attachement à leurs armes, symboles de leur pouvoir, mais aussi à leurs chevaux, qu'ils estiment au point de vouloir, symboliquement ou non, les emmener dans la mort.

« Revue du Nord » CCCLXXX (2009) 2, p. 473-490; G. Algazi, *Pruning Peasants. Private War and Maintaining the Lords' Peace in Late Medieval Germany*, dans : *Medieval Transformations : Texts, Power and Gifts in Context*, dir. E. Cohen, M. de Jong, Leiden 2000, p. 245-274.

133 R. Mažeika, *An Amicable Enmity : some peculiarities in Teutonic-Balt relations*, dans : *The Germans and the East*, dir. C. Ingrao, West Lafayette 2007, p. 49-58; A. Nikžentaitis, *Die litauische Gesellschaft der vorchristlichen Zeit (13.-14. Jahrhundert) zwischen Rom und Byzanz*, dans : *Rom und Byzanz...*, vol. 2, p. 115-130.

134 Wigand, op. cit., p. 620. Sur les visites de seigneurs occidentaux en Lituanie, W. Paravicini, *Die Preussenreisen...*, vol. 2, p. 136-137; R. Petrauskas, *Litauen...*, p. 241; idem, *Knighthood in the Grand Duchy of Lithuania from the Late Fourteenth to the Early Sixteenth Centuries*, « Lithuanian Historical Studies » XI (2006), p. 39-66.

135 Œuvres de Ghillebert de Lannoy..., p. 20-49, 51-64.

136 S.C. Rowell, *Unexpected Contacts : Lithuanians at Western Courts, c. 1316-1400*, « The English Historical Review » CXI (1996) 442, p. 557-577; W. Paravicini, *Litauer...*, p. 261-265.

ABSTRACT

The horse and death. Funeral rites, chivalric ethics, and the representation of cultural otherness during the Baltic crusade

In the 14th century, many knights in Western Europe supported the Teutonic Order in its fight against pagan Lithuania. Many of them brought back memories that were used in the literature of the time. Although the texts relating to the Baltic Sea area focus primarily on the heroism of the battles, some authors note with curiosity the customs of the Balts, particularly their funeral rites. The display of the deceased's horses and weapons during such ceremonies is reminiscent of certain practices attested in the medieval West at the same time. Based on novels, chronicles, encyclopaedias, and legal documents, this article examines contemporary perceptions of this particular aspect of medieval Baltic religiosity. The comparison of literary materials produced in very different cultural contexts invites questions about the shared values of the military aristocracy, beyond religious differences.

Keywords: the representation of otherness, chivalry, nobility, crusade, Lithuania, Prussia, the Teutonic Order, paganism

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PORTÉE SOCIALE DES STÉRÉOTYPES CONCERNANT LES HABITANTS DES VILLAGES VALAQUES EN POLOGNE AUX XV^E ET XVI^E SIÈCLES*

« Valachorum usibus absit gloriari »¹



Les recherches qui visent une analyse des opinions et des stéréotypes sur les Autres dans les périodes antérieures aux XV^e et XVI^e siècles se heurtent à un obstacle important relatif aux sources historiques. En abordant cette problématique, les historiens n'ont accès qu'à des textes dispersés d'auteurs anonymes qui appartenaient, sans doute, aux élites intellectuelles de leur époque. L'analyse des contenus de ces documents amène toujours à se questionner s'ils ne reflètent que les opinions individuelles des auteurs, ou bien correspondent au point de vue des milieux dans lesquels ils vivaient. Toutefois, les médiévistes ne peuvent pas soumettre à l'analyse le niveau de réception et celui d'acceptation des opinions exprimées par les intellectuels parmi les couches sociales populaires, vu que celles-ci, pour des raisons évidentes, ne léguaient aucun texte. De même, étant donné la difficulté de définir les voies par lesquelles les opinions émises par les intellectuels se propageaient vers des groupes plébéiens, on ne peut pas savoir si elles devenaient des stéréotypes à cause de leur diffusion².

* The text was created as a part of the project of the National Centre for Science (Narodowe Centrum Nauki), decision no. 2018/31/B/HS3/02083, titled *Mutual stereotypes of Poles and Germans and their influence on the historiography of both nations in the 19th and 20th centuries*.

1 *Średniowieczna poezja łacińska w Polsce*, élab. par M. Włodarski, Wrocław 2007, p. 193.

2 Habituellement, le stéréotype est considéré comme un élément inséparable de l'opinion publique. Il est aussi un genre d'une vision simplifiée, schématisée et inflexible de la réalité. Il se caractérise par une durabilité et une extension sociale considérable. Il contient toujours une image émotionnelle et un facteur d'évaluation, tandis que l'opinion peut être individuelle ou partagée par quelques groupes. L'opinion est changeable et n'est pas communément acceptée, comme c'est le cas du stéréotype. – Z. Bokszański, *Stereotypy a kultura*, Wrocław 1997, p. 6; W. Lippman, *The Press and Public Opinion*, « Political Science Quarterly » XXXVI (1931) 2, p. 161-

Dans le cas des terres polonaises, la situation changea à la charnière du Moyen Âge et de l'époque moderne. En comparaison avec l'époque antérieure, les sources conservées sont visiblement plus nombreuses, en plus, elles sont complétées par les textes produits dans les chancelleries des autorités locales (documents, notes dans les livres des tribunaux). Leurs auteurs vivaient souvent loin des centres intellectuels. Il est hors de doute que leurs opinions étaient, d'une part, influencées par les connaissances acquises à l'école et parmi les élites locales et, d'autre part, constamment vérifiées dans les contacts quotidiens avec « le simple peuple ».

Notre objectif consistera donc à confronter les opinions à propos des Valaques qui habitaient les zones montagneuses et celles situées au pied des montagnes de la Petite-Pologne et de la Russie de la Couronne (ces opinions ont pénétré jusqu'à la littérature scientifique à travers les analyses des sources narratives, en particulier de celles des œuvres de Jan Długosz) avec les informations sur la vie quotidienne de l'époque et les bribes d'opinions fixées dans les documents établis par les chancelleries locales. Évidemment, il faut noter que dans les rares études abordant ces questions, les chercheurs focalisaient leur attention avant tout sur l'interprétation des passages des œuvres de Jan Długosz concernant les Valaques. C'est le cas d'Ilie Minea³ ou celui de Kazimierz Dobrowolski⁴. Un article intéressant qui a été récemment publié par Anna Obara-Pawłowska⁵ doit être considéré comme une synthèse de ce courant de recherches. Le stéréotype négatif du montagnard qui en émerge est fondé sur quelques composantes essentielles dont la définition et une analyse critique structurent cette étude de façon naturelle.

Il est à noter que les Valaques qui affluaient vers les montagnes polonaises constituaient un groupe facile à stéréotyper. Le fait même que le pastoralisme était leur manière prédominante d'exploiter la terre suggérait l'existence d'un conflit archétypique avec les agriculteurs locaux⁶. Ces représentants de l'élé-

170; idem, *The Public Opinion*, New Brunswick-London 1998, p. 79-81; Cz. Maj, *Stereotypy sąsiadów w polskiej opinii publicznej*, « Annales UMCS ». Sectio K, II/III (1995-1996), p. 25-26; idem, *Stereotypy w kulturze politycznej społeczeństwa polskiego*, dans : *Tradycje i współczesność kultury politycznej w Polsce (1918-1990)*, dir. E. Olszewski, Lublin 1991, p. 165-196; M. Wójcik, *Efektywność specyficznych i niespecyficznych sposobów zmiany negatywnych stereotypów etnicznych*, Katowice 2008, p. 40. <https://www.sbc.org.pl/dlibra/publication/14303/edition/12743/content?ref=desc> (page consultée le 5 septembre 2020).

3 I. Minea, *Informațiile românești ale Cronicii lui Jan Długosz*, Iași 1926, passim.

4 K. Dobrowolski, *Migracje wołoskie na ziemiach polskich*, Lwów 1930 (tiré à part de *Pamiętnik V Zjazdu historyków polskich*), p. 7-11; idem, *Zderzenie kultury rolniczej z pasterską*, « Sprawozdania z Czynności i Posiedzeń PAU » (1939) 5 [imprimé : 1945], p. 191-194.

5 A. Obara-Pawłowska, *Obraz Wołochów w piśmiennictwie Jana Długosza*. « Balcanica Posnanensia. Acta et studia » XXIV (2017), p. 197-220.

6 L'histoire biblique de Caïn-agriculteur et de son frère Abel-berger est le modèle de ce conflit – D. Czaja, *Grzech Kaina. Nowe konteksty interpretacyjne*, « Etnolingwistyka » XXVIII (2016), p. 289.

ment issu de la partie orientale du monde roman se distinguaient de l'environnement par leur origine ethnique, la croyance religieuse (ils appartenaient à l'Église orthodoxe) et ils colonisaient en outre les terrains inhabités, inconnus et sous-estimés par les populations locales à cause de la médiocrité des sols. La méconnaissance de ces terrains périphériques et le manque de contrôle de la part de l'État généraient naturellement de la peur, de l'incompréhension, voire du mépris envers les Valaques, leur mode de vie et le système de valeurs typique pour les sociétés pastorales⁷. Ils n'atteignirent jamais une position élevée dans la structure de la société polonaise, ni ne créèrent d'élites intellectuelles ou politiques. Une polonisation complète fut le prix payé par les familles d'origine valaque, si peu nombreuses, qui réussirent à se joindre à la noblesse moyenne ou riche⁸. Les colons étaient, le plus souvent, de simples paysans (ou représentants d'une noblesse pauvre et sans influence dans la société) qui se laissaient facilement « ruthéniser ». Ils n'étaient point du tout capables de créer une image positive d'eux-mêmes.

1. LES VALAQUES COMME HABITANTS DES PÉRIPHÉRIES ET DES TERRAINS DANGEREUX

Comme je l'ai dit ci-dessus, ces terrains étaient considérés inutiles ou difficiles à aménager par les agriculteurs et constituaient une espace naturelle d'expansion des colons valaques en Pologne. Il s'agit en particulier des zones montagneuses, mais aussi des terrains forestiers, infertiles et humides, situés loin des montagnes. Un tel écoumène valaque n'avait aucune valeur du point de vue des agriculteurs, car il était impossible de profiter de son propre savoir-faire pour se garantir des moyens de subsistance. Cette zone hostile s'élargissait depuis le début du Petit Âge Glaciaire⁹. L'association de ces terres avec les Valaques était tellement forte que Jan Długosz les définissait comme

7 Ces questions ont été analysées en détail par G. Jawor, *Osady prawa wołoskiego i ich mieszkańcy na Rusi Czerwonej w późnym średniowieczu*, Lublin 2004, p. 163-179.

8 Les Rybotycki qui utilisaient le blason *Sas* peuvent servir d'exemple de famille qui s'intégra aux élites de la noblesse de la Terre de Przemyśl. Szczepan, son fondateur issu de Moldavie, était désigné comme « Wołoszyn » – J. Czajkowski, *Dzieje osadnictwa historycznego na Podkarpaciu i jego odzwierciedlenie w grupach etnograficznych*, dans : *Lemkowie w historii i kulturze Karpat*, vol. 1, dir. J. Czajkowski, Rzeszów 1992, p. 73-74; S. Meteuș, *Emigrari românești din Transilvania în secolele XIII–XX*, București 1977, p. 23; L. Wyrostek, *Ród Dragów-Sasów na Węgrzech i Rusi Halickiej*, « Rocznik Polskiego Towarzystwa Heraldycznego » XI (1932), p. 31-33.

9 G. Jawor, *La colonisation valaque sur les versants nord des Carpates pendant le Petit Âge Glaciaire (aux XV^e et XVI^e siècles)*, « Balcanica Posnaniensia. Acta et studia » XXV (2018), p. 251-268; idem, *Ius Valachicum jako narzędzie kolonizacji obszarów peryferyjnych (na przykładzie pogranicza polsko-ruskiego w XIV-XVI wieku)*, dans : *Materiały V Kongresu Mediewistów Polskich*, vol. 3 : *Pogranicza w polskich badaniach mediewistycznych*, dir. A. Janeczka, M. Parczewski, M. Dzik, Rzeszów 2019, p. 177-192; M. Parczewski, *Początki napływu ludności ruskiej na teren Karpat Zachodnich w świetle archeologii*, « Archaeologia Historica » XVIII (1993), p. 94.

leur lieu d'origine¹⁰, bien que, dans d'autres textes, il indique précisément la Valaquie et la Moldavie comme tel. Cependant, il soulignait toujours, ce qui paraît caractéristique, l'inaccessibilité des endroits où ils vivaient, qu'il s'agisse des Valaques moldaves, bulgares ou de ceux installés en Pologne¹¹. Les habitants des villages situés dans les montagnes souffraient souvent à cause de la nature. Des récits exagérés sur ces dangers circulaient parmi les agriculteurs locaux, ce qui renforçait l'impression que les Valaques provenaient d'un autre monde inaccessible. L'auteur des « Mémoires » écrits à Pilzno, localité en Petite-Pologne, dépeignit un hiver particulièrement neigeux et froid qui eut eu lieu en 1490/1491. Le gel et la neige retinrent les Valaques dans les montagnes et les forêts. Les troupeaux de sangliers se rendaient vers les villages en y causant des dégâts, tandis que les chevreuils étaient pris au piège par la neige¹². C'était une opinion courante, réitérée par les auteurs de la description des biens royaux des années soixante du XVI^e siècle à la lueur de laquelle les colons valaques étaient menacés par les mêmes dangers. Dans le cas de Solinka, dans les Bieszczady, il s'agissait de forêts de difficile accès et d'animaux sauvages. Le village de Moczarne, près de Solinka était déjà désert en 1629¹³. Cette situation s'expliquait par une maladie épidémique de 1622. Les Hongrois et les brigands allaient faire disparaître les survivants de cette maladie¹⁴.

On interprétait l'anarchie et le manque de contrôle de la part de l'État de ces terrains comme une conséquence de l'éloignement des centres de pouvoir. C'était de cette manière que l'on expliquait dans la description des biens royaux de la Terre de Sanok de 1523 l'impuissance de l'État envers les habitants de la Haute-Hongrie qui s'emparaient des pâturages dans les montagnes¹⁵. Le mode de vie des Valaques, que l'on peut définir comme semi-no-

10 « Dragowye alias Sasowye. Genus Valachicum, ex montibus et silvis provinciarum Russiae, qui Połoniny nuncupantur, ducens originem (J. Długosz, *Vita B. Kunegundis*, dans : *Opera omnia Joannis Długosii*, I, éd. J. Polkowski et Z. Pauli, Kraków 1887, p. 320); « agmine facto ex Alpibus, quae Hungariam a Poloniae Regno disterminant, in quibus suas exercent pasturas tenentque cubilia » (J. Długosz, *Insignia seu clenodia Regni Poloniae*, dans : *Opera omnia Joannis Długosii...*, I, p. 573).

11 A. Obara-Pawłowska, *Obraz Wołochów...*, p. 204.

12 « In montibus autem et silvis alcior. Quo continuo casu nivis vero Valachi cum pecoribus obvallati periere in montibus aprique silvatici in gregem cumulati e silvis in villas et nivis mersione et inediis affluebant, necabanturque intra sepum vincula, dorcarumque multitudo nivibus pressa fui » (*Spominki pilzneńskie 1486-1506*, éd. A. Bielowski, dans : *Monumenta Poloniae Historica*, III, Kraków 1887, p. 248).

13 « Książ tylko samotrzeć mieszka w miejscu nieprzespiecznym w gęstym lesie, gdzie dla srogich zwierząt bojaźni i mieśca trudnego ku rozkopaniu ról wieś trudno ma być » (*Lustracja województwo ruskiego, podolskiego i bełskiego 1564-1565* (plus loin cit. : LWR), partie 2, éd. K. Chłapowski et H. Żytkowicz, Warszawa 2001, p. 155).

14 A. Fastnacht, *Osadnictwo ziemi sanockiej w latach 1340-1650*, Wrocław 1962, p. 187-188.

15 « Sed multi nobiles et Ungari montos Regios occuparunt, quibus difficile est resistere ob magnam distantia » – Archiwum Główne Akt Dawnych w Warszawie (plus loin cit. : AGAD), Archiwum Skarbu Koronnego (plus loin cit. : ASK), section I, cote 21, f. 35.

made, faisait évoquer aussi des opinions ambiguës parmi les habitants de la région. La transhumance pratiquée par les Valaques, qui consistait en déplacement saisonnier des troupeaux vers des forêts et prairies éloignées, situées parfois en dehors de la zone montagneuse, les faisait entrer souvent dans les écoumènes des agriculteurs locaux¹⁶. Dans leurs villages il apparaissait donc des Autres (*homini extranei, homini alieni*)¹⁷ qui faisaient peur. Ceux-ci se distinguaient par leurs vêtements de cuir, ils étaient munis d'arcs, de frondes et de lances¹⁸. Ils représentaient une ethnie, un mode de vie et un système de valeurs différents. Personne ne visitait les villages d'où ils venaient, on connaissait à peine leurs campements (*koszary*) provisoires installés dans les forêts pour quelques jours à peine, afin de protéger les troupeaux dans la nuit. Cela expliquait probablement les opinions négatives sur les Autres, vagabonds qui habitaient les forêts, qui y vivaient dans la misère¹⁹. Il fau-

16 La question de la spécificité du pastoralisme valaque : G. Jawor, *Seasonal pastoral exploitation of forests in the area of Subcarpathia in the 15th and 16th century*, « *Balkanica Posnanensia. Acta et Studia* » XXIII (2016), p. 175-186; *idem*, *Vigesima agnorum et decima porcorum. Redevances pastorales dans les villages valaques en Pologne aux XV^e et XVI^e siècles*, « *Banatica* » XXVIII (2018), p. 465-479. Cf. aussi : *Lustracja województwa sandomierskiego 1564–1565*, éd. W. Ochmański, Wrocław 1963 (plus loin cit. : LWS), p. 114. Dans la description du village de Borek, près de Pilzno, les bergers furent désignés deux fois comme provenant des montagnes : « *Przychodzą z gór Wołochowie z stady owiec i najmują paszą w lesiech* » et : « *kiedy owce przyganiano z gór na paszę do lasów* ».

17 Les Autres sont souvent mentionnés dans les sources provenant de Ruthénie Rouge, par exemple, en 1447, à l'occasion de l'engagement de Kozary et de Poświrz, situés dans les environs, on fit référence au pacage des bovins et des porcins dans les forêts voisines effectué par les gens locaux ainsi que par les personnes provenant d'autres villages et régions : « *extranei kmethones seu homines de campis et de aliis villis* » (*Akta grodzkie i ziemskie z czasów Rzeczypospolitej Polskiej z archiwum tak zwanego bernardyńskiego we Lwowie...*, Lwów 1869-1935 (plus loin cit. : AGZ), XIV, n° 1863); en 1482, on se réfère aux redevances pastorales calculées en fonction des porcs et des boeufs que l'on faisait paître à Muszyna « *et cum medietate decimum hominum extraneorum, qui in villa eius Muszyna cum porcis et scrophis et ipsorum stacionibus alias stanye recipere debent* » (AGZ XIX, n° 934). Dans les forêts du district de Trembowla, selon la description des biens royaux de 1564, il y eut : « *najmowanie paszej dla owiec, tak od swych jako i postronnych ludzi* » (LWR 2, p. 36). Il venait des bergers de la Terre de Bełz et d'autres au district de Zamcht (le palatinat de Bełz) éloigné des montagnes. En hiver, ils abattaient des sapins et coupaient du gui pour en donner à manger aux animaux. En été, ils leur donnaient de l'herbe. On faisait paître aussi des porcs dans ces forêts, en échange, on acquittait la redevance appelée « *dwudzieszczyzna* » (« un porc sur vingt »), ou bien, on acquittait une prestation en avoine – M. Gruševs'kij, *Opisi koroljovščin v rus'kih zemlâh XVI vjky, II : Lûstracii zemel' peremis'koï j sânoc'koï*, dans : *Žerela do istorii Ukraïni – Rusi*, Lvov 1897, p. 221.

18 J. Putek, *Miłościwe pany i krnąbrne chłopy włościany. Szkice i sylwetki z dziejów poddaństwa, pańszczyzny, grabieży wojskowych, procesów sądowych i innych form ucisku społecznego na dawnym pogramiczu śląsko-polskim*, Warszawa 1969, p. 119.

19 « *Qui totam vitam suam in silvis aggrestem duxit* » (*Dziennik spraw domu zakonnego O. O. Jezuitów u świętej Barbary w Krakowie*, vol. 2 : *od 1600 do 1608 r.*, dans : *Scriptores Rerum Polonicarum*, X, Kraków 1886, p. 77). Jan Długosz pensait certainement, lui aussi, à ce campement : « *agmine facto ex Alpibus [...] in quibus suas exercent pasturas, tenentque cubilia* » (*Vita B. Kunegundis...*, p. 320).

drait noter que ceux qui vivaient dans le voisinage des villages valaques ou ceux qui les visitaient, avaient une opinion contraire. Les constructions en bois, les moulins, les foulons, les ateliers de blanchiment des tissus et les dépôts des céréales produisaient une vive impression chez les visiteurs. À partir de la moitié du XIX^e siècle, les historiens ont eux aussi commencé à reconnaître la contribution des Valaques dans le développement civilisationnel des terres ruthènes, en particulier dans les domaines de l'artisanat liés au traitement du bois, des matières premières d'origine animale, mais aussi dans la métallurgie et la fusion du verre²⁰.

Cependant, il est évident qu'à l'époque en question, il existait un champ naturel de conflits de natures diverses entre la population locale et les Valaques. Ces conflits étaient ravivés par des malentendus réciproques et l'ignorance. Il en résultait un renforcement des stéréotypes négatifs des deux côtés. Les grands propriétaires terriens qui, sous la forme de redevances spéciales, tiraient des profits du pacage saisonnier fait par les Valaques, avaient, eux-mêmes, bien conscience d'irrégularités. On n'était jamais certain qu'ils apparaîtraient au cours d'une année donnée²¹. De temps en temps, les bergers étaient expulsés parce qu'ils dévastaient des forêts et tuaient du gibier²². Ce fut d'ailleurs l'augmentation de la valeur du bois au XVI^e siècle qui élimina les activités pastorales des Valaques sur de vastes terrains²³.

20 J.T.L. (Lubomirski), *Północno-wschodnie wołoskie osady*, « Biblioteka Warszawska » IV (1855), p. 14-16.

21 Dans le partage des propriétés effectué en 1473 entre les frères de Skrzydlna (le Beskid de Myślenice), on prévint la perception des prestations de la part des Valaques, s'ils venaient dans les forêts qui appartenaient aux frères « Si vero Valachi in silva peccora impellerent, extunc prefati fratres equaliter de eisdem utilitatem habebunt » (*Wyciągi z najstarszych ksiąg sądowych ziemi krakowskiej*, dans : *Starodawne prawa polskiego pomniki* (plus loin cit. : SPPP), II, éd. A. Z. Helcel, Kraków 1870, n° 4101). On peut croire qu'au siècle suivant, il n'y avait pas de modifications importantes en ce qui concerne cette question, puisque les auteurs des descriptions des biens royaux de 1564-1565 en se référant aux recettes du village royal Bratkowice dans le *districtus* de Pilzno constatèrent : « zajmują Wołochowie paszę w tych lesach, bywa ich czasem mniej, czasem więcej » (LWS, p. 79).

22 AGAD, ASK, LVI, S. 6 II, f. 22. Dans l'inventaire de 1533 relatif au *capitaneatus* dont le centre – Szydłów – était situé à 40 km SE de Kielce, tout près des Monts Sainte-Croix, on décrit les devoirs des habitants du village de Czyżewo qui n'existe plus aujourd'hui. À côté de ce village il y avait de vastes forêts où les Valaques faisaient paître leurs moutons, ce qui apportait au moins 8 florins de revenus au *capitaneatus*. Cependant, Mikołaj Szydłowiecki, *castellanus* de Cracovie (mort en 1532) les en fit expulser parce qu'ils nuisaient au gibier.

23 L'expulsion des bergers des environs de Pilzno en fut certainement une conséquence. K. Dobrowolski a trouvé une information provenant de 1615 relative au village de Borek Wielki où, entre 1564 et 1565, des bergers étrangers étaient présents. Ces bergers cessèrent d'exploiter les forêts des alentours vers 1603, vu que « kiedy owce przyganiano z gór na paszę do lasów, płacono od 100 owiec po groszy 5. Już 12 lat nie gnano ich do lasów » (idem, *Studia nad kulturą pasterską w Karpatach północnych. Typologia wędrówek pasterskich od XIV-XX wieku*, « Wierchy » XXIX (1960), p. 32-33).

D'après les sources analysées, on peut se douter que les zones montagneuses et leurs populations étaient traitées comme des éléments d'un univers extérieur, inconnu, qui ne faisait que susciter des préoccupations. Cela s'exprimait par les tentatives de l'État pour le systématiser et l'« apprivoiser » afin de renforcer le contrôle de la zone frontalière polono-hongroise et polono-moldave, très importante du point de vue stratégique. L'intérêt économique des détenteurs de vastes terrains montagneux y résidait aussi, puisqu'ils prétendaient augmenter la possibilité d'en tirer des bénéfices. Pour réaliser cet objectif, aux XV^e et XVI^e siècles, on ne pouvait qu'encourager à coloniser ces terres afin de les couvrir d'un réseau de villages permanents. Le village de Niebywałów fondé sur le *ius Valachicum* vers 1555 peut servir d'exemple. En 1570, le *vicecapitaneus* local expliquait aux fonctionnaires responsables de décrire les biens royaux que le village avait été fondé dans une grande forêt pour « arrêter le banditisme et les vols qui venaient de la frontière hongroise »²⁴. Les activités pastorales étaient tolérées comme une nécessité passagère qui surgissait dans les terrains où l'instabilité rendait impossible un développement permanent des villages²⁵. Au XVI^e siècle en particulier, la conjoncture favorable sur le marché des céréales faisait que l'existence des villages des bergers situés sur les sols de bonne qualité était de moins en moins tolérée : « On en tirerait plus de profits, si l'on mesurait leurs terres pour les convertir en redevances à payer en monnaie »²⁶.

Le peuplement accéléré des montagnes de la Ruthénie de la Couronne et de la Petite-Pologne au XVI^e siècle se basait exclusivement sur le *ius Valachicum* et l'élément ethnique d'origine moldave ou venant de Transcarpathie²⁷. Les propriétaires fonciers offraient aux colons une période prolongée d'exonération d'impôts. Les *capitanei* royaux proposaient même une protection juridique aux fugitifs des villages privés²⁸. Il est hors de doute que, en dépit des stéréotypes répandus, la présence des colons valaques était souhaitable.

24 M. Gruševs'kij, *Opisi korolivoščin v rus'kih zemlâh XVI viky*, IV : *Lûstracia 1570 r.*, dans : *Žerela do istoriï Ukraïni – Rusi*, L'vov 1903, p. 171.

25 M. Gruševs'kij, *Opisi korolivoščin*, I : *Lûstracii zemel' galic'koï j peremis'koj*, dans : *Žerela...*, L'vov 1895, p. 72.

26 M. Gruševs'kij, *Opisi korolivoščin*, III : *Lûstracii zemel' holms'koï, belz'koï j l'vivs'koï*, L'vov 1900, p. 324-325.

27 A. Fastnacht, *Osadnictwo...*, p. 267; V.F. Inkin, *Sil'ske suspilstvo Galickogo Prikarpat'tja u XVI–XVIII stolittjach : Istorični narisi*, L'viv 2004, p. 12-20; G. Jawor, *Pierwsze pokolenia mieszkańców wsi bieszczadzkich w XIV-XVI w. (Pochodzenie etniczne i terytorialne.)*, dans : *Narodziny Rzeczypospolitej. Studia z dziejów średniowiecza i czasów wczesnonowożytnych*, vol. 1, dir. W. Bukowski, T. Jurek, Kraków 2013, p. 567-582.

28 « Dum vero aliquis incolarum alicuius villae ex aliis bonis perfugerit, nemini extradi debet, sed cum eo ibidem iusticia ministrari debebitur iure valachico » (M. Gruševs'kij, *Materiali do istoriï suspil'no – političnih i ekonomičnih vidnosin zahidnoï Ukraïni*, dans : M. Gruševs'kij, *Tvori u 50 tomah*, vol. 7, dir. B. Paton, L'viv 2005, n° LXXVI et LXXVII de 1526, CIX de 1557, LXIX de 1511).

Dans ce cas-là, l'intérêt économique prévalait sur les opinions négatives et les préjugés. On va procéder à l'analyse de cette question plus avant.

2. LE STÉRÉOTYPE DU VALAQUE COMME SCHISMATIQUE ET IGNORANT

Les relations avec l'Église orthodoxe étaient une des caractéristiques principales de la colonisation valaque, sous sa forme la plus classique. De plus, les *knyazes* – chefs des villages – exerçaient le pouvoir sur les paroisses orthodoxes²⁹. Les Valaques partageaient la croyance religieuse et la langue de la messe avec les Ruthènes, ce qui constituait un facteur important de l'intégration de ces deux ethnies. Au XVI^e siècle, les Ruthènes ou les Valaques « *ruthenisés* » dominaient déjà dans les villages de *ius Valachicum*. C'était pour cela que l'Église catholique ne faisait pas distinction en évaluant ces deux groupes, en traitant les Valaques et les Ruthènes de la même manière. Du point de vue des hiérarques catholiques, l'expansion des ethnies mentionnées ci-dessus était une menace qui consistait à étendre l'influence de l'Église orthodoxe vers l'espace réservé jusqu'alors aux catholiques. L'autre menace était celle de la conversion de la population locale. Il semble que l'on n'entreprit aucune stratégie cohérente face à ce défi. On tentait, sans doute, de renforcer les structures ecclésiastiques. C'était Jan Długosz qui faisait référence à cette menace. En 1448, le cardinal Zbigniew Oleśnicki, évêque de Cracovie, éleva l'église Sainte-Marguerite de Nowy Sącz au rang de collégiale. Le chroniqueur évoqua deux motifs de cette décision : la proximité de la frontière avec la Hongrie (où vivent des gens sauvages et de mœurs rudes) et la volonté de faire revenir les schismatiques et les Valaques au sein de la « véritable foi »³⁰. La fondation de nouvelles paroisses contribuait aussi à atteindre cet objectif³¹. En ce qui concerne les mariages mixtes contractés dans les ter-

29 I. Szaraniewicz, *Rzut oka na beneficja Kościoła ruskiego za czasów Rzeczypospolitej Polskiej*, Lwów 1875, p. 4-6; V.F. Inkin, *K voprosu o proishozhdenii i evolucii vološkogo instituta « knâzâ » (kneza) v galickoj derevne v XV–XVIII vv.*, dans : *Slavâno – vološkie svâzi*, dir. N.A. Mohov, Kišinev 1978, p. 134; idem, *Kres'ânskiy obšinnij stroj v galickom Prikarpat'e. Avtoreferat dissertacii*, L'viv 1978, p. 12; G. Jawor, *Particularités de « ius Valachicum » dans la Pologne du XV^e et XVI^e siècles. Question de l'autorité exercée sur les paroisses orthodoxes par les knyazes*, dans : *Studia mediaevalia Europaea et Orientalia. Miscellanea in honorem professoris emeriti Victor Spinei oblata*, dir. G. Bilavski, D. Aparaschivei, București 2018, p. 529-543.

30 « ut populos orae illius rudes, agrestes et sylvestres, et Valachis, schismaticisque intermixtos, ad cultiorem ritum orthodoxum pertrahere » – J. Długosz, *Liber beneficiorum dioecesis Cracoviensis*, éd. L. Łętowski, dans : *Opera omnia Joannis Dlugosii*, Kraków 1863-1864 (plus loin cit. : DLB), I, p. 544.

31 Au début du XVI^e siècle, dans les terrains dominés par les orthodoxes, l'Église catholique avait un nombre de membres suffisant pour que Mikołaj Bal, propriétaire du village de Hoczew (la Terre de Sanok) y fonde une église paroissiale. On mentionna comme ses apanages, entre autres : un *laneus*, deux jardins, quatre moutons, quatre porcs (comme dîmes

rains de contact entre les deux confessions, on exigea toujours le baptême catholique de la personne de rite orthodoxe. Dans le cas de Jan de Rajskie, on demanda l'annulation de son mariage avec une Valaque appelée Uliana, sinon, il courait le risque d'être brûlé vif³². Le problème des raisons pour lesquelles aucune église orthodoxe valaque ne fut édiflée au-delà de la ligne méridionale qui liait la Ruthénie de Szlachtowa (*Ruś Szlachtowska*) et le massif de Gorce dans les Carpates Occidentales devrait être soumis aux analyses dans le futur. À l'ouest de cette ligne, on observe une colonisation pastorale tardive, les villages désignés comme valaques fonctionnant, à vrai dire, selon un ensemble de lois avec une prédominance d'éléments du *ius Theutonicum*. Les habitants de ces villages étaient rarement valaques ou ruthènes.

La détermination de l'Église catholique mérite d'être examinée de plus près et peut constituer une nouvelle orientation des recherches relatives à cette question. Cette éventualité fut suggérée dans le document de 1516 signé par Mikołaj Jordan, *castellanus* de Wiślica. Ses plans de la colonisation de la forêt d'Obidowa, au-delà de Myślenice, inquiétèrent le chapitre de Cracovie, vu que le *castellanus* comparut en personne devant les chanoines pour expliquer que l'objectif qu'il voulait atteindre était celui d'y faire établir des catholiques et non pas des Valaques débauchés, issus des forêts, accusés de pillages et de vols³³. Mikołaj demanda aux chanoines de fonder là une paroisse, et ensuite, de lui attribuer une partie des dîmes acquittées par les habitants-catholiques. Il n'est pas possible de dire si cette intervention du chapitre de la cathédrale ne concerna que ce cas isolé³⁴ ou bien si elle avait un caractère prolongé en devenant de cette manière un obstacle à l'expansion des Valaques

perçues des villages valaques), ainsi qu' « un *kłoda* – l'ancienne unité de volume dont la valeur changeait en fonction de la ville et de la région – de seigle et un d'avoine par *laneus* de la part de chaque catholique et converti en catholicisme des erreurs ruthènes ou valaques » (A. Fastnacht, *Słownik historyczno-geograficzny ziemi sanockiej w średniowieczu*, partie 1, Brzozów 1991, p. 153-154).

32 « Johannes de Ralszke catholice fidei coram iudicio constitutus [...] se obligavit, quod si cohabitaret mulieri non baptizate Olochiali Tatiana dicte, cum qua cohabitavit multis temporibus, ex tunc si in posterum habitaret cum ea, [...] se igni cremationis obligavit et exposui » (AGZ XI, n° 168).

33 « ut furta et latrocinia, que ibi ut plurimum a Valachis fieri consueverunt, repellantur intendit fundare et erigere villas in nova radice sive extirpacione silvis memorate cupitque Christianos homines ibidem locari ne per Valachos, qui ibi in silvis morantur solite insolencie huiusmodi furtorum preदारum exercentur » (Archives du chapitre du diocèse de Cracovie, *Acta actorum capituli*, II (1462-1523), f. 305v).

34 En réalité, le village d'Obidowa fut fondé au XVI^e siècle. De manière caractéristique, Obidowa fonctionnait selon des éléments du *ius Valachicum*, étant donné que celui-ci fut mentionné dans la sentence du tribunal royal de 1630 dont le but était de trancher les litiges entre la population du *capitaneatus* de Nowy Targ et le *capitaneus* Mikołaj Komorowski. La sentence définit précisément la valeur des redevances des bergers acquittées par tous les habitants des villages de ce *capitaneatus*, y compris ceux d'Obidowa. Des prestations en moutons, fromages et tissus figuraient parmi leurs devoirs – SPPP XII, n° 7441.

(ainsi que celle de la confession orthodoxe) vers l'ouest. De toute façon, il est évident que dans la seconde moitié du XVI^e siècle, les évêques de Cracovie montraient de l'indifférence envers la substitution de la population catholique par les orthodoxes dans les biens de Muszyna qui étaient leur propriété et ils autorisaient même la construction des églises orthodoxes puis, plus tard, des grecques-catholiques³⁵. Les évêques de Przemyśl, propriétaires des biens situés autour de Jaśliska (le sud-ouest de la Terre de Sanok)³⁶, recouraient à des pratiques comparables, mais à une échelle plus modeste. Dans les deux cas, l'aspect religieux fut dominé par le désir d'augmenter les revenus.

Les agriculteurs catholiques des villages du piémont se laissèrent distancer dans la compétition économique par les nouveaux venus. Ils abandonnaient leurs terres aux Valaques ou ils les leur vendaient. Dans le meilleur des cas, ils acceptaient que les bergers s'installent dans une partie du village³⁷. Il se créait ainsi un champ de conflits et de préjugés réciproques, lesquels étaient renforcés par les différences religieuses. Le village de Rozdziele, fondé au lieu où avait existé Lipinki (dans le *districtus* de Biecz), localité plus ancienne, habitée par les Polonais, peut en être un exemple. Le village fonctionnait selon le *ius Theutonicum* et était le siège d'une paroisse catholique³⁸. Au début du XVI^e siècle, une partie de ce village fut abandonnée par les agriculteurs : « dans cette partie du village il y avait des foyers d'où les paysans polonais fuirent, s'ils n'étaient pas morts antérieurement ». Pour cette raison, en 1530, le roi autorisa la vente d'un *laneus* abandonné et celle du droit de défricher deux jardins à Piotr Biela, un paysan riche de Mszana, localité valaque. Le prix était de 20 florins. Il vint alors des colons : des Valaques et des Ruthènes. Il était curieux que de nouvelles personnes y soient apparues et y aient reçu le droit de construire une église orthodoxe et celui de ne pas être soumises à l'autorité du curé catholique³⁹. Ces nouveaux venus se séparèrent peu à peu et créèrent un village à part. Cela se produisit certainement dans un climat de conflit avec les autres habitants du village de Lipinki qui appartenaient à l'ethnie polonaise : « Les Valaques étaient différents des anciens habitants du village du point de vue de la religion et des moeurs »⁴⁰. Les

35 W. Bębynek, *Starostwo Muszyńskie. Własność biskupstwa krakowskiego*, « Przewodnik Naukowy i Literacki » XXXXII (1914) 1, p. 116, 621.

36 A. Prochaska, *Jaśliska, miasteczko i klucz biskupów przemyskich*, « Przewodnik Naukowy i Literacki » XVII (1889), p. 62.

37 G. Jawor, *La colonisation valaque...*, p. 251-268.

38 *Słownik historyczno-geograficzny województwa krakowskiego w średniowieczu* (plus loin cit. : SHGWK), partie 3, dir. F. Sikora, Kraków 1994-2003, p. 628-633.

39 « *hominibus quibuscumque tam Valachis quam Ruthenis* » (AGAD, *Metryka Koronna*, cote 44, ff. 497-499).

40 *Lustracja województwa krakowskiego 1564*, vol. I, éd. J. Małecki, Warszawa 1962, p. 143; J. Czajkowski, *Studia nad Łemkowszczyzną*, Sanok 1999, p. 54.

Polonais qui vivaient à Królowa dans le *districtus* de Sącz choisirent une autre solution. Ce village avait déjà existé en 1504. Avant 1544, les activités agricoles qui y prédominaient entrèrent en crise. Les paysans polonais vendirent leurs exploitations aux Valaques et déménagèrent quelques kilomètres plus loin, en s'installant sur les rives du même cours d'eau. Ce nouveau village prit le nom de Królowa Polska. Il est difficile de déterminer si cette décision fut motivée par des raisons économiques (de meilleurs sols dans les environs du nouveau village) ou bien si elle le fut par la volonté de se séparer des bergers⁴¹.

À partir du plus ancien texte concernant les Valaques écrit par Jan Długosz, les montagnards étaient décrits comme des personnes grossières et ignorantes. Ces opinions se référaient non seulement aux Valaques, mais à d'autres ethnies de bergers aussi. C'est ainsi que les stéréotypes négatifs perdaient leur caractère ethnique en acquérant un contenu plus général, relatif à tous les habitants des montagnes. Jan Wielewicki, responsable de la mission jésuite dans la zone de Żywiec, dirigeait ses critiques concernant la condition morale vers tous les habitants des montagnes en mentionnant ceux qui habitaient les villages de *ius Valachicum* : Valaques, Hongrois, Slovaques, Silésiens, Ruthènes (*Roxolanis*) et Polonais. Rappelons que dans cette zone, l'Église orthodoxe n'existait pas et l'Église catholique devait faire face à des défis jetés par la Réforme. Ces gens ne connaissaient même pas les principes de base de la foi⁴². Le jésuite rencontra des montagnards qui n'avaient jamais été à l'église, ne sanctifiaient pas le dimanche et ne se confessaient pas⁴³. Saint Jean de Dukla qui passa sa jeunesse dans un ermitage près du mont Zaśpít à Trzciana faisait l'objet de moqueries de la part des bergers valaques. Selon une tradition qui remonte au moins au XVII^e siècle, dérangé par les bergers qui lui faisaient souvent des ennuis et qui ne comprenaient point ses motifs et mode de vie⁴⁴, il fut contraint d'abandonner son lieu d'isolement. Même si les Valaques prêtaient leur aide aux prêtres catholiques, ils le faisaient pour des motifs matériels. Les franciscains de Sambor qui fuyaient devant l'invasion moldavo-tartare laissèrent leurs vêtements à « des Valaques ou des Ruthènes » qui les aidèrent à atteindre Sanok en suivant des sentiers à travers les montagnes⁴⁵.

41 SHWGG 3, p. 159-160; J. Czajkowski, *Studia...*, p. 49-50.

42 « Ex quibus maxime ii, qui in montibus et silvis ob pascua pecudum perpetue vivebant, multi erant adeo rudes, ut vix se Christianos agnoscerent » (*Dziennik spraw...*, p. 84).

43 Ibidem : « Inventi ibi, qui tota vita in templo non erant, orationem Dominicam, symbolum Apostolorum et crucis sanctae efformandae modum penitus ignorabant. Confessionem peccatorum nunquam faciebant ».

44 Cz. Bogdalski, *Błogosławiony Jan z Dukli. Wspomnienia z jego życia i czci pośmiertnej*, Kraków 1903, p. 19.

45 « Viam tandem versus Sobyen ac Sanok sciscitantes, dabamus tunicellas, ut nos Rutheni vel Valachi submontani conducere ferent per octo miliaria per silvas montosas, qui nolebant nisi pro pecunia » (*Memoriale ordinis fratrorum minorum a Fr. Joanne de Komorowo compilatum*, éd. K. Liske, A. Lorkiewicz, dans : *Monumenta Poloniae Historica*, V, Lwów 1888, p. 273).

3. À PROPOS DES MŒURS INFÂMES DES VALAQUES

La critique des mœurs des bergers n'était pas un motif fréquent seulement dans les textes écrits par les intellectuels. Vu qu'elle se reflétait dans ceux des poètes ambulants, elle devait être répandue parmi le peuple. Dans la satire « *Quo miser exul debeo* » du XV^e siècle, connue des spécialistes, on constate que « personne ne cherche de vertu dans la conduite des Valaques »⁴⁶. Jan Długosz désignait les habitants des zones montagneuses comme des personnes rudes, grossières, sauvages⁴⁷ et accoutumées à commettre des actes de violence⁴⁸. Les nobles d'origine valaque qui utilisaient le blason *Sas* n'étaient pas non plus épargnés par l'accusation de suivre ce mode de vie si barbare⁴⁹. Même dans la production littéraire de Mikołaj Rej de Nagłowice⁵⁰, poète connu, on rencontre une référence aux « mœurs indignes » des Valaques. Selon les auteurs de la description des biens royaux mentionnée maintes fois (datée de 1564-1565), les habitants d'un des villages de Bieszczady étaient des *furatori* ou voleurs⁵¹. Il est certain que les habitants des zones frontalières polono-hongroises et polono-moldaves étaient vus dans le cadre des vols et actes de banditisme fréquents que l'État n'était pas en mesure d'éliminer⁵². Il est à noter que les caractéristiques comme

46 « Valachorum usibus absit gloriari » – A. Obara-Pawłowska, *Obraz Wołochów...*, p. 213; *Średniowieczna poezja...*, p. 193; H. Manikowska, *Więź narodowa i państwowa*, dans : *Kultura Polski średniowiecznej XIV-XV w.*, dir. B. Geremek, Warszawa 1997, p. 891.

47 « orae illius rudes, agrestes et sylvestres » (DLB 1, p. 544).

48 « raptò vivere assueta » (J. Długosz : *Vita B. Kunegundis...*, p. 320).

49 « genus suos agrestes mores gerens pro maiori parte immutos » (idem, *Insignia seu clenodia Regni Poloniae*, dans : *Opera omnia*, I, p. 573). Cette opinion est présente dans une version de l'œuvre de J. Długosz – Kodeks Łętowski élaboré vers 1570.

50 « Naród tak nikczemny, chociaĳ Włoszy byli,
Ale bardzo już potem z nich sie wyrodzili
We wszystkich obyczajach...

Bo tam nic do rozumu, nic do poćiwoći »

(Mikołaj Rej z Nagłowic, *Pisma wierszem znajdujące sie w dziele jego...*, Kraków 1848, p. 168 et J.S. Bystroń, *Dzieje obyczajów w dawnej Polsce. Wiek XVI-XVIII*, Warszawa [1933], p. 122-124).

51 « kniaź tylko dwóch ludzi tam osadził, a obu furtatów » (M. Gruševs'kij, *Opisi koroli-všćin...*, II, p. 286. C'est une référence au village de Wołosate).

52 La criminalité dans ces terrains, en particulier le banditisme des montagnards, a suscité de l'intérêt de la part des historiens. Ce courant de recherche est toujours vivant, par exemple : M. Kamler, *Zbójnictwo i rozbój w Beskidach od drugiej połowy XVI wieku do pierwszej połowy XVII wieku*, dans : *Spółczesność staropolskie. Seria nowa, vol. 2 : Spółczesność a przestępczość*, dir. A. Karpiński et al., Warszawa 2009, p. 183-236; F. Kiryk, *Przyczynki do dziejów zbójnictwa-beskidnictwa na pograniczu polsko-słowackim w XV-XVIII wieku*, dans : *Mity i rzeczywistość zbójnictwa na pograniczu polsko-słowackim w historii, literaturze i kulturze. Materiały z Międzynarodowej Konferencji Naukowej Kraków – Bukowina Tatrzańska 18-22 października 2006 r.*, dir. M. Madejowa, A. Mlekođaj, M. Rak, Nowy Targ 2007, p. 26-36; H. Ruciński, *Rozboje w zachodnich Karpatach do początku XVI wieku*, dans : *Mity i rzeczywistość...*, p. 17-25; S.A. Sroka, *Prawdziwa historia karpackiego zbójnika*, Kraków 2004.

la cruauté, la tendance à piller, à trahir et à frauder rattachées à la confession ou religion différente étaient des composantes permanentes des « clichés » imaginaires de l'Autre-ennemi commun dans la société de la Pologne ancienne⁵³.

Le fait que les tribunaux de la Terre de Halicz infligeaient des peines financières dix fois plus élevées aux voleurs valaques que dans le cas des voleurs ruthènes⁵⁴ reflétait la gravité du problème de la délinquance valaque dans la première moitié du XV^e siècle. À l'époque contemporaine aussi, on postule une pénalisation plus sévère des crimes particulièrement brutaux ou pénibles du point de vue de la société. On soulignait la brutalité des bandes valaques qui était une composante de l'histoire racontée par Jan Długosz sur l'assaut contre Stary Sącz effectué par des Valaques des montagnes (probablement, du Beskid Niski, chaîne de montagnes située non loin) en 1406. Les attaquants commirent des pillages, des meurtres, des vols et d'autres actes indignes⁵⁵. Il n'est pas facile de déterminer si les motifs des agresseurs étaient de caractère criminel ou bien si cet assaut reflétait un conflit économique (décrit dans les textes du XVI^e siècle) entre les Valaques et les habitants des villes du piémont⁵⁶. En ce qui concerne cette question, les analogies avec les terres slovaques où l'on observait fréquemment l'activité des criminels désignés à la hongroise comme *Olahi* sont incontestables⁵⁷. Les livres établis par différentes institutions de la Ruthénie de la Couronne révèlent plusieurs cas où les habitants des villages valaques étaient accusés de vols de chevaux le plus souvent, ainsi que de porcs et de moutons. Devant les tribunaux, ils étaient considérés aussi comme responsables de falsifications de pièces de monnaie, d'agressions physiques, de blessures, de viols et de vols à main armée⁵⁸. Il est hors de doute que dans les

53 A. Niewiara, *Polskie stereotypy narodowe w świetle badań diachronicznych*, « *LingVaria* » V (2010) 2, p. 11.

54 À la lueur des recherches effectuées par S. Rundstein, *Ludność wieśniacza ziemi halickiej w XV w.*, « *Studia nad Historią Prawa Polskiego* » II (1903) 2, p. 17, les Valaques passaient, déjà à cette époque-là, pour des voleurs et des brigands quasi professionnels.

55 « et in oppidanos praedas, caedes et spolia, ceteraque nefanda committebat » (J. Długosz : *Vita B. Kunegundis...*, p. 320).

56 Selon les informations provenant du Duché de Cieszyn (Frýdek-Místek, Fryštát, Skoczów, Żywiec) la compétition entre les Valaques et les habitants des villes concernant la fabrication et la vente de produits de cuir, ainsi que de laine et de draps fut la cause de litiges fréquents. J. Maciúrek, *Valaši v západních Karpatech v 15-18. století*, Ostrava 1959, p. 203; K. Kadlec, *Valaši a valašské právo v zemích slovanských a uherských. S wvodem podávajícím přehled teorii o vzniku rumunského národa*, Praha 1916, p. 417; S. Szczotka, *Studia z dziejów prawa wołoskiego w Polsce*, « *Czasopismo Prawno-Historyczne* » II (1949), p. 375-377; Andrzej Komoniewski, *Chronografia albo Dziejopis żywiecki*, éd. S. Grodziski, I. Dwornicka, Żywiec 1987, p. 90.

57 V. Rábik, *The Ruthenian and Wallachian population of eastern Slovakia in the Middle Ages*, « *Historický Časopis* », *Historical Journal of the Institute of History of the SAS*, LV (2007), supplément, p. 33-60.

58 G. Jawor, *Osady prawa wołoskiego...*, p. 168.

terrains qui correspondaient à la zone de la colonisation valaque, la menace de la criminalité ordinaire était particulièrement grave. Néanmoins, il faut préciser que tous les habitants de ces terrains n'étaient pas valaques. En réalité, ils représentaient des ethnies différentes, mais étaient unis par le fait d'habiter les villages fondés sur le *ius Valachicum*, par le mode de vie et, probablement, par le système de valeurs. À la charnière du Moyen Âge et l'époque moderne, considérer tous ces criminels comme Valaques serait donc une simplification exagérée.

La croissance de la criminalité ordinaire dans la zone frontalière polono-hongroise et polono-moldave peut être expliquée par différents facteurs, notamment par les conditions géographiques (un accès difficile). Selon Feliks Kiryk, c'était une zone propice du point de vue des malfaiteurs qui visaient les commerçants et leurs marchandises transportées à travers les cols stratégiques⁵⁹. Ce phénomène particulièrement négatif se renforçait à cause de la faiblesse et de l'éloignement des institutions des deux côtés de la frontière. Ces dernières ne pouvaient contrôler que dans une mesure très limitée les actes criminels commis par les populations locales, mais aussi par des nobles aventuriers, par des mercenaires, voire par des fonctionnaires locaux. Même pendant les périodes de relations correctes sur le plan politique entre la Pologne et la Hongrie, la situation n'était pas meilleure. Comme Stanisław Sroka l'a remarqué à juste titre, cet état de choses ne changeait pas puisque la zone frontalière était soumise à ses propres lois et coutumes, et non pas à celles dont dépendaient les rapports diplomatiques entre les dynasties régnantes⁶⁰. L'action colonisatrice intense qui s'était développée au XVI^e siècle fit que les sociétés montagnardes des nouveaux villages qui s'étaient créés des deux côtés de la frontière étaient instables et sans traditions sédentaires. Elles se composaient de personnes venues de terres lointaines qui représentaient des ethnies, des modes de vie et des systèmes de valeurs différents. Comme je l'ai souligné ci-dessus, en fondant un village, on n'hésitait pas à profiter des fugitifs d'autres propriétés foncières, et même de gens dont les activités criminelles n'étaient un secret pour personne. Dans les villages de montagnes, on tolérait largement les violations du droit et leurs habitants formaient le noyau des groupes de brigands. Ce problème a été analysé en profondeur par Marcin Kamler. Selon lui, les brigands et d'autres éléments des bandes criminelles (plus petites, dont les activités duraient un temps plus court) étaient d'origine montagnarde. Ils exerçaient habituellement des occupations normales, leurs activités clandestines étant généralement acceptées

59 F. Kiryk, *Stosunki handlowe Jasta i miast okolicznych z miastami słowackimi w XV wieku*, dans : *Studia z dziejów Jasta i powiatu jasielskiego*, dir. J. Garbaciak, Kraków 1964, p. 143-162.

60 S.A. Sroka, *Prawdziwa historia...*, p. 19; idem, *Wokół kontaktów dawnych ziem węgierskich z Polską w średniowieczu*, Bydgoszcz 2002, p. 113-122.

par les sociétés locales. Il existait même des villages dont tous les habitants s'adonnaient aux activités criminelles⁶¹. Il est curieux de noter que l'acceptation, voire la glorification du crime, ce qui était caractéristique, contre l'Autre (marchands, agriculteurs du piémont) était bien visible dans beaucoup de villages de montagnes. Comme l'attestent des études spécialisées, les *capitanei* des zones frontalières comme représentants de l'État réalisaient les tâches liées à la manutention de l'ordre public en employant les habitants des villages de *ius Valachicum* qui étaient forcés à fournir des services gratuits. Ils provenaient souvent des villages où habitaient aussi ceux qui violaient le droit de différentes façons. À l'époque actuelle, on dirait qu'il s'agissait d'un conflit d'intérêts permanent⁶².

Les observations faites ci-dessus amènent à quelques conclusions plus générales. Malgré, semble-t-il, une méfiance envers les habitants des villages de *ius Valachicum* et de nombreux stéréotypes négatifs répandus dans la société, leur modèle de colonisation basé sur les activités pastorales remporta un succès considérable en Pologne, ce qui fut confirmé par l'existence de centaines de villages organisés selon le *ius Valachicum* propagé en dehors des montagnes et accepté progressivement comme coutumes de provenance étrangère par les populations locales. Sans doute, les facteurs économiques jouaient un rôle décisif. Dans les terrains où les compétences des agriculteurs étaient inutiles, il n'existait tout simplement aucun modèle alternatif de colonisation. Cette acceptation était camouflée par une façade qui s'appuyait sur l'ignorance et le mépris répandus parmi les habitants des plaines face aux Valaques qui souffraient, comme on croyait, de conditions précaires de vie dans les forêts et montagnes. D'autre part, il était très facile de cacher l'inefficacité des mesures prises par l'État dans le domaine de la sécurité publique en imputant un caractère barbare inné et des prédispositions criminelles aux bergers. Comme l'on y ajoutait, sous l'influence des autorités ecclésiastiques, des divergences religieuses non tolérées par la société catholique, il se créait un stéréotype cohérent qui présentait les Valaques comme des étrangers, des schismatiques et des criminels quasi professionnels dont les mœurs menaçaient l'ordre social existant.

Texte traduit par Mirosław Jawor

61 M. Kamler, *Zbójnictwo i rozbój...*, p. 191, 198-200.

62 G. Jawor, *Udział mieszkańców wsi prawa wołoskiego w systemie egzekwowania prawa na obszarze Karpat polskich w XV i XVI wieku*. Article prêt à l'impression comme partie du livre en hommage au professeur Cezary Kuklo. La publication est prévue pour 2021.

ABSTRACT

Social significance of stereotypes about the inhabitants of Wallachian villages in Poland in the 15th and 16th centuries

The aim of the article is to analyze the negative stereotypes about the Wallachian shepherds preserved in the Polish written sources from the 15th and 16th centuries. Especially interest is devoted to the problem of existing these stereotypes among the broad social strata. The text shows how on the basis of ignorance of the Vlachs living in the mountain forests were perceived as a part of nature which was considered as the opposite of civilization: unlawful, dangerous, in a word barbaric. Strangeness and incomprehension increased faith – the shepherds professed Orthodoxy. Wallachians were to be not only schismatics but also professional criminals who threatened the existing order with their customs. Interestingly, along with the blurring of the ethnic identity of the Wallachians in the lowlands, these stereotypes evolved to include all inhabitants of mountain areas, regardless of nationality.

Keywords: Wallachian immigrants, national stereotypes, inhabitants of the Carpathians

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LAST WILLS OF TOWNSPEOPLE IN LATE-MEDIEVAL ELBLĄG AS COMPARED TO OTHER BALTIC TOWNS (GDAŃSK, LÜBECK, STRALSUND, AND TALLINN)*



Last wills of medieval urban dwellers have attracted researchers' interest for a long time.¹ As a result, new studies based on these sources have been emerging, painting a vision of the life of communities in different towns and bringing to light the different nuances (e.g., regarding religiousness, material culture, and family relations). Certain Polish towns have also been studied in this way.² An interesting example in this context is the town of Elbląg (Germ. *Elbing*) – which from 1466 was part of Royal Prussia, the new territorial unit within the Kingdom of Poland. Yet at the same time, Elbląg remained culturally and economically linked to the Baltic and Hanseatic zone.³ With this in mind,

* The article is based on research presented in the book by R. Kubicki, *Testamenty elbląskie. Studium z dziejów miasta i jego mieszkańców w późnym średniowieczu*, Gdańsk 2020, Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Gdańskiego, ISBN 978-83-8206-011-9.

1 Important observations on the cognitive value of medieval townspeople's last wills have been made in particular by A. von Brandt, *Mittelalterliche Bürgertestamente. Neuerschlossene Quellen zur Geschichte der materiellen und geistigen Kultur*, Heidelberg 1973, pp. 5-32.

2 A review of Polish research on townspeople's last wills gave J. Wyszczelak, *Urban Testaments in Poland: Research Present and Future*, in: *Uses of the Written Word in Medieval Towns: Medieval Urban Literacy II*, ed. M. Mostert, A. Adamska, Utrecht Studies in Medieval Literacy, XXVIII, [Brepols] 2014, pp. 299-312. Of more recent monographic studies: B. Możejko, *Rozrachunek z życiem doczesnym. Gdańskie testamenty mieszczańskie z XV i początku XVI wieku*, Gdańsk 2010; E. Piwowarczyk, *Legaty testamentowe ad pias causas w XV-wiecznym Krakowie. Z badań nad pobożnością miejską*, Kraków 2010; J. Wyszczelak, *Testamenty mieszczan krakowskich (XIV-XV wiek)*, Warszawa 2015.

3 The term 'zone' is understood here as the economic and social union of human activity and organization. The distinguishing and defining factor of its functioning are large towns, see: J.C. Russell, *Medieval Regions and their Cities*, Newton Abbot 1972, p. 15; H. Samsonowicz, *Miejsce Gdańska w gospodarce europejskiej w XV w.*, in: *Historia Gdańska*, vol. II: 1454-1655, ed. E. Cieślak, Gdańsk 1982, pp. 80f. Regarding the Baltic Sea zone, see: M. Małowist, *Wschód a Zachód Europy w XIII-XVI wieku. Konfrontacja struktur społeczno-gospodarczych*, Warszawa 2006, pp. 41-138.

and having analyzed the contents of last wills and testaments of the time, this study aims to show selected aspects of the life of the town's residents in the late Middle Ages, against the background of several other urban centres of the same economic zone.⁴ These cities have been selected on the basis of two criteria: proximity (Gdańsk, Germ. *Danzig*), and legal and political similarity to Elbląg; in essence, the application of Lübeck law in the municipal political system (Lübeck, Stralsund, and Tallinn, Germ. *Reval*).⁵ These towns were also selected because of the number of available sources (original last wills and entries in municipal records) as well as the extent of research done on these sources.

To understand the general living conditions in Elbląg in the 15th century, firstly it should be clarified that its economic situation was worse than in the 14th century. The town was unable to compete with Gdańsk, and changes in maritime shipping, such as the introduction of large sea vessels, aggravated the difficulties in the use of Elbląg's harbour, which had no convenient outlet to high seas, due to the congestion of the Elbląg riverbed and the Vistula Lagoon waterway. All this led to a decline in long-distance trade and crafts related to seaport operations and, in consequence, a waning population of the wealthy and soaring numbers of the poor. The mid-15th century brought a certain change, especially after the Thirteen Years' War. Thanks to a royal privilege (1457), the Old Town of Elbląg was granted a considerable extension of its land property, and in 1478, the previously separate New Town of Elbląg was incorporated into the city. However, this did not significantly change the economic situation of the entire centre. In the second half of the 15th

4 The basis for this analyses is the collection of last wills written in Elbląg, comprising a total of 142 original testamentary documents (together with copies, altogether 149 documents). The vast majority contains certificates made by the townspeople of the Old Town of Elbląg, and a few by residents of the New Town of Elbląg. These documents were written during the reign of the Teutonic Knights (until 1454), during the Thirteen Years' War (1454–1466), and later, when the city was part of Royal Prussia within the Kingdom of Poland. 35 of the documents come from the Teutonic Knights' period, 27 were drafted during the war, and a total of 87 were written later. A total of 127 documents come from the entire 15th century. Their contents to some extent capture the turbulent changes that the town underwent in those times.

5 On urban life in light of the last wills from these cities, see: B. Możejko, *Rozrachunek z życiem...*; B. Noodt, *Religion und Familie in der Hansestadt Lübeck anhand der Bürgertestamente des 14. Jahrhunderts*, Veröffentlichungen zur Geschichte der Hansestadt Lübeck, Reihe B, XXXIII, Lübeck 2000; J. Schildhauer, *Hanseatischer Alltag. Untersuchungen auf der Grundlage Stralsunder Bürgertestamente vom Anfang des 14. bis zum Ausgang des 16. Jahrhunderts*, Weimar 1992, passim; R. Lusiardi, *Stiftung und städtische Gesellschaft. Religiöse und soziale Aspekte des Stiftungsverhaltens im spätmittelalterlichen Stralsund*, Berlin 2000; K-R. Hahn, *Revaler Testamente im 15. und 16. Jahrhundert*, Schriften der Baltischen Historischen Kommission, XIX, Berlin 2015, passim.

century, Elbląg was losing in trade competition not only to the dominant Gdańsk, but also to Königsberg.⁶

1. PRESERVATION STATUS AND THE FORM OF THE SOURCES

As mentioned, the picture of people's life in late-medieval Elbląg which coalesces from analysis of the surviving testaments will be presented here against a comparative background. Therefore, we will refer to the results of analogous research into other Baltic towns in this period: Lübeck, Stralsund, Tallinn, and the Main City of Gdańsk.⁷

Unfortunately, the state of preservation of the documents in these towns varies greatly.⁸ The number of such documents in Elbląg is similar to that in Gdańsk and Tallinn, especially in the second half of the 15th century. The fact that the surviving documents constitute only a small fraction of the total number of last wills drawn up may be evidenced by the corresponding figures for Stralsund and particularly for Lübeck. Consequently, any comparisons of the picture of urban life that emerges from analyzing the contents of the documents relate primarily to the second half of the 15th century.⁹

6 On the socio-economic and political situation of the town under the Teutonic Knights' rule and during the Thirteen Years' War, see: M. Biskup, *Rola Elbląga w Związku Miast Hanzeatycznych*, "Komunikaty Mazursko-Warmińskie" (1988) 3-4 [217-232], p. 229; R. Czaja, *Socjotopografia miasta Elbląga w średniowieczu*, Toruń 1992, pp. 45, 52-55; W. Sieradzan, *Elbląg w antykrzyżackiej opozycji oraz Elbląg w wojnie trzynastoletniej*, in: *Historia Elbląga*, vol. I, ed. S. Gierszewski, A. Groth, Gdańsk 1993, pp. 252-275. For the later period, see: W. Szczuczko, *Polityczno-gospodarcze przesłanki rozwoju miasta*, in: *Historia Elbląga*, vol. II, part 1, ed. A. Groth, Gdańsk 1996, pp. 12-17.

7 On urban life in light of the last wills from these towns, see: B. Możejko, *Rozrachunek z życiem...*; B. Noodt, *Religion und Familie...*; J. Schildhauer, *Hanseatischer Alltag...*, passim; R. Lusiardi, *Stiftung und städtische Gesellschaft...*; K-R. Hahn, *Revaler Testamente...*, passim.

8 R. Kubicki, *Testamenty elbląskie. Studium z dziejów miasta...*, pp. 12f.

9 In the case of Lübeck, we have a detailed study of the 14th century, see: B. Noodt, *Religion und Familie...* As to the first half of the 15th century, the paper by C.S. Jensen (*Remembering the Dead and Caring for Poor. Aspects of the religious life among the people of late medieval Lübeck*, "Zeitschrift des Vereins für Lübeckische Geschichte und Altertumskunde" (ZVLGA) LXXXIV (2004), pp. 35-52), based on a doctoral dissertation on selected last wills from the years 1400-1530 (approximately 1,000 of 4,000 surviving documents). Also available: an article by G. Meyer, *Milieu und Memoria. Schichtspezifisches Stiftungsverhalten in Lübecker Testamenten aus dem zweiten Viertel des 15. Jahrhunderts*, ZVLGA LXXVIII (1998), pp. 115-141 and his comprehensive study of the social structure of the city, see: G. Meyer, "Besitzende Bürger" und "elende Sieche". *Lübeck's Gesellschaft im Spiegel ihrer Testamente 1400-1449*, Veröffentlichungen zur Geschichte der Hansestadt Lübeck, Reihe B, XLVIII, Lübeck 2010. Selected last wills were also studied by R. Ehrhardt, *Familie und Memoria in der Stadt. Eine Fallstudie von Lübeck im Spätmittelalter* in his doctoral thesis defended in 2001 in Göttingen, <https://d-nb.info/97693020x/34> [accessed on 30.04.2020].

Table 1. Number of last wills preserved in Elbląg, Lübeck, Stralsund, Gdańsk, and Tallinn up to the early 16th century or information about their contents

Time span	Number of surviving last wills				
	Elbląg	Lübeck	Stralsund	Gdańsk	Tallinn
by 1350	2	419	470	-	1
1351–1400	3	2301		-	6
1401–1450	23	3642*	355	2	8
1451–1500	105			120	70
1501–1515	17	.	170	21	48
Total	149	6362**	995***	143	133

Source: K-R. Hahn, *Revaler Testamente...*, pp. 566-574 (Tallinn); B. Mozejko, *Rozrachunek z życiem...*, pp. 42-47 (Gdańsk); B. Noodt, *Religion und Familie...*, pp. 33f., 399 (Lübeck); J. Schildhauer, *Hanseatischer Alltag...*, pp. 14, 26; R. Lusiardi, *Stiftung und städtische Gesellschaft...*, p. 31 (Stralsund).

* the number of preserved last wills dated 1400–1449 equals 1,618.

** the number of last wills in Lübeck by the year 1500.

*** the number of last wills by the year 1525.

In the case of towns governed by Lübeck law, last wills and testaments were usually drawn up in the form of self-contained documents. This was required by Lübeck law, which stipulated that wills had to be drawn up in writing, necessarily on parchment, in the presence of a mayor or two councillors.¹⁰ From later practice (i.e., the end of the 15th century) it is known that cheaper paper also began to be used for this purpose. Although the legislation implied that the last will and testament was prepared in the form of an independent document, it was also possible to introduce an abbreviated disposition directly in the municipal register.¹¹ Documents in Elbląg were usually written in Ger-

¹⁰ Lübeck law stipulated that last wills had to be written on parchment. "Wor en man sin testament maket dat schal uppe permynt geschreuen werden an ighenwardigheit der borghemestere edder twiger radmanne", *Das Alte Lübsche Recht*, ed. J.F. Hach, Lübeck 1839, (Codex II), no. CV, p. 299; B. Noodt, *Religion und Familie...*, pp. 51, 137.

¹¹ A reference to the last will of Johannes Grulle, dated 1356, see: CDW, II, ed. C.P. Woelky, J.M. Saage, Mainz 1864, No. 245, p. 244. For other references to last wills, see: *Das Elbinger Stadtbuch*, I, (1330–1360 /1393/), hg. von H.W. Hoppe, "Zeitschrift für die Geschichte und Altertums-kunde Ermlands" (ZGAE), Beiheft 3 (1976), no. 1683; II (1361–1418), ZGAE, Beiheft 5 (1986), no. 533, 570, 718, 719, 934, 1036, 1166, 1686, 1722, 2318; *Nowa księga rachunkowa Starego Miasta Elbląga 1404–1414*, I-II, ed. M. Pelech, Fontes TNT, LXXII-LXXIII, Warszawa 1987-1989, no. 12, 211, 462, 554, 774, 1106, 1174, 1235, 1258, 1260, 1261, 1325, 1355, 1403, 1418, 1425, 1460, 1462, 1509. References to last wills can also be found in the municipal ledger of lease payments, *Liber civitatis III*, Archiwum Państwowe w Gdańsku [State Archives in Gdańsk] (henceforth quoted as APG), Akta miasta Elbląga, 369,1/115, f. 17r; and in the book of tenements, APG 369,1/1377, f. 58r. A mention

man (Middle High German dialect), except for a few written in Latin, ones that usually pertained to the clergy, however. Middle Low German was not used. Interestingly, in the other towns governed by Lübeck law and discussed here (Lübeck, Stralsund, and Tallinn), the Latin language initially dominated, which later (from the end of the 14th century) was replaced by Middle Low German.¹² This language was also used to write down last will dispositions in the books of the Main Town of Gdańsk.¹³ As already mentioned, the law required that the document of the last will was attested by two members of the town council. They were usually recorded as witnesses to the drafting of the document. This was of course also the case in Lübeck, Stralsund, and Tallinn.¹⁴

Regarding inheritance law, the version of the Lübeck legal system that was in force in Elbląg recognized testamentary succession in a limited form.¹⁵ Hence, last wills were usually made in the case of bequests for pious purposes or a desire to make dispositions exceeding the ordinary rules of succession.¹⁶

When drafting the last will in Elbląg, it was common practice to prepare several identical copies. A similar solution was applied in other towns under Lübeck law, including Lübeck, Stralsund, and Tallinn.¹⁷ One copy

of the last will of Johannes Huck, dated 1379, see: C. Kardasz, *Wykaz czynszów Starego Miasta Elbląga z roku 1385*, in: *Piśmiennictwo pragmatyczne - edytorstwo źródeł historycznych - archiwistyka*, ed. R. Czaja, K. Kopiński, Toruń 2015, p. 475. A mention of the last will of Johannes Lumpe, under the year 1418, APG 369, 1/117, p. 9. F. Neumann's extracts from the municipal records also mentioned the wills of Johannes von Thorun, deceased around 1410, of Gotfryd Paye, dated around 1420–1430, who died around 1510, of Bartelman Veseburg and town's councillor Tydemann Reese, APG, Elbląg Manuscripts, 492/802, pp. 192f., 195, 205; B. Schmid, *Urkundliches zur älteren Elbinger Kunstgeschichte*, "Elbinger Jahrbuch" II (1921/1922), pp. 144f. A reference to the last will of Jacob Lumborg (deceased 1513), the rector of the Corpus Christi chapel, M. Toepfen, *Elbinger Antiquitäten. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte des städtischen Lebens im Mittelalter*, vol. I-III, Danzig 1871-1873, p. 154. A few Elbląg last wills were also referred to by J. Tandecki, *Kilka uwag na temat toruńskich testamentów mieszczańskich w średniowieczu i na progu czasów nowożytnych*, in: *Wokół metodyki archiwalnej: księga dedykowana prof. Wiesławie Kwiatkowskiej w sześćdziesiątą piątą rocznicę urodzin*, ed. W. Chorążyczewski, A. Rosa, M. Zmudziński, Toruń 2018, pp. 313, 317.

12 B. Noodt, *Religion und Familie...*, pp. 36-47; J. Schildhauer, *Hanseatischer Alltag...*, pp. 16f.; K-R. Hahn, *Revaler Testamente...*, p. 54.

13 W. Długokęcki, *W sprawie późnośredniowiecznych testamentów Gdańskich*, "Zapiski Historyczne" LXXVI (2011) 3, pp. 122f., 138.

14 B. Noodt, *Religion und Familie...*, pp. 62-69; J. Schildhauer, "Ad pias causas"..., pp. 291-301; J. Schildhauer, *Hanseatischer Alltag...*, pp. 20f.; B. Noodt, *Religion und Familie...*, pp. 212-220.

15 E. Rozenkranz, *Prawo lubeckie w Elblągu od XIII do XVI wieku*, "Rocznik Gdański" LI (1991) 1, p. 28. On the Elbląg code of Lübeck law, see: E. Carstenn, *Die Elbinger Handschriften des Lübbischen Rechts*, "Zeitschrift des Westpreußischen Geschichtsvereins" LXXII (1935), pp. 139-183.

16 General comments on the role of townspeople's last wills, see: H. Samsonowicz, *Badania nad kapitałem mieszczańskim Gdańska w II poł. XV wieku*, Warszawa 1960, p. 92. The prevalence of this practice is confirmed by the example of the city of Stralsund, see: J. Schildhauer, "Ad pias causas"..., pp. 291-301; J. Schildhauer, *Hanseatischer Alltag...*, pp. 100-109.

17 B. Noodt, *Religion und Familie...*, p. 57; J. Schildhauer, "Ad pias causas"..., p. 292; J. Schildhauer, *Hanseatischer Alltag...*, pp. 16f.; K-R. Hahn, *Revaler Testamente...*, p. 63.

of the document went to the archives of the town council, which was also the institution confirming the very fact of its making; the remaining copies were received by the testator and the executors of the last will.¹⁸ The copy submitted to the archives of the town council, located in the town hall, was specially folded and secured with the signet seal of the Old Town of Elbląg, and on its reverse, the date of drafting and the name of the testator were always noted. A similar practice was followed in Lübeck.¹⁹ Some of the wills stipulate that the testator was to personally deliver the document to the town hall. Others, however, request that the councillors submit the prepared document to the town hall.²⁰

Of course, this depended on the testator's health condition at the time of drafting the last will dispositions, or rather dictating them to a scribe. It is worth noting that the basis of our research today is that of the very copies given to the town councillors and then deposited in the council's town hall.

The content of surviving documents indicates that at least two executors of the last will (*vormundern, testamentarien*) were appointed.²¹ Their tasks were specified in separate regulations.²² They were chosen and appointed personally by the testator, on the assumption that they would guarantee the proper execution of his or her last will. This appointment had to be preceded by personal agreements, as its acceptance entailed serious obligations. The executor could only be a man. The number of executors was up to the testator. Usually there were two (118 such documents) or three (21 documents), although some of the documents mention even more: in five cases, the testator appointed four executors and in one case, as many as six. The latter is the case of the last will of Jacob Kolle from the village of Kępki, written in 1484. The larger number of executors could have been due to the fact that the document was drawn up because Jacob was going on a pilgrimage to Santiago de Compostela.²³ Executors were chosen among older and more experienced people, but

18 J. Schildhauer, *“Ad pias causas”...*, p. 292. Besides, there are known cases of several versions of the last will written by the same person at different times. This was the case of Mattis Folmer, who made his last will in 1470 and supplemented it with a second document in 1484, which included only provisions for pious purposes.

19 B. Noodt, *Religion und Familie...*, p. 111.

20 Curiously, in the case of the will of Lorenz Pilgeryn, it is noted on the back of the document that it had been delivered to the town hall by two councillors other than those listed as witnesses to the document: “her Jacob Scheynhayn, Niclus Syfert haben das testament geholt”, APG, documents, 368/III,59.

21 In several of the wills, their number reached even five, as was the case of the wills of Niclos Beygir (1383) and Jacob Kolle (1484).

22 E. Rozenkranz, *Prawo lubeckie w Elblągu...*, p. 28.

23 In Lübeck, in the first half of the 15th century, there were on average four, see: G. Meyer, *“Besitzende Bürger” und “elende Sieche”...*, p. 115. In the case of Tallinn, there were usually three, but sometimes more, K-R. Hahn, *Revaler Testamente...*, p. 193.

also younger ones, as they were more likely to live and see to the execution of all the provisions of the will. It should be added that in the event of death of an appointed executor, he was replaced by another man. The execution of the will was sometimes also entrusted to family members, relatives, and relations of the testator.²⁴ Executors of the wills of Elbląg residents mostly came from the city.²⁵ A relative as an executor ensured a sound understanding of the family situation and he was more likely to prevent disputes and attempts to undermine the will of the testator. The choice of executors was probably the result of deliberation on the part of the testator and usually took place in a circle of well-known people, including family and business partners, as well as friends and neighbours. In Elbląg, neighbours were appointed as executors of the will by Hennig Rode,²⁶ Ambrosian Eggebrecht,²⁷ Peter Neumann,²⁸ and Peter Hoppe.²⁹ A factor playing a role in the choice of executors was probably also their similar social position. Executors usually came from the same social class as the testator.³⁰ At the same time, from the testator's point of view, it was also a good idea to have a representative of the town council among the executors, even if the testator themselves did not belong to the ruling elite of the town. This is what a baker, Augustin von Rotenberge, did (1439) when appointing two town councillors, Mattias Marwitz and Johannes Winterburg, as executors of his will.³¹

The surviving wills do not usually state where they were made.³² One of the exceptions is the last will of Bartholomeus Michel from 1484, made out in a template form typical for Elbląg and stating that the document was written in the testator's manor house in Steynbecke (now part of Elbląg – the districts of Bielany Wielkie and Bielany Małe).³³ Also the last will of Urban Wrede, written in 1515, clearly states that the document was drawn up in his house in Elbląg.³⁴ Interestingly, only a small proportion of the documents

24 G. Meyer, *"Besitzende Bürger" und "elende Sieche"...*, p. 137; K-R. Hahn, *Revaler Testamente...*, p. 193.

25 Under Lübeck law, an ownership of property in the city was a prerequisite for a full right of performance before the court, see: R. Czaja, *Socjotopografia...*, p. 41.

26 "Pawel meyn nochber", APG 368/I,67.

27 "Heynrich Newman meynen nockber", APG 368/II,71.

28 APG 368/II,108.

29 APG 368/II,81.

30 An example is the will of a mason, Niclos Mersweyn, who appointed another mason, Hans Wilde, as one of his executors, whom he probably had known from his occupational contacts within the guild organization, APG 368/I,61. In turn, the mayor Peter Storm elected three city councilors as executors of his will, APG 368/III,26.

31 R. Czaja, *Urzednicy miejscy Elbląga do 1524 roku*, Elbląg 2010, p. 112.

32 R. Kubicki, *Testamenty elbląskie. Studium z dziejów miasta...*, p. 30.

33 "Geschrieben ist am hofe zur Steynbecke", APG 368/I,135.

34 "Gescheen unde geben zum Elbinge yn meynen hauße", APG 492/251, p. 396.

(23 of the wills) contain information about the place where they were written, stating generally that they were made in Elbląg (*czum Elbinge*). However, this was most likely due to the form used by the writers preparing these documents, as quite a number of them (13 of the wills) come from the years 1468–1477. No mention of where the will was written in the majority of the surviving documents points indirectly to their private and local character. The documents concerned residents of Elbląg, and the execution of bequests was usually carried out only within the city, so the place where the document had been drawn up was obvious enough to those involved in the case. A similar practice took place in Lübeck.³⁵

The time a will was written was usually closely linked to the testator's personal situation. Several of the documents refer explicitly to the testator's illness, usually in connection with provisions for the people nursing him. In 1446, Hennig Rode thanked his wife for her care during his illness.³⁶ So did Niclos Vurw in 1453,³⁷ whose case is particularly interesting as he was still alive in 1464 when he drafted a new version of the will.³⁸ In 1459, Niclos Amen thanked a maid for taking care of him during illness.³⁹ Peter Scholcze's last will from 1485 mentions that he wrote it during a grave illness.⁴⁰ In 1486, Hans Ferss made a bequest to his cooking maid, in thanks for her care during his illness.⁴¹ Similarly, in 1499 Niclos Broder made a bequest for care given during his illness.⁴² The reason for writing several of the last wills was the testator's intention to go on a pilgrimage (Rome, Santiago de Compostela), which, due to the difficulties and hazards of the journey, prompted them to leave behind their last will.

The wills drawn up in Elbląg, Lübeck, Stralsund, and Tallinn follow a fairly similar pattern.⁴³ Unfortunately, we do not know to what extent this was due to the direct adaptation of the Lübeck solutions by the residents of the other cities, which after all functioned according to the general legal and constitutional model based on Lübeck law. In Gdańsk, on the other hand, the information about bequests contained in individual last wills is usually known only from the abbreviated dispositions entered in the court jury records.⁴⁴

35 B. Noodt, *Religion und Familie...*, p. 106.

36 APG 368/I,67.

37 APG 368/I,120.

38 APG 368/I,127.

39 APG 368/I,124.

40 APG 368/I,137.

41 APG 368/I,136.

42 APG 368/II,87.

43 B. Noodt, *Religion und Familie...*, pp. 62-69; K-R. Hahn, *Revaler Testamente...*, pp. 49-75; J. Schildhauer, *Hanseatischer Alltag...*, pp. 18-21.

44 B. Mozejko, *Rozrachunek z życiem...*, pp. 34f.

The contents of the last wills made in Elbląg were usually divided into two main parts. The first part included bequests for pious purposes (*ad pias causas*), donations to churches, monasteries, hospitals, and the poor. The second part contained provisions for the distribution of the testator's other assets to his or her further relatives and acquaintances, as well as the settlement of his or her liabilities. The latter part also included the settlement of debt obligations, both the testator's own as well as those to be enforced against his or her debtors, which was usually left to the executors of the last will. Some of the surviving wills include only dispositions for pious purposes. There is also the well-known case of Mattis Folmer, who ordered two documents to be drawn up, one dealing with bequests to his family and the other including only bequests for pious purposes.⁴⁵ Such a practice was also found in Stralsund.⁴⁶

2. RESIDENTS IN LIGHT OF THE WILLS: FAMILY RELATIONSHIPS

The contents of the last wills from Elbląg,⁴⁷ Gdańsk, Lübeck, Stralsund, and Tallinn also provide valuable information on family relations and the testators' social circles. In all of these towns, the concern for the protection of the wife's interests is evident, based not only on the obligation to repay her dowry, which was required by law, but also in an effort to make her the main heir.⁴⁸ This was particularly true of childless marriages. Due to the applicable law, but also to the last wills of the testators, one of the permanent elements of the wills of Elbląg residents was the repayment of the wife's dowry.⁴⁹ Dowries are mentioned in 61 of the wills, which constitutes approximately 43% of all known testamentary documents from Elbląg. Taking into account the total amount of cash bequests in individual documents, the share of the wife's dowry accounted for up to 50% of the total bequeathed money. The amount of money to be paid out varied greatly. For example,

45 APG, 368/III, 60; 368/I, 133.

46 J. Schildhauer, "Ad pias causas"..., pp. 291-301.

47 R. Kubicki, *Testamenty elbląskie. Studium z dziejów miasta...*, pp. 73-80.

48 B. Noodt, *Religion und Familie...*, pp. 278-283; J. Schildhauer, *Hanseatischer Alltag...*, pp. 101f.; H-R. Hahn, *Revaler Testamente...*, pp. 489-492.

49 In the case of Cracow, the dowry amount was specified in 25% of the wills known today. An attempt to show the structure of testators' wealth, based also on the amount of repaid dowry, was made by J. Wysmułek, *Testamenty mieszczan krakowskich...*, pp. 169-183. On the repayment of dowries in 14th-century Lübeck, see: B. Noodt, *Religion und Familie...*, pp. 278-283. In the first half of the 15th century, see: G. Meyer, *Milieu und Memoria...*, pp. 126f. The situation in Tallinn was discussed by H-R. Hahn, *Revaler Testamente...*, pp. 489-492. In Stralsund, dowries were mentioned in 158 wills by the year 1525 (16% of the documents), J. Schildhauer, *Hanseatischer Alltag...*, p. 101.

in 1466, Peter Newmann left his wife only 1 Prussian mark with some items of equipment, but she also received a bequest of real estate in the town.⁵⁰ In 1484, Merten Wartenberg bequeathed to his wife Brigide, 2 marks and some household gear, as payment of her dowry.⁵¹

In contrast, the largest sum in cash was bestowed in the last will written in 1457 by Bartholomeus Scipper, who bequeathed to his wife Barbare 550 small marks (a small mark = half a good mark).⁵² By comparison, the amount of dowry paid, as recorded in the wills written in Lübeck in the 14th century, ranged from sums of less than 20 to over 1,100 Lübecker marks;⁵³ while in Stralsund, it ranged between 10 and 1,000 marks, and in one case, was even 4,500 marks.⁵⁴ In Tallinn, on the other hand, dowry sums in the 15th and the first half of the 16th century ranged from 30 to as much as 2,500 Tallinnian marks.⁵⁵ In addition to repayment of the dowry in cash, it was sometimes repaid in another form.⁵⁶ Interestingly, the testator usually also bequeathed his wife's personal belongings (including her clothes and ornaments), as well as household furnishings and furniture.⁵⁷ Usually the wife received not only her dowry, but also a substantial part of the total estate. For example, in his will of 1450, Caspar Koler, besides a symbolic bequest to his brother, bequeathed all his other assets to his wife Anne, specifying them in a separate clause and including land, debts, private belongings, household furnishings, bedding, clothing and silverware.⁵⁸

Some of the wills show not only the testator's explicit concern for the legally mandated repayment of the dowry, but also an effort to secure his wife's economic position after his death.⁵⁹ In order to secure these bequests, testators often included in their wills symbolic legacies directed to their closest heirs, while stipulating that they not undermine other bequests placed

50 APG 368/II,108.

51 APG 492/251, p. 211.

52 APG 492/251, p. 47.

53 B. Noodt, *Religion und Familie...*, pp. 279-284.

54 J. Schildhauer, *Hanseatischer Alltag...*, pp. 101f.

55 H-R. Hahn, *Revaler Testamente...*, p. 490.

56 Such legacies for dowry repayments were made in their wills by: Johannes Boettger in 1411, Lorenz Schramme in 1453, Niclos Vurw in 1453, Peter Newmann in 1466, Peter Kaufmann in 1468, Hans Seburg in 1482, Niclos Swarcze in 1485, Peter Scholcze in 1486, Hans Lange in 1492, Ludwig Tannenber in 1495, Mathewes Hogendorf in 1500, Mertin Kempe in 1501, and Peter Kromer in 1505.

57 The bequests covering the wife's clothes resulted from the fact that under Lübeck law, a woman's clothes, as well as her jewelry, were not her exclusive property, but were part of the estate to be divided with the children, see: K-R. Hahn, *Revaler Testamente...*, p. 503.

58 "Alle ander meyne gutter, steynde stocke, legende grunde, vorwende habe, geretischafft, schulde, ingethume, hawsgere, betegewant, cleider, silberwerck, kremereye", APG 368/I,117.

59 R. Kubicki, *Testamenty elbląskie. Studium z dziejów miasta...*, pp. 89-91.

in the last will. Sometimes legacies made by a husband to his wife were to be used for pious purposes after her death.⁶⁰ This is the way the baker, Augustin von Rotenberge, bequeathed to his wife two shacks (Germ. *bude* – dwelling and farming huts on a plot unsuitable for proper building construction) on the Kumiela river, which were to be passed to the parish church after her death.⁶¹ In addition to bequests of cash, clothing, and household equipment, another way of securing the wife's material welfare was that of rents from real estate (houses, sheds, gardens, granaries) and rights to monetary obligations arising from loans granted by the testator to third parties.⁶²

For example, in 1447 Hensel Noremberg secured his wife's future, among other ways, with a lifetime allowance of 12 small marks, for which he instructed the executors of his will to use the capital of 200 small marks obtained from the sale of his property.⁶³ The same was practiced also by other testators.

Closer information on the social position and family environment of female residents is provided by women's last wills preserved in the original⁶⁴ – namely, the last wills of Margarethe, the wife of Michael Brugkmann (1457);⁶⁵ Elyzabeth, the widow of Gregor Rawtenberg (1488);⁶⁶ Gertrud, the widow of Merten Wobbeczins (1501);⁶⁷ and Cristina, the widow of Peter Hoppe (1503).⁶⁸ All of these documents are last will dispositions of married women, of which three identified themselves in the documents as widows.⁶⁹ These four women's last wills, against the total of almost one hundred and fifty known last will documents from Elbląg, are quite outnumbered (less than 3% of all documents). However, in the other four cities this proportion

60 The same practice in Tallinn is reported by K-R. Hahn, *Revaler Testamente...*, p. 500.

61 "Meyne czwu bwden uffer Hummel stehende zcu erem leben, dy czu gebrewchen und noch gotlichem willen, wen sie vorstorben ist, so sullen dyselben bwden alhir an der pfarkirchen gefallen, Gote czu eynen ewige lobe und unser beider zelen czu hwlfte und czu troste", APG 368/I,48.

62 The latter, however, were difficult to execute. Besides, potentially recoverable debts were often bequeathed for pious purposes, R. Kubicki, *Testamenty elbląskie. Studium z dziejów miasta...*, pp. 38, 108, 153.

63 APG 368/III,58. In general about this will, E. Carstenn, *Geschichte der Hansestadt Elbing*, Elbing 1937, p. 303.

64 For the oldest references to women's last wills in Teutonic Prussia, see: P. Oliński, *Fundacje i legaty religijne kobiet świeckich w wielkich miastach pruskich*, in: *Kobieta i rodzina w średniowieczu i na progu czasów nowożytnych*, ed. Z.H. Nowak, A. Radzimiński, Toruń 1998, pp. 155, 158.

65 APG 492/251, p. 47.

66 APG 368/I,94; P. Oliński, *Fundacje i legaty religijne...*, p. 158. A general reference to this will, E. Carstenn, *Geschichte der Hansestadt Elbing...*, p. 303.

67 APG 368/I,104.

68 APG 368/II,118; P. Oliński, *Fundacje i legaty religijne...*, p. 158.

69 The literature even points to a certain legal privilege of a widow – in any case, the most independent legal position possible in the legal and social reality of the time, see: P. Oliński, *Fundacje i legaty religijne...*, p. 148.

looks quite different. In Gdańsk,⁷⁰ women's wills account for 20%, whereas in Stralsund, where Lübeck law was in force just like in Elbląg, 12% of all known last wills were made by women.⁷¹ A total of 492 women's last wills made between 1278 and 1400 have been preserved in Lübeck, which represents 18% of all last will documents from that time.⁷² In Tallinn, by contrast, out of the total of 337 wills preserved, 69 were written by women (approximately 20.5%). However, if we take into account only the documents drafted by the end of the 15th century, only 2.6% were written by women, which is very similar to the situation observed in Elbląg.⁷³

Also known is the last will of Ursula Emyke, the widow of Werner Reuber, the councillor and mayor of the Old Town of Elbląg⁷⁴ (the first version written in 1440, amended in 1443).⁷⁵ The provisions of this document in its first version included a total of 55 institutions and persons, which was further extended in the second version. The legacies bequeathed in her last will amounted to more than 900 good marks in cash, and also comprised a house and other real estate, household goods (including clothing), jewels, and rents.⁷⁶ Ursula had the largest property of all known women-residents of Elbląg, and even of all the inhabitants of the town in the Middle Ages.⁷⁷

The contents of last will bequests reveal much less about the structure of the family and the number of children. Of course, bequests to children are mentioned in the documents, but it must be remembered that children were often omitted from testamentary dispositions because they received property according to the rules of inheritance, which were regulated by municipal

70 Calculations based on data collected in Table I in the paper by B. Mozejko, *Rozrachunek z życiem...*, pp. 42-47. It should be added that another 18% of the last wills in Gdańsk were made jointly by the spouses.

71 At the same time, the number of women's wills made after 1525 doubled as compared to the earlier period see: J. Schildhauer, "Ad pias causas"..., p. 292; J. Schildhauer, *Hanseatischer Alltag...*, pp. 14, 47.

72 B. Noodt, *Religion und Familie...*, p. 34 (tab. 2).

73 K-R. Hahn, *Revaler Testamente...*, pp. 157f.

74 A. Hoja, *Werner Rüber - rajca i burmistrz Starego Miasta Elbląga oraz jego najbliższa rodzina. Przyczynek do badań nad elbląskimi elitami w XV w.*, "Rocznik Elbląski" XXIV (2012), pp. 15-22. This author devoted a separate subsection to the matter of Ursula Emyke's will in his doctoral dissertation, A. Hoja, *Elbląska rodzina Rüberów od XIV do schyłku XVI wieku*, Gdańsk 2014 (ms.), pp. 141-152. At this point, I express my thanks to the Author for making his unpublished work available.

75 Archiwum Archidiecezji Warmińskiej w Olsztynie, Archiwum Kapituły [Archives of the Archdiocese of Warmia in Olsztyn, Archives of the Chapter] (henceforth quoted as AAWO, AK) I T5 no. 18-19. Document copy, APG 492/802, pp. 27-34, the amended will dated 1443, a copy in APG 492/802, pp. 34-40.

76 A. Hoja, *Elbląska rodzina Rüberów...*, p. 142. The author discussed in detail the provisions of both wills of 1440 and 1443, see: *ibidem*, pp. 142-146, 149, 260-271 (a listing of the legacies in the will of 1440, per recipient, and with quotations from the document).

77 *Ibidem*, p. 142.

law. Usually such bequests were made to secure the rights of minor children until they became independent.⁷⁸ In Elbląg, relatively few surviving last wills include provisions for the benefit of the testator's children (14% of documents). This is indicative of the family situation of individual townspeople of the time, whose children had already become independent and received their due share of the estate. The fact that having children had an impact on the principles of property division, and also may indicate when the document itself was drawn up, is confirmed by the contents of Borgard Scholtze's last will from 1450. He stipulated that in the case his wife were to give birth to a child, she and the child were to keep all their property, according to Lübeck law; whereas should she not get pregnant, he was to bequeath to her, among other things, 1 free field of land in the village of Jeziernik, 15 sheep, and 60 small marks owed to him by Jacob Foyth, while the remaining property was to be transferred to his legal heirs.⁷⁹ These instructions suggest that this last will was probably written shortly after marriage was formalized.

It is indirectly apparent from the content of some of the wills that their makers had no children of their own and therefore no direct heirs.⁸⁰ In such cases, legacies were usually made to siblings or their children. Overall, in the surviving wills from Elbląg, bequests to brothers and sisters occur in 31.5% of all the documents, including half-siblings. This was due to inheritance rules. The absence of own children or grandchildren meant that the right to inheritance passed to siblings and their children.⁸¹ Siblings were also competitors with the childless widower or widow for the remainder of the estate. Characteristically, in cases where both spouses were still alive at the time the will was made, legacies to relatives were always a separate disposition from legacies to the wife.

In some documents, siblings and their children were referred to explicitly as legal heirs (*rechte erbnamen*) who received the remaining property not specified in the will. Two widows, Gertrud Wobbeczins (1501) and Cristina Hoppe (1503),

78 B. Noodt, *Religion und Familie...*, pp. 307-322; K-R. Hahn, *Revaler Testamente...*, pp. 440-465.

79 "Item ob meyne hawsfrawe Katharina swanger gyng und die frucht lebende czur werlde qweme, so sal sie mit dem kinde alle unser beider gutter behalden noch awsweisunghe unsers lubeschen rechte. Item ob sie nicht swanger were, so gebe ich und bescheide meyner hawsfrawen Katharinen alle meyne gutter, die ich czu ir gebracht und alhir noch lassen werde und eyne freye hwbe, die ich im hwfslage im dorfee czu Schenese habe und 15 schoffe, die meyn mutter bey ir hott, und dorczu so bescheide ich ir 60 ger. mr. vorsessenn erbmitte, die myr Jacob Foyth scholdich ist. Item alle ander meyne guttir, welcherley die seyn, die gebe ich und bescheide meynen erbnamen, die denn recht dorczu haben werden", APG 368/I,69.

80 Lack of living children and childlessness as valid reasons for making a will, are quoted by K-R. Hahn, *Revaler Testamente...*, pp. 87, 440.

81 *Das Alte Lübbische Recht...*, (Codex II), no. CLXXXII, p. 340; no. CCXIII, p. 358; K-R. Hahn, *Revaler Testamente...*, p. 411.

made such provisions in their last wills. The first bequeathed the remainder of her estate to her sister in Gdańsk⁸², while the second bequeathed all that was to remain and be found after her death to Jacob Retener, a resident in Malbork, identified as the closest legal heir.⁸³ Let us add that Jacob was the son of her mother's sister, and therefore a first-cousin of the testator. In addition to legacies to siblings, those addressed to a brother's or sister's children were also quite frequent. Bequests in favor of siblings' children appear altogether in 16.7% of the documents. The numbers of legacies for sister's and brother's children are similar, slightly favoring sister's children (13 to 11).⁸⁴ Among other examples, such legacies were included in the last will of Peter Menczil from the New Town of Elbląg, who in 1410 bequeathed 3 marks to his nephew Heinrich Menczil to become a craftsman.⁸⁵ Besides legacies for siblings' children, there were also legacies for their grandchildren.⁸⁶ In 1452, Hans Witte, in addition to bequests for his brother's son and daughter and his sister's daughter, included also the latter's child.⁸⁷

Some of the wills contain bequest clauses for 'immediate heirs' (*nehsten erbnamen*) or 'legal heirs' (*rechten erbnamen*).⁸⁸ The first of these categories is not precisely defined.⁸⁹ Kadri-Rutt Hahn, who analyzed the use of this term in the last wills of the residents of Tallinn, pointed out that the phrase had as many as four different meanings. Firstly, it meant bequests to close relatives, i.e., one's own children and siblings; secondly, much more often it meant the wider family, including other relatives with potential inheritance rights; thirdly, the presumed circle of anonymous, yet possibly existing relatives; and finally, the people appointed by the testator as his or her principal heirs.⁹⁰ In case of the second category, the term was practically a provision protecting against possible claims from relatives. In Elbląg, we can also observe the use of this term in various meanings.

82 "Unde gebe und bescheide ynen allis das, das do zust noch meinem testament tode wirt bleiben unde gefunden werden", APG 368/I,104.

83 "Allis, das do bleyben und gefunden wirt werden noch meynen todes", APG 368/II,118.

84 To this number, we should add a few mentions of bequests for relatives defined by the term 'om', meaning both mother's brother (uncle) and sister's son, and even grandson or young minor male relative. On the meaning of this term, see: K-R. Hahn, *Revaler Testamente...*, pp. 424-428. In Elbląg, bequests for 'om' relatives were made by: Peter Storm (1450), Herman Rowber (Reuber) (1453) and Reymer Bylandt (1460).

85 APG 492/467, p. 320.

86 Such cases were accounted for by the law, *Das Alte Lübbische Recht...*, (Codex II), no. CCXIII, p. 358.

87 APG 492/250, pp. 657f.

88 R. Kubicki, *Testamenty elbląskie. Studium z dziejów miasta...*, pp. 80-86.

89 In Tallinn, this term was used for siblings and their children, but also for parents and cousins, see: K-R. Hahn, *Revaler Testamente...*, pp. 402f.

90 Ibidem, pp. 405-410.

Usually, it refers to a group of potential, unspecified heirs. Placing such a provision in last wills was particularly important in the case of a widow or widower. They had to take into account the interests of their relatives. At the same time, including them in the provisions protected the spouse against attempts to undermine the entire content of the last will after the death of the testator. The provisions for people referred to as 'next of kin' do not contain any information characterizing them, not even by name or nickname. This indicates a rather formal approach to this type of bequest, which complied with an obligation enforced by law, custom, and family relations. Provisions for potential unspecified relatives, safeguarding the rights of the spouse, usually the wife of course, are found in many of the wills.⁹¹ They usually contain bequests of small sums of money and farm produce or clothing to relatives whose names were not given. The latter, as mentioned above, speaks for the formalism of these legacies and the lack of a deeper, personal relationship between the testator and these people.

In addition to the bequests themselves, there are also clauses in the wills stating that these unnamed people were already compensated (*vorgnuget*) in this way and hence prevented from raising any claims towards the other bequests made by the testator. In addition to short phrases stating that they were "fully and completely compensated and paid", as in the wills of Hans Meiszener from 1470⁹² and Laurencius Pusilien from 1473,⁹³ there are also more elaborate clauses. In his last will of 1486, Hans Ferrs specified that his immediate relatives, present and otherwise, should be fully indemnified in this way and not interfere with things concerning his other estate.⁹⁴ In a slightly different form, such clauses were also included in some other wills, including Hans Korner's last will and testament of 1490.⁹⁵ In the year 1500, Dietrich Koptcze, in turn, made bequests to his closest relatives, stipulating at the same time that they had already been compensated in this way and should not raise any claims to other things that would remain after his death.⁹⁶

91 On the husband's desire to secure his wife's rights within a small family (nuclear family) against the claims of relatives, as a manifestation of a new understanding of the concept of family on the example from Tallinn, see: K-R. Hahn, *Revaler Testamente...*, p. 471.

92 "Domethe meinent halben voll und all seyn entscheden und vornuget", APG 368/II,73.

93 "Domethe meine halben gantz seyn vornuget", APG 368/II,76.

94 "Domethe sullen meyne nehesten erbnamen, die iczunde seyn adir hirnochmals werden, gantz vornuget und entrichtet seyn unde fudir nicht sachen noch eynsprechen uff ander meyne gutter", APG 368/I,136.

95 "Domit sall her adir dy meyne rechte erbnamen seyn werden von meyner wegen gantz vornuget seyn unde uff andern meyn armutchen, das ich lossen werde, nicht haben czu sachen [!] noch czusprechen", APG 368/I,97.

96 "Das sie von maynent wegen sollen etnphanen, domethe sollen meyne nehsten erbnamen von meyner wegen gantze vornuget sein, unde uff andere meyne nochgelaßene guttere, die noch meynem tode bleyben werden, nicht sollen haben czu sachen", APG 368/II,117.

Sometimes, however, there were disputes about the interpretation of provisions relating to the rules of succession as set down quite generally in Lübeck law.⁹⁷ This refers to particularly complex legal situations which were resolved by a legal opinion (verdict) issued by the Lübeck City Council.⁹⁸ Such cases also occurred in Elbląg. In 1455, Lübeck issued an opinion for the Old Town of Elbląg concerning the inheritance of Herman Roffers (that is how the surname Reuber was spelled), in which the parties were Jurgen Roffers (Reuber) and his brother Hans – and on the other side, Barbare, the widow of the mayor Klaus Mederich. The verdict was that the Roffer brothers (Reuber) were the closest heirs because the children of the half-brother were closer relatives than the aunt's daughter.⁹⁹ On November 1, 1464 the Council of the New Town of Elbląg sent a legal query to Lübeck, asking about the contested verdict concerning the rights to inherit the property of a deceased child from the first marriage after the death of the second husband. In its reply of December 20, 1464 the Council of the City of Lübeck stated that since the child from the first marriage had died, followed by the second husband, then the child's property was vested in the wife, not the husband's relatives.¹⁰⁰ Another case took place on June 19, 1489, when the Council of the Old Town of Elbląg turned to Lübeck to settle a legal dispute in connection with an objection by Markis Holsten, a resident of Elbląg, to the verdict in the legacy case between Orthey, Georg Brosian's wife, against Gregor Grefe,¹⁰¹ the brother of her first husband, Bartholomeus Grefe.

The division of the estate was made when Orthey was a widow and both her children had died before her first husband's death. In the division of the estate, no account was taken of the fact that she was entitled to a certain inheritance from her relative Bartholomeus Blusmann while her children were still alive. In the contested verdict annexed by Georg Brosian, those assets were included for division.¹⁰² In the reply from Lübeck of August 12, 1489, regarding the dispute of Georg Brosian (representing his wife) against Gregor Grefe, it was stated that the woman's inheritance

97 Such issues were also addressed to the Grand Master of the Teutonic Order. In 1426, the inquiry concerned the problem of whether an aunt or an aunt's daughter was the closer heir. In response, the Grand Master instructed both disputing parties to choose four worthy men each, who were to clarify this legal issue together and in accordance with the law, and then present their solution to the town council, M. Toeppen, *Elbinger Antiquitäten...*, p. 233. What is remarkable is the Grand Master's disregard of the Lübeck City Council's competence.

98 R. Kubicki, *Testamenty elbląskie. Studium z dziejów miasta...*, pp. 34f.

99 APG 368/I, 73; A.L.J. Michelsen, *Der ehemalige Oberhof zu Lübeck und seine Rechtssprüche*, Altona 1839, no. 3, pp. 86f.; G. Fink, *Lübeck und Elbing*, "Elbinger Jahrbuch" XIV (1937) 1, no. 25, p. 41; A. Hoja, *Elbląska rodzina Rüberów...*, p. 107.

100 G. Fink, *Lübeck und Elbing...*, nos. 27 and 30, p. 42.

101 Gregor Grefe, a councillor of the Old Town of Elbląg in the years 1497–1518.

102 A.L.J. Michelsen, *Der ehemalige Oberhof...*, pp. 37-40; G. Fink, *Lübeck und Elbing...*, no. 33, p. 43.

received from a relative had indeed been a part of the total estate together with the dowry, but due to the death of the children, it no longer belonged to the estate. Therefore, the woman did not have to share that part with her late husband's relatives.¹⁰³ Given these verdicts, we can assume that although the dispositions of last wills were formulated as precisely as possible in order to avoid lengthy controversies, the latter were not always avoidable.

Last will records also speak of the community of a wealthy urban household, which, apart from the immediate family, often included distant relatives, usually minors, as well as servants, especially maids, also often included in legacies.¹⁰⁴ The indeterminate family position of the distant, minor relatives meant that in practice they often ranked somewhere between family and servants. The provisions pertaining to them were sometimes stated in a conditional form. In 1449, Claus Brandt bequeathed 5 marks to Paul, a novice, on condition that he become a priest.¹⁰⁵ In 1457, Margarethe, the wife of Michael Brugkmann bequeathed 10 marks to an adolescent named Vincens.¹⁰⁶ In 1482, in turn, Hans Seburg bequeathed 2 marks to his protégée Klare and 4 marks to a young man named Niclus who was to become a craftsman.¹⁰⁷ The form of these conditional provisions was also intended to play a disciplinary role for the young people.¹⁰⁸ Some bequests also had a moral purpose. In 1383, Nicolaus Beygir from the New Town of Elbląg donated 100 marks from his estate, asking his brother to pay 4 marks annually for 12 years to provide poor maidens with a dowry.¹⁰⁹ Ursula Emyke also donated 30 marks for the same purpose in 1440,¹¹⁰ as well as Margarethe, the wife of Michael Brugkmann, in 1457.¹¹¹

Of course, bequests to members of the immediate and extended family still do not say everything about the permanent residents of an urban household, where many functions were performed by servants, including cooks and other types of domestic help, who often were also included in the last wills. Dispositions of this type, listing the various service people as recipients of money and other assets, also indirectly indicate the financial position of the testator.

103 A.L.J. Michelsen, *Der ehemalige Oberhof...*, no. 211, pp. 281f.; G. Fink, *Lübeck und Elbing...*, no. 34, p. 43.

104 B. Noodt, *Religion und Familie...*, pp. 323-325, 353f.; K-R. Hahn, *Revaler Testamente...*, pp. 534-553.

105 APG 368/I,115.

106 APG 492/251, p. 47.

107 "Item Niclus dem jungen gebe 4 mr. alczuhanden noch meynen tode, so her czum hantwerke wirt czyn", APG 368/I,130.

108 On similar clauses in the wills from Tallinn, see: K-R. Hahn, *Revaler Testamente...*, pp. 451f. Regarding own children, on the example of 14th-century Lübeck, see: B. Noodt, *Religion und Familie...*, p. 321.

109 APG 492/467, p. 194.

110 AAWO, AK, I T5 no. 18; APG 492/802, p. 31.

111 APG 492/251, p. 47.

In 1449, Claus Brandt, in addition to leaving one mark to each of his maids and 3 *viertel* (quarters of a mark) to each of his porters Kuneke and Andreas, gave 3 marks to women who helped and cared for him during his illness.¹¹² Bequests for their maids were also made in the wills of Niclos Herder (in 1452, for a servant girl Brigide);¹¹³ in 1454, Simon Hollant (10 marks);¹¹⁴ in 1474, Jacob Lubbeke (10 marks);¹¹⁵ in 1475, Mattis Polan (for a servant girl Barbare);¹¹⁶ in 1488, Niclis Olbrecht (10 marks).¹¹⁷ In several cases, the reason for making the bequest is indicated. In 1455, Hans Willems donated 10 marks for being looked after.¹¹⁸

The formal similarity of legacies included in last wills also applies to bequests allocated to the town's needs. First of all, there is the bequest "for roads and bridges" (*zu Wegen und Stegen*), which is known from Lübeck, Elbląg, Tallinn, Stralsund, and Gdańsk.¹¹⁹ Interestingly, it appeared quite rarely in Elbląg before 1466, while later it became customary.¹²⁰ This was due to the obligation to make such a bequest, enforced by the regulations of Lübeck law introduced at the time.¹²¹ Besides, Elbląg residents allocated additional sums for the maintenance of specific roads and dykes as well as for the fortification of the town.

3. THE RELIGIOUS LIFE OF THE TOWNSPEOPLE IN LIGHT OF THE LAST WILLS

In the period leading up to the Reformation, typical legacies for pious purposes (*ad pias causas*) included, in particular, bequests to parish churches and monasteries of Mendicant orders located in towns.¹²² Other frequent bequests includ-

112 APG 368/I,115.

113 APG 368/I, 119.

114 APG 368/I,72.

115 APG 368/III,35.

116 APG 368/II,109.

117 APG 368/I,95.

118 APG 368/II,62.

119 B. Noodt, *Religion und Familie...*, pp. 55, 400; G. Meyer, *Milieu und Memoria...*, pp. 120-124, 129f.; G. Meyer, "Besitzende Bürger" und "elende Sieche"..., p. 20; K-R. Hahn, *Revaler Testamente...*, pp. 333-336; J. Schildhauer, *Hanseatischer Alltag...*, pp. 41f.; P. Simson, *Geschichte der Danziger Willkür*, Danzig 1904, p. 45; W. Długocki, *W sprawie późnośredniowiecznych...*, p. 118.

120 It is missing only from one disposition, in the will of Hans Eler of 1480, APG 368/I,129. In Stralsund it is present in almost all wills written since 1428, see: J. Schildhauer, *Hanseatischer Alltag...*, p. 41. For single examples of these types of bequests in other cities (Hamburg, Vienna), see: G. Meyer, *Milieu und Memoria...*, p. 122.

121 "He schal gheven in dat erste gade sine sele dar na IIII penninghe unde VIII sz tho weghen unde to steghen", *Das Alte Lübbische Recht...*, (Codex II), no. 103, p. 298; G. Meyer, *Milieu und Memoria...*, p. 121.

122 The sacral topography of Elbląg in the Middle Ages is discussed by B. Jähnig, *Die Entstehung der mittelalterlichen Sakraltopographie von Elbing*, "Beiträge zur Geschichte Westpreußens" X (1987), pp. 21-47. For more on this topic, see: R. Kubicki, *Testamenty elbląskie. Studium z dziejów miasta...*, pp. 115-159.

ed holy mass foundations, care for altars in the form of individual bequests and within religious confraternities, as well as legacies for municipal hospitals and for the poor. In all of the urban centres discussed here, they constituted similar forms of manifesting the connection with the city and its church institutions, and to some extent also a manifestation of individual religiousness and forms of piety accepted by townspeople.¹²³ A comparison of the cash legacies included in the wills of Elbląg residents and earmarked for such purposes as support of churches, payments for prayers, foundations of perpetual masses, assistance to the poor, as well as financing of vicarious pilgrimages, shows the variety of possibilities available to potential testators.

Table 2. Bequests to church institutions in Elbląg

Churches/ monasteries/ fraternities/ hospitals	Number of references in the last wills	Number of legacies/ of which for construction purposes	Estimated bequest amounts (total in marks)	Other bequests
St. Nicholas church	99	7 for construction	1830	of which 1,000 marks for the Holy Hours of BVM
St. James's church	25	2 for construction	60 and 3/4	a coat, wax
Three Wise Men church	9	-	32	2000 bricks and a grey coat
St. Ann's church	2	2 for construction	19	-
churches generally	1	-	100	-
BVM church and the Dominican monastery	56	64, of which 18 for construction	503	wax, farm produce
the Brigittine monastery	18	7 for construction	213	of which one bequest of 100 marks; other: 6 Hungarian guildens, 10 scheffels of grain [1 scheffel = ca. 55 liters]

¹²³ B. Możejko, *Rozrachunek z życiem...*, pp. 48-83, 97f.; P. Oliński, *Fundacje mieszczańskie w miastach pruskich...*, pp. 224-336, 375-427, 454-490, 523-543; B. Noodt, *Religion und Familie...*, pp. 179-185, 192f., 228-235; J. Schildhauer, "Ad pias causas"..., pp. 291-301; J. Schildhauer, *Hanseatischer Alltag...*, pp. 22-38; R. Lusiardi, *Stiftung und städtische Gesellschaft...*, pp. 78-113; K-R. Hahn, *Revaler Testamente...*, pp. 224-336.

the priestly fraternity	6	-	146	-
St. Elizabeth's hospital	39	-	169	wood, a bottle of wine, 14 scheffels of grain, a blue coat, 2 lasts of charcoal, a house and a shed on Mockenberge, 1 rod [1 rod = 4,32 m] of wood
Corpus Christi hospital	33	-	93 ½	1 scheffel of grain and a cut of lard, 1/2 barrel of table beer, a horse, a house, a jacket and best pair of pants
Holy Spirit hospital	13	-	47 ½	2 lasts [1 last = ca. 3300 liters] of charcoal
new St. George's hospital	12	-	48 ½	a bottle of wine

Source: R. Kubicki, *Formy pobożności w mieście późnośredniowiecznym w świetle zapisów na rzecz kościoła i biednych w testamentach elbląskich (XV-początek XVI w.)*, "Zapiski Historyczne" LXXVI (2011) 2, p. 15. With respect to hospitals, own calculations based on data compiled in P. Oliński, *Fundacje mieszczańskie w miastach pruskich w okresie średniowiecza i na progu czasów nowożytnych (Chełmno, Toruń, Elbląg, Gdańsk, Królewiec, Braniewo)*, Toruń 2008, pp. 457, 460-466.

Altogether, legacies for pious purposes and for the poor found in the wills of Elbląg residents amount to approximately 5,300 marks. In contrast, the total amount of cash bequests in all the last will documents may be estimated at no less than 25,700 marks, including sums designated as repayment of a wife's dowry, which sometimes came from monetizing a portion of real estate. Hence, slightly more than 20% of the cash bequeathed went to pious purposes.¹²⁴ The largest sums went to: St. Nicolas parish church (33%), the poor (17%), financing pilgrimages (13%), the Dominican monastery and church (9%), and hospitals (8%). Other purposes received less financial support from the residents of Elbląg; monasteries of religious congregations located outside Elbląg received 6% of the sums bequeathed, and the short-lived foundation of the Brigittine congregation in the city received 4%.¹²⁵ For comparison, in Tallinn, in the period

¹²⁴ If we deduct the bequest of 1,000 marks for pious purposes made by Niclos Myszke, then the total sum of bequests would be 18%.

¹²⁵ The sums in money (in marks) bequeathed to individual institutions were as follows: St. Nicholas Church – 1830, Dominican Church and Monastery – 503, St. James's Church – 60, Three Wise Men Church – 32, churches in general – 100, Brotherhood of Priests – 146, Brigittine Monastery – 213, hospitals – 402, the poor in general – 892, monasteries outside the city – 322.5, churches outside Elbląg – 89.5, financing pilgrimages – 705, the Beguines – 28.

up to the Reformation (i.e., to 1524), selected individual institutions in the town received, respectively: St. Olaf's parish church – about 6,165 marks, St. Nicholas parish church – about 5,944 marks, the Dominican church and monastery – 2,566 marks, the Cistercian monastery of St. Michael – 432 marks, the church and hospital of the Holy Spirit – 905 marks. In contrast, about 10% of the total of bequests went to churches, monasteries and hospitals outside the town.¹²⁶ Up to the Reformation, the total amount of bequests for pious and charitable purposes was 33,600 marks in Tallinn, whereas in the same time period, the average amount of legacies *ad pias causas* was about 205 marks.¹²⁷ Bequests to parish churches, monasteries, hospitals, and the poor were of course also typical in the last wills made in Lübeck, Gdańsk, and Stralsund.¹²⁸

One of the most common items amongst testamentary dispositions of the residents of Elbląg were bequests of sums of money for the poor.¹²⁹ These legacies were most often offered to support the existing hospitals in the city¹³⁰, which served not only as places for the care of the sick, but also as shelters – for a certain fee, accommodating elderly people (called prebendaries) for life.¹³¹ The bequests were made both in cash and farm produce, as well as charcoal, wood, and clothing (this cause was indicated in 67 wills, or 47% of the documents). Bequests for the purchase of footwear, grey sheets, and shawls for the poor staying in the town's hospitals, and for school students were usually separate items in the wills. For example, in 1481, Peter Hoppe bequeathed ten grey shawls and sixty pairs of shoes to be distributed between students and the poor.¹³² Similar provisions are found in many of the wills.¹³³ A bequest for the needs of the poor, however,

126 K-R. Hahn, *Revaler Testamente...*, p. 256.

127 *Ibidem*, p. 381.

128 B. Noodt, *Religion und Familie...*, pp. 326-364; C.S. Jensen, *Remembering the Dead...*, pp. 44-50; B. Mozejko, *Rozrachunek z życiem...*, pp. 48-107; J. Schildhauer, *Hanseatischer Alltag...*, pp. 22-38; R. Lusiardi, *Stiftung und städtische Gesellschaft...*, passim.

129 More broadly, in the late 15th and early 16th centuries, there was a clear increase in bequests for pious purposes, mainly in the form of numerous services for the intention of the testator, see: H. Samsonowicz, *Chrześcijaństwo na peryferiach Europy. Formy życia religijnego w miastach nadbałtyckich na schyłku średniowiecza*, in: *Spółeczeństwo Polski średniowiecznej. Zbiór studiów*, VI, ed. S.K. Kuczyński, Warszawa 1994, p. 211.

130 Elbląg hospitals and their endowments have been discussed by P. Oliński, *Fundacje mieszczańskie w miastach pruskich...*, pp. 454-466.

131 W. Długokęcki, *Przyczynki do dziejów szpitali elbląskich w średniowieczu*, in: *Z przeszłości Elbląga*, ed. A. Groth, Koszalin 1999, p. 73.

132 APG 368/II,81.

133 For example, Klaus Melsag bequeathed 8 gray bed sheets to the poor in 1425, and in 1459, Michael Brugkmann bequeathed 10 gray bed sheets and additional 30 small marks to buy shoes for them. Bequests for this cause were also included in their last wills by: Augustin von Rotenberge (1439), Klaus Brandt (1449), Mattheus Jurman (1455), Cristan Stwler (1456), Lucas Hunther (1476), Conradt Scheffel (1477), Mattis Dobryn (1480), Peter Stabage (1480), Hans Seburg

concerned a specified amount of money for the purchase of specified items and often also to pay for a bath in the municipal baths (*seelbad*).¹³⁴ Apart from that, we also find bequests with the exact specification of their recipients: the municipal hospitals, of which the largest legacies were received by St. Elizabeth's¹³⁵ and Corpus Christi hospitals (former Leprosarium of St. George).¹³⁶ The St. George's hospital in the New Town¹³⁷ and the Holy Spirit Hospital received much less.¹³⁸ The bequests to all these institutions show a clear increase in the number of such legacies in the 1490s and the early 16th century, but usually in the form of small sums of money.

One of the relatively frequent dispositions included in last wills was the financing of a pilgrimage, i.e., a bequest to cover the costs of a vicarious pilgrimage for the testator, which was carried out by "professional" pilgrims. As to the choice of the pilgrimage destination, some differences can be found between the discussed towns; however, it was common to indicate the most important pilgrimage centres of medieval Europe, i.e., Rome and Santiago de Compostela. Other popular ones were located in the Empire: Aachen, Wilsnack, and Einsiedeln. Dispositions of a pilgrimage can be found in 30 of the total of 145 surviving documents of last wills of Elbląg residents from the 15th to the beginning of the 16th century. As already mentioned, three of the wills pointed to the testator's personal pilgrimage as the very reason for drafting the will.¹³⁹

(1482), Mattis Folmer (1484), Hans Ferss (1486), Elisabeth, the widow of Gregor Rawtenberg (1488), Hans Lange (1492), Mathewes Hogendorf (1500), Cristina, the widow of Peter Hoppe (1503) and Niclos Myszke (1508).

134 R. Kubicki, *Seelbad (balnea animarum) – uwagi na temat praktyki stosowania pobożnej fundacji w Prusach Krzyżackich i Prusach Królewskich do początku XVI w.*, "Zapiski Historyczne" LXXX (2015) 1, pp. 7-20.

135 Comparison of bequests, P. Oliński, *Fundacje mieszczańskie w miastach pruskich...*, tab. 18, pp. 462-465. These included a bequest from 1464 by Andreas Schadecke, donating 5 marks for the poor on the Kumiela river, "in den elenden stoben uffr Hommele", APG 368/II,68; M. Toepen, *Elbinger Antiquitäten...*, s. 158.

136 Comparison of bequests, P. Oliński, *Fundacje mieszczańskie w miastach pruskich...*, tab. 17, pp. 460f.

137 Comparison of bequests, *ibidem*, tab. 19, p. 466. As leprosy receded in the 2nd half of the 15th century, the hospital served also as a shelter for the poor, see: W. Długokęcki, *Przyczynki do dziejów szpitali...*, p. 80.

138 P. Oliński suggested that this was probably due to the fact that it was much better endowed in comparison with other such institutions in the city, see: P. Oliński, *Fundacje mieszczańskie w miastach pruskich...*, p. 457.

139 List of pilgrimage references in Elbląg last wills, based on printed inventories by E. Volckmann, *Katalog des Elbinger Stadtarchivs*, Elbing 1875, given by G. Nawrołska, *Dokąd pielgrzymowali elblążanie w średniowieczu?: znaki pielgrzymie świadectwem pobożnych wędrówek*, in: *Archaeologia et historia urbana*, ed. R. Czaja et al., Elbląg 2004, p. 525. As the list provided by the author is incomplete and the references of the documents are outdated, we provide a list

Table 3. Pilgrimage centres visited by pilgrims travelling from Elbląg, Stralsund, and Lübeck¹⁴⁰

Pilgrimage destination	City		
	Elbląg	Stralsund	Lübeck
Rome	23	68	76
Wilsnack	11	85	124
Aachen	9	53	128
Einsiedeln	1	51	72
Golme (Gollenberg n. Koszalin)	1	38	no available data
Thann	-	33	111
Santiago de Compostela	5	17	46
Vadstena	1	2	no available data

Source: R. Kubicki, *Pielgrzymki w testamentach mieszczan elbląskich w XV–początkach XVI wieku*, in: *Z dziejów średniowiecza. Pamięci profesora Jana Powierskiego (1940–1999)*, ed. W. Długokęcki, Gdańsk 2010, p. 183; H. Paner, *Gdańsk na pielgrzymkowych szlakach średniowiecznej Europy*, Gdańsk 2016, p. 518.

The list shows that in Stralsund and Lübeck pilgrims were most often directed to the relatively nearby Wilsnack and Aachen. As to Elbląg, however, pilgrims were more often sent to Rome rather than to these two closer pilgrimage centres. Obviously, due to the cost of going on a pilgrimage or paying for a trip to Rome, such excursions were available only to relatively wealthy town's residents. Therefore, Rome and Santiago de Compostela were

of all the documents where bequests or intentions to make the pilgrimage were mentioned: Klaus Melsag – in 1425, Hensel Noremberg – 1447, Peter Westfal – 1450, Peter Storm – 1450, Herman Rowber (also spelled Reuber) – 1453, Bartel Merkel – 1454, Simon Hollant – 1454, Margarethe, the widow of Michael Brugkman – 1457, Bartholomeus Scipper – 1457, Niclos Amen – 1459, Michael Brugkman the son – 1459, Niclos Rothe – 1461, Niclos Scholcze – 1465, Tidemann Fischer – 1465, Ambrosian Eggebrecht – 1466, Peter Rewmelandt – 1472, Jacob Lubbeke – 1474, Caspar Hubener – 1474, Gregor Barenwalt – 1476, Caspar Lange – 1477, Paul Scholtcze – 1477, Markis Swdekym – 1481, Hans Bruckmann – 1481, Jacob Kolle (in person) – 1484, Simon Drehers – 1495, Peter Reese – 1495, Cristof Thauwer (in person) – 1498, Clemens Reynicke – 1500, Mathewes Hogendorf (setting off on a pilgrimage with his wife Gertrude) – 1500, Koncze Kromer – 1500, Niclos Myszke – 1508, Balczar Hoeger – 1511, and Urban Wrede in the year 1515.

140 The data for Stralsund and Lübeck is quoted after the work by H. Bettin, D. Volksdorf, *Pielgrzymki w testamentach mieszczan stralsundzkich jako zwierciadło mieszczańskiej religijności*, in: *Kult św. Jakuba Większego apostoła w Europie Środkowo-Wschodniej*, ed. R. Knapiński, Lublin 2002, p. 224. By comparison, between 1310 and 1400 in Hamburg, testators more often indicated as a pilgrimage destination: Rome (45%) and Aachen (32%), see: M. Riethmüller, *to troste miner sele. Aspekte spätmittelalterlicher Frömmigkeit im Spiegel Hamburger Testamente (1310–1400)*, Hamburg 1994, pp. 122f.

most often visited during a single expedition considered *peregrinatio maior*.¹⁴¹ In Tallinn, on the other hand, dispositions of pilgrimages were found in only five documents written in the period up to the Reformation. In one of the wills, a person went on a pilgrimage to both Rome and Santiago de Compostela on his own, while the other four last wills mentioned Aachen, (1x), Wilsnack (1x), and Santiago de Compostela (3x); in one of the documents four other, less known centres were mentioned.¹⁴² In Gdańsk, in the years 1466–1475, Rome (2x), Santiago de Compostela (1x), Aachen (1x), the Holy Land (2x), and Geraardsbergen in Belgium (1x) were indicated.¹⁴³

Undoubtedly, last wills with instructions to cover the costs of a pilgrimage were left by the wealthier residents of Elbląg. Among the testators, therefore, there were first of all representatives of the power elite and merchants.¹⁴⁴ These were the mayor Peter Storm and town councillors: Hensel Noremberg, Bartholomeus Scipper, and Peter Reese as well as the councillors' relatives, Casper Lange and Herman Reuber.¹⁴⁵ However, there were also representatives of the crafts, such as Niclos Rothe,¹⁴⁶ a shoemaker, as well as Hans Bruckman, a peasant.¹⁴⁷ Although the remaining testators undoubtedly also belonged to the wealthier classes of the town, some of the town elite representatives did not mention a pilgrimage in their wills.¹⁴⁸

The last wills of Elbląg's residents rarely included instructions regarding the burial of the testator. General instructions regarding the payment of funeral expenses were included in only several of the wills.¹⁴⁹ It seems

¹⁴¹ H. Bettin, D. Volksdorf, *Pielgrzymki w testamentach mieszczan stralsundzkich...*, p. 225.

¹⁴² They were: Halle and Geraardsbergen in Belgium, Bouvines near Calais in France and Steenbergen in Holland, K-R. Hahn, *Revaler Testamente...*, pp. 299-301.

¹⁴³ B. Mozejko, *Rozrachunek z życiem...*, pp. 99-107; B. Mozejko, *Spätmittelalterliche Wallfahrten im Licht Danziger Quellen*, in: *Wallfahrer aus dem Osten. Mittelalterliche Pilgerzeichen zwischen Ostsee, Donau und Seine: Beiträge der Tagung Perspektiven der europäischen Pilgerzeichenforschung 21. bis 24. April 2010 in Prag*, ed. H. Kühne, L. Lambacher, J. Hrdina, Frankfurt am Main 2013, pp. 77f.

¹⁴⁴ The brewer was probably Klaus Melsag (1425), and the shoemaker was Niclos Rothe (1461).

¹⁴⁵ An incomplete list of Elbląg councillors up to 1454 was published by M. Toeppen, *Elbinger Antiquitäten...*, pp. 262-292. Supplemented by R. Czaja, *Urządnicy miejscy Elbląga do 1524 roku*, Elbląg 2010.

¹⁴⁶ "Item so bescheyde ich 30 geringen mr. czu eyner Romreyse meyner zelen czu troste", APG 368/II, 106.

¹⁴⁷ "Sunderlichen sal sie meyner armen zele czu troste eyne reese czum Heligen Blutte gehn lassen, so sie das wirt konnen vormogen", APG 368/II, 111.

¹⁴⁸ An example could be the will of the mayor Lorenz Pilgeryn, dated January 13, 1461, APG 368/III, 59.

¹⁴⁹ Johan Boetger (1411), Klaus Melsag (1425), Ursula Emyke (1440), Peter Storm (1450), Lorenz Pilgeryn (1461), Jacob Struch (1464), Jacob Herbist (1464), Andreas Schadecke (1464), Ambrosian Eggebracht (1466), Mattis Folmer (1470), Conrad Scheffel (1477), Valentin Scheffer (1505). In addition, general references to burial were found in the wills of: Niclos Amen (1459) and Hans Lantgraffe (1513).

that this may indirectly indicate the practice of agreeing these matters with the future executors of the last will without the need to include these instructions in the document. Alternatively, the burial was the responsibility of the testator's family members, relatives, and heirs.¹⁵⁰ It was quite different in Stralsund, where detailed funeral instructions were found in 48% of the documents written up to 1525.¹⁵¹

The fact that the picture emerging from analysis of the contents of last wills can be largely influenced by the moment in time when they were written is demonstrated above all by the changes in bequests for pious purposes that took place in the 16th century with the progress of the Reformation. This phenomenon is well recognized in the case of Tallinn,¹⁵² and partly also with regard to Stralsund.¹⁵³ Detailed studies show that legacies continued to be made for churches, especially for parish churches and their pastors, while legacies for monasteries and for vicarious pilgrimages ceased altogether. Another characteristic change was that bequests for the poor, which until the Reformation were mostly addressed directly to people in hospitals, were replaced by general bequests for hospitals as institutions. There was also an escalation of legacies *ad pias causas*, that led to a marked increase in the average amount allocated for these purposes.¹⁵⁴ This issue would require further comparative research. Unfortunately, in the case of Elbląg, as well as Gdańsk, we do not have appropriate sources. It may be assumed, however, that both cities experienced an analogous direction of change in the form of bequests and the circle of their recipients, particularly in the second half of the 16th century.

In summary, analysis of the wills preserved in Elbląg and their presentation against the background of analogous sources from four comparable towns reveals a common cultural circle that existed within the Baltic region. On the other hand, there is very little evidence of direct contact between these cities, except in matters of inheritance decided by the Lübeck court.

150 This could also be due to the fact that in 1429, the Elbląg authorities issued an unknown regulation regarding funeral expenses. However, this information is only preserved in a rather late chronicler's account, see: Peter Himmelreich, *Elbinger Chronik*, in: *Die Preussische Geschichtsschreiber des XVI. und XVII. Jahrhunderts*, ed. M. Toeppen, IV/2, Leipzig 1881, p. 41.

151 J. Schildhauer, *Hanseatischer Alltag...*, p. 26.

152 K-R. Hahn, *Revaler Testamente...*, pp. 221-397.

153 General remarks on this matter, see: J. Schildhauer, *Hanseatischer Alltag...*, pp. 39-41, 79f., 113-116.

154 According to K-R. Hahn studying these questions, it is likely that testators who remained Catholic could not express their wishes directly in their last wills because their writing was censored by the Protestant town council. Consequently, they focused on bequests to churches, primarily parish, K-R. Hahn, *Revaler Testamente...*, pp. 393-396.

The documents almost completely lack any references to the migration of people between these towns. In the last wills from Tallinn, people from Prussia and Gdańsk were recorded, but no residents of Elbląg.¹⁵⁵ The same is true for Stralsund and Elbląg itself.¹⁵⁶ However, this is due to the specific nature of these documents. After all, they were not meant to describe the testator's existence, but rather attempted to capture his or her life at a specific moment, and only with regard to the disposition of his or her assets.¹⁵⁷ Bearing in mind these limitations, it should be emphasized once again that the Elbląg townspeople's last will documents analyzed here bring a lot of valuable and unique information, allowing us a certain insight into individual people's choices and actions – which is quite extraordinary, considering these people lived in the remote Middle Ages.

translated by Agnieszka Mondrzycka

ABSTRACT

The paper portrays the community of the late-medieval town of Elbląg, based on an analysis of last wills and testaments drafted by the townspeople of that time. Selected aspects of the residents' lives are shown against the background of analogous sources originating in several other urban centres in the Baltic zone – namely, Gdańsk, Lübeck, Stralsund, and Tallinn. The preservation status of the source documents in each of these cities varies greatly. Therefore, any comparative studies of the towns based on the contents of the last wills can only pertain to the 2nd half of the 15th century. The statements in the wills from Elbląg and the other towns contain ample details regarding testators' family lives and social circles. There are also numerous bequests for pious causes. Bearing in mind the specific nature of these sources, it should be stressed that the last wills of Elbląg's residents provide invaluable information about individual people and a unique insight into the personal motivations for their actions.

Keywords: Last Wills, Elbląg (Germ. Elbing), Prussia, Family Relationships, Religious Life, Middle Ages

155 K-R. Hahn, *Revaler Testamente...*, p. 178.

156 J. Schildhauer, *Hanseatischer Alltag...*, tab. II, p. 49.

157 The correspondence sent by the town councils in relation to the assertion of inheritance rights and legacies speaks volumes about these associations. Examples of direct contacts between Lübeck and Elbląg, and in one case also with Tallinn, are provided by G. Fink, *Lübeck und Elbing...*, nos. 9-11, 18-19, 31, 32, pp. 37f., 40, 42f.

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THE INFORMATIVENESS OF WIGAND VON MARBURG'S CHRONICLE AND ITS LATIN TRANSLATION IN RELATION TO WEAPONRY



Practically from the onset of Prussian critical historiography in the first half of the 19th century, Wigand von Marburg's chronicle has been interpreted as one of the most important written sources on the history of Prussia and the local branch of the Teutonic Order. The work offers a broad account of various military aspects of the Order's presence on the south-eastern parts of the Baltic Region and thus has long been a focus of extensive scholarly research.¹ Written between about 1391 and 1394,² the work has survived in its complete version only in the Latin translation from 1464, hastily made

1 See e.g.: G. von Bujack, *Die littauischen Kriegsreisen des deutschen Ordens in 14. Jahrhundert*, "Zeitschrift für Preußische Geschichte und Landeskunde" IV (1867), pp. 655-681; idem, *Regesten zu den littauischen Kriegsreisen des deutschen Ordens (Nach Wigand)*, "Altpreußische Monatsschrift" VI (1869), pp. 509-518; M. Toeppen, *Die älteste Nachrichten über das Geschützwesen in Preußen*, "Archiv für die Offiziere des Kgl. Preußischen Artillerie und Ingenieur Corps" XXXII (1868), pp. 1-8; F. Boldt, *Der Deutsche Orden und Littauen 1370-1386*, "Altpreußische Monatsschrift" X (1873), pp. 385-467, 513-548; H. Łowmiański, *Agresja Zakonu Krzyżackiego na Litwę w w. XII-XV*, "Przegląd Historyczny" XLV (1954) 2-3, pp. 338-371 (= idem, *Prusy – Litwa – Krzyżacy*, ed. M. Kosman, Warszawa 1989, pp. 179-226); A.R. Chodyński, *The Preparations for War Expeditions to Lithuania and Samogitia According to the Chronicle by Wigand of Marburg*, "Fasciculi Archaeologiae Historicae" XV (2002 [2003]) (*Le convoi militaire*), pp. 39-46 (Polish version: *Rejzy krzyżackie na Litwę i Żmudź według kroniki Wiganda z Marburga*, "Studia Zamkowe" II (2006), pp. 5-13); A. Gierszewski, *Czy Litwa miała wpływ na logistykę krzyżacką w rejonie komturii kłajpedzkiej?*, in: *Litwa i jej sąsiedzi w relacjach wzajemnych (XIII-XVI w.)*, ed. A. Kołodziejczyk, R. Kubicki, M. Radoch, Olsztyn-Gdańsk 2014, pp. 215-226; and latvely K. Kwiatkowski, *Kapitulacje załóg punktów umocnionych w wojnach pruskiej gałęzi zakonu niemieckiego z Litwą od końca XIII do początku XV stulecia*, in: *Kapitulacje w dziejach wojen. Z dziejów wojskowości polskiej i powszechnej*, ed. A. Niewiński, Seria Homo Militans, V, Oświęcim 2017, pp. 117-158.

2 S. Zonenberg, *Wstęp źródłoznawczy i historyczny*, in: Wigand von Marburg, *Cronica nova prutenica*, ed. S. Zonenberg, K. Kwiatkowski, Toruń 2017, p. 33 (there are older publications on the subject).

(in just 22 days) by the clergyman from Thorn (Toruń), Konrad Gesselen, who had been commissioned by the Polish diplomat and historian, Jan Długosz.³ The original text of the rhyming chronicle written in Middle High German (German: *Mittelhochdeutsch*) has survived only in fragments. Today merely 11 relatively short fragments (consisting of from 6 to 140 lines) are known, altogether comprising 573 complete lines and 57 incomplete ones. They hail from three sources – namely, excerpts from two late-medieval manuscripts and the quotations featured in Caspar Schütz's chronicle printed in the late 16th century.⁴ Scholars vary in their appreciation of the quality of the Latin translation,⁵ yet recent research from within the domain of translation studies proves that those who considered Konrad Gesselen's rendition to be significantly divergent from the original were right.⁶ While the text

3 See: M. Perlbach, *Der Übersetzer des Wigands von Marburg*, "Altpreußische Monatschrift" XXXII (1895), pp. 411-424; A. Blaschka, *Monumentum Thorunense*, "Wissenschaftliche Zeitschrift der Martin Luther Universität Halle-Wittenberg" VII (1957/1958) 4, pp. 715-726; idem, *Konrad Gesselen, ein Mitarbeiter von Johannes Długosz. Epilog zum „Monumentum Thorunense“*, "Wissenschaftliche Zeitschrift der Martin Luther Universität Halle-Wittenberg" X (1961) 4, pp. 893-895; U. Arnold, *Gesselen, Konrad*, in: *Die deutsche Literatur des Mittelalters. Verfasserlexikon*, vol. III, ed. K. Ruh, B. Wachinger, Berlin-New York 1981, cols. 20-22; M. Biskup, *Działalność dyplomatyczna Jana Długosza w sprawach pruskich w latach 1454–1466*, in: *Długossiana. Studia historyczne w pięćsetlecie śmierci Jana Długosza*, ed. S. Gawęda, Zeszyty Naukowe Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego, DLXI = *Prace Historyczne*, LXV, Warszawa 1980, pp. 153-159; W. Drelicharz, *Annalistyka małopolska XIII–XV wieku. Kierunki rozwoju wielkich roczników kompilowanych*, Polska Akademia Umiejętności, Rozprawy Wydziału Historyczno-Filozoficznego, XCIX, Kraków 2003, pp. 79-83; S. Zonenberg, *Kronika Wiganda z Marburga*, Bydgoszcz 1994, pp. 19-26; idem, *Wstęp...*, p. 29f.

4 See new critical edition: K. Kwiatkowski, *Oryginalne fragmenty kroniki Wiganda von Marburg – opis źródłoznawczy, nowa edycja i polskie tłumaczenie*, "Studia Źródłoznawcze" [in print] (henceforth quoted as Wigand (K), with fragment and line number).

5 See about it: S. Zonenberg, *Wstęp...*, pp. 31f. (there older publications).

6 See: K. Kwiatkowski, E. Kubicka, *Was kann die Translationswissenschaft über Konrad Gesselen's Übersetzung der Reimchronik Wigands von Marburg sagen?*, in: *Schriftlichkeit im Preußenland*, ed. M.-L. Heckmann, J. Sarnowsky, Tagungsberichte der Historischen Kommission für ost- und westpreußische Landesforschung, XXXI, Osnabrück 2020, pp. 329f.; from among older publications cf. Th. Hirsch, *Einleitung*, in: *Die Chronik Wigands von Marburg. Originalfragmente, lateinische Uebersetzung und sonstige Ueberreste*, ed. Th. Hirsch, in: *Scriptores rerum Prussicarum. Die Geschichtsquellen der preußischen Vorzeit bis zum Untergange der Ordensherrschaft*, II, Leipzig 1863, pp. 434-436, 441, 448 – this edition itself is henceforth quoted as Wigand (H); M. Toeppen, *Geschichte der preußischen Historiographie von P. v. Dusburg bis auf K. Schütz*, Berlin 1853 (repr.: Walluf bei Wiesbaden 1973), pp. 30f.; L. Wolff, *Wigand von Marburg*, in: *Die Deutsche Literatur des Mittelalters. Verfasserlexikon*, vol. IV, ed. K. Langosch, Berlin-New York 1953, col. 967; U. Arnold, *Gesselen, Konrad...*, col. 21; G. Vollmann-Profe, *Wigand von Marburg*, in: *Die deutsche Literatur des Mittelalters. Verfasserlexikon*, vol. XI, ed. B. Wachinger in cooperation with G. Keil, K. Ruh, W. Schröder, F.J. Worstbrock, Berlin-New York 2004, col. 1659; eadem, *Wigand von Marburg*, in: *The Encyclopedia of the Medieval Chronicle*, vol. II, ed. G. Dunphy, Leiden-Boston 2010, p. 1506; M. Malm, *Wigand von Marburg*, in: *Deutsches Literatur-Lexikon. Biographisches-bibliographisches Handbuch*, vol. XXXII, Berlin-Boston 2013, col. 342.

of the clergyman from Thorn quite faithfully conveyed the information from Wigand's original⁷ concerning individual events (treated as particular narrative entities), it fails to adequately convey the narrative's detailed descriptions of events and entities. The same is true of the original's stylistic aspect.⁸ Essentially, Gesselen's work evinces the features of a summarizing translation.⁹ Consequently, comprehensive research focusing on the quality of the translation's detailed information should by no means ignore the hardly symmetrical relationship to the chronicle's original text.

This reflection concerns the issue indicated in the title – namely, the question of the degree of the informativeness of Wigand von Marburg's original work and its Latin translation with reference to military equipment. The notion of military equipment is understood here in its exact meaning, that is, objects produced in order to serve the purpose of exerting an individual or collective effect (whether offensive or defensive) on an enemy during combat.¹⁰

The surviving 11 original fragments of Wigand von Marburg's rhyming chronicle provide little information on military equipment, though as many as 10 are devoted to military operations.¹¹ The 573 complete and 57 fragmentary lines feature two general references to weaponry understood as a concrete category. While the first, the word *wapen* (Middle High German: *wâpen*, 'wâfen'¹²), was used as a constituent of a greater phraseologi-

7 S. Zonenberg, *Kronika...*, p. 50; H. Bauer, *Peter von Dusburg und die Geschichtsschreibung des Deutschen Ordens im 14 Jh. in Preußen*, Historische Studien, CCLXXII, Berlin 1935, p. 67.

8 The degree of transmission effectiveness in the case of detailed information (the so-called denotative equivalence), see: K. Kwiatkowski, E. Kubicka, *Was kann die Translationswissenschaft...*, pp. 319f.) probably did not exceed 50%, see: *ibidem*, pp. 326f.; as to historians' earlier opinions on this matter see: H. Bauer, *Peter von Dusburg...*, p. 67; S. Zonenberg, *Kronika...*, p. 50; R. Jasas, *Vertėjo žodis*, in: *Vygandas Marburgietis, Naujoji Prūsijos kronika*, transl. R. Jasas, ed. K. Gudmantas, Vilnius 1999, pp. 56f.

9 K. Kwiatkowski, E. Kubicka, *Was kann die Translationswissenschaft...*, p. 330.

10 It corresponds to the term 'military equipment' in its narrow semantic sense functioning in the publications on military history in the Polish language, which also uses a notion covering a broader semantic area – apart from weaponry it comprises other products serving armed men during military operations, i.e., the military gear (for people and animals), including all kinds of equipment used collectively, see: A. Nadolski, *Wstęp*, in: *Uzbrojenie w Polsce średniowiecznej 1350–1450*, ed. A. Nadolski, Łódź 1990, p. 10 and footnote 11 on p. 18; A. Nowakowski, *Uzbrojenie średniowieczne w Polsce (na tle środkowoeuropejskim)*, Toruń 1991, pp. 5-7.

11 Only fragment XI constitutes a part of a eulogy (which did not survive in a complete version) in praise of the Grand Master Winrich von Kniprode, which is not concerned with military operations, see: Wigand (H), p. 615 (as Fragment IX); and new edition: Wigand (K), Fragment XI, lines 1-24.

12 *Mittelhochdeutsches Handwörterbuch* (henceforth quoted as *Lexer*), ed. M. Lexer, vol. I (A – M), Leipzig 1872 (repr.: Stuttgart 1992); vol. II (N – U), Leipzig 1876 (repr.: Stuttgart 1992); vol. III (Vf – Z. Nachträge), Leipzig 1878 (repr.: Stuttgart 1992), here vol. III, cols. 629f.; *Mittelhoch-*

cal entity, itself devoid of its literal meaning (“to raise a weapon”),¹³ Wigand used the other, *gewer*¹⁴ to describe the entirety of actual military equipment of all armed men constituting the Polish king’s army,¹⁵ accompanying the noun with the adjective *vreislich*¹⁶ = ‘dreadful’, ‘fearsome’, ‘causing fear’. A comparison of the original text with the translation reveals that Gesselen rendered the first term as *arma*,¹⁷ which accurately corresponds to the referent of the word *wapen* and its phraseological use in the Middle High German original.¹⁸ In the case of the other notion, when he translated *mit so vreislichem gewer* as *cum gravi exercitu*, he made a stylistic change of the referent, rendering “such fearsome military equipment” as “heavily armed forces”, thus abridging the information provided in the translation because in the original the very notion ‘army’ (*her*) was the subject of the statement preceding the attributive phrase describing it.

The only expression describing a concrete weapon in the surviving original fragments of Wigand von Marburg’s chronicle is the word *blide*¹⁹, an equivalent of the Middle French term ‘trébuchet’ describing a collectively operated military machine constructed in various versions.²⁰ The original

deutsches Wörterbuch (henceforth quoted as BMZ), vol. I (A – L), ed. W. Müller, Leipzig 1854 (repr.: Hildesheim 1963); vol. II/1 (M – R), ed. F. Zarncke, Leipzig 1863 (repr.: Hildesheim 1963); vol. II/2 (S), ed. F. Zarncke, Leipzig 1866 (repr.: Hildesheim 1963); vol. III (T – Z), ed. W. Müller, Leipzig 1861 (repr.: Hildesheim 1963), here vol. III, cols. 455b–456a.

13 Wigand (K), Fragment III, line 1: *Der keine Wapen nie thet an [...]*.

14 Lexer, I, col. 985; BMZ, I, col. 511b. The other meaning of the word was ‘defence’ (modern Germ. ‘Wehr’, ‘Verteidigung’).

15 Wigand (K), Fragment I, lines 100f.: *Do vant her den konig und syn heer / Mit so vreislichem gewer [...]*.

16 Lexer, III, col. 498; BMZ, III, col. 399a.

17 Wigand (Z/K), 52, p. 190: [...] *arma contra eos movit [...]*.

18 See: *Mittellateinisches Wörterbuch bis zum ausgehenden 13. Jahrhundert* (henceforth quoted as MLW), founded by P. Lehmann, J. Stroux, vol. I (A – B), München 1967; vol. II (C), München 1999; vol. III (D – E), München 2007; vol. IV (F –), München 2008, here vol. I, cols. 956–958; *Dictionary of Medieval Latin from British Sources* (henceforth quoted as DMLBS-O), prep. R.K. Ashdowne, D.R. Howlett, R.E. Latham under the direction of a committee appointed by the British Academy, vol. I (A – G); vol. II (H – P); vol. III (Q – Z), Oxford-New York 2018, here used in online version, entry ‘arma’, <https://logeion.uchicago.edu/arma> [accessed 1 April 2020]; *Elektroniczny słownik łaciny średniowiecznej / eLexicon Mediae et Infirmae Latinitatis* (henceforth quoted as ESLŚ), entry ‘arma’, https://elexicon.scriptoros.pl/pl/lemma/arma#haslo_pelny [accessed 1 April 2020].

19 Lexer, I, col. 307; BMZ, I, col. 209a.

20 See: S. McGlynn, *Siege Warfare. Tactics and Technology*, in: *The Oxford Encyclopedia of Medieval Warfare and Military Technology*, ed. C.J. Rogers, vol. III, Oxford 2010, pp. 267f.; G. Köhler, *Die Entwicklung des Kriegswesens und der Kriegsführung in der Ritterzeit von Mitte des 11. Jahrhunderts bis zu den Hussitenkriegen*, vol. III, 1: *Die Entwicklung der materiellen Streitkräfte in der Ritterzeit*, Breslau 1887, pp. 190–210; J.L.C. Richard, *Fortifications and Sieges in Western Europe c. 800–1500*, in: *Medieval Warfare. A History* ed. M.[H.] Keen, Oxford 1999, pp. 174f.; K. DeVries, R.D. Smith, *Medieval Military Technology*, Toronto 2012, pp. 126–129; J. Bradbury, *The Medieval Siege*, Wood-

describes "very hostile" (intensive?) bombardment with the use of trebuchets of the stronghold in Dobrzyń garrisoned by the Teutonic Order by Władysław I Łokietek's forces and his allies.²¹ In his translation Konrad Gesselen rendered the word 'blîde' as 'machina' (= 'machine', 'device') – a very broad, hypernymic and thus hardly informative word,²² while he completely ignored the narrative fact of bombardment, describing the Polish king's military operation during the siege of Dobrzyń with an equally vague word 'impugno, -are' (= 'attack').²³

The other Middle High German term describing weaponry has survived only in Konrad Gesselen's Latin translation, even though it is obvious that he took it from the original text. The word in question is *tümeler* (Middle High German: 'tumeler', 'tumelær'²⁴), whose referent was a battering ram – a military machine to splinter wooden gates and break through fortification walls.²⁵ Before presenting the vernacular noun describing the device, the translator used two Latin words, i.e., a hypernymic notion 'machina' and a hyponym 'aries' (= 'ram'), thus rendering the meaning of the former more specific.²⁶

bridge 1992, pp. 259-270; D. Nicolle, *Medieval Siege Weapons (1). Western Europe AD 585–1385*, Osprey, New Vanguard, LVIII, London 2002, pp. 18-22; T. Wise, *Medieval Warfare*, London 1976, pp. 165f.; V. Schmidtchen, *Kriegswesen im späten Mittelalter. Technik, Taktik, Theorie*, Weinheim 1990, pp. 161-165; for south-eastern regions of the Baltic zone see: S. Ekdahl, *The Siege Machines during the Baltic Crusades*, "Fasciculi Archaeologiae Historicae" XX (*Les envahisseurs des temps médiévaux et leurs armes*) (2007), pp. 42-48; K. Kwiatkowski, *Wojska zakonu niemieckiego w Prusach 1230–1525 (korporacja, jej pruskie władztwo, zbrojni, kultura wojny i aktywność militarna)* (in cooperation with M. Molenda), *Dzieje Zakonu Niemieckiego*, III, Toruń 2016, pp. 432-435.

21 Wigand (K), Fragment I, lines 123f.: *Ouch wurfen sy us erem her / Vintlich mit bliden ser.*

22 DMLBS-O, entry 'machina', <https://logeion.uchicago.edu/machina> [accessed 1 April 2020]; ESŁŚ, entry 'machina', https://elexicon.scripores.pl/pl/lemma/machina#haslo_pelny [accessed 1 April 2020]; *Słownik łaciny średniowiecznej w Polsce* (henceforth quoted as SŁŚP), I (A – B), ed. M. Plezia, Wrocław-Kraków-Warszawa 1958; vol. IV (F – H), ed. M. Plezia, Wrocław-Kraków-Warszawa 1975-1977; vol. VI (M – O), ed. M. Plezia, Wrocław-Warszawa-Kraków-Gdańsk-Łódź 1985-1992; vol. VII (P – Q), ed. K. Weyssenhoff-Brożkova, Kraków 2001, here vol. IV, col. 5; see: S. Ekdahl, *The Siege Machines...*, p. 32, who concluded that the notion 'machinae' was usually used to describe stone-throwing engines. In the case of Konrada Gesselen's text this opinion is fully justified (see below pp. 281f.).

23 Wigand (Z/K), 27, p. 156: *Quod castrum hostiliter circumdatum cum machinis impugnatur.*

24 Lexer, II, col. 1566; BMZ, III, col. 128b.

25 See: J. Bradbury, *The Medieval Siege...*, pp. 274f.; K. DeVries, R.D. Smith, *Medieval Military Technology...*, pp. 175f.; Ch. Gravett, *Medieval Siege Warfare*, Osprey, Elite Series, XXVIII, London 1990, p. 47; T. Wise, *Medieval Warfare...*, p. 170; G. Köhler, *Die Entwicklung des Kriegswesens...*, vol. III, 1, pp. 121-124; S. Ekdahl, *The Siege Machines...*, pp. 31-33; K. Kwiatkowski, *Wojska zakonu niemieckiego...*, pp. 450, 455f.

26 Wigand (Z/K), 138, p. 292: [...] *machinam sive arietem vulgariter tümeler* [...]; see: MLW, I, col. 948; DMLBS-O, entry 'aries', <https://logeion.uchicago.edu/aries> [accessed 1 April 2020]; ESŁŚ, entry 'aries', https://elexicon.scripores.pl/pl/lemma/aries#haslo_pelny [accessed 1 April 2020].

A similar degree of translation precision (or lack thereof) is represented by the word *selpschoss* (Middle High German: 'sëlpschôz', 'selpschôz'²⁷ = literally: 'selfshooter'), in general terms denoting a crossbow. Its Latin equivalent is 'ballista'. Also in this case Gesselen's translation fails to provide an equivalent meaning; what is more, it is wrong because it obscures the sense of the original. The translation does not talk about a missile weapon itself but about a certain number of projectiles for it brought by a Ruthenian.²⁸ To describe their number the translator used the word 'mensura' (= 'measure'), while he described the projectiles with the word 'sagittae' (= 'arrows'), adding a note featuring the word 'sëlpschôz' (*selpschosse* in plural) mentioned above, which he thought was an equivalent of 'sagitta'. The analysis of other fragments of the Latin text where the translator used the notion 'sagitta' (in singular and plural) unambiguously shows that he was aware of the range of its meaning and its appropriate referents (i.e., projectiles shot from a bow or crossbow²⁹). The use of the vernacular term 'sëlpschôz' as an equivalent of the Latin word 'sagitta' clearly shows that the clergyman from Thorn failed to understand properly this fragment of the text. Equating 'sagittae' with 'selpschosse' probably resulted from excessive abridgement of the translated text and omitting a few words present in the original that clarified that what was actually delivered were projectiles used in missile weapons commonly known as *selpschosse*.

The fact that a crossbow operated by one man was in Middle High German described as 'armbrust', 'armbrost'³⁰ prompts two possible interpretations. The first would be that the narrative refers here to bigger missile weapons shooting heavier projectiles, placed on battlements or other appropriate battle positions situated on the upper levels of towers, usually described with a hypernymic Latin word 'ballistae',³¹ known in Romance vernacular languages as *espring-*

27 Lexer, II, col. 869; BMZ, II, 2, col. 175b.

28 Wigand (Z/K), 143, p. 298: *Interim quidam Rutenus nomine Michael venit de domo, adducens mensuram sagittarum vulgariter selpschosse.*

29 DMLBS-O, entry 'sagitta', <https://logeion.uchicago.edu/sagitta> [accessed 1 April 2020].

30 Lexer, I, col. 93; BMZ, I, col. 61a; as to the terminology used in Prussia see: S. Ekdahl, *The Siege Machines...*, p. 35; idem, *Die Armbrust im Deutschordensland Preußen zu Beginn des 15. Jahrhunderts*, "Fasciculi Archaeologiae Historicae" V (1992), pp. 20-28; idem, *Horses and Crossbows: Two Important Warfare Advantages of the Teutonic order in Prussia*, in: *The Military Orders, 2: Welfare and Warfare*, ed. H. Nicholson, Aldershot 1998, pp. 136-151; A. Nowakowski, *Arms and armour in the medieval Teutonic Order's State in Prussia*, *Studies on the History of Ancient and Medieval Art of Warfare*, II, Łódź 1994, pp. 97-101.

31 See: DMLBS-O, entry 'ballista', <https://logeion.uchicago.edu/ballista> [accessed 1 April 2020]; EŚLŚ, entry 'ballista', https://elexicon.scriptores.pl/pl/lemma/ballista#haslo_pelny [accessed 1 April 2020]; see: Ch. Gravett, *Medieval Siege Warfare...*, p. 49; J. Bradbury, *The Medieval Siege...*, pp. 250f.; J.L.C. Richard, *Fortifications and Sieges...*, p. 171; S. Ekdahl, *The Siege Machines...*, pp. 36f.

ales, *springalds*, whose equivalent in Middle High German was *selbgeschosse*.³² The term most frequently used in contemporary literature is 'espringola'.³³ This interpretation seems even more plausible if we consider the information about the Ruthenian who brought the measure of projectiles mentioned above from the besieged castle in Kaunas. It is quite possible that Gesselen abridged the translated text and as a result forgot to write down the phrase about the *ballistae-espringolas*, making an erroneous lexical equation.³⁴

There is also another option; it is possible that the partly reconstructed Middle High German narrative reflects the quite probable communication situation taking place after the arrival of the said Ruthenian from the besieged castle in the camp of the besieging forces. In the late Middle Ages in the Ruthenian language a crossbow was often called, 'самострѣл'/'samostriel' (= literally 'selfshooter'),³⁵ even though this word, just like many others, was in fact a hypernym and might also have referred to an 'espringola'.³⁶ Thus, the Ruthenian escapee from Kaunas may have told the armed men from the army besieging the castle that he had brought the projectiles for 'selfshooters', i.e., crossbows and the oral narration about this quite unusual event may have faithfully kept his native word describing his "spoils", however, not in its original version but as a literal Middle High German translation 'sëlpschôz'. Both interpretations have sound premises and seem equally plausible. Thus, exactly what kind of weapon this fragment of Wigand von Marburg's chronicle describes remains an open question.³⁷

32 G. Köhler, *Die Entwicklung des Kriegswesens...*, vol. III, 1, pp. 177f.; B. Rathgen, *Das Geschütz im Mittelalter. Quellenkritische Untersuchungen*, Berlin 1928 (repr.: Düsseldorf 1987), pp. 589-593; K. Huuri, *Zur Geschichte des mittelalterlichen Geschützwesens aus orientalischen Quellen*, *Studia Orientalia*, IX, 3, Helsingforsiae 1941, pp. 50f.

33 See: D. Nicolle, *Medieval Siege Weapons...*, pp. 35-37; T. Wise, *Medieval Warfare...*, p. 165; V. Schmidtchen, *Kriegswesen...*, pp. 154f.; S. Ekdahl, *The Siege Machines...*, pp. 38f.; K. Kwiatkowski, *Wojska zakonu niemieckiego...*, p. 432.

34 Gustav Köhler interpreted Gesselen's mistake here in a different way – he concluded that the clergyman from Thorn did not add the suffix '-pfile' to the word *selschosse*, see: idem, *Die Entwicklung des Kriegswesens...*, vol. III, 1, p. 117, incorrectly assuming that the very term *selschoss* denoted a bow.

35 See: Y. M. Bochan, *Uzbraenne vojska VKL drugoj palovy XIV – kanca XVI st.*, Minsk 2002, p. 174; idem, *Vajskovaâ sprava v Vâlikim Knâstve Litovskim v drugoi palove XIV – kancy XVI st.*, Minsk 2008, p. 224; V. Shokarev, *Luki i arbalety*, Moskva 2002, pp. 128f.; A.N. Kirpichnikov, *Voennoe delo na Rusi v XIII–XV vv.*, Leningrad 1976, p. 67.

36 K. Huuri, *Zur Geschichte des mittelalterlichen Geschützwesens...*, p. 51, footnote 2.

37 The latter interpretation was presented in an explanatory commentary for a recent Polish translation of the chronicle's Latin version, see: Wigand (Z/K), 143, p. 299, note 1032. The explanation proposed by Th. Hirsch, where he says that they were projectiles hurled by hand without the use of any machinery (see: Wigand (H), p. 536, note 627), is unconvincing, especially that it is completely incoherent with the mention of *mensura sagittarum*, which he accepted as reflecting the reality (see: Wigand (H), p. 536, note 626).

These five terms complete a small collection of expressions describing military equipment known from Wigand von Marburg's original text. Interestingly, in none of the three cases when expressions denoting a concrete weapon occur, did the chronicle feature their extended description. Therefore, we may assume that the author of the rhyming work was not profoundly interested in the matter. Nonetheless, as this is based on merely a few mentions, the assumption requires better evidence.

Such evidence may be provided by a detailed examination of the Latin translation, which – as mentioned above – has survived in its entirety. Even allowing for the results of translation analysis, which found a maximum 50% of denotative equivalence (i.e., the degree of conveyance of detailed information from the original to the translation), it could be expected that at least $\frac{1}{8}$ of the fragments of the Latin translation where references to weapons appear should include descriptions of military equipment exceeding the scope of a perfunctory reference. The value of ca. 12.5% of positive results for the translated text would correspond to ca. 25% for the original, which could be interpreted as evidence of Wigand von Marburg's narrative interest in the matters of military equipment.

All the mentions of military equipment featured in Konrad Gesselen's translation, leaving aside those analyzed earlier, amount to 125. In as many as 14 cases the clergyman from Thorn refers to weaponry as a general category of human products, describing it with the term *arma*.³⁸ In one case, i.e., the description of the cremation of duke Kestutis' body, comparison of the fragment from the Latin text with the corresponding fragment from the chronicle written by Caspar Schütz, who – working on his *Historia rerum Prussicarum* at the turn of the 1590s – referred directly to the original text of Wigand von Marburg's chronicle, shows which Middle High German words constituted the basis for Gesselen's translation. The combination of *Pferde, Kleider, Harnisch* from Schütz's Early New High German (German:

38 Wigand (Z/K), 40, p. 176: [...] *curribus cum armis et victualibus onustis relictis* [...]; 57, p. 196: [...] *et alii multi bene compositi in armis, ultra 200 galeas habentes* [...]; 62, p. 206: [...] *dominus Hinricus Bavarie ditavit castrum cum armis et victualibus necessariis* [...]; 236, p. 408: [...] *unde omnes dicti peregrini leti se preparant una cum magistro in arma contra paganos* [...]; 244, p. 416: [...] *in quibus victualia et arma habebant* [...]; 278, p. 452: [...] *unde marchalkus cum multis ruit in arma prope Kuleyn* [...]; 308, p. 494: [...] *equi, vestimenta, arma etc. omnia fuerunt incinerata* [...]; 314, p. 498: [...] *in succursum donans eis arma, equos et vestes* [...]; 357, p. 550: [...] *in quo loco magister mensam honoris preparari mandavit, sedentque in armis manducantes et bibentes* [...]; 360, p. 552: [...] *omnia arma eorum auferbat cum multa preda, occisione et captivitate* [...]; 372, p. 566: *Advovatus vero Sambyensis cum multis pertransiit venitque cum armis et structuram destruxit et incineravit omnino* [...]; 381, p. 578: *Cristburgenses amiserunt ibidem arma et alii plures, et cum periculo veniunt in Gilgam* [...]; 383, p. 582: [...] *ut celeriter adduceret exercitum et omnes ad arma valentes cum equis* [...]; 390, p. 594: *Francigine volebant cum Polonis equitare pro armis et equis* [...].

Frühneuhochdeutsch) text corresponds to the set of three Latin nouns: *eques*, *vestimenta*, *arma*.³⁹ It is not certain whether in the remaining cases the clergyman from Thorn rendered the Middle High German notion 'harnisch', 'harnasch' as 'arma', especially in that the semantic area of the former does not fully overlap with the Latin word *arma*.⁴⁰ One crossing-out made by Gesselen himself in his manuscript reveals that he was quite knowledgeable about military semantics at the level of broad quantification and abstract meanings of individual notions. Describing the wounded who were unable to continue fighting, he replaced the word *arma* with the term *protectio*, changing the meaning of the whole phrase from 'people unfit for weapons' to 'people unfit for defence'.⁴¹ Gesselen's reference point here was no doubt the Middle High German 'gewer' mentioned above, denoting both 'a weapon' and 'defence'.⁴²

The remaining over 111 instances featured in the Latin translation refer to concrete types of military equipment. Due to their considerable number they will be analyzed according to individual categories of military equipment used in weapons studies.

The clergyman from Thorn cites a few types of individual defensive weapons. The most often mentioned are shields, referred to with the word 'scutum' in two forms: *scutum* and *schutum*.⁴³ The latter displays morphological and phonetic influence from Germanic languages, which is understandable considering Konrad Gesselen's Hessian origins.⁴⁴ We may cautiously assume that in all cases the translator resorted to these words to render the Middle High German notion 'schilt'.⁴⁵ In none of the five cases were the shields described in more detail. The Latin notion 'scutum' itself

39 Wigand (Z/K), 308, p. 494: [...] *equi, vestimenta, arma etc. omnia fuerunt incinerata* [...] ~ C. Schütz, *Historia rerum Prussicarum*, Zerbst 1592 (henceforth quoted as Schütz), k. 94v: [...] *mit Harnisch, Kleidern, den besten Pferden und iagt hunden zu aschen verbrennet*.

40 Lexer, I, col. 1185; BMZ, I, col. 636a. The word denoted both the entirety of military equipment understood as an abstract collection of human products constituting all kinds of weaponry (thus being synonymous to the term 'wâpen', 'wâfen', see footnote 12) and – in a narrower semantic sense – a suit of military equipment of an armed man, or – in an even narrower understanding of the notion – only its protective elements, i.e., armour, see: G. Köhler, *Die Entwicklung des Kriegswesens...*, vol. III, 1, p. 67.

41 Wigand (Z/K), 326, p. 518 (with note f).

42 See footnote 14.

43 Wigand (Z/K), 57, p. 196: *Rex tamen a suis clientibus cum schutis protectus* [...]; 136, p. 286: [...] *qui resurgens accepto scuto et lancea equum perfecti transfixit*; 164, p. 326: [...] *unde ibidem sunt occisi in numero 100 cum schutis, qui in ea manebant et defenderant* [...]; 166, p. 328: [...] *et convertunt in fugam plures ex eis vulnerando spoliantes eos schutis et lanceis*; 176, p. 340: [...] *habentes scuta et lanceas, galeas etc.* [...].

44 See footnote 3.

45 Lexer, II, cols. 737f.; BMZ, II, 2, cols. 128a-129a.

was in the late Middle Ages a hypernym of various types of shields,⁴⁶ similarly as the word 'schild'. Interesting are three instances where shields are featured next to spears, as these types of defensive and offensive weapon appear to be the basic components of the suit of armour used in the 14th century in Prussia and Lithuania.⁴⁷

Another type of defensive weapon appearing in Gesselen's text is the helmet. To describe the protective headwear the translator used the word 'galea'.⁴⁸ However, only for two of the five mentions does the helmet, constituting an element of a suit of armour, feature as its referent. In the three remaining cases it was used metonymically, i.e., 'galea' describing one armed man; used with a numeral it referred to the number of heavily armed men in a military group or unit.⁴⁹ Even though Konrad Gesselen was a clergyman, he was well aware of this linguistic use common among the laity,⁵⁰ which proves that he was not ignorant of military matters. This is hardly unusual or surprising considering the fact that in 1464 Prussia entered the 11th year of a civil war. Gesselen clearly used the word 'galea' to translate the Middle High German term 'hëlm',⁵¹ which is based on concrete premises. A comparison of respective phrases used by Gesselen and Schütz reveals

46 DMLBS-O, entry 'scutum', <https://logeion.uchicago.edu/scutum> [accessed 1 April 2020]; about the variety of late medieval shields see: R.D. Smith, *Shields*, in: *The Oxford Encyclopedia of Medieval Warfare...*, vol. III, pp. 254f.; V. Schmidtchen, *Kriegswesen...*, pp. 149-151; more on the shields used in the late-medieval Prussia and Grand Duchy of Lithuania see: A. Nowakowski, *Arms and armour...*, pp. 78-82; K. Kwiatkowski, *Wojska zakonu niemieckiego...*, pp. 405-414; Y.M. Bochan, *Uzbraenne wojska VKL...*, pp. 86-88; idem, *Vajskovaâ sprawa...*, pp. 130-133.

47 A. Nowakowski, *Arms and armour...*, pp. 113f.; S. Ekdahl, *Warfare: The Baltic Crusades*, in: *The Crusades. An Encyclopedia*, vol. IV (Q-Z), ed. A.V. Murray, Santa Barbara-Denver-Oxford 2006, p. 1243; K. Kwiatkowski, *Wojska zakonu niemieckiego...*, pp. 352, 354, 410.

48 DMLBS-O, entry 'galea', <https://logeion.uchicago.edu/galea> [accessed 1 April 2020]; EŚLP, entry 'galea', https://elexicon.scripores.pl/pl/lemma/1.GALEA#haslo_pelny [accessed 1 April 2020].

49 Wigand (Z/K), 57, p. 196: [...] *et alii multi bene compositi in armis, ultra 200 galeas habentes* [...]; 212a, p. 382: *Multi quoque peregrini intererant et cum 150 galeis* [...]; 239, p. 410: [...] *dux Albertus de Lotringen venit in Pruziam cum 70 galeis* [...].

50 H. Delbrück, *Geschichte der Kriegskunst im Rahmen der politischen Geschichte*, vol. III: *Das Mittelalter*, Berlin ³1923 (repr.: Berlin 2000), pp. 315f.; E. v. Frauenholz, *Entwicklungsgeschichte des Deutschen Heerwesens*, I: *Das Heerwesen der germanischen Frühzeit, des Frankenreiches und des ritterlichen Zeitalters*, München 1935, pp. 112f., 120; W. Schulze, *Die Gleve. Der Ritter und sein Gefolge im späten Mittelalter*, München 1940, p. 30 (he observed that the term 'galea' was used ca. 1300 – ca. 1350/1360 to specify the number of the most heavily armed horsemen in an army; it was replaced in this function by the Latin expression 'glaeva', 'gleva' and its Middle High German equivalent 'gleve', 'glevenîe', subsequently used for over 150 years interchangeably with the words 'lancea', 'lanze' and 'spieß', see: ibidem, pp. 6, 31f., 37-69); T. Wise, *Medieval Warfare*, London 1976, p. 19; G. Köhler, *Die Entwicklung des Kriegswesens...*, vol. III, 2, Breslau 1886, pp. 101, 111f.

51 Lexer, I, cols. 1240f.; BMZ, I, cols. 678b-679a.

that in this case they sound almost identical (Gesselen: *cum 70 galeis* – Schütz: *mit siebentzig Helmen*).⁵² This prompts the conclusion that Wigand von Marburg's text may be locally reconstructed, at least from the perspective of its content and specific terminology, i.e., the vocabulary relative to weaponry. One of the fragments of Gesselen's text conclusively shows that the metonymic use of the word 'galea' refers to the best equipped armed men (and primarily powerful lords), who constituted the elite of any given army,⁵³ which is also known from other 14th century sources from German-speaking lands.⁵⁴ Two mentions of helmets as a specific weapon appear in the context of other elements of a suit of armour.⁵⁵ In one case they occur next to shields and spears, in the other – together with chainmail. Similarly as in the case of shields, these mentions do not feature any information about the appearance or construction of helmets.

One fragment of the text by the clergyman from Thorn featuring a mention of a helmet did not use the term 'galea'. In his narration of the meeting between Vytenis, the Grand Duke of Lithuania, and the prominent dignitaries of the Teutonic Order, Gesselen translated the description of the protective headwear of one of the Order's members worn in the battle in the field near Woplauken (today Wopławki) in a way that probably preserves the style of the chronicle's original text. The translation talks about an "iron head" (*caput ferreum*).⁵⁶ It would be difficult to conclude how this was phrased in Wigand's text and what it described; it may have been a mail coif, a pot helmet – or both.⁵⁷

Covers protecting the torso appear twice in the translation. In one case, already mentioned above, Gesselen described it with the word 'lorica' occurring together with the term 'galea'.⁵⁸ It is impossible to conclude which Middle High German word Wigand used here in the chronicle's original text. The referent of the Latin term 'lorica' was usually chainmail, i.e., flexible body armour, but also in this case in the late Middle Ages the word had a hyper-

52 Wigand (Z/K), 239, p. 410; Schütz, k. 92r.

53 Wigand (Z/K), 57, p. 196: [...] *multi principes etc. ei subveniunt, s(cilicet) Brandenburgensis, comes de Namem, similiter de Hennenberg, quidam de Francia et Austria et alii multi bene compositi in armis, ultra 200 galeas habentes* [...].

54 See footnote 50.

55 Wigand (Z/K), 176, p. 340: [...] *habentes scuta et lanceas, galeas etc.* [...]; 226, p. 400: [...] *non obstantibus galeis aut loriceis etc.*

56 Wigand (Z/K), 5, p. 132: [...] *cuius caput ferreum fuit* [...].

57 See Wigand (Z/K), p. 133, note 40; about these kinds of head covers see: C. Blair, *European Armour circa 1066 to circa 1700*, London 1958, pp. 30, 47f.; K. DeVries, R.D. Smith, *Medieval Military Technology...*, pp. 70, 71, 76; A. Ayton, *Arms, Armour, and Horses*, in: *Medieval Warfare...*, pp. 199f.; V. Schmidtchen, *Kriegswesen...*, pp. 139, 146, 148; G. Köhler, *Die Entwicklung des Kriegswesens...*, vol. III, 1, pp. 66f.

58 Wigand (Z/K), 226, p. 400: [...] *non obstantibus galeis aut loriceis etc.*

nymic quality,⁵⁹ therefore it is difficult to conclude exactly what type of body armour was described in the Middle High German text. In the other fragment the clergyman from Thorn resorted to the term 'arma' to describe the whole protective suit of armour of an individual armed man,⁶⁰ thus in its general meaning as 'armour',⁶¹ without specifying its type and construction.

The Latin text also indirectly refers to protective covers of a horse. In his translation of the narration about the siege of Vilnius in 1394 Gesselen used the phrase *cum equis tectis* ("with covered horses") to describe the war horses belonging to French crusaders from the army of the Grand Master of the Teutonic Order.⁶² It is quite probable that this was based on the phrase 'mit bedackten/bedachten pferden' from the original text.⁶³ As in the previous cases, it is hard to conclude here what kind of protective covers were described by Wigand von Marburg; it may have been all kinds of flexible covers as well as stiff body armour known as barding (in its more or less elaborate form).⁶⁴

The analysis of individual offensive weapons needs to begin with the cold weapon. Gesselen's text mentions only swords, which he described with merely one word 'gladius'.⁶⁵ In the translation it appears nine times altogether, seven of which were metaphorical.⁶⁶ A few times the word appeared alongside 'fire' ('ignis'); however, it was not used as a set phrase each time. Only in two cases is a particular weapon a referent of the term 'gladius'. In one it is a sword belonging to a concrete man – a Teutonic Order's knight-brother attacking the Lithuanian duke;⁶⁷ in the other they are the swords of a group of Lithuanians, which in the chronicler's narration constitute – next to spears – their basic offensive weapon.⁶⁸ Apart from describing the individual sword mentioned above

59 DMLBS-O, entry 'lorica', <https://logeion.uchicago.edu/lorica> [accessed 1 April 2020]; ESŁŚ, entry 'lorica', https://elexicon.scriptoros.pl/pl/lemma/lorica#haslo_pelny [accessed 1 April 2020]; see: V. Schmidtchen, *Kriegswesen...*, p. 138.

60 Wigand (Z/K), 136, p. 286: [...] *sed protectus armis mansit illesus* [...].

61 See footnote 18.

62 Wigand (Z/K), 383, p. 584: [...] *quidam de Francigenis cum equis tectis accesserunt* [...].

63 Lexer, I, col. 139; BMZ, I, col. 296a.

64 C. Blair, *European Armour...*, pp. 184-186; K. Kwiatkowski, *Wojska zakonu niemieckiego...*, p. 469.

65 DMLBS-O, entry 'gladius', <https://logeion.uchicago.edu/gladius> [accessed 1 April 2020]; ESŁŚ, entry 'gladius', https://elexicon.scriptoros.pl/pl/lemma/gladius#haslo_pelny [accessed 1 April 2020]; SŁŚP, IV, cols. 548f.

66 Wigand (Z/K), 119, p. 266: [...] *ubi paganos igne, gladio cum terra consumunt* [...]; 131, p. 274: [...] *hostilia exercuit opera, gladio, igne et rapina* [...]; 194, p. 364: [...] *et hostiliter inoadunt paganos in occisione gladii* [...]; 207, p. 378: [...] *gladio perdiderunt viros cum mulieribus et pueris* [...]; 374, p. 568: [...] *et tota die usque ad vesperam in gladio et igne vastantes* [...]; 378, p. 574: [...] *et viriliter eam vastabat igne, gladio, plures interimens* [...]; 393, p. 600: [...] *unde circumquaque igne et gladio vastant* [...].

67 Wigand (Z/K), 5, p. 132: [...] *tuo acuto gladio me quasi interfecisses*.

68 Wigand (Z/K), 389, p. 594: [...] *et intrant et lanceis et gladiis christianos figunt*.

with the adjective 'acutus' (= 'sharp'), the Latin text does not feature any more detailed description of the weapon. Especially in the case of the other mention, constituting an element of quite an elaborate narration, it does not seem that Wigand von Marburg's original work, undoubtedly resorting to the word 'swërt',⁶⁹ should be less laconic than its translation.

The haft weapon is quite frequently featured in the Latin translation. In one fragment the clergyman from Thorn used the word *lanceole* to refer to small spears ('lanciolae') that were hurled.⁷⁰ However, in other places of his narration he resorted to the word *lancea*, which – according to the chronicle's account – was a weapon used in a similar way.⁷¹ Thus, if Gesselen was aware that 'lanceae' were used not only to execute blows but were also hurled, it seems that he did not use the diminutive term *lanceole* coincidentally but wanted to indicate clearly that the spears referred to in the chronicle's original text were small. It would be hard to conclude what word Wigand von Marburg used in this context,⁷² but the referent of the word was probably a kind of javelin. Three instances of hurling a spear referred to as *lancea*, whose shafts were undoubtedly longer than those of the *lanceole*, also show that at least some of the spears used in the 14th century in Prussia and Lithuania had slightly longer shafts.⁷³ In Middle High German the spears of medium-length shafts used mainly as a hand-held weapon, but also hurled if necessary, were referred to as 'spër'.⁷⁴ The remaining mentions of the weapon called 'lancea' do not offer any clues as to its use in combat, size, or appearance.⁷⁵ However, in one case Gesselen

69 Lexer, II, cols. 1364f.; BMZ, II, 2, cols. 773b-775b.

70 Wigand (Z/K), 226, p. 402: *Quendam fratrem captivatium alligabant ad arborem et lanceoli[s] suis multis vulneribus occisum diis obtulerunt.*

71 Wigand (Z/K), 94, p. 242: *Pagani cum lanceis suis jecerunt in christianos [...];* 133, p. 278: *Conradus Hoberg vibrata lancea sua eundem detrusit de equo in terram;* 226, p. 400: *Sed et pagani celeriter in eos iniciunt lanceas, petras, kambucas, letaliter vulnerando [...].*

72 It is very probable that the chronicler used here the word 'wurfspër', see: Lexer, III, col. 1007; BMZ, II, 2, col. 494a. The term (*wurfspër*) is featured in Nikolaus von Jeroschin's Prussian chronicle (see: *Di Kronike von Pruzinlant des Nicolaus von Jeroschin*, ed. E. Strehlke, in: *Scriptores rerum Prussicarum...*, I, Leipzig 1861, p. 439, line 11811); the author used it to translate the expression *modica lancea* (= 'a small spear') used by Peter von Dusburg (see: *Petri de Dusburg Chronicon terre Prusie*, ed. M. Toepfen, in: *Scriptores rerum Prussicarum...*, I, Leipzig 1861, p. 107).

73 See: A. Nowakowski, *Arms and armour...*, pp. 91-94, 114; K. Kwiatkowski, *Wojska zakonu niemieckiego...*, pp. 352-355.

74 Lexer, II, col. 1081; BMZ, II, 2, cols. 492b-494a.

75 Wigand (Z/K), 136, p. 286: [...] *qui resurgens accepto scuto et lancea equum prefecti transfixit;* 166, p. 328: [...] *et convertunt in fugam plures ex eis vulnerando spoliantes eos schutis et lanceis;* 176, p. 340: [...] *habentes scuta et lanceas, galeas etc.;* 178, p. 344: *Prefectus de Girdowen cum suis nassutis comprimit ad navem, cui occurrunt cum x lanceis, bipennis et multis petris atque kambucis contra prefectum;* 225, p. 400: [...] *lanceas 6 infigentes in navim, jacentes cum kambucis etc. [...];* 389, p. 594: [...] *et intrant et lanceis et gladiis christianos figunt [...];* 393, p. 600: [...] *et multi vulnerantur telis et lanceis [...].*

resorted to the term 'hasta',⁷⁶ which in late-medieval variants of Latin was often used as a synonym of the word 'lancea'.⁷⁷ As according to the chronicle's narration it was used in combat by individual foot armed men, it is quite probable that it was a spear with a relatively short shaft.

Two already mentioned fragments of the Latin translation feature the term 'bipennis'.⁷⁸ Its late-medieval referent is hard to determine. It could have been a labrys, well known from the ancient Mediterranean circle, i.e., a double-bitted axe, also used on the Baltic and in Rus' in the 10th-11th centuries,⁷⁹ but it may also have been an axe with one cutting edge,⁸⁰ a hammer axe,⁸¹ or a kind of halberd.⁸² In one narration a *bipennis* is the weapon of a Lithuanian duke who used it in the initial phase of one-to-one combat, later reaching for a spear (*hasta*). Gesselen's text prevents any conclusions as to whether in Wigand's original account the Lithuanian monarch used both weapons simultaneously, which would mean that according to the chronicle the *bipennis* was a weapon that could be held in one hand. In another description *bipennes* are presented as a type of weapon used by some Lithuanians, while their comrades fought with spears or clubs.

The clubs seem to be another type of blunt weapon mentioned three times in Gesselen's text, each time referred to as *kambuciae*,⁸³ which in late-medieval Latin appeared in many variants (e.g., 'cambutta', 'cambota', 'cambusia'), even

76 Wigand (Z/K), 324, p. 512: *Frater Johannes de Aldenhoff suscipiens eum a Sudemundo cum bipenni in caput vulneratur et hasta fixus est in mortem.*

77 DMLBS-O, entry 'hasta', <https://logeion.uchicago.edu/hasta> [accessed 1 April 2020]; ESŁŚ, entry 'hasta', https://elexicon.scriptoros.pl/pl/lemma/hasta#haslo_pelny [accessed 1 April 2020]; SŁŚP, IV, cols. 715f.; see: A. Nowakowski, *Arms and armour...*, pp. 91f.

78 Wigand (Z/K), 178, p. 344: [...] *cui occurrunt cum x lanceis, bipennis et multis petris atque kambucis contra prefectum* [...]; 324, p. 512: *Frater Johannes de Aldenhoff suscipiens eum a Sudemundo cum bipenni in caput vulneratur et hasta fixus est in mortem.*

79 See: P. Paulsen, *Axt und Kreuz in Nord- und Osteuropa*, Bonn 1956, pp. 35-37.

80 ESŁŚ, entry 'bipennis', https://elexicon.scriptoros.pl/pl/lemma/bipennis#haslo_pelny [accessed 1 April 2020]; SŁŚP, I, col. 1108.

81 See: M. Głosek, *Późnośredniowieczna broń obuchowa w zbiorach polskich*, Warszawa-Łódź 1996, pp. 21-23.

82 MLW, I, cols. 1482f.; DMLBS-O, entry 'bipennis', <https://logeion.uchicago.edu/bipennis> [accessed 1 April 2020]; see: J. Waldman, *Hafted Weapons in Medieval and Renaissance Europe. The Evolution of European Staff Weapons between 1200 and 1650*, History of Warfare, XXXI, Leiden-Boston 2005, pp. 17, 53-77, 99-104; W. Boenheim, *Handbuch der Waffenkunde. Das Waffenwesen in seiner historischen Entwicklung vom Beginn des Mittelalters bis zum Ende des 18. Jahrhunderts*, Leipzig 1890 (repr.: Hildesheim 1984), pp. 330-342 (however, neither author discusses the weapon described with the term 'bipennis').

83 Wigand (Z/K), 178, p. 344: *Prefectus de Girdowen cum suis nassutis comprimit ad navem, cui occurrunt cum x lanceis, bipennis et multis petris atque kambucis contra prefectum*; 225, p. 400: [...] *lanceas 6 infigentes in navim, jacentes cum kambucis etc.* [...]; 226, p. 400: *Sed et pagani celeriter in eos iniciunt lanceas, petras, kambucas, letaliter vulnerando* [...].

though its referent was a bishop's or abbot's crosier⁸⁴ and not a kind of blunt weapon. It is hardly surprising that a clergyman used an ecclesiastical term, which is probably a reflection of an association which he made with the notion of the club encountered in the Middle High German text. It could have been the word 'kiule',⁸⁵ whose main equivalent in Latin was 'baculus'/'baculum', which was also used to describe a crosier.⁸⁶ It is impossible to conclude why in all three cases Gesselen resorted to the term *kambucae*. In two narrations, undoubtedly also in the original version, they were presented as a weapon hurled at the enemy.⁸⁷ Taking into consideration the fact that the clergyman from Thorn used a translational abbreviation *etc.* in one of the fragments, we may assume that the attack with the use of hurled clubs which he mentioned might have been described in the original text in more detail.

We are faced with a similar situation in the case of one of the two kinds of individual missile weapon mentioned in the chronicle, i.e., a bow. In Gesselen's translation it appears twice rendered as 'arcus' and presented as the military equipment of a certain group of armed men.⁸⁸ The abbreviations used by the translator in his text show that the original descriptions may have been longer, even though it is impossible to decide whether they featured a closer characteristic of weaponry or other information, or whether they included certain stylistic devices rendering the rhyming narration more attractive. The Middle High German term used by Wigand von Marburg to describe a bow was no doubt the word 'bogen'.⁸⁹

84 MLW, II, cols. 107f.

85 Lexer, I, col. 1591; BMZ, I, col. 822a.

86 MLW, I, col. 1309; DMLBS-O, entry 'baculus', <https://logeion.uchicago.edu/baculus> [accessed 1 April 2020]; EŚLŚ, entry 'baculum', https://elexicon.scripores.pl/pl/lemma/baculum#haslo_pelny [accessed 1 April 2020].

87 About clubs hurled by armed men see: K. DeVries, R.D. Smith, *Medieval Military Technology...*, p. 31; as to the possible use of clubs by Baltic tribe communities, albeit till the end of the 13th century see: P. Kittel, *Średniowieczne uzbrojenie zaczepne Prusów z obszaru północno-wschodniej Polski*, "Komunikaty Mazursko-Warmińskie" CCXXXVI (2002) 2, p. 180; furthermore see: A. Nowakowski, *Arms and armour...*, p. 96; G. Żabiński, *Das Grosse Ämterbuch des Deutschen Ordens – remarks on its value for arms and armour research*, in: *Weapon Brings Peace? Warfare in Medieval and Early Modern Europe*, ed. L. Marek, Wratislavia Antiqua. Studia z dziejów Wrocławia, XIX, Wrocław 2013, p. 201 (however, both authors quote mentions about this weapon only from the beginning of the 16th century and it does not seem to be the weapon that was hurled); C. Beckhenn, *Bewaffnung und Ausrüstung der heidenisch-preussischen Krieger und einige andere Gegenstände des preussischen Heereswesens*, "Altpreußische Monatsschrift" XXXIII (1896), pp. 363-366, was sceptical about the possibility that pagan Prussians resorted to hurling clubs; as to clubs in Lithuania see: Y.M. Bochan, *Vajskovaâ sprawa...*, p. 210.

88 Wigand (Z/K), 94, p. 242: *Ruteni cum arcubus etc., telis multos vulnerantes viros et equos etc.* [...]; 172, p. 336: [...] *christiani vero cum arcubus etc. Ywanum captivant* [...]; as to various types of bows see: V. Schmidtchen, *Kriegswesen...*, pp. 166-174.

89 Lexer, I, col. 322; BMZ, I, col. 178b.

Crossbows – the other type of missile weapon used by the armed men represented in Wigand von Marburg’s chronicle – are never directly referred to in the chronicle’s Latin translation. Their presence may only be inferred from the fragments which mention the armed men who may have used them. Gesselen describes them with the word ‘sagittarii’,⁹⁰ whose late-medieval referent was both archers and crossbowmen. Yet even though in his translation it is only very rarely that distinguishing between them is at all possible, in four cases it is clear from the narrative context or the detail of description.⁹¹

The projectiles shot from bows (arrows) or crossbows (bolts) also appear in the Latin translation as *sagittae* or *tela*. Their Middle High German equivalents were ‘pffile’, ‘phîle’⁹² and ‘schosse’, ‘schozze’;⁹³ while the latter also described spherical projectiles (balls, ellipsoids).⁹⁴ In the case of Gesselen’s translation the semantic range of both terms is broader, in accordance with the contemporary usus;⁹⁵ therefore, in some cases only the context in which the words appear enables precise determination of their referents, e.g., if they are featured in the narrations about and descriptions of armed men attacking in the field, shooting at individual people or animals, as well as in direct contextual combinations with the weapons which might have been used to shoot them. In the case of the word ‘sagitta’ it is possible in five fragments⁹⁶

90 Wigand (Z/K), 61, p. 204; 62, p. 206; 190, p. 356; 191, p. 358; 324, p. 512; 381, p. 578; 381, p. 580; 383, p. 586; 384, p. 586; 385, p. 590; 391, p. 596.

91 Wigand (Z/K), 381, p. 578; 383, p. 586; 385, p. 590; 391, p. 596. All the mentions tell about crossbowmen from Genoa – a Ligurian centre famous in the late Middle Ages for the shooters using this type of missile weapon, see: G. Köhler, *Die Entwicklung des Kriegswesens...*, vol. III, 2, p. 154; E. Hartmuth, *Die Armbrust*, Graz 1975, pp. 29, 30; G. Rackevičius, *Arbaletas ir lankas lietuvoje XIII–XVI a.*, Vilnius 2002, p. 12.

92 Lexer, II, col. 245; BMZ, II, 1, cols. 494a-494b; for late-medieval Prussia see: S. Ekdahl, *Die Armbrust...*, pp. 28-31; A. Nowakowski, *Arms and armour...*, pp. 99f.; K. Kwiatkowski, *Wojska zakonu niemieckiego...*, pp. 424-426.

93 Lexer, II, col. 780; BMZ, II, 2, col. 175a.

94 See for Prussia: G. Żabiński, *Das Marienburger Ämterbuch as a source for the Teutonic Order’s arms and armour resources*, in: *Non sensistis gladios. Studia ofiarowane Marianowi Głogowski w 70. rocznicę urodzin*, ed. L. Domańska, L. Kajzer, J. Maik, A. Andrzejewska, S. Liszewski, Łódź 2011, p. 510; idem, *Das Grosse Ämterbuch...*, pp. 203f.

95 Lexer, II, col. 780; BMZ, II, 2, col. 175a; DMLBS-O, entry ‘telum’, <https://logeion.uchicago.edu/telum> [accessed 1 April 2020]; see: G. Rackevičius, *Arbaletas ir lankas lietuvoje...*, pp. 19, 21.

96 Wigand (Z/K), 29, p. 158: [...] *x diebus mutuis sagittis et iactibus se impugnantes* [...]; 30, p. 160: [...] *et hostiliter sagittis, i[a]ctibus etc. Polonos invadunt et tentoria eorum* [...]; 74, p. 218: [...] *nec aliquo telo vel sagitta poterat offendi* [...]; 383, p. 584: [...] *et cum christianis sagittis mutuo se invadunt* [...]; 385, p. 590: [...] *unde sagittis hostiliter eum invadunt* [...]. In two fragments the meaning of the expression ‘sagittae’ remains unclear; however, it may be interpreted as projectiles shot from individual missile weapons, see: Wigand (Z/K), 79, p. 224: [...] *quod nec igne nec sagittis poterat vinci*; 141, p. 296: [...] *per quod christianis sagittis multa mala facta sunt* [...].

and in 11 for the word 'telum'.⁹⁷ Yet even then it is very rare that a distinction between arrows and bolts can be made.⁹⁸ In one fragment Gesselen used both terms next to each other,⁹⁹ which clearly shows that in some cases he could have attributed both notions with mutually synonymous meanings, even if he resorted to one at a given moment. Just as in the case of all the types of military equipment analyzed so far, his text does not feature any detailed descriptions of the projectiles;¹⁰⁰ there are also no premises to assume that Wigand von Marburg's original work offered any broader characteristic of this element of shooting weaponry.

One fragment of Gesselen's text telling about an armed clash in a field includes information about hurling stones at the enemy, which the translator describes with the word 'petra'.¹⁰¹ In this narration stones are not the only projectiles hurled by a group of armed men, as they also hurl the spears mentioned above and clubs. It is impossible to decide whether the case here should be understood literally or whether it might suggest the use of slings,¹⁰² mentioned nowhere else in the Latin text.

97 Wigand (Z/K), 43, p. 180: [...] *quia equus eius telo transfixus* [...]; 62, p. 206: [...] *magister sagittariorum telo igneo vexillum combussit et statim post paganorum regem de Tracken telo vulnerat in colulum inter scapulas* [...]; 74, p. 218: [...] *nec aliquo telo vel sagitta poterat offendi* [...]; 94, p. 242: *Ruteni cum arcubus etc., telis multos vulnerantes viros et equos etc.* [...]; 129, p. 274: [...] *fuit telo interfectus* [...]; 136, p. 284: [...] *propellens paganos et plures telis transfixit et sic evasit manus eorum*; 175, p. 340: [...] *pecora transfigunt telis et ultra 30 captivaverunt equos educentes* [...]; 182, p. 348: [...] *premissi Lithvani grandem thaurum silvestrem telo fixerant* [...]; 194, p. 366: [...] *et in tantis angustiis regis a quodam dictus frater telo in faciem percussit* [...]; 383, p. 584: [...] *quorum quidam telis transfixi sunt* [...]; 393, p. 600: [...] *et multi vulnerantur telis et lanceis, unde circumquaque igne et gladio vastant* [...]. In four cases it cannot be conclusively determined whether the mentioned projectiles (*tela*) were thrown with the use of an individual weapon or collectively operated missile weapons, see: Wigand (Z/K), 139, p. 294: [...] *descenduntque cum structuris et propugnaculum prope Nergam, de quo magna dampna cum telis fecerunt* [...]; 143, p. 298: [...] *et sine tedio fabricarent tela etc.* [...]; 315, p. 502: [...] *unusque frater transfixus est telo in mortem* [...]; 355, p. 546, 548: *Dux Conradus cum telo occiditur* [...]. In the case of the first mention G. Rackevičius, *Arbaletas ir lankas lietuvoje...*, p. 37, suggests that in this case 'telum' may have denoted a projectile shot from a great crossbow deployed on the walls (*arcuballista*).

98 G. Rackevičius, *Arbaletas ir lankas lietuvoje...*, p. 19, assumed that the shooters mentioned in Gesselen's Latin translation are primarily crossbowmen, which cannot be conclusively verified.

99 Wigand (Z/K), 74, p. 218: [...] *nec aliquo telo vel sagitta poterat offendi* [...].

100 Wigand (Z/K), 62, p. 206: [...] *magister sagittariorum telo igneo* [...] – this is probably an unspecified haft projectile wrapped in tar-covered material or only dipped in tar and lit just before shooting, however, it is still not clear whether it was an arrow or a bolt. E. Gudavičius, *Ką reikšė "užginė ietis" (telum igneum) Vygando Kronikoje, "Lietuvių istorijos metraštis"* (1984) [1985], pp. 78-80, interpreted this fragment as evidence of a projectile shot from a great crossbow deployed on the walls, similarly after him G. Rackevičius, *Arbaletas ir lankas lietuvoje...*, p. 37.

101 Wigand (Z/K), 226, p. 400: *Sed et pagani celeriter in eos iniciunt lanceas, petras, kambucas, letaliter vulnerando, non obstantibus galeis aut loriceis etc.* [...].

102 See: K. DeVries, R.D. Smith, *Medieval Military Technology...*, pp. 33f.; W. Boenheim, *Handbuch der Waffenkunde...*, pp. 385-388.

Much more numerous than the references to individual weapons are those describing collective military equipment, most of which are devoted to the missile weapon. The easiest to interpret is the term 'bombarda', appearing as many as 21 times in the Latin translation. Its referent was that of cannons with short barrels of a relatively large diameter shooting stone projectiles. Another word used by Gesselen to describe cannons is 'pixis', 'pyxis' (plural: 'pixides', 'pyxides').¹⁰³ For the translator they were practically synonymous to 'bombarda', which was congruent with the contemporary linguistic *usus*.¹⁰⁴ The Middle High German term describing a cannon was 'buchse', 'büchse', usually appearing in various compound forms (e.g., 'steinbuchse').¹⁰⁵ Its use by Wigand von Marburg is confirmed by fragments of the excerpts by the historian from Danzig (Gdańsk), Stenzel Bornbach, who used this expression in the 1580s and 1590s (*puchse, buxe*).¹⁰⁶ In the Latin translation 'bombardae' and 'pixides' refer to

103 DMLBS-O, entry 'pyxis', <https://logeion.uchicago.edu/pyxis> [accessed 3 April 2020]; ESŁŚ, entry 'pyxis', https://elexicon.scriptores.pl/pl/lemma/pyxis#I_sense_2 [accessed 3 April 2020]; SŁŚP, VII, col. 1580.

104 *Glossarium mediae et infimae latinitatis conditum a Carolo Du Fresne, Domino Du Cange, auctum a monachis ordinis S. Benedicti, cum supplementis integris D. P. Carpenterii, Adelungii, aliorum suisque digessit G. A. L. Henschel, editio nova, aucta pluribus verbis aliorum scriptorum a L. Favre, vol. I (A – B), Paris 1937, p. 694, col. b; p. 695, col. a; ESŁŚ, entry 'bombarda', https://elexicon.scriptores.pl/pl/lemma/bombarda#haslo_pelny [accessed 3 April 2020]; SŁŚP, I, cols. 1123f.; see: G. Köhler, *Die Entwicklung des Kriegswesens...*, vol. III, 1, pp. 238-248; K. DeVries, R.D. Smith, *Medieval Military Technology...*, pp. 149-151; Ch. Gravett, *Medieval Siege Warfare...*, p. 52; J. Szymczak, *Początki broni palnej w Polsce (1383–1533)*, Łódź 2004, pp. 31, 35; P. Strzyż, *Broń palna w Europie Środkowej w XIV–XV w.*, Łódź 2014, pp. 72, 104-106; K. Kwiatkowski, *Wojska zakonu niemieckiego...*, pp. 436f.*

105 *Lexen*, I, cols. 379f.; II, col. 1164; BMZ, I, cols. 277a, 277b; *Schweizerisches Idiotikon. Wörterbuch der schweizerdeutschen Sprache*, vol. IV, ed. F. Staub et al., Frauenfeld 1898, col. 1007; see: V. Schmidtchen, *Kriegswesen...*, pp. 194-202; idem, *Bombarden, Befestigungen, Büchsenmeister. Von den ersten Mauerbrechern des Spätmittelalters zur Belagerungsartillerie der Renaissance. Eine Studie zur Entwicklung der Militärtechnik*, Düsseldorf 1977, pp. 12-42 (however, it concerns only the 15th century); also publications quoted in footnote 104.

106 *Bornbachs Auszug*, ed. Th. Hirsch, in: Wigand (H), pp. 601, 613, 634. Especially one sentence from Bornbach's excerpts, after it is compared with Gesselen's version, seems to be a denotatively adequate translation of Wigand's original text (disregarding incorrect identification of the name of castle Georgenburg), see: Wigand (Z/K), 296, p. 474: *Post Pascha navigio per Mimilam descendit Kynstut cum bombardis ante Jurgenborg [...] ~ Bornbachs Auszug*, p. 613: *Item do zog könig Kinstut in Preussen vor Insterborg, vnd brochte buxen mit [...]*. In another case the cannon described by Gesselen as *bombarda* was presented by Bornbach as *grosse buxe* (see: Wigand (Z/K), 333, p. 528; *Bornbachs Auszug...*, p. 634); it is impossible to verify how it was phrased in the original text. As to the use of the term 'buchse' in Prussia see: V. Schmidtchen, *Die Feuerwaffen des Deutschen Ritterordens bis zur Schlacht bei Tannenberg 1410: Bestände, Funktion und Kosten, dargestellt anhand der Wirtschaftsbücher des Ordens von 1374 bis 1410*, Lüneburg 1977, p. 26; and especially G. Żabiński, *Not Only Barrels – Equipment for Firearms in the State of the Teutonic Order in Prussia*, "Ordines Militares Colloquia Torunensia Historica. Yearbook for the Study of the Military Orders" XXII (2017), pp. 175-180; idem, *Das Marienburger Ämterbuch...*, p. 508.

a weapon used primarily during sieges by both attackers¹⁰⁷ as well as defenders.¹⁰⁸ One narration tells about the bombardment of an already conquered castle, abandoned by its defenders and emptied of all the equipment (Neu-Garten), with the purpose of its destruction;¹⁰⁹ another mentions the mutual firing of cannons by armies facing each other in the field.¹¹⁰ Other fragments tell of cannons deployed in firing (also fortified) positions.¹¹¹

Non-firing weaponry is represented in the Latin translation as frequently as firearms. Next to the fragment about the trebuchets surviving in the original text (discussed above) Gesselen's version includes nine references to non-firing missile weapons.¹¹² In each case they appear

107 Wigand (Z/K), 268, p. 444: *Subsequiturque exercitus et opponunt se castro bombarden aduolventes, crastina die sagittis impugnant, multi quoque paganorum perterriti sunt, quum ante hec tempora non asportabant bombardas contra paganos [...];* 268, p. 444: *usus bombardarum primus;* 272, p. 448: *[...] et consequenter ante Nawenpil vulgariter et bombardis impugnant castrum;* 296, p. 474: *Post Pascha navigio per Mimilam descendit Kynstut cum bombardis ante Jurgenborg [...];* 305, p. 486: *Et sic marschalkus separatur a rege vocatoque exercitu bombardas, quas adduxerat ad vincendas terras [...];* 314, p. 498: *Magister cum suis in una Wytaut in alia parte bombardas adducentes et variis sagittis murum infringunt [...];* 325, p. 514: *[...] apporta bombardas etc. [...];* 330, p. 524: *[...] cum innumeris bombardis et telis ordinatis in exercitum magistri [...];* 361, p. 554: *[...] et fiunt varii conflictus bombardarum, sagittaciones diverse [...];* 369, p. 564: *[...] et impugnant cum lapidibus bombardum castrum [...];* 384, p. 586: *Deinde comportata sunt protecticula bombarde etc., quibus multipliciter domus impugnatur [...];* 385, p. 590: *De nocte 400 descenderunt de castro, ut sagittarios learent et pixides, qui dormierunt;* 386, p. 590: *[...] magister etiam Pruzzie fecit erigi protecticula et x pixides, cum quibus die noctuque sagittatur [...];* 386, p. 592: *Deinde pixides statuuntur contra murum [...];* 387, p. 592: *Post hec ordinant bombardam contra turrin inferiorem [...];* 387, p. 592: *Interim singulis diebus nova fabricaverunt protecticula et propugnacula, que etiam magistro cum bombardis parum proficiebant [...].*

108 Wigand (Z/K), 325, p. 514: *Magister bombardarum de castro aptavit magnam bombardam, sagittans post machinam maiorem vacuo ictu [...];* 325, p. 514: *Ex omni quoque parte cum pixibus invaserunt et multos occiderunt paganorum;* 325, p. 516: *[...] magister Hermannus ad foramen quoddam castri statuit bombardam contra paganos [...];* 330, p. 524: *[...] inuasitque exercitum magistri cum sagittis bombardarum [...];* 333, p. 528: *[...] in quo dux Schirgal tunc temporis manebat, qui cum bombardam contra christianos ordinata multos occiderat;* 361, p. 554: *[...] et fiunt varii conflictus bombardarum, sagittaciones diverse [...];* 389, p. 594: *[...] cucurrerunt enim ad protecticula quasi volentes ea concremare et iam tetenderant pixides ad sagittandum in christianos.*

109 Wigand (Z/K), 367, p. 560: *[...] de antiqua Garten sine intermissione cum bombardis sigittantes, probantes eius firmitatem [...].*

110 Wigand (Z/K), 381, p. 580: *[...] et venit ad terram sicut prius in dolo et cum bombardis suis impugnat tentoria magistri [...];* 381, p. 580: *Hinc et inde Lithwani fortiter armati quietis impacientes cum bombardam per quendam Geneuel sunt turbati.*

111 Wigand (Z/K), 381, p. 580: *Similiter magister ordinavit pixides in hostes suos in pari forma;* 383, p. 582: *Wytaudum stare in nemore intra septa succisarum arborum et armatum viij vallis cum truncis et roboribus conclavatis cum bombardis et telis innumeris [...].*

112 Wigand (Z/K), 16, p. 144: *Opidum Ploltzk obsident, machinas erigunt, quibus iaciendo in opidum [...];* 18, p. 146: *[...] et cum machinis et sagittis graviter invasit [...];* 140, p. 296: *[...] Frater Marquardus novam machinam in primum erexit locum, qua mediante murum castri iactibus horridis discidit [...];* 147, p. 306: *[...] machinam erigit, qua impugnat impetuosus iactibus castrum [...];* 325, p. 514: *Crastina die*

with the hypernymic term ‘machinae’, whose semantic range in the late Middle Ages comprised various types of military equipment, from missile weapons, to siege engines enabling the attack of the walls of besieged fortifications, to mobile siege towers.¹¹³ In the case of the mentions referred to here the interpretation of the term ‘machina’ as a projectile throwing engine is by all means correct due to the context where they appear and the references to the on-going bombardment.¹¹⁴ In interpreting these mentions Schütz’s text is helpful as it indicates that the original fragments of Wigand’s chronicle, which he directly referred to, featured missile weapons.¹¹⁵ One narrative fragment includes a reference to weapons on both combatant sides, where those employed by the besieging army may be generally classified as trebuchets.¹¹⁶ Taking into consideration the reference to the trebuchets from the original text analyzed above and the fact that Gesselen restored to the Latin word ‘machinae’ to describe them, we may assume that in the cases examined here Wigand von Marburg used the word ‘blîden’. In two more instances the term ‘machinae’ may be interpreted as the description of trebuchets.¹¹⁷ They feature ‘machine’ next to ‘arietes’ and as follows from less ambiguous fragments, in such pairs the referent of the former was that of missile weapons.¹¹⁸

superuenit rex Schirgal cum copia magna et duabus machinis et multis vicibus iniciunt in castrum. Altera die Jagel et Wytaud maiorem machinam adductam erigunt [...]; 325, p. 516: [...] qui multis il[ic]tibus et sorte pendiculum machinarum dirupit; 326, p. 518: [...] vidit lapidem proci de machina et caput commendatoris amputari [...].

113 See footnote 22.

114 In one of the quoted cases (see: Wigand (Z/K), 325, p. 516) the narrative context shows that it is necessary to resort to conjecture of the word *ictibus*, changing it to *iactibus*, as a trebuchet’s counterweight could be destroyed with the use of another missile weapon only as a consequence of a shot made from it (*iacta* → *iactibus*) and not its direct blow (*icta* → *ictibus*).

115 Wigand (Z/K), 30, p. 162: [...] *et fecit fieri machinas, arietes et huiusmodi propugnacula, quibus graoiter eos impugnat* [...] ~ Schütz, k. 72r: [...] *ließ Feuerwerck vnd andere dinge verordenen* [...] – if what Gesselen described as *machinas, arietes* Schütz translated as *Feuerwerck* (= ‘firing engine’, ‘engine to throw fire’), this means that from the two Latin terms only ‘machinae’ could have worked in such a way because the expression ‘arietes’, as it was explained above, denotes battering rams; Wigand (Z/K) 138, p. 292: *Tandem fecit machinas et alia instrumenta erigere in altitu[dinem] domus* [...] ~ Schütz, k. 86r: *Vnd demnach richteten sie die Wehren und werffzeuge an allen orte[n] an, die sie damals nenneten Bliden und Tummeler, daß waren solche Werckzeuge, damit sie grosse steine, wie auch Feuer von sich worfthen, vnd boecke vnd dergleichen an die Mauren schickten* [...] – thanks to the meta-textual comment by the historian from Danzig, in this case equating Gesselen’s ‘machinae’ with trebuchets in Wigand’s original text leaves no doubt.

116 See: Wigand (Z/K), 325, p. 516 (quotation in footnote 112).

117 Wigand (Z/K), 62, p. 206: [...] *cum gravi exercitu, machinis, arietibus etc. circumdedit domum* [...]; 137, p. 288: [...] *et ut sic facerent machinas et arietes etc.* [...].

118 See footnote 115.

In some other cases the term 'machinae' is semantically unclear,¹¹⁹ while a comparison with Schütz's text shows inconclusively that Gesselen often used it as a hypernym to describe various siege engines collectively.¹²⁰ In one more case the clergyman from Thorn decided to use the term 'propugnacula'¹²¹ to refer to this type of weapon, crossing out the word 'machinae',¹²² but why he did this cannot be explained.

Gesselen often mentions projectiles shot from both baroballistic machines and firearms, but their semantic ranges remains quite broad and the words' meanings are quite vague. Relatively the least ambiguous is the interpretation of the word 'iacta', which he used to describe the projectiles thrown, i.e., shot from trebuchets, which corresponds to the semantic range of the verb 'iacio, -ere' (= 'throw', 'hurl') and the intuitive association of the plunging trajectories of the projectiles thrown from trebuchets with the parabola of a long throw executed by a human being. A chronological comparison of those mentions clearly shows¹²³ that they appear in the narrations devoted to the period preceding the first combat deployment of piroballistic artillery in Prussia. Gesselen was very well aware of that moment (1381), even though he was a little wrong about its chronology.¹²⁴

119 Wigand (Z/K), 62, p. 206: *Fratres quoque exeunt et machinas et alia relicta deducunt ad castrum [...];* 73, p. 218: [...] *quod oppugnat cum duabus machinis [...];* 140, p. 296: *Marschalkus vero in officio sollicitus omnia sub bona servavit custodia, machinas etc. [...];* 163, p. 324: [...] *fitque machina, quam marschalkus convertit in latus suburbii [...];* 163, p. 324: [...] *commendator Elbingensis cum 4 arietibus inferius et frater Ortolf impugnantes suburbium, et machine transeunt sequenti nocte [...];* 325, p. 514: *Maior eciam machina in continenti instaurata est [...];* 325, p. 514: *Magister bombardarum de castro aptavit magnam bombardam, sagittans post machinam maiorem vacuo ictu [...].*

120 Wigand (Z/K), 191, p. 358: [...] *et potenti exercitu cum machinis variis die et nocte impugnant eam [...]* ~ Schütz, k. 90r: [...] *mit grosser macht der Vnchristen von allerley gewehr, bliden vnd tumler, vnd stuermeten das neue Hauß [...].*

121 See footnote 145.

122 Wigand (Z/K), 387, p. 592: *Interim singulis diebus nova frabricaverunt protecticula et machinas propugnacula [...].*

123 Wigand (Z/K), 29, p. 158: [...] *diebus mutuis sagittis et iactibus se impugnantes* – in this fragment devoted to shooting at each other in 1330 by the armies deployed on the opposite banks of the river Drwęca, we could expect a mention about projectiles shot from bows and crossbows as both armies stood in the field separated only by a river channel. Yet then Gesselen would have used the words 'sagittae' and 'tela', as it was indicated in the analysis carried out above. It thus seems that those 'iacta' describe the projectiles thrown from missile weapons; another mention concerning 1330 and the foray by a group of armed men unexpectedly running out of the besieged castle and subsequently attacking the camp of the besieging forces is a similar case, see: Wigand (Z/K), 30, p. 160: [...] *et hostiliter sagittis, i[a]ctibus etc. Polonos invadunt et tentoria eorum [...];* the last two cases are unambiguous: Wigand (Z/K), 140, p. 296: *Frater Marquardus novam machinam in primum erexit locum, qua mediante murum castrum iactibus horridis disscidit [...];* 147, p. 306: [...] *machinam erigit, qua impugnat impetuosius iactibus castrum [...].*

124 Wigand (Z/K), 268, p. 444: *usus bombardarum primus* – it is a marginal note commenting on the events dated to 1380; it is impossible to decide whether the chronological mistake resulted

In one fragment, narratively unclear, the translator used the term 'sagittae'¹²⁵ to describe the projectiles shot from missile weapons deployed outside the besieged town, which – assuming that it was adequately translated – might suggest that the besieging army used neuroballistic weaponry, even though in the 14th century big projectiles like arrows were also shot from firearms.¹²⁶

Chronological premises and/or a narrative context help to determine the referent of the term 'lapides' found in the Latin translation, which denotes stones in general, including stones-projectiles.¹²⁷ In three cases they clearly were stone projectiles shot from barballistic machines.¹²⁸

Also in the case of the projectiles shot from cannons (bombards) only the context and comparison with the terms describing firearms enables their unambiguous identification, which is possible in three fragments. In two Gesselen used the term 'tela'¹²⁹ and in one – 'lapides'.¹³⁰ In two fragments of the Latin text the terms used by the translator: 'tela' and 'lapides' refer-

from misunderstanding the chronicle's original text or it was made by Wigand. One fragment in Gesselen's translation, due to considerable abridgement of the content and a spelling mistake (the expression 'iacta' should have been used instead of 'icta', cf. footnote 114), remains unclear to such an extent that it cannot be decided whether the term 'i[a]cta' refers to projectiles thrown from the barballistic machines of the besiegers or the firearms of the besieged, see: Wigand (Z/K), 325, p. 516: [...] *qui multis i[a]ctibus et sorte pendiculum machinarum disruptit*.

125 Wigand (Z/K), 18, p. 146: [...] *et cum machinis et sagittis graviter invasit* [...].

126 Ch. Gravett, *Medieval Siege Warfare*, pp. 47, 49. Due to chronology in this case it is less probable that these arrows were shot from cannons (*garrots*, *garros*), even though in the first half of the 14th century such *usus* was known in western-European countries and in Prussia in the first quarter of the 15th century, see: G. Köhler, *Die Entwicklung des Kriegswesens...*, vol. III, 1, p. 264; Ph. Contamine, *La Guerre au Moyen Age*, Paris 1994⁴ (here used is the Polish translation: *Wojna w średniowieczu*, transl. M. Czajka, Gdańsk-Warszawa 2004, p. 168); K. DeVries, R.D. Smith, *Medieval Military Technology...*, p. 153; R.B. Smith, *Artillery and the Hundred Years War: Myth and Interpretation*, in: *Arms, Armies and Fortification in the Hundred Years War*, ed. A. Curry, M. Hughes, Woodbridge 1994, p. 153; Ch. Gravett, *Medieval Siege Warfare...*, p. 53; B. Rathgen, *Das Geschütz...*, pp. 400-402; S. Ekdahl, *Die Armbrust...*, p. 28; K. Huuri, *Zur Geschichte des mittelalterlichen Geschützwesens...*, p. 51, footnote 2.

127 DMLBS-O, entry 'lapis', <https://logeion.uchicago.edu/lapis> [accessed 3 April 2020]; EŚLP, entry 'lapis', https://lexicon.scriptoros.pl/pl/lemma/lapis#haslo_pelny [accessed 3 April 2020].

128 Wigand (Z/K), 57, p. 196: [...] *qui ignem, ligna et lapides in castrum et regem iactabant*; 325, p. 516: [...] *et magistrum dictum in castro occiderunt ictu lapidis* [...]; 326, p. 518: [...] *vidit lapidem proici de machina et caput commendatoris amputari* [...].

129 Wigand (Z/K), 330, p. 524: [...] *cum innumeris bombardis et telis ordinatis in exercitum magistri* [...]; 383, p. 582: [...] *cum bombardis et telis innumeris* [...]. It is hardly possible to accept Romas Batūra's conclusion, who interpreted the term 'bombardae' in the first fragment quoted here as an expression denoting hand firearms, see: R. Batūra, *Karinė organizacija Lietuvoje XIII–XV a.*, in: *Lietuvių karas su kryžiuočiais*, [ed. J. Jurginis], Vilnius 1964, p. 97.

130 Wigand (Z/K), 369, p. 564: [...] *et impugnant cum lapidibus bombardum castrum* [...].

ring to projectiles¹³¹ cannot be assigned to any particular type of missile weapon. The third term used by Gesselen in the context of firing cannons, i.e., 'sagittae', described not projectiles themselves but shots;¹³² this use demonstrates the features of a typical metonymic shift ('sagitta' (= 'arrow') → 'sagitta' (= 'shot'),¹³³ which in Latin was probably caused by the fact that in the 14th century firearms for a long time also shot projectiles which actually had the shape of arrows.¹³⁴

Non-ballistic siege engines are quite numerous represented in Konrad Gesselen's translation. Battering rams, which he described with the terms 'arietes',¹³⁵ are mentioned as many as nine times (not counting the case known from the original text analyzed above). Their effect was described with a deverbative term 'icta' (= 'blows').¹³⁶

One fragment of the chronicle's translation mentions an unspecified siege engine, described as *machine*,¹³⁷ which – taking into consideration the nar-

131 Wigand (Z/K), 285, p. 462: [...] *preceptores ambo cum igne noctu dieque, sagittabant et telis sine intermissione* [...]; 389, p. 594: [...] *et sic a lapidibus atque telis christicole plurimum sunt turbati et offensi* [...].

132 Wigand (Z/K), 268, p. 444: *Subsequiturque exercitus et opponunt se castro bombarden advolventes, crastina die sagittis impugnant* [...]; 314, p. 498: *Magister cum suis in una Wytaut in alia parte bombardas adducentes et variis sagittis murum infringunt* [...]; 330, p. 524: [...] *invasitque exercitum magistri cum sagittis bombardarum* [...]; 386, p. 590: *Nona die exercitus surgit et ad inferiorem civitatem se ponit, ubi variis [a]lctibus, sagittis etc. christiani a Lithwanis turbantur non sine vindicta* [...]; 386, p. 590: [...] *turris castri sagittis dirumpitur et in aquam ruit* [...].

133 This shift has a virtually analogous semantic form in Polish: 'strzała' (= 'arrow') → 'wystrzał' (= 'shot'), and a different one in German: 'Geschoss' (= 'missile') → 'Schuss' (= 'shot').

134 See footnote 126.

135 Wigand (Z/K), 30, p. 162: [...] *et fecit fieri machinas, arietes et huiusmodi propugnacula, quibus graviter eos impugnat* [...]; 62, p. 206: [...] *cum gravi exercitu, machinis, arietibus etc. circumdedit domum* [...]; 137, p. 288: [...] *et ut sic facerent machinas et arietes etc.* [...]; 138, p. 292: [...] *fecit omnino pariem [arietem – K.K.], cum quo disiecit propugnaculum usque ad fundum, quod stetit prope Nergam; similiter graviter impugnavit murum castri cum eodem instrumento*; 143, p. 300: [...] *et vidit murum paulatim ruere de ictibus arietis et de structuris* [...]; 163, p. 324: [...] *commendator Elbingensis cum 4 arietibus inferius et frater Ortolf impugnantes suburbium, et machine transeunt sequenti nocte* [...]; 225, pp. 398, 400: *Quidam de fratribus ictu arietis offensus est* [...]; 326, p. 518: [...] *duosque arietes, quibus sine intervallo impugnant castrum* [...]; 326, p. 520: *Et placuit omnibus; circumdederunt eam impugnantes sagittis arietum et in die sancti Thome 84 sagittis huiusmodi hostiliter quassant inhabitante* [...]; as to the meaning of the term 'aries', see: footnote 26; some of these mentions are quoted by S. Ekdahl, *The Siege Machines...*, p. 33.

136 Wigand (Z/K), 143, p. 300; 225, pp. 398, 400. In one case Gesselen for unknown reasons used a semantically incorrect phrase *sagittis arietum* (literally: 'with the shots of the battering rams').

137 Wigand (Z/K), 191, p. 358: [...] *machinam eciam eque altam rex adduxit* [...]. As to the broad semantic scope of the term 'machina' see footnote 22. On siege towers see: G. Köhler, *Die Entwicklung des Kriegswesens...*, vol. III, 1, pp. 134f.; J. Bradbury, *The Medieval Siege...*, pp. 241-250; Ch. Gravett, *Medieval Siege Warfare*, pp. 31f.; K. DeVries, R.D. Smith, *Medieval Military Technology...*, pp. 170-175; and for the Baltic zone S. Ekdahl, *The Siege Machines...*, pp. 34f.; K. Kwiatkowski, *Wojska zakonu niemieckiego...*, pp. 449f.

rative context – may be identified as a tower whose height equalled that of the besieged fortifications. In Wigand von Marburg's original text it was probably described with the term 'ëbenhöhe'.¹³⁸

In a few places the text by the clergyman from Thorn presents the covers used by the besieging armies to protect against bombards, which he refers to with a specific neologism 'protecticula',¹³⁹ where the diminutive form would suggest the small size of these structures. Another type of siege engines presented in the Latin translation are the covers described as 'tuguria'.¹⁴⁰ This term was used in medieval Latin to refer to a tent, a small house, or another small roofed structure providing protection.¹⁴¹ Its referent among siege engines was probably all types of wooden structures providing cover for the groups of armed men advancing directly towards the besieged fortifications.¹⁴² One of the fragments of Gesselen's text, a translation of an original narration for which there also is Schütz's account, indicates that the clergyman from Thorn could have referred to all types of covers used during sieges with a hypernymic term 'instrumenta'.¹⁴³ The historian from Danzig described them with the word *Wehren*, which he could have taken from Wigand von Marburg's original text. Yet another of the translation's fragments shows that for Gesselen *instrumenta* may have denoted another type of military equipment, e.g., battering rams.¹⁴⁴ A few

138 Lexer, I, col. 502; BMZ, I, col. 697b; see: S. Ekdahl, *The Siege Machines...*, p. 34.

139 Wigand (Z/K), 384, p. 586: *Deinde comportata sunt protecticula bombarde etc. [...]*; 386, p. 590: *[...] magister eciam Pruszie fecit erigi protecticula et x pixides, cum quibus die noctuque sagittatur [...]*; 387, p. 592: *Interim singulis diebus nova fabricaverunt protecticula et propugnacula, que eciam magistro cum bombardis parum proficiebant [...]*; 389, p. 594: *[...] cucurrerunt enim ad protecticula quasi volentes ea concremare et iam tetenderant pixides ad sagittandum in christianos [...]*.

140 Wigand (Z/K), 387, p. 592: *Unum quoque tugurium a proprio igne inflammatum est, de quo alia tuguria multa similiter [...]*; 387, p. 592: *Fuerunt quidem tuguria tecta cum frondibus abilibus [...]*.

141 DMLBS-O, entry 'tugurium', <https://logeion.uchicago.edu/tugurium> [accessed 3 April 2020].

142 See: G. Köhler, *Die Entwicklung des Kriegswesens...*, vol. III, 1, pp. 128-132; Ch. Gravett, *Medieval Siege Warfare...*, p. 32; J. Bradbury, *The Medieval Siege...*, pp. 271f.; Ph. Contamine, *Wojna w średniowieczu...*, p. 118; for the Baltic zone, see: S. Ekdahl, *The Siege Machines...*, pp. 33f.; K. Kwiatkowski, *Wojska zakonu niemieckiego...*, p. 456.

143 Wigand (Z/K), 138, p. 290: *Tandem fecit machinas et alia instrumenta erigere in altitudinem domus [...]* ~ Schütz, k. 86r: *Vnd demnach richteten sie die Wehren und werffzeuge an allen orten an, die sie damals nenneten Bliden und Tummeler, daß waren solche Werkzeuge, damit sie grosse steine, wie auch Feuer von sich worfften, vnd boecke vnd dergleichen an die Mauren schicken [...]*. As to the broad semantic scope of the word also in the context of military machinery, see: DMLBS-O, entry 'instrumentum', <https://logeion.uchicago.edu/instrumentum> [accessed 3 April 2020].

144 Wigand (Z/K), 138, p. 292: *[...] fecit omnino parem [arietem – K.K.], cum quo disiecit propugnaculum usque ad fundum, quod stetit prope Nergam; similiter graviter impugnavit murum castris cum eodem instrumento.*

mentions feature two more hypernymic expressions, i.e., 'propugnacula'¹⁴⁵ and 'structurae',¹⁴⁶ which Gesselen used to describe siege engines whose actual referents cannot be determined. While the Middle High German source expression for the former could have been 'were'¹⁴⁷ (the word mentioned above in its Early New High German form 'Wehre'), for the other it was the word 'werke', 'wërcke',¹⁴⁸ which is indicated by a fragment from Caspar Schütz's chronicle.¹⁴⁹ Irrespective of this, attributing the analyzed semantic range to both Latin expressions seems awkward at least, as Gesselen used them much more frequently to describe all types of permanent and provisional fortifications or their elements.¹⁵⁰

145 Wigand (Z/K), 30, p. 162: [...] *et fecit fieri machinas, arietes et huiusmodi propugnacula, quibus graviter eos impugnat* [...]. As to the meaning of the term 'propugnaculum', see: DMLBS-O, entry 'propugnaculum', <https://logeion.uchicago.edu/propugnaculum> [accessed 3 April 2020].

146 Wigand (Z/K), 138, p. 292: *Et Strosburgenses cum structuris suis graviter murum dirumpunt* [...] – they are probably battering rams; 138, p. 292: *Marquardus scilicet de Marienburg erexit structuram equalis altitudinis domus ad fossam domus* [...] – in this case it may be a siege tower; 139, pp. 292, 294: [...] *inito consilio fossam implet et suppositis structuris eque altis, per quas sui poterant intrare domum* – here also the translator may have meant siege towers; 139, p. 294: [...] *descenduntque cum structuris et propugnaculum prope Nergam, de quo magna dampna cum telis fecerunt* [...] – they are probably battering rams; 143, p. 298: *Magister cum suis habita consultatione eque altam structuram posuerunt, ad foramen et succedunt eam et carpentarius, rector operis, levavit eam ad casum particulatim ad domum* [...] – here a siege tower is probably mentioned; 143, p. 300: [...] *ordinatum est, quod dictus magister lignarius cum suis aliam structuram in eundem locum eque altam poneret* [...] – in this case identification with a siege tower is the most probable; 143, p. 300: [...] *et vidit murum paulatim ruere de ictibus arietis et de structuris* – an unclear fragment, maybe the word 'structurae' was used to mean siege towers. As to the semantic scope of the expression 'structura', see: DMLBS-O, entry 'structura', <https://logeion.uchicago.edu/structura> [accessed 3 April 2020].

147 Lexer, III, cols. 767f.; BMZ, III, col. 511a.

148 Lexer, III, col. 772; BMZ, III, col. 588a.

149 Schütz, k. 87v: *Demnach liessen sie am Osterabend, an allen seiten die Wercke legenst die mauern richten* [...].

150 Wigand (Z/K), 61, p. 204: [...] *in cuius propognaculo 100 bellicosos statuit* [...] – either the whole castle or the fortifications of the lower castle, or the external perimeter of the walls or ramparts; 128, p. 290: [...] *sepem fortem cum fortalyciis sive propugnaculis, circumfodientes se* [...] – fortifications of the rampart type; 138, p. 292: [...] *quo mediante eiecit unum propugnaculum de acie castris contra Mimelam* [...] – a castle tower, probably located within the external (low) walls; 138, p. 292: [...] *cum quo disiecit propugnaculum usque ad fundum, quod stetit prope Nergam* [...] – most likely the same; 138, p. 294: [...] *et propugnaculum prope Nergam* [...] – most likely the same; 138, p. 294: [...] *celeriter veniunt in propugnaculum quoddam et quandam domum* [...] – most likely the same; 162, p. 322: *Habebant quoque duo propugnacula pagani in ponte in Mimilia* [...] – possibly fortifications of the tower type; 325, p. 514: *Celeriterque trans Mimilam faciunt pontem cum propugnaculis* [...] – most likely the same; 326, p. 518: [...] *pagani letantur et faciunt pontem in Mymila cum duobus propugnaculis* [...] – most likely the same; 326, p. 520: [...] *christiani vero intrant turrin, propugnaculis undique disiectis, nec domum inferius defendere ullo modo valuerunt*. – possibly defences

The analysis of over 100 mentions of military equipment from the Latin translation of Wigand von Marburg's chronicle carried out above shows quite clearly that they are general in their nature. Despite their relatively great number the very scope of the variety of weaponry in Konrad Gesselen's text strikes as limited in comparison with the reality of the 14th and 15th centuries. Mentions of particular types of weapon are restricted to presenting their names, not always employing semantically precise terms, even for contemporaries. In none of the cases examined does the Latin translation include a longer narration that refers to weapons or includes their extended ("technical" as we would call it today) description. At the same time, there are no premises upon which to assume that Gesselen intentionally ignored the mentions referring to weaponry from Wigand von Marburg's original text, despite his translational errors and clear tendency towards summarizing the narration. He did not ignore them because the chronicle practically did not include such elements in its content. Indeed, a dozen cases from Wigand's original work, analyzed on the basis of the surviving fragments of the rhyming chronicle or Caspar Schütz's and Stenzel Bornbach's excerpts as well as following the reconstruction of small fragments of the original text, have revealed that the latter also did not include detailed descriptions of weaponry. Only in one case can we surmise that the original text included a relatively more extended description. Weaponry appeared in the chronicle only as an indispensable element of the world presented in the work, which – after all – is primarily a representation of military activity.¹⁵¹ In this sense Wigand was unable to avoid including such references. However, weaponry, both individual and collective, undoubtedly remained beyond the main scope of the chronicler's narrative interests. This should be accepted as an essential conclusion, especially that the research to date tends to identify the chronicle's author with the herald Wigand von Marburg, mentioned in the sources in 1409.¹⁵² Thus, a question arises whether the chronicle whose narration is primarily devoted to military activity but so consistently ignores the issues of military equipment could have been written by a 14th century herald and a person functioning in the world of chivalry culture.

of the external perimeter of the fortifications; 190, p. 356: [...] *superveniuntque preceptores et totam structuram destruxerunt* [...] – the castle; 372, p. 566: *Advocatus vero Sambyensis cum multis pertransivit venitque cum armis et structuram destruxit et incineravit omnino*. – the castle; 380, p. 576: [...] *et predicta structura fuit violata*. – the castle; 383, p. 582: [...] *et postquam magister ibi ix stetisset dies, dimissa structura festinat in antiquum Cawen* [...] – the castle.

¹⁵¹ See: K. Kwiatkowski, *Wstęp historycznomilitarny*, in: Wigand von Marburg, *Cronica nova prutenica...*, pp. 45-102.

¹⁵² See: Th. Hirsch, *Einleitung...*, pp. 450f.; S. Zonenberg, *Kronika...*, pp. 53-55, 63, 69f., 72; idem, *Wstęp...*, p. 27 (there also older publications).

Scholarship stresses the fact the heralds actively pursuing their literary interests were knowledgeable not only about coats of arms and tournaments but also all kinds of heraldic flags and, ultimately, military equipment, at least that which was used in tournaments.¹⁵³ During the last three decades, researchers of late-medieval narrative and didactic writing have carried out detailed analyses of concrete texts and concluded that there is a significant dichotomy between the representation of the phenomenon of war (including military equipment) in the works written in the high and late Middle Ages by clergy and by nobles. In principle only the latter offered detailed (though to a varying degree) descriptions of various organizational and material aspects of human military activity.¹⁵⁴ However, it should be emphasized here that even the writers of noble origins were often not very knowledgeable about military equipment.¹⁵⁵ Thus, the situation is not at all obvious, which prompts the reflection that the degree to which a late-medieval author of a narrative account focused on military equipment was not necessarily an unambiguous indicator of his social origins. These doubts need to be verified by further detailed textual, translational, historical, and semantic research, taking into account various, not only military aspects of the world presented in the chronicle as well as comparative analyses of other northern- and central-European rhyming chronicles from the 2nd half of the 13th and the 14th centuries written by clergy and nobles (e.g., "Livländische Reimchronik", "Braunschweigische Reim-

153 N. Bock, *Die Herolde im römisch-deutschen Reich. Studie zur adligen Kommunikation im späten Mittelalter*, *Mittelalter-Forschungen*, XLIX, Ostfildern 2015, pp. 309-314 (there further publications); S. Zonenberg, *Kronika...*, pp. 63-71.

154 See: R. Bach, *Der ritterschaft in ernen. Das Bild des Krieges in den historiographischen Schriften niederadliger Autoren des 15. und frühen 16. Jahrhunderts*, *Imagines medii aevi. Interdisziplinäre Beiträge zur Mittelalterforschung*, X, Wiesbaden 2002, passim; C. Hruschka, *Kriegsführung und Geschichtsschreibung im Spätmittelalter. Eine Untersuchung zur Chronistik der Konzilzeit*, *Kollektive Einstellungen und sozialer Wandel*, N.F., V, Wien-Köln-Weimar 2001, passim and especially pp. 295-301; R. Bach, C. Hruschka, *Das Bild des Krieges im Spiegel der klerikalen Institutionen- und Weltchronistik und der Schriften niederadliger Autoren*, in: *Die Wahrnehmung und Darstellung von Kriegen im Mittelalter und in der Frühen Neuzeit*, ed. H. Brunner, *Imagines Medii Aevi. Interdisziplinäre Beiträge zur Mittelalterforschung*, VI, Wiesbaden 2000, pp. 49-72, here especially pp. 64-66, 70f.; H. Brunner, J. Hamm, M. Herweg, S. Kerth, F. Löser, J. Rettelbach, *Dulce bellum inexpertis. Bilder des Krieges in der deutschen Literatur des 15. und 16. Jahrhunderts*, *Imagines medii aevi. Interdisziplinäre Beiträge zur Mittelalterforschung*, XI, Wiesbaden 2002, pp. 21-33. Similar differences in representing war, and especially battles, between the mid-12th and mid-13th centuries between the chronicles at that time written practically solely by the clergy and the literary works written by the laity were recently indicated by Ch. Grieb, *Schlachtenschilderungen in Historiographie und Literatur (1150–1230)*, *Krieg in der Geschichte*, LXXXVII, München 2015, pp. 197-211.

155 R. Bach, *Der ritterschaft in ernen...*, pp. 44-50, 90-95, 169-175, 197f.; C. Hruschka, *Kriegsführung und Geschichtsschreibung...*, passim.

chronik", "Rijmkroniek van Holland", "Mecklenburgische Reimchronik", "Steirische Reimchronik", "Dalimilova kronika")¹⁵⁶ and rhyming works written by heralds (e.g. Chandos Herald's "Vie et gestes du Prince Noir", practically contemporary to Wigand von Marburg's chronicle).¹⁵⁷

translated by Bartłomiej Madejski

ABSTRACT

The paper asks to what extent the surviving fragments of the original text of the chronicle of Wigand of Marburg and its Latin translation by Konrad Gesselen constitute an informative source with regard to matters of armaments. Comparative analysis of the terms for armaments appearing in both the original text and the Latin translation, as well as terms known only from the Latin text, has shown that mentions of weapons are of a general nature. The degree of representation of the variety of weaponry in Gesselen's text is negligible. In light of the research conducted, it must be concluded that nor did the original text of Wigand von Marburg contain more detailed descriptions of weapons. Armaments remained far from the main scope of the chronicler's narrative interests. This finding reopens the field for discussion on the historiographically accepted identification of the chronicler Wigand von Marburg with the herald of the Grand Master of the Teutonic Order.

Keywords: Middle Ages, rhyming chronicles, militaria, weaponry, late medieval Prussia, Wigand of Marburg, medieval translations

¹⁵⁶ See e.g.: S. Lafair, *Spätmittelalterliche Reimchronistik in Deutschland und Italien. Volkssprachliche Versliteratur zwischen poetischer Geschichtskonstruktion und juristischer Herrschaftslegitimation (unter besonderer Berücksichtigung von fünf Beispieltexen aus der Zeit von 1280–1400)*, Frankfurt/Main 1992; W. Herderhorst, *Die Braunschweigische Reimchronik als ritterlich-höfische Geschichtsdichtung. Untersuchungen zu ihrem Aufbau und Gehalt*, Göttingen 1964.

¹⁵⁷ See editions: *Le Prince Noir, Poème de Héraut d'Armes Chandos / The life & feats of arms of Edward the Black Prince by Chandos herald a matrical chronicle*, ed. F. Michel, London-Paris 1883; *Life of the Black Prince by the herald of Sir Chandos*, ed. M.K. Pope, E.C. Lodge, Oxford 1910; *La vie du Prince Noir*, ed. D.B. Tyson, Beihefte zur Zeitschrift für romanische Philologie, CXLVII, Tübingen, 1975; see also: J. Kötteritz, *Sprachliche und textkritische Studien zur anglo-normannischen Reimchronik vom schwarzen Prinzen*, Greifswald 1901.

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TORUŃ

DO UT DES: THE ROLE OF ECCLESIASTICAL INSTITUTIONS IN THE FUNCTIONING OF THE CAROLINGIAN AND OTTONIAN TRADE SYSTEM



The issue of how trade exchange was organized in Central Europe in the 9th-12th centuries has been the focus of a number of researchers dealing with early medieval economic history.¹ The work of researchers such as Alfons Dopsch, Henri Pirenne, Marc Bloch, Mickel McCormick, Charles Verlinden, Christian Lübke, and Bettina Emmerich is particularly noteworthy.² Nor

1 H. Pirenne, *Mohammed and Charlemagne*, in: *The Pirenne thesis. Analysis, criticism and revision*, ed. A. Bielowski, Lwów 1976, pp. 27-41; L. Ganshof, *Henri Pirenne and economic history*, "The Economic History Review" VI (1936), pp. 179-185; F.M. Powicke, *Henri Pirenne*, "The English Historical Review" LI (1936) 201, pp. 79-89; P. Pranke, M. Zečević, *Medieval trade in Central Europe, Scandinavia and the Balkans 10th-12th centuries*, Leiden-Boston 2020.

2 A. Dopsch, *The economic and social foundations of European civilization*, London 1937; H. Pirenne, *Mohammed and Charlemagne*, New York 1957, pp. 75-147; idem, *Histoire économique et sociale du moyen age*, Paris 1969, pp. 39-74. Cf. D.C. Denett, *Pirenne and Muhammad*, "Speculum. A Journal of Mediaeval Studies" XXIII (1948) 2, pp. 165-190; M. McCormick, *Narodziny Europy. Korzenie gospodarki europejskiej 300–900*, transl. A. Bugaj, Z. Dalewski, J. Lang, I. Skrzypczak, Warszawa 2007; idem, *Verkehrswege, Handel und Sklaven zwischen Europa und dem Nahen Osten um 900: Von der Geschichtsschreibung zur Archäologie?*, in: *Europa im 10. Jahrhundert. Archäologie einer Aufbruchzeit. Internationale Tagung in Vorbereitung der Ausstellung "Otto der Große, Magdeburg und Europa"*, ed. J. Henning, Mainz am Rhein 2002, pp. 171f.; Ch. Verlinden, *Wo, wann und warum gab es einen Großhandel mit Sklaven während des Mittelalters*, "Kölner Vorträge zur Sozial – und Wirtschaftsgeschichte" XI (1970), pp. 3-26; idem, *Ist mittelalterliche Sklaverei ein bedeutsamer demographischer Faktor gewesen?*, "Vierteljahrsschrift für Sozial – und Wirtschaftsgeschichte" LXVI (1979) 2, pp. 153-164; M. Bloch, *Feudal society. The growth of ties of dependence*, transl. L.A. Man- yon, London-New York 2004, pp. 60-71; Ch. Lübke, *Fremde im östlichen Europa. Von Gesellschaften ohne Staat zu verstaatlichten Gesellschaften (9.-11. Jahrhundert)*, Köln-Weimar-Wien 2001; A. Winroth, *Fremde im östlichen Europa: Von Gesellschaften ohne Staat zu verstaatlichten Gesellschaften (9-11. Jahrhundert). Ostmitteleuropa in Vergangenheit und Gegenwart Band 23 by Christian Lübke*, "Jahrbücher für Geschichte Osteuropas" NF LXII (2004) 3, p. 467; B. Emmerich, *Geiz und Gerechtigkeit. Ökonomisches Denken im frühen Mittelalter*, Stuttgart 2004.

should the achievements of such scholars as Harald Siems, Dagfinn Skre, John Day, Alice Rio, Robert S. Lopez, Adriaan Verhulst, and Heiko Steuer, among others, be ignored.³ Studies to date have highlighted the categories of traded goods, the importance of the concept of “the mobile marketplace” and issues relating to the development of a network of licensed trade monopolies.⁴ Research conducted to date has also emphasized the meaning of luxury goods.⁵ To a lesser extent, researchers have pointed to the functioning of local exchange and a set of issues associated with analysis of the political,

3 H. Siems, *Handel und Wucher im Spiegel frühmittelalterlicher Rechtsquellen*, Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Schriften, vol. XXXV, Hannover 1992; D. Skre, *Money and trade in Viking-Age Scandinavia*, in: *Economies, monetisation and society in the west Slavic lands 800-1200 AD*, ed. M. Bogucki, M. Rębkowski, Szczecin 2013, pp. 77-83; idem, *Viking-Age economic transformations. The West-Scandinavian case*, in: *Viking-Age transformations: Trade, craft and resources in Western Scandinavia*, ed. Z.T. Gierstad, K. Loftsgarden, pp. 1-4; J. Day, *The medieval market economy*, Oxford 1987; A. Rio, *Slavery after Rome 500-1100*, Oxford 2017; eadem, *Freedom and unfreedom in early medieval Francia: The evidence of the legal formulae*, “The Past and Present Society” CXCIII (2006), pp. 7-40; eadem, *Self-sale and voluntary entry into unfreedom 300-1100*, “Journal of Social History” XLV (2012) 3, pp. 669-675; R.S. Lopez, *The commercial revolution of the middle ages 950-1350*, London-New York-Melbourne 1976; idem, *The dollar of the Middle Ages*, “The Journal of Economic History” XI (1951) 3/1, pp. 215-234. Cf. F.S. Paxton, *The early growth of the medieval economy of salvation in Latin Christianity*, in: *Death in Jewish life. Burial and mourning customs among Jews of Europe and nearby communities*, ed. S.C. Reif, A. Lehnardt, A. Bar-Levav, Berlin-Boston 2014, pp. 19f.; A. Verhulst, *The Carolingian economy*, Cambridge 2004.

4 R. Sprandel, *Handel und Gewerbe vom 6-11. Jahrhundert*, in: *Gilden und Zünfte. Kaufmännische und Gewerbliche Genossenschaften im frühen und hohen Mittelalter*, ed. B. Schweineköper, Sigmaringen 1985, p. 27; H. Steuer, *Der Handel der Wikingerzeit zwischen Nord – und Westeuropa aufgrund archäologischer Zeugnisse*, in: *Der Handel Karolinger – und Wikingerzeit. Untersuchungen zu Handel und Verkehr der vor- und frühgeschichtlichen Zeit in Mittel – und Nordeuropa. Bericht über die Kolloquien der Kommission für die Altertumskunde Mittel – und Nordeuropas in den Jahren 1980 bis 1983*, vol. IV, ed. K. Düwel, H. Jankuhn, D. Tempe, Göttingen 1987, p. 193; H.L. Misbach, *The balanced economic growth of Carolingian Europe: Suggestions for a new interpretation*, “The Journal of Interdisciplinary History” III (1972) 2, pp. 261-271; A. Verhulst, *The origins of towns in the low countries and the Pirene thesis*, “Past&Present” CXXII (1989), pp. 8-31; D.M. Metcalf, *The prosperity of north-western Europe in the eighth and ninth centuries*, “The Economic History Review” New Series XX (1967) 2, pp. 344-348; R. Naismith, *The social significance of monetization in the early Middle Ages*, “Past&Present” CCXXIII (2014), pp. 4-20; H.A. Miskimin, *Two reforms of Charlemagne? Weights and measures in the Middle Ages*, “The Economic History Review” New Series XX (1967) 1, p. 43; R.S. Lopez, *An aristocracy of money in the early Middle Ages*, “Speculum” XXVIII (1953) 1, pp. 10-16. H.L. Adelson, *Early medieval trade routes*, “The American Historical Review” LXV (1960) 2, pp. 278-287; D. Adamczyk, *Silber und Macht. Fernhandel, Tribute und die piastische Herrschaftsbildung in nordosteuropäischer Perspektive (800-1100)*, Wiesbaden 2014, pp. 27-63.

5 This kind of practice also seems to have resulted from the development of archaeological research providing a more extensive range of available sources. A certain disproportion in the domination in current research by archaeological and numismatic studies has led to the belief in the elitism of trade carried out in the early medieval period. This issue will be discussed further in the article.

social, and economic phenomena that conditioned the growth of internal turnover in central areas.⁶

The economic conditions leading to the development of long-distance trade have been but sporadically defined in terms of foundational and prayer activities, though these activities meaningfully contributed to foundational and prayer activities, in addition to political friendship as one of the manifestations the growing scope of gift exchange.⁷ It seems that this oversight stemmed from the historiographical conviction of the importance of economic transitions taking place following the fall of the Roman Empire and the end of its vast trade system.⁸ Such a conviction formed the basis of the concept of Henri Pirenne that long prevailed in the literature on the subject. He pointed to the role of the Arab conquests as the real cause of the shift in trade routes from the Mediterranean Sea northward, emphasizing the significance of this phenomenon for the twilight of Antiquity and the beginning of the Middle Ages.⁹ Research questions posed in subsequent literature addressed a number of fundamental issues, redefining the set of terms such as elite exchange, trade, gifts, prestige, and profit in the light of disputes between substantivists and formalists.¹⁰

6 F. Rörig, *Powstanie Magdeburga. Starsza historia handlu*, "Miscellanea Academica Berolinensis", *Gesamelte Abhandlungen zur Feier des 250 Jährigen Bestehen der Deutschen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin*, II (1950) 1, pp. 5-8; R.W. Unger, *Commerce, communication, and empire: economy, technology and cultural encounters*, "Speculum" XC (2015) 1, pp. 1-12; T. Capelle, *Warenpreise und Wertverhältnisse im alten Norden*, in: *Der Handel Karolinger...*, p. 391.

7 J. Wenta, *Dlaczego Bamberg, dlaczego Nordgau?*, in: *Świat średniowiecza. Studia ofiarowane Profesorowi Henrykowi Samsonowiczowi*, ed. A. Bartoszewicz, G. Myśliwski, J. Pysiak, P. Żmudzki, Warszawa 2010, pp. 483-491; idem, *Bamberg, Regensburg, Zwiefalten, Saint-Gilles. Początki i finał piastowskiej obecności*, in: *Historia Narrat. Studia mediewistyczne ofiarowane Profesorowi Jackowi Banaszkiewiczowi*, ed. A. Pleszczyński, J. Sobiesiak, M. Tomaszek, P. Tyszkza, Lublin 2012, pp. 317-328.

8 Research studies conducted by Stephane Lebecq may point to the importance of the development of local trade in the Merovingian dominion. They also emphasize the change in the organization of trade leading to the development of the institution of the mobile marketplace. Lebecq stresses the importance of the market which was presumably held every year in St. Denis. The organization of trade exchange in the area of the said centre was evidenced by a document issued by Dagobert. S. Lebecq, *The new wiks or emporia and the development of a maritime economy in the Northern Seas (7th-9th centuries)*, in: *From one sea to another. Trading places in the European and Mediterranean early middle ages. Proceedings of the International Conference Comacchio, 27th-29th March 2009*, ed. S. Gelichi, R. Hodges, Turnhout 2012, pp. 20f.

9 H. Pirenne, *Medieval cities: their origins and the revival of trade*, Princeton 1946, pp. 3-55; A. Verhulst, *The origins of towns in the low countries and the Pirenne thesis*, "The Past and Present Society" CXXII (1989), pp. 3-5.

10 On the controversy between substantivists and formalists see P. Pranke, M. Zečević, op. cit., pp. 24-29; Ch. Wickham, *Rethinking the structure of the early medieval economy*, in: *The long morning of medieval Europe. New directions in early medieval studies*, ed. J.R. Davis, M. McCormick, London-New York 2008, pp. 19-31; R. Hodges, *Towns and trade in the age of Charlemagne*, London 2003, pp. 35-67.

The conviction that the period ca. 800 AD saw a change in the structure of trade and the increasing importance of long-distance exchange as a consequence of the economic influence of Byzantium and the Muslim world was essential to the formation of these views.¹¹ Yet it seems that this line of interpretation in synthetic terms may represent a certain simplification. In fact, analysis of the sources points to the existence of interregional economic connections concentrated and operating within local trade monopolies. This phenomenon, together with the expansion of the monastic network in Central Europe, was also one of the stimulating factors of the development of economic relations formed within the elite connections.¹² Their emergence can be associated with economic, foundational, and prayer activities, the impor-

11 This aspect stresses the gradual expansion of the area of economic penetration carried out by merchants. During the reign of the Carolingians, this practice is reflected in a set of documents describing the organization of successive fairs held in the centres east of the Rhine and the renewed growth in importance of the Danube route. It seems that the observed transformations and the similar and equally rapid economic revival occurring as a result of increased demand and internal turnover of the Empire can be located in the period from the second half of the tenth century. In the literature on the subject, the fact of finding silver deposits in the Harz mountains is also presented as one of the economic factors stimulating the process in question. It is mentioned, among other places, in the text of Thietmar's Chronicle – *Thietmari Merseburgensis episcopi chronicon*, ed. R. Holtzmann, MGH Scriptorum N.S., IX, München 1935 (further: Thietmar), II, 13, p. 53: *Temporibus suis aureum illuxit seculum; apud nos inventa est primum vena argenti*. It is worth noting that the analysis conducted in this case may, first of all, point to the significance of the increase in the number of church foundations, the development of which, due to the spread of commemorative practices among the ruling elites of the Empire at that time, led in parallel to an increase in demand for specific categories of commodities. Moreover, it should be noted that, contrary to current views in the literature on the subject, bulk goods were of particular importance in this case. They include such categories of goods as salt, wax, grain, slaves, fish, livestock, cattle, leather, honey, and ceramics which also constituted the “packaging” for the transported goods. Important categories of goods traded domestically comprised also turf ore, charcoal, iron, metals, and silver bullion. In addition, when speaking of the increase in internal demand, with simultaneous imbalance between supply and demand, one must also point to the duty of monastic communities towards the poor. Acts of merit relating to the memory of the founders and guardians of the foundation, the circle of debtors, and commemoration within the community itself was one of the elements of caring for the salvation of the soul. On the economic level, the fulfilment of these prayer commitments stemmed from the need to secure commodities which were later passed on among the members of a given community. It also seems that the durability of prayer commitments and their repetitiveness according to the principle of *ius antiqua* for the created prayer and economic mechanism determined also its cyclic nature, developing apparent economic cycles. In this case, they occurred as a phenomenon that was generated probably because satisfying the demand for goods sought in the territory of the Empire was impossible with a relatively small scale of carried out trade.

12 This phenomenon is discussed later in the paper.

tance of dynastic relations, and political friendship defined by the concept of *amicitial*.¹³ In this case, the impact of long-distance trade and the simultaneous increase in demand for certain categories of commodities within the Frankish dominion were among the conditions behind the “economic revolution” in this period. Thus, it was not solely a consequence of the Arabs’ economic expansion and their development of a network of long-distance trade links through the activities of merchants referred to as *ar Radanija*.¹⁴

Intensified activities related to commemoration, along with endowments to ecclesiastical institutions of revenues derived from customs, fairs, and minting activities were among the factors generating domestic demand within the Frankish and Ottonian empires.¹⁵ At the same time, based on an analysis of foundation deeds, fluctuations in the economic cycles in relation to these processes can be discerned.¹⁶ Furthermore, contrary to the views presented in the literature on the subject, these phenomena were not a simple reflection of increased economic activity due to economic reforms from the times of Charlemagne, but resulted from social and economic factors that led to the creation of hegemonial cycles.¹⁷ The fullest extent of this phenomenon can be seen in the Ottonian period.¹⁸ The sustainability of that process

13 S. Steinbach, *Das Geld der Nonnen und Mönche. Münzrecht, Münzprägung und Geldumlauf der ostfränkisch-deutschen Klöster in ottonisch-salischer Zeit (ca. 911-1125)*, Berlin 2007; G. Althoff, *Adels und Königsfamilien im Spiegel ihrer Memorialüberlieferung. Studien zum Totengedenken de Billunger und Ottonen*, “Münstersche Mittelalterschriften” XLVII (1984), p. 135.

14 T. Lewicki, *Les commerçants juifs dans l’orient islamique non méditerranéen au IXe-XIe siècle*, in: *Gli ebrei nell’alto medioevo*, Settimane di studio del centro italiano di studi sull’alto medioevo, XXVI, Spolète 1980, pp. 381-393.

15 This phenomenon was expressed in a devotional formula emphasizing the memory of the issuer of the document, his wife, and for remembrance of predecessors. An example of this practice can be found in a document issued by Otto I on 30 December 952 in Frankfurt to the monastery of St Maurice in Magdeburg. In making donations from Deventer and surrounding estates, the ruler made donations – *Die Urkunden der deutschen Könige und Kaiser. Die Urkunden Ottos I.*, ed. T. Sieckel, MGH Diplomata, I, Hannoverae 1879-1884 (further: *Die Urkunden Ottos I.*), no. 159, p. 241: *pro remedio animae nostrae coniugisque Edgidae omniumque parentum nostrorum.*

16 Cf. figure 1.

17 Cf. figure 2.

18 At the same time, it should be noted that the practice associated with the nature of donations clearly changes in the era of the Ottonian dynasty. That period saw a smaller number of immunities issued for monastic communities, with a simultaneous increase in the number of documents transferring specific rights, also in connection with the construction of a licensed network of market monopolies and the establishment of subsequent mint privileges. At the same time, in the case of economic cycles in the area under the Ottonian rule, a surge in the number of privileges issued to stimulate the development of trade organized by monastic communities of the time can be noted. It seems that, in economic terms, these processes were related, on the one hand, to the access to silver deposits in the Harz Mountains, and, on the other hand, they were linked to the expansion of the area of economic penetration and reunification of the domains subordinated to them. Such a conclusion may also reflect the importance of the processes of centralization and decentralization of power in Central Europe in the early Middle Ages.

was determined by concern for the salvation of souls on the part of rulers and their predecessors. Moreover, this had a specific economic dimension resulting from the need to secure finances for the monastic community and its material activities.¹⁹ Indeed, care for the poor and meritorious deeds were by no means without an economic dimension.²⁰ This scheme may correspond to the social and ideological conditions of *memoria*, as defined by Andrzej Radzimiński.²¹ The preservation of prayer commitments by successive rulers (*ius antiqua, iustitia*) led to the maintenance at the economic level of demand for certain categories of goods and ensured the sustainability of generated

19 The Carolingian documents contain a formula listing the successive issuers of documents that endowed the monastic community. It shows the enduring nature of the prayer commitment. One example is the text of a document of Pepin the Short issued on 8 June 753. The ruler confirmed in it the endowments derived from the customs duties and earmarked for St. Denis – *Die Urkunden der Karolinger. Die Urkunden Pippins*, ed. A. Dopsch, J. Lechner, M. Tangl, MGH Diplomata, I, Hannover 1906, no. 6, p. 9. A mention of the transfer of revenues from customs duties to St. Denis can also be found in a diploma issued at Compiègne on 30 October 759 – *ibidem*, no. 12, pp. 17f. St. Denis also received confirmation for the said endowment in a document issued by Carloman I in January 769. Therein, the ruler pointed to the memorative dimension of the endowment of the monastic community, referring to Pepin the Short and his predecessors. Similarly to earlier documents, St. Denis received a confirmation of revenues derived from customs duties collected in the Parisian gauche – *Die Urkunden der Karolinger. Die Urkunden Karlmanns*, ed. A. Dopsch, J. Lechner, M. Tangl, MGH Diplomata, I, Hannover 1906 (further: *Die Urkunden Karlmanns*), no. 43, pp. 62f.

20 M. Borgolte, *Stiftungen des Mittelalters im Spannungsfeld von Herrschaft und Genossenschaft*, in: *Memoria in der Gesellschaft des Mittelalters*, ed. D. Geunich, O.G. Oexle, Göttingen 1994, pp. 269f.

21 On the social origins of *memoria* see F. Ohly, *Bemerkungen eines Philologen zur Memoria*, “Münstersche Mittelhalterschriften” XLVIII (1984), p. 13; A. Radzimiński, *Nekrologe und Totengedächtnis in polnischen Kathedalkapiteln*, in: *Wider das Vergessen und für das Seelenheil Memoria und Totengedenken im Mittelalter*, ed. R. Berndt, Münster 2013, p. 175; G. Althoff, *op. cit.*, p. 15; K. Schmid, *Die Sorge der Salier um ihre Memoria. Zeugnisse, Erwägungen und Fragen*, “Münstersche Mittelhalterschriften” XLVIII (1984), pp. 668f. It seems that the process of establishing monastic communities by the mighty, as indicated by Gerd Althoff, was one of the factors determining the growth of internal demand in the Empire. Also notable is the “wave-like” nature of the private foundations, which in particular appear in the 9th and 10th centuries among the Saxon power elites – G. Althoff, *op. cit.*, p. 20. Otto Gerhard Oexle emphasizes that in the case of donations and foundations expressed by the formal phrase *pro remedio animae* or *pro anima*, the main stress was put on the desire to achieve salvation, in a manner that was similar to the phenomenon of socially expanding one’s own *memoria* due to the importance of meritorious deed. According to this scholar, this phenomenon occurred at least in the case of giving food to the poor. At the same time, the question arises about the economic consequences of this process – O.G. Oexle, *Memoria und Memorialüberlieferung im früheren Mittelalter*, “Frühmittelalterliche Studien” X (1976), p. 94. It seems to be defined by the concept of Joachim Wollasch – J. Wollasch, *Parenté noble et monachisme réformateur. Observations sur les conversions à la vie monastique aux XI e et XII e siècles*, “Revue Historique” CCLXIV (1980) 1 (535), pp. 3-24; *idem*, *Konventsstärke und Armensorge in mittelalterlichen Klöstern. Zeugnisse und Fragen*, “Saeculum” XXXIX (1988) 2, pp. 184-194.

revenues.²² At the same time, the increase in the number of endowed monastic centres and the spread of commemorative practices among the ruling elites of the time (as a result of establishing private foundations), as reported in source documents, may have led to a surplus of demand within the central areas, which in turn stimulated the development of trade.²³

It seems that the beginnings of these phenomena can be traced back to the reign of Pepin the Short.²⁴ Following an analysis of the documents of this ruler, apart from customary donations reflecting the expansion of the system of immunities, there was also a group of diplomas issued to monastic centres that enjoyed a set of custom exemptions and trade privileges.²⁵ It should be emphasized that special importance was also attributed to the abbeys of St. Denis and Fulda. The seniority of the first of these centres as a site of burial and remembrance of the rulers was associated both with the payment of an annuity in the customary amount of one hundred solidi per year (obtained from revenues derived, among other things, from the port of Marseille) – and with the obligation to maintain the monastery's livestock.²⁶ Owing to the privileges and immunities granted by successive Frankish rulers, St. Denis also developed the operation of the local mar-

22 M. McCormick, *New light on the "Dark Ages": How the slave trade fuelled the Carolingian economy*, "Past&Present" CLXXVII (2002), pp. 18-32.

23 E. Schoenberger, *The origins of the market economy: state power, territorial control and modes of war fighting*, "Comparative Studies in Society and History" L (2008) 3, pp. 687f.

24 The documents referred to above were primarily based on a system of immunities and exemptions from customs obligations. Among the privileged centres, apart from the special importance of the monastery in St. Denis, privileges were also granted to Prüm and Fulda. The monastery in Echternach was also exempted from the obligation to contribute revenues from customs duties – *Die Urkunden der deutschen Könige und Kaiser. Die Urkunden Pippini*, ed. M. Tangl, MGH Diplomata, I, Hannoverae 1906 (further: *Die Urkunden Pippini*), no. 19, pp. 27f.; *ibidem*, no. 6, p. 9. At the time of Pepin the Short, immunities were granted to: Utrecht, Nantua, Honau, St. Calais, Murbach, Prüm, Worms, Poitiers, St. Denis, Corvey, Echternach, Trier, the monastery in Clairac – *ibidem*, no. 5, p. 7; no. 9, p. 13; no. 14, p. 19; no. 17, p. 25; no. 18, pp. 26f.; no. 20, pp. 28f.; no. 24, pp. 32f.; no. 26, pp. 35f.; no. 29, pp. 40f.; no. 30, pp. 41f.; no. 36, pp. 50f.; no. 38, pp. 53f.

25 *Ibidem*, no. 12, p. 17.

26 These donations to the monastic community of St. Denis constituted a permanent form of endowment, made by successive rulers. This aspect seems to further emphasize the importance of this centre for the memory of the rulers of the Merovingian and Carolingian dynasties. Such an endowment exists, for example, in case of the donations by Theodoric III, in which the ruler upheld the commitments of his predecessors. It seems that the commitment was important from the point of view of the economic functioning of the monastic community. The ruler granted to the monastery a privilege exempting it from customs duties charged at the market in St. Denis. This donation was maintained at a constant level by successive rulers, as was the donation constituting the monastery's endowment of one hundred solidi a year from the duties levied at Marseilles. *Die Urkunden der Merowinger*, ed. C. Brühl / T. Kölzer, M. Hartmann, A. Stieldorf, MGH Diplomata, II, Hannover 2001, no. 302, p. 626; no. 303, p. 626.

ket network.²⁷ On the other hand, the privileges of the Fulda monastery were probably directly related to its economic, formal, and legal importance due to its direct subordination to the Holy See. In a document issued by Pepin the Short, merchants subordinate to the monastery were exempt from customs duties in Mainz. This privileged position concerned custom duties collected both on the Rhine and within the market itself. Therefore, it allowed the group of *negotiatores* associated with the monastery to “freely buy and sell goods”.²⁸

The formal phrase contained in this diploma may imply the economic importance of monastic centres – making at the same time a reference to the definition of market places in the *capitularies*.²⁹ The monasteries of Prüm³⁰ and Echternach³¹ were also granted exemptions from customs duties during the reign of Pepin the Short. In the case of the privileged position of St. Denis, another interesting document was issued by Carloman in January 769 at Samoussy.³² Therein he transferred to the monastic community revenues from customs duties collected in the territory of St. Denis during the Saint Dionysius market held there.³³ What is more, the role of St. Denis is evident in the diplomas issued by Charlemagne. One example is a document he issued in December 774 at Samoussy, in which he granted endowments from local fairs: another is the wording of the document issued on March 14, 775 at Quierzy. The latter upheld exemptions from customs duties for merchants from St. Denis travelling for commercial purposes throughout the regnum.³⁴

27 In this document, the ruler exempted the merchants remaining in the service of the abbey from customs duties. The exemption applied to the entire area of Carloman's domain. *Die Urkunden Karlmanns*, no. 46, pp. 65f. During the reign of the said ruler, a similar privilege was also granted to the monastery of Norales; *ibidem*, no. 47, p. 66.

28 *Die Urkunden Pippini*, no. 41, pp. 58f.: *Quia nostrum est consulere ecclesiis Christi et fratribus, qui nondum preparaverunt sibi partes mittere, ideo notum vobis facimus, quod quasdam res proprietatis nostre, quas habuimus in Moguntiacensi civitate, tradidimus ad sanctum Bonifacium in Fuldensi monasterio, id est theloneum navis per Renum et theloneum fori, ne Fuldensis oppidi mercatores quicquam exactionis precii vendentes aut ementes persolvant, et quasdam familias cum domibus et curtibus suis, ut singulis annis annuus census inde solvatur ad Fuldense monasterium, ubi Sturmis venerabilis abbas multitudini monachorum preesse videtur.*

29 *Capitula de functionibus publicis*, in: *Capitularia regum Francorum*, I, ed. A. Boretius, MGH Capit., Hannoverae 1883 (further: *Capitula de functionibus publici*), no. 143, § 1, p. 294.

30 *Die Urkunden Pippini*, no. 19, pp. 27f.

31 *Ibidem*, no. 31, pp. 42f.

32 On the significance of the said endowment see J. Fried, *Karl der Grosse. Gewalt und Glaube. Eine Biographie*, München 2013, p. 192.

33 *Die Urkunden Karlmanns*, no. 43, p. 62.

34 *Die Urkunden der deutschen Könige und Kaiser. Die Urkunden Karl der Grosse*, ed. M. Tangl, MGH Diplomata, I, Hannoverae 1906 (further: *Die Urkunden Karl der Grosse*), no. 87, pp. 125-127; no. 88, p. 127; no. 93, p. 134.

Noteworthy is also a diploma issued for the benefit of the monastery in Hersfeld. Charlemagne donated to the monastic community a tenth of the Salzungen estate and the salt pans situated there.³⁵ His donations granting endowments derived from customs duties to monastic communities are also referred to in the wording of a diploma issued on May 3, 775 to the monastery of Flaving. It gained not only an exemption from customs duties, but also an endowment obtained from duties collected in all monastic estates.³⁶ In accordance with the practice prevailing in the Frankish empire, these privileges did not apply to those transporting goods for their own use, for the monastery, or for the court. Customs duty exemptions expressed a clear distinction between economic activity and non-trade purposes.³⁷ This aspect is emphasized by the significance of the *capitularies*.³⁸ The latter defined both how trade was to be conducted and a number of obligations related to it.³⁹ In this context, the text of the Capitulary of Diedenhofen is also particularly interesting.⁴⁰ Not only does it mention the commencement

35 Ibidem, no. 90, p. 130. On the importance of salt pans and the salt trade see P. Pranke, E. Siemianowska, *Handel solą w okresie od IX–XI wieku na terenie Europy Środkowej*, in: *Mare Integrans. Studia nad dziejami wybrzeży Morza Bałtyckiego*, vol. VII, ed. M. Franz, K. Kościelniak, Z. Pilarczyk, Toruń 2015, pp. 230-256 (further literature therein).

36 *Die Urkunden Karl der Grosse*, no. 96, p. 138: [...] *ut omne teloneum infra regnum nostrum de negotiantibus eorum vel de omnibus hominibus eorum, qui per ipsam casam sperare videntur [...] ut nullum teloneum dare non debeant in civitatibus marcatis vicis villis pontis portubus nec ipsi monachi seu negotiantes eorum et homines eorum, qui per ipsam casam sperare videntur, nec teloneum nec pontaticum nec rotaticum nec berganaticum nec pulveraticum nec mutaticum nec ripaticum nec salutaticum nec laudaticum nec travaticum nec de hoc, quod homines eorum ad dorsum portare videtur.*

37 This distinction was connected with the requirement to take an oath to certify the destination of the goods transported.

38 Among the records mentioned, particular importance can be attributed to those contained in the text of *Capitula post anno 805* and *Capitula de functionibus publicis* of 820. These regulations not only defined the places of trade, but also set the rules for conducting trade. *Ubi telonea exigi et ubi non exigi debeant. Volumus firmiter omnibus in imperio nostro nobis a Deo commisso notum fieri, ut nullus teloneum exigat nisi in mercatibus ubi communia commertia emuntur ac venduntur, neque in pontibus nisi ubi antiquitus telonea exigebantur, neque in ripis aquarum, ubi tantum naves solent aliquibus noctibus manere, neque in silvis neque in stratis neque in campis neque subter pontem transeuntibus nec alicubi, nisi tantum ubi aliquid emitur aut venditur qualibet causa ad communem usum pertinens* – *Capitula de functionibus publicis*, in: *Capitularia regum Francorum*, I, ed. A. Boretius, MGH Capit., Hannoverae 1883, no. 143, § 1, p. 294. *Capitula post anno 805 addita*, in: *Capitularia regum Francorum*, I, no. 55, § 2, p. 142 (further: *Capitula post anno 805*): *De negotio super omnia praecipendum est, ut nullus audeat in nocte negotiare in vasa aurea et argenta, mancipia, gemmas, caballos, animalia, excepto vivanda et fodro quod iter agentibus necessaria sunt, sed in die coram omnibus et coram testibus unusquisque suum negotium exercent.*

39 *Capitula post a. 805*, no. 55, § 2, p. 142.

40 Cf. M. Glathaar, *Die drei Fassungen des Doppelkapitulars von Diedenhofen/Thionville (805/806): Entwurf – Erlass – Revision*, “Deutsches Archiv für Erforschung des Mittelalters” LXVI (2013) 2, pp. 443-445.

of trade activities by Frankish merchants among the Slavs, as it also points to a group of interregional trade centres involved in the exchange.⁴¹ These include centres such as Bardovik, Magdeburg, Erfurt, Regensburg, and Lorsch.⁴² In a separate document, the last of these centres received a privilege permitting the construction of a road.⁴³

It should be noted that the text of this document, which was issued for the monastery of Flaving, listed the merchants directly subordinate to the monastic community and exempt from customs duties.⁴⁴ A similar practice was also contained in the provisions of the Raffelstätten custom tariff. Obtaining exemptions from payments required an oath taken to confirm the destination of the transported goods.⁴⁵ In addition to that, the wording of a document issued by Charlemagne for Utrecht is also worth noting. Therein the ruler

41 W. Schlesinger, *Der Markt als Frühform der deutschen Stadt*, in: *Vor – und Frühformen der europäischen Stadt im Mittelalter. Bericht über ein Symposium in Reinhausen bei Göttingen in der Zeit vom 18. bis 24 April 1972*, vol. I, ed. H. Jankuhn, W. Schlesinger, H. Steuer, Göttingen 1973, p. 269; M. Hardt, *Magdeburg und die Ostgrenze des Frankenreiches*, in: *Das Miteinander, Nebeneinander und Gegeneinander von Kulturen. Zur Archäologie und Geschichte wechselseitiger Beziehungen im 1. Jahrtausend n. Chr.*, ed. B. Ludowici, H. Pöppelmann, Hannover 2011, pp. 173f.; J. Clauß, *Imports and embargos of imperial concepts in the Frankish kingdom. The promotion of Charlemagne's imperial coronation in Carolingian courtly culture*, in: *Transcultural approaches to the concept of imperial rule in the Middle Ages*, ed. C. Scholl, T.R. Gebhardt, J. Clauß, Frankfurt am Main-Bern-Bruxelles-New York-Oxford-Warszawa-Wien 2017, pp. 85-87.

42 *De negotiatoribus, quosque procedant. De negotiatoribus, qui partibus Sclavorum et Avarorum pergunt, quosque procedere cum suis negotiis debeant: id est partibus Saxoniae usque ad Bardenwiche et ad Magadoburg et ad Erpesfurt et ad Halaxstat et ad Foracheim et ad Breembreg et ad Raginsburg et ad Lauriacum; et ut arma et brunias non ducant ad venundandum. Quod si inventi fuerint portantes, onias substantioa eorum auferatur ab eis, dimidia quidem pars partibus palatii, alia vero medietas inter iam dictos missos et inventorem dividatur*". *Collectio capitularium Ansegisi*, in: *Die Kapitulariensammlung des Ansegisi*, ed. G. Schmitz, MGH Capit. n.s., Hannover 1996, § 6, pp. 571f. Records of embargoes imposed on trade in armaments and body armour can also be found in a later period. One example would be the text of *Edictum Pistense a. 864* in which the sale of arms, armour and horses to Scandinavian merchants was prohibited. *Edictum Pistense a. 864*, in: *Capitularia regum Francorum*, II, ed. A. Boretius, V. Krause, MGH Capit., Hannoverae 1897, no. 273, § 25, p. 321. This text also contained regulations relating to coinage, prescribed the observance of units of weights and measures and defined the principles of fair trade, devoid of magical properties – *ibidem*, § 8, 11, pp. 314f.; § 20, pp. 317f.

43 *Die Urkunden Karl der Grosse*, no. 114, p. 161.

44 Over time such merchants began to be referred to as *negotiatores abbatiae*. The wording of the document issued on March 25, 997 in Aachen by Otto III for the abbey of Nonantola may be cited as one example. Therein, the ruler allowed merchants subordinate to the abbot to trade freely and exempted them also from the duty to pay customs fees – *Die Urkunden der deutschen Könige und Kaiser. Die Urkunden Ottos III.*, ed. T. Sickel, MGH Diplomata, II, Hannoverae 1893, no. 237, p. 655.

45 *Inquisitio de theloneis Raffelstettensis*, in: *Capitularia regum Francorum*, II, ed. A. Boretius, V. Krause, MGH Capit., Hannoverae 1897, § 2, 4, p. 251. On the importance of oaths in the Carolingian world see C.E. Odegaard, *Carolingian oaths and fidelity*, "Speculum" XVI (1941), p. 284.

granted the local monastic community the right to estates lying along the river with an entitlement to coastal duties and a trade island.⁴⁶ An especially privileged centre in the Carolingian trading system was the monastery of St. Germain des Prés. In a diploma issued on March 27, 779 in Herstal, the monastery received confirmation of an exemption from customs duties throughout the regnum and customs revenues from Villeneuve.⁴⁷ Similar exemptions were also granted to the monastery of Honau (by virtue of a document issued on October 17, 781 in Cispliac) and Spira.⁴⁸ The diploma for the monastery of Cormery, on the other hand, included a privilege that was required to freely conduct trade. The ruler provided the monastic community with an exemption from customs duties for two trade boats.⁴⁹ A similar donation was also made to Fortunatus of Grado.⁵⁰ The church of Piacenza also enjoyed a privileged position, being exempted from all fiscal duties levied in the area of Charlemagne's dominion.⁵¹ Among the centres enjoying privilege under the imperial document, the importance of the monastery of Novalesa should also be mentioned. In June 774, this monastic community was vested with the right to estates and obtained customs exemptions already granted at the time of Pepin the Short. Moreover, the document refers to the absence of any fiscal charges related to trade and collected from merchants dealing with the "sale and purchase of goods" for the benefit of the monastic community.⁵² It seems that this kind of practice at the same time ensured protection of the established monopoly of the fair.⁵³ It also defined a network of elite community interested in exploiting the opportunities associated with the gradual expansion of the area of economic penetration, with

46 *Die Urkunden Karl der Grosse*, no. 117, p. 164.

47 *Ibidem*, no. 122, p. 171.

48 *Ibidem*, no. 137, p. 188: *Igitur cognoscat magnitudo seu utilitas vestra, quod nos ad petitionem venerabilis viri Beati abbatis, qui est rector monasterii Hohenaugie, quod est in honore sancti Michaelis constructum, tale propter nomen domini beneficium eius meritis compellentibus prestitisse, ut ubicumque homines ipsius monasterii infra regnum nostrum ad negociandum perrexerint, nullum theolonium nec quamlibet reddibucionem, que ad partem fisci nostri spectare videtur, solvare nec dare debeant.*

49 *Ibidem*, no. 192, p. 257: *Propterea praesentem auctoritatem fieri iussimus, per quam perpetuallyter iubemus, ut neque vos neque iuniores seu successores vestri memorato venerabili viro Albino abbati aut successoribus suis sive monachis aut hominibus eorum de suprascripto monasterio sancti Pauli pro ipsis navibus inquietare aut calumniam generare nec teloneum aut ripaticus ab eis nec salutaticum nec portaticum nec ullas reddibuciones requirere aut exactare ullo modo praesumatis, sed ad illum sanctum locum Cormaricum et ad fratres ipsos in eleemosyna nostra nostris futurisque temporibus perpetuallyter proficiat in augmentis.*

50 *Ibidem*, no. 201, p. 270: *Omnibus fidelibus nostris presentibus et futuris notum sit, quia petiit celsitudinem nostram vir venerabilis Fortunatus, Venetiarum et Istrensiarum patriarcha, ut teloneum de navibus suis quatuor ei concedere deberemus.*

51 *Ibidem*, no. 207, pp. 277f.

52 *Ibidem*, no. 225, p. 303.

53 Cf. H. Mayr-Harting, *Charlemagne, the Saxons and the imperial coronation of 800*, "The English Historical Review" CXI (1996) 444, pp. 1113-1116.

the simultaneously growing importance of commemorative practices.⁵⁴ However, the latter had great impact on the development of the network of licenced market monopolies only during the Ottonian dynasty with the expansion of the network of domestic monasteries of the *consanguineorum* group of Ludolfing (an instance of the House of Billung). As for Carolingian documents and regulations, it is important to note both the definition of the bases for trade exchange and the legal sanctions related to the rules of trade.⁵⁵

Significantly, in the era of Charlemagne, the number of immunities and exemptions from customs duties was almost three times higher than the number of monastic centres endowed by Pepin the Short. At the same time, it seems that one of the determinants of economic development of the Frankish dominion was the gradual expansion of economic penetration into areas east of the Rhine.⁵⁶ The inclusion of the area of Frankish rule within the network of long-distance trade was also significant. According to Johanes Fried, this kind of activity was primarily connected with the use of ancient Roman traditions.⁵⁷ The formation of trade monopolies together with a group of customs exemptions for monastic centres within Italy was an important feature of the functioning of this trade network. They enabled the import of luxury goods towards the centre of the Frankish domin-

54 A comparison of Carolingian and Ottonian documents may lead to the conclusion that the endowment granted to the monastic community had a twofold character in this case. From the time of Otto I, the donor seeking the salvation of his own soul and that of his predecessors has been depicted as a person wishing to obtain an intercessory prayer. In the Carolingian diplomas, we can firstly point out at their dispositive character, which present the ruler endowing the monastic community in a way that emphasizes the power and authority of the issuer of the document. One example is the text of the diploma Charlemagne issued to Abbot Manases of Flaving, who received a silver reliquary box. In this case, no wording referring directly to *memoria* was provided. The text of a document issued by Otto I on 13 September 936 for the monastery of Quedlinburg is also interesting. In this case, the ruler directly mentioned the importance of the foundation and the connection to the memory of predecessors. Care for the salvation of the founder's soul was also a reason for issuing the document (*Die Urkunden Karl der Grosse*, no. 228, p. 312). *Die Urkunden Ottos I*, no. 1, p. 89: *In nomine sanctae et individuae trinitatis. Otto divina favente elementia rex. Noverint omnes fideles nostri tam praesentes quam etiam et futuri, qualiter nos ob amorem dei omniumque sanctorum et pro remedio animae nostrae atque parentum successorumque nostrorum congregationem sanctimonialium in Quidilingoburg statuere curavimus, quatenus ibidem laus omnipotentis dei eiusque electorum ab ea in perpetuum colatur et nostri nostrorumque omnium memoria perpetretur.*

55 In this respect, interesting are also the detailed regulations governing the operation of the customs duty system within the regnum and the penalties imposed for circumventing those regulations. The amounts of the latter could reach up to sixty *solidi* – *Capitula de functionibus publici*, § 1-2, p. 294.

56 In that connection, an important factor was the creation of a system of ecclesiastical organization in the area of Saxony and the endowment of further monastic centres – *Die Urkunden Karl der Grosse*, no. 245, pp. 345f.

57 J. Fried, *Charlemagne*, transl. P. Lewis, Cambridge-Massachusetts-London 2016, p. 37.

ion.⁵⁸ Major centres of trade that were interested in procuring imports include Mainz,⁵⁹ Prüm,⁶⁰ Ascoli,⁶¹ Verona,⁶² Lagrasse,⁶³ Trier,⁶⁴ and Worms. In June 798, the last of these centres was also given Ladenburg together with the market and the endowments coming from collected customs duties.⁶⁵ Noteworthy is also the wording of the document issued by Charlemagne to the monks of St. Valery. It illustrates not only the commercial importance of the monastic centres, as it also shows the extent of exchanges taking place. In this diploma, the sovereign exempted them from all payments imposed in relation to trade conducted with the territories of France, England, Scotland, Aquitaine, Germany, Ireland, and Norway.⁶⁶ The document issued in 809 in Aachen also seems to reveal the complexity of the economic functioning of the monastic centres at the time. The exemption from the obligation to pay fees on all kinds of merchant goods destined for the monastery may reflect the scale of trade. The functioning of trade exchanges where the mobile marketplace and monastic relations were of importance, also underlines the importance of the developmental process of ecclesiastical organization in the Frankish dominion where the leading role was assumed by the abbey of St. Denis.⁶⁷ This was connected not only with the organization of fairs and the customs duty system,⁶⁸ but also with the creation of a commodity monopoly.⁶⁹

58 As an example, the text of a document issued by Charlemagne for the church of Reggio can be cited. The ruler allowed free trade by exempting merchants subordinate to the community from paying customs duties, in particular on the river Po, in Ferrara, and in Comacchio. In this way, he also determined the area of influence of the trade monopoly created – *Die Urkunden Karl der Grosse*, no. 234, pp. 322f. Cf. H.L. Adelson, *Early medieval trade routes*, “The American Historical Review” LXV (1960), pp. 271-282.

59 *Die Urkunden Karl der Grosse*, no. 277, pp. 412f.

60 *Ibidem*, no. 261, pp. 378f.

61 *Ibidem*, no. 260, pp. 376f.

62 *Ibidem*, no. 272, pp. 402f.

63 *Ibidem*, no. 275, p. 409.

64 *Ibidem*, no. 276, p. 411.

65 *Ibidem*, no. 257, p. 372.

66 *Ibidem*, no. 278, p. 414: *Bene enim decet regalem maiestatem, ut bono fini adiiciamus hiis, quibus antecessores nostri donaverunt dictis religiosis, quibus et iterum concessimus pro eisdem suis servitoribus et familiaribus, ut queant ire et venire in omni franchisia et libertate in omni nostro regno Franciae et caeteris terris et dominiis, quae sunt et erunt in futurum in nostra obedientia et subiectione, et de Francia in Angliam, in Scotiam, Acquitaniam, Allemaniam, Yrlandiam et Noroergiam ac in omnibus aliis locis quibuscumque sint per mare sive per terram et de praedictis locis reverti in Franciam, portare et reportare, onerare et exonerare, vendere et emere omnes mercancias convenientes pro usu eorum et ipsorum servitorum et familiarum, absque tamen quod ipsi teneantur solvere nobis vel nostris successoribus neque alteri personae aliquod tributum, subsidium sive passagium aut aliquam aliam exactionem nisi retributionem divinam.*

67 *Ibidem*, no. 286, pp. 429f.

68 *Ibidem*, no. 297, p. 445; no. 300, p. 449; no. 301, p. 453.

69 *Ibidem*, no. 297, p. 445.

The obligation to provide economic security to the monastic community sometimes led to a reduction in the number of clergy. This is illustrated in the text of the diploma issued to the canons of the monastery of St. Aignan, in which the number of canons was limited to sixty.⁷⁰ Also of interest is the care taken to maintain that monastic network. This practice was referred to in the diploma issued to abbot Corbilan by Charlemagne, in which he ordered the reconstruction of the Psalmody monastery destroyed by the Saracens. Therein, he also assigned his nephew Theudemir to the clergy, giving him the monastery at Nodels.⁷¹ The wording of the document issued for Abbot Attala and the Monastery of St. Polycarp, along with the text of the diploma issued for count Fredolus,⁷² can be seen in a similar way. In it, the ruler ordered the rebuilding of the monastery at Gerri, which had been destroyed by pagans.⁷³

The economic and commercial importance of monastic centres may also be reflected in a set of documents issued by Lothar I. They imply the importance of such centres for the organization of trade exchanges at the inter-regional level. One example is a diploma issued on December 18, 822 to the monastery of Farfa. Lothar exempted the monastic community from any kind of fiscal fees and allowed it to own a trade boat for exchanges carried out on the sea and rivers throughout the regnum.⁷⁴ The importance of these privileges for the economic functioning of monasteries is men-

70 Ibidem, no. 290, p. 434.

71 Ibidem, no. 303, p. 456.

72 Ibidem, no. 305, p. 458.

73 Ibidem, no. 308, p. 465; no. 309, p. 466.

74 *Die Urkunden der Karolinger. Die Urkunden Lothars I.*, ed. T. Schieffer, MGH Diplomata, III, Berlin-Zürich 1966 (further: *Die Urkunden Lothars I.*), no. 1, pp. 51f. The monastery of Saint Mary Theodeta in Pavia also received a similar permission. In that permission, the monks were also granted the right to use wood from the Carbonaria forest and the right to fish in Po and Ticino – ibidem, no. 22, pp. 92f. Also of interest is the text of a document releasing the bishopric of Cremona from the obligation to provide horses and a cart to the sovereign's chamber, ibidem, no. 25, p. 99. The importance of such donations can also be noted in the text of a document issued by Lothar I on 10 October 840 in Ver. Therein, the Monastery of Donzère was granted an exemption from customs duties on two trading boats on the Rhone and the rivers of the Empire. Furthermore, the exemption also applied to goods transported by cart and draught animals, ibidem, no. 47, pp. 139f. The monastery of Saint-Mihiel also received a similar endowment. In this instance, the exemption concerned the obligation to pay duties on carts, pack animals and trading boats. In addition, it provided for the absence of the obligation to pay customs duties on salt shipments from Marsal and Vic, as long as they were for the monastery's own use. Indirectly, we also know that salt from the salt works at Marsal and Moyenvic was also transported to the abbey at Münster, which in a document issued on 18 April 843, was granted exemption from mandatory customs duties – ibidem, no. 72, p. 187; no. 85, p. 208; no. 184, p. 347. This commitment to Saint-Mihiel was upheld by Lothar II – *Die Urkunden Lothars I.*, no. 182, p. 346; *Die Urkunden der Karolinger. Die Urkunden Lothars II.*, ed. T. Schieffer, MGH Diplomata, III, Berlin-Zürich 1966 (further: *Die Urkunden Lothars II.*), no. 10, p. 398.

In the case of the bishopric of Chur, a similar donation was made to Bishop Verendar with regard to the bishop's trade boat – *Die Urkunden Lothars I.*, no. 52, pp. 153f.; no. 55, pp. 158f.; no. 72, p. 187.

tioned in the records of *Formulae imperiales*.⁷⁵ The wording of a document issued to the episcopal church of Como is also of special interest. Therein, Lothar I transferred to the canons the revenues derived from customs duties and the market, permitting also the collection of fees at the Chiavenna bridge crossing.⁷⁶ Furthermore, it attributed particular importance to the functioning of the monastic community in St. Denis. In a document issued on October 7, 833 at Soissons, he allowed the abbey to set up a market by Lake Como, granting the proceeds to the said monastery.⁷⁷ This kind of practice was also associated with the imports of goods from Italy to the Frankish territories.⁷⁸

From the times of Louis the Pious, merchants covered by the royal privilege were obliged to appear at the imperial court with their goods.⁷⁹ Of interest here is a group of provisions relating to the rules of trade, ones that defined in detail the duties of *negotiatores* and *mercatores* operating within the Carolingian reg-

75 *Praeceptum de navibus*, in: *Formulae Merovingici et Karolini aevi*, ed. K. Zeumer, MGH Leges, I, Hannoverae 1886, c. 24, p. 303: [...] *ut naves vel carra seu qualibet alia vehicula ad diversa negotia ipsius monasterii peragenda et necessitates ipsius monasterii sublevandas per universum imperium nostrum libere discurrant.*

76 *Die Urkunden Lothars I*, no. 3, pp. 58f.

77 *Ibidem*, no. 13, pp. 79f.

78 From later accounts we learn that trade with the areas of Italy often involved attempts to smuggle goods that were sought there. A word on that subject is shared by Liutprand of Cremona, who pointed to the penetration into present-day Italy of goods which were not covered by appropriate duties. It seems that the number of restrictions reported in the texts of the capitulary may primarily indicate that the above practice was commonplace – *Die Werke Liudprands von Cremona*, ed. J. Becker, MGH Scriptorum rerum Germanicarum in usum scholarum, XLI, Hannover-Leipzig 1915, Legatio, c. 55, p. 205. Noteworthy is also the wording of a document issued by Lothar I for the monastery of Saint Victor in Marseilles. It mentions transfers to the monastic community of the revenue from customs duties on salt shipments from Italy. What's more, a document issued on 6 February 834 at Aachen mentions a transfer of the revenues perceived from goods transported by ship – *Die Urkunden Lothars I*, no. 18, p. 87.

79 Separate rules were to apply to Jewish merchants, who received a special permit for conducting their trade activities. *Omnibus episcopis, abbatibus, comitibus, gastladiis, vicariis, centenariis, clusariis, seu etiam missis nostris discurrentibus necnon et omnibus fidelibus nostris, praesentibus scilicet et futuriis, notum sit, quia istos Hebreos, Domatum rabbi et Samuelem, nepotem eius, sub nostra defensione suscepimus ac retinemus. Quapropter per praesentem auctoritatem nostram decernimus atque iubemus, ut neque vos neque iuniores seu successores vestri memoratos Hebreos de nullis quibuslibet illicitis occasionibus inquietare aut calumniam generare praesumat nec de rebus eorum propriis, unde praesenti tempore legaliter vestiti esse videntur, aliquid abstrahere aut minuere ullo unquam tempore praesumat; sed neque teloneum aut paraveda aut mansionaticum aut pulveraticum aut cespitaticum aut ripaticum aut portaticum aut pontaticum aut trabaticum aut cenaticum a praedictis Hebris exigere praesumat. Similiter concessimus eis de rebus eorum propriis commutationes facere et proprium suum cuicumque voluerint vendere, liceatque eis secundum legem eorum vivere et homines christianos ad eorum opera faciendam locare, exceptis festis et diebus dominicis. Habeant etiam licentiam mancipia peregrina emere et infra imperium nostrum vendere* – cf. *Formulae imperiales. Praeceptum Iudeorum*, in: *Formulae Merovingici et Karolini aevi...*, c. 30, p. 309; c. 31, p. 310; *Die Urkunden Lothars I*, no. 18, p. 87. Cf. L. Rabinowitz, *The routes of the Radamites*, "The Jewish Quarterly Review. New Series" XXXV (1945) 3, p. 268.

num.⁸⁰ Presumably, they supplied the imperial court with a range of luxury goods, such as furs, spices, slaves, pieces of weaponry, and all sorts of other expensive items.⁸¹ On being granted authorization to conduct their activities, merchants were obliged to observe a number of restrictions, among which the most important were prohibitions on selling slaves outside the borders of the Empire. However, through letters of protection they enjoyed the defence by the ruler. Examples of these regulations are given in a document issued for Abraham of Saragossa⁸² and the letter of protection for David and Joseph, Jewish merchants from Lyon.⁸³

80 *Formulae imperiales. Praeceptum negotiatorum*, in: *Formulae Merovingici et Karolini aevi...*, c. 37, pp. 314f.: *Omnibus episcopis, abbatibus, ducibus, comitibus, gastaldiis, viariis, centenariis, actionariis, clusariis seu missis nostris discurrentibus ceterisque fidelibus nostris, partibus Francie, Burgundie, Provincie, Septimanie, Italie, Tuscie, Retie, Baioarie et Sclaviniae commeanibus, notum sit, quia praesentes fideles nostri illi anno incarnationis domini Iesu Christi octigentessimo 28, eiusdemque miserante clementia, anno quindecimo imperii nostri, Aquisgrani palatio nostro venientes, se nostris obtutibus praesentaverunt, quos nos sub sermone tuitionis nostre libentissime suscepimus et inantea, Domino volente, retinere optamus; ita ut deinceps annis singulis aut post duorum annorum curricula peractwa dimidiantie mense Maio ad nostrum veniant palatium, atque ad camaram nostram fideliter unusquisque ex suo negotio ac nostro deservire studeat hasque litteras auctoritatis nostre ostendat. Proinde autem per praesentem ordinationem nostram decernimus atque iubemus, ut neque vos neque iuniores seu successores vestri aut missi nostri discurrerent memoratos fideles nostros illos de nullis quisbuslibet illicitis occasionibus inquietare aut calumniam generare vel de rebus illorum contra iustitiam aliquid abstrahere aut minuere neque naves eorum quasi pro nostro servitio tollere neque scaram facere neque heribannum aut aliter bannos ab eis requirere vel exactare praesumatis.*

81 Of interest in this case is the phenomenon of the slave trade. Research conducted by Charles Verlinden indicates that the Pactum Lotharii (subsequently repeated by the Pactum Caroli III and the Pactum Berengarii I) concluded in 840 between the Empire and Venice laid down restrictions on exports of slaves to North Africa from the mid-8th century. Cf. Ch. Verlinden, *Ist mittelalterliche Sklaverei...*, p. 158.

82 *Formulae imperiales. Praeceptum de rebus redditis*, in: *Formulae Merovingici et Karolini aevi...*, c. 52, p. 325: *Omnibus episcopis, abbatibus, comitibus, vicariis, centenariis seu ceteris ministerialibus nostris notum sit, quia iste Hebreus nomine Abraham, habitans in civitate Cesaraugusta, ad nostram veniens praesentiam, in manibus nostris se commendavit, et eum sub sermone tuitionis nostre recepimus ac retinemus. Propterea hanc praesentem auctoritatem nostram ei fieri iussimus, per quam decernimus atque iubemus, ut neque vos neque iuniores seu successores vestri memoratum Ideum de nullis quibuslibet illicitis occasionibus inquietare aut calumniam generare neque de rebus suis propriis vel negotio suo aliquid abstrahere aut minuere ullo unquam tempore praesumatis et neque teloneum aut paravereda aut mansionaticum aut pulveraticum aut cespitaticum aut portaticum aut salutaticum aut trabaticum exactare; sed liceat illi sub mundeburdo et defensione nostra quiete vivere et partibus palatii nostri fideliter deservire absque alicuius illicita contrarietate. Liceat etiam ei secundum legem suam vivere et homines christioanos ad eius opera facienda locare, excepto die dominico et festis diebus. Et si christianus causam vel litem contra eum habuerit, tres idoneos testes christianos et tres Hebreis similiter idoneos in testimonium suum adhibeat et cum eis causam suam vindicet. Et si ille causam vel litem contra christianum habuerit, christianos testes idoneos in testimonium sibi adsumat et cum eis illum convincat. Quod si aliquis illorum, christianus aut Iudeus, veritatem occultare voluerit, comes ipsius civitatis per veram ac iustam inquisitionem faciat unumquemque secundum legem suam veritatem dicere. Liceat etiam ei mancipia peregrina emere et non aliubi nisi infra imperium nostrum vendere.*

83 In the event of killing the said merchants, the offender was obliged to pay ten pounds of gold – *Formulae imperiales. Praeceptum Iudeorum*, in: *Formulae Merovingici et Karolini aevi...*, c. 31, p. 310.

In several instances, the documents of Louis the Pious also mention the exemptions and endowments granted to the next monastic centres.⁸⁴ They seem to refer to the peak of economic prosperity in the region of Frankish rule, at the same time emphasizing the role of monasteries as one of the main stimuli of the observed economic growth.⁸⁵ Importantly, the total number of immunities and customs exemptions in the era of Louis the Pious is almost double the number of similar benefits transferred to the monasteries by Charlemagne.⁸⁶

Also of interest in this case is a set of privileges issued to the abbey at St. Denis. Among these, the diploma issued to Abbot Hilduin (December 1, 814) was of particular significance. Therein, the ruler allowed the collection of fees at the St. Dionysus market and granted customs benefits from Paris and its surroundings, indicating that they were collected, i.a., from Saxon and Frisian merchants and all other peoples who came here from various lands and provinces of Louis' dominion. Supposedly, they arrived by boat, cart, and other means of transport to participate in the exchange. The diploma also points to the importance of trade in wine and honey.⁸⁷ On the same day, Abbot Hilduin

⁸⁴ One example is the text of a document issued to Abbot Fridugis, in which an exemption from customs duties was granted to the monastery of Cormery for two, and if necessary more trade boats – *Die Urkunden der Karolinger. Die Urkunden Ludwigs des Frommen*, ed. T. Kölzer, MGH Diplomata, II (further: *Die Urkunden Ludwigs des Frommen*), Wiesbaden 2016, no. 4, p. 12; no. 12, p. 36; no. 22, p. 57.

⁸⁵ In this case, it is worth noting a diploma issued to the monastery of Stablo and Malmedy, in which, at the request of abbot Wirund, the ruler allowed free trade between the Rhine and the Meuse. It seems that in this case the exemption of the community from customs duties could have ensured the movement of a number of goods which were not only necessary for the economic functioning of the community, but which also created conditions for economic growth and its further development – *ibidem*, no. 34, pp. 90f. A document issued for the monastery of Lagrasse at the request of Abbot Atal was of similar importance. Louis the Pious exempted merchants subordinate to the monks from customs duties both with respect to goods transported by water and by land – *ibidem*, no. 36, pp. 95f. At the same time, since the times of that ruler, a tendency to include private foundations in the duty-free system can be seen. The text of a document issued to the monastery of St-Maur-des-Fossés may serve as an example of this practice. Louis the Pious granted it exemptions from customs duties on goods transported by land and water – *ibidem*, no. 97, pp. 236. The monastery of St-Oyend-de-Joux and the monastery of Kornelimünster also received the same privilege in a donation to Abbot Acchinus – *ibidem*, no. 184, pp. 457f.; no. 193, pp. 478f.

⁸⁶ Cf. figure 1.

⁸⁷ *Die Urkunden Ludwigs des Frommen*, no. 40, pp. 104f.: [...] *ut ommetheloneum de eodem mercatu, qui fit annis singulis festiuitate sancti Dionisii inpraefato pago Parisiaco, rectores uel congregatio praefati monasterii in usum vindicent absque alicuius inquietudine et iniusta contrarietate, tam ex negotiatoribus Saxonicae et Frisionicae gentis quamque et ex aliis gentibus, quae de diversis provinciis et teritoriis illuc eo tempore negotiandi conueniunt gratia, necnon et de carris et navibus et ceteris ueculis, quibus uinum et mel et alia pleraque commertia illuc ad mercandum deportantur, seu etiamet decunctis aliis mercimoniis, quae sive in eodem mercatu sive infra Parisiorum urbem sive in quibuslibet villis locisque et agris in circuitu illius mercatus circumiectum tunc temporis negotiatoribus illuc convenientibus fiunt.*

also received a second document for St. Denis, in which Louis the Pious gave him immunity along with the villa of Saclas and the local market.⁸⁸ The ruler also granted customs duty exemptions for trade boats being in the possession of monastic communities.⁸⁹ As an example, we can mention a diploma issued to the canons of the monastery of St. Mesmin de Micy, Vienne, St. Germain d'Auxerre, Murbach, and Tours.⁹⁰ In some cases, he also granted to the clerical communities the revenues from the duties collected in urban centres. They customarily accounted for a third of the revenues from the fairs held there.⁹¹ Another important example is that of an agreement concluded between the monks of the monastery of St. Gallen and Bishop Sidonius. In that document, Abbot Johannes was obligated to pay an annual fee of an ounce of gold and donate a horse worth one pound.⁹² The importance of the monasteries for the development of a network of market monopolies can also be ascertained in a set of documents which granted freedom of trade between the Rhine and the Loire,⁹³ the Rhine and the Meuse,⁹⁴ the Saone, the Rhone, and the Doubs,⁹⁵ and a set of customs duty exemptions throughout the regnum.⁹⁶ It is worth stressing that the monastic centres also sought access to commodities demanded on the market. Of particular importance was access to salt pans as they generated revenues that were enormous, even for those times.⁹⁷

Louis the Pious also resorted to a number of attempts to ensure a transfer infrastructure that would be suitable for the development of trade, striving

88 Ibidem, no. 42, pp. 110.

89 Ibidem, no. 143, pp. 361f.

90 Ibidem, no. 49, pp. 127-129. In a diploma issued on 10 June 815 for Vienne at the request of Bishop Bernard the sovereign granted the episcopal church the right to duty exemptions from five vessels engaged in the transportation of goods between the Rhone and Saône. *Omnibus episcopis, abbatibus, ducibus, comitibus, vicariis, centenariis, actionaris, theloneariis seu omnibus rem publicam procurantibus notum sit, quia nos deprecante Bernardo Uienensis ecclesiae episcopo, quae est constructa in honore sancti Mauricii, pro mercedis nostrae augmento seu pro utilitate fratrum ibidem domino famulantium ei concessimus naves quinque per diversa flumina, Rodanum scilicet et Segonnam, ad sua negotia deferenda* – cf. ibidem, no. 64, p. 161; no. 90, pp. 219f.; no. 102, p. 247. In a document issued for the monastery of Saint Martin in Tours at the request of Abbot Fridugis as many as twelve boats at the abbey's disposal on all the rivers of the Empire were exempted from customs duties – ibidem, no. 111, pp. 271f. Exemption from fees on the Loire and its connected rivers was also granted to the church at Angers – ibidem, no. 113, pp. 276-278.

91 Ibidem, no. 80, pp. 196f.

92 Ibidem, no. 85, pp. 209f. A rent of one pound of silver was also given by the Abbot of Ile-Barbe to the Archbishop of Lyon – ibidem, no. 116, pp. 288f.

93 A privilege of this kind was granted to Archbishop Hetti for Trier on 27 August 816 – ibidem, no. 105, pp. 253f.

94 Ibidem, no. 34, pp. 90f.

95 Ibidem, no. 117, pp. 290f.

96 Ibidem, no. 110, pp. 269f.

97 Ibidem, no. 132, pp. 336f.

to maintain the royal roads and bridge crossings.⁹⁸ He also provided protection to the merchants subordinate to monastic communities.⁹⁹ The documents of Louis also include references to the operation of ports and river harbours. Interesting here is the wording of a certificate issued to the monastery of St-Mesmin de Micy, where the object of the donation was a parcel of land in Port-Saint-Père intended for the unloading of salt shipments. Moreover, the monks received the right to collect revenues from its sale.¹⁰⁰ From subsequent records we learn that the monastic centres subordinate to the ruler were also supplied with oil,¹⁰¹ honey, wine,¹⁰² fish, hunted game, furs, wax, and a number of luxury goods.¹⁰³ In return, in addition to their duties of prayer, the monks had the obligation to support the poor and foreign visitors.¹⁰⁴ By securing the operations of monastic communities in the regnum, Louis the Pious transferred to their service also the descendants of the “men and free women” subordinated to the monastic community. An example of this type of donation is the text of a document issued to Abbot Benedict of Farfa.¹⁰⁵ The source material that has survived reveals the common practice of donating the unfree to monastic communities. The practice gained its commemorative dimension during the Ottonian era. According to research carried out for Regensburg, a group of forty-four unfree was donated to this monastic community between 975 and 1001.¹⁰⁶

98 Ibidem, no. 154, p. 384.

99 Ibidem, no. 159, pp. 396f.

100 Ibidem, no. 195, pp. 482f. The monastery of Saint Victor in Marseilles also received the right to revenues from trade in salt. Salt was imported here from Italy. In a document issued on 1 November 822, Louis the Pious upheld the privilege of Charlemagne – ibidem, no. 214, p. 528.

101 Ibidem, no. 206, pp. 509f.

102 Ibidem, no. 40, pp. 104f.

103 Ibidem, no. 98, pp. 237f.

104 It is worth stressing that, on receiving the royal endowments and protection, the church of Vienne also received the revenues from Feyzin, all of which were earmarked for this purpose – ibidem, no. 51, pp. 133f. Joachim Wollasch stresses the importance of the practice of donating rations of food of a friar who died to the poor for a period of thirty days after the friar's death – J. Wollasch, *Konventsstärke und Armensorge in mittelalterlichen Klöstern...*, pp. 193f. The maintenance of the community and the obligations it was subjected to led to a limit on its maximum number of members. The latter was set at fifty to sixty persons. The text of a document issued to the monastery of Cormery may be referred to as an example. The maximum number of members of the monastic community was set at fifty – *Die Urkunden Ludwigs des Frommen*, no. 174, pp. 432f.

105 Ibidem, no. 72, pp. 177f. A document issued by Louis the Pious on 28 April 820 contains a reference to a law, confirmed by the Longobard rulers, according to which after marrying people subordinate to the monastery in Farfé, free women should also come under the monastery's rule after a period of one year – ibidem, no. 178, pp. 441f.

106 P. Pranke, *Handel niewolnikami na obszarze Europy Środkowej i Środkowo-Wschodniej w IX–XII wieku*, in: *Kobiety w dziejach. Od archeologii do czasów współczesnych. Mare integrans. Studia nad dziejami wybrzeży Morza Bałtyckiego*, ed. M. Franz, Z. Pilarczyk, Toruń 2018, pp. 203f.

Examination of imperial regulations has revealed a wide range and universality of the trade carried out. Among the goods traded, the transport of food and grain is of particular importance. This seems to be evidenced primarily by the customs regulations of the Frankish dominion. Among them, a set of regulations originating from Frankfurt deserves particular attention. They introduced maximum price levels in the grain trade.¹⁰⁷ These provisions also referred to the obligation to use coins in the exchange.¹⁰⁸ Another interesting document is the one issued by Lothar I on June 1, 850 for Fulda. Upholding the economic commitments of his predecessors, the ruler allowed trade in clothing.¹⁰⁹ The importance of imported goods for the endowments of monastic centres is also attested to by a diploma issued for Prüm. The text of the document stressed the prayer dimension of donations made *pro anime nostrae salute*.¹¹⁰

107 *Synodus Franconofurtensis a. 794*, in: *Capitularia regum Francorum*, I, no. 55, § 4, p. 74: *Statuit piissimus domnus noster rex, consentienti sancta synodo, ut nullus homo sive ecclesiasticus sive laicus sit, ut nunquam carius vendat annonam, sive tempore abundantiae sive tempore caritatis, quam modium publicum et noviter statutum, de modio de avena denario uno, modio ordii denaris duo, modio sigalo denarii tres, modio frumenti denarii quatuor. Si vero in pane vendere voluerit, duodecim panes de frumento, habentes singuli libras duas, pro denario dare debeat, sigalatus quindecim aequo pondere pro denario, ordeaceos viginti similiter pensantes, avenatios viginti quinque similiter pensantes. De vero anona publica domni regis, si venundata fuerit, de avena modius II pro denario, ordeo den I. sigalo den. II, frumento modius denar. III, Et qui nostrum habet beneficium, diligentissime praevideat, quantum potest Deo donante, ut nullus ex mancipiis ad illum pertinentes beneficium famen moriatur; et quod superest illius familiae necessitatem, hoc libere vendat iure praescripto.*

108 *Ibidem*, § 5, p. 74: *De denariis autem certissime sciatis nostrum edictum, quod in omni loco, in omni civitate et in omni empturio similiter vadant isti novi denarii et accipiantur ab omnibus. Si autem nominis nostri nomisma habent et mero sunt argento, pleniter pensantes, si quis contradicit eos in ullo loco in aliquo negotio emptionis vel venditionis: si ingenuus est homo, quindecim solidos componat ad opus regis; si servilis conditionis, si suum est illud negotium proprium, perdat illud negotium aut flagelletur nudus ad palam coram populo; si autem ex iussione sui domini fecerit, tunc ille dominus solidos quindecim componat, si ei adprobatum fuerit.*

109 *Die Urkunden Lothars I.*, no. 111, p. 260; *Die Urkunden Ludwigs des Frommen*, II, no. 27, p. 71. Also the diploma issued by Louis the Pious to the monastery of St-Aignan should be mentioned. The ruler granted exemptions from customs duties to six ships, carts and pack animals, *ibidem*, no. 32, pp. 83f.

110 *Die Urkunden Lothars I.*, no. 122, p. 281: *[...] notum esse volumus omnibus aecclesie sanctae filiis presentibus videlicet et futuris obtulisse nos gubernatori nostro deo pro anime nostrae salute et celestis patrie adeptione opus, quod divino cultui dicandum propriis sumptibus iussinus ad ornatum prefati sancti loci per succedentium curricula temporum in divinis laudibus iugiter possidendum: evangelium scilicet cum ebore, cristallo atque auro gemmisque compositum; bibliothecam cum imaginibus et maioribus characteribus in voluminum principiis deauratis nec non et seraculis cum catenulis deauratis; capsam auream cum altare subposito innitentem quatuor columnis argenteis et aliam item capsulam modicam altari superpositam et coronulam auream nec non et crucem auream gammatam altari affixam cum diversis cristegis hinc et inde connexis, optimi generis gemmis undique decoratam, una cum reliquiis his nominibus infra reconditis, astantibus duobus archiepiscopis Tetigaudo videlicet Trevirorum antistite et Rutgando Arelatensium presule seu cunctis eiusdem coenobii fratribus.*

It seems that the practice of instituting regular fairs and markets¹¹¹ was important from the point of view of developing economic activity in the zone of the Frankish dominion. These fairs and markets were also crucial for the development of Otto I's economic power.¹¹² A diploma issued to Piacenza may serve as an example of fairs established by Frankish rulers. The deeds upheld Charlemagne's donations along with the endowments obtained from customs duties and a market to be held on November 13 of each year.¹¹³ From the times of Lothar II, the monastic centres were also vested with market privileges and the right to mint coins. A diploma issued on June 28, 861 to the monastery of Prüm¹¹⁴ may serve as an example of this practice. Moreover, this ruler maintained the customs exemptions granted by his predecessors,¹¹⁵ making a number of further donations to the monasteries.¹¹⁶ It seems that the principle of ancient (*ius antiqua*) and thus just (*iustitia*) law – based in this case on Roman

111 The text of a document issued on August 29, 843 at Remiremont for Bishop Petrus and the Canons of Arezzo may be referred to as one example. Therein, Lothar I granted the right to hold an annual fair in honour of Saint Hilarion – *Die Urkunden Lothars I*, no. 79, p. 198: *Idcirco omnium fidelium sanctae dei ecclesiae ac nostrorum praesentium videlicet et futurorum comperiat magnitudo, quia vir venerabilis Petrus Areciensis urbis episcopus adiens serenitatem culminis nostri retulit celsitudini nostrae, quod in sede sibi deo auctore comissa fratres, ut sub canonica inibi consistant auctoritate, constituerit atque ex rebus ac familiis episcopii sui, prout eorum exposcit utilitas, per decretum suae sanctionis ditaverit villas scilicet tres, quae Durna, Speia atque Plica nominatur quasque Burgundis matrona et Elbungus eidem ecclesiae contulerunt, nec non et mercatum annualem unum, qui in missa sancti Hilariani celebratur, deprecans, ut praefatas villas cum omnibus pertinentiis suis atque mercatum, quemadmodum per decretum suae adfirmationis praefatis contulit fratribus, nostra sanctione eis confirmaremus.* It is worth stressing that in this case we can also speak of the continuation of trade traditions in individual centres. Mention of the organization of the said fair can also be found in a document issued by Henry II – *Die Urkunden der deutschen Könige und Kaiser. Die Urkunden Heinrichs II. und Arduins*, ed. H. Bresslau, MGH Diplomata, III, Hannoverae 1900-1903, no. 436, p. 558. In the case of the donations of Lothar I, the content of the lost document establishing the privilege of the market for the bishop's church in Como can also be referred to – *Die Urkunden Lothars I*, no. 147, p. 332. The said ruler also established fairs in San Silvestro and Sant' Ottaviano – *ibidem*, no. 164, p. 339.

112 *Die Urkunden Ottos I*, no. 348, p. 474; no. 364, p. 500.

113 *Die Urkunden Lothars I*, no. 182, p. 346.

114 *Die Urkunden Lothars II*, no. 16, p. 409: *Idcirco omnium fidelium sanctae die ecclesiae ac nostrorum praesentium videlicet et futurorum noverit industria, quia Ansboldus Prumiensis monasterii abba nostris serenissimis innotuit auribus, quod ipse locus propter mercati et monete longinquitatem non modicum patitur discrimen. Unde petiit clementiam magnitudinis nostrae, ut licentiam in loco qui vocatur Romari villa non procul ab eodem monasterio sito mercatum et monetam ad utilitatem eiusdem loci fieri nondedignaremus. Cuius petitioni ob reverentiam domini et salvatoris nostri Iesu Christi et remedium animae nostrae libenter adquiescentes has nostrae pietatis litteras fieri decrevimus, per quas statuentes decernimus atque iubemus, ut ab hinc in antea in predicto loco mercatum habeant more humano et moneta ad bonos et meros denarios perficiendum fiat et nulla pars publica inde teloneum vel aliquam exactionem exigat, sed in utilitatibus eiusdem sancti loci vel fratrum ibidem deo militantium in futuro perseroerit.*

115 *Ibidem*, no. 24, p. 422.

116 *Ibidem*, no. 35, p. 443; no. 44, p. 455.

law – was one of the factors sustaining economic prosperity. Interestingly, an analysis of the exemptions from customs duties and immunities granted by Frankish rulers in dynamic terms points directly to the existence of long-term and hegemonial cycles. They are observed in phases of sixty and one-hundred and twenty years, characteristic of the Kondratiev-Schumpeter theory.¹¹⁷

It seems that they occurred as a consequence of the sustainability of the above organizational and legal system for trade activities conducted through monastic centres, generating a periodic increase in internal demand as a result of the foundational and prayer activities of the Frankish rulers. Indeed, according to the sources, from the times of Louis II, activities involving the organization of fairs and markets intensified. One example is the wording of a document issued for the church of Volterra in which the sovereign not only upheld the commitments of his predecessors by authorizing the organization of fairs at San Silvestro and Sant' Ottaviano, but also recommended the establishment of further fairs in Volterra and Camporisa.¹¹⁸ He also endowed the church of Cremona with revenues from the fees collected from visiting merchants.¹¹⁹ Maintaining economic and political relations with Venice was also an important factor in the development of trade.¹²⁰ Among the documents of Louis II, the diploma issued on January 10, 861 in Brescia for Abbess Amelberga is of special interest. It mentions the person of a merchant named Ianuarius. Acting on behalf of the monastery, he and a group of subordinate *mercatores* gained the privilege of being exempted from any duty on the goods transported.¹²¹

Also of interest are issues relating to the operations of the market monopoly and the importance of interregional communication for trading activities. In this context, the diploma issued on 6 January 872 at Marengo is noteworthy. By issuing a document in favour of Bishop Paulus and the church of Piacenza, Louis II

117 Cf. Figure 2.

118 *Die Urkunden der Karolinger. Die Urkunden Ludwigs II.*, ed. K. Wanner, MGH Diplomata, IV, München 1994 (further: *Die Urkunden Ludwigs II.*), no. 2, p. 68.

119 *Ibidem*, no. 4, pp. 73f. The wording of the document issued for the parish church of Genivolta also prompts interest. Therein, the ruler granted the right to use the canals enabling merchants to travel to the market centres located in the area. This document reflects the importance of interregional trade and attests to the existence of an extensive transfer architecture and regular trade flows within the Frankish dominion – *ibidem*, no. 5, pp. 75f.

120 *Ibidem*, no. 19, p. 103. This aspect gained particular importance during the Ottonian dynasty – *Petri ducis Venetiarum epistola. Heinrici I. constitutiones*, in: *Constitutiones et acta publica imperatorum et regum*, ed. L. Weiland, MGH Const., I, Hannoverae 1893, no. 4, p. 7.

121 *Die Urkunden Ludwigs II.*, no. 32, pp. 132f.: [...] *ut quocumque iste Ianuarius cum propriis mercimoniis negociando perrexerit, secure pergat et nullus ei de ripatico vel cispatico adque portatico vel teloneo ei quippiam inquietudinis ingerat; sed liceat ei, quocumque perrexerit, absque ullius inquietudine vel contrarietate mercimonia deportare et vendere et, iusta quod ei imperatum fuerit a predicta abbatissa, suum negocium peragere.*

stressed the importance of the trade route and the fairs located in its vicinity. He also released the actors of the trade exchange from all customs obligations. On the one hand, this practice may confirm the development of exchange within the market monopolies created in the communication network, and on the other hand it reflects the significance of the privileges for the freedom of trade.¹²² It seems that a similar state of affairs can also be derived from the documents of the German dynasty of the Carolingians. Among them is a particularly significant set of diplomas issued by Louis the German.¹²³

In a document issued for the monastery of Kempten, the monastic community was granted revenues from the salt pans in Reichenhall. This monastic community also had the right to use three trade boats for salt transport that were not subject to custom duties. As an endowment, it was also given the right to collect a toll.¹²⁴ Moreover, in one of the documents, the ruler allowed the monastery in Lorsch to own a trade boat which was exempted from customs duties in the port of Worms.¹²⁵ The canons of the monastery of Saint Arnulf of Metz were also granted the freedom to trade after being vested with the right to transport goods down the Moselle.¹²⁶ Importantly, the exemption in question related to the entire section of the interregional trade route.

122 Ibidem, no. 56, pp. 176f. The link between the importance of the transfer infrastructure for the functioning of the market network and its influence on the amount of revenues derived from trade is also illustrated in the text of the diploma issued by Louis II to the monastery in Farf. Therein, the ruler upheld imperial commitments by transferring to the said monastic community the proceeds from fairs and bridge duties – ibidem, no. 57, pp. 179f. The importance of the possibility to delineate a road network and of the proceeds derived from bridge crossings is also reported in the text of a document issued at Cortelona on 13 October 874 – ibidem, no. 67, pp. 198f.

123 *Die Urkunden der deutschen Karolinger. Die Urkunden Ludwigs der Deutschen*, ed. P. Kehr, MGH Diplomata, I, Berlin 1934, no. 24, pp. 29f.

124 Ibidem, no. 36, p. 47.

125 Ibidem, no. 89, p. 128 [...] *ut unam navem per Renum fluvium ob utilitatem atque necessitatem eorum ad Wormatiam civitatem omni tempore discurrere licuisset et assidue huc illucque transmeare potuisset absque alicuius contrarietate aut impedimento. [...] unam navem illorum per Renum fluvium huc illucque discurrere et ad portum Wormatiam civitatem absque ullo theloneo pervenire et necessitates eorum per hanc nostram auctoritatem feliciter peragere.* The monastery in Lorsch was also granted fishing rights and a road leading to the harbour on the banks of the Rhine – ibidem, no. 117, p. 166. The church in Straßburg was also among the centres that were endowed. In this case, Louis the German upheld the privilege of Louis the Pious exempting from customs duties merchants working for the bishopric – ibidem, no. 148, p. 207. Along with the immunity, the bishopric of Straßburg also received a minting privilege – ibidem, no. 149, p. 209.

126 Ibidem, no. 167, p. 233. Privileges issued with respect to fees collected from trade within urban centres were also important. In this case, centres located in Italy were of particular importance to the East Frankish rulers. As example, a reference can be made to the text of the document authorizing the collection of duties from Parma – *Die Urkunden der deutschen Karolinger. Die Urkunden Karlmann*, ed. P. Kehr, MGH Diplomata, I, Berlin 1934, no. 24, pp. 320f.

The functioning of the Carolingian and Ottonian system of trade saw a period of decline; it was characterized by a marked decrease in the number of endowed monastic communities. An analysis of the documents in dynamic terms shows signs of economic crisis probably taking place after the division of Frankish dominion in 843 pursuant to the Treaty of Verdun.¹²⁷ In economic terms, this seems to have been a phenomenon which, on the one hand, brought to an end the period of prosperity under Charlemagne and Louis the Pious and, on the other, emphasized the significance of transitions characteristic of the period of feudal fragmentation. It is likely that this downturn was not only due to centrifugal tendencies and the disruptions of the network of interregional ties, but was also due to the impossibility of maintaining the scale and structure of trade.

One of the testimonies of this recessionary phenomena (with a parallel attempt to protect the developed trade monopolies) might be the letter of Arnulf of Carinthia to the ruler of the Bulgars, in which he ordered the cessation of salt trade with the Moravians.¹²⁸ In Arnulf's diplomas one can also see simultaneous attempts to restore the economic growth.¹²⁹ It seems that similar attempts were already undertaken by Charles III.¹³⁰ That ruler not only renewed the agreement with the Venetians (concluded by Lothar I), which implemented the practice of the trade in slaves,¹³¹ but also sought to restore the importance of interregional exchanges through the endowments to ecclesiastical institutions within Italy.¹³² An example of this practice can be found in the text of the diploma issued for the monastery of Saint Mary Theodotus in Pavia. The ruler granted the community exemption from customs duties in the area between the Po river and Ticino.¹³³ In Italy, similar privileges were also granted to the church

127 Cf. figure 3.

128 *Annalium Fuldensium continuatio Ratisbonensis A. 882-897*, in: *Annales Fuldenses sive Annales regni Francorum orientalis*, ed. F. Kurze, MGH Scriptorum rerum Germanicarum in usum scholarum, VII, Hannoverae 1891, a. 892, p. 121: *Missos etiam suos inde ad Bulgaros et regem eorum Laodimir ad renovandam pristinam pacem cum muneribus mense Septembrio transmisit et, ne coemptio salis inde Maravanis daretur, exposcit.*

129 As an example, mention can be made of the fact of upholding the donation of the predecessors granting the Archbishopric of Hamburg-Bremen the right to the revenues from customs duties and the right to mint trade coins – *Die Urkunden der deutschen Karolinger. Die Urkunden Arnolfs*, ed. P. Kehr, MGH Diplomata, III, Berlin 1940 (further: *Die Urkunden Arnolfs*), no. 27, p. 39.

130 *Die Urkunden der deutschen Karolinger. Die Urkunden Karl III.*, ed. P. Kehr, MGH Diplomata, II, Berlin 1937.

131 *Ibidem*, no. 17, pp. 27-31. In a separate document, Charles III confirmed to the Venetian doge the estates and rights in Venice and within the Empire, and allowed free trade – *ibidem*, no. 77, pp. 126f.

132 *Ibidem*, no. 35, pp. 59-61; no. 115, pp. 182f.

133 *Ibidem*, no. 45, pp. 74f.

in Reggio,¹³⁴ the monastery of Santa Cristina d'Olona, and Parma.¹³⁵ Also Charles III donated the market located in Ardennengau to the Chapel of the Blessed Virgin Mary in Aachen.¹³⁶ The monastery of Reichenau, the monastery of Oetting, and of Osnabrück¹³⁷ were also granted exemptions from customs duties throughout the regnum.

The diplomas issued by Arnulf of Carinthia also contain references to the organization of fairs. However, their overall number is small.¹³⁸ Via several grants the ruler also supported the development of centres connected with salt trade in the Empire. An example is the text of a donation to the monastery of Kempten, whose income was derived from the sale of salt from the salt pans at Reichenhall. The ruler granted the monastery an exemption from customs duties for six carts used in the transportation of salt. Moreover, the exemption covered the payment of the toll.¹³⁹ The text of the diploma issued for the episcopal church in Freising¹⁴⁰ had a similar significance. Noteworthy is a document issued on April 25, 896 in Piacenza in favour of the nuns of S. Sisto convent. Therein, the ruler granted the right to revenues from the fair held between May 21 and June 5.¹⁴¹ It seems that the small number of centres benefiting from endowments and the marked downturn during the reign of Arnulf of Carinthia may reflect further cri-

134 Ibidem, no. 47, pp. 77-79.

135 *Conperiat omnium fidelium nostrorum praesentium et futurorum solertia, qualiter Trasoaldus dilectus noster de monasterio, quod est constructum in honore sanctae Cristine, deprecatus est clementiam nostram, ut per auctoritatis nostrae praeceptum ei licentiam donaremus publicum mercatum fieri in praescripto monasterio sanctae Cristinae* – ibidem, no. 55, p. 95; no. 175, pp. 285-287; no. 181, pp. 301f.

136 Ibidem, no. 109, pp. 174f. Among the donations of Charles III were customs duty exemptions for Pasava – ibidem, no. 135, p. 216. The monastery of St Maur-des-Fossés was also granted similar privileges, together with an exemption from customs duties throughout the regnum – ibidem, no. 149, p. 241.

137 Ibidem, no. 189, pp. 318f; *Die Urkunden Arnolfs*, no. 161, pp. 244f. Pasava also received a similar privilege – ibidem, no. 163, pp. 248f. In this case, the ruler also granted the church in Osnabrück the right to hold a market and mint coins – ibidem, no. 183, pp. 279f.

138 Ibidem, no. 31, pp. 46f.; no. 36, pp. 53f.

139 Ibidem, no. 47, p. 66.

140 Ibidem, no. 170, p. 259.

141 Ibidem, no. p. 142, pp. 216f.: *Quapropter omnibus fidelibus sanctae die ecclesie nostrisque presentibus scilicet ac futuris noverit industria, quia dum ad limina beatorum apostolorum Petri et Pauli reverteremur et Placentiam ad monasterium in honorem sancte resurrectionis et beatorum martirum Sixti et Fabiani constructum diverteremur, nostram adiit munificentiam Angilberga abbatissa ipsius monasterii cum tota congregatione sibi comissa nostram supplicantes clementiam, quatenus per nostram imperialem largitionem atque concessionem liceret mercatum in festivitate sancte Martine Christi virginis, cuius corpus ibidem humatum quiescit, ad xenodochium ipsius monasterii congregare. Cuius petitionibus piuumaccommodantes auditum per hoc nostrae auctoritatis preceptum concedimus atque firmamus predicto monasterio, ut liceat in iam dicta festivitate mercatum ex quacumque parte voluerit advocare et secundum quod melius previderint ordinare.*

sis phenomena that occurred at the time.¹⁴² Their existence may primarily be evidenced by the small number of exemptions from customs duties for individual monastic centres within the regnum of Arnulf of Carinthia and by efforts to concentrate the political and economic activity on maintaining revenues from the salt trade. The latter seems to have been one of the main sources of profit for the dominion he ruled. At the same time, from the era of Charles III, we witness a process where monastic communities are primarily maintained through a system of tithes and successive grants of land.

A similar situation also occurred during the reign of the sons of Arnulf of Carinthia. It seems that their efforts in the economic area may have been an attempt to overcome the downturn. Of particular importance in the documents of King Zwentibold of Lorraine is the text of a diploma issued to the monastery of Werden. The ruler granted an exemption from customs duties for all markets along the Rhine.¹⁴³ In a diploma issued for the monastic community of Münstereifel, he allowed the organization of a market, granted the right to mint coins, and donated to the monastery an endowment representing two-thirds of the revenues derived from collected market fees and the minting privilege.¹⁴⁴ The donation made by Louis the Child to the monastery of Korvei was of similar significance, as the East Frankish ruler provided the monks of this monastic community with proceeds from the market, coins, and duties collected in Niedermasberg. At the same time, he granted them the right to freely choose the abbot.¹⁴⁵ It is worth adding that Louis's documents were already of a clearly commemorative nature, referring to the memory of his parents.¹⁴⁶ Louis the Child also granted to subsequent monastic centres the right to organize a market together with the minting privilege. Among the centres that benefited from the endowments, the privilege mentioned above was granted to Eichstätt¹⁴⁷ with its bishop, Erchanbold. The ruler also made a donation to the church in Salzburg, transferring revenues from custom duties and rents connected with the trade in the salt pans in Reichenhall.¹⁴⁸ In a document issued on August 12, 903 in Ötting, he also ensured a privileged position to the monastery

142 Cf. Figure 3.

143 *Die Urkunden der deutschen Karolinger. Die Urkunden Zewntibolds*, ed. T. Schieffer, MGH Diplomata, IV, Berlin 1960, no. 19: *Item concedimus eis, ut in omnibus mercatibus, que per Renum sunt, a theloniis sint liberi nec aliquid exigatur, ubicumque ad suas utilitates indigent emere aut vendere.*

144 *Ibidem*, no. 26, pp. 64f.

145 *Die Urkunden der deutschen Karolinger. Die Urkunden Ludwigs des Kindes*, ed. T. Schieffer, MGH Diplomata, IV, Berlin 1960, no. 6, p. 103.

146 The text of the document issued for the monastery of Saint Emmeram in Regensburg may serve as an example – *ibidem*, no. 26, pp. 134f.

147 *Ibidem*, no. 58, p. 186.

148 *Ibidem*, no. 64, pp. 194f.

of Saint Emmeram in Regensburg, granting it exemptions from customs duties throughout the regnum.¹⁴⁹ It seems that, together with successive fairs, a distinct change in economic growth came not earlier than in the Ottonian era. However, when analyzing the diplomas issued by Conrad I and Henry I, a gradual increase in the number of endowed centres can be noted. The return of economic prosperity, with a simultaneous increase in domestic demand, is associated with a period that is not earlier than the reign of Otto I. The peak of economic prosperity, corresponding to the times of Charlemagne and Louis the Pious, can be linked to the reign of Otto III.

In the case of the diplomas of Conrad I, the privilege exempting from customs duties the merchants conducting business for the benefit of the monastic community within the regnum was granted to the monastery in Murbach.¹⁵⁰ The right to hold an interregional market and conduct trade was also vested in the church in Weilburg.¹⁵¹ Furthermore, the ruler provided the monastic community of Regensburg with a tenth of the customs duties collected and donated the proceeds of trade to the Bishop's Church in Würzburg.¹⁵² The bishopric of Eichstädt also gained a privileged economic position.¹⁵³ As regards the diplomas issued by Henry I, the customs privileges of Utrecht, Paderborn, and the monastery of Saint Gerard should be cited.¹⁵⁴ It is worth noting that, with the advent of Otto I's reign, not only did the number of immunities given to monasteries sharply increase, but also came a marked and rapid growth in the number of customs and market privileges, an event comparable to the period of prosperity in the times of Louis the Pious.¹⁵⁵

The processes referred to above were accompanied by an increase in the number of minting privileges. Here the diplomas for Utrecht,¹⁵⁶

149 Ibidem, no. 81, pp. 222f.

150 *Die Urkunden der deutschen Könige und Kaiser. Die Urkunden Konrads I.*, ed. T. Sieckel, MGH Diplomata, I, Hannoverae 1879-1884 (further: *Die Urkunden Konrads I.*), no. 17, p. 16.

151 Ibidem, no. 19, p. 18.

152 Ibidem, no. 29, p. 27; no. 35, p. 32. The privilege for Würzburg was upheld by Henry I – *Die Urkunden der deutschen Könige und Kaiser. Die Urkunden Heinrichs I.*, ed. T. Sieckel, MGH Diplomata, I, Hannoverae 1879-1884 (further: *Die Urkunden Heinrichs I.*), no. 5, p. 43.

153 *Die Urkunden Konrads I.*, no. 36, p. 33: *Idcirco notum sit omnibus fidelibus nostris presentibus scilicet et futuris, quia Odalfridus venerabilis Eihstetensis coenobii episcopus nostre indicavit serenitati, qualiter Hludouuicus bone memorie rex condonasset per sue largitionis preceptum Erchenbaldo eiusdem sedis episcopo licentiam publice negotiationis mercatum constituere et monetam efficere theloneunque, sicuti in ceteris mercationum locis mos est, exigere et in suo episcopatu aliquas munitiones et firmitates contra paganorum incursus moliri.*

154 *Die Urkunden Heinrichs I.*, no. 27, p. 63; no. 43, pp. 77f.; no. 42, pp. 75-77.

155 *Die Urkunden Ottos I.*, no. 177, pp. 258f.

156 Ibidem, no. 6, pp. 94f.; no. 19, p. 106; no. 98, p. 181. Also Utrecht received the duties levied on trading boats arriving at the two harbours on the Zuiderzee – ibidem, no. 112, pp. 195f.

the bishopric of Cambrai,¹⁵⁷ the monastery of Korvei,¹⁵⁸ Sankt Gallen,¹⁵⁹ Osnabrück,¹⁶⁰ Reichenau¹⁶¹ and Chur¹⁶² can be listed. The latter also received a trade boat on the Wallensee.¹⁶³ Of particular importance for economic reasons was the set of privileges granted by Otto I to Magdeburg (beginning with a document issued on September 21, 937).¹⁶⁴ In subsequent diplomas issued by that ruler in favour of the abbey of Saint Maurice, the immunities were accompanied by customs and market privileges.¹⁶⁵ These documents were issued on September 27 and October 11, 937.¹⁶⁶ The commitment of the monastery to care for the poor was also essential. For this purpose estates in Ueplingen, Rohrsheim, and Netthorp were granted to the monastic community. This donation was made *pro dei amore nostraque animae remedio*.¹⁶⁷ In a document issued on March 28, 942, the monks were also vested with the right to revenues from customs duties and coinage.¹⁶⁸ Bishop Richgowo of Worms received a similar endowment.¹⁶⁹ The exemption of merchants from customs duties was also granted to Rodbert, Archbishop of Trier.¹⁷⁰ The bishopric of Straßburg was also exempted from customs duties imposed on merchants.¹⁷¹ Customs privileges and the right to mint coins were also given to secular vassals of the ruler. In this case, of particular interest is Otto I's deed of gift to Ansfrid, in which the ruler granted him the right to organize a market and mint coins, along with the proceeds from customs in Kessel.¹⁷²

157 Ibidem, no. 39, pp. 125f.

158 Ibidem, no. 73, p. 153; no. 77, p. 157.

159 Ibidem, no. 90, pp. 172f.

160 In the above-mentioned document, Otto I granted the bishop of Osnabrück the right to hold a market and the minting privilege in Wiedenbrück – ibidem, no. 150, p. 230.

161 Ibidem, no. 277, pp. 393f.

162 Ibidem, no. 148, p. 229; no. 191, p. 273.

163 Ibidem, no. 175, p. 257.

164 Ibidem, no. 14, pp. 101f.

165 Ibidem, no. 15, pp. 102f. Magdeburg also received further donations – ibidem, no. 37, p. 123; no. 38, p. 124. The granting of an endowment in silver to the monastery of St. Maurice was also of importance – ibidem, no. 295, p. 412.

166 Ibidem, no. 16, p. 104.

167 Ibidem, no. 41, p. 127.

168 Ibidem, no. 46, p. 131.

169 Ibidem, no. 84, p. 165.

170 Ibidem, no. 86, pp. 168f.

171 Ibidem, no. 162, pp. 243f.

172 Ibidem, no. 129, p. 210: *Noverint omnes fideles nostri praesentes et futuri, qualiter nos pro interventa nostri fidelis Conradi ducis mercatum et monetam cuidam vassalo nostro Ansfrid nominato in loco qui dicitur Cassalo, sito in pago Masalant in comitatu Ruodolfi singulaque que ad haec necessaria sunt, in proprietatem donavimus, et theloneum quod hactenus in villa Ehti sumendum fuit, illi praefato Ansfrido in supradicto loco, videlicet Cassalo, suscipiendum tradidimus.*

The monastery of St. Michael in Lüneburg also played an important role in the the market and trade network established under Otto I. In a document issued on August 13, 956, that community received the right to retain for its own purposes the proceeds from the customs duties on salt sold here.¹⁷³ This endowment was granted as a result of the intervention of Hermann Billung, acting as *princeps militiae*.¹⁷⁴ In this way, the ruler also stressed his support for the Billungs' domestic monastery. By supporting the economic activity of the monastery, Otto I also gave it a tenth of the revenues generated by the market in Barowik.¹⁷⁵ In a separate diploma, he also granted one-fifth of the revenues achieved from the salt fairs.¹⁷⁶

The importance of this foundational activity in stimulating the network of local market monopolies is also expressed in a document issued by Otto I on January 12, 958 in Fritzlar. He donated to the Meschede monastery the right to collect revenues from the fairs that took place there. The Hornbach monastery also benefited from a similar donation.¹⁷⁷ The right to hold regular fairs was also transferred to Abbot Gerbodo of Lorsch.¹⁷⁸ The area controlled by the Archbishopric of Hamburg-Bremen also played a privileged role within the commercial network established in the Ottonian dominion. By virtue of a document issued at Merseburg on 10 August 10, 965, Archbishop Adaldag received, for the merchants subordinate to him, similar rights to those applicable in other royal towns. The ruler also granted him revenues from customs duties and the market, ensuring protection to merchants subordinate to the archbishop, defined as *institores urbium*.¹⁷⁹ It should be stressed that, according to research conducted by Karl Bosel,

173 Ibidem, no. 183, p. 266: *Noverint omnes fideles nostri presentes scilicet et futuri, qualiter nos per interventum Herimanni marchionis teloneum ad Luniburg ad monasterium sancti Michaelis sub honore constructum pro remedio anime nostrae nostraque coniugis, ipsum teloneum qui ex salinis emitur, in proprium donamus.*

174 A. Pleszczyński, *Niemcy wobec pierwszej monarchii piastowskiej (963-1034)*. Narodziny stereotypu, Lublin 2008, p. 46.

175 *Die Urkunden Ottos I*, no. 309, p. 424.

176 Ibidem, no. 308, p. 423.

177 Ibidem, no. 190, p. 272. As in the case of the document issued for Meschede, the monastery of Hersfeld was endowed with revenues from the markets in which food was sold (meat market) – ibidem, no. 424, p. 578.

178 Ibidem, no. 283, p. 399.

179 Ibidem, no. 307, pp. 422f.: *Quare omnibus constet, nos pro die amore venerabilis Adaldagi Hammaburgensis ecclesiae archiepiscopi flagitationibus annuentes construendi mercatum in loco Bremun nuncupato illi concessisse licentiam. Bannum et theloneum nec non monetam totumque quod inde regius rei publicae fiscus obtinere poterit, prelibatae conferimus sedi, quin etiam negotiatores eiusdem incolas loci nostrae tuitionis patrocinio condonavimus, precipientes hoc imperatoriae auctoritatis precepto, quo in omnibus tali patrocinentur tutela et potiantur iure quali ceterarum regalium institores urbium, nemoque inibi aliquam sibi vendicet potestatem, nisi prefati pontificatus archiepiscopus et quem ipse ad hoc delegaverit, manu nostra signato et anuli nostri impressione roborato.*

the archbishopric acted as an intermediary not only in trade with the Scandinavian lands, but also with Slavonia.¹⁸⁰

A parallel examination of subsequent documents of Otto I reveals the rising position of Magdeburg, which in a diploma issued on June 9, 965 was to receive proceeds from customs duties from merchants travelling between Ohra and Boda.¹⁸¹ According to the accounts provided in Thietmar's *Chronicle*, an *ecclesia mercatorum* was present in the area of the said centre.¹⁸² This term can be associated with transitions from the operations of "mobile market" institutions to the creation of a network of permanent trade centres in the Ottonian area.¹⁸³ Magdeburg's privileged economic situation was connected with a number of further donations to the monastery of St Maurice.¹⁸⁴ These include the right to mint coins and the transfer of the right to receive revenues from the market held in Gittelde.¹⁸⁵ Among the monastic centres that benefited from endowment of Otto the Great was the monastery of Saint Pantaleon in Cologne, to which the ruler donated half of the island of Urk, along with a number of exemptions from customs duties.¹⁸⁶

It seems that the renewal of trade agreements with Venice also reflected the increased economic importance of Otto I's rule. This act was performed by virtue of a document drawn up on December 2, 967 in Rome. Among the provisions of the agreement, of particular significance were the regulations concerning the freedom of trade in the area of its subordinate dominion and to the trade in slaves.¹⁸⁷ In a separate diploma, the Venetians were

180 K. Bosl, *Die Sozialstruktur der mittelalterlichen Residenz – und Fernhadelstadt Regensburg. Die Entwicklung ihres Bürgertums von 9-14 Jahrhundert*, München 1966, p. 10.

181 *Die Urkunden Ottos I*, no. 299, p. 415. Cf. G. Labuda, *Zjazd i synod gnieźnieński roku 1000 w nowym oświetleniu historiograficznym*, in: *Cognitoni gestorum. Studia z dziejów średniowiecza dedykowane Profesorowi Jerzemu Strzelczykowi*, ed. D.A. Sikorski, A.M. Wyrwa, Poznań-Warszawa 2006, p. 164.

182 Thietmar I, 12, p. 16.

183 *Die Urkunden Ottos I*, no. 301, p. 417.

184 In this respect, it is worth noting the diploma issued on June 28, 965 in Wallhausen, in which the ruler transferred tithes and rents in honey. The latter was a commodity sought after on the exchange markets – *ibidem*, no. 303, p. 418; no. 304, pp. 419f.; no. 305, pp. 420f.; no. 306, pp. 421f.; no. 333, p. 447; no. 345, p. 472; no. 361, p. 498; no. 365, pp. 501f.; no. 377, p. 518; no. 387, p. 528; no. 404, p. 550.

185 *Ibidem*, no. 312, pp. 426f.

186 *Ibidem*, no. 324, p. 439.

187 *Ibidem*, no. 350, p. 481: *De captivis vero, si inventi fuerint in ducatu vestro, ipsas personas qui illos captivos transposuerunt cum omnibus rebus et familiis illi malefactores tradantur; et si hoc factum non fuerit, tunc prebeat sacramentum iudex loci illius ubi ipsa mancipia requiruntur cum duodecim liberos homines quod mancipia illuc non fuissent suscepta nec inde in alienis partibus transposita. [...] Si vero servi aut ancille infra hoc spatium inter partes fugerint, cum omnibus rebus quas detulerint secum redantur, et iudex qui ipsos fugitivos reddiderit, pro unoquoque singulos auri solidos recipiat, sic tamen ut si amplius requiritur, per sacramentum idoneum domni illorum satisfactum fiat. [...] Negocia autem: inter*

also granted the right to keep their estates within the Empire.¹⁸⁸ Moreover, the ruler created a network of subsequent fairs in Italy, the revenues from which were earmarked for the operations of monastic communities. One example of this kind of activity can be found in the document issued in 968 in Ravenna for the church of Bergamo. It mentions the establishment of a fair on the island in St. Sisinio and the creation of a port in Monasterolo. It also pointed to the activity of merchants coming from Venice and Ferrara.¹⁸⁹ The bishopric of Asti also received an endowment formed of revenues achieved at the fairs taking place.¹⁹⁰ The village in question is known from the description of the practice of "silent barter" in the Accounts of Ibrahim ibn Jacob.¹⁹¹ Trade privileges within Italy were also offered to the bishoprics of Modena and Cremona.¹⁹² In the document pertaining to Modena, Otto I delineated the area of influence of trade monopolies between Secchia, Citanova, and Aqualonga.¹⁹³

The policy of providing successive monastic centres with revenues from fairs and the development of a network of trade links across the regnum was continued by Otto II. As early as 962, the ruler endowed the nuns of the Holy Cross monastery in Nordhausen by granting the community the revenues from the market, minting of coins, and customs duties.¹⁹⁴ He also granted an exemption from duties to the monks of the monastery in Einsiedeln. As a result of this grant, merchants subordinate to the monastery could freely buy and sell goods necessary for the operation of the monastery in the Zurich area.¹⁹⁵

partes liceat dare quod inter eos convenerit sine omni pars parti violentia. De repatico autem: ut secundum antiquam consuetudinem pars parti observetur omnem quadragesimum; et homines vestri licentiam habeant per terram ambulandi ubique voluerint ad negociandum aut quod eorum opus habuerit, et similiter nostri homines itemque ambulandi ad negociandum.

188 *Ibidem*, no. 351, pp. 483f. Among the documents issued by Otto I, interesting is the document issued to a Venetian named Vitalis. The ruler donated him an estate in Istria – *ibidem*, no. 407, p. 554.

189 *Ibidem*, no. 364, p. 500: [...] *mercatum annualem in insula Pergamensi in loco qui dicitur sanctum Sisinum, in festivitate videlicet ipsius beatissimi martiris, cum omni teloneo et redditione ipsius mercati, et constituere portum in loco et abbatia que dicitur Moasteriolo, que abbatia a paganis olim destructa et nunc ab ipso episcopo restauratur, stabilire portum et stationem navium scilicet venientium ex Uenetiis et Clumaclis, Ferariensis partibus sive undecumque venientium, cum omni ripatico prefate ecclesie donare atque concedere dignaremur.*

190 *Die Urkunden Ottos I*, no. 374.

191 G. Jacob, *Arabische Berichte von Gesandten an germanische Fürstenthöfe*, I, ed. V. v. Geramb, L. Mackensen, Berlin-Leipzig 1927, pp. 24f.

192 Cremona: *Die Urkunden Ottos I*, no. 429, pp. 582f.

193 *Ibidem*, no. 390, p. 532.

194 *Die Urkunden der deutschen Könige und Kaiser. Die Urkunden Ottos II*, ed. T. Sickel, MGH Diplomata, II, Hannoverae 1893 (further: *Die Urkunden Ottos II.*), no. 5, p. 14.

195 *Ibidem*, no. 25, p. 35.

Similarly to the documents issued by Otto I, donations made to Magdeburg were of particular importance for the network of monastic and trade connections created by Otto II. In this case, it is the diploma issued on June 4, 973 which draws particular attention. It granted the archbishopric estates in the Harz area, a market, and the right to mint coins in Gittelde.¹⁹⁶ The Magdeburg church also received rents collected in silver from the Slavic tribes.¹⁹⁷

In a document issued on June 1, 973, the ruler also transferred customs revenues to Bishop Anno of Worms.¹⁹⁸ The reign of Otto II was also associated with the granting of further rights to mint coins for commercial purposes as the so-called export coin. These privileges were granted together with the right to collect customs duties and a set of exemptions stimulating the development of trade. Interestingly, as an exception to those regulations, fees were collected on the territory of large trade "emporia", among which such centres as Dorestad, Quentovic, and Clusaz can be listed.¹⁹⁹ In this respect, it is necessary to mention the diploma issued for merchants from Magdeburg, in which the ruler upheld the commitments of his father and allowed the freedom of communication and trade. It is worth adding that, in the case of fees collected from merchant communities participating in interregional exchanges, the duties collected in Mainz, Cologne, Tiel, and Bardowik were an exception.²⁰⁰

In parallel to all this, the number of centres which were granted an exemption from compulsory customs duties was rising.²⁰¹ These benefits also supported private foundations and, at the same time, provided a basis for the economic functioning of religious communities.²⁰² An example of this kind of activity can be found in the text of the document Otto II issued on June 11, 975 in Memleben for the monastic centre in Lieding, founded by the widow Imma. The ruler granted the monastery the right to organize fairs and mint coins.²⁰³ The donation given to Adalberina, abbess of the Nivelles monastery (June 27, 978), was of similar significance. By virtue of a document issued in Maastricht, the ruler granted the monastery the right to the market, donating to the monastic community the revenues derived from trade. Significantly, in the devotional formula contained in the document, he

196 Ibidem, no. 29, p. 38; no. 30, p. 40.

197 Ibidem, no. 31, p. 41; no. 118, pp. 131f.

198 Ibidem, no. 46, pp. 55f.

199 Ibidem, no. 58, p. 68; no. 70, p. 84; no. 72, p. 89; no. 73, pp. 89f.; no. 85, pp. 100f.; no. 88, p. 103; no. 106, pp. 120f.; no. 108, p. 122; no. 146, p. 164.

200 Ibidem, no. 112, pp. 126f.

201 Ibidem, no. 137, pp. 154f.; no. 138, pp. 155f.; no. 147, pp. 165f.; no. 148, pp. 166f.; no. 149, pp. 167f.; no. 153, p. 173; no. 155, p. 175; no. 192, pp. 219f.; no. 199, p. 225; no. 237, p. 266; no. 256, pp. 297f.; no. 283, pp. 329f.

202 Ibidem, no. 308, p. 365.

203 Ibidem, no. 110, p. 124.

stressed the duty to care for the salvation of souls and referred to the person of Theophanes as the initiator of the memoria.²⁰⁴

In the case of documents issued by Otto II, we note the issue of expanding economic penetration by merchants from the Empire towards the east. Here, both the endowment granted to the monastery of Meissen²⁰⁵ and the wording of the documents issued for the community of Saint Maurice in Magdeburg should be mentioned. The ruler allowed for free trade not only within the whole regnum, but also in the areas inhabited by the Slavs.²⁰⁶

It seems that such a situation, with the simultaneous increase in demand generated by monastic centres as determined from the sources, stemmed from the need to develop interregional exchanges. The importance of the monastery in Magdeburg may also be reflected in the granting to the monastic centre in Magdeburg of the right to collect fees from the merchants in Magdeburg and to supervise the trade conducted through the Jewish communities. It seems that, in this way, its economic importance can be compared, at least in part, to the previous role of the monastery of St. Denis (also as a burial site for rulers).²⁰⁷ In the Ottonian era, Magdeburg received goods much in demand on the market that included not only silver, semi-precious stones, salt, and decorative textiles, but also slaves.²⁰⁸ The latter

204 Ibidem, no. 179, p. 204: *Pateat omnium fidelium nostrorum tam presentium quam futurorum industriae, nos ob salubrem dilecte coniugis nostrae Theuphanu consultum quam strenue semper pro augenda die servitute monitricis ac etiam propter elemosinam et remedium animae nostre venerabili abbatisse Adalbernae de Niualensi sanctae Gertrudis abbatia in loco quodam Liniaco in pago Brachbant in comitatu Iohannis sito mercatum habendi nostra regali potentia licentiam concessisse, ea sane rationis causa ut quidquid ab eodem mercatu Liniaco in teloneis vel alicuius mercionii negotiatione adquisitum fuerit, totum deinceps ad servitium et utilitatem famularum sancte Gertrudis pertineat et deserviat.*

205 In a diploma issued on February 27, 983 in Frankfurt, the sovereign granted the bishop of Meissen the duties collected on the Elbe – ibidem, no. 184, p. 208.

206 Ibidem, no. 112, p. 126: *Noverit omnium fidelium nostrorum tam presentium quam futurorum industria, qualiter ob interventum Magadaburgensis aeclesie archiepiscopi Adalberti et ob ceterorum nostrorum fidelium instinctum mercatoribus Magadaburg habitantibus tam ipsis quam posteris suis tale ius concedimus quale noster pius genitor suis temporibus concessit habere, id scilicet quod ubique in nostro regno, non modo in Christianis sed etiam barbaricis regionibus, tam eundi quam redeundi licentia sit sine ullius molestia, et ne ab aliquo cogantur vectigalia persolvere urbibus pontibus aquis viis et inviiis, nostra imperiali auctoritate penitus interdiximus, his locis exceptis: Mogontia, Colonia, Tiela, Bardonnuihc, et nec plura cel maiora exigantur vectigalia quam moris illorum erat persolvere.*

207 Ibidem, no. 198, pp. 225: *Sentiat omnium sanctae die ecclesie fidelium tam presentium quam et futurorum industria, qualiter nos rogatu ac petitione venerandi archiantistitis Adalberti sancto martiri Mauricio et ipsius aeclesiae in Magdaburg civitate constructe cui isdem archipontifex presulari videtur, pro aeterni premii remuneratione animaque kari nostri genitoris cuius corpus in supradicti martiris die ecclesie sepulture tumulum sortitur, imperatorie nostre auctoritatis bannum super eandem aeclesiam et civitatem ea ratione dedimus atque perpetualiter concessimus [...].*

208 The conditions of communication, which enabled free exchange through the via Frederici and relations with Italy, were of essence in this case. According to Thietmar's chronicle, relics of saints were presumably sent from Italian cities to Magdeburg through chaplain Dodon – Thietmar II, 16, p. 57; cf. II, 20, p. 62.

were also covered by imperial grants. One example is Otto II's donation to the monastic community of a slave named Walza and her son Huodi.²⁰⁹

The wealth of Magdeburg, formed from a network of communication links, freedom of exchange, and significant endowments confirmed by successive documents, may prove its supra-regional importance. It also points to the meaning of the privilege of free trade stressed in imperial documents. However, sometimes this right was also the subject of a dispute resolved before the emperor. This was the case of the conflict between Abbot Werinhar of Fulda and Gotzbert of Hersfeld over the transport of goods along the Hösersel River.²¹⁰

Economic conditions under successive Ottonian rulers seem to have contributed to the economic development of the area of the Empire on a scale never seen before, with a relatively constant level of economic growth and a parallel unabated scale of domestic demand.

The period of Otto III's reign was also characterized by economic prosperity. In successive documents, the ruler transferred to the monasteries revenues from customs duties and granted exemptions from fees collected in natural goods and coin.²¹¹ He also upheld the endowments of his predecessors, warranting the sustainability of revenues of monastic centres.²¹² Moreover, he granted minting privileges and the right to organize fairs, thus stimulating the development of the trade network of the time. In the document issued for the monastery in Kornelimünster, in the devotional formula that was used, he emphasized the memorative character of these donations.²¹³ A similar endowment was received by the episcopal church in Verden, with the right to hunt deer and immunity,²¹⁴ by the bishopric in Lüttich and Halberstadt²¹⁵ and the abbeys in Lorsch,²¹⁶ Helmarshausen,²¹⁷ and Murbach.²¹⁸

209 *Die Urkunden Ottos II.*, no. 224, pp. 252f. The donation of *mancipia* to a monastic community (often also certified by an imperial document in the case of private foundations) was a fairly common practice. An example is the diploma issued to Regensburg in which Otto II approved the donation of merchant William and his wife Heilrada. In addition to the estates along the Danube, the couple also donated slaves to the Monastery of Saint Emmeram – *ibidem*, no. 293, p. 346.

210 *Ibidem*, no. 209, pp. 237f.

211 *Die Urkunden der deutschen Könige und Kaiser. Die Urkunden Ottos III.*, ed. T. Sickel, MGH Diplomata, II, Hanoverae 1893 (further: *Die Urkunden Ottos III.*), no. 4, p. 398; no. 5, pp. 399f.; no. 9, pp. 405f.

212 *Ibidem*, no. 15, pp. 412f.

213 *Ibidem*, no. 18, pp. 417f.; no. 153, p. 564.

214 *Ibidem*, no. 23, p. 422.

215 *Ibidem*, no. 45, pp. 445f.; no. 55, pp. 460f.

216 *Ibidem*, no. 31, p. 431; no. 166, pp. 578f.

217 *Ibidem*, no. 256, pp. 673f.

218 *Ibidem*, no. 47, p. 448.

Furthermore, the ruler granted the right to organize economic activity to the Archbishop of Magdeburg, along with the market in Giebichenstein.²¹⁹ A special privilege was also granted to the bishopric of Schleswig, whose merchants were given the right to carry out exchanges throughout the regnum without paying customs duties.²²⁰ This kind of privilege was also granted to the monastery of Gent.²²¹

The vast majority of diplomas issued by Otto III had an economic dimension. In this regard, it should be noticed that the immunity, the right to mint coins and to organise commercial activity were granted simultaneously which, in formal and legal terms, is one of the stimulating factors of development of local and interregional exchange.²²² It seems that the association of these privileges with the expansion of the Empire's economic penetration and the process of incorporating further networks of power into the sphere of interest of the Ludolphing family provided a parallel unifying dimension to these phenomena.

The text of the document issued to abbess Gebirga of Gandersheim is noteworthy in this case. Otto III granted a minting privilege to the monastery along with a market; he also granted the merchants of that town the privileges of the merchants of Dortmund.²²³ The monasteries of Echternach, Nienburg, and Selz were also vested with the right to mint coins. In a document issued on June 2, 993, the latter was ordered to mint coins following the numismatic models of Spira and Strasbourg. Interestingly, it was explicitly indicated in this case that both the donation itself and the ministry of the monks were directly related to the service for salvation of the soul of the ruler's parents.²²⁴ Moreover, Gottschalk, Bishop of Friesland, obtained the right to mint commercial coins according to numismatic models of Regensburg. In this privilege, Otto III provided for the right to organize a market.²²⁵ The Archbishop of Salzburg enjoyed a similar privilege. By virtue of a diploma of May 28, 996, he was granted the right to use

219 Ibidem, no. 34, p. 434.

220 Ibidem, no. 41, p. 441.

221 Ibidem, no. 44, pp. 444f.

222 Ibidem, no. 61, pp. 466f.; no. 72, pp. 479f.; no. 306, pp. 733f.; no. 311, p. 738; no. 325, pp. 753f.; no. 350, p. 780; no. 357, p. 786; no. 364, pp. 793f.; no. 367, p. 796; no. 371, p. 799; no. 372, p. 799; no. 399, p. 832; no. 428, p. 863.

223 *Ad haec etiam volumus atque regia potentia iubemus, ut negotiatores et habitatores eiusdem loci eadem lege utantur qua caeteri emptores Trotmannie aliorumque locorum utuntur, absque inium hominum invidorum contradictione* – ibidem, no. 66, p. 473. The granting of the document issued on June 19, 992 in Mühlhausen, in which the ruler offered trade independence to the inhabitants of the Italian town of Asti, was also essential, ibidem, no. 99, p. 510.

224 Ibidem, no. 89, p. 499; no. 135, p. 546; no. 130, pp. 541f.

225 Ibidem, no. 197, pp. 605f. Similar donations were also received by Abbot Alawich of Reichenau – ibidem, no. 280, p. 705.

the coinage of Regensburg and the privilege to organize trade on a daily basis in the area of his rule.²²⁶ Such endowments may evidence a gradual spread of trade, which in the earlier period had mainly a periodical character and concentrated in places where “goods were bought and sold”.²²⁷ Also the monastery of Saint Servatius in Quedlinburg received a special endowment. By virtue of a diploma issued on November 23, 993, the nuns were granted the right to organize a market together with the exact area of applicable trade monopoly.²²⁸

As in the case of Otto III’s predecessors, it seems that Venice played an equally important role for the economic life of the Empire. In a document issued on May 1, 996 in Ravenna, the ruler granted doge Peter the right to establish three more ports and market centres in the area controlled by him.²²⁹ Also the bishopric of Cremona had a special function in this system, enjoying not only a series of customs exemptions, but also the privilege of collecting the fees from port duties, along with the right to revenues from trade within the town and from estates on the banks of the river.²³⁰ A document issued to the abbot of the monastery of Nonantola, emphasizing the need to reform the abbey, also seems to be relevant. In addition to the immunity, the privileges granted included the right of subordinate merchants to trade freely and an exemption from customs duties.²³¹ Moreover, the ruler granted a similar privilege to merchants from Piacenza and Turin.²³² He also endowed the monastery of Saint Vitalis in Ravenna.²³³ It was in the year 1000 that, he granted to monasteries the largest number of privileges involving the right to organize markets and mint coins.

To sum up, it should be pointed out that the mechanism of the Carolingian and Ottonian system of trade operations, as described above, is characterized by considerably dynamic economic transitions and periods of prosperity connected with the centralization of power. Based on a system

226 On the importance of the coin minted at Regensburg as trade coin see W. Hahn, *Moneta Radasponensis. Bayerns Münzprägung im 9., 10 und 11. Jahrhundert*, Würzburg 1976.

227 *Die Urkunden Ottos III.*, no. 208, p. 619; no. 231, p. 646: *Noverit omnium fidelium nostrorum tam praesentium quam futurorum industria, qualiter nos consensu et consilio episcoporum atque laicorum astantium, ipsius quoque summi apostolici Gregorii, Romanorum, Francorum, Bauuariorum, Saxonum, Alsatiensium, Sueorum, Lutharingorum ob remedium animae nostrae nostrorumque parentum nec non et interventum ac petitionem Hartuuiici archiepiscopi Salzpurgensis aeclesiae talem utilitatem ac tantum honorem, id est mercatum omni die legitimum monetam Radesponensem in loco Salzpurg dicto imperiali potentia construi et adprime inceptari concessimus.*

228 *Ibidem*, no. 155, pp. 566f.

229 *Ibidem*, pp. 600f.

230 *Ibidem*, no. 204, pp. 614f.

231 *Ibidem*, no. 237, pp. 654f.

232 *Ibidem*, no. 268, pp. 685f.; no. 302, p. 728.

233 *Ibidem*, no. 308, pp. 734f.

of endowments to successive monastic communities, the process of expanding trade formed the basis for the economic operation of monasteries and contributed to their importance in terms of commemorative practices. It seems that the use of the devotional formula was of particular importance in this case, as it ensured intercessory prayers for the donors and their predecessors in exchange for donations given to the monasteries.

The sustainability of these processes was ensured not only through a reference to the sources of Roman law and the conviction of the justice of ancient, previously established laws, but also by the firm need to uphold the prayer commitments of predecessors. In this way, on the economic level, it was possible to maintain the internal demand in the Empire and simultaneously secure the monastic and trade network in financial terms. It seems that the functioning of the system of immunities and the tradition of lasting prayer commitments was certainly one of the factors determining the economic development of Frankish rule, and that it additionally increased the demand for goods, including imported ones. The latter, however, were only a part of the trade activity conducted. Furthermore, it must be stressed that the peak of the economic prosperity associated with the reign of Charlemagne and Louis the Pious should also be linked to the expansion of the area of economic penetration under their rule.

Apparently, such a political and economic situation was also witnessed in the Ottonian era. In this case, special importance is attached not only to the continuation of the economic policy of the Empire and the successive trade agreements made with Venice, but also to the centralization of imperial power. For the Ottonians, the source of economic power in this case probably lay in the possession of the ore deposits found in the Harz Mountains. From the point of view of these processes, what was essential was the conviction that imperial power would sustain and continue, and that, at the same time, the tradition would be incorporated in the sphere of economic and foundational activity. This practice, however, was not characteristic of the processes associated with the consolidation of Ottonian power, but was part of a much broader context of activities of an economic and commemorative nature. The continuation of the tradition connected with endowments of particular monastic centres, and thus maintenance of the resulting prayer commitments, was one of the stimuli for the development of trade. The privileges of Frankish rulers in relation to the prayer commitment of the kings of Lombardy were an example of this practice.²³⁴

It seems that the process of restoring power perceived through the prism of *Renovatio Imperii Romanorum* may be similarly viewed in economic terms. At the same time, it must be pointed out that this phenomenon was not

234 *Die Urkunden Lothars I*, no. 58, p. 164; no. 91, pp. 224f.; no. 116, pp. 267f.

just a form of simple continuation of prayer commitments. It was also connected with the development of a system of local fairs and a set of legal regulations enabling the development of economic life by merchants subordinate to the group of monastic communities. While carrying a number of goods for the benefit of monasteries, the merchants were also exempt from the obligation to pay the customary customs fees. It seems that, in this way, with a parallel legal and formal protection of the established market monopolies and the impact of regulations defining the principles of fair trade, it was possible to maintain a certain level of commercial exchange. On the economic level, this phenomenon led to the creation of apparent economic cycles, also characterized by periods of stabilization and destabilization of power. Their occurrence depended both on the acquisition of production surpluses in periods of victorious military campaigns and on the stability of trade within the regnum. In such a view, the history of the functioning of the Carolingian and Ottonian system of trade constitutes also an inherent part of the research carried out on the history of communication and the local conditions under which the formation of long-distance trade links were possible.

translated by Piotr Gumola

ABSTRACT

The article is devoted to the importance of institutions of the Church in the formation of the Carolingian and Ottonian systems of commercial exchange. The text discusses issues related to the economic dimension of commemorative practices (prayer, etc.) and the mechanisms of creating a network of licensed trade monopolies within the regnum. From a dynamic perspective it also presents the phenomena of the "economic revolution" taking place at the time regarding the increase in the number of endowed monastic centers, as this generated demand for specific categories of goods. On the basis of the analysis of individual foundation documents, the observed long-term and hegemonic cycles, characterizing the theory of Kondratiev-Schumpeter, are indicated. The text also analyzes documents constituting a group of customs exemptions and trade privileges, indicating the phenomenon of expansion of trade monopolies and constitution of networks of interregional trade links. Also discussed are the mechanisms of the formation of trade centers and the economic importance of monastic centers in overseeing the development of exchange.

Keywords: Early Middle Ages, Carolingian trade, Ottonian dynasty, shaping the European economy, commemoration

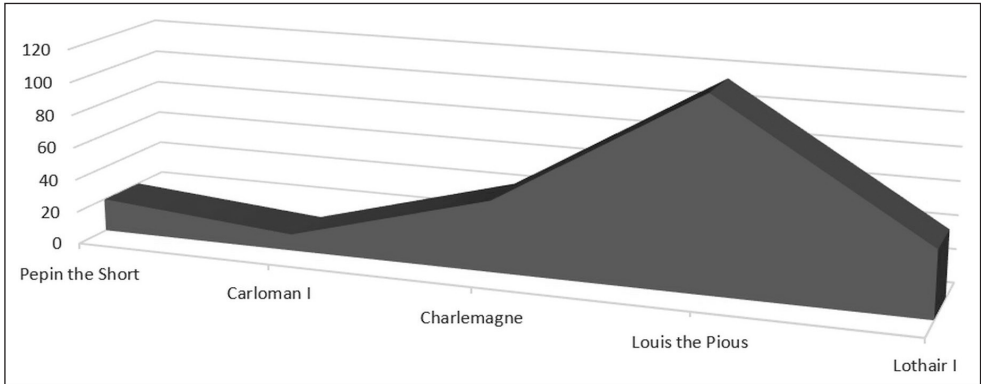


Fig. 1: Immunities and exemptions from customs duties within the Frankish dominion.

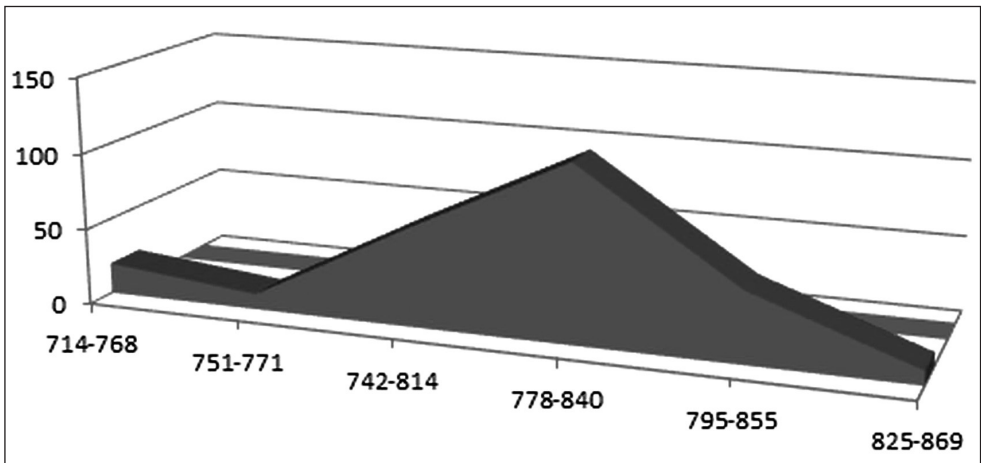


Fig. 2: Immunities and customs privileges in chronological order.

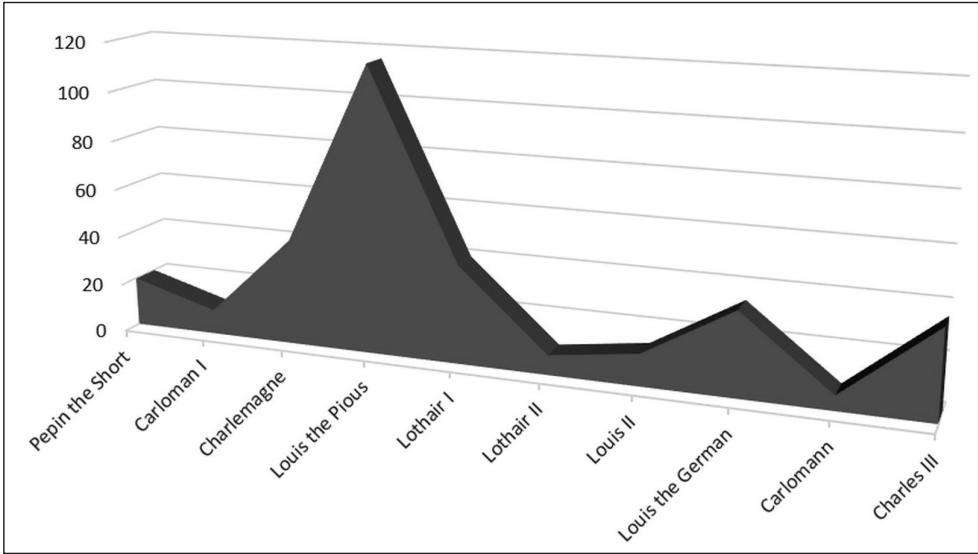


Fig. 3: Endowments of ecclesiastical institutions in dynamic terms.

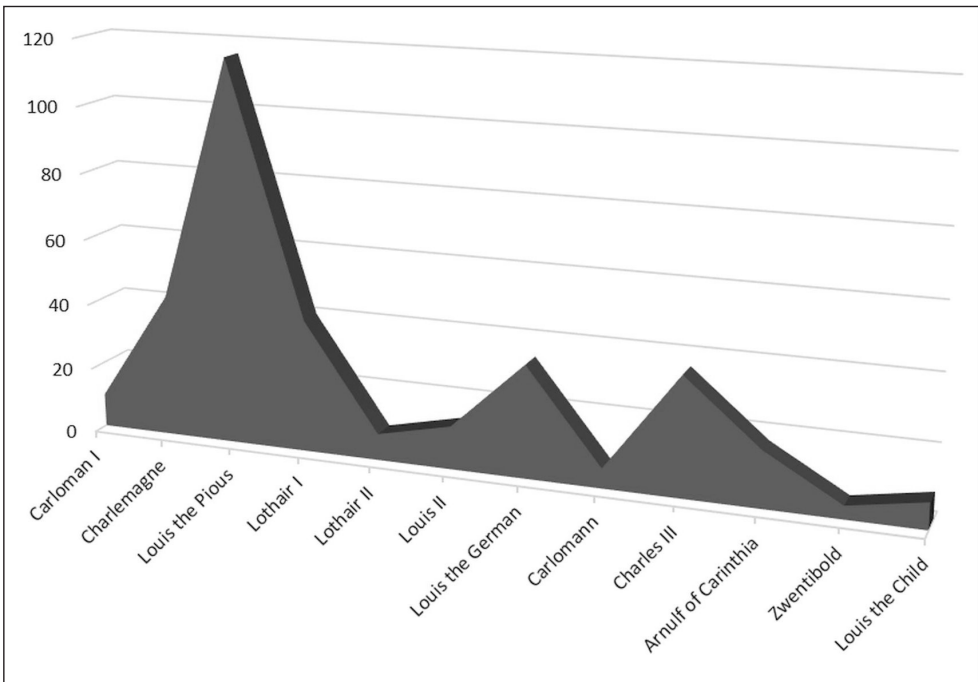


Fig. 4: Recessionary phenomena.

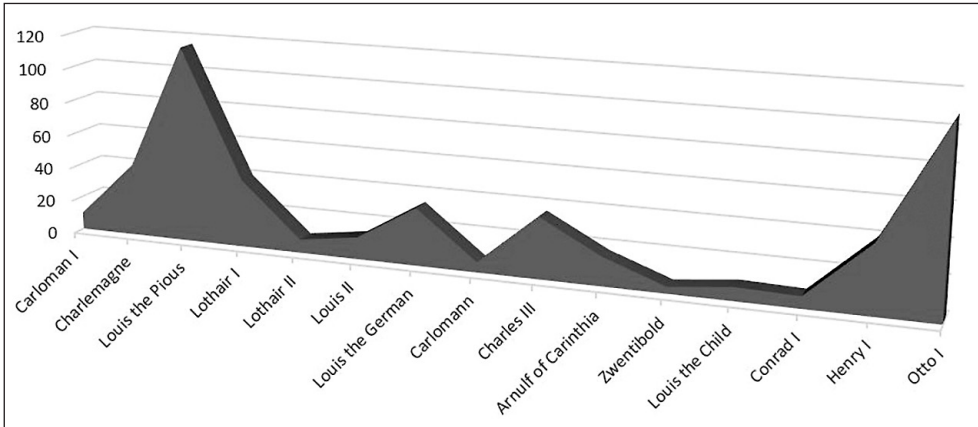


Fig. 5: Dynamics of economic transitions within the Carolingian and Ottoman trade network.

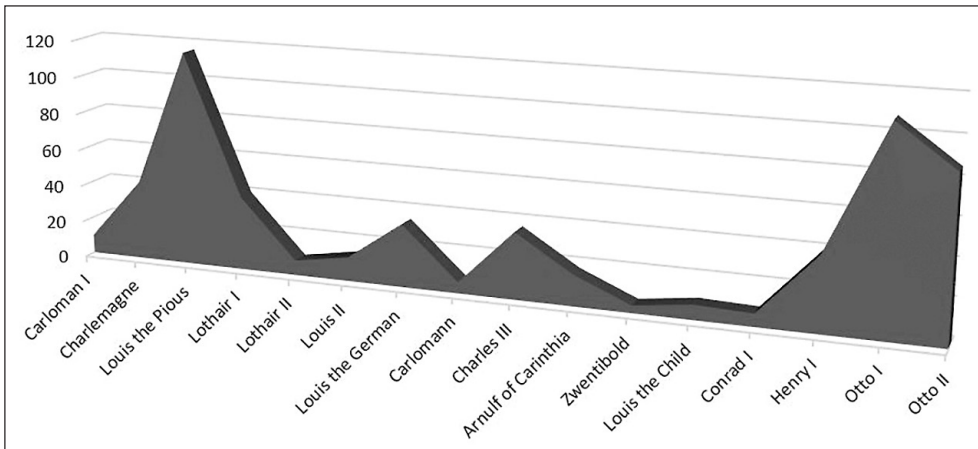


Fig. 6: Economic privileges and immunities in a dynamic perspective - 1A.

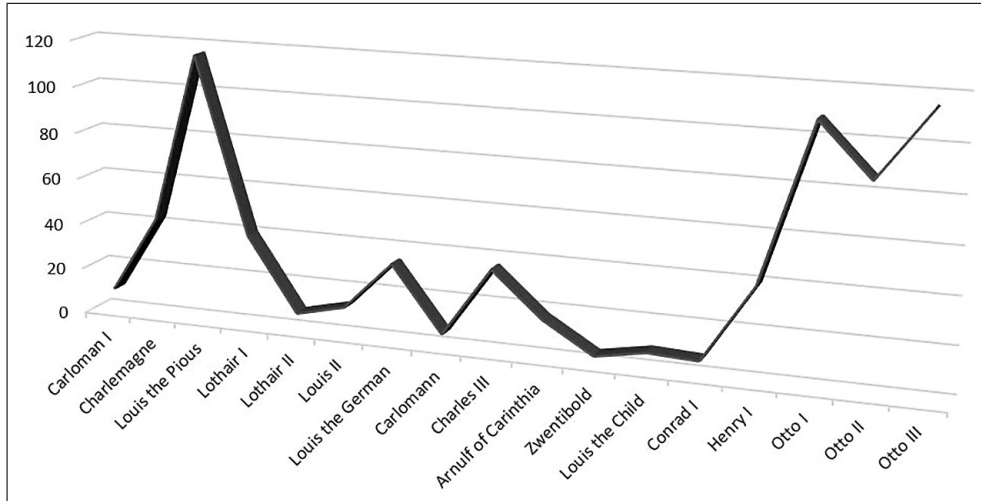


Fig. 7: Economic privileges and immunities in a dynamic perspective - 1 B.

JOANNA SOBIESIAK
LUBLIN

**A BRONZE SEVEN-BRANCH CANDELABRA THAT WAS
PURPORTEDLY BROUGHT TO PRAGUE FROM VLADISLAV II'S
ITALIAN EXPEDITION OF 1158. LORE ON THE ARTIFACT
IN MEDIEVAL AND MODERN CZECH TEXTS***



According to a Czech chronicle from the beginnings of the 14th century, during the siege of Milan, the Czechs captured a candelabra that was to hail from Solomon's Temple in Jerusalem. Today, in the Saint John the Baptist Chapel in Saint Vitus Cathedral in Prague, there is a candelabra the base of which is believed to be part of the spoils of war captured during the Italian expeditions in the second part of the 12th century.¹ The artifact is extremely interesting and I will elaborate on it in a moment. Importantly, its place and time of manufacture are still unknown. However, these are not the issues I am most interested in.

I focus on the ways in which objects shape tradition; in other words, how information about them was connected to the memories of people and events. I am especially interested in the way in which medieval and modern narratives linked the person of King Vladislav (r. 1140-1172) with the Milan expedition of 1158 and the capture and transport of this "Jerusalem candelabra" to Prague. Thus, I focus on the historical sources and trace the connections between the Milan candelabra and the glory of Czech expeditions to Italy in the second half of the 12th century.

First, I wish to say a few words about the candelabra. It is placed on a triangular marble pedestal signed in capital letters with the following Gothic script:

* The text was created as a part of the project of the National Centre for Science (Narodowe Centrum Nauki), no. 2017/25/B/HS3/02442: *The tradition of the victory of King Vladislav I at the Battle of Milan (1158) as an element of Czechia's medieval and modern historical memory.*

¹ *Katedrála viditelná a neviditelná. Průvodce tisíciletou historií katedrály sv. Víta, Václava, Vojtěcha a Panny Marie na Pražském hradě*, ed. J. Maříková-Kubková et al., Praha 2019, p. 72.

This is a candelabra from Solomon's Temple in Jerusalem that was captured by Czech dukes and barons in Milan.

Next to the inscription, there is also a date: 1395. This is no doubt the date of the first, medieval "renovation" of this precious artifact, something that resulted in the display of the candelabra on a marble pedestal. While the candelabra is cast in brass, all the records mention it as a bronze item.²

Researchers assume that originally the candelabra was painted with cinnabar and charcoal. For many years, the artifact's manufacture date has been a matter of dispute among art historians. In the past, some even tried to prove that the candelabra could have been made between the 7th and 9th centuries. Nowadays it is assumed that it comes from the second or third quarter of the 12th century.³ The foot is the oldest and its design includes figures of men, lions, and intertwined dragons, as well as a plant ornament. The base is composed of the bodies of the beasts with feet and open mouths that are overlapping with two other dragons with their necks meeting. Men sit on the necks with one hand inside the beasts' jaws and the others holding the lion sitting behind them. While individual characters have different looks and gestures, their legs are always spread and their outfits look ancient. The candelabra's foot is similar in style to the candelabra created in the region of Meuse and Lorraine.

We do not know if the Czech troops brought only a base to Prague or maybe the entire candelabra. Moreover, it remains a riddle whether it had one branch or seven branches. Currently, it is assumed that it was a seven-branch candelabra because only such items were dubbed "Jerusalem". The preserved base is big and heavy enough to hold 7 branches.

In 1641, Bishop of Olmütz Leopold Wilhelm (1638–1662) of the House of Habsburg ordered a new candelabra shaft, and it has survived to this day. At the bottom of the shaft there are: a prince's symbol and an inscription *LEOPOLDVS GVILIELMVS ARCHIDVX AUSTRIÆ FE 1641*. Wenceslaus with a crown and a banner; Cyril with a garland and a branch; Vitus with a crown; Methodius with a book; Adalbert writing; Ludmila with a scarf on her head; and Agnes with a model of church, also wearing a headscarf. At the top of the shaft there is a lamb lifting its left foreleg in order to hold a banner.⁴

In the literature on the subject, the transport of this artifact to Prague is associated with either king Vladislav's Milan expedition of 1158 or the Czech

2 A. Merhautová, *Noha tzv. milánského svícnu*, "Umění" XXXIX (1991), p. 491: *Istud est Candelabr (um): de templo salomonis in iherusalem vi armata recepta in mediolano per duces et barones. A ° d i m ° ccc. xc. v hi(c) locat (um) est.*

3 K. Benda, in: *Dějiny českého výtvarného umění*, vol. I/1, Praha 1984, pp. 137f.

4 A. Merhautová, *Noha...*, p. 492.

expedition into Italy in 1162. In the latter, King Vladislav did not participate. It was led by his son, Frederick, and his brother, Děpold. The second king of Bohemia offered military support to Frederick Barbarossa on several occasions in his Italian campaigns. This is related to the agreement between Vladislav and the emperor. Barbarossa crowned Vladislav King of Bohemia, and thus the latter pledged to help the emperor in his war against Milan. However, Vladislav personally participated only in the first campaign in 1158.⁵

We are very well-informed about the course of the Italian expedition of Vladislav and the Czechs in 1158. Vincent, chaplain of the Bishop of Prague, Daniel (1148-1167), participated in it. After returning to Prague, he wrote *Chronicon Boemorum* that covers the years 1140 to 1167. This particular annal is dedicated to king Vladislav and his wife, Judith. Vincent describes stages of the campaign in great detail: starting from the capture of Brescia by Vladislav; through the daring attack of the Czechs on the Adda, and ending with the battles of Milan and Barbarossa's decision to choose the King of Bohemia as the negotiator responsible for the conditions of the surrender of the Milanese.⁶

Vincent describes stages of the campaign in great detail. Moreover, the chronicler mentions gifts given to Vladislav by the emperor for his services and war efforts. Thus, we read that the king took 1000 grzywnas that were part of the ransom that Barbarossa got from the Milanese.⁷ This is everything that chronicler tells us about the gifts, or rather spoils, brought by the Czechs from Italy to Prague from the expeditions of 1158 and 1162.

Thus, it is noteworthy that there is no information about the capture of an object of such value as a candelabra that was to come from Solomon's Temple in Jerusalem. This is especially interesting in the context of the later, quite detailed lore concerning the origins of this particular artifact. The first mention of the candelabra turns up not until the first quarter of the 14th century. This information appears in the *Chronicle of Dalimil* written in verse in the Old Czech language.

We can read that the Czechs entered the city (meaning Milan) first, and took the best jewels. Dalimil says that a candelabra foot still remains in Saint Vitus Church in Prague and that it looks like a work of Solomon taken by the Milan-

5 J. Laudage, *Friedrich Barbarossa. Eine Biografie*, Regensburg 2009, pp. 121-123.

6 *Vincentii canonici Pragensis Annales*, *Fontes Rerum Bohemicarum*, II, ed. J. Emler, Praha 1874, pp. 401-460; A. Kernbach, *Vincenciova a Jarlochova kronika v kontextu svého vzniku. K dějepisectví přemyslovského období*, Brno 2010, pp. 118-146.

7 *Vincentii canonici...*, p. 442: *Preter alia munera eum mille donat marcis, quas a Mediolanensibus acceperat.*

ese from Jerusalem. He adds that his contemporaries can admire this candelabra base in front of the altar, but what they can see is incomparable in terms of artistry with the superb piece of craftsmanship that is the foot.⁸ This couplet inspired Czech researchers to suppose that the original shaft of the candelabra was destroyed and replaced with the one whose beauty the chronicler considers of much lower quality than the preserved base.⁹

It is interesting that the author associates in his narrative the Milan campaign from which the Czechs were supposed to bring the Jerusalem candelabra with the reign of the first King of Bohemia, Vratislaus (1061-1092).¹⁰ I should say a few words about the chronicle here. Undoubtedly, it is a unique work. As I have mentioned, it is the first work of Czech history written in the Czech language. When it comes to the author, we know only what he tells us about himself – and that is not much. He was definitely a scholar as apart from the Czech language he knew Latin and German. The *Chronicle of Dalimil* presents the “entire” history of Bohemia, starting from the legendary beginnings – and ending with the death of the last ruler of the House of Přemyslid, Wenceslaus III and information about the succession of John of Bohemia to the Czech throne in 1314. This is an important period in Czech history as the native dynasty of the Přemyslids that ruled for over 400 years came to an end and the throne was given to a “foreigner”. The chronicle has strong anti-German overtones. It considers the Czechs and Bohemia as political nation that is constantly contrasted with the Germans.¹¹

I believe that this bordering on nationalist love for the Czech state and society led the Dalimil to attribute the glorious campaign to Vratislaus and not to Vladislav, whom he considered a “bad” king.¹² He was bad because he accepted the crown “from a German” and, what is worse, without the knowledge and approval of the Czech nobility. The correct leader of the expedition of 1158,

8 *Staročeska Kronika tak řečeného Dalimila*, Vydání textu a veškerého textového materiálu, ed. J. Daňhelka, K. Hádek, B. Havraněk, N. Kvitková, vol. I, Praha 1988, chap. 47 (49), p. 562:

Čechové, že prví u městě biechu,
z města nejlepší klejnoty vzěchu.
Ješče stojí na hradě u svatého Víta noha sviecnová,
pravie, že by byla diela Šalomúnova.
Tu sú byli Medioláněné z Jeruzaléma vzěli,

...

Možesh tu nohu, ač chceš, před oltářem ohledati,
To věz, že nynějšíe dielo nemož sě jiej vrovnnati.

9 V. Novotný, *České Dějiny, Od Břetislava I. do Přemysla I.*, vol. I/2, Praha 1913, p. 901.

10 *Staročeska Kronika...*, chap. 47, p. 49.

11 M. Bláhová, *Staročeska kronika tak řečeného Dalimila v kontextu středověké historiografie latinského kulturního okruhu a její pramenná hodnota. Historický komentář*, Praha 1995, p. 230.

12 M. Bláhová, *Staročeska kronika...*, p. 185.

king Vladislav, is described by the chronicler in the following way.¹³ The first few lines make the reader aware of the poor quality of the ruler. The chronicler begins with explaining that Vladislav's reign was not bathed in glory. He says that the new ruler was easily influenced by the Germans and that Emperor Frederick had no problems "wrapping him around his little finger" by giving him a royal crown in Regensburg. What is more, the author adds that when he was returning from Regensburg surrounded by German camarilla and with a royal crown, Vladislav was to laugh in the Czech nobility's faces as he won the crown without their help. They, in turn, told him that he should not consider himself King of Bohemia because "he was reigning in Germany". In this version, the story of Vladislav's reigns has a pitiful end. His son's rebellion and the resistance of the nobility forced Vladislav to leave the country. After taking shelter in the emperor's court, the king was to have died of grief after finding out about the defeat suffered by Frederick in Bohemia.

The entire paragraph that describes the capture of Milan is embellished with anecdotes, very often distasteful, and is doubtlessly written "from memory", most probably based on oral tradition. Despite the fact that 150 years had passed since the relevant events, the tradition was definitely still alive. One of the reasons for this is the fact that many Czech nobles legitimized the ennoblement of their families by referring to the services of their ancestors during the campaign of 1158. This proves that the Milan expedition was of great importance to Czech society as *gloriosae memorie*. To complement the glory of the Milan expedition, the author of the chronicle adds to the set of heroic deeds of Czech troops information that the Czechs brought from this campaign a priceless candelabra (or its foot) that hailed from Jerusalem. However, the entire story was associated not with the "bad" King Vladislav, but with the righteous Vratislaus about whom we know that he also got the crown from a German ruler (Henry IV). Still, Dalimil explains that the emperor offered Vratislaus relics of three kings or a crown for his services during the capture of Milan. Importantly, Vratislaus chose the crown only after conferring with the nobility.

After Dalimil, the story of the Jerusalem candelabra being brought to Prague was repeated and developed by a number of chroniclers of Czech

13 *Staročeska Kronika...*, chap. 66, p. 170.

Ciesář Bedřich Vladislava do Řezna pozva,

V Řezně jeho českým králem korunova.

Král Vladislav pod korunú jeda u Prahu,

Veda s sobú Němcov velikú dráhu,

Směje se, k Čechom poč mluvíti:

„Již-li věříte, že bez vás mohl sem čsti dojtiv.“ (...)

Když chceš v Němcích kralovati,

Kako se živ možeš českým králem nazývati?

history. After the mid-14th century it can be found in the chronicle of Přebík Pulkava of Radenin. The author was a secretary of a bishop of Prague and later, a rector in the School of Saint Giles in Prague.¹⁴ By order of Charles IV, the history of Bohemia was written down “from the start” until the contemporary period. There are Latin, Czech, and German versions of the chronicle and its original Latin text underwent several editions. Researchers do not agree on the authorship of its original Latin version. Some question the possibility of Pulkava as its author. However, there are no doubts regarding the authorship of its Czech translation, the creation of which is dated to the period after 1374. It seems that out of all historiographic texts from Charles IV’s times, the Pulkava Chronicle was the most popular.¹⁵

We know that the first was a shorter Latin B version that was later extended using information from the Chronicles of Vincent of Prague and Jarloch. Thus, we can talk about the more extensive A version.¹⁶ When it comes to source editing, the A report (the second) is a basic text. If there are any differences, they are marked in the footnotes. Starting from descriptions of post-1141 events, we have two parallel versions: A and B, the latter being the original. Separate editing of the B version stops after the description of events of 1172 and the text once again gets restricted to the A version.

In the original version of the text we can read that in 1158, Vladislav, King of Bohemia, to mark his victory took from the Church of Three Kings in Milan a candelabra foot that was made by King Solomon for the Temple in Jerusalem. People can admire its beauty in a church in Prague to this day.¹⁷ This is what the B version says. However, the circumstances of the capture of part of the Milan candelabra are described quite differently by the extended Latin version of the Chronicle. First of all, the capture of this precious object is associated with the events of 1162. King Vladislav did not participate in this campaign. It was led by the king’s son, Frederick, and king’s brother, Děpold. According to the text, *This is when the Duke of Bohemia brought to a church in Prague one cast candelabra foot that had been in Solomon’s church in Jerusalem and was later transported to Milan. The precious object is in the Prague*

14 Lucemburkové: *Česká koruna uprostřed Evropy*, ed. L. Bobková, F. Šmahel, Praha 2012, p. 73.

15 W. Iwańczak, *Horyzont geograficzny dziejopisarstwa czeskiego czasów Karola IV na przykładzie Kroniki Pulkavy*, in: idem, *Od Kosmasy do Eschenloera. Piśmiennictwo czeskie w średniowieczu*, Wrocław 2017, pp. 46f.

16 *Přebík Pulkava z Radenína: „Kronika česká”*, in: *Kroniky doby Karla IV*, ed. M. Bláhová, J. Zachová, Praha 1987, pp. 273f.

17 *Přebíka z Radenína receneho Pulkavy Kronika Česka*, ed. J. Emler, *Fontes Rerum Bohemicarum*, V, Praha 1893, p. 97: *Prefatus itaque rex Wladislaus in signum tante victoriae intrans ecclesiam, in qua Tres magi, qui Deo munera obtulerunt, iacebant, recepit ibidem pedem candelabri, quod quondam per Salomonem in templo Yherosolimitano fusorio opere fabricatum, factum et datum fuerat, et eundem pedem Pragensi ecclesie apportavit, qui hodierno die cernere volentibus mire subtilitatis ingenio ostenditur esse factus.*

church to this day.¹⁸ The Czech translation of Přebík Pulkava is consistent with the Latin A version.¹⁹

It is noteworthy that all three versions mention the capture of only part of the candelabra: its base. The Latin A version and the Czech translation associated this event not with the expedition of 1158, but with the one that happened four years later. It should also be mentioned that the records of Vincent of Prague who lived during these events, as well as his report on the expedition of Frederick and Dĕpold, did not mention the capture of either the candelabra or its foot. The removal of King Vladislav from the narrative is another important difference. What is interesting, this king was removed from the Czech version of the text that was, obviously, meant for the Czechs. The description of the bravery and triumphs of the Czechs is still quite emphasized, but the king does not participate in the capture of this very precious object.

The narrative of the “Milan candelabra” was expanded in the unique text about the history of Bohemia created around the mid-15th century. It was written by Enea Silvio Bartolomeo Piccolomini (1405-1464), later Pope Pius II. His *Historia Bohemia* was dedicated to Alfonso of Aragon. As we know, until 1455 Piccolomini remained in the diplomatic service of Frederick III and was his ambassador to Bohemia.²⁰

According to the text, in 1158 king Vladislav got from Frederick a royal crown for himself and his descendants and after distinguishing himself in the capture of Milan; he took from Milan Solomon’s candelabra and left it in Prague, in the Church of Saint Vitus.²¹ Interestingly, unlike the well-known versions of Pulkava’s chronicle (both longer and the Czech), this foreigner familiar with Bohemia associated the entire event with king Vladislav. Moreover, in contrast with previous texts, he talks about the entire candelabra and not just its foot. Information about the leg of the precious candlestick being a gift for the Bohemians, and that it was handed over to Bishop Daniel near Milan, is also repeated in the 16th-century work by Václav Hájek of Libočany.²²

18 *Přebíka z Radenína receneho...*, p. 102: *Boemorum eciam principes hoc tempore pedem candelabri quondam per Salomonem in templo Jerusalem opere fusorio fabricati et delatum in Mediolanum multo labore recipientes in Pragensem ecclesiam apportaruut, qui hodierna die mire artis ingenio cunctis videntibus ostenditur esse factus.*

19 The Czech version (after 1374), *Přebíka z Radenína receneho...*, p. 279: *Toho času také kniežď jednu nohu sviecnovú litú, ješto někdy Salomon v chrámě Jerusalemském slil jest byl, do Mediolana přinesení, do pražského kostela s velikú prací přinesl, jakož i dnes to znamenito jest.*

20 *Lucemburkové: Česká koruna uprostřed Evropy*, ed. L. Bobková, F. Šmahel, Praha 2012, p. 73.

21 *Aeneae Sylvii Chronicon Bohemiae*, ed. J. Emler, *Fontes Rerum Bohemicarum*, VII, Praha (n.d.), p. 109: *Vldislauu vero quinto loco Vratislao natum a Friderico primo sibi et posteris regiam dignitatem obitnuisse; et cum in expugnatione Mediolanensi egregiam operam navasset, imperatori mirifice gratum, leonem rubeum bifurcatae caudae in clipeo albi coloris insigne regum accepisse: candelabrum quoque Salomonis ex Mediolano asportatum in ecclesia sancti Viti Pragensis recondisse.*

22 Václav Hájek z Libočan, *Kronika česká*, ed. J. Linka, Praha 2013, p. 573.

Information about “Solomon’s candelabra” can be found in three more texts of the modern period. The Czech Jan Skála of Doubrava, known as John Dubravius, Bishop of Olmütz between 1541 and 1553, is the author of *Historia regni Bohemie ab origine gentis usque ad Ferdinand I.*²³ In the chronicle he writes about a candelabra from Solomons Temple that remains in the Church of Saint Vitus and that was captured during king Vladislav’s Italian expedition.²⁴

Bohuslav Balbín, author of *Epitome Historica Rerum Bohemicarum* written one hundred years later, says that Czech nobles captured Milan. For their bravery, Emperor Frederick was to give them a bronze candelabra from the Jerusalem Temple.²⁵ As we can see, the persona of King Vladislav disappears from the description even though the glory of the Czechs’ capture of Milan remains. It is worth mentioning that Bohuslav Balbín was a defender of Czech language and a great Czech patriot who opposed Germanisation. His greatest work is *Dissertatio apologetica pro lingua Slavonica praecipue Bohemica.*²⁶

The last time we can read about our object of interest is in the text of Tomáš Jan Pešina of Čechorod, a Czech writer, historian, and Catholic priest, one of the most prominent representatives of Baroque Czech literature.²⁷ His *Phosphorus septicornis*, text on the Church of Saint Vitus in Prague, mentions that during his expedition in 1159, king Vladislav together with numerous Czech and Moravian nobles captured Milan. The Czechs were to get for that a bronze candelabra that had been in Jerusalem and later in Rome, and ended up as a gift for the Archbishop of Milan that was later taken to Prague.²⁸

23 J. Skutil, *Jan Dubravius. Biskup, státník, ekonom a literát*, Kroměříž 1992, passim.

24 Johann Dubravii, *Historia regni Bohemiae ab origine gentis usque ad Ferdinand I*, Basil 1575, <http://www.digitalniknihovna.cz/mzk/view/uuid:3c06f1ce-9dbe-11e0-8578-0050569d679d?page=uuid:ec7e4542-9dbe-11e0-8578-0050569d679d>, pp. LXXVIv: *Ex eodem templo Vladislaus candelabrum aereum adfēbrefactum, quod Solomonis fuisse fertur, largitione Mediolanensium cum decies praeterea mille aureis, Pragam ad aedem sancti Viti asportavit (...).*

25 B. Balbín, *Epitome historica Rerum Bohemicarum*, Praga 1677, <https://books.google.cz/books?id=wSxPAAAACAAJ&printsec=frontcover&hl=cs#v=onepage&q&f=true>, lib. III, cap. 10, p. 232: (...) *deinde quam plurimi ex Bohema Nobilitate ob virtutem aureati equites creati (...) tandem etiam vetusti, novique scriptores demonstrat. acceptum Mediolano est hoc tempore Imperatore Friderico donante, candelabrum aereum, aut potius candelabri pes (quod utopte ex Templi Hierosolymitani spoliis allatum Mediolanenses auro contra servabant) id candelabrum SS. Patronorum Bohemiae aereis et malleatis statuis elegantissime adorantur, etiamnum in Ecclesia Pragensi super B. Joannis Nepomuceni Tumulum stare et lucere videmus.*

26 R. Šimůnek, *Obraz šlechtického panství v Čechách 1500-1750*, Praha 2018, pp. 172f.

27 Z. Tarajlo-Lipowska, *Historia literatury czeskiej*, Wrocław 2010, pp. 79f.

28 Tomáš Pešina, *Phosphorus septicornis. Stella alias Matutina: hoc est: Sanctæ Metropolitanæ divi viti ecclesiæ Pragensis Majestaas et Gloria: quibus illa, per tot secula, Orbi nostro enituit semper clarissima*, Praga 1673, p. 39: *Rex postea factus, an. 1159 cum eodem anno cum Friderico I. Imp. in Italiam adversus Mediolanenses rebelles expeditionem suscepisset, multaque ibi cum nobilitate Bohema et Morava, praclare gessisset; praeter alia magni pretij dona, etiam Candelabrum aereum, artificio fingulari, nec facile imitabili factum, quod de templo Hierosolymitano, postremo illo sub Vespasiano Imperatorum (...) Candelabrum Salomonis quondam cepus, Mediolano Pragam adfertur.*

In conclusion, according to information from the oldest source texts, the Czechs brought from Italy not a candelabra but its foot. Later texts, starting from the unique work of Piccolomini, as well as the fourteenth-century inscription on the marble pedestal on which the foot of the candelabra is placed, mention the entire candelabra. What is also interesting is the fact that some narratives describing the transport of this very precious and famous object to Prague remove the person of King Vladislav. The "Jerusalem candelabra" is treated as something won by the Czechs, proof of their bravery, and the fact that they deserve to be rewarded with the greatest gifts. In this context, the king seems to be of lesser importance. One can assume that these are the traces of a certain dislike for the ruler who took the crown from a German ruler without asking the Czech nobility for permission. This is confirmed by the aforementioned inscription created in 1395 that does not mention the name of King Vladislav as the person who captured this precious artifact. In the context of sparse and late mentions about the capture of the candelabra, we can suppose that it had to be inspired by the existing oral tradition.

The latest research of art historians concerning the style and possible origins of the base of the candelabra have not resolved all doubts in a satisfactory manner. The only possible period of the creation of this work is believed to be time around 1160. The German researcher Peter Bloch came to a quite interesting and controversial conclusion. He determined that there is a similarity of style between the heads and plant ornaments of the candelabra and the bronze Gniezno Doors. Thus, he suggested that our object of interest was actually created in Bohemia, possibly even in Prague, and considered the written tradition of Milan and Jerusalem origins as mere legend.

translated by Anna Oleszczuk

ABSTRACT

The article is devoted to the Czech historiographical tradition connected with the leg of a candlestick which King Vladislav of Bohemia is supposed to have received as a gift after his victory at Milan in 1158. The first mention of this event appears in the chronicle of Dalimil dating from the first quarter of the 14th century. Contemporary accounts of the expedition do not mention this event. In the St. Vitus Cathedral in Prague is a candlestick whose base is still believed to be part of the booty acquired during the Czech armed expeditions to Italy in the second half of the 12th century. Why the Czech historiographical tradition tried to exclude the person of King Vladislav from the story of the capture of this valuable object remains a matter of debate.

Keywords: Vladislav II, Přemyslids, Milan 1158, Milan candlestick

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LE PROBLÈME DES COMPILATIONS ANNALISTIQUES ÉTRANGÈRES UTILISÉES PAR LES PLUS ANCIENNES ANNALES POLONAISES À LA LUMIÈRE DES RECHERCHES RÉCENTES.



I. HISTORIQUE DE LA DISCUSSION

En matière de recherches sur l'annalistique polonaise, l'année 2021 marque notamment le cinquantième anniversaire de la parution du célèbre article de Gerard Labuda intitulé *Les grandes lignes du développement de l'annalistique polonaise au Moyen Age*¹. Dans cette étude, le chercheur polonais reprend les arguments évoqués par lui-même en 1957² et se prononce en faveur de l'existence de deux compilations annalistiques à l'origine de la naissance de la production d'annales en Pologne : la première, dénommée « Annales de Jordan-Gaudentius », aurait été composée de notes provenant des *Annales de Corvey* ainsi que d'annales apparentées aux *Annales de Hersfeld* et aurait été emportée de Pologne en Bohême, où elle aurait joué un rôle prépondérant dans la naissance de la production annalistique de ce pays, lors du pillage de Gniezno par les Tchèques en 1038 alors que la seconde, dite « Annales de Richezza », aurait été composée de notes provenant de Reichenau, de Fulda et de Cologne et aurait été amenée en Pologne par Richezza, épouse de Mieszko II, ou son entourage, qui l'aurait remportée dans les pays d'Empire par la suite, ce qui expliquerait l'absence de notes provenant de Reichenau, de Fulda et de Cologne dans l'annalistique tchèque.

Si la théorie de Gerard Labuda a été partiellement critiquée dès les années suivant la parution de l'article de 1957 par Zofia Budkowa³ et Jan

1 G. Labuda, *Główne linie rozwoju rocznikarstwa polskiego w wiekach średnich*, « Kwartalnik Historyczny » LXXVIII (1971), p. 804-839.

2 G. Labuda, *Gdzie pisano najdawniejsze roczniki polskie?*, « Roczniki historyczne » XXIII (1957), p. 79-97.

3 Z. Budkowa *Początki polskiego rocznikarstwa*, « Studia Źródłoznawcze » II (1958), p. 81-96.

Dąbrowski⁴, ces deux chercheurs ne remettent pas en question l'affirmation selon laquelle les notes communes aux plus anciennes annales polonaises et tchèques auraient circulé de Pologne vers la Bohême. Cet élément crucial du modèle de Labuda, également exposé dans l'article de 1971, est en revanche réfuté en 1978 par le médiéviste tchèque Dušan Třeštík⁵ et dix ans plus tard par le chercheur polonais Tadeusz Wasilewski⁶, qui considèrent que le matériel commun aux deux traditions annalistiques provient d'une compilation de notes de notes provenant des *Annales de Corvey* et d'annales apparentées aux *Annales de Hersfeld* à laquelle des notes concernant notamment Saint Adalbert auraient été ajoutées en Bohême avant son transfert en Pologne.

La théorie de Labuda est également remise en question au tout début des années 2000 par Tomasz Jasiński, qui propose une modélisation assez différente. Le chercheur de Poznań postule ainsi la réalisation d'une grande compilation de notes de Reichenau, de Fulda et de Hersfeld à Mayence vers 970, ce qui n'est pas sans évoquer – malgré l'existence de plusieurs différences entre les deux théories – une hypothèse formulée par Georg Waitz au XIX^e siècle⁷ : selon Tomasz Jasiński, cette grande compilation aurait ensuite été transférée en Bohême puis à Cracovie, probablement avant la fin du X^eme siècle, alors qu'une seconde compilation de taille plus réduite contenant des notes d'origine corvéienne et des notes concernant Saint Adalbert aurait été transférée de Prague vers la Pologne au XI^e siècle⁸.

La réponse de Gerard Labuda à Tomasz Jasiński arriva un an plus tard dans un article intitulé *Une ou deux compilations annalistiques allemandes à l'origine de l'annalistique polonaise ?*⁹; dans cet article, Labuda se prononce une fois de plus en faveur d'un modèle articulé autour de l'existence de deux compilations

4 J. Dąbrowski, *Dawne dziejopisarstwo polskie (do 1480 roku)*, Wrocław-Warszawa-Kraków 1964.

5 D. Třeštík, *Anfänge der Böhmisches Geschichtsschreibung. Die ältesten Prager Annalen*, « *Studia Źródłoznawcze* » XXIII (1978), p. 1-35

6 T. Wasilewski, *Pochodzenie Emmildy trzeciej żony Bolesława Chrobrego a geneza polskiego władztwa nad Morawami*, « *Kwartalnik Historyczny* » XCIV (1988) 2, p. 29-47.

7 G. Waitz, *Verlorene Mainzer Annalen*, « *Nachrichten von der kaiserlicher Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften und der Georg-Augusts Universität* » (1873), p. 388-391.

8 T. Jasiński, *Początki polskiej annalistyki*, dans : *Nihil superfluum esse. Prace z dziejów średniowiecza ofiarowane Profesor Jadwidze Krzyżaniakowej*, dir. J. Dobosz, J. Strzelczyk, Poznań 2000, p. 129-146. Du même auteur, voir également *Niemieckie dziejopisarstwo X wieku i początki annalistyki polskiej*, « *Biuletyn Polskiej Misji Historycznej = Bulletin der Polnischen Historischen Mission* » II (2004), p. 37-45, *Rocznik obcy w Roczniku kapituły krakowskiej*, dans : *Scriptura custos memoriae. Prace historyczne*, dir. D. Zydorek, Poznań 2001, p. 217-224 et *Rola Rocznika angijskiego w rozwoju annalistyki polskiej i niemieckiej*, « *Roczniki Historyczne* » LXIX (2003), p. 71-78.

9 G. Labuda, *Jeden czy dwa roczniki niemieckie u podstaw polskiego rocznikarstwa?*, « *Studia Źródłoznawcze/Commentationes* » XXXIX (2001), p. 7-27.

annalistiques, l'une contenant des notes provenant des annales de Corvey et de celles de Hersfeld et l'autre contenant des notes provenant de Reichenau et de Cologne. Il souligne également un fait jusqu'ici assez peu étudié dans la discussion sur l'annalistique centro-européenne, à savoir l'existence de similarités entre les plus anciennes annales tchèques et les *Annales Magdeburgenses brevissimi*¹⁰, qui contiennent un nombre significatif de notes provenant des *Annales de Corvey*. Ces annales avaient d'ailleurs déjà été citées brièvement dès les années 1970 par Gerard Labuda dans une notice encyclopédique concernant l'annalistique tchèque¹¹ : dans ce texte, il précise que ces annales sont contenues dans un seul manuscrit, qui appartient à l'abbaye cistercienne de Vyšší Brod (en Latin Altum Vadum, en Allemand Hohenfurth). Le chercheur polonais affirme également que ces annales ont été composées à Prague vers 1070 et ajoute qu'elles devraient plutôt porter le nom d'*Annales Altovadenses*.

Les *Annales Magdeburgenses Brevissimi* ont également été étudiées par Marzena Matla-Kozłowska dans deux articles publiés en 2005¹². La chercheuse de Poznań, qui partage l'opinion de Tomasz Jasiński sur les débuts de l'annalistique polonaise, affirme que les notes d'origine corvéienne présentes dans les *Annales Magdeburgenses Brevissimi* proviennent des plus anciennes annales de Prague et ajoute que les notes d'origine corvéienne présentes dans les plus anciennes compilations annalistiques polonaises proviennent de Bohême.

Nous pouvons donc constater que depuis quelques décennies, les *Annales Magdeburgenses Brevissimi* occupent une place plus importante dans la discussion sur les débuts de la production annalistique en Pologne et en Bohême, mais il convient de souligner qu'elles ont été convoquées dans le débat par des chercheurs défendant des points de vue opposés. Il nous a donc paru pertinent d'examiner une nouvelle fois ces annales, qui sont une source potentielle de renseignements précieux, non seulement au sujet de la circulation des notes d'origine corvéienne dans les plus anciennes annales

10 *Annales Magdeburgenses brevissimi*, éd. O. Holder-Egger, S. Steinherz, dans : *Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Scriptorum*, XXX/2, Hannover 1934, p. 748-749.

11 G. Labuda, *Roczniki czeskie*, dans : *Słownik starożytności słowiańskich. Encyklopedyczny zarys kultury Słowian od czasów najdawniejszych*, vol. 4, partie 2, dir. G. Labuda, Z. Stieber, Wrocław-Warszawa-Kraków 1972, p. 508.

12 M. Matla-Kozłowska, *Źródła « Annales Magdeburgenses Brevissimi » w kontekście zapisek « obcych » polskiego i czeskiego rocznikarstwa*, « *Studia Historyczne* » XLVIII (2005) 2, p. 135-150 et *Zapiski korbejskie w zaginiony Roczniku praskim w świetle Annales Magdeburgenses brevissimi. Powiązania czeskiego i polskiego rocznikarstwa*, « *Mediaevalia Historica Bohemica* » X (2005), p. 71-88. Sur la question des liens entre les productions annalistiques polonaise et tchèque au Moyen Age, voir aussi M. Matla-Kozłowska, *Kwestia zależności polskiego i czeskiego rocznikarstwa (od drugiej połowy XI do połowy XIII wieku)*, « *Studia Źródłoznawcze* » XLIII (2005), p. 27-52 et eadem, *Rocznik krótki w kontekście wzajemnych wpływów polskiego i czeskiego rocznikarstwa*, dans : *Inter laurum et olivam*, dir. I. Ebelová, J. Šouša, Acta Universitatis Carolinae, Philosophica et Historica, vol. 1-2, Praha 2002 [2007], p. 379-393.

centro-européennes, mais aussi dans la discussion au sujet des sources utilisées par les productions annalistiques tchèque et polonaise à leurs débuts et aussi dans le débat sur la nature des relations entre ces deux productions. Le présent article a donc pour but de présenter rapidement les résultats de cette enquête, que nous avons exposés plus longuement dans une autre publication¹³, mais aussi de donner quelques compléments d'information à ce travail et de pointer quelques nouvelles directions de recherches potentielles.

II. L'ANALYSE DES SOURCES ET LA QUESTION DU MATÉRIEL COMMUN AU MATÉRIEL AUX ANNALES TCHÈQUES ET POLONAISES

Le rapide résumé de la discussion scientifique présenté ci-dessus met en évidence le fait que tous les travaux publiés ces dernières décennies semblent considérer que les notes étrangères (c.-à.-d. ne concernant ni la Pologne ni la Bohême) communes aux plus anciennes annales tchèques et polonaises proviennent à la fois des *Annales de Corvey* et d'une source annalistique dérivée des *Annales de Hersfeld*. Afin de vérifier la validité de ce postulat, nous avons donc examiné tous les notes de ce type contenues dans les plus anciennes sources historiographiques polonaises et tchèques¹⁴. Si les résultats de cette enquête confirment la présence de notes corvéiennes et hersfeldiennes dans les sources polonaises (essentiellement représentées par les *Annales du Chapitre de Cracovie*, qui contient le plus grand nombre de notes étrangères) ainsi que dans les sources tchèques, elles suggèrent également que les sources hersfeldiennes utilisées diffèrent : en effet, les notes hersfeldiennes figurant dans les *Annales du Chapitre de Cracovie* paraissent présenter davantage de similitudes avec les *Annales de Wissembourg* et les *Annales de Lambert* mais sans que cela soit suffisant pour établir une filiation alors que les notes hersfeldiennes présentes dans les sources tchèques, notamment dans les *Annales de Prague*, montrent de claires analogies avec les *Annales de Hildesheim* et les *Annales de Quedlinbourg*¹⁵. Par ailleurs, la comparaison des notes hersfeldiennes présentes dans les sources polonaises et dans leurs homologues tchèques démontre qu' à l'exception d'un cas très tardif et donc non pertinent dans le cadre de la présente étude, il n'existe aucune note d'origine hersfeldienne avérée qui serait présente dans les deux traditions historiographiques; de fait, le nombre de notes ne concernant ni la Pologne ni la Bohême

13 A. Quéret-Podesta, *Annales Magdeburgenses Brevissimi. The Short Annals of Magdeburg and their signification in the discussion on the genesis of Czech and Polish annalistic productions*, Olomouc 2016. La majeure partie des constats que nous tirons ici étant présentée dans ce travail, nous n'indiquerons que les principaux en notes et renvoyons le lecteur à cette publication pour plus d'informations.

14 A. Quéret-Podesta, *Annales Magdeburgenses Brevissimi...*, p. 24-72.

15 Voir aussi D. Třeštík, *Anfänge der Böhmische Geschichtsschreibung...*, p. 30.

présentes à la fois dans les annales polonaises et dans les annales tchèques n'est que de trois et il convient de souligner que ces trois notes apparaissent également dans les *Annales Magdeburgenses Brevissimi* :

Annales du Chapitre de Cracovie ¹⁶	Annales de Prague ¹⁷	Annales Magdeburgenses Brevissimi ¹⁸	Annales de Corvey ¹⁹
901 Arnulphus imperator obiit.	901 Alnolfus ²⁰ imperator obiit.	901 Arnulfus imperator obiit.	899 arnulfus Imperator obiit, Hluthouuicus filius eius regnauit.
933 Hungarorum exercitus ab Henrico interfectus est.	933 Ungarorum exercitus a Henrico interfectus est.	933 Ungrorum exercitus ab Heinrico rege interfectus est.	933 Vngariorum exercitus ab heinrico rege interfectus est.
934 Hinricus Danos subegit.	934 Henricus rex Danos subiecit.	934 Heinricus rex Danos subiecit.	934 Heinricus rex danos sube[g]it.

La comparaison des notes présentes dans le tableau ci-dessus prouve clairement que les notes concernant les années 933 et 934 dans les *Annales du chapitre de Cracovie*, dans les *Annales de Prague* et dans les *Annales Magdeburgenses Brevissimi* proviennent des *Annales de Corvey*. Les notes relatant la mort de l'empereur Arnulf dans les *Annales du chapitre de Cracovie*, dans les *Annales de Prague* et dans les *Annales Magdeburgenses Brevissimi* présentent également de fortes similitudes avec la première partie de la note rapportant cet évènement dans les *Annales de Corvey*, à l'exception toutefois de l'année, puisque les annales du célèbre monastère bénédictin sur la Weser placent le décès d'Arnulf en 899, ce qui est la datation correcte. Le texte de la mort d'Arnulf dans les trois textes qui la placent en 901, montre aussi d'importantes similitudes avec la première partie de la note relatant ce trépas dans les *Annales de Hildesheim*, qui utilisent elles aussi la datation correcte de 899 : « *Arnulfus imperator obiit; cui Ludowicus, filius eius, successi* »²¹; toutefois, étant donné que la source hersfeldienne utilisée par les annales polonaises ne

16 *Annales capituli Cracoviensis*, éd. R. Röppel, W. Arndt, dans : Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Scriptores rerum Germanicarum in usum scholarum separatim editi, Hannover 1866, p. 15.

17 *Annales Pragenses*, dans : Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Scriptores, III, éd. G.F. Pertz, Hannover 1839, p. 119.

18 *Annales Magdeburgenses brevissimi...*, p. 749.

19 *Die Corveyer Annalen*, éd. J. Prinz, Münster 1982, p. 109 et 113.

20 L'édition des Annales de Prague dans les *Fontes Rerum Bohemicarum* donne *Alfonsus*; voir *Fontes Rerum Bohemicarum*, II, éd. J. Emler, trad. V.V. Tomek, Prague 1874, p. 376.

21 *Annales Hildesheimenses*, éd. G. Waitz, W. Arndt, dans : Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Scriptores rerum Germanicarum in usum scholarum separatim editi, Hannover 1878, p. 19.

semble pas provenir de la branche Hildesheim/Quedlinbourg, il paraît plus vraisemblable que la source de la note relatant la mort de l'empereur Arnulf en 901 dans les *Annales du chapitre de Cracovie*, dans les *Annales de Prague* et dans les *Annales Magdeburgenses Brevissimi* soit d'origine corvéienne. L'origine de cette datation erronée de 901 demeure difficile à expliquer, mais sa présence dans les trois annales que nous venons de citer s'avère extrêmement précieuse, puisqu'elle prouve l'existence d'un lien entre ces trois textes.

Ces différents constats démontrent que selon toute probabilité la source des notes étrangères présentes à la fois dans les plus anciennes œuvres annalistiques polonaises et dans leurs homologues tchèques n'était pas une grande compilation de plusieurs annales rédigées dans les pays germaniques mais plutôt une source annalistique de taille plus modeste contenant des notes d'origine corvéienne et dont l'influence peut aussi être remarquée dans les *Annales Magdeburgenses Brevissimi*; dans un souci de clarté, nous avons proposé de donner à cette source, désormais disparue, le nom d'*Excerptum Corbeiense*, qui peut au besoin être abrégé en EC²². Déterminer la composition de cette source et la nature de ses relations avec les *Annales du Chapitre de Cracovie*, les *Annales de Prague* et les *Annales Magdeburgenses Brevissimi* est donc une tâche d'une importance cruciale dans le cadre de la recherche sur la circulation des notes corvéiennes vers les productions annalistiques polonaise et tchèque ainsi que dans le débat sur la nature des relations existant entre ces productions. Il convient cependant de souligner que la réponse à ces questions ne peut être obtenue que grâce à une analyse comparative des trois textes qui présentent des traces d'utilisation de l'*Excerptum Corbeiense*, à savoir les *Annales du Chapitre de Cracovie*, les *Annales de Prague* et les *Annales Magdeburgenses Brevissimi*.

III. LA QUESTION DE LA CIRCULATION DES NOTES D'ORIGINE CORVÉIENNE EN EUROPE CENTRALE

Avant d'entreprendre cette analyse, il est nécessaire d'examiner d'un peu plus près les *Annales Magdeburgenses Brevissimi* car cette source a été nettement moins étudiée que les *Annales du Chapitre de Cracovie* et les *Annales de Prague*. Ainsi que nous l'avons mentionné plus haut, les *Annales Magdeburgenses Brevissimi* figurent dans un seul manuscrit, qui est actuellement conservé dans la bibliothèque de l'abbaye cistercienne de Vyšší Brod, à la frontière austro-tchèque²³. Ce manuscrit, dont les dimensions modestes

22 A. Quéret-Podesta, *Annales Magdeburgenses Brevissimi...*, p. 71.

23 Vyšší Brod, Klášterní knihovna, ms. XXVIII. L'auteur tient à remercier à remercier chaleureusement le Père Justin Berka, O. Cist., prieur du monastère Vyšší Brod, ainsi qu'à Mme Lucie Ó Súilleabháin Špalková, BcA., conservatrice de la bibliothèque historique du monastère, pour leur accueil lors de ma visite au monastère en Janvier 2016 et pour leur serviabilité lors de mes nombreuses demandes d'envoi de photos de manuscrits et d'autorisations de publication.

(reliure : 13, 2 cm x 10,2 cm; feuillets : 12,4 cm x 8,8 cm²⁴), conduisirent Marzena Matla-Kozłowska à le désigner par le terme de « codex de poche » (en Polonais *kieszonkowy kodeks*)²⁵, comporte 151 feuillets de parchemin désormais protégés par une reliure moderne. Rédigé au XI^e siècle en minuscule caroline avec quelques ajouts ultérieurs, le manuscrit est en assez bon état même si quelques opérations codicologiques ont créé quelques légers dégâts (avant de recevoir des numéros de pages et voir leurs bords coloriés en bleu, les pages ont visiblement été retaillées, ce qui a endommagé certaines notes marginales). Les deux premiers tiers du manuscrit contiennent un martyrologe (1 r^o-103 r^o), alors que le dernier tiers comporte un hymne à Sainte Barbe réalisé vraisemblablement au XIV^e siècle (103 v^o)²⁶, une copie du traité de comput d'Helpéric d'Auxerre (104v^o-150 r^o) et les *Annales Magdeburgenses Brevissimi* (150 v^o-151 r^o)²⁷.

L'examen du martyrologe met en évidence la présence d'une cinquantaine de notes marginales – une partie d'entre elles a été éditée dans les *Monumenta Germaniae Historica*²⁸ – qui nous fournissent de précieuses indications sur l'histoire du manuscrit : parmi les 29 notes dont la provenance peut être identifiée avec un certain degré de précision, 13 ont certainement été rédigées à partir d'une source composée à Magdebourg, ce qui confirme la théorie communément admise d'une rédaction du manuscrit dans cette région au XI^e siècle²⁹. Cinq notes concernent des saints tchèques, mais la récente analyse paléographique menée par Grzegorz Pac suggère qu'elles possèdent probablement une genèse plus tardive³⁰. Si les circonstances du transfert du manuscrit de la région de Magdebourg au monastère de Vyšší Brod demeurent inconnues, nous savons que le manuscrit est arrivé au monastère lors de sa fondation en 1259 ou peu

24 Mesures prises par Mme Lucie Ó Súilleabháin Špalková.

25 M. Matla-Kozłowska, *Zapiski korbejskie...*, p. 76.

26 *Annales Magdeburgenses brevissimi...*, p. 748.

27 Voir aussi R. Pavel O. Cist., *Beschreibung der im Stifte Hohenfurt befindlichen Handschriften...*, dans : Xenia Bernardino, *Handschriften-Verzeichnisse der Cistercienser-Stifte der oesterreichisch-ungarischen Ordensprovinz*, vol. II/2, éd. A. Hölder, Vienne 1891, p. 176 et A. Quéret-Podesta, *Annales Magdeburgenses Brevissimi...*, p. 73-76.

28 *Notae necrologicae Magdeburgenses*, éd. O. Holder-Egger, dans : *Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Scriptores*, XXX/2, dir. G.F. Pertz, Hannover 1934, p. 749-750.

29 R. Pavel, *Beschreibung...*, p. 176; *Annales Magdeburgenses brevissimi...*, p. 748; M. Matla-Kozłowska, *Zapiski korbejskie...*, p. 76; A. Quéret-Podesta, *Annales Magdeburgenses Brevissimi...*, p. 76-79 et 84-87 et idem, *Les inscriptions marginales, source d'informations sur la circulation des manuscrits médiévaux : le cas du manuscrit XXVIII de la bibliothèque du monastère de Vyšší Brod (République tchèque)*, « Cahiers Jean Mabillon » I (2020), p. 97-99.

30 G. Pac, *Wokół wczesnego kultu św. Ludmily*, « *Historia Slavorum Occidentis* » XX (2019), p. 22-23. L'auteur tient à remercier M. Grzegorz Pac, pour ses remarques concernant les problèmes de datation des notes concernant la translation des reliques de Saint Cunégonde et le trépas de Sainte Ludmilla lors d'une correspondance informelle.

après, puisqu'un « *Computus Helbrici* », c'est-à-dire le traité de comput d'Helpéric d'Auxerre, œuvre qui ne figure dans aucun autre manuscrit de l'abbaye du Sud de la Bohême, est mentionné par une liste de livres copiée vraisemblablement à la fin du treizième siècle au bas du dernier feuillet d'un autre manuscrit du monastère³¹.

Les *Annales Magdeburgenses Brevisissimi* se composent de 29 notes relatant des faits survenus entre 814 et 1063; elles sont rédigées en minuscule caroline, ce qui est compatible avec une rédaction au XI^e siècle, mais il convient de souligner que les éditeurs des annales dans les *Monumenta Germaniae Historica* précisent que les notes pour les années 1024 et 1039, qui se trouvent à la fin du texte ont été écrites par une autre main que les 27 précédentes³². La lecture des annales permet également de constater que l'ordre des notes ne correspond pas toujours à l'ordre chronologique, ce que Marzena Matla-Kozłowska attribue à la négligence du copiste³³. Parmi les 29 notes des annales, 23 mentionnent des décès : 13 rapportent le trépas de souverains, 7 relatent la mort des sept premiers archevêques de Magdebourg alors que les 3 notes restantes mentionnent des décès de saints (Saint Wenceslas, Saint Adalbert et Saint Ulrich d'Augsbourg, par ordre d'apparition dans le texte). La présence des notes évoquant le trépas des sept premiers archevêques de Magdebourg plaide clairement pour une rédaction des annales dans cette ville ou dans ses environs³⁴, probablement durant l'archiépiscopat du huitième archevêque, Werner von Steusslingen (1063-1078) et affaiblit l'hypothèse formulée par Gerard Labuda d'une rédaction des annales à Prague.

L'examen des notes des *Annales Magdeburgenses Brevisissimi* montre que celles-ci peuvent être réparties en trois grands groupes³⁵ :

- un premier groupe de 13 notes comprenant toutes les notes du début des Annales jusqu'à celle de 935 (*recte* : 936) incluse, mais à l'exception de la note concernant le décès de Saint Wenceslas; toutes ces notes sont clairement d'origine corvéienne.

31 Vyšší Brod, Klášterni Knihovna, ms. LXXVII, 130 v^o. Edition par R. Pavel O. Cist., *Der älteste Katalog der Hohenfurter Bibilothek*, dans : Xenia Bernardina III. Beiträge zur Geschichte der Cistercienser-Stifte : Reun in Steiermark, Heiligenkreuz-Neukloster, Zettl. Lilienfeld in Niederwilhering und Schlierbach in Ober-Oesterreich, Ossegg und Hohenfurt in Boehemen, Mogila bei Krakau, Szczyrzic in Galizien, Stams in Tirol; und der Cistercienserinnen-Abteien, Marienthal und Marienstern in der Koen. Saechsichen Lausitz, Vienne 1891, p. 371-372.

32 *Annales Magdeburgenses brevisissimi...*, p. 749, note p.

33 M. Matla-Kozłowska, *Zapiski korbejskie...*, p. 76.

34 R. Pavel O. Cist., *Beschreibung...*, p. 176; *Annales Magdeburgenses brevisissimi...*, p. 748; M. Matla-Kozłowska, *Zapiski korbejskie...*, p. 81 et A. Quéret-Podesta, *Annales Magdeburgenses Brevisissimi...*, p. 94-95.

35 A. Quéret-Podesta, *Annales Magdeburgenses Brevisissimi...*, p. 98-106.

- un ensemble de 6 notes concernant des évènements survenus au X^e siècle (919, [recte : 929], 997, 961, 973, 974 [recte : 973] et 984 [recte : 983]; toutes ces notes ne sont clairement pas d'origine corvéienne, mais plusieurs présentent des similitudes avec les notes des *Annales de Prague* et pour l'une d'entre elles avec la note concernant la mort de Saint Adalbert dans les *Annales du Chapitre de Cracovie*.
- 7 notes concernant le décès des sept premiers archevêques de Madebourg et qui ont certainement été rédigées dans cette ville ou ses environs; la source des deux notes de la continuation est difficile à déterminer, mais il est possible qu'elles aient été rédigées au même endroit que les notes concernant les archevêques, tout comme la note relatant le décès d'Otton III en 1002, car bien qu'elle présente des similitudes avec les notes figurant dans d'autres annales, comme par exemple celles de Corvey et de Cracovie, le caractère assez générique du vocabulaire employé ne permet pas d'affirmer avec certitude l'existence d'une filiation directe entre ces différentes mentions.

L'analyse comparative des notes d'origine corvéienne contenues dans les *Annales Magdeburgenses Brevissimi*, les *Annales du Chapitre de Cracovie* et les *Annales de Prague* démontre que l'examen de ces seules notes ne suffit pas à déterminer la nature des liens existant entre ces trois sources³⁶. En revanche, cette analyse permet de proposer un essai de reconstruction de l'*Excerptum Corbeicense*, qui contenait probablement seize notes relatant des évènements survenus entre 814 et 941 et a peut-être été composé directement au monastère de Corvey : en nous appuyant sur l'identification des copistes des *Annales de Corvey* et de l'estimation de leurs périodes d'activité respectives contenues dans l'édition critique de ces annales par Joseph Prinz³⁷, nous avons par ailleurs estimé que l'*Excerptum Corbeicense* avait probablement été composé dans les années 950 ou 960³⁸.

L'analyse comparative des six notes des *Annales Magdeburgenses brevissimi* qui ne sont ni d'origine corvéienne ni d'origine magdebourgeoise³⁹ avec les notes rapportant les mêmes évènements dans les plus anciennes sources narratives polonaises et tchèques démontre que quatre des six notes (919, [recte : 929], 973, 974 [recte : 973] et 984 [recte : 983]) présentent de fortes similitudes avec la relation de ces évènements dans les sources tchèques alors que trois de ces notes n'apparaissent pas dans les sources polonaises et que la dernière, qui est très certainement d'origine tchèque puisqu'il s'agit de la mention de la mort de Saint Wenceslas, y apparaît dans une source relativement tardive

36 Ibidem, p. 107-120.

37 *Die Corveyer Annalen...*, p. 14-59.

38 A. Quéret-Podesta, *Annales Magdeburgenses Brevissimi...*, p. 120-125.

39 Voir également ibidem, p. 126-142.

(*Annales de Poznań*). Le texte de la note concernant la mort de Saint Adalbert dans les *Annales Magdeburgenses brevissimi* est très proche de celui des *Annales du Chapitre de Cracovie*, mais il convient de souligner que le trépas du second évêque de Prague est également mentionné par les sources tchèques. Quant à la note de 961 concernant le couronnement du futur Otton II comme roi de Germanie, elle ne possède pas d'équivalent dans les sources tchèques ni dans les *Annales de Corvey*, qui rapportent pour l'année 961 la venue à Rome d'Otton I; le couronnement d'Otton II en 961 est certes mentionné par les *Annales du Chapitre de Cracovie*, mais cette note provient clairement d'une source fuldo-colognienne, dont il n'existe absolument aucune trace d'utilisation dans les *Annales Magdeburgenses brevissimi*. En revanche, cette information est présente dans les *Annales de Hersfeld par Lambert*, et cette oeuvre mentionne également les décès d'Otton I, de Saint Ulrich d'Augsbourg et d'Otton II, autant d'informations qui figurent aussi dans nos annales.

L'examen des notes des *Annales Magdeburgenses brevissimi* qui ne sont d'origine ni corvéienne ni magdebourgeoise plaide donc en faveur d'une composition d'au moins deux tiers voire de la totalité de cet ensemble à Prague à partir d'informations locales et d'une source hersfeldienne; cette information constitue également un argument important en faveur d'un transfert de l'*Excerptum Corbeicense* de Corvey à Prague, puis du transfert de ce matériel annalistique vers Magdebourg d'une part et vers la Pologne d'autre part. Cette hypothèse semble confirmée par l'examen des notes concernant Dąbrówka, l'épouse tchèque de Mieszko I, Saint Adalbert, son entourage et les Cinq Frères Martyrs dans les annales tchèques et polonaises : l'analyse comparative de ces notes suggère en effet que la probabilité d'une rédaction de ces notes en Bohême est légèrement plus élevée que celle d'une rédaction en Pologne, mais il convient de souligner que les indices appuyant cette théorie demeurent assez ténus, le corpus soumis à analyse se composant de moins d'une dizaine de notes transmises par des sources plus tardives et ayant probablement fait l'objet de modifications ultérieures.

Ces différents éléments tendent donc à indiquer que l'*Excerptum Corbeicense* a tout d'abord voyagé de Corvey vers la Bohême, peut-être dans l'entourage de troisième évêque de Prague, Thiedag (998-1017), qui était moine de Corvey, ou bien dans celui du premier évêque, Thietmar (976-982), dont certains auteurs affirment également qu'il aurait été moine dans la célèbre abbaye sur la Weser. Cette source corvéienne aurait ensuite joué un rôle prépondérant dans la création des plus anciennes annales tchèques, désormais disparues mais probablement rédigées vers l'an mil dans l'entourage de l'évêque de Prague; cette activité annalistique aurait également donné naissance à la compilation de notes corvéiennes et de notes concernant plusieurs figures historiques liées à la Bohême qui aurait été transférée en Pologne ainsi qu'à la compilation de notes corvéiennes, de notes hersfeldiennes et de notes

« tchèques » utilisée par l'auteur des *Annales Magdeburgenses Brevissimi*. La date et les circonstances du transfert de la compilation annalistique « corvéienno-tchèque » de Prague vers la Pologne est difficile à établir, même si tout porte à croire que cet évènement survint au XI^e siècle. En se basant sur l'hypothèse d'une origine tchèque de la note relatant le transfert de la dépouille de Saint Adalbert de Gniezno à Prague en 1039, Tomasz Jasiński et Marzena Matla-Kozłowska proposent un transfert dans les années 1050-1060 et suggèrent un lien avec le fait que Jaromir-Gérard, fils de Břetislav I de Bohême et évêque de Prague de 1067 à 1090, dut se réfugier en Pologne avant son accession à l'épiscopat⁴⁰, mais un transfert plus précoce ne saurait être totalement exclu.

IV. LE TRANSFERT DE LA GRANDE COMPILATION ANNALISTIQUE ÉTRANGÈRE EN POLOGNE

Les résultats de notre examen des *Annales Magdeburgenses* semblent donc confirmer la validité du modèle de circulation des notes annalistiques d'origine corvéienne proposé par Tomasz Jasiński et Marzena Matla-Kozłowska; en revanche, le constat selon lequel il n'existe pas de preuve d'existence d'un matériel annalistique commun d'origine hersfeldienne aux plus anciennes productions annalistiques polonaises et tchèques plaide clairement contre l'existence d'une compilation « hersefeldo-corvéienne », postulée notamment par Gerard Labuda et Dušan Třeštík, mais aussi contre l'hypothèse avancée par Tomasz Jasiński d'un passage dans les pays tchèques de la grande compilation comprenant des notes provenant des annales de Reichenau, de Hersfeld ainsi que de Fulda et vraisemblablement rédigée à Mayence. Il convient d'ailleurs de souligner que l'hypothèse d'un transfert de cette compilation mayençaise par les pays tchèques est également remise en question par le chercheur polonais Dariusz Andrzej Sikorski⁴¹, qui ajoute que cette compilation a aussi pu parvenir en Pologne en transitant par Magdebourg, d'où elle aurait ensuite été apportée à Poznań⁴².

Cette hypothèse s'appuie notamment sur les remarques faites par Tomasz Jasiński concernant l'usage d'une des sources de la compilation annalistique par la *Continuation de la Chronique de Réginon de Prüm*, dont l'auteur est généralement identifié avec Adalbert de Trèves, premier archevêque de Magdebourg, qui possédait également des liens étroits avec Mayence; il convient également de souligner qu'Adalbert devint abbé du monastère Saint-Pierre

40 T. Jasiński, *Początki polskiej annalistyki...*, p. 138 et M. Matla-Kozłowska, *Zapiski korbejskie...*, p. 86.

41 D.A. Sikorski, *Kościół w Polsce za Mieszka I i Bolesława Chrobrego*, Poznań 2011, p. 296-301.

42 Ibidem, p. 301.

et Saint-Paul de Wissembourg en 966, ce qui nous semble pouvoir constituer un argument supplémentaire en faveur de l'hypothèse de Dariusz Andrzej Sikorski, puisque l'analyse des notes d'origine hersfeldienne dans les *Annales du chapitre de Cracovie* prouve que celle-ci sont légèrement plus proches des *Annales de Wissembourg* et des *Annales de Hersfeld par Lambert*. En ce qui concerne l'identité de l'auteur du transfert de cette compilation annalistique de Magdebourg à Poznań, Dariusz Andrzej Sikorski précise qu'elle a pu voyager avec l'évêque Jordan ou avec son successeur Unger, mais qu'elle a aussi pu être apportée par une autre personne depuis la Saxe⁴³.

Au vu de ces derniers éléments, on ne peut donc écarter l'hypothèse d'un lien entre l'évêque Jordan et les débuts de l'annalistique polonaise, même si ce lien était vraisemblablement très différent de celui postulé par Gerard Labuda : en effet, l'existence d'une compilation hersfeldo-corvéienne apportée par Jordan et enrichie dans l'entourage de Radim-Gaudentius, frère de Saint Adalbert et premier archevêque de Gniezno, avant d'être transférée en Bohême nous semble devoir être totalement abandonnée. Toutefois, l'éventualité d'une implication de l'entourage de Gaudentius dans le transfert des notes corvéiennes et « tchèques » en Pologne si celui-ci était intervenu plus tôt que le supposent Tomasz Jasiński et Marzena Matla-Kozłowska ne saurait être totalement exclu dans l'état actuel de la recherche; en revanche, la possibilité d'une rédaction de notes concernant l'histoire de la Pologne au tournant des premier et second millénaires après Jésus-Christ dans l'entourage de Gaudentius semble assez faible⁴⁴.

Tournons à présent nos regards vers le troisième personnage fréquemment cité dans la discussion sur la genèse de l'annalistique polonaise, à savoir Richezza, épouse de Mieszko II. Si la possibilité que Richezza et son entourage aient joué un rôle dans le transfert de la compilation annalistique mayençaise a été réfutée par Tomasz Jasiński⁴⁵ et semble nettement moins vraisemblable que celle de l'hypothèse d'un transfert postulé par Dariusz Sikorski d'un transfert via Magdeburg en raison de l'absence de liens étroits entre Richezza et Mayence mais aussi, dans une moindre mesure, de la présence de l'interruption de la compilation vers 970⁴⁶, il n'est pas exclu que la fille du comte Ezzo de Lotharingie et son entourage aient pu jouer un rôle dans la composition de certaines notes des annales polonaises relatant des évènements survenus durant les deux premières décennies du XI^e siècle.

43 Ibidem, p. 301.

44 A. Quéret-Podesta, *Annales Magdeburgenses Brevissimi...*, p. 173-175.

45 T. Jasiński, *Początki polskiej annalistyki...*, p. 140-141.

46 La pertinence de cet argument est d'ailleurs remise en question par Sikorski : D.A. Sikorski, *Kościół w Polsce...*, p. 299.

Parmi les notes ayant pu être rédigées par l'entourage de Richezza, il convient tout naturellement de citer son mariage avec Mieszko : bien que cet évènement ne figure ni dans les *Anciennes annales de Sainte Croix* ni dans les *Annales du Chapitre de Cracovie*, il est mentionné dans les *Annales de Kamieniec*, ce qui suggère qu'il était probablement déjà présent dans l'ancêtre de l'annalistique polonaise. En outre, il faut souligner que la note relatant la naissance de Casimir, le fils de Mieszko et de Richezza, est l'un des rares évènements pour lequel les *Annales du Chapitre de Cracovie* mentionnent non seulement l'année, mais aussi la date journalière, à savoir le huitième jour avant les Calendes d'Août et le cycle lunaire (« *luna 16* »), ce qui suggère une rédaction de cette note peu après la naissance de Casimir : le chercheur de Wrocław Przemysław Wiszewski considère ainsi que cette note a été certainement rédigée par un membre de l'entourage de Richezza⁴⁷.

Le cas des notes mentionnant respectivement les décès d'Otton III en 1002, de Brun de Querfurt en 1009, et du duc de Souabe Hermann III en 1012 est plus épineux : ainsi que nous l'avons souligné dans notre examen des notes d'origine étrangères contenues dans les annales polonaises, elles présentent en effet des analogies avec la relation de ces évènements dans certaines annales de la famille hersfeldienne, mais en raison de l'absence de correspondance parfaite et du caractère relativement générique du vocabulaire employé, l'existence d'une filiation demeure très hypothétique⁴⁸. Les essais de détermination du lieu de rédaction de ces notes à partir de leurs contenus s'avèrent également infructueux, en particulier dans le cas des notes relatant les décès d'Otton III et de Brun de Querfurt, deux évènements à la portée si vaste qu'ils ne se prêtent guère à une telle démarche. En revanche, le cas de la note rapportant le trépas du duc de Souabe Hermann III divise les chercheurs : ainsi, Tomasz Jasiński considère que cette note a été rédigée en Pologne et résulte de l'existence d'un projet de mariage entre le duc Herman et la fille de Boleslas le Vaillant mentionnée comme abbesse dans la *Chronique* de Thietmar de Mersebourg⁴⁹, mais cette théorie a été remise en question par Dariusz Sikorski, qui souligne l'étroitesse des liens existant entre les familles d'Hermann et de Richezza⁵⁰. Il est donc possible que Richezza ou son entourage aient joué un rôle dans la rédaction de la note concernant la mort du jeune duc de Souabe ainsi que dans la composition des notes de 1002 et 1009; si l'on ajoute à ces notes celle rapportant le mariage de Miesz-

47 P. Wiszewski, *Domus Boleslai. W poszukiwaniu tradycji dynastycznej Piastów (do ok. 1138 roku)*, Wrocław 2008, p. 111.

48 Soulignons ainsi que dans les deux éditions des *Annales du Chapitre de Cracovie* ces trois notes sont accompagnées respectivement des commentaires « Ann. Hersf. ? » et « Annal. Hersf. ? ».

49 T. Jasiński, *Początki polskiej annalistyki...*, p. 145-146.

50 D.A. Sikorski, *Kościół w Polsce...*, p. 298.

ko et de Richezza et celle relatant la naissance de Casimir le Rénovateur, il semble plausible qu'un membre de l'entourage de la fille du comte Ezzo ait pu enrichir la production annalistique polonaise de plusieurs notes durant la seconde décennie du XI^e siècle, bien que la validité de cette hypothèse et l'ampleur de son éventuelle intervention doivent encore faire l'objet d'investigations plus approfondies.

V. CONCLUSION

A l'image des travaux scientifiques produits dans la seconde moitié du XX^e siècle, les recherches menées durant les deux dernières décennies confirment que les notes d'origine étrangère présentes dans l'annalistique polonaise dès les premiers temps de son existence proviennent de deux compilations distinctes originaires des pays germaniques, mais la description que les chercheurs en font actuellement est assez éloignée du modèle établi par leurs prédécesseurs. Il semble en effet assez probable que la première de ces œuvres ait été une compilation annalistique contenant plus d'une cinquantaine de notes réalisée sans doute à Mayence vers 970 et peut-être transférée en Pologne par Magdebourg alors que la seconde, qui contenait environ trois fois moins de notes, a été réalisée à Corvey et est vraisemblablement parvenue en Pologne depuis Prague, où plusieurs notes concernant notamment Saint Adalbert lui auraient été ajoutées. Ces différents constats infirment donc la validité du modèle proposé par Gérard Labuda et postulant l'existence d'« Annales de Jordan et de Gaudentius » basées sur une compilation hersfeldo-corvéienne ainsi que d'« Annales de Richezza », mais il semble cependant que l'entourage d'au moins certains de ces trois personnages a pu jouer un rôle dans le transfert du matériel annalistique composé dans les pays d'Empire ainsi que dans la rédaction de plusieurs notes rapportant des événements survenus au tournant des X^e et XI^e siècles.

Si l'identification exacte des différentes phases d'écritures et de leurs auteurs dans l'ancêtre disparu de l'annalistique polonaise est une tâche extrêmement délicate à réaliser, comme en témoigne le débat animé sur la genèse de certaines des plus anciennes notes concernant l'histoire locale dans les annales polonaises⁵¹, nous pouvons néanmoins souligner le rôle important du haut clergé séculier dans le transfert et la production de matériel annalistique en Pologne et en Bohême; ce constat est d'ailleurs à rapprocher du cas de la Hongrie, où les chercheurs s'accordent désormais à placer la naissance de l'ancêtre de la modeste production annalistique locale non plus dans le monastère bénédictin de Pannonhalma, mais dans la ville royale de Székesfehérvár, dotée d'une collé-

51 L'un des meilleurs exemples de ce phénomène est sans doute la discussion autour de la note rapportant le mariage du futur roi Boleslas I en 984.

giale dès le règne d'Étienne I⁵². Par ailleurs, il convient également de rappeler la présence de liens entre la compilation mayençaise et l'activité historiographique menée dans cette ville, un phénomène dont nous avons également suggéré la possible existence dans le cas de l'*Excerptum Corveicense*⁵³; bien que la nature exacte de ces liens demeure encore à approfondir, nous devons souligner que leur existence ouvre la porte à l'hypothèse selon laquelle les tables pascales n'auraient pas été le seul support de transmission possible lors du transfert du matériel annalistique des pays germaniques vers l'Europe Centrale et il faut noter que cette supposition fait écho aux remarques de Dariusz Andrzej Sikorski concernant la tendance de certains travaux scientifiques à surestimer l'importance des tables pascales⁵⁴. La question de la fonction des œuvres annalistiques réalisées dans les pays germaniques et ayant ensuite joué un rôle dans la naissance de l'annalistique polonaise mérite donc d'être posée et elle vient s'ajouter à la liste des interrogations auxquelles les futures recherches sur la production annalistique de ce pays seront confrontées.

ABSTRACT

The problem of oldest foreign annalistic compilations used by the oldest Polish annals in the light of recent research

During decades, scholars tried to establish the origin of foreign notes in the oldest Polish annals and to determine the nature of their relationships with their Czech counterparts : at the beginning of the 21st century, the traditionnal dual model which postulated the existence of a Corveyo-Hesfeldian compilation and of another one with notes from Fulda and Reichenau was challenged by a new model which suggested the existence of a great foreign compilation containing notes from Fulda, Reichenau and Hersfeld which traveled from Germany to Poland through Bohemia and of a smaller list or Corveyan notes which were mixed with Czech notes in Prague and were later transferred to Poland. With the examination of the so-called *Annales Magdeburgenses brevissimi*, an eleventh century short annalistic work so far rarely studied by scholars, recent research confirms that in all probability the Corveyan notes travelled first from Germany to Prague and afterwards from Prague to Poland and to Magdeburg. The examination of the Hersfeldian notes in Polish and Czech annals also shows that both productions did not use the same Hersfeldian source, which limits the common material to Corveyan notes and mentions concerning chiefly Czech saints; the use of two different Hersfeldian sources also pleads against a travel of the great foreign compilation containing notes from Fulda, Reichenau and Hersfeld through Bohemia and proves the needs to investigate further the modalities of the travel of this compilation to Poland.

Keywords: Poland, Bohemia, Middle Ages, Historiography, Annals

52 Voir par exemple F. Makk, *Pozsonyi évkönyv*, dans : *Írott források az 1050-1116 közötti magyar történelemről*, éd. F. Makk, G. Thoroczkay, Szeged 2006, p. 337.

53 A. Quéret-Podesta, *Annales Magdeburgenses Brevissimi...*, p. 125.

54 D.A. Sikorski, *Kościół w Polsce...*, p. 43.

AGNIESZKA TETERYCZ-PUZIO
SŁUPSK

“BOLESŁAW, DUKE OF GREATER POLAND, MAZOVIA, AND ŁĘCZYCA”. WHO WAS THE FIRST PIAST OWNER OF SZCZERBIEC – THE JAGGED CORONATION SWORD OF POLISH KINGS?



Among Polish coronation insignia a special place is devoted to *Szczerbiec* – the coronation sword of Polish kings from 1320. The *Wielkopolska Chronicle*, written ca. 1300¹ states that the name of the sword is connected with an event which took place during the expedition of Bolesław Chrobry (the Brave) to Ruthenia. The Polish ruler was said to have received this sword from an Angel, while the name given to it commemorated the blow he made with it on the Golden Gate in Kiev in 1018, when the sword was to have become slightly chipped.² In the chronicle, which was probably written after the unification of Polish lands and, possibly, after the coronation of Władysław Łokietek (the Elbow-High), this event was given symbolic meaning.

Mentions of the sword with which the Bolesław Chrobry struck the Golden Gate, had already appeared in the oldest chronicle written in Polish lands, i.e., *Gesta principum Polonorum*, from the beginning of the 12th century. These mentions nevertheless do not contain any information about the chipping of the sword. Bolesław's striking of the Golden Gate was to have been a symbolic gesture of the ruler, as he had been refused marriage with a Ruthenian

1 See E. Skibiński, *Problem pochodzenia Kroniki wielkopolskiej*, in: *Wielkopolska-Polska-Czechy. Studia z dziejów średniowiecza ofiarowane Profesorowi Bronisławowi Nowackiemu*, ed. Z. Górczak, J. Jaskólski, Poznań 2009, p. 198. About the contribution of Jan of Czarnków to the writing of the chronicle see J. Bieniak, *Jan (Janek) z Czarnkowa. Niedokończona kronika polska z XIV w.*, “*Studia Źródłoznawcze*” XLVII (2009), pp. 135f.; see A. Krawiec, *Kilka uwag na temat genezy Kroniki wielkopolskiej*, in: *Wielkopolska-Polska-Czechy...*, pp. 199-213.

2 *Kronika Wielkopolska*, Monumenta Poloniae Historica, series nova (further: MPH s.n.), VIII, ed. B. Kürbis, Warszawa 1970, chap. 11; *Kronika Wielkopolska*, transl. K. Abgarowicz, Kraków 2010, chap. 11, pp. 57f. See M. Gumowski, *Szczerbiec polski miecz koronacyjny*, “*Małopolskie Studia Historyczne*” II (1959), pp. 7-18; M. Rokosz, *Legenda Szczerbca*, “*Studia Historyczne*” XXXI (1988), pp. 3-21.

princess.³ Further in the chronicle, we can read that the chip was not formed on the sword, but on the gate, as the chronicler indicated that Bolesław Chrobry acted just as Bolesław Śmiały (the Bold) did later when entering Kiev (in 1069). He too presumably left a mark on the gate from the stroke of his sword.⁴ The theme of the mark on the Golden Gate was also taken up by Wincenty Kadłubek in a slightly different context; when describing how Bolesław Chrobry marked out the boundaries of his realm, he pointed out that repeated strikes on the gate by Bolesław Chrobry with the sword led to the creation of a border marker (*bonnae signum*),⁵ and this gesture was later repeated by Bolesław the Bold.⁶ However, the Golden Gate had not yet existed in the times of Bolesław Chrobry, as it is not earlier than under the year 1037 that we can read in *Powieści lat minionych* (*The Tale of Bygone Years*) that the Rus'ian ruler Yaroslav the Wise had founded a large castle having a golden gate,⁷ one of the three gates built by him in the middle of the 11th century.

Jan Długosz wrote about the insignia brought from Gniezno for the coronation of Władysław Łokietek, which were later to be kept in Kraków.⁸ The insignia were however taken away from Kraków by Louis of Hungary, though in 1412 they returned there with the permission of Sigismund of Luxemburg. In his description of the coronation of Kazimierz Jagiellończyk (Casimir Jagiellon) in 1447, Jan Długosz listed the coronation insignia used at that time: a crown, a sceptre, a globus cruciger, and the sword called *Szczerbiec*.⁹

The sword with which Władysław Łokietek was crowned, and which is presently kept at Wawel, had been made at least two centuries after the events of the early 11th century.¹⁰ The sword was subjected to detailed examination which showed that it had made in accordance with the rules of making combat weapons used from the 12th to the 14th century, from semi-hard steel with increased phosphorus content, and it was heat treated. The hole in the blade was

3 *Galli Anonimi cronicae et gesta ducum sive principum Polonorum*, MPH s.n., II, ed. K. Maleczyński, Kraków 1952, I, 7; Anonim tzw. Gall, *Kronika polska*, transl. R. Grodecki, introduction and comment. M. Plezia, Wrocław 1989, I, 7, p. 24.

4 Anonim tzw. Gall, op. cit., I, 23, p. 49.

5 Magistri Vincentii dicti Kadłubek, *Chronica Polonorum*, MPH s.n., XI, ed. M. Plezia, Kraków 1994, II, 12, p. 42; Mistrz Wincenty (Kadłubek), *Kronika polska*, transl. B. Kürbis, Wrocław 1996, II, 12, p. 57.

6 Mistrz Wincenty (Kadłubek), op. cit., II, 18, p. 72; see S.K. Kuczyński, *O polskim mieczu koronacyjnym*, "Przegląd Historyczny" LII (1961), pp. 562-577.

7 *Letopis Nestora*, ed. A. Bielowski, MPH, I, Lwów 1864, cap. 59; *Powieść lat minionych*, transl. F. Sielicki, Wrocław 1999, 59, p. 118.

8 J. Długosz, *Annales seu Cronicae Incliti Regni Poloniae*, lib. IX, Varsaviae 1978, p. 108; J. Długosz, *Roczniki czyli kroniki sławnego królestwa polskiego*, transl. J. Mrukówna, Book IX, Warszawa 2009, p. 134, under the year 1320.

9 J. Długosz, *Roczniki...*, Book XII, p. 52.

10 M. Biborski, *Szczerbiec koronacyjny miecz królów polskich. Pierwsze badania nad jego technologią*, "Alma Mater" (2010) 122-123, p. 77.

assessed to be the result of corrosion and not a place formerly used for relics. The cross-guard and the blade, considered to be original elements of the hilt, were made of silver plated with gold. The plates of the cover with images of the Evangelists were probably made in another workshop; they are believed to be younger than the original elements of the hilt. Due to the similarity of the shape of the hilt of *Szczerbiec* to the hilt of the sword of Sancho IV (deceased in 1298) and the sword of Santa Casilda (from about 1300), Marcin Biborski, Janusz Stępiński, and Grzegorz Żabiński assumed that it was probably an armament originating from the Mediterranean and Iberian region. In light of the research conducted, the method used to make the sword reflects the high skills and workmanship of its maker. The sword's blade bears the qualities of a combat weapon. Based on hoplological analysis, it was determined that the sword was created around 1250-1350. Compared with known ceremonial or more widely decorated swords, *Szczerbiec* was deemed an unusual sword.¹¹ According to arms experts, the hilt with a rectangular cross-section and richly ornamented grip, a large number of inscriptions, and iconographic elements point to the Iberian Peninsula or more broadly the Mediterranean Basin as the sword's provenance.¹²

According to Arkadiusz Adamczuk, although the sword is richly ornamented and decorated, it was not used for combat, but was a sword of justice used by the duke to deliver judgments; it symbolized the judicial aspect of his power and was used for this purpose precisely. One may wonder whether the the Polish ruler had an influence on the choice of symbols, or whether the choice was made by the maker of the sword.¹³

The sword has a rich hilt, decorated with figural and floral ornamentation, and is complemented by inscriptions. The dimensions of the sword are: total length, 98.4 cm; blade length, 82 cm; hilt length, 16.4 cm; cross-guard length, 20 cm. On the broader part of the blade is an opening boasting a heraldic shield with the Piast eagle on a red background – the remains of the scabbard which has not survived. The lost replica of the sword belonging to the Radziwiłł family featured the inscription: *ISTE EST GLADIUS PRINCIPIS ET HAEREDIS BOLESŁAI DUCIS POLONIAE ET MAZOWIAE, LANCICIAE*.¹⁴

11 M. Biborski, J. Stępiński, G. Żabiński, *Nowe badania nad Szczerbcem – mieczem koronacyjnym królów polskich*, "Studia Waweliana" XIV (2009), p. 247.

12 Ibidem, pp. 238-250; J.P. Sobolewski, *Szczerbiec insygnium-amulet Bolesława Pobożnego*, in: *Z dziejów średniowiecznej Europy środkowo-wschodniej*, ed. J. Tyszkiewicz, Fasciculi historici novi, II, Warszawa 1998, pp. 84-92.

13 A. Adamczuk, *Szczerbiec – miecz sprawiedliwości. Próba analizy ikonologicznej*, "Roczniki Humanistyczne" LX (2012) 4, pp. 134f., 139.

14 M. Biborski, J. Stępiński, *Szczerbiec (the jagged sword) – the coronation sword of the kings of Poland* "Estudios sobre armas antiguas, arte militar y vida cultural en oriente y occidente" XXXI (2011), pp. 93-148. The article is also available on the journal's website <http://gladius.revistas.csic.es/index.php/gladius/issue/view/31> – accessed 31.08.2020.

Numerous hypotheses have been put forward as to which of the Piast dynasty relatives of Władysław Łokietek carrying the name of Bolesław was the owner of the sword: Bolesław Kędzierzawy (the Curly); Bolesław, son of Mieszko the Old; Bolesław, son of Konrad of Mazovia; Bolesław the Pious; or perhaps Bolesław Wstydlivy (the Chaste). One of the hypotheses advanced by researchers also claims that the above-mentioned inscription was added on the order of Władysław Łokietek to emphasize his power over the territories cited when he unified the Polish lands after the period of fragmentation.¹⁵ Among potential first Piast possessors of the sword there is usually no mention of Bolesław II of Mazovia, grandson of Konrad of Mazovia and ally of Władysław Łokietek. The aim of this article is to determine whether Bolesław II, Duke of Mazovia, who lived from around 1253/58 to 1313¹⁶ can be regarded as the owner of the sword.

The views of historians on the creation and origin of the sword vary widely. It used to be seen as a weapon of the Templars or the Teutonic Knights who donated it to Konrad of Mazovia. According to some researchers, the sword belonged to Bolesław I, son of Konrad of Mazovia.¹⁷ Others consider Bolesław the Pious, father-in-law of Władysław Łokietek to be the first Piast owner of the sword.¹⁸ As researchers emphasize, the fundamental issue in finding the identity of the owner of the sword is to determine the route which it followed on its way into the hands of the Łokietek.¹⁹

One hypothesis states that the sword found its way to Władysław Łokietek thanks to his connections with the court of Greater Poland, through the intermediation of the daughter of Bolesław the Pious – Jadwiga, wife of Łokietek. Thus, this particular Bolesław would be the first Piast owner of the sword.

Citing the Hebrew-Latin inscriptions in the cross-guard, Jan Piotr Sobolewski pointed to links between the sword's owner and the Kabba-

15 For research studies on this topic see A. Adamczuk, *Szczerbiec – miecz sprawiedliwości...*, p. 133. See Z. Żygulski, *Stara kopia Szczerbca, "Alma Mater"* (2003) 49, p. 5; A. Nadolski, *Szczerbiec, próba analizy bronioznawczej, "Acta Archaeologica Lodzensia" XVII* (1968), pp. 105-123; Z. Żygulski, *Szczerbiec*, in: *Urbs celeberrima. Księga pamiątkowa na 750-lecie lokacji Krakowa*, ed. A. Grzybkowski, Z. Żygulski, T. Grzybkowska, Kraków 2008.

16 This hypothesis was proposed by the author in the article: A. Teterycz-Puzio, *Щербец – средневековая история коронационного меча польских королей (некоторые замечания о первом пястовском владельце меча)*, in: *Мир оружия: история, герои, коллекции*, Тула 2016, pp. 433-440.

17 S.K. Kuczyński, *Pieczęcie książąt mazowieckich*, Wrocław 1978, p. 224 – ibidem literature.

18 This opinion was supported by A. Nadolski, *O Szczerbcu, Orle i świętym Stanisławie (głos w dyskusji)*, in: *Imagine potestates. Rytuaty, symbole i koteksty fabularne władzy zwierzchniej, Polska X-XV w. z przykładem czeskim i ruskim*, ed. J. Banaszekiewicz, Warszawa 1994, pp. 168f.

19 J.P. Sobolewski, *Szczerbiec insygnium-amulet...*, pp. 71f.

lah.²⁰ He thought Master Nicholas from Poland, presumably a German born in Poland, who studied in Montpellier and was seen in the entourage of Leszek the Black and possibly also Bolesław the Pious, to be a person familiar with Kabbalah.²¹ Arms experts who examined the sword for its place of origin entertained the idea that Bolesław the Pious may have received *Szczerbiec* from Polish Jews having ties with the Iberian Peninsula as a token of gratitude for the rights granted to them in 1264.²² However, in the assessment of this hypothesis it should be borne in mind that Władysław Łokietek married Jadwiga after the death of Bolesław the Pious, and the relations of Łokietek with his successor, Przemysław II, may not have been very close, particularly during the struggle for power in Kraków.

Actually, none of the potential owners of the sword carrying the name of Bolesław used the above-mentioned titles. Bolesław the Pious (deceased 1279) was Duke of Greater Poland. For a short period after the death of Siemowit I of Mazovia, he also took care of Pereyaslava, widow of Siemowit of Mazovia, and her minor sons in Mazovia; however he was not Duke of Mazovia.²³ It is also worth remembering that the title *Dux Poloniae* was used by rulers with ambitions reaching beyond their district, e.g., Kazimierz the Just, who reigned in Mazovia and the Kraków-Sandomierz lands; Leszek the White, who ruled over the Kraków-Sandomierz and Łęczyca-Sieradz districts.²⁴ Thus, perhaps this term should not be taken literally as referring to the duke ruling in Greater Poland, as it may have been used to emphasise the aspirations of the duke – the owner of the sword. Although in the 13th century the ambitious Piast dukes strove to gain control over Kraków and used the title *dux Cracoviae*, it was the Greater Poland district that constituted the core of the Piast monarchy, and it was there the capital of the Polish ecclesiastical province remained. The fact that Małopolska (Lesser Poland) joined the state later was underlined by the addition of the adjective *Mąta* in the late Middle Ages, i.e. "Young, Young-

20 Ibidem, pp. 84, 89f.

21 See S. Witkowski, *Lekarz Mikołaj z Polski nowoodkryty pisarz łaciński XIII w.*, Akademia Umiejętności w Krakowie. Wydział Filologiczny. Rozprawy, LVIII/4, Kraków 1919, pp. 2-4. For his methods of treatment see *Brata Mikołaja z Polski pisma lekarskie*, ed. R. Ganszyniec, Prace Naukowe Uniwersytetu Poznańskiego, Sekcja Humanistyczna, II, Poznań 1920, pp. 44ff.

22 J. Sobolewski, op. cit., pp. 84-92; M. Biborski, J. Stepiński, G. Żabiński, op. cit., p. 250; A.R. Juszcak, *Statut Kaliski i miecz „Szczerbiec”, jako paradygmat i niedogodny świadek ochrony życia i mienia mniejszości żydowskiej w Polsce*, in: *W trosce o bezpieczne jutro. Reminiscencje i zamierzenia*, vol. IV, ed. N. Majchrzak, A. Stoppel, Poznań 2018, pp. 210-215.

23 On the regency of Pereiaslav and the role played by Bolesław the Pious see A. Teterycz-Puzio, *Piastowskie księżne regentki. O utrzymanie władzy dla synów (koniec XII w. - początek XIV w.)*, Kraków 2016, pp. 153-172.

24 *Kodeks Dyplomatyczny Polski*, I, ed. L. Ryszczewski, A. Muczkowski, J. Bartoszewicz, Warsaw 1847, no. 4; *Kodeks Dyplomatyczny Małopolski* (further: KDM), I, ed. F. Piekosiński, Kraków 1876, no. 4, 10.

er", which, nevertheless, can be noticed in the sources not until the beginning of the 15th century.²⁵ The term *Poloniae* may have been ambiguous, so the term *Polonie Maioris*, or Greater Poland (for the first time in 1257), began to be used in the titles of the dukes of Greater Poland.²⁶

It follows from these titles that the owner of the sword was the Duke of Mazovia. Bolesław I of Mazovia (deceased 1248)²⁷ who on many occasions was mentioned as *dux Masoviae*. It is also worth noting that his father, Konrad of Mazovia, after dividing the districts among his sons, whom he controlled until the end of his life, was in the last years of his life referred to as Duke of Kraków and Łęczyca²⁸ or, after the loss of Kraków in 1243 – as Duke of Łęczyca.²⁹ Thus, the rule over the duchy of Mazovia and Łęczyca could be attributed to Konrad of Mazovia and his descendants.³⁰ Bolesław II, grandson of Konrad of Mazovia, usually used the titles *dux Mazouie* or *dux Mazouie et Czirnensis*.³¹ The dukes from this line of the Piast dynasty had ambitions reaching beyond their districts: in addition to Konrad, Kazimierz of Kuyavia and three grandsons of Konrad of Mazovia were interested in seizing power in Kraków: Władysław Łokietek, Konrad II, and Bolesław II.

Bolesław II of Mazovia was the duke with whom Władysław Łokietek maintained very frequent contacts. Therefore, could not the coronation sword of the Polish kings have been a gift from Bolesław II of Mazovia? It is possible that it was the sword of his uncle – Bolesław I of Mazovia, which found its way into the hands of Bolesław II, however it is also possible that the first Piast owner of the sword was Bolesław II of Mazovia. In light of examination of relations between Władysław Łokietek and the Piast dukes, it seems that the close ties of this ruler with Bolesław II and the gratitude to his relative for help during battles with Wenceslaus II and the unification of the Polish lands may have justified the elevation of the status of the sword to coronation insignia. None of the Piast dukes had such close relations with Władysław Łokietek. We will now take a brief look at the relationship between the two dukes in a period of over thirty years.

25 J. Powierski, B. Śliwiński, *Polskie partykularyzmy dzielnicowe*, in: *Pamiętnik XV Powszechnego Zjazdu Historyków Polskich*, vol. I, part 1, ed. J. Staszewski, Gdańsk-Toruń 1995, pp. 205f.

26 *Kodeks dyplomatyczny Wielkopolski* (further: KDW) I, ed. I. Zakrzewski, Poznań 1877, no. 359.

27 See summary of documents – A. Teterycz-Puzio, *Na rozstajnych drogach. Mazowsze i Małopolska w latach 1138-1313*, Słupsk 2012, tab. 1, pp. 445-454.

28 See summary of documents – ibidem, tab. 1, pp. 450-453.

29 *Zbiór ogólny przywilejów i spominków mazowieckich*, ed. J.K. Kochanowski, Warszawa 1919, no. 433; KDM II, no. 427; KDW, no. 267, 597.

30 For the relations between Konrad I and his sons see A. Teterycz-Puzio, *Konrad I Mazowiecki. Książ wielki lacki (1187/89 - 31 sierpnia 1247)*, Kraków 2019.

31 See table of documents of Bolesław II, in: A. Teterycz-Puzio, *Bolesław II Mazowiecki. Na szlakach ku jedności (ok. 1253/58 - 24 IV 1313)*, Kraków 2015, pp. 151-158.

The collaboration of Władysław Łokietek and Bolesław II began around 1276–1279, when the latter, attaining the age of maturity, took rule in his part of Mazovia. Konrad II and Bolesław II, sons of Siemowit I, the younger son of Konrad of Mazovia, who died in tragic circumstances in 1262, quite soon began to fight each other, possibly due to the unequal division of Mazovia carried out by Konrad II. Bolesław received a part of Mazovia with the town of Płock.³² The allies of Bolesław II were the descendants of another of the sons of Konrad Mazowiecki: Kazimierz of Kuyavia, Leszek Czarny (the Black), and Władysław Łokietek. The 1280s abounded in war expeditions organized against each other by Konrad II and Bolesław II with the participation of their neighbours – Ruthenian and Lithuanian troops, e.g., in 1283, 1284, 1285.³³ Moreover, in 1285, Konrad II became a candidate for the Kraków throne, supported by the rebellious Sandomierz nobles dissatisfied with the rule of Leszek the Black. Bolesław II supported Leszek the Black, Duke of Kraków, as an opponent of Konrad II. In retaliation, the Ruthenians and Lithuanians, aided by Konrad II, conquered and looted the part of Mazovia belonging to Bolesław II, including Sochaczew, while Konrad captured the towns of Gostynin and Płock. Undoubtedly, in these difficult times, Bolesław II was supported by Władysław Łokietek, who, after August 15, 1286, recaptured the capital of Mazovia from the hands of Konrad II.³⁴

After the death of Leszek the Black in 1288, Władysław Łokietek initially supported the candidacy of Bolesław of Płock for the Kraków throne (together with his brother Kazimierz of Łęczyca), however he soon began to show interest in taking power in Kraków himself. Bolesław was the elected successor of Leszek the Black by the magnates of Kraków, as was recorded in numerous annals.³⁵ The reign over the lands of Kraków was also sought

32 P. Żmudzki, *Studium podzielonego królestwa. Książę Leszek Czarny*, Warszawa 2000, pp. 296ff.

33 *Ипатьевская летопись*, in: *Полное собрание русских летописей* (further: PSRL), II, Москва 1962, cols. 881-887.

34 PSRL, II, col. 891. See also Jan Długosz, *Roczniki...*, Book VII and VIII, p. 305; *Kodeks Szamotulski, Kodeks królewiecki*, in: MPH, III, Lwów 1878, p. 185; *Rocznik Traski*, in: MPH, III, p. 851. See P. Żmudzki, *Studium...*, pp. 403, 418f., 448.

35 *Rocznik Traski*, in: MPH, III, p. 852: "Lestko dux Cracouie, Sandomirie, Syradie sine prole obit, cui Bolezlaus succedit per electionem"; *Rocznik małopolski*, in: MPH, III, p. 184: "Mortuo Lestcone sine prole, Boleslaus succedit dux Masovie electus a militibus, qui eodem anno eiicitur per eosdem"; *Kodeks królewiecki*, in: MPH, III, p. 185: "Listco obiit absque liberis. Boleslaus post eum dux in Masovia principabat, qui eodem anno expulsus fuit"; *Rocznik kujawski*, in: MPH, III, p. 207: "Lestkone Nigro vita functo terrigene Cracovie et Sandomirie assumpserunt Boleslaum ducem Mazouie in principem sibi"; *Rocznik Sędziwoja*, in: MPH, II, Lwów 1872, p. 878: "Lesthko dux Cracovie, Sandomirie, et Syradie obit sine prole. Cui Boleslaus dux Mosovie succedit per electionem statimque Henricus dux Wrathislawie venit".

by Konrad II (the brother of Bolesław II) and Henry IV Probus, Duke of Silesia.³⁶ Ultimately, Bolesław II, perhaps disappointed by the significant level of dependence of the Kraków ruler on the magnates, renounced his rule in Kraków. Also, his involvement in the struggle for power in Kraków drew him away from Mazovia, and he was likely worried about the Mazovian lands facing threats from the east. Probably in view of that situation, he decided to marry Kunigunde of Bohemia, sister of Wenceslaus II, wishing to extend his rule over the Duchy of Kraków-Sandomierz, which may have been the price for Bolesław II's withdrawal from Kraków. The agreement between Mazovia and Bohemia increased the prestige of the Duke of Płock, and also strengthened his financial position. During the battles for Kraków, an unexpected agreement was reached between the brothers who had previously fought each other: Konrad II of Czersk and Bolesław II of Płock. As one of the conditions for the conclusion of the agreement, Bolesław II perhaps had to withdraw his support for Władysław Łokietek.

Between 1289 and 1294 the collaboration between the two dukes was reduced, and Bolesław II found himself in a political camp that was hostile to Władysław Łokietek. The period of the harmonious reigns of Konrad II and Bolesław II from around 1289 to 1294 corresponded to the weakening of ties between Bolesław II and Władysław Łokietek. Following the withdrawal of Bolesław from the struggle for control of Kraków land, some of the magnates shifted their support to Władysław Łokietek³⁷ who further strengthened his political position by marrying Jadwiga of Greater Poland, cousin of Przemysł II, in April 1289. From the *Rocznik Sędziwoja* we learn that Henryk, Duke of Wrocław and Kraków, died in 1290, that Przemysł *dux maioris Polonie* took power in Kraków, while Władysław Łokietek took Sandomierz.³⁸ In the end, Przemysł II resigned in favour of Wenceslaus II, and not Władysław Łokietek. Moreover, Przemysł II took part in Waclaw II's expedition to Sieradz.³⁹ Thus, relations between Władysław Łokietek and the heir of Bolesław the Pious may have been cold. At the same time, Władysław Łokietek found an ally in Andrew III,⁴⁰ who was crowned King of Hungary on July 23, 1290 and married Fenenna, niece of Władysław

36 J. Tęgowski, *Zabiegi księcia krakowskiego o tron krakowski w latach 1288-1293*, "Zapiski kujawsko-dobrzyńskie" VI (1987), p. 49.

37 T. Nowakowski, *Małopolska elita władzy wobec rywalizacji o tron krakowski w latach 1288-1306*, Bydgoszcz 1992, p. 21; J. Tęgowski, *Zabiegi księcia krakowskiego...*, p. 53.

38 *Rocznik Sędziwoja*, in: MPH, II, p. 879. Similarly *Rocznik Traski*, MPH, II, p. 852.

39 See J. Tęgowski, *Zabiegi księcia krakowskiego...*, pp. 59f.; B. Nowacki, *Przemysł II. Odnowiciel Korony Polskiej (1257-1296)*, Kraków 2007, p. 164. See T. Nowakowski, *Stosunki między Przemysłem a Władysławem Łokietkiem w okresie walk o Kraków po śmierci Leszka Czarnego (1288-1291)*, "Roczniki Historyczne" LIV (1988), pp. 143-161.

40 J. Nikodem, *Andrzej III*, in: *Słownik władców Europy średniowiecznej*, Poznań 2002, p. 37.

Łokietek.⁴¹ However, after the imprisonment of Andrew of Hungary on August 4, 1292, Łokietek was deprived of another ally.

As an ally of Wenceslaus II of Bohemia, in 1292 Duke Bolesław II of Płock took part in Wenceslaus's expedition to Lesser Poland; he also witnessed the renouncement by Władysław Łokietek of the Duchy of Kraków in favour of Wenceslaus in Sieradz in 1292.⁴² Bronisław Włodarski held that Bolesław, as Władysław Łokietek's official ally, came to defend his interests, however, it seems obvious that, at this point, a crisis in the relations between Bolesław and Łokietek occurred at this point.⁴³ Moreover, the Mazovian duke did not take part in the coalition formed to regain Lesser Poland from the hands of Wenceslaus by Przemysław II, Władysław Łokietek, and Kazimierz (Casimir) of Łęczyca.⁴⁴

According to our sources, the role played by Bolesław II during the Lithuanian invasion of Łęczyca in 1294 is ambiguous. Bolesław presumably reached a ceasefire, however the Lithuanians broke the truce and killed the Łokietek's brother, Kazimierz of Łęczyca.⁴⁵ According to Jan Długosz, these events allegedly occurred with the support of Duke Bolesław.⁴⁶ Bolesław allowed the Lithuanians to cross his lands, which was to some extent a consequence of the Mazovian-Bohemian agreements and was aimed at suppressing Kazimierz of Łęczyca as one of the participants in the anti-Bohemian coalition.⁴⁷ However, Bolesław II's contribution to the truce suggests that he wanted to end the conflict, as opposed to the Lithuanians who,

41 K. Jasiński, *Rodowód Piastów małopolskich i kujawskich*, Poznań-Wrocław 2001, pp. 137f.; see also: K. Pieradzka, *Fenenna*, in: *Polski Słownik Biograficzny*, vol. VI, Warszawa-Kraków 1948, p. 413; B. Śliwiński, *Leszek, książę inowrocławski (1274/1275 - po 27 IV 1339)*, Kraków 2010, p. 53.

42 *Nowy kodeks dyplomatyczny Mazowsza*, ed. I. Sułkowska-Kuraś, S. Kuraś, in collaboration with K. Pacuski and H. Wajs, part 2: *Dokumenty z lat 1248-1355*, Wrocław 1989, part 2, no. 91, 92; J. Tęgowski, *Zabiegi...*, p. 65; R. Antonin, *Zahraniční politiká krále Vaclava II w latach 1283-1300*, Brno 2009, pp. 134f.

43 B. Włodarski, *Polska i Czechy w drugiej połowie XIII i początkach XIV w.*, Lwów 1931.

44 T. Nowakowski, *Małopolska elita władzy...*, p. 101.

45 About the invasion: *Rocznik Traski*, in: MPH, II, p. 852; *Kodeks Kuropatnickiego*, in: MPH, III, p. 186; *Rocznik miechowski*, in: MPH, II, p. 883; Piotr z Dusburga, *Kronika ziemi pruskiej*, transl. S. Wyszomirski, ed. J. Wenta, Toruń 2004, III, 250, p. 180; according to *Kodeks szamotulski* and *Kodeks królewiecki* it happened in 1293 – cf. MPH, III, p. 185. See G. Błaszczuk, *Dzieje stosunków polsko-litewskich od czasów najdawniejszych do współczesności*, vol. I: *Trudne początki*, Poznań 1998, pp. 53f. – *ibidem* discussion of the role of Bolesław in the events of 1294; A. Szweða, *Sprawa najazdu litewskiego na Mazowsze w 1302 r.*, in: *Europa Środkowa i Wschodnia w polityce Piastów*, ed. K. Zielińska-Melkowska, Toruń 1997, pp. 85f.; S. Zajączkowski, *O przejściach przez Błota Łęczyckie w średniowieczu*, in: *Ziemia i ludzie dawnej Polski. Studia z geografii historycznej*, Wrocław 1976, pp. 109-117.

46 J. Długosz, *Roczniki...*, Book VII and VIII, p. 351.

47 See also K. Aścik, *Najazd litewski na Łęczycę w 1294 r. "Studia i Materiały do Historii Wojskowości" X (1964) 1*, pp. 6f.

contrary to the agreement and probably without Bolesław's knowledge, broke the agreement. It is unlikely that Bolesław's intention was to bring about the death of Kazimierz of Łęczycza.

A key moment for the restoration of friendly relations between Bolesław II and Władysław Łokietek was the death in Czerwińsk (June 24, 1294) of Konrad II of Czersk, who opposed this collaboration as being detrimental to the Mazovian-Bohemian alliance.⁴⁸ Following the tragic death of Przemysł II in Rogoźno on February 8, 1296, Bolesław helped Władysław Łokietek to gain power in Greater Poland. Henry III of Głogów stood against Władysław Łokietek, however Łokietek was supported by Bolesław II.⁴⁹ In August 1296, with Bolesław's support, Władysław Łokietek occupied also Gdańsk Pomerania.

Under the year 1297, the annals reported the invasion of Władysław Łokietek of the Silesian dukes who were in favour of Wenceslaus II.⁵⁰ Bolesław was during of Wenceslaus's II coronation in June 1297.⁵¹ In that same year, Bolesław of Mazovia – backing Władysław Łokietek during his expedition to Silesia – presumably invaded Lesser Poland and destroyed Miechów.⁵² The Łokietek successfully defended the land of Kalisz, and also managed to return to Poznań. At that time he had to fight the Brandenburg margraves. In the spring of 1298, Władysław Łokietek, together with Bolesław of Mazovia, led a retaliatory expedition to March.⁵³

Henry of Głogów continued his fight for Poznań against Władysław Łokietek. According to Tomasz Jurek, the threat from Henry led the Łokietek to capitulate in the face of Czech demands in Klęka in August 1299, when he pledged fealty to Wenceslaus II.⁵⁴ Engaged to Ryksa,⁵⁵ daughter of Przemysł II, Wenceslaus II set off in August 1300 with considerable forces to conquer Greater Poland and Kuyavia. In this case, Bolesław II did not support his brother-in-law, Wenceslaus II, but helped Władysław Łokietek, allowing him to

48 J. Grabowski, *Dynastia Piastów mazowieckich. Studia nad dziejami politycznymi Mazowsza, intytulacją i genealogią książąt*, Kraków 2012, p. 435.

49 T. Jurek, *Dziedzic królestwa polskiego. Książę głogowski Henryk (1274-1309)*, Kraków 2010, pp. 59-63, 69.

50 *Kodeks Kuropatnickiego*, in: MPH, III, p. 186; *Rocznik Traski*, in: MPH, II, p. 853.

51 *Ottokars Österreichische Reimchronik*, in: *Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Deutsche Chroniken*, V/2, ed. J. Seemüller, Hannover 1893, p. 914, v. 69081: "Herzog von Matschouwe".

52 *Rocznik miechowski*, ed. Kozłowska-Budkowa, "Studia Źródłoznawcze" V (1960), p. 124; *Rocznik miechowski*, in: MPH, II, p. 883. This account is sometimes questioned.

53 *Annales et notae Colbazienses*, ed. W. Arndt, in: *Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Scriptores*, XIX, Hannoverae 1866, p. 716 (listed as: "Duke of Poland" and "Bolesław"); T. Jurek, *Dziedzic...*, p. 70. T. Nowakowski (*Doświadczenia wojenne Władysława Łokietka przed bitwą płowiecką* in: *Radziejów przez stulecia*, ed. D. Karczewski, Włocławek-Radziejów 2002, p. 87) concluded that the expedition took place at the end of the year.

54 T. Jurek, *Dziedzic...*, p. 78.

55 On Ryksa see M. Duczmał, *Ryksa Piastówna. Królowa Czech i Polski*, Poznań 2010.

freely cross his lands on the route to Ruthenia, where power was assumed by George of Halych married to Łokietek's sister, Euphemia. At the same time, the supporters of Władysław Łokietek fled to Mazovia. Therefore, Bolesław openly stood against the Czech ruler; probably in line with Bolesław's wishes, the then Bishop of Płock, Jan II Wysoki, did not attend the coronation ceremony of Wenceslaus II in Gniezno in November 1300.⁵⁶ After Wenceslaus had been crowned king of Poland, the dukes of Lower Silesia and the Piasts from the Kuyavia dynasty submitted to his authority. However, the Czech ruler was not recognized by his recent ally, Bolesław of Mazovia.⁵⁷ Thus, Wenceslaus II immediately after the coronation undertook an expedition to Mazovia, which ended with his retreat. It is presumed that, during the invasion of the Mazovian district by Wenceslaus, Kunigunde, the sister of Wenceslaus was no longer there; after leaving Mazovia she joined the St. George Monastery in Prague 1302.⁵⁸ Kunigunde's departure led to the dissolution of the agreement between Wenceslaus II and Bolesław II. Presumably, the involvement of Bolesław II on the side of Władysław Łokietek came at a time of growing crisis in the marriage of Bolesław and Kunigunde. The Lithuanian invasion of the Duchy of Dobrzyń in the same year, probably carried out in agreement with Bolesław II, was – according to J. Powierski – designed to punish Siemowit of Dobrzyń, brother of Władysław Łokietek, for not renouncing the support of his cause,⁵⁹ although the question of the relationship between Siemowit of Dobrzyń and Wenceslaus II at that time is unclear.⁶⁰

In 1303-1304, when an anti-Czech coalition led by Albert of Germany, with the participation of Charles Robert and probably Władysław Łokietek, as well as the dukes of Halych, was formed, the region of Wiślica may have been invaded by Hungarian-Polish forces, to which Bolesław II provided military support, possibly by taking the castellany of Sieciechów from the Czechs.⁶¹ Władysław Łokietek, supported by Bolesław II, was also

56 J. Długosz, *Roczniki...*, Book IX, p. 13.

57 T. Jurek, *Dziedzic...*, p. 85.

58 J. Grabowski, *Dynastia...*, p. 54; J. Szymczak, *Genealogia Przemysłidów przełomu XIII i XIV w. spokrewnionych z Piastami*, "Acta Universitatis Nicolai Copernici. Historia" VIII (1973), p. 42; D. Karczewski, *Kunegunda Przemysłówna. Przypadki z życia królowej czeskiej*, in: *Zwycięzcy i przegrani w dziejach średniowiecznych i wczesnonowożytnych Czech i Polski*, ed. W. Iwańczak, D. Karczewski, Warszawa 2012, pp. 87f.

59 J. Powierski, *Studia nad polityką Krzyżaków i ich sąsiadów w początkach XIV w.*, in: *Ludzie władza, posiadłości*, ed. J. Powierski, B. Śliwiński, Gdańskie Studia z Dziejów Średniowiecza, I, Gdańsk 1994, p. 124. K. Pacuski, *Mazowsze wobec walk o władzę w Polsce na przełomie XIII/XIV w. Sprawa przynależności kasztelanii sieciechowskiej na początku XIV w.*, "Kwartalnik Historyczny" LXXXV (1978), p. 596.

60 B. Włodarski, *Polska i Czechy w drugiej połowie XIII i początkach XIV w.*, Lwów 1931, pp. 171, 234.

61 K. Pacuski, *Mazowsze...*, pp. 600f.

assisted by the Ruthenians and Lithuanians.⁶² The annals make a reference to the help provided by the Hungarians to Władysław Łokietek on reclaiming Polish lands in 1304 and 1305.⁶³ In 1306, Łokietek presumably entered Kraków with a Hungarian called Amadeus.⁶⁴ Mazovian troops took part in the battles in Pomerania, probably in 1306, supporting Łokietek, which is known from the testimony by Wenceslaus of Płock, son of Bolesław II, given during the Polish-Teutonic trial.⁶⁵

Owing to the support provided to Władysław Łokietek, Bolesław II tightened his relations with the Ruthenian prince George, brother-in-law of Władysław Łokietek. This was reflected by the marriage of Bolesław's son Troyden from the relationship with Gaudemunda of Lithuania – with Maria, daughter of George of Halych. The source documents show an increasingly closer collaboration and growing trust between the allies. When, on February 22, 1310, Bolesław granted the privilege of customs freedoms in his district to Kraków⁶⁶ being under the authority of the Łokietek, he mentioned that he did so wishing to *placere cupientes dilectissimo fratri nostro Wladislao*.⁶⁷ In turn, Władysław Łokietek accepted the temporary (until Bolesław II's death in 1313) incorporation of the Sieciechów castellany into Mazovia.⁶⁸

The collaboration between Bolesław II and Władysław Łokietek (in the period around 1275–1313) can be regarded as exceptionally durable. The episode from the early 1290s connected with the struggle for the reign in Lesser Poland and the marriage between Bolesław II and the Czech princess does not point to any hostility in the relations between the dukes, but rather to less intense collaboration. Support received from Bolesław II in difficult moments of struggle for power to some extent permitted Władysław Łokietek to succeed in unifying the Polish lands.

The close relations between the dukes, in particular as they strengthened from the second half of the 1290s, may have also been expressed in mutual gifts. Perhaps it was then that Władysław Łokietek received a sword called *Szczerbiec* from his long-time, reliable and trusted ally as a symbol of friendship. Assuming the Western European origin of the sword, we may ask what were the circumstances in which the duke of Mazovia could have become the owner of the sword. We know examples of objects which found their

62 K. Myśliński, *Problemy terytorialne w stosunkach między Polską i księstwem halicko-włodzimierskim*, in: *Nihil superfluum esse. Studia z dziejów średniowiecza*, ed. J. Strzelczyk, J. Dobosz, Poznań 2000, pp. 235f.

63 *Rocznik Traski*, in: MPH, II, p. 853.

64 *Rocznik miechowski*, in: MPH, II, p. 883.

65 *Lites ac rec gestae inter Polonos ordinemque cruciferorum, I: Causa Junivladislaviae et Brestiae-Cuiaviae anno 1320–1321*, Wrocław 1970, p. 31.

66 B. Włodarski, *Polska i Ruś, 1194–1340*, Warszawa 1966, pp. 240f.

67 *Kodeks dyplomatyczny miasta Krakowa*, I, ed. F. Piekosiński, Kraków 1879, no. 5.

68 K. Pacuski, *Mazowsze...*, p. 601.

way to Poland at the initiative of Bolesław II, such as the *Gradual of Bolesław II of Mazovia*, i.e., a liturgical book containing mass chants, which was made at the behest of Bolesław II between 1296 and 1313, possibly in the north of France or on the French-German borderland.⁶⁹ This gradual is a testimony to the foreign contacts of the court of Bolesław II. Bolesław was a relative of King Wenceslaus II of Bohemia, so perhaps the presence of a Bohemian princess attracted people from Western European culture to his court. Of course, it is also possible that Bolesław II of Mazovia was not the first Piast owner of the sword; he may have inherited it from his father, Siemowit, heir of the heirless Bolesław, son of Konrad of Mazovia. It is also likely that Bolesław II of Mazovia was indeed the first Piast owner of the sword and gave it to Władysław Łokietek.

If, in an attempt to determine the owner of the sword, we consider as essential the matter of how the sword owned by a Piast duke carrying the name of Bolesław found its way to the hands of Władysław Łokietek, then the most likely donor of the sword seems to be Bolesław II of Mazovia. As it follows from the above considerations, there is no other Piast duke with whom Władysław Łokietek ever remained in such good and long-standing relations.

translated by Piotr Gumola

ABSTRACT

The purpose of the research presented in this article is to establish who was the first Piast owner of *Szczerbiec* – the jagged coronation sword of Polish kings, first used for the coronation of Władysław Łokietek (Ladislaus the Elbow-High) in 1320. The article describes the legend associated with *Szczerbiec* and the symbolic meaning of the sword; it provides a summary of the results of research carried out by historians and arms experts into the time and place of the sword's creation. Furthermore, it briefly presents the profiles of the purported Piast owners of the sword who bore the name of Bolesław (which appears next to the titles on a non-preserved replica of the sword). The following are most often identified as the owners of the sword: Bolesław I of Mazovia, son of Konrad of Mazovia; and Bolesław the Pious, Duke of Wielkopolska (Greater Poland). In the study, beside the titles, the determination of the route which the sword followed to reach the hands of Władysław Łokietek was adopted as an essential criterion in the process of establishing the identity of the sword's owner. In light of the arguments tabled, it is shown that the first Piast owner of the sword could have been Bolesław II of Mazovia, a close associate of Władysław Łokietek.

Keywords: *Szczerbiec*, Władysław Łokietek/Ladislaus the Elbow-High, Bolesław II of Mazovia

⁶⁹ See T. Maciejewski, *Graduał Bolesława II Mazowieckiego*, "Musica Medii Aevi" VI (1977), pp. 9-33; P. Figurski, *The 'Exultet' of Bolesław II of Mazovia and the Sacralisation of Political Power in the High Middle Ages*, in: *Premodern Rulership and Contemporary Political Power. The King's Body Never Dies*, ed. K. Mroziewicz, A. Sroczynski, Amsterdam 2017, pp. 73-111

WIESŁAW DŁUGOKĘCKI
GDAŃSK

AUS DER GESCHICHTE DER KARAVELLE „PETER VON DANZIG“



Als im Jahr 1462 die „große Karavelle“ mit einer Ladung Salz nach Danzig kam, wurde das in der Chronik von Caspar Weinreich als einziges wichtiges Ereignis des Jahres festgehalten. In der gleichen Chronik wird auch ihr späteres Schicksal vermerkt.¹ Aus anderen Quellen ist bekannt, dass das Schiff den Namen „Peter van Rosseel“, „Sanctus Petrus de Rupella“ trug, d.h. aus La Rochelle in Frankreich.² Nicht umsonst stieß dieses Schiff bei den Zeitgenossen auf so großes Interesse. Es handelte sich um ein dreimastiges Schiff mit zwei Kastellen, das eine viel größere Ladekapazität als die damals üblichen Koggen und Holken hatte.³ Nachdem das Schiff von Danzig übernommen und zu einem Kriegsschiff umgebaut worden war, wurde sein Name in „Peter von Danzig“ geändert.⁴

Die Geschichte der „großen Karavelle“ ist für Historiker lange Zeit von mäßigem Interesse. Theodor Hirsch und Friedrich August Vossberg (1855) schrieben bereits darüber, danach auch Otto Lienau (1943).⁵ Sie wurde auch in Werken erwähnt, die sich mit verschiedenen Aspekten der Geschichte der

1 Caspar Weinreichs *Danziger Chronik. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte Danzigs, der Lande Preussen und Polen, des Hansabundes und der Nordischen Reiche*, hrsg. und erläutert von T. Hirsch und F.A. Vossberg, Berlin 1855 [weiter: Weinreich I], S. 1, 6, 9, 11, 13, 17. Die Chronik wurde erneut veröffentlicht; siehe *Caspar Weinreichs Danziger Chronik*, hrsg. von T. Hirsch, in: *Scriptores rerum Prussicarum*, IV, Leipzig 1870, mit teilweise überarbeitetem kritischen Apparat gegenüber der Erstausgabe [weiter: Weinreich II], S. 728, 731, 734, 736, 739.

2 *Hansisches Urkundenbuch*, IX, hrsg. von W. Stein, Leipzig 1903 [weiter: HUB], Nr. 95, 122, 123.

3 Die technische Seite der Karavelle ist das Thema von O. Lienau, *Das grosse Kraweel der Peter von Danzig. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte deutscher Seegeltung*, Danzig 1943, der ihre Rekonstruktion dargelegt hat.

4 O. Lienau, *Das grosse Kraweel...*, S. 20.

5 Zur ersten Quellenedition der Chronik haben die Herausgeber – T. Hirsch, F.A. Vossberg – zwei Beiträge aufgenommen: *Das grosse Kraweel, die Galeyde und das Bild vom jüngsten Gericht* sowie die Quellenausgabe *Des Danziger Rathmannes Bernt Pawests Sendschreiben an den Rath von Danzig aus den Jahren 1471-1474*; O. Lienau, *Das grosse Kraweel...*, passim.

Hanseregion in der zweiten Hälfte des 15. Jhs. beschäftigten.⁶ Es ist jedoch kein Zufall, dass die Geschichte dieses Schiffes von Historikern aus Danzig behandelt wurde. Der Kommandant der Karavelle im Jahr 1474 war ein Danziger Bürger, Paul Beneke, der durch seinen Angriff auf eine burgundische (florentinische) Galeere berühmt wurde. Die Beute Benekes wurde das Triptychon von Hans Memling „Das jüngste Gericht“, das nach Danzig transportiert und in der Marienkirche aufgestellt wurde. Beneke wurde dabei zu einem Element der maritimen Tradition und weckte bis ins 19. Jahrhundert hinein das Interesse der Danziger. Im Jahr 2011 erschien das Werk von Beata Możejko über die Geschichte dieses Schiffes, sowohl in Danzig in den 1460er Jahren als auch während des hanseatisch-englischen Krieges in der ersten Hälfte der 1470er Jahre.⁷ Dieses Buch wurde erneut 2019 mit geringfügigen Änderungen in englischer Übersetzung bei Brill Publishing veröffentlicht („Peter von Danzig. The Story of a Great Caravel 1462-1475“).

Die Erörterung des Forschungsstandes durch die Autorin weist darauf hin, dass die Geschichte der Karavelle neu aufgearbeitet werden sollte (S. 7-17, 27-30), da die letzte umfassende Studie ein kleines Werk von O. Lienau war, in dem ein großer Teil von technischen Problemen eingenommen wurde (S. 11-13). Daher „głównym celem pracy jest ukazanie społecznej historii karaweli zwanej »Pierre de La Rochelle«, następnie »Peter von Danzig«, ... przedstawienie losów osób służących na tym statku“ [besteht das Hauptziel der Arbeit darin, die Sozialgeschichte der Karavelle »Pierre de La Rochelle«, dann »Peter von Danzig« genannt, ... das Schicksal der Menschen, die auf diesem Schiff dienten, und ihrer Besatzungen (Franzosen, dann Danziger) darzustellen], und „sytuacja polityczna nie będzie przedmiotem ... odrębnego omówienia, zostanie jednak włączona w tok narracji podporządkowanej losom karaweli“ [die politische Situation wird nicht ... gesondert behandelt, sondern in die dem Schicksal der Karavelle untergeordnete Erzählung einbezogen] (S. 47).

Unter den in dieser Arbeit verwendeten Quellen wird man besonders aufmerksam auf die im Staatsarchiv in Gdańsk aufbewahrte, teilweise im Hanseatischen Urkundenbuch (Bd. 9) veröffentlichte und in Tabelle 2 (S. 32-33) aufgeführte Gruppe von Urkunden mit der Signatur 300D,17B,⁸ sowie die Briefe von Berndt Pawest, Kommandant der Karavelle im hanseatisch-englischen Krieg, veröffentlicht in den Hanserezessen und bei Hirsch und Vossberg, als Ergänzung zur Chronik von Kaspar Weinreich (siehe Tabelle 3, S. 34-35).⁹

6 Diese Arbeiten wurden im weiteren Teil des Artikels genannt.

7 B. Możejko, „Peter von Danzig“. *Dzieje wielkiej karaweli 1462–1475*, Gdańsk 2011.

8 HUB, IX, Nr. 95, 122, 123, 297.

9 *Hanserezesse*, zweite Abtheilung, VI-VII, hrsg. von G. von der Ropp, Leipzig 1890-1892 [weiter: HR].

In Tabelle 2 fehlen Informationen über die Veröffentlichung von Urkunden aus dem Hanseatischen Urkundenbuch durch O. Lienau, darunter von der Verpfändungsurkunde in ihrer Gesamtheit (HUB, IX, Nr. 95). Die Informationen über den Inhalt der Dokumente sind lakonisch und lassen manchmal die Datierung weg. Tabelle 3 berücksichtigt nicht die Lienauer Ausgabe des Briefes von Pawest an Danzig vom 8. März 1472, der in einem kurzen Fragment von T. Hirsch und F.A. Vossberg und in einer Zusammenfassung von G. von der Ropp veröffentlicht wurde.¹⁰

Besonders wichtig unter den Quellen aus der ersten Periode der Geschichte der Karavelle sind die von Pierre de Nantes erstellten Abrechnungen über die Ausgaben für die Versorgung des Schiffes nach der Abreise des Karavellenkapitäns Marcus (auch Marot genannt) Beuf nach Frankreich und dem Tod des ersten Vormundes Pierre Bizart, sowie die Kommentare zu diesen Abrechnungen von Kapitän Beuf und Pierre Cosinot, dem Gesandten von König Ludwig XI. von Frankreich.¹¹ Dagegen enthält die Karavellenverpfändungsurkunde vom 19. Mai 1464 Informationen über sein bewegliches Vermögen.¹² Außerdem wird die Geschichte der Karavelle in Danzig in einem Brief von Beuff und Cosinot an den Danziger Rat vom 10. August 1464,¹³ im Schreiben des Danziger Rates an Ludwig XI. vom 17. September 1464,¹⁴ oder in einer umfangreichen Beschwerde dargestellt, die die Gesandten des französischen Königs am 14. Juli 1466 beim Kontor in Brügge eingereicht haben.¹⁵

Bei der Besprechung der Briefe von Pawest stellte die Autorin fest, dass sie „dazu dienen werden, ... eine kausale Erklärung für das Schicksal der Karavelle zu finden“ (S. 36), die unter seinem Kommando stand. Der Aufbau des Buches ist nämlich hauptsächlich chronologisch, während ein problematischer Ansatz fehlt, der mehr Licht in die Problematik bringen könnte. Entgegen der Ankündigung (siehe S. 47) konnte der Versuch, mit einer solchen Methode eine kollektive Biographie von Reedern, Kapitänen und Matrosen zu schreiben und damit die Sozialgeschichte der Karavelle darzustellen, nicht gelingen. Es ist unverständlich, die vergleichende Methode nicht zu berücksichtigen, die bei einem so formulierten Forschungsproblem nicht übergangen werden kann.

10 O. Lienau, *Das grosse Kraweel...*, S. 44-46, 48f.; *Des Danziger Rathmannes Bernt Pawests Sendschreiben...*, Nr. 11; HR, II, 6, Nr. 539.

11 Archiwum Państwowe w Gdańsku [weiter: APG], 300D, 17B, 7. Die Namen der Personen, die mit der Geschichte der Karavelle verbunden sind, werde ich in der Form angeben, die in dem besprochenen Werk von B. Mozejko verwendet wird. Zitate des Autors der Buchbesprechung sind kursiv gedruckt.

12 HUB, IX, Nr. 95.

13 Ibidem, Nr. 122.

14 Ibidem, Nr. 127.

15 Ibidem, Nr. 296.

Unter Berufung auf Weinreichs Chronik schreibt die Autorin, dass die Geschichte des Schiffes mit einer Fahrt nach Danzig mit einer Ladung Salz im Juli (S. 48) oder Anfang Juli 1462 beginnt (S. 55 und Anm. 37), ohne dies jedoch näher zu begründen. Der Chronist gibt an, dass dies *anno 62 noch pfingsten*¹⁶ stattfand. Pfingsten wurde in jenem Jahr am 6. Juni gefeiert. O. Lienau glaubt, dass das Schiff kurz nach Pfingsten, also nicht im Juli, sondern bereits im Juni, auf der Reede des Danziger Hafens auftauchte.

Von einiger Bedeutung für dieses Thema sind die Informationen von Johannes Lindau, die nicht in der Arbeit enthalten sind. Er berichtete, dass zur gleichen Zeit, als die Söldner des Deutschordens in St. Albrecht bei Danzig lagerten, also zwischen dem 16. und 22. Juli, ein Blitzschlag den Mast der Karavelle zerstörte.¹⁷

Es ist unwahrscheinlich, dass sich der Begriff „nach Pfingsten“ auf einen Zeitraum von einem oder anderthalb Monaten beziehen könnte. Wahrscheinlich kam das Schiff Mitte Juni in Danzig an, und sein Hauptmast wurde um den 19. und 20. Juli 1462 von einem Blitz getroffen. Nach diesem Vorfall wurde die Karavelle in den Innenhafen am Mottlaufluss geschleppt.

Das Schiff war damals im Besitz von Pierre Beuf, einem Kaufmann aus La Rochelle, dessen Neffe der oben genannte Marcus Beuf war. „Towar wieziony na karaweli stanowił nie tylko własność Pierra Beufa, ale także bliżej nieznanego kupca (?) Danlona“ [Die auf der Karavelle befindlichen Waren waren nicht nur Eigentum von Pierre Beuf, sondern auch eines nicht näher bekannten Kaufmanns (?) Danlon] (S. 48). Die von der Autorin zitierte Quelle (S. 48-49, Anm. 3), die bereits erwähnte Beschwerde der Gesandten Ludwigs XI. gegen Danzig vom 14. Juli 1466, widerspricht dem jedoch, da Danlon Beuf unterstellt war und seine Aufgabe nur darin bestand, das Schiff zu führen (*was ... in datselve schip by ... Peter Beuff gestelt, umme schip to voerne und anders nicht*). Er fungierte daher nur als stellvertretender Kapitän.

Ihre Schlussfolgerung präzisierend stellt B. Możejko fest: „Pod względem własności karaweli mamy zatem do czynienia z sytuacją odmienną niż u hanzeatów, gdzie udziałowców statku mogło być kilku, a nawet kilkunastu“ [Wir haben es also bei den Besitzverhältnissen der Karavelle mit einer anderen Situation zu tun als in der Hanse, wo es mehrere oder sogar

16 Weinreich I, S. 1; Weinreich II, S. 728.

17 Johann Lindaus *Geschichte des dreizehnjährigen Krieges*, hrsg. von T. Hirsch, in: *Scriptores rerum Prussicarum*, IV, Leipzig 1870, S. 590 f.: *was ein gros ungewitter von blixen und donnern und grossen schleggen, so was gekomen ein gros krafeel mit dem salcze geladen, das his der Peter von Lebern aus Frankreich, das lag uff der reiden und der donner schlugk im daselbest die mast entzwei*.

einige zehn Anteilseigner an einem Schiff geben konnte] (S. 48-49, Anm. 3). Tatsächlich wird in den Quellen nur Pierrer Beuf direkt als Eigentümer genannt. Die Behauptung von Lienau, Cosinoti sei auch Schiffseigner gewesen, die die Autorin nicht widerlegt (S. 49), entbehrt jeder Quellengrundlage. Die Vermutung, dass es sich bei dem Miteigentümer um einen gewissen Johann Molle handelte, der zusammen mit Beuf von Danzig nach Frankreich ging, stützt sich auf eine Passage aus einer im Auftrag von Cosinoti und Beuf erstellten notariellen Urkunde, die die Verfasserin wie folgt gelesen hat: „Idem Marotus et Johans Molle cum quo navi [...] quo facta Marotus prefatus et Johanes Molle dumiserunt dicta nave“ (S. 49 und Anm. 7).

Dieses Zitat erklärt jedoch nichts, da es den Satz über die Übertragung der Betreuung des Schiffes an Bizart durch die beiden Genannten bis zu ihrer Rückkehr nach Danzig nicht enthält. Es sollte jedoch hinzugefügt werden, dass laut einem Eintrag im Schöffebuch vom 10. Juni 1463 die Person, die Bizart das Schiff anvertraute, nur Marcus Beuff war.¹⁸ Dies würde darauf hindeuten, dass Molle doch nicht Miteigentümer der Karavelle war.

Das Schiff wurde wahrscheinlich von einer Gruppe von Kaufleuten angemietet, um Waren nach Preußen zu transportieren. Dies geht aus der Erklärung der Danziger Delegierten auf dem Hansetag in Lübeck am 23. April 1469 hervor. Auf der Karavelle, die in Danzig eintraf, befanden sich Kaufleute, welche in Polen, Ruthenien und anderswo Handel getrieben hatten, aber erhebliche Verluste erlitten hatten und das Schiff nicht reparieren konnten.¹⁹

Über den Aufenthalt von Marcus Beuf in Danzig sind nur wenige Informationen erhalten geblieben. Die Autorin ist der Meinung, dass er am 1. Dezember 1462 „an einem Geschäft einer Darlehens- und Kreditgesellschaft in Danzig“ teilnahm und „als einer von mehreren Vertragspartnern, die sich gegenseitig Darlehensbürgschaften geben“, erwähnt wurde (S. 56). Sie zitiert dabei das entsprechende Zitat aus dem Stadtbuch (S. 57, Anm. 5).

Die zweite Quelle, die Informationen über Beufs Tätigkeit in Danzig liefert, sind die von de Nantes vorgelegten Rechnungen mit einem Kommentar von Cosinoti-Beuf. Nach Angaben von de Nantes hatte Beuf Schulden in Höhe von fast 89 Mark, von denen 71 Mark 10 Skot ein Darlehen von Arnold Backer an Beuf waren.²⁰

18 HUB, IX, Nr. 122, Anm. 2.

19 HR, II, 6, Nr. 185, § 17 (*de* [Kaufleute] *van dar gekoppslaget in dat ryk to Palen, in Ruszland und andere enden gekoppslaget hedden und in semliken koppslagen mergliken schaden geleden, so dat se int ende nicht en vormochten semlig schypp wedder utthorichten*).

20 APG, 300D, 17B, 7.

Angesichts finanzieller Schwierigkeiten beschloss Marcus Beuf, nach Frankreich zurückzukehren, um Geld zu beschaffen,²¹ und vertraute am 10. Juni 1463 das Schiff und die Ausrüstung Peter Bizart an, allerdings, so Beuf, ohne das Recht, die Vollmacht auf eine andere Person zu übertragen. Kurz vor seinem Tod am 17. Oktober 1463 erteilte Bizart jedoch eine solche Vollmacht an Pierre de Nantes.²²

Sechs Monate später, am 19. Mai 1464, verpfändete Pierre de Nantes das Schiff mit Ausrüstung an Rudolf Feldstede und Jaspas (Kaspar) Lange. Die Autorin befasste sich zunächst mit „einer externen Kritik des überlieferten Pfanddokuments“ (S. 67). Sie stellte die Ergebnisse dieser Analyse wie folgt vor: „Umowa została spisana na pergaminie, jednak nie mamy tu do czynienia z odrębnym (w sensie luźnym) dokumentem. Pergaminowa karta w górnej części została wycięta w trzy trójkąty, w ten sposób, że widać jeszcze fragmenty liter, trudno jednak dociec, co mogło być w tym miejscu napisane; może jakiś tytuł? W dwóch miejscach widać wiązania pergaminowe (na zakładki ?), brak też śladu jakichkolwiek pieczęci (co zresztą później zauważyli przybyli w lipcu/sierpniu 1464 r. do Gdańska Francuzi: sam Marcus Beuf i Pierre Cosinoti, kwestionując ważność umowy). Wydaje się, że karta, na której spisano oświadczenie (określone jako *breve*), mogła pochodzić z księgi ławniczej i na potrzeby dowodowe została z niej wyjęta. W tym samym dokumencie stwierdzono jednak, że sporządzono dwa identycznie brzmiące egzemplarze: dla wierzycieli Rudolfa Feldstetego i Caspara Langego oraz Pierre de Nantesa” [Der Vertrag wurde auf Pergament geschrieben, aber wir haben es hier nicht mit einer separaten (im Sinne von losen) Urkunde zu tun. Das Pergamentblatt im oberen Teil ist in drei Dreiecke zerschnitten, so dass noch Fragmente von Buchstaben sichtbar sind, aber es ist schwer zu sagen, was dort geschrieben worden sein könnte; vielleicht ein Titel? An zwei Stellen sind Pergamenteinbände zu sehen (für Lesezeichen?), es gibt auch keine Spur von Siegeln (was später von den Franzosen bemerkt wurde, die im Juli/August 1464 nach Danzig kamen: Marcus Beuf selbst und Pierre Cosinoti, die die Gültigkeit der Vereinbarung in Frage stellten). Es scheint, dass die Seite, auf der die Erklärung steht (das sogenannte *Breve*), aus dem Schöffebuch stammt und zu Beweis Zwecken herausgenommen wurde. In demselben Dokument wurde jedoch festgestellt, dass zwei identisch klingende Kopien angefertigt wurden: für die Gläubiger von Rudolf Feldstete und Caspar Lange sowie für diejenigen von Pierre de Nantes] (S. 67-68).

21 HUB, IX, Nr. 296, § 3.

22 Laut einer notariellen Urkunde vom 8. Oktober 1466 wurde die Vollmacht von Buef für Bizart am 10. Juni und die von Bizart für de Nantes am 17. Oktober 1463 in das Schöffebuch eingetragen; siehe HUB, IX, S. 67, Anm. 2. Siehe B. Możejko, „*Peter von Danzig*“..., S. 60, Anm. 71, dort das fehlerhafte Datum 7. Oktober.

Der Autorin ist die Institution der Kerbschnitturkunde (des Chirographen) als weit verbreitete Form der Vertragsbeglaubigung im sozioökonomischen Leben der mittelalterlichen Hanse entgangen.²³ Die von ihr analysierte Pfandurkunde wurde von O. Lienau veröffentlicht, er nahm seine Reproduktion auf und las die Inschrift, die B. Możejko so faszinierte: Ave Maria gratia plena dominus tecum.²⁴

De Nantes verpfändete die auf dem Mottlaufluss stehende Karavelle für 1000 geringe Mark (2 geringe Mark = 1 „gute“ Mark) mit dem Datum der Einlösung des Pfandes am 29. September oder spätestens am 11. November, sicherlich in diesem Jahr. Sollte der Betrag nicht zurückgezahlt werden, würde das Schiff in den Besitz der Gläubiger übergehen.²⁵

In der Arbeit wurde dem Charakter dieses Darlehens viel Raum gewidmet. Die Autorin kam zu dem Schluss, dass es sich um ein sogenanntes Bodmer-Darlehen (Verpfändung eines Schiffes mit Zubehör) zu einem sehr hohen Zinssatz handelte, das aufgenommen werden konnte, um die Reise des Schiffes zu beenden (S. 65-68). Da de Nantes nur 385 Mark erhielt (wie aus den von de Nantes vorgelegten Rechnungen hervorgeht, auf die weiter unten eingegangen wird), ging die Autorin davon aus, dass „że owe 1000 grzywien to już kwota pożyczki z procentem“ [diese 1000 Mark bereits den Betrag des Darlehens mit Zinsen ausmachen] (S. 68, 93, Anm. 201). Daher, „skoro ... de Nantes uzyskał ,na czysto‘ 385 grzywien, to przy oprocentowaniu około 27% miesięcznie i przy miesięcznej kapitalizacji odsetek musiałby zwrócić gdańszczanom właśnie 1000 grzywien“ [da de Nantes 385 Mark „auf die Hand“ erhalten hat, hätte er bei einem Zinssatz von 27% pro Monat und einer monatlichen Kapitalisierung der Zinsen 1000 Mark an die Bürger von Danzig zurückgeben müssen] (S. 68).

Indessen war das Darlehen in dem Vertrag für 1.000 kleine geringe Mark, d.h. 500 „gute“ Mark, vorgesehen.²⁶ Daher ist die Annahme, dass es sich um ein Bodmer-Darlehen zu einem so hohen Zinssatz handelt, irreführend. Zur Rechtfertigung eines so hohen Prozentsatzes wurde auf E. Daenell verwiesen, der jedoch die Zinssätze (20, 25, 33,33%) auf Jahresbasis und nicht auf monatlicher Basis angab.²⁷ Es ist auch bemer-

23 Siehe Ph. Dollinger, *Dzieje Hanzy (XII-XVII wiek)*, aus dem Französischen übersetzt von V. Soczwińska, hrsg. von E. Cieślak, Gdańsk 1975, S. 155.

24 O. Lienau, *Das grosse Kraweel ...*, S. 44 f. und Abb. 14, S. 47.

25 Ibidem, S. 44 f. und Abb. 14, S. 47; HUB, IX, Nr. 96.

26 Ibidem, S. 44 f.; HUB, IX, Nr. 95. T. Hirsch, F.A. Vossberg, *Das grosse Krawel...*, S. 93, geben die Summe von 1000 Mark an, jedoch ohne zu erklären, dass es sich um geringe Mark handelt.

27 E. Daenell, *Die Blütezeit der Deutschen Hanse. Hansische Geschichte von der zweiten Hälfte des XIV. bis zum letzten Viertel des XV. Jahrhunderts*, Bd. II, Berlin 1906, S. 352. Siehe auch W. Vogel, *Geschichte der deutschen Schifffahrt*, Bd. I: *Von der Urzeit bis zum Ende des XV Jahrhunderts*, Berlin 1915, S. 385 f.

kenswert, dass der Vertrag zwei Fristen für die Rückzahlung vorsieht: eine im September und eine im November. Es sollte daher darin zwei Beträge geben.²⁸

Anschließend wurde die in der Verpfändungsurkunde aufgeführte Ausstattung des Schiffes (Zubehör, Bewaffnung) analysiert. Sie sind in Tabelle 6 zusammengestellt, die „stanowi próbę uporządkowania sprzętu i przedmiotów wyliczonych w dokumencie zastawnym“ [ein Versuch ist, die in der Verpfändungsurkunde aufgeführten Ausrüstungen und Gegenstände zu ordnen] (S. 68). Diese Tabelle (S. 69-72) besteht aus folgenden Abschnitten: Gegenstand – Bezeichnung in den Quellen; Gegenstand – moderne Terminologie; Erklärungen; Typ. Die maritime Terminologie der Quellen wurde auf der Grundlage des deutschen Wörterbuchs von J.H. Röding (S. 69, Anm. 126) übersetzt. Obwohl versucht wurde, polnische Entsprechungen unter der Rubrik „Przedmiot-współczesna terminologia“ [Gegenstand – Zeitgenössische Terminologie] anzugeben, wurde kein Wörterbuch der maritimen Terminologie in polnischer Sprache verwendet.²⁹ Es wurden insgesamt 41 Positionen aufgezählt.

Die Autorin ist sicher, dass sie dieses Dokument zum ersten Mal bespricht. Unter Bezugnahme auf die Arbeit von O. Lienau erklärt sie nämlich: „Autor ten ... nie objaśnia elementów stanowiących przedmiot zastawu, a niektóre rzeczy nawet omija“ [Dieser Autor ... erklärt nicht die Elemente, aus denen das Pfand besteht, und lässt sogar einige Dinge aus] (S. 69, Anm. 126). Lienau dagegen nennt diese Liste der Schiffsausstattung aus dem Pfandvertrag „frei in die heutige Sprache übertragen“.³⁰ Die Autorin war sich dessen bewusst, da sie zuvor (S. 11) feststellte, dass Lienau eine „Übersetzung des Inventarteils“ der Pfandurkunde in modernes Deutsch besaß. Es ist auch unverständlich, dass bei der Erläuterung der in der Bestandsaufnahme verwendeten Terminologie nicht der Index des IX. Bandes des Hanseatischen Urkundenbuches verwendet wurde, wo sie aufgenommen und erläutert wurde (S. 744-750).

Unter Nr. 5 ist in Feld 2 „Twe dagelisk to besygen“ festgestellt worden: Das Wörterbuch von J.H. Röding erklärt es wie folgt: „Ein Ende von einem Tau“. Inzwischen erklärt O. Lienau diese Formulierung als „zwei [Kabel] zugehörige zur täglichen Benutzung“. In Punkt 8 wird „beslagen yn eynem hupen“ als „in einem Stapel von Seilen ‚Beschlagenlinien‘“ erklärt. In Punkt 15 ist „tallige lynen“ „talje“? Röding, a.a.O., S. 700. Das HUB-Verzeichnis, IX, S. 749, erklärt den Begriff als Leine m. Schlitzen.

28 Die Autorin glaubt, dass das Darlehen für 4 Monate gewährt wurde (S. 68, Anm. 123).

29 Siehe *Nomenclatura navalis. Dwa gdańskie rękopisy z XVII wieku o budownictwie statków*, bearb. und hrsg. von Z. Binerowski, B. Janik, Gdańsk 1976.

30 O. Lienau, *Das grosse Kraweel...*, S. 6 f.

Außerdem befanden sich Waffen an Bord. In den Nummern 21-22 wurde der Begriff „steynbussen“ mit „Steinkanonen“ übersetzt, und es handelt sich um Kanonen, die Steinkugeln werfen. Punkt Nr. 27 – „spete mit langen ysern und pollexe“, wurde als „min. topry“ erklärt (sollte heißen: topory – Beile). Nr. 36: „Yn der reperschune twe nye geslagen tow, de to bolynen denen mogen“: „Takelwerk bei den Seilmachern“. Es handelt sich aber um zwei neue Fangleinen, die als Buline dienen können, d.h. Leinen, um das Segel in den Wind zu lenken.

Beuf und Cosinoti kamen Anfang August 1464 nach Danzig und gaben die oben erwähnte Erklärung zur Lage des Schiffes ab. Die Autorin meint fälschlicherweise (S. 76), es handele sich um eine „notarielle Erklärung“. Es ist auch nicht bekannt, ob es genau am 10. August war, da das Dokument nicht datiert ist.³¹ Es wurde jedoch zu Recht darauf hingewiesen, dass es aus einer Erklärung von Beuf und einer gemeinsamen Erklärung von Beufs und Cosinoti besteht (S. 76).

Beuf bestätigte, dass er das Schiff und die Ausrüstung für die Dauer seiner Abwesenheit Peter Bizart anvertraut hatte, dieser aber nicht befugt war, die Vollmacht auf de Nantes zu übertragen. Dieser war nicht befugt, es zu verpfänden. Bizart und de Nantes hatten das Geld (510,5 Mark), und letzterer hatte außerdem die Takelage der Karavelle verkauft. Beuf war daher der Ansicht, dass das Schiff nicht verpfändet werden müsse. Cosinoti und Beuf erklärten daraufhin gemeinsam, dass sie das Schiff auf Geheiß von Ludwig XI. abholen wollten, dem es nun gehörte, die Gläubiger von Danzig aber dagegen waren. Sie bekräftigten daher, dass die Ernennung von de Nantes zum Vormund des Schiffes und die von ihm vorgenommene Verpfändung rechtswidrig waren und dass die Begleichung der Forderung allein Sache von de Nantes war. Sie verlangten außerdem, er solle für die 510,5 Mark Rechenschaft ablegen, und drohten ihm mit einer Gefängnisstrafe.

Auch die Verpfändungsurkunde selbst wurde in Frage gestellt, da de Nantes den darin genannten Betrag nicht erhalten hatte und die Urkunde nicht gesiegelt war (letzteres Argument ist nicht stichhaltig, wenn die Verpfändungsurkunde in Form eines Chirographen erstellt wurde). Sollte das Schiff nicht freigegeben werden, verlangen sie *eyne certificacie* über ihre Bemühungen um die Bergung des Schiffes sowie ein Schreiben, in dem der Fall erläutert wird und das der Rat von Danzig an den französischen König richten soll.

Entgegen den Behauptungen der Autorin trifft es nicht zu, dass in diesem Dokument „strona francuska uznała ... zasadność zwrotu 385 grzywien, odrzucając roszczenia o procenty. Marcus Beuf uważał, że Pierre de Nantes powinien rozliczyć się z kwoty 885 grzywien (chodzi cały czas o składowe:

31 HUB, IX, Nr. 122.

500 grzywien pozostawionych jeszcze ... Bizartowi i 385 pożyczonych od gdańszczan)" [die französische Seite ... die Rechtmäßigkeit der Rückgabe von 385 Mark anerkannte und die Forderung nach Prozentsätzen zurückwies. Marcus Beuf war der Meinung, dass Pierre de Nantes den Betrag von 885 Mark begleichen sollte (es geht dabei immer um die Komponenten: die noch übrigen 500 Mark ... an Bizart und die von den Danzigern geliehenen 385)] (S. 77). Dieser Betrag taucht indes nur in der notariellen Erklärung vom 20. August auf und betrifft die Aufforderung an de Nantes, einen Frachtbrief des Schiffes vorzulegen. Außerdem wurde Bizart ein Betrag von 510,5 Mark überlassen.

Am 17. August 1464 erließ der Rat der Stadt Danzig eine Entscheidung in dieser Angelegenheit. Demnach erklärte Pierre de Nantes, dass er 385 Mark von Feltstede und Lange geliehen hatte, was von Zeugen bestätigt wurde. Das für die Bedürfnisse des Schiffes ausgegebene Geld sollte vom Kapitän des Schiffes, also von Beuf, bezahlt werden. Andererseits sollten die Gläubiger das nicht für diesen Zweck verwendete Geld von de Nantes erhalten.³² Das Argument der Franzosen wurde also nicht berücksichtigt. Es handelte sich um einen Vorbescheid, der lediglich die Abrechnung des Darlehens regelte. Entgegen der Behauptung der Autorin (S. 78) wird in diesem Urteil jedoch nicht erwähnt, dass Bürgermeister Johann Fere für die Summe von 385 Mark bürgte.

Die Franzosen waren mit dieser Entscheidung nicht zufrieden, da sie die Wirksamkeit und Zweckmäßigkeit des Pfandes in Frage stellten. In einer notariellen Erklärung vom 20. August wiesen sie erneut darauf hin, dass de Nantes nicht befugt war, ein Darlehen gegen Verpfändung des Schiffes aufzunehmen, und verwiesen auf einen Brief von de Nantes an Beuf [kein Datum angegeben], in dem de Nantes behauptete, alle Schulden seien von ihm beglichen worden, und außerdem habe er 35 weitere Hölzer für die Masten gesichert. Sie hatten sich jedoch bereit erklärt, für den Pfandbetrag zu bürgen, vorbehaltlich des Urteils des Stadtrats zur Zahlung des Pfands an sie. Dies wurde jedoch abgelehnt. Der Rat entließ de Nantes aus der Haft, der über die zum Schiff gehörenden Waren in Höhe von 885 Mark hätte Rechenschaft ablegen müssen, und lehnte auch die Forderung nach einer notariellen Erklärung über den Zustand des Schiffes zum Zeitpunkt der Abreise von Beuf aus Danzig und bei seiner Rückkehr ab. Es wurde auch keine Person

32 APG, 300, 59, 7, k. 63: *Allen, wat Peter de Nanthes beweysen mach mit levenden p(er)sonen, dat von selber gelde alz iii^c und lxxv mr, dee Peter vorben(ant) van hern Roloff Veltsted und Jaspar Langen upt genn(anten) schipp empfangen hefft in des schepes nuth gekomen is, dat sall dat schipp effte dee patron des schepes betalen und wat her alzo nicht bewisen kan, des sollen sik her Roloff Veltstede und Jaspar Lange an den genn(anten) Peter de Nantes erholen und deshalven sall dat schipp keyne last hebben. Actum feria vi^{ta} p(os)t Assumpcion(is) Marie anno lxiit^o.* Dieses Urteil wurde auch in einem Schreiben an Ludwig XI. vom 17. September 1464 erwähnt; HUB, IX, Nr. 127.

benannt, die den Zustand der zum Schiff und zu de Nantes gehörenden Güter überprüft. Die beiden Franzosen überließen daher dem Bürgermeister den Schlüssel zu dem Haus, in dem sie sich befanden, und stellten sich und das Schiff aus Angst um ihr Leben unter den Schutz von König Ludwig XI.³³

Um den Streit um die Rückgabe der Karavelle zu verstehen, ist es wichtig, die (in mittelniederdeutscher Sprache niedergeschriebene) Rechnung von Pierre de Nantes und den (in lateinischer Sprache verfassten) Kommentar von Marcus Beuf und Pierre Cosinoti vom 11. September 1464 zu interpretieren.³⁴ Dies war die praktische Umsetzung des Ratsbeschlusses vom 17. August. B. Mozejko hat diese Quelle zweimal ausgewertet: zunächst in einer beschreibenden Form (S. 61-62) und dann in Tabelle 7 (S. 80-89). Sie war in fünf Rubriken unterteilt: Środki Pierre de Nantesa; Długi Pierra Bizarta; Długi Marcusa Beufa; Pierre de Nantes-regulacja długów poprzedników i wydatki własne; Francuzi-komentarz [Die Gelder von Pierre de Nantes; die Schulden von Pierre Bizart; die Schulden von Marcus Beuf; Pierre de Nantes – Regulierung der Schulden seiner Vorgänger und eigene Ausgaben; Franzosen – Kommentar].

Der Bericht von de Nantes wurde in drei Teile aufgeteilt, und diese Unterscheidung wird in Tabelle 7 verwendet. Das Kriterium für die Aufteilung in die ersten beiden Teile waren die Darlehen, die de Nantes von Hans Olden und Lubelow gewährt wurden (jeweils 80 Mark), dann die Darlehen von Rudolf Feldstete und Kaspar Lange (385 Mark), und für den dritten die Ausgaben im Zusammenhang mit Bizarts Tod und de Nantes' Ausgaben für sich selbst und seine Vorgänger. Beuf und Cosinoti hingegen gaben die einzelnen Punkte in lateinischer Übersetzung wieder, folgten dabei aber nicht der gleichen Reihenfolge. Für sie waren die Kriterien: Schulden von Beuf, die von de Nantes zu begleichen waren; Ausgaben für Masten, Wagenschoss, Stäbe und Ruder; Ausgaben im Zusammenhang mit dem Tod von Bizart; andere Ausgaben. Jede Gruppe wurde von den Franzosen kommentiert.

Das Quellenmaterial wurde in einer undurchsichtigen Weise präsentiert. Einzelne Punkte werden in polnischer Übersetzung wiedergegeben, manchmal mit Ausdrücken aus der Quelle. Zusätzliche Erklärungen sind in den mit römischen Ziffern versehenen Fußnoten enthalten. Die einzelnen Positionen der Tabelle sind nicht nummeriert. Um Interpretationen zu erörtern, die ich für irreführend halte, habe ich sie daher in der Reihenfolge

33 HUB, IX, Nr. 123. Es sollte hinzugefügt werden, dass der Rat die von den Franzosen in dieser not ariellen Urkunde vorgelegte Beschreibung der Unfälle abgelehnt hat; siehe APG, 300,27, 6, S. 600-602 und HUB, IX, Nr. 313.

34 APG, 300D, 17B, 7: *Dit es rekenscap van Pietre de Nantes als van den gheld, dy heift entfaen vom Rolof Veltsted end Ghaspar Langhe und de andord hierop, als van Pierre Consinnot und van Marot Beuf in septembre XI.*

nummeriert, in der sie in Tabelle 7 erscheinen, und die altdeutschen Begriffe mit einer lateinischen Übersetzung aus dem Kommentar von Beuf-Cosinoti versehen.

DIE RECHNUNGEN VON PIERR DE NANTES

[Teil I]

Ausgaben aus den von Hans Olden und Symon Lubbelouw an de Nantes gewährten Darlehen (*Leven heren, so hebbe ik geleut umme not willen von Hans Olden lxxx mr und von Lubbelouwe lxxx mr. Von dessen gelde betalt so hie na steyt*).³⁵

4. *Marot bleff in enem winkeller tenetur iii mr xiii ß by Tidke Bucke; item dixit se soloyse in uno celario vini pro dicto Marotho iii mr xii sc.* Nach Auffassung der Autorin hat Beuf „złożył w spichrzach dwóch mieszczan gdańskich, zadłużając się odpowiednio na 3 grzywny i 13 skojcy u Tiedemana Bocka i na 8 grzywien u Rudolfa Feldstetego“ [in den Getreidespeichern zweier Danziger Bürger hinterlegt, indem er sich für 3 Mark und 13 Skot bei Tiedeman Bock und für 8 Mark bei Rudolf Feldstete verschuldet hat] (S. 56). In der Tabelle ist jedoch bereits angegeben, dass es sich um eine Zahlung an „Tiedeman Bock für einen Teil des Kellers“ handelt. Diese Auslegung ist falsch. Es ging um eine Schuld in einem Weinkeller gegenüber der Frau von Tiedeman Bock. Die Franzosen sollten diese Kosten übernehmen, „ale bez podania, z jakiego tytułu pochodzi kwota, zapisana jako 3 grzywny i 12 fenigów (?)“ [ohne jedoch anzugeben, aus welchem Titel der Betrag stammte, der mit 3 Mark und 12 Pfennige (?) aufgeschrieben wurde (?)].

5. *Marot nam i man int schipp to vorwaren; dem lavede he x mr; he bleff so lange, dat em xv mr borde, de betalde ik em; plus dixit exposuisse 15 marce pro uno homine, qui eo custodivit naves pro [h]yemalis.* Der Ansicht der Autorin nach wurde das Geld an jemanden gezahlt, „komuś, kto poprowadził statek (pilot ?) – 10 grzywien, ale zamiast 10–15 grzywien – Jakieś straty ?“ [der das Schiff geführt hat (Lotse ?) – 10 Mark, aber statt 10–15 Mark – irgendwelche Verluste ?]. Auf S. 55 wird festgestellt, dass es sich um die Zahlung von „10 grzywien za przeciagnięcie statku pilotowi odpowiedzialnemu za pomoc przy transporcie karaweli na holu. Zapewne przy tym zadaniu pilot miał jeszcze jakichś pomocników“ [10 Mark für das Ziehen des Schiffes an den Lotsen handelt, der für das Schleppen die Karavelle verantwortlich war. Vermutlich hatte der Lotse noch andere Helfer bei dieser Aufgabe]. Es geht jedoch um die Person, die das Schiff bewacht hat und die wegen der Verlängerung der Wache zusätzlich 5 Mark erhielt.

35 APG, 300D, 17B, 7, S. 5.

7. *Ik betalde vor hußhur ix mr, darbyn ik nach 2,5 mr von schuldich; Item pro premio domus ...ipse remansit pro [h]yemem.* Kommentar der Autorin: „Sam płaci 9 grzywien za [Er bezahlt selber 9 Mark gegen] (vor huszhuren)“, also ohne Erklärung, dass es sich um Hausvermietung handelt.

8. *Peter Beysart koffte von dem Schotten up der tandete cleder vor ii mr iiii ß, de betalde ik und gaff se synem omken oft knechte, em to horde; primo pro pannis, quos dixit emivisse a quodam ... Scoto ii mr iiii s.* In Anm. X gab man an: „Von dem schotten up der temdere“. Es geht aber um die Tagnetergasse, später Neuau-gengasse, zwischen der Breiten- und der Johannisstrasse.³⁶

9. *Noch let Peter Bysart iii kopperen schalen vor sulveren dar gaff ich vor vi mr; Item dixit soloyse pro tribus estalis, quas dictus defunctus tradiderat ad argentandum vi mr.* In der Arbeit führte man „3 koppern schallen versilbert – gegen 6 Mark“ an, wobei es doch um deren Versilberung geht.

10. *Danckkorde geven xx mr; Primo dixit tradidisse Dankart pro maste xx mr.* Der Autorin gemäß ist es die Zahlung „für die Marienkirche“, was völlig unbegründet ist.

11. *her Johan van Schouwen 2,5 mr, bleff em Marot tenetur; Item dixit me debere et pro me soloyse domino Johanni Stoven 2,5 mr.* Die Autorin gibt fehlerhaft an, dass es um 3 Mark geht.

[Teil II]

Ausgaben für das von Rudolf Feltstede und Kaspar Lenge gewährte Dar-lehen (*Leven heren so hebbe ik gelevt van hern Rolaff Veltsteden und Caspar Lange summa 385 mr*³⁷).

15. *Nach Hans Olden vor 2,5 last scheppes ber; plus pro 2,5 last cerevisiae 12,5 mr.* Es wurden falsch 3 Lasten angegeben.

18. *Dem knechte i par hosen de betalde ik meysters Wilmes wieff vor XVI sc; item unius par ? galigare 16 sc.* Für diese 16 Skot wurde „słudze spodnie u mistrza Wilmesa Wiffa“ [für den Diener bei Meister Wilmes Wiff eine Hose gekauft]. Inzwischen ist hier die Frau von Wilmes (*wieff*) gemeint.

19. *Der beckerschen i yar to backen i mr xii ß; item pro coquendo panem unus annus.* Es geht nicht um den Bäcker, wie es in der Tabelle steht, sondern um die Frau des Bäckers.

21. *In der Petterczilgengasse man vor ½ tonne hering 1,5 mr; item ½ tonnae allecis 1 1/2 mr.* Die Autorin liest als „Pottengasse“. Es geht um die Petersliengasse zwischen der Johannis- und der Häkergasse.³⁸ Für Heringe hat man 1,5 und nicht, wie angegeben, 2 Mark gezahlt.

36 Siehe W. Stephan, *Danzig. Gründung und Straßennamen*, Marburg/Lahn 1954, S. 135.

37 APG, 300D, 17B, 7, S. 5.

38 Siehe W. Stephan, *Danzig...*, S. 126.

24. *Peter Bysart bleff Sanderschen van hut ik betalde viii mr; Item dixit solvisse pro dicto defuncto uxori ypothecarii 8 mr.* Es wurde wie folgt interpretiert: „Bleff semderschen“ für einen Hut für ihn – 8 Mark ... für seine Frau ?“. Es geht aber um die Pflege (*hut*) für Bizart, die die Frau von Sanders, des Apothekers pflegte.

[Teil III]

29. *Peter Bisart bygrafft dem parner von sunte Johanse 5,5 mr; item curato sancti Johannis 5,5 mr.* Es wurde falsch die Summe von 6 Mark angegeben.

32. *Vor i sark x sc; item pro uno lupide supra defunctum 10 sc.* Der Autorin nach: „Za worek – 2 grzywny^{xvii} Chodziło chyba o pochówek“ [Für einen Sack – 2 Mark. Es ging wohl um eine Bestattung]. Es handelte sich nicht um einen Sack, sondern um einen Grabstein.

43. *Cordule i vrauwe, de syne unreynen cleder wasschen geeven i mr; eundem mulieri pro lavando pannos dicti defuncti 1 mr.* „Chyba jednak po zmarłym defunctis?“ [wohl nach dem Verstorbenen defunctis?] Es ging vermutlich um das Waschen der Kleidung von Bizart, als er noch am Leben war.

44. *Von j doden man von unsen volke, het Pyse Johan, ii mr; pro uno homine nominato Pigon 2 mr.* „Za zmarłego z załogi het Pyse Johana – 2 grzywny“ [Für den Verstorbenen aus der Mannschaft von het Pyse Johan]. „Het“ (Infinitiv – heten) 3. Pers. Sing.: heißt.

46. *Vor ½ schepel arwyten 3 f; item pro pisis 3 ferd.* Es wurden falsch 3 Skot angegeben.

47. *Dat leydegelt vor de xlvii maste, wagenscot, clapholt und remen tohope xlv mr ... ; item dixit solvisse pro iure civitate et conducto 47 mastore, wagenstot, clapolt et remore 45 mr.* Man nannte den Kauf von 46 Masten (siehe auch S. 73, 74), das zweite Mal 47 Masten. Das Wort *remen* (Riemen = Ruder) wurde dabei ausgelassen. Die Summe von 45 Mark ist nicht der Preis für die Masten, Wagenschoss und Dauben, sondern sog. Leydegelt, also Transportgebühr.

48. *Hinrich Hasen, eme vlescher, geeven vor vlesch ... xiii mr; item soloit Henrico Sazon [statt Hazon?] carnifici pro carnibus 12 ½ mr.* Man nannte die Lesung Hosen und die Summe 13 Mark.

51. *Dat bot up das lant to bringen ta kalfatern 1,5 mr; item pro ponendo naviculas 1 1/2 mr.* „Za prace przy uszczelnianiu łodzi – 2 grzywny“ [Für die Arbeiten bei der Bootabdichtung]. Es geht aber um das Schleppen des Bootes an den Ufer (siehe Nr. 54).

52. *Two tonne pyk, darvoor j mr xvi sc, hirvoon lich 1,5 tonne int schip; item pro 2 tonne picis 1 mr 16 sc.* Diese Stelle wurde als „two pyk ... lich int schip“ aufgeschrieben. Auf das Schiff gelangte aber anderthalb Teertonnen von den zwei Teertonnen.

53. *I tymmerrmann vi dage gearbeyt int schip ii mr; item eundo lignifabro pro 6 diebus laborandi in nave 2 mr.* Nach der Ansicht der Autorin nannte de Nantes zwei Tage, was aber falsch ist.

54. *Dat schipp to kalfatern i man xii dage 2,5 mr ii ß; item pro uno homine 12 dies ad naveferandum in nave 2 1/2 mr 3 sc.* Es wurde falsch die Summe von 3 Mark angegeben.

55. *To peken dat schipp und bot i mr myner iii ß; pro piquendo nave in naviculas 1 mr 3 sc meri.* Es wurde falsch die Summe von 1 Mark 3 Pfennige angegeben.

56. *Kulenberge hußhure vi mr; item pro premio domus Culleborgis 6 mr.* Im Kommentar lesen wir: „Żonie Kulemborga – 6 grzywien“ [Der Frau von Kulemborg – 6 Mark]. Es geht aber um die Vermietung des Hauses von Kulemborg.

58. *Noch iii man, de ik sande in Vrankryk umm to weten, wo ik mit dem krael holden solde, den geven xli mr; Plus computat dictus Petrus tradidisse, quos misset ad patriam pro portando literas 40 mark.* Im Kommentar steht: „20 grzywien wydano bez potrzeby“ [20 Mark wurden unnötig ausgegeben].

Die Besprechung der Rechnungen enthält sachliche Fehler, und die Darstellung der Kommentare von Marcus Beuf und Pierre Cosinoti in der Tabelle ist sehr oberflächlich und unzureichend. Wie der Herausgeber des Hanseatischen Urkundenbuches bemerkte, stellten die Franzosen die Zuverlässigkeit bestimmter Ausgaben in Frage, hielten andere für unnötig und behaupteten im Allgemeinen, sie stünden nicht im Zusammenhang mit den Bedürfnissen des Schiffes, während de Nantes als Hochstapler, als Person voller Bosheit und Schlechtigkeit angesehen wurde.³⁹

Fehler bei der Angabe der in den Rechnungen notierten Beträge entstehen dadurch, dass die durch eine durchgestrichene Ziffer – meist j – angezeigten Hälften nicht beachtet und als Ziffer eins (j) behandelt werden, ebenso wie das Wort *myner* (Minus).

Was zeigen diese Rechnungen? Der Autorin zufolge „w początkach lata 1464 r. remont karaweli był już tak zaawansowany, że ... de Nantes brał poważnie pod uwagę jej rychłe wyjście w morze“, [...] i „wysłał nawet do Francji 3 posłańców z pytaniem, dokąd miały popłynąć z karawelą“. [...] Remont nagle jednak przerwano“ [war im Frühsommer 1464 die Reparatur der Karavelle bereits so weit fortgeschritten, dass ... de Nantes ernsthaft in Erwägung zog, sie bald in See zu stechen], [...] und [er schickte sogar drei Boten nach Frankreich, um zu fragen, wohin er mit der Karavelle segeln sollte. [...] Die Reparaturen wurden jedoch plötzlich unterbrochen], und Mitte September war bekannt, dass „karawela ponownie popadła w ruinę i groził jej przechył“ [die Karavelle erneut baufällig geworden war und zu kippen drohte] (S. 74). Die für die Reparatur des Schiffes aufgewendeten Beträge sind in den Rechnungen jedoch gering. Sie betreffen Schreinerarbeiten, den Kauf von Material für die Versegelung des

39 HUB, IX, Nr. 123, S. 73, Anm. 1.

Schiffes, das Schleppen des Schiffes an Land und die Versegelung und Teerung selbst. Es ist auch nicht bekannt, welche Fragen de Nantes in seinem Brief an Beuf stellte. Die Quelle schweigt dazu (die Formulierung *wo ick mit dem kavel holden solde*, ist nicht gleichbedeutend mit der Frage, wohin das renovierte Schiff fahren sollte, wie B. Możejko glaubt).

Einige Tage nach der Entscheidung des Stadtrats gab de Nantes auch eine Erklärung zu den Umständen der Verpfändung ab.⁴⁰ Erstens stellte er die Aussage von Arndt Becker vor dem Rat am vergangenen Freitag in Frage (*am negest vorgangenen vrydage getuchnisse*), dass er ihm das Darlehen von dem Geld für die verkauften Masten zurückgegeben habe, nicht von dem von Feltsted-Lange geliehenen Geld (dass *he van my entfangen hefft, is gekomen van den masten, do ik vorkofft hebbe, und nicht van her Rolaff Veltsteden und Jaspar Langen gelde etc.*). Es stimmt also nicht, wie B. Możejko behauptet: „ze pieniądze które mu zwrócił ... de Nantes, miały pochodzić ... z pieniędzy przeznaczonych na maszty“ (S. 78), „dass das Geld, das ihm von ... de Nantes zurückgegeben wurde, ... von dem für die Masten bestimmten Geld stammen sollte“. Unrichtig ist auch die Bemerkung (S. 79-80, 90-91), de Nantes habe in seiner Aussage angegeben, „ze spłacił nie tylko Arndta Backera, ale także Johanna Meygdeborgego i Martina Bocka o czym wcześniej w ogóle nie było mowy“ [dass er nicht nur Arndt Backer, sondern auch Johann Meygdeborge und Martin Bock abbezahlt habe, was zuvor überhaupt nicht erwähnt wurde]. De Nantes stellte jedoch Beckers Wahrhaftigkeit in Frage und behauptete, er habe ihn mit dem Darlehen von Feldstete-Lange bezahlt, und zitierte eine Reihe von Personen, die vor Meideburg und Bock in dieser Angelegenheit ausgesagt hatten (*und mer luden, de er getuchnisse vor den erwerdigen hern, hern Johan Meygdeborge und hern Merten Bucke darvan gegeben hebben*).

Wie bereits erwähnt, legten die Franzosen am 11. September eine Stellungnahme zu de Nantes' Rechnungslegung vor. Sie wollten beweisen, dass die Kosten für die Reparatur der Karavelle nicht durch das am 19. Mai 1464 gewährte Darlehen von Feldstede-Lange gedeckt wurden. Dies hat den Rat jedoch nicht überzeugt. In dieser Situation beschlossen die Franzosen, in ihr Land zurückzukehren. Die Gespräche zwischen den Danziger Gesandten und den Franzosen wurden am 16. September 1464 auf dem Schiff vom Schiffer Wiebrand von Terscheling fortgesetzt. Die Franzosen bestätigten, dass sie den Betrag [385 Mark – W.D.] in Übereinstimmung mit dem Urteil hinterlassen hatten, und der Bürgermeister Johann Fere wurde von seiner Funktion als Bürge entbunden. Sie ernannten drei Bevollmächtigte für den

40 APG, 300D, 17B, 14. In dieser Erklärung bezog sich de Nantes zweimal auf Zeugenaussagen, die er am Freitag zuvor vor dem Rat gemacht hatte. Da die Entscheidung des Konzils am 17. August 1464, einem Freitag, erging, vermutete B. Możejko richtig (S. 79, Anm. 175), dass diese Erklärung von de Nantes nach diesem Datum abgegeben wurde.

Fall der Karavelle und beauftragten sie, die Schlagseite des Schiffes mit Hilfe eines mit Sand gefüllten Bordings zu beseitigen.⁴¹ In einem Schreiben an König Ludwig XI. vom 23. April 1466 erklärte der Rat, dass der Gegenstand der Verhandlungen darin bestehe, Verwalter für das Schiff zu ernennen, da es sich in einem schlechten Zustand befinde. Die genannten Personen weigerten sich jedoch, diese Aufgaben zu übernehmen.⁴²

In einer notariellen Erklärung vom 16. November desselben Jahres, die auf Initiative von Cosinot verfasst wurde, schildern Johann Le Ferre, ein Kaufmann aus Brügge, und der Schiffer Wilibrand (= Wiebrand von Terschelling) einen anderen Verlauf der Ereignisse.⁴³ Die Franzosen sollten dem Stadtrat eine Bürgschaft von 1.000 Mark für die Übernahme der Karavelle anbieten. Um sie aus der Haft zu entlassen, übergaben sie in Anwesenheit von Zeugen an ihren Gastgeber, den Bürgermeister Johan Fere, 395 Mark (eher 385). Das Angebot, wieder nach Danzig zu kommen, lehnten sie ab, ebenso wie das Angebot, die Karavelle zurückzugeben, da sie Eigentum des Königs sei. Sie gaben die Vollmacht aus Angst, dass sie gezwungen sein würden, in die Stadt zurückzukehren. Sie legten auch eine Vollmacht für die Übernahme des Schiffes aus Danzig vor.

Die Autorin hat wohl Recht, wenn sie darauf hinweist, dass die Franzosen Danzig wegen der Pest verlassen wollten (S. 91). Aber auch die Angst, eine ungünstige Lösung in der Karavellenfrage zu erzwingen oder erneut verhaftet zu werden, mag eine Rolle gespielt haben. Es ist nicht klar, warum die Autorin der Meinung ist, dass der an Fere gezahlte Betrag in Franken und nicht in Mark angegeben wurde: „395 franków ... odpowiało w tym czasie mniej więcej 395 grzywnom“ [395 Franken ... entsprach damals ca. 359 Mark] (S. 94 und Anm. 205).

Am 19. September erließ der Rat ein neues Urteil in der Rechtssache zwischen Beuf und Cosinoti auf der einen und Feltstede und Lange auf der anderen Seite. Der Rat stellte fest, dass Pierre de Nantes 385 Mark von zwei Danzigern erhalten hatte. Die beiden Franzosen mit dem Bürgermeister Johan Fere verbürgten sich dafür (garantierten), dass Fere den Kreditgebern 315 Mark und 22 Skot zahlen würde. Den fehlenden Darlehensbetrag sollten die Gläubigern von Pierre de Nantes erhalten.⁴⁴

41 HUB, IX, S. 72, Anm. 2 = 300D, 17B, 5. Die Personen erklärten aber am 7. Juli 1466 vor dem Notar, dass sie die ihnen anvertraute Vollmacht nicht angenommen hätten.

42 HUB, IX, Nr. 262.

43 HUB, IX, S. 72 f., Anm. 2 = 300D, 17B, 6.

44 APG, 300,59,7, k. 63: *Item alia f(or)ma lata p(er) consulat(um) in causam p(re)d(ic)tam. Item zo alze h(er) Peter Quisinoth und Marcus Boeff, patron de crafels, von eym(e) dele und Roloff Veltstede und Jasp(ar) Lange vam andern dele de sake des geliks, dat Peter de Nantes upt genn(antes) crafel von h(ern) Roloff und Jasp(ar) vorgesc(reven), alze iii^c mr lxxxv mr genamen und empfang(e)n hefft volmechtich by uns gesettet hebben, darvon wy na erkentnisse beide parte vongenent eyne(n) uthsproke gedaen hebben;*

Der nächste Aufzug des Konflikts um die Karavelle begann 1466 mit der Einreichung einer Klage gegen Danzig am 14. Juli durch Gesandte Ludwigs XI. beim Kontor der Hanse in Brügge.⁴⁵ Es wurde die Geschichte der Karavelle von ihrer Ankunft in Danzig bis zur Rückkehr von Cosinoti und Beuf nach Frankreich erzählt. Der König nahm das Vorgehen Danzigs zum Anlass, 10 000 Kronen als Entschädigung zu verlangen, und drohte der Hanse mit Repressionen, falls diese nicht gezahlt würden. Die Verhandlungen zwischen den Gesandten des Königs und dem Brügger Kontor verliefen ergebnislos, und Danzig wies die Anschuldigungen in einem Schreiben an den Kontor vom 25. August desselben Jahres zurück. Das Schiff fuhr nicht, weil es nicht fahrtüchtig war.⁴⁶

In der Angelegenheit der Karavelle hat sich auch König Kazimierz Jagiellończyk (Kasimir der Jagiellone) engagiert, der einen Brief an Ludwig XI. schickte.⁴⁷ Die Frage des Schiffes wurde auch im Mai 1467 auf dem Ständekonvent in Piotrków (Petrikau) erörtert. Der König versprach, ein zweites Mal an Ludwig XI. zu schreiben, wie die Autorin unter Berufung auf ein Quellenzitat schreibt (S. 103), „w sprawie karaweli będącej w coraz gorszym stanie” [zu der Karavelle, die in immer schlechterem Zustand war] (alze des schiffes halben des Carancles, das In er Haven zcu Dantzck leyte zcu grosse verlichheit des tiffes). Das Zitat bezieht sich jedoch nicht auf das Schiff, sondern auf das Fahrwasser, das es bedroht.

Die Androhung französischer Repressionen gegen hanseatische Kaufleute machte die Frage der Karavelle zum Gegenstand einer gesamt-hanseatischen Diskussion. Danzig erklärte seine Position gegenüber Lübeck und dem Brügger Kontor (29. April 1468) und wandte sich erneut an Ludwig XI. (6. Februar 1469).⁴⁸ Auf dem Lübecker Hansetag am 23. April 1469 wurde die Angelegenheit wieder aufgegriffen. Wie die Autorin schreibt, der Abgesandte des Brügger Kontors „musiał domagać się jakichś wyjaśnień (tekst gdańskiej relacji z obrad nie jest tu zbyt jasny), skoro gdańszczanie uznali

welkem uthsprake genoch to doen de genn(anten) h(er) Peter Quasinoth und Marcus Boeff mit dem ersamen h(er)n Johan Fere unsem borgermeister hebben vorborget, zo hebben wy erkant na beyde dele vorgehent ut der beweisuunge leve(n)dier personen, dat de genannte her Johan Fere wegen h(er) Peter Quasinoth und Marcus Boeff den vorges(creven) h(er) Rolof Velstede und Jasp(ar) Lange iii xo mr xxii sc gelden sal und betalen. Und wes Pet(er) de Nanthes vorder van gelde von den von de h(er) Rollof und Jasper empfangen und upgehaoven[?] hefft, des sullen zee sik am mehr gennn(anten) Peter de Nanthes erholen. Actum feria iii^{ia} an(te) Mathei Anno liiii^o [19. September 1464]. Bürgermeister Fere erklärte, er habe den Gläubigern den oben genannten Betrag gezahlt; siehe HUB, IX, S. 72, Anm. 2.

⁴⁵ HUB, IX, Nr. 296.

⁴⁶ HUB, Nr. 297, 313.

⁴⁷ Siehe B. Mozejko, *W sprawie jednej pomyłki kancelarii królewskiej z II połowy XV w., czyli przyczynę do funkcjonowania służby dyplomatycznej Kazimierza Jagiellończyka*, „Studia z Dziejów Średniowiecza” XIV (2008), S. 215-225.

⁴⁸ HUB, IX, Nr. 449, 552.

za słuszne ponowne przedstawienie swojej wersji wypadków, od wejścia i uszkodzenia karaweli w gdańskim porcie aż do zastawu. Przypomnieli też po raz kolejny, że o całej sprawie powiadomili polskiego króla przez posłów, zarówno ustnie, jak i pisemnie” [musste eine Erklärung verlangt haben (der Text des Danziger Berichtes von der Sitzung ist hier nicht sehr klar), da die Danziger es für richtig hielten, ihre Version der Ereignisse vom Einlaufen und der Beschädigung der Karavelle im Danziger Hafen bis zur Verpfändung noch einmal darzustellen. Sie erinnerten auch noch einmal daran, dass sie den polnischen König über die Gesandten sowohl mündlich als auch schriftlich über die ganze Angelegenheit informiert hatten] (S. 105 und Fußnote 280 – im Quelltext wurde ein Abschnitt weggelassen).

Es wurde bereits erwähnt, dass die Karavelle die Waren vieler Kaufleute transportierte, die Verluste erlitten und nicht in der Lage waren, sie zu reparieren. Die Danziger Delegierten stellten außerdem fest, dass der Bevollmächtigte, dem das Schiff anvertraut worden war, sich verschuldet hatte und die Schiffsausrüstung verprasst oder verkauft hatte. Infolgedessen war Danzig der Ansicht, dass es keine Schuld an dieser Situation trug.⁴⁹

Die Autorin irrt sich jedoch, wenn sie behauptet, dass sich der zitierte Satz „So int ende to unser begeringe vorheten uns de gemenen stede, deshalven to schrivende an des konynges gnader derwegen“ wahrscheinlich auf die früheren Briefe an den König Kasimir den Jagiellonen bezieht (S. 105, Anm. 280). Es handelt sich um einen Brief an Ludwig XI. Dies geht aus § 20 des Rezesses des oben genannten Hansetages hervor, wonach die Hanse beschloss, in dieser Angelegenheit an den König von Frankreich zu schreiben.⁵⁰

In der Zwischenzeit versuchten die Gläubiger, ihre Ansprüche auf das Schiffseigentum zu befriedigen. Davon zeugen zwei Einträge im Schöffenzbuch von 1469: Mathias Negedanck erhielt von Jacob Kulemborg ein Segel mit zwei Beisegeln, einem Focksegel und einem Besan, das zu einer französischen Karavelle gehörte.⁵¹ Die Autorin meint, „w grę wchodziło ... jakieś rozliczenie między tymi dwiema osobami“ [dass es um eine Kostenabrechnung zwischen zwei Personen ging] (S. 104). Aus dem Inhalt des Eintrags geht dies jedoch nicht hervor. Es sollte auch berücksichtigt werden, dass de Nantes das Haus von Kulemborg gemietet hatte und hier wahrscheinlich die Schiffsausrüstung gelagert hat. In der Verpfändungsurkunde vom 19. Mai 1464 heißt es, dass es *by Kulemborge* 14 Kanonen gab.⁵²

49 HR, II, 6, Nr. 185, § 17: *und darnah leten ere eynen volmechtigen dat schypp uthhoreydende, de denne dergliken vast in schult bynnen Danczk kwam, dat he dat takell des schepis vorbrochte efte unde vorkoffte.*

50 HR, II, 6, Nr. 184, § 20, S. 148.

51 APG, 300, 43, 2b, k. 136.

52 HUB, IX, Nr. 95.

Der bereits erwähnte Mathias Negedanck übernahm auch einen anderen Teil der Ausrüstung der Karavelle. Dies wird durch einen entsprechenden Eintrag im Schöffebuch mitgeteilt. B. Mozejko hat sich ausführlicher mit der Angelegenheit befasst und den gesamten Eintrag zitiert, den ich in die zweite Spalte gesetzt und meine Lesart in der ersten Spalte hinzugefügt habe.

APG, 300,43, 2b, k. 178v.	B. Mozejko, <i>Peter von Danzig...</i> , S. 109-110, Anm. 311.
<p><i>Dat grote crafeel mit alle syner tobehorunge steit Bernd Grysowen vor eyn pfant vor iij und iii geringe mark vor meste; und is upgeboden twie na dem ersten, so also recht is. Und Bernd Grysow hefft vulmechtich gemaket Mathies Negedanck de zake fort to forndernde, so also recht ist. Mattis Negedanck yn dersulven crofeel hefft dem patrone(n) van demselven crofeel datsulve schipp to huse und hofe gebode(n) hir vor gerichte, so also recht is. Und na deme dat he it nicht entsetten wolde, so is em gedelet, dat he it mochte vorkopen und derholen sik synes gelde darane. Hirup so hefft de vorß(creven) Mathies Negedanck ute dem crofeel entfange(n). Int erste eyn zegel vorkofft vor xc geringe mark. Item noch eyn ancker woch iii schippu(n)t und ii lis[punt] vorkofft. Dat schippu[n]t geveve(n) vor vii mark maket tosampne xxj mark und xvii scot minus iii d[enare]. Item noch vorkofft vor xvii mark harnasch. Item noch vorkofft eyn ancker vor xxvi mark. Sum(m)e dat ik up desse 250 mark und 3 mark entfangen hebbe maket 154 mark xvii scot minus 3 denare. Item so hebbe wedder utgegeven dat yser ut tosliten iii ferd(ung). So blive ik noch up dat crefel und up takel und tow toachter 100 mark minus 1 mark. Daz ik myn starke recht tobede est, dat ymand van my neme(n) will. Actum f(er)ia quarta ante Conversionis sancti Pauli. Testes omnes scabini.</i></p>	<p>„Dat grote crafeel mit alle syne tobehorunge steit Berndt Grysowen vor eyn pfant vor iij c und iij geringe mark vor maste und is up geboden twe na dem ersten so also recht is und Bernd Grysow hefft vulmechtig gemaket Mathies Nagedanck de zake fort to forndernde so also recht is Mathies Negedanck yn deselven macht hefft dem Patrone van deselvenCrofeel datsulve schip tohuse und hofe gebede hir vor Gerchte so also recht is und na deme dat he it nicht entfetten wolde so is em gedelet dat he it mochte vorkopen und dehalen sick synes geldes darane hirup so heffet vorsz Mathies Nagedanck ute dem Crofeel entfnge(n) int erste eyn segel vorkofft vor cx geringe mark. Item noch eyn acker noch iij schipput und ijlisw vorkaufft das schipput gegenen vor vij mark to sampne xxj marck und xvij scot iij d, Item noch vorkaufft vor xvij mark harnasch. Item noch vorkofft eyn Ancker vor xvj mark sume dat ik up desse iijc und iij mark entfangen habbe makt ij c iij mark xvj s und iij d Item so habbe ick weder utgegegne dat yse ut to sliten iij ferde So bline ik noch up dat Creffel und up takel und tow toachter j c mark und j mark dat ik myn starke recht to bee est dat ymand van my neme aill acte feria quarta ante Convesione Pauli (1470) testet omni scabini“ - 24. Januar</p>

Der folgende Kommentar wurde von der Autorin zu diesem Eintrag hinzugefügt: „Berndt Grysowen, nie dysponując gotówką, rozliczył zastaw w inny sposób. Mathias [Negedanck] otrzymał na własność żagiel (inny niż poprzednie) za 110 grzywien, jeszcze jakieś inne rzeczy warte 21 grzywien i 17 skojców i 3 denary, pancerz wart 17 grzywien, kotwicę za 16 grzywien. Dawało to 202 grzywiny (choć brakuje jakiegoś przedmiotu za 30 grzywien), a zatem z sumy 303 grzywien rozli-

czono 202 grzywny“ [Berndt Grysowen, der kein Bargeld besaß, beglich das Pfand auf eine andere Weise. Mathias [Negedanck] erhielt ein Segel (ein anderes als die vorherigen) für 110 Mark, noch einige andere Dinge im Wert von 21 Mark und 17 Skot und 3 Denare, einen Panzer im Wert von 17 Mark, einen Anker für 16 Mark. Dies ergab 202 Mark (obwohl ein Gegenstand für 30 Mark fehlt), so dass von den insgesamt 303 Mark 202 Mark abgerechnet wurden] (S. 109).

Aus dem Eintrag geht jedoch hervor, dass Grysowen einen Gläubigeranspruch von 253 kleinen Mark für Masten hatte, die auf dem Schiff gesichert waren. Grysowen war ein Bürger von Danzig (gestorben vor dem 21. Dezember 1477).⁵³ Er ermächtigte Negedanck gerichtlich zum Einzug der Forderung. Trotz dreimaliger Aufforderung ist der Patron des Schiffes nicht erschienen. Der Anwalt verkaufte daraufhin die Ausstattung der Karavelle. Er verkaufte ein Segel, einen Anker, einen Panzer und einen zweiten Anker. Insgesamt erhielt er 154 Mark 17 Skot minus 3 Denare (Pfennige). Da er 3 Firdungen (18 Skot) ausgegeben hatte, blieb eine Schuld von 99 Mark, die auf dem Schiff und seiner Ausrüstung gesichert waren. Die von der Autorin angegebenen Beträge sind irreführend, denn auch hier werden die mit einer durchgestrichenen Ziffer – meist j – gekennzeichneten Hälften nicht berücksichtigt, sondern wie die Ziffer eins (j) behandelt. Es sollte erwähnt werden, dass dies nicht das einzige Beispiel für eine Fehlinterpretation der Handschrift ist (siehe S. 57, Anm. 53; S. 100, Anm. 244; S. 199, Anm. 190).

Als die Briefe an König Ludwig XI. bezüglich der Karavelle kein Ergebnis brachten, wurde das Schiff von der Stadt übernommen. Die Behörden in Danzig sollten Lübeck und Hamburg über diese Entscheidung informieren. Die Autorin stellt fest, dass in die beiden Städte „dotarły ... wieści ...“, by w związku z niszczeniem karaweli i ewentualnym zagrożeniem dla ruchu w porcie (to jest na Motławie) usunąć ją z miejsca dotychczasowego postoju [die Nachricht eingetroffen ist, ... dass die Karavelle aufgrund ihrer Zerstörung und einer möglichen Gefährdung des Verkehrs im Hafen (d.h. auf dem Fluss Mottlau) von ihrem derzeitigen Liegeplatz entfernt werden soll] („schipp over dem water all vorschenen isz und unser havenynge tho schaden kamen mochte, moten wy darupp gedenken [also wörtlich: wir müssen es überlegen – B.M.] und ith upperbracht werde [und es ist nicht zu ändern – B.M.] und so ith upperbracht isz wor eth denne moge syn wy nach nicht beraden ok. nahneme de uth frangriken itczunder thogrepe doene, so wil ith overall tho eyner vorrichtigen risen“)“ (S. 108).

Die Interpretation dieses Abschnitts aus dem Brief von Danzig nach Lübeck vom 26. Dezember 1469 ist jedoch fehlerhaft.⁵⁴ Aus dem ersten Satz

⁵³ *Księga długów miasta Torunia z okresu wojny trzynastoletniej*, hrsg. von K. Ciesielska, I. Janosz-Biskupowa, Toruń 1964, Nr. 106-107.

⁵⁴ HR, II, 6, Nr. 283.

geht hervor, dass das Schiff bereits fast unsichtbar ist, d. h. es sinkt. Deshalb muss es aus dem Wasser zum Kiel gezogen werden. Die Übersetzung dieser Passage mit „und es ist nicht zu ändern“ ist umso unverständlicher, als der Herausgeber in Fußnote 2 erklärt hat, was gemeint ist.

Die Arbeit beschränkt sich auf die Beschreibung einer notariellen Urkunde, die am 16. Februar 1470 in Danzig ausgestellt wurde und in der zweimal der schlechte Zustand der Karavelle und die von ihr ausgehende Gefahr für den Hafen beschrieben werden (S. 110). Es ist aber auch wichtig, die Frage zu beantworten, auf welcher Rechtsgrundlage die Stadt die Karavelle übernommen hat. Dies wurde von Lienau hervorgehoben. Ihm zufolge „sicherte sich [der Rat] durch gerichtliche, von der Hafenbehörde ausgesprochene Kondemnierung [= Kondemnation] des Schiffes gegen Rückansprüche der Franzosen“.⁵⁵ Im Seerecht bedeutet „Kondemnation“ die Anerkennung eines Schiffes durch autorisierte Personen als unbrauchbar oder zur Reparatur untauglich.

Obwohl die notarielle Urkunde *super glaciebus dicto fluminis Mottelaw deproe situm ...caravele* niedergeschrieben wurde, ist man nach B. Możejko „po [zapewne pod – W.D.] karawełę podpłynięto łódką i tu spisano zeznania lustratorów“ [nach der Karavelle [sicherlich an die Karavelle – W.D.] mit einem Boot angekommen und hier wurden die Aussagen der Überprüfer gesammelt] (S. 110). Wie sich das Boot auf dem Eis fortbewegte, ist nicht geklärt.

Die Reparatur der von der Stadt übernommenen Karavelle wurde laut Weinreich „in der faste“, d.h. in der Fastenzeit (7. März-21. April), im Jahr 1470 durchgeführt. Leider hat die Autorin dies als „in der daste“ gelesen (S. 112), ohne den Zeitpunkt dieses Ereignisses näher zu bestimmen. Lienau datierte den Beginn der Renovierung auf Mitte März.⁵⁶

Nach dem Wiederaufbau nahm die Karavelle, bereits unter geändertem Namen – „Peter von Danzig“ –, am hanseatisch-englischen Krieg teil. Ihre Geschichte erfahren wir vor allem durch die Briefe, die der Ratsherr Berndt Pawest, der das Schiff kommandierte, an den Danziger Rat schrieb. Die Autorin stellt fest (S. 34, Anm. 138), dass von den Ropps Edition dieser Briefe „była w zasadzie wierna oryginałom, autopsja wykazała, że opuszczano jedynie fragmenty inwokacji (adres)“ [im Wesentlichen originalgetreu war, die Autopsie ergab, dass nur Teile der Anrufung ausgelassen wurden]. Es ist offensichtlich falsch, die Anrufung (Anrufung des Namens Gottes) mit der Anrede (Name des Empfängers und sein Titel) gleichzusetzen. Die Anredeformel (Nennung und Begrüßung des Empfängers) hat der Herausgeber hingegen weggelassen und mit P.s. (wahrscheinlich plurimam salutem) gekennzeichnet. Darauf weisen die Reproduktionen der beiden Briefe

55 O. Lienau, *Das grosse Kraweel...*, S. 20.

56 Ibidem.

zwischen den Seiten 156-157 und die ihnen entsprechenden Nummern 538 und 557 in der Ausgabe der Hanseresesse hin.

Danach wurde festgestellt: „W zasadzie jedynie w wypadku końcowego dopisku listu HR, Bd. II/6, nr 548 nie ma jego śladu w obecnie zachowanym w AP Gdańsk materiale. W wypadku listów AP Gdańsk 300D/75, nr 254 i 255 w kopertach zachowały się koncept i czystopis” [Lediglich im Fall der Schlussnotiz des Briefes HR, Bd. II/6, Nr. 548, findet sich in dem derzeit im AP Gdańsk aufbewahrten Material keine Spur. Im Fall der Briefe AP Gdańsk 300D/75, Nr. 254 und 255, enthalten die Umschläge ein Konzept und eine Reinschrift] (ebenda). Der Herausgeber hat aber sowohl den Brief als auch einen ebenfalls separat datierten Folgebrief ediert, Nachschrift genannt (Nr. 534, 541, 544, 548, 553, 554). Vergleicht man jedoch den Inhalt der beiden Briefe, so ist es in keinem Fall möglich, von einer Reinschrift und einem Konzept zu sprechen. Welchen Sinn hätte es für Pawest, eine Minute zu senden? In zwei Fällen hat der Herausgeber angegeben, dass zwei Exemplare desselben Briefes erhalten sind, aber die Arbeit zeigt, dass es sich in beiden Fällen um eine Reinschrift handelt. Wie bereits erwähnt, ist der größte Teil dieser Korrespondenz ganz oder in Fragmenten, manchmal in Zusammenfassungen in modernem Deutsch, bereits von T. Hirsch veröffentlicht worden – als Beilage zur ersten Ausgabe der Chronik von Weinreich.

Die Karavelle stach am 19. August 1471 von Danzig aus in See, begleitet von „einer kleinen Karavelle unter dem Kommando von Michel Ertman“.⁵⁷ Laut der Autorin „dzień po święcie św. Jadwigi, czyli 16 października, ... obie gdańskie karawele zatrzymały się w okolicy Berschuck” [hielten beide Danziger Karavellen am Tag nach dem Fest der heiligen Hedwig, d.h. am 16. Oktober, ... in der Nähe von Berschuck], wie aus einem Brief vom 24. November 1471 hervorgeht: „dat wy nach upp dessen hwdigen dach liggen tho Berszhuck” (S. 123 und Anm. 60). Die Formulierung „hwdigen dach” bedeutet „der heutige Tag”, d. h. der Tag, an dem der Brief geschrieben wurde (24. November). Der Grund für diesen Irrtum war wahrscheinlich die Tatsache, dass Pawest seinen ersten Brief am 20. Oktober nach Danzig schickte.⁵⁸ Dies hätte man vermieden werden können, da in der Edition die Eigennamen großgeschrieben werden und der Herausgeber die nach kirchlichen Feiertagen genannten Daten erklärt. Ein weiteres Missverständnis ist die Beschreibung der Umstände des Besuchs von Pawest in Brügge. Die Autorin ist der Meinung, dass „między 16 a 20 października 1471 r. przybywający z Brugii gdański kaper Eler Bokelman złożył wizytę ... Pawestowi ... i przekazał mu od starszych kantoru hanzeatyckiego kopię glejtu księcia Burgundii .. dla hanzeatów” [zwischen dem 16. und 20. Oktober 1471 der aus Brügge

57 Weinreich I, S. 9; Weinreich II, S. 733.

58 HR, II, 6, Nr. 529.

kommende Danziger Kaperer Eler Bokelman ... Pawest ... einen Besuch abstattete und ihm von den Ältesten des Hansekantors eine Abschrift des Geleitbriefes ... des Herzogs von Burgund ... für die Hansestadt übergab], der ... „zawierał ... zgodę na zatrzymywanie się i zaopatrywanie w proviant hanzeatycznych okrętów w jego portach“ [... die Zustimmung zum Anhalten und zur Versorgung von Hanseschiffen in seinen Häfen enthielt] (S. 126). Aus dem Inhalt des Briefes vom 20. Oktober geht jedoch hervor, dass es Pawest war, der Bokelman mit Kreditivbrief, Grüßen und der Bitte um einen herzöglichen Geleitbrief nach Brügge schickte.⁵⁹

Die Beschreibung von Pawests Besuch in Brügge (S. 127) enthält ebenfalls Ungenauigkeiten. Er wurde von einigen Personen begleitet, darin von dem Diener (geselle) des Herrn (her) Johann Krieg, Matz genannt, und nicht „Johan Krige (geselle) und Maciej (Matz)“ (S. 127). An der Delegation nahm „der kranke Eler Bokelman (wowal dat geleide swack und kranck were“) nicht teil“ (S. 127). Dieses Zitat sagt jedoch nichts von dessen Krankheit, sondern von dem Geleitbrief, dessen Kopie an Pawest von Eler geschickt wurde (*und dat sze [die Älteren des Kantors] my de copie gesant hadden by schiper Elre*), obwohl der Geleitbrief falsch war (beschädigt?, wertlos?).⁶⁰

Ein ähnliches Missverständnis des Textes gibt es bei der Diskussion über Pawests Gespräch mit dem Kölner Gesandten Kerstien Questenberch, der zu Gesprächen nach London reiste, nachdem Köln in einer gemeinsamen hanseatischen Front gegen England ausgebrochen war. In der Arbeit heißt es: „Obwohl Berndt Pawest gegen die Engländer argumentierte, die ständig die Hanseaten angreifen sollten (dar weren nach vele lude in Engelande, do dat gerne gud segen, sunder allein da, van Lwnden des nich), machte sein Gesprächspartner nur eine oberflächliche Behauptung über das Wohlwollen von Köln gegenüber Danzig“ (S. 128-129 und Anm. 101). Schon die in der Fußnote angegebene Stelle deutet auf ein Missverständnis hin. Es stellt sich nämlich heraus, dass diese Worte von Questenberch gesprochen werden, wie der Anfang des Satzes andeutet: *und he wusste wal so vele, so dar ymand were, de sick in de saken worde leggen...*⁶¹

Pawest sollte „am Abend (,avende‘) vor dem Dreikönigstag (d.h. zwischen dem 5. und 6. Januar) 1472 von Berschuck aus in See stechen“ (S. 136). O. Lienau gab an, dass es der 6. Januar nachmittags (abends) war, während es nach E. Danaell der 5. Januar war.⁶² Die Autorin bezieht sich jedoch nicht auf diese

59 HR, II, 6, Nr. 529. So schreibt davon auch O. Lienau, *Das grosse Kraweel...*, S. 21.

60 HR, II, 6, Nr. 530.

61 HR, II, 6, Nr. 53.

62 O. Lienau, *Das grosse Kraweel...*, S. 23; E. Daenell, *Die Blütezeit...*, Bd. II, S. 109. Es sollte hinzugefügt werden, dass auf Karte 3 (S. 137) der Ausgangspunkt nicht Berschuck, sondern Zwin ist.

Ansichten. Bemerkenswert ist, dass das Wort „avende“ auch den Vorabend eines Feiertags bedeutet, in diesem Fall den 5. Januar. Dass das Schiff am Abend aufs Meer hinausfährt, scheint unwahrscheinlich. Es ist daher davon auszugehen, dass die Karavelle am 5. Januar in See gestochen ist.

Pawest berichtete über die Expedition in einem Brief vom 6. März 1472, der von O. Lienau modernisiert wurde (S. 23-25) und dessen Inhalt auf S. 136-141 wiedergegeben wird. Nach der Rückkehr von einer zweimonatigen Expedition befand sich die Karavelle in Sluis an der Mündung des Flusses Zwin in die Nordsee, in der Nähe von Brügge. Viel Zeit wurde für die Reparatur des Schiffes aufgewendet (siehe Tab. 8, S. 144-147).

Die Autorin schreibt über den von Pawest geplanten Kredit, denn „szyper (kapitan ?) i bosman nie chcieli już bowiem służyć bez wynagrodzenia i ... Pawest rozważał nawet zatrudnienie jakichś innych osób w ich miejsce“ [der Skipper (Kapitän ?) und der Bootsmann wollten nicht länger ohne Bezahlung dienen und ... Pawest erwog sogar, andere Leute an ihrer Stelle einzustellen] (S. 148). Inzwischen heißt es in dem Brief, dass beide nicht mehr für Geld in den Krieg ziehen werden.⁶³

In einem Schreiben vom 30. Mai beklagte sich Pawest weiterhin über den Mangel an Personal auf dem Schiff. Laut der Autorin „między 21 a 30 maja ... Pawest dowiedział się o mieszkającym we Flandrii (w Delenmarked – Dielemmarkt), uchodzącym za dobrego sternika gdańszczaninie Lambercie Happenerze. Udało się go wprawdzie sprowadzić i zachęcić do służby na karaweli, dzięki wypłacie w charakterze zadatku reńskiego guldena i tzw. post guldena, jednak po ich otrzymaniu Happener zbiegł“ [zwischen dem 21. und 30. Mai ... erfuhr Pawest von Lambert Happener, einem Bürger aus Danzig, der in Flandern (in Delenmarked – Dielemmarkt) lebte und als guter Steuermann galt. Es gelang ihm, ihn dank der Zahlung von rheinischen Gulden und sogenannten Postgulden als Pfand zum Dienst auf der Karavelle zu bewegen, aber nachdem er sie erhalten hatte, floh er] (S. 156). Zu diesem Thema schrieb Pawest wie folgt: „Wiedzcie także drodzy panowie, ja wynająłem sternika, naszego mieszczanina, mieszkającego na Targu Dylowym [Stare Przedmieście w Gdańsku], nazwiskiem Lambert Hoppener, za tydzień należy mu się jeden reński gulden, i dałem mu jednego postulacyjnego guldena [pieniądz o niskiej wartości] jako Bożego feniga [drobna moneta przekazywana po zawarciu umowy]; ten mi uciekł i przybędzie do Gdańska, co wy z tym chcecie zrobić, to należy do waszej roztropności“ [Sie sollen es auch wissen, liebe Herren, dass ich einen Steuermann, unseren Bürger, der auf dem Dylar Markt [alte Vorstadt von Danzig] wohnt, namens Lam-

63 HR, II, 6, Nr. 540: *Ock wetet, dat de schipper unnd stuerman denken umm keyn gelt wedder thon orloyen tho segelen*). Pawest erwartete vom Danziger Stadtrat, dass er die richtigen Leute findet (...*dat gy ock bestellt eynen andern guden schipper und stuerman*).

bert Hoppener, angestellt habe, und dass er wöchentlich einen Rheingulden bekommen wird, und dass ich ihm einen Postengulden als göttlichen Pfennig [eine kleine Münze, die bei Abschluss eines Vertrages übergeben wird] gegeben habe; er ist mir entkommen und wird nach Danzig kommen; was Sie damit machen wollen, gehört zu Ihrer Klugheit].⁶⁴

Ein weiteres Beispiel für ein Missverständnis des Textes betrifft das Schreiben vom 14. Juni dieses Jahres. Die Autorin schreibt: „Ze 100 funtów (pożyczonych jeszcze w Brugii) nic już nie zostało ... Pawest wypłacił głównemu bosmanowi Hermanowi 10 grzywien dla jego żony, a bliżej nieznany Thewes Pelcz otrzymał 17 beczek mąki i 2 beczki masła” [Von den 100 Pfund (die noch in Brügge geliehen waren) blieb nichts übrig ... Pawest zahlte dem Hauptbootsmann Herman 10 Mark für seine Frau, und der unbekannte Thewes Pelcz erhielt 17 Fässer Mehl und 2 Fässer Butter] (S. 157). Es war jedoch der Danziger Rat, der der Frau des Bootsmannes diese 10 Mark geben sollte, und diese Lebensmittel wurden von Pelcz geliefert und nicht an ihn übergeben.⁶⁵

Die Karavelle stach Anfang Juli 1472 in See (S. 160). Am 19. Juli kam es zu einer Schlacht mit der englischen Flotte, die die Hanseaten verloren. In diesem Gebiet befand sich Paul Beneke, der eine kleine Einheit befehligte; laut der Autorin: „błąd sternika spowodował ... jej utratę w Swen. Okręt porzucano na plaży w okolicy Sluis” [Ein Fehler des Steuermanns verursachte ... ihren Verlust in Swen. Das Schiff wurde an einem Strand in der Nähe von Sluis verlassen] (S. 160-161). Aus der in der Arbeit zitierten Notiz aus der Chronik von Weinreich (162, Anm. 356) geht jedoch deutlich hervor, dass das Schiff vor Sluiz auf die Untiefe lief (*vor der Slusz auf dem mittelsande*). Darauf weist T. Hirsch hin.⁶⁶

In einem Schreiben an den Rat von Danzig vom 23. Juli beklagte sich Pawest, dass die Besatzung „nie chciała pić dostarczonego ... piwa (dubelt beer)” [das gelieferte Bier... nicht trinken wollte] und deshalb Pawest „czynił dalsze zakupy lepszego piwa płacąc po 6 groszy za pipeę” [tätigte weitere Käufe von besserem Bier und bezahlte 6 Groschen pro Pipe] (S. 161). In dem Brief heißt es jedoch, dass

64 HR, II, 6, Nr. 549: *Ok wetet, leven hern, dat ick hadde eynen steuerman gehuret, unser borger eyn, wanende upp dem Delenmarkede, genomt Lambert Hoppener...; de is my entlopen und wert kamen to Danczk, wes gy darby doen wilt, dat staet to juwer vorsinnigen wieszheit...* Ich konnte keine Stadt mit diesem Namen in Flandern finden. Im Register, S. 603, Delenmarket wurde bei Danzig angegeben.

65 HR, II, 6, Nr. 552: *Ock leven hern, ich hebbe Hermen, den hovetbosman, kume by my beholden und geve em vaste wat he begert, so bidet he nu, dat gy so wol woltdt doen und geven siiner hwsfrouwen 10 mark. Ok wetet leven hern. Dat my Thewes Pelcz hefft gesant 17 tunnen meel und 2 tunnen botter ...* Diese Passage wurde von Th. Hirsch modernisiert; siehe *Des Danziger Rathmannes Bernt Pawests Sendschreiben...*, Nr. 16, S. 113.

66 Weinreich, I, S. 11, Anm. 6; Weinreich, II, S. 735, Anm. 3.

die Seeleute kein anderes Doppelbier trinken wollten als das in Sluis gebraute (*de willen keyn dobbelt beer drynken, als thor Slusz gebrouwen wert*).⁶⁷

Ein weiteres Kapitel in der Geschichte der Karavelle ist mit der Person des Danziger Bürgers Paul Beneke verbunden. Über die Herkunft von Paul Beneke ist nur sehr wenig bekannt. Die Autorin gibt in Anlehnung an T. Hirsch die Grunddaten an (S. 166 und Anm. 1), glaubt aber fälschlicherweise, dass nach Hirsch die Frau von Beneke im Jahr 1475 „Pathe der Ortke (Dorothea) Herzberg, später Frau von Christoph Beyer“ war. Inzwischen ist Pathe kein Name, sondern eine Patin. Benekes Frau war also die Patentante von Dorothea Herzberg. Die von Hirsch gegebene Information, dass Beneke laut Grundbuch ein Haus in der Hl. Geist Straße – Ecke Kohlengasse besaß, das seine Tochter Elisabeth von ihm erbt, wird in der Arbeit nicht verifiziert.

Während des hanseatisch-englischen Krieges hat sich Beneke als mutiger und effektiver Feldherr gezeigt (S. 166-167). Die Umstände, unter denen er das Kommando über die Karavelle übernommen hat, bedürfen einer näheren Erläuterung. Die Initiative in dieser Angelegenheit sollte bei Pawest liegen. In dieser Angelegenheit erklärte die Autorin (S. 156): „W liście z 20 czerwca [1472 r.] ... Pawest przekonywał Radę Miasta Gdańska do objęcia dowództwa karaweli właśnie przez ... Benekego (dat ick Pawel Beneke hebbe togesecht ein setendeel am carveel nae erem rade. Und menen, dat iidt jw. heren nich nicht entkegen oft to unwillen siin sal, wente de man is geseen und beropen),⁶⁸ a starsi kantoru w Brugii mieli wręcz nadzieje, że przyszły szyper po dopłynięciu do Hamburga znajdzie tam chętnych do służby na karaweli ... (list z 12 czerwca)“ [In einem Brief vom 20. Juni [1472] ... überzeugte Pawest den Rat der Stadt Danzig, die Karavelle eben von ... Beneke kommandieren zu lassen (dat ick Pawel Beneke hebbe togesecht ein setendeel am carveel nae erem rade. Und menen, dat iidt jw. heren nich entkegen oft to unwillen siin sal, wente de man is geseen und beropen) und die Ältesten des Kontors in Brügge hofften sogar, dass der zukünftige Kapitän nach seiner Ankunft in Hamburg dort Leute finden würde, die bereit wären, auf der Karavelle zu dienen...] (Brief vom 12. Juni)].

Der ausgelassene Anfang des zitierten Satzes ist jedoch für die Ernennung Benekes zum Kapitän der Karavelle von Bedeutung: *Upp dat so wetet leven heren, dat se [die Älteren des Brügger Kontors] mii alle geraden hebben mit langhem vortrecken, dat ick...* Es scheint also, dass Benekes Förderer lange Zeit die Kaufleute des Brügger Kontors waren. Dies geht auch aus einem Schreiben vom 14. Juni hervor. Daraus folgt, dass der Kontor beabsichtigte, Beneke nach Hamburg zu schicken, um Matrosen für den Dienst anzuwerben, und dass er Pawest aufforderte, ihm ein angemessenes Gehalt anzubieten (*ick*

67 HR, II, 6, Nr. 558; *Des Danziger Rathmannes Bernt Pawests Sendschreiben...*, Nr. 24, S. 117.

68 HR, II, 6, Nr. 553.

hebbe nach keyn ende mit em, de koopman wolde wol, dat ick em veele toseggen solde).⁶⁹ Die Empfehlung des Kantors an Beneke ist nicht überraschend, da er bereits Ende 1469, ohne die Erlaubnis der Hanse abzuwarten, zwei Danziger als Kaper anerkannte: Martin Bardewik und Paul Beneke.⁷⁰ Pawest sah jedoch auch, dass dies sehr gute Wahl wäre. In einem Schreiben vom 3. Juni desselben Jahres erklärte er nämlich, dass er ihn gerne als Kapitän hätte, aber noch nicht wisse, wie er sich mit ihm in dieser Angelegenheit einigen könne.⁷¹

Bleibt noch die Frage nach dem Umfang des Anteils von Beneke an der Karavelle. In dem Schreiben ist eindeutig von $\frac{1}{6}$ (*sestendeel*) die Rede. So haben es die oben zitierten Forscher verstanden, ebenso wie G. von der Ropp.⁷² Allerdings behauptet B. Możejko fälschlicherweise, ohne auf die Meinung der oben genannten Historiker einzugehen, wie auch Ch. Brämer und E. Cieślak, dass es $\frac{1}{16}$ war (S. 162, 169, 170).⁷³

Ein weiteres Problem ist der Zeitpunkt der Übernahme des Kommandos über die Karavelle durch Beneke. In dieser Angelegenheit hat B. Możejko erklärt: „Wedle niektórych badaczy szyprem karaweli ... [Beneke] miał zostać już w czerwcu 1472 r., ale źródła wskazują, że został nim między 24 sierpnia a 5 września 1472 r.“ [Einigen Gelehrten zufolge soll er [Beneke] bereits im Juni 1472 Kapitän der Karavelle ... geworden sein, aber die Quellen geben an, dass er zwischen dem 24. August und dem 5. September 1472 Kapitän wurde] (S. 167; auf S. 35 wurde angegeben, dass es im September passierte). Aus dem oben zitierten Brief Pawests an den Danziger Rat geht klar hervor, dass Pawest Beneke den Anteil am Schiff zwischen dem 14. und 20. Juni 1472 versprach, was, wie er glaubt, vermutlich seinem Testament entsprach. War dies gleichbedeutend damit, dass er das Kommando über die Karavelle übernahm? So haben es Hirsch und Vossberg, von der Ropp und Lienau verstanden.⁷⁴ Die Autorin lässt sich jedoch nicht auf eine Diskussion mit dieser Ansicht ein.

69 HR, II, 6, Nr. 552.

70 E. Daenell, *Die Blütezeit...*, Bd. II, S. 51.

71 HR, II, 6, Nr. 550: *Ock wetet, dat ick Pawel Beneke gerne to eynem schipperen hadde; ich hope, heer wert dato geneget, mer wo ick my mit em vordrage, kan ick nach nicht weten.*

72 G. von der Ropp, *Zur Geschichte des Alunhandels im 15. Jahrhundert*, „Hansische Geschichtsblätter“ XXVIII (1900), S. 130, Anm. 1.

73 Ch. Brämer, *Die Entwicklung der Danziger Reederei im Mittelalter*, „Zeitschrift des Westpreussischen Geschichtsvereins“ LXIII (1922), S. 37, Anm. 3 und E. Cieślak, *Ustawodawstwo Związku Miast Hanzeatyckich jako wyraz polityki monopolistycznej w handlu i żegludze w XIV i XV wieku*, „Zapiski Historyczne“ XIX (1953) 1-4, S. 115, Anm. 23.

74 HR, II, 6, Nr. 553: [Pawest] hat sich nach langem Sträuben mit Benecke geeinigt und denselben zum Schiffer bestellt; *Des Danziger Ratmannes...*, Nr. 17: Paul Benecke zum Hauptmanne über dasselbe [Krawel] gesetzt; (Regest); O. Lienau, *Das grosse Kraweel...*, S. 31.

B. Mozejko glaubt, dass Beneke beim Verlassen des Schiffes durch Pawest ihm eine Rechnung „za utrzymanie załogi i koszty prowadzenia karaweli na trasie Zwin-Hamburg“ [für den Unterhalt der Mannschaft und die Kosten für den Betrieb der Karavelle auf der Strecke Zwin-Hamburg] überreichte, wovon „mowa w liście Paula Benekego do Gdańska z 14 lutego 1473 r.“ [in einem Brief von Paul Beneke an Danzig vom 14. Februar 1473 die Rede ist] (S. 168 und Anm. 12, auf S. 170, Anm. 30 irrtümlich, dass es sich auf einen Brief vom 16. Februar bezieht).

Das besagte Schreiben enthält jedoch keine derartige Information. Beneke erklärte lediglich, er habe dem Rat geschrieben, wieviel die Instandhaltung des Schiffes gekostet habe, seit Pawest es verlassen habe.⁷⁵ Die von ihm vorgelegte Rechnung bezieht sich auf die Zeit ab der Abfahrt von Pawest nach Danzig; das erste (und einzige) Datum ist der 3. Oktober (in der Arbeit fälschlicherweise der 13. Oktober), und sie enthält die Kosten für den Winteraufenthalt der Karavelle in Hamburg. Erst im letzten Eintrag gibt er an, dass er nach der Rückkehr des Schiffes aus Flandern, aber schon nach der Abreise von Pawest, 200 Mark gezahlt hat.⁷⁶

Vor dem 18. Januar 1473 ging das Schiff in private Hände über,⁷⁷ da es von drei Danziger Kaufleuten gekauft wurde (siehe S. 169–170). Benekes Position änderte sich nicht – er war weiterhin zu $\frac{1}{6}$ Miteigentümer des Schiffes. Der Grund für den Verkauf des Schiffes wurde zu Recht genannt – seine Instandhaltung kostete die Danziger Behörden zu viel (S. 169).

Benekes berühmteste Tat war der Angriff auf eine unter burgundischer Flagge fahrende Galeere am 27. April 1473, ein Ereignis, das so bekannt wurde, dass es in vielen Quellen (Briefe, hanseatische Rezesse) wiedergegeben wurde. Es wurde ausführlich erörtert (S. 186–192). Entgegen der bisherigen Forschung ist die Autorin der Meinung, dass der Angriff nicht in englischen Gewässern, sondern in der Nähe des Hafens von Gravelines (auf S. 190 irrtümlich – Gravelinge) und damit in neutralen burgundischen Gewässern stattgefunden hat (S. 14, 188, Anm. 119). Diese Information hat nämlich Giralomo Strozii aus Pisa gegeben. Es ist jedoch möglich, dass sie voreingenommen war. Der Ort des Anschlags ist wichtig für die Bewertung des Ereignisses. Beneke behauptete, er habe eine Galeere in englischen Gewässern gekapert, während die Vertreter

75 HR, II, 6, Nr. 640: *des so wetet leven heren, dat ik jw. alle beschet ghescreven hebbe van reken-schopp, wat dat schipp ghekosstet hefft to holdende, sedder der tiid dat her Bernart van hir toch.*

76 HR, II, 6, Nr. 641: ... *anno domini 1471 den derden dach von october.* Der Herausgeber datiert die Rechnung ohne nähere Erläuterung auf den 22. Februar 1473. Die Autorin glaubt, dass das Datum der Rechnung, laut ihr der 13. Oktober, das Datum der Ausschiffung von Pawest ist (S. 162 und Anm. 359).

77 Die Autorin stellt dies zu Recht auf der Grundlage von Briefen aus Danzig nach Lübeck und Hamburg vom 18. Januar 1473 fest; HR, II, 6, Nr. 642, 643. Man kann hinzufügen, dass diese Informationen auch in dem Schreiben des Rates an Beneke enthalten sind; *ibidem*, Nr. 640.

des Herzogs von Burgund, Karl des Kühnen, behaupteten, dies sei in burgundischen Gewässern geschehen (siehe unten).

Noch zwei Tatsachen beeinflussten die weitere Entwicklung des Falles: Die Galeere enthielt auch Güter, die dem Haushalt des Herzogs von Burgund gehörten, und sie fuhr unter der burgundischen Flagge, die von der Besatzung der Karavelle beleidigt worden sein soll. Es war daher zu erwarten, dass die Galeere und ihre Waren zurückverlangt werden würden und dass bei einer Weigerung Repressionen gegen die Hansestadt eingeleitet werden würden (S. 192, 194; siehe auch unten).

Diese Bedrohung beeinflusste die Haltung des Brügger Kontors, aber auch die von Hamburg und Lübeck. Bereits in einem Brief vom 8. Mai warnen die Ältesten des Kontors Danzig davor, eine Aufteilung der Beute vorzunehmen, falls Beneke den Danziger Hafen anlaufen würde.⁷⁸

Benekes damalige Situation, die Frage der Galeere und Karavelle wurde von Pawest und Feldstete, den Danziger Gesandten bei den Verhandlungen in Utrecht, in einem Brief an den Rat dargestellt, der am 22. Juni 1473 von Hamburg aus geschrieben wurde.⁷⁹ Dabei handelte es sich um Information über Gespräche mit der Lübecker Delegation, die, wie die Danziger, nach Utrecht reiste, und mit den Hamburger Behörden über die Galeere und die auf ihr befindlichen Waren. Der Inhalt dieses Schreibens wurde von B. Możejko analysiert (S. 196-198).

Zuerst stellte sie fest: „brak na spotkaniu przedstawicielei Hamburga był jednoznacznym sygnałem, że władze tego miasta dystansowały się od całej akcji” [Die Abwesenheit von Vertretern aus Hamburg bei dem Treffen war ein deutliches Zeichen dafür, dass sich die Hamburger Behörden von der gesamten Aktion distanzieren] (S. 196). „Następnie ... uzgodniono podział łupów. Stało się to dzięki postawie ... Pawesta. Ten ... przekonał Lubekę, że łupy powinny należeć do miast Hanzji, a zwłaszcza do załogi karaweli. W związku z postawą Hamburga ..., a także odmową Lubeki w sprawie przejścia karaweli do jej portu ... postanowiono przeprowadzić ją do ... portu Stade” [Dann ... einigten sie sich auf die Aufteilung der Beute. Dies war der Einstellung von ... Pawest zu verdanken. Er ... überzeugte Lübeck, dass die Beute den Hansestädten und insbesondere der Besatzung der Karavelle gehören sollte. In Anbetracht der Haltung Hamburgs ... und auch der Weigerung Lübecks, die Karavelle in seinen Hafen zu verlegen ... wurde beschlossen, sie in den Hafen von Stade zu verlegen] (S. 196).

Die Autorin glaubt, dass man die Galeere in den Hafen von Lübeck umleiten, zerlegen und verkaufen wollte. „Zamiar ten rychło wykonano...”, a „za uzyskany z rozbiórki materiał spodziewano się uzyskać łącznie 4385

78 HR, II, 7, Nr. 28.

79 HR, II, 7, Nr. 52.

grzywien, które miały być przeznaczone na tzw. przyzowe“ [Diese Absicht wurde bald in die Tat umgesetzt ... und für das bei der Abtragung gewonnene Material sollten insgesamt 4385 Mark erzielt werden, die für die sogenannte Prise verwendet werden sollten] (S. 196).

Dieser Analyse kann nicht zugestimmt werden. Erstens stellten die Danziger eindeutig fest, dass die Diskussionen über die Galeere und die Waren im Rathaus stattfanden, wohin sie vom Rat eingeladen worden waren (...*zo dat wie in ere kegenwerdicheit* [Lübecker Gesandten] *durch den rath alhir upp rathuesz syn alze van dage vordadet, dar denne voste vorhandelinge gewest ysz von wegen der genamenen galeyden und guderen darinne wesende*).

Beneke wollte einen Geleitbrief für die gesamte Beute, um sie sicher einlösen zu können, aber die Hamburger Behörden waren nur bereit, dies für die Waren der Feinde – also der Engländer – zu tun. (*dee* [Beneke und die Besatzung] *denne alhir geleyde begeret hebben sunder alle middel* [d.h. ohne Ausnahmen] *dat en denne de rat alhir mitsampt eren borgeren nicht hefft willen geven, sunder en geleyde toseden vor vinde guderen*). Mehr noch, sie erklärten sich sogar bereit, Waren aus den Hansestädten zu übernehmen (*und efft dar ok gudere in weren in de stede der hansze behorende, darvan eren willen to doende*),⁸⁰ aber nicht von „den Freunden“ – den Untertanen des Herzogs von Burgund (*sunder watt gudere darinne weren, de frunden, alze des heren hertogen van Burgundien undersaten behoreden, dar sulden zee fruntlik inseggen, inne lyden edder recht, und dar welden zee en na vormogen gunst inne bewisen etc.*). Die Besatzung lehnte dieses Angebot ab, und die Karavelle segelte nach Stade,⁸¹ wo sie mit einem Geleitbrief versehen wurde. Hier fand die erste Aufteilung der Beute statt, die auf 4385 Mark geschätzt wurde. Auf Anraten der Hamburger Behörden und der Lübecker Abgeordneten fuhren Pawest und Feldstete ebenfalls nach Stade, um mit der Besatzung zu verhandeln, jedoch ohne Erfolg.

In dem vorgenannten Schreiben wird die Abtragung der Galeere in Lübeck nicht erwähnt. In einem Brief von Pawest an Danzig vom 9. Oktober 1473 heißt es hingegen, dass die Franzosen die Galeere beschlagnahmten, *unde dyt is de galeyde, de Pawel untsegelde* („und dies ist die Galeere, die Pawel [Beneke] erobert hat“). Auf diese Nachricht hat bereits O. Lienau aufmerksam gemacht.⁸²

Wenn die Autorin über die Weigerung Lübecks schreibt, die Karavelle anzunehmen, bezieht sie sich auf eine Aussage von Pawest selbst (S. 196, Anm. 170), aber an der angegebenen Stelle gibt es keine solche Aussage.

80 Darauf machte T. Hirsch, F.A. Vossberg, *Das grosse Krawel...*, S. 98, aufmerksam.

81 O. Lienau, *Das grosse Kraweel...*, S. 35, glaubt, dass das Schiff über den Elbe-Seitenarm nach Stade kam.

82 HR, II, 7, Nr. 55; O. Lienau, *Das grosse Kraweel...*, S. 35.

Die Verluste, die Portinari und die Gesellschaft erlitten, sind in Tabelle 12 zusammengefasst. Die Aufstellung der Verluste wurde im Juli 1473 verfasst (S. 200-201). Dabei stellt die Autorin fest: „Szczegółowość listy ... każe sądzić, że Cristofano Spini musiał dysponować jakimiś listami przewozowymi, które pozwoliły mu na takie zestawienie“ [Die Ausführlichkeit der Liste ... lässt vermuten, dass Cristofano Spini einige Frachtbriefe zur Verfügung gehabt haben muss, die es ihm ermöglichten, eine solche Liste zusammenzustellen] (S. 200). Bei der Vorlage der ersten Gruppe von Verlusten, die sich auf 6540 Pfund Groschen belaufen, wurde erklärt, dass sie „in gutem Glauben“ (*to goeder trauwe*) zusammengetragen wurden in Ermangelung seiner Geschäftsbücher, die er, wie bereits erwähnt, in Utrecht nicht besaß.⁸³

In einigen Fällen gibt es Ungenauigkeiten bei der Übersetzung. Punkt 2 bezieht sich nicht auf „Fracht ... von Gütern, die den Engländern gehören“, sondern auf Güter, die nach England zu liefern sind (*vrecht van den anderen goede ... in Inghelant to leverene*), in Punkt 3 handelt es sich nicht um Waren, die „größtenteils nach Pisa“ gehören, sondern um Waren, die geliefert werden sollten (... *leveren moeste tot Piisen*), in Punkt 5 geht es nicht um „gegenwärtige Münze“, sondern Bargeld (*von den ghereeden ghelde*). S. 8 wurde wie folgt gelesen „120 ponden (funtów) zota [?]“.

Der Bevollmächtigte des Herzogs von Burgund, dem die Galeere gehörte und dessen Wappen und Wimpel sie trug, beschwerte sich auf dem Kongress von Utrecht im Juli 1473 über die Beschlagnahmung (Kaperung) der Galeere, wobei Portinari sein Diener war. Die Beschwerde enthielt auch einen Hinweis auf die unmenschliche Behandlung der Besatzung (S. 204). Aber es gab auch Argumente, die in der Arbeit ausgelassen wurden, nämlich dass die Galeere in burgundischen Gewässern gekapert worden war (*dat desulve galleide up eres gnedigen heren steep were genomen*), dass das Wappen und die Flagge beleidigt worden waren (*syner gnaden wapen unde wumpel gar schemliken bespiget, under de vote getreden und to spite sinen gnaden toreten*) und dass das Schiff von Freibeutern im Auftrag der Hanse beschlagnahmt wurde (*uthligger der hansestede in erer aller namen*).⁸⁴

Aus den Antworten der hanseatischen Abgeordneten hat die Autorin die Frage der Wappen hervorgehoben, wobei sie den Text falsch übersetzte.

⁸³ HR, II, 7, Nr. 41; G. von der Ropp, *Zur Geschichte des Alunhandels...*, S. 132 und O. Meltzing, *Tommaso Portinari und sein Konflikt mit der Hanse...*, „Hansische Geschichtsblätter“ XXXIII (1906), S. 112. Erst die zweite Verlustliste wurde auf der Grundlage von Handelsbüchern erstellt und ihre Zuverlässigkeit wurde vom Gemeinderat von Mecheln bestätigt (1496).

⁸⁴ HR, II, 7, Nr. 35, § 32, S. 63. Daher wird von B. Możejko (S. 231) zu Unrecht behauptet, dass nur in der Beschwerde von 1492 „pojawiły się ... informacje o nieznanym do tej pory faktach, mianowicie o zerwaniu przez ... Benekego ... oznak“ [... Informationen über bisher unbekannte Tatsachen, nämlich über das Brechen von ... Zeichen [von Burgund] durch ... Beneke aufgetreten sind].

„Paul Beneke miał ... nie dostrzec tych herbów, które jakoby nie znajdowały się na właściwym miejscu, zwłaszcza, że galera szła pod wiatr“ [Paul Beneke sollte ... diese Wappen nicht bemerkt haben, die angeblich nicht an der richtigen Stelle waren, zumal die Galeere gegen den Wind fuhr („wo dat se Pawell Beneken also kanden, dat he an den wapen des heren unde ok. asn. [eigentl. ok an – W.D.] den luden sodane spiticheit nicht [eigentl. nicht – W.D.] gedaen hade [nicht bemerkt hat? die Wappen – B.M.] doch wolden se darup nicht stan (sie befanden sich nicht an der Stelle, standen, bleiben) [.] wo overst (ouwen dem strome nachschwinem – als er gegen den Wind segelte) unde von weme de galleide were genomen, were opembare“ (S. 204 und Anm. 217).

In ihrer Antwort erklärte die Hanse, dass die Beschlagnahmung der Galeere nicht auf Befehl der Hanse erfolgt sei (*wo dat sodane neminge von bevele unde gehete der gemenen stede hansestede nicht gescheen were*). Es war eher eine private Initiative (*egene eventure*) der von den Engländern benachteiligten Kaufleute. Sie glauben, dass Beneke nicht so mit den Menschen und der Fahne umgegangen ist, aber sie wollen nicht darauf bestehen. Sie haben auch zugesichert, dass Waren aus der Galeere in ihren Städten nicht verkauft werden, da sonst eine hohe Geldstrafe droht. Die herzoglichen Gesandten behaupteten, die Ladung der Galeere sei bis zur Ankunft der Danziger Gesandten in Stade ungeteilt. Dies geschah unmittelbar nach ihrer Ankunft. Auf diese Anschuldigung erwiderten die Danziger, dass mehr als die Hälfte bereits geteilt worden sei.⁸⁵

Leider wird ein sehr wichtiger sozio-rechtlicher Aspekt der Handlungen um die Karavelle in der besprochenen Arbeit nicht behandelt, obwohl diese Frage sowohl von T. Hirsch als auch von F.A. Vossberg sowie O. Lienau angesprochen wurde.⁸⁶ Es geht nämlich um den legalen oder, im Lichte des damaligen Rechts, illegalen Angriff auf die Galeere. Dieser Fall zeigte auch die Spaltungen innerhalb der Hanse: Lübeck und Hamburg wollten die Angelegenheit kompromisshalber regeln, indem sie Waren von „Freunden“ zurückgaben, während Danzig nicht zu Zugeständnissen bereit war. In dieser Angelegenheit haben wir zwei wichtige Quellen: den Brief von Beneke an Lübeck vom 28. Oktober 1473 und den Brief von Danzig an Lübeck vom 4. März 1474.⁸⁷

Diese beiden Briefe werden in der Arbeit zitiert (S. 207, 211). Beneke forderte „die Rückgabe von zwei ... Warenpaketen, deren Erwerb er für recht-

⁸⁵ HR, II, 7, Nr. 35, § 35. Die Gesandten des Fürsten betonten, dass die gesamte Hanse für die Beschlagnahmung der Galeere verantwortlich war, was für Danzig von Vorteil war; ibidem, § 36.

⁸⁶ T. Hirsch, F.A. Vossberg, *Das grosse Krawel...*, S. 97; O. Lienau, *Das grosse Kraweel...*, S. 22 f.

⁸⁷ HR, II, 7, Nr. 71, 137.

mäßig hielt“ und deren Übergabe an „seinen Lübecker Freund Claus von Kaelven“ und behauptete, „dass die Einnahme der Waren und der Galeere rechtmäßig war (vermutlich mit Blick auf das hanseatische Verbot des Handels mit den Engländern)“. Dies ist eine zu rätselhafte Erklärung. In dem Schreiben heißt es, dass im Namen der gesamten Hanse Warnungsbriefe mit dem Verbot des Handels mit England verschickt wurden (*so juwe ersamheit wol weet, dat ghi warschuwynghe ghedan hebben van der ghmenen hensestede wegghen, niemande de kronen van Engellant to versoeken myt nenerleye guderen*). Und Beneke führt weiter aus, dass sie (die Hanse-Kaperschiffe) nicht dafür verantwortlich sind, wenn jemandem etwas weggenommen wird (*wurde dar weme wes over genomen, se dachten dar nycht vor to antwoorden*). Die Galeere wollte in ein feindliches Land fahren und hatte Waren der Feinde geladen.

„Z kolei 4 marca 1474 r. Rada Miasta Gdańska, pisząc ... o pobycie w gdańskim porcie kapitana wielkiej karaweli (de ridere des groten caravels, by uns hebben vorbadet) domagała się, by lubecka rada wzięła też na siebie odpowiedzialność za odszkodowanie dla księcia Burgundii (w imieniu Hanzzy)“ [„Der Rat der Stadt Danzig forderte dagegen am 4. März 1474 in einem Schreiben ... über den Aufenthalt des Kapitäns der großen Karavelle im Danziger Hafen (de ridere des groten caravels, by uns hebben vorbadet), dass der Lübecker Rat auch die Verantwortung für die Entschädigung des Herzogs von Burgund (im Namen der Hanse) übernehmen sollte] (S. 211). Es sei gleich darauf hingewiesen, dass in der von der Autorin zitierten Passage nicht vom Kapitän des Schiffes die Rede ist, sondern von den Schiffseignern (de ridere = die Reeder), die eingeladen wurden, damit sie den oder die Briefe von Lübeck und den Ältesten des Kontors von Brügge lesen konnten.⁸⁸

Nach einer kurzen Beschreibung der Beteiligung der Karavelle am Krieg und der damit verbundenen nicht unerheblichen Kosten für Danzig erklärte der Rat, dass die Warnung, nicht nach und von England zu segeln, in Burgund bekannt war. Der Lübecker Rat ist sich dessen bewusst, dass solche schriftlichen Warnungen in Zeiten von Konflikten und Kriegen ausgesprochen werden. Wer ein Schiff beschlagnahmt, muss die beschlagnahmten Güter nicht zurückgeben. Dies ist ein alter Brauch. Diese Galeere wusste von diesem Verbot und wurde in englischen Gewässern gekapert. Die Schiffseroberer haben also nicht die Absicht, ihre erbeuteten Waren aufzugeben.⁸⁹

⁸⁸ HR, II, 7, Nr. 135, 136.

⁸⁹ Ibidem: *Und nahdeme ... gemeyne warschuwynghe durch juwe ersamheide in den landen des hertogen von Borgondien gescheen sye, umbe de crone to Engeland mit affore und to tofore nicht to vorsoken und desolvigen den gemeynen steden to vorfange und schaden nicht to sterkende; und ghy hern denne weten van olders geborliken isz gewesen, wor sulke effte dergliken warschuwynghe in twisten und kriegengedan syn, wer darover gekregen isz und genamen, dat man darvoor nicht hefft willen noch bedorffen antwerden.*

Knapp anderthalb Monate später (25. April 1474) wurde die Angelegenheit in Lübeck in den Verhandlungen des Wendischen Viertels diskutiert. Die Autorin erklärte, dass Danzig in einem Brief an den Konvent argumentierte, die gesamte Hanse sei für die Beschlagnahmung der Galeere verantwortlich. „Argumentem był znany ... fakt podziału między miasta łupów“ [Das Argument war die bekannte ... Tatsache der Aufteilung der Beute [von der Galeere] zwischen den Städten] (S. 214). Ein solches Argument wird in dem Schreiben jedoch nicht angeführt, und eine solche Tatsache liegt einfach nicht vor.⁹⁰

Obwohl das Werk laut Titel der großen Karavelle gewidmet sein soll, hat die Autorin, wie bereits erwähnt, erklärt, dass ihr Hauptziel darin besteht, „die Sozialgeschichte“ des Schiffes zu zeigen (S. 47). Diese Problematik wurde jedoch in der Arbeit nicht ausreichend berücksichtigt. Die Bewertung von Pawest und Beneke als Kommandeure (siehe S. 259-260) bezieht sich nicht auf die Urteile der Fachliteratur. Beneke wurde einige Jahrzehnte nach seinem Tod sogar zum Helden in der Chronik von Reimar Kock, aber die Autorin weigert sich, dieser Quelle Glauben zu schenken (S. 45). Auch die Informationen über die Besatzung der Karavelle wurden nicht in einem Ganzen zusammengefasst.

Der weitere Verlauf der Bemühungen Portinaris und später seines Sohnes um Entschädigung wird im Kapitel u.d.T. Epilog dargestellt. Diese Frage wurde schon früh von O. Meltzing erörtert. Die Einigung wurde schließlich 1499 erzielt, und die Entschädigung wurde bis 1513 gezahlt. So mussten die Hanseaten entgegen ihrer früheren Haltung anerkennen, dass die gesamte Gemeinschaft für Benekes Handeln verantwortlich war.

ZUSAMMENFASSUNG

Die Geschichte der Karavelle „Pierre de La Rochelle“ und später „Peter von Danzig“ in den 1560–70er Jahren fällt mit dem Aufstieg der politischen und wirtschaftlichen Bedeutung von Danzig und der Hanse im Ost- und Nordseebecken zusammen.

In der ersten Periode (1462–1470) verwandelte sich ein privater Streit zwischen dem Eigentümer der verpfändeten Karavelle und den Gläubigern aus Danzig in einen internationalen Streit, mit Danzig und König Ludwig XI. von Frankreich als Parteien und der Hanse als Vermittler. Das Quellenmaterial zur Verpfändung gibt Aufschluss über die Ausstattung der Karavelle und die im Seerecht bekannte Institution der Kondemnation und ermöglicht die Rekonstruktion des Verlaufs des Streits selbst. Leider wurde es in dieser Arbeit nicht richtig genutzt.

90 HR, II, 7, Nr. 181, § 7.

Die zweite Periode (1470–1475), nachdem das Schiff von Danzig übernommen und zu einem Kriegsschiff umgebaut worden war, lässt sich in zwei Teilperioden unterteilen, die durch das Kommando von Pawest und Beneke bestimmt wurden. Zur ersten sind Briefe erhalten, die Pawest ziemlich regelmäßig an den Danziger Rat schrieb. Sie wurden in erster Linie verwendet, um die Chronologie der Stationen und Reisen des Schiffes zu erstellen, und nicht um die in der Einleitung zu diesem Werk formulierten Probleme zu besprechen.

Für den zweiten Teilzeitraum gibt es weniger Quellen, doch ist ihre Bedeutsamkeit viel größer, da sie sich hauptsächlich mit der Beschlagnahme der Galeere durch Beneke befassen. Der Fall war nicht nur politisch, sondern auch juristisch, denn es ging um die Beantwortung der Frage, ob die Beschlagnahme der Galeere mit dem hansischen Kriegsrecht vereinbar war. Vor diesem Hintergrund kam es zu einer Spaltung im Hansebund.

Die diskutierte Arbeit kann sowohl auf der Ebene der Quellen als auch der Methodik kritisiert werden. Die handschriftlichen Quellen wurden mit Fehlern gelesen, die es unmöglich machten, sie richtig zu verstehen und zu interpretieren. Gedruckte Quellen (vor allem Briefe von Berndt Pawest an den Danziger Rat, Rezesse hanseatischer Konventionen, Berichte von de Nantes) werden falsch oder selektiv übersetzt, was zu Interpretationsfehlern führt, und Probleme, die für das Thema der Arbeit relevant sind, bleiben unbemerkt. In der bereits erwähnten englischen Ausgabe des Buches wurden einige Quellenzitate entfernt, so dass es dem Leser unmöglich ist, die von der Autorin vorgelegte Analyse der Quellen direkt zu überprüfen.

Die Arbeit nutzt die Primärliteratur zu diesem Thema nicht gewissenhaft. Es mangelt an einer Zusammenstellung von Positionen und Diskussionen mit den darin dargelegten Ansichten, sowohl im Detail als auch in allgemeiner Form. Ein Sonderfall ist die Verwendung des Werkes von O. Lienau. Einige der von ihm analysierten Quellen und ausgearbeiteten Themen wurden ignoriert.

Die Geschichte der Karavelle „Peter von Danzig“, aus vielen Blickwinkeln betrachtet, wartet also noch auf eine neue monographische Studie.

übersetzt von Joanna Rosik

ABSTRACT

From the history of the caravel “Peter von Danzig”

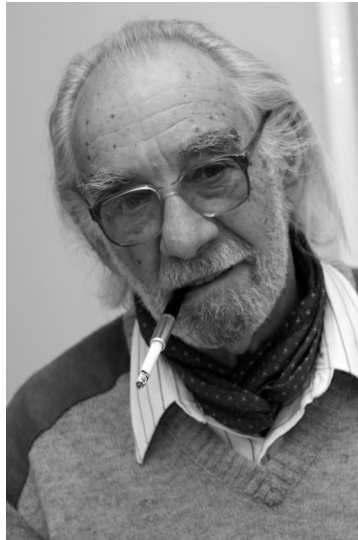
The short history of the caravel Saint-Pierre de La Rochelle, Peter von Danzig, and Der grote Kraweel was an important part of Danzig/Gdańsk and the Hanseatic League's relations with France, Brugge, and England in the 1460s and first half of the 1470s. The ship sailing from France, immobilized in Gdańsk as a result of a lightning strike on its main mast

(1462), was seized by the townspeople of Gdańsk for debts incurred by the captain and his proxies, and finally became the property of the city of Gdańsk by way of a commandment (1470). This triggered a conflict between Gdańsk and the Hanseatic League with France that lasted several years. After the caravel was converted into a warship, under the command of Bernd Pawest, then Paul Beneke, it took part in the Anglo-Hanseatic War (1469-1474). The former left behind valuable correspondence with the city authorities, while the latter became famous for the capture of a Florentine galley sailing to England under the Burgundian flag with extremely valuable cargo. This monographic study of the history of the caravel by Beata Możejko, with numerous factual errors, misinterpretations of sources, and omission of problems already mentioned in the literature on the subject, should be deemed unsuccessful. Therefore, the history of this caravel against the background of the history of Gdańsk and Hanse at the peak of its significance still awaits scholarly elaboration.

Keywords: Danzig/Gdańsk, Caravel Saint-Pierre de La Rochelle, Peter von Danzig, Der grote Kraweel, maritime law, Hanseatic-French relations, Hanseatic-English relations, Hanseatic-Burgundian relations, Bernd Pawest, Paul Beneke

III. IN MEMORIAM

PROFESSOR JÁNOS BAK (1929-2020)



The death of János Bak on 18 June 2020 marked the passing of a professor of great importance and a committed scholar of medieval Europe. Both his personal life and his scholarly activity were full of twists and turns; he lived in several countries, had many friends and students around the world, and made a lasting impact as both a researcher and a teacher. His life and career reflect many elements of the fate of twentieth-century Hungarian intellectuals.

It is hard to summarize his life better than he did in a recent conversation: “I grew up in the Újlipótváros [district of Budapest] like so many other assimilated Jewish kids, I swam in the Lukács baths, I skated on the rink in Honvéd Street, I hiked with the 311th Vörösmarty scout troop. I attended the first “Jewish class” at the Berzsenyi High School for eight years and learned Latin very well. That is why I became a medievalist; I went to the university then called

Péter Pázmány, as much as I could with my Communist Party activity. But in 1950 I was kicked out of the Party and served in the army for two years, after which, especially after Stalin's death, I was able to get a teaching position. Then I taught history for sixty years, where I was allowed to do so, mainly the Central European Middle Ages – in Pestújhely, Göttingen, Marburg, Newark, Vancouver, and, finally, at CEU. I didn't write many books, although perhaps I should have; I cared more about my students. It was worth it."

This short summary should be supplemented at some points. In 1944, the persecution of the Hungarian Jews ended his peaceful childhood years. He survived this period hiding in Budapest with his family. The post-war years quickly swept him into the Communist movement. In many ways, this turn determined the years of his university studies at Pázmány Péter University. In 1950, after disciplinary proceedings, the Communist Party expelled him and, with his newly earned teaching degree, he taught in primary and secondary schools in Budapest.

From the spring of 1956, with close friends, he took part in the debates of the Petőfi Circle, an organization strongly critical of the Rákosi regime. In October 1956, in the days of the revolution, he helped organize foreign aid shipments and liaised between the reorganized Scout Association and Imre Nagy's government. He was close to some members of Imre Nagy's circle, so after the oppression of the revolution he thought it advisable to leave Hungary, at the beginning of December 1956.

After a short stopover in Austria, he moved to Germany and decided to focus on medieval studies. In 1957, on the advice of József Deér and Tamás Bogyay, renowned Hungarian historians living in Switzerland and Germany, he went to Göttingen to study with Percy Ernst Schramm, one of the best-known scholars of medieval rulership and political rituals, at the time working on his book *Herrschaftszeichen und Staatssymbolik*. On the advice of Schramm, Bak began to deal with the medieval Hungarian estates, examining the role of the estates in times when rulers changed.

During his years in Göttingen, the *Imre Nagy Institute* for Political Research was established in Brussels to keep the memory of the '56 revolution alive, and János Bak became an external researcher of the institute and a recurrent author in the institute's journal. His doctoral dissertation was completed in 1960, published as a book, *Königtum und Stände in Ungarn im 14-16. Jahrhundert*, in 1973.

After earning a doctoral degree, he went to Oxford on a two-year fellowship that provided an opportunity to meet prominent representatives of medieval studies in England. He attended the courses of Richard Southern, studied at Cambridge with Walter Ullmann and Carlile Aylmer Macartney, the best expert on medieval Hungarian history in England at that time. In England, Bak also met Hungarian emigrés László Péter, György Krassó and others.

After Oxford, he got a job in Marburg, Germany at the Herder-Institut, which focuses mainly on modern Russian and Eastern European history, a good place to develop a regional network of scholarly contacts. During his years in Marburg, he met the Czech scholars František Graus, who was already living abroad at the time, and Dušan Třeštík, who worked in Prague. He became a regular participant at the meetings of the *Konstanzer Arbeitskreis für mittelalterliche Geschichte* on the island of Reichenau. Since the position in Marburg was largely teaching modern history, Bak decided to find an opportunity to teach medieval history in the United States. In 1966 he began teaching at the University of Delaware near Philadelphia, and two years later received a permanent position at the University of British Columbia in Vancouver, Canada, where he worked for two and a half decades. It was there that he found a way to express his own ideas as professor, scholar, and organizer of several academic programs.

The influence of the student movements of 1968 had an impact on Bak's scholarly interest. He turned from more traditional approaches to the Middle Ages to other aspects. He began to deal with the world of outcasts and those at the bottom of the social hierarchy. His research on peasant history dates from this time. In 1975, the 450th anniversary of the German Peasant War provided a good opportunity to present his thoughts on the history of peasantry. He became the editor of the *Journal of Peasant Studies* and extended his network to specialists on the subject, including Rodney Hilton and Eric Hobsbawm.

While living in Canada, Bak was not isolated from European and Hungarian historiography and research. From the beginning of the 1960s, he reviewed the fresh publications from Central Europe for international scholarly journals and returned regularly to the region to meet colleagues and to carry out research.

Together with his friend and colleague Richard Unger, Bak initiated the UBC Medieval Studies Workshop, which was held annually in Vancouver from 1971. He invited many prominent representatives of Eastern and Central European medieval research, such as Aron Yakovlevich Gurevich, Erik Fügedi, Gábor Klaniczay, and others from the region. His assessment of professional value was exceptionally reliable. Meeting younger colleagues, he had the ability to identify well-prepared, talented historians, many of whom later became well-known and acknowledged professors. He also tried to promote the work of his colleagues by translating his own studies into English, along with the studies of Erik Fügedi and Aron Gurevich, for international publications.

Following the research of his *Doktorvater*, Schramm, János Bak had a strong interest in the medieval symbolism of power and its rituals and worked in this field with renewed methodology and a broadened territorial

scope. He organized a conference on this topic in Toronto in 1985, and in 1990 published a volume based on the conference: *Coronations: Medieval and Early Modern Monarchic Ritual*. On Bak's initiative, *Majestas – International Association for the Study of Rulership* was established and a journal with the same title launched that was published between 1993 and 2005, becoming one of the most important forums for the study of royal power in the Middle Ages. He returned to this problem many times in later years, dealing with the German Imperial Orb (*Reichsapfel*), the Holy Lance, the Hungarian royal crown, and the *Holy Dexter, the preserved right hand relic of St. Stephen*. In the very last period of his life, he wrote a book with Géza Pálffy on *Crown and Coronation in Hungary 1000-1916 AD* that has been published posthumously.

A long series of articles and chapters on medieval Hungary and Central Europe, published mainly in German and English lexicons and encyclopaedias, are a significant part of János Bak's scholarly work. He wrote more than 150 entries for the *Lexikon des Mittelalters* and the *Dictionary of the Middle Ages* and other encyclopaedic works and his chapters in the *Handbuch der europäischen Geschichte* and *New Cambridge Medieval History* are indispensable sources of information for those who cannot read the regional languages.

Bak worked tirelessly on the five volumes of the *Decreta Regni Mediaevalis Hungariae* series for more than three decades, one of the great achievements of his life. Together with György Bónis, James Ross Sweeney, Pál Engel, Péter Banyó, Martyn Rady and others, he published a bilingual, Latin-English edition of medieval Hungarian laws, together with the *Tripartitum*, the early sixteenth-century work of Stephen Werbőczy on the customary law of the kingdom of Hungary.

For János Bak, teaching was more important than many other activities. As early as his years in Marburg he realized the importance of methodical, well-planned introductory courses. Throughout his life, he worked with great devotion to create reference works for students and young colleagues. He also tried to adapt the German *Einführung*-type works to Anglo-American university education. Together with his colleague and friend from Berlin, Heinz Quirin, he published an overview of medieval narrative sources (*Medieval Narrative Sources. Chronological Guide, Mittelalterliche Geschichtsquellen in chronologischer Übersicht*), first in German and then English. Bak did not finish the work after the publication of these two volumes but updated it a quarter of a century later with his former student, Ivan Jurković, and published it along with several analytical chapters (*Chronicon: Medieval Narrative Sources. A Chronological Guide with Introductory Essays*) and later, in the last year of his life, he published it again in an updated online version. Early on Bak realized the potential of using computers, so he had more up-to-date skills in word processing, database management, and online communication than many of his younger colleagues. This prompted him to make several of

his previously published works freely available in digital repositories in the last years of his life.

From the 1980s he frequently visited Hungary and other countries of the region. Beyond his contacts with medievalist colleagues he kept in touch with his friends in Hungary who were dedicated to keeping alive the memory of the 1956 revolution. The next turning point in János Bak's life was the re-burial of Imre Nagy and his comrades on 16 June 1989. It was then that he decided to return to Hungary. In the period of political transition, he took an active part in establishing the 1956 Institute for the study of the revolution of that year and joined the institute as a scientific advisor. In these years, he also published several works related to the 1956 revolution. His book with György Litván was published in Hungarian, German, and English (*Az 1956-os magyar forradalom. Reform – felkelés – szabadságharc – megtorlás, Die Ungarische Revolution 1956: Reform – Aufstand – Vergeltung, The Hungarian Revolution of 1956. Reform – Revolt – Repression 1953–1963*). For a few years after 1989 he spent part of the year in Budapest and part in Vancouver, then moved to Hungary permanently after retiring from his position in Vancouver in 1993.

His return to Hungary meant not only a change of address, but active involvement in the scholarly life of medievalists in Hungary. In 1993, he donated the medieval books of his own library to the Department of Medieval European History of Eötvös Loránd University. This collection is still an integral part of the CEU-ELTE Medieval Library.

The last almost three decades of János Bak's life were devoted to establishing and managing the Department of Medieval Studies at Central European University. Together with Gábor Klaniczay, he developed an interdisciplinary medieval studies post-graduate training program in 1992, and in the following years devoted all his energies to this cause. He utilized his decades-long experience in university teaching, and, by mobilizing his wide network of contacts, did much to integrate the Department of Medieval Studies into the international field of medieval studies. He initiated several research projects at the department; one of the most important was a program on Central and Eastern European nobilities that he co-organized with his friend Pál Engel. He followed the development and careers of his students, the younger generation of medievalists, until the end of his life; he maintained particularly close contacts with the new generation of Croatian medieval researchers.

In addition to teaching and university organization, many people met him at lectures, conferences or as conference organizer. Bak's lectures were never boring; they abounded in attention-grabbing elements. His way of reasoning and thinking often differed from familiar patterns and thanks to his excellent speaking abilities, he was always able to make his talks absorbing. His talent for outstanding teaching and development of materials for stu-

dents was recognized by the Medieval Academy of America with an award for Excellence in Teaching Medieval Studies in 2007, the year he retired from the classroom.

He also had a clear, long-standing interest in the reception of the Middle Ages in modern times. In 2007-2008 he was a fellow in a research group on *Medievalism, Archaic Origins and Regimes of Historicity*, organized by Patrick Geary and Gábor Klaniczay at the Collegium Budapest, an institute for advanced study in Budapest, now affiliated to the CEU. Later he co-edited the books that resulted from this project – *Manufacturing a Past for the Present* and *Authenticity in Medievalist Texts and Objects in Nineteenth-century Europe*. Later he was one of the initiators of the project on *Uses and Abuses of the Middle Ages*, mobilizing his former students to contribute to the project with material from their own countries. János Bak initiated a publication project at the Central European University with its publishing house (CEU Press) which aims at bilingual Latin – English editions of the main medieval narrative texts of Central Europe. The *Central European Medieval Texts* series includes the works of Anonymus of Hungary, Simon of Kéza, Thomas of Spalato, Master Roger, Cosmas of Prague, Gallus Anonymus, and Charles IV of Luxemburg, a bilingual edition of the *Hungarian Illuminated Chronicle* and also collections of hagiographic texts. In publishing the volumes of this series, he worked together closely with many scholars, including his own students of Central European history, from the region and beyond.

János Bak had many personal and professional contacts with Poland. He visited Poland often, and as an emigré from Communist Hungary he was allowed to deliver a lecture in Poland even earlier than in Hungary. He was in contact with several specialists in Polish history living in Poland and abroad, of Polish or non-Polish origin. While still living in Canada he invited Aleksander Gieysztor to take part in the conference in Toronto that he organized on coronations. Gieysztor's paper, published in the conference volume (*Gesture in the Coronation Ceremonies of Medieval Poland*), is still often cited. One of the oldest and closest contacts Bak had among the historians working on Polish topics was Paul W. Knoll (Los Angeles), with whom he worked later on the first-ever English translation of the text of *Gesta principum Polonorum* of Gallus Anonymus. The establishment of the Department of Medieval Studies at the CEU made his contacts with Poland more active, partly because he made efforts to invite colleagues to teach at CEU whom he had known for some time and also because of the students coming to the University from Poland.

Besides Aleksander Gieysztor and Paul W. Knoll, Hanna Zaremska (Warsaw), Jacek Banaszekiewicz (Warsaw), Karol Modzelewski (Wrocław), Piotr Górecki (Riverside, USA), and Anna Adamska (Utrecht) were recurrent visiting professors or workshop participants at the CEU Department of Medieval Studies. Urszula Borkowska (Lublin) was on the editorial board of the *Central*

European Medieval Texts series of CEU Press. Paweł Kras (Lublin) was one of the first medievalist students at CEU in 1993, and in later years Ryszard Grzesik (Poznań), Anna Brzezińska (Warsaw), and Emilia Jamroziak (Leeds, UK) worked closely with Bak.

For his seventieth birthday his friends, students, and colleagues published a Festschrift with the title "...*The Man of Many Devices, who Wandered Full Many Ways...*". The title comes from the opening lines of the *Odyssey* translated by A.T. Murray. János Bak's travels fortunately continued in a direct and figurative sense for another two decades.

The volume compiled for his eightieth birthday (*Studying Medieval Rulers and their Subjects. Central Europe and Beyond*) is a selection of his studies published between 1964 and 2009 and reflects well his commitment to his research topics. Several of the eighteen studies published in the volume were not reprinted in their original format but were rewritten and updated by the author himself. As he approached his nineties, he still worked on a number of important studies. He was able to complete most of his works by the end of his life. He was fortunate enough to remain active as a scholar until the very last days of his life, retaining his full mental powers.

As János Bak put it in the short summary of his life quoted above, he taught medieval history of Central Europe for most of his life, and his commitment to the comparative study of Central European medieval history accompanied him throughout his academic career. A scholarly organization called the *Medieval Central Europe Research Network* (MECERN) was established in 2014 at a conference in Budapest. Organized for his 85th birthday it serves as a continuing extension of his efforts and endeavors in this field. On the occasion of his 90th birthday, his colleagues, friends and students established a scholarship at the Central European University (*János M. Bak Research Fellowship on Medieval Central Europe*) for early and mid-career scholars committed to research on medieval Central Europe. Bak never ran out of ideas; after the MECERN network was established, he continued to play an active role in its work. One of his last projects was to oversee the concept of a brand-new research companion of Medieval Central Europe, written in English by scholars from the region, including many of his students.

Perhaps it is not a mere coincidence that János Bak's life ended when the Department of Medieval Studies of the Central European University, one of his main achievements, a scholarly and intellectual center established and nurtured with his friends and colleagues with great dedication, was forced to terminate its activity in Budapest and move to Vienna.

János Bak was a passionate professor; working with him was a challenge for his students and colleagues. Those who knew him personally will not forget his unmistakable figure, his Greek fisherman's cap and his bow tie, his voice, his occasionally impassioned excitement, his intellectual freshness,

his seemingly inexhaustible energy, and his curiosity which he kept to the last moment of his life. He was a scholar whose life unquestionably left a mark. Through his writings and personal contacts, his editorial and institutional work, his personal attitude, and his students, he actively shaped all that was important to him as a historian.

Balázs Nagy

The list of publications of János Bak:
<https://medievalstudies.ceu.edu/sites/medievalstudies.ceu.edu/files/attachment/article/1983/janosbakfullbibliography.doc>

PROFESSOR JERZY HAUZIŃSKI (1946-2020)



On December 24, 2020, Professor Jerzy Hauziński the outstanding scholar, medieval historian, and orientalist, passed away. Born on April 7, 1946, Professor Hauziński became interested in history, especially in the history of the Orient, when he was still a student and persuaded a librarian at his primary school in Poznań to lend him Marco Polo's *The Description of the World*, edited by Prof. Anna Ludwika Czerny. He was particularly interested in a fragment of the Venetian traveler's account of a mysterious sect of Assassins led by a charismatic Old Man of the Mountains. As the Professor himself recalled, at that moment his great cognitive adventure began. Over time, following the trail of this adventurer turned a student, and enchanted by the work of this traveler, Jerzy Hauziński became a universally-respected expert on the Middle Ages, and above all an authority on the medieval history of the Islamic world.

As a high school student, the Professor became interested in Sufism, which he considered to be "a special deposit of Middle Eastern civilization", attracted by its multidimensionality and indefinability.

These youthful interests influenced the direction of Hauziński's later scholarly path. In 1970 he obtained a Master's Degree in history at the Institute of History at Adam Mickiewicz University in Poznań for the thesis: *The Abbasid Caliphate during a military dictatorship (847-861)*, written under the supervision of Professor Gerard Labuda. In the years 1971-1972 and in 1977 he was an intern at the Institute of Oriental Philology at the Jagiellonian University under the supervision of Professor Tadeusz Lewicki and Dr. Saleh Hamarneh. In 1973 he defended his Doctoral Dissertation at the Faculty of Philosophy and History at Adam Mickiewicz University on: *The Assassins – a radical social and political movement of the Muslim Middle Ages as seen in European literature of the Medieval period*, written under the supervision of Professor Gerard Labuda. The reviewers were Professor Tadeusz Lewicki and Professor Brygida Kürbis. In 1977 he obtained a Postdoctoral Degree in the humanities in the field of general history of the Middle Ages based on his dissertation *Polityka orientalna cesarza Fryderyka II Hohenstaufa* [*The Oriental Policies of Emperor Frederick II Hohenstauf*] (an abbreviated version was published in 1978). The academic title of Associate Professor of the Humanities was awarded by the State Council in 1989, and in 1992 Hauziński received a full professorship at WSP in Słupsk (Pomeranian Pedagogical University, later Pomeranian University).

Always with great respect and gratitude did Prof. Hauziński remember his masters who had shaped his scholarly skills and strengthened his enthusiasm for continuing his research, all of them being world-class authorities: Professors Gerard Labuda and Tadeusz Lewicki, Professor Brygida Kürbis and the Turkologist professor of the Jagiellonian University.

Research experiences germane to his historical fields include internships at the Institute of Eastern Studies of the USSR Academy of Sciences in Leningrad (now St. Petersburg), the German Democratic Republic (Leipzig, Berlin), and a three-month internship at the University of Cairo. Hauziński lectured on diverse subjects, principally on the general history of the Middle Ages, the history of Muslim peoples, the religious evolution of Islam, the historical phraseology of the Arabic language, the history of political doctrines and state systems, and the history of security. The professor was a master of words and an excellent guide to difficult topics, encouraging independent research and courageous expression of opinions. He made history vibrant and not a monotonous collection of dates and facts. Professionally, he was associated with such academic centers as: Adam Mickiewicz in Poznań (Institute of History, Institute of Linguistics), Jagiellonian University (Institute of Oriental Philology), University of Wrocław, University of Gdańsk, University of Engineering in Koszalin. From the mid 1980s, he was associated with the Higher School of Pedagogy in Słupsk [now Pomeranian University]. In the years 1990-1995 he

was the Dean of the Faculty of Humanities. In 1996-98 he was the Director of the Institute of History, and in the years 1997-2002 the Rector .

Professor Hauziński did not keep a scrupulous register of his published texts, public speeches and scientific expertise, therefore some data regarding his achievements may be incomplete (Near-full bibliography of the professor's scholarly works until 2015 in: *Na szlakach dwóch światów. Studia ofiarowana Profesorowi Jerzemu Hauzińskiemu [On the Routes of Two Worlds. Studies offered to Professor Jerzy Hauziński]*, edited by A. Teterycz-Puzio, 2016, pp. 9-19). The achievements of the Professor include over 200 publications published, most of which are pioneering works dealing with issues that had been absent or barely noted in Polish historical reflection. The professor's "debut" was the sketch *Sufizm – religia czy światopogląd [Sufism – Religion or Worldview]*, which was published in 1969 (in: *Zeszyty Teoretyczne TWP*, Poznań). The author strongly rejected the one-sided understanding of Sufism as Islamic mysticism, and was thus regarded as the first in the Polish humanities to stress Sufism's multidimensionality. The rejection of schematicism, showing the complexity of this phenomenon, and striving to present events and people "as they really were" were the main research tasks that the Professor carried out in his works. He did not hesitate to verify the most colourful legends, even when he knew that a polemic regarding a suggestive image preserved in mass culture may not fully satisfy the readers. This was especially evident in reactions to the book *Asasyni. Legendarni zabójcy w czasach krucjat [The Assassins: Legendary Killers of the Crusades]* (2016).

The initial works of the professor were noticed and appreciated in foreign scholarly circles. In 1974, at the request of the Institute of Humanities and Social Sciences of the Academy of Sciences of the USSR, he reviewed a doctoral dissertation (Polish terminology – habilitation dissertation) by Ludmiła W. Strojewa, the outstanding Nizari and Ishmaelite expert as well as the *Ishmaeli State in Iran in the 11th-13th centuries*. Although the professor himself was not fully satisfied with the shortened version of his habilitation thesis entitled *The Oriental Policies by Frederick II Hohenstaufen* (1978), David Abulafia, professor at the University of Cambridge, one of the world's leading medieval scholars, did not hesitate to quote it in his biography of Frederick II (*Frederick II: A Medieval Emperor*, Allen Lane The Penguin Press, London 1988, 1st edition – reprinted many times). *Polityka orientalna cesarza Fryderyka II Hohenstaufa [The Oriental Policies of Emperor Frederick II Hohenstauf]* is the first of the monographic works by Hauziński, devoted to this ruler who, as a Sicilian monarch, continued the policy of his predecessors, called "Christian caliphs". The reign and person of the emperor Frederick II is the main axis of reflection on the causes of the crisis of medieval universalism contained in his extensive study. Within the sphere of medieval univer-

salism is Hauziński's *W kręgu uniwersalizmu średniowiecznego "Sacrum Imperium Romanum": apogeum i załamanie niemieckiej polityki imperialnej w pierwszej połowie XIII wieku* ["*Sacrum Imperium Romanum*" the apogee and collapse of German imperial policy in the first half of the 13th century] (1988), in which the author presented the confrontation between imperial theology and the idea of papal monarchy as a devastating dispute between the two shades of political and civilizational universalism of the West. An important place in the Professor's oeuvre is held by the insightful biographies of Frederick II Hohenstaufen in Polish historiography: *Imperator „końca świata” (1194-1250)* [*Emperor of the "end of the world" (1194-1250)*] (2000) and *Fryderyk II Hohenstauf cesarz rzymski* [*Frederick II Hohenstauf, Roman Emperor, (1194-1250)*] (2015). The phenomenon of Frederick II, fascinated with Muslim culture and the world of Islam is the subject of many of the Professor's articles. In 2009, Hauziński was invited to participate in an international publishing project initiated by the Czech art historian Dr. Peter Kováč, bringing together authors and specialists in the history and history of art in Italy, Germany, Austria and the Czech Republic, entitled *Úsvit renesance. Dvorské umění císaře by Fridrich II. Bamberský a Magdeburský rider* (Ars Auro Prior, Prague 2010).

The Professor called his greatest of "cognitive adventures" his research on the community of Isma'ilites-Nizaris, assassins of the Western world, shrouded in the gloomy legends of assassins and fathers of terror. This cognitive adventure resulted in publications that were respected outside the Polish community of experts (see Farhad Daftary, *Ismaili Literature. A Bibliography of Sources and Studies*, I. B. Tauris Publishers: London-New York 2004, p. 292). The effect of an inquisitive source query was the aforementioned doctoral dissertation, the printed version of which is *Muzulmańska sekta asasynów w europejskim piśmiennictwie wieków średnich* [*The Muslim Sect of Assassins in European Literature of the Middle Ages*] (1978), dozens of articles, and the above-mentioned monograph: *Asasyni. Legendarni zabójcy w czasach krucjat* [*Assassins: Legendary Killers During the Crusades*].

The strictly Muslim history is built on another pioneering book in Polish historiography, *Burzliwe dzieje kalifatu bagdadzkiego* [*The Turbulent Times of the Caliphate of Baghdad*] (1993, 2016). Describing the intricate and dramatic history of this Middle Eastern monarchy, Hauziński proved that historical truth is as fascinating as *Tales of a Thousand and One Arabian Nights*. The original proposal, which is assumed to be a textbook synthesis, is *Irańskie Intermezzo. Dzieje Persji w średniowieczu (VII-koniec XV w.)* [*The Iranian Intermezzo. The History of Persia in the Middle Ages (from the seventh to the end of the fifteenth century)*] (2008).

The Professor's extensive research interests includes a collection of 22 unpublished and published articles *Tropem muzulmańskich dziejów* [*On the Trail of Muslim History*] (2007). He was also the co-author of a compen-

dium of works, such as: *Historia Albanii* [*The History of Albania*] (with J. Leśny) (1992, Edition 2 amended with T. Czekalski, 2009), *Wielka historia świata* [*The Great History of the World*], vol. V (2005) published under the patronage of the Polish Academy of Arts and Sciences; part II of *Historia Iranu* [*The History of Iran*], edited by A. Krasnowolska (2010), as well as entries on Islam in *Ilustrowana Encyklopedia Religii Świata* [*The Illustrated Encyclopedia of World Religions*] (2002). He prepared two anthologies of source texts: *Islam w feudalnych państwach arabskich i w krajach ościennych (VII-XV w.)* [*Islam in feudal Arab states and in Neighboring Countries (7th-15th century)*] (1976), *Kraje i kultury śródziemnomorskiej* [*Mediterranean Countries and Cultures*], a selection intended as a first series of *Teksty źródłowe do dziejów powszechnych Europy i krajów sąsiednich* [*Source Texts for the History of Europe and Neighboring countries*] (new edition), edited by G. Labuda (1990).

He participated in many international and national conferences organized by Polish and foreign learned societies. He took part in symposia and congresses, e.g., in Pristina, Tirana, and Sarajevo. He did not avoid lighter forms of popularization, giving press interviews and participating in radio broadcasts, answering questions from listeners. The Professor ignored the failings of media "authorities", their absolute lack of substantive preparation and basic knowledge, and gave opinions reaching a mass audience. That is why he tried to support, as a reviewer and consultant in scholarly publications (he was the author of over 60 published reviews), meaningful publications by Polish and foreign authors.

These efforts were accompanied by didactic work. In addition to the aforementioned course lectures, the professor conducted Master's and Doctoral seminars as well as multi-generational seminars at the Institute of History at the Pomeranian University in Słupsk. He mentored about 250 Masters, 10 Doctorates, reviewed 28 Doctoral Dissertations, 18 Habilitation theses and 18 applications for the title of Full Professor. He was an extremely insightful reviewer, but his critical remarks in mentoring Doctoral students and Postdoctoral students were directed at the mistakes they should avoid in their future studies.

From 1988 he was an elected member of the Committee of Oriental Sciences of the Polish Academy of Sciences. In the years 2003-2006 he was its vice-chairman. He was also a member of the Historical Sciences Committee of the Polish Academy of Sciences, and in the years 2019-2021 a member of the Scientific Council of the Institute of Mediterranean and Oriental Cultures of the Polish Academy of Sciences. From 1980 he was a co-founder of the Balkan Studies Commission of the Poznań Branch of the Polish Academy of Sciences (1991-1993, 1997-2011 the deputy chairman of this committee). He was also the Chairman of the Program and Scientific Council of the Ibn Khaldun Institute. He belonged to committees and editorial boards of such

journals, such as "Arabic and Islamic Studies", "Balcanica Posnaniensia. Acta et Studia", "Orientalia Christiana Cracoviensia", "Nowa Polityka Wschodnia", "Scripta Historica" and others. In 2002 he was awarded the Knight's Cross of the Order of Polonia Restituta.

Up until a few weeks before his death, the professor shared his plans for publications that he was working on until the last moment. Unfortunately, they will not be realized, and this entails a great loss to the Polish Humanities.

Marzena Głodek

IV. BOOK NOTICES

Animos labor nutrit. Studia ofiarowane Profesorowi Andrzejowi Buko w siedemdziesiątą rocznicę urodzin (Animos labor nutrit. Studies Offered to Professor Andrzej Buko on the Seventieth Anniversary of His Birth), ed. Tomasz Nowakiewicz, Maciej Trzeciński, Dariusz Błaszczak, Instytut Archeologii i Etnologii Polskiej Akademii Nauk, Instytut Archeologii Uniwersytetu Warszawskiego, Warszawa 2018, 367 pp., ill., hardback.

The researchers dedicating their work to the jubilarian on his 70th birthday obviously do not represent a single discipline within early medieval studies, nor a single methodological trend. They include archaeologists, historians and numismatists, adherents of different schools and traditions of compiling materials and organizing knowledge.

The layout of the book is characteristic of a festschrift, i.e., after *Tabula gratulatoria* there is a bibliography of nearly 300 items of A. Buko's works (pp. 13-27), a laudation by the Chairman of the Committee on Pre- and Protohistoric Sciences of the Polish Academy of Sciences, and 36 dissertations containing analyses of methodological problems, settlement studies, numismatic works, classifications of various types of historical material, results of specialist analyses and laboratory tests. The geographical coverage of the studies is impressive, ranging from Scandinavia to the Mediterranean and from Bavaria to Ruthenia. Each article is accompanied by a bibliography, which greatly facilitates orientation in the sources and studies used.

PAWEŁ DERECKI

Jacek Banaszekiewicz, *Trzy po trzy o dziesiątym wieku* (Three by three about the tenth century), Avalon, Kraków 2014, 349 pp., paperback.

In the author's opening words (p. 7) we read that out of the thirteen texts included in the book „[for] various reasons almost one third [...] has not appeared on our medievalist market, others were scattered around in more difficult accessible publications”. Because the place of first printings is not

given, the discerning reader will have to determine for himself which works the author had in mind, but this is not the most important thing.

The vast majority of texts are related to the Ottonian era and Otto himself. Let us just mention that one of them deals with Otto I and German bishops hunting for relics in Italy, another with the attack of Lotar, sitting on the French throne, on his cousin residing in Aachen, and finally, J. Banaszkiwicz deals with Otto II fleeing from the battlefield at Cotrone, or with Otto III's entry into Gniezno. Among the „Polish antiquities“, a comparative analysis is carried out on the stories by Gall Anonim about Mieszko and Dobrawa, who persuades her husband to adopt the new faith. We will also read about a penitent initially seeking remission of sins in Gniezno and then at a monastery in Moyenmoutier, and about the unusual way in which the Palatine Ezzo won Otto's sister for his wife.

PAWEŁ DERECKI

Marcus Bull, *Eyewitness and Crusade Narrative. Perception and Narration in Accounts of the Second, Third and Fourth Crusades, Crusading in Context*, II, Boydell & Brewer Press, Woodbridge 2018, X, 396 pp., bibliography, index, back matter, paperback.

This book by Marcus Bull, affiliated with The University of North Carolina, fits into the author's previous research profile, dealing with the narratology of historical texts with a particular focus on the Crusade movement. In this publication, M. Bull addresses the category of 'eyewitness' in historical research on the basis of selected sources related to the Second, Third, and Fourth Crusades. In all the chapters, particular attention is given to analysis of each text's authorship, content, and style. The work consists of an introduction, four chapters, and a conclusion. In the introduction, the author discusses the methodological aspects of his work, presenting the possible fruitful influence of cognitive psychology and related sciences on the question of 'eyewitness' in historical research. It should be noted, however, that M. Bull in no way refers to the research of Krzysztof Pomian, who already in 1968 argued that eyewitness accounts can be as conventionalized as visions of the distant past, which harmonizes with the main findings of the author of the presented publication. The issue has thus been present in historiography for over 50 years.

In the first chapter, entitled 'Memory and Psychological Research into Eyewitnessing', M. Bull argues that the view of events is formed by both individual and collective memory, and that the combination of these individual and collective memories or perceptions is then processed into a written narrative. Chapter II is a case study on two texts from the Second Crusade: *De Expugnatione Lyxbonensi* by Osbern and *De Profectione Ludovici VII in Orientem* by Odon

of Deuil. The author tries to show how the indicated texts reflect the status of 'eyewitness'; M. Bull focuses on the balance between individual and group subjectivity and the way this is reflected in the expressions of the 'eyewitness'. The author concludes that the two texts offer different but broadly similar approaches to the value of eyewitness accounts and narrative construction. Although both texts base their authority on the participation of their authors in the events and accentuate this feature through mentions of their proximity to the main events and persons, neither of them foregrounds the theme of eyewitness accounts.

Chapter II examines the case of *Estoire de la Guerre Sainte* of Ambroise, a source describing the Third Crusade. M. Bull concludes that although many sequences of the text which may come from an eyewitness autopsy are not emphasized in any such way, while many scenes which the author could not have witnessed are narrated as if he did or could have done so. Nonetheless, the author of *Estoire de la Guerre Sainte* is an eyewitness who skillfully combines his own observations and insights with collective perceptions. Chapter III is an analysis of two accounts of the Fourth Crusade by two of its participants: Geoffrey of Villehardouin and Robert of Clari. Marcus Bull draws attention to the chroniclers' attachment to the collective values of the aristocracy, through which neither of them chooses to stand out as a single actor in the world of the story. In the case of Villehardouin's account, which downplays eyewitness participation in the crusade's decision-making councils rather than the autopsy itself forms the basis of the message, whereas Robert of Clari's narrative was crafted on the basis of a specific moral and ethical agenda. The relatively short conclusion is not a mere summary of the previous chapters, but offers hints for possible future research and some further caveats regarding the limitations as well as the strengths of the methodology presented. The work is crowned by an index and bibliography.

TOMASZ PELECH

Franco Cardini, Luigi Russo, *Homo viator. Il pellegrinaggio medievale*, Peregrinantes in mundo, I, La Vela, Viareggio 2019, 280 pp., appendix, bibliography, index, paperback.

The present publication is the result of the collaboration of two authors, Franco Cardini (Scuola Superiore di Studi Storici, San Marino) and Luigi Russo (Università Europea di Roma), who undertook to study the phenomenon of medieval pilgrimage. Hence the title *homo viator*, or, in the work's terms, man on the road, a traveller exploring his own spirituality through the search for centres of worship or venerable relics: for places, artefacts and objects justify the challenge of a medieval man making a pilgrimage. The book consists of a brief introduction, ten chapters including a conclud-

ing chapter and an appendix. The first chapter deals with two key issues: (1) the sources of the phenomenon of pilgrimage in Christianity, seeing them in the Jewish tradition; (2) pilgrimages in late antiquity (up to about the fifth century), in which journeys to the Holy Land and Jerusalem began to play an important role. The birth of the cult of martyrs and relics is then presented. The next chapter presents the profiles and motivations of pilgrims in late antiquity, with special mention of the pilgrim Egeria, author of *Itinerarium*. The fourth chapter briefly presents the phenomenon of pilgrimage in the Celtic world and the British Isles from the third to the twelfth century. It then goes on to describe the role and significance of the shrines dedicated to St Michael the Archangel, led by the famous Monte Gargano, in medieval spirituality. The sixth chapter deals with the question of pilgrimage, relics, and the related topic of the birth of new places of worship in, among other places, the French territory from the sixth to around the twelfth century. Attention is then drawn to the special role of Jerusalem and the Holy Sepulchre located in the Holy City of three religions, whose reproductions are, on the one hand, an expression of imitation of the divine Jerusalem and, on the other, a desire to come closer to the geographically distant place of the Lord's Passion. The eighth chapter presents the influence of merchant expeditions, crusades or the *pax mongolica* on the mobility of the people of medieval Europe: missionaries, merchants or adventurous travellers. It then discusses the significance of the Via Francigena – one of the longest pilgrimage routes (running from Canterbury to St Peter's Tomb in Rome) – on Latin spirituality. The last chapter, which concludes the whole work, is a reflection on the idea of pilgrimage (not only in the Christian religion) and the very idea of being a pilgrim, a man on a journey. The publication also contains a short appendix on the development of the cult of the Virgin Mary in the Middle Ages. The work ends with a bibliography and an index.

TOMASZ PELECH

Damien Carraz, *Un commandeur ordinaire? Bérenger Monge et le gouvernement des hospitaliers provençaux au XIII^e siècle*, *Ecclesia militans*, VII, Brepols, Turnhout 2020, 528 pp., list of unpublished sources, bibliography, indexes, list of appendices, hardcover.

The publication of Damien Carraz (Université Toulouse II Jean Jaurès) is the book version of the author's habilitation, presented on 27 November 2018 at the Université Jean Monnet – Saint-Étienne. The subject of the book relates to the author's previous works, dealing primarily with military orders and their functioning in the south of France in the twelfth to fourteenth centuries. The book was dedicated to Bérenger Monge, commander of the Proven-

çal religious houses of the Hospitallers in Aix and Manosque in the second half of the thirteenth century. Based on a linear history of the individual's long and active life, Damien Carraz's work addresses the multifaceted issue of the functioning of the institution of the commandery and its relations with its surroundings, both on a local scale, i.e., in its relations with local feudal lords and clerics, and on a much broader scale relations with the Andegavians, its importance in the Capetian monarchy and its links with Outremer. The book consists of an introduction, an introductory chapter, three parts with eight chapters and an epilogue and conclusion. The introductory chapter, on the one hand, presents the historical sources (especially diplomatic), as well as the historiography from the sixteenth to the twentieth century, where the figure of Bérenger Monge appears; on the other hand, it is an in-depth reflection on how documents were produced, how they were preserved and, above all, how they were reinterpreted by successive generations. The first part, made up of three chapters (I, II, III), deals with the social space surrounding Bérenger: Chapter I focuses on his origins and the importance of the family he came from and his career strategy within the Order; Chapter II shows the community of Hospitallers under Bérenger's rule; and Chapter III addresses the question of the identity of the community based on respect for the chosen form of religious life, norms or hierarchy and the formation of relationships between the commander and the rest of brothers. The second part contains two chapters (IV and V) and focuses on presenting the techniques of management and administration of the commandery's resources, landed goods and people, subordinate to Bérenger. The author draws attention to the exceptional role of the house of Manosque, which, due to the abundance of sources, makes it possible to show how the Hospitallers, as lords of the town, with all the levers of the socio-economic framework in their hands, shaped their relations with the local population. The last part, consisting of three chapters (VI, VII, VIII), presents a number of problems situating Bérenger Monge and his activities and the religious houses under his authority in the wider socio-political context of the era. The examples of Aix and Manosque are used to illustrate the process of *inurbamento* and the contribution made by the Hospitaller Order to the development of the urban structure. The analysis of the Order's relations with ecclesiastical and secular authorities shows the local activities of the Hospitallers against the background of changes in the spirituality (such as the pastoral turn) and institutions of the thirteenth-century Church and the Mediterranean ambitions of the Angevin dynasty. While the example of the Priory of Saint-Gilles reveals the functioning of the religious houses of the Order of St John at provincial level and sheds light on the Hospitallers' contribution to the defence of Outremer in the second half of the thirteenth century. The book ends with an epilogue, in which the author presents the last years of Bérenger's

reign. The work closes with a conclusion, a catalogue of unpublished archival sources and a bibliography, an index of proper names, an index of place names and an extensive list of appendices, also available online.

TOMASZ PELECH

Loïc Chollet, *Les Sarrasins du Nord. Une histoire de la croisade balte par la littérature (XII^e–XV^e siècles)*, Éditions Alphil – Presses universitaires suisses, Neuchâtel 2019, 543 pp., index, paperback.

This book by Loïc Chollet, the Swiss researcher affiliated with the University of Neuchâtel, is a printed version of his doctoral dissertation. The author takes up the issue of the image of the Baltic Crusades in French literature from the twelfth to the fifteenth century. He has made use of relatively numerous but very scattered narrative sources, including literary works whose authors in any way depicted the remote territories of north-eastern Europe from their perspective. On this basis, L. Chollet has illustrated what Western European society knew about the Crusades against the Balts and how it perceived the Baltic world, what information about the Baltic region reached French lands and how it influenced the image of the last pagans of Europe, and how Western knowledge of the Baltic world changed in the 14th and 15th centuries.

The author has divided the work into an introduction and four parts, each consisting of two chapters, and a conclusion. The first part, *Aux Marges de la Chrétienté*, focuses on the presentation of the Christianization missions and conquests of the Baltic lands carried out by knightly orders, the Teutonic Knights and the Cavaliers of the Sword, between the 12th and 14th centuries, conducted with the full approval of Rome, as well as their perception by Western authors contemporary to these events, mainly from France. The second part, *Le temps des croisés*, illustrates the phenomenon of the transmission of the crusade idea to the Baltic states, which gradually became for the Western European knights an area of struggle against the 'Saracens', where one could gain honour, fame and spiritual privileges. The author also presents an evaluation of armed expeditions against the Balts, especially Prussians and Lithuanians, in contemporary French literature. In the third part, entitled *Le grand tournant*, L. Chollet presents the impact of the political changes taking place in the Baltic area, such as the personal union between Poland and Lithuania, the Christianization of Lithuania, the Battle of Grunwald and the breaking of the military power of the Teutonic Order, on the change in the perception of crusading activities in the north-eastern European area in Western European opinion. He emphasizes that the Council of Constance and the involvement of the Lithuanians in the fight against

the Tatars played a great role in this great change, thanks to which the Baltic Crusades were increasingly criticized, as was the Teutonic Order itself. In the fourth part, entitled. *Un monde d'honneur et de glace. Les imaginaires baltes*, the author focuses on Western imaginations about the Baltic world. Thus the beliefs of the Balts, as L. Chollet notes, are understood by French-speaking authors as a form of ignorance and compared to the ancient Roman religion, and some pagan warriors are described as honourable knights such as Margalis in the work *Myreur des histors* by Jean d'Outremeuse.

The work is characterized by a solid source base, the use of literature on the subject in many languages, including Eastern European languages, and in terms of methodology, it must be said that the author skillfully combines historical research with the use of literary studies. It is worth noting that although the work is largely based on sources produced in Western Europe, L. Chollet also demonstrates an excellent knowledge of local sources; Polish (e.g., Jan Długosz's works) or Ruthenian (e.g., *Galician-Volhynian Chronicle*), still little known in Francophone historiography.

TOMASZ PELECH

Cuda świętego ojca Szymona z Lipnicy [1482-1520] / Miracula beati patris Simonis Lypnycensis, edited with an introduction and footnotes by Marcin Starzyński, Anna Zajchowska-Bołtromiuk, *Pomniki Dziejowe Polski / Monumenta Poloniae historica, nova series*, XVII, Polska Akademia Umiejętności, Kraków 2019, LIX, 111 pp., hardback.

The recently published 17th volume of the new series *Monumenta Poloniae historica*, the standard publication of Polish medieval sources, includes an edition of the miracles of St. Simon of Lipnica, previously issued by the Bollandists in the *Acta sanctorum* (in 1725, again in 1868). St Szymon, a Bernardine from Stradom in Kraków, died during the plague in 1482, was beatified in 1685, and canonized in 2007. According to tradition, he became famous for numerous miracles, mainly healings and resurrections. They were written in a manuscript considered to be original, which is today in the Archives of the Province of the Bernardine Fathers in Kraków. It served as the basis for the current edition of Miracles. It is the culmination of plans for their publication by the then publisher of *Monumenta Poloniae historica* Wojciech Kętrzyński, which had been spun at least since 1884. However, the editors did not find a copy of the original manuscript of miracles, which he had prepared, in the Library of the National Institute of Ossoliński in Wrocław. Following the convention of the series, the presented volume opens with an extensive introduction (in Polish and English). It includes: the history of edit-

ing the miracles of St. Simon, his biography, the characteristics of the process of recording information about miracles by the ‚bureau‘ run by the Bernardines of Stradom, codicological description of the original miracle manuscripts and the rules of editing. Included in the collection of miracles of St. Simon, compiled by 13 writers active in the years 1482-1520, were 377 descriptions (of which only 7.5% after 1490). It is the most numerous collection of miracles written on Polish lands in the Middle Ages. The Latin source text has been carefully prepared from the typographical point of view. The individual descriptions of miracles constitute separate numbered entities, with titles attached to the original manuscript in the 17th and 18th centuries. The material commentary is relatively modest, proper names and names of diseases have been partially identified in the indexes. Criticism of the text shows some weaknesses, including that it contains obvious errors that have not been marked in any way, hence it is not known whether they burden the authors of the original manuscript (the quality of their work has already been criticized by Bollandists) or the publishers. The fact that the editors did not use the shortened collection of the miracles of St. Szymon (35 descriptions), dated 1488, in the codex of the University Library in Wrocław coming from the Carthusian monastery near Legnica.

WOJCIECH MROZOWICZ

D'un regnum à l'autre. La Lotharingie, un espace de l'entre-deux? Vom regnum zum imperium: Lotharingien als Zwischenreich?, ed. Tristan Martine, Jessika Nowak, Archéologie – Espaces – Patrimoines, XXXV, Presses universitaires de Nancy – Éditions Universitaires de Lorraine, Nancy 2020, 394 pp., summaries, list of authors, paperback.

The present volume is a *pro memoria* tribute for the scholar of the history of medieval Lorraine, Michel Parisse (1936-2020). It is a bilingual French-German collection of articles edited by Tristan Martine and Jessika Nowak, which addresses issues related to the territory that once formed the heart of the Carolingian Empire and which, from the ninth to the twelfth century, became a borderland of contention between the Kingdom of France and the German Empire. The main axis of consideration is preceded by an introduction in both languages of the publication on Lotharingia/Lorraine as a space between history and historiography. The research presented is divided into four thematic panels: 1) Des rois et un royaume de l'entre-deux; 2) Aristocratie laïque et relations féodales; 3) Evêques, abbayes et politiques ecclésiastiques; 4) Sources et approches textuelles: les mots de la Lotharingie. The first panel consists of four articles. Eva-Maria Butz takes up the question of the royal

power (Das Königtum) of Lotar II in the light of the tradition of the memorial book (der Gedenkbuchüberlieferung). Linda Dohmen considers the economic aspects of Lotar II's reign by analysing diplomatic sources. Horst Löfflein presents the topic of Charlemagne's claims to the Lorraine territories. Hérolf Pettiau describes the geographical scope of the political activities of Lotar I and Lotar II, through a study of the presence of these rulers between 843 and 869 in the Lorraine region. The second panel contains five articles. Thomas Wittkamp presents the fate of Lotar II's illegitimate son Hugo, as well as the policy of the Carolingian rulers of the Lorraine line towards the Normans. Daniel Schumacher presents the activities of Duke Giselbert of Lorraine, a ruler operating between the East and West of the Frankish State. Tristan Martine examines the territorial basis of the Lorraine aristocracy in the tenth and eleventh centuries, while posing the question of the early spatial awareness (ein frühes Raumbewusstsein) of the Lorraine elite. Michel Margue analyzes the development of feudal structures in Lorraine on the basis of the emergence of the position of ,l'avouerie' (Latin: advocatus [ecclesiae]) around the second half of the 11th century and the beginning of 12th century. Thomas Brunner comments on the vocabulary describing feudal relations in pre-1100 diplomatic sources from Lorraine. The next panel consists of four articles. Pieter Byttembergh presents conflicts in the borderland area of Lorraine in the 80s of the 10th century, focusing in particular on showing the memory of the siege of Verdun in 984, when the troops of ,France' recaptured the city from the hands of the Empire. Anne Wagner describes the translations of relics by the Lorraine bishops and the role that individual relics played in the Lorraine diocese. Felix Schaefer takes up the question of Carolingian memorials in Lorraine with the example of Metz and the tradition that grew up around St Arnulf in the late Carolingian period. Gordon Blennemann analyzes the symbolism and function of parish churches in Benedictine monasteries in Metz between the twelfth and fourteenth centuries. The fourth and final panel consists of five articles. Jens Schneider addresses the complex issue of vernacular language in Lorraine up to 1100. Thomas Bauer attempts to analyze the name Lorraine (Lotharreich, Lotharingien, Lorraine, etc.). Hannes Engl presents the diplomatic aspects of the papacy's relations with the first canons regular in Lorraine at the end of the eleventh and beginning of the twelfth century. Jean-Pol Evrard analyzes the relationship between the cult of St Mary Magdalene in Verdun and the document issued by Bishop Thierry as a testimony of this cult in the West. Klaus Krönert outlines the state of research and research perspectives on Lorraine hagiography. The work concludes with a bilingual summary by the editors of the volume. The main objective of the presented work seems to be to present the widest possible panorama of recent studies on the borderland territory of Lorraine and to show the different perspectives and historiographical traditions:

French and German. The publication is therefore an excellent starting point for further studies and an overview of trends in historical research on border regions in the Middle Ages.

TOMASZ PELECH

Homini, qui in honore fuit. Księga pamiątkowa poświęcona śp. Profesorowi Grzegorzowi Białuńskiemu (Homini, qui in honore fuit. A memorial book dedicated to late Professor Grzegorz Białuński), ed. Alicja Dobrosielska, Aleksander Pluskowski, Seweryn Szczepański, Towarzystwo Naukowe Pruthenia, Uniwersytet Warmińsko-Mazurski w Olsztynie, Olsztyn 2020, 620 pp., ill., hardback.

The book is a collection of 34 original scientific articles written by Polish and foreign researchers, a kind of tribute to the late Prof. Grzegorz Białuński (1967-2018). In the introduction to the book, the editors briefly outlined the scientific portrait of the professor (text in Polish and English; pp. 11-14), which is presented in great detail in the scientific biography that follows (pp. 15-24). It presents not only the consecutive stages of the scientific career of the deceased, awards he received, research projects he led or conducted, but also discusses with admirable care his research directions and scientific interests. The adjacent list of publications contains 299 items (monographs, editors of monographs, journals, scientific articles, chapters in monographs, communications, reports, obituaries), not counting almost 78 popular science articles.

The studies have been divided chronologically into three parts dealing with: traditional communities and pre-state organizations (In the era of traditional communities, pp. 45-192), the late medieval period (Under the rule of the Order, kings and princes, pp. 193-442) and modern times to the present (Between modernity and the present, pp. 443-620). Apart from texts on the archaeology of the Prussian lands, the reader will find source editions, case studies, but also works on historiography, history and anthropology of religion or sociology and social theory.

PAWEŁ DERECKI

Jan Hus. Życie, myśl, dziedzictwo (Jan Hus. Life, Thought, Legacy), ed. Paweł Kras, Martin Nodl, Instytut Historii Polskiej Akademii Nauk, Warszawa 2017, 337 pp., index of persons, paperback.

The publication is the result of a conference held on 6-7 November 2015 in Warsaw entitled „Master Jan Hus: life, thought and legacy” („Mistrz Jan Hus. Życie, myśl, dziedzictwo”), organized by the Insti-

tute of History of the Polish Academy of Sciences in cooperation with the Centre for Medieval Studies of the Czech Academy of Sciences (Centrum medievistických studií – Filosofický ústav Akademie věd České republiky). It is also a tribute to Stanisław Bylina, the eminent Polish medievalist and Bohemian scholar who died in 2017 and who was also one of the initiators and organizers of the aforementioned conference. The presented book focuses on the person of Jan Hus, his preaching activities, and the influence that he had on later tradition and historiography. The volume includes thirteen essays, eleven of which are the aftermath of the aforementioned conference, a translation of an article by František Šmahel, and an interview conducted with S. Bylina in 2016. The statements are grouped into several thematic strands. The first of these is the historiographical introduction developed by the editors of the volume, which is in a way continued by the above-mentioned paper by F. Šmahel. The next group of contributions refers to the theological and especially ecclesiological concepts of Jan Hus and the Hussites, on which Paweł Kras, Martin Nodl, and Dušan Coufal spoke. The following texts discuss the problematics of Hussite preaching presented by Krzysztof Bracha, Pavel Soukup, Anna Paner, and Pavlína Cermanová. The last part focuses on the Hussite tradition and historiography and was prepared by Henryk Gmiterek, Jarosław Nikodem and Wojciech Iwańczak. The whole volume closes with a conversation with S. Bylina, in which he talks about the beginnings of his interest in Hussitism and his cooperation with Czech researchers.

MICHAŁ DUDZIŃSKI

Leszek Kajzer, *Archaeologia Historica. Pisma wybrane* (Archaeologia Historica. Selected papers), ed. Lucyna Domańska, Anna Marciniak-Kajzer, Aleksander Andrzejewski, Instytut Archeologii Uniwersytetu Łódzkiego, Wydawnictwo DiG, Warszawa 2014, 462 pp., ill., hardback.

The book contains 34 articles selected from approximately 600 works of Prof. L. Kajzer published in print both in Poland and abroad. Due to the small volume of most of them, they may be regarded as having the character of scripta minora; they were published in the years 1972-2012. The intention of the editors was for the presented works to show the breadth of Professor Kajzer's research interests covering not only archaeology, but also history, and the history of art and architecture. They have been divided into four groups, presented in their original form, and the place of first publication is given at the end of each text. Works published outside Poland and co-authored articles have been deliberately omitted.

The first group – Archaeology. Material Culture (pp. 1-143) – includes 9 works on archaeological interpretations, especially of material culture relics (earthenware, tiles, glass and floor tiles), as well as archaeologically documented historical interpretations. The second group – Castles, manors, palaces, and fortresses (pp. 145-371) contains 8 studies, successfully fulfilling the concept of architecture *militaris* and defensive and residential construction. The third section – Churches, monasteries (pp. 373-420) contains 4 texts devoted to the issues of sacral architecture, and the last one – Sources (pp. 421-462) offers 4 sketches concerning examples of publications of historical sources and their interpretation.

PAWEŁ DERECKI

Paweł Kawiński, *Sacrum w wyobrażeniach pogańskich Prusów. Próba interpretacji na pograniczu historii i etnologii religii* (Sacrum in the images of pagan Prussians. An attempt at interpretation on the borderline of history and ethnology of religion), *Monumenta Literaria Prussiae, seria C, VIII*, Oficyna Wydawnicza Pruthenia, Olsztyn 2018, 409 pp., paperback.

Paweł Kawiński's book on religion, mythology and beliefs of ancient Prussians is based primarily on a historical and linguistic analysis of Prussian vocabulary. The author's aim was to reconstruct the ways of conceptualizing the sacrum in the collective consciousness of the medieval Prussians in the pre-Teutonic period.

The work consists of an introduction, five chapters, a conclusion, and a bibliography. The first chapter is an attempt to reconstruct the Old Prussian social structure on the basis of linguistic data. Prussian words connected with the categories of being, life and death, images of the world, man, social relations, human emotions and intellectual functions are analyzed here (pp. 57-134). In Chapter II the author discusses selected Old Prussian vocabulary representing basic axiological and sacral-ritual terminology (pp. 135-166). The problem of Prussian images of sacral power described by historical sources, its personifications and the cult connected with it is taken up by Kawiński in the third part of the work (pp. 167-250). He extensively discusses here examples connected with the primary structure of sacrum in the Old Prussian cult paraphernalia: statues of deities, sacrificial cauldrons, sacred drink (*kumys*), temples, or tabooed grey and grey horses. The author devoted a separate subsection to the cult functionaries. A discussion of the manifestations of the sacrum in the valorization of space forms the fourth chapter of the book (pp. 251-306). Apart from the internal structure and functions of the cult centres of pagan Prussians (sacred groves, fields,

lakes and rivers), the researcher presented here, on the example of tribal Pomezania, Pomezania and Warmia, the organization of sacral space against the background of pre-Teutonic settlement. The last chapter covers the issue of images of magical metamorphosis, ways of valorizing death by the Prussians and their significance in Old Prussian axiology (pp. 307-342).

ALICJA DOBROSIELSKA

Kenkō, *Zapiski dla zabicia czasu* (Leisure Hour Notes), transl. Henryk Lipszyc, Wydawnictwo Karakter, Kraków 2020, 181 pp., bibliography, indexes, hardback.

This work belongs to free-form Japanese confessional literature whose beginnings date back to ca. 1000 and are connected with Sei Shōnagon (ca. 966-1021). She was a lady at the Heian imperial court, the author of the first extensive collection of Notes from under the Bed (Makura-no Sōshi), with which she initiated a prose genre still cultivated in Japan. The author lived in the years ca. 1283-1352, before he adopted the Buddhist name Kenkō his name was Urabe-no Kaneyoshi or Yoshida-no Kaneyoshi and he came from a family of Sinto priests for generations connected with the Yoshida temple in Kyoto. After several years of service at the imperial court he took the path of a Buddhist monk, and from around 1320 he lived in seclusion.

The notes were probably written around 1330; according to tradition they were discovered by the monk's friend, the poet Ryōshun. The scraps of paper containing them were purportedly stuck to the walls of the mountain hut chosen by Kenkō for his solitude. They consisted of 243 fragments and were published after the author's death by his disciples and friends. The first known surviving text dates from 1431. Each of the numbered fragments is preceded by a title in the form of an incipit. However, it should be remembered that the order of their arrangement was established by the publishers, the more so that their author, in the notes present in the text, indicated that he wrote down his remarks and observations for himself. It is worth mentioning here that Kenkō was already an acclaimed author of tanka poems („short songs”) during his lifetime, but paradoxically it was the Notes which brought him fame lasting to this day. They still remain popular with Japanese readers, providing a source of quotations and references in everyday conversations. Obviously, they are also a valuable source for cultural researchers, and what emerges from them is not so much a thinker adhering to a single doctrine as a refined aesthete steeped in the native court tradition.

PAWEŁ DERECKI

Jamie Kreiner, *Legions of Pigs in the Early Medieval West*, Yale Agrarian Studies Series, Yale University Press, New Haven-London 2020, XXIV, 340 pp., ill., maps, hardcover.

Starting with the fact that pigs were an essential part of agriculture and culture, being one of the most important consumed meats of the early Middle Ages, Jamie Kreiner from the University of Georgia proposes a study of the medieval communities from an ecological perspective. She notes that the people of the early medieval period were serious about the environment around them and saw themselves as part of a complex and dynamic ecosystem powered by interconnected organisms and forces. The author traces the interlocking relationships between pigs and humans and the ecology that intertwines them, drawing on texts and images, bioarchaeology, settlement archeology and mammalian biology.

The book consisted of a preface, introduction, five chapters, and epilogue. In the first chapter the author shows that pig breeding had an impact not only on the development of farm management in medieval communities, but also on a more general definition of the social order, related to, i.a., grazing pigs or determining compensation for bites by pigs, e.g., in the Longobard law from the time of King Rothari. Then, J. Kreiner shows the visions of nature of Christian exegetes and natural philosophers, which were in line with agrarian ethics, showing the animals as an important part of the human world. Chapter three examines the role of pigs in the medieval economy, using the example of the Merovingians, who recognize that pigs can be an important source of income and that economic policies should be pursued to maintain the welfare of animals, and therefore the kingdom and its people. In the fourth chapter, the author addresses the issue of coexistence in a common habitat of people and pigs, showing both economic and cultural aspects. In the last chapter, entitled *The Christianization of the Pig*, the author shows the role and symbolism of the pig in Christian culture. The work concludes with an epilogue in which the author points out that with the political expansion of the colonial powers, pig farming reached almost all areas of the world (including the New World – the both Americas). The presented work is an interesting scientific project from the animal studies genre, excellently documented and illustrated, although it should be stressed that many of the author's theses require further study and extended argumentation.

TOMASZ PELECH

Jerzy Maroń, *Psie Pole – bitwa, której nie było* (Psie Pole – the battle that never existed), Forum Kultury Historycznej, V, Chronicon, Wrocław 2020, 59 pp., bibliography, ill., paperback.

This publication opens with much-needed remarks on battles in politics and historical memory. Using numerous examples from ancient times to the 20th century, the author has shown the relativity of numerical data in research on the number of troops. Then J. Maroń confronts the views of K. Maleczyński, A.F. Grabski, B. Miśkiewicz functioning in historiography concerning the number of troops of Henry V and Bolesław Krzywousty.

The next parts of the booklet contain an analysis of the message of Master Wincenty called Kadłubek, dedicated to the battle of 1109, which lastingly introduced it to the collective imagination. The author critically reviewed the most important works analyzing this event by A. Naruszewicz, B. Sikorski, B. Chlebowski, M. Kukiel, K. Maleczyński, A.F. Grabski, B. Miśkiewicz, K. Olejnik, K. Bobowski. At the same time he drew attention to the unreliable aspect of 'living tradition', which often leads historians astray in this type of deliberations.

The following sketch offers reflections on the rigours of a historian's work, at the same time raising the need to criticize the reliability of accounts, which was often lost sight of by adepts of Clio. At the same time, J. Maroń remarks that the work of the Blessed Wincenty should be classified not as historiography, but as poetry, as Aristotle understood it, even though it was written in prose. The above claim was convincingly put forward more than 20 years ago by J. Banaszekiewicz. A catalogue of examples from the *Chansons de geste* illustrated the very correct statement that the authors of the songs, on the margins of the main course of the story, precisely presented the elements of tactics proper to their times, though not the course of events.

Concluding his lecture, the author devoted a handful of remarks to the historical memory associated with the place of the alleged battle, which found expression in material commemoration in the form of the coat of arms of the city of Psie Pole before it was incorporated into Wrocław in 1928, or a boulder commemorating the victory of the Polish army.

Monarchy, State and Political Culture in Late Medieval England. Essays in Honour of W. Mark Ormrod, Political Culture in the Middle Ages, I, ed. Gwilym Dodd, Craig Taylor, York Medieval Press–Boydell & Brewer Press, Woodbridge–New York 2020, XVIII, 230 pp., indexes, Tabula Gratulatoria, hardback.

The present work, edited by Gwilym Dodd (University of Nottingham) and Craig Taylor (University of York), is dedicated to Prof. William Mark Ormrod, the scholar of late medieval England associated with the University of York, who died prematurely in 2020, and who was the author, among other things, of a biography of Edward III published in the Yale University Press 'English Monarchs' series (New Haven and London 2011). This volume is the product of a workshop entitled 'Political Culture in Late Medieval England' held on 16 September 2017 at the Centre for Medieval Studies in the University of York. All articles were written by students and research associates of W.M. Ormrod. The themes of the volume focus on research into the structures, personalities, political culture, rulership and its legal foundations in late medieval England. It is therefore a work that falls within the broad framework of political history. The work consists of nine articles preceded by an outline of W.M. Ormrod's research profile by Sarah Rees Jones.

In the opening article of the collection, Jonathan Mackman presents the case of the 'unfortunate' tax cheat, Thomas de Boulton, in the context of the subsidy granted to Edward III by Parliament in 1332. Elizabeth Biggs then addresses the issue of Collegiate Statutes as a category of regulatory documents that emerged as an official way of defining collegiate life, and which by 1400 had become a standard part of the founding process of almost every college. In the following article, James Bothwell illustrates the role that the death of loved ones played in the lives, political pragmatics, and especially the ideological agenda associated with Edward III's dynastic burials. Helen Lacey examines the extent to which disloyal speech was tolerated in fourteenth-century England, focusing on people outside the power elite who increasingly saw themselves as royal subjects capable of expressing political views and making unflattering judgements. Anthony Musson analyzes the policy of fourteenth-century English monarchs towards the chivalric class in relation to the operation of the Court of Chivalry (*curia militaris*), treated by chivalry as a potential vehicle for tyranny because it theoretically operated outside the common law and procedural safeguards enshrined in *Magna Carta*, relying instead on Roman civil law and *ius naturale*. Gwilym Dodd examines the impact of the Parliament of April 1414 on late medieval legislation in the Kingdom

of England, and presents new ways of explaining the petition presented by the House of Commons at the time, remarkable not only because it was the first written in English, but also because its precise meaning and purpose are nowhere clearly defined. Helen Killick's article is a careful study of the career of one civil servant, Thomas Hoccleve, who served as an official of the secret seal but was never entirely confined to that role. Joanna Laynesmith describes the household of the Duchess of York, Cecilia (1415-1495), who played an important role in the politics of fifteenth-century England, being one of the largest landowners and therefore the head of an important family. In the final article, Helen Watt addresses the relationship between Church, State and Society in the registers of the Archbishops of York, from 1225 to about 1650, also taking a closer look at the projects that Prof. W.M. Ormrod has been leading (including *Medieval Petitions: A Catalogue of the 'Ancient Petitions' in The National Archives*).

As this is a commemorative work there is no shortage of appendices in the form of List of PhD Supervisees, List of Grants and *Tabula Gratulatoria*, as well as a list of authors together with a description of their connections with W.M. Ormrod.

TOMASZ PELECH

Eduard Mühle, *Die Slawen im Mittelalter zwischen Idee und Wirklichkeit*, Böhlau Verlag, Wien-Köln-Weimar 2020, 503 pp., indexes, hardback / *Słowianie. Rzeczywistość i fikcja wspólnoty. VI-XV wiek*, transl. Joanna Janicka, Wydawnictwo Naukowe PWN, Warszawa 2020, 473 pp., indexes, paperback.

The German historian Eduard Mühle's synthesis on the Slavic countries in the Middle Ages was published the same year in German and Polish (thanks to the support of the German Historical Institute in Warsaw). The author engages in a discussion of ideas about the Slavic community in the Middle Ages, confronting them with the political ideas propagated in the 19th and 20th centuries, often serving immediate superpower interests, which still guide our thinking about the Slavs today. The author raises questions about the self-identification of the Slavs and the role of the Slavic component in the emergence of medieval *nationes*, rejecting myths which were perpetuated in later centuries, but pointing out that from the very appearance of this ethnos in messages these terms constituted a certain cultural construct. The book, divided into ten chapters, begins with a prologue devoted precisely to the politicized image of the Slavs in the sixteenth to twentieth centuries. Only in the next chapter did the author present his research postulates. In Chapter III he discusses the image of the emerg-

ing Slavonic culture of the sixth-ninth centuries from the perspective of an outside observer (Greek, Latin, Oriental). In the next section, this picture is verified using linguistic and archaeological sources from within. The next three chapters are devoted to the formation of Slavic political structures – the first mainly impermanent regna still subject to monarchy (Protobulgarians, Carinthia, Moravia), to then discuss the process of the emergence of medieval nationes (Bulgaria, Croatia, Bohemia, Kievan Rus, Poland, Serbia) in the tenth to twelfth centuries, and those regions which were not given the chance to complete these processes and were interrupted by acculturation processes introducing them to the German world (Pomerania, Elbslavs, the Balkan Slavs). The question of the role of „Slavism” in these processes has become important in characterizing them. The eighth chapter again presents a picture of the changing – and differentiating – Slavic world from the point of view of the idea of a common origin and history of the Slavs, which became firmly established in the full and late Middle Ages. The next chapter is devoted to the concepts of Slavic unity appearing from the 12th century onwards. In the last part of the book the author considers the question in what sense medieval Slavs were a construct and in what sense a real phenomenon. The work ends with maps, a bibliography and three very important indexes: personal, geographical and etonyms and relationships of persons.

PAWEŁ MIGDAŁSKI

Muhammad and the Origin of Islam in the Byzantine-Slavic Literary Context. A Bibliographical History, ed. Zofia A. Brzozowska, Mirosław J. Leszka, Teresa Wolińska, Byzantina Lodziensia, XLI, Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Łódzkiego, Łódź 2019, 396 pp., indexes, paperback.

The work prepared by a team of Byzantinists and Paleoslavists, affiliated with the University of Łódź, could be described as a kind of bibliographical dictionary. It encompasses thirty-nine medieval texts relating to the Islam and its Prophet, the Arabs, interreligious and intercultural Christian-Muslim polemics and relations, which were written in the Byzantine Empire, translated from Greek to the Slavonic languages (especially Old Russian) or created in the circle of *Slavia Orthodoxa* between the ninth and mid-sixteenth centuries. Moreover, in the collection the several sources appear, which were originally written in other languages, such as Syriac or Arabic (e.g. *The Martyrdom of St. Arethas*) and Latin (e.g. Riccoldo da Monte Croce, *Contra legem Sarracenorum*), which, because of the cultural influence of Byzantium, were transmitted to the Eastern and Southern Slavs. The reader can there-

fore familiarize himself with such texts as Ammonius' *Relatio on the Slaughter of the Monks of Sinai and Rhaithou*, John Moschus' *The Spiritual Meadow*, Sophronius of Jerusalem's *Synodical Letter*, *The Martyrdom of St. Arethas*, Anastasius of Sinai's *Questions and Answers*, Michael Syncellus' *Unknown refutation of Islam*, *The Historical Sermon About a Vision Which a Saracen Once Had of Gregory Decapolite*, Euthymius Zigabenus' *Panoplia Dogmatica* or Afanasy Nikitin's *The Journey Beyond Three Seas* and many more.

The work of Łódź's scholars is a significant scientific achievement, especially that a number of the indicated above texts were not published yet. Furthermore, in the state of the research on the Christian-Muslim intercultural relations, dominated in the Western historiography, the main issue focused on the Greek and Latin texts, ignoring the *Slavia Orthodoxa's* literature, and in effect, a knowledge and collective imaginations of a significant part of Christian culture, which also took part in the shaping of interreligious polemic.

TOMASZ PEŁECH

Nil nisi veritas. Księga dedykowana Profesorowi Jackowi Matuszewskiemu (Nil nisi veritas. Book dedicated to Professor Jacek Matuszewski), ed. Marcin Głuszak, Dorota Wiśniewska-Jóźwiak, Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Łódzkiego, Łódź 2016, 611 pp., hardback.

The Festschrift opens with two texts that can be regarded as „sketches for a scientific portrait” of the jubilarian – the first by Wojciech Witkowski (Jacek Matuszewski: significant passions in practising the history of law, pp. 9-26) and by Cezary Kosikowski (The history of Polish treasury and its law in the works of Jacek Matuszewski, pp. 27-37). They are complemented by a bibliography of the Professor's scientific works presented further on by Joanna Machut-Kowalczyk (pp. 39-50).

The main part of the collection consists, of course, of scholarly articles on a wide range of law-related issues, such as diplomacy, the organization of the judiciary, legislation, research into the organization of offices, and historiography, to name but a few. Despite the rather large chronological dispersion and range, covering the period from antiquity to the 20th century, the 36 works form a thematically coherent whole and can certainly constitute valuable reading for medievalists. It is worth emphasizing at the same time that a bibliography is included at the end of each work, which greatly facilitates further research for the inquisitive reader.

PAWEŁ DERECKI

Krzysztof Ożóg, *Narodziny potęgi. Dziedzictwo Kazimierza Wielkiego* (The birth of a power. The legacy of Casimir the Great), Biały Kruk, Kraków 2020, 255 pp., ill., maps, bibliography, hardback.

To write that every ‚round‘ anniversary of an important event is an excellent opportunity for the relevant community to celebrate it appropriately is to write nothing or not enough. It was no different with the 5th of November 2020. The 650th anniversary of the death of Casimir the Great, commemorated with publications, exhibitions and conferences.

The book presented here, written a medievalist from Kraków, has been prepared with great care both in terms of content and editorial. The lecture was divided into 8 chapters, each illustrated with dozens of photographs by Adam Bujak. The layout of the work is as follows: 1) The successor of King Władysław the Short (pp. 9-33), 2) „Crowned with the King’s crown“, he ruled bravely and usefully. The political legacy of the great king (pp. 35-74); 3. The economic legacy of King Casimir (pp. 75-116); 4) „He loved peace, truth and justice“. The legal and organizational legacy of Casimir the Great (pp. 117-134); 5) „On armed knighthood lies the honour of the King and the defence of the whole Kingdom“. The military strengthening of the Polish Kingdom under Casimir the Great (pp. 135-172); 6) „He loved with all diligence the decoration of the Lord’s tabernacle“. Royal foundations of churches and monasteries (pp. 173-206); 7. The royal foundation of the university of Kraków in 1364 (pp. 207-228); 8) The royal road to eternity. On the death and two funerals of Casimir the Great (pp. 229-247). Next, there are maps illustrating the states ruled by the Jagiellons in 1490. (pp. 250-251), the administrative division of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, the legal status as at 1619 (pp. 252-253) and a bibliography (pp. 254-255).

Due to their popularizing character, the sketches are not provided with a critical apparatus, but the clarity of the presentation makes up for this lack. In any case, the book is an excellent introduction to the issues discussed, and the reader wishing to broaden his knowledge has received the above-mentioned bibliographical hints.

PAWEŁ DERECKI

Reinhard Paulsen, *Schiffahrt, Hanse und Europa im Mittelalter. Schiffe am Beispiel Hamburgs, Europäische Entwicklungslinien und die Forschung in Deutschland, Quellen und Darstellungen Zur Hansischen Geschichte*, LXXIII, Böhlau Verlag, Köln-Weimar-Wien 2016, 1079 pp., ill., hardback.

German historian Reinhard Paulsen’s work takes as its starting point the characterization of medieval seagoing vessels using the Hanseatic city of Hamburg

as an example. Its subject matter, however, goes far beyond the history of shipping itself. By tracing the development of north European ships up to the end of the 15th century, the author critically revises the hitherto achievements of German historiography of Hanseatic shipping and the Hanseatic League in general. The work consists of two parts: the text proper (pp. 21-722) together with an extensive English summary (pp. 701-720), and appendices with source, cartographic, iconographic, numismatic and statistical material (pp. 775-990). After an introduction dealing with the general issues of shipping, the money economy and the natural conditions of the port of Hamburg (pp. 21-66), chapters I and II deal with the types of vessels in local and pan-European shipping, among those connected with the port centre of Hamburg. The technical issues of their construction are analyzed by the author in the wider context of medieval shipping, with digressions concerning Roman boatbuilding and the parallel development of Chinese shipping (pp. 69-259). The third chapter deals with the issue of the directions of the development of ship types in medieval Europe, starting with the shipbuilding of the Celts and Scandinavians, up to the issue of the construction of the medieval coga and tow, by means of two excursuses, placing this in the broader – rather digressive – context of ancient Roman boatbuilding, as well as Chinese boatbuilding of the period under study (pp. 263-500). The author critically refers to the findings of naval historians to date, seeing the genesis of medieval North European boatbuilding in two traditions from the 1st millennium AD: Celtic and Scandinavian, also taking into account the growing influence of Mediterranean solutions at the end of that period (caravel plating replacing clinker plating). Chapters IV-VI provide a critical analysis of the German historiography of the history of shipping and the Hanseatic League to date (created in the German national spirit in the Wilhelminian era, under National Socialism, as well as in post-war West Germany and the GDR), including the issues of medieval expansion into Slavic areas. This also applies to the very notion of „Hanseaticism” as it functions in German literature on the subject from the 19th to the 20th century. The author sees a threat in the continuation of similar tendencies today (pp. 503-677). The Polish reader’s attention may also be drawn to appendix I. included in the second part, which contains an analysis of Gdańsk capers’ letters from the Thirteen Years’ War, including capers’ names and types of units, according to their edition in the *Hansischer Urkundenbuch* (pp. 927-931).

Radosław Pawlik, *Kapituła katedralna w Kamieniu Pomorskim na przełomie epok (1498-1549)* (Cathedral Chapter in Cammin at the turn of the century [1498-1549]), Archiwum Główne Akt Dawnych, Archiwum Państwowe w Szczecinie, Stowarzyszenie Archiwistów Polskich, Warszawa-Szczecin 2019, 576 pp., bibliography, indexes, summary in German, paperback.

The book by Radosław Pawlik delves into institutional, economic, and social history of the Cathedral Chapter in Cammin at the end of the Middle Ages and the beginning of the Early Modern Era (1498-1549). The main goal of the work is to show the influence and consequences of the powers obtained by duke Bogusław X on the changes in the structure of the Chapter. Another goal is to examine the role of the Chapter in Pomeranian conversion to Lutheranism. In the introduction the author reviews the current state of research on the history of the Chapter in Cammin and available source material. The work is divided into five chapters. In the first the author discusses the organization of the Chapter, based primarily on the norms contained in its statutes from around 1380, which were in force in almost unchanged form until the introduction of the Reformation. Then a pattern of inclusion of new members into the Chapter's college is discussed, taking into account the influence of a bishop of Cammin, a pope, and a Pomeranian duke on the process. In this regard, the author focuses primarily on showing the actual influence of dukes and effectiveness of their personal policy in the Chapter. The powers obtained by duke Bogusław X on the basis of the papal privilege from 1498 allowed him to grant Chapter's prebends to the people of his choice, which increased the duke's position in the state and in the bishopric of Cammin as well. As a result of these rights, persons previously associated with the duke, who held functions at ducal court or in the state administration, were among the members of the Chapter's college. Next the author discusses the internal structure of the Chapter, activities of prelates, canons, functions and responsibilities of notary, rector, subsidiary teacher, organist, sacristan, and bell-ringer. The main task of prelates and canons was that of concern for the worship of God in the diocese. However, a serious issue of the Chapter was the non-compliance of its members with the rule of residence. As a result, most prelates and canons did not fulfill their liturgical duties directly, relying on their deputies – vicars – instead.

In the second chapter the author discusses the role of the Chapter in managing the Diocese of Cammin while the bishop is absent (*sede plene*) or at a time when the bishop's position is vacant (*sede vacante*). The Chapter's role in this regard was crucial as in such situations it maintained effective control over the diocese, securing its uninterrupted functioning. The Chapter also possessed major influence on bishops' elections. This prerogative however

was significantly restricted by Bogusław X. During his rule the Chapter only played the role of a passive electoral body, sanctioning the duke's candidates. Later in the chapter focus is moved towards the liturgical and pastoral tasks of the Chapter, among them cooperation with the lower cathedral clergy, the cathedral school, and the obligations towards parish churches under the jurisdiction of the Cammin diocese. The judicial powers of the Chapter are also discussed. In the third chapter of the book the author analyzes the Chapter's wealth. Its landholdings could be divided into three types, common, prebend and prelature estates. In chapter four, the author focuses on the attitude of the Cathedral Chapter and the Bishopric of Cammin towards the issue of the Reformation in the Duchy of Pomerania. The author presents a brief sketch of the process whereby the ideas of Luther spread in Pomerania and the religious policy of the Griffin dynasty, which culminated in the introduction of the Lutheran confession in 1534/1535. The Chapter's attitude to the Reformation and its connection to Lutheranism is also investigated. The Reformation played a major role in legal and structural changes in the Chapter. It should be noted that benefices became a source of income of the duke's councillors and other functionaries. The author states however that Luther's ideas quickly found supporters inside the Chapter regardless of the duke's policy. The last chapter of the book focuses on a prosopographical study of the Chapter's members. Social background and education constituted a significant factor in obtaining inclusion into the collegium. Although members of noble heritage dominated in the collegium, there were also many members of the middle class. Family connections however constituted an important factor in applying for benefices. Connections with ducal or papal administration were also prevailing. While the Holy See enjoyed the privilege of presenting its own candidates to the collegium, its influence gradually diminished, which is attested by the low number of papal candidates after 1534/1535. On the contrary ducal influence rose significantly, especially during the reign of Bogusław X. The book is complimented by the juxtaposition of 81 biographical sketches of prelates and canons from 1498-1549, a summary in German, a rich bibliography, and geographical and personal indices.

KAMIL BIAŁY

Jan M. Piskorski, *Pomeranika*, Bellona, Warszawa 2020, 358 pp., hardback.

The book is a collection of articles written in the last 40 years by Jan M. Piskorski, Professor of History at the University of Szczecin. It follows the volume *Polska i Niemcy. Blaski i cienie tysiącletniego sąsiedztwa* (Warszawa

Bellona, 2017), a selection of works summarizing many years of research by the author, whose interests in the aforementioned period have evolved from medieval studies to issues of contemporary forced migration. The work, preceded by an extensive introduction, is divided into four sections, the most comprehensive of which is the first devoted to the Middle Ages. It contains articles that cover three thematic fields: 1) the Polabian tribe of the Ukrani to whom the author devoted his master's thesis under the supervision of Jerzy Strzelczyk; 2) urban issues in Pomerania, corresponding in turn to his doctoral dissertation also at the seminar of J. Strzelczyk's dissertation – the texts contained herein concern: the beginnings and location of Nowe Warpno (this text provoked a sharp polemic with Józef Spors), the Magdeburg law in the towns of Pomerania and the Wobbermin family, 3) the issue of villages in the Middle Ages (edition of the Kołbacz's inventory of 1348, village of Kołbacz in the middle of the 14th century, as well as inedita to volume X of Pommersches Urkundenbuch), to which the author in turn devoted his habilitation. The next section concerns old and new Pomeranians. It contains reflections on the exchange of the Pomeranian population as a result of the Second World War. In the third section, devoted to historiography, there is a summary of the achievements of Polish historiography on the history of the Duchy of Pomerania (up to the middle of the 17th century) from the years 1945-1990. This is a commented guide to individual issues, which is still a signpost for those who want to deal with the history of Pomerania under the rule of the Griffins. The next section contains five reviews, most of them critical. Four of them concern works related to the Middle Ages – Pomeranian and Mecklenburg medieval towns, volume II of the synthesis of the History of Szczecin prepared by the Polish Academy of Sciences, and two to Jan Bugenhagen and the edition of his chronicle Pomerania written in 1518, important for medieval studies. The volume closes with a text on the von Thadden family from Třebov, on their fate against the background of the often dramatic history of Central Europe in the 20th century. In conclusion, it should be noted that the author's intention was to edit the texts as they were published, i.e., without any changes and taking into account the scholarly discussion that has arisen over time, as they are intended to show the author's development in the Pomeranian research fields.

PAWEŁ MIGDAŁSKI

Marian Rębkowski, *Jak powstało Pomorze? Studium tworzenia państwowości we wczesnym średniowieczu* (How the Pomerania had appeared? A study of statehood formation in the early Middle Ages), Instytut Archeologii i Etnologii PAN, Muzeum Historii Polski, Warszawa 2020, 227 pp., ill., hardback.

The Duchy of Pomerania finally crystallized at the beginning of the 12th century under the rule of the Griffin dynasty. The establishment of this political entity in the 11th and 12th centuries is the subject of Marian Rębkowski's study. On the basis of archaeological research to date, this researcher has criticized the prevailing opinions expressed mainly by historians. The work is divided into five chapters. The first one is an extensive introduction, in which, apart from a broader topic of the formation of states in the early Middle Ages, previous research on the genesis of the Griffin state is discussed, as well as the aims of the work. The second chapter is a discussion of the situation and structures of the socio-political organization (the question of the system: tribal or chieftainship?) and settlement before the Piast conquest in the ninth and tenth centuries. The author takes the position that before the Piast conquest Pomerania was not a tribal unity, but a conglomerate of tribal (neighbouring communities), whose central centre was a town.

Chapter III was devoted to centres of power in the 11th century. M. Rębkowski discussed the transformation of the social space in that period. The ecumena expanded, but the number of settlements decreased, which is related to the process of centralization of power and the transformation into a place of power representation. Other distinctive features, which should prove the formation of new centres of power, are the changes in the funeral rites, in which elite burials appear, and the appearance of the issue of coins in the eleventh century, which were not produced in the mouth of the Oder, but in the region of Słupsk and Bytów, and whose end was associated with the expansion of the Piasts to Pomerania at the end of the eleventh century. On the basis of these findings, M. Rębkowski thseses that the changes in Pomerania were triggered by the expansion of Poland at the end of the 10th c., whose main centre was Kołobrzeg. In the fifth decade of the 11th century at the latest, a political entity called Pomerania came into being, encompassing the land between the Rega and the Leba, and its nucleus was the fortified towns in Białogard and Kołobrzeg, which were not destroyed but expanded, or in Słupsk. This would mean that the centre was not created from scratch, but adapted, which brings to mind analogies with the "Mieclaw state". At the end of the 11th century this entity expanded in the Oder estuary region, where the seat of the ruler was moved in the first quarter of the 12th century.

Chapter IV is devoted to the twelfth-century state of the Griffins, which was to be a continuation of the earlier creation and stretched from the land

of Kołobrzeg in the east to periodically Reknica in the west. The rulers created centres of power – settlements, of which there were relatively few (around 20), using the former tribal centres, radically transforming them and creating new places for the representation of power and political memoria. The issue of elites and the symbolism of princely images is also discussed here. The book ends with chapter V under the telling title „How did the state that is not here stand?”. The author summarizes here his reflections on the phenomenon of the emergence of the Pomeranian statehood, which should be located in the 11th century, and which was already a consolidated structure in the middle of the 12th century. The ideological basis of ducal power at that time was Christianity.

PAWEŁ MIGDAŁSKI

Stanisław Rosik, *O pięknej Wandzie i Krzywoustym Bolesławie. Wokół legendy Psiego Pola* (About beautiful Wanda and Bolesław the Wrymouth. Concerning the legend of Psie Pole), Forum Kultury Historycznej, VI, Chronicon, Wrocław 2020, 65 pp., bibliography, ill., paperback.

The work of S. Rosik's work opens with a sketch devoted to Psie Pole [‘dog field’], which has been a district of Wrocław since 1928, that discusses the contemporary material relics that are supposed to confirm its past metrics certified by medieval tale. Sculptures of dogs and commemorative plaques clearly refer to the story written by Master Wincenty's pen.

In the following chapters, S. Rosik analyzes the tradition surrounding the battle of 1109, preserved by Master Wincenty Kadłubek. He has shown how this chronicler developed and transposed the concept of Gallus Anonymus both as regards the evaluation of the outcome of the war of 1109, as well as the ideological interpretation of its causes. There is also room for the story of the beautiful Wanda, queen of the Vandals-Lechits, who successfully defeated the ‚Alemanians’ bloodlessly.

An interesting complement to the lecture is an excursus devoted to the divine province of Silence (*Divina Silentii provincia*), against which, according to Master Wincenty, Henry V raised arms. The supposition is put forward here that the form *Silencii* (*Silentii*), appearing in the manuscripts of the Wincentian Chronicle, was used both to denote the Silesians, as well as their country, and is at the same time a homophone of the complement of the Latin *silencium* (*silentium*), meaning silence. One has to agree with the author that the association of the scene of the culminating struggle for Poland's freedom with silence gives an impulse to reflect more deeply on the event, which was shrouded in a mystical aura.

Next, S. Rosik focuses his attention on analyzing Kadłubek's account of the battle at Psie Pole, treated as an allegorical story. After all, the defeated enemies were to be thrown "into the sea" by God, just like in the Old Testament Book of Exodus the Pharaoh's army chasing the Israelites. Let us add that Kadłubek presented the coming of Bolesław III to the world as the appearance of the brightest golden star and the erection of a golden column.

The conclusion of the work is beyond doubt – the story of Master Wincenty, even if containing fictional elements, elevated both the evaluation of the military achievements of Bolesław the Wrymouth (Krzywousty) and concern for the freedom of the homeland, so important for the chronicler.

PAWEŁ DERECKI

Stanisław Rosik, *Wortizlawa. Czy Wrocław był(a) kobietą? W tysiąclecie kroniki Thietmara* (Wortizlawa. Was Wrocław a woman? On the millennium of Thietmar's chronicle), Forum Kultury Historycznej, I, Chronicon, Wrocław 2018, 57 pp., bibliography, ill., paperback.

The presented volume begins with the series of Forum Kultury Historycznej (The Forum of Historical Culture), whose main objective is to popularize knowledge about the past and reveal to the reader the elements of the researcher's workshop. However, before we proceed to a concise discussion of the content of the booklet, it is worth noting that despite its popular scientific character and small format, it offers an unusually colourful and at the same time interesting analysis of the problem posed in the title. The same is true of the subsequent books of the series. The lecture is complemented by numerous illustrations, undoubtedly making it easier and more attractive to read.

The author begins with a concise presentation of the course of the siege of Bolesław Chrobry's garrison in Niemcza by the army of Henry II, supported by Bohemians and Luticians in September 1017, ultimately ending with the victory of the first ruler, as depicted by Thietmar on the pages of his Chronicle. He also points out that, according to the account in the Dresden Manuscript of the above-mentioned work, Chrobry was to await the course of further affairs in *Wortizlawa civitate*. This is the oldest known record of the name of a town on the Oder in the form WORTIZLAVA. It is worth mentioning that in his mention of the first Bishop of Wrocław, John, Thietmar referred to him with the adjective *Wrotizlaensis*, although, as noted by S. Rosik, according to the findings of linguists, the occurrence of the elements „wor” and „wro” in parallel records of the name of Wrocław was not particularly unusual.

In the further part of the paper, the author discusses the case of *Wrotizla*, a form found in a note by a Magdeburg annalist under the year 996, and disproves the historiographically successful belief that this was the earliest form of the name of Wrocław. In the following sections, he traces the origins of the name of the Piast stronghold on Cathedral Island, and then, again making extensive use of the work of linguists, examines the form *Wortizlawa* in the context of the names of Bratislava, Głogów (*Glogua*) or Kraków. The work closes with an excursus on Thietmar.

PAWEŁ DERECKI

Fabien Roucole, *Prélats et hommes de guerre dans la France du XV^e siècle*, Collection Le temps de l'histoire, Presses universitaires de Provence, Aix-en-Provence 2020, 312 pp., bibliography, paperback.

The presented work by Fabien Roucole is a revised version of his doctoral thesis, which was written under the supervision of Prof. Christiane Raynaud and defended at the Université d'Aix-Marseille on 11/12/2014. Fabien Roucole's research focuses on the interrelationships, connections and interactions between the Church and secular power and the effects of war on societies in the late Middle Ages. In this work, F. Roucole examines the participation of the clergy in armed conflicts in fifteenth-century France. The author focuses mainly on prelates: bishops, abbots and cardinals, who took up arms during conflicts without a clear religious motive, such as the Hundred Years' War. The book is divided into two main parts preceded by an introduction. In the first part, consisting of two internally expanded chapters, the author discusses issues related to the activity and military culture of prelates in France, i.e., military practices, reasons for the involvement of the clergy in armed conflicts, preparations for participation in wars in the service of the king, the Church or on their own initiative as feudal lords. This part of the work ends with an appendix on the war habits of prelates from German lands and a conclusion. In the second part, divided into three internally expanded chapters, the author analyzes the relationship between prelates and society during military operations. On the one hand he presents the duties and obligations of prelates towards the king, such as the maintenance of defensive places. On the other hand, he describes the legal issues of the clergy's participation in war and highlights socio-cultural issues, such as the attitude of the papacy towards warring prelates, indicating its pragmatic dimension, or the image of fighting clergy in late medieval works. In his work, F. Roucole points out that in fifteenth-century France the practice of clergy participation in wars

seems rare, before almost disappearing in the following centuries. This was undoubtedly influenced by the spirit of reform born in the Church after the Great Schism, at the Councils of Constance and Basel, and the process of modernizing the structures of the French monarchy and its institutions. At the same time, however, the author argues that, contrary to common belief, the use of arms by the clergy was not entirely forbidden in the Middle Ages, and many reasons allowed prelates to justify their participation in armed conflicts, e.g., as the fulfillment of feudal duties towards the King of France. Therefore, as the author suggests, the scale of their participation and involvement in armed struggles had a great influence on the assessment of the clergy's attitude.

TOMASZ PELECH

Luigi Russo, *I crociati in Terrasanta. Una nuova storia (1095–1291)*, Carocci editore, Roma 2018, 282 pp., bibliography, indexes, paperback.

The present work by Luigi Russo, professor of medieval history at the Università Europea di Roma, is a cross-sectional overview of the history of the Crusades, taking into account the latest findings in the historiography of the Crusades, prepared for a wide audience. The publication consists of an introduction and seven internally developed chapters, each identified by a place name suggesting the content of the section (Gerusalemme, Outremer, Edessa, Hattin, Constantinopoli, Damietta, San Giovanni d'Acri), as is the epilogue that concludes the work (title: Roma). A brief introduction is followed by a first chapter dealing with such topics as the crusading call of Urban II of Clermont, the motivations of the first crusaders to go to the Holy Land, relations with Byzantium, the question of Antioch, the capture of Jerusalem and the assumption of power by Godfrey of Bouillon. The second chapter presents the political history of Outremer in the period before the Second Crusade, including the rise of the military orders in this period. The third chapter focuses on the origins, course, and consequences of the defeat of the Second Crusade, beginning with the reign of King Fulk and the rise to power of Imad ad-Din Zengi. The next chapter describes the twilight of Crusader power and the consolidation of Islamic forces in Syria and Palestine under Nur ad-Din and then Saladin, who inflicted defeat on the Franks at Hattin in 1187 and captured Jerusalem. The fifth chapter presents the events of the Third and Fourth Crusades. They did not lead to the recapture of the Holy City from the hands of the Muslims, although they allowed the Crusader states in Syria and Palestine to survive Saladin's onslaught, but above all they significantly weakened Byzantium,

whose capital, Constantinople, was captured by the armies of the Fourth Crusade. The next chapter describes the period of the Fourth Lateran Council, the Fifth Crusade, the expedition of Emperor Frederick II, which ended with the Christian takeover of Jerusalem as part of the negotiations, and the defeat at La Forbie, which wiped out all of Frederick II's diplomatic successes and caused the West's last push towards the Holy Land. This theme, related to the activities of Louis IX the Saint, is dealt with in the seventh chapter, showing the last Crusades, VI and VII, and the twilight of the expedition to Outremer and the final collapse of the Crusader states in 1291. The work ends with a short epilogue, which can be read as an invitation to discuss the changes in the spirituality of the inhabitants of Europe at the turn of the 13th and 14th centuries. Luigi Russo concludes by arguing that the religious centre of Western Christianity, as a result of the migration of relics from the East (including from Constantinople in 1204) and the papal initiative of Boniface VIII to declare 1300 the Jubilee year, moved from Jerusalem to Rome, a new 'Holy Land' of sorts, where it was possible to obtain an indulgence on the basis of a visit to the holy shrines and without having to die fighting for the faith in distant Outremer. The work concludes with a bibliography and two indexes: of persons and local names.

TOMASZ PEŁECH

Sagi islandzkie. Zarys dziejów literatury staronordyckiej (The Icelandic Sagas. An outline of the history of Old Norse literature), ed. Jakub Morawiec, Łukasz Neubauer, Wydawnictwo Naukowe PWN, Warszawa 2015, 233 pp., bibliography, index, ill., paperback.

The *Sagi islandzkie* is a book about medieval Icelandic prose literature meant for scholars, students, and non-specialist readers alike. It is divided into eight chapters, covering eight main genres of saga literature. The chapters are on *Íslendinga sögur* by Remigiusz Gogosz, *Þættir* (short tales) by Marta Rey-Radlińska, Kings' sagas by Jakub Morawiec and Aleksandra Jochymek, Contemporary sagas by Dominika Skrzypek, *Biskupasögur* by Przemysław Czarnecki, Chivalric sagas by Łukasz Neubauer, Mythical-heroic sagas by Anna Kaiper, and Saints' live sand Christian poetry by Joanna Srholec-Skórzewska. In addition, there is a preface and an epilogue containing a short survey of the country's history, and a discussion on the "afterlife" of the sagas in Icelandic culture, later literature and film. In the following, I shall mainly focus on one chapter, "Sagi biskupie". The chapter contains references to my introductory chapter to the *Íslenzk fornrit* series, 15 (2003), but the reader is left completely in the dark about it. It is not listed in the bibliography. The chronicle *Hungrvaka* is one of the most important sources

for medieval Icelandic church history, composed in the first half of the 13th century. It covers the period from the formation of the Icelandic church to the year 1178. The section on *Hungrvaka* in *Sagi islandzkie* is very puzzling indeed. The fundamental, standard, and most recent edition of the Bishop sagas of Skálholt is my own edition in the Íslenzk fornrit series, 16 (2002), with a book-length introduction and notes. The volume is listed in the bibliography, but the author of the chapter seems unfamiliar with it. Czarnecki wrongly makes the impression that Camilla Basset has argued independently that *Hungrvaka* is a *gesta episcoporum* (sic!). In 1992 I argued that *Hungrvaka*, and a Latin Bishops' saga fragment belonged to the genre *gesta episcoporum*, in an article printed in the journal *Skáldskaparmál*. My ideas are developed further in my introduction to Íslenzk fornrit, 16. The hagiographic context that Czarnecki finds missing is thoroughly discussed in my introduction. There are numerous flaws in the bibliography and scholarly works chosen at random. The table on p. 122, meant for clarification, is messy and misleading. Random-checking references in other chapters shows that they would all have needed careful editing and proof-reading. Judging by the notes and references, however, the chapter on the "Sagi królewskie", or Kings' sagas seems to be fairly well researched, but with too many spelling mistakes. The book is decorated with some photos from Iceland, with wrong and misleading texts. An important saga-site, the *Alþingi*, has been moved to Borgarfjörður, another historical site in a different part of the country. There is a growing interest in saga-literature in Poland and a reliable handbook is needed and readers deserve it. It is to be hoped that a new and improved edition will be considered as soon as possible.

ÁSDÍS EGILSDÓTTIR

Rafał Simiński, *Konflikt – Pojednanie – Współpraca. Studia nad polityką książąt zachodniopomorskich i biskupów kamieńskich wobec Zakonu Krzyżackiego w Prusach w latach 1320-1423* (Conflict – Reconciliation – Cooperation. Studies on the Policy of West Pomeranian Dukes and Bishops of Cammin Towards the Teutonic Order in Prussia in the Years 1320-1423), Chronicon, Wrocław 2019, 725 pp., ill., bibliography, indexes, summary in German, paperback.

The recent book by Rafał Simiński is devoted to the issue of diplomatic relations of the west Pomeranian dukes from the Griffin dynasty and bishops of Cammin with their western neighbour, the Teutonic Order in Prussia. The author analyzes this topic from two closely related research perspectives. The first concerns the most important characteristics and issues

of Pomeranian-Teutonic relations, while the second takes into account the internal conditions of Pomerania and how they shaped the foreign policy of the dukes and bishops. In the introduction, the author presents the current state of research, discusses the modern literature on the subject, and characterizes the utilized and available source material. The book consists of three main chapters divided into smaller units. In the first, the author discusses the problem of the eastern border of Pomerania with the Teutonic Order. He emphasizes that the ambiguity of the description of landmarks in the source material constitutes the main obstacle to its definitive determination by scholars. The ambiguity of borders' delimitation also caused problems for contemporaries. It resulted in the Pomeranian-Teutonic border conflicts caused by the delimitation of the border based on natural landscape elements rather than artificial ones, and this did not constitute a barrier to the exploitation of the neighbouring areas by local residents. In order to ease the dispute, efforts were made to mark out the boundaries based almost entirely on artificial border points, mainly hewn and sooty trees standing in specific and distinct places. Additionally, efforts were made to ensure that the inhabitants of local villages who had an understanding of the local topography, also participated in the demarcation of the border.

In the second part of the chapter, the author discusses the participation of the Duchy of Słupsk in the Polish-Lithuanian – Teutonic amicable trials in 1412-1422/1423 as accusers. The claims made by the Griffins focused on two problems: the unlawful seizure of Pomerelia and the Bytów region by the Teutonic Order and on border conflicts from the 1490s to 1412. The claims to Pomerelia were identified by the author as an unprecedented example of the use of historical tradition by referring to the role of St. Otto in the Christianization of Pomerania and the establishment of a political and social order in discussed area. The author notes, however, that although the Griffins were aware that the chances of regaining Pomerelia were illusory or weak at best, yet this topic was supposed only to increase their chances of success in the event of more specific claims, namely the disputed areas located primarily near Lake Dołgie. In the second chapter, the author focused on the role of Pomeranian society in the policy of the dukes and bishops of Cammin towards the Teutonic Order. He begins his considerations by discussing the process of shaping a structure of feudal society in west Pomerania, focusing on the members of the ducal council. In the initial period of its existence, it was composed mainly of knights and clergy, with a predominance of the former. In the bishop's dominion, only knights were members of the council. Then he analyzes the Pomeranian-Teutonic pacts in the years 1420-1423, discussing their motives, nature, duration, term of notice, and military issues, identifying the main opponent, rulers excluded from the rigors of agreements, and the amount of military support provided

by the parties. Later in the chapter, he discusses the role of the knighthood and the middle class in the processes of negotiation and ratification, but above all as guarantors of the fulfillment of the provisions of the treaties. This focuses primarily on the forms of securing a treaty and the criteria for selecting witnesses and guarantors. According to the author, this was determined not only by the political position and social rank of the candidates, but also by the fact that they came from the areas discussed in the treaties and surrounding areas. However, it also emphasizes that the influence of the guarantors on the decisions made by the main signatories was small. Next the author goes on to discuss the Pomeranian-Teutonic contacts on the financial level. Following the position developed in the literature on the subject, the scholar concludes that the Griffins and bishops of Cammin were struggling with great financial problems and the method of solving these problems were pledges and the sale of goods and benefits from the duke's or bishop's domain. The exhaustion of their own resources, however, forced them to borrow money from their neighbours. The burden of paying off debts, however, rested not on the shoulders of sovereigns themselves but on the subjects, who acted as guarantors of contracts with the Order. The author also analyzes the Teutonic policy towards debtors, concluding that the Knights did not insist on timely repayment of loans in situations when relations with their western neighbour were amicable. Instead, it was only in the time of crisis when the Order used financial obligations as a tool of pressure on Pomeranian rulers. In the next section, the scholar analyzes the cases of Pomeranian knights serving as mercenaries of the Order. It could be concluded that the Order conducted contracts with knights whose residences were located in the immediate vicinity of the Teutonic State, which was a kind of neutralization of a potential threat from them during a conflict with other neighbours, mainly Poland and Lithuania. The chapter concludes with an analysis of the diplomatic staff of dukes and bishops in dealing with the Order. The most important criterion for selection was the trust that the monarch had in them, so it was almost entirely made up of duke's councillors. However, competence was also an important factor, hence the deputies were also recruited from the citizen class, especially in dealings with financial matters.

In the last chapter of the work, the author discusses the tools of the policy of dukes and bishops towards the Order. He divided these considerations into two parts: in the first he discussed the forms of communication, the meetings of Pomeranian rulers with Teutonic envoys, and the places and dates of meetings. The author also discusses the importance of gifts in the Order's diplomatic contacts with Pomerania. Unlike in the case of diplomatic relations with princes of the Holy Roman Empire, Poland, or Lithuania, the Order did not send, according to Teutonic customs, falcons to

Pomerania. The number of falcons and the material from which the cage was made corresponded to the rank enjoyed by a given state in contacts with the Teutonic Knights. To Pomerania, by contrast, they sent money, horses or hunting dogs, which allowed the scholar to put forward an argument that the Pomerania and its rulers did not play a major role in Teutonic foreign policy. He concludes the work with an analysis of the technicalities of documentation created in the Pomeranian-Teutonic diplomacy, i.e., letters, loans, security leases, pledges, powers of attorney to receive money, receipts, and notes. Then he discusses the results of the work, concluding that the methods and means of conducting foreign policy by the west Pomeranian rulers did not differ significantly from the solutions used in the entire medieval Latin Europe. He emphasizes, however, that outlining a complete picture of the Griffins' foreign policy in the Middle Ages is an important research postulate that requires development in future research. The work is additionally supplemented by an extensive bibliography, personal and geographical indices, and a summary in German.

KAMIL BIAŁY

Philip Earl Steele, *Nawrócenie i chrzest Mieszka I* (The Conversion and Baptism of Mieszko I) [second, supplemented edition], Avalon, Kraków 2016, 151 pp., paperback.

This book is an expanded version of the 2005 publication, and is a compelling voice in the multi-generational discussion among historians on one of the key issues in the debate over the origins of Poland. Steele's voice corresponds well with the progressing revision in recent decades of the positions fixed in 20th century historiography on the genesis of Mieszko I's adoption of Christianity and the beginning of the process of Christianization of his country. Critical of the traditional views which put rationalist political motivations of the ruler's decision in the first place, the author tries to strengthen the argumentation in favour of the religious reasons which could have guided him when accepting baptism. Of key importance here is „empirical religiosity”, oriented not so much towards theological speculation as towards the pursuit of optimal supernatural support for the collective. The book consists of two parts, the first of which offers historiosophical, critical reflection on the paradigms perpetuated since the nineteenth century in the approach to the Christian conversions of European rulers, beginning with Constantine the Great. In the second part the author concentrates strictly on the subject matter indicated in the title. Also important from the perspective of the wider audience is the appendix containing a glossary of the more important historical figures appearing in the text. Thus, the author places the medieval

issues in a comparative context, not only with other epochs, but also within a broad spectrum of philosophical reflection on the phenomena of religious life. This unconventional approach to a classic problem of not only Polish medieval studies has had an invigorating effect on the scholarly discourse, and at the same time it poses questions which accurately show the connection between science and the broader contemporary social discourse.

JOANNA ROSIK

Jerzy Strzelczyk (in cooperation with Agata Strzelczyk), *Święci władcy Europy* (The Holy Rulers of Europe), Biblioteka Długosza, III, Wydawnictwo Naukowe Uniwersytetu Humanistyczno-Przyrodniczego im. Jana Długosza w Częstochowie, Częstochowa 2020, 247 pp., hardback.

In the first paragraph of the introduction, J. Strzelczyk remarked that the authors of the book do not dare to speak about saints in heaven and, leaving this problem to theologians and poets, will limit themselves to their earthly fates. Indeed, in accordance with this declaration, the book contains sketches of 30 rulers of Christian Europe who received recognition of their sainthood, and although this number does not include all cases, it covers the vast majority of them. The collection, however, contains only one woman, Queen Jadwiga of Poland, which is understandable as there were very few female rulers in the Middle Ages in the culture of the Christian West. Staying for a moment with the introduction, it is worth noticing that this rather extensive text successfully introduces the reader to the issues raised and problems connected with „sanctity” in the broad sense.

The sketches are grouped in the following sections: Origins with the Franks (pp. 21-41); Holy Anglo-Saxon Kings (pp. 43-72); Holy Kings of Northern Europe (pp. 73-112); Slavia Orthodoxa (Byzantium, Ruthenia, Bulgaria, Serbia) (pp. 113-224); Two Twentieth-Century Cases (texts written by A. Strzelczyk; pp. 225-247).

The bibliography has been intentionally reduced to a minimum, citing only directly used works, but in such a way – as J. Strzelczyk points out at the end of his introduction – as to enable the inquisitive reader to search further. Exceptions have been made for a few works by Polish authors and texts translated into Polish, due to their easier access in libraries.

PAWEŁ DERECKI

Jerzy Strzelczyk, *Gerbert z Aurillac – Sylwester II. Papież i uczony z przełomu tysiącleci* (Gerbert of Aurillac – Sylvester II. Pope and scholar at the turn of the millennium), Forum Kultury Historycznej, II, Chronicon, Wrocław 2019, 55 pp., bibliography, ill., paperback.

The booklet contains a shortened and slightly modified version of the article *Gerbert of Aurillac – Sylvester II, Pope of the 1000th Year*, in: J. Strzelczyk, *Klucz do poznania nieba. Z dziejów myśli racjonalistycznej w średniowieczu*, Gdańsk 2003, pp. 125-158 and 311-313.

The work opens with a chapter devoted to the Pope who approved the cult of St. Adalbert – Apostle of the Prussians and patron of the Poles – and in cooperation with Otto III decided to establish a stable church organization in the Polanian state. Sketching his portrait of Gerbert of Aurillac, J. Strzelczyk argues that he was the most outstanding mind of the entire century, successfully surpassing his contemporaries so much so that they were generally unable to comprehend him. On the other hand, Sylvester II was shrouded in a 'black legend' effectively perpetuated by the chronicle of Thietmar of Merseburg or in the pages of *The Chronicle of Popes and Emperors* by Martin of Opawa.

The next chapter presents Gerbert's life and ecclesiastical career, which included a brief spell as abbot at the monastery in Bobbio and as archbishop of Reims, culminating with his appointment to the See of Peter by Otto III. We also learn about his education, which also included the basics of Muslim knowledge (mathematics, astronomy) studied in the Spanish March, i.e., Catalonia. It was thanks to this that the Archbishop of Reims Adalberon made him a teacher at his cathedral school (philosophy, natural sciences, mathematics).

The author then goes on to give an extensive account of the role of the papacy at the dawn of the eleventh century, before turning his attention to Gerbert as a scholar, with treatises mainly on geometry and astronomy and an impressive corpus of letters. As the work draws to a close, he returns to Gerbert's cooperation with Otto III, mentioned earlier, which was a realization of the Platonic model of cooperation between a ruler and a philosopher, pursued by Alexander the Great and Aristotle. Finally, J. Strzelczyk compares the careers of Sylvester II and St Adalbert in order to conclude that the historical role of the former ended with his death, while the latter, upon leaving this world, began his own.

Miikka Tamminen, *Crusade Preaching and the Ideal Crusader, Sermo: Studies on Patristic, Medieval, and Reformation Sermons and Preaching*, XIV, Brepols, Turnhout 2018, IX, 332 pp., 5 appendices, indexes, hardback.

In his work, Miikka Tamminen, affiliated with Tampere University, presents a model of crusade sermons from the 13th century, developed by the experienced crusade preachers, on the basis of which he examines the creation of the idea of a Crusade and an ideal crusader. The author considers the various dimensions of crusading ideology and the values associated with crusading in thirteenth-century society. He identifies qualities that were appreciated and valued by contemporaries and qualities that were considered unfavourable in the context of the Crusades.

The work consists of four main chapters, divided into sub-chapters (in three cases into four, and in one case into five). The first chapter has the character of an introduction. In it, the author presents his methodological approach, the research questionnaire, the sources and the state of the research. The author based his analysis on a collection of thirty-six sermons and two preaching manuals written between 1216 and 1277. The second chapter presents the influence of the Bible on the crusade movement, i.e., the formation of ideas about the Crusades or the use of relevant biblical models in crusade sermons, the most popular of which were references to Joshua, Judah Maccabee, Moses, and David. In the next chapter he addresses issues related to the ideological and ethical foundations of the crusade idea, paying particular attention to the moralistic overtones of the preachers' sermons, who wanted to see the crusaders as true servants of Christ. The author devotes the fourth chapter to an analysis of the obstacles awaiting ideal crusaders in everyday human existence as depicted in crusade sermons; in addition to greed or poverty, he points out, for example, excessive attachment to wives, children and friends, which can weaken a crusader's attachment to the crusade idea and total devotion to God.

The work concludes with a sketch of the crusader ideal according to crusade sermons of the thirteenth century. The work also contains excellently prepared appendices, including the Crusade Preaching Manual, as well as Crusade Model Sermons of Philippe le Chancelier, Jacques de Vitry, Roger of Salisbury, and Eudes de Châteauroux.

Robert T. Tomczak, *Kontakty edukacyjne Polaków z uniwersytetami praskimi w okresie średniowiecza. Studium prozopograficzne* (Educational contacts of Poles with Prague universities during the Middle Ages. A prosopographical study), Wydział Historii UAM, Poznań 2020, 245 pp., colour graphs, bibliography, English summary, index, paperback.

The Prague academic centre played a significant role in the intellectual and cultural history of the medieval Polish state, especially in the period before the foundation of the University of Kraków (1364) and during the years of its crisis at the end of the 14th century. It is a partial realization of a postulate formulated for years to investigate the Polish presence at Prague universities. Chronologically, the work extends from the foundation of the Prague Studium generale in 1348 to the end of the Jagiellonian era (1526). The internal caesuras which separate the four main chapters are the periods in which the individual universities functioned: the four-faculty Studium generale (until 1372), which split into two universities – a three-faculty university and a law university, operating between 1372 and 1419, and finally the university of Utraquism, formed under the influence of Husitism. Each of the chapters is preceded by a brief outline of the history of the university in question, while the main attention is paid to the presentation of Poles studying and being promoted in Prague (defined as persons inhabiting the lands of the Kingdom of Poland within the borders which varied in the period under study, i.e., excluding Silesia and Pomerania). The author analyzes their territorial origin and position in the social structure. He traces the university careers of Poles in Prague, as well as the fates of graduates after their return to Poland. He found that a total of 234 Poles studied in Prague, 219 of them between 1366 and 1419 and only 15 between 1419 and 1526. Poles accounted for only 3 to 5% of the total number of students at Prague universities. Later, the number of Poles was much smaller, but relatively many of them held the highest university offices.

The work is supplemented by four appendices containing chronologically listed sources on Poles studying at individual universities in Prague, supplemented (in the form of footnotes) by biographical information on identified persons. Many times the author managed to correct erroneous findings of earlier researchers.

Umarł król. 650. rocznica śmierci Kazimierza Wielkiego (The King is dead. 650th anniversary of the death of Casimir the Great), ed. Paweł Tyszka, Michał Zawadzki, Zamek Królewski w Warszawie-Muzeum, Warszawa 2020, 143 pp., ill., paperback.

This publication accompanied the exhibition organized at the Royal Castle in Warsaw on the occasion of the 650th anniversary of the death of Casimir the Great. Although its layout obviously corresponds with that of a catalogue – it contains a foreword by the director of the museum (pp. 6-7) and a catalogue of the presented objects (pp. 105-140) – we are interested in the core of the booklet, which consists of 5 studies: 1) Wojciech Fałkowski, *Two funerals of Casimir the Great – the meaning of the ritual* (pp. 9-36); Andrzej Marzec, *650 years ago died Casimir the Great* (pp. 37-58); Dariusz Nowacki, *Kasimirus Dei Gratia Rex Poloniae procuravit – goldsmith's foundations of Casimir the Great in the light of previous research* (pp. 59-77); Michał Zawadzki, *Minting of Casimir the Great* (pp. 79-88); Tomasz Młeczek, *The army in the state of Casimir the Great* (pp. 89-104). They constitute a complementary and at the same time interesting lecture successfully introducing the reader to the times of the monarch's reign.

PAWEŁ DERECKI

Sławomir Wadyl, *Studia nad kształtowaniem się pogranicza pomorsko- i mazowiecko-pruskiego we wczesnym średniowieczu* (Studies on the formation of Pomeranian and Mazovian-Prussian borderlands in the early Middle Ages), Oficyna Wydawnicza Pruthenia, Olsztyn 2019, 364 pp., ill., appendices, paperback.

Sławomir Wadyl's book is a multidisciplinary study on the formation of a specific area of the cultural borderland, namely the Pomeranian and Masovian-Prussian borderland in the period from the turn of 7th and 8th centuries to the first half of the 13th century. The author, in addition to archaeological and settlement studies, has conducted an analysis of written sources and toponomastic data, especially hydronymic data in terms of their usefulness in research on the formation of the borderland in question.

The work consists of a short preface, six chapters, conclusion and bibliography. The first chapter is introductory; it discusses, among others, the problematic, chronological and territorial range of the work, characterizes the physical-geographical environment of the borderland, presents the current state of archaeological, historical and toponomastic research (p. 11-34). In the second chapter the author conducted a comparative analysis (technological and stylistic) of vascular ceramics from distinguished mesoregions, microregions

or settlement complexes (in total 11 areas of various sizes) of the Pomeranian and Masovian-Prussian borderland (pp. 35-206). An attempt to define the Slavic and Prussian cultural circles was made by Wadył in the third part of his work (pp. 207-236). The following are considered to be distinctive features of both cultural circles: funerary rites, occurrence of anthropomorphic stone sculptures called Prussian babas, and silver treasures. The latest results of archaeological research in the area in question are characterized in Chapter IV (pp. 237-272). Finally, the next part is based on the analysis of written sources, e.g., the account of Wulfstan, the *Bavarian Geographer*, and the chronicle of Peter of Dusburg (pp. 273-284). In the last chapter, the author tried to use toponomastic data, mainly hydronymic, but they proved of little use in research into the formation of the borderland in question.

Wadył (an archaeologist and historian at the same time) draws basic source data from the field of archaeology, focusing his attention on source material, i.e., ceramics, which in cultural borderlands not only reveals settlement processes, but also turns out to be an interesting indicator of cultural communication of neighbouring communities. However, in the author's view, neither ceramics nor its analysis is an aim in itself, but it constitutes, next to written texts, a source basis for cognition of processes of settlement and formation of borderland on a particular cultural contact. In the situation of a study of the past so sparsely attested by written sources, as is the case of the early Middle Ages, and in addition the study of border areas between neighbouring cultures and ethnoses, it is not surprising that much more attention is paid to archaeological sources than to historical ones. The publication contains an annex: catalogue of archaeological sites from the Pomeranian and Mazovian-Prussian border area (pp. 303-334) and treasures from the Pomeranian and Mazovian-Prussian border area (pp. 335-338).

ALICJA DOBROSIELSKA

Jacek Wijaczka, *Procesy o czary w Prusach Książęcych (Brandenburgskich) w XVI–XVIII wieku* (Witchcraft trials in Ducal Prussia (Brandenburg) in the XVI-XVIII century) [second, amended and supplemented edition], Oficyna Wydawnicza Pruthenia, Olsztyn 2019, 398 pp., summary in German, appendix, ill., geographical index, paperback.

After more than twelve years since the publication of the first edition of the book, Jacek Wijaczka decided to supplement its content not only with new source information but also to expand some of the themes and make wider use of comparative literature on the subject. The result is an almost completely different publication, which even more fully presents

the course of witchcraft trials and witch hunts in Ducal (Brandenburg) Prussia in the early modern period.

The book consists of an introduction, four chapters, a conclusion and a bibliography of sources and literature used. In the first chapter, which has the character of an introduction to the subject, the author presents the demographic, general historical and political situation related to the whole history of the epoch, including the law in force in Ducal Prussia and types of courts (pp. 21-54). Witchcraft trials and the extent of repression in the territory in question are discussed in chronological order in Chapter II (pp. 55-184). Referring to local specific examples, Wijaczka writes about criminal proceedings in Chapter III (pp. 185-242). The author devotes the last part to the characteristics of magic and sorcery, which were an integral part of the inhabitants' ideas of the world at that time (pp. 243-311).

The detailed analysis of witchcraft trials and the description of their cultural context allows us to better understand the mentality of the people of those times, both the educated elite and the rural population. The grassroots element initiating accusations in Ducal Prussia, as in Poland and England, was the rural population. It appears that the fear of magic, witches and sorcerers was so strong and widespread that people did not hesitate to accuse people they knew, their neighbours and even their own family members, and thus send them to the stake. Why did this happen? Wijaczka poses this intriguing question at the end of the book and announces further research into the „everyday life” of the inhabitants of Ducal Prussia (Brandenburg) in early modern times, which will allow not only a better knowledge, but also understanding. The book contains an appendix: Witchcraft trials in Ducal Prussia (Brandenburg) in the 16th-18th centuries (chronological list) (pp. 321-359), list of tables and illustrations (pp. 381-382), geographical index (pp. 391-398).

ALICJA DOBROSIELSKA

Writing Battles. New Perspectives on Warfare and Memory in Medieval Europe, ed. Rory Naismith, Máire Ní Mhaonaigh, Elizabeth Ashman Rowe, Bloomsbury Academic, London-New York-Oxford-New Delhi-Sydney 2020, X, 268 pp., figures, list of contributors, bibliography, index, hardback.

The presented volume is a collection of selected contributions from conferences held between 2014 and 2016 by the Department of Anglo-Saxon, Norse and Celtic at the University of Cambridge, arranged into a self-con-

tained volume. The authors are a number of researchers from the following centres: University of St Andrews, Cardiff University, Universiteit Utrecht, University of Glasgow, and University of Cambridge. The collection, as the editors point out, was inspired by the idea that battles have long occupied an important place in historical consciousness. The work examines how war has been perceived in the *longue durée* prism of British, Irish, and Scandinavian history, taking into account the changing roles of religion or technology in the experience of conflict or in the process of shaping collective memory.

The collection begins with an Introduction by Rory Naismith, Máire Ní Mhaonaigh, and Elizabeth Ashman Rowe, who set out the main issues addressed in the volume. Robert Bartlett then analyzes the naming of battles in the Middle Ages, demonstrating the vital need to name them in order, among other things, to distinguish them from irregular skirmishes or to give the unorganized reality of carnage and confusion a simple label. Jenny Benham studied the narrative sources from the tenth to thirteenth centuries that tell of battles and of the complex relationship between war and peace, to indicate how the role of peacemaking should be understood in the transition between communities divided by conflict. Matthew Strickland illustrates the issues of shaping the narrative and memory of battles in Anglo-Saxon England, noting that the traditions of some battles (such as Stamford Bridge) survived in the collective consciousness of the Norman conquest. Rory Naismith illuminates the role of London as the site of many sieges and armed clashes in the period from the reign of Alfred the Great to 1066. Elizabeth Ashman Rowe compares the writing of battles in the Viking Age and in medieval Scandinavia, noting an important difference: in the Viking Age, both the writers and the combatants celebrated one and the same virtue of heroic society with, as it were, a common goal, whereas in later times chroniclers manipulated the imagery of battles for their own, often contemporary, particular ends. Máire Ní Mhaonaigh, using the example of a rich stream of battle writing from medieval Ireland dating from the late eighth to the late twelfth century, shows that battles act as chronological markers in many historical accounts, from which past and even future events can be observed. Natalia I. Petrovskaja illustrates the impact of the Crusades on battle narratives in Britain, Ireland, and Scandinavia, arguing that the literary examples analyzed show the terminological and ideological borrowings associated with conflict from the past used to describe contemporary conflicts. The next article, by Rory Naismith, Máire Ní Mhaonaigh, and Elizabeth Ashman Rowe, is a case study on the formation of narratives about the Battle of Stamford Bridge (1066). Tony Pollard takes up the issue of medievalism by analyzing cinematic representations of medieval bat-

tles and the on-screen depiction of the operation of various medieval weapons. Robert Tombs' article, in no way in keeping with the other articles in the collection, presents the memory of the trench battles of the First World War as a timeless, mythic quintessence of war in the collective consciousness of the people of Britain. The volume as a whole is crowned by an afterword by Brendan Simms, who outlines the work's overall final conclusions.

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ISSN 1427-4418