



Quaestiones Medii Aevi Novae

vol. 26 + 2021

NARRATIONS OF VIOLENCE

# Quaestiones Medii Aevi Novae

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# I. NARRATIONS OF VIOLENCE

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ALEKSANDER PAROŃ  
 WROCLAW

## “WAR IS PART OF THEIR NATURE”: NOMADIC VIOLENCE IN BYZANTINE TEXTS OF THE 10<sup>TH</sup> TO 12<sup>TH</sup> CENTURY – A TOOL OF IDENTITY AND... POLICY-MAKING



In 927, as the rule of Symeon I the Great (893-927) came to an end, so did the long war between Byzantium and Bulgaria. The two countries concluded a peace agreement which they kept for almost four decades. The significance of this event becomes evident in the oration *On the Treaty with the Bulgarians*,<sup>1</sup> delivered by an anonymous author, perhaps Theodore Daphnopates (890/900-after 961).<sup>2</sup> Although the orator praises the long-desired peace, a significant part of his oration is devoted to a depiction of war. War, by its very nature the pinnacle of violence, is presented according to the principles of the Christian religion as a sin leading to violation of the sacred Covenant with God. It is an act of hatred, which betrays the evangelical commandment to love one's enemies. The war between Byzantium and Bulgaria was a particular transgression, as it was fought by two Christian nations, thus deliberately breaking all of God's commandments. Hence, the orator empha-

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1 I used in this paper Ivan Dujčev's critical edition of the oration, see I. Dujčev, *On the Treaty of 927 with the Bulgarians*, "Dumbarton Oaks Papers" XXXII (1978), pp. 254-288 (henceforth: *On the Treaty*).

2 R.J.H. Jenkins, *The peace with Bulgaria (927) celebrated by Theodore Daphnopates*, in: *Polychronion. Festschrift Franz Dölger zum 75. Geburtstag*, ed. P. Wirth, Heidelberg 1966, pp. 287-303; K. Marinow, *In the Shackles of the Evil One: The Portrayal of Tsar Symeon I the Great (893-927) in the Oration „On the Treaty with the Bulgarians”*, "Studia Ceranea" I (2011), pp. 163f.; idem, *Patrząc na przemoc. Postawa, odczucia i bezsilność człowieka wobec okropności wojny w świetle retoryki okresu średniobizantyjskiego*, "Vox Patrum" XXXVIII (2018), pp. 450f.

sized that God, identified with Peace, was distant and absent during this fratricidal conflict between Christians.<sup>3</sup>

There was an explosion of violence and all the sin associated with it, and this led to a complete regression,<sup>4</sup> a kind of return to barbarism. The orator piled upon the reader terrifying images of destruction and enmity. City walls were demolished, temples burnt down, and fire devoured sacred icons, sanctuaries were destroyed and priests were murdered, liturgical vessels plundered, villages and farmland ruined, people of all ages and sexes raped and murdered, and relics were desecrated and left prey to dogs and ravens.<sup>5</sup> The peace of God happily put an end to the state of anomie and primordial bestiality, and the two nations – as the orator strikingly expressed – “are no longer called ‘Scythian’ or ‘barbarian’ or I known not what, but may be named and shown to be Christian and sons of God and travail of the Spirit”.<sup>6</sup>

In his oration *On the Treaty with the Bulgarians*, apart from clearly condemning war and violence, a stance corresponding to the worldview of a medieval Greek-speaking Roman, the orator also included a brief, though very poignant depiction of the adversary’s community for which peace is an undesirable and unnatural state. Barbarism and Scythian nature, which the orator equates with each other, seem to constitute, just like war, the other extreme from the Christian model embodied by the Byzantines and Bulgarians.<sup>7</sup> In the oration, the author also mentions the religious conversion of the latter. Blessed by the sacrament of baptism, the Bulgarians abandoned their nomadic life of wagon dwellers and came to know the grace of glad tidings.<sup>8</sup> On deeper reflection, this statement is quite surprising.

The Byzantine orator seems to understand the Bulgarians’ former way of life as sinful, a sin only erased by their conversion. We may conclude that, in the author’s view, being a true Christian precludes being a nomad. Such a claim is understandable only if nomadism is yet another mark of barbarism, inextricably linked with violence and bestiality – transgressions which, in the orator’s view – are particularly serious. The antinomy of peace and war, which he juxtaposed, corresponds to the juxtaposition of the world

3 *On the Treaty*, p. 254: 24-27.

4 *Ibidem*, pp. 256: 40-44; 278: 369-371.

5 *Ibidem*, p. 256: 47-53.

6 *Ibidem*, pp. 264: 165-167; 265 (English translation by R.J.H. Jenkins).

7 Cf. K. Marinow, *In the Shackles...*, p. 185, note 127; *idem*, *Peace in the House of Jacob. A Few Remarks on the Ideology of Two Biblical Themes in the Oration “On the Treaty with the Bulgarians”, “Bulgaria Mediaevalis”* III (2012), p. 91; *idem*, *War and Peace in the House of the Lord: A Conflict among Orthodox Christians and its Overcoming according to the Homily ‘On the Treaty with the Bulgarians’*, in: *The Bulgarian State in 927-969, The Epoch of Tsar Peter I*, ed. M.J. Leszka, K. Marinow, Byzantina Lodziensia, XXXIV, Łódź 2018, p. 452.

8 *On the Treaty*, p. 272: 297-299.

of Christians (here Byzantines and Bulgarians) and the world of savage barbarians ("Scythians" or nomads). The pejorative side of this juxtaposition could include any community (also a Christian one), which resorted to violence or waged war,<sup>9</sup> but it appears puzzling that in the orator's representation violence was particularly associated with nomadism. Understanding the sources and meanings attached to such an association is one of the two principal topics of the present study.

The author of *On the Treaty with the Bulgarians* was not an isolated example: Byzantine elites indeed condemned all violence that inevitably went hand in hand with warfare. The concept of "holy war" was in principle alien to Byzantine sensibilities.<sup>10</sup> Weapons carried by clerics, a common phenomenon among "Latins" during the Crusades, was also frowned upon by historians of the Eastern Empire.<sup>11</sup> However, we can hardly ignore the fact that the thousand-year-long history of Byzantium was a tale of wars in which the empire did have to participate, even if unwillingly. The Byzantine intel-

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9 Special Byzantine-Bulgarian political relations established by the peace treaty of 927 did not fully excluded the possibility to mentally deport the Bulgarians again beyond the border of the civilized world in case of a new conflict with Byzantium. When, at the end of Peter's reign, his diplomatic mission appeared in Constantinople and demanded that the Byzantines pay the Bulgarians a customary tribute, the then Byzantine Emperor Nicefor Fokas (963-969), outraged by those demands, called the Bulgarians "a particularly wretched and abominable Scythian people" (ἔθνος Σκυθικόν, πενιχρόν τε τῆν ἄλλως καὶ μισρόν), led by "a leather-gnawing ruler who is clad in a leather jerkin" (σκυτοτρόκτης καὶ διφθερία ἄρχων). *Leonis Diaconi Historia*, ed. C.B. Hase, *Corpus Scriptorum Historiae Byzantinae*, XXXIII, Bonn 1828, IV, 5, pp. 61f. English translation by M.-A. Talbot, D.F. Sullivan: *The History of Leo the Deacon. Byzantine Military Expansion in the Tenth Century*, introduction, transl., and annotations A.-M. Talbot, D.F. Sullivan, Washington 2005, p. 110. Cf. K. Marinow, *Peace in the House of Jacob...*, pp. 87f., 91; M.J. Leszka, *Car bulgarski Piotr (927-969) w bizantyńskiej historiografii X-XII wieku*, "Vox Patrum" LXX (2018), p. 348.

10 A.E. Laiou, *O Just War in Byzantium*, in: *To Hellenikon: Studies in Honor of Speros Vryonis Jr.*, vol. I, ed. S. Reinert, J. Langdon, J. Allen, New Rochelle 1993, pp. 153-177; eadem, *The Just War of Eastern Christians and the 'Holy War' of the Crusade*, in: *The Ethics of War. Shared Problems in Different Traditions*, ed. R. Sorabij, D. Rodin, Oxford 2006, pp. 30-43; T.M. Kolbaba, *Fighting for Christianity. 'Holy War' in the Byzantine Empire*, "Byzantion" LXVIII (1998), pp. 194-221; V. Vachkova, *Traditsii na sveshchenata voina v Ranna Vizantiia*, Sofia 2004; I. Stouraitis, *Krieg und Frieden in der politischen und ideologischen Wahrnehmung in Byzanz*, *Byzantinische Geschichtsschreiber, Ergänzungsband*, V, Wien 2009, pp. 327-361; idem, *Jihād and Crusade: Byzantine positions towards the notion of 'holy war'*, "Byzantina Symmeikta" XXI (2011), pp. 11-63; J. Koder, I. Stouraitis, *Byzantine Approches to Warfare (6<sup>th</sup>-12<sup>th</sup> centuries). An Introduction*, in: *Byzantine War Ideology between Roman Imperial Concept and Christian Religion. Akten des Internationalen Symposiums (Wien, 19.-21. Mai 2011)*, ed. J. Koder, I. Stouraitis, Veröffentlichungen zur Byzanzforschung, XXX, Wien 2012, pp. 12f.

11 *Annae Comnenae Alexias*, ed. D.R. Reinsch, A. Kambylis, vol. I (Prolegomena et textus), *Corpus Fontium Historiae Byzantinae* (henceforth: CFHB), XL/1, Berlin-New York 2001 (henceforth: Comnena), X, 8,8, pp. 306f.; cf. A.E. Laiou, *O Just War...*, pp. 169-171; I. Stouraitis, *Jihād and Crusade...*, p. 30; T. Pelech, *Obraz "Obcego" w Aleksjadzie Anny Komnenny. Przypadek Normanów*, Wrocław 2016, p. 190.



lectual elite were, therefore, forced to justify their recourse to violence, most often using the doctrine of “just war”, legitimated by the defense of sovereignty or the borders of the “Roman ecumene”.<sup>12</sup> Sophisticated and cynical diplomatic maneuvers, often attributed to the Byzantines, made it possible for Byzantium to avoid direct involvement in conflicts and keep a clear conscience, especially when the antagonist was a Christian country. In such cases, it was possible to resort to violence against those for whom violence and cruelty was supposedly a natural orientation – namely, the nomads. This extremely pragmatic perception was combined with other elements of the nomads’ representation discussed above. Therefore, we may usefully reflect not only on the very stereotype of cruel nomads, but also on the political practice stemming from such stereotyping – a practice which may have enabled a particular outsourcing of violence.

\* \* \*

In the period under consideration, i.e., the roughly 300 years spanning from the end of the 9<sup>th</sup> century until the last decades of the 12<sup>th</sup> century, Byzantium – despite temporary downturns – managed to retain its superpower status. Over that period it also had to repeatedly deal with “these infidel and dishonourable tribes of the north”, “northerners and Scythians”. The seemingly catch-all phrase, used in *De Administrando Imperio* by Constantine VII Porphyrogenitus,<sup>13</sup> could actually refer to any people inhabiting the area north of the Caucasus, the Black Sea, and the Danube. However, it was particularly used for the inhabitants of the Black Sea steppes. The nomads who were successively arriving on the steppes: the Magyars, the Pechenegs, the Uzes, and the Polovtsy, were certainly not easy political partners.<sup>14</sup>

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<sup>12</sup> I. Stouraitis, *Krieg und Frieden...*, pp. 208-259, 276-280; J. Koder, I. Stouraitis, *Byzantine Approches...*, pp. 10-12; M.J. Leszka, *Bizantyńscy intelektualisci o wojnie i pokoju (Mikołaj Mistyk i Teodor Dafnopates)*, “Vox Patrum” LXX (2021) 1, pp. 44-46.

<sup>13</sup> Constantinus Porphyrogenitus, *De administrando imperio*, ed. Gy. Moravcik, English transl. R.J.H. Jenkins, CFHB, I, Dumbarton Oaks 1967 (henceforth: DAI), XIII 25, 106-107, pp. 66/67, 70/71.

<sup>14</sup> There are practically no major studies presenting a broader analysis of the policy adopted by Byzantium towards the nomads of the Great Steppe from the 9<sup>th</sup> to the end of the 12<sup>th</sup> centuries. The work by I.O. Kniaz’kii (*Vizantiia i kochevniki iuzhnorusskikh stepei*, Sankt-Peterburg 2003), though useful, includes the most basic information and overlooks non-Russian literature on the subject. Byzantine policy towards nomads is usually addressed only marginally, e.g., while discussing Byzantine borders in the Balkans. Cf. P. Stephenson, *Byzantine policy towards Paristrion in the mid-eleventh century: another interpretation*, “Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies” XXXIII (1999), pp. 43-66; idem, *The Byzantine Frontier at the Lower Danube in the Late Tenth and Eleventh Century*, in: *Frontiers in Question: Eurasian Borderlands, 700-1700*, ed. D. Power, N. Staden, Houndsmill-Basingstoke 1999, pp. 80-104; idem, *Byzantium’s Balkan frontier. A political study*

Fortunately for the Empire, the time of close and difficult neighborly relations was not particularly long. It spanned less than a century: from 1018 (the return of Byzantine rule over the lower and middle Danube) to the 1090s. The Byzantine Empire's experience was particularly traumatic after the Pechenegs settled (1047) into the empire's Balkan provinces. The imperial administration failed to successfully integrate the unruly steppe dwellers and practically lost control over these new arrivals, along with the loss of the frontier theme of Paristrion. Byzantine influence in the Balkans was further weakened by migrations and incursions of other nomads – the Uzes (1064/5) and the Cumans (their first incursion has been dated to 1078). The rather unexpected victory of Alexios I Komnenos (1081-1118) over the Pechenegs at Lebounion (1091) and the halt of the Cuman invasion supporting the claims of Leo, the Byzantine usurper and alleged son of the Roman emperor Diogenes (1095), were the breakthrough events that allowed the Empire to regain control over the lower and middle Danube. In this way, the state of secure isolation became restored in a way typical of the period preceding 1018. As to raids by nomads, the only Byzantine areas under threat were the peripheries in the Crimean Peninsula and the lower Danube. This situation, also facilitated by the absence of major ethnic migrations on the Eurasian steppes, persisted until the 1180s, i.e., until the rise of the Asen dynasty and the establishment of the Second Bulgarian Empire.<sup>15</sup>

The image of the nomads in the Byzantine textual sources that describe the events of the three centuries in question was clearly changing, although more in intensity than in its quality. In other words, the descriptions available to the present researcher include the recurring identical, mostly negative characteristics of the nomads, with a focus on their extraordinary belligerence and propensity for violence. For Byzantine authors, the nomads constituted a curious case, very distant from their ecumene – more like a part of the steppe fauna. The authors describing the events of the challenging 11<sup>th</sup> century, with nomadic groups leaving their natural habitat and invading the borders of the Byzantine *politeia*, provide more extreme descriptions of the barbarians.

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Byzantine authors emphasized several utmost striking features to highlight the inferiority of nomads as a civilization. In the relevant period, there

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*of the Northern Balkans, 900-1204*, Cambridge 2000, pp. 29-31, 38-46, 84-110, 288-294; A. Madgearu, *Byzantine Military Organization on the Danube, 10<sup>th</sup>-12<sup>th</sup> centuries*, Boston-Leiden 2013, pp. 115-166. An attempt of brief survey of the Byzantine policy towards the northern nomads in the 11<sup>th</sup>-12<sup>th</sup> centuries: A. Paroń, *Unwanted refugees: Newcomers from the steppes in the Byzantine Balkans (11<sup>th</sup>-12<sup>th</sup> century)*, "Arheologia Moldovei" XLIII (2020), pp. 63-81.

<sup>15</sup> A. Paroń, *The Pechenegs. Nomads in the Political and Cultural Landscape of Medieval Europe*, Leiden-Boston 2021, pp. 317-371; idem, *Unwanted refugees...*, pp. 63-81.

were not only no texts indicating even the slightest tendency to idealize the nomads, but also none of the authors quoted below made an effort to describe their way of life in a way that would be free from stereotyping. Usually we find only brief remarks that merge into a kind of collective image. The authors referenced the classics of Greek antiquity – both pagan and Christian. Invocation of the archaic ethnonym of “Scythians”, used by both the anonymous orator and in the work of Constantine VII, clearly indicates that medieval Greek-speaking Romans applied ethnographic categorization inherited from authors writing in antiquity.

Calling someone a “Scythian” was not merely an expression of literary convention, mandating the replacement of barbaric ethnonyms, ones ill-sounding in the ears of Greek-speaking Byzantine elites, with names of ancient, long-defunct peoples. Attributing Scythian qualities to someone, whether an individual or a community, also – and perhaps mainly – served as a means to allusively trigger a set of certain associations. Thus, it relied on representations rooted in an earlier literary tradition, fully comprehensible to the educated Byzantine elite.<sup>16</sup> Full reconstruction of this inherited set of images associated with the “Scythian” category is not possible here, therefore we will limit ourselves to references to several canonical authors who highlighted the nomads’ bellicosity.

The ethnonym which grew out of the literary tradition of Greek antiquity and became very popular in medieval Byzantine and Latin writing, soon became a kind of catch-all *nomen collectivum* by which ancient Greeks referred to all the barbarian ethnic groups inhabiting the areas north of Pontus Euxinus. This was certainly how the term was used by Hecataeus of Miletus (6<sup>th</sup> century BC), a chorographer whose work has survived only in fragments. Herodotus of Halicarnassus opposed such extension of the name “Scythians”, claiming that the only Scythians were those that were subjects of the Royal Scythians.<sup>17</sup> The founding father of historiography thus saw Scythia as a political organism created by nomads arriving from Asia, and clearly distinguishable from other lands inhabited by the “barbarian northerners”. However, Herodotus’ precise, political interpretation was finally replaced by an earlier, long-established understanding of “Scythia”. However, his vision of Scyth-

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<sup>16</sup> Cf. idem, *How to deal with the Steppe Fauna? Considerations on the Byzantine Perception of Nomads and on the Byzantine Policy towards Them (10<sup>th</sup>-12<sup>th</sup> centuries)*, in: *Studia Mediaevalia Europaea et Orientalia. Miscellanea in Honorem Professoris Emeriti Victor Spinei Oblata*, ed. G. Bilavski, D. Aparaschivei, Bucharest 2018, pp. 220-222.

<sup>17</sup> J. Harmatta, *Quellenstudien zu den Skythika des Herodot*, Budapest 1941, pp. 57-61; E. Zwolski, *Kasjodor i Jordanes: Historia gocka czyli scytyjska Europa*, Lublin 1984, pp. 15-18; A. Paroń, *Scytowie, Scytia i scytyjskość w starogreckiej tradycji literackiej*, in: *Europa w okresie od VIII wieku przed narodzeniem Chrystusa do I wieku naszej ery*, ed. B. Gediga, A. Grossman, W. Piotrowski, Biskupin-Wrocław 2016, pp. 262-265.

ians as a nomadic community proved much more influential in terms of its imprint on later generations' imagination. The historian from Halicarnassus highlighted the nomadic character of Scythians to the point of making it their *differentia specifica*, used to explain their cultural universe, a trait that ensured their political independence. In the passage usually regarded as the most important in their description, Herodotus stated:

“For when men have no established cities and fortresses, but all are house-bearers and mounted archers, living not by tilling the soil but by cattle-rearing and carrying their dwellings on wagons, how should these not be invincible and unapproachable?”<sup>18</sup>

Nomadism thus makes the Scythians untamable and is the foundation of their military prowess. Both these qualities made them able to stop and almost destroy the army of the Persian ruler Darius I (521-485 BC), who invaded their country at the end of the 6<sup>th</sup> century. The victory over the “king of kings” puts the Scythians on a par with the Greeks, but while the latter owed their victory to advanced organization, the former owed it to their wild nature that made them so unapproachable (*ἄποροι προσμίσγειν*).

This conclusion is confirmed by other elements of the Scythian *logos*. Herodotus depicts them as a community for whom belligerence is the most important virtue. The ways in which it was demonstrated, strengthened, as well as the value ascribed to those who had displayed their bravery, also exposed the Scythians' uncouth and wild character. A special cult was devoted to their deity of war, whom the Greek historian calls “Ares”. It was the only deity in the Scythian pantheon having his temples in every province of the country. By a temple, Herodotus meant a platform made of earth and brushwood, with an iron sword (*ἀκινάκης σιδήρεος*) – the deity's representation – placed on top.<sup>19</sup> The Scythian “Ares” was also the only deity to receive blood sacrifices. This circumstance would make him akin to the Greek gods, were it not for the fact that his was a human sacrifice, and more precisely – one human per each hundred captives. During the ceremony, the captive's head was sprinkled with wine, then their throat was cut as it was held over

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<sup>18</sup> Herodotus, *Historia*, Greek text and English transl. A.D. Goodley, vol. II (books 3-4), Loeb Classical Library, CXVIII, Cambridge/Ma.-London 1928 (henceforth: Herodotus), IV, 46, p. 246/7: “τοῖσι γὰρ μὴ τε ἄστεα μὴ τε τείχεα ἢ ἐκτισμένα, ἀλλὰ φερέοικοι ἔόντες πάντες ἕωσι ἵπποτοξόται, ζῶντες μὴ ἀπ’ ἀρότου ἀλλ’ ἀπὸ κτηνέων, οἰκήματα τε σφι ἢ ἐπὶ ζευγέων κῶς οὐκ ἂν εἴησαν οὗτοι ἄμαχοί τε καὶ ἄποροι προσμίσγειν [...]”. Cf. F. Hartog, *The Mirror of Herodotus. The Representation of the Other in the Writing of History*, English transl. J. Lloyd, London 1988, pp. 56-59.

<sup>19</sup> Herodotus IV, 62, p. 260. Cf. Ya.P. Gershkovich, O.V. Romashko, *Scythian Sanctuaries of Ares: Archaeological Data and Herodotus Testimonies*, “Ukrainian Archaeology” (2013), pp. 19-34.

a bucket. The collected blood was then poured onto a sword placed on top of the platform.<sup>20</sup>

Just like their god of war, the Scythians were also said to have consumed human blood. Herodotus claimed that each drank the blood of the first enemy they defeated in battle.<sup>21</sup> A substitute for blood – pure wine, without the admixture of water, was consumed during the annual gatherings of Scythian warriors. During the gatherings, special praise was given to the brave ones who presented the ruler with the severed heads of their enemies. They received a goblet of wine and had a share in the spoils. The bravest ones, i.e., those who chopped off the most heads, received two cups.<sup>22</sup> The historian from Halicarnassus also described other customs that served to demonstrate the military superiority of Scythian warriors: preserved scalps hung from the bridle of their horses, cups made from the skulls of defeated enemies and robes from their skin, and quivers decorated with skin removed from the enemy's hand.<sup>23</sup>

Herodotus did not conceal that he did not much admire these customs (τὰ μέντοι ἄλλα οὐκ ἄγαμαι).<sup>24</sup> However, he neither regarded nomadism as an anomaly, but as a rational solution imposed by specific conditions of the steppe. The Scythian way of life and their military prowess, inextricably associated with it, were – as we have seen above – a guarantee of their freedom. The strategy described by Herodotus as used by the Scythian rulers against Darius I was actually rational (although the Persian king, at his own peril, had not understood its complexities) and in no way resembled the behaviour of a horde of wild animals. Still, the Scythians' belligerence as depicted in Herodotus' account bore traits of primitive wildness and uncouthness, almost bestiality. Their customs only perpetuated that state of savagery, making the steppe warrior similar to a wild beast gulping down their prey's blood. Belligerence was also the most important Scythian virtue and the source of their most spectacular achievements. In other areas, the inhabitants of *Pontus Euxinus* were said to be far inferior to their more civilized Greek neighbours.

The last idea can also be found in the work of another prominent historian of Greek antiquity. Thucydides, in his *History of the Peloponnesian War*, mentioned the Scythians only once, stating that no European people could match their military prowess, and neither could any people in Asia challenge them if the Scythians united. Following that claim, he immediately added:

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20 Herodotus IV, 62, p. 260.

21 Ibidem, IV, 64, pp. 260, 262.

22 Ibidem, IV, 64, p. 262; IV, 66, p. 264.

23 Ibidem, IV, 64, p. 262; IV, 65, pp. 262, 264.

24 Ibidem, IV, 46; p. 246.

“However, with reference to wise counsel and intelligence about the things that belong to the enrichment of life, the Scythians are not to be compared with other nations”.<sup>25</sup>

Aristotle’s remarks are, likewise, very interesting in this regard. Although the philosopher did not refer directly to the Scythians, he provided a general characterization of nomadic communities. In his *Politics*, where he analyzed lifestyle and differences in the dietary preferences of human communities, he distinguished five basic modes of life (*βίος*), each of which requires specific work: nomads (*βίος νομαδικός*), brigandage (*βίος ληστικός*), fishing (*βίος ἀλιευτικός*), hunting (*βίος θηρευτικός*), and cultivation (*βίος γεωργικός*). The latter is the most common, although it requires the hardest work.<sup>26</sup>

The nomads, on the other hand, were the idlest of all humans, as their food was procured from domesticated animals. The farming they practiced supposedly required no effort, since they only had to follow their herds. Aristotle also noted that in the name of greater material security and comfort, people tended to combine certain modes of production. Characteristically, nomads usually also practiced brigandage, while hunting – often practiced by people of noble birth – was to occur together with farming.<sup>27</sup> Thus, Aristotle constructed a hierarchy of human communities, based on the criterion of the main source of their livelihood. According to the Stagirite, the most civilized communities were those pursuing agriculture, and their exact opposite were primitive and savage nomads prone to violence. In another part of his *Politics*, the philosopher mentioned the inhabitants of the *Pontus Euxinus* area while listing peoples particularly prone to killing and cannibalism. Their belligerence was due to their extreme savagery, which in no way could be considered an example of valour, as valour belonged only to the domain of nobility, not savagery.<sup>28</sup> Aristotle made it clear that military virtue was the result of upbringing and not merely natural predisposition, which could only give rise to unbridled aggression and violence.

Both claims by Aristotle can be seen as complementary to the claims made by Herodotus and Thucydides. It is particularly noteworthy that nomadism and farming were seen as opposites, which may also reflect

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25 Thucydides, *De bello Peloponnesiaco*, Greek text and English transl. C.F. Smith, vol. I (books 1-2), Loeb Classical Library, CVIII, London-Cambridge/Ma. 1919, II, 97, pp. 446-448: “Ὁὐ μὴν οὐδ’ ἐς τὴν ἄλλην εὐβουλίαν καὶ ξύνεσιν περὶ τῶν παρόντων ἐς τὸν βίον ἄλλοις ὁμοιοῦνται”.

26 Aristoteles, *Politica*, Greek text and English transl. H. Rackham, Loeb Classical Library, CCLXIV, London-Cambridge/Ma. 1944 (henceforth: Aristoteles), 1256a.30-40, 1256b.1-2, p. 34.

27 Aristoteles, 1256b.1-6, p. 34. Cf. B.D. Shaw, “Eaters of Flesh, Drinkers of Milk”: *The Ancient Mediterranean Ideology of the Pastoral Nomads*, “Ancient Society” XIII-XIV (1982-83), pp. 16-20.

28 Aristoteles, 1338b, p. 646.

the natural intuitions typical of every representative of a settled community. Despite his doubts and reservations, Herodotus appreciated the military prowess of Scythians, seeing it as a guarantee of their freedom and making them more akin to the Greeks. Aristotle seemed to firmly reject such similarity. For him, belligerence stemming from primitive savagery was nothing but an unrestrained inclination to violence, i.e., uncontrolled excess.

The triumph of Christianity added some brand new apocalyptic elements to the image of northern nomads, especially the Scythians. These came mainly from the Old Testament tradition, especially the prophecy of Ezekiel, according to which a terrible invasion led by the great prince Gog, ruler of the country of Magog, was to fall on Israel from the uttermost parts of the north (Ez 38, 13-16).<sup>29</sup> Gog's army was depicted as mounted archers, which led to identification of the apocalyptic invaders with nomads. Perhaps the first author to link the Old Testament tradition with ancient Greek texts was Flavius Josephus. In his *Antiquities of the Jews*, he identified the Magogians, descended from Magog, with the Scythians known to Greek writers.<sup>30</sup> His *Jewish War* contains an equally interesting statement. In that work, Josephus mentions the Alans' invasion on Media and Armenia: the invaders, to whom he attributed Scythian origins, were to arrive in Transcaucasia due to an agreement with the king of the Hyrcanians, who let them pass through the iron gates previously closed by Alexander the Great.<sup>31</sup> The Jewish author thus opened the way for the development of a legendary theme related to the achievements of the great Macedonian ruler. In the Christian interpolation added to Pseudo-Callisthenes' *Romance of Alexander*, the great conqueror is presented as a saviour, barring the narrow mountain passage with mighty gates, or a massive rampart, thus imprisoning the unclean and hateful devils, among them those led by Gog and Magog.<sup>32</sup> The last phrase specifically indicates the influence of *The Apocalypse of John* (1<sup>st</sup> AD).<sup>33</sup>

The topic of the "unclean and hateful" northerners was most fully developed in another apocalyptic text – the *Apocalypse* of Pseudo-Methodi-

29 Cf. E. Zwolski, *Kasjodor i Jordanes...*, p. 40.

30 Flavius Iosephus, *Antiquitates Iudaicae*, vol. I (books 1-4), Greek text and English transl. H.St.J. Thackeray, Loeb Classical Library, CCXLII, Cambridge/Ma.-London 1930, I, 6,1, pp. 58-60.

31 Flavius Iosephus, *De bello Iudaico*, vol. II (books 4-7), Greek text and English transl. H.St.J. Thackeray, Loeb Classical Library, CCX, London-Cambridge/Ma. 1928, VII, 7,4, pp. 574-576.

32 *Leben und Taten Aleksanders von Makedonien. Der griechische Aleksanderroman nach der Handschrift L*, ed. H. van Thiel, Texte zur Forschung, XIII, Darmstadt 1974, pp. 248-252. Cf. J. Gießauf, *Barbaren – Monster – Gottesgeißeln. Steppennomaden in europäischen Spiegel der Spätantike und des Mittelalters*, Graz 2006, pp. 42f.

33 Ap 20, 7-9.

us. This extremely popular work, known to audiences beyond the followers of the Orthodox Church, was falsely attributed to St. Methodius of Olympus, bishop and martyr, who lived at the turn of the 3<sup>rd</sup> and 4<sup>th</sup> century AD. In fact, the prophecy was written towards the end of the 7<sup>th</sup> century. Initially, it was written down in Syriac, but its oldest Greek version was created at the beginning of the 8<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>34</sup> The anonymous author mentioned twenty two “ugly and foul” Unclean Nations of the North (or peoples of the sons of Japheth), whom King Alexander, with God’s help, locked behind mighty, reinforced, bronze gates.<sup>35</sup> Most editors of the *Apocalypse* list the relevant ethnic groups, with the nations of Gog and Magog always leading the list, in addition to cannibalistic “dogheads”, but also historical peoples: Huns, Thracians, Libyans, and Alans.<sup>36</sup> Evidence of their unclean nature is their consumption of abominations: vermin of the earth, snakes, scorpions, mice, dogs, cats, dead animals, and aborted animal and human fetuses. They were said to drink animal blood as if it were water. Finally, they did not practice burying their dead, which indicated, as one might guess, that they devoured the corpses.<sup>37</sup> The terrible nations were to break out of their prison at the end of time and overrun the earth.<sup>38</sup> Through the *Apocalypse* of Pseudo-Methodius, the nomads inhabiting the North had become eschatological peoples.

The grim image of nomads presented in apocalyptic literature seems to partly explain why Christian authors believed that their conversion to Christianity would necessarily lead them to abandon their previous way of life. Nomadism evoked associations with “Unclean Nations”, which by the intervention of Divine Providence were excluded from the community of human beings. Resemblance to the eschatological people was not tantamount to full inheritance of their nature, but it did signal a certain blemish, the sign of which was precisely the nomadic lifestyle that should be erased in the likeness of original sin through baptism and conversion into

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34 The Latin translation is dated slightly later, prior to the Battle of Poitiers (732). Arabic and Old Church Slavonic versions were created even later. E. Sackur, *Sibyllinische Texte und Forschungen: Pseudomethodius, Adso und die tiburtinische Sibylle*, Halle 1898, pp. 45-53; P.J. Alexander, *The Byzantine Apocalyptic Tradition*, Berkeley-Los Angeles-London 1985, pp. 52-60; *Apokalipsa Pseudo-Metodego*, in: *Apokryfy syryjskie*, transl. A. Tronina, ed. A. Tronina, M. Starowieyski, Kraków 2011, pp. 205-207; B. Garstad, *Introduction*, in: *Apocalypse Pseudo-Methodius & An Alexandrian World Chronicle*, ed. B. Garstad, Dumbarton Oaks Medieval Library, XIV, Cambridge/Ma.-London 2012 (henceforth: Pseudo-Methodius), pp. VII f.

35 Pseudo-Methodius VIII, 3 and 5<sup>1-9</sup>, pp. 22-26.

36 Ibidem, VIII, 10, p. 24. Cf. E. Sackur, *Sibyllinische Texte...*, p. 37 (the author listed the names of peoples appearing in different versions of Pseudo-Methodius).

37 Pseudo-Methodius VIII, 4, p. 22.

38 Ibidem, VIII, 10, p. 24.



the Christian faith. This way of thinking is noticeable in the work of Eusebius of Caesarea. The Greek Father of the Church considered the fact that the first people were nomads as one of the testimonies of their fall. Nor did they know any of the institutions of the civilized world: cities, statehood, arts, knowledge, or elementary moral categories: virtue and justice.<sup>39</sup> Conversion and evangelism were thus supposed to make Scythians renounce their original savage and cannibalistic practices.<sup>40</sup>

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The set of characteristics inherited from classical antiquity and Christian authors gave rise to a negative image of “Scythians” and their nomadic way of life. At best, a community leading such a life could be perceived as a free though primitive and uncultured people of nature, characterized by an uncommon belligerence. This trait could take the form of military prowess honed to perfection (Herodotus, Thucydides), accompanied with displays of barbarism, or even bestiality. At worst, Scythianness and nomadism were associated with a tendency toward unbridled violence and cruelty originating from savage nature. Sometimes, as in the apocalyptic texts, these were diabolic traits. The works of Byzantine authors of the relevant period presented the whole such range of associations.

Abandoning chronological order, let us first consider texts written in the 11<sup>th</sup> and 12<sup>th</sup> centuries. Their authors describe events related mainly to the arrival and residency of the Pechenegs in the Byzantine Balkans. For the elites of the Empire, these events – as we have noted above – constituted a deep and well-remembered trauma. The core of this traumatic experience was rooted not only in specific manifestations of cruelty displayed by refugees from the steppe, but mainly in their rejection of the Byzantine offer of civilization. The Pechenegs did not wish to become Romans, and being formally part of the Empire, they violated its peace and according to Michael Attaleiates, they “drenched the Roman land with the blood of the Ausones”.<sup>41</sup>

The same author, while assessing the initial policy adopted by Emperor Constantine IX Monomachos and his administration towards the newcomers from the steppe, dubbed these attempts “painting the Ethiopian white”.<sup>42</sup> At the time

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39 Eusebius, *Historia Ecclesiastica*, Greek text and English transl. K. Lake, vol. I (books 1-5), Loeb Classical Library, CLIII, London-New York 1926, I, 19, p. 22.

40 I. Opelt, W. Speyer, *Barbar*, “Jahrbuch für Antike und Christentum” X (1967), p. 278.

41 Michael Attaleiates, *Historia*, Greek text and English transl. A. Kaldellis and D. Kralis, *Dumbarton Oaks Medieval Library*, XVI Cambridge/Ma.-London 2012 [henceforth: Attaleiates], VII, 3, pp. 54/5.

42 Ibidem.

when great numbers of nomads crossed the Danube,<sup>43</sup> were defeated, and then settled in the “desert plains of Bulgaria”;<sup>44</sup> the Byzantine elites were much more optimistic. Their attitudes found expression in the work of John Mauropous, the metropolitan bishop of Euchaita in Asia Minor, who in an oration written before April 21, 1047, i.e., just after the Pechenegs’ migration,<sup>45</sup> praised the solutions that had been applied to them.<sup>46</sup> They were the new subjects of the Empire, the barbarians who had become Romans.

However, it might seem that John Mauropous had no illusions about the newcomers’ nature. Before they entered Roman lands, they were an infidel, godless, lawless Scythian people leading a nomadic way of life. They were also ignorant of basic social institutions: religion and statehood. They led a foul and impure life, dispersed, gathering only to raid and plunder. These traits, like violence, were in their nature. The Pechenegs were said to abduct “everything that has legs”. Their unparalleled belligerence, of course, stemmed from their savagery and their utter contempt for life. The land they inhabited had been seized by violence, and they even stole their way through the Danube, not crossing the river but walking across it when it was frozen. This hateful nation eventually, with the help of Divine Providence and the strength of Roman troops, became subject to the Emperor’s rule and by means of baptism was cleansed of its barbaric identity, thus becoming part of the Byzantine *politeia*. The Pechenegs were supposed to cease being “Scythians” and become a “holy people” (ἅθροος ἁγίων) and “the new people of God” (λαὸς θεοῦ νέος).<sup>47</sup>

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43 The number of Pechenegs who crossed the border of the empire in the winter of 1046/47 can be estimated but very imprecisely. See P. Diaconu, *Les Petchénègues au Bas-Danube*, Bucarest 1970, p. 62 (about 100,000); J. Ferluga, *Quelques problemes de politique byzantine de colonisation au XI<sup>e</sup> siecle dans les Balkans*, “Byzantinische Forschungen” VII (1979), p. 54 (more than 100,000); A. Paroń, *The Pechenegs...*, pp. 325-326; J. Dudek, *Ludy tureckie w Cesarstwie Bizantyńskim w latach 1025-1097*, in: *Ludy koczownicze Eurazji*, ed. I. Czamańska, W. Szulc, “Balcanica Posnaniensia. Acta et Studia” XIV (2007), p. 113 (in total, the number of Pechenegs who crossed into the Balkans in the 1040s reached 50-80 thousand); idem, *Nowa Patryzjacja pomiędzy wschodem a zachodem. Z zapomnianych dziejów małego ludu*, in: *Opuscula archaeologica. Opera dedicata in Thaddeum Malinowski*, ed. W. Dzieduszycki, Zielona Góra 2007, p. 120 (80-100 thousand including families); O. Schmitt, *Die Petschenegen auf dem Balkan von 1046 bis 1072*, in: *Pontos Euxeinos. Beiträge zur Archäologie und Geschichte des antiken Schwarzmeer- und Balkanraumes*, ed. S. Conrad et al., Langenweißbach 2006, p. 479 (note 53) (20,000 people).

44 *Ioannis Scylitzae Synopsis Historiarum*, ed. I. Thurn, CFHB, V, Berlin-New York 1973 (henceforth: Scylitzes), p. 459: 73-74.

45 J. Lefort, *Rhétorique et politique: trois discours de Jean Mauropous en 1047*, “Travaux et Mémoires” VI (1976), p. 265.

46 *Iohannis Euchaitorum metropolitae quae in codice Vaticano graeco 676 supersunt*, ed. P. de Lagarde, *Abhandlungen der Königlichen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen*, XXVIII, Göttingen 1882 (henceforth: Mauropous), 182.195<sup>1</sup>-198<sup>2</sup>, pp. 133-146. Cf. E. Malamut, *L’image byzantine des Petchénègues*, “Byzantinische Zeitschrift” LXXXVIII (1995), pp. 121-123; A. Kaldellis, *Ethnography after Antiquity. Foreign Lands and Peoples in Byzantine Literature*, University of Pennsylvania 2013, pp. 120-126.

47 Mauropous, 182.198<sup>2</sup>, p. 145.

In the excerpts from Mauroπους cited above, we can easily find motifs also present in the work of Eusebius of Caesarea and the anonymous orator of *On the Treaty with the Bulgarians*. One of these motives is precisely the conviction that the grace of baptism can effect transformation of the wildest and most repulsive barbarians. Faith in God's power was accompanied by faith in the strength and vitality of their own Roman (Byzantine) cultural universe, capable of absorbing such a large community of strangers. The metropolitan bishop of Euchaita was not, at the beginning of 1047, the only representative of the imperial elite to have such optimistic expectations, as evidenced by the chronicle of John Skylitzes, who himself was aware – as the main witness of the disastrous policy of Constantine IX towards the nomadic migrants – that the people entering the Empire were extremely belligerent. He began his brief description by stating:

“The Pecheneg people are Scythians pertaining to the so-called ‘Royal Scyths’. They are numerous and no other people of the Scythians is able to withstand them alone”.<sup>48</sup>

The first part clearly refers to Herodotus, while the second to Thucydides. These references, apart from being yet another example of the systemic approach to ethnic groups mentioned above, were also meant to emphasize the Pechenegs' strength. Skylitzes made it clear to the reader by providing an absolutely fantastic number of the steppe immigrants who crossed the Danube in the winter of 1046/47 – 800,000.<sup>49</sup> Despite their great numbers, the enemy was easily subdued, partly as a result of a dysentery epidemic.<sup>50</sup> The newcomers, together with their leader Tyrach, surrendered to the Byzantines, who then had to decide what to do with the large number of unwanted refugees. The adopted solution and the debate that preceded it were testimony to the belief in the power of “Roman civilization”.

Kegenes, a Pecheneg renegade who had entered the service of the empire a few years earlier, advised and tried to persuade Byzantine commanders to simply murder the captives, excluding children. He was reported to quote the “barbarian saying” (*παροιμία βάρβαρος*) that justified such cruel pragmatism: that a snake should be killed in winter, when it cannot move its tail, otherwise it can cause a lot of trouble when it gets

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48 Skylitzes, p. 455: 32-34. “Τὸ ἔθνος τῶν Πατζινάκων Σκυθικὸν ὑπάρχον, ἀπὸ τῶν λεγομένων βασιλείων Σκυθῶν, μέγα τέ ἐστι καὶ πολυάνθρωπον, πρὸς ὃ οὐδὲν αὐτὸ καθ' αὐτὸ Σκυθικὸν γένος ἀντιστῆναι δύναται”.

49 Ibidem, p. 458: 45. See also above note 43.

50 Ibidem, p. 458: 56-60.

warmed by the summer sun.<sup>51</sup> Kegenes followed his own advice, killing and selling as slaves his own captured compatriots.<sup>52</sup> However, this solution did not win the approval of the Byzantine commanders, who judged the renegade’s conduct as barbaric, impious, and unworthy of “Roman civilization (Ῥωμαϊκὴ ἡμερότης)”.<sup>53</sup> The Pechenegs were thus spared and settled in the depopulated areas of the theme of Bulgaria.<sup>54</sup> From now on, the new settlers were to live off the land, pay taxes and, if necessary, provide recruits for the imperial army. The leaders, headed by Tyrach, were taken to the capital, where they were graciously received by the emperor, baptized, and honored with great titles.<sup>55</sup>

Leaving aside the effectiveness of such actions, it is worth noting that in Skylitzes’ account, which is very matter-of-fact but not devoid of modest, yet effective rhetorical accents that can spark the reader’s imagination, there is a striking contrast between the pragmatic, nomadic cruelty represented by Kegenes and the merciful attitude of representatives of “Roman civilization”. In this juxtaposition, the profile of the renegade, whose motivations and political plans remain unclear,<sup>56</sup> seems to provide an example of a failed attempt at changing one’s cultural identity.

Despite his service to Rome, Kegenes did not become fully Roman. This observation becomes even more intriguing when we realize that, within the narrative presented in the chronicle, his complete opposites were the military commanders and officers serving in frontier themes, whom we know from the same account by Skylitzes to have maintained close ties with the nomads while they still inhabited the Black Sea steppes.<sup>57</sup> This circumstance makes us aware of the symbolic, or perhaps ideological nature of this juxtaposition. It is indeed difficult to believe that the commanders of frontier armies were the best possible example of virtue “worthy of Roman civilization”. Many of them could be described as

51 Ibidem, p. 459: 67-70.

52 Ibidem, p. 459: 78-79.

53 Ibidem, p. 459: 71-72. The notion used by John Skylitzes is ambiguous. It means high culture, and in the context used by the chronicler, it should therefore be translated as ‘Roman (Byzantine) civilization’. However, the word can also mean ‘clemency, understanding human attitude’. Cf. J. Bonarek, *Romajowie i obcy w kronice Jana Skylitzesa*, Toruń 2003, pp. 95f.

54 Scylitzes, p. 459: 80-83. Theme Bulgaria is not identical as the area of modern Bulgaria nor the medieval Bulgarian states. It included the area of today’s western Bulgaria (including Sofia), eastern Serbia (including Niš) and today’s northern Macedonia. Its northern border reached the middle Danube.

55 Ibidem, p. 459: 83-85.

56 Cf. A. Paroń, *Unwanted refugees...*, p. 67; idem, *The Pechenegs...*, pp. 321f.

57 Scylitzes, p. 469: 50-60. Cf. J. Shepard, *Mingling with Northern barbarians: advantages and perils*, in: *The Steppe Lands and the World beyond Them. Studies in honor of Victor Spinei on his 70<sup>th</sup> birthday*, ed. F. Curta, B.-P. Maleon, Iași 2013, pp. 219-233.

*mixobarbaroi* – “mixed with barbarians, semi-barbarians”, a term derived from Michael Attaleiates.<sup>58</sup>

It is also doubtful if it was they who decided the steppe dwellers’ fate. Juxtaposition of the commanders’ gracious stance and Kegenes’ cruel pragmatism thus seems to be primarily an expression of a profound self-awareness of the Byzantine court elite – a conviction about their civilization’s superiority over extreme barbarism. The above contrast brings to mind the antinomy familiar from the oration *On the Treaty with the Bulgarians*, where the peace-loving Christian communities of Byzantines and Bulgarians were contrasted with the nomadic belligerent “Scythians”. Similarly, in Skylitzes’ narrative Kegenes represents the barbaric, nomadic logic of war and violence which dictates ruthless destruction of the defeated opponent. The Roman commanders are guided by the principle of peace and mercy to be shown to an enemy who has surrendered, and thus entrusted their life to the victor. Favours granted to the defeated enemy, especially in the form of baptism and incorporation into the Byzantine *politeia*, were supposed to break their savage nature and make them loyal subjects of the Empire.

The optimism displayed by the Empire’s elite soon proved to be misplaced. In 1048, as the Byzantine borders were threatened by the Seljuk sultan, Constantine IX sent east a large deployment of Pecheneg troops led by their four chieftains (another indication that the Empire’s elites were extremely optimistic in their expectations of the nomads’ political and cultural integration). The new imperial subjects reached Bithynia, raised an insurrection, and headed back to Europe.<sup>59</sup> Their insurrection became a signal for general rebellion. The Pechenegs, who had previously been forced to give up their weapons, went into battle armed with axes, sickles and “other iron tools taken from the fields”.<sup>60</sup> The rebels finally abandoned the lands granted to them in the theme of Bulgaria, crossed the Zygos mountain range and settled in a place referred to as Hundred Mountains (*Ἑκατόν βουνοί*). This land, usually identified as the border area between today’s north-eastern Bulgaria and Romanian Dobrudja, seemed to be a sparsely populated area, full of valleys, groves and thickets, streams, and pastures.<sup>61</sup> The last factor was probably decisive for the former steppe dwellers’ choice of their new home. The Pechenegs returned to their old forms of economic activity: pastoralism and... raids. Hopes for their cultural and political integration were buried for good.<sup>62</sup>

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58 Attaleiates XXVI, 1, pp. 372/3-374/5. He called this name population of cities on the Lower Danube.

59 Scylitzes, pp. 460f.

60 Ibidem, p. 461: 27-42.

61 Ibidem, p. 465: 29-34.

62 A. Paroń, *Unwanted refugees...*, pp. 68-71; idem, *The Pechenegs...*, pp. 332-367.

What is striking in Skylitzes’ narrative is the image of a community immediately overpowered by its natural predispositions. Their primal savagery leads them to return to nomadism, along with the raids and violence inherent in it, following a spectacular rejection of an agricultural, i.e., peaceful way of life. The use of agricultural tools as deadly weapons is a poignant motif. It was a consequence of the earlier disarmament of the Pechenegs, but for an educated Byzantine resident it must have triggered a whole range of associations. It probably brought to mind biblical motifs, especially portions of the prophecies of Isaiah (2, 4) and Joel (2, 10).<sup>63</sup> Instead of a peaceful community that turned “swords into ploughshares and spears into sickles”, the reader sees a savage horde turning tools supposed to be used for peaceful and hard work into instruments of carnage, preferring war over peace. It is also possible, although more difficult to prove, that these images were also inspired by Aristotle’s thought, especially by the excerpts of his *Politics* cited above. The possible influence of Aristotle’s ideas allows us to understand why the Pechenegs were so quick to abandon a completely alien agricultural lifestyle and return to nomadism associated with raids.<sup>64</sup>

Instead of the “new people of God”, the bosom of the Empire was settled by the unfaithful and loathsome “Scythians”. The obvious failure of the policy adopted by Constantine IX and growing troubles with the Pechenegs, who gradually abandoned the last vestiges of their dependence on the court in Constantinople, made the resentment felt by the Byzantines towards the steppe newcomers even more acute. Michael Attaleiates (c. 1028-c. 1085) regarded them as extremely savage and uncouth:

[...] the Scythians, who are popularly called Pechenegs, crossed the Danube with all their people and soon established themselves on Roman territory. This race practices armed raids more than any other skill or art and makes its living by continuous use of sword, bow and arrow. They are loathsome in their diet and the other aspects of their life, and do not abstain from eating foul foods”.<sup>65</sup>

63 Cf. also *On the Treaty*, p. 254: 14-15/255. “ὄρα μοι τὰς φαρέτρας ὁ βλέπων εἰς ἄροτρα, καὶ τὰς ζιβύνας εἰς δρέπανα [...]” – “See with prophetic eye our quivers turned into ploughshares and spears into sickles”.

64 The inspiration of Aristotle’s thought by an 11<sup>th</sup>-century author is likely, but one should be careful whether exactly John Skylitzes knew the Stagirian’s work. Cf. A. Kaldellis, *Aristotle’s Politics in Byzantium*, in: *Well Begun is Only Half Done: Tracing Aristotle’s Political Ideas in Medieval Arabic, Syriac, Byzantine, and Jewish Sources*, ed. V. Syros, Medieval Confluences Series, I, Tempe 2011, pp. 121-143.

65 Attaleiates VII, 1, p. 52/3: “Σκύθαι δέ, οὗς Πατρίνακος οἶδεν ὀδημῶδης λόγος καλεῖν; τὸν Ἰστρὸν παγγενεὶ διαβάντες μετ’ οὐ πολὺ τοῖς ῥωμαικοῖς ἐγκατεσκήνωσαν τόποις, γένος ἀντὶ πάσης ἄλλης ἐπιστήμης καὶ τέχνης τὴν μεθ’ ὀπλων ἐπιδρομὴν ἠσκηκός καὶ βίον ἔχον τὸ ἐν ῥομφαίᾳ καὶ τόξῳ καὶ βέλει συνεχῶς διαζῆν, μυσσάρων δὲ τὰ πρὸς τροφήν καὶ τὴν ἄλλην διαγωγὴν καὶ μιαιροφαγεῖν οὐδαμῶς ἀπεχόμενον”.

The historian situated the Pechengs within the Byzantine ethnic system and, like John Skylitzes, clearly defined their main characteristics – belligerence and savagery. According to Michael Attaleiates, military prowess was the only skill they actually cultivated. This claim is reminiscent of what Thucydides had said about the Scythians – constant fighting was one of many negative features of the Pechenegs, among which eating unclean, foul food was explicitly mentioned. Presumably, it was not merely the matter of consuming food that a civilized person would find repugnant, but also of eating food that was unclean in the ritual sense and thus defiling.

Attributing repulsive dietary habits to nomads was a frequent motif, also among the Byzantine authors.<sup>66</sup> It was mainly used as further evidence of the nomads' barbaric and savage nature. However, if we take into account the possible inspiration from apocalyptic literature, especially the popular prophecy of Pseudo-Methodius, we can interpret the motif of unclean food as an attempt to attribute diabolic traits to the "nation" in question. However, we might also want to exercise caution before drawing such a conclusion.<sup>67</sup> For let us note that John Mauropous, quoted above, also claimed that before their formal conversion, the Pechenegs led an abominable and unclean life.<sup>68</sup> The grace of baptism, as the author seemed to maintain, had snatched the barbarians from the clutches of evil and made them abandon their abominable habits. Michael Attaleiates, however, was already aware of the failed attempts at transforming the Pechenegs into Byzantines and considered such efforts pointless. In his view, the brutal, evil-inclined nature of the steppe dwellers was bound to prevail. Allusions to diabolic features thus seem probable – since these people rejected the grace of absolution from sin – for as apostates, they became the offspring of Satan.

We may find similar features in the description provided by Michael Psellos (1018-c. 1080). Just like Michael Attaleiates, though much more extensively, this Byzantine historian also reported Pechenegs' peculiar dietary habits:

"When they are thirsty, if they find water, either from springs or in the streams, they at once throw themselves down into it and gulp

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<sup>66</sup> A. Paroń, *How to deal...*, pp. 228f., 231-233. See also below.

<sup>67</sup> Eating unclean food does not always degrade a community to the level of a diabolical, Satan-possessed horde. Sometimes it can result from dramatic circumstances. Kekaumenos mentioned the inhabitants of Larissa who, after three-year siege by Tsar Samuel, were forced to eat "the flesh of dogs, donkeys and other unclean animals". There have been even isolated cases of cannibalism: a woman ate the thigh of her deceased husband. However, occasional consumption of what is ritually unclean, dictated by drastic necessity, is something very different from daily dietary practice. Kekavmen, *Sovety i rasskazy. Pouchenie vizantiiskogo polkovoditsa XI veka*, ed. and transl. G.G. Litavrin, Sankt-Peterburg 2003, LXXIII, p. 268: 4-9.

<sup>68</sup> See above, notes 46-47.

it up; if there is no water, each man dismounts from his horse, opens its veins with a knife, and drinks the blood. So they quench their thirst by substituting blood for water. After that they cut up the fattest of the horses, set fire to whatever wood they find ready to hand, and having slightly warmed the chopped limbs of the horse there on the spot, they gorge themselves on the meat, blood and all”.<sup>69</sup>

A community that prepares and eats its meals in such a way must be perceived as wild and unclean. In particular, the passage about drinking blood like it were water must have struck a chord with the reader’s imagination. It could also have evoked associations with another passage from the *Apocalypse* of Pseudo-Methodius, in which twenty Unclean Nations were precisely described as drinking blood as if it were water. People having similar customs were thought capable of committing any evil and unable to distinguish between sin and virtue. Michael Psellos also added:

“Taken in the mass, this is a nation to be feared, and a treacherous one. Treaties of friendship exercise no restraining influence over these barbarians, and even oaths sworn over their sacrifices are not respected, for they reverence no deity at all, not to speak of God. To them all things are the result of chance, and death they believe to be the end of everything. For these reasons they make peace with great alacrity and then, when they find it necessary to resort to war, they at once violate the terms of their treaty. If you conquer them in war, they invoke a second treaty of friendship”.<sup>70</sup>

This anomic collective, ignorant of God, was incapable of honouring any previously concluded agreement. Neither could they distinguish between

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69 *Michaelis Pselli Chronographia*, vol. I (Einleitung und Text), ed. D.R. Reinsch, Millenium-Studien zu Kultur und Geschichte des ersten Jahrtausends n. Chr., LI, Berlin-Boston 2014 (henceforth: Psellos), VII, 68, p. 241: 22-29: “Δεήσαν δὲ αὐτοῖς πιεῖν, εἰ μὲν ἐντύχοιεν ὕδασιν ἢ πηγαίοις ἢ ποταμίοις, λάπτουσιν αὐτίκα ἐπεισπεσόντες, εἰ δ’ οὖν, τοῦ ἵππου ἕκαστος ἀποβάς ἐξαίματοῦσι τούτους, σιδήρῳ τὰς φλέβας ἀναστομώσαντες· καὶ τὴν δίψαν οὕτως ἰδῶνται, ὡς ὕδατι τῷ αἵματι χρώμενοι. εἶτα δὴ καὶ τὸν πίοτατον τῶν ἵππων ἀνατεμόντες, καὶ τὴν εὐρημένην ἀνακαύσαντες ὕλην, αὐτοῦ που τὰ ἐντετμημένα τοῦ ἵππου μέλη βραχύ τι διαθερμάναντες μετὰ τοῦ λύθρου λαφύσουσι”. English translation: E.R.A. Sewter, *The Chronographia of Michael Psellus*, London 1953 (henceforth: Psellos-Sewter), p. 242.

70 Psellos VII, 69, pp. 241f., 1-7: “τοῦτο τὸ γένος, δεινοὶ ξύμπαντες· καὶ τὰς γνώμας ὑποκαθήμενοι. οὔτε δὲ συνθῆκαι τούτους φιλίας ἐπέχουσιν, οὔτε κατὰ τῶν θυμάτων ὁμόσαντες τοῖς ὄρκοις ἐμμένουσιν, ἐπεὶ μηδέ τι θεῖον σεβάζονται, ἵνα μὴ λέγω Θεὸν, ἀλλ’ αὐτόματα τούτοις πάντα συνέστηκε, καὶ τὴν τελευταίην πέρασ συμπάσης ὑπάρξεως οἴονται; διὰ ταῦτα ῥῆσά τε σπένδονται, καὶ πολεμείν δεήσαν, εὐθύς ἠθέτηκασι τὰς σπονδάς; κἄν ἔλλησ τῷ πολέμῳ, οἱ δὲ πάλιν δευτέρας ἐπικαλοῦνται φιλίας, [...]”; Psellos-Sewter, p. 243.



a state of war and a state of peace, and they only understood the idiom of violence, which seemed to be the essence of their existence.

According to Psellos, it was very difficult to fight them, although they were “neither vigorous, nor brave in spirit”. The Pechenegs were supposedly ignorant of all kinds of weaponry except the spear. They also had no idea of strategy or tactics. Finally, they were to have no habit of setting up a fortified camp, instead using vast ravines and chasms as defenses, in which they hid like snakes.<sup>71</sup> Their military prowess stemmed only from their natural wildness:

“In one mass, close-packed and pell-mell, fortified by sheer desperation, they emit loud war-cries, and so fall upon their adversaries. If they succeed in pushing them back, they dash against them in solid blocks, like towers, pursuing and slaying without mercy. On the other hand, if the opposing force withstands their assault and if their ranks preserve an unbroken line in face of the barbarian onslaught, the latter forthwith turn about and seek safety in flight”.<sup>72</sup>

The adversary thus described resembles an unpredictable horde of wild animals, constantly inclined to act aggressively, disregarding previously concluded peace agreements. The nomads’ belligerence, especially in light of the last passage, has little in common with the art of war, which, apart from involving technical and tactical skills, also imposes certain moral constraints on the warrior – especially order and discipline. The Pechenegs’ belligerence, however, was a product of their innate aggression. Michael Psellos, like Aristotle, assumed that the military prowess of the nomads had little to do with valour. Their barbarian treatment of captives was also very characteristic. Some captives were allegedly killed immediately, while others were sold as slaves. However, if the price they could fetch was not satisfactory, they too were murdered by the Pechenegs.<sup>73</sup> We should note that such behaviour vividly resembles that attributed to Kegenes as described by John Skylitzes.

Michael Psellos’ description obviously exaggerated certain features of the nomads. In his words, their military acumen seems almost a caricature. The Byzantine historian, in a way perhaps the most consistent of all

71 Psellos VII, 68, pp. 240f.; Psellos-Sewter, pp. 242f.

72 Psellos VII, 68, p. 241: 11-17: “[...] ἀλλ’ ὁμοῦ φύρδην συμπλακέντες ἀλλήλοις· καὶ τῆ πρὸς τὸ ζῆν ἀπογνώσει ῥωσθέντες, μέγα τε ὀλολύζουσι· καὶ οὕτω τοῖς ἀντιτεταγμένοις ἐμπίπτουσι. κἄν μὲν ἀπίσωσιν οἷα πύργοι ἐπὶ ρραγέντες, αὐτοὺς ἀφειδῶς ἐπόμενοι κατασφάττουσιν. εἰ δὲ ἡ πολεμία φάλαγξ ἀντίσχη τὴν ἔφοδον· καὶ οὐ ῥαγῆ ἐν ταῖς τῶν βαρβάρων ἐμπτώσεσιν ὁ συνασπισμός, οἱ δὲ αὐτίκα στραφέντες, φυγῆ τὴν σωτηρίαν διώκουσι”. Psellos-Sewter, p. 242.

73 Psellos VII, 69, p. 242: 8-10.

the authors cited in this text, presents the nomads as a savage horde devoid of any military knowledge, owing their successes solely to their innate ferocity and madness. This representation, though the difference seems to be rather of intensity than of quality, is at odds with the data provided by other Byzantine authors. Anna Komnene, who admittedly acknowledged that “war was part of Pechenegs’ nature”,<sup>74</sup> described their military organization in a more nuanced way. She mentioned, e.g., the nomads’ ability to fight using wagons, which allowed them to defeat the Emperor Alexios Komnenos at Dristra (1087).<sup>75</sup>

However, this does not change the fact that the learned Byzantine princess also saw their fighting methods as barbaric, i.e., determined by instinct. The Pechenegs, or more broadly all “Scythians”, knew no tactical discipline and were driven by a simple desire for spoils. This sometimes made them dangerous allies in battle, as evidenced by the Pechenegs’ conduct at the Battle of Galabrye (1078).<sup>76</sup> Anna Komnene also frequently deplored the treacherous and unfaithful nature of the steppe dwellers. She pointed to a special predilection for fighting demonstrated by their entire community, as the participation of their women in battles clearly indicated.<sup>77</sup>

However, the most interesting motif of her *Alexiad* is the portrayal of the process of the “Scythization” of Byzantines. All the authors quoted earlier in this study emphasized the divide that separated the “Romans” from the “Scythians” – the two communities seemed to differ in all possible respects. In the work of Anna Komnene, this Manichaean perspective becomes blurred, at least to some extent. Although the daughter of Alexios Komnenos did not treat barbarians and Byzantines as equals, she described instances when the latter were to imitate the “Scythians”. According to her, in the long war between the Byzantines and the Pechenegs, fought between the end of 1083 and the spring of 1091, the nomads’ troops were vastly greater in number than Byzantine forces. Indeed, after the defeat at Dristra, they

74 Comnena VII, 3,7, p. 211: “ἐκ φυσικῆς ἐπιστήμης πολεμεῖν εἰδότες [...]”.

75 Ibidem, VII, 3,7, pp. 211f.

76 Ibidem, I, 5-6, pp. 20-27. The Pechenegs joined the battle as allies of Nikephoros Bryennios, the pretender to the imperial throne. They successfully attacked the right wing of Alexios Komnenos, then commander-in-chief of the army of Emperor Nikephoros Botaneiates, but instead of taking advantage of their success, they turned back to plunder the camp of... Nikephoros Bryennios. According to modern scholars, his defeat was caused by their conduct. This episode of the battle of Galabrye has been described also by Michael Attaleiates (Attaleiates, XXXIV, 5, pp. 528f.) and Nicephoros Bryennios (*Historiarum Libri Quattuor*, ed. P. Gauthier, CFHB, IX, Bruxelles 1975, IV, 6-7, 9-13, pp. 269-279). Cf. J. Haldon, *The Byzantine Wars*, Stroud 2008, pp. 106-110 [Polish translation: *Wojny Bizancjum. Strategia, taktyka, kampanie*, transl. N. Radomski, Poznań 2021, pp. 206-211].

77 Comnena VII, 6,6, pp. 219f.

also held the strategic initiative. In 1088, the theatre of war moved to Thrace, i.e., an area close to Constantinople. Emperor Alexios Komnenos limited himself to defensive action, often in the form of hit-and-run tactics, in which he tried to reduce the enemy's advantage by ruse and trickery.<sup>78</sup>

Anna Komnene described a case when the Autokratōr, wishing to surprise the Pechenegs, ordered his soldiers to dress in "Scythian" garb,<sup>79</sup> which in a sense meant – to become "Scythian". The long struggle against more numerous forces who threatened the imperial capital made Alexios' soldiers become more like their enemy, not only in appearance and fighting methods, but also in ruthlessness – as attested by the dramatic developments of the Battle of Lebounion (April 29, 1091). The battle was the decisive moment leading to the subjugation of the Pechenegs, but its nocturnal bloody epilogue was equally damaging for the nomads. Following Byzantine victory, a great number of captives fell into the hands of the Byzantines troops. According to Synesios, one of the imperial commanders, every soldier had to guard at least thirty captured Pechenegs. This situation worried the military leaders, who feared that the captives might break free during the night and take revenge. Synesios thus demanded that the Emperor immediately execute most of the Pechenegs. Alexios Komnenos was equally adamant in his refusal, stating:

"Scythians they may be, but they are human beings all the same; enemies, but worthy of pity. I don't understand what makes you talk such rubbish".<sup>80</sup>

Let us note that this dialogue is almost an exact copy of the debate between Kegenes and the Byzantine commanders fifty years earlier. This time, however, the role of the advisor who firmly demanded that the issue of the Pechenegs be finally resolved was played not by a superficially civilized steppe renegade, but by a representative of "Roman civilization". Despite the Emperor's objections, the slaughter of prisoners took place during the night, when not only warriors were slayed, but also women and children.<sup>81</sup> The "Romans" behaved like "Scythians", in a sense following Kegenes' advice in the end.

The bloody epilogue of the Battle of Lebounion was, in a way, an apt illustration of the failed attempts to transform the nomadic Pechenegs into Byzantines. We might see it as a manifestation of the powerlessness

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78 A. Paroń, *The Pechenegs...*, pp. 357-367.

79 Comnena VIII, 1,5, p. 238.

80 Ibidem, VIII, 6,1, pp. 249f.: "καὶν Σκύθαι, ἀλλὰ πάντως ἄνθρωποι, καὶν ἐχθροί, ἀλλ' ἐλέους ἄξιοι. αὐτός δ' οὐκ οἶδα τί φρονήσας ταῦτα ληρεῖς". English translation by E.R.A. Sewter: *Anna Komnene, The Alexiad*, London 2009, p. 227.

81 Comnena VIII, 6,2, p. 250.

of the Empire’s elite. The “Romans” of the mid-11<sup>th</sup> century may have been convinced about the strength of their own cultural universe, capable of absorbing even the wildest barbarians, but towards the end of the same century, their descendants had traumatic experiences and became bitter about that vision. They were convinced that when you deal with “Scythians” your only choice was to behave like a “Scythian”.

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Let us now look into the accounts by authors who lived and wrote at the beginning of the relevant period, when Byzantium’s position vis-à-vis the steppe world was still quite comfortable. The only part of the Empire under immediate threat was the theme of Kherson, located on the south-western end of the Crimea, with the city of Kherson as its capital.<sup>82</sup> This situation is, *mutatis mutandis*, reminiscent of the relationship between the Greek world and the Scythians in the era of Herodotus. At that time, direct contact with the nomads of the Black Sea steppes was maintained exclusively by the Greek colonies on the shores of Pontus Euxinus. Such safe isolation encouraged the perception of nomads as a potential ally in conflicts with other ethnic groups threatening the Empire from the north. Until the end of the 9<sup>th</sup> century, the Black Sea steppes were dominated by Magyars,<sup>83</sup> whom contemporary Byzantine sources called Turks (*Τούρκοι*).<sup>84</sup>

There is no doubt that for the educated Byzantines, these people had all the negative characteristics associated with nomadic way of life. In the *Tactica* by Emperor Leo VI (886-912), we find the familiar image of the uncivilized Scythian barbarians, hostile and infidel, who are, in addition, possessed by an unquenchable thirst for material goods, which makes them break their oaths.<sup>85</sup> The learned monarch also saw the nomadic lifestyle of the Magyars as a sign of savagery and spiritual defilement.<sup>86</sup> However, despite these negative traits, the Emperor considered them valuable allies. Leo VI also knew

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82 J. Shepard, ‘Mists and portals’: the Black Sea’s north coast, in: *Byzantine trade 4<sup>th</sup>-12<sup>th</sup> centuries. The archaeology of local, regional and international exchange*, ed. M.M. Mango, Farnham 2009, p. 429.

83 C. Zuckerman, *Vengry v strane Levedii: novaia derzhava na granitsakh Vizantii i Khazarii ok. 836–889 g.*, “Materialy po Istorii Arkheologii i Etnografii Tavri” VI (1998), pp. 663-688; A.V. Komar, *Dreonié mad'iary Etel'keza: perspektivy issledovanií*, in: *Madiary v seredn'omu Podniprov'í*, ed. P.P. Tolochko, Kiev 2011, pp. 21-78.

84 Gy. Moravcsik, *Byzantinoturcica*, vol. II (*Sprachresten der Türkvölker in den Byzantinischen Quellen*), Berlin 1958, pp. 320f.

85 *Leonis VI Tactica*, ed. and transl. G.T. Dennis, CFHB, XLIX, Dumbarton Oaks 2010 [henceforth: Leo VI], XVIII, 41, pp. 454/5: “[...] τὰ Τούρκων φύλα [...] ἄφιλα δὲ καὶ ἄπιστα ὄντα, καὶ διὰ τῆς ἀπληστίας τῶν χρημάτων κρατούμενα ὄρκου περιφρονοῦσι [...]”.

86 Leo VI, XVIII, 59, p. 458/9.

much about the Magyars' art of war, which he described soberly, pointing out its advantages and disadvantages. In his account, it had nothing to do with the madness of wild half-animals and their natural drive to kill. On the contrary, although their military style assumed ruthless destruction of their enemy, it was based on rational premises, recognition of the enemy's strength, and calculation.<sup>87</sup>

Leo VI's considerations were not purely theoretical. In 894-896, during the war against the Bulgarian ruler Simeon, Byzantium had used the Magyars' assistance.<sup>88</sup> The author of the *Tactica* mentioned the military cooperation with the nomads:

While our forces were engaged against Saracens, divine Providence led the Turks, in place of the Romans, to campaign against the Bulgarians. Our Majesty's fleet of ships supported them and ferried them across the Danube. [Providence] sent them out against the army of the Bulgarians that had so wickedly taken up arms against Christians and, as though they were public executioners, they decisively defeated them in three engagements, so that the Christian Romans might not willingly stain themselves with the blood of the Christian Bulgarians.<sup>89</sup>

This passage is extremely interesting. Particularly noteworthy is the way in which Leo VI justified enlisting the help of the barbarian and pagan Magyars against the Bulgarians, who, although they were only recently Christianized, nevertheless professed the same faith as the Byzantines. The Emperor first pointed out that the Bulgarians were to blame for the breach of peace between Christian nations, and thus sinned by waging fratricidal war. Seeking the Turks' (Magyars') assistance, and using the imperial fleet to deploy their troops on the southern bank of the Danube was thus not just a simple strategic move dictated by the logic of war,<sup>90</sup> but the fulfillment of Divine Providence, which used the nomads as an instrument to punish the Bulgarians for their wickedness.

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<sup>87</sup> Leo VI, XVIII, 43-64, pp. 454/5-458/9.

<sup>88</sup> M.J. Leszka, *Symeon I Wielki a Bizancjum. Z dziejów stosunków bułgarsko-bizantyńskich w latach 893–927*, Byzantina Lodziensia, XV, Łódź 2013, pp. 80-92.

<sup>89</sup> Leo VI, XVIII, 40, p. 452/3: "[...] καὶ γὰρ τῶν ἡμετέρων δυνάμενων κατὰ Σαρακη- νῶν ἀσχολουμένων Τούρκους ἢ θεία πρόνοια ἀντὶ Ῥωμαίων ἐστράτευσε, πλοῖμου στόλου τῆς ἡμῶν βασιλείας τὸν Ἰστρον αὐτοὺς διαπεράσαντός τε καὶ συμμαχήσαντος, καὶ τὸν κακῶς κατὰ Χριστιανῶν ὀπλισθέντα Βουλγάρων στρατὸν τρισὶ μάχαις κατὰ κράτος νενικηκότας, ὡσανεὶ δημίους ἐξαποστείλασα κατ' αὐτῶν, ἵνα μὴ ἐκόντες Ῥωμαῖοι Χριστιανοὶ Χριστιανῶν Βουλγάρων αἵμασι χραίνοντο".

<sup>90</sup> Cf. K. Marinow, *Zadania floty cesarskiej w wojnach bizantyńsko-bułgarskich (VII–XI w.)*, in: *Byzantina Europaea. Księga jubileuszowa ofiarowana Profesorowi Waldemarowi Ceranowi*, ed. M. Kokoszko, M.J. Leszka, Łódź 2007, pp. 381-392.

The savage and infidel Magyars acted as *flagellum Dei*, while the righteous Romans kept their hands clean, without having to soil them with the blood of their brethren in faith. Clearly, the reasoning of the learned monarch served to cover up the fact of collaboration with pagans against Simeon, the Christian ruler, which must have been embarrassing for Byzantium.<sup>91</sup> However, it seems that Leo’s account also contains a nucleus of the doctrine that was later fully developed by his son, Constantine VII Porphyrogenitus (913-959). Both rulers, tied by blood and their common interest in science, seem to have also shared the ideal of a monarch-scholar making political decisions guided by knowledge derived from long experience.<sup>92</sup> It is thus no coincidence that, in the middle of the 10<sup>th</sup> century, Constantine VII Porphyrogenitus formulated the idea to use the Pechenegs of the Black Sea steppes as a tool to stop the aggression of the Rus, Magyars, and Danubian Bulgarians.<sup>93</sup>

The learned emperor’s doctrine, expounded in *De Administrando Imperio*, should be regarded as his personal political design. However, we cannot exclude that it was inspired by his father’s construct, as described above. The idea of using the Pechenegs, who in the last years of the 9<sup>th</sup> century replaced the Magyars on the Black Sea steppes, as an instrument of Constantinople’s policy seems to have emerged from the experience of the years 934-944, when Byzantium – faced with the progressive weakening of Bulgaria and the deterioration of relations with the Khazar Khaganate – looked for a valuable ally capable of securing the northern borders of the Empire.<sup>94</sup>

We should also remember that during the reign of Constantine VII and later, there was no shortage of diplomats hailing from Constantinople who were skeptical about the alliance with the Pechenegs. The Emperor himself, although he appreciated the nomads’ military qualities and knew a great deal about their social and political structure, perceived them as one of the sav-

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91 Cf. M.J. Leszka, *The Monk versus the Philosopher: From the History of the Bulgarian-Byzantine War 894-896*, “*Studia Ceranea*” I (2011), p. 63.

92 P. Magdalino, *Knowledge in Authority and Authorized History: The Imperial Intellectual Programme of Leo VI and Constantine VII*, in: *Authority in Byzantium*, ed. P. Armstrong, Aldershot 2013, pp. 187-210; A. Németh, *The Excerpta Constantina and the Byzantine Approbation of the Past*, Cambridge 2018, pp. 23-30. Some scholars believe that some of the treatises usually attributed to Constantine VII Porphyrogenitus and his collaborators were in fact written by authors close to Leo VI, and were then inherited, more or less complete, by his son. See J. Howard-Johnston, *The De administrando imperio. A Re-evaluation of the Text and a Re-evaluation of Its Evidence about the Rus*, in: *Les centres proto-urbains russes entre Scandinavie, Byzance et Orient*, ed. M. Kazanski, A. Nercessian, C. Zuckerman, Paris 2000, pp. 310-329. This interpretation is very inspiring, however very disputable.

93 DAI, I-V, pp. 48-53.

94 A. Paroń, *The Pechenegs...*, pp. 276-280.

age “northerners and Scythians”, as pagans and evildoing barbarians – just like Leo VI perceived the Magyars. Likewise, he stressed their boundless greed, which Byzantine diplomats were to use to placate the steppe dwellers.<sup>95</sup> Thus, despite their wildness, the Pechenegs were perceived as a wieldy tool in the hands of Constantinople, but nothing more.<sup>96</sup> Using them could be justified by pragmatic political consideration.

The Black Sea steppes, dominated by whatever steppe dwellers, were a niche from which an attack could be launched on all the territories of other barbarian peoples. In the chapters at the beginning of *De Administrando Imperio*, Constantine VII made it clear that the aggression of the Rus, Magyars, and Bulgarians could be easily stemmed by a diversionary strike by the Pechenegs, effected immediately after any of these peoples decided to move against Byzantium. Apart from this obvious pragmatic dimension, imposed by geopolitical considerations, there was probably also an ideological one. It came to the fore when there was a need to discipline a Christian community – the Bulgarians, or the inhabitants of Kherson, who showed excessive tendencies towards independence.<sup>97</sup> In such cases, the Emperor could outsource violence, in accordance with the doctrine of Leo VI – entrusting the Pechenegs, acting as *flagellum Dei*, with the punishment thus sent by Divine Providence.

The constructs developed by both learned emperors secured moderate success. To a certain extent this situation may explain the later political and cultural changes that transformed the feckless “northerners and Scythians” into predictable political partners belonging to the Christian community. Nevertheless, the peculiar isolationism of the Komnene rulers’ period is puzzling. After the Empire defeated the Pechenegs and put an end to the Cuman invasion in 1095, the Empire’s relations with the steppe dwellers bore a striking resemblance to the period before 1018. Apart from the successes of Alexios I Komnenos, this was due to political stability within the Great Steppe, with no major ethnic migrations taking place until the Mongol expansion. Finally, it is worth noting that the Cumans, who dominated the Black Sea and Caspian steppes, were superior to the Pechenegs in terms of strength and political importance;<sup>98</sup> moreover, just like them, they maintained strong economic ties with Byzantine cities located in the Crimea and on the low-

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95 DAI, VII-VIII, pp. 54-57.

96 Cf. A. Paroń, *Pieczynogowie na kartach De administrando imperio Konstantyna VII Porfirogenety*, “Classica Wratislaviensia” XXVII (2007), pp. 103-112.

97 See particularly: DAI, I, 25-28, p. 48/9.

98 P.B. Golden, *The Qipčaq of Medieval Eurasia: An Example of Stateless Adaptation in the Steppes*, in: *Rulers from the Steppe: State Formation on the Eurasian Periphery*, ed. G. Seaman, D. Marks, Los Angeles 1991, pp. 132-157; V. Spinei, *The Great Migrations in the East and South East of Europe from the Ninth to the Thirteenth Century*, Cluj-Napoca 2003, pp. 217-340.

er Danube.<sup>99</sup> Assigning them a role similar to that which Constantine VII wished to assign to the Pechenegs might have seemed like an obvious move by Constantinople, dictated by geopolitical necessity. However, nothing of the sort actually happened.

Byzantium's passivity may have resulted from the fateful experience of the 11<sup>th</sup> century. The trauma of 1047-1091 might have reinforced the conviction, held by the elites in Constantinople, that nomads were the worst possible political partners, their assistance not to be used even as a means to exert outsourced violence on another aggressor. It was believed impossible to control their perverse and savage nature. The experience of the fateful event of mid-11<sup>th</sup> century convinced the Byzantines that the “Scythians” can neither be assimilated nor tamed as they were a community founded on warfare, their only occupation and purpose. In principle, “Scythians” not only threatened the security and peace of Byzantium, as they could also infect it with their savagery and propensity for violence, something demonstrated by the shameful epilogue of the Battle of Lebonion.

translated by Katarzyna Byłów

#### ABSTRACT

Belligerence, perceived as a tendency to unrestrained violence, almost bestiality, is a trait that is often ascribed to nomads by the literary traditions of the more developed peoples who come into contact with the steppe-dwellers. Byzantine literature is no exception. Among the Byzantine authors (mainly chroniclers, historians and rhetoricians) mentioned in this study, there is a conviction that violence and cruelty exceeding any measure is a natural, inborn trait of nomads. The Byzantine characteristics of nomads, although often part of the accounts of real events, can hardly be considered free from biases. Their authors aimed not only to describe the true qualities of the “nomadic barbarians” but also, sometimes mainly, to distinguish civilized “Romans” from savage “Scythians”. Ascribing them unrestrained violence and cruelty would serve not only to exclude nomadic communities from the group of civilized peoples, but also to put them at the antipodes of Byzantine identity. The image of a nomad was therefore a tool for creating one's own image of the Byzantines. Apart from the spheres of identity and religion, however, there was a world of brutal political facts that the empire could not ignore. Despite their great aversion to violence, the Byzantine elite had to respond to it. A nomad, allegedly overly inclined to abuse the violence, then became very useful as a tool of its outsourcing. In this way, the Byzantines could settle their political interests without dirtying their conscience and hands.

**Keywords:** Byzantium (9<sup>th</sup>-12<sup>th</sup> cc.), nomads, ‘Scythians’, war and violence, outsourcing of violence

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<sup>99</sup> K. Golev, *On the Edge of “Another World”: The Balkans and Crimea as Contact Zones between the Cuman-Qipchaqs and the Outside World*, “Études Balkaniques” LIV (2018), pp. 89-126.





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**FROM A HOUSE OF THE DEVIL TO GOD'S TEMPLE –  
 "ABRENUNTIATIO DIABOLI" AND "CONFESSIO FIDEI"  
 IN THE NARRATIVE ABOUT THE FOUNDATION  
 OF THE BISHOPRIC OF ALBARA DURING THE FIRST CRUSADE  
 IN THE *GESTA FRANCORUM* AND THE *HISTORIA DE  
 HIEROSOLYMITANO ITINERE***



In the First Crusaders' accounts the issue of the conversion of Muslims to Christianity was not widely raised. It seems that the chroniclers might have been following the example of Pope Urban II, who, in the surviving versions of his sermon at the Council of Clermont, did not mention any possible Christianization mission among non-Christian populations in the East.<sup>1</sup> Mentions of conversions to the Christian faith are rare, and are not a result of reflection on missionary activity, but rather as the fruit of divine intervention, a miracle, or the effect of great success in battle.<sup>2</sup> Therefore, worth considering are all traces of the idea of Christianization during the First Crusade in the sources of its

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1 On the Urban II's sermon at Clermont cf. e.g., D.C. Munro, *The Speech of Pope Urban II at Clermont, 1095*, "American Historical Review" XI (1906), pp. 231-242; M. Gabriele, *The Last Carolingian Exegete: Pope Urban II, the Weight of Tradition, and Christian Reconquest*, "Church History" LXXXI (2012), pp. 796-814; G. Struck, *The Sermon of Urban II in Clermont and the Tradition of Papal Oratory*, "Medieval Sermon Studies" LVI (2012), pp. 30-45; cf. J. Riley-Smith, *The First Crusade and the Idea of Crusading*, London 1986, pp. 13-30; H.E.J. Cowdrey, *Pope Urban II and the Idea of Crusade*, "Studi Medievali" XXXVI (1995) 3, pp. 721-742; N. Morton, *Encountering Islam on the First Crusade*, Cambridge 2016, pp. 75-83.

2 S. Loutchitskaya, *L'idée de conversion dans les chroniques de la première croisade*, "Cahiers de civilisation médiévale" CLXXVII (2002), pp. 39-53; cf. A.H. Cutler, *The First Crusade and the Idea of Conversion*, "Muslim World. A Quarterly Journal of Islamic Study and Christian Interpretation among Muslims" LVIII (1968), pp. 57-71, 155-164; J. Flori, *Une ou plusieurs "première croisade"? Le message d'Urbain II et les plus anciens pogroms d'Occident*, "Revue historique" CCLXXXV (1991) 1 (577) (JANVIER-MARS 1991), pp. 3-27; idem, *Jérusalem terrestre, céleste et spirituelle. Trois facteurs de sacralisation de la première croisade*, in: *Jerusalem the Golden: The Origins and Impact of the First Crusade*, ed. S. Edgington, L. Garcia-Guijarro, Turnhout 2014, pp. 44-49.

participants (in particular before the “theological refinement” of the second generation of the Crusade’s historians<sup>3</sup>), especially as shown in the confrontation of the spheres of *sacrum* and *profanum* known from missionary practice in other regions at a similar time.<sup>4</sup>

Hence, in this article the thesis was posed that the authors of the *Gesta Francorum* and the *Historia de Hierosolymitano Itinere* in their vision of the First Crusade’s events used a conventional, i.e., pre-existing tradition of missionary practice, and adapted it to their narrative on the foundation of the bishopric of Albara (Al-Bara).<sup>5</sup> Moreover, the main research aim here is to examine whether the two-stage model of conversion to Christianity of *abrenuntiatio diaboli* (the renouncement of Satan) and *confessio fidei* (the profession of faith), known in the baptismal liturgy since Christian antiquity, was presented on the pages of the First Crusaders’ accounts related to this event<sup>6</sup> – and if so, how is it manifested in this particular case? The *Gesta Francorum* as well as the *Historia de Hierosolymitano Itinere* are considered the earliest descriptions of the First Crusade and most likely both texts were written by men who participated in this venture.<sup>7</sup>

3 J. Riley-Smith, *The First Crusade and The Idea...*, pp. 135-152.

4 E.g. cf. S. Rosik, *Abrenuntiatio diaboli in Missionary Practice during the Conversion of Pomerania*, in: *Meetings with emotions. Human past between anthropology and history (Historiography and society from the 10<sup>th</sup> to the 20<sup>th</sup> century)*, ed. P. Wiszewski, Wrocław 2008, pp. 41-50; idem, *The Slavic Religion in the Light of 11<sup>th</sup>- and 12<sup>th</sup>-Century German Chronicles (Thietmar of Merseburg, Adam of Bremen, Helmold of Bosau)*, Boston-Leiden 2020, pp. 104, 145, 166, 357f., 386f.; about the crusading spirituality cf. W.J. Purkis, *Crusading Spirituality in the Holy Land and Iberia, c. 1095-c. 1187* Woodbridge 2008.

5 *Gesta Francorum et aliorum Hierosolimitanorum*, ed. H. Hagenmeyer, Heidelberg 1890 (= GF); Peter Tudebode, *Historia de Hierosolymitano Itinere*, ed. J.H. Hill, L.L. Hill, Paris 1977 (= PT).

6 J. Lechner, L. Eisenhofer, *Liturgik des römischen Ritus*, Freiburg 1953, pp. 272-275.

7 The issue of the authorship, the time of creation and the mutual relationship between the *Gesta Francorum* and Tudebode’s *Historia de Hierosolymitano Itinere* is very complex, cf.: H.-J. Witzel, *Le problème de l’auteur des Gesta Francorum*, “Moyen-Âge” LXI (1955), pp. 319-328; H. Oehler, *Studien zu den Gesta Francorum*, “Mittelateinisches Jahrbuch” VI (1970), pp. 58-97; K.B. Wolf, *Crusade and Narrative: Bohemond and the Gesta Francorum*, “Journal of Medieval History” XVII (1991), pp. 207-216; C. Morris, *The Gesta Francorum as Narrative History*, “Reading Medieval Studies” XIX (1993), pp. 55-71; J. France, *The Anonymous Gesta Francorum and the Historia Francorum qui ceperunt Iherusalem of Raymond of Aguilers and the Historia de Hierosolymitano itinere of Peter Tudebode: An Analysis of the Textual Relationship between Primary Sources for the First Crusade*, in: *The Crusades and Their Sources: Essays Presented to Bernard Hamilton*, ed. J. France. W.G. Zajac, Aldershot 1998, pp. 39-70; idem, *The Use of the Anonymous Gesta Francorum in the Early Twelfth-Century Sources for the First Crusade*, in: *From Clermont to Jerusalem: The Crusades and Crusader Societies, 1095–1500*, ed. A.V. Murray, Turnhout 1998, pp. 29-42; Y.N. Harari, *Eyewitnessing in Accounts of the First Crusade: The Gesta Francorum and Other Contemporary Narratives*, “Crusades” III (2004), pp. 77-99; J. Rubenstein, *What is the Gesta Francorum, and who was Peter Tudebode?*, “Revue Mabilon” XVI (2005), pp. 179-204; E. Lapina, *Nec signis nec testibus creditor. The Problem of Eyewitnesses in the Chronicles of the First Crusade*, “Viator: Medieval and Renaissance Studies” XXXVIII (2007),

The *Gesta Francorum* is probably the oldest known account describing the First Crusade, and was written by an anonymous author or authors associated with Bohemond in the period from the end of 1099 to 1101.<sup>8</sup> Closely related to the *Gesta Francorum* in terms of composition and content is the *Historia de Hierosolymitano Itinere* by Peter Tudebode. The author presented himself on the pages of the work as a priest from Civray, located about 50 km south of Poitiers.<sup>9</sup> In his version of events he most probably relied on the early redaction of the *Gesta Francorum*, as well as on the Raymond of Aguilers' *Historia Francorum*,<sup>10</sup> from which he borrowed i.a., the description of the Crusaders crossing the Balkan territories<sup>11</sup> and the death of Pons of Balazun (Balazuc), the second author of *Historia Francorum*.<sup>12</sup> Despite the label of compiler, Peter Tudebode completed his work with several pieces of information from his own experience, giving a detailed presentation of the martyr's death of Rainald Porchet,<sup>13</sup> the procession around the walls of Jerusalem,<sup>14</sup> and the death of members of his own family during the expedition – namely, Arvedus and Arnold.<sup>15</sup> The *Historia de Hierosolymitano Itinere* is also an early crusading account and was probably written in the period 1099-1104.<sup>16</sup>

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pp. 117-139; J. Flori, *De l'Anonyme normand à Tudebode et aux Gesta Francorum. L'impact de la propagande de Bohémond sur la critique textuelle des sources de la première croisade*, "Revue d'Histoire Ecclésiastique" CII (2007), pp. 717-746; idem, *Chroniqueurs et propagandistes. Introduction critique aux sources de la Première croisade*, Genève 2010, pp. 49-103; M. Bull, *The eyewitness accounts of the First Crusade as political scripts*, "Reading Medieval Studies" XXXVI (2010), pp. 23-37; S. Niskanen, *The origins of the Gesta Francorum and two related texts: Their textual and literary character*, "Sacris Erudiri" LI (2012) 1, pp. 287-316.

8 N. Dass suggested that the names appear at the end of the manuscript *Vatican Regimensis latini 641*, i.e., *Petrus clericus de Mirabea. Wilelmus clericus de Vosailia. Gauterea de Funfreide laicus. Johannes de Gelis laicus*, could be considered as the names of the authors of the *Gesta Francorum*, but this opinion was not accepted by other scholars, especially since these could be the names of the copyists, cf. *The Deeds of the Franks and Other Jerusalem-Bound Pilgrims. The Earliest Chronicle of the First Crusade*, transl. N. Dass, Lanham-Boulder-New York-Toronto-Plymouth 2011 (= GF (Dass)), p. 6.

9 PT, note b, p. 138: *Petrus sacerdos Tudebovis Sivracensis*.

10 Cf. J. France, *The Anonymous Gesta Francorum and the Historia Francorum qui ceperunt Iherusalem...*, pp. 45-58; cf. C. Klein, *Raimund von Aguilers: Quellenstudie zur Geschichte des ersten Kreuzzuges*, Berlin 1892, pp. 103-136; N. Iorga, *Les narrateurs de la première croisade*, Paris 1928, pp. 1-16, 63-79; C. Cahen, *La Syrie du Nord à l'époque des croisades*, Paris 1940, p. 8, note 3; Raymond of Aguilers' text edition: *Le "Liber" de Raymond d'Aguilers*, ed. J.H. Hill, L.L. Hill, Paris 1969 (= RA).

11 PT, pp. 32-43.

12 Ibidem, p. 132.

13 Ibidem, pp. 79-81.

14 Ibidem, p. 138.

15 Ibidem, pp. 97, 116.

16 Cf. J. France, *The Anonymous Gesta Francorum and the Historia Francorum qui ceperunt Iherusalem...*, p. 43.

In both of these accounts the narrative of the conquest of Albara begins after the death of Adhémar, the bishop of Le Puy on August 1, 1098 because of the plague in the city of Antioch.<sup>17</sup> After this event, approximately on September 25, 1098,<sup>18</sup> Raymond of Saint-Gilles, Count of Toulouse, one of the most significant leaders of the First Crusade's forces, led the Christian army into the interior of *terra Sarracenorum*.<sup>19</sup> This event is described in the *Gesta Francorum*:

Non post multum vero temporis venit vir venerabilis Raimundus, comes de Sancto Egidio, et intravit in Sarracenorum terram et pervenit ad quendam urbem, quae vocatur Albara, quam invasit una cum suo exercitu, eamque continuo cepit; et occidit omnes Saracenos et Saracenas, maiores et minores, quos ibi reperit. Quam postquam suo continuit imperio, ad Christi revocavit fidem, quaesivitque consilium a suis sapientissimis viris, ut episcopum in hac urbe devotissime praeordinari faceret, qui illam ad Christi cultum fideliter revocaret et de domo diabolica templum Deo vivo et vero et oracula Sanctorum consecraret.<sup>20</sup>

Not a long time afterward, that honorable man, Raymond, count of Saint-Gilles, came and went into the land of the Saracens and came upon a city which was called Albara, and which he attacked with his army, captured it quickly, and killed all the Saracen men and women, wealthy and poor, that he found in there. When he took control of it and returned it to the Christian faith, he took counsel with the wisest of his men as to how best he could, with the greatest devotion, get a bishop for this city, who would dutifully bring it back into the faith and worship of Christ, and who would take the house of the devil and consecrate it as the temple of the living and true God and an oratory of the saints.<sup>21</sup>

Peter Tudebode in the *Historia de Hierosolymitano Itinere* added information that a new bishop was conducted to Antioch for consecration and held councils as a replacement for Adhémar ("Postea eligit quendam clericum quem in Antiochia duxit ad consecrandum, qui postea tenebat concilia in loco Ademari Podiensis episcopo").<sup>22</sup> The capture of Albara and the foun-

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<sup>17</sup> GF, XXX, 10, pp. 389f.; PT, pp. 116f.; cf. J.A. Brundage, *Adhemar of Puy: The Bishop and his Critics*, "Speculum" XXXIV (1959) pp. 201-212.

<sup>18</sup> GF (Dass), p. 91.

<sup>19</sup> GF, XXXI, 1, p. 392.

<sup>20</sup> Ibidem, pp. 392f.; cf. PT, p. 117.

<sup>21</sup> GF (Dass), pp. 91f.

<sup>22</sup> PT, p. 117; for a translation cf. Peter Tudebode, *Historia de Hierosolymitano Itinere*, transl. J.H. Hill, L.L. Hill, Philadelphia 1974 (= PT (Hill&Hill)), p. 94: "Afterwards he chose a certain clerk whom he conducted to Antioch for consecration. Following these ceremonies, the new bishop held councils as a replacement for Adhémar, Bishop of Le Puy".

dation of a bishopric were recorded by another participant of the First Crusade, Raymond of Aguilers. He noted that the cleric who was chosen to be a new bishop of Albara was named Peter of Narbonne, one of the Count of Toulouse's chaplains.<sup>23</sup> Furthermore, Raymond of Saint-Gilles gave one-half of the city and its environs to Peter of Narbonne and ordered him to defend and hold Albara even unto death.<sup>24</sup>

The *Gesta Francorum* and Tudebode's account show that the city of Albara was located in the lands of the Frankish enemy, described as *terra Sarracenorum*. This term was used several times in the sources.<sup>25</sup> For instance, in one episode during the siege of Antioch, the Crusaders went into the land of Saracens ("in Sarracenorum namque terra") to gain provisions, because in the land of Christians ("in terra Christianorum") there was nothing to eat.<sup>26</sup> N. Morton claims that the term *terra Sarracenorum* was an ethnic frontier not a political one, "because before the arrival of the First Crusade, all these lands were ruled by the Turks". However, to demonstrate such a perspective he uses an example from the earlier source with the conclusion that: "although in this instance, it is possible that he [the pilgrim Richard of St Vanne – author] was describing a political frontier as well as an ethnic one". However, it is clear that the chroniclers created the image of a sharp distinction between the lands of the Christians and of their enemy. Therefore, it seems that the case also concerns the symbolic organization of space and the people in it through the prism of the "world of the text" of the medieval authors.<sup>27</sup>

Such a bipolar opposition should not be surprising after a comprehensive reading of both authors. A very clear example of such vision is the representation of the participants of the expedition to Jerusalem and their opponents. The chroniclers considered the crusaders to be the knights of Christ (*milites Christi*),<sup>28</sup> knights of the true God (*milites veri Dei*),<sup>29</sup> the army of Christ (*milites et exercitum Christi*),<sup>30</sup> or pilgrims-knights of Christ (*Christi milites peregrini*),<sup>31</sup> knights of the true God (*milites igitur veri Dei*),<sup>32</sup> while their opponents were

23 RA, p. 92.

24 Ibidem.

25 Cf. GF, XIII, 2, p. 249; XXXI, 1, p. 392; PT, p. 65.

26 GF, XIII, 2, p. 249; PT, p. 65.

27 N. Morton, *Encountering Islam...*, pp. 137f.; note 156, p. 138.

28 GF, XXIX, 8, p. 378; XXXVII, 2, p. 452; PT, pp. 52, 81, 115.

29 GF, XVIII, 5, p. 282; PT, p. 76.

30 PT, p. 69.

31 GF, XXX, 6, p. 387; cf. E.D. Hehl, *Kreuzzug – Pilgerfahrt – Imitatio Christi*, in: *Pilger und Wallfahrtsstätten in Mittelalter und Neuzeit*, ed. M. Mathews, Stuttgart 1999, pp. 35-51; N. Priesching, *Der Erste Kreuzzug als Pilgerfahrt: eine Militarisierung der Wallfahrt oder eine Sakralisierung der Ritterschaft? Ein Beitrag zur Spiritualität der Kreuzfahrer*, "Annali di studi religiosi" XI (2010), pp. 147-166.

32 GF, XVIII, 5, p. 282; PT, p. 76.

described as the enemies of God (*inimici Dei*)<sup>33</sup> and of God and holy Christianity (*inimici Dei et Sanctae Christianitatis*),<sup>34</sup> the profane ones and enemies of God (*profani et inimici Dei*),<sup>35</sup> and the enemy of God and of us (*inimici nostri et Dei*).<sup>36</sup> Sometimes minor differences in the two texts can be indicated, for instance, the *Gesta Francorum* presents the Turks from Antioch during the council of the Crusade's leaders as the enemies of Christ (*inimici Christi*),<sup>37</sup> while Peter Tudebode cites the enemies of God (*inimicis Dei*).<sup>38</sup> In another part of the accounts there is a vision in which the Apostle Andrew says that to achieve a victory, the Franks shall daily sing "congregati sunt inimici nostri",<sup>39</sup> which was a hymn strongly connected with the Biblical Maccabean Revolt, and thus the war of the Chosen People against their persecutors.<sup>40</sup>

Furthermore, the enemy's distinction was forged also through the use of other terms. For instance, the authors of the *Gesta Francorum* and the *Historia de Hierosolymitano Itinere* presented the Turks as barbarians: "Turci quippe, licet gens Barbara",<sup>41</sup> or "Turci quippe, scilicet gens Barbara"<sup>42</sup> ("the Turks, certainly a barbarous race") or as the *iniquissimi barbari* ("the dreadful barbarians").<sup>43</sup> Chroniclers enumerated the peoples against whom they would fight in approaching battles as *omnes barbarae nationes* ("all the rest of the barbarous people").<sup>44</sup> The language of exclusion is signaled by other phrase, namely

33 GF, XVIII, 5, p. 282; XXVI, 5, p. 351; PT, pp. 51, 75.

34 GF, X, 1, p. 208; XIV, 1, p. 254; XXVI, 4, pp. 350f.; PT, pp. 55, 66.

35 GF, XXVI, 5, p. 351; cf. PT, p. 103.

36 PT, p. 51; cf. GF, XVIII, 5, p. 282; PT, p. 75.

37 GF, XXVIII, 2, p. 364.

38 PT, p. 108.

39 The words are taken from 1 Macc 3, 52-53; "congregati sunt inimici nostri et gloriantur in virtute sua: contere fortitudinem illorum, Domine, et disperge illos, ut cognoscant quia non est alius qui pugnet pro nobis nisi tu, Deus noster" (cf. GF (Dass), pp. 139f.: "Our enemies have gathered and they glory in their might: destroy their strength, O Lord, and scatter them, that they may know there is none who fights for us, but you, our God").

40 J. Maillard, *Modulorum Ioannis Maillardi...: the four-part motets*, ed. R.H. Rosenstock, Madison 1987, p. xviii; on the issue of the Crusaders as the successors of the Maccabees e.g. cf. N. Morton, *The defence of the Holy Land and the memory of the Maccabees*, "Journal of Medieval History" XXXVI (2010) 3, pp. 275-293; S. Gouguenheim, *Les Maccabées, modèles des guerriers chrétiens des origines au XI<sup>e</sup> siècle*, "Cahiers de Civilisation médiévale" LIV (2011), pp. 3-20; L. Russo, *Maccabei e crociati: Spunti per una riflessione sull'utilizzo della tipologia biblica nelle fonti della prima crociata*, in: *Auctor et auctoritas in Latinis Medii Aevi litteris: Author and Authorship in Medieval Latin Literature*, ed. E. D'Angelo, J. Ziolkowski, Florence 2014, pp. 979-994; E. Lapina, *Warfare and the Miraculous in the Chronicles of the First Crusade*, Pennsylvania 2015, pp. 97-121.

41 GF, VIII, 2, p. 179.

42 PT, p. 49.

43 GF, XIV, 1, p. 254; PT, p. 67; cf. GF (Dass), p. 55.

44 GF, IX, 9, pp. 203f.; XIII, 5, p. 251; PT, pp. 54, 66; cf. S. Loutchiskaya, *Barbarae nationes: les peuples musulmans dans les chroniques de la Première Croisade*, in: *Autour de la Première Croisade, Actes du Colloque de la Society for the Study of the Crusades and the Latin East (Clermont-Ferrand, 22-25 juin 1995)*, ed. M. Balard, Paris 1996, pp. 99-107.

the Turks were described as *excommunicati* meaning 'outside the community', 'excluded from the community', indicating that they are not the part of Christendom.<sup>45</sup> However, the most popular term in both accounts for describing the opponent is *paganus*, 'pagan'.<sup>46</sup> The *Gesta Francorum* states that the main objective of the expedition to Jerusalem was to fight against the pagans and recapture of the Holy Sepulchre: "ituram ad Domini sepulcrum et paratam ad proelium contra gentem paganorum".<sup>47</sup> The bipolar opposition in this passage is plainly seen, because before the term *gens paganorum* a previous description about *gens Christianorum* ("the Christian people") was made.<sup>48</sup> However, Tudebode sees things differently, although also referring to the term of pagans: "quatinus Sancti Sepulchri viam de manu eriperet pessimorum paganorum utrum alterius foret liberata et Christianis omnibus undique staret patefacta"<sup>49</sup> ("they planned to seize the way to Holy Sepulchre from the hands of the very evil pagans and so free it and give full access to all Christians").<sup>50</sup> The label of paganism for the enemy appears also in a description of the siege of Ma'arrat an-Numan, where the chronicler writes that God "exalted the Christians and cast down pagandom" ("christianitatem exaltaret ac paganismum deponeret").<sup>51</sup> What is worth emphasizing, the chroniclers make some diabolical references to the Crusaders' enemy. According to the authors, the Turks attacked with a *diabolicus sonus* and *daemonica vox* (a "diabolical" or "demonic clamor") shouted from their mouths.<sup>52</sup> Moreover, describing one of the struggles around Antioch, the authors described the Turks as those who gave souls to the Devil and supported Satan ("reddiderunt infelices animas Diabolo et Sathanae ministries").<sup>53</sup>

These terms can be considered not only as determinants or labels of the enemy, ones used to portray the religious and cultural 'other', but also as a sign

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45 GF, XII, 4, pp. 244f.; PT, p. 64.

46 This term appears ca. 33 times in GF and ca. 58 times in PT; cf. K. Skottki, *Christen, Muslime und der Erste Kreuzzug. Die Macht der Beschreibung in der mittelalterlichen und modernen Historiographie*, Münster-New York 2015, p. 160.

47 GF, IV, 1, p. 150; cf. GF (Dass), p. 30.

48 GF, IV, 1, p. 149.

49 PT, p. 40.

50 PT (Hill&Hill), p. 24.

51 GF, XXXIII, 4, p. 405; PT, p. 122; about the label of Muslim paganism cf. J. Flori, *Oriens horribilis. Tares et défauts de l'Orient dans les sources relatives à la première croisade*, in: *Orient und Okzident in der Kultur des Mittelalters/Monde oriental et monde occidental dans la culture médiévale*, ed. D. Buschinger, W. Spiewok, Greifswald 1997, pp. 45-56; J.V. Tolan, *Muslims as Pagan Idolaters in Chronicles of the First Crusade*, in: *Western Views of Islam in Medieval and Early Modern Europe: Perception of Other*, ed. M. Frassetto, D. Blanks, New York 1999, pp. 97-117; S. Kinoshita, S.B. Calkin, *Saracens as Idolaters in Medieval Vernacular Literatures*, in: *Christian-Muslim Relations. A Bibliographical History. Volume 4 (1200-1350)*, ed. D. Thomas, A. Mullett, Boston-Leiden 2012, pp. 29-44.

52 GF, IX, 3-4, pp. 197-199; cf. GF (Dass), p. 41.

53 GF, XVIII, 6, p. 282, PT, p. 76.



of a holistic vision of the chroniclers.<sup>54</sup> In this case the main category for the medieval authors was that of God's providence, which had to be taken into account, because it organized knowledge about the surrounding world and in this perspective such terms show the place of the Franks' enemy as being outside the community of Christians and as the forces of the Devil himself.<sup>55</sup> As such, in the wider social dimension, the expedition to Jerusalem acquired the meaning of overthrowing the rule of the pagans, which from the theological perspective could be treated as earthly agencies of Satan's dominion. Therefore, the city of Albara, lying in the territory of the enemy, presented as *terra Saracenorum*, could be considered the ecumene's border, dominated by the forces of evil and chaos, and as lands in which Christianity, embodied by the new bishop, needs to subjugate the antisacral power. Thus, the capturing of the city of Albara and the foundation of a bishopric in this place could be perceived as an earthly war against the forces of the Devil.

The main character of this earthly war in the *Gesta Francorum* and the *Historia de Hierosolymitano Itinere* is Count Raymond of Saint-Gilles, who initiates almost all actions in the episode.<sup>56</sup> Having entered the lands

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54 The literature on the issue of the Muslims' representation in the crusading sources is vast; e.g., cf. D.C. Munro, *The Western Attitude toward Islam during the Period of the Crusades*, "Speculum" VI (1931) 3, pp. 329-343; N. Daniel, *Islam and the West. The Making of an Image*, Edinburgh 1960 [repr. 2009]; idem, *Heroes and Saracens. An Interpretation of the Chansons de Geste*, Edinburgh 1984; P. Sénac, *L'Occident médiéval face à l'Islam. L'image de l'autre*, Paris 1983 [repr. 2000]; S. Bennett, *First Crusaders' Images of Muslims: The Influence of Vernacular Poetry?*, "Forum for Modern Language Studies" XXII (1986), pp. 101-122; J. Flori, *La caricature de l'Islam dans l'Occident médiéval: Origine et signification de quelques stereotypes concernant l'Islam*, "Aevum" LXVI (1992) 2, pp. 245-256; B. Kedar, *Croisade et jihad vu par l'ennemi: une étude des perceptions mutuelles des motivations*, in: *Autour de la Première Croisade, Actes du Colloque de la Society for the Study of the Crusades and the Latin East (Clermont-Ferrand, 22-25 juin 1995)*, ed. M. Balard, Paris 1996, pp. 345-355; J.V. Tolan, *Saracens and Ifranji: Rivalries, Emulation, and Convergences*, in: *Europe and the Islamic World. A History*, ed. J.V. Tolan, G. Veinstein, H. Laurens, New Jersey 2013, pp. 9-107; idem, *Saracens. Islam in the Medieval European Imagination*, New York 2002; idem, *Sons of Ishmael. Muslims through European Eyes in the Middle Ages*, Gainesville 2008; idem, *Un Mahomet d'Occident? La valorisation du prophète de l'islam dans l'Europe chrétienne (XIV<sup>e</sup>-XVII<sup>e</sup> siècles)*, in: *À la rencontre de l'Autre au Moyen Âge, In memoriam Jacques Le Goff. Actes des premières Assises franco-polonaises d'histoire médiévale*, ed. P. Josserand, J. Pysiak, Rennes 2017, pp. 173-195; idem, *Faces of Muhammad: Western Perceptions of the Prophet of Islam from the Middle Ages to Today*, Princeton-Oxford 2019; K. Skottki, *Constructing Otherness in the Chronicles of the First Crusade*, in: *Germans and Poles in the Middle Ages. The Perception of the 'Other' and the Presence of Mutual Ethnic Stereotypes in Medieval Narrative Sources*, ed. A. Pleszczyński, G. Vercamer, Boston-Leiden 2021, pp. 17-40; T. Pelech, *Death on the Altar: the Rhetoric of 'Otherness' in Sources from the Early Period of the Crusades*, "Journal of the Australian Early Medieval Association" XVII (2021), pp. 67-89.

55 Cf. A. Leclercq, *Portraits croisés: L'Image des Francs et des Musulmans dans tes textes sur la Première Croisade: Chroniques latines et arabes, chansons de geste françaises des XII<sup>e</sup> et XIII<sup>e</sup> siècles*, Paris 2010, pp. 276-288.

56 Cf. M. Zerner, *Le comte de Toulouse Raymond IV, chef d'un peuple à la croisade*, "Publications de l'École française de Rome" CLXVIII (1993) 1, pp. 45-60.

of the enemy, he arrived at the city of Albara and quickly captured it. Then, he exterminated all of the Saracens in the city, both men and women, without regard to their social status or their age ("omnes Saracenos et Saracenas, maiores et minores").<sup>57</sup> It seems that the crucial idea of this perspective derived from the rhetorical question posed in the II Cor 6, 15: "quae autem conventio Christi ad Belial? aut quae pars fideli cum infideli?" ("And what agreement is there between Christ and the Evil One? or what part has one who has faith with one who has not?"). From this point of view, mutual coexistence would be impossible as there is no hope of creating a community with unbelievers, the devil's henchmen. That thought could be the theological foundation for the authors in describing Raymond of Saint-Gilles' extermination of the whole Muslim population of Albara before the foundation of the bishopric.

However, it should be emphasized that the brutality of the Count of Toulouse's act is stark; in the *Gesta Francorum* and Tudebode's account there is no mention of offering the possibility of accepting the Christianity to Albara's population. On the one hand, the official *abrenuntiatio diaboli* did not necessarily entail individual conversion and no one was forced to renounce their faith, although according to the descriptions there was no one to convert, because all of Albara's inhabitants had been killed. Therefore, Raymond's behavior seems even more brutal than the formula of 'conversion or death', which appears for the first time probably in the Carolingian era. Around the year 795, Charlemagne issued the *Capitulatio de partibus Saxoniae*, most likely the first legislative attempt concerning conversion by force, giving to the Saxons the choice of accepting Christianity – or death. This was preceded by the massacre of 4,500 rebellious Saxons at Verden in October 782.<sup>58</sup> The image of Charlemagne's "glorious deeds" in defeating the pagans and thus expanding the boundaries of Christendom, plays its role in the collective imaginarium during the era of the Crusades.<sup>59</sup> It is evidenced by the presence of the reference to Charlemagne on the pages of the *Gesta Francorum* and Tudebode's *Historia*.

According to these accounts, the forces led by Peter the Hermit, and by Godfrey of Bouillon, his brother Baldwin of Boulogne and also Baldwin of Mons had chosen the way through Hungary, which in common

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57 GF, XXXI, 1, p. 393; PT, p. 117.

58 *Capitulatio de partibus Saxoniae*, in: MGH, Fontes iuris, IV, ed. C. von Schwerin, Hannover 1918, pp. 37-44.

59 E. Vance, *Semiotics and Power: Relics, Icons, and the Voyage de Charlemagne à Jerusalem et à Constantinople*, "Romanic Review" LXXIX (1988), pp. 170f.; J. Flori, *La Guerre sainte: La formation de l'idée de croisade dans l'Occident chrétien*, Paris 2001, pp. 31, 228, 313f.; M. Gabrielle, *An Empire of Memory. The Legend of Charlemagne, the Franks, and Jerusalem before the First Crusade*, Oxford-New York 2011.

opinion was the route of Charlemagne to Constantinople.<sup>60</sup> Furthermore, the idea of *imitatio Caroli Magni* by the Crusaders is evidenced by the *Historia Hierosolymitana*, written around 1107–1120 by Robert the Monk (ca. 1055–1122).<sup>61</sup> In Robert's description (the most popular account in the Middle Ages about the First Crusade<sup>62</sup>), in Urban II's sermon, the idea of Charlemagne's triumphs is invoked: "Moveant vos et incitent animos vestros ad virilitatem gesta praedecessorum vestrorum, probitas et magnitudo Karoli Magni regis et Ludovici filii eius aliorumque regum vestrorum, qui regna paganorum destruxerunt et in eis fines sanctae Ecclesiae dilataverunt"<sup>63</sup> ("May the deeds of your ancestors move you and spur your souls to manly courage – the worth and greatness of Charlemagne, his son Louis and your other kings who destroyed the pagan kingdoms and brought them within the bounds of Christendom").<sup>64</sup>

Perhaps the authors of the *Gesta Francorum* and the *Historia de Hierosolymitano Itinere* did not refer to the idea of forced conversion, and Raymond's act should be considered distinct from the image of Charlemagne. However, in the circles of crusading thought in Latin Europe, ideas of more harsh dealing with pagans than giving them any choice but death also appeared, and this could be compared to Albara's case. In this perspective, the example of Adelgot, an archbishop of Magdeburg, should be invoked. In 1107/1108 he wrote a letter in the form of an appeal for help against the pagan Polabian Slavs, combining a spiritual element with material encouragement for the Crusaders. It was addressed to prelates and rulers of the Saxony, Lotharingia, France, and Flanders, and even to Count Robert of Flanders himself, a participant of the First Crusade. The letter describes the attacks of the Slavs on Christians, who desecrated and destroyed churches and even sacrificed Christians to their gods. Thus, the resolution of these problems should be a military expedition against dehumanized pagans, whose should not be converted, but only subjugated.<sup>65</sup> In Adelgot's letter there is no ques-

60 GF II, 2, p. 109; cf. PT, p. 33.

61 Cf. *The Historia Iherosolimitana of Robert the Monk*, ed. D. Kempf, M.G. Bull, Woodbridge 2013 [= RM].

62 Over eighty of manuscripts of Robert the Monk's *Historia Hierosolymitana* has been preserved, while for instance *Gesta Francorum* in seven manuscripts; cf. J. Naus, *The "Historia Iherosolimitana" of Robert the Monk and the Coronation of Louis VI*, in: *Writing the Early Crusades: Text, Transmission and Memory*, ed. M. Bull, D. Kempf, Woodbridge 2014, pp. 105–115; L. Russo, *Ricerche sull' "Historia Iherosolimitana" di Roberto di Reims, "Studi Medievali" XLVIII (2002)*, pp. 651–691.

63 RM, I, p. 6.

64 *Robert the Monk's History of the First Crusade. Historia Iherosolimitana*, transl. C. Sweetenham, Farnham-Burlington 2005, p. 80

65 *Urkunden und erzählende Quellen zur deutschen Ostsiedlung im Mittelalter*, vol. I: *Mittel- und Norddeutschland, Ostseeküste*, ed. H. Helbig, L. Weinrich, Darmstadt 1968, pp. 96–103; about the letter of Adalgot and its place in the history of the Crusades, e.g., cf. P. Knoch, *Kreuzzug und*

tion of the conversion of the pagans, but only their submission or death, as the logical consequence of conquest.

Almost four decades after the success of the First Crusade the idea of 'conversion or death' was presented by Bernard of Clairvaux. Not later than 1136 he wrote *Liber ad milites templi de laude novae militiae*, praising the Templar Knights presented as a new and ideal model of knighthood. In the text there is mention about killing those who cannot be converted to Christianity: "Non quidem vel Pagani necandi essent, si quo modo aliter possent a nimia infestatione seu oppressione fidelium cohiberi. Nunc autem melius est ut occidantur, quam certe relinquatur virga peccatorum super sortem justorum: ne forte extendant iusti ad iniquitatem manus suas"<sup>66</sup> ("I do not mean to say that the pagans are to be slaughtered when there is any other way to prevent them from harassing and persecuting the faithful, but only that it now seems better to destroy them than that the rod of sinners be lifted over the lot of the just, and the righteous perhaps put forth their hands unto iniquity").<sup>67</sup>

Furthermore, during preaching the Second Crusade (1147-1149), Bernard agreed with the German nobility's proposals that they would direct their efforts against the Slavs of Polabia, and sent the matter to the Pope for consultation.<sup>68</sup> The result of this extension of the Crusade's idea to the Baltic area was the papal bull *Divina dispensatione II* issued 11 April 1147 by Eugenius III: "Quidam etiam ex vobis tam sancti laboris et premii participes fieri cupientes contra Sclavos ceterosque paganos habitantes versus aquilonem ire

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*Siedlung. Studien zum Aufruf der Magdeburger Kirche von 1108, "Jahrbuch für die Geschichte Mittel- und Ostdeutschlands" XXIII (1974), pp. 1-33; G. Constable, The Place of the Magdeburg Charter of 1107/08 in the History of Eastern Germany and of the Crusades, in: Vita religiosa im Mittelalter. Festschrift für Kaspar Elm zum 70. Geburtstag, ed. F.J. Felten, N. Jaspert, S. Haarländer, Berlin 1999, pp. 283-299; M. Dygo, Crusade and colonization: yet another response to the Magdeburg charter of 1108 AD, "Quaestiones Medii Aevi Novae" VI (2001), pp. 319-325.*

<sup>66</sup> *Liber ad milites templi de laude novae militiae*, in: *Sancti Bernardi opera omnia, Patrologia Latina* 182, ed. J.P. Migne, Paris 1879, col. 924; cf. *Sancti Bernardi opera*, vol. III, ed. J. Leclercq, C.H. Talbot, H. Rochais, Roma 1963, pp. 213-239.

<sup>67</sup> K. Skottki, 'Until the Full Number of Gentiles Has Come In': Exegesis and Prophecy in St Bernard's Crusade-Related Writing, in: *The Uses of the Bible in Crusader Sources*, ed. E. Lapina, N. Morton, Leiden 2017, p. 247.

<sup>68</sup> About the Wendish Crusade of 1147, e.g., cf. F. Lotter, *The Crusading Idea and the Conquest of the Region East of the Elbe*, in: *Medieval Frontier Societies*, ed. R. Bartlett, A. MacKay, Oxford 1989, pp. 267-306; J. Phillips, *The Second Crusade. Extending the Frontiers of Christendom*, New Haven-London 2007, pp. 235-237; J.-Ch. Herrmann, *Der Wendenkreuzzug von 1147*, Frankfurt am Main-Berlin-Bern 2011; H. Kamp, *Der Wendenkreuzzug*, in: *Schwertmission. Gewalt und Christianisierung im Mittelalter*, ed. H. Kamp, M. Kroker, Paderborn-München-Wien 2013, pp. 115-126; J.T. Lees, "Why Have You Come with Weapons Drawn?" The Leaders of the Wendish Campaign of 1147, in: *The Second Crusade. Holy War on the Periphery of Latin Christendom*, ed. J.T. Roche, J. Möller Jensen, Turnhout 2015, pp. 273-300.

et eos Christiane religioni subiugare Domino auxiliante intendunt” (“Certain of you, however, [are] desirous of participating in so holy a work and reward and plan to go against the Slavs and other pagans living towards the north and to subjugate them, with the Lord’s assistance, to the Christian religion”).<sup>69</sup> Bernard himself joined in promoting the idea of a Crusade against the Slavs of Polabia, writing a famous letter in which he stated that: “Illud enim ommimodis interdicimus, ne qua ratione ineant foedum cum eis, neque pro pecunia, neque pro tributo, donec, auxiliante Deo, aut ritus ipse, aut natio deleatur” (“We completely forbid that a truce be made for any reason with them [Slavs of Polabia – author] either for money or for tribute, until such time as, with the aid of God, either their religion or their nation shall be destroyed”).<sup>70</sup>

This idea of destroying pagans, if it is impossible to convert them, presented by Bernard of Clairvaux, puzzles and raises the question about the source of such treatment of the Slavs. At this point, noteworthy is H.-D. Kahl’s opinion, who tried to find the key to explain the violence and inhumanity of Bernard of Clairvaux toward the Baltic pagans in his adoption of chiliastic prophecies and moods, for which the fall of Edessa in 1144 was an excellent medium. Belief in the immediate proximity of the Last Judgment could impose on zealous missionaries the duty to Christianize infidels, even through the use of extraordinary means, such as forced conversion by fire and sword.<sup>71</sup> Such belief could be an echo of the earlier idea of the coming

69 Cf. G. Constable, *The Second Crusade as seen by Contemporaries*, “Traditio” IX (1953), p. 255; *Pommersches Urkundenbuch*, vol. I, ed. K. Conrad, Köln-Wien<sup>2</sup>1970, no. 32, p. 37.

70 *Epistola CDLVII*, in: *Sancti Bernardi opera omnia*, Patrologia Latina 182, ed. J.P. Migne, Paris 1879, col. 652; cf. *Sancti Bernardi opera*, vol. VIII: *Epistolae*, ed. J. Leclercq, H.M. Rochais, Rome 1977, no. 457, p. 433.

71 E.g. cf. H.-D. Kahl, *Die ersten Jahrhunderte der missionsgeschichtlichen Mittelalters. Bausteine für eine Phänomenologie bis ca. 1050*, in: *Kirchengeschichte als Missionsgeschichte*, vol. II: *Die Kirche des frühen Mittelalters*, part 1, ed. K. Schäferdiek, München 1978, pp. 11-76; cf. H.-D. Kahl, *Compellere intrare. Die Wendenpolitik Bruns von Querfurt im Lichte hochmittelalterlichen Missions- und Völkerrechts*, in: *Heidenmission und Kreuzzugsgedanke in der deutschen Ostpolitik des Mittelalters*, ed. H. Beumann, Darmstadt 1963, pp. 177-274; idem, *Wie kam es 1147 zum “Wendekreuzzug”?*, in: *Europa Slavica—Europa Orientalis. Festschrift für Herbert Ludat zum 70. Geburtstag*, ed. K.-D. Grothusen, K. Zernack, Berlin 1980, pp. 286-296; idem, *Christianisierungsvorstellungen im Kreuzzugsprogramm Bernhards von Clairvaux. Anmerkungen zum geistesgeschichtlichen Kontext des “Wendekreuzzugs” von 1147*, “Przegląd Historyczny” LXXV (1984) 3, pp. 453-461; idem, “... Auszujäten von der Erde die Feinde des Christennamens...” *Der Plan zum “Wendekreuzzug” von 1147 als Umsetzung sibyllischer Eschatologie*, “Jahrbuch für die Geschichte Mittel- und Ostdeutschlands” XXXIX (1990), pp. 133-160; idem, *Crusade Eschatology as Seen by St. Bernard in the Years 1146 to 1148*, in: *The Second Crusade and the Cistercians*, ed. M. Gervers, New York 1992, pp. 35-47; idem, *Fides cum Ydolatria... Ein Kreuzfahrerlied als Quelle für die Kreuzzugseschatologie der Jahre 1146/47*, in: *Festschrift für Berent Schweineköper. Zu seinem siebzigsten Geburtstag*, ed. H. Maurer, H. Patze, Sigmaringen 1992, pp. 291-307.

of the end of time, which focused around the year 1000, 1033 or precisely in the time of the First Crusade.<sup>72</sup>

Nevertheless, it should be emphasized that the texts of Bernard and Pope Eugenius III are almost half a century older than the *Gesta Francorum* and Tudebode's account, and Adalgot's letter was written after the First Crusade. Therefore, those sources cannot be overestimated in finding a key to understanding the incidents in Albara, but they can, in a general comparative perspective, recall the socio-cultural context of Christianization attempts related to the idea of a Crusade. In the foundation of Albara's bishopric as narrated in the *Gesta Francorum* and the *Historia de Hierosolymitano Itinere* there is no word regarding the possibility of converting Muslims. Perhaps it can be assumed that Raymond of Saint-Gilles, in the perspective of both crusading accounts, deemed it impossible to convert the peoples from Albara and they were killed simply because they were the enemies of the faith.

In order to justify these actions, as in the case of Adalgot's letter, it was first necessary to properly present the necessity to make changes and introduce Christianity to the captured city. In consequence, before the activity of a new bishop begun, Albara was presented as the *antisacrum*, where practices unrelated to the Christian faith were taking place. As such the place where the bishopric was to be established needed to be purified,<sup>73</sup> and the new bishop needed to subjugate the antisacral power, especially because the Saracens had *domus diaboli* in the city – that is, a mosque.<sup>74</sup> The image of the devil's house could be a reference to Rev 2, 9, where the motif of the devil's house lies in a broader context of the forces hostile to God and humanity.<sup>75</sup> According to the chroniclers, the bishop would bring the city back to Christianity, and he would change the house of the devil into the temple of the living and true God (*Deus vivus et verus*), the phrase which most likely came from 1 Thess 1, 9.<sup>76</sup> It should be pointed out that this act, in the narrative's perspective, may be performed only by a bishop, a representative of the spiritual dimension of the Christian community. The image of the antisacral power in Albara is highlighted in the word-play where the place for venerating

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72 Cf. the classic study of the subject: G. Duby, *L'An mil*, Paris 1974; also cf. J. Rubenstein, *Crusade and Apocalypse: History and the Last Days*, "Quaestiones Mediae Aevi Novae" XXI (2016), pp. 159-188; idem, *Nebuchadnezzar's Dream: The Crusades, Apocalyptic Prophecy, and the End of History*, Oxford 2019.

73 Cf. P. Cole, 'O God, the heathen have come into your inheritance' (Ps. 78.1). *The theme of religious pollution in crusade documents, 1095–1188*, in: *Crusaders and Muslims in twelfth century Syria*, ed. M. Shatzmiller, Leiden-Boston 1993, pp. 84-111.

74 GF, XXXI, 1, pp. 392f.; PT, p. 117.

75 Rev 2, 9.

76 1 Thess 1, 9: "et quomodo conversi estis ad Deum a simulacris, servire Deo vivo, et vero".

the devil is described as a house (*domus*), whereas the place of God's veneration is described as a temple (*templum*) and the place of saints' veneration as an oracle (*oraculum*).<sup>77</sup> Hence, it is possible to draw another clear opposition between the *sacrum* dimension belonging to Christians, and the *profanum* dimension adhering to the Muslims. Furthermore, the places of veneration of the saints, such as the temple of God, are also important in the narration. Christianity's saints, unknown to its enemies, are the identity mark of the faith – Christianity reaches as far as their worship.

It can be observed that the deeds in Albara are characterized by a certain order through the word-play and the construction of a narrative; they are not only a presentation of political events that have taken place there. It seems that the founding of the bishopric in Albara was done after the suppression of spiritual powers, in accordance with the two-step model of missionary activity established in the antiquity.<sup>78</sup> The first phase was the *abrenuntiatio diaboli*, that is a renouncing of the devil, the act of overthrowing the power of the devil. The second phase was the *confessio fidei* – the reception and the confession of the new faith. This two-stage process has been manifested both in the individual preparation of baptismal catechumens and as well as in the dimension of whole communities. In the dimension of social life in the *Gesta Francorum* and the *Historia de Hierosolymitano Itinere*, the *abrenuntiatio diaboli* was expressed above all through the act of replacing the place of devil worship with a Christian temple, and an oratory of the saints.

The social distinction of a new bishop was highlighted by the way of his election.<sup>79</sup> Count Raymond took counsel with the wisest of his men and thereupon appointed the new bishop. It was described that the Count of Toulouse, having taken appropriate advice, had the power to make a bishop in the East as that was the only way to bring Albara to the Christian faith. However, Raymond killed all the Saracens, so there were no people who could be converted to Christianity in the city anymore, and the sources do not mention other inhabitants. Although this is an argument based on sup-

77 GF, XXXI, 1, pp. 392f.; PT, p. 117.

78 E.g. cf. M. Rechowicz, *Chrzest Polski a katolicka teologia misyjna we wczesnym średniowieczu*, "Ruch Biblijny i Liturgiczny" XIX (1966), pp. 67-74; J. Van Oort, *Jerusalem and Babylon: A Study Into Augustine's City of God and the Sources of His Doctrine of the Two Cities*, Leiden 1991, p. 333; S. Rosik, *Quae conventio Christi ad Belial? Konfrontacja duchowych potęg w średniowiecznej teologii (na przykładzie łacińskich przekazów o przedchrześcijańskiej religii Słowian i ich chrystianizacji)*, in: *Sacrum. Obraz i funkcja w społeczeństwie średniowiecznym*, ed. A. Pieniądz-Skrzypczak, J. Pysiak, Warszawa 2005, pp. 116f.; idem, *Conversio Gentis Pomeranorum. Studium świadectwa o wydarzeniu (XII wiek)*, Wrocław 2010, pp. 23-28; D.J. Bosch, *Witness To The World: The Christian Mission in Theological Perspective*, Eugene (Oregon) 2006, p. 107.

79 GF, XXXI, 1, p. 393; PT, p. 117.

position, there were three possibilities to account for this problem. Firstly, the Count of Toulouse killed all the Saracens in the city, but the local community could have also consisted of Christians, maybe Orthodox or Jacobites. Secondly, Albara could have been settled by the Crusaders who stayed with the new bishop.<sup>80</sup> Thirdly, as other sources (which do not belong to the *Gesta* family or derive from the Muslim side) suggest, there was no massacre of the local population on such a scale.<sup>81</sup> Either way, the *Gesta Francorum* and the *Historia de Hierosolymitano Itinere* did not account for this conundrum; apparently, for its authors it was not so important to indicate who would constitute the Christian community in Albara. Instead of this, the *confessio fidei* is presented in the institutional perspective, that is when the bishop was elected, faith in Christ was restored and from this point of view, the city of Albara began to be a part of *Christianitas*.

Comparative material of the practice of *abrenuntiatio diaboli* importantly include the missions of Otto bishop of Bamberg (known as the Apostle of Pomerania), in the 1120s on the territory of Pomerania, defined by one of the chroniclers as Satan's *atrium*.<sup>82</sup> Otto's activity based on the two-step scheme of liquidation of pagan worship, such as the destruction of pagan temples, ritual purification, the destruction of statues of deities, and then the acceptance of the Christian faith by citizens of such places as Szczecin, Wolin, and Chocków (Gützkow). Thus, the consequence of *abrenuntiatio diaboli* was the symbolical freeing of the communities from the power of Satan and the extension of Christendom, which was followed by the erection of churches in the place of pagan temples.<sup>83</sup>

For instance, this happened in Wolin, where, after Otto's teaching, the inhabitants received baptism, and in the place of ancient heathen temples stood the oratory of St Adalbert, the church of St George, and the church of St Michael in front of the city gate. Likewise, according to Ebo the churches were venerated to St Adalbert, St Wenceslaus, and St Peter. However, as in the case

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80 Cf. S. Runciman, *A History of the Crusades*, vol. I: *The First Crusade and the Foundation of the Kingdom of Jerusalem*, Cambridge 1999, p. 257. Based on the account of Raymond of Aguilers, the author claimed that after killing some of the Muslims from Albara, and selling some of them as slaves in Antioch, the city was repopulated by the Christians. However, the last statement is not supported by any sources.

81 Cf. RA, pp. 91f.; Kamal al-Din, *Extraits de la chronique d'Alep*, in: *Recueil des historiens des croisades. Historiens orientaux*, vol. III, Paris 1884, p. 586 (the whole of Kamāl ad-Dīn's work was edited by S. Zakkar, cf. *Zubdat al-ḥalab min tā'rīḫ Ḥalab li-l-šāḥib Kamāl al-Dīn 'Umar b. Aḥmad b. Abī Jarāda al-mutawaffā fi sanat 660 h.*, vol. I-II, ed. S. Zakkar, Dimašq-al-Qāhira 1997-1998).

82 *Ebonis Vita S. Ottonis Episcopi Babenbergensis*, ed. K. Liman, J. Wikarjak, *Monumenta Poloniae Historica* n.s., VII/2, Warszawa 1969, II, 14, p. 78.

83 S. Rosik, *Abrenuntiatio diaboli in Missionary Practice...*, pp. 41-50; idem, *The Slavic Religion...*, pp. 166, 357.



of Chocków, when there was a fear that the church in the place of the pagan temple may become a reason for returning to the old beliefs, Otto of Bamberg did not hesitate to make the inhabitants destroy the temple, which had previously been built at great expense. In the circle of Otto's hagiography an important role was played by showing the superiority of the Christian God over the Pomeranians' deities, demonstrating that the pagan gods could lose their personal qualities and became a piece of wood or stone.<sup>84</sup>

Similar to this showcasing of the truthfulness of Christian religion, the key to understanding the narration about Albara lies in the perception of the Islam by the chroniclers-participants of the First Crusade. They produced a relatively small number of descriptions about their opponents' religion. On the pages of both accounts appears the term of *Machumaria*<sup>85</sup> or *Machomaria*, to describe a mosque.<sup>86</sup> According to them, *Machumaria* was the place where the Turks buried the dead along with weapons and other temporal goods.<sup>87</sup> Chroniclers mentioned that their enemy has its own holy book ("in nostra pagina et in gentilium voluminibus"),<sup>88</sup> and their own Pope, who was described as "the Caliph, their Pope" ("Calipha, illorum Apostolico").<sup>89</sup> Perhaps they had some knowledge about the nature of Islam, invoking the holy book (*pagina*) as the Quran, temples, and Caliph, but it also suggests that the image of world of the 'other' is mirrored of the Christian world,<sup>90</sup> and the Muslim rites were symmetrical to Christian rites. For instance, the Muslim faith needs to have its sacred books.<sup>91</sup> Further descriptions that reflect the imaginary nature of Islam in the chronicles of the Crusaders cannot be ignored.

In the *Gesta Francorum* and Tudebode's *Historia* the image of the enemy's faith was based on the accusations of idolatry, but understood as the worshipping of false deities, because of the lack of the mention about the cult of idols in these particular sources, and polytheism.<sup>92</sup> The enemy's leaders like Kurbugha or al-Afdal on the pages of both sources swear in the name

84 Idem, *Conversio gentis Pomeranorum...*, passim.

85 GF, XVIII, 2, p. 276.

86 PT, p. 73.

87 GF, XVIII, 10, pp. 285f.; PT, p. 77.

88 GF, XXII, 8, p. 328; PT, p. 95.

89 GF, XXI, 1, p. 313; PT, p. 88.

90 E.g. cf. J.V. Tolan, *Saracens...*, p. 122; S. Loutchiskaya, *Mirrored in the First Crusade Chronicles*, in: *The Crusader World*, ed. A.J. Boas, London-New York 2016, pp. 346-361.

91 J. Flori, *La caricature de l'Islam dans l'Occident medieval...*, p. 251.

92 E.g. cf. J.V. Tolan, *Saracens...*, pp. 105-134; idem, *Muslims as Pagan Idolaters...*, pp. 97-117; A. Leclercq, op. cit., pp. 202-208; H. Bray, *The Mahometan and Idolatry*, in: *Persecution and Toleration: Papers read at the Twenty-second summer meeting and the Twenty-third winter meeting of the Ecclesiastical History Society*, ed. W.J. Sheils, Oxford 1984, pp. 89-99; S. Menache, *When Jesus Met Mohammed in the Holy Land: Attitudes Toward the 'Other' in the Crusader Kingdom*, "Medieval Encounters" XV (2009), pp. 66-85.

of Mohammed and other gods.<sup>93</sup> In Tudebode's description of Rainald Porchet's martyrdom, the faith of the enemy is literally described as faith in Mohammed and other gods in the speech of Yaghi Siyan: "et crede Malphumet et nostris aliis diis" ("and believe in Mohammed and others our gods").<sup>94</sup> Moreover, Rainald refuses all goods and, what is worth emphasizing, the enemy's gods ("tuos deos abnegat").<sup>95</sup>

The Crusaders' enemies on the pages of both accounts are also presented as blasphemers. For instance, in the description about the siege of Jerusalem, when the Christians reached the church of Saint Stephen during the procession, the soldiers of the garrison started to laugh, sounded their horns, hurled insults, and performed sundry acts of mockery ("clamabant, ululabant cum bucinis et omne genus derisionis quodcumque reperire poterant faciebant").<sup>96</sup> They even make a cross from wood and in the sight of the Franks, they beat upon the cross with sticks and shattered it against the walls, saying to the Crusaders: "Frango agip salip", which means "Franks, is this a good cross?" ("Franci, est bona crux?").<sup>97</sup>

Thus, the confrontation with the Muslims was deemed religious war against the earthly Satan's domain. In the *Gesta Francorum* and the *Historia de Hierosolymitano Itinere* a belief was expressed that the place of worship of the Muslim God is an instrument of demonic power, highlighted by the description of the mosque as *domus diabolica*. Therefore, the replacement of this 'house of the devil' with a temple of God in the framework of the *abrenuntiatio diaboli* also had a theological dimension of confrontation in the sphere of the *sacrum*, between Christians and the forces of the devil represented by the Saracens from Albara. From this perspective, the new bishop of Albara appears as a tamer of the anti-sacral forces, indispensable to establishing the Church in the city.

It seems that the narratives of the *Gesta Francorum* and Tudebode's *Historia*, in describing contemporary events to the chroniclers (who could be even

93 Kurbugha cf. GF, XXI, 9, p. 322: ("per Machomet et per omnia Deorum nomina"); cf. PT, p. 92; al-Afdal cf. PT, p. 147: *Mohammed and our gods* (*O Machomet et dii nostri*); cf. GF, XXXIX, 16, p. 497: "O spirits of the gods!" ("O Deorum spiritus!").

94 PT, p. 80; about the Western perceptions of Mahomet cf. J. Tolan, *Faces of Muhammad: Western Perceptions of the Prophet of Islam from the Middle Ages to Today*, Princeton 2019.

95 PT, p. 80; cf. the description of the martyrdom of Robert FitzFulk: T. Pełech, *Męczeńska śmierć trędowatego rycerza. Interpretacja wydarzeń z XIV rozdziału II księgi Bella Antiochena Waltera Kanclerza*, in: *Orbis hominum: civitas, potestas, universitas. W kręgu badań nad kształtowaniem cywilizacji w wiekach średnich*, Scripta Historica Medievalia, V, ed. M. Goliński, S. Rosik, Wrocław 2016, pp. 21-38; cf. N. Morton, *Walter the Chancellor on Ilghazi and Tughtakin: a prisoner's perspective*, "Journal of Medieval History" XLIV (2018) 2, pp. 170-186.

96 PT, p. 137.

97 Ibidem.

eyewitnesses), were as conventional as the possible vision of the distant past. Thus, the image of the foundation of Albara's bishopric is created by using well-known patterns, ones typical of the authors' mental equipment and addressed to a given audience.<sup>98</sup> About the fact that both narrations were inspired by a theological model of conversion *abrenuntiatio diaboli – confessio fidei*, and that only they saw it that way, may be evidenced by the comparison to the other accounts describing the capture of Albara. Raymond of Aguilers, a chronicler of the First Crusade most closely associated to Raymond of Saint-Gilles as his chaplain, presents the capturing of Albara in different words:

“Igitur comes cum populo pauperum et paucis militibus in Syriam profectus primam civitatem Sarracenorum Barram nomine viriliter expugnavit et multa millia Sarracenorum ibi interfecit, multaque millia ad Antiochiam reducti venundati sunt. Et illos qui dum obpugnarentur timore mortis se ei reddiderant, liberos ire permisit. Deinde habito consilio cum capellanis et principibus suis satis laudabiliter et honeste quemdam sacerdotem episcopum ibi elegit. Etenim convocatis omnibus, qui ibi secum aderant, quidam comitis capellanus parietem quendam ascendit. Atque omni conventui, comitis desiderium manifestavit. Cumque populus multum instaret ut electio fieret, idem comitis capellanus rursus cepit querere, si esset ibi aliquis de clero qui fidelium vota susciperet, et quantum posset paganis resistendo, Deo et fratribus ibi serviret. Cumque omnes tacerent, Petrum quendam Narbonensem genere advocavimus. Cui in praesentia tocius consilii laborem episcopatus ostendimus, rogantes ut pro Deo et pro fratribus illum suscipere non dubitaret, si hoc in animo haberet ut mallet mori quam relinquere civitatem illam.”<sup>99</sup>

“Soon thereafter Raymond, accompanied by the poor pilgrims and a few knights, marched into Syria where he courageously captured Albara, the first Saracen town on his route. Here he slaughtered thousands, returned thousands more to be sold into slavery at Antioch, and freed those cowardly ones who surrendered before the fall of Albara. Thereafter, following the views of his chaplains and princes, the Count very commendably and properly selected a priest as bishop in this manner. One of the Count's chaplains, after a general convocation, climbed on the Walls and made known to all the people Raymond's wishes.

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98 K. Pomian, *Przeszłość jako przedmiot wiary. Historia i filozofia w myśli średniowiecza*, Warszawa 1968, pp. 77f., 141-146; about the case of eyewitness' crusading narratives cf. e.g., M. Bull, *Eyewitness and Crusade Narrative: Perception and Narration in Accounts of the Second, Third and Fourth Crusades*, Woodbridge 2018.

99 RA, pp. 91f.

Because the people demanded an election, the above chaplain inquired whether there was a cleric who could receive the loyalty of the faithful, and by opposing the pagans as much as possible aid God and His brethren. In the ensuing silence we called Peter, a native of Narbonne, and publicly made plain the burden of the bishopric, and urged that he take the post if he was determined to hold Albara even unto death".<sup>100</sup>

Raymond of Aguilers, who was probably an eyewitness to the capture of Albara, mentions the slaughter of the inhabitants, but also points to two other groups of the city's population; those who were to be sold into slavery and those who were spared, because they surrendered before the fall of Albara. Thus, according to the *Historia Francorum* a significant part of the people had to survive the attack of the Crusaders. Furthermore, it can be clearly seen that there is no mention of using word-play associating Muslims with the devil. Therefore, Raymond of Aguilers' narration significantly differs from that known from the *Gesta Francorum* and Tudebode's *Historia*. Other crusading sources, close in times to the events, also do not provide an image compatible to that of the *Gesta Francorum* and Tudebode's *Historia*. *Epistula Dagoberti Pisani archiepiscopi ad papam*, written in Laodicea on September 1099, invokes only the capturing of the cities of Albara and Ma'arrat an-Numan by the Crusaders, without any further description.<sup>101</sup>

Fulcher of Chartres, also a participant of the First Crusade, reports very laconically that those cities were captured, the inhabitants were slaughtered, and their belongings were robbed by the forces of Raymond of Saint-Gilles and Bohemond.<sup>102</sup> Worth emphasizing is that from October 1097 Fulcher stayed in Edessa, where he joined Baldwin of Boulogne, so he did not take part in the capturing of Albara. An independent crusading chronicle from the *Gesta* family, written by Albert of Aachen ca. 1102,<sup>103</sup> informs us that the Crusade leaders, not only Raymond of Saint-Gilles and Bohemond,

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**100** Raymond of Aguilers, *Historia Francorum Qui Ceperunt Iherusalem*, transl. J.H. Hill, L.L. Hill, Philadelphia 1968, p. 73.

**101** XVIII. *Epistula Dagoberti Pisani archiepiscopi ad papam*, in: *Die Kreuzzugsbriefe aus den Jahren 1088–1100*, ed. H. Hagenmeyer, Innsbruck 1901, p. 170.

**102** *Fulcheri Carnotensis Historia Hierosolymitana (1095–1127)*, ed. H. Hagenmeyer, Heidelberg 1913, XXV, 2, p. 266; more about Fulcher cf. V. Epp, *Fulcher von Chartres: Studien zur Geschichtsschreibung des ersten Kreuzzuges*, Düsseldorf 1990.

**103** The date ca. 1102 refers only to the first six books of Albert's work, which constitute a certain compositionally complete whole, while the rest of the chronicle was written ca. 1120–1130, cf. Albert of Aachen, *Historia Ierosolimitana, History of the Journey to Jerusalem*, ed. and transl. S.B. Edgington, Oxford 2007, pp. XXIVf.; cf. also J. Flori, *Chroniqueurs et propagandists...*, pp. 259–311; J. Rubenstein, *Guibert of Nogent, Albert of Aachen and Fulcher of Chartres: Three Crusade Chronicles Intersect*, in: *Writing the Early Crusades: Text, Transmission and Memory*, ed. M. Bull, D. Kempf, Woodbridge 2014, pp. 24–37.

but also Robert of Flanders and Robert of Normandy, came to the wealthy city of Albara, easily captured it, and killed the Turks and Saracens living there.<sup>104</sup> According to Albert of Aachen, the news of the conquest of Albara and Ma'arrat an-Numan and the massacre of its inhabitants by the Crusaders reached the defenders of Jabala and Tripoli who promised them many gifts and if they would spare the city and its possessions.<sup>105</sup>

However, there is no diabolical references or other constituent parts of the narrative in Albert's description. The sources from different socio-cultural contexts than Frankish, such as Ibn al-Qalanisi, Ibn al-Athir, Michael the Syrian, Matthew of Edessa, and Anna Komnene, do not even mention the conquest of Albara. Only Kamal al-Din informs us that the Crusaders captured Albara, whose defenders capitulated due to the lack of water, and Raymond of Saint-Gilles acted disloyal to them, torturing and taking their valuables, and turning the citizens into slaves.<sup>106</sup> Therefore, based on comparative analysis, it can be noticed that both the *Gesta Francorum* and Tudebode's *Historia* are distinguished by the detail and conventionalization of their narrative, which is not available from any other source independent of the *Gesta* tradition.<sup>107</sup>

The analyzed passage presented the point of view of Peter Tudebode and of the *Gesta Francorum* about the foundation of bishopric in Albara, described as the aspect of the confrontation in the sphere of the *sacrum* made by the actions of their heroes: Raymond of Saint-Gilles and the new bishop of Albara. Starting with the narratives, the attempt was made to examine whether the model of conversion to Christianity of *abrenuntiatio diaboli* and *confessio fidei* occurs on the pages of both accounts. It seems that this was indeed the case, but in a quite unique shape, because the current residents of Albara were not even given a chance to convert to Christianity, and the act of *confessio fidei* has rather an institutional meaning – that is, when the bishop was elected, which means that Albara became an essential part of *Christianitas*.

Thereafter, the rejection of Satan occurred through the sacralization of temples and their transformation into places of Christian worship, which were supposed to serve only the Christians settled there. Furthermore,

104 AA, V, 26, pp. 368f.

105 Ibidem, V, 33, pp. 380f.; V, 37, pp. 386f.

106 Kamal al-Din, *Extraits de la chronique d'Alep...*, p. 586.

107 The *Gesta* family of First Crusade narratives, i.e., Baldric of Dol, Guibert of Nogent and Robert the Monk, is linked by their depictions of the capturing of Albara, where the *Gesta Francorum's* version of events has been duplicated and processed, and the constituent elements of the narration have been preserved, cf. *The Historia Hierosolymitana of Baldric of Bourgueil*, ed. S.J. Biddlecombe, Woodbridge 2014, III, pp. 88f.; RM, VII, p. 82; Guibert of Nogent, *Dei gesta per Francos et cinq autres textes*, ed. R.B.C. Huygens, Turnhout 1996, VI, 14, pp. 247f.

the narrative about the foundation of Albara's bishopric is a very clear example of the lack of the Crusaders' interest in Christianization during the expedition to Jerusalem. The description of this event allowed the chroniclers to define the community of faith based on the symbolic meanings understood in the framework of Biblical and liturgical discourse. However, the authors, even when trying to put current events into certain narrative patterns of missionary practice, could not fail to give its local character. Therefore, Raymond of Saint-Gilles' act in the time of the First Crusade turned out to be even more brutal than the formula 'conversion or death'.

#### ABSTRACT

The article poses the thesis that the authors of the *Gesta Francorum* and the *Historia de Hierosolymitano Itinere* in their vision of the First Crusade's events used a conventional, i.e., pre-existing tradition of missionary practice, and adapted it to their narrative on the foundation of the bishopric of Albara (Al-Bara). The article shows that a two-stage model of conversion to Christianity of *abrenuntiatio diaboli* (the renouncement of Satan) and *confessio fidei* (the profession of faith) was presented on the pages of the First Crusaders' accounts, and it was manifested in a particular case of Albara in a quite unique, mostly institutional shape; i.e. the Muslim inhabitants of a city were not even given a chance to convert to Christianity; the act of *confessio fidei* was done through the election of a bishop; the rejection of Satan occurred through the sacralization of temples and their transformation into places of Christian worship. In this perspective it could be observed that the foundation of Albara's bishopric was seen by the *Gesta Francorum* and Peter Tudebode as the confrontation of the spheres of *sacrum* and *profanum* known from missionary practice in other regions than Syria and Palestine at a similar time (e.g., in Pomerania).

**Keywords:** First Crusade, *Gesta Francorum*, Peter Tudebode, *Historia de Hierosolymitano Itinere*, Christian-Muslim encounters



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## CIDINI 972. THIETMAR'S ACCOUNT OF MARGRAVE HODO'S RAID INTO MIESZKO I'S COUNTRY AND THE »BATTLE OF CEDYNIA«



FROM CEDYNIA TO CIDINI – FROM THE CONTEMPORARY TRADITION  
BACK TO THIETMAR OF MERSEBURG'S ACCOUNT

Next June will see the celebrations commemorating the round, 1050<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the Battle of Cedynia – the Polish town right across from Germany on the Odra river – which since the mid-19<sup>th</sup> century has traditionally been identified as the place where the first historical ruler of Poland, Mieszko I, defeated Hodo, the margrave of the Lusatian March of Otto I's empire.<sup>1</sup> The confrontation was described by Thietmar of Merseburg (died 1018) and it is his account that these reflections are devoted to.<sup>2</sup> To begin,

1 See e.g., W. Bogusławski, *Uwagi nad przekładem polskim Kroniki Detmara Merzeburgskiego, wykonanym przez Zygmunta Komarnickiego. Żytomierz 1862*, "Biblioteka Warszawska" I (1863), p. 141. For a detailed relation of the discussion of this issue in the 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> centuries see P. Migdalski, *Bitwa pod Cidini w historiografii*, in: *Cedynia i okolice poprzez wieki*, ed. P. Migdalski, Terra Incognita, VI, Chojna-Szczecin 2013, pp. 37-64; idem, *Słowiańszczyzna północno-zachodnia w historiografii polskiej, niemieckiej i duńskiej*, Wodzisław Śląski 2019, pp. 217ff.

2 See *Kronika Thietmara*, Latin and Polish text, transl., introduction and commentary M.Z. Jedlicki, Poznań 1953 (further: Thietmar). About Thietmar and his work, among others, see: M.Z. Jedlicki, *Wstęp*, in: Thietmar, pp. I-XXXI; H. Lippelt, *Thietmar von Merseburg. Reichsbischof und Chronist*, Köln-Wien 1973, pp. 46-137; J. Strzelczyk, *Thietmar*, in: *Słownik starożytności słowiańskich*, vol. VI: T-W, ed. G. Labuda, Z. Stieber, Wrocław-Warszawa-Kraków 1977, pp. 74f.; W. Trillmich, *Einleitung*, in: *Thietmari Merseburgensis Episcopi Chronicon*, ed. and transl. W. Trillmich, Darmstadt 1992, pp. IX-XXXII; S. Rosik, *Interpretacja chrześcijańska religii pogańskich Słowian w świetle kronik niemieckich XI–XII wieku (Thietmar, Adam z Bremy, Helmold)*, Wrocław 2000, pp. 43-60 (cf. idem, *The Slavic Religion in the Light of 11<sup>th</sup>- and 12<sup>th</sup>-Century German Chronicles (Thietmar of Merseburg, Adam of Bremen, Helmold of Bosau)*, East Central and Eastern Europe in the Middle Ages, 450-1450, LX, Boston-Leiden 2020, pp. 39-54); D.A. Warner, *Introduction: Thietmar, bishop and Chronicler*, in: *Ottonian Germany. The Chronicon of Thietmar of Merseburg*, transl. and ed. idem, Manchester-New York 2001, pp. 1-64; K. Schulmeyer-Ahl, *Der Anfang vom Ende der Ottonen. Konstitutionsbedingungen historiographischer Nachrichten in der Chronik Thietmars von Merseburg*, Berlin 2009.



let us focus on the scholarly and social-cultural tradition commemorating the famous battle that has developed over the last two hundred years, as it has strongly influenced today's perception of the chronicle's relevant fragment. Therefore any attempt at its re-interpretation is fundamentally tantamount to departing from the canons of tradition and turning directly to the sources (*ad fontes!*).<sup>3</sup>

We must bear in mind that Thietmar, the bishop of Merseburg, is a unique figure in medieval historiography.<sup>4</sup> He interwove crucial moments of his diocese's history into the extensive story of the rule of the Ottonian dynasty: from Henry I to the times of the three Ottos – and on to Henry II, his contemporary. In this way Thietmar transformed »the truth of the scripture« into a shield safeguarding the existence of his diocese in the upcoming years, as he was acutely aware of its temporary liquidation in 981. Thietmar also wanted to repay the kindness of the diocese's restorer, Henry II, to whom he devoted half of his account. In this way Thietmar's work unfolds an impressive panoramic view of his times, encompassing the Byzantine Empire, Rus' and the peoples of the steppes in the east, Scandinavia, the British Isles, and – to complete the full circle of Germany's neighbours near and far – the south of Italy.

Naturally, Thietmar's attention focused on the empire's eastern policy and Polish matters; as far as the battle of 972 is concerned, his family memory was probably an essential source of his knowledge as his own father had taken part in the campaign. The chronicler grieved over the tragic outcome of the fighting for the Saxons: "in loco, qui vocatur Cidini", i.e., "at a place called *Cidini*" the cream of the Saxon army was nearly wiped out by Mieszko's brother, Czcibor (*Cidebur*).<sup>5</sup> Thus, it is Czcibor<sup>6</sup> whom Polish tradition of the Battle of Cedynia perceives as the leading figure. Today a hill situated a few kilometres from the town bears his name; a monument commemorating the battle was also erected here (Fig. 1-2).<sup>7</sup>

Such a view of the campaign of 972, so widely perpetuated in the 20<sup>th</sup> century, was even adapted for the screen. The film "Gniazdo" (The Nest)

3 Cf. S. Rosik, *Bitwa pod Cedynią w świetle przekazu Thietmara z Merseburga. Propozycja ponownego "powrotu do źródeł"*, in: *Cedynia i okolice...*, pp. 25-30.

4 See e.g., A.F. Grabski, *Dzieje historiografii*, Poznań 2002, p. 84.

5 Thietmar II, 29.

6 Alternative suggestions for the original Slavic version of this name include, e.g., "Zdziebor" (cf. K.T. Witczak, *Z antroponomii piastowskiej: Zdziebor (nie Czcibor), brat Mieszka I*, "Onomastica" XXXVII (1992), pp. 123-132) or "Cz(ś)cibor" (cf. H. Górny, *Imię Cz(ś)cibor w polskiej antroponomii i toponimii*, "Onomastica" LXI (2017) pp. 129-141). See also footnote 7 below.

7 Czcibor himself is even sometimes seen as the commander-in-chief of the Polish forces. See e.g., K. Jasiński, *Rodowód pierwszych Piastów*, Warszawa-Wrocław [n.d.], p. 71; J. Strzelczyk, *Mieszko I*, Poznań 1992, p. 149.

(1974) directed by Tadeusz Rybkowski features an outstanding performance by Wojciech Pszoniak playing Mieszko I. The film was shot in the wetlands "of the Odra",<sup>8</sup> in accordance with the universally adopted conviction that Hodo had managed to cross the river in 972 and proceed to Cedynia, only to fall into an ambush laid by Czcibor, whose forces attacked from the very hill mentioned above.<sup>9</sup> This is how classic scholarly works describe the course of events.<sup>10</sup> The key significance attributed to the fording of the Odra was consolidated by the memory of the relatively recent crossing of the river in the vicinity of Cedynia by Polish troops accompanying the Soviet Army on their way to capture Berlin at the end of World War II in April 1945.<sup>11</sup>

The landscape in the vicinity of Cedynia features places commemorating the bloodshed from the fighting – first of all, the cemetery of the fallen soldiers in Siekierki (Fig. 3-4). The fact that the border between Poland and Germany was established on the Odra in 1945 helped to mythologize the events of 972 in the history policy of the Polish People's Republic.<sup>12</sup> The Battle of Cedynia was shown as the first great confrontation in the defence of Polish borders against German pressure.<sup>13</sup> Quite significantly, this cultural narration was combined with the idea of the Polishness of Pomerania from the dawn of Piast statehood. As Cedynia is situated on the route running along the Odra to the Baltic, the conflict between Hodo and Mieszko was interpreted as a struggle to maintain Polish conquests in the Odra estuary and in Pomerania, which was then emerging as a political entity east of the Odra within the sphere of the

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8 In fact, the film was shot in other locations, including: Wielka Żuława island on Jeziorak Lake near Iława, the Vistula River, river banks and ravines near the village of Słupia Nadbrzeżna, and the shore of the Baltic Sea (cf. <https://filmpolski.pl/fp/index.php?film=1250>).

9 Let us summarize briefly Aleksander Ścibor-Rylski's screenplay: Hodo, the margrave of the East, leads an expedition against Mieszko because the Polish ruler infringed the Saxons' sphere of influence, i.e., subjugated Wolin. There is fighting for access to the Baltic in the Odra estuary and for Mieszko's right to conduct independent policy in the lands of the "barbarians", which well corresponds with the wider context of scholarly research from the 20<sup>th</sup> century, see footnote 14 below.

10 See, among others, G. Labuda, *Studia nad początkami państwa polskiego*, vol. I, Poznań 2<sup>nd</sup> 1987 [1<sup>st</sup> ed. 1946], pp. 121f.; cf. idem, *Mieszko I*, Wrocław 2002, pp. 216ff.; W. Filipowiak, *Cedynia w czasach Mieszka I*, Szczecin 1959, pp. 40ff.; B. Miśkiewicz, *Wojny o zjednoczenie Pomorza Zachodniego z Polską za pierwszych Piastów*, in: *Z dziejów wojennych Pomorza Zachodniego. Cedynia 972 – Siekierki 1945*, ed. B. Miśkiewicz, Poznań 1972, pp. 94-103.

11 For more about the subject, see P. Migdalski, *Bitwa pod Cidini...*, pp. 58f.

12 See e.g., J.M. Piskorski, *Pomorze plemienne, Historia – Archeologia – Językoznawstwo*, Poznań 2002, p. 79; P. Migdalski, "...w tej strażnicy Rzeczypospolitej". *Rejon Pamięci Narodowej Cedynia – Gozdowice – Siekierki*, Szczecin-Poznań 2007.

13 P. Migdalski, *Bitwa pod Cidini...*, pp. 49ff.

Piasts' expansion.<sup>14</sup> Thus, the year 972 often features as the date of subjecting the land to Mieszko I's rule.<sup>15</sup>

The premise for such an interpretation of the battle of *Cidini* was provided by the "live" accounts by Ibrahim ibn Yaqub (ca. 965)<sup>16</sup> and by Widukind of Corvey (died after 975)<sup>17</sup> about earlier fighting between the Polish ruler and the Veleti tribes, and especially the Wolinians. The Wolinians themselves are sometimes hypothetically counted among the Veleti, but irrespective of a conclusive verdict in this matter, their famous town – one of the main emporia on the Baltic since the 9<sup>th</sup> century – remained in a close political ties with the Veleti. According to Widukind, Mieszko I lost his brother,<sup>18</sup> whose name remains unknown, in the fighting mentioned above, which is hypothetically dated to 963.<sup>19</sup> Four years later he defeated the Wolinians led by the Saxon outlaw, Wichmann II the Younger (who died during this clash).<sup>20</sup> For this reason the his-

14 This view was proposed in the 19<sup>th</sup> century (see e.g., W. Bogusławski, *Dzieje Słowiańszczyzny północno-zachodniej do połowy XIII w.*, vol. III, Poznań 1892) and consolidated in the first half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century (especially J. Widajewicz, *Licicaviki Widukinda. Studium onomastyczno-geograficzne*, "Slavia Occidentalis" VI (1927), pp. 128-140, 154ff.; idem, *Najdawniejszy podbój Pomorza*, "Slavia Occidentalis" X (1931), pp. 26, 45) with a few modifications recurring in the historians' debate until today (see e.g., E. Rymar, *A jednak pod Cedynią nad Odrą w 972 r.?*, in: *Civitas Cedene. Studia i materiały do dziejów Cedyni*, vol. I, ed. P. Migdalski, Chojna-Szczecin-Cedynia 2014, pp. 125-152). For more examples about this subject, see P. Migdalski, *Bitwa pod Cidini...*, passim.

15 See e.g., G. Labuda, *Studia nad początkami...*, pp. 80-129; idem, *Dzieje polityczne (VI–XII wiek); ekspansja państwa polskiego na Pomorze (X–XII wiek)*, in: *Historia Pomorza*, ed. G. Labuda, vol. I, part 1, Poznań 1969, p. 309; idem, *Historia Kaszubów w dziejach Pomorza*, vol. I: *Średniowiecze*, Gdańsk 2006, pp. 67-71, 84; and also: L. Leciejewicz, *Początki nadmorskich miast na Pomorzu Zachodnim*, Wrocław-Warszawa-Kraków 1962, p. 262; T. Kiersnowska, R. Kiersnowski, *Życie codzienne na Pomorzu wczesnośredniowiecznym. Wiek X–XII*, Warszawa 1970, pp. 138f.; T. Białecki, *Historia Szczecina*, Wrocław 1992, p. 27. For more on this issue see: P. Migdalski, *Poland and Pomerania – from Slavic tribes to diverging roads: Tracing historiographic narratives*, in: *Europe reaches the Baltic. Poland and Pomerania in the Shaping of European Civilization (10<sup>th</sup>-12<sup>th</sup> Centuries)*, ed. S. Rosik, *Scripta Historica Europaea*, VI, Wrocław 2020, pp. 79f.

16 Cf. *Relacja Ibrahima ibn Jakuba z podróży do krajów słowiańskich w przekazie Al-Bekriego*, ed. T. Kowalski, cooperation J. Kostrzewski, K. Stołyhwa, K. Moszyński, K. Nitsch, *Monumenta Poloniae historica n.s.*, I, Kraków 1946, p. 50.

17 *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, pp. 1-183 (further: Widukind).

18 According to Widukind III, 66, Mieszko's anonymous brother died fighting with the "barbarians" (Veleti) allied with Wichmann the Younger.

19 For more on this issue see e.g., J. Strzelczyk, *Mieszko...*, pp. 81-96; S. Rosik, *Początki Polski w kronikach niemieckich XI–XII w. (w kręgu wiadomości Widukinda z Korweji)*, in: *Kolory i struktury średniowiecza*, ed. W. Fałkowski, Warszawa 2004, pp. 236-241; (there also a wider selection of the literature).

20 Widukind III, 69.

torical tradition sometimes interprets the year 967 as the date of incorporating Wolin into Poland,<sup>21</sup> which just a few years ago was celebrated in the town as the 1050<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the event (Fig. 5).

Indeed, our sources from the 10<sup>th</sup> century confirm Mieszko I's fighting with the Slavic peoples inhabiting the Odra estuary and the lands situated to the west of the river. There is also reason to believe that during his rule Mieszko managed to conquer and subdue Wolin.<sup>22</sup> Yet the accounts describing Mieszko's fighting with the Veleti or Wolinians led by Wichmann II the Younger show that these peoples were the aggressors<sup>23</sup> and thus the theatre of military operations was probably situated in Mieszko I's territory. Therefore, concluding on the basis of the information about the repulse of the attacking Wolinians in 967 that they and their town were subdued by the Polish ruler is pure guesswork *ex silentio*, while any further conjectures based on this premise should remain within the domain of belles-lettres.

Thus, we have to conclude that the conjecture that five years later the battle of *Cidini* was a pivotal event determining the future of Mieszko I's rule over the territories on the lower Odra and its estuary has no strong basis in contemporary sources. A possible link between the battle and the campaign for the rule over the Baltic<sup>24</sup> is corroborated by the identification of the battle's theatre with Cedynia on the basis of a toponomastic argument, i.e., the similarity between *Cidini* and *Cedene* – the oldest record of the place's

21 See e.g., J. Widajewicz, *Polska i Niemcy w dobie panowania Mieszka I*, Lublin 1953, pp. 61-71; E. Rymar, *A jednak pod Cedynią...*, pp. 135-148. For an extensive recounting of the discussion on this issue, see P. Migdalski, *Słowiańszczyzna północno-zachodnia...*, pp. 273ff.

22 To be more precise, sources from Mieszko's time do not mention his conquest of Wolin, but it assumed on the basis of the *Dagome iudex*, a summary of a document in which Mieszko placed his realm (probably ca. 990) under the protection of the Holy See (cf. B. Kürbis, *Dagome iudex – studium krytyczne*, in: *Początki państwa polskiego. Księga Tysiąclecia*, vol. I: *Organizacja polityczna*, ed. K. Tymieniecki, Poznań 1962, pp. 363-424, the edition of *Dagome iudex*: pp. 394f.), and that the realm's border along the Odra reached the Baltic (i.e., Wolin at the river's estuary), but this is only a hypothetical interpretation. Wolin was in the sphere of political influence of Mieszko's son, Bolesław the Brave, but not permanently so; in ca. 1007 the Wolinians concluded an agreement with the king of Germany, Henry II, directed against Bolesław (cf. Thietmar VI, 33). Whatever the case, the first Piasts' rule did reach the Baltic; what is debatable is the question of their control over the Odra estuary. The literature on the subject is very rich; for an extensive relation of the scholarly discussion on this issue, see: J.M. Piskorski, *Pomorze plemienne...*, pp. 55ff., 86-89; P. Migdalski, *Słowiańszczyzna północno-zachodnia...*, pp. 268ff.; idem, *Poland and Pomerania...*, pp. 57ff., 71ff.

23 Widukind III, 66 and 69.

24 This interpretation of the location of *Cidini*, involving Pomerania and the Odra, was determined earlier in the case of Szczecin. In the first half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century Adam Naruszewicz associated *Cidni* with the Latinized name of Szczecin: *Sedina* (A. Naruszewicz, *Historia narodu polskiego. Od początku chrześcijaństwa*, vol. II, ed. T. Mostowski, Warszawa 1803, pp. 66, 82f., 152, 290f.).

name (1187).<sup>25</sup> Yet it is quite possible that toponyms sounding similar to *Cidini* may have been found in other parts of the territories ruled by Mieszko I. Another doubt is why Hodo would have undertaken an expedition towards Pomerania if – as margrave of Lusatia – he more logically should have conducted military operations further south.<sup>26</sup>

Identification of the invasion of 972 with Cedynia thus remains a hypothesis based on relatively weak premises, especially in comparison with its popularity in academic textbooks<sup>27</sup> and among the general public. This has been emphasized by historians for generations,<sup>28</sup> even though the alternative in this case is... *docta ignorantia*. This “learned ignorance” is an optimum solution considering the information provided by the medieval sources, though it falls short of the social expectations placed on historical sciences. It is thus hardly surprising that the thesis identifying *Cidini* with Cedynia is promoted with such irrational persistence, which for generations has attributed the place with historical significance and justified commemorations of consecutive anniversaries. Yet it is not the historian’s role to propagate historiographic myths and therefore the hypothetical nature of the battle’s location needs to be emphasized.

On the other hand it would be hard not to appreciate the nearly two-century-long tradition connected with the place. Thanks to this, Cedynia has become a guardian of the memory of the struggle of 972 irrespective of the fact where it actually took place (Fig. 6-7). For instance, we do not know where Mieszko I was baptized, but for the past several decades tradition has linked its anniversary celebrations (known as the »Baptism of Poland«) with the famous island on Lake Lednica.<sup>29</sup> Similarly, in the case

25 See e.g., E. Rymer, *A jednak pod Cedynią...*, p. 126.

26 The lands on the Baltic were situated in the sphere of the expansion of the Northern March. The explanation that during the emperor’s stay in Italy Hodo conducted the whole policy of the East Frankish Kingdom (Germany) as his proxy and was thus able to act in matters not related directly to his march’s interests (this view is discussed by, e.g., M.Z. Jedlicki in: Thietmar, pp. 88f., footnote 136; J. Strzelczyk, *Mieszko...*, pp. 149ff.) is not corroborated *expressis verbis* by contemporary sources. It is a conjecture based on the conviction that the conflict was about the lands of future Pomerania, which is only a hypothesis or perhaps even a multiplication of unverifiable conjectures.

27 E.g., S. Szczur, *Historia Polski. Średniowiecze*, Kraków 2002, pp. 51f.; T. Jurek, E. Kizik, *Historia Polski do 1572*, Warszawa 2019, p. 58.

28 H. Ludat, *Słowianie – Niemcy – Europa. Wybór prac*, transl. J.M. Piskorski, Marburg-Poznań 2000, pp. 27-33 [1<sup>st</sup> ed. 1938]; idem, *An Elbe und Oder um das Jahr 1000. Skizzen zur Politik des Ottonenreiches und der slavischen Mächte in Mitteleuropa*, Köln 1971, p. 142; Ch. Lübke, *Regesten zur Geschichte der Slawen na Elbe und Oder (vom Jahr 900 an)*, vol. I-IV, Berlin 1984-1988, here vol. II, no. 162, pp. 227f.; K. Myśliński, *Polska wobec Słowian połabskich do końca wieku XII*, Lublin 1993, pp. 24ff., 50; J.M. Piskorski, *Pomorze plemienne...*, pp. 73-79. For more extensive recounting of the debate on this issue see P. Migdalski, *Bitwa pod Cidini...*, pp. 49-60.

29 See e.g., <http://lednicamuzeum.pl/wiadomosc,jubileuszowe-obchody-upamietniajace-1050-rocznice-chrztu-polski-na-ostrowie-lednickim.html>.

of Cedynia the hypothesis locating the famous battle there was the basis for commemorating Mieszko I's victory there. The hypothetical view has been widely adopted by the general public, contributing to cultural interpretation of the landscape of the lands on the Odra, and identifying certain of its elements with the events of 972. An apt example here is Góra Czcibora (Czcibor's Mountain) due to its name and the monuments erected there (Fig. 1-2). Cultivating the memory of the Battle of Cedynia has thus become a research subject in its own right, similarly as the Battle of the Teutoburg Forest (9 AD).<sup>30</sup>

In short: the development of historical tradition was decisive for identifying Cedynia and its vicinity with the defeat of the Saxons in *Cidini* and this "gift of fortune" (and scholarship) is probably worth nurturing in the town, especially that it is Mieszko I's most spectacular military victory described in the sources. It is worth emphasizing here that these events most probably resounded in the work by Bruno of Querfurt (died 1009), when he described Hodo's defeat as the humiliation of the hubris of the "Teutons" in their fighting with Poles.<sup>31</sup> While focusing on the shaping of the picture of the events of 972 in Thietmar's account, this wider context of its memory in his times is worth considering as well. Despite appreciation of the significance of the military tradition linked with Cedynia, in the analysis of the narration by the chronicler of Merseburg it will be important to attempt to limit the impact of this vital tradition on the interpretation of "the world of the text".

#### THE EXPEDITION OF THE SAXONS AND ITS TRAGIC END IN *CIDINI* IN THIETMAR'S ACCOUNT

An important factor facilitating identification of the tragic end of Hodo's expedition with Cedynia is the translation of *Thietmar's Chronicle* in its canonical Polish version from 1953 by Marian Zygmunt Jedlicki. Let us quote:

"Kiedy w dzień św. Jana Chrzyciciela [Sasi – S.R.] starli się z Mieszkiem, odnieśli zrazu zwycięstwo, lecz potem w miejscowości zwanej Cydzyzna

30 See D. Mellies, P. Migdalski, *Schlacht im Teutoburger Wald und Schlacht bei Cedynia. Schlachten als nationale Gründungsmythen*, in: *Deutsch-Polnische Erinnerungsorte*, ed. H.-H. Hahn, R. Traba, cooperation M. Górny, K. Kończal, vol. III: *Parallelen*, Paderborn 2012, pp. 108-127 (cf. D. Mellies, P. Migdalski, *Bitwa w Lesie Teutoburskim & Bitwa pod Cedynią. Bitwy w służbie narodowych mitów fundacyjnych*, in: *Polsko-niemieckie miejsca pamięci*, ed. R. Traba, H.-H. Hahn, cooperation M. Górny, K. Kończal, vol. III: *Paralele*, Warszawa 2012, pp. 107-124).

31 Św. Wojciecha biskupa i męczennika Żywot drugi napisany przez Brunona z Kwerfurtu, ed. J. Karwasińska, *Monumenta Poloniae historica n.s.*, IV, part 2, Warszawa 1969, chap. 10.

brat jego Czcibor zadał im klęskę kładąc trupem wszystkich najlepszych rycerzy z wyjątkiem wspomnianych grafów”.<sup>32</sup>

“When on the day of St. John the Baptist [the Saxons – S. R.] clashed with Mieszko, at first they gained a victory, but later in a place called Cydzyna his brother Czcibor inflicted a defeat on them, mowing down all the best knights except for the already-mentioned grafen”.<sup>33</sup>

*Cidini* was here interpreted as “Cydzyna”, which is one of the versions of the name of Cedynia,<sup>34</sup> while the whole account suggests that the initial victory of the Saxons and their subsequent rout happened in different places.<sup>35</sup> This view reflects the hypothesis that the battle had two stages, the first of which took place on crossing the Odra and the other at Cedynia.<sup>36</sup> An important piece of information provided by this translation is that the Polish victory is attributed directly to Czcibor.<sup>37</sup> Thus, Jedlicki’s translation has greatly contributed to the development of the tradition commemorating the fighting in 972 at Cedynia, but at the same time introduced certain details departing from the literal sense of the original.

It is thus high time we looked more closely at the Latin version of the fragment of key significance for these deliberations:

Interea Hodo, venerabilis marchio, Miseenem inperatori fidelem tributumque usque in Vurta fluvium solventem exercitu petivit collecto. Ad

32 Thietmar, pp. 90 and 92.

33 The mentioned grafen are Hodo and Siegfried.

34 Cf. Thietmar, pp. 90f. (and footnote). It is noteworthy that the place is referred to as Zehden in the most popular translations of Thietmar’s chronicle: into German by Werner Trillmich (cf. *Thietmari Merseburgensis Episcopi Chronicon...*, p. 67) and into English by David A. Warner (cf. *Ottoman Germany...*, p. 114); cf. footnote 67 below.

35 The translator added here “but later” absent in the Latin text (cf. a quotation below), which presented two stages of the fighting more clearly than in the original; only the latter one was unambiguously placed in *Cidini*.

36 The view that there were two clashes (in different places) between the Polish forces and Hodo’s army was popularized especially by Gerard Labuda, who placed the first – lost by Mieszko’s army – at the crossing of the Odra and the other at Cedynia (cf. G. Labuda, *Studia nad początkami...*, pp. 121ff.). W. Filipowiak (*Cedynia w czasach Mieszka I...*, pp. 57ff.) concluded that Saxon forces were ambushed by Mieszko: first he pretended to retreat at the river crossing point towards the stronghold in Cedynia and then attacked the enemy’s columns from two sides (Czcibor is thought to have attacked the Saxons from the rear). We should add that in recent decades the historiography of the issue has been supplemented by ideas even more remote from the sources and sometimes quite bewildering, considering the laconic character of Thietmar’s account. On the development of the scholarly debate on the location and course of the battle of 972 see above, footnote 1.

37 See above, footnote 7.

cuius auxilium pater meus comes Sigifridus, tunc iuvenis necdumque coniugali sociatus amori, venit solum [cum] suis et in die sancti Iohannis baptistae adversus eum pugnantes primoque vincentes a fratre eiusdem Cideburo, exceptis tantum comitibus prefatis, omnes optimi milites interfecti oppecerunt in loco, qui vocatur Cidini. Hac de fama miserabili inperator turbatus de Italia nuncios misit precipientes Hodo- ni atque Miseconi, si gratiam suimet habere voluissent, usque dum ipse veniens causam discuteret, in pace permanerent.<sup>38</sup>

“Meanwhile the honourable margrave Hodo, having gathered the army, attacked Mieszko, faithful to the emperor and paying tribute [from the lands] to the river Warta. Only my father, graf Siegfried, came to his [Hodo’s – S. R.] assistance with his [people], at that time a young man and not yet bound by marital love. And on the day of St. John the Baptist, fighting against him [Mieszko I] and initially winning, all the best soldiers except for the already-mentioned grafen – died, killed by his brother Cidebur in the place called Cidini. Alarmed by this sad news the emperor dispatched envoys from Italy, ordering Hodo and Mieszko to cease their hostilities if they still wanted to retain his favour until he himself arrived to look into the matter”.

It is noteworthy that in the chronicle’s next chapter Thietmar wrote briefly about the arrival of Mieszko, Boleslaus II the Pious of Bohemia, and envoys from other countries at the imperial convention in Quedlinburg at Easter 973, vaguely mentioning a peaceful settlement of all matters.<sup>39</sup> The chronicler emphasized the joy of all those present at the outcome of the meeting, which prompts the conclusion that the Polish ruler’s conflict with Hodo ended satisfactorily for the former. Yet this information contradicts the account from the *Annales Altahenses maiores*, which under the year 973 mention that it was not Mieszko himself who arrived at Quedlinburg but his several-year-old son Bolesław, sent as a hostage.<sup>40</sup>

This mention of the annalist has gained greater credibility in scholarly debate than Thietmar’s account, also becoming the basis for the conviction that Mieszko had been treated as a culprit before the imperial court settling his dispute with Hodo.<sup>41</sup> Yet the *Annales Altahenses* inform only about coerc-

38 Thietmar II, 29.

39 It is noteworthy that the year of the convention – 973 – enables dating the war between Hodo and Mieszko to 972 on the basis of Thietmar’s data (II, 30).

40 *Annales Altahenses maiores*, ed. L. Giesebrecht, L.B. Oefele, Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Scriptores rerum Germanicarum in usum scholarum, Hannoverae 1891, p. 11, under the year 973: “Miszego etiam dux Sclavienus, terrore compulsus, filium mittit obsidem”.

41 See e.g., J. Strzelczyk, *Mieszko I...*, pp. 158-160; E. Rymar, *A jednak pod Cedynią...*, pp. 134, 150, and below, footnote 42.



ing Mieszko under threat (*terror*) into sending his son, while the description of the convention emphasizes the fact that rulers from many countries represented by their envoys recognized Otto I's suzerainty.<sup>42</sup> In this context Mieszko's sending his son to the emperor as a hostage seems a manifestation of submission and any possible identification of this information with the events at *Cidini* is pure speculation.<sup>43</sup> Irrespective of its possible accuracy, it should be emphasized here that the assessment of the Quedlinburg convention's significance for Mieszko is decisively more pessimistic in the *Annales* than in Thietmar's account.

The joy at the outcomes of the convention, which according to the chronicler Mieszko was to share with its other participants, proves that he had not lost the emperor's favour, which in turn well corresponds with the assessment of the Polish ruler's attitude to Otto I in the description of the events of 972 quoted above, i.e., with the emphasis placed on his faithfulness and compliance with the duties of a tributary.<sup>44</sup> Thus, in view of both episodes from 972 and 973 Mieszko is seen as a positive figure, which automatically affects the assessment of Hodo's aggression. His attack on Mieszko, Otto I's loyal subject,<sup>45</sup> disturbs the empire's political order, something that can lead to disaster. Considering how specifically Thietmar interprets history in his work, the rout of the Saxons is a sign of heavenly punishment for sins – in this case Hodo's unlawful action, in which the chronicler's father was an accomplice.<sup>46</sup>

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42 They were the envoys and lords arriving with gifts from Benevento, "Greece" (Byzantium), Hungary, Bulgaria, Denmark and – in person – the prince of Bohemia, Boleslaus II; cf. *Annales Altahenses maiores...*, p. 11, under the year 973.

43 Gerard Labuda even considered that the sentence of the imperial court, unfavorable for Mieszko I, was passed at an earlier congress (see: G. Labuda, *Mieszko I...*, p. 123). This is another conjecture which has no basis in contemporary sources.

44 The adjective describing Mieszko as "faithful" (*fidelis*) is here in the dative case, which indicates faithfulness to someone (here: the emperor), and not as a noun denoting a vassal (as it is sometimes interpreted, see e.g. M.Z. Jedlicki in: Thietmar, p. 63, footnote).

45 In his contemporary account of the battle between Mieszko and Wichmann, Widukind of Corvey describes the Polish ruler as *amicus imperatoris* (cf. Widukind III, 69). This was sometimes interpreted as a pact of *amicitia* (cf. A. Pleszczyński, *The Birth of Stereotype: Polish Rulers and Their Country in German Writings c. 1000 A.D.*, East Central and Eastern Europe in the Middle Ages, 450-1450, XV, Boston-Leiden 2011, pp. 14, 51ff.; see also: V. Epp, *Amicitia. Zur Geschichte personaler, sozialer, politischer und geistlicher Beziehungen im früheren Mittelalter*, Stuttgart 1999) but in the same chapter Widukind (III, 69) writes about Otto I as Mieszko's friend, which seems to prove that the relationship between the two rulers was generally friendly. At any rate, Otto I's superiority in this relationship is in Widukind's account obvious – S. Rosik, *Początki Polski...*, pp. 241-247.

46 Emphasizing that Siegfried was not at that time a fully mature man in a stable marital relationship, Thietmar (II, 29) perhaps slightly diminishes his blame for taking part in a morally doubtful undertaking.

A good reference point here may be Thietmar's account of the causes of the great uprising of the Elblavians in 983. According to the chronicler, they had already adopted Christianity<sup>47</sup> and paid tribute to the empire, but oppressed by the margrave of the Northern March, Dietrich, who in this way committed a sin of hubris (*superbia*), they took up arms and overthrew imperial rule.<sup>48</sup> This passage of Thietmar's account contributes to a broader moral and theological picture of the empire's history in the time of Otto II, who had suffered from a series of misfortunes interpreted as a consequence of liquidating the diocese of Merseburg in 981, considered vile.<sup>49</sup> Also in this case the chronicler reflected the views popular among the German clergy,<sup>50</sup> according to which the guardian of the diocese's rights was its patron saint, St. Lawrence, whose rage should be feared by those who did harm to it.<sup>51</sup>

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47 In view of the contemporary sources the Lutici, who were the main driving force behind the rebellion, had not been subject to any intensive missionary activity and even the elites had not adopted Christianity on a massive scale. Therefore the information about the Christianization of these tribes denotes subjugating them to a Christian monarchy and ecclesiastical network, which was then interpreted as incorporating individual *gentes* (as a whole) into the community of *Christianitas* (see: S. Rosik, *The Slavic Religion...*, pp. 77ff.). Afterwards efforts were made to convert and baptize individuals, which did not necessarily happen right away. For more about the subject, see H.-D. Kahl, *Die ersten Jahrhunderte des missionsgeschichtlichen Mittelalters. Bausteine für eine Phänomenologie bis ca. 1050*, in: *Kirchengeschichte als Missionsgeschichte*, vol. II: *Die Kirchen des früheren Mittelalters*, part 1, ed. K. Schäferdiek, München 1978, pp. 11-76, esp. 73-75; B. Wavra, *Salzburg und Hamburg Erzbistumsgründung und Missionspolitik in karolingischer Zeit*, Berlin 1991, p. 15.

48 Throwing off imperial rule is theologially interpreted by Thietmar (III, 17) as abandoning the service to Christ and St. Peter (literally Christ's "fisherman"): "*Gentes, quae suscepta christianitate regibus et inperatoribus tributarie serviebant, superbia Thiedrici ducis aggravate presumptione unanimi arma commoverant...*", and: "*Vice Christi et piscatoris eiusdem venerabilis Petri varia demoniacae heresis cultura deinceps veneratur...*"

49 Thietmar (III, 17-18) first describes how the dioceses that took part in partitioning the diocese of Merseburg suffered from the Slavic rebellions which began in 983 and from the Bohemian invasion of Zeitz and then he writes about Otto II's setbacks during the fighting in Italy, especially the defeat at Cotrone in 982 (III, 20-23). Thus, in reversing the chronology of the events, he showed the hierarchy of blame and punishment – the Church side is to blame in the first place and then the emperor as an accomplice. However, after presenting Otto II's defeats in Italy Thietmar (III, 24) once again laconically referred to the uprising of the Slavs and in this way restored the appropriate chronology of the events. For more about the intricacies of Thietmar's theological interpretation of history, see S. Rosik, *The Slavic Religion...*, pp. 76-91 (there also a wider selection of the literature).

50 This was also expressed by St. Bruno of Querfurt, see e.g., M. Tomaszek, *Brunon z Kwerfurtu i Otton II: powstanie słowiańskie 983 roku jako grzech cesarza*, "Kwartalnik Historyczny" CIX (2002) 4, pp. 5-23.

51 Thietmar refers to the motif of St. Lawrence's protection over Merseburg and the threat of his punishment in the episodes presenting two dreams – his (VI, 39) and that of empress Teophanu (IV, 10). This was indicated i.a., by Jacek Banaszekiewicz (recently during the session of the Standing Committee of Polish Medievalists, 15 October 2021 at the Royal Castle in Warsaw).

Thus, returning to the narration of *Cidini*, the question arises as to the significance of the mention that Hodo's attack took place on the day of St. John the Baptist. Naturally, it is possible that the chronicler gave the date still "alive" in the memory of contemporaries, yet a reference to the name of the saint providing patronage for the introduction of Christianity prompts certain conclusions concerning the theological interpretation of history, especially that the chronicle's text suggests that the Saxons' initial victory and subsequent catastrophic defeat took place on St. John's day.<sup>52</sup> It may thus have been the chronicler's intention to evoke the saint's patronage of Mieszko's victory, whose merits in spreading Christianity were considerably appreciated.

Further on in his chronicle Thietmar wove in the backstory of Mieszko's conversion by his wife – Dobrawa, from the Přemyslid dynasty<sup>53</sup> – and of his baptism. This was meant to portray the incorporation of a new people into the Church. Mieszko "like the head and beloved lord, is at once followed by the members of his people, hitherto imperfect, who having received a wedding robe are now counted among Christ's sons".<sup>54</sup> The elevated style of this fragment adds splendour to the ruler's services to the Church, and this image is further enhanced with the mention of the efforts of the Poles' "first bishop, Iordan" in converting Mieszko's subjects.<sup>55</sup> Thietmar earlier had presented Jordan as the bishop of Poznań, and as a suffragan of the archdiocese of Magdeburg,<sup>56</sup> which constitutes

52 So in, e.g., the above-mentioned translations by W. Trillmich and D.A. Warner, see footnotes 33 and 67.

53 Thietmar's narration perpetuates here the topos of *mulier suadens*, emphasizing the merits of a woman, in this case the wife, in converting the ruler and the whole country (about this matter see: J. Banaszkiwicz, *Dąbrówka "christianissima" i Mieszko poganin* (Thietmar, IV, 55–56; Gall, I, 5–6), in: *Nihil superfluum esse. Prace z dziejów średniowiecza ofiarowane Profesor Jadwidze Krzyżaniakowej*, ed. J. Dobosz, J. Strzelczyk, Poznań 2000, pp. 86f.; about the topos of *mulier suadens* in the context of Christianization see also, e.g., M. Homza, *Mulieres suadentes – Persuasive Women. Female Royal Saints in Medieval East Central and Eastern, East Central and Eastern Europe in the Middle Ages, 450-1450*, XLII, Boston-Leiden 2017. Explaining the name of Dobrawa as good, the chronicler contrasts the praise of her merits with the attitude of her son, Bolesław the Brave – "who caused unhappiness of many mothers" (cf. Thietmar IV, 56: "...peperit bona mater filium longe sibi degenerem et multarum perniciem genitricum...").

54 *Ibidem*, IV, 56: "Et protinus caput suum et seniore[m] dilectum membra populi hactenus debilia subsequuntur et nupciali veste recepta inter caeteros Christi adoptivos numerantur". Analysis of this account, see: S. Rosik, *The »Baptism of Poland«. Power, Institution and Theology in the Shaping of Monarchy and Society from the Tenth through Twelfth Centuries*, in: *Imaginations and Configurations of Polish Society. From the Middle Ages through the Twentieth century*, ed. Y. Kleinmann et al., Göttingen 2017, pp. 46-53.

55 Thietmar IV, 56.

56 *Ibidem*, II, 22.

another thread binding Mieszko I with the empire.<sup>57</sup> Contrary to the rebellious Lutici, Mieszko remained a faithful tributary aware of his place. Thietmar assures us that in the presence of Hodo he did not dare to put on his fur coat, and thus showed respect.<sup>58</sup>

This social stratification of both protagonists is also seen in the accounts of the events of 972; Hodo is accompanied by the epithet *venerabilis*, while in the case of Mieszko only his subjugation to the emperor is emphasized. Such a picture of the Polish ruler's condition painted on the pages of the chronicle is especially significant when it is compared with the image of his son, Bolesław the Brave, reproached by the chronicler, who emphasized Bolesław's unjustified elevation in the hierarchy of the ruling elites<sup>59</sup> and his destructive role on the political arena during the reign of Henry II. In comparison, Mieszko is presented in a positive light, described with the epithet *inclitus* – famous – in the fragment devoted to his conversion.<sup>60</sup> The introduction of Czcibor to the stage helps to maintain such an aura around Mieszko. Indeed, the Saxons – Thietmar's compatriots – were slaughtered at *Cidini*: nonetheless, the chronicler put the blame not on Mieszko but on his brother.<sup>61</sup>

Let's now take a look at the name Czcibor in the version given by Thietmar, which in his chronicle probably appears in the ablative case (“Cideburo”) of *Cidebur* (or *Cideburus*).<sup>62</sup> It is interesting that both his name and the toponym *Cidini* begin with “cid”. Another interesting aspect is the similarity between the “bur” ending and the Slavic verb “fight”, “defend”, which Thietmar was aware of. He interpreted e.g., *Medeburu* (Magdeborn) as “mel prohibe!” – “defend the honey!”.<sup>63</sup> The chronicler liked to indulge

57 The status of bishop Jordan has been a subject of historians' discussion since the 19<sup>th</sup> c. Thietmar's presentation of the bishop of Poznań as a suffragan of the Magdeburg metropolis is sometimes questioned. The chronicler seems to have based this information on forged documents; for details see e.g., D.A. Sikorski, *Kościół w Polsce za Mieszka I i Bolesława Chrobrego. Rozważania nad granicami poznania historycznego*, Poznań 2011, pp. 487-514.

58 Thietmar V, 11. For more about the subject see: A. Pleszczyński, *The Birth of Stereotype...*, pp. 68f.

59 Thietmar V, 10, deploras Otto III's decisions, who elevated Bolesław from the rank of a tributary to that of a “lord”. See also above, footnote 53.

60 Thietmar IV, 55.

61 S. Rosik, *Bitwa pod Cedynią...*, pp. 28.

62 This is corroborated by the fact that Thietmar inflected Slavic names (in this fragment also Mieszko's) and the agreement of “Cideburo” as the supposed ablative with “fratre” in the whole phrase. See, e.g., K. Jasiński, *Rodowód...*, p. 71; J. Strzelczyk, *Mieszko...*, p. 149.

63 Thietmar II, 37. The military element picked up by the chronicler in the name of Czcibor (or Zdziebor) is taken into account in today's discussion among linguists on the provenance of the name of Mieszko's brother, see, e.g., K.T. Witzcak, *Z antroponii piastowskiej...*, pp. 123ff.; cf. H. Górny, *Imię Cz(ś)cibor...*, pp. 129f.

in creating Slavic etymology<sup>64</sup> and thus the name Czcibor may have caused various associations in his mind, perhaps accentuated by the Latinization of the name as *Cidebur* and possibly the toponym *Cidini*, as in fact we do not know exactly how the Slavic original words were pronounced.

Naturally, it is not possible to determine whether and to what extent the similarity between the words was deliberately emphasized by Thietmar when he wrote them and stressed *Cidebur's* terrifying role. An alternative supposition would be to deem the similarity a mere coincidence. At any rate, it is noteworthy that the semiotic reality created by the chronicler in this passage, especially in reference to proper names, lends itself relatively well to symbolic-allegoric interpretation, and at the same time it is possible that it is the result of Thietmar's deliberate efforts. Naturally, the sequence of associations may also have involved Latin and – if so – it is worth noting that “cid” or “cidi” evoke equally meaningful associations with the tragic end of the expedition of the Saxons – *cidi* means “to be beheaded”.

With these analytical remarks on the text we have reached the boundary beyond which divining Thietmar's intentions is no longer justifiable, as further conjectures cannot be verified. Returning therefore to less speculative issues, we should remember that Czcibor's role was limited to killing, possibly murdering the participants in the Saxons' expedition.<sup>65</sup> It should be emphasized here that the translations talking about “inflicting a defeat” on the Saxons by Czcibor,<sup>66</sup> or leading the attack sealing the fate of the battle,<sup>67</sup> diverge from the meaning of the original. He is not presented as the leader of the Polish army or even its part, and if, according to Thietmar, Hodo had attacked Mieszko, obviously the latter emerges as the commander resisting the Saxon invasion.

This conclusion corresponds with the information provided by Bruno of Querfurt, who wrote about Mieszko as the vanquisher of Hodo, adding that he had resorted to a ruse (*ars*) to achieve it.<sup>68</sup> Bruno may have meant an

64 The case of *Medeburu* as well as name explanations in other places (e.g., “Belgor” into *Mons Pulcher* – “Beautiful Mountain”, cf. Thietmar VI, 56) show that Thietmar based translations of toponomastics on imperfect knowledge of the Slavic language. A successful attempt is his association of the name *Nemzi* (i.e., *Niemcza/Nimptsch*) with “Niemcy” i.e., Germans (Thietmar VII, 59, cf. e.g., J. Strzelczyk, *Thietmar...*, p. 75).

65 See the quotation and translation above on pp. 62f.

66 So in M.Z. Jedlicki's translation, see above on pp. 61f.

67 So in D.A. Warner's translation: “When the battle began at Zehden, on the feast of John the Baptists, they [the Saxons – S.R.] were initially successful. But then Miesco's brother, Cidebur, attacked and killed all the best warriors...” (cf. *The Ottonian Germany...*, p. 114).

68 *Św. Wojciecha biskupa i męczennika Żywot drugi...*, chap. 10: “Actum est bellum cum Polanis, dux eorum Misico arte vicit, humiliata Theutonum magnanimitas teram lambit, Hodo pugnax marchio laceris vexillis terga vertit”.

ambush, one prepared and executed by Czcibor, but this is merely another conjecture. What is more, according to Bruno, the conflict between Mieszko and Hodo took place during Otto II's reign. If this is not a simple mistake, then one might take into account the possibility that the hostilities between the neighbours did not cease until 973.<sup>69</sup> Considering the quality of the sources, the question must remain open.

However, both authors – Bruno and Thietmar – present only Mieszko and Hodo as the conflicting sides. Involving other subjects, like the Northern March<sup>70</sup> or Otto I himself<sup>71</sup> is the product of historical debate. Quite significantly, Otto was presented by Thietmar as the instance competent to settle the dispute between Mieszko and Hodo, which supports the view that the emperor was the ultimate guarantor of peace in the circles respecting the primacy of Rome in the community of *Christianitas*. This is not the only message of the work implementing his pragmatic programme (*causa scribendi*).

The story of *Cidini* is also a warning, a reminder against undertaking unjustified military operations and carrying out morally dubious aggression that can destroy the universal order. Thus, the chronicler contributes to the discussion present in historiographic reflection at least since the times of St. Augustine (died 430) on just war. The tragedy of the Saxons could have been seen as punishment for their vile aggression. On the other hand, it is a painful memory for the chronicler. Therefore, it is important that it is Czcibor who is to blame, while Mieszko – loyal to the emperor<sup>72</sup> – remains on the “bright” side of the historical scene, especially in that the analyzed fragment of Thietmar's chronicle does not provide any premises blaming the Polish ruler for creating the *casus belli*.

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69 We should emphasize here that the view that the dispute between Hodo and Mieszko was settled by Otto I at the convention in Quedlinburg in that year (or even earlier) is only a hypothesis. Neither Thietmar nor *Annales Altahenses maiores*, nor any other contemporary source mention that the matter was raised during the convention. It is thus surprising that historical science has widely adopted the view that the imperial court dealt with the case of *Cidini* (see above footnotes 40 and 42). For in fact, this – as well as the alleged sentence – is merely a conjecture.

70 The idea has emerged that Thietmar's father, Siegfried, due to his connections with the Northern March, represented that March during the expedition (the debate on this issue see, e.g., J. Strzelczyk, *Mieszko...*, pp. 151f., 158-161; E. Rymar, *A jednak pod Cedynią?...*, pp. 148). However, Thietmar's narration shows that Siegfried arrived “with his” men. Thus, the idea is hardly justified and has resulted from arbitrary identification of the campaign from 972 with the Pomeranian question.

71 See above, footnote 26.

72 We should add here that the wider context of the work, which dating the battle for the day of St. John the Baptist may refer to, shows that Mieszko rendered great services in the propagation of Christianity; this was very important for Thietmar, see above.

However, this did not prevent historians from conjecturing for over two centuries that Hodo's action was a reaction to Mieszko I's expansive or even aggressive policy; neither were they discouraged from creating detailed descriptions of the battle. What is more, calling it the "Battle of Cedynia (vel *Cidini*)" consolidates the conviction that the fighting took place in the vicinity of the stronghold bearing this name, while the account by the bishop of Merseburg indicates *Cidini* as the place of the extermination of the Saxons. It is thus quite possible that the whole struggle happened in *Cidini*. Ultimately, it is impossible to conclude whether Thietmar wrote about a stronghold, an open settlement, or another place in the landscape of Mieszko's realm.<sup>73</sup>

In short: even if we hypothetically assume that the first stage of the battle, victorious for the Saxons, took place before they reached *Cidini*, in view of the chronicler's narration they were routed precisely there. Thus, the vision of the "Battle of Cedynia/*Cidini*", whose result was determined by Czcibor's/*Cidebur*'s attack, turns out to be a product of historians' inkwells, perpetuated since the 19<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>74</sup>

#### EPILOGUE: FROM THE »BATTLE OF CEDYNIA« TO THE »BAPTISM OF POMERANIA«

In shaping the memory of the campaign of 972 mentioned by Thietmar, the paths of Clio and Calliope have crossed and remained so,<sup>75</sup> leading to Cedynia on the Odra cultivating the conviction that the battle was fought to maintain Polish rule on the Baltic. Thus, next year's 1050<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the »Battle of Cedynia« will be one of the many celebrations related to the joining of Pomerania in the co-creation of European medieval civilization. It is thus worth mentioning here the millennial celebrations of establishing the bishopric in Kołobrzeg<sup>76</sup> at the memorable congress of Gniezno in 1000.<sup>77</sup> The bishopric turned out to

73 The Latin term *locus* lends itself to these many interpretations.

74 Provisionally, we may even hypothetically admit the siege of *Cidini*, but only to contradict the hypothesis of the battle in an open field. However, this is based on the fact that the sources remain silent on this matter, so it makes no sense to dwell on it – there is already too much unverifiable speculations in the debate.

75 Jerzy Maroń is right in saying that due to such unrestrained development of the tradition of the Battle of Cedynia in historical studies, this phenomenon should be recognized as one of the most spectacular "peculiarities" or "oddities" in Polish military history (see J. Maroń, *O osobliwościach polskiej historii wojskowości*, Wrocławskie Studia z Historii Wojskowości, III, Wrocław 2013, pp. 98, 136f.).

76 Strictly speaking: *aeccllesia Salsae Cholbergiensis* (the "Church of Kołobrzeg/Colberg's Salt"), see: Thietmar VII, 72; cf. e.g., S. Rosik, *Conversio gentis Pomeranorum. Studium świadectwa o wydarzeniu (XII wiek)*, Wrocław 2010, pp. 21-44, and the footnote 77 below.

77 The scholarly aspects of the celebrations are available in the volume: *Salsa Cholbergiensis. Kołobrzeg we wczesnym średniowieczu*, ed. L. Leciejewicz, M. Rębkowski, Kołobrzeg 2000; see also: *W 1000-lecie powstania biskupstwa w Kołobrzegu*, ed. I. Jeż, Koszalin 2000.

be short-lived, similarly as the initial Piast rule on the Baltic, which collapsed perhaps already in the times of Bolesław the Brave.

Ultimately, Pomerania joined fully in the making of "Europe" as a result of the events of the second and third decades of the 12<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>78</sup> It was quite possibly that around, the year 1121 the suzerainty of the Polish ruler, Bolesław III the Wrymouth, was recognized by Western Pomerania, which maintained its separate existence as the duchy ruled by Wartislav I, the founder of the house of Griffins. In 1124-1125 it was the theatre of the mission of St. Otto of Bamberg, organized at the initiative of Wrymouth. Its spectacular success – consolidated during his second trip to the Baltic in 1128 – went down in history as »the baptism of Pomerania«,<sup>79</sup> whose 900<sup>th</sup> anniversary will soon be celebrated. The celebrations will certainly include the mention of the Polish rulers' contribution to these pivotal events.

In accordance with the current tradition we may expect that the significance of the »Battle of Cedynia« will be emphasized as a milestone on the Piasts' push to the Baltic.<sup>80</sup> Thus, time will soon show to what extent this product of historiography, consolidated since the 19<sup>th</sup> century, is sustainable, especially in that next year will offer a good opportunity to demythologize it. It is important that apart from gathering at Góra Czcibora (Czcibor's Moun-

78 For a broad and complex view of these processes see: *Europa reaches the Baltic...*, passim (a study recently prepared by multiple authors: Marie Bláhová, Zbigniew Dalewski, Władysław Duczko, Darius von Güttner-Sporzyński, Wojciech Mrozowicz, Aleksander Paroń, Marcin Pauk, Paweł Migdalski, Sławomir Moździoch, Andrzej Pleszczyński, Marian Rębkowski, Tomasz Wiślicz and Stanisław Rosik).

79 The oldest surviving document of the first Pomeranian bishop, Adalbert – earlier participating in the missions of Otto of Bamberg, underlines *expressis verbis* that thanks to him and the Polish Prince, Bolesław the Wrymouth, the Pomeranians were baptized (the document is dated to 1153, see *Pommersches Urkundenbuch*, I: 786–1253, part 1, *Urkunden*, ed. K. Conrad, Köln-Wien 1970, no. 43, p. 47: "...divina largiente gratia gens Pomeranorum devoto studio domini Bolizlay gloriosi Polonorum ducis ac predicatione Ottonis venerandi Babenbergensis episcopi fidem Christi ac baptismum suscepit..."; cf. S. Rosik, *Conversio gentis Pomeranorum...*, pp. 63f., 609, 632ff.). The metaphor describing Otto's achievement as the "baptism of Pomeranians" has its grounds also in his hagiography from the 12<sup>th</sup> century and it is no coincidence that it has become part of historical tradition as the »baptism of Pomerania«, which is confirmed by the 20<sup>th</sup> century anniversary celebrations of the events – see e.g., J. Urban, *Otto-Jubiläum in Bamberg und Pommern*, "Bericht des Historischen Vereins Bamberg" CXXV (1989), pp. 59-103; G. Wejman, *Kult św. Ottona na Pomorzu*, in: *Św. Otton z Bambergu – ewangelizator Pomorza. Jego kult do czasów współczesnych*, ed. idem, Szczecin 2004, pp. 56-77; idem, *Biskup Otton z Bambergu w przestrzeni pomorskiego Kościoła*, Szczecin 2021, pp. 144-198.

80 See, e.g., quite recently E. Rymar, *A jednak pod Cedynią?...*, pp. 148-150 et passim. In the Pomeranian context the celebrations of the events at Cedynia are bound with the commemoration of the anniversary of (alleged – sic!) incorporation of Wolin into Poland in 967, cf. P. Migdalski, *Poland and Pomerania...*, pp. 39-41, and above, pp. 58f.



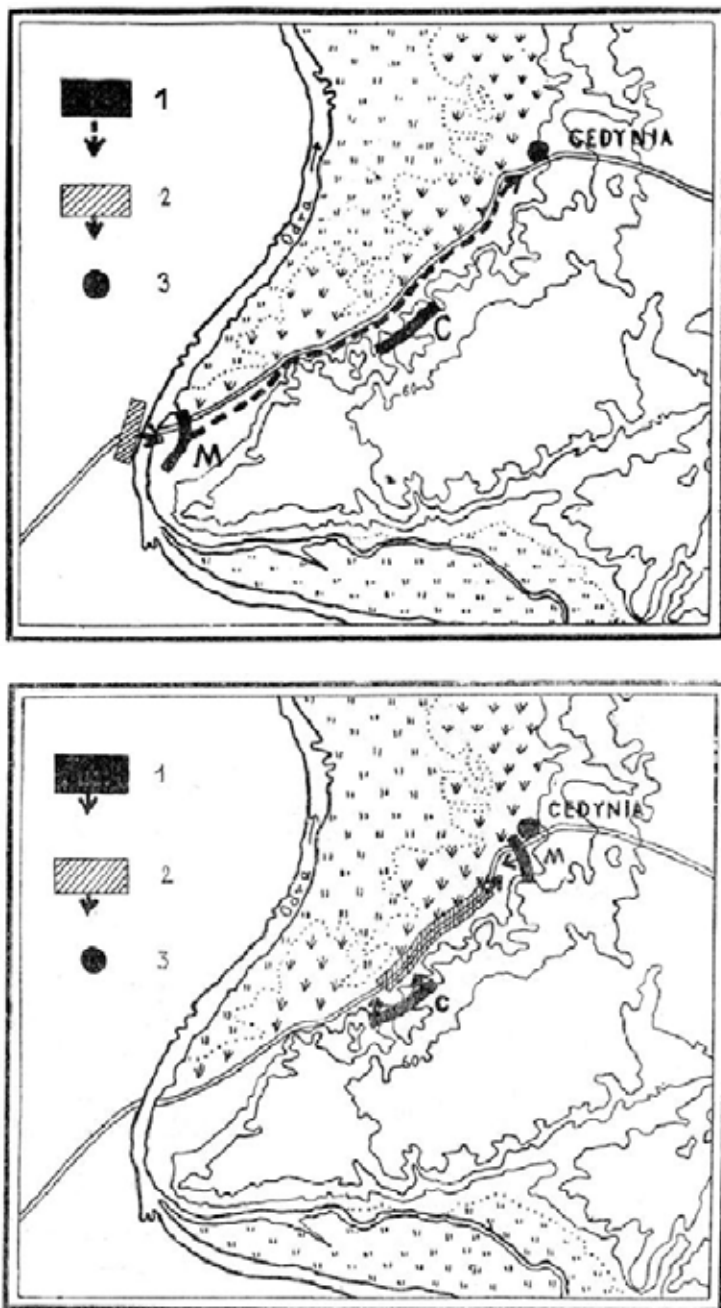
tain), “re-enacting” the battle, lighting bonfires, and delivering panegyric speeches to commemorate the events from 972, we should also reach again *ad fontes!* – that is, for Thietmar’s *Chronicle*.

translated by Bartłomiej Madejski

#### ABSTRACT

The narrative of Thietmar of Merseburg (d. 1018) about the attack of the Lusatian margrave Hodo on Mieszko I in 972, whose tragic end was the slaughter of the Saxons in *Cidini*, formed the basis for the hypothesis of the Battle of Cedynia on the Odra river. This hypothetical location of the battle is often treated as a fact due to the tradition upheld since the 19<sup>th</sup> century, and the event itself is commemorated in Cedynia and its surroundings with monuments and periodic anniversary celebrations. The article analyzes the relevant account by Thietmar (also in its symbolic and allegorical aspect), and in this context postulates concerning not only a demythologization of the “canonical” picture of the events (which has been postulated by historians for generations), but also the shaping of a culture of remembrance, especially in the context of a broader historical tradition associated with the expansion of Piast Poland and the widening of medieval European civilization to the Baltic.

**Keywords:** Thietmar of Merseburg, Mieszko I, margrave Hodo, *Cidini*, Battle of Cedynia, *Cidebur*



**Map 1.** Battle of Cedynia according to Władysław Filipowiak (after: W. Filipowiak, *Cedynia w czasach Mieszka I*, Szczecin 1959).

**Legend:** 1 - Polish army; 2 - the army of Hodo; 3 - Cedynia, M - Mieszko; C - Czibor.



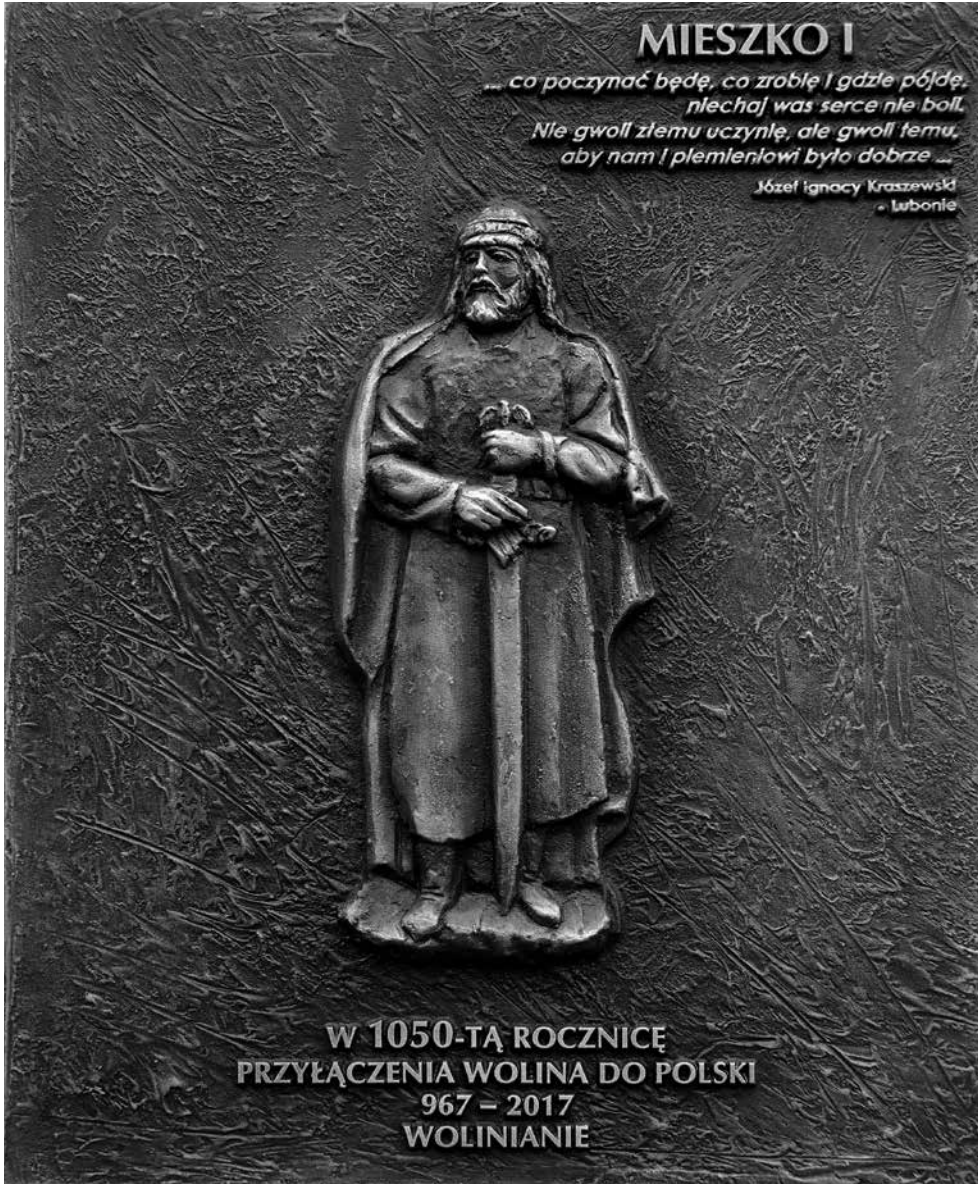
**Fig. 1.** Góra Czcibora (Czcibor's Mountain) near Cedynia: the millennium "Monument of the Polish Victory at the Oder" erected in 1972. Photo: S. Rosik.



**Fig. 2.** Góra Czcibora: the large stone mosaic with the scene of the Battle of Cedynia (at the foot of the hill, 1972). Photo: Paweł Migdalski.



**Fig. 3-4.** Siekierki-Stare Łysogórki: Cemetery of Soldiers of the 1<sup>st</sup> Polish Army.  
Photo: S. Rosik.



**Fig. 5.** Wolin: Plaque commemorating Wolin's 1050 years in Poland (Miejski Dom Kultury [The City Culture House], 2017). Photo: S. Rosik.



**Fig. 6.** Cedyňa: Monument to the Battle of Cedyňa – “Fountain of the Three Warriors”. Photo: P. Migdalski.



**Fig. 7.** Cedyňa: the mosaic commemorating the Battle of Cedyňa (on the wall of the Post Office building, 1972). Photo: P. Migdalski.

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## THE *CHRONICA POLONORUM* BY BISHOP VINCENTIUS OF CRACOW. PRELIMINARY REMARKS ABOUT ITS HISTORICAL CONTEXT, VIOLENCE AND ITS USE<sup>1</sup>



The *Chronica Polonorum* was written by Vincentius, a Polish cleric who in 1208 became the first canonically elected bishop of Cracow, the capital city of the Polish province *Matopolska* (Lesser Poland, *Polonia Minor*).<sup>2</sup> This masterpiece of medieval scholarship is a dynastically sponsored twelfth-century history of Poland and, as early as the second quarter of the thirteenth century acquired the status of a university textbook at the University of Cracow.<sup>3</sup> The importance of Vincentius's work was highlighted in 1252 when the bull of Innocent IV referred to its existence in the Piast archives.<sup>4</sup> Scholarship to date acknowledges that the *Chronicle* was commissioned by Casimir II

1 This paper, presented at the 2021 International Conference of the Australian Early Medieval Association, Melbourne, Australia (1-2 October 2021) draws on my various publications on the *Chronicle of the Poles*, for example: D. von Güttner-Sporzyński, *Bishop Vincentius of Cracow and his "Chronica Polonorum"*, in: *Writing history in medieval Poland: Bishop Vincentius of Cracow and the 'Chronica Polonorum'*, ed. D. von Güttner-Sporzyński, Turnhout 2017, pp. 1-17; D. von Güttner-Sporzyński, *Constructing memory: holy war in the Chronicle of the Poles by Bishop Vincentius of Cracow*, "Journal of Medieval History" XL (2014) 3, pp. 276-291.

2 Bishop Vincentius of Cracow is known in the Polish historiography as "Wincenty Kadłubek" or "Mistrz Wincenty zwany Kadłubkiem". Tradition dating to a century after Vincentius's death attributes to him the patronymic "Kadłubek" (Latin: *Kadlubonis*, *Cadlubconis* or *Cadlubko*) of unknown origin. In the 1189 charter issued by Casimir II, Vincentius is listed among those authenticating the document as "Vincentius magister". D. von Güttner-Sporzyński, *Bishop Vincentius of Cracow and his "Chronica Polonorum"...*, pp. 1-17; A. Lis, *Dokumenty mistrza Wincentego: zarys problematyki*, in: *Łógostawiony Wincenty Kadłubek. W 800-lecie sakry biskupiej*, Kraków 2008, pp. 39-55; M. Plezia, *Kadłubek – dzieje imienia*, in: *Od Arystotelesa do "Złotej legendy"*, ed. M. Plezia, Warszawa 1958, pp. 314-346.

3 M. Zwiercan, *A History of the Manuscripts of the Chronica Polonorum: The Influence of Vincentius on History Writing*, in: *Writing history in medieval Poland: Bishop Vincentius of Cracow and the 'Chronica Polonorum'*, ed. D. von Güttner-Sporzyński, Turnhout 2017, pp. 63-78.

4 R. Zawadzki, *Innocentego PP. IV Bulla kanonizacyjna świętego Stanisława oraz Bulla delegacyjna dla Jakuba z Velletri*, "Analecta Cracoviensia" XI (1979), p. 44.



Sprawiedliwy (the Just), the *princeps* and suzerain of Poland whom Vincentius calls the “bravest of princes” who ‘understood with certainty that all evidence of bravery, all indications of goodness are reflected in the examples of the ancestors as if in mirrors.’<sup>5</sup>

That bravery necessitated the use of violence in the exercise of power and, as Vincentius instructs his readers, violence was often a means of attaining power.<sup>6</sup> The dynastic crisis and the fratricidal civil wars of the twelfth century which brought disruption to the Piast realm served as the backdrop to Vincentius’s work. The militant Piast dynasts and their destructive, violent means of securing power caused distress to the erudite clergyman, and his construction of the history of the Poles reflects that anguish.

Vincentius’s patron, Casimir II, was the youngest brother who emerged victorious from a prolonged dynastic feud which shook Poland in the twelfth century. The *Chronicle*, arguably, fits not only the purpose of “recovering from the depths of oblivion” the “real images of forebears” but also endorsed and supported Casimir’s credentials as the legitimate heir of his father Bolesław III Krzywousty (the Wrymouth) and God’s anointed Piast suzerain of Poland.<sup>7</sup>

Vincentius’s patron, Casimir II, perhaps due to the efforts of the chronicler himself, received a special place in history of the Poles with the appellation “the Just” bestowed on him by posterity. This unique consideration accorded Casimir by Vincentius is highlighted by the depiction of the period of mourning after Casimir’s death when “after the star of Casimir went out, disarray and confusion occurred in human relations”.<sup>8</sup> Indeed, the *Chronicle* presents the just Piast ruler as a person who wished to “be loved more than feared”.<sup>9</sup> Vincentius paints Casimir as engaged in intellectual pursuits,

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5 “Intellexit nimirum strennuissimus principum omnimode strennuitatis experimenta, omnimoda honestatis insignia ex maiorum exemplaribus uelut ex quibusdam speculis resultare”, *Magistri Vincentii dicti Kadłubek Chronica Polonorum*, ed. M. Plezia, Monumenta Poloniae Historica n.s., XI, Kraków 1994 (hereafter: *Chronica Polonorum*), Prologue, 4. All translations from the Latin are by Darius von Güttner-Sporzyński from his first English-Latin critical edition of the *Chronica Polonorum* which is being prepared for publication. The debate about who commissioned the *Chronicle* continues, see for example A. Bielowski, *Wstęp krytyczny do dziejów Polski*, Lwów 1850, p. 114; E. Skibiński, *Mieszko czy Kazimierz? W sprawie sporu o inspiratora mistrza Wincentego*, in: *Nihil superfluum esse: studia z dziejów średniowiecza ofiarowane Profesor Jadwidze Krzyżaniakowej*, ed. J. Strzelczyk, J. Dobosz, Poznań 2000, pp. 167-174.

6 T.N. Bisson, *The crisis of the twelfth century. Power, lordship, and the origins of European government*, Princeton 2009, p. 6.

7 “Non puppas fictiles, set ueras patrum effigies de sinu obliuionis, de ebore antiquissimo iubemur excidere”, *Chronica Polonorum*, Prologue, 2.

8 “Sidere igitur Kazimiri occidente, ortum est quasi quoddam chaos et quedam rerum ac personarum confusio”, *ibidem*, IV, 21.

9 “Diligi mauult pius princeps quam timeri”, *ibidem*, IV, 5.

debating examples offered by the Church fathers and the deeds of illustrious men. In the *Chronicle* Casimir practises theological analysis discussing the salvation of the soul with bishops in addition to governing the realm as an exemplary Christian ruler.<sup>10</sup>

Vincentius outlines Poland's system of government in the *Chronicle* and acts as "a guide who leads the way with his light moving on before" the reader at the same time critiquing "the amiable customs of the past" that "are full of such examples to follow."<sup>11</sup> The chronicler thus instructs the subjects of the Piast dynasty on how they should obey their sovereign according to tradition and in fulfilment of God's command.<sup>12</sup> Two centuries after the death of Vincentius, Jan Długosz wrote about the humble Bishop of Cracow and that nature endowed him richly with noble character and extraordinary abilities. Indeed remarked Jan Długosz – "the stars looked at him kindly."<sup>13</sup> Vincentius however, saw his own person differently referring to himself in the *Chronicle* as a dwarf scribe burdened with Atlas's task.<sup>14</sup>

#### THE AUTHOR AND THE *CHRONICLE OF THE POLES*

There does not seem to be any doubt that Vincentius was born in Poland. His date of birth, however, is uncertain.<sup>15</sup> During the beatification process the date of c.1160 was established as the approximate date of his birth. Nonetheless, scholars, taking into account the likelihood that Vincentius did himself listen to the "deliberations of certain renowned men" argued that Vincentius's birth c.1150 is more likely because these seemingly overheard conversations became the main thread of the first three books of the *Chronicle*.<sup>16</sup>

After a short time in Cracow's Cathedral school, likely before 1166–1167, Vincentius probably studied in Italy (Bologna?) and/or France

10 *Chronica Polonorum*, IV, 5. "Quasdam de salute anime questiones pontificibus proponeret", *Chronica Polonorum*, IV, 19.

11 "Certius siquidem iter carpitur duce preuio, luce preambula et uenustior est effigies morum, quam uenustas prefiguratur exemplaris", *Chronica Polonorum*, Prologue, 2.

12 W. Wojtowicz, *Memoria und Mnemotechnik in der Chronica Polonorum vom Bischof Vincentius (ca. 1150–1223)*, in: *Culture of Memory in East Central Europe in the Late Middle Ages (1000-1600)*, ed. R. Wójcik, Poznań 2008, pp. 129-137.

13 "Cui nature pregnantis dives et facundus uterus preclarum ingenium contulerat, quem tam benigno lumine astra respexerant", *Joannis Dlugossii Annales seu Cronicae incliti Regni Poloniae*, Books V-VI, ed. K. Pieradzka, Z. Kozłowska-Budkowa, D. Turkowska, Warszawa 1973, p. 202.

14 *Chronica Polonorum*, Prologue, 4.

15 O.M. Balzer, *Studyum o Kadłubku*, vol. I-II, in: idem, *Pisma pośmiertne*, vol. I-II, Lwów 1934-1935, vol. I, p. 132.

16 "Memini siquidem colloctionis mutue uirorum illustrium, quorum tanto felicius est recordatio, quanto celebrior uiget auctoritas", *Chronica Polonorum*, I, 4.

(Paris?), where he acquired his education and perfected his literary skill.<sup>17</sup> Whether Vincentius studied in Bologna or Paris or at both universities cannot be resolved on the basis of the analysis of his work and there is no other extant evidence. Educated deduction enables an estimate that Vincentius returned to Poland between 1183 and 1189 and soon afterwards became a canon of the Cathedral of Cracow. There he rose to prominence as a member of the court of Casimir II who ruled Cracow as the *princeps* after his successful coup staged in 1177. Casimir's death in 1194 did not significantly interrupt Vincentius's career and he became a provost in Sandomierz and a close confidante of Casimir's widow, Helena of Znojmo as her chaplain.

Vincentius's work on the *Chronicle* started after his return to Poland and almost certainly in the late 1180s or the early 1190s at the behest of Casimir II, although Vincentius does not name the patron who commissioned the *Chronicle* in the text. Among hypotheses associated with the dating of the composition of the *Chronicle* is the proposition that Vincentius had completed his text before 1208 when he was elected bishop of Cracow and assumed both ecclesiastical and political role related to this leading office in Piast Poland.

During his pontificate Vincentius took part in the Fourth Lateran Council (1215) and was an active co-operator of the Archbishop of Gniezno in the implementation of the Gregorian Reform in his diocese. The reasons for Vincentius's resignation in 1218 are not known but his subsequent residency at the Cistercian convent in Jędrzejów suggests his preference for a contemplative style of life. In Jędrzejów he may have edited the final manuscript of his *Chronicle* before his death in 1223.

#### THE *CHRONICLE OF THE POLES*

In his *Chronicle* Vincentius places the Poles within universal history. Vincentius highlights events within living memory as he constructs text in ways that justify Casimir's claim to the throne of Cracow, his leadership of the House of Piast and his assumption of the suzerainty of all Poland. Created against the background of the twelfth-century dynastic struggle Vincentius comments on patterns of human behaviour and offers his own insight into ethical and moral issues through an ornate use of intellectual digression and erudite admonition. Vincentius's own erudition was shaped by the works of philosophers, the poets of Antiquity and the Bible which equipped him to draw liberally from the trove of classical authors such as Ovid, Virgil and Horace as well as from the biblical

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<sup>17</sup> Z. Kałuża, *Lektury filozoficzne Wincentego Kadłubka. Zbiór studiów*, Warszawa 2014, pp. 26, note 43.

text of the Old Testament.<sup>18</sup> There is a broad agreement that the *Chronicle* was addressed to a sophisticated listener among the Piast subjects; one that could not only understand but who could appreciate the refined poetic form in which the plot is delivered.

In the Prologue to the *Chronicle*, Vincentius provides instruction to the reader on how to read his work, advising that it is a serious work and that understanding it requires an educated mind and careful study. The *Chronicle* is to be treated more seriously than a mere exhibition – its contents are worthy and memorable.

Vincentius introduces an allegory of aversion to public exhibitions through three figures of Antiquity who “hate public performances”. In this way the author of the *Chronicle* distances himself from accusations of seeking fame.<sup>19</sup> He explains that his words is not motivated by “a passion for writing” or “a desire for celebrity” or even “eagerness to profit” for the writing of the *Chronicle* is a command from which he cannot free himself – it is the order of his suzerain.<sup>20</sup>

Vincentius reaches out to his audience and encourage them to be his companions and persevere in enjoyment of the *Chronicle*. He asks for their favour and their affection which will support him if he commits any errors. Yet, almost as if fearing the unwarranted attention Vincentius deliberately pre-empts criticism by implying that not everyone will understand his work and that only those should be “allowed to judge” the work “who are recommended by an elegant mind or outstanding refinement”.<sup>21</sup> Vincentius emphasise this point further to distinguish between a superficial reading with a deeper grasp of the sense of his storyline. The text needs to be savoured as if “chewing ginger” which tastes better when consumed slowly, deliberately, advisedly. The audience needs to pay attention and immerse themselves in the story thoroughly.<sup>22</sup>

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18 K. Chmielewska, *Recepcja rzymskiej literatury antycznej w Kronice polskiej Mistrza Wincentego*, in: *Onus Athlanteum. Studia nad Kroniką biskupa Wincentego*, ed. A. Dąbrówka, W. Wojtowicz, *Studia Staropolskie. Series Nova*, XXV, Warszawa 2009, pp. 215-230; Z. Kałuża, D. Calma, *O filozoficznych lekturach Mistrza Wincentego*, in: *ibidem*, pp. 231-278; B. Kürbis, *Motywy makrobiańskie w Kronice Mistrza Wincentego a szkoła Chartres*, “*Studia Źródłoznawcze*” 17 (1972), pp. 67-79. Cf. B. Kürbis, *Wstęp*, in: *Mistrz Wincenty (tzw. Kałużek)*, *Kronika Polska*, ed. and transl. B. Kürbis, Biblioteka Narodowa, series I, no. 277, Wrocław 1992, pp. LXXXII-CXII.

19 *Chronica Polonorum*, Prologue, 3.

20 *Ibidem*.

21 “Illud denique apud omnes precor esse inpetratum, ne omnibus passim de nobis detur iudicium, set eis dumtaxat quos ingenii elegantia uel urbanitatis commendat claritudo, ne cui nos prius liceat despiceret quam perdiligentissime dispexisse”, *ibidem*.

22 „Non enim sapit gingiber nisi masticatum nec est aliquid quod in transitu delectet, set est inciuile re inperspecta de re iudicare”, *ibidem*.

This calculated attention to the enjoyment of the *Chronicle* is needed because Vincentius charts an impressive ancient timeframe of the history of the Poles embedding their roots amongst the peoples of the Antiquity and thus making them an inherent part of universal history. Vincentius's explanation of the Poles' mythical and historical past centres on the deeds of their leaders. The progenitors of the Poles he writes, existed at the time that the ancient Persians, Greeks and Romans acquired their fame and glory.<sup>23</sup>

The strong influence of the heritage of Antiquity, is perhaps best illustrated by Vincentius's decision to present Books I–III of the *Chronicle* in the form of a rhetorical dialogue between two prelates "who were blessed with such good memory, as they were recognised for their authority".<sup>24</sup> The interlocutors chosen by Vincentius are Mateusz and Jan: "both of old age, both serious and thoughtful".<sup>25</sup> These figures who "narrate the beginning, progress, and the coming of age" of Poland are identified as Bishop Mateusz of Cracow (d. 1166) and Archbishop Jan of Gniezno (d. 1168/1176).<sup>26</sup> In their discourse Mateusz outlines the events of Polish history and Jan provides an appropriate validating example from the history of other peoples. In this way Vincentius achieves the integration of the deeds of the Poles with actions from the universal stage of history.

The dialogue between Mateusz and Jan continues until the final sentences of Book III which enables Vincentius to reveal himself at the opening of Book IV as the historian of Poland. His mandate is highlighted by hyperbolic modesty. Vincentius refers to himself as "a certain servant who carried the inkwell and the quill" and who "cleaned smoking torches".<sup>27</sup> Vincentius follows on, despairing, that the commission leaves him numb and terrified because the task is oppressive and overwhelming.<sup>28</sup> He exclaims that if he writes the truth, he will be an object of hate, and if he refuses the commission, he will be punished by his master. Vincentius asks his audience a rhetorical question "Who does not hesitate to stand with bare feet upon thorny thistles?"<sup>29</sup>

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23 I. Lewandowski, *Mistrz Wincenty a Justyn – epitomator Pompejusza Troja*, "Studia Źródłoznawcze" XX (1976), pp. 30f.; A.F. Grabski, *Związek polskiej tradycji dziejowej z uniwersalną w historiografii polskiej do końca XIII wieku*, "Zeszyty Naukowe Uniwersytetu Łódzkiego, Nauki humanistyczno-społeczne, seria I" XXI (1961), pp. 25-50.

24 *Chronica Polonorum*, I, 1.

25 Ibidem.

26 J. Dobosz, *Monarcha i możni wobec Kościoła w Polsce do początku XIII wieku*, Poznań 2002, pp. 303f., 308f.

27 "Aderat autem quidam uernaculus, atramentarium gestans cum calamo ac fumantem demungens faculam (...) Esto deinceps unicus ac singularis huius rei publice rationalis", *Chronica Polonorum*, IV, 1.

28 Ibidem.

29 "Nam quis horrentes, queso, tribulos nudo pede inpingere non horruit?", ibidem.

Despite this hesitation Vincentius commends the history of the Poles as the worthiest of subject to his audience and highlights his credentials as the person carrying the commission. Vincentius then compares his official role as the commissioned historian to that of a harvester who gathers the precious wheat and ignores the unimportant: "our task is to collect the ear of wheat into one sheaf, though the ones are scattered".<sup>30</sup> In short, what Vincentius offers is the official, authorised and above all true record.

#### THE IMPACT OF THE *CHRONICLE*

Vincentius's interpretation (creation?) of the history of the Poles had a major impact on the self-image and conceptualisation of the position of ruler in Poland. It also subsequently influenced the writing of history in Poland and about Poland. For example, among the particularly striking examples that has withstood the test of time is Vincentius's description of the 1138 Act of Succession (a document that might have never existed!), the use of the term *princeps* to define the suzerain of the whole Piast realm, and the use of the term *res publica* to describe the system of government of the Poles.<sup>31</sup> Widespread use of the *Chronicle* as a university textbook from the thirteenth century reinforced the association of these terms with the memory of Poland's past among the educated clerical cadre of the court. The use of 'republic' in the sixteenth century is evidence of the enduring influence the *Chronicle* had on the formation of Polish national identity as the community of the realm, and the extent to which this identity was shaped by the collective memory of its past – a past constructed, communicated and championed by Vincentius.

#### HISTORICAL CONTEXT OF THE *CHRONICLE*

Vincentius wrote the *Chronicle* in the last decades of the twelfth century, a period when authority was contested by rival members of the ruling House of Piast. As a cleric in the service of the monarch Vincentius was an eyewitness to the dynastic conflict and in the *Chronicle* gives account of the destructive effect of the lack of respect for "the divinely ordained affinity of blood".<sup>32</sup>

The Piast civil war commenced within a decade of the Act of Succession which, according to Vincentius, provided rules of succession for the descend-

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30 "Set longe aliud messoris est munus, aliud officium agricolae. Spinetis occupetur agricola, nostri sudoris est spicas licet sparsas unam in messem colligere", *ibidem*.

31 D. von Güttner-Sporzyński, *Constructing memory...*, p. 281.

32 "Filiatio paternitati reuerentiam exhibet, non filiationi paternitas ignoscit, non fraternitatem fraternitas, non consanguinitas consanguinitatem ... nec illa sancta spiritualis cognatio semetipsam agnoscit", *Chronica Polonorum*, IV, 23.

ants of Bolesław III Krzywousty (the Wrymouth) (r. 1102–1138).<sup>33</sup> The 1138 deathbed disposition of Bolesław III instituted a form of government referred to in the Polish historiography as the *principate*. Beyond the narrative of the *Chronicle* there is no other twelfth-century source to substantiate its provisions. Vincentius comments that Bolesław's eldest son Władysław "succeeded his father, elevated to the throne by the right of primogeniture and the right of succession of the kingdom."<sup>34</sup> In practice, the *princeps* held supreme authority over the whole of the Piast realm and resided in Cracow, the capital city of the province of Małopolska. Three of Władysław's younger half-brothers were assigned their own provinces as apanage within the realm, whilst the youngest son (Vincentius's patron), was not included in the settlement. Given the nature of the Vincentius's commission he included a reference to Casimir in the depiction Bolesław's deathbed scene where the father prophesies a special place in the history of the Poles for his youngest son.<sup>35</sup> For forty years after the death of Bolesław III, his sons Władysław II, Bolesław IV and Mieszko III successively held supreme authority as *princeps*.<sup>36</sup>

In the end, as prophesied by Bolesław III in the *Chronicle*, Casimir successfully staged a coup against his elder brother and in 1177 gained the throne of Cracow. This usurpation was legitimised in 1180 by the magnates and the prelates of the realm who, in exchange for a range of privileges, recognised and confirmed Casimir's succession as *princeps* and the hereditary rights of his lineal descendants.<sup>37</sup> In the ensuing struggle, witnessed by Vincentius, Casimir's elder brother, Mieszko III "embraced the urge to rule"<sup>38</sup> and fought to regain control of the throne. Mieszko's actions thus established the twelfth century history of Poland as the age of bloody fratricidal feudal disintegration in the Polish historical conscious-

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33 Bolesław III married twice, first to Zbyslava of Kiev, who gave birth to Władysław II; and secondly to Salome of Berg, who was the mother of Bolesław IV, Mieszko III, Henry and Casimir II (collectively known as the younger Piasts). The dispositions of Bolesław III provided for the younger sons to rule over the domains of Mazovia, Wielkopolska (Greater Poland) and Sandomierz respectively, while Casimir was not included in the settlement. See for example K. Jasiński, *Rodowód pierwszych Piastów*, ed. T. Jurek, Poznań 2004, pp. 184-194.

34 "Succedit autem patri Wladislaus, tam primogeniture priuilegiis insignis quam regni successione sublimis", *Chronica Polonorum*, III, 26.

35 Ibidem.

36 See a summary in R. Bartlett, *Blood royal: dynastic politics in medieval Europe*, Cambridge 2020, p. 204.

37 T.N. Bisson, *Witness to crisis? Power and resonance in the Chronicle of the Poles by Wincenty Kadłubek*, in: *Gallus Anonymous and his chronicle in the context of twelfth-century historiography from the perspective of the latest research*, ed. K. Stopka, Kraków 2010, pp. 208f.

38 "Set beata, set plus quam fraterna societas, apud quam plus pietatis valet religio, quam ambitus principandi persuadeat", *Chronica Polonorum*, I, 18.

ness.<sup>39</sup> Vincentius laments that the fratricidal violence facilitated “squandering the country”, warnings that fell on deaf ears.<sup>40</sup> He also issues a warning to the Piast dynasts inserted into the tale of two brothers, sons of valiant Gracchus: you and your “descendants would have certainly been regarded as the worthiest successors to the throne” if they have not “disgraced themselves by the crime of fratricide”.<sup>41</sup>

#### ACCOUNTS OF VIOLENCE AND ITS ROLE IN HISTORY

Vincentius’ approach to the role of violence in the history of the Poles comes from what he has “learned from the true stories of the elders”.<sup>42</sup> The progenitors of the Poles, claims Vincentius “did not greatly desire to rule nor did passion for possession drive them, for the power of mature courage was their element”.<sup>43</sup> Yet, this courage matched by valour could not be bound “in a prison made of borders” and thus the ancestors of the Poles conquered other nations, such as those living on the other side of the Baltic Sea. Their martial art and skill ensured that “they made everyone their subjects and also imprisoned their king, Canute”.<sup>44</sup> The subjugation of these nations allowed to impose on the vanquished a set of humiliating conditions.

“Either they were to agree to perpetual payment of tribute, or, as in the common custom of women, they were to braid their hair in a plait as an outward sign of their feminine weakness”.<sup>45</sup>

When the undecided remained divided as to which option to accept, Vincentius demonstrates the superiority of the proto-Poles by ascribing them superiority of swift action and imposition of both options on the enslaved nations.

As the consequence those subjected to the acceptance of the “custom of women” were further denigrated “by serving their wives as the wives previously served them”.<sup>46</sup> The impact of this victor’s justice is outlined

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39 D. von Güttner-Sporzyński, *Constructing memory...*, p. 291. Cf. T.N. Bisson, *The crisis...*, pp. 575f.

40 “Dissipatione dissipatur terra, direptione predatur”, *Chronica Polonorum*, II, 14.

41 “Igitur Polonia florentissimis per Graccum aucta successibus, statuit eius prolem regni successione dignissimam, nisi alterum filiorum eius fratricidii fedasset piaculum”, *ibidem*, I, 5.

42 “Quod tamen perueridica maiorum narratione condidici, non silebo”, *ibidem*, I, 2.

43 *Ibidem*.

44 *Ibidem*.

45 “Uel uectigales perpetuo recognoscant pensiones, uel eum mulieribus indifferentes habitu comas muliebriter enutriant, argumentum scilicet inbecillitatis femineae”, *ibidem*.

46 *Ibidem*.



by Archbishop Jan using the formulaic restatement of masculine honour and standing: the “recognition of vassalage hurt them less than bearing the brand of insult”. Here, Vincentius gives a pronouncement directed at his contemporary readers that “it is wiser to care about one’s good name than to guard riches”.<sup>47</sup> This verdict contrasts with the violent nature of the twelfth century Poland shaken by fratricidal infighting for supremacy over the whole of the Piast patrimony.

The *Chronicle*’s key theme is that violence is a natural part of the world’s order. When one tribe searches for “new quarters because their homeland could not accommodate them all”, it is obvious for Vincentius that war had to be conducted to allow these people to settle in a new location. In such a case, Vincentius offers his explanation that it is to be expected to face a clash because:

“Two currents flowing in opposite directions cannot be calmed without a clash, just as a lion and a tiger are not going to endure each other’s company for too long. As it is said, streams cannot flow within their banks if, from the opposing direction, the current pushes them with the same force”.<sup>48</sup>

The clash of the opposites feature in the story the sons of Gracchus who take on the task of saving their homeland but end up with “the younger brother attacking and killing his elder brother as if he were a rival rather than a partner in the victory and the kingdom”.<sup>49</sup> Here Vincentius condemns the fratricide and although “wicked heir, succeeds his father” he does not wear the crown because he was “more sullied by the fratricide than adorned with power”. When his crime came to light, he was “condemned to eternal exile as punishment”.<sup>50</sup>

At the conclusion of this story the interlocutor of Vincentius’s narrative, Jan, offers a moralising fable of greed and the ambition or lust for power is said to have “four daughters: a greed for riches, a yearning for honours, a striving for vainglory, an urge to lust”.<sup>51</sup> Blind ambition and violence become in Vincentius’s tale partners in crime. The didactic in Vincentius uses the violence as a by-product of naked ambition, greed and other vices.

47 Ibidem.

48 “Non enim sine collisione conquiescunt e continuo fluctus oppositi, nec diu uicinari sustinent leo cum tigride. Quippe: non bene torrentes ripa uoluuntur eadem, quos rapit opposito turbine uis eadem”, *ibidem*, I, 4.

49 “Moxque minor tam uictorie quam regni non quasi consortem set emulum fratrem occupat ac trucidat”, *ibidem*, I, 5.

50 “Nam paulo post dolo deprehenso piaculi deputatur supplicio, exilii perpetuitate dampnatus”, *ibidem*.

51 *Ibidem*, I, 6.

Through the words of Mateusz, the second of Vincentius's interlocutors, the author, offers the audience a reflection on the relationship between violence and justice. As the witness to the dynastic strife which impoverished the realm, Vincentius attributes the flourishing of Poland of the old days to the end of violence. When the indiscriminate violence finally ceased to inflict harm and despair then "freedom and equity" stopped to "serve injustice". The chronicler reflects that "while unyielding justice did not immediately begin to prevail" from now on "she ceased to be the subject of indiscriminate violence".<sup>52</sup>

This violence is countered by the virtue of courage. In the *Chronicle* Vincentius instructs his audience that 'even when there is no opportunity, courage needs to be exercised.'<sup>53</sup> Sometimes that exercise of courage opens the way to violence of the worst kind, fratricide. In the tale of Gracchus and his sons Vincentius recounts the fate of the "wicked heir".<sup>54</sup> The chronicler, through the words of Jan, offers a lesson in which the fratricide, "a debased sapling from such a noble vine" in the end "perishes by his own art". Thus, through violence, further says Jan, "sad ambition comes to a sad end".<sup>55</sup>

The ambition for conquest and domination, Vincentius also notes, characterised Alexander the Great, who attempted to exact tribute from the Poles. In an "amazing but believable tale" told by Mateusz, Alexander's envoys are shown true respect but when they demand a payment of tribute, they meet with a violent response: they are "beaten black and blue" with their skins "stuffed partly with gold and partly with worthless seaweed".<sup>56</sup> In this horrendous way the Poles aim to tame Alexander's thirst that "knows no satisfaction and no restraint".<sup>57</sup> The cruel response of the Poles, writes Vincentius is to demonstrate that "the Poles are to be respected by the courage of the soul, the stamina of the body, not by their riches".<sup>58</sup> The Poles are victorious forcing Alexander to escape ingloriously resulting in "the tax collector yielding and the matter of tribute silenced".<sup>59</sup> Again, violence is necessary to demonstrate virtue and to exercise power, almost as if Vincentius excused the violent nature of the Poles' response.

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52 "Licet autem iustitie rigor non tunc statim ceperit imperare, extunc tamen uiolentie desiit subesse potestati et dicta est iustitia que plurimum prodest ei qui minimum potest", *Chronica Polonorum*, I, 5.

53 Ibidem.

54 Ibidem.

55 Ibidem, I, 6.

56 Ibidem, I, 9.

57 Ibidem.

58 Ibidem.

59 Ibidem.

## CONCLUSION

These preliminary remarks arise from work on the first English critical edition of the *Chronicle*. The theme of violence, explored by authors such as Thomas Bisson, is an underlying constant in the history told by Vincentius.<sup>60</sup> Vincentius was commissioned for a specific purpose by the youngest son who—in spite of his initial absence in the order of succession, secured the throne. His claim to the throne is supported by the story line in the *Chronicle* which is constructed in such a way as to embed Casimir's legitimacy in the collective memory of the Piast subjects through the chain of events which brought him to the throne.

The *Chronicle* serves as a tool of cultural transmission, cementing the selected cultural values of the Piasts and thus exerting a substantial influence on the future of their realm. In order to legitimise Casimir's takeover, Vincentius presented an eloquent and didactic narrative, claiming authority to tell the story of the ruler known to posterity as "the Just". In this repository of memory, constructed in a select and distinctive way, Vincentius presents Casimir as a beneficiary of the violence of the past and sets him apart from other rulers as an exemplar, thus constructing the past in order to meet the needs of his present and, in doing so, forged an immediately attractive, influential and lasting identity for Casimir. Established in the time of crisis, it withstood the test of time.

## ABSTRACT

A masterpiece of medieval scholarship, the *Chronica Polonorum* written by Bishop Vincentius of Cracow (c. 1150–1223) traced the history of the Poles from time immemorial to the lifetime of its author. It is the second oldest Polish narrative source and as such it established an authoritative dynastically sponsored history of the Piast realm. Its author, a learned yet unassuming cleric achieved the goal which he proclaims in the Prologue to this work; his construct of the Polish history influenced the way history of the Poles was written ever since. In his exposition of the history of the Poles, Vincentius places a specific emphasis on violence: its use, its purpose and its justification. This article presents the historical context to the commissioning of the *Chronicle* and aims to explore various use of violence ultimately serving to construct Casimir the Just's claim to the throne.

**Keywords:** *Chronica Polonorum*, violence, Poland, Bishop Vincentius of Cracow, Piast dynasty

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60 T.N. Bisson, *Witness to crisis...*; idem, *The crisis...*

MAREK SMOLIŃSKI  
GDAŃSK

## THE GDAŃSK MASSACRE IN THE MEDIEVAL HISTORICAL NARRATIVE<sup>1</sup>



The events which took place in Gdańsk on November 12-13, 1308 have been the subject of many studies. Historians interested in the medieval history of Gdańsk Pomerania, the Teutonic Order, and Polish-German relations have dealt with it. Three works published a few years ago are of particular importance in sorting out the knowledge on the seizure of Gdańsk Pomerania by the Order and the ensuing Gdańsk Massacre, as well as in offering a comprehensive evaluation of the findings and conclusions of the earlier literature on the subject. Two of these works were written by Błażej Śliwiński.<sup>2</sup> The first concerns the history of Gdańsk Pomerania during the reign of Władysław Łokietek (the Elbow-high). The second is a monographic study of issues related to the Gdańsk Massacre and the destruction of Gdańsk. The third work consists of materials deriving from the international scholarly conference that took place on the occasion of the 700<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the Gdańsk Massacre.<sup>3</sup> Due to the multitude of issues raised by the participants of that conference, these materials constitute the most

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1 A narrative should be considered an utterance that aims not only to provide its recipient with a specific message, but also to offer an appropriate interpretation of it (consistent with the intention of the author of the utterance). For this reason, the content of this article cannot be limited only to narrative historical sources presented in works such as annals or medieval chronicles. In the case of the present topic, reference should also be made to testimonies of witnesses of the Polish-Teutonic trials from the 14<sup>th</sup> and early 15<sup>th</sup> centuries. Their content illustrates the process of creating social memory related to the "Gdańsk Massacre" and sometimes influences the image of events in Gdańsk recorded by medieval chroniclers. They create the historical tradition that penetrated into narrative sources, but also drew from them. See H. Chłopocka, *Tradycja o Pomorzu Gdańskim w zeznania świadków na procesach polsko-krzyżackich w XIV i XV wieku*, "Roczniki Historyczne" (hereafter: RH) XXV (1959) 1, pp. 65-81, 130-133, 139.

2 B. Śliwiński, *Pomorze Wschodnie w okresie rządów księcia polskiego Władysława Łokietka w latach 1306-1309*, Gdańsk 2003, pp. 317-462; idem, *Rzeź i zniszczenie Gdańska przez Krzyżaków w 1308 r.*, Gdańsk 2006.

3 "Rzeź Gdańska" z 1308 roku w świetle najnowszych badań. *Materiały z sesji naukowej 12-13 listopada 2008 roku*, ed. B. Śliwiński, Gdańsk 2009, p. 229.

comprehensive study of the problem of the Gdańsk Massacre. However, to date the image of these events in medieval historical narratives has not been discussed separately.<sup>4</sup> Most of the works discussing the seizure of Pomerania by the Teutonic Knights do of course refer to the narrative sources to a greater or lesser degree.

To begin with, it is worth briefly recalling the latest findings of historians concerning the circumstances which led to the massacre of Danzig. They can be supplemented with threads that have not been sufficiently taken up by researchers. In this way it will be possible to confront the judgments of contemporary historians with the meaning of narrative sources from the Middle Ages. The reconstruction of the events in Gdańsk in 1308 begins with an attack on the Gdańsk part of Pomerania<sup>5</sup> in August 1308 by the army

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4 The subject of the image of the Gdańsk Massacre in modern chronicles was elaborated by E. Kizik, *Wydarzenia lat 1308–1309 w opiniach gdańskich i polskich kronikarzy oraz historyków z XVI–XVIII wieku*, in: *“Rzeź Gdańska...”,* pp. 146-154. In this article the author presents the views of chroniclers writing after the epoch of Długosz. Therefore, there is room to discuss the attitude toward the Gdańsk Massacre of, among others, Szymon Grunau and Maciej Miechowita. Therefore, the views of these historians have been omitted in this text.

5 B. Śliwiński, *Pomorze Wschodnie...*, pp. 321-346; idem, *Rzeź i zniszczenie...*, pp. 77-80; idem, *Wydarzenia w Gdańsku i w okolicach w okresie od września do 12/13 listopada 1308 roku*, in: *Rzeź i zniszczenie Gdańska...*, pp. 88-91. From the older literature on the subject, the article by K. Jasiński, *Zajęcie Pomorza Gdańskiego przez Krzyżaków w latach 1308-1309, “Zapiski Historyczne”* (hereafter: ZH) XXXI (1966) 3, pp. 299-355, deserves special mention. So far in the literature of the subject insufficient attention has been paid to the fact that Bernard von Plotzke, trusted by the Brandenburg margraves Herman and John V, a native brother of the Prussian master of the Teutonic Knights in 1308, Henry von Plotzke, was most probably in the ranks of the Brandenburg army. See in this respect K. Scholz, *Beiträge zur Personengeschichte des Deutsche Ordens in der ersten Hälfte des 14. Jahrhundert*, Münster 1971, p. 21; M. Smoliński, *Sytuacja polityczna w Miśni, Turynii i na Łużycach na początku XIV wieku jako przyczynę do wojny brandenbursko-krzyżackiej z 1308 roku i zajęcia Pomorza Gdańskiego przez Krzyżaków* in: *Komturzy, rajcy, żupani*, ed. B. Śliwiński, *Studia z Dziejów Średniowiecza*, XI, Malbork 2005, pp. 268ff. Bernard von Plotzke (like a close relative of the Teutonic Schwarzburghs, Günther von Käfernburg) took part in the finalization of the sale of the rights to Pomerania by the Brandenburg margraves to the Teutonic Knights. On 13.09.1309 in Myślubórz the Brandenburg margrave Waldemar concluded a treaty with the national master Henry von Plotzke on buying the rights to Pomerania by the Teutonic Knights. See *Pommerellisches Urkundebuch*, ed. M. Perlbach, Danzig 1882 (hereafter: PU), nos. 676, 685, 686. On 13.06.1310 in Słupsk the brother of Henry von Plotzke, Bernard, together with Frederick von Alvensleben confirmed that on the order of margraves Herman and John they accepted 5 thousand of the 10 thousand which the Order owed to the margraves and which was to be distributed in half to Herman and in half to John. The money was given by the Grand Master of the Order Siegfried von Feuchtwangen; see: PU, no. 686. The problem of the participation of the von Plotzke brothers in the events which led to the takeover of Gdańsk Pomerania by the Teutonic Order certainly requires a separate study. See comments by E. Rymar, *Zjazd kaliski z 1310 roku w związku z sprzedażą Pomorza Nadwiślańskiego Zakonowi krzyżackiemu*, in: *Krzyżacy, kronikarze, dyplomaci*, ed. B. Śliwiński, *Gdańskie Studia z Dziejów Średniowiecza*, IV, Gdańsk-Koszalin 1997, pp. 211ff.; idem, *Brandenburgia a Pomorze Gdańskie do początkach XIV wieku*, in: *Rzeź gdańska...*, p. 60; B. Śliwiński, *Pomorze Wschodnie...*, pp. 555ff.

of the Brandenburg margraves supported by Bishop Henry of Kamień, Bishop Frederick<sup>6</sup> of Lubusz (Leubus), possibly by Lübeck forces,<sup>7</sup> and Pomeranian followers of the magnate family of the Święc family who rebelled against Władysław Łokietek. Some of the Pomeranians led by Piotr from Nowe, Jasiek, and Wawrzyniec supported the margraves after the Święc family's conflict with the Bishop Gerward of Kuyavia and Władysław Łokietek.<sup>8</sup>

Thanks to the favour of the Gdańsk townspeople, mostly of German origin,<sup>9</sup> the Ascanians managed to capture the city of Gdańsk during this expedition. Resistance was put up by the garrison of the city of Gdańsk. The defence against the attacks, which were initially led by margrave Otto IV with the Arrow, was led by the governor of the northern part of Pomerania, judge Bogusza, supported by the council of Gdańsk castellan Wojciech, castellan of Puck Wojsław, and Stefan of Pruszcz.<sup>10</sup> There was also

6 PU, Nos. 662, 663.

7 In the present literature historians usually do not pay attention to the letter written by count Berthold von Henneberg on 16.12.1307 and later sent to Lübeck. Perhaps the letter is a testimony of the Brandenburg margraves' preparations for the expedition to Gdańsk Pomerania. In the letter, the count, in the name of the Roman king Albrecht I Habsburg, reminded the Lübeckers to issue an armed contingent of 100 armoured horsemen which should support the margraves in their dispute with the Slavs. The two heads of the town council at that time = the mayors (?) of Lübeck Bruno and Gotfried von Vifhusen were to see to this; see *Regesten der Markgrafen von Brandenburg aus askanischem Hause*, ed. H. Krabbo (hereafter: Regesten), Lieferung VII, Berlin 1924, no. 2038 and the publisher's commentary to the regest of this document. The term "enemies of the margraves" referred not only to Pomeranians but also to the rulers of Mecklenburg. With these, however, (with Nicholas von Werle and Henry von Mecklenburg) the Brandenburg Ascanians ended their conflicts for some time with the treaty of 17.09.1307 (Regesten, no. 2030). Therefore, the Slavs in the letter of Count Henneberg are probably Pomeranians. Count Henneberg was a relative of Günther and Sieghard von Schwarzburg, brothers of the Teutonic Order in Prussia, about whom it will be necessary to mention in this account. His brother Henry was a Teutonic Knight who made his career in the German Commandery of the Order. On the potential size of margrave forces which consisted of Ascanians and their allies see M. Małuszyński, *Zabór Pomorza przez Krzyżaków: 1308-1309* [reprint from "Rocznik Gdański" VII (1933)], Gdańsk 1934, pp. 9f.

8 See K. Jasiński, *Zajęcie Pomorza...*, pp. 302-306; J. Spors, *Rola polityczna Święców w kodzie XIII i na początku XIV wieku*, RH XLVI (1980), pp. 17-37; P. Kriedte, *Die Herrschaft der Bischöfe von Włocławek in Pommerellen von den Anfängen bis zum Jahre 1409*, Göttingen 1974, pp. 127-131; B. Śliwiński, *Pomorze Wschodnie...*, pp. 271ff.; J. Sperka, *Władysław Łokietek wobec Pomorza Wschodniego w świetle nowszych badań*, in: *Rzeź i zniszczenie Gdańska...*, pp. 71ff.

9 See K. Jasiński, *Zajęcie Pomorza...*, p. 306 (in this work a critical appraisal of the earlier literature on the subject, pointing to the rebellion of the German bourgeoisie against Władysław Łokietek, which supposedly took place even before the capture of the city of Gdańsk by Brandenburg forces). See also W. Długokęcki, *Hanza a Gdańsk na przełomie XIII i XIV wieku*, in: *Rzeź i zniszczenie Gdańska...*, pp. 26ff.

10 See B. Śliwiński, *Dowódcy grodu gdańskiego z 1308 roku. Z badań nad orientacjami politycznymi rycerstwa pomorskiego*, ZH LIII (1988) 1-2, pp. 8-20, where an analysis of the attitudes of Pomeranian knights towards the described events.

another group of supporters of Władysław Łokietek, consisting of Pomeranian nobles who were assisted by knights from the lands of Nakło, Sandomierz, and Kuyavia-Łęczyca. Bogusza sent a request for help addressed directly to Władysław Łokietek as well as to another of the Polish ruler's governors, Kazimierz, the Duke of Inowrocław. However, neither side provided the expected aid. Władysław Łokietek was at that time strongly involved in matters related to Russia and his nephews, the princes Andrey and Leo (Lev). Therefore, he was not able to fight on both fronts simultaneously. Kazimierz, the Duke of Inowrocław, did not provide any significant help to the besieged, either.

The town started to think about asking other forces for help. Wilhelm, the prior of the Dominican monastery in Gdańsk, advised turning to the Teutonic Knights for help. This may have influenced the decision of judge Bogusza and the idea to start negotiations with the Teutonic Order. These actions later gained the approval of Władysław Łokietek. The Polish ruler was also persuaded to ask the Order for help at the advice of his brother, Prince Siemowit of Dobrzyń.<sup>11</sup> At least two things stood behind this decision. The Order had already had practice in defending Pomerania. The Teutonic Knights had taken part in battles to defend Pomerania when at the beginning of the 14<sup>th</sup> century there was an invasion of the Rugian princes Wisław II and his son Sambor. Apart from the Prussian Master Konrad von Sack, a special role in that defence was played by Chełmno commander Günther von Schwarzburg.<sup>12</sup>

Besides, the author of the idea to involve the Teutonic Knights in the defence against the Brandenburg margraves, Siemowit of Dobrzyń, was related by his wife (Anastasia of Galicia) to the then Chełmno commander Günther von Schwarzburg and his younger brother Sieghard (Prussian master from 1306, in 1308 he held the office of the commander of Dzierżno).<sup>13</sup> They were sons of Henry V von Schwarzburg and the Ruthenian princess Sophia.<sup>14</sup> Siemowit of Dobrzyń's wife was therefore Sophia's niece (mother of both mentioned Teutonic Knights). It is worth adding here that Sophia's nephew was also the Duke of Tver, George I,

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11 On the family relations between the Schwarzburgs and the dukes of Kuyavia see A. Prohaska, *Stosunki Krzyżaków z Giedyminem i Łokietkiem*, "Kwartalnik Historyczny" (hereafter: KH) X (1896), pp. 48f.; M. Małuszyński, *Zabór Pomorza...*, p. 20; K. Jasiński, *Rola Siemowita księcia dobrzyńskiego w stosunkach polsko-krzyżackich w 1308/1309 r.*, "Zapiski Kujawsko-Dobrzyńskie" (series A, History) (1978), p. 79; B. Śliwiński, *Pomorze Wschodnie...*, pp. 367ff.

12 See PU, no. 634.

13 M. Dorna, *Bracia zakonu krzyżackiego w Prusach w latach 1228-1309. Studium prozopograficzne*, Poznań 2004, pp. 170f., 325; M. Smoliński, *Sytuacja polityczna...*, pp. 386ff.; idem, *Die Johanner angesichts der Eroberung Pommerellens durch den Deutschen Orden*, "Yearbook for the Study of the Military Orders" XVI (2011): *Die Ritterorden in Umbruchs- und Krisenzeiten. The Military Ordens in Times of Change and Crisis*, pp. 114ff.

14 D. Dąbrowski, *Genealogia Mściławowiczów. Pierwsze pokolenia (do początku XIV wieku)*, Kraków 2008, pp. 268-239, and tabl. 5d.

whom the daughter of Kazimierz I of Kuyavia, Euphemia (sister of Władysław Łokietek) married.<sup>15</sup> The offspring of George I and Anastasia were, among others, the dukes Leo and Andrey, in whose case Władysław Łokietek intervened in 1308 in Ruthenia, which made it impossible for him to come to the aid of Pomerania threatened by the Brandenburg margraves.

In an attempt to obtain help in the fight against the Brandenburgers and their Pomeranian allies, judge Bogusza secretly went to Elbląg and there met with the then Prussian Master Henry von Plotzke. During the negotiations it was agreed that the Order would come to the aid of Władysław Łokietek, take over the defence of Gdańsk from the Pomeranians and Poles. After settling the costs, which were to be borne by both sides in this situation, the castle was to be given to Władysław Łokietek.<sup>16</sup> As much as Władysław Łokietek was in great need of the Order's help, he did not want to agree to all the terms of the agreement made between Bogusza and Henry von Plotzke. He questioned and changed the period in which the Teutonic Knights were to defend Gdańsk. He also did not want the Pomeranian-Polish garrison to leave the town completely. For this reason the Teutonic Knights were to receive not the whole, but half of the stronghold. For some reason the Prussian Master Henry von Plotzke was not informed about these changes.

The first troops from the monastic state, consisting not only of brothers of the Order, but above all of free Prussians, were brought to Gdańsk by the above-mentioned commander of Chełmno Land Günther von Schwarzburg.<sup>17</sup> The defenders of Gdańsk, according to the decision of Władysław Łokietek, gave to the Teutonic Knights only a part of the castle (perhaps the former seat of the Dukes of Gdańsk). Initially, the allies acted in a fairly concerted way, fighting in Pomerania mainly against local supporters of the Brandenburg margraves. The margraves were already not in Pomerania at that time, as most probably they had returned to the Marches. The situation changed to such an extent that the Gdańsk margrave's supporters had to defend the city on their own against the army of Władysław Łokietek and the Teutonic Knights.

This situation was to change with the arrival of the main Teutonic forces under the command of Henry von Plotzke. The Prussian Master, seek-

15 K. Jasiński, *Rodowód Piastów małopolskich i kujawskich*, ed. M. Górny, Poznań-Wrocław 2001, pp. 130-135 and tabl. II; D. Dąbrowski, *Rodowód Romanowiczów książątów halicko-wołyńskich*, Poznań-Wrocław 2002, p. 156 and tabl. 346; M. Smoliński, *Sytuacja polityczna w Miśni...*, pp. 286ff.

16 B. Śliwiński, *Rzeź i zniszczenia...*, p. 83.

17 See an accurate verification of the account of the "Pamiętnik Zakonu Teutackiego w walce z Łokietkiem i Kazimierzem", published by A. Prohaska in: *Z archiwum zakonu. Analecta z wieku XIV i XV*, Kraków 1911, p. 27, where it is mentioned that Gdańsk was garrisoned by 200 "helmets" = heavily armed knights and 200 Prussians, by M. Małuszyński, *Zabór Pomorza...*, p. 20. Cf. B. Śliwiński, *Wydarzenia w Gdańsku...*, p. 94, note 80.



ing to enforce the agreement concluded with Bogusza, wanted Gdańsk to be the Order's property in its entirety. The dispute which broke out at that time led to the imprisonment of Bogusza by the Teutonic Knights and fights between the former allies. The conflict between them ended with the departure of the Pomeranian-Polish garrison from Gdańsk. Contrary to earlier literature on the subject, they did not go to the city, but simply dispersed to other parts of Pomerania – or simply went home.<sup>18</sup>

After a certain period of fighting, the townspeople of Gdańsk decided to surrender and opened the gates to the Order's troops. During the night of November 12/13, 1308, events took place which have entered historiography as the Gdańsk Massacre. The number of victims, their ethnic origin, and political involvement are still disputed in the literature.<sup>19</sup> Admittedly, historiography has completely rejected the number of 10 thousand victims who "perished by the sword" in Gdańsk, as cited in the bull of Pope Clement V of July 19, 1309.<sup>20</sup> Contemporary researchers are also not satisfied with the information from the answer to the accusations against the Order given to the Pope in 1310 by the Teutonic prosecutor.<sup>21</sup> He claimed that the Teutonic Knights killed only 17 highwaymen, robbers, and thieves, whose surrender they demanded from the townspeople of Gdańsk. The number of 16 knights and a small number

18 See B. Śliwiński, *Rzeź i zniszczenia...*, pp. 86f.

19 Of the more important works we may mention here: J. Voigt, *Geschichte Preussens von den ältesten Zeiten bis zum Untergange der Herrschaft des Deutschen Ordens*, vol. IV, Königsberg 1841, pp. 339-341; J. Caro, *Geschichte Polens*, vol. II, Gotha 1863, pp. 91-102; M. Perlbach, S. Kujot, *Dzieje Prus królewskich*, vol. I, "Roczniki Towarzystwa Naukowego w Toruniu" XXIII (1916), pp. 1243-1245; idem, *Czternasty listopada...*, pp. 89f.; W. Grünberg, *Der Ausgang der pommerellischen Selbständigkeit*, Historische Studien, CXXVIII, Berlin 1915, p. 84; K. Tymieniecki, *Studia nad XIV wieku. I. Proces polsko-krzyżacki z lat 1320-1321*, "Przegląd Historyczny" (hereinafter: PH) XXI (1917-1918), p. 83, note 2; E. Keyser, *Die Legende von der Zerstörung Danzigs im Jahre 1308*, "Zeitschrift des Westpreußischen Geschichtsvereins" (1919) 59, pp. 166ff.; idem, *Danzigs Geschichte*, Danzig 1921, pp. 22f.; K. Górski, *Pierwotny Gdańsk i dzieje jego zagłady*, "Rocznik Gdański" VI (1932), pp. 57f.; M. Małuszyński, *Zabór Pomorza...*, p. 24; K. Jasiński, *Zajęcie Pomorza...*, p. 321; idem, *Zburzenie miasta Gdańska przez Zakon Krzyżacki w 1308*, ZH XLI (1976) 3, p. 33, note 36; H. Chłopocka, *Procesy Polski z Zakonem Krzyżackim w XIV wieku. Studium źródłoznawcze*, Prace Komisji Historycznej Poznańskiego Towarzystwa Przyjaciół Nauk, XXIII/1, Poznań 1967, pp. 10, 19ff.; A. Wojtkowski, *Procesy polsko-krzyżackie przed procesem z lat 1320-1321*, "Komunikaty Mazursko-Warmińskie" I (1972) 1, pp. 27ff.; M. Biskup, G. Labuda, *Dzieje zakonu krzyżackiego w Prusach, Gospodarka – Społeczeństwo – Państwo – Ideologia*, Gdańsk 1988, p. 256; H. Boockmann, *Der Deutsche Orden. The Teutonic Order*, transl. R. Traba, Warszawa 1988, p. 167; H. Lingenberg, *Die Anfänge des Klosters Oliva und die Entstehung der deutschen Stadt Danzig. Die friihe Geschichte der beiden Gemeinwesen bis 1308/10*, Stuttgart 1982, p. 423; B. Śliwiński, *Pomorze Wschodnie*, pp. 418-430; idem, *Rzeź i zniszczenie...*, pp. 92ff.; idem, *Wydarzenia w Gdańsku...*, pp. 96f.

20 *Preußische Urkundenbuch*, ed. M. Hein, E. Maschke, vol. II, Aalen 1962 (hereinafter: PrUB), no. 13.

21 PU, no. 696.

of townspeople, promoted especially by German historians,<sup>22</sup> also has not held up in the literature. The basis for this idea was the speech of Prussian bishops in defence of the Order. Those clergymen claimed that the Teutonic Knights

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22 E. Keyser insisted on this in his works cited here. See also I. Ziekursch, *Der Prozeß zwischen König Kasimir von Polen und dem Deutschen Orden im Jahre 1339*, Historische Studien, CCL, Berlin 1934, pp. 85-91. Apart from the documents of the Teutonic prosecutor and the Prussian bishops, the information in the testimony of the Świecie town administrator Żyra of Krupocin was important in this respect. This knight during his trial in 1320-1321: *Lites ac res geste inter Polonos Ordinemque Cruciferorum. Spory i sprawy między Polakami a Zakonem Krzyżackim*, vol. 1: *Causa Junioladislaviae et Brestiae-Cuiaviae anno 1320-1321 acta*, ed. H. Chłopocka (hereinafter: Lites Chłopocka), Wrocław-Warszawa-Kraków 1970, [testis VIII], p. 34 testified that the deputy master of the Order Henry von Plotzke surrounded the city of Gdańsk with a large army. The Teutonic Knights conquered it and slaughtered the Christians, but also killed 16 knights who were staying in the city on behalf of Władysław Łokietek and defended themselves on the embankments. This account was accompanied by the so-called Tablets of founders and benefactors of the Cistercian monastery in Oliva. In the 19<sup>th</sup> and first half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century this source was thought to have originated in the 15<sup>th</sup> century, based primarily on the *Oliva Chronicle* written around 1350 and its later continuation to 1545. W. Kętrzyński in: *Monumenta Poloniae Historica* (hereinafter: MPH), VI, Kraków 1896, p. 357. The fifteenth century origin of the information which in the sixteenth century gave rise to the creation of the tables of founders and benefactors was argued by T. Hirsch, *Das Kloster Oliva. Beiträge zur Geschichte Westpreussischer Kunstbauten*, Danzig 1850, pp. 60-65, and currently J. Wenta, *Dziejopisarstwo w klasztorze cysterskim w Oliwie na tle porównawczym*, Studia Gdańskie, VII, series Studia Olivesia, I, Gdańsk-Oliwa 1990, pp. 124-127 (this author allowed, however, for the existence of a short chronicle of Oliva earlier than the one known from 1350, written at the beginning of the 14<sup>th</sup> century. However, it was not the work of a single author). Records known from Hirsch's time have been linked to the so-called Older (written around 1350) and Younger *Oliva Chronicle* covering the years 1354-1545 (see *Die Ältere Chronik und die Schrifttafeln von Oliva*, ed. T. Hirsch, *Scriptores rerum Prussicarum* (hereinafter: SRP), I, Leipzig 1861, pp. 649-734; *Die Mittlere Chronik von Oliva*, ed. idem, in: ibidem, V, Leipzig 1874, pp. 624-644). The tables were therefore supposed to have been written after the completion of the younger version of the *Oliva Chronicle*. According to J. Wenta the text of the tablets could have been written between 1467 and 1492. This view was only changed by the research of H. Lingenberg, *Die Älteste Olivaer Geschichtsschreibung, bis etwa 1350, und die Gründung des Klosters Oliva*, Lübeck 1994, pp. 50-60. This historian reconstructed the *Oliva Chronicle* of Abbot Rudiger on the basis of the text of the tables of founders and benefactors. His findings were supplemented by B. Jakubowska, *In pictura et in scriptura. Treści ideowe renesansowej galerii fundatorów i dobrodziejów Oliwy*, in: *Studia z historii sztuki i kultury Gdańsku i Europy Północnej. Prace poświęcone pamięci doktor Katarzyny Cieślak*, ed. J. Friedrich, E. Kizik, Gdańsk 2003, p. 77; idem, *Renesansowa galeria konterfektów oliwskich. Czas powstania i jej źródło pisane*, in: *Praeterita Posteritati. Studia z historii sztuki i kultury ofiarowane Maciej Kilarowskiemu*, ed. M. Mierzwiński, Malbork 2001, pp. 147-178. The discussion which ensued between Wenta and Jakubowska on the pages of subsequent articles has been recounted by G. Labuda, *O opacie Stanisławie, autorze Kroniki Oliwskiej z połowy XIV wieku (Posłowie)*, in: idem, *Studia krytyczne o początkach Zakonu Krzyżackiego w Prusach i na Pomorzu*, Poznań 2007, pp. 384ff., and T. Zuzek, *Tablice fundatorów i dobrodziejów klasztoru cysterskiego w Oliwie in: Pielgrzymi, pogrobowcy, prebendarze*, Studia z Dziejów Średniowiecza, XV, ed. B. Śliwiński, Malbork 2009, pp. 304-315; idem, *Kilka uwag na temat szwedzkich rękopisów Tablic fundatorów i dobrodziejów klasztoru cysterskiego w Oliwie*, ZH LXXIX (2014) 3, pp. 86f.

put to death 15 villains who were handed over to them by the townspeople of Gdańsk.<sup>23</sup> Thanks to analysis of the testimonies of witnesses in the Polish-Teutonic trials in the 14<sup>th</sup>-15<sup>th</sup> centuries, the number of deaths is now estimated at between 60 and 150.<sup>24</sup> Some of them were Pomeranian knights, others were townsmen from Gdańsk. Of course, these numbers are not certain and have been accepted primarily as a scholarly compromise.

Similar problems, ones also difficult to solve, appear when trying to determine the scale of destruction of the city under Lübeck law.<sup>25</sup> Differences in its assessment result mainly from unreliable memory and the political involvement of witnesses who testified during the trials of Poland against the Order. The defence of the Teutonic Knights' side also plays an important role as they tried to minimize the level of damage they had caused. The literature on the subject notes, however, that since the Teutonic Knights themselves, formally not questioned about this issue, claimed that they did not destroy the town of Gdańsk and that the inhabitants left it of their own free will, the scale of the damage to the town must have been very serious and widely known.<sup>26</sup>

The review of narrative sources mentioning events in Gdańsk should undoubtedly begin with the earliest version of the *Oliva Chronicle*, known in the literature as *Chronicon coenobii Oliviensis* or the Rudiger Chronicle.<sup>27</sup> It is thought to have been written by Rudiger, abbot of Oliva (died 1313),<sup>28</sup> between 1310 and 1312. This work was based on earlier sources from Oliva and the author's own experiences. Although the chronicle itself is lost, its text has been preserved by the boards of founders and benefactors of the Oliva Monastery. Rudiger clearly witnessed the events that took place in Gdańsk in 1308.<sup>29</sup> The fragment concerning those events deserves special attention. It begins with the description of the return of Władysław Łokietek to Cracow

23 PU, no. 692.

24 These numbers were accepted mainly due to the testimonies of the townsman from Brzeg, Tylon, and the Duke of Inowrocław, Leszek. See: Lites Chłopocka, [testis III], p. 28, where 50 knights were killed in Gdańsk and the inhabitants, i.e., townsmen regardless of their sex and age, [testis XIX], pp. 43f., where many people were killed after the conquest of the town and castle.

25 Besides the literature from footnote 18 see T. Hirsch, *Die Ober-Pfarrkirche von St. Marien in Danzig in ihren Denkmälern und in ihren Beziehungen zum kirchlichen Leben Danzigs überhaupt*, part 1, Danzig 1843, pp. 20-24; P. Simson, *Geschichte der Stadt Danzig*, vol. I, Danzig 1913, p. 45; H. Samsonowicz, *Tło gospodarcze wydarzeń z 1308 r. na Pomorzu Gdańskim*, PH LXV (1965) 2, pp. 202-219; K. Jasiński, *Zburzenie miasta Gdańska przez zakon krzyżacki*, ZH XLI (1976) 3, pp. 25-39; B. Śliwiński, *Data zniszczenia Gdańska przez zakon krzyżacki*, KH XCVI (1989) 3-4, pp. 181-185.

26 PU, no. 696; see above all K. Jasiński, *Zburzenie miasta Gdańska...*, pp. 26ff.

27 See footnote 21.

28 H. Lingenberg, *Die Älteste Olivaer Geschichtsschreibung...*, pp. 56, 60; B. Jakubowska, *Renesansowa galeria konterfektów oliwskich...*, pp. 162ff.

29 See H. Lingenberg, *Die Älteste Olivaer Geschichtsschreibung...*, p. 33; T. Zuzek, *Tables of Founders...*, p. 309.

and a rebellion of the palatine Święc, who together with his sons and some Pomeranian knights called upon the margrave of Brandenburg Waldemar to take power in Pomerania. The margrave sent his knights to Pomerania and with the help of the townsmen of Gdańsk captured the city.

However, the knights loyal to Władysław Łokietek stayed in the city. Every day there were fights between townsmen and the knights sent by margraves and the garrison of the castle. Unable to gain an advantage, the defenders of the castle asked the lords of the Prussian lands, the Teutonic Knights, for help. They arrived with a large army and surrounded the city of Gdańsk. During the siege the defenders insulted the Teutonic Knights in an indecent way. After a heavy siege and the capture of the city, the Teutonic Knights ordered 16 Pomeranian knights to be killed. Abbot Rudiger, driven by piety, ordered their bodies to be brought to Oliva, where they were buried in St. James's cemetery in front of the monastery, which took place on October 4, 1309. Then, the Teutonic Knights chose to humiliate the townspeople of Gdańsk and completely destroyed the city fortifications. This argument ended with information about buying Pomerania from the hands of margrave Waldemar by Teutonic Knights.<sup>30</sup>

The information in Rudiger's chronicle is undoubtedly concise. The chronicler did not specify who personally was behind the decision to summon the Teutonic Knights. In his account, it was the defenders of the castle generally. Thus, the responsibility for such a fateful decision was rather blurred. The fierceness of the Teutonic Knights during the siege of the town resulted from their reaction to the insults hurled at them by the townspeople.<sup>31</sup> The account does not mention personally the brothers of the Order who were charged with the massacre of the townspeople in later testimonies. In the discussed account the massacre did not take place. By order of the Teutonic Knights, but the chronicle does not say that at their hands, 16 Pomeranian knights were murdered. The chronicler's negative attitude towards this event is reflected only in the term "occisio" he uses, which unambiguously means murder, not supported by a court verdict. The mercy of the Abbot of Oliva who took care of the burial of the bodies of the 16 murdered in the Oliva cemetery of St. James's is also highlighted.

The transmission in question was marked by the author's self-censorship of his statements. This conclusion results from a comparison of the infor-

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<sup>30</sup> *Tabulae fundatorum et benefactorum...*, p. 357; H. Lingenberg, *Die Älteste Olivaer Geschichtsschreibung...*, p. 125; see also the Polish translation with commentary by B. Śliwiński – *Kronika Oliwska. Źródło do dziejów Pomorza Wschodniego z połowy XIV wieku*, transl. D. Pietkiewicz, introduction and commentary B. Śliwiński, Malbork 2008, p. 136.

<sup>31</sup> Perhaps this is simply a rhetorical figure of the chronicler. However, verbal aggression was certainly a means of warfare in the Middle Ages.

mation given by him with the common knowledge existing at the time in the towns lying on the southern coast of the Baltic Sea, spreading from Pomerania to Gdańsk. This is evidenced by the testimony given in the trial which the Archbishop of Riga Frederick brought against the Teutonic Knights before the papal inquisitor, Francis of Moliano.<sup>32</sup> In the 1312 Riga trial, some witnesses referred to the widespread knowledge of the crimes of the Teutonic Knights committed in Gdańsk. Henry Langeman, an Osland chaplain, claimed to have heard about the destruction of Gdańsk by the Teutonic Knights and their murders. According to him, knowledge of these events was common in the German cities of Rostock, Lübeck, and Stralsund.<sup>33</sup> Henry, the prior of the Cistercian monastery in Wallena, testified that the news about the events in Gdańsk was common knowledge in Livonia. He also heard from some Cistercian monk that he saw people killed in Gdańsk.<sup>34</sup> A landlady in Gdańsk informed another Cistercian brother, Jacob from Westphalia, during his stay in Gdańsk, about the killings by the Teutonic Knights, although Jacob testified that there were not many.<sup>35</sup>

Other testimonies that referred to the conquest of Gdańsk by the Order indicated numerous murders committed in the city (Daniel, the prior of the premonstratensian monastery in Dorpat) and in the castle (Bertold, a Dominican from the monastery in Riga), although they were not able to give an exact number of people killed.<sup>36</sup> Some of the witnesses indicated only a general knowledge of the nature and the course of what happened in Gdańsk (the Dominican Nicholas Berka of Riga, the Premonstratensian Prebendary of Riga Gerard, the Norbertine Conrad Rubro).<sup>37</sup> Nicholas of Berka added that he did not know anything about the death of 10 thou-

32 H. Chłopocka, *Procesy Polski z Zakonem Krzyżackim...*, p. 12; A. Wojtkowski, *Procesy polsko-krzyżackie...*, pp. 21ff. (here a discussion with the arguments of German historiography which deny the value of these testimonies); see also B. Śliwiński, *Pomorze Wschodnie...*, p. 414.

33 *Das Zeugenverhör des Franciscus de Moliano (1312) Quellen zur Geschichte des Deutschen Ordens*, ed. A. Seraphim, Königsberg 1915, [VI testis], p. 9; Lites Chłopocka, p. 108; S. Szybkowski, *Annex II*, in: "Rzeź Gdańska"..., p. 200; H. Chłopocka, *Procesy Polski z Zakonem Krzyżackim...*, p. 14; B. Śliwiński, *Pomorze Wschodnie...*, p. 414.

34 *Das Zeugenverhör...*, [VII testis], p. 28; Lites Chłopocka, p. 108; S. Szybkowski, *Annex II...*, p. 200; H. Chłopocka, *Procesy Polski z Zakonem Krzyżackim...*, p. 14; B. Śliwiński, *Pomorze Wschodnie...*, p. 414.

35 *Das Zeugenverhör...*, [VIII testis], pp. 47f.; Lites Chłopocka, p. 108; S. Szybkowski, *Aneks II...*, p. 200.

36 *Das Zeugenverhör...*, [XIII testis], p. 64, [testis XVIII], p. 79; Lites Chłopocka, p. 109; S. Szybkowski, *Aneks II...*, p. 201.

37 *Das Zeugenverhör...*, [XIX testis], p. 100, [testis XXIII], p. 142; Lites Chłopocka, p. 109; S. Szybkowski, *Aneks II...*, p. 216; K. Jasiński, *Zajęcie Pomorza...*, p. 319; H. Chłopocka, *Procesy Polski z Zakonem Krzyżackim...*, p. 14.

sand people.<sup>38</sup> Dominican Weser of Turiada testified that he did not believe the news about what had happened in Gdańsk.<sup>39</sup> In general, 13 witnesses testifying in the Riga trial knew about the murders committed by the Teutonic Knights in Gdańsk.<sup>40</sup> Therefore, it is impossible that Abbot Rudiger knew about the described events only to the extent of what he noted on the pages of his chronicle. An open matter is also the possible use of Rudiger's account by the Order's diplomacy preparing for the Riga trial (if the account had already been created and was beginning to be known in Pomerania). The Teutonic prosecutors put the number of 10,000 victims, about which the Pope had probably been informed by the Polish side,<sup>41</sup> against the number of executed criminals oscillating between 15 and 17 people. So it was close to what Rudiger had written.

After some time, the news about the events in Gdańsk found reflection on the pages of annals created in the state of the Teutonic Order. Information found its way into the annals kept in the Franciscan monastery in Toruń.<sup>42</sup> Their first, more extensive edition did not survive.<sup>43</sup> The annalistic records in the Toruń monastery were purportedly kept from around 1317. Earlier information was a compilation from other sources. Events from the years 1308-1309, according to Gerard Labuda, were introduced into it from Polish sources, unfortunately not specified by the author. This was supposedly evidenced by the negative tone toward Teutonic Knights in the accounts of the Toruń annals yearbooks. They informed about the destruction of towns and cities in Gdańsk, Tczew, and Nowe and about the killing of many by the Order.<sup>44</sup> From the Toruń annals (perhaps their first, broader edition), the so-called Chełmża annals<sup>45</sup> took over the entries edited in a similar way. However, in contrast to the Toruń annals, they did not indicate the culprit for the destruction of the above-mentioned towns. There is also no information as to who was behind the killing of many inhabitants. The aforementioned acquisition of annal information was supposed to have taken place in the 1330s.<sup>46</sup>

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38 *Das Zeugenverhör...*, [XIX testis], p. 100; Lites Chłopocka, p. 109; B. Śliwiński, *Pomorze Wschodnie...*, p. 414.

39 *Das Zeugenverhör...*, [XXIV testis], p. 142; H. Chłopocka, *Procesy Polski z Zakonem Krzyżackim...*, p. 15; B. Śliwiński, *Pomorze Wschodnie...*, p. 414.

40 K. Jasiński, *Zajęcie Pomorza...*, p. 319.

41 Who informed the papacy about the incident in Gdańsk is a matter of dispute. See H. Chłopocka in: Lites, p. X.

42 See *Franciscani Thorunensis Annales Prussici (941-1410)*, ed. E. Strehlke, in: SRP, III, Leipzig 1866, p. 63.

43 G. Labuda, *Studia nad annalistyką pomorską z XIII-XIV wieku*, in: *Studia krytyczne...*, p. 362.

44 *Franciscani Thorunensis Annales Prussici...*, p. 63: "Anno eodem [i.e., 1308] destructe civitates et castra Dantzck, Dirszow et Novum castrum, et multi occisi per ordinem".

45 See *Chronica Terre Prussiae*, ed. W. Kętrzyński, in: MPH, IV, Lwów 1884, p. 37: "destructe erant civitates et castra Danczk, Dirsewo et Novum castrum, multique occisi".

46 G. Labuda, *Studia nad annalistyką pomorską z XIII-XIV wieku...*, pp. 357-365.

Another way in which the information about the events of 1308 could have reached the Chełmża annal was through the use of a common source base for the Toruń and Chełmża annals (in the part of the annal that interests us). It was different from the lost archetype of the Toruń annal.<sup>47</sup> The author of this idea, Jarosław Wenta, used the records of the capture of Gdańsk by the Teutonic Order in 1308 to assume that the already mentioned Toruń annal, a related Prussian annal (called by Wenta a fragmentary<sup>48</sup> annal), a fourteenth-century chronicle by a Lubeck Franciscan named Detmar,<sup>49</sup> and the *Oliva Chronicle*<sup>50</sup> (written in 1350 by Abbot Stanisław) drew their information from a common lost annal or several annals.<sup>51</sup> According to Wenta this source was the lost annals of Oliva from the 13<sup>th</sup> and 14<sup>th</sup> centuries.<sup>52</sup>

Even if one accepts the above research proposal, it must be acknowledged that the authors who were to draw on the Oliva annals interpreted the news about the events in Gdańsk to a large extent. The differences in the accounts of the Toruń and Chełmża annals have already been pointed out. The “fragmentary” Prussian annal, after Wenta’s proposal, presented the author’s point of view from the Teutonic Order’s state. In 1309 it informed about the capture of Gdańsk, and in the following year about the purchase of Pomeranian lands<sup>53</sup> by the lords (i.e., Teutonic Knights). Therefore, the author of this information, in comparison to the Toruń and Chełmża annals, knew less about the events in Gdańsk. He did not distinguish between the castle and the city of Gdańsk. He did not mention any-

47 J. Wenta, *O Scriptoribus rerum Prussicarum czyli konieczności nowego wydania źródeł historyograficznych do dziejów państwa zakonu krzyżackiego w Prusach*, KH XCVII (1990) 1-2, p. 136; idem, *Kierunki rozwoju rocznikarstwa w państwie Zakonu Niemieckiego*, “Roczniki Towarzystwa Naukowego w Toruniu” LXXXIII (1990) 3, pp. 39-48; idem, *Studien über die Ordensgeschichtsschreibung am Beispiel Preußens*, Toruń 2000, pp. 236, 250.

48 *Annalistische Aufzeichnungen zur Geschichte des Deutschen Ordens im 14. Jahrhundert*, ed. U. Arnold, W. Hubatsch, in: SRP, VI, Frankfurt am Main 1969, p. 63. This annal is a collection of chaotic notes concerning the formation of the orders, among which the information about the conquest of Gdańsk appears. In this fragment the yearbook is regarded as an extract from the chronicle of Jan of Posilge (= Jan of Redden).

49 *Detmar Chronik von 1101-1395 mit der Fortsetzung von 1395-1400 (zunächst bis 1396)*, ed. K. Koppmann, in: *Die Chroniken der niedersächsischen Städte*, I, Lübeck 1884, p. 407.

50 *Chronica Olivoensis. Auctore Stanislao abbate Olivoensis...*, VI, chap. 12-14, pp. 318f.

51 J. Wenta, *Kierunki rozwoju rocznikarstwa w państwie Zakonu Niemieckiego...*, pp. 56f., 65f. (this paper discusses the positions of earlier literature on the subject); idem, *Zaginiony rocznik Oliwski z XIII/XIV wieku*, ZH XLV (1980) 3, pp. 12-15; idem, *Detmar von Lübeck und Preußen*, “Jahrbuch der Oswald von Wolkenstein Gesellschaft” X (1998), pp. 410ff.

52 Idem, *Zaginiony rocznik Oliwski...*, pp. 12-15; see also G. Labuda, rec. *Jarosław Wenta, Zaginiony rocznik oliwski z XIII/XIV wieku*, *Zapiski Historyczne*, Toruń 14 (1980), s. 17-24, “*Studia Źródłoznawcze*” XXVII (1983), pp. 229-230.

53 *Annalistische Aufzeichnungen...*, p. 63: “Anno domini 1309 jar wart Danczk gewonnen. Doch auch in dem necsten jar kouften di herrren das lant czu Pomern”.

thing about the victims of the capture of Gdańsk by the Teutonic Knights. The sympathy of the writer was rather on the side of the Order.

An original opinion about what happened in Gdańsk was given in 1308 by Detmar, a Franciscan from Lübeck. He noted the destruction of Gdańsk and Nowe, located in Prussia, not by the Teutonic Knights – but by pagans (von den Heyden).<sup>54</sup> So, the chronicler probably meant the Prussians. Why, however, did he charge them for the destruction of Prussian cities? If not for the *Oliva Chronicle*, which is discussed below, Detmar's information could be considered the result of ignorance and conjecture by the Lübeck historian. So, perhaps the lost annals, from which the Lübeck historian drew, contained information about the special participation of the Prussians, who – as we will see below – came to Gdańsk with the Teutonic Knights from Chełmno. This issue unfortunately cannot be resolved.

Widespread opinions about the seizure of Gdańsk and Pomerania by the Teutonic Knights and the family tradition kept about those events among representatives of Polish society were notarized in the testimonies given by Polish witnesses at the Inowrocław-Brzesko trial. It was brought against the Teutonic Knights by the Polish side in 1320-1321.<sup>55</sup> Already in the indictment, presented to the witnesses who gave their testimony, there was a clear statement, among others, that the master and brothers of the Teutonic Order removed the Polish king and former prince Władysław Łokietek from Gdańsk and Tczew and the princes Przemysław and Kazimierz from Świecie.<sup>56</sup> The witnesses were to

54 *Detmar Chronik...*, p. 407: "In deme sulven jare wurde in Prutzen vorstoret Dantzeke, dar to Nüeborch van dem heyden".

55 On the circumstances which led to this process see J. Bieniak, *Geneza procesu polsko-krzyżackiego z lat 1320-1321 (inowrocławsko-brzeski)*, in: *Balticum. Studia z dziejów polityki, gospodarki i kultury XII-XVII w. ofiarowane Marianowi Biskupowi w siedemdziesiąt rocznicę urodzin*, ed. Z.H. Nowak, Toruń 1992, pp. 49-59. On the selection of these witnesses, their family background and degree of involvement in the political life of Poland at that time, from the rich literature see K. Tymieniecki, *Studia nad XIV wiekiem...*, pp. 102, 109ff.; J. Bieniak, *Okres zjednoczenia państwa (łącznie z procesem polsko-krzyżackim) w twórczości Kazimierza Tymienieckiego*, in: *Kazimierz Tymieniecki (1887-1968): dorobek i miejsce w mediewistyce polskiej*, ed. J. Strzelczyk, Poznań 1990, pp. 45-47; idem, "Litterati" świeccy w procesie warszawskim z 1339 r., in: *Cultus et cognitio. Studia z dziejów średniowiecznej kultury*, ed. S.K. Kuczyński, Warszawa 1976, pp. 97-106; idem, *Środowisko świadków procesu polsko-krzyżackiego z 1339 r.*, in: *Genealogia – kregi zawodowe i grupy interesu w Polsce średniowiecznej na tle porównawczym. Materiały sympozjum odbytego w dniach 24–26 IX 1985 r. w Golubiu-Dobrzyniu*, ed. J. Wroniszewski, Toruń 1989, pp. 5-35; idem, *Udział duchowieństwa zakonnego w procesie warszawsko-uniejowskim w 1339 roku*, in: *Klasztor w kulturze średniowiecznej Polski. Materiały z ogólnopolskiej konferencji naukowej zorganizowanej w Dąbrowie Niemodlińskiej w dniach 4–6 XI 1993 przez Instytut Historii WSP w Opolu i Instytut Historyczny Uniwersytetu Wrocławskiego*, ed. A. Pobóg-Lenartowicz, M. Derwich, Opole 1995, pp. 467-490; S. Gawlas, "Verus heres". *Z badań nad świadomością polityczną obozu Władysława Łokietka w początkach XIV w.*, KH XCV (1988) 1, pp. 95-102.

56 Lites Chłopocka, pp. 20f.; K. Tymieniecki, *Studia nad XIV wiekiem...*, p. 102, 110.



confirm whether they had knowledge of the matter and whether it was in fact commonly known. Questions formulated in such a way allowed them to personalize the culprits, who – according to witnesses – played a special role in what happened in Gdańsk in 1308. Thus, the bishop of Kuyavia Gerward, testified, among other things, that the Teutonic Knights invaded fortified Gdańsk and slaughtered knights and Christian people there. Among the many officials and commanders of the Teutonic Knights (whose names were not mentioned in the testimony), bishop Gerward considered the brother of the order, deputy master Henry called Plotzke<sup>57</sup> to be the most important.

As already mentioned, Henry von Plotzke was also accused by Duke Leszek Kujawski in his testimony.<sup>58</sup> He claimed that it was this Prussian master who captured Gdańsk and then had his troops kill 50 knights in a cruel way. The prince could not estimate the number of townsmen who were also murdered. Neither staying within the walls of churches nor age protected them from death.

The accusation against Henry von Plotzke and his troops was also repeated by Żyro from Krupocin. According to his account, after the siege of Gdańsk and its capture, the Teutonic Knights committed a great massacre among the Christian people (i.e., its inhabitants). Again, 16 knights who occupied the city ramparts on behalf of Duke Władysław Łokietek were killed.<sup>59</sup> The following also testified about the massacre committed by the Teutonic Knights: the duke of Płock Waclaw, the judge of Kuyavia Nasięgniew, the knight Piotr from Szczytno, the judge of Poznań Piotr Drogosławic, the judge of Sandomierz Michał, Sandomierz custodian Czesław, a clergyman from Jeżew Dobrosław, a parson from Miłobądz Henryk, an alderman from Brześć Tylon, and the voivode of Kuyavia Jan of Płonków.<sup>60</sup>

Due to the fact that the consequences of the addresses were mainly determined by memory or overheard news, there were differences in the testimonies given by the witnesses. This concerned, among other matters, the murder of Pomeranian knights by the Teutonic Knights, who in some, but not all of the testimonies, were supporters of Władysław Łokietek. According to some witnesses, the families of the murdered knights were also killed. Some wit-

<sup>57</sup> Lites Chłopocka, [I testis], pp. 15-26; S. Szybkowski, *Aneks II...*, p. 202; K. Karczewski, W. Sieradzan, *Udział Kościoła włocławskiego w procesach polsko-krzyżackich w XIV-XV w.*, "Studia Pelplińskie" XIX (1988), p. 181.

<sup>58</sup> Lites Chłopocka, [III testis], p. 29; S. Szybkowski, *Aneks II...*, p. 217; K. Tymieniecki, *Studia nad XIV wiekiem...*, pp. 109f.

<sup>59</sup> Lites Chłopocka, [III testis], p. 29; S. Szybkowski, *Aneks II...*, p. 202; W. Sieradzan, *Świadomość historyczna świadków w procesach polsko-krzyżackich w XIV-XV wieku*, Toruń 1993, pp. 46ff.

<sup>60</sup> Lites Chłopocka, [testis V, IX-XIII, XVII, XX, XXII], pp. 30, 35-37, 39, 42-48; S. Szybkowski, *Aneks II...*, pp. 204; K. Karczewski, W. Sieradzan, *Udział Kościoła włocławskiego...*, pp. 182f.

nesses also testified that the townspeople also died. The testimony of the parson from Miłobądz, Henryk, was rich in particularly drastic details (affecting the imagination of the judges conducting the hearing). He claimed that so many people died that dogs licked human blood and that seeking refuge in the church tower or participating in the sacrament of confession<sup>61</sup> did not protect from death. According to Henryk the knowledge about these events was common. He himself was in the land of Pomerania when the events in Gdańsk took place.

Witnesses at the Inowrocław-Brzesko trial were sometimes able to distinguish between events that took place in the castle (removal of the garrison loyal to Władysław Łokietek) and in the town (murders committed on Pomeranian knights). Often, however, due to faulty memory, mistaken common knowledge and family tradition, errors and contradictions appeared in court statements. This is the case, for example, with the statement of the Bishop of Kuyavia, Gerward.<sup>62</sup> He claimed, among other things, that first the townspeople were slaughtered, i.e., both the knights (of unspecified origin and political involvement) and the people were killed, and only then was the Polish garrison driven out of the town. Piotr Drogosławic knew very well the division of Gdańsk stronghold into two parts and their division between Teutonic Knights and knights loyal to Władysław Łokietek.<sup>63</sup> According to him, the Teutonic Knights expelled the king's men from their part of the castle. Then they captured the city of Gdańsk at night and slaughtered the Pomeranian knights, their wives, and children. Peter clearly distinguished the slaughtered from the king's men.

The Brest judge Nasięgniew<sup>64</sup> claimed that Władysław Łokietek entrusted the defence of the castle and the city of Gdańsk to some knights. The laconic nature of his statements makes it impossible to say whether Nasięgniew saw Władysław Łokietek's men among the knights and other Christians killed in the city. Piotr of Szczytno told the investigators that the Teutonic Knights first captured the city of Gdańsk and killed there the people of Władysław Łokietek, and then they murdered other inhabitants of the city with a sword. Sandomierz judge Michał also had knowledge about the division of Gdańsk between the Polish and the Teutonic crews.<sup>65</sup> According to him, the representatives of the Polish garrison were removed from the part of the castle and their families were killed by the Teutonic Knights.

The Sandomierz Custodian Czasław, in turn, knew about the removal of the Polish garrison from the castle. According to what he testified,

61 Lites Chłopocka, [XX testis], p. 44; S. Szybkowski, *Aneks II...*, p. 204.

62 Lites Chłopocka, [I testis], pp. 25f.; S. Szybkowski, *Aneks II...*, p. 201f.

63 Lites Chłopocka, [XI testis], pp. 37f.; S. Szybkowski, *Aneks II...*, p. 203.

64 Lites Chłopocka, [IX testis], p. 36; S. Szybkowski, *Aneks II...*, p. 203.

65 Lites Chłopocka, [XIII testis], p. 39; S. Szybkowski, *Aneks II...*, p. 203.

the knights, their families and others from the town were killed after the conquest of the town by the Order.<sup>66</sup> It is difficult to say whether Czaślaw connected the murdered with the Polish garrison removed from the castle earlier. Dobrosław, a clergyman from Jeżów, had the information that the Teutonic Knights were let into the castle by its defenders.<sup>67</sup> Dobrosław maintained at the same time that the defenders of the castle managed not only the castle but also the town. The Teutonic Knights betrayed king Władysław, and threw the Polish garrison out of the castle. Then they captured the city of Gdańsk by force, destroyed it and killed the Pomeranian knights who were there on behalf of Władysław Łokietek. The Teutonic Knights disregarded the fact that some apparently tried to take advantage of the right of asylum and hid in churches and clung to altars. This did not save them from death.

Henryk, the parson from Miłobądz mentioned above, maintained that the victims of the massacre were people staying not in the city, but in the stronghold of Gdańsk.<sup>68</sup> Tylon, the alderman of Brzeg, testified about the following sequence of events: the Teutonic Knights captured the city and the stronghold of Gdańsk, and finally killed a lot of people.<sup>69</sup> Jan of Płonków told the judges that the Teutonic Knights surrounded the city and the stronghold of Gdańsk with their army and after capturing them they killed all the knights<sup>70</sup> staying there on behalf of king Władysław as the pagans do – by sword.

The verdict announced in the Inowrocław-Brzesko trial was not recognized by the Order.<sup>71</sup> However, the very fact of bringing the matter of the seizure of Pomerania and the slaughter in Gdańsk to the level of a court trial before an arbitration panel of judges appointed by the papacy certainly made the Teutonic Knights aware that they were facing a dispute over Pomerania on the following levels: diplomatic-legal, military, and propaganda.<sup>72</sup> The Order had to make an attempt to authenticate its rights to Pomerania. This was the aim of the Teutonic Knights' purchase of the title to rule Pomerania from Waldemar, Margrave of Brandenburg, in 1310.<sup>73</sup> This was

66 Lites Chłopocka, [XVII testis], p. 42; S. Szybkowski, *Aneks II...*, p. 204.

67 Lites Chłopocka, [XVIII testis], p. 42; S. Szybkowski, *Aneks II...*, p. 204.

68 Lites Chłopocka, [XX testis], pp. 44f.; S. Szybkowski, *Aneks II...*, p. 204.

69 Lites Chłopocka, [XXII testis], pp. 42f.; S. Szybkowski, *Aneks II...*, p. 204.

70 Lites Chłopocka, [XXV testis], p. 45; S. Szybkowski, *Aneks II...*, p. 204.

71 H. Chłopocka, *Losy wyroku wydanego na procesie polsko-krzyżackim w Inowrocławiu w 1321 roku*, RH XXXI (1965), pp. 153-182.

72 See S. Zajączkowski, *Polska z zakon krzyżacki w ostatnich latach Władysława Łokietka*, Archiwum Towarzystwa Naukowego we Lwowie. Wydział II Historyczno-Filozoficzny, VI, Lwów 1929, pp. 37ff.

73 PU, nos. 676, 685, 686.

also the aim of the unsuccessful attempt to persuade Władysław Łokietek to sell his rights to Pomerania, which was presented to him by Sieghard von Schwarzburg<sup>74</sup> at the Polish-Teutonic convention in 1325. This attempt was accompanied by the collection of documents which proved the rights to Pomerania and their notarial copies made by the chancelleries of the Order.<sup>75</sup> In a further search for rights to the seized Pomerania, in 1329 the Teutonic Knights obtained them as a donation from the hands of John of Luxemburg, an ally of the Order who claimed to be the heir of the Polish king Przemysław II and the Bohemian rulers.<sup>76</sup>

Therefore, it should be expected that the issue of explaining the Teutonic rights to Pomerania, together with an attempt to disavow the Polish tradition of the Pomeranian events of 1308-1309, should appear on the pages of narrative sources related to the Teutonic Order. However, this did not happen. Both the chronicle of Peter of Dusburg,<sup>77</sup> whose main body of work ends in 1326, and the chronicle of Wigand of Marburg,<sup>78</sup> written towards the end of the 14<sup>th</sup> century, are silent on the matter. The last of these chroniclers referred to the times of the Archbishop of Riga (Friedrich von Perstein), who caused the Order a lot of trouble at the papal curia. According to the historian, the archbishop repeatedly complained to the curia about the Teutonic Knights. This information referred, among other things, to the circumstances in which the Riga trial brought against the Teutonic Knights by Friedrich von Perstein took place.<sup>79</sup> The chronicler did not inform about the nature of the accusations against the Order, the course of the Riga trial, nor of course about the events in Gdańsk which were mentioned during

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74 *Lites ac res geste inter Polonos Ordinemque Cruciferorum. Spory i sprawy między Polakami a Zakonem Krzyżackim*, wyd. I. Zakrzewski (hereinafter: *Lites Zakrzewski*), vol. I, Poznań 1890, p. 287; S. Zajączkowski, *Polska z zakon Krzyżacki...*, pp. 121f.; H. Kobzińska, *Wypadki na Pomorzu po zajęciu Gdańska i Tczewa przez Krzyżaków*, RH XII (1936) 1, pp. 49ff.; H. Chłopocka, *Losy wyroku...*, p. 172; J. Bieniak, *Geneza procesu polsko-krzyżackiego z 1339 roku*, "Acta Universitatis Nicolai Copernici. Historia" XXIV (1990) 204, p. 35. On earlier attempts to induce Władysław Łokietek to sell Pomerania see: J. Judziński, *Układy polsko-krzyżackie z 1309 roku w sprawie zwrotu Pomorza Gdańskiego*, "Komunikaty Mazursko-Warmińskie" (1994) 2-3, pp. 148ff.; B. Śliwiński, *Pomorze Wschodnie...*, pp. 542ff.

75 See *Regesta historico-diplomatica Ordinis S. Mariae Theutonicorum 1198-1525*, ed. E. Joachim, W. Hubatsch, vol. II, Göttingen 1948, nos. 545-547. This issue has been pointed out by J. Bieniak, *Przebieg procesu polsko-krzyżackiego z 1339 roku*, "Pamiętnik Biblioteki Kórnickiej" (1994) 23, pp. 7f.

76 PrUB II, no. 908.

77 J. Wenta in: *Piotr z Dusburga, Kronika ziemi pruskiej*, transl. S. Wyszomirski, introduction and commentary J. Wenta, Toruń 2004, pp. XV-XX.

78 See S. Zonnenberg, *Kronika Wiganda z Marburga*, Bydgoszcz 1994, pp. 78f.

79 Wigand von Marburg, *Nowa kronika pruska*, ed. S. Zonenbeg, K. Kwiatkowski et al., Toruń 2017, pp. 136, 167.

the Riga trial. Wigand was also familiar with the text of the *Oliva Chronicle* and used it in his own work. Despite this, the actions of the Pomeranian Order were passed over in silence by Wigand. For the Order and its historians, betrayal and committed murders were apparently an embarrassing matter and did not bring them glory.

An attempt to explain the way in which the Order obtained Pomerania from the perspective of the Teutonic Knights was made by the anonymous author of the *Pamiętnik Zakonu Krzyżackiego o wojnie z Łokietkiem i Kazimierzem*. It was published in print by Antoni Prohaska.<sup>80</sup> This chronicle discussed the conflict between Władysław Łokietek and Kazimierz Wielki up to the early period of the reign of the latter. The period of its writing was determined by the publisher to be the years of Günther von Schwarburzbug's<sup>81</sup> (the younger) tenure as Grand Commander (24.11.1334–8.04.1335),<sup>82</sup> and probably before the issuing of the arbitration award in the Polish-Teutonic dispute by John of Luxemburg and Charles Robert on November 11, 1335.<sup>83</sup> It may also refer to the period after the date of June 17, 1335.<sup>84</sup> This is determined by taking over the office of the commander of Chełmno by Henryk Reuss von Plauen, who was mentioned by such title in the *Pamiętnik*...

Historians have come to differing opinions on the purpose for which the *Pamiętnik*... were written. Prohaska saw in it a work written in order for the Teutonic Procurator in Avignon to be able to use it in negotiations with the papacy.<sup>85</sup> Janusz Bieniak, on the other hand, following the fragment of the text of the *Pamiętnik*..., decided that it is a work of propaganda written for public opinion (princes and lords) in the Reich.<sup>86</sup> In the part concerning the acquisition of Pomerania, the *Pamiętnik*... is not without errors and false speculations. Its author wrongly deduced the reason for the Teutonic intervention in Pomerania for two reasons. He claimed that even before Mściwój II's death he made a deal with the Order making the ruler of Pomerania (i.e., succession from the Pomeranian duke) dependent on the agreement of the Teutonic Knights. The Pomeranians did not want to agree to the rule

<sup>80</sup> *Pamiętnik Zakonu Krzyżackiego o wojnie w Łokietkiem i Kazimierzem w 1335 r.* Published by A. Prohaska in: *Z archiwum Zakonu Krzyżackiego. Analecta z wieku XIV i XV* (print from volume XI of the Archive of the Historical Commission of the Academy of Arts and Sciences in Kraków), Kraków 1911, pp. 241-525.

<sup>81</sup> A. Prohaska, in: *Z archiwum Zakonu Krzyżackiego...*, p. 219; M. Dorna, *Brothers of the Teutonic Order...*, p. 172.

<sup>82</sup> M. Dorna, *Bracia zakonu krzyżackiego...*, p. 172.

<sup>83</sup> J. Bieniak, *Geneza procesu polsko-krzyżackiego...*, p. 36, note 64.

<sup>84</sup> A. Prohaska, in: *Z archiwum Zakonu Krzyżackiego...*, p. 220.

<sup>85</sup> *Ibidem*, pp. 235ff.

<sup>86</sup> This was to be indicated by the language of the source. See J. Bieniak, *Geneza procesu polsko-krzyżackiego...*, p. 36, note 64.

of the Margrave of Brandenburg. His title to Pomerania was due to the rights granted to him by the Roman king Albrecht. After the death of the Bohemian and Polish king Waclaw III, the conflict between the Pomeranians and the Brandenburg margraves began to escalate.

The Pomeranians, unwilling to agree to the rule of the Brandenburg margrave, sent for the Prussian Master Konrad Sack and the commander of Chełmno Günther von Schwarzburg. Keeping the terms of the agreement with Mściwój, the Teutonic Knights set off for Pomerania to take back from the margraves the town (*stat*) of Gdańsk and the town and castle in Tczew (*hus unde stat*). The Teutonic Knights captured the city of Gdańsk and established their garrison consisting of 200 knights and 200 Prussians. The margraves were still fighting for some time for Gdańsk, but already then they were thinking about peace with the Order. For that reason they received in their house the envoy of the Order Jan Linke.<sup>87</sup> They presented him with the documents of the Bohemian king proving that it was from him that they gained the rights to Pomerania. After negotiations the margraves' trusted counselors advised them to sell Pomerania. The transaction was to be finalized in exchange for 20 thousand Brandenburg coins and 10 thousand on account of the costs incurred by the margraves during the war. Only after this transaction was concluded did the Order proceed to occupy the whole country.<sup>88</sup>

Thus, it is immediately apparent that the author of the *Pamiętnik...* confused the events of 1300-1301 and 1308-1310. In 1301, the Teutonic Knights (Konrad Sack and Günther von Schwarzburg) did indeed defend Pomerania on behalf of Waclaw II of Bohemia, although not against the margraves, but primarily against the Rugian invasion.<sup>89</sup> What is surprising is the attempt to raise the importance of the Order as the guardian of the will of Mściwój II, while establishing the possibility of succession after him. The matter of events in the stronghold or city of Gdańsk in 1308 referring to the expulsion of the Polish garrison from the town and the murders the Teutonic Knights was completely ignored. According to the author of the *Pamiętnik...*, the Order acted in accordance with the will of Mściwój II. According to the author of the *Pamiętniki...*, the Order acted in accordance with the letter

<sup>87</sup> It concerned the Teutonic Commander in Pokrzywin, Jan von Linke-Alvensleben. See K. Jasiński, *Zajęcie Pomorza...*, p. 328.

<sup>88</sup> *Pamiętnik Zakonu Krzyżackiego...*, pp. 242-244.

<sup>89</sup> J. Powierski, *Studia nad polityką Krzyżaków i ich sąsiadów w początkach XIV wieku (część I)* in: *Ludzie, władza, posiadłość*, ed. J. Powierski, B. Śliwiński, Gdańskie Studia z Dziejów Średniowiecza, I, Gdańsk 1994, pp. 124-128. Of course, there were also the followers of Władysław Łokietek, on whom the Order had to keep an eye when taking over Pomerania from Waclaw II in 1300. See also B. Śliwiński, *Fragment dziejów politycznych ziemi sławieńskiej w latach 1301-1303*, ZH LVI (1991) 1, p. 20.

of the law. First, because of the agreement made with Mściwój II, it defended Pomerania, then it simply bought the rights to this land.

In 1339 another trial was held against the Teutonic Order by Poland. Witnesses testifying in it again referred to the widespread knowledge existing in Pomerania, Poland, and the neighbouring countries about the massacre carried out by the Order in Gdańsk and what they had been told about it by their relatives or what they had seen while staying in Pomerania in 1308. Showing a very good knowledge of the circumstances that led to Władysław Łokietek's loss of Pomerania to the Teutonic Knights, the Bishop of Poznań Jan Łódzia said that he knew nothing more about the massacre than what everyone had already been talking about. However, he also referred to the news from his nephew Przybigniew (so, the son of the Pomeranian judge Bogusza). He stated that he was present when the Teutonic Knights captured the city of Gdańsk and killed many knights and other people.<sup>90</sup>

An interesting testimony was given by the Łęczyca voivode Paweł, an eyewitness of the Gdańsk events. He claimed that the Teutonic Knights killed his two cousins, brother-in-law, and many others. He killed with his own hands a Teutonic commander who manned a part of the Gdańsk stronghold.<sup>91</sup> Thus, the situation mentioned above concerned the Gdańsk castle rather more directly than the town. It is difficult to say whether the killed fell as a result of fighting or execution. Nevertheless, with this testimony, the list of the Order's brothers who can be personally identified as having taken part in the described events can be extended by another name. In addition to the Prussian Master, Henry von Plotzke,<sup>92</sup> already mentioned in the trial from 1320-1321, there was also mention of the Order's commander, who camped with his people in a part of the city of Gdańsk. This was of course the Chełmno commander, Günther von Schwarzburg, who was later mentioned in the *Oliwa Chronicle*.<sup>93</sup> The news about the casualties among the Polish garrison in Gdańsk during its occupation by the Teutonic Knights was also brought by the testimony of the judge from Łęczyca, Chwała.<sup>94</sup>

The next submitted testimonies prove that the difference between the stronghold of Gdańsk and the town was gradually blurred in the memory of the witnesses. The castellan of Gniew, Maciej, told the judges that he heard how the Teutonic army surrounded the town of Gdańsk and after

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90 Lites Zakrzewski, pp. 150f.; S. Szybkowski, *Aneks II...*, pp. 205f.

91 Lites Zakrzewski, p. 178; S. Szybkowski, *Aneks II...*, pp. 206f.

92 He was also identified during the trial in 1339 by a knight from Kuyavia, Antoni, son of Andrzej – Lites Zakrzewski, p. 297; S. Szybkowski, *Aneks II...*, pp. 208f.

93 *Chronica Olivensis*, chap. 12-14, pp. 318f.

94 Lites Zakrzewski, p. 183; S. Szybkowski, *Aneks II...*, p. 207.

breaking into it slaughtered many knights and other people.<sup>95</sup> The provost of Łęczycza, Piotr,<sup>96</sup> had heard about the killing of many people in the stronghold of Gdańsk because it was commonly known. Nicholas, the prior of the Dominicans in Sieradz, testified about the death of many in Pomeranian lands. In addition, he stated that he saw with his own eyes the burned churches of the monasteries in Gdańsk and Tczew.<sup>97</sup> The knight Stanisław of Modrzewo referred to the news he had heard. He testified that during the conquest of the town of Gdańsk by Teutonic Knights many knights and good people died. Even children in their cradles met their deaths.<sup>98</sup> The duke of Gniewkowo, Kazimierz, testified that the Teutonic Knights surrounded the city of Gdańsk with siege machines and killed all the Poles they could find. This case was to be commonly known in Pomerania and Poland.<sup>99</sup> The Pomeranians' stories influenced the fact that their knowledge about killing many people in the stronghold of Gdańsk was acquired by the Brzeg's esquire-grandson Miećław of Konecko.<sup>100</sup>

The treasurer of the Gniezno archbishopric, Przybysław, also referred to the news he had heard about the killing of knights and other people by the Teutonic Knights in Gdańsk.<sup>101</sup> He himself was said to be in Świecie at that time. Similarly, the knight Marcin of Trzebcz testified that although he was not personally in Gdańsk because he was then in Tczew, he knew that the Teutonic Knights treacherously killed knights and many other people in Gdańsk.<sup>102</sup>

The testimonies of a knight from Kuyavia, Antoni Andrzejewic, and the knight Tomasz of Zajaczkowo were more correct (as far as factography is concerned). The first of them stayed in Tczew together with prince Kazimierz in 1308. According to him, the Teutonic Knights broke into the town of Gdańsk at night thanks to the treachery of the German townsmen. After entering the city they killed many people, they did not spare any Pole, regardless of whether he was an adult or a child. For the betrayal of Władysław Łokietek the witness charged personally the Teutonic Prussian master.<sup>103</sup> The second of these witnesses distinguished in his testimony between Gdańsk and the town of Gdańsk. He knew that the town was captured by the army of Brandenburg margraves and defended by the Polish garrison, which at some point was supported by the Teutonic Knights.

95 Lites Zakrzewski, pp. 238f.; S. Szybkowski, *Aneks II...*, pp. 207.

96 Lites Zakrzewski, p. 247; S. Szybkowski, *Aneks II...*, p. 207.

97 Lites Zakrzewski, p. 262; S. Szybkowski, *Aneks II...*, p. 208.

98 Lites Zakrzewski, p. 265; S. Szybkowski, *Aneks II...*, p. 208.

99 Lites Zakrzewski, p. 283; S. Szybkowski, *Aneks II...*, p. 208.

100 Lites Zakrzewski, p. 405; S. Szybkowski, *Aneks II...*, p. 213.

101 Lites Zakrzewski, p. 394; S. Szybkowski, *Aneks II...*, p. 212.

102 Lites Zakrzewski, p. 403; S. Szybkowski, *Aneks II...*, pp. 212f.

103 Lites Zakrzewski, pp. 296f.; S. Szybkowski, *Aneks II...*, pp. 208f.



In Gdańsk itself the Teutonic Knights were said to have killed many knights and people of lower status.<sup>104</sup>

Inowrocław judge Jasiak<sup>105</sup> accused the Teutonic Knights of beheading many knights and other people in Gdańsk. The killing of all the knights of Władysław Łokietek's who were staying in the town of Gdańsk was indicated by the lector of Płock's Dominican convent Wilhelm (personally present in Gdańsk, in the town and the castle, in 1308).<sup>106</sup>

Original testimony, undoubtedly resulting from his own reflections on what happened in Gdańsk in 1308, was given by Zbylut, the castellan of Ujście. He claimed that the Teutonic Knights came to the aid of Władysław Łokietek and were let into Gdańsk. After some time, however, they came to an agreement with the rebellious German townsmen of Gdańsk. They promised them that if they opened the gates to the Teutonic Knights, they would kill all the Polish knights remaining there.<sup>107</sup> Thus, from this testimony we can clearly see the German-Polish antagonism which was not so important in the events in Gdańsk.

From the above quoted fragments of the testimonies of witnesses of the Polish-Teutonic trials it is clear that the matter of the slaughter of Gdańsk was part of the historical memory of both Poles and Pomeranians, regardless of whether they originated from the ruling, knightly, or clerical strata. It can doubtless also be assumed that this memory became the basis for narrative sources that were created first in the fourteenth and then in the fifteenth century. Its core, at least for the medieval Pomeranian historical tradition, was the knowledge that can be extracted from the texts of witness statements of the Polish-Teutonic trials and some narrative sources. It contained information about:

1. events which took place after the death of the Bohemian king Wacław III, i.e., the taking over of Pomerania by Władysław Łokietek and his conflict with the Świącas, and in consequence the Brandenburg invasion (testimonies from 1339: the Poznań bishop Jan Łodza, knight from Chełmno Tomasz of Zajączków, Dominican lector Wilhelm, Sandomierz canon Jacob<sup>108</sup>);
2. information about the commanders of Gdańsk (testimonies: from the trial in 1320/1321 of Bishop Gerward and from the trial in 1339 of the Pomeranian Voivode Świętosław<sup>109</sup>);

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104 Lites Zakrzewski, p. 305; S. Szybkowski, *Aneks II...*, p. 209.

105 Lites Zakrzewski, p. 352; S. Szybkowski, *Aneks II...*, p. 210.

106 Lites Zakrzewski, p. 373; S. Szybkowski, *Aneks II...*, p. 210.

107 Lites Zakrzewski, p. 394; S. Szybkowski, *Aneks II...*, p. 212.

108 Lites Zakrzewski, pp. 150, 305, 373; S. Szybkowski, *Aneks II...*, pp. 205, 209-211.

109 Lites Chłopocka, p. 25; Lites Zakrzewski, p. 289f.; S. Szybkowski, *Aneks II...*, pp. 201f., 211f.

3. the defenders of the town (without mentioning the order to this effect issued by Władysław Łokietek) calling upon the Teutonic Knights (testimony of 1320/1321 by a Pomeranian clergyman, Dobrosław of Jeżów<sup>110</sup>);
4. the Teutonic Commandery, which was located in a part of the Gdańsk fortress (or in general in the Gdańsk stronghold) before the fall of the city (testimonies from 1339: the Łęczyca voivode Paweł and with a wrong identification of the Inowrocław judge Jasiek<sup>111</sup>);
5. an agreement between the German inhabitants of Gdańsk and the Teutonic Knights and after the siege surrendering the town by the townspeople (testimonies from 1339: knight Antoni of Kuyavia Andrzej's son and Zbylut,<sup>112</sup> castellan of Ujście);
6. the murder of Pomeranian knights who were in the town of Gdańsk (testimonies from the trial in 1320-1321: Piotr Drogosławic, a Poznań judge, and Dobrosław of Jeżów, a Pomeranian clergyman<sup>113</sup>).

The Pomeranian tradition about events in Gdańsk in 1308 was not as extensive as the version functioning in Poland. Apart from the most important facts for reconstructing events, it was interested in the fate of Pomeranian knights and the inhabitants of Gdańsk. Some testimonies did not specify the origin and political involvement of the knights killed, who sometimes died together with their families, i.e., wives and children, and generally together with "representatives of the Christian people". In some cases the deaths of knights defending the stronghold were mentioned, killed in the stronghold and not in the town of Gdańsk. In the town "other people", i.e., the townspeople, were killed.

In some of the addresses of witnesses called during the trials, there appeared the issue of the murdered Polish knights, or generally knights recognizing the authority of Władysław Łokietek, who were to be killed.<sup>114</sup> This aspect did not interest Pomeranian milieu in a special way, or at least it was not present in the narrative sources which were created in Pomerania. This is evidenced by the transmission of the most important narrative source for the reconstruction of the seizure of Gdańsk by the Order, the 14<sup>th</sup>-century *Oliva Chronicle*.

The witnesses' testimonies also show that already in the 1320s the memory of the destruction of the city of Gdańsk by the Teutonic Knights in 1308,

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110 Lites Chłopocka, p. 43; S. Szybkowski, *Aneks II...*, p. 204.

111 Lites Zakrzewski, pp. 178, 352; S. Szybkowski, *Aneks II...*, pp. 207, 210.

112 Lites Zakrzewski, pp. 296f., 393; S. Szybkowski, *Aneks II...*, pp. 208f., 212.

113 Lites Chłopocka, pp. 43, 38; S. Szybkowski, *Aneks II...*, pp. 203f.

114 Lites Chłopocka, [testis XXV], p. 50; Lites Zakrzewski, p. 373; S. Szybkowski, *Aneks II...*, pp. 202ff.

so vivid at the beginning of the first decade of that century, was fading. In the trial of 1320-1321, the problem of the burning of the town or forcing the burghers to leave their houses was no longer a separate issue of the court hearing.<sup>115</sup>

The local tradition of the invasion of Gdańsk and Pomerania by the Teutonic Knights combined with information from Rudiger's Chronicle, perhaps also from lost Oliva annals and his own historical knowledge, was used by the abbot of Oliva, Stanisław, in writing his own version of the monastery<sup>116</sup> chronicle around 1350. He began by describing the situation in Pomerania after the removal of the Czechs from it. He went on to describe the relationship between Władysław Łokietek, who took over power in Pomerania, and the Święca family (Piotr of Polanów, Jasiek of Sławno, and Wawrzyniec of Darłowo) and other knights who had sworn allegiance to him. This changed dramatically when the Święcas demanded that the Duke cover the costs incurred in the defence of Pomerania when it was deprived of its master.

As Łokietek refused to pay the money, the Święca family and local knights called upon the Margrave of Brandenburg Waldemar to take over Pomerania. Waldemar sent his knights and occupied the town of Gdańsk. This happened with the help of burghers of Gdańsk and Pomeranian knights. From that moment daily armed skirmishes were waged between them and knights from Gdańsk castle commanded by Wojciech, Wojśław, and Bogusza, who defended the castle on behalf of prince Władysław. This period was described by the author of the chronicle as a time of repeated plundering and wickedness which occurred due to the lack of agreement among the rulers. This was also connected with a split among the local (Pomeranian) knighthood, which apparently was divided into two opposing camps. This part of the abbot's speech should be particularly emphasized. It expresses the awareness of a particular misfortune, which affected the Pomeranians in the described period.

Following the *Oliva Chronicle* one comes across information that the besieged in the stronghold of Gdańsk had no hope for help. For this reason they asked for support from the Prussian lords against the city and

<sup>115</sup> See K. Jasiński, *Zburzenie miasta Gdańsk...*, p. 36; B. Śliwiński, *Data zniszczenia Gdańska...*, pp. 181-185.

<sup>116</sup> W. Kętrzyński, *O dwóch nieznanach historykach polskich*, "Przewodnik Naukowy i Literacki" XIV (1886), pp. 297-301; G. Labuda, *O opacie Stanisławie, autorze Kroniki Oliwskiej...*, p. 371; idem, *Stanisław (ur. około 1300 r., zm. około 1356 r.) opat oliwski w latach 1330-1356 (7 X)*, in: *Ludzie pomorskiego średniowiecza. Szkice biograficzne*, Wrocław 1981, p. 132; D.A. Dekański, *Stanisław (ok. 1300-1356)*, in: *Słownik biograficzny Pomorza Nadwiślańskiego*, vol. VI, ed. Z. Nowak, Gdańsk 1997, pp. 255-257; B. Śliwiński, *Kilka uwag o autorstwie Kroniki oliwskiej i opacie Stanisławie*, RH LXXIII (2007), pp. 129-138; idem in: *Kronika oliwska...*, pp. 14ff.

the people of the Margrave of Brandenburg. Immediately such help came from brother Günther von Schwarzburg, sent by the Order together with the Prussians. Thereafter, together with the Pomeranians defending the castle, they were to harass the defenders of the city with numerous raids. The defenders provoked the Teutonic Knights into carrying out a cruel siege by mocking, taunting, and indecent behaviour. The townsmen, seeing that they were unable to defend themselves and could not count on any help, surrendered the town. Upon entering the city, the Teutonic Knights ordered the murder of all the Pomeranian knights they found there. Rüdiger, the abbot of Oliva, driven by piety, among the projectiles and swords of those doing the killing, listened to the confessions of the victims. Then he ordered the bodies to be transported to Oliva, where he buried them in the cemetery of St. James's in front of the monastery. The Teutonic Knights, wanting to punish the pride of the townspeople, destroyed the fortifications of the town. They kept the city for some time. In 1309 they bought from margrave Waldemar rights to Pomerania, because they thought that he had "better rights" to it than Władysław Łokietek. The transaction was made in Nowy Kalisz in the presence of Pomeranian and margrave knights.<sup>117</sup>

The version presented by the abbot Stanisław gained particular recognition in western Pomerania. In the 16<sup>th</sup> century its dukes considered themselves heirs to the rulers of the whole of Pomerania, together with its Vistulan part. In 1517/1518, on the recommendation of Prince Bogusław X, Jan Bugenhagen wrote *Pomerania*, which was a chronicle of the region. Previously, he had familiarized himself with the text of the chronicle of the abbot of Oliva, Stanisław.<sup>118</sup> He transferred its text in its entirety to his work.<sup>119</sup>

It is worth noting the account of another Pomeranian chronicler associated with the court of the Dukes of west Pomerania. In his Pomeranian Chronicle, which he started in 1535, Thomas Kantzow considered the matter of the slaughter of Gdańsk according to the Pomeranian tradition. Despite his knowledge of the chronicles by Jan Długosz, he did not see Polish knights among the deadly victims of the events which took place in Gdańsk. According to him, the Grand Master of Prussia summoned for help by the Polish king Władysław, helped the Polish ruler, who regained the city of Gdańsk and killed all the Marchians in it ("alle Marker darine erschlug").<sup>120</sup> The con-

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117 *Chronica Olivensis. Auctore Stanislao abbate Olivensis*, chap. 12-14, pp. 318f.; see also Polish translation: *Kronika Oliwska...*, pp. 83-85.

118 See Johannes Bugenhagens, *Pomerania*, ed. O. Heinemann, Stettin 1900, III, 14, pp. 216f.

119 G. Labuda, *O opacie Stanisławie, autorze Kroniki Oliwskiej (Postłowie)...*, p. 384.

120 Thomas Kantzow, *Pomerania. Eine pommersche Chronik aus dem sechzehnten Jahrhundert*, ed. G. Gaebel, Stettin 1908, pp. 242f. See also E. Rymar in: Thomas Kantzow, *Pomerania. Kronika pomorska z XVI wieku*, transl. K. Gołda, comment. and notes T. Białecki, E. Rymar, vol. I (books 1 and 2), Szczecin 2005, p. 392 (notes).

flict between Władysław Łokietek and Master Henry von Plotzke was to happen later. Kantzow followed the footsteps outlined by Długosz. The capture of Gdańsk by the Teutonic Knights after the siege took place on the day of the Dominican Fair in 1310 and was connected with the robbery of merchant stalls by the Teutonic Knights. This account is the result of the chronicler's ideas supported by his knowledge of Długosz's chronicle. It lacks any traces of information on whose source was the *Oliva Chronicle*. Despite this, Kantzow still did not link in his account the loss of Gdańsk by Władysław Łokietek with the loss of life of his supporters.

The 14<sup>th</sup>-century *Oliva Chronicle* was also one of the sources for the text entitled *O tym jak ziemia pomorska została podporządkowana braciom zakonu niemieckiego*.<sup>121</sup> According to Theodor Hirsch, who published it in *Scriptores rerum Prussicarum*, this work came from the time of Jan Długosz and was most probably an abbreviation from several earlier sources. The abridgement was prepared by the same sloppy translator (Konrad Gesselen?), who, commissioned by Długosz in the 1560s, translated from German into Latin in the chronicle of Nicolas Jerosichn and the rhymed chronicle of Wigand of Marburg. Thus, this work was certainly also known to Długosz.<sup>122</sup>

Hirsch considered *Terra Pomerania quomodo subjecta est ordini fratrum Theutonicorum* to be devoid of any value. This was due to numerous errors in the text. Such errors are of course present in the text. Emphasizing the need for further research on this source, one should not, however, definitively reject it. It contains references to problems unknown to Hirsch, but discussed today. This source contains interesting information from the period of Pomeranian-Teutonic wars in the times of Świętopełk of Gdańsk. Its author (authors?) put emphasis on personal animosities between Świętopełk and Master Poppon called here of Swabia (actually von Osterna). In a peculiar way the relationship between Świętopełk and Mściwój after the return of the latter from Teutonic captivity was also presented.

The source in question was informed about the assumption of power in Pomerania by Przemysław II, because of the childlessness of Mściwój II and kinship between the dukes of Pomerania and Wielkopolska (Greater Poland). It contained information about the royal coronation of Przemysław II and his death at the hands of the servants of Margrave of Brandenburg. This death was the cause of troubles that affected Pomerania. The Pomeranians, wanting to remedy them, appointed starosts – Święca and others to take care of the welfare of the Pomeranian land. Then they started to choose a duke

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121 *Terra Pomerania quomodo subjecta est ordini fratrum Theutonicorum*, ed. Th. Hirsch, in: SRP, I, pp. 806f.

122 See W. Polak, *Aprobata i spór. Zakon krzyżacki jako instytucja kościelna w dziełach Jana Długosza*, Lublin 1999, pp. 104, 110.

for themselves. At first it was supposed to be Leszek Kujawski, but he died. Then the Duke of Rugia was chosen the ruler of Pomerania, here given the name Bogusław.<sup>123</sup> However, he was soon killed. Then the Pomeranians sent deputies to Waclaw of Bohemia, because he married Przemysł II's daughter. Waclaw took power in Pomerania, followed by his son, who was also killed. The Pomeranians expelled the Czechs and took Władysław Łokietek as their lord.

In the next fragment of *Terra Pomerania*... a dispute between the Polish duke and the Święca family is described. Its subject was the money which Święca and his sons demanded because they had been guarding Pomerania for many years, although – as the author stressed – they had no right to this land. The conflict between the Polish ruler and the Święcas resulted in: a message sent by them to the margrave Waldemar, accepting him as lord of Pomerania; and the margrave sending knights to Gdańsk, which together with the castle had been the property of Władysław Łokietek. After those events there was a revolt of the townspeople in Gdańsk against the duke's solicitor.

There followed a description of the daily battles between the castle garrison commanded by the captains: Wojciech, Bogusza, and burgrave Wojśław and the town of Gdańsk. Wojśław was to be a particular nuisance for Gdańsk's citizens, as he haunted townsmen with murder and fire. The townspeople were not indebted to the castle. In the end, however, its defenders, seeing the cruelty and evil committed by the knights sent by margraves and burghers, which could not be stopped either by threats or requests, sent messengers asking for help to the Prussian lords. This request was answered by Günther von Schwarzburg, who came with the Prussians and others. Günther on foot and on horseback, with attacks and arrows, struck at the city from without and from within. The knights who were fighting with the castle garrison saw this and began to insult Günther, mocking his family ("familiam eius subsannantes") and doing indecent things. However, this still did not upset Günther. His aggression was only triggered by the news that the knights were fighting against their rightful lord (that is Władysław Łokietek), the commander of the castle and the whole Pomeranian land. So in anger, together with his men Günther stormed the town in order to conquer it. None of the knights defending it was taken prisoner. They were all killed. The bodies were so numerous that they filled the moat of the city. The town walls were torn down. It was only wise men who resolved the feud.

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123 Probably the reference was to Sambor the Rugian, son of Wisław II, who died in 1304. On the pro-Rugian party in Pomerania at the beginning of the 14<sup>th</sup> century see J. Spors, *Dzieje polityczne ziemi sławieńskiej, słupskiej i biało-gardzkiej XII-XIV wieku*, Poznań-Słupsk 1973, pp. 159ff.

After these events the brothers of the order had peacefully and honourably possessed Gdańsk, until they sent messengers to the margrave Waldemar, for he was nearest to their homeland. The margrave was to come to Pomerania and seize it in the presence of many celebrated men. Then the brothers consulted with their preceptors and agreed to redeem Pomerania. The margrave agreed and the brothers bought Pomerania up to Słupsk and New Kalisz. The passus ends with information about the sum of the ransom and the date of its transfer. Then, according to the author(s), the liberation from the Czechs, Poles, the March, and Pomeranians was to take place. The city of Gdańsk was defeated at Christmas 1309. The purchase of Pomerania took place in 1310.

The above message is the only surviving narrative source mentioning such heavy losses of the defenders of the city that was written on the territory of the monastic state. Its origin can be linked to the author's(s') emotional attachment to the Teutonic Knights. Probably following the 14<sup>th</sup>-century *Oliva Chronicle*, it exposed the role of the Chełmno commander Günther von Schwarzburg in the capture of Gdańsk. Information about the death of its defenders was a transformation of the story of the murder of Pomeranian knights, which was found in the *Oliva Chronicle*. Those who betrayed the rightful lord, the commander of the castle and the Pomeranian lands were killed.

Content referring to mockery as a weapon used by the defenders of the city against the Teutonic Knights is already found in Rudiger's Chronicle and the chronicle of abbot Stanisław. In *Terra Pomerania...* the defenders use mockery against Günther von Schwarzburg and his family. It is difficult to indicate the reasons for this. Certainly the uncle of the Chełmno commander, also Günther von Schwarzburg,<sup>124</sup> was not well remembered among the Brandenburg margraves. In the 1380s acting as an envoy of King Rudolf Habsburg of Rome, he mediated in a dispute of the margraves of St John's Order (including Otto IV) with Lübeck.<sup>125</sup> He took the side of the town. But could this fact cause a personal attack of the defenders directed at the Teutonic Commanders? Could it have been remembered at the time of writing this account? Without in-depth research on *Terra Pomerania...*, and an attempt to define its archetype, the above questions cannot be answered.

Both the *Oliva Chronicle* and *Terra Pomerania*, as sources used by Jan Długosz, are an introduction to reflection on the opinions which emerged in the 15<sup>th</sup> century concerning the events of 1308 in Gdańsk. They were to

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<sup>124</sup> See K.W. von Isenburg, *Stammtafeln zur Geschichte der europäischen Staaten*, vol. I, Marburg 1956 (Tab. 157, 159).

<sup>125</sup> Regesten, Lieferung IV, München-Leipzig 1914, nos. 1310, 1318; O. Redlich, *Rudolf von Habsburg*, Innsbruck 1983, pp. 665f.

some extent shaped by the subsequent Polish-Teutonic trial and the testimonies given by subsequent witnesses in 1422-1423 before the papal envoy, Antoni Zeno of Milan.<sup>126</sup> It happened after the judge appointed to settle the Polish-Teutonic dispute, Sigismund of Luxemburg, on January 6, 1420 in Wrocław passed a sentence favourable to the Teutonic Knights. This resulted in an appeal of the Polish side to Pope Martin V and consequently, a new canonical process. One of its parts was the court proceedings taking place in Poznań and Kraków. In the years 1422-1423, Polish witnesses were interrogated, among other matters, about the loss of Pomerania by Poland.<sup>127</sup>

The structure of the questions posed to witnesses determined that each of the sworn 46 witnesses should give an opinion on the matter of the seizure of Gdańsk Pomerania by the Teutonic Knights. However, the matter of the town was in fact raised by only a small number of the testifying witnesses. Their statements bear the trace of a considerable lapse of time and, consequently, of distortions created in the social memory of the Polish society. At the same time, however, they also bring news that were not touched upon by the witnesses who testified in previous trials. In this regard, we can recall the already mentioned statement of the Poznań notary Jan Merkel. It was in his statement that the factor of family connections between the dukes of Kuyavia and the Teutonic Schwarzburghs was emphasized as at least one of the decisive factors in the decision of Władysław Łokietek to summon the Teutonic Knights to defend Pomerania.<sup>128</sup>

However, as regards the circumstances of the conquest of Gdańsk by the Order, more important are the testimonies of the councilor from Poznań, Henryk Buchwald, and the bishop of Włocławek, Jan Pełła of Niewiesz. Apart from the motives known from the testimonies in previous trials, fantastic elements started to appear in them. The first of them, when describing how Gdańsk was lost, mentioned that Władysław Łokietek, when

<sup>126</sup> See S. Zajączkowski, *Studja nad procesami Polski i Litwy z Zakonem Krzyżackim w latach 1420-1432*, "Ateneum Wileńskie" XXXVII (1937), pp. 370-401; Z.H. Nowak, *Międzynarodowe procesy polubowne jako narzędzi polityki Zygmunta Luksemburskiego w północnej i środkowej Europie (1412-1424)*, Toruń 1981, pp. 81-96; D. Wróbel, *Postawy polityczne elit w Polsce w pierwszej połowie XV wieku w świetle aktów procesu polsko-krzyżackiego z lat 1422-1423*, "Annales Universitatis Mariae Curie-Skłodowska. Sectio F, Historia" LVIII (2003), pp. 35-58; *Lites ac res geste inter Polonos Ordinemque Cruciferorum. Spory i sprawy pomiędzy Polakami a Zakonem Krzyżackim. Akta postępowania przed wysłannikiem papieskim Antonim Zeno z Mediolanu w latach 1422-1423*, ed. S. Józwiak, A. Szweđa, S. Szybowski (hereinafter: *Lites Józwiak, Szweđa, Szybowski*), Toruń 2015, pp. 15-24.

<sup>127</sup> See H. Chłopocka, *Mieszczanie poznańscy w procesach Polski i Litwy z zakonem krzyżackim w XV wieku*, in: *Nihil superfluum esse. Studia z dziejów średniowiecza ofiarowane Profesor Jadwidze Krzyżaniakowa*, ed. J. Strzelczyk, J. Dobosz et al., Poznań 2000, pp. 436ff.

<sup>128</sup> *Lites Józwiak, Szweđa, Szybowski*, [witness VII], p. 306.



the borders of Pomerania were attacked by Saxon dukes (that is Brandenburg margraves), was staying near the Hungarian border. For that reason he entrusted the defence of Pomerania to the Prussian Master and gave him the Pomeranian lands in trust believing that he would defend them. The master in fact succeeded in defending Pomeranian land, which returned to Władysław Łokietek's rule. However, after 3 years the master demanded from king Władysław Pomeranian lands as a payment for defending them, or that the king give him an appropriate monetary equivalent of this. Of course the king rejected these demands. Then the master forged a royal document, which he presented to Świętosław, the general starost of Pomeranian lands, residing in Gdańsk.<sup>129</sup> Thanks to that, the Prussian master together with his companions was allowed to enter the castle in Gdańsk. This Prussian master, after getting into the castle, put the sword to the aforementioned starost and all the Poles staying in the castle. The knowledge about these events was to be widespread in Poland and especially in Gdańsk.<sup>130</sup>

The bishop of Włocławek, Jan Pełła of Niewiesz testified that from Jarand, the cantor of Kruszwica, who died 12 years earlier at a ripe old age, he learned that the Prussian brothers grabbed the Pomeranian lands in strong hands after they made an agreement with the starost of Gdańsk. The starost gave them the castle and the city of Gdańsk for a certain amount of money. The Teutonic Knights entered the city on the day when the market on St. Dominic's Day was taking place. Because of that celebration, less effort was put into the defence of the city. This enabled the Teutonic Knights to capture the town. Then, the murder of Pomeranian nobles and dignitaries of the Pomeranian land began and they were beheaded.<sup>131</sup> This testimony is probably the first one in which the Gdańsk Massacre is chronologically connected with the date of St. Dominic's Fair. This motif was later adopted by Długosz. Due to the reception of the text of his chronicle, it was very often adopted by chroniclers and scholars of the modern era who described the seizure of Gdańsk by the Teutonic Knights.<sup>132</sup>

The evocative picture of the extermination of Gdańsk and its inhabitants which can be found in the chronicle of Jan Długosz, written from the beginning of the Thirteen Year War, is supported by the testimonies of witnesses to the Polish-Teutonic trials. The Polish chronicler is considered in the literature

**129** It is difficult to say whether this referred to the former Pomeranian voivode, or whether the witness mistook him for the Święca's son Świętosław. A similar dilemma accompanies the reading of the testimony of Stanisław Ciołek, a cantor from Cracow – see Lites Józwiak, Szweda, Szybkowski, [witness VIII], p. 325. In this testimony the information appears that Jaksa (Jasiek?) and Świętosław sold Gdańsk to the Teutonic Knights for 8 marks.

**130** Lites Józwiak, Szweda, Szybkowski, [witness XXVI], p. 538.

**131** Ibidem, [witness XIV], p. 385.

**132** See E. Kizik, *Wydarzenia lat 1308–1309...*, pp. 146–154.

of the subject as an excellent expert<sup>133</sup> on them. One has to agree with this opinion. These testimonies must have been of special interest to Długosz. In 1464, he joined a group of Polish lawyers who were given the task of preparing the terms of the Second Peace of Toruń. In this way, the Polish chronicler combined his historical interests with practice and service in the diplomacy of first Zbigniew Oleśnicki and then Kazimierz Jagiellończyk.<sup>134</sup> The work done by the Polish chronicler on the sources made available to him fully justifies the opinion of Jan Długosz as the first Polish historian.

Długosz mainly used the documents known to him from the purchase of Pomerania by the Order from the Brandenburg margraves, testimonies from Polish-Teutonic trials and, to a relatively narrow extent, the 14<sup>th</sup>-century *Oliva Chronicle*.<sup>135</sup> In his narrative of 1307 there appears a fragment about the conflict of Władysław Łokietek with the Święcas and the financial background of the dispute.<sup>136</sup> In contrast to the *Oliva Chronicle*, the head of the anti-Łokietek opposition in Długosz's work was Piotr, son of the Święca family. The former Pomeranian voivode supported only his son in his resistance. Most probably, following the testimony in the trial of 1339 of the Bishop of Poznań Jan Łodzia and the knight Tomasz of Zajaczków, Długosz wrongly referred to Piotr Święca as the chancellor.<sup>137</sup> The Chronicle of Jan Długosz describes the arrest of Piotr Święca, his imprisonment, release, and official conversion to the Margraves of Brandenburg, together with part of the Pomeranian knighthood. In contrast to the *Oliva Chronicle*, Długosz claimed that Pomerania was attacked not only by the Margrave of Brandenburg Waldemar, but also his younger brother John<sup>138</sup> who was

133 J. Dąbrowski, *Dawne dziejopisarstwo polskie do 1480 r.*, Wrocław-Warszawa-Kraków 1964, p. 202; J. Skomiał, *Spór polsko-krzyżacki w kronice Jana Długosza*, "Studia Prawno-Ekonomiczne" XCI (2014), p. 125.

134 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, part 1, Warszawa 1980, pp. 141-167; idem, *Dyplomacja polska czasów Kazimierza Jagiellończyka*, part 1, *W kręgu wielkiego konfliktu zbrojnego z Zakonem Krzyżackim (1447-1466)*, in: *Kazimierz Jagiellończyk. Zbiór studiów o Polsce drugiej połowy XV wieku*, ed. M. Biskup, K. Górski, Warszawa 1987, pp. 200ff.; W. Polak, *Aprobata i spór...*, p. 87 (where the emphasis is on the use of trial documents in diplomacy); J. Skomiał, *Spór polsko-krzyżacki...*, p. 125; J. Osiński, *Kilka uwag o działalności dyplomatycznej Jana Długosza w latach 1448-1450*, "Słupskie Studia Historyczne" 2014, no. 20, pp. 23-35.

135 On the written sources used by Długosz in his studies on Polish-Teutonic relations see W. Polak, *Aprobata i spór...*, pp. 87-119. The chronicler's extensive use of court records has already been pointed out by K. Jasiński, *Zajęcie Pomorza Gdańskiego...*, p. 313, note 68.

136 Ioannis Dlugossi, *Annales seu Cronicae incliti Regni Poloniae*, Book IX, ed. K. Turkowska, M. Kowalczyk, K. Pieradzka, Warszawa 1976 (hereafter: Długosz), pp. 44ff.

137 Lites Zakrzewski, pp. 150, 305; S. Szybkowski, *Aneks II...*, pp. 205, 209.

138 Długosz, p. 45; cf. PU, no. 686. In the document of the sale of rights to Pomerania by margrave Waldemar to the Order from 12.06.1310, it is mentioned that Waldemar made the transaction on behalf of himself and his younger brother Jan remaining under his care.

under his protection. The invaders were backed by Piotr Święca and his supporters. Thanks to the fact that part of the townspeople of Gdańsk were Germans,<sup>139</sup> the margraves – according to Długosz – managed to capture the city of Gdańsk. The invaders were further resisted by the Gdańsk castle, which housed the loyalists of Władysław Łokietek: Bogusza, to whom Długosz gave the title of Pomeranian judge and starost (i.e., commander),<sup>140</sup> as well as Wojciech,<sup>141</sup> and Wojsław.<sup>142</sup> Apart from them, in the castle there were representatives of the Pomeranian nobility called out to defend themselves against the invasion.

Another fragment of Długosz's chronicle concerned the idea of bringing help from the Teutonic Knights (unknown to the *Oliva Chronicle*). It was taken up by Władysław Łokietek. Bogusza, together with the knight Niemierz, which only confirmed the ruler in his decision. This happened during their meeting with Władysław Łokietek in Sandomierz.<sup>143</sup> Bogusza was then given the task of bringing the Order, which as a recipient of endowments and alms from the Polish ruler's family, should have kept loyalty to the Polish ruler. The Prussian Master of the Order, Henry von Plotzke, and his advisors, however, longed for Pomerania. So they willingly agreed to Władysław Łokietek's conditions. The cunning Henry von Plotzke, reacting to the appeal of the Polish side, sent Teutonic reinforcements to Pomerania.<sup>144</sup> Before that, however, an agreement on the conditions of the Order's help had been written and sealed. The Teutonic Knights were to defend the castle at their own expense for a year. Then Władysław Łokietek should regain it, and the Order after that year should pre-

139 Długosz, p. 45. According to the testimony of the knight Antoni, Antoni's son, the German burghers of Gdańsk handed over Gdańsk not to the margraves but to the Teutonic Knights (Lites Zakrzewski, p. 267; S. Szybkowski, *Aneks II...*, p. 208).

140 Długosz, p. 45. Bogusza was mentioned in his testimony with the title of judge by the bishop of Kuyavia Gerward (Lites Chłopocka, p. 25) and Jan Łodzia (Lites Zakrzewski, p. 150); S. Szybkowski, *Aneks II...*, pp. 202, 205f. The term capitaneus points to the commanding powers of Bogusza. It is difficult to indicate the source of the starost's title which appeared here.

141 Adalbert was described as the castellan of Gdańsk by the bishop of Kuyavia, Gerward (Lites Chłopocka, p. 25), and the former Pomeranian voivode, Świętosław (Lites Zakrzewski, p. 390); S. Szybkowski, *Aneks II...*, pp. 201, 211.

142 He was mentioned by the Bishop of Kuyavia, Gerward (Lites Chłopocka, p. 25); S. Szybkowski, *Aneks II...*, p. 201.

143 This part of the negotiations connected with the decision to bring in the Teutonic Knights was familiar to Długosz through reading the testimony of Jan Łodzia, the canon of Przewrzeszko in Poznań, and Piotr, the Sandomierz scholastic (Lites Zakrzewski, pp. 158, 379; S. Szybkowski, *Aneks II...*, pp. 205f., 210f.).

144 The particular involvement of Henry von Plotzke (unknown to the *Oliva Chronicle*) is indicated by the testimonies of Bishop Gerward, duke Leszek of Kuyavia, knight Żyro of Krupocin, Bishop of Poznań Jan Łodzia, and knight Antoni of Kuyavia, son of Andrzej (Lites Chłopocka, pp. 25f., 29, 34; Lites Zakrzewski, pp. 151, 297; S. Szybkowski, *Aneks II...*, pp. 202, 208, 205f.).

sent a register of the costs incurred, which were to be paid by Łokietek. Since the text of the treaty did not survive, it is difficult to say how correctly Długosz presented its provisions.<sup>145</sup> It is worth noting, however, that this is the first historical interpretation of the Polish-Teutonic treaty, concluded before the intervention of the Order in Pomerania.

According to Długosz, the help of Henry von Plotzke was only apparent, because he had long been thinking of seizing Pomerania. The Teutonic Knights' reinforcements occupied half of Gdańsk, which was given to them by Bogusza.<sup>146</sup> To fight against the margraves and Saxons, Güntehr von Schwarzburg, known to Długosz from the *Oliva Chronicle* and *Terra Pomerania*, was sent with well equipped troops. In Długosz's chronicle he was stirred to fight against the forces of margraves and Saxons – in the *Oliva Chronicle* and *Terra Pomerania*... against the townspeople. Drawing on the above-mentioned narrative sources, Długosz presented his vision of the battle between the forces of the city and the castle of Gdańsk. According to the chronicler's words, the margraves, having left their garrisons in Gdańsk and several other places in Pomerania, ended the siege of the castle and retreated to Pomerania. After their retreat the Poles and Teutonic Knights captured Gdańsk and murdered many defenders. The leaders of the Gdańsk rebellion were sentenced to death. It was the victims of war violence and legally sentenced traitors who were buried by Rudiger, the abbot of Oliva, in St. James's cemetery. In Długosz's chronicle, however, these are not the victims of the Gdańsk Massacre.<sup>147</sup>

According to the chronicler, the slaughter of townspeople took place only three years after the above events, in 1310.<sup>148</sup> The city of Gdańsk returned to

<sup>145</sup> Regarding the search for the conditions on which the agreement was concluded, B. Śliwiński, *Pomorze w okresie rządów...*; Długosz, p. 46. According to the testimony of Jan Łodzia and the canon of Przewrzeszew, Bogusza received from the Teutonic Knights a document containing the condition of returning the town after paying off the costs. However, he received it only after the Teutonic Knights had removed the castle (Lites Zakrzewski, pp. 151, 158; S. Szybkowski, *Aneks II...*, pp. 205f.).

<sup>146</sup> Długosz was able to obtain information on the talks concerning the taking over of Gdańsk by reading the testimony of Piotr Drogosławic, Sandomierz judge Michał, Wincenty Bożydar, Sandomierz custodian Czesław and the judge Bogusza's son, Przewrzeszew (Lites Chłopocka, pp. 37, 39f., 42; Lites Zakrzewski, p. 158; S. Szybkowski, *Aneks II...*, pp. 203f., 206). However, it is difficult to indicate from where he gained the information about the details of the arrangement which were given in his chronicle. In any case they are not to be found in the *Oliva Chronicle*.

<sup>147</sup> Długosz, p. 48.

<sup>148</sup> *Ibidem*, pp. 56f. The difference of 3 years between the beginning of the fights between the townspeople of Gdańsk and the castle garrison and the slaughter was also mentioned by the Poznań alderman Jerzy Buchwald, who testified in the trial of 1422-1423 (Lites Józwiak, Szweda, Szybkowski, p. 325). Therefore, maybe due to the knowledge of this statement, Długosz also extended the Pomeranian events to 3 years.

the rule of Władysław Łokietek in 1308. Initially, a small Teutonic garrison in the middle of Gdańsk castle grew in strength and started to provoke quarrels and disputes with people of the judge and starost Bogusza. In the end, Bogusza (and more importantly, Pomeranians) were arrested and forced to leave the castle. The Teutonic Knights gave Bogusza a document which said that they would give the castle back to the Polish king if he would pay them back. Then Bogusza together with Stefan of Pruszcz and Niemierza were thrown out of the castle. Długosz's material for writing this passage was undoubtedly provided again from the testimony of Polish witnesses of the Polish-Teutonic trials.<sup>149</sup>

Based on the statement of the former Pomeranian judge Świątosław from the trial of 1339, Długosz wrote another fragment of his work devoted to the matters of Gdańsk. In 1309 Władysław Łokietek met with the Prussian Master in Gdańsk to clarify the issue of removing the Polish garrison from the castle and to determine the sum of money, upon payment of which the Teutonic Knights agreed to give up the castle.<sup>150</sup> Of course, this meeting did not bring the expected results. Henry von Plotzke demanded an abstract sum of one hundred thousand marks. In addition, the Prussian master, not believing the burghers of Gdańsk and wanting to punish their pride, ordered the demolition of the walls surrounding the town. This information Długosz surely took from the texts of the *Oliva Chronicle* and *Terra Pomerania*.

In 1310, according to Długosz, the Teutonic Knights, taking advantage of the fact that Władysław Łokietek was at war with the Ruthenians and the Lithuanians, and of the internal disintegration of the state, decided to put into effect a plan to capture the whole of Pomerania. On behalf of the Polish ruler, Pomerania was to be managed by the dukes of Gniewkowo and Michałów: Przemysław and Kazimierz. This information seems to indicate the source of the chronicler's knowledge. It was again the testimony of the witnesses of the Polish-Teutonic trials.<sup>151</sup> The Teutonic Knights took advantage of the situation to besiege the city of Gdańsk, which defended itself for a long time. Numerous knights and noblemen of Pomerania were in the city at that time, because the beginning of the siege coincided with St. Dominic's Fair.<sup>152</sup> In the end, however, the city

<sup>149</sup> See footnote above.

<sup>150</sup> Długosz, p. 55; Lites Zakrzewski, pp. 389f.; S. Szybkowski, *Aneks II...*, pp. 211f. For some reason, however, Długosz introduced Gdańsk as the place of the meeting, instead of Grabie, which was mentioned in this testimony. See B. Śliwiński, *Pomorze Wschodnie...*, pp. 489ff. (here also further literature).

<sup>151</sup> This governorship was mentioned in 1339 by: the castellan of Gniewkowo Maciej, the knight from Kuyavia Antoni, son of Andrzej, and the knight Marcin of Trzebcz (Lites Zakrzewski, pp. 239, 296, 403; S. Szybkowski, *Aneks II...*, pp. 207, 208, 212f.).

<sup>152</sup> As it was written above, Długosz derived this idea from the testimony of Bishop Jan Pełła of Niewiesz in the trial of the years 1422-1432 (Lites Józwiak, Szweda, Szybkowski, p. 538); K. Karczewski, W. Sieradzan, *Udział Kościoła włocławskiego...*, p. 188.

fell due to the treachery of the German townsmen.<sup>153</sup> After entering the town through one of the gates, according to Długosz, the slaughter began. Pomeranian knights, lords, noblemen, and the rest of the people died. The Teutonic Knights murdered without regard for the sex and age of their victims, who were killed in every known way. Reinforcing his story about the massacre, the chronicler wrote that its scale was unprecedented and it had been a long time since so much Polish blood had been spilled. All this was to terrify the defenders of other Pomeranian towns, which the Teutonic Knights intended to conquer.

The description of the massacre of Gdańsk was in Długosz's work an introduction to the further story about the seizure of Pomerania by the Order. When constructing the fragment devoted to the events in Gdańsk, the chronicler undoubtedly let his imagination run free. Of course, pointing out that the Teutonic Knights did not spare people regardless of their age and gender should also lead to the trial testimonies with which Długosz was so thoroughly acquainted. The chronicler succeeded in a seemingly difficult task. When he started writing, he must have had some doubts about the interpretation, which resulted mainly from the reading of the testimonies of the trials of 1320-1321 and, above all, 1339 and 1422-1423 juxtaposed, for example, with the well-known *Oliva Chronicle or Terra Pomerania...* These doubts must have concerned the scale of the slaughter, its origin, and the political involvement of the victims.

However, thanks to the extension by the chronicler of the events accompanying the loss of Pomerania by Poland, he managed to overcome them. Pomeranian knights in the service of the margraves, who were killed in the story of the abbot of Oliva Stanisław, were not the victims of the slaughter, but died after the capture of Gdańsk by the Polish-Teutonic army. Thanks to this deft recasting, Długosz did not have to wonder how the Polish knights killed by the Teutonic Knights in the city died during the massacre. According to the chronicler, they, among others, were the victims of Teutonic murder. Before that, however, Władysław Łokietek had to regain power in the city. Thanks to this literary trick, Długosz put an equal sign between the Pomeranians and the Poles, speaking one language, having one law, and recognizing the authority of one Polish king. Thus, it can be concluded that Długosz's description of the massacre of Gdańsk met the demands of the Polish restitution programme, which emphasized the historical links between Pomerania and Poland.<sup>154</sup>

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153 Długosz, p. 56. The treachery of the German townsmen was already mentioned by the witnesses of the trial in 1339. The witnesses of the trial in 1339 were knight Antoni, son of Andrzej, and castellan Zbylut (Lites Zakrzewski, pp. 296, 393; S. Szybkowski, *Aneks II...*, pp. 208, 212).

154 See A. Wojtkowski, *Tezy i argumenty polskie w sporach terytorialnych z Krzyżakami*, Olsztyn 1968, pp. 85-93.

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Events connected with the taking over of Pomerania by the Teutonic Order and the Gdańsk Massacre functioned in the consciousness of contemporaries initially thanks to two information channels. The first channel consisted of news functioning in the social memory of people connected to each other by commercial, cultural, and religious contacts from the areas located on the southern shores of the Baltic Sea. The news were repeated orally, which resulted in a lack of uniform information concerning the scale of the destruction of the city of Gdańsk and the number of people murdered there by the Teutonic Knights. The most important people who recorded the news were of course the witnesses in the trials against the Teutonic Knights. The formation of the second channel of information was influenced by narrative sources whose authors considered it necessary to record events. It is possible that lost annals, perhaps of Oliva provenance, were responsible for the spread of knowledge about the capture of Gdańsk by the Teutonic Knights. However, the entries in them must have been rather laconic and did not differ from what was later written in the Chełmża annal, the Toruń Franciscans', or the fragmentary annal. In them there could have been an entry concerning the participation of Prussians in the destruction of the town.

Before 1313, a particularly important written monument was produced, whose author commented on the fall of Gdańsk and the murders committed by the Teutonic Knights. Abbot Rudiger tried to present the circumstances which led to the war for Gdańsk. However, he was not interested in diplomatic games between Władysław Łokietek and the Teutonic Knights. He was also not interested in the fate of the Polish garrison in Gdańsk, but in what happened to the townspeople. By order of the Teutonic Knights, 16 of them died. The reason for the Teutonic fierceness was the behaviour of the defenders of the city during the siege. Another punishment involved the demolition of the town walls. Thus, the chronicler's information differed from what was commonly repeated in Baltic towns. Rudiger exercised self-censorship so as not to offend the Teutonic Knights, in whose state his monastery found itself after 1308-1309. Rudiger's account gave rise to a Pomeranian narrative about the events in Gdańsk, quite sparing in its assessment.

Opinions circulating widely in Poland and Pomerania about the treason and murder committed by the Teutonic Knights in Gdańsk were strengthened after the testimony of Polish witnesses in the trial of 1320-1321 was written down. The Order did not recognize the verdict handed down then, but the minutes of the court sessions became a source of knowledge of the problem outside Polish borders, especially in the papal curia. They also had a chance to reach at least the elites of the European clergy and

then the European rulers who gave their support to the Order. The Teutonic Knights had to somehow weaken their bad image. Hence, there were narrative attempts to justify the way of gaining, that is, redeeming Pomerania and Gdańsk by the Teutonic Knights. This goal was to guide the creation of the *Pamiętniki* of the Order in the 14<sup>th</sup> century. Earlier chronicles of the Teutonic Order (Dusburg and Wigand) were simply silent about the circumstances of capturing Pomerania.

Another trial in 1339 contributed to a further spreading of knowledge about the Order's wickedness and the murders committed by its members in Gdańsk. In the testimonies which were given then, two complementary trends can be distinguished. The first referred to the extermination of the subjects of Władysław Łokietek and the Poles who were slaughtered in the stronghold of Gdańsk. The second emphasized the death of Pomeranian knights and townspeople of Gdańsk at the hands of the Teutonic Knights. It was particularly the second trend that contained the most important testimony to the events in Gdańsk, written down a few years later – namely, the *Oliva Chronicle* by abbot Stanisław. In this source appeared the author's reflection on the misfortune that befell the Pomeranians, due to internal division and the participation of local knights in the war on both sides of the Brandenburg-Polish conflict. The chronicle also brought information about previously unarticulated events related to the participation in battles between the Polish garrison and the defenders of the town under Chełmno commander Günther von Schwarzburg. The chronicler also in this case claimed that the severity of the Teutonic siege was the result of the mockery of the defenders of the city. The victims of the slaughter that took place in Gdańsk were supposed to be all Pomeranian knights who found themselves in the city (and thus Pomeranian supporters of the Brandenburg margraves).

Theses that appeared in the 14<sup>th</sup>-century *Oliva Chronicle* were used by an unknown author emotionally connected to the Teutonic Order to create another version of the events described. The most important role in it was again played by Günther von Schwarzburg. It was he and his family who were offended by the townspeople of Gdańsk during the siege. Revenge for that and for lack of loyalty to Władysław Łokietek led to enormous casualties among the townspeople of Gdańsk. However, the Order obtained Pomerania legally, because it bought the rights to it from Brandenburg margraves.

In 1422-1423, witnesses began to be heard again in connection with the next trial brought against the Order by Poland. The tradition kept in the families or professional circles of the testifying witnesses rendered them practically useless, apart from exceptions, in an attempt to reconstruct past events. However, they are a symbol of the direction in which the social and historical memory of Polish society of that time evolved.



All the contradictions which arose when trying to confront the testimony of witnesses in the Polish-Teutonic trials and the emerging narrative accounts, were reconciled in a manner worthy of a historian by Jan Długosz, who placed the matter of the seizure of Pomerania by the Order and the problem of the murders committed in Gdańsk in his chronicle. Thanks to this, Pomeranian-Polish subjects of Władysław Łokietek were killed in the massacre in the city of Gdańsk. Thus, the chronicler's tale left no doubt about the guilt of the Order, which deceitfully tore away from Poland its integral part (i.e., Pomerania) and committed cruel murders in Gdańsk.

#### ABSTRACT

The events which transpired in Gdańsk on November 12-13, 1308 and entered historiography as the "Gdańsk massacre" have long been the subject of historical research. They have not, however, been studied in the context of the historical narrative created in the Middle Ages. That narrative was a testimony to the collective memory of the Pomeranian and Polish populations on the topic of the Teutonic Order's seizure of Gdańsk. It was connected with the destruction of the town by the Teutonic Order and the deaths of numerous inhabitants of Gdańsk. The evidence of historical memory was found in testimonies of Polish and Pomeranian witnesses during several court proceedings in the 14<sup>th</sup> and 15<sup>th</sup> centuries brought against the Teutonic Order by the Polish side, concerning i.a., the unlawful seizure of Gdańsk Pomerania. This memory was also reflected in narrative source accounts (annals and chronicles) written in Pomerania and Prussia. Due to the fact that they represented opinions from both sides, their messages were not uniform. It was only in the 15<sup>th</sup> century that the Polish chronicler Jan Długosz looked to create a coherent image of events connected with the seizure of Gdańsk by the Teutonic Order. In light of his chronicle, the Teutonic Knights committed treason in 1308 and unlawfully seized Pomerania. This opinion, with the lack of analogous written account sources authored by chroniclers tied to the Teutonic Order, would become the generally accepted narrative in Poland and Pomerania of the fall of Gdańsk and secession of Gdańsk Pomerania from Poland. Over the course of the centuries it also constituted one of the major arguments in the historic Polish/German dispute over Gdańsk Pomerania.

**Keywords:** Gdańsk on 12-13, November 1308, "Massacre of Gdańsk", Pomerania, Teutonic Knights, annals and chronicles, lawsuits between Poland and the Teutonic Order

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## « RÉNOVATION SEIGNEURIALE » ET AFFIRMATION DES DROITS DE LA COMMUNAUTÉ À DIENNE (CANTAL) : CONFLITS ET VIOLENCES DANS UNE SEIGNEURIE DE MOYENNE MONTAGNE À LA FIN DU MOYEN ÂGE (XIV<sup>E</sup>-XVI<sup>E</sup> SIÈCLE)<sup>1</sup>

« À toute époque, le passage aux voies de fait a ses statuts culturels, ses virtualités, ses modes d'apaisement ou de surgissement. Leur étude conduit alors l'historien au-delà du champ du droit reconnu, prescriptif, dans l'espace indécis des représentations juridiques populaires, de l'imaginaire social et politique »<sup>2</sup>.



Les Monts du Cantal, territoire de moyenne montagne, sont à la fin du Moyen Âge le lieu de bouleversements économiques importants. L'irruption d'un capital urbain, d'investissements et de mouvements spéculatifs dans les *montagnes*, nom local donné aux estives, est un facteur de transformations de l'équilibre entre communautés et seigneuries et de nouvelles sources de conflits.

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1 Ces recherches s'inscrivent dans le cadre d'un projet de thèse qui n'est qu'à son commencement (J. Moulier, « *Le droit aux montagnes* », *communautés et pastoralisme dans les Monts du Cantal à la fin du Moyen Âge : XII<sup>e</sup>-XVI<sup>e</sup> siècle*, thèse de doctorat sous la direction de L. Viallet et N. Carrier, Université Clermont-Auvergne et Université Jean Moulin Lyon 3, en cours). Le fonds documentaire de la seigneurie de Dienne (AD15 série 1 E) avait néanmoins déjà été en partie exploité dans notre mémoire de master 2 (J. Moulier, *Peuplement et formes d'occupation du sol dans les Monts du Cantal au Bas Moyen Âge (XIII<sup>e</sup>-début XVI<sup>e</sup> siècle). Histoire des communautés rurales en moyenne montagne*, mémoire de master 2 sous la direction de J.-L. Fray et L. Viallet, Université Clermont-Auvergne, 2019). Nous avons complété ce premier corpus par l'étude des registres d'audiences de Dienne (AD15 série 16 B) dans le cadre de notre doctorat. Très rapidement, les conflits latents, réguliers et très serrés entre le seigneur et la communauté sont apparus comme particulièrement intéressants pour nos recherches et révélateurs de tensions profondes qui agitent cette société rurale en recomposition à la fin du Moyen Âge.

2 Y.-M. Bercé, *Conclusion*, dans : *Les luttes anti-seigneuriales dans l'Europe médiévale et moderne*, dir. G. Brunel, S. Brunet, Flaran, vol. 29, Toulouse 2009, p. 199-209.

La mise en place d'un pastoralisme spéculatif modifie les usages anciens et les communautés se voient généralement dépossédées de leurs droits d'usage sur ces espaces précieux. Le « droit aux *montagnes* » des habitants se traduit donc dans un mouvement de contestation des nouveaux usages de l'espace. Les conflits décrits dans les sources écrites témoignent aussi d'un modèle féodal local en crise face à ces contestations, et de la nécessité pour le seigneur de sans cesse réaffirmer sa légitimité, face à des communautés qui se construisent par la confrontation, la contestation et parfois la violence. Nous parlerons ici de « rénovation » plus que de « réaction » ou de « restauration » seigneuriale. Ce dernier terme a été utilisé, entre autres, par François Crouzet<sup>3</sup> ou Thierry Claerr pour désigner le remaniement du cadre seigneurial à la fin de la guerre de Cent Ans<sup>4</sup>. La notion de rénovation dépasse celle de la simple restauration et intègre l'idée d'un renouvellement et d'une nouveauté. Si les seigneurs de Dienne visent un retour à un système qui leur était plus favorable, ils réalisent ce retour par une modernisation administrative et économique du domaine. Cette modernisation, qui prend parfois une forme coercitive incontestable, est elle-même génératrice de conflits.

La seigneurie de Dienne constitue ainsi un observatoire privilégié des transformations de la seigneurie à la fin du Moyen Âge. Située au cœur des montagnes, dans la vallée glaciaire de la Santoire (1100 m d'altitude) qui rejoint le col de Cabre et le Puy Mary (1787 m d'altitude), cette baronnie est aussi une puissance militaire, territoriale et administrative de première importance dans la région. Elle constitue un exemple idéal en raison de l'admirable conservation de ses archives. En effet, les archives départementales du Cantal disposent d'un corpus très important de pièces de procès, terriers et lièves, chartes royales et registres d'audiences (séries 1 E et 16 B). Ces documents témoignent des relations conflictuelles qu'entretiennent le seigneur et les habitants durant de nombreux siècles. Les mêmes problématiques se posent de génération en génération, du XIII<sup>e</sup> au XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècle, et peuvent se regrouper en trois catégories : les droits d'usage sur les *montagnes*, les corvées de guet et enfin les droits d'usages sur l'inculte (forêts et rivières).

Les seigneurs de Dienne sont des seigneurs du type « féodal », au sens de ce que la féodalité pouvait représenter pour un noble de l'époque : ancestralité du lignage et du château, valeur militaire et défensive, décorum. Mais à partir de la fin du XIV<sup>e</sup> siècle, ce sont aussi des seigneurs « modernes » qui maîtrisent particulièrement bien les usages de l'écrit afin de faire valoir leur pouvoir et contrôler les hommes. La production de registres de reconnaissances

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3 F. Crouzet, *L'administration et la restauration des seigneuries rurales du chapitre de Notre-Dame de Paris pendant la seconde moitié du XV<sup>e</sup> siècle 1440-1500*, Paris 1943.

4 T. Claerr, *Restauration seigneuriale et contestation paysanne en Île de France à la fin du XV<sup>e</sup> siècle*, « Histoire et sociétés rurales » (2000) 14, p. 201-216.

soignés et complets est le résultat des nombreuses enquêtes administratives qu'ils font mener à intervalle régulier dans la seigneurie. Les relations entre seigneur et habitants sont constamment tendues du fait de l'absence de reconnaissance écrite des privilèges de la communauté. Ainsi, contrairement à leurs voisins, les seigneurs de Dienne refusent d'octroyer une charte de franchises aux habitants. La communauté existe pourtant bien et exprime régulièrement et systématiquement ses revendications. Sa représentation, si elle ne passe pas par la voie institutionnelle, s'exprime donc par le conflit et ses traductions judiciaires. La contestation se traduit de bien d'autres manières : violence, procès, négociations, combats symboliques, résistance passive.

Les conflits sont donc révélateurs de relations normales car courantes sur le temps long, et en même temps de relations largement dégradées, qui révèlent les failles inhérentes au système seigneurial local. Le conflit prend une ampleur plus large et sert d'outil de légitimation des parties adverses dans leurs revendications et dans la construction d'un modèle politique. La recherche de l'équilibre se fait entre deux conceptions différentes du pouvoir local : celle d'un contrôle seigneurial de plus en plus englobant qui s'oppose à celle d'une relation entre seigneur et paysans fondée sur la reconnaissance des droits de la communauté. Alors que les seigneurs refusent la mise par écrit des privilèges de cette-dernière, elle ne cesse de les réactiver et d'en demander la reconnaissance par l'intermédiaire de la confrontation violente ou judiciaire. En quoi l'absence de charte de franchises génère-t-elle des conflits dans le cadre de la rénovation seigneuriale ? En quoi le conflit est-il un moyen d'expression et de revendication au sein de la communauté ? Qui en sont les acteurs ? En quoi la conflictualité est-elle ici inhérente à la défense du « droit aux *montagnes* » ?

#### CONSTRUIRE SA LÉGITIMITÉ À TRAVERS LE CONFLIT

##### *L'entreprise de rénovation seigneuriale*

La seigneurie de Dienne s'étend dans toute la vallée de la Santoire. Les documents les plus anciens permettent de dater sa création du tout début du XI<sup>e</sup> siècle, au plus tard, date à laquelle les dîmes de l'église de Dienne furent données par le seigneur à l'abbaye de Blesle (Haute-Loire). Les légendes médiévales font remonter la fondation aux temps antiques. En effet, le nom de Dienne serait un dérivé de « Diane », à laquelle on aurait voué un culte dans le temple construit sur le rocher de Laqueuille, qui surplombe le site du futur village. D'après Deribier du Châtelet, une charte de 1369 raconte que le premier seigneur de Dienne était aussi le prêtre de la déesse<sup>5</sup>. Cette tradi-

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5 D. du Châtelet et al., *Dienne*, dans : *Dictionnaire statistique et historique du département du Cantal*, Aurillac 1852-1857. La charte a été perdue depuis.

tion perdue tout au long du Moyen Âge, puisque dans une charte du XVI<sup>e</sup> siècle, le seigneur de Dienne rapporte que son château est « édifié, comme se trouve par escripture, il y a plus de mille cinq cens ans »<sup>6</sup>. Sans doute fait-il référence au contenu de la charte de 1369, précieusement conservée dans la salle d'archives du château. Le blason de la famille fait écho à cette tradition fantasmée par la présence de la lune de Diane. Des fouilles archéologiques menées sur le rocher ont bien révélé l'existence d'un site castral antérieur au XII<sup>e</sup> siècle, mais aucunement la présence du temple gallo-romain. Le seigneur de Dienne construit sa légitimité à travers l'ancienneté de son lignage, qui se renforce par des références à l'Antiquité païenne.

Le premier site du château domine la vallée et accueille une forteresse militaire et quelques habitations dont on a retrouvé les vestiges<sup>7</sup>. Au XII<sup>e</sup> siècle, le village dans la vallée se dote d'une église romane et il semble que c'est à cette même époque que le seigneur décide d'abandonner sa forteresse perchée pour installer son château, au sud-ouest du village à l'emplacement appelé « Le Marchadial »<sup>8</sup>. Ce château est bien connu grâce aux vestiges du donjon carré mais surtout par un inventaire très détaillé de 1580, réalisé après la mort de Jean de Dienne. Ce château comporte de très nombreuses chambres, une salle d'armes dite « des chevaliers », des fortifications nécessitant un entretien régulier et un donjon imposant. Le seigneur rappelle lui-même que son château est « muni de fortes et grosses tours, de murailles, donjons et forteresses » et qu'il a servi à la défense des habitants durant la guerre de Cent Ans. La mémoire populaire a conservé les traces de l'histoire de cette imposante forteresse (aujourd'hui en grande partie disparue), à travers la croyance en l'existence d'un souterrain reliant le Marchadial à l'ancien château du rocher, qui serait suffisamment grand pour que la cavalerie puisse y passer.

Les Diennes voient leur rôle de seigneur à travers le prisme de la féodalité et par la mentalité qu'il sous-entend<sup>9</sup>. Ces représentations font partie d'un système de valeurs qu'ils maintiennent au fil des générations par la construc-

6 Archives départementales du Cantal (AD15) 1 E 772.

7 J.-L. Boudartchouk, *Jean Pagès-Allary et les travaux de la commission des enceintes de la Société préhistorique française : un apport archéologique décisif sur les sites perchés de la fin de l'Antiquité et du Haut Moyen Âge*, « Revue de la Haute-Auvergne » LXVI (2004), p. 391-460.

8 B. Phalip, *Seigneurs et bâtisseurs : le château et l'habitat seigneurial en Haute-Auvergne et Brievadois entre le XI<sup>e</sup> et le XV<sup>e</sup> siècle*, Clermont-Ferrand 2000, p. 165.

9 Nous reprenons ici les termes de George Duby décrivant la féodalité comme une mentalité médiévale : « Car la "féodalité" n'est-elle pas avant tout un état d'esprit, ce complexe psychologique formé dans le petit monde des guerriers peu à peu devenus des nobles ? Conscience d'abord de la supériorité d'un état caractérisé par la spécialisation militaire [...]. Cette disposition mentale se manifeste par certains signes, des gestes rituels surtout, mais aussi des mots », voir G. Duby, *La Féodalité ? Une mentalité médiévale*, « Annales. Économies, sociétés, civilisations » XIII (1958) 4, p. 765-771.

tion d'une histoire légendaire néanmoins appuyée par des preuves écrites. L'ordre social qu'ils imposent dans le domaine est légitimé par l'ancienneté du lignage et par la puissance militaire. La conservation de la mémoire apparaît donc comme centrale. L'inventaire de 1580 mentionne la salle des archives, une salle voûtée qui conserve des livres en latin et en langue vernaculaire (c'est-à-dire l'ancien occitan auvergnat) sacs remplis de lettres, missives et « autres papiers ne servant de rien » (d'après le notaire) mais aussi toutes les archives de la seigneurie : quittances, contrats, accords, terriers. Ces documents de gestion accompagnent le processus de rénovation seigneuriale tel qu'il a pu exister pendant et après la guerre de Cent Ans et tel qu'il a été mis en avant par Pierre Charbonnier. En effet, selon lui, l'Auvergne présenterait le visage particulier d'une terre « seigneuriale » dans laquelle la seigneurie est sortie renforcée de la crise du XIV<sup>e</sup> siècle. On pourrait ainsi comparer les seigneurs de Dienne à Guillaume de Murol<sup>10</sup>, qui administre ses biens et gère son domaine profitablement tout au long du XIV<sup>e</sup> siècle. Ainsi, des terriers sont produits régulièrement pour la seigneurie de Dienne, à des intervalles de dix à cinquante ans. Ces terriers sont souvent accompagnés de documents de travail, les lièves de format oblong, facilement transportables dans une poche ou dans une sacoche et sans doute remplis par les notaires lors de leurs enquêtes sur place ou dans le chartrier.

Autour du seigneur gravite une petite équipe de sergents, notaires, trésoriers, qui s'occupent de la gestion du domaine. Ce domaine, comme celui de Guillaume de Murol dans les montagnes de Basse-Auvergne, se répartit entre les terres arables situées dans la vallée, acensées aux paysans et que l'on retrouve dans les terriers, et les pâturages dans les estives qui font eux l'objet d'achats, ventes ou locations, c'est-à-dire d'une forme de spéculation que l'on peut l'observer dans les contrats conservés. La rénovation seigneuriale se traduit donc de trois manières : restauration de l'autorité, des redevances et des droits seigneuriaux sur les habitants, rénovation des terriers et des outils de gestion et enfin, processus de concentration foncière et économique. Cette logique, fondée sur une gestion moderne de la seigneurie mais revivifiant un idéal ancien de type « féodal », s'oppose à celle des habitants et à leur notion de justice, basée sur un équilibre des forces garanti par les usages, la mémoire des Anciens et la référence à des documents écrits. Contrairement à ce que Fabrice Mouthon a pu observer pour les Alpes au sujet des conflits d'alpage<sup>11</sup>, ici, les habitants font référence autant à la coutume qu'au droit écrit dont ils connaissent les codes, alors que le seigneur s'appuie d'avantage sur la coutume.

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10 P. Charbonnier, *Guillaume de Murol. Un petit seigneur auvergnat au début du XV<sup>e</sup> siècle*, Clermont-Ferrand 1973.

11 F. Mouthon, *Le règlement des conflits d'alpage dans les Alpes occidentales (XIII<sup>e</sup>-XVI<sup>e</sup> siècle)*, dans : *Le règlement des conflits au Moyen Âge*, 31<sup>e</sup> congrès, Angers 2000, p. 259-279.

*Une communauté villageoise qui n'a ni « corps, université ne commune ne consulat »*

La communauté de Dienne n'est pas représentée par une commune et n'a pas ses coutumes mises par écrit. Les habitants se plaignent de ne pouvoir élire des procureurs ou des consuls et disent n'avoir ni « corps, université ne commune ne consulat et ne se peuvent assembler pour constituer procureurs ung ou plusieurs »<sup>12</sup>. Comme l'a fait remarquer Albert Rigaudière, cela signifie bien que la communauté n'est pas organisée institutionnellement car elle n'est pas une « universitas » mais une simple « communitas »<sup>13</sup>. Néanmoins, elle n'est pas dépourvue de toute forme de représentation puisque les luminiers de l'église de Dienne sont amenés à faire office de consuls, comme dans le conflit qui oppose les habitants au seigneur en 1535 au sujet de vols de fromages. En outre, le suzerain du seigneur de Dienne, le vicomte de Carlat, autorise les habitants à prélever eux-mêmes un impôt communal, ce qui est un début d'organisation institutionnalisée<sup>14</sup>. Le rapport de force est donc défavorable aux habitants, alors que dans les paroisses voisines, le vicomte de Murat et ses vassaux prodiguent de nombreuses concessions concernant la représentation communale, les amendes de justice, les corvées et l'usage des espaces communs et incultes. À Dienne, aucune charte écrite n'a donc été rédigée mais les différents conflits entre seigneurs et habitants semblent agir telle une jurisprudence qui se surimpose à la coutume. François de Dienne s'exaspère ainsi au début du XVI<sup>e</sup> siècle et explique que ses sujets « ont rappourté de la maison de Dianne telles et si grandes liberalités que aujourd'huy ils en sont riches et la maison en demeuré povre », avec toute la dose d'exagération que ce genre de récrimination peut contenir<sup>15</sup>.

La seigneurie abrite environ deux-cent quarante-six feux au XIV<sup>e</sup> siècle, soit au moins un millier d'habitants<sup>16</sup>. Ceux-ci se répartissent entre le bourg et des villages et hameaux qui gravitent autour du centre paroissial et seigneurial. Chaque village possède sa propre communauté, les plus importantes étant celles de Dienne et de L'Église<sup>17</sup>. L'économie locale se partage entre exploitation agricole traditionnelle dans la vallée et exploitation des *montagnes* en altitude. Les pâturages les moins riches, appelés communs ou « fraux » appartiennent à

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<sup>12</sup> A. Garrigoux, *Les franchises des communautés d'habitants en Haute-Auvergne du XIII<sup>e</sup> siècle à la fin du XVI<sup>e</sup> siècle*, Thèse d'École des Chartres, 1939, p. 156.

<sup>13</sup> A. Rigaudière, *Gouverner la ville au Moyen Âge*, Paris 1993, p. 30.

<sup>14</sup> A. Garrigoux, op. cit., p. 156.

<sup>15</sup> AD15 1 E 772.

<sup>16</sup> Si l'on prend un coefficient de quatre habitants par feu, ce qui reste assez bas. AD15 1 E 693.

<sup>17</sup> « La Gleysa » dans les documents, village non localisé qui paraît être une sorte de quartier de Dienne.

la communauté villageoise. En revanche, ceux qui sont situés plus en altitude et sont par conséquent les plus verts et les plus lucratifs appartiennent au seigneur, aux paysans les plus aisés, aux bourgeois de Murat ou autres seigneurs laïcs et ecclésiastiques. Les *montagnes* de la seigneurie de Dienne voisinent ainsi avec celles de la grange cistercienne de Graule. Les troupeaux envoyés dans ces estives sont destinés à la fabrication d'un fromage appelé fourme, qui est ensuite vendu sur les marchés ou par l'intermédiaire des marchands des petites villes de Murat ou de Salers. Si l'économie locale s'oriente au cours de la fin du Moyen Âge vers une économie de marché, il n'en demeure pas moins que la grande majorité des habitants s'inscrit toujours dans une économie de subsistance ayant pour idéal l'autarcie. Ces montagnes sont au cœur des enjeux sociaux et économiques et suscitent de nombreux conflits. D'un côté, seigneurs et gros propriétaires ont pour objectif une exploitation de type capitaliste de ces espaces et de l'autre, les petits propriétaires et les communautés tentent de s'insérer dans le système, le plus souvent avec difficulté.

*Le conflit comme moyen de faire reconnaître les droits de la communauté*

La vie villageoise est donc rythmée par des conflits réguliers, qui prennent parfois une certaine ampleur et dont la résolution nécessite l'intervention du bailli ou du roi. Face aux revendications régulières et obstinées de la communauté, peut-on parler, à la suite de Guy Bois, d'un exemple local de « crise du féodalisme »<sup>18</sup>? Marc Bloch a rappelé naguère dans ses *Caractères originaux* que la contestation est inhérente au système féodal et que jamais il n'a été question d'une acceptation totale par la population de ce système extrêmement inégalitaire<sup>19</sup>. Les conflits récurrents font écho à ces « ratés du système seigneurial » évoqués par Michel Mollat et Philippe Wolff au sujet des révoltes populaires<sup>20</sup>. Quels sont ces « ratés » ? Si les contestations tournent pour beaucoup autour des corvées de guet, c'est bien parce que le rôle du seigneur comme protecteur et défenseur des populations est remis en question. En 1359, les habitants obtiennent le rachat des corvées destinées à l'entretien et à l'édification des fortifications du château<sup>21</sup>. Pourtant, en 1474, le seigneur est obligé de contraindre les habitants du village de Nozières à venir effectuer leur corvée de guet ou bien à payer la compensation financière<sup>22</sup>.

Il envoie ses officiers pour faire pression sur le principal opposant, un certain Guyot Jouve, et la chartre rappelle que le seigneur le fait pour toutes

18 G. Bois, *La grande dépression médiévale : XIV<sup>e</sup>-XV<sup>e</sup> siècles. Le précédent d'une crise systémique*, Paris 2000.

19 M. Bloch, *Les Caractères originaux de l'histoire rurale française*, Paris 1999.

20 M. Mollat, P. Wolff, *Ongles bleus, Jacques et Ciompi, Les révolutions populaires en Europe aux XIV<sup>e</sup> et XV<sup>e</sup> siècles*, Paris 1970.

21 AD15 1 J 36.

22 AD15 1 E 772.



les contestations, ce qui sous-entend que celles-ci sont récurrentes. Pour cela, il fait appel au roi en invoquant la coutume et en rappelant que les autres seigneurs de la région pratiquent le même type de corvées. Il utilise donc la coutume comme référence, mais place son action à un autre niveau en demandant l'intervention de Louis XI comme arbitre. Cela ne règle pas le problème, puisque le seigneur doit renouveler sa requête devant la cour royale d'appel au début du siècle suivant car les refus continuent. Ces contestations font suite à la guerre de Cent Ans et aux difficultés rencontrées par les vieux lignages nobles à maintenir une puissance militaire suffisamment efficace pour faire face aux bandes de routiers et aux Anglais. On sait par ailleurs, grâce à une lettre de rémission, que des habitants de la seigneurie avaient été pris en otage et tués par les routiers en 1366, après le pillage des terres de Dienne<sup>23</sup>. Les habitants refusent ainsi de venir garder un château qui n'a pas été en mesure de les protéger complètement pendant les troubles de la guerre de Cent Ans. Le seigneur se construit donc une certaine idée de son rôle de défenseur, mais ce modèle en crise se heurte à la conjoncture défavorable et aux représentations des paysans. Le renforcement de cet idéal du seigneur-chevalier dont les services sont rétribués par les habitants grâce aux corvées, participe donc du processus de rénovation seigneuriale.

Cette rénovation, si elle se veut malgré tout pour le seigneur un retour à un « ordre » ancien, bouleverse forcément les pratiques coutumières acquises par la communauté qui, avec le temps, forment progressivement une jurisprudence. La coutume n'est pas figée et peut évoluer à la marge à l'avantage des paysans, surtout en ce qui concerne les droits d'usages. Ceux-ci sont un autre foyer de contestation. La question des droits de pêche et de chasse dans les forêts du seigneur génère une série de conflits qui ont été étudiés notamment par Alice Garrigoux<sup>24</sup>. En 1397, la seigneurie est menacée par les routiers, tandis que le jeune Louis de Dienne, mineur, hérite du domaine et de toutes les dettes contractées par son père. Les habitants en profitent pour lui extorquer un accord, scellé par le bailli, reconnaissant leur droit de chasse et de pêche dans les forêts seigneuriales. Dix ans plus tard, le roi Charles VI casse l'accord en arguant de la minorité de Louis et rappelle qu'il est contraire aux ordonnances royales. Jusqu'au XV<sup>e</sup> siècle, l'interdiction de chasse est très mal définie et son application reste longtemps lettre morte<sup>25</sup>.

Les droits relatifs à la chasse et à la pêche sont également mal définis dans l'esprit des populations, qui semblent enclines à user de ce flou juridique.

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23 AD15 1 E 760.

24 A. Garrigoux, *Chasse et pêche en Haute-Auvergne au XIV<sup>e</sup> siècle*, « Revue historique du droit français et étranger » (1939), p. 260.

25 P. Charbonnier, *La chasse en Auvergne d'après les lettres de rémission*, « Bulletin Historique et Scientifique de l'Auvergne » XCIII (1987) 692/3, p. 257.

Cependant, à partir du XV<sup>e</sup> siècle, on le voit, la chasse rentre dans le domaine de la restauration de l'autorité seigneuriale et de l'affirmation de celle du roi dans le royaume, puisqu'en 1402, Charles VI édite un règlement général pour les eaux et forêts. Même si ce règlement concerne les forêts royales et ne touche pas les forêts seigneuriales, le conflit local est une opportunité pour le roi d'imposer son modèle de juridiction. D'une manière générale, la référence à une coutume ancienne n'est plus considérée au XV<sup>e</sup> siècle comme la preuve d'un droit antérieur aux droits seigneuriaux mais comme un privilège révocable à tout instant<sup>26</sup>, la chasse apparaissant d'ailleurs comme une prérogative de la noblesse. Les habitants tentent donc de protester contre cette intrusion du droit royal qui va à l'encontre de leurs droits péniblement acquis par la résistance passive. En 1522, les luminiers de Dienne font une requête auprès du tribunal en arguant qu'ils n'ont pas à respecter les ordonnances royales qui interdisent la chasse sous peine d'amende, puisqu'ils peuvent justifier leurs privilèges anciens en cette matière<sup>27</sup>. Font-ils référence à l'accord de 1408 dont ils auraient conservé une copie dans les archives de la communauté ?

L'absence de charte de coutume est donc un facteur de conflit et de contestation. Alors que le passage par la mise par écrit fige les relations entre seigneurs et paysans, la coutume, elle, peut évoluer à la marge. C'est un instrument qui permet de renégocier sans cesse le compromis local et les relations de pouvoir. Les services exceptionnels, comme les corvées de guet, ou bien les modifications de l'équilibre agraire sont contestés car sont considérés comme une violation de la coutume, ou du moins, comme l'a fait remarquer Yves-Marie Bercé, de la représentation que les paysans s'en étaient faite<sup>28</sup>. Ces conflits naissent d'une confrontation entre deux représentations incompatibles de l'équilibre seigneurial. Ils s'exacerbent durant la période de reprise de la seigneurie après la guerre de Cent Ans, avec la rénovation de l'autorité seigneuriale et des systèmes féodaux-seigneuriaux de domination sociale<sup>29</sup>.

## RÉSOUTRE LE CONFLIT : DE LA VIOLENCE À LA RÉOLUTION ADMINISTRATIVE

### *La violence comme étape dans la résolution du conflit*

La violence correspond à première phase qui permet à la communauté d'exprimer ses revendications et d'entamer le rapport de force. Pour Fabrice Mouthon, le passage par la violence permet de répondre à trois objectifs : l'affirmation publique des droits de la communauté, le renforcement des solidarités communautaires et le déclenchement de négociations ou

26 L.-J. Borg, J.-P. Mugg, *La chasse au Moyen Âge*, Paris 2008, p. 22.

27 AD 15 16 B 484.

28 Y.-M. Bercé, *Conclusion...*, p. 199-209.

29 G. Brunel, S. Brunet, *Introduction*, dans : *Les luttes anti-seigneuriales...*, p. 7-18.

d'interventions extérieures<sup>30</sup>. Nous n'avons que très peu d'exemples de violence physique directe en dehors des événements militaires liés à la guerre de Cent Ans, et pas d'exemple de violence exercée par la communauté ou envers la communauté. Néanmoins, les pièces de procès ou registres d'audiences sont remplis de témoignages de violence symbolique. Grâce à ses sergents, le seigneur a le pouvoir de contraindre les habitants à respecter les ordonnances ou la coutume. Ainsi, en 1474, Louis XI autorise le seigneur de Dienne à « faire contraindre par ses officiers selon la teneur desdites ordonnances et ainsi que len a acoustumé contraindre les autres habitans audit mandement quant ilz sont contredisans ou defaillants de faire ledit guet et garde ». En 1534, le seigneur fait saisir les fromages des habitants afin de compenser une taxe qu'il estime non payée. Ses sergents, Jean Savy dit Titayne et Charles Dupuy (armé d'une épée) se rendent dans la montagne, enfoncent les portes des cabanes et prennent de force les fromages<sup>31</sup>. Dans les dépositions, les habitants mentionnent aussi de nombreuses insultes à leur égard, et notamment des blasphèmes et injures envers Dieu proférés par le sergent. De même, face à un tenancier qui refuse de payer cette taxe injuste et illégitime, le seigneur réplique : « Vous avez manti et, si ne vous ostais de là, je vous donnerays troys soufflectz et les fromaiges ne m'eschapperont pas, que je me paye de la forme [tome de fromage] de chacun »<sup>32</sup>.

En retour, les habitants peuvent aussi utiliser la force brute pour lutter contre les exactions du seigneur. En 1428, Le sergent Guillaume d'Autrac saisit le cellier de Jean Pogol et le ferme avec des fils de scellés en raison des frais de justice et amendes non payés par celui-ci. Jean Pogol frappe le sergent avec un bâton et le menace d'une pierre. Il le traite de « méchant bâtard, voleur et pilleur » et il est ensuite arrêté au château de Dienne et condamné à payer une amende, mais il riposte en demandant à voir le registre des exploits (« rolle ») du seigneur en affirmant qu'il avait bien payé les frais de justice en question<sup>33</sup>. Cette forme de résistance passant par la violence reste extrêmement limitée et peu efficace car elle se traduit souvent par une condamnation au tribunal seigneurial. Cet exemple montre que le recours à la voie légitime (utilisation des registres comme preuve) suit souvent le recours initial à la violence.

30 F. Mouthon, op. cit.

31 Cité par L. Bouyssou, *Les montagnes cantaliennes du XIII<sup>e</sup> au XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècle*, « Revue de la Haute-Auvergne » XLII (1972), p. 159.

32 AD15 1 E 771, document transcrit et étudié par G. Fournier, P.-F. Fournier, *La vie pastorale dans les montagnes du centre de la France : recherches historiques et archéologiques*, Clermont-Ferrand 1983, p. 310-314.

33 AD15 16 B 469/2 transcrit par P. Olivier, *Le registre des audiences et des sentences de la justice de Dienne (Cantal), 1425-1432*, « Travaux de linguistique et de philologie » XXXVIII (2000).

### *L'élaboration de stratégies de défense*

Le moyen le plus efficace pour les habitants d'obtenir le respect d'un droit est de faire de la résistance passive. Leur objectif est de faire évoluer la coutume à la marge en entérinant un droit par la répétition. Il s'agit donc de créer une jurisprudence qui leur serait favorable. Ils usent d'armes propres à la communauté, ce que James Scott a appelé les « armes du faible »<sup>34</sup>. Ces pratiques utilisent par exemple les contradictions du discours dominant<sup>35</sup> et notamment celles qui découlent de la coexistence dans la région de la coutume et du droit écrit. En effet, la Haute-Auvergne est partagée entre pays de droit oral et pays de droit écrit. Bien que Dienne se trouve en territoire de droit écrit, la coutume demeure très présente<sup>36</sup>. Alors que le seigneur fait le plus souvent référence à la coutume et au droit féodal, les habitants usent du droit écrit et élaborent des stratégies juridiques de défense. En 1397, ils justifient leur droit de chasser dans les forêts seigneuriales par le fait que Dienne est régie par le droit écrit et que les animaux sont des *res nullius* qui appartiennent à ceux qui les trouvent. En retour, le seigneur prétend que la coutume des montagnes d'Auvergne fait de toutes les épaves du domaine des biens seigneuriaux. L'accord signé par les deux parties est à l'avantage des tenanciers, qui peuvent librement chasser même si les meilleures pièces reviennent au seigneur<sup>37</sup>. On le voit, ce mélange entre coutume et droit écrit est une source de conflit potentiel et un outil stratégique. Les habitants ne sont nullement dépassés par cette complexité et savent conduire des raisonnements basés sur une connaissance précise du droit. Il faut alors souligner le rôle des professionnels de l'écrit et de ces hommes passés par l'université qui appartiennent eux aussi à la communauté.

### *Du tribunal seigneurial à la cour royale d'appel*

Le tribunal seigneurial de Dienne est un organe actif, en charge de la haute, moyenne et basse justice, et dont les archives ont été particulièrement bien conservées. Nous avons ainsi à notre disposition un corpus d'une trentaine de registres et d'épaves de registres pour une période comprise entre 1397 et le XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècle. Les registres du Moyen Âge sont pour les plus anciens en latin,

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34 J. Scott, *Weapons of the Weak: Everyday Forms of Peasant Resistance*, Yale 1985.

35 P. Freedman, *Images of the Medieval Peasant*, Stanford (1999) cité par H. Herrero, *Les luttes anti-seigneuriales dans le royaume de Castille à la fin du Moyen Âge : nouvelles perspectives*, dans : *Les luttes anti-seigneuriales...*, p. 93-109.

36 J. Hilaire a notamment montré comment ces zones de « frontières » sont plus des marches qu'une démarcation nette. L'utilisation de tel ou tel droit est un moyen stratégique d'arriver à ses fins : « La détermination des usages du lieu demeurerait alors l'objet d'un débat sans base assurée le plus souvent, rebondissant constamment au gré des intérêts en présence. » dans J. Hilaire, *La vie du droit...*, Paris 1994, p. 170.

37 A. Garrigoux, op. cit., p. 260.

puis en vieil auvergnat et enfin en moyen français mais toujours avec des termes de vocabulaire en vernaculaire. Le registre d'audiences de 1425-1432 a été transcrit, étudié et publié par le linguiste Philippe Olivier<sup>38</sup>. Nous avons par ailleurs dépouillé intégralement le registre de 1496-1497<sup>39</sup> qui n'est malheureusement pas complet, ainsi que l'épave d'un registre de 1521<sup>40</sup>. En 1496, le tribunal est présidé par Bertrand Faydin, bailli de Dienne et procureur de la cour, Jean Chalmeil, notaire, et parfois Pierre Maurand, qualifié tour à tour de « messire » et « sage homme ». Il faut remarquer que d'une manière générale, ces professionnels de l'écrit sont bien formés : Bertrand Faydin (1496 et 1513), Jacques Sistrières (1513) et Jean Chastel (1528) sont bacheliers en droit. Claude Gauvard et Pierre Charbonnier ont fait le même constat sur les juges de villages, généralement licenciés en droit<sup>41</sup>.

À la suite de la plainte d'un habitant, le bailli et ses adjudants mènent l'enquête en interrogeant les témoins dont la déposition est intégralement transcrite dans le registre de 1496. On y compte 36 enregistrements de novembre 1496 à juin 1497. Quinze des plaintes concernent de banales affaires de vols, insultes ou bagarres ; neuf ont trait à la gestion des espaces communs. Ainsi, il est courant de lire une procédure concernant un individu qui a grignoté sur le couderc (place commune) ou le chemin public pour étendre son pré ou son champ. Trois sont indéterminées, en raison d'un blanc ou d'une difficulté à comprendre l'affaire en question. Enfin, une plainte porte sur le non-paiement du cens de la montagne du Limon et relate la saisie des troupeaux et fromages des habitants par le sergent du seigneur de Dienne. Dans le registre de 1428, le « bayle » de Dienne, Jean Brunencho est assisté d'un lieutenant, Guillaume Colomp, qui mène l'enquête sur le terrain. Dans ce texte en langue d'Oc, le seigneur est parallèlement assisté d'un « sénéchal », lui-même secondé par des « gens ».

Ce tribunal a donc deux fonctions. La première est de réguler les relations entre les habitants car les conflits et violences « horizontales » sont nombreux et réguliers dans les villages. Hommes et femmes se battent, s'insultent ou se volent leurs biens. Les témoins rapportent que certaines bagarres conduisent à des effusions de sang. Le passage au tribunal permet donc d'éviter les représailles par l'établissement d'un compromis financier ou bien de réparer l'honneur de tel villageois ou villageoise traité de « larron », « bâtard » ou de « paillarde ». Cependant, le passage par le tribunal ne semble pas concerner l'ensemble de la communauté : une quinzaine

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38 AD15 16 B 469/2 transcrit par P. Olivier, op. cit., mais selon une perspective d'étude de la langue et non d'historien.

39 AD15 16 B 477.

40 AD15 16 B 484.

41 C. Gauvard, *Conclusion* et P. Charbonnier, *La paix au village, les justices seigneuriales rurales au XV<sup>e</sup> siècle*, dans : *Le règlement des conflits au Moyen Âge...*, p. 369-391 et 281-303.

de familles semble avoir le monopole de la justice, dans une seigneurie peuplée d'un millier de personnes à la fin du Moyen Âge. Les Chalmeils, tour à tour prêtres, notaires ou propriétaires, sont très présents en tant que témoins, juges ou parties. On retrouve d'autres familles : les Maurand, Roux, Maury, Cuzol, Mages, que l'on rencontre également dans le terrier de Dienne de 1551<sup>42</sup>. Certains d'entre eux sont des propriétaires terriens importants, notamment de portions de *montagne*, ce qui suppose qu'ils sont les plus à même de payer une action en justice mais sont aussi les plus susceptibles d'avoir des biens à défendre. D'ailleurs, ces actions de justice peuvent coûter cher : Jean Pogol voit son cellier mis sous scellé ; dans une autre affaire, Guillaume d'Autrac prend tous les biens de messire Pierre Charbonnel par ordre écrit du juge et les donne en gérance à Hugo Charbonnel<sup>43</sup>.

En outre, le tribunal sert d'outil de coercition contre les habitants lorsque le seigneur décide qu'ils ont outrepassé leurs droits. En 1496, Le seigneur a ainsi à sa disposition trois sergents (Antoine Vigier, Pierre Hugo et Jean Charbonnel) qui peuvent contraindre les habitants en dressant un exploit ou bien en les assignant à comparaître au tribunal. Dans l'affaire de la montagne du Limon, ils sont envoyés saisir tous les biens des propriétaires. Le sergent se situe dans un entre-deux, puisqu'il est à la fois issu de la communauté, et en tant qu'agent du seigneur, amené à agir contre elle dans ce genre d'occasions. En 1496, le seigneur s'oppose à la création illégale d'une « teuleyre » (tuilerie) par un prêtre de Bredons, Jean Chambon, et deux maçons de la ville de Murat, Jean Roux et Guillaume Roux. Plus significativement, il lance une procédure contre les hommes qui ont détruit le vieux pont de Colonghes pour en construire un nouveau plus haut. Il semble que cela touche à des questions de péage, puisque le seigneur fait mention des « marchandises et marchands » qui passent sur ce pont<sup>44</sup>. On le voit, le tribunal permet de lutter contre la résistance larvée des communautés villageoises qui tentent de contourner les interdictions seigneuriales. La procédure de justice permet de déterminer qui est à l'origine du fait grâce aux dépositions sous serment et est donc dans ce cas un outil de coercition.

Le passage par le tribunal seigneurial ou royal rend possible la transition d'une phase de résistance parfois violente à une phase de réclamations légitimes et normalisées passant par la voie du droit. Ces réclamations permettent alors aux paysans de réduire la pression seigneuriale, qui ne fait que grandir en raison du poids de la concurrence et de la spéculation économique dans les *montagnes*.

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42 AD15 1 E 699.

43 AD15 16 B 469/2, transcrit par P. Olivier, op. cit.

44 Il y a sûrement ici une référence au trafic de marchandises en direction des villes de Murat ou de Saint-Flour.

## LE CONFLIT COMME MODALITÉ DU « DROIT AUX MONTAGNES »

*Les montagnes, sources de conflits*

Les conflits touchant à la question de l'exploitation des montagnes sont fortement liés à la mise en place d'un système productif spéculatif dans la région. Les montagnes sont l'objet de fortes convoitises, car leurs pâturages riches et bien arrosés permettent de nourrir les troupeaux pendant la saison chaude. Ce sont aussi des outils économiques rendant possible l'enrichissement, car les *montagnes* sont louées à des entrepreneurs locaux ou étrangers à très bon prix. Alors que Guy Bois rappelle que les seigneurs dépendent normalement de la rente et que les dominants sont habituellement extérieurs au système productif<sup>45</sup>, ici les seigneurs de Dienne se trouvent au cœur des enjeux économiques et s'insèrent dans cette économie de marché. Ils achètent, vendent et acensent, du XIII<sup>e</sup> au XV<sup>e</sup> siècle, des rentes sur des pâturages à d'autres petits nobles ou notables, bourgeois et marchands<sup>46</sup>. Les seigneurs de Dienne sont donc des entrepreneurs ruraux qui contournent la crise des revenus féodaux en investissant dans un secteur lucratif. On observe dans la région, à la fin du Moyen Âge, une tendance générale à la dépossession des *montagnes* seigneuriales au profit des non-nobles<sup>47</sup>. Néanmoins, l'exemple des seigneurs de Dienne invite à nuancer largement cette idée car leur statut de seigneur et leurs droits seigneuriaux sur l'espace leur permettent de tirer parti de la situation et de se constituer un patrimoine non négligeable dans la montagne. Lors de l'affaire de 1534, le seigneur exige ainsi que les tenanciers lui paient un droit de « gast », c'est-à-dire une taxe en fromage à chaque fois qu'ils traversent les pâturages du seigneur en se rendant sur leur montagne<sup>48</sup>. La rénovation seigneuriale passe donc aussi par la rénovation des anciens droits seigneuriaux adaptés à ce nouveau contexte économique.

De fait, les conflits sont liés à cette tension dans l'exploitation de la montagne, entre des petits propriétaires, qui possèdent seulement quelques têtes d'herbage, et le seigneur qui a pour but de se constituer une vaste réserve

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45 G. Bois, *op. cit.*, p. 193.

46 AD15 1 E 784 : Achat d'une rente de 70 sous tournois sur les montagnes du Limon, Feydinie, Ratonnières et Peyregary (1290) ; investition en faveur d'Astorg Sarrazin et Géraud Charrières de la montagne de Ratonnières contre un cens de vingt deniers d'or (1413) ; acensement de la montagne de Ratonnières à un chirurgien de Murat (1470) ; vente à un bourgeois et marchand de Saint-Flour pour 20 livres tournois équivalent à 20 sous de cens annuel (1476) ; revente au seigneur de Dienne d'une rente de 4 livres sur la montagne de Peyregary (1492) ; vente d'une rente de 15 livres sur la montagne de la Feydinie à un marchand de Murat pour 300 écus (1492) ; etc.

AD15 1 E 708, cité par L. Bouyssou, *op. cit.* : « les montagnes que mondit seigneur les ascence par sa main tous les ans » (1500-1519).

47 L. Bouyssou, *op. cit.*, p. 152.

48 AD15 1 E 771.

qu'il peut réduire ou augmenter en fonction de la conjoncture. Dans le cadre d'une économie de marché où les habitants se sont déjà vus dépossédés d'une partie de leurs pâturages communs transformés en *montagnes*, les abus seigneuriaux sont d'autant moins tolérés. La privatisation progressive des pâturages communs a bouleversé les équilibres anciens. Les habitants, du moins les notables et propriétaires aisés, ont donc dû s'adapter au système et s'y intégrer, ce qui rend tout empiètement seigneurial impossible à accepter.

*Affirmer ses droits sur la montagne : le recours au roi*

Les hommes du seigneur obtiennent parfois raison. Si nous n'avons pas accès aux verdicts, certaines affaires passent en appel devant la cour royale, signe soit d'un résultat en défaveur du seigneur, soit du non-respect de ce verdict par les habitants. En septembre 1497, le seigneur de Dienne demande à son sergent Pierre Hugo de se rendre sur la *montagne* du Limon pour dresser un exploit et saisir tout le bétail (vaches, bœufs et pourceaux), fromage et beurre appartenant aux co-herbassiers propriétaires. Il demande aux vachers, notamment Pierre Vernha, de transmettre l'information aux propriétaires absents. Pierre Bressoles est accusé de ne pas avoir payé le cens au seigneur et de n'avoir pas demandé l'autorisation pour emmener ses vaches grasses et bourrets<sup>49</sup> dans la montagne. Cet épisode se reproduit à l'identique dans l'affaire déjà citée de 1534, lorsque Jean de Dienne prélève son impôt directement à la source en dérobant chez les habitants de Nozières leurs fromages pour les emmener dans son château. Cette nouvelle enquête est cette fois conduite par Bernard Beude, greffier de la cour du bailliage des Montagnes d'Auvergne au nom du roi, à la demande des habitants de Dienne.

Les témoins sont nombreux à faire une déposition très détaillée des diverses exactions commises par le seigneur de Dienne à propos de corvées jugées illégitimes et de la taxe en fromage sur le droit de « marchage » et de « gast »<sup>50</sup>. Ici, le tribunal royal du bailliage est un arbitre dans les conflits concernant les droits sur la *montagne*. La gravité de la situation dépasse largement les compétences du tribunal seigneurial local, dont la neutralité peut être remise en question puisque ses agents sont à la fois juges et parties dans cette situation. De plus, dans les représentations des paysans, le roi apparaît comme un garant auquel on peut faire appel contre le seigneur<sup>51</sup>. Nous ne connaissons pas le verdict de cette enquête, mais la plupart des arbitrages connus par les sources révèlent le soutien du roi au seigneur de Dienne, qui

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49 Un bourret est un veau d'un an emmené avec sa mère sur la montagne.

50 AD15 1 E 771, document transcrit et étudié par G. Fournier, P.-F. Fournier, op. cit., p. 310-314.

51 R. Faith, *The peasant land market in medieval England*, London 1981.



demeure un allié puissant dans la région ; il en est ainsi en 1408<sup>52</sup> ou encore en 1474<sup>53</sup>. Une enquête tout à fait similaire conduite dans la paroisse voisine de Cheylade au XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècle tranche en faveur du seigneur de Dienne et oblige les habitants à payer une compensation en fromage<sup>54</sup>.

Avec ces mutations économiques importantes, les habitants comprennent que la coutume est dépassée par ce phénomène spéculatif. Ils sont contraints d'utiliser l'écrit, sous la forme de chartes ou d'actions juridiques, dont la force probatoire est plus adaptée pour garantir les droits de l'individu et de la communauté sur les *montagnes*.

## CONCLUSION

Le cas de Dienne nous a paru particulièrement intéressant car il met en lumière la dimension politique de la vie au village dans un contexte de moyenne montagne. Par le conflit, les habitants tentent d'obtenir des franchises afin de contourner le refus seigneurial d'accorder une charte. Le conflit est donc un outil pour défendre le « droit aux montagnes », c'est-à-dire le droit pour les habitants de jouir de ces espaces autrefois communs et devenus, à la fin du Moyen âge, l'objet de spéculations et de privatisations.

L'exemple de Dienne participe à l'histoire des formes tardives de la seigneurie médiévale. Après les « crises » du XIV<sup>e</sup> siècle, les seigneurs de Dienne tentent de reconstituer le cadre de leur autorité selon un modèle féodal en partie fantasmé. À l'instar de la restauration seigneuriale bien connue pour le XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècle, celle des XV<sup>e</sup> et XVI<sup>e</sup> siècles passe par une rénovation de la légitimité du pouvoir seigneurial, un retour aux corvées et à l'augmentation des redevances ainsi que par une dimension économique et spéculative accrue qui retourne le rapport de force en faveur du seigneur.

La volonté du seigneur de ne pas mettre par écrit les privilèges de la communauté est un exemple de cette restauration de l'autorité, qui passe par la rénovation des outils de domination. En retour, pour maintenir leurs droits dans un contexte économique défavorable à la petite paysannerie, les habitants sont contraints de provoquer le conflit. Violence et procédures juridiques deviennent alors des outils pour forcer le seigneur à reconnaître ces droits et à les mettre par écrit, soit par l'intermédiaire d'un acte, soit par un arbitrage de justice seigneuriale ou royale. La reconnaissance de l'existence de la communauté se traduit par la mise en procès des exactions seigneuriales. Le conflit perd alors de sa dimension ponctuelle et prend la forme d'un véritable élément de la « politique au village », avec ses acteurs

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52 AD15 1 E 768.

53 AD15 1 E 772.

54 AD15 1 E 771 (1760).

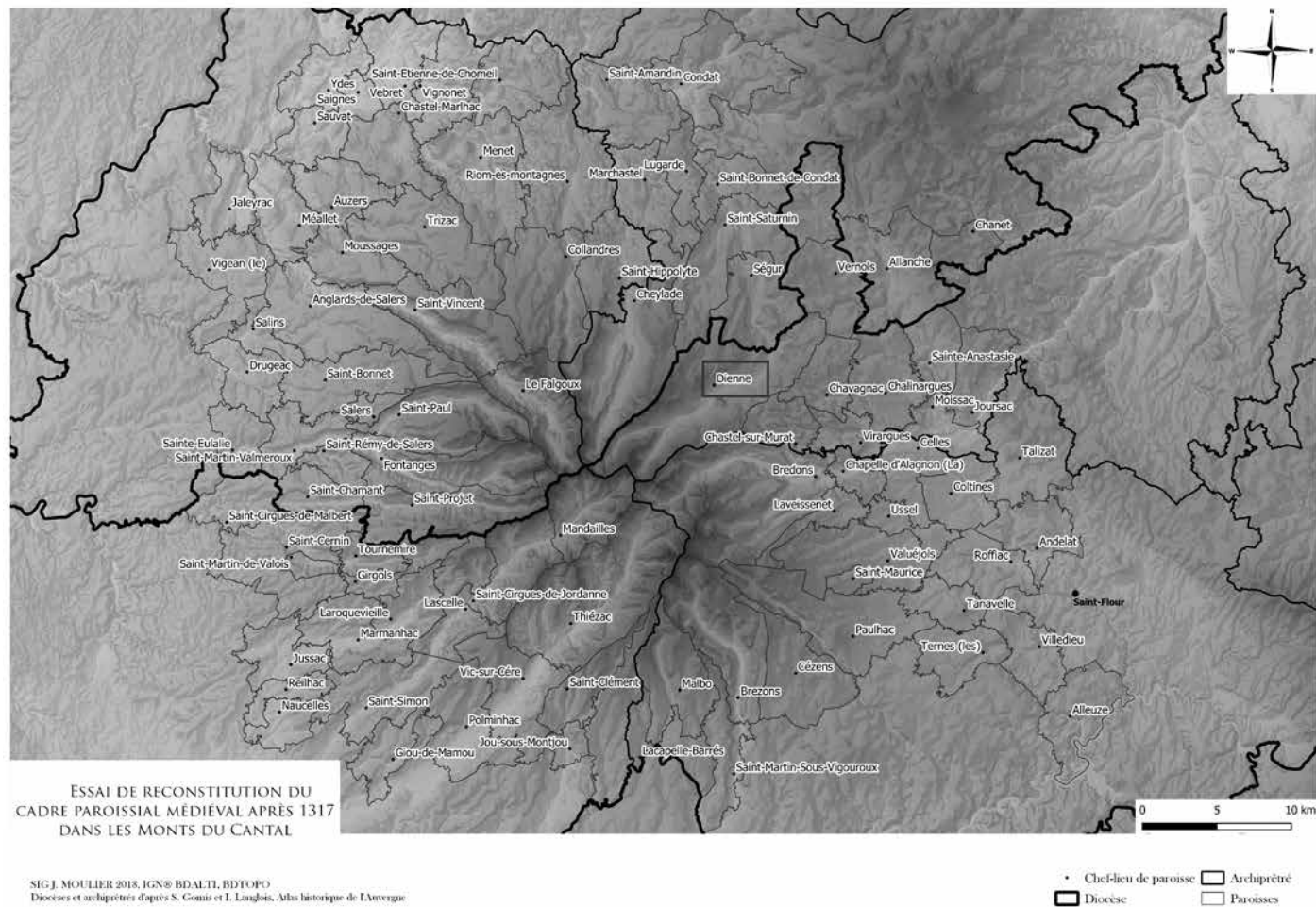
récurrents et ses médiateurs : des hommes à la frontière entre communauté et seigneurie, à la fois issus du village et au service du seigneur, formés au droit et habitués de la coutume, qui contribuent à instaurer un équilibre des forces.

#### ABSTRACT

**“Rénovation seigneuriale” and affirmation of the rights of the community in Dienne (Cantal): Conflicts and violence in a mid-mountain seigneurie at the end of the Middle Ages (14<sup>th</sup>-16<sup>th</sup> century)**

The article describes the structural opposition between the village community and the lord of Dienne (Auvergne, France) at the end of the Middle Ages. This opposition reflects both the use of custom by the lord as part of a local renewal of his power, and the use of written law and jurisprudence by the inhabitants who were deprived of any charter of franchise. Conflicts and violence are ways for the community to gain recognition and impose its “right to the mountains”, i.e., its rights of use and access to the high pastures. From the 13<sup>th</sup> century, these were controlled by the lord and forcibly integrated into an economic policy that forms the basis of his feudal renovation enterprise.

**Keywords:** Feudal renewal, mountains, feudal justice, charter of franchise, village communities



**Illustration 1 :** Essai de reconstitution du cadre paroissial médiéval après 1317 dans les Monts du Cantal.

## II. CURRENT RESEARCH

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### ARCHAEOLOGICAL RESEARCH ON MADĪNAT ILBĪRA – AN Umayyad TOWN IN AL-ĀNDALUS. COURSE AND PROBLEMS<sup>1</sup>



#### INTRODUCTION

One of the most characteristic features of the social and cultural landscape of Muslim al-Andalus was the existence of a network of well-developed cities, which finally took shape in the 9<sup>th</sup>-10<sup>th</sup> centuries. Leaving aside the issue of their origins, it should be noted that almost all the urban centres that existed at that time have survived to this day.<sup>2</sup> An exception to this pattern is Granada – the last Muslim stronghold on the Iberian Peninsula. The city was founded only in the 11<sup>th</sup> century, and its urban predecessor was Madīnat Ilbīra. The remains of the lat-

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1 The article was written as part of the project “Madīnat Ilbīra – the predecessor of Granada. The medieval Umayyad and Mozarabic town in the Iberian Peninsula”, funded by the Polish National Science Centre (grant No. 2013/11/B/HS3/02065).

2 There is a great deal of literature on the subject of medieval Muslim cities on the Iberian Peninsula, which need not be referred to here. As for their genesis, see e.g. H.N. Kennedy, *From Antiquity to Islam in the cities of al-Andalus and al-Māshriq*, in: *The Byzantine and early Islamic Near East*, Burlington 2006, pp. 53-64; M. Acién Almansa, *El origen de la ciudad en Al-Ándalus*, in: *Al-Andalus país de ciudades. Actas del Congreso celebrado en Oropesa (Toledo), del 12 al 14 marzo de 2005*, Toledo 2008, pp. 15-22; A. Malpica Cuello, *The Emergence of the City in al-Andalus*, in: *New directions in Early Medieval European Archaeology: Spain and Italy Compared, Essays for Riccardo Francovich*, ed. S. Gelichi, R. Hodges, Turnhout 2015, pp. 87-110.

ter centre, located near today's cities of Pinos Puente and Atarfe, several kilometres away from Granada, were described in the first half of the 16<sup>th</sup> century by the Venetian ambassador Andrea Navagero, adding that in his time the place was called Old Granada.<sup>3</sup> This means that in the context of al-Andalus as a whole, Madīnat Ilbīra is a rare example of the fall of a Muslim city and the relocation of the economic centre of the region to another place.

In Arabic written sources, information about Madīnat Ilbīra appears mainly in relation to the events of the 8<sup>th</sup>-11<sup>th</sup> centuries. For example, Ibn Hayyān (987-1075), an Andalusian historian, wrote about it a little later. At the end of the 11<sup>th</sup> century, Abdullah ibn Buluggīn (1056-after 1090), the last ruler of the *taifa* of Granada of the Zirid dynasty, mentioned the city in his memoirs. The place is also mentioned in works of the 13<sup>th</sup> and 14<sup>th</sup> centuries by such writers as Ibn 'Idārī, Ibn al-Khatīb or al-Himyarī.<sup>4</sup> According to the account of the latter, Madīnat Ilbīra was the capital of the province (*kūra*) of the same name, and therefore an important administrative centre in the Umayyad Andalusian state, and at the same time one of the most magnificent cities of al-Andalus. Madīnat Ilbīra was said to have been abandoned and depopulated during the period of the *fitna* and deep crisis of the Caliphate of Córdoba. Then the centre of the region was moved to Granada, which quickly became the capital of the local kingdom (*taifa*).<sup>5</sup> However, due to the very selective nature and limited number of the written sources and the time of their creation, the basic issues related to the history of Madīnat Ilbīra must be clarified by archaeology.

#### THE SITE AND HISTORY OF ITS RESEARCH

Despite the significance of the content of the account of Andrea Navagero mentioned above, there was controversy in the past as to whether the remains of Madīnat Ilbīra should be found in the area of modern Granada or at a distance of about ten kilometres north-west of it, between the modern towns of Atarfe and Pinos Puente. The latter location was ultimately shown to be correct by accidental discoveries described in the 19<sup>th</sup> century by the painter and lover of antiquities, Manuel Gómez Moreno. They included graves, building structures, pottery, inscriptions on stones and numerous metal artefacts, mostly dating back to the period of the existence of al-Andalus.<sup>6</sup>

3 C. Brothers, *The Renaissance Reception of the Alhambra: The Letters of Andrea Navagero and the Palace of Charles V*, "Muqarnas" XI (1994), p. 82; M. Espinar Moreno, *Medina Elvira. Ciudad para la arqueología Granadina*, Granada 2016, p. 26.

4 For example, B. Sarr, "'Abd al-Rahmān b. Mu'āwiya fut celui qui la fonda...". Madīnat Ilbīra à travers les sources écrites, "Studia Islamica" CIX (2014), pp. 62-116; M. Espinar Moreno, *Medina Elvira...*, pp. 15ff.

5 B. Sarr, *La Granada Ziri (1013-1090)*, Granada 2011.

6 M. Gómez Moreno, *Medina Elvira*, Granada 1888.

These discoveries were made mainly during the construction of the road connecting Granada with Córdoba, but also as a result of earthworks undertaken when information was received about the discovery of architectural remains and ceramic and metal objects in this area. Importantly, apart from finds from the Muslim period, structures and objects from the late Roman period were also found at that time.

The archaeological site containing the relics of the medieval Madīnat Ilbīra is located on the northern edge of the plain called Vega of Granada, at the foot of the Sierra Elvira hills, which are a small fragment of the Baetic Mountains (Cordilleras Béticas) (Figs 1 and 2). This fertile plain, squeezed between mountain ranges, is crossed and irrigated by the Genil River that flows westward from the slopes of the mighty Sierra Nevada. On the site, currently under conservation protection, there is an extensive area in which various finds occur, covering over 300 ha. Today, a large part of it is occupied by olive groves. The fertilization and levelling of the land for the cultivation of these olive groves has contributed to a significant transformation of the original terrain in this place over the last several hundred years. Two other factors had a significant influence on this transformation, namely the exploitation of limestone in active quarries in the 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> centuries on the slopes of the El Sombrerete<sup>7</sup> hill that dominates the site, and the levelling and filling of the edge of the alluvial valley extending from the southern edge of the site.<sup>8</sup>

Archaeological work was slow to begin in this area. The first research project, actually starting the scientific research of Madīnat Ilbīra, was carried in 2001–2011 by the University of Granada.<sup>9</sup> During it, surface research and four seasons of archaeological excavations took place. Initially, they focused on the slopes of El Sombrerete, where it was expected to discover the remains of the city citadel (*alcazaba*) mentioned in the written sources. Then, several excavations of limited extent were conducted in different parts of the site. A second research project was carried out in 2016–2019 by the Institute of Archaeology and Ethnology of the Polish Academy of Sciences in coop-

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7 The toponimic names within the site and used in the text, are presented on Fig. 3.

8 N. Obregón Zamorano, *La evolución del paisaje del BIC Medina Elvira*, “Debates de Arqueología Medieval” IV (2014), pp. 131–154. The latter factor was suggested by excavations carried out in 2018 at the southern edge of the site, as well as by geophysical surveys, cf. M. Rębkowski, T. Herbich, G. García-Contreras Ruiz, C. Martínez Álvarez, G. Kiarszys, L. Mattei, A. Malpica Cuello, *Non-invasive Investigations at Madīnat Ilbīra, one of the early Islamic Towns in al-Andalus*, “Madriter Mitteilungen” LX (2019), pp. 293–295.

9 The project was directed by Antonio Malpica Cuello from Department of Medieval History of University of Granada. A general overview in A. Malpica Cuello, *Madīnat Ilbīra, un proyecto de investigación sobre el mundo urbano en al-Andalus*, “Debates de Arqueología Medieval” II (2012), pp. 383–406.

eration with the University of Granada.<sup>10</sup> In its initial phase, non-invasive prospecting was carried out on various parts of the site over large areas of several-hectares each using various geophysical methods.<sup>11</sup> They aimed to record potential remains of anthropogenic origin visible on the site's surface and obtain data that could be used to assess the state of preservation and, if possible, to determine the nature of cultural deposits in those areas. Then, archaeological excavations were carried out in three separate places (Figs 4 and 5).

Despite the limited size of the individual recent archaeological excavations, the results of the research obtained during the above-mentioned two projects, in addition to information from the antiquarian activity conducted in the 19<sup>th</sup> century and to some other rescue excavations and archaeological supervisions not directly related to the research projects,<sup>12</sup> have provided the main body of archaeological evidence so far, providing the basis for studying the history of the main centre of one of the Umayyad provinces in al-Andalus. The aim of this article is to present some of the results linked to key research problems related to the rise and fall of Madīnat Ilbīra, the spatial arrangement of the city, its socio-religious structure and culture, as seen in light of this archaeological research. Another intention will be to assess research perspectives and identify issues that are still waiting to be solved.

#### CHRONOLOGY OF THE SETTLEMENT

If we are to believe the late account of al-Himyarī, it should be assumed that the city was founded by 'Abd al-Raḥmān ibn Mu'āwiya, the founder of the independent Umayyad emirate, shortly after his arrival in the Iberian Peninsula in 756 AD.<sup>13</sup> It is hard not to notice, however, that the written sources concerning the origins of Madīnat Ilbīra are quite sparse, unclear, and sometimes even seem to be contradictory. It is therefore not surprising that the chronology and circumstances of the events in which the city structure was shaped constitute one of the most frequently dis-

10 The Project was directed by Marian Rebkowski and Antonio Malpica Cuello.

11 They were: Terrestrial Laser Scanning, Electrical Resistance Method (profiling), Magnetic method, and Geo-radar (GPR).

12 Only two of them have been published: A. Rodríguez Aguilera, *Excavación arqueológica de Urgencia 'Cerro de los Cigarrones'. Yacimiento arqueológico de Madina Ilbira Atarfe. Granada*. "Anuario Arqueológico de Andalucía" (2000) 3/1 [2003], pp. 591-597; J.M. Martín Civantos, L. Mattei, M. Jiménez Puertas, J.C. Carvajal, *Actuación arqueológica en el pago de los Tejoletes, Madinat Ilbira (Atarfe, Granada)*, "Anuario Arqueológico de Andalucía" (2005) [2010], pp. 1543-1569. The rest remain unpublished as a technical reports stored in the regional Heritage Office.

13 B. Sarr, "'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Mu'āwiya fut celui...", pp. 67f.

cussed problems in the history of the city. It can be assumed that in this domain, the results of archaeological research will be the main source of new information.

In none of the archaeological excavations since 2001 were found any structures or cultural layers older than those associated with the Islamic city. However, what is particularly important when it comes to assessing the date of foundation of the latter, there are no grounds for dating the oldest of the researched cultural deposits earlier than the second half of the 9<sup>th</sup> century. Such a chronology should be attributed to the oldest ceramic assemblages recorded in almost every excavation. This is also confirmed by the radiocarbon dates obtained so far from the site. The method of analysing pottery assemblages applied during all the years of research at the site has given, apart from other things, also good results as far as chronological indications are concerned.<sup>14</sup> In general, it has been possible to establish on this basis a chronological framework between the second half of the 9<sup>th</sup> century and the 11<sup>th</sup> century. So far, it has been possible to identify three well-represented chronological phases of pottery at the site: the late Emirate, the Caliphate and the late Caliphate.

The late Emirate period (second half of the 9<sup>th</sup> century to the first quarter of the 10<sup>th</sup> century), is mainly represented on the hill slope of El Sombrerete where remains of the citadel of Ilbīra was recognized (see below), and throughout the plain also in the stratigraphical contexts from before the urbanisation of the area. The wares of this period are rather simple and there is not a great variety of vessels. The majority are those of common household use such as cooking pots, juglets, large containers and some examples of short spout oil lamps very representative of the period.<sup>15</sup>

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14 J.C. Carvajal López, *La cerámica de Madīnat Ilbīra y el poblamiento altomedieval de la Vega de Granada*, Granada 2008; idem, *Pottery production and Islam in south-east Spain: a social model*, "Antiquity" LXXXIII (2009), pp. 388-398; M. Jiménez Puertas, *El análisis cuantitativo de la cerámica medieval y los procesos de formación del registro arqueológico: estudio de un caso procedente del yacimiento de Madīnat Ilbīra*, "Debates de Arqueología Medieval" II (2012), pp. 293-329; *Mil años de Madīnat Ilbīra*, ed. A. Malpica Cuello, Granada 2013, pp. 69-75; M. Jiménez Puertas, J.C. Carvajal López, *La cerámica de la Alcazaba de Madīnat Ilbīra (Cerro del Sombrerete)*, Granada 2006, (unpublished); A. Malpica Cuello, M. Jiménez Puertas, J.C. Carvajal López, *Estudio de la cerámica de la Alcazaba de Madīnat Ilbīra (Cerro del Sombrerete, Atarfe)*, "Anuario Arqueológico de Andalucía" (2006) [2010], pp. 1838-1850; idem, *La cerámica de Madīnat Ilbīra: el Pago de la Mezquita (Campaña de 2007)*, "Estudios de cerámica medieval y postmedieval" (2020), pp. 45-87; C. Martínez Álvarez, *Estrategia de muestreo cerámico para la periodización de los contextos arqueológico localizados en la necrópolis medieval de Madīnat Ilbīra*, "Debates de Arqueología Medieval" V (2015), pp. 91-110; C. Martínez Álvarez, M. Rebkowski, G. García-Contreras Ruiz, A. Malpica Cuello, *En los bordes de Ilbīra: cerámica emiral y califal en el barrio sur da la madīna*, "Arqueología y Territorio Medieval" [in print].

15 M. del Camino Fuertas Santos, *La cerámica Medieval de Cercadilla, Córdoba. Tipología, decoración y función*, Sevilla 2010, Fig. 252.1.



Although there is diversity in the typology of the pots, the most representative of the period are those with a spout, a sinuous rim with a single handle and a flat bottom.<sup>16</sup> Precisely one of the most important chronological markers at the site is the treatment of the vessel's bases. At this time the vessels have flat cut-off bottoms and do not show any secondary turning. Glazed pottery is traditionally considered a distinctive feature of the process of Islamisation.<sup>17</sup> The oldest glazed pottery vessels from the site have a great variety of typologies and different technical qualities. All the vessels found are small jars, bottles, cups or oil lamps with a wide variety of glaze colour tones and different decorations. This is mainly because they were imported vessels from some of the first workshops of al-Andalus or even from some more distant ones.<sup>18</sup>

The pottery of the Caliphate period (first quarter of the 10<sup>th</sup> century to the end of the 10<sup>th</sup> century) is the most common to be found on different parts of the site, in the contexts directly related to the urban constructions, as well as in funerary contexts (in the earth excavated to make the tombs, not as grave goods), rubbish dumps, and so on.<sup>19</sup> From the 10<sup>th</sup> century onwards, diversity increased in both the type of vessel and in typology. The spouted pots were gradually replaced by a new type with a curved rim, two handles, short neck, globular body and convex bottoms. Typically, pots are not ornamented, although examples have been found with painted decoration in white, creating thin concentric rings under the neck.<sup>20</sup> The spread of the use of convex bottoms is another of the technological changes that took place. In general, these products have a fairly standardised manufacturing process. The complexity of tableware increased with the appearance of new forms such as the *ataifor* (serving dishes) and a greater typological diversity of juglets and bottles. The wide-mouthed juglet with a neck separate from the body, usually with painted decoration, is the most common tableware liquid container of the period. The use of glazed coverings and engobes is frequent. The spread of the use of glazes is a consequence of the proliferation of workshops throughout the Caliphate territory that had been experimenting with this technique for some time. In the case of Madīnat Ilbīra,

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16 M. Jiménez Puertas, *La cerámica en el proyecto...*, Fig. 1.

17 E. Salinas, T. Pradell, *The introduction of the glaze in Al-Andalus: technological waves and oriental influences*, "Libyan Studies" LI (2020), pp. 87-98.

18 J.C. Carvajal López, *Islamicization or Islamicizations? Expansion of Islam and social practice in the Vega of Granada (South-East Spain)*, "World Archaeology" XLV (2013) 1, p. 115; E. Salinas, *Revisando Pechina y el antecedente de las cerámicas vidriadas islámicas en al-Andalus*, in: *Al-Kitāb. Juan Zozaya Stabel-Hansen*, ed. C. Fernández Ibáñez, Madrid 2019, p. 303; E. Salinas, T. Pradell, *The introduction of the glaze...*, p. 7.

19 M. Jiménez Puertas, *La cerámica en el proyecto...*, p. 71.

20 C. Martínez Álvarez, *Estrategia de muestreo cerámico...*, Fig. 5.

most of the glazed products of this period were from local sources.<sup>21</sup> These early glazes are translucent monochrome ones that vary between honey and greenish in their colour. There are frequent vessels decorated with geometric patterns of manganese or even very simple green-manganese products that could be imitating those made in the Córdoba workshops. Imported vessels continue to be present in the period.

Pottery of the Late Caliphate period (the end of the 10<sup>th</sup> century to the first half of the 11<sup>th</sup> century) is still poorly represented in the archaeological record of Madīnat Ilbīra. The presence of ceramic forms that could be associated with this period were mainly very fragmentary remains of vessels in the abandoned and agricultural levels of the structures in the *madīna* on the plain. The only context with a complete pottery assemblage from this period was documented recently in the trenches excavated at Cortijo de los Cigarrones. In this period, it is common to find the survival of the most common vessel forms from the previous period together with the presence of new ones, such as pots with a slightly thickened straight rim, well documented in the town of Granada in the 11<sup>th</sup> and first half of the 12<sup>th</sup> centuries.<sup>22</sup> Until now, the kitchenware of the period pot is still dominated by pottery vessels. Casseroles, *anafres* (portable cookers), *tabaqs* (disks) and lids are more frequent. There is also a notable difference in the tablewares when compared to the previous period. The *ataifor* (serving dishes) become the most distinctive chronological indicator of this time.<sup>23</sup> In both cases, there are glazed examples in monochrome greenish or honey-coloured tones that predominate throughout the 10<sup>th</sup> century, and dark brown-coloured tones.

The chronology of cultural deposits established on the basis of ceramics corresponds well to several dozen radiocarbon dates that have been obtained so far on the site, in two of its parts. The largest series, consisting of over thirty dates, was obtained in recent years from excavations at Cortijo de los Cigarrones.<sup>24</sup> More than twenty of them come from the layers associated with the urban phase of settling the place and the stone buildings of the city. The time intervals of all the calibrated <sup>14</sup>C dates related to this stage fall within the range c. 850-1200 AD. However, if we consider them with confidence of 68.2%, the time span can be limited to the period between c. 890 and c. 1150. The remaining dates were obtained from younger layers, accumulated after the destruction of the urban buildings. They indicate some form of human activity in this place in the period between the thir-

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21 M. Jiménez Puertas, *La cerámica en el proyecto...*, p. 74.

22 A. Gómez Becerra, *La primera cerámica islámica de Granada. Los ejemplares del solar del aljibe de Trill*, "Meridies. Revista de historia medieval" V-VI (2002), Fig. 2.

23 C. Martínez Álvarez, *Estrategia de muestreo cerámico...*, Fig. 7.

24 The dating was carried out at the Absolute Dating Laboratory in Cracow, Poland.

teenth century and the mid-seventeenth century.<sup>25</sup> Such activity is also confirmed by the radiocarbon date obtained from the backfill layer created after destruction of the unusual building discovered in the Pago de la Mezquita area (see below), indicating the end of the 13<sup>th</sup> century or the next century. Another date, obtained several years ago from a man's skeleton discovered nearby, gave a result that can be placed in the second half of the 9<sup>th</sup> century or at the beginning of the next century.<sup>26</sup>

In light of the data presented above, we can confidently state that the oldest traces on the site of settlement related to the Muslim period can be dated no earlier than the last decades of the 9<sup>th</sup> century. The oldest structures were recorded primarily on the slope of El Sombrerete, and in individual cases on the plain, in the form of pits that preceded the urban development. In turn, the layers associated with the existence of the city, recorded in almost every excavation, may date back to the 10<sup>th</sup> century and the first half of the next century. The south-eastern edge of the urban space seems to be an exception in this respect, where the chronology based on radiocarbon dating and ceramics clearly proves the functioning of the urban development until around the mid-12<sup>th</sup> century.

#### SPATIAL ARRANGEMENT OF THE TOWN

As has already been mentioned, in almost all the excavations studied so far, the presence of cultural deposits related to the functioning of the city was found. The only exception was the trench situated farthest to the south (Fig. 5), where only thick, almost contemporary, embankments were found, leveling the terrain depression. On this basis, it can be assumed that the southern range of the urban space coincided with the border of the alluvial valley of the Genil river. On the W-E line, on the other hand, the urban area stretched for at least one kilometre, from the slopes of El Sombrerete to the eastern fringes of Cortijo de los Cigarrones (Fig. 5). The northern extent of the city is not clear, nor is it certain whether it was surrounded by defensive walls. Scraps of information may suggest that there had been no urban walls at all, though this is as yet far from certain.<sup>27</sup>

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25 All this data coincides with some documentary references to the existence of a neighborhood peripheral to the town of Atarfe that had been consolidated since the 16<sup>th</sup> century in the extreme south-east of the city of Ilbīra. See e.g. M. Barrios Aguilera, *Repoblación de la Vega de Granada en tiempos de Felipe II. Atarfe, 1572-1593*, Granada 1985.

26 A. Malpica Cuello, *Memoria Final del Proyecto de Investigación Sistemática "La Ciudad de Madinat Ilbira (Atarfe, Granada)"*, Granada 2014, pp. 428, 622 (unpublished); idem, *La ciudad de Ilbira: Su formación y desarrollo*, in: *Cristãos e muçulmanos na Idade Média peninsular. Encontros e desencontros*, ed. M. Varela Gomes, Lisbon 2011, p. 43.

27 B. Sarr, "*Abd al-Rahmān b. Mu'āwiya fut celui...*", p. 77.

There were, however, huge defensive walls, over 1 m thick, made of stone blocks, that cut off the slopes of the El Sombrerete hill from the plain. Their course has been reconstructed thanks to both the excavations and the results of visualization performed on the basis of laser scanning measurements. Judging by the clear images rendered from survey data, it is believed that the area was also fortified on two sides with walls that led from the bottom of the hill towards the summit. The area inside the defensive walls was densely built-up. Therefore, this would be probably the location of the citadel (*alcazaba*), the residence of the public authority. Its area can be estimated at over 4 hectares.<sup>28</sup> The citadel was first mentioned in written sources in relation to the events of the last decade of the 9<sup>th</sup> century. The pottery groups discovered within it indicate that the fortress functioned in the second half of the 9<sup>th</sup> century and the first years of the 10<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>29</sup>

The results of the surface studies showed that there was a very differentiated density of finds found in different parts of the site, this suggests that perhaps not the entire urban space at the foot of the citadel was covered with buildings. According to Antonio Malpica Cuello's hypothesis, this would perhaps indicate the formation of a segmented type of urban space in Madīnat Ilbīra. The segmentation could have been caused by the distribution of water systems in the territory of the town.<sup>30</sup> In various parts of this space, probably in connection with individual districts, cemeteries were also used (Fig. 5). Excavations and geophysical surveys provide the basis for the identification of other important elements of the spatial layout of the city. The existence of regular urban development in the northwestern part of the site, just at the foot of the citadel, was confirmed by magnetic survey. This allows the identification of the remains of walls, as well as – what is particularly important – hearths (kilns) and/or production facilities connected with use of fire. The research results seem to confirm the hypothesis formulated already earlier, that in this area the production and commercial district of the town should be located.<sup>31</sup>

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28 A. Malpica Cuello, *Madinat Ilbira, un proyecto...*, pp. 386ff.; A. Malpica Cuello, A. González Escudero, *Las defensas de la ciudad de Ilbira (Granada)*, in: *Fortificações e território na Península Ibérica e no Magreb (séculos VI a XVI)*, ed. I.C. Ferreira Fernandes, Lisboa 2013, pp. 65f.; M. Rebkowski et al., *Non-invasive investigations...*, pp. 292-295.

29 J.C. Carvajal López, *La cerámica de Madinat Ilbira...*, p. 288; M. Jimenez Puertas, J.C. Carvajal López, *La cerámica de la Alcazaba...*

30 A. Malpica Cuello, *Memoria Final del Proyecto...*, pp. 346f.; idem, *The Origins of the city in Al-Andalus: the case of Madinat Ilbira*, in: *Making a Medieval town. Patterns of Early Medieval Urbanization*, ed. A. Buko, M. McCarthy, Warsaw 2010, pp. 69, 76f.

31 *Mil años de Madinat Ilbira...*, p. 62; M. Rebkowski et al., *Non-invasive investigations...*, pp. 283-287.

The existence of dense, regularly planned stone buildings in the form of houses and streets was confirmed by excavations and a geo-radar survey in the area of Cortijo de los Cigarrones over a large area. One structure stands out there through its unusual size, it is a large building with an uncertain function. All walls of buildings discovered here, as in the case of those recorded in other excavations, were constructed in a similar technique. Despite the noticeable minor design differences between them, it can be stated that all were erected on foundations or bases made of stones, on which rammed earth walls (*tapial*) were raised, using natural raw materials such as earth, chalk, lime, or gravel.<sup>32</sup>

Completely unique in many respects are the relics of the building, the exploration of which began in 2019 in the Pago de la Mezquita area.<sup>33</sup> This building is distinguished by its unusual size, unique architectural design with the use of bricks and a very well-preserved floor level. The results of a geophysical survey yielded the image of a regular, rectangular structure about 25 x 20 m. Its longer side is tilted about 36 degrees south of the axis W-E. The plan produced from these results suggests the existence of relics of an extensive building in this place, with massive external walls. Some linear anomalies indicate also the existence of smaller walls oriented in a similar order to the west and east of this structure. The position at the foot of the citadel, unusual dimensions and architectural design, orientation and the local toponymy allow for the hypothesis that the structure is the remains of the main mosque (*aljama*) of Madīnat Ilbīra. According to later written sources, its construction was ordered in 864 by the Emir of Córdoba – Muhammad I. It can also be assumed that some part of it was found during an excavation conducted in 1878.<sup>34</sup> At the beginning of the 21<sup>st</sup> century, two Islamic burials were discovered nearby, one of which – an adult male – is particularly interesting due to the unusual massive ashlar stones that covered the individual's remains.<sup>35</sup> The radiocarbon date obtained from the human bones,<sup>36</sup> and the two phases identified including a refurbishing of the tomb points to the early tenth century, suggested that this burial could be link to the ritual space with the foundation of the main mosque.<sup>37</sup>

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32 G. García Contreras Ruiz, *Building materials and construction techniques in Medina Elvira. Seasons of excavation 2018-2019*, Granada 2020 (unpublished).

33 The research was suspended and its continuation planned for the next few years was not completed due to the Covid pandemic.

34 M. Gómez Moreno, *Medina Elvira...*; for the dating J.F. Simonet, *Cuadros Históricos y Descriptivos de Granada: Coleccionados con motivo del cuarto centenario de su memorable conquista*, Madrid 1896, pp. 22-25; B. Sarr, *“Abd al-Rahmān b. Mu’āwiya fut celui...*, pp. 69f.

35 A. Malpica Cuello, *Memoria Final del Proyecto...*, pp. 44, 350, 414ff.

36 857-993 AD, with confidence of 81.2%, see A. Malpica Cuello, *La ciudad de Ilbira: Su formación...*, p. 43.

37 J.C. Carvajal López, *Islamicization or Islamicizations...*, p. 120.

## ARCHAEOLOGICAL CONTRIBUTION TO THE RESEARCH ON SOCIAL TOPOGRAPHY OF THE TOWN

The analysis of the material remains shows that there is a significant variation of material across the site and this may be interpreted as the result of certain hierarchical status among the different occupied areas of the town.

The pottery assemblage found in the citadel is not particularly diversified as far as pottery forms are concerned. The vessels tend to be multi-functional, glazed vessels are very rare and could be considered luxury wares. These pieces are classified as imported and they are not commonly found in other contexts of the site with the same chronology.<sup>38</sup> Regarding the faunal remains from the citadel, the presence of species associated with high status consumers and/or those who were hunted can be observed. Remains of lamb, hare, crane, partridge and possibly goose have been identified. The study of the anatomical distribution of the goat bones allows us to conclude that only those cuts with a higher meat content, previously processed in a different space than the one in which they were consumed, were brought to this domestic space.<sup>39</sup> Arrowheads and an archer's thimble were also found there, which could corroborate the theory that certain species were supplied by hunting. A high status of inhabitants of the hill is also suggested by some of the other metal items, especially the appearance of medical implements or cosmetic sticks associated with the use of unguents that also may be considered as luxury items.<sup>40</sup>

The ceramic wares recovered from the domestic contexts in the urban area of the *madīna* located on the plain are fairly homogeneous in terms of both manufacturing techniques and typologies. They seem to have been produced in specialised urban workshops.<sup>41</sup> The diversity of kitchen ware is particularly noteworthy. The types of pots that had dominated the record throughout the Caliphate period, coexist with new forms of casseroles. The latter are not common in the earliest contexts of the site, possibly due to the culinary techniques used. There is a great deal of typological variety in tableware forms and different glazing techniques. The most standardised forms from the site are still

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38 Idem, *La cerámica de Madinat Ilbira...*, p. 489.

39 M. García García, *Estudio zoológico del material recuperado de Madinat Ilbira: distribución y consumo de los productos animales en un asentamiento andalusí de la vega de Granada durante época altomedieval (siglos IX-X)*, "Debates de Arqueología Medieval" III (2013), pp. 27-74; idem, *Some remarks on the provision of animal products to urban centres in medieval Islamic Iberia: The cases of Madinat Ilbira (Granada) and Cercadilla (Cordova)*, "Quaternary International" (2016), p. 1.

40 M. González Castañón, 'Útiles de metal o 'hierros informes'? Los grandes olvidados del registro arqueológico hispanomedieval. Un ejemplo práctico: Madinat Ilbira, in: *El registro arqueológico y la arqueología medieval*, ed. A. Malpica, G. García-Conteras Ruiz, Granada 2016, pp. 363-390.

41 M. Jiménez Puertas, *La cerámica en el proyecto...*, p. 75.

present, but these coexist with others with more complex decorations and even bichrome glazes are more frequent. The most interesting ceramic assemblage to date was found inside a *qanāh* that was secondarily used as a rubbish dump. The vessels were discarded in a short period of time, which meant that some more durable wares, such as large containers, had a low presence in the context. In contrast, other vessel types that were replaced more frequently, such as cooking pottery or tableware, were more abundant.<sup>42</sup> However, interesting results could be obtained regarding the process of discarding objects and about patterns of production and consumption of vessels in this period. There was a considerable number of complete or minimally fractured vessels. This could indicate the ease with which these products were acquired in the market. The vessels have a high degree of homogenisation and some even had some imperfections, irregular glazes or had distortions or dents, which did not impede their use (they showed clear traces of use). It is clear that certain manufacturing defects were accepted by the market. This is another example of the development of urbanisation, the social division of work, the commercial activities and the consumption capacity of the inhabitants of Madīnat Ilbīra.<sup>43</sup>

The analysis of the faunal remains allows us to discern some data on meat consumption in the core area of the town. It seems that most of the animals were not raised on site, but that the processing centre for the animals was outside the *madīna*. Meat was also supplied through urban markets.<sup>44</sup>

The metal items include a large number of nails and small metal pieces interpreted as fastenings or decorative elements for furniture or pieces of woodwork for windows or doors. Some rattles and small probes (the latter traditionally considered to be for medical or cosmetic use), were also found. They are similar to those found in the citadel residence. The evidence of the presence of spaces dedicated to artisanal activities at the site is attested not only by the archaeological remains of buildings that were dedicated to this specific purpose but also by the presence of tools used for these activities. Mainly tools for working textile fibres, leather, lead and clay spindle whorls, iron spinning spindles, an awl, and thimbles.<sup>45</sup> There are also some items that indicate the presence of commercial activities, such as a weight from a balance and a half-dinar weighing scale with the inscription: "justice is of God", referring to the obligation of a fair price in trade established in the Qur'an.<sup>46</sup>

42 Idem, *El análisis cuantitativo...*, p. 23.

43 A. Malpica Cuello, *El surgimiento de la ciudad de Ilbira y su relación con el territorio de la Vega de Granada en la Edad Media temprana*, in: *Paisaggi, Comunità, villaggi medievali. Atti del Convegno internazionale di studio (Bologna, 14-16 gennaio 2010)*, ed. P. Galetti, Spoleto 2012, p. 103.

44 M. García García, *Some remarks on the provision...*, p. 8.

45 A. Malpica Cuello, *Madinat Ilbira, un proyecto...*, p. 396; M. González Castañón, *Metales*, in: A. Malpica Cuello, *Memoria Final del Proyecto...*, p. 719.

46 M. González Castañón, *Metales...*, p. 721.

## THE PROBLEM OF THE MOZARABS

One of the extremely important research issues related to the history of this Muslim city is its social and religious structure, especially the role played by the Mozarabs in it. Arabic sources describing the times of the so-called the first *fitna* and the rebellion caused by 'Umar ibn Hafsūn at the end of the 9<sup>th</sup> and early 10<sup>th</sup> centuries, especially the account of Ibn Hayyān, quite clearly indicate that a significant part of the inhabitants of Madīnat Ilbīra at that time were Muwallads and Christians. It was they who were supposed to have supported the forces of the rebel, who was even supposed to have temporarily taken over the city fortress.<sup>47</sup> In all likelihood, they were the descendants of families who had lived in this area back in Roman and Visigothic times. Strong evidence of the existence of a large group of Christians in the city is the information from written sources from the second half of the 9<sup>th</sup> and 10<sup>th</sup> centuries, in which the names of the bishops of Ilbīra appear.<sup>48</sup> They should probably be seen as a confirmation of the uninterrupted existence of the bishopric since Roman times. Among several episcopal names, Rocemundo, who in 956, on the order of the caliph 'Abd al-Rahmān III, carried out a diplomatic mission to the court of King Otto I, to whom Liutprand of Cremona dedicated one of his works, is of particular interest.<sup>49</sup>

It seems that the above information is also reflected in the archaeological discoveries that indicate the existence of a Christian community in Madīnat Ilbīra. The first is the use of the cemetery or cemeteries where the dead were buried according to the Christian funeral rite still in Islamic times. This issue is not fully researched as yet. The principle evidence comes from a large necropolis discovered in the 19<sup>th</sup> century at Pago de Marugán, located in the north-eastern part of the site. The beginnings of the burial of the dead in this place probably date back to Roman or Visigothic times. It is not entirely clear whether it was part of the same necropolis that was found nearby in the 1990s, documenting another tens

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47 M. Espinar Moreno, *Medina Elvira...*, pp. 15f.; B. Sarr, "'Abd al-Rahmān b. Mu'āwiya fut celui...", pp. 69-72. About the revolt, see e.g. M. Ación Almansa, *Entre el Feudalismo y el Islam. 'Umar ibn Hafsun en los historiadores, en las fuentes y en la historia*, Jaén 1997.

48 A collaboration some of the bishops with the Muslim rulers in the process of conquering the entire Vega of Granada has been suggested on the basis of some fragmentary evidence and, above all, a transfer of the episcopal see to Madīnat Ilbīra since the 9<sup>th</sup> century, see E. López Martínez de Marigorta, *La colaboración entre instituciones cristianas y el poder omeya desde la óptica de Eliberri y Urci*, "Ehumanista" XLI (2019), pp. 1-18.

49 See F.J. Simonet, *Historia de los Mozárabes de España deducida de los mejores y más auténticos testimonios de los escritores Cristianos y Arabes*, Madrid 1897-1903, pp. 487f., 540ff., 630ff.; A. Christys, *Christians in Al-Andalus (711-1000)*, London-New York 2002, pp. 10, 111-114.



graves.<sup>50</sup> From the point of view of the issue discussed here, the main problem is determining the chronology of burials. The use of the necropolis even in the times of the Muslim city's existence seems to be indicated by a tombstone discovered somewhere in this area in 1870 (Fig. 6). The hexametric inscription carved on it refers to a Christian named Ciprianus, who died in the first years of the 11<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>51</sup> Another inscription was found in 1919 at the eastern edge of the site, already within the area of the current town of Atarfe. It refers to a Mozarabic abbot called Recosindo and can be dated to the end of the 10<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>52</sup> The location of the cemeteries also gives some basis for speculation about the alleged location of the Mozarabic quarter on the eastern edge of the city, at a considerable distance from the fortress. Another premise in this regard is the discovery during the excavations carried out in 2018 in the Cortijo de los Cigarrones area of fragments of an iron (processional?) cross several dozen centimetres across and with widening arms. The context of the discovery allows it to be dated to the 10<sup>th</sup> or 11<sup>th</sup> century.

#### THE ORIGIN AND THE FALL OF MADĪNAT ILBĪRA

The results of the archaeological research conducted so far, despite the still very limited scope of the excavations, have provided data that – when confronted with written sources – allow for the formulation of new hypotheses concerning the course and circumstances of both the city's creation and its fall. Thus, it becomes possible to recognize the model to which the genesis of the centre could have conformed, as well as to explain the spatial, chronological and demographic relations between the older Roman and Visigothic settlement in this area.

Let us begin by recalling that the very name of Ilbira comes from the Roman city of *Municipium Florentinum Iliberritanum* located in the area, and known for example from the famous synod of bishops from the beginning of the 4<sup>th</sup> century. This, in turn, was derived from the name of an even older Iberian oppidum – *Iliberris*, also mentioned by ancient sources (e.g., Pliny). The long debate on the location of the latter ended with the discoveries made in one of the districts of today's Granada (Albaicin), leaving no

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50 M. Gómez Moreno, *Medina Elvira...*; M. Espinar Moreno, *Medina Elvira...*, pp. 29ff.; J.J. Quesada Gómez, J. Amezcua Pretel, *Medina Elvira 4. Anillos romanos y visigodos de la necrópolis de Marugán y alrededores*, "Cuadernos de Arte de la Universidad de Granada" XXV (1994), pp. 149-164. The discoveries from several years ago have not been published.

51 M. Gómez Moreno, *Medina Elvira...*, pp. 7f.; M. Espinar Moreno, *Medina Elvira...*, p. 42. The object is kept in the Archaeological Museum of Granada.

52 M. Pastor, *Corpus de inscripciones latinas de Andalucía. IV. Granada*, Sevilla 2002, pp. 81f., no. 53.

doubt that it was on the hill there that the Iberian fortress, built in the 8<sup>th</sup> or 7<sup>th</sup> century BC, should be located. The remains and finds from the Roman period, found in the same area, also seem to indicate that the Iberian *oppidum* was transformed into a Roman city over time.<sup>53</sup>

The location of the Roman city within the area of current Granada seems to be confirmed also by some specific finds dated back to the Muslim period. An increasing number of peculiar lead seals have been found and published in recent years. On one side of them there is minted the word *muṣālaḥa* ('peace pact'), when the place-name of a city on the other. The seals have been interpreted as the evidence of payments made when the Visigothic cities surrendered to the Arab conquerors.<sup>54</sup> Three similar seals have been found recently in the area of the current city of Granada. Each of them contain the word *muṣālaḥa* on one side, and on the other side the word *Libīra* is read, that is the first Arabization of the place-name Eliberri (Fig. 7).<sup>55</sup> Therefore, it could be inferred that the late-ancient settlement centre of the region was situated in Granada and it was not until late 8<sup>th</sup> century or during the 9<sup>th</sup> century when it was shifted to the location of Madīnat Ilbīra.

This would mean that the Islamic Madīnat Ilbīra, taking the name of an older centre from Roman times, possibly still functioning in the Visigothic period,<sup>56</sup> did not refer to it spatially in a direct way, and the settlement centre of the Vega of Granada was moved with its creation by about 10 kilometres to

53 The course of the discussion is described, for example, by A. Sánchez Moreno, *Del lugar donde fue Iliberri (Granada): historiografía de un debate*, in: *Collectiones, arqueólogos, instituciones y yacimientos en la España de los siglos XVIII al. XX*, ed. S. España-Chamorro, R. Arranz Santos, A. Romero Molero, Oxford 2018, pp. 43-60. From among numerous other works, for example see also: *Excavaciones Arqueológicas en el Albaicín (Granada) I. Callejón del Gallo. Estudios sobre la ciudad ibérica y romana de Iliberri*, ed. A.M. Adroher Auroux, A. López Marcos, Granada 2001; T. Fuentes Vázquez, *La localización de la ciudad Ildurir/Iliberri, "Mainake" XXIV* (2002), pp. 405-421; A.M. Adroher Auroux, A. Caballero Cobos, A. Sánchez Moreno, *El oppidum ibérico de Ildurir-Iliberri*, in: *Los vidrios griegos en Granada*, ed. C. Vilchez-Vilchez, J. de la Torre Castellano, A.M. Adroher Auroux, Granada 2005, pp. 75-88. On the Roman place, see, especially: M. Orfila Pons, *Florentina Iliberritana. La ciudad en época romana*, Granada 2011; M. Orfila Pons, E. Sánchez López, *Granada antiqua e través de la arqueología. Iliberri – Florentina Iliberritana*, in: *Hispania urbes. Investigaciones arqueológicas en ciudades históricas*, ed. J. Beltran, O. Rodríguez Gutierrez, Sevilla 2012, pp. 475-526; J.M. Román Punzón, *Redescribiendo la Granada tardoantiqua. Eliberri entre los siglos IV a VIII D.C.*, "Cuadernos de Prehistoria y Arqueología de la Universidad de Granada" XXIV (2014), pp. 497-533.

54 P. Sénac, T. Ibrahim, *Los precintos de la conquista omeya y la formación de al-Ándalus (711-756)*, Granada 2017.

55 T. Ibrahim, S. Gaspariño, *Adiciones a los precintos de la Conquista: Córdoba, Elvira y una variante de al-Andalus*, "Manquso" IV (2016), pp. 39-42; T. Ibrahim, *Los precintos de la conquista y el dominio Omeya de Hispania*, "Manquso" IV (2016), pp. 7f., 26.

56 Indirect evidence of the functioning of the city after the Visigothic conquest may be the names of the bishops mentioned in the acts of the synods of bishops in the 6<sup>th</sup> century, including, for example, the Synod of Toledo in 589, see e.g. T. Fuentes Vázquez, *La localización...*, pp. 412f.

the northwest. However, this would be quite an unusual situation if we compare it to other cities founded on the Iberian Peninsula after the Arab conquest.<sup>57</sup> Matters are, however, somewhat complicated by the above-mentioned discoveries made in the 19<sup>th</sup> century between Pinos Puente and Atarfe, among which there were also rich finds from ancient times, recorded in various places, also in the area that was undoubtedly later occupied by an Islamic city.<sup>58</sup> An attempt to reconcile these seemingly contradictory data is the hypothesis formulated several years ago, according to which there were two *villae* in the immediate vicinity of Madīnat Ilbīra in Roman times, not a *municipium*.<sup>59</sup> However, a certain obstacle to such an interpretation is the above-mentioned extensive burial ground identified at Pago de Marugán and nearby. More than 1.700 graves dating back to Roman and Visigothic times have been discovered there. The size of the necropolis is in clear disproportion in relation to the postulated, rural character of Roman, and perhaps Visigothic, settlement in this area.<sup>60</sup>

Soon after the Arab conquest in 711, groups of the first arrivals from the south also settled on the Vega de Granada. Of particular importance in this respect was the settlement in this area of the *jund* of Damascus, which came to the Iberian Peninsula to suppress the Berber rebellion in 742. As archaeology shows, it was a period of coexistence of old settlements of Roman/Visigothic origin, also inhabited by Arabs, and the emergence of new Arab rural farmsteads, accompanied by the introduction of new farming and irrigation systems (*qanah*) in the area.<sup>61</sup> A good example of the first

57 Muslim cities the sites of which spatially related to those of the old Roman centres, either took their place and name, or were located at a certain distance, which, however, was associated with a change of name, see H.N. Kennedy, *From Antiquity to Islam...*, p. 57; A. Malpica Cuello, *The Emergence of the City...*, pp. 7f.

58 M. Gómez Moreno, *Medina Elvira...*, p. 17, including a slab with an inscription referring to Emperor Domitian.

59 M. Ramos Lizana, *Los antecedentes de Madina Elvira. Poblamiento y territorio en la Vega de Granada en la Antiquedad Tardía*, in: *Las lámparas de Medina Elvira*, ed. C. Vilchez Vilchez, Granada 2003, p. 25.

60 See footnote 50. Cf. the remarks of A. Malpica Cuello, *The Origins of the city...*, p. 73. Notabene, the Visigothic period settlement of the Vega de Granada is still very poorly documented, J.C. Carvajal López, J.M. Román Punzón, M. Jiménez Puertas, J. Martínez Jiménez, *When the East Came to West: The Seventh Century in the Vega of Granada (South-east Spain): Visigoths, Byzantines and Muslims*, in: *The Long Seventh Century. Continuity and Discontinuity in an Age of Transition*, ed. A. Guasso et al., Oxford 2015, p. 141; see also A. Malpica Cuello, *Antes de Madīnat Ilbīra. Su territorio en el entorno de 711, "Zona arqueológica" XV (2011) 1*, pp. 391f.

61 J.C. Carvajal López, *El poblamiento altomedieval de la Vega de Granada*, "Studia Historica. Historia Medieval" XXVI (2008), pp. 139-143; A. Malpica Cuello, *Antes de Madīnat Ilbīra...*, pp. 392ff.; idem, *La ciudad de Madinat Ilbīra y el poblamiento de la Vega de Granada (siglos VIII-XI)*, in: *Mundos medievales. Espacios, sociedades y poder. Homenaje al Profesor José Ángel García de Cortázar y Ruiz de Aquirre*, vol. I, ed. B.A. Bolumburu et al., Santander 2012, pp. 686-688; idem, *The Origins of the city...*, pp. 74-76; J.C. Carvajal López et al., *When the East Came to West...*, pp. 139-148.

category of settlements is Caparacena (*Qarbasana*), located a short distance north of Madīnat Ilbīra, and Castella (*Quastilya*), also located in the immediate vicinity of the later city.<sup>62</sup> The chronology of the discoveries made so far on this site shows that it was neither then, nor after the creation of the independent Umayyad Emirate at the beginning of the second half of the 8<sup>th</sup> century, that an Islamic city developed in this area, which seems to be what is also suggested by the later account written by al-Himayārī.<sup>63</sup> However, it seems that the names appearing in reference to this period only indicate the creation of the administrative district (*kūra*), which was named after the old Roman city. The *kūra* of Ilbīra was then a unit of territorial division of the Emirate, within which a group of farmsteads existed and probably a fortress located in the area of current city of Granada.<sup>64</sup>

In light of the archaeological data, the foundation of Madīnat Ilbīra can only be dated to the second half of the 9<sup>th</sup> century. The oldest remains found on the site and dated into this period come from the domestic structure located at the top of the Sombrete hill, the possible residence of the town's public authority. Events from the same time include mentions of the existence and conquest of the fortress in 892-893 during the revolt of Ibn Hafsūn and the commencement of construction of the great mosque in 864.<sup>65</sup> It is worth keeping in mind that among the essential elements that define an Islamic urban nucleus from archaeological point of view are the *alcazaba* (a citadel) and *aljama* (a main congregational mosque).<sup>66</sup> The task of the citadel was to control not only the city but also its hinterland. In turn, the existence of a Friday mosque had not only a religious dimension, but was also a symbol of the Umayyad's political power and a tool of Islamization.<sup>67</sup> The third element necessary for the existence of the urban structure was the functioning of at least one industrial or commercial district (*sūq*), and of course residential buildings. It seems at present (though this needs to be

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62 M. Ramos Lizana, *Los antecedentes de Madina Elvira...*, p. 25; A. Malpica Cuello, *The Origins of the city...*, p. 73; B. Sarr, "'Abd al-Rahmān b. Mu'āwiya fut celui...", pp. 63, 66; E. López Martínez de Marigorta, *Mercaderes, artesanos y ulemas. Las ciudades de las coras de Ilbira y Pechina en época omeya*, Jaén 2020, pp. 19-65.

63 See footnote 13.

64 A. Malpica Cuello, *Antes de Madīnat Ilbīra...*, p. 396; B. Sarr, *La Granada prezirí (siglos VIII–XI)*, in: *Villa 3. Histoire et archéologie des sociétés de la vallée de l'Ebre (VII<sup>e</sup>-XI<sup>e</sup> siècles)*, ed. P. Sénac, Toulouse 2010, pp. 381-400.

65 See footnote 34. It should be mentioned, however, that according to the late legendary tradition, the mosque had been erected in the place of an older one, cf. M. Espinar Moreno, *Medina Elvira...*, p. 23; B. Sarr, "'Abd al-Rahmān b. Mu'āwiya fut celui...", pp. 69f.

66 H.N. Kennedy, *From polis to madina: urban change in Late Antique and Early Islamic Syria, "Past and Present" CVI (1985)*, pp. 3-27; M. Ación Almansa, *El origen de la ciudad...*, pp. 15-22; A. Malpica Cuello, *The Emergence of the City...*, p. 20.

67 See S. Calvo Capilla, *Las mezquitas de al-Andalus*, Almería 2014, pp. 62ff., 215-218.

confirmed by further excavations), that this is the chronology of the municipal infrastructure with traces of productive activity, relics of which are located in the immediate vicinity of the citadel.<sup>68</sup>

It seems that in a relatively short time, the areas surrounding the mosque gained commercial importance, and subsequent areas, including older farmsteads, were included in this urban organism.<sup>69</sup> This is well illustrated by the stratigraphic sequence recorded within the (Mozarabic?) district distant from the mosque, the relics of which were discovered at Cortijo de los Cigarrones. Here, loose structures in the form of pits, associated with rural settlement, were replaced during the 10<sup>th</sup> century by a compact, planned urban development. This indicates that the buildings were raised in quite a short time and also suggests a planned investment and layout of the district. Therefore, it seems quite certain that the time of the greatest prosperity and spatial development of the city coincided with the period of the Caliphate of Córdoba in the 10<sup>th</sup> century. This conclusion is also confirmed by the study of the pottery assemblages recovered by investigations in different parts of the urban space. The petrographic analysis of cookware recovered from a number of sites in the Vega of Granada, including Ilbīra, showed the existence of an organized and formalized network of ceramic distribution in this settlement during the 10<sup>th</sup> century, reflecting the central role that Madīnat Ilbīra played in this region at that time.<sup>70</sup> The city experienced its heyday, despite the fact that the fortress ceased to be used, which can be associated with the seizure and consolidation of power in the emirate by ‘Abd al-Raḥmān III of Cordoba and his seizure of Madīnat Ilbīra in 913. The tenth century is a period of special development, and sometimes even reconstruction (e.g., Córdoba) other Muslim cities in the Iberian Peninsula.<sup>71</sup>

The results of archaeological research also require a significant correction of the current views on the dating and pace of the fall of Madīnat Ilbīra, which had formerly been related to the transfer of the urban centre of the region to Granada. In the literature on the subject, the conviction, based on information recorded in the account of ‘Abd Allāh, has become quite firmly established that it happened very quickly. During the period

68 E. López Martínez de Marigorta, *Mercaderes, artesanos y ulemas...*

69 A. Mapica Cuello, *La ciudad de Madīnat Ilbīra y el poblamiento...*, pp. 689ff.; idem, *Antes de Madīnat Ilbīra...*, pp. 396ff.; idem, *The Emergence of the City...*, pp. 21ff.

70 J.C. Carvajal López P.M. Day, *Cooking pots and islamicization in the Early Medieval Vega of Granada (al- Andalus, sixth to twelfth centuries)*, "Oxford Journal of Archaeology" XXXII (2013), pp. 433-451.

71 Ch. Mazzoli-Guintard, *Les villes d'al-Andalus à l'époque califale*, in: *Al-Andalus pais de ciudades. Actes del Congreso celebrado an Oropesa (Toledo), del 12 al 14 marzo de 2005*, Toledo 2008, pp. 65-78; E. Manzano Moreno, *Conquistadores, emires y califas: los Omeyyas y la formación de Al-Andalus*, Barcelona 2006, p. 250.

of *fitna*, which quickly led to the fall of the Caliphate of Córdoba, the Berber clan of the Zirids settled in Madīnat Ilbīra perhaps brought there for the protection of the inhabitants. Soon after, it took power in the area. In 1013 or between 1013 and 1019, it relocated the inhabitants to the newly founded Madīnat Gharnāta, which became the centre of the independent kingdom (*taifa*) of Granada. Ibn Hayyān described the ruin of the mosque in Madīnat Ilbīra at the end of the 11<sup>th</sup> century, and other sources even say that it was burned down in 1073.<sup>72</sup>

Radiocarbon dating obtained from excavations in the extreme part of the city, possibly in the Mozarabic district, requires a significant modification of this picture. On their basis, it should rather be assumed that the depopulation of the city was a much longer process, and some of its districts were inhabited until the twelfth century. It was only then that the urban buildings that existed there ceased to be used. The character of the exploitation of the area in the 13<sup>th</sup> to 17<sup>th</sup> centuries is unclear, it was most probably connected with agricultural activities and/or small rural settlement. It is also very possible that in the later Middle Ages, after the fall of the town, construction materials were plundered here for the purpose of their re-use, as well as there being here some form of a rural settlement with scattered buildings. Here, it is worth noticing that in late Islamic records from the 13<sup>th</sup>-15<sup>th</sup> century two towns or *qura* are mentioned in this area: Qaryat al-Ṭarf and Qaryat Ilbīra. These are also noted in the Christian sources describing attacks against Granada in the 15<sup>th</sup> century or even in those from the 16<sup>th</sup>-17<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>73</sup> The first refers to Atarfe, and the second one to an unknown place located at the foot of the hills, probably the remains of the Islamic town transformed into a rural landscape that exists today.

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72 M. Espinar Moreno, *Medina Elvira...*, pp. 18-23; B. Sarr, *La Granada Ziri...*; idem, "*Abd al-Rahmān b. Mu'āwīya fut celui...*", pp. 74-81.

73 A good example of the above is a text written c. 1600: "...the ancient city of Iliberia near the banks of the Cubila river, which passes at the foot of the mountain range that modern people call Sierra Elvira, in the northwestern part, where we have seen many vestiges and signs of ancient buildings. And the inhabitants of the nearby places tire in vain digging in this place, thinking that they are going to find treasures, and they have found there very old medals from the time of the Gentiles (...). Finally, Iliberia was a populous city, the head of a bishopric, and Saint Cecilius was bishop of this city (...). When Iliberia was depopulated, only the castle and some neighborhoods on the river bank remained, and the Moorish kings gave that tenure to their relatives or to people of account. And being in Granada in the year 1571, a Moorish man showed us two titles of that warden, which had belonged to his ancestors (...). This castle has stood for many times, until the Catholic Monarchs demolished it at the entrances they made in the Vega. It is still possible to see buildings from two neighborhoods along the river (...)", L. Marmol Carvajal, *Historia del rebelion y castigo de los moriscos del Reyno de Granada*, Málaga 1600, I, 3 (translation into English from old Castilian made by G. García-Contreras Ruiz).

## CONCLUSIONS. TOWARDS FUTURE RESEARCH

The results of archaeological research so far have shown that cultural deposits that are remnants of the medieval Madīnat Ilbīra, one of the early Muslim cities of al-Andalus, have been preserved in very good condition over a large area located at the foot of the Sierra Elvira Mountains. In light of the findings to date, it can be concluded that the city was created by the political authorities in the second half of the 9<sup>th</sup> century as the centre of one of the administrative units of the Emirate (the *kūra* of Ilbīra), and functioned alongside several rural settlements in the immediate vicinity. Its decline and gradual depopulation began at the beginning of the 11<sup>th</sup> century during the deep crisis of the Caliphate of Córdoba. It was then that the kingdom of Granada was established, and the main urban centre of the region was moved there, but the gradual depopulation of subsequent districts of Ilbīra continued until around the mid-12<sup>th</sup> century.

From that moment, the urban development began to fall into disrepair. In its place, no new compact buildings were built that would have destroyed old layout of building structures. This relative lack of later habitation is a circumstance that distinguishes Madīnat Ilbira from most other Muslim towns on the Iberian Peninsula. Or better to say “Andalusi” towns, since a considerable group of fully Arabized Christian inhabitants, the Mozarabs, can be detected in both written sources and the archaeological record. Thus, this archaeological site creates unique opportunities for researching the broadly understood urban planning of the al-Andalus period, including spatial systems, layout and the urban development itself. A challenge facing researchers of the site is its extent. However, the problem can be solved by conducting GPR prospecting over large areas. As evidenced by the experience of recent years, this enables the reconstruction of the remains of buildings preserved on the site with great precision.

Many other key issues related to the history of the city and the entire Vega de Granada region cannot, however, be solved without excavations and detailed studies based on the results achieved during them. Let us list here at least a few of the basic ones. The nature and scale of the Roman settlement, especially the Visigothic settlement in the immediate vicinity, and its transformations (restructuring) after the Arab conquest, require further research. It would be especially important in this regard to determine the chronology and nature of Roman finds discovered in the 19<sup>th</sup> century, also in places that were later occupied by the Umayyad city. A number of problems related to various details of the city’s topography and its spatial development are waiting to be solved. An urgent matter is to complete the excavations started in 2019, which it seems have permitted the location and discovery of fragments of the city’s main mosque. The scientific importance of completing this

research cannot be overstated. It would be extremely important, for example, to determine the extent of the urban area, verify the hypothesis about the lack of defensive walls, or the segmented type of urbanism which is a consequence of the assumed model of the city's emergence and the gradual incorporation of previously existing settlements into its structure.

One of the key issues still unsolved is the location and size of the cemeteries associated with the city, including the confirmation of the use of Christian necropolises during this period. The excavation at Pago de Marugán could explain a lot in this regard. Thus, we touch upon the problem of ethnic and religious relations, and more broadly cultural relations in the city, the role played by Mozarabs in it and the pace of the process of Islamization. The proposed location of the Christian district of the city also requires confirmation. On the other hand, the excavations at the foot of El Sombrerete should explain the hypothesis about the existence of a commercial and production district there, establish the spectrum of local production, directions of commercial exchange of the city's inhabitants, etc.

These are only the most important crucial problems waiting to be explored, this is not to mention a number of specific issues related to everyday life or, for example, production techniques and distribution mechanisms of various goods in the city and the entire Vega de Granada. In other words, the scientific potential of the archaeological evidence preserved in Atarfe, which cannot be overestimated, should lead to further research projects concerning what one of the medieval authors defined as one of the most splendid cities of al-Andalus.

#### ABSTRACT

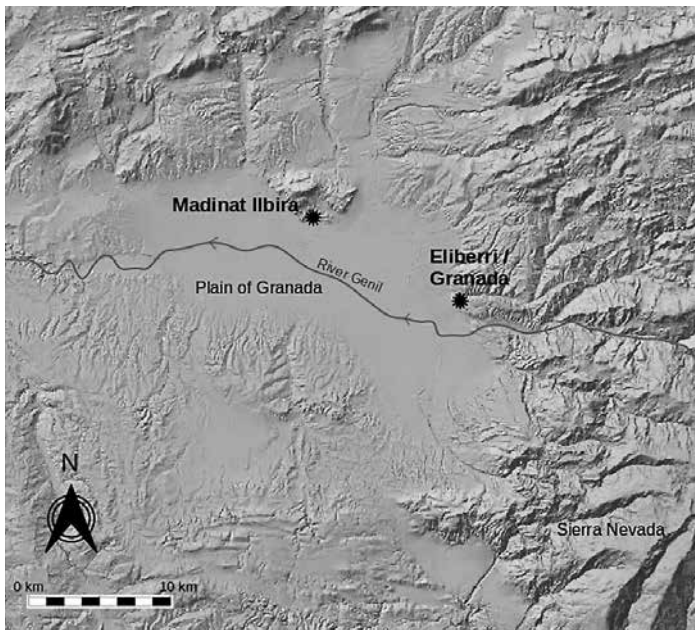
Madīnat Ilbīra was one of the most splendid towns in Muslim al-Andalus and the centre of one of administrative units (the *kāra* of Ilbīra) of the Caliphate of Córdoba. Already in the Middle Ages the town was depopulated and fell into ruin. In 2001-2011 and 2016-2019 two archaeological research projects have been conducted to confirm the location of remains of Madīnat Ilbīra at the foot of the Sierra Elvira mountains, as well as to solve the main problems related to its history. The paper presents the crucial achievements of archaeology, confronted with written records. The authors formulate hypotheses concerning origin and chronology of the town, its spatial arrangement, social topography, and also religious structure of the inhabitants. One of the important issue is also the problem of the fall of Madīnat Ilbīra and relocation of the economic centre of the region to the city of Granada.

**Keywords:** al-Andalus, early Middle Ages, towns, Granada, Madīnat Ilbīra





**Fig. 1.** Location of Madīnat Ilbīra on the map of the Caliphate of Córdoba at the end of the 10<sup>th</sup> century.



**Fig. 2.** Location of Madīnat Ilbīra and Granada on the map of the Vega of Granada.



**Fig. 3.** The site and toponimic names within it in Google Earth satellite image.



**Fig. 4.** One of the trenches in Cortijo de los Cigarrones under excavation in 2018. In the middle: fragment of a street between two building walls and a well of the qanat system (covered by stones) from the 10<sup>th</sup> century. Photo: W. Filipowiak.



**Fig. 5.** Functional differentiation of the urban space in Google Earth satellite image white rectangles – places excavated in the 21<sup>st</sup> century; white ellipses – location of necropolies.



**Fig. 6.** The tombstone of a Christian named Ciprianus, dated to 1002. After *Mil años de Madinat Ilbira...*



Fig. 7. Lead seal with words *Libīra* (left) and *muṣālaḥa* (right), after T. Ibrahim.



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## KINGS AMONG KINGLETS? CAROLINGIAN DYNASTIC IDENTITY AT THE DAWN OF THE POST-CAROLINGIAN AGE



When discussing the demise of the Carolingian empire in 888, historians rarely turn to the relevant passages from *Gesta Berengarii Imperatoris*.<sup>1</sup> This panegyric, written in honor of the Italian king and emperor Berengar I, depicts his turbulent life from the assumption of royal power in the wake of the death of Charles III the Fat, through his struggles over the crown with Guy of Spoleto and Louis the Blind – after which it climaxes with the description of Berengar’s imperial coronation held at Rome in 915. The prominence the poem gives to the latter suggests that the work was written shortly after the Roman festivities and that its author was probably a member of the emperor’s inner circle.<sup>2</sup> The *Gesta* themselves were preserved in a single manuscript from the second half of the 10<sup>th</sup> century or the beginning of the next. They are accompanied by an abundance of glosses of unclear provenance. Their heterogeneous nature and the varied role they play in the text have long suggested that they came from several different authors. However, it seems that at least some of them should be attributed to our anonymous poet, or at least to his contemporary.<sup>3</sup>

The description of the collapse of the Carolingian empire was woven by the poem’s author into a broader narrative pattern intended to portray Berengar as the sole legitimate heir to Charles III the Fat. According to the *Gesta*, on his deathbed the emperor appointed our protagonist as his successor, handing to him power over the Roman Empire. After Charles’ death however, the people who had hitherto been subjected to the authority of one

1 *Gesta Berengarii Imperatoris* (henceforth: GBI), ed. P. de Winterfeld, in: *Monumenta Germaniae Historica* (henceforth: MGH) *Poetae Latini Aevi Carolini*, IV/1, Berlin 1899, pp. 354-403.

2 F. Bougard, *Le couronnement impérial de Bérenger Ier (915) d’après les Gesta Berengarii Imperatoris*, in: *Rerum Gestarum Scriptor. Histoire et Historiographie au Moyen Âge. Mélanges Michel Sot*, ed. M. Coumert, M.-C. Isaïa, K. Krönet, S. Shimahara, Paris 2012, pp. 329-343.

3 F. Duplessis, *Les sources des gloses des “Gesta Berengarii” et la culture du poète anonyme, “Aevum”* LXXXIX (2015), pp. 205-212.

emperor, decided to entrust power to several different tyrants.<sup>4</sup> This brief passage is also accompanied by a gloss that defines the nature of the latter's power. It is mentioned that formerly the kingdom (of the Franks) was ruled by one king, but now there are many of them ("miseranda cupido pervasit populos, ut non diversis regnis pararent uni regi, sicut antea, sed unaeque gens eligerent suum"). The meaning of the term "tyrant" itself is then unambiguously explained: the Greeks call kings tyrants because they make no distinction between the two ("tiranos pro regibus grece dictum; nam apud eos [qui] tiranni et regi(s) nulla discretio est"). However, for the author/s of the glosses and his/their contemporaries, a tyrant is one who usurps power for himself ("apud nos incubator imperii tirannus dicatur").<sup>5</sup>

Furthermore the identity of those "tyrants" is revealed to the reader in a speech ascribed later in the poem to Guy of Spoleto, Berengar's principal adversary. As he enters the struggle for the Italian crown, Guy invokes two other rulers who successfully achieved their bid for power: Odo, king of West Francia and Rudolph, king of Burgundy, who are referred to by the duke of Spoleto as "those like myself" and "my former companions" ("mei similes, dudum notique sodales").<sup>6</sup> The correlation of this fragment with the aforementioned gloss let us believe that of all the rulers who claimed royal power after the death of Charles the Fat, only Berengar exercised it in a fully legal manner as the emperor's rightful successor, while the other post-Carolingians kings were in fact nothing more than "tyrants", unlawfully usurping royal dignity.<sup>7</sup> The author of the poem however did not limit himself to merely contrasting Berengar's claim with those of other rulers in order to emphasize the legitimacy of his royal ambitions. He also devoted a great deal of attention to indicating the reasons for his hero's distinguished position, arguing that Berengar's aspirations were justified by his virtue and his lineage ("virtutis merito et generis quod stemate").<sup>8</sup>

Berengar's descent plays a clear and fundamental role in the story developed by the author of the *Gesta*, proving his undeniable rights to royal and imperial power. From the very start the anonymous poet stresses that

4 GBI, v. 43-47, p. 359.

5 Ibidem, gloss no. 46, p. 359.

6 Ibidem, I, v. 78-95, pp. 361f.

7 See also Ph. Buc, *Noch Einmal 918-919. Of the ritualized demise of kings and of political rituals in general*, in: *Zeichen, Rituale, Werte : Internationales Kolloquium des Sonderforschungsbereichs 496 an der Westfälischen Wilhelms-Universität Münster*, ed. G. Althoff, C. Witthöft, Münster 2004, pp. 151-178.

8 GBI, III, v. 174, p. 390; see also G. Isabella, *Between regnum and imperium: the Political Action and Kingship of Berengar I, 888-924*, in *the Gesta Berengarii*, Leeds 2014, [https://www.academia.edu/7704771/Between\\_regnum\\_and\\_imperium\\_the\\_Political\\_Action\\_and\\_Kingship\\_of\\_Berengar\\_I\\_888-924\\_in\\_the\\_Gesta\\_Berengarii?email\\_work\\_card=title](https://www.academia.edu/7704771/Between_regnum_and_imperium_the_Political_Action_and_Kingship_of_Berengar_I_888-924_in_the_Gesta_Berengarii?email_work_card=title) (access 15.05.2021), p. 6.

the future king and emperor was a descendant of Charlemagne himself.<sup>9</sup> Moreover, Berengar's relationship with the late emperor, Charles III the Fat, went far beyond the mere designation of the former as heir to the throne: the poem seems to indicate that Berengar was also closely connected to the emperor by much more personal ties. Indeed, the *Gesta* mention that Berengar grew up under Charles, the last of the rulers bearing that name to rule in Rome: "Karoli sed enim nutritus alumni/Rite sub imperio, simili qui nomine Romam/Postremus Francis regnando coegit habenis".<sup>10</sup> This fragment was also glossed in the following way: "alumnus est, qui nutrit et qui nutritur".<sup>11</sup> As Frédéric Duplessis noted, by juxtaposing the terms *nutritus* and *alumnus* in the main text, as well as by the gloss which recalls both the active and passive forms of the verb *nutrio*, the author invites the reader to think that it was Charles the Fat who was personally responsible for Berengar's upbringing, thus making their relationship that of father and son. After all, the noun *nutritor*, usually expressing the relationship between teacher and pupil, was also used to refer to the parental relationship.<sup>12</sup>

The emphasis put by the author of the *Gesta* on the intimate relationship between Berengar and Charles the Fat unequivocally proves that the former's rights to the throne were not only founded on the act of designation by the late emperor, but were in fact primarily justified by the established pattern of paternal succession.<sup>13</sup> The ascension to power of poem's protagonist, a descendant of Charlemagne and the pupil, or almost son of Charles the Fat, should be read as fully in line with the practice of succession within the Carolingian royal family: it marks a continuation, on the dynastic level, of the previous Carolingian rule. Equally important, however, is the fact that the legitimization of Berengar's power on a dynastic basis, as presented in the *Gesta*, reflects also on his opponent to the crown. In comparison to the true heir to the emperor, it is the lack of royal, and therefore *de facto* Carolingian descent, that makes Guy and "those like him" nothing more than usurpers – "tyrants" who illegally seize royal power for themselves after the death of Charles the Fat. Accordingly, in the *Gesta's* narrative, belonging

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9 "Francigenam fateor Karolum prenomine Magnum,/Quem tellus axi tremuit subiecta rigenti,/Quamque potens linguensque luit Sol aureus undas,/Et quam torret equis totiens invecus anhelis./Prodit avis atavisque illo de sanguine rector/Ausonie", GBI, I, v. 16-21, p. 358.

10 Ibidem, I, v. 21-23, p. 358.

11 Ibidem, I, gloss no. 21, p. 358.

12 F. Duplessis, *Nam cuncta nequit mea ferre Thalia. Traitement de la matière historique par un panégyriste du X<sup>e</sup> siècle*, "Cahiers électroniques d'histoire textuelle du LAMOP" (2013), p. 59.

13 GBI, I, v. 34-40, p. 359; on the importance of designation in Carolingian succession see: J. Dhondt, *Élections et hérité sous les Carolingiens et les premiers Capétiens*, "Revue belge de philologie et d'histoire" XIV (1939), pp. 918-921; W. Giese, *Die designativen Nachfolgerungen der Karolinger 714-979*, "Deutsches Archiv für Erforschung des Mittelalters" (2008), pp. 437-511.



to the Carolingian family seems to be a prerequisite for the legitimate exercise of royal power.

For this very reason, it is no coincidence that two other post-Carolingian kings who also laid claim to the imperial throne as successors to Charles the Fat, Arnulf of Carinthia and Louis the Blind, do not appear among the “companions” of Guy. Moreover, the *Gesta* leave no doubt that it was the ties of kinship uniting the East Frankish king and the ruler of Provence with Berengar, resulting from their common Carolingian descent, that fundamentally distinguish them from the “tyrant-likes”. Thus, in describing Arnulf’s Italian expedition of 894, the author of the *Gesta* is completely silent about its real purposes, which were to win the imperial crown for Arnulf and presents it instead as a family venture undertaken by the East Frankish king in order to support his cousin Berengar in the fight against Guy of Spoleto, a non-Carolingian usurper.<sup>14</sup> The ties of kinship between Berengar and Louis the Blind also seem to explain the poem’s relatively mild treatment of the latter, even though, after the deaths of both Guy and Arnulf, he took up arms against Berengar and tried to seize power over Italy.<sup>15</sup> The *Gesta* also try to free his main protagonist from responsibility for blinding his relative: in the text’s interpretation of those events, the king warned his nobles against mutilating a member of a powerful, and in its essence royal family, from which he himself also descended.<sup>16</sup>

The representation of royal power presented in *Gesta Berengarii Imperatoris* seems to advocate for extreme Carolingian legitimism. For the panegyric’s author, the only true kings are those who distinguish themselves by their Carolingian blood, amongst whom Berengar, the true successor to Charles the Fat, undoubtedly came first. Nonetheless there is little doubt that the panegyrist’s concepts of the legitimate kingship were strongly influenced by the nature of his work, the main purpose of which was to portray Berengar’s glory as the new emperor.<sup>17</sup> Given the fact that the struggle for the Italian crown between Berengar and Guy of Spoleto, a non-Carolingian contender, serves as the centerpiece of the whole story, it seemed only natural for the author to use the Carolingian descent of the main character as a “competitive edge” that he held over his enemies.<sup>18</sup> However, this particular attention to Berengar’s ancestry as a determinant of his royal legitimacy was presented not only in the *Gesta*.

A similar image of the relationship between the Italian monarch and the Carolingian royal family also emerges from Berengar’s royal documents,

14 F. Duplessis, *Nam cuncta...*, pp. 72-74.

15 GBI, IV, v. 5-6, p. 395; see also G. Isabella, *Between regnum...*, p. 10.

16 GBI, IV, v. 53, p. 396

17 F. Bougard, *Le couronnement impérial...*, pp. 329f.

18 See F. Duplessis, *Nam cuncta...*, pp. 63f.

which strongly emphasize his kinship with the Frankish kings and present him as their legitimate successor.<sup>19</sup> Thus, in a diploma of 901 confirming the earlier endowments of Charles the Fat to the monastery of St. Zeno in Verona, Berengar evokes the late emperor by calling him “antecessore nostro dive memoriae Karolo imperatore et consorbino nostro”.<sup>20</sup> In the same way, in a document for the church of St. Nicodemus in Fontana Broccola, Charles the Fat is described as “consurpinus [pred]ecessor noster”.<sup>21</sup> Similarly, in a diploma of 888 for the abbey of S. Maria di Sesto, the deceased emperor is cited as Berengar’s “senioris et consobrini”.<sup>22</sup> In another act from the same year, the king refers to the emperor Louis II, without neglecting to indicate his relationship with him (“domnus Hludovicus gloriosus olim imperator avunculus et senior noster”).<sup>23</sup> Louis II, this time along with his father, Lothar I, is also mentioned in a diploma of 899 to the Abbey of Santa Maria Teodote in Pavia as Berengar’s “predecessorum et consanguineorum”.<sup>24</sup>

All the new kings who came to power in 888 and thereafter, of Carolingian or non-Carolingian descent, presented themselves as the legitimate successors to the former Carolingian rulers.<sup>25</sup> In this respect Berengar was by no means an exception. Unlike most of them, however, including Guy above all, in order to justify his claim to be a successor to Charles the Fat and to the Carolingian dynasty as a whole, Berengar appealed not only to the concept of the continuity of royal power at the institutional level, but also, and perhaps foremost, at the dynastic level. In the symbolic language of his diplomas, Berengar stylized himself as an heir to the former Carolingian kings and emperors, but also as their scion and member of their family which, as the narration of the *Gesta* puts it, still holds an exclusive grip over royal dignity.

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19 F. Bougard, *Charles le Chauve, Bérenger, Hugues de Provence: Action politique et production documentaire dans les diplômes à destination de l'Italie*, in: *Zwischen Pragmatik und Preformanz. Dimensionen mittelalterlicher Schriftkultur*, ed. C. Dartman, T. Scharff, C. Weber, Turnhout 2011, pp. 65-74.

20 *I Diplomi di Berengario I*, ed. L. Schiaparelli, Roma 1903, no. 34, p. 101.

21 *Ibidem*, no. 26, p. 78.

22 *Ibidem*, no. 2, p. 9.

23 *Ibidem*, no. 4, p. 26.

24 *Ibidem*, no. 27, p. 82.

25 See e.g., R.-H. Bautier, *Le règne d'Éudes (888-898) à la lumière des diplômes expédiés par sa chancellerie*, “Comptes rendus des séances de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres” CV (1961) 2, pp. 140-157; L. Dupraz, *L'avènement de Rodolphe Ier et la naissance du royaume de Bourgogne transjurane (6 janvier 888)*, “Revue suisse d'histoire” XIII (1963), pp. 177-195; S. MacLean, *Kingship and Politics in the Late Ninth Century. Charles the Fat and the end of the Carolingian Empire*, Cambridge 2003, pp. 64-75; W. Fałkowski, *Le second couronnement du roi Éudes. L'ordo de Reims*, in: *Auctoritas: Mélanges offerts à Olivier Guillot*, ed. G. Constable, M. Rouche, Parsi 2006, pp. 281-290; F. Demotz, *La Bourgogne, dernier des royaumes carolingiens (855-1056). Rois, pouvoirs et élites autour du Léman*, Lausanne 2008; A. Hauff, *Carolingian Tradition and New Beginnings: The Coronation of Rudolphe I of Upper Burgundy*, “Bulletin du centre d'études médiévales d'Auxerre” XXII (2018) 1, pp. 1-13.

This fundamental conviction, that only descendants of Pippin the Short have a unique right to the royal office, was one of the cornerstones of the ideology of power in the Carolingian period. However, all of this changed in 888. After the death of Charles the Fat, the *reguli*, kinglets, as there are described in some narrative sources, arose in various Frankish kingdoms. These new rulers, no longer of Carolingian descent, have successfully challenged the monopoly on kingship held by the old royal family.<sup>26</sup> Nevertheless, *Gesta Berengarii*, most likely created about 30 years after the crisis of 888, seem to stress that in the post-Carolingian world, Carolingian ancestry still had importance and significance. Besides, Berengar was not the only king in the late 9<sup>th</sup> and early 10<sup>th</sup> century to underline his Carolingian heritage as a means to legitimize his ascension to royal dignity.

Carolingian descent also shaped the ideological foundations of royal power as exercised by Louis the Blind, king of Provence, as is demonstrated in *Acta Valentiniensis*, a document issued in 890 in Valence, illustrating the proceedings of the assembly held by Provençal nobles. The text begins with a brief description of the expedition of the archbishop of Vienne, Bernoin, who comes to Rome in order to present to Pope Stephen V the affairs of both his ecclesiastical province and the kingdom. Bernoin lamented to the pope that, since the death of emperor Charles, the kingdom had been plagued by numerous disasters caused both by its inhabitants, who were deprived of the disciplinary authority of royal power, as well as by pagan invaders. After hearing these complaints, the Pope ordered the bishops and archbishops of Cisalpine Gaul to elevate Louis, grandson of emperor Louis II, to royal office (“nepotem quondam Ludovici gloriossimi imperatoris”). The *Acta* then proceed directly to the events taking place at the assembly, which ultimately led to the election of Louis as a king. It is emphasized that the future king comes from an imperial family (“ex prosapia imperiali”), and what is more, that emperor Charles himself had already deemed him worthy of royal dignity (“cui praestantissimus Carolus imperator iam regiam concesserat dignitatem”). Last but not least, even Charles’ successor, Arnulf

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26 For the discussion concerning the crisis of 888 and a collapse of the Carolingian monopoly on kingship see: S. Airlie, ‘Sad stories of the death of kings’: narrative patterns and structures of authority in Regino of Prüm’s Chronicle, in: *Narrative and History in the Early Medieval West*, ed. S. Airlie, E.M. Tyler, R. Balzaretto, Turnhout 2006, pp. 105-131; idem, *Semper fideles? Loyauté envers les Carolingiens comme constituant de l’identité aristocratique*, in: *La royauté et les élites dans l’Europe carolingienne (du début du IXe aux environs de 920)*, ed. R. Le Jan, Lille 1998, pp. 129-143; idem, *Les élites en 888 et après, ou comment pense-t-on la crise carolingienne?*, in: *Les élites au haut Moyen Âge : Crises et renouvellements*, ed. S. Airlie, F. Bougard, L. Feller, R. Le Jan, Turnhout 2006, pp. 425-437; I.S. Salazar, *Crisis? What Crisis? Political articulation and government in the March of Tuscany through placita and diplomas from Guy of Spoleto to Berengar II*, “Reti Medievali Rivista” XVII (2016) 2, pp. 251-279; see also recently S. Airlie, *Making and Unmaking the Carolingians, 751-888*, London 2020, pp. 273-318.

of Carinthia, through his envoys presented in Valence, took upon himself the role of protector of the kingdom.<sup>27</sup>

The ideology of royal power presented in the *Acta* follows the patterns already identified in *Gesta Berengarii Imperatoris* as well as in royal diplomas issued by Berengar. Of course, some of its elements fit into the broader category of the perception of kingship in the post-888 world. The bleak picture of a kingdom in turmoil after the death of Charles the Fat is not in itself unique: similar content can also be found in the *electio* of Guy of Spoleto from 889, whose appointment to the royal office was also to have been a response to the misfortunes that had befallen Italy in the wake of the death of the last Carolingian emperor.<sup>28</sup> Unlike the non-Carolingian kings, however, Louis' royal status, like that of Berengar, was due not only to "institutional" succession but also to dynastic continuity. The young king came from an imperial lineage: he is the grandson of Louis II, which in the *Acta's* narrative becomes a central argument for his rights to the throne. Moreover, Charles the Fat considered him worthy of royal power, which is reminiscent of the argumentation used by the author of the *Gesta* to justify Berengar's ascension.<sup>29</sup> It seems, therefore, that secular and clerical nobles of Provence in elevating Louis, still a child at this time, based their decision on his affiliation with the Carolingian dynasty, which justified the legitimacy of his royal claim.

The idea of the Carolingian descent of Louis the Blind, already underlined in *Acta Valentinensia*, is, however, much more developed in the *Visio Caroli*,<sup>30</sup> which depicts a dream-vision of Charles the Fat who, having left his body, goes on a journey into the afterlife. At the end of his adventure through the depths of hell, he arrives in paradise, where he meets his relatives, emperors Lothar I and his son Louis II. Then the former explains to Charles that thanks to St. Remigius, royal and imperial power still rests in the hands of their family; even so, Charles himself will soon have to leave the earthly world. The dreaming emperor is then addressed by Louis II, who states that the imperial power that

27 *Ludovici Regis Arelatensis Electio*, ed. G. Pertz, MGH, Leges, I, Hannover 1835, pp. 558f.; see also R. Poupardin, *Royaume de Provence sous les Carolingiens*, Paris 1901, pp. 156f.; R.H. Bautier, *Aux origines du royaume de Provence. De la sédition avortée de Boson à la royauté légitime de Louis*, "Provence historique" XCIII/XCIV (1975), pp. 66-68; P. Ganivet, *La consolation de l'Empire. Louis III de Provence, dit « L'Aveugle » ou les ambitions d'un prince*, "Hortus Artium Medievalium" VIII (2002), pp. 179-182.

28 *Widonis Capitulatio Electionis*, ed. A. Boretius, V. Krause, MGH, Capitularia regum Francorum, t. 2, Hannover 1897, pp. 104-106.

29 S. Airlie, *Making and Unmaking...*, pp. 292-300. It is possible that Louis the Blind was also adopted by Charles the Fat in 887, during the former's visit in Kirchen. It is not however clear what kind of obligation this act implied. For the summary of discussion on this topic see S. MacLean, *Kingship...*, pp. 161-169.

30 *Visio Caroli*, in: Hariulf, *Chronique de l'abbaye de Saint-Riquier*, ed. F. Lot, Paris 1894, pp. 144-148.

Charles possesses, belongs next (by hereditary right) to Louis, the son of his daughter. A small child then appears before Charles, to whom the emperor, on the instructions of his relative, hands over the *imperium* in the form of a thread that had previously served him to find his way through the afterlife. Thereafter, the spirit of Charles returns to his body, and then the emperor himself, in the conclusion of the *Visio*, announces that, by the will of God, the empire will be handed over to Louis the Blind.

Historiography has made it clear that the *Visio* must have been written in the intellectual circles associated with Reims, mostly because of the role that it attributes to St. Remigius as the patron saint of the royal family.<sup>31</sup> Nor does the text hide its goal, which is to justify the royal or imperial power of Louis the Blind. The question of its dating, however, is much more controversial. René Poupardin, basing his arguments primarily on the *Visio*'s depiction of Louis the Blind as a young child and its omission of Arnulf of Carinthia, thought that it must have been written shortly after the death of Charles the Fat and before Arnulf's imperial coronation, probably between 888-891.<sup>32</sup> Eduard Hlawitschka attributed to the *Visio* a similar date, linking its creation to the plans of archbishop Fulk of Reims who supposedly aimed at putting forward Louis' candidacy for the West Frankish throne against Odo around 890.<sup>33</sup> Claude Carozzi, however, pushed this dating forward. He deemed it hugely improbable that any attempt was made to push Louis, still a little child and not even yet a king, as a candidate for imperial office, which the text of the *Visio* evidently implies. In his discourse he favored the years between 898 and 900 as the possible date of the *Visio*'s writing, yet again attributing its authorship to the milieu associated with Fulk, who, after the death of his kinsman emperor Lambert, should have turned to Louis the Blind as his potential successor.<sup>34</sup> Nevertheless, Marie-Céline Isaïa has proposed yet another date, setting the creation of the *Visio* during the episcopate of Hervius, Fulk's successor to the archiepiscopal see. *Terminus post quem* would consist primarily of the imperial coronation of Louis in Rome in 901, and the *Visio* itself, like other examples of visionary literature, would rather explain past events than anticipate future ones. The tale told in the *Visio* would not serve to convince the reader of the validity of Louis' not yet realized imperial claims, but rather to justify the legitimacy of his already accomplished coronation.<sup>35</sup>

31 M. Sot, *Un historien et son Église au Xe siècle: Flodoard de Reims*, Paris 1993, pp. 135-137.

32 R. Poupardin, *Royaume de Provence...*, pp. 324-332.

33 E. Hlawitschka, *Lotharingien und das Reich an der Schwelle der deutschen Geschichte*, Stuttgart 1968, pp. 100-106; see also T. Offergeld, *Reges pueri. Das Königtum Minderjähriger im frühen Mittelalter*, Hannover 2001, pp. 500-505.

34 C. Carozzi, *Le Voyage de l'Âme dans l'Au-delà d'après la Littérature Latine (Ve-XIIIe siècle)*, Rome 1994, pp. 359-368.

35 M-C. Isaïa, *Remi de Reims. Mémoire d'un saint, histoire d'une Église*, Paris 2010, pp. 621-626.

However, regardless of *Visio's* dating, it is difficult to deny that it primarily expresses the imperial, rather than the royal aspirations of Louis the Blind. It indicates unequivocally that it is the Carolingian descent of Louis II's grandson that justifies his claim to the imperial crown. Louis' accession to the throne is inscribed into the line of dynastic successions within the Carolingian royal family. As the text describes, Lothar I, uncle of Charles the Fat and great-grandfather of Louis the Blind, in addressing the dreaming emperor, names him directly as his successor in the Roman Empire: this honor is then bestowed by Charles upon Louis.<sup>36</sup> However, in handing over imperial power, Charles is merely carrying out God's will. In contrast with *Acta Valentinensia*, where the emperor was to decide whether young Louis was worthy of the royal office, in the *Visio* the imperial crown is already due to Louis by hereditary right, *jure haereditario*.<sup>37</sup> For the author describing Charles the Fat's dream, the right of the king of Provence to hold imperial office is based solely on his Carolingian descent.

Just like *Gesta Berengarii Imperatoris*, *Visio Caroli* visibly advocates for the exclusive rights of the Carolingians to exercise imperial power. Nevertheless, the practice of imperial succession in the late 9<sup>th</sup> and early 10<sup>th</sup> centuries could not have been more different. Already in 891, Guy of Spoleto took over the imperial title; only one year later, he made his son Lambert co-emperor. Both Widonids emperors were also supported by their relative, the aforementioned Fulk, archbishop of Reims.<sup>38</sup> It is therefore reasonable to think that the ideological position expressed in this text, emphasizing the inextricable link between imperial power and the Carolingian family, should be read primarily in terms of attempts to legitimize the imperial aspirations of Louis the Blind and should not be seen, as in the case of the *Gesta*, as a broader phenomenon of "Carolingian legitimism". One need nonetheless note that tabling these dynastic arguments seems to demonstrate that, at least in the milieu associated with the archbishopric of Reims, significant value was still attached to Carolingian descent.

An attempt to establish yet another member of the Carolingian dynasty as a king was also made in Reims. In 893, archbishop Fulk, with a number of supporters, crowned the posthumous son of Louis the Stammerer, Charles III the Simple, in an attempt to push his claim to the throne against the non-Carolingian king, Odo of West Francia. It does not come as a surprise that the main arguments for elevating a son of the former Carolingian ruler were dynastic in nature, stressing not only the importance

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36 "Karole, successor meus nunc tutius in imperio Romanorum", "in manum illius revertetur totum imperium Romanorum", *Visio Karoli...*, pp. 147f.

37 Ibidem, p. 148.

38 M. Sot, *Un historien...*, pp. 132-138.

of paternal succession, but also indicating Carolingians' exclusive right to exercise royal power.<sup>39</sup> After Charles was anointed, Fulk of Reims launched a major diplomatic effort to gather support for his protégé's cause.<sup>40</sup> His efforts are known primarily from his voluminous correspondence, preserved by Flodoard in his "History of the Church of Reims", which demonstrates the scale of his undertaking as well as his basic line of argumentation in favor of Charles.

In a letter addressed to Arnulf of Carinthia, Fulk urged the East Frankish king to give aid to his western cousin, invoking the idea of familial solidarity binding the Carolingian rulers.<sup>41</sup> Even more, Fulk reminded Arnulf that Odo is "a stranger to the royal family", and he warned the East Frankish king that his negligence in helping Charles could potentially lead even to undermining Arnulf's son's claim to royal office, what with so many non-Carolingians kings around.<sup>42</sup> In another letter, addressed this time to Pope Formosus, Fulk, demanding his aid, also expressed Charles' hereditary rights to the kingdom as the basis of his royal ascension: "ad regnum hereditario sibi iure debitum proficiat".<sup>43</sup>

Charles the Simple's position as the rightful ruler of the West Frankish Kingdom was also demonstrated in political ritual. Even the date of Charles' coronation, 28 January or the anniversary of Charlemagne's death, carried an unambiguous message proving his hereditary rights to the throne.<sup>44</sup> Moreover, as David Pratt has suggested, the *ordo*, which may have been used during the ceremony of 893, underlined the dynastic nature of Charles' ambitions.<sup>45</sup> Pratt has drawn attention to the "Leiden *ordo*", formerly associated

39 W. Fałkowski, *La monarchie en crise permanente. Les Carolingiens après la mort de Charles le Chauve*, in: *Le monde carolingien: Bilan, perspectives, champs de recherches. Actes du colloque international de Poitiers, Centre d'Études supérieures de Civilisation médiévale, 18-20 novembre 2004*, ed. W. Fałkowski, Y. Sassier, Turnhout 2009, pp. 354-355; on the ideology of kingship in the West Frankish Kingdom at the end of 9<sup>th</sup> century see W. Fałkowski, *Potestas regia. Władza i polityka w królestwie zachodniofrankijskim na przełomie IX i X wieku*, Warszawa 1999, pp. 93-105; G. Koziol, *The Politics of Memory and Identity in Carolingian Royal Diplomas. The West Frankish Kingdom (840-987)*, Turnhout 2012, pp. 479-500.

40 M. Sot, *Un historien...*, pp. 142-150; H. Löflein, *Royal Power in the Late Carolingian Age. Charles III the Simple and His Predecessors*, Cologne 2019, pp. 39-44.

41 *Flodoardus Remensis Historia Remensis Ecclesiae*, ed. M. Stratmann, MGH, Scriptores, XXXVI, Hannover 1998, V, p. 381.

42 *Ibidem*, pp. 381f.

43 *Ibidem*, p. 376.

44 R.-H. Bautier, *Sacres et couronnements sous les Carolingiennes et les premiers Capétiens*, "Annuaire-Bulletin de la Société d'histoire de la France" (1987), p. 49.

45 D. Pratt, *The making of the Second English Coronation Ordo, "Anglo-Saxon England"* XLVI (2017), pp. 147-258; see also *Ordo of Eleven Forms*, ed. R.A. Jackson, in: *Ordines Coronationis Franciae. Texts and Ordines for the Coronation of Frankish and French Kings and Queens in the Middle Ages*, I, ed. R.A. Jackson, Philadelphia 1995, pp. 154-167.

with the coronation of Charles the Bald in 848 as king of Aquitaine.<sup>46</sup> Pointing to its textual dependency on other Frankish *ordines*, the historian postponed the time of its creation with a *terminus post quem* of 877.<sup>47</sup> With this change in the dating, he then hypothesized that the “Leiden *ordo*” might have been written and used for the coronation of Charles the Simple. The formula introduced into it, emphasizing that the new king takes over the kingdom in paternal succession, would gain particular significance precisely in the case of the controversial royal inauguration of Charles against a king with no royal ancestry.<sup>48</sup>

However, the Carolingian descent of Charles the Simple, defining in the eyes of his supporters the legitimacy of his claim to the West Frankish throne, was not as clear-cut as it may seem at first glance. In the aforementioned letter to Arnulf, Fulk felt compelled to assure the East Frankish king that Charles, contrary to the lies that were being spread, was without a doubt a son of Louis the Stammerer and thus a member of the royal family.<sup>49</sup> It seems that the need for the Archbishop of Reims to reaffirm Charles’ royal descent was closely tied to controversies surrounding his father’s two marriages. According to Regino of Prüm, Louis the Stammerer during his youth married a certain noble woman named Ansgard, with whom he had two sons, the future kings Louis III and Carloman II. However, since this marriage was concluded without the knowledge and consent of Louis’ father, Charles the Bald, the latter ordered him to abandon his wife and marry Adelaide, the future mother of Charles the Simple, instead. As the chronicler further adds, the child born of this second marriage was then named in honor of his grandfather.<sup>50</sup>

The unclear status of Louis the Stammerer’s two marriages, and thus the legal status of his offspring, had caused much controversy long before the coronation of Charles the Simple in 893. In the 9<sup>th</sup> century, the question of the indissolubility of marriage as well as of the rights of children from extramarital unions formed the focal point of political and religious debates in the Frankish Empire.<sup>51</sup> Until the end of the 9<sup>th</sup> century, the natural sons of Carolingian kings and emperors were regularly denied a share in their fathers’ inheritance. Even more were their attempts to win power met with stiff

46 G. Lãnoé, *L’ordo de couronnement de Charles le Chauve à Sainte-Croix d’Orléans (6 Juin 848)*, in: *Kings and Kingship in Medieval Europe*, ed. A. Duggan, London 1993, pp. 41-68.

47 D. Pratt, *The making...*, pp. 187f.

48 *Ibidem*, pp. 187, 192-194.

49 *Flodoardus Remensis Historia Remensis Ecclesiae...*, p. 382.

50 *Reginonis Abbatis Prumensis Chronicon cum Continuatione Treverensi*, ed. F. Kurze, MGH, *Scriptores rerum Germanicarum in usum scholarum separatim editi*, L, Hannover 1890, p. 114.

51 See S. Airlie, *Private bodies and the body politic in the divorce case of Lothar II, “Past & Present”* CLXI (1998), pp. 3-38.



resistance from other members of the royal family. As late as in 885, the efforts of Hugh, son of Lothar II from his extramarital union with Waldrada, to take over his father's kingdom were put to a swift end: Lothar's bastard was eventually captured, imprisoned, and blinded by emperor Charles the Fat.<sup>52</sup>

Accusations of extramarital descent were also widely employed in the intradynastic conflicts among the Carolingians. Charlemagne himself had invoked the illegitimate status of his eldest son from his first marriage, Pippin the Hunchback, to exclude him from the succession.<sup>53</sup> Similarly, in the entourage of Charlemagne's son and successor, Louis the Pious, accusations of illegitimacy were made against the emperor's nephew, Bernard, king of Italy.<sup>54</sup> Boso of Vienne yet again, according to Regino of Prüm, justified his royal coronation in 879 by the impaired (*degeneres*) descent of Louis the Stammerer's sons and successors, as their mother had been sent away.<sup>55</sup> Concerns about the royal rights of Louis' descendants from his first marriage seemed to have made themselves felt already while their father was still alive. The successor to Charles the Bold concluded with his namesake, East Frankish king Louis the Younger, an agreement at Féronne, in which one of the clauses equated his offspring from his first marriage to the others he might have in the future. This specification, clearly seeking to safeguard the interests of Louis and Carloman, must have been due to the ambiguous position of their mother, which endangered their claims to their father's kingdom.<sup>56</sup>

However, Louis the Stammerer's marriage troubles seemed to have cast a shadow over his offspring coming from both his first and second union. As the *Annals of Saint-Bertin* tell us, in 878 Pope John VIII, when crowning Louis as king, refused to anoint his second wife, Adelaide.<sup>57</sup> Hincmar of Reims, author of this part of the annals, does not give us the reasons for the papal refusal (nor does he even mention Louis' wife by name). It seems, however, that it must have had something to do with Adelaide's problematic position as the king's legitimate wife. Hincmar's silence on the subject should not however come as a surprise: the archbishop of Reims, a privileged advi-

52 *Reginonis...*, pp. 123-125; S. MacLean, *Kingship...*, pp. 144-160.

53 See M. Costambeys, M. Innes, S. MacLean, *The Carolingian World*, New York 2011, p. 185; S. McDougall, *Royal Bastards. The Birth of Illegitimacy, 800-1250*, Oxford 2017, pp. 81-83.

54 See J. Fried, *Elite und Ideologie. Die Nachfolgeordnung Karls des Großen vom Jahre 813*, in: *La royauté et les élites dans l'Europe carolingienne (début IX<sup>e</sup> siècle aux environs de 920)*, ed. R. Le Jan, Lille 1998, pp. 71-109.

55 *Reginonis...*, p. 114; see also E.J. Goldberg, S. MacLean, *Royal Marriage, Frankish History and Dynastic Crisis in Regino of Prüm Chronicle*, "Medieval Worlds" X (2019), pp. 121f.

56 *Hludovici Iunioris et Hludowici Balbi Conventio Furonensis*, ed. A. Boretius, V. Krause, MGH, *Capitularia regum Francorum*, II, Hannover 1987, p. 169; H. Lösslein, *Royal Power...*, p. 24.

57 *Annales Bertiniani*, ed. G. Waitz, MGH, *Scriptores rerum Germanicarum in usum scholarum separatim editi*, V, Hannover 1883, p. 143.

sor of Louis and, earlier, of his father, completely omits the marital troubles of the Frankish king in his writings. Hincmar was also strongly involved in the divorce of Lothar II, advocating for the sanctity of marriage as an indissoluble union, as he stated in his *De divortio*.<sup>58</sup>

The Archbishop of Reims was also the author of the *ordo of Ermentrude*, *ordo coronandi* drawn up on the occasion of the coronation of Charles the Bald's wife. Hincmar's text places marriage at the center of the royal ideology, putting the biblical union of Sarah and Abraham as a model for the royal family.<sup>59</sup> It seems then that the case of Louis' two wives was so contagious for Hincmar that he preferred to keep it completely out of his historiographical work.<sup>60</sup> In this context, Regino's narrative on the birth of Charles the Simple, stressing his legitimacy by invoking his royal name that he inherited from his grandfather, as well as the content of Fulk's letter, seem to clearly suggest that the recognition of Louis the Stammerer's youngest son as his father's rightful heir caused serious doubts in the eyes of the contemporaries. It also appears rather clear that those accusations pointed at Charles' extramarital descent, proliferated most probably by Odo's supporters, were aimed at undermining his claims to the West Frankish throne.<sup>61</sup> It seemed only natural that Fulk, deriving Charles the Simple's right to rule from him being part of Carolingian *stirps regia*, had to fend off attacks on the very essence of his royal ambitions.

The controversy surrounding Charles the Simple's legitimacy proves rather obviously that being part of the Carolingian family was determined not only by biological considerations. In the 9<sup>th</sup> century, the Carolingian dynasty formed an essentially stable agnatic structure, which unequivocally excluded both extramarital offspring and matrilinear relatives from competing for royal power.<sup>62</sup> This is not to say, of course, that the illegiti-

58 Hincmar de Reims, *De Divortio Lotharii Regis et Theutbergae Reginae*, ed. L. Böhringer, MGH, Concilia, IV, sup. 1, Hannover 1992; see also H. J. Hummer, *Politics and Power in Early Medieval Europe. Alsace and the Frankish Realm, 600-1000*, Cambridge 2005, pp. 169-176.

59 *Ordo of Ermentrude*, in: *Ordines Coronationis Franciae...*, pp. 83f.; see also J.L. Nelson, *Early Medieval Rites of Queen-Making and the Shaping of Medieval Queenship*, in: *Queens and Queenship in Medieval Europe*, ed. A. Duggan, London 1995, pp. 306-309; G. Pac, *Koronacje władczyń we wcześniejszym średniowieczu – zarys problematyki*, in: *Gnieźnieńskie koronacje królewskie i ich środkowoeuropejskie konteksty*, ed. J. Dobosz, M. Matla, L. Wetesko, Gniezno 2011, pp. 45-49; Z. Mistry, *Ermentrude's consecration (866): queen-making rites and biblical templates for Carolingian fertility*, "Early Medieval Europe" XXVII (2019) 4, pp. 567-588.

60 M.J. McCarthy, *Hincmar's influence during Louis the Stammerer's reign*, in: *Hincmar of Rheims. Life and Work*, ed. R. Stone, C. West, Manchester 2015, pp. 112-114.

61 H. Lösslein, *Royal Power...*, p. 38.

62 See R. Le Jan, *Famille et pouvoir dans le monde franc (VII<sup>e</sup>-X<sup>e</sup> siècle.): essai d'anthropologie sociale*, Paris 1995, p. 252; C. Bouchard, *Those of My Blood. Constructing Noble Families in Medieval Francia*, Philadelphia 2001, pp. 59-61.

mate sons of Carolingian rulers did not make attempts to attain kingship: the case of the aforementioned Hugh, son of Lothar II, proves this. However, no descendant of Charlemagne from an illegitimate union achieved kingship prior to 888. The reluctance of the Frankish elite, both secular and ecclesiastical, to accept the natural sons of kings and emperors as their successors was still very much ongoing during the last years of Charles the Fat's reign, when he failed to make his illegitimate son, Bernard, his heir to the royal office.<sup>63</sup> In the 9<sup>th</sup> century, in order to be a king one undoubtedly had to be Carolingian: however, being recognized as such was practically restricted to offspring in the male line, born into legitimate marriages.

At this point it is necessary to come back to Berengar and Louis the Blind. Despite the unambiguous conviction and assertions of the authors of the *Gesta Berengarii Imperatoris* and *Visio Caroli*, convincing us of their protagonists' Carolingian descent, there is no escaping the fact that their affiliation with the royal dynasty was not at all, to put it mildly, self-evident. Both Berengar and Louis could claim their Carolingian descent only in the female line: the former's mother was Gisela, a daughter of Louis the Pious, while the latter was the grandson of Emperor Louis II also through his daughter, Ermengard. The problematic nature of this matrilineal legacy is already apparent in the narration of the *Gesta*: as the poem's author mentions Berengar's descent, he states bluntly that he was unable to determine the exact nature of the kinship relating his protagonist to Charlemagne.<sup>64</sup> Nonetheless, it is difficult to believe that the panegyrist was genuinely unaware of the nature of the relationship between Berengar and the Carolingian dynasty. It is much more probable that he deliberately chose to omit this inconvenient aspect of Berengar's legacy, which was certainly the fact that he was member of the Carolingian dynasty in the female line only, thus putting into question his claim to act as a true heir to the Carolingian tradition.<sup>65</sup>

This non-Carolingian nature of Berengar and Louis was nevertheless obvious to Regino of Prüm. As he describes in his work, the aspiring king of Italy was merely one of the many *reguli* of 888 who claimed the crown after the death of Charles the Fat. Mentioning Berengar's royal ascension, Regino pointed out that he was the son of Eberhard, omitting in complete silence his Carolingian descent from his mother's side.<sup>66</sup> He also described Louis the Blind in a similar way, only recalling his father, Boso.<sup>67</sup> Moreover,

63 S. MacLean, *Kingship...*, pp. 129-133, 168f.

64 "generis quo stemmate pollet, / Scire vacat; nam cuncta nequit mea ferre Thalia", GBI, v. 14-15, p. 358.

65 G. Albertoni, *La fine dell'impero carolingio e i conflitti per il regno italico nei Gesta Berengarii*, "Reti Medievali Rivisita" XVII (2016) 2, pp. 290f.; F. Duplessis, *Nam cuncta...*, pp. 58f.

66 *Reginonis...*, p. 129.

67 *Ibidem*, p. 142.

the Abbot of Prüm, in depicting the conflict between Berengar and Guy treats them as having equal claims to rulership over Italy: neither of them can boast Carolingian descent (Guy is called Lambert's son), both of them come from the imperial aristocracy (the one "ducatum Foroiulanorum tenebat" the other is "dux Spolitanorum"), and Guy's coronation was basically no different from that of his rival ("aeque regia dignitate sublimandum decernunt").<sup>68</sup> Unlike the author of the *Gesta*, Regino saw no qualitative difference between the two *reguli* waging war over the crown of Italy.

A slightly different approach is ostensibly taken by the *Annals of Fulda*, which, in contrast to Regino's chronicle, repeatedly underline the ties of kinship linking Berengar to the Carolingian family. When Charles the Fat entrusted in 883 the count of Friuli with the mission to suppress Guy of Spoleto's revolt in Italy, the author of the annals calls him the emperor's *consaguineus*.<sup>69</sup> Also in describing the conflict between Berengar and Charles' favored advisor Liutward of Vercelli, the former is named *cognatus regis*.<sup>70</sup> The king of Italy is also referred to as *nepos* to Arnulf of Carinthia.<sup>71</sup> However, the *Annals'* emphasis on the kinship relating Berengar to the royal family does not mean that the annalist considered him a "true" member of the Carolingian dynasty, on par with Charles or Arnulf. In this way, when describing the events of 888, that is the rise to power of the *reguli* in the former Carolingian empire, the author of the *Annals of Fulda* points out that those took place "in Europa vel regno Karoli sui [Arnulf's] patruelis".<sup>72</sup> Then the text proceeds to list these "kinglets", among whom appears "Perngarius filius Ebarhardi".<sup>73</sup>

The author's invoking of the name of Berengar's father does not seem to be a coincidence, but rather falls into a carefully structured ideological message. The other *reguli*, with which Berengar is associated, are also presented in a similar manner. Thus, we learn that besides Berengar, a son of Eberhard, also Rudolph, a son of Conrad, Louis, a son of Boso, Guy, a son of Lambert and Odo, a son of Robert, claimed royal power because of Arnulf's absence in the kingdom. It seems that the annalist's intention in presenting these "kinglets" was first and foremost to indicate their non-Carolingian descent. Unlike the true *rex* Arnulf, a nephew of Emperor Charles, the *reguli* were not members of the royal family, which was clearly evidenced by the non-Carolingian, and therefore non-royal, names of their fathers. For the author

68 Ibidem, p. 129.

69 *Annales Fuldenses*, ed. F. Kurze, MGH, *Scriptores rerum Germanicarum in usum scholarum separatim editi*, VII, Hannover 1891, p. 110.

70 Ibidem, p. 114.

71 Ibidem, p. 127.

72 Ibidem, p. 116; R. Le Jan, *Famille...*, p. 173.

73 *Annales Fuldenses...*, p. 116.

of the *Annals of Fulda*, Berengar's ties to the royal dynasty did not make him a true member of the Carolingian dynasty. "The son of Eberhard", just like, "the son of Boso", were therefore not true Carolingians, and therefore could not become true *reges* either.

The aforementioned sources show clearly that at the turn of the 9<sup>th</sup> and 10<sup>th</sup> centuries, being considered a member of the Carolingian dynasty was not simple affair. Certainly behind the accounts of the *Gesta Berengarii* and of the *Visio Caroli*, insisting as they did on Berengar's and Louis the Blind's Carolingian descent, stood the political interests of the groups with which their authors were associated. The same can be said about work of Regino of Prüm, as well as the *Annals of Fulda*. Similarly, current political needs motivated discussions regarding the legitimacy of Charles the Simple's descent. It seems that with the disintegration of the Carolingian empire, the question of who does and who does not belong to the former royal family became a political statement that was used to push forward or undermine the claims to kingship of post-888 kings. It is therefore no accident that both Regino's chronicle and the Bavarian continuation of the *Annals of Fulda*, rejecting the Carolingian claims of Berengar and Louis, were written in an entourage closely associated with Arnulf of Carinthia and his successor, Louis the Child, who are presented in these works as the only true heirs to the last ruler of the whole Carolingian empire, Charles the Fat.<sup>74</sup>

What is also important is that Berengar's, Louis', and Charles the Simple's efforts to preserve and demonstrate their Carolingian heritage unambiguously show that despite the breakdown of the Carolingian monopoly on the exercise of royal power in 888, the blood of the former royal family was still perceived as an element largely determining the scope of their royal aspirations. Even though non-Carolingian *reguli* became a permanent part of post-888 political reality, and Carolingian descent did not guarantee an exclusive access to royal power, the "Carolingianess" still constituted the major point of reference for contemporaries.<sup>75</sup> It was this Carolingian heritage that allowed the aforementioned kings to inscribe their rule not only into the institutional, but also into the dynastic continuity, distinguishing them from non-Carolingian contenders. Indeed, it seems no coincidence that the rulers who could make the slightest reference to their Carolingian descent did so in explicit ways.

However, despite the importance that continued to be attached to Carolingian descent, it is hard not to notice the changes in the ways it was understood after the crisis of 888. Suffice it to say that of all the kings who, after

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74 S. MacLean, *Kingship...*, pp. 24-30; E.J. Goldberg, S. MacLean, *Royal Marriage...*, pp. 108f.

75 See S. Airlie, *Les élites en 888 et après, ou comment pense-t-on la crise carolingienne?*, in: *Les élites...*, pp. 425-438.

the death of Charles the Fat, invoked a Carolingian heritage to legitimize their power, only Charles the Simple was a legitimate son of a Carolingian king and thus a person who, according to the settled practice of succession, could lay claim to royal office. Arnulf of Carinthia, who in most contemporary sources is considered to be the true, or even the only, heir to Charles the Fat and, by extension, to the dynasty as a whole, came from a non-sacramental union. This fact posed a certain problem even for his supporters. In this context, it seems worth looking at the account of the chronicle of Regino of Prüm. In mentioning the death of Arnulf's father, Carloman, the chronicler, stated that he had only a son from an extramarital relationship with a certain noble woman, and the child was named after the founder of the Carolingian dynasty, St. Arnulf, Bishop of Metz. Then Regino, after having described the dramatic situation in which the Carolingian dynasty found itself due to the infertility of the royal wives and the premature deaths of the members of the family, pointed out that of the once numerous royal line, only Arnulf remained able to rule the Frankish kingdoms.<sup>76</sup>

The narrative concerning Arnulf seems to be designed to prove that, despite his extramarital origins, he was a true member of the Carolingian royal family. Regino's invocation of St. Arnulf to explain the name prescribed to the future king and emperor seems to only subtly disguise the fact that "Arnulf" was not one of the names traditionally given to Carolingian kings, and thus to indicate Carloman's son illegitimate descent, which did not give him the rights to aspire to royal dignity. It is possible to think that Regino, who, as he directly informs us, himself shaved and then took care of another Carolingian bastard, Hugh, son of Lothar II, tried in this way to justify the fact that another illegitimate son of a Carolingian king had assumed power.<sup>77</sup> The Abbot of Prüm's efforts in this regard seem all the more obvious if we pay attention to how much in his chronicle legal descent was a determinant of the right to exercise royal power: it is no coincidence that describing the election of Arnulf's son, Louis the Child, Regino explicitly states that the new king came from a legitimate marriage.<sup>78</sup>

In conclusion, the ease with which Berengar, Louis the Blind, or Arnulf invoked their Carolingian heritage also convinces us that the end of the Carolingian monopoly on royal office was accompanied by an equally deep crisis of Carolingian dynastic identity. With the disintegration of the traditional model of kingship, founded on the exclusive hold of the royal family over kingly office, the Carolingians, as a family structure, also suffered a major blow. Relatives of Carolingian rulers who had previously found themselves

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76 *Reginonis...*, pp. 116f.

77 E.J. Goldberg, S. MacLean, *Royal Marriage...*, p. 126.

78 *Reginonis...*, p. 148.

on the margins of the dynastic community, could now reclaim full participation in the Carolingian family tradition formerly unavailable to them. Certainly the crisis of Carolingian identity was also due to biological factors: after the death of Charles the Fat, the only representative of the dynasty in its traditional sense was a little child, Charles the Simple, whose “Carolingianess” also raised doubts. In this situation, the claims of the so far overlooked relatives of the royal family could no longer be countered by the “true” Carolingians who had previously guarded access to the dynastic legacy, removing the former from participation in royal power.<sup>79</sup>

As a result, “Carolingian identity” at the turn of the 9<sup>th</sup> and 10<sup>th</sup> centuries became an object of rivalry and negotiation between rulers who could demonstrate at least a drop of Carolingian blood in their veins. Of course, it should not be claimed that belonging to the Carolingian dynasty was the only point of reference for the ideological concepts developed around Louis the Blind and Berengar to justify the legitimacy of their royal rule.<sup>80</sup> In the new, “post-Carolingian” reality, as the careers of Odo of West Francia, Guy of Spoleto, and Rudolph of Burgundy clearly prove, it was no longer necessary to be a Carolingian to rule successfully. Nevertheless, Carolingian descent continued to provide a significant argument in political discourse concerning the foundations of royal power, allowing Carolingian rulers to clearly distinguish their position from the non-Carolingian “kinglets”. However, this was already a different “Carolingianess” than that which, until 888, determined access to royal and imperial office.

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<sup>79</sup> See Z. Dalewski, *Patterns of Dynastic Identity in the Early Middle Ages*, “Acta Poloniae Historica” CVII (2013), pp. 5-43.

<sup>80</sup> On Berengar see B. Rosenwein, *The Family Politics of Berengar I, King of Italy (888-924)*, “Speculum” LXXI (1996) 2, pp. 247-289; L. Feller, *L'exercice du pouvoir par Bérenger Ier, roi d'Italie (888-915) et empereur (915-924)*, “Médiévales” LII (2010), pp. 129-149. In the case of Louis the Blind, his father's royal legacy also played an important role, as was displayed mainly in his diplomas, see *Recueil des actes des rois de Provence (855-928)*, ed. R. Poupardin, Paris 1920, no. 30, pp. 55-57, no. 31, pp. 57-59, no. 42, pp. 78-80. Regarding Boso, Louis' father, see: S. Airlie, *The Nearly Men: Boso of Vienne and Arnulf of Bavaria*, in: *Nobles and Nobility in Medieval Europe. Concepts, Origins, Transformations*, ed. A.J. Duggan, Woodbridge 2000, pp. 25-42; F. Bougard, *En marge du divorce de Lothaire II: Boso de Vienne, le cocu qui fut fait le roi?*, “Francia” XXVII (2000), pp. 33-51.

## ABSTRACT

The collapse of the Carolingian Empire in 888 dramatically changed the political and ideological landscape of Western Europe. For the first time since 751, in the kingdoms that formerly formed the Frankish Empire power was taken by non-Carolingian kings, who effectively broke the monopoly on kingship held by the descendants of Pepin the Short. However, the end of the Empire did not mean the end of the royal family itself: after 888, there were still kings who perceived themselves as members of Carolingian stirps regia. This article deals with three of the post-888 rulers, Berengar of Italy, Louis of Provence and Charles the Simple, who aspired to present themselves as the true heirs to the Carolingian tradition. Nonetheless, their not-so-self-evident adherence to the former royal family clearly demonstrates that the crisis of 888 did not only leave its mark on the political shape of the post-Carolingian Europe, but more importantly it touched the very idea of Carolingian familial identity.

**Keywords:** Carolingians, dynastic identity, Berengar of Italy, Charles the Simple, Louis of Provence, royal family, post-Carolingian Europe





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## THE HISTORY OF POLAND FROM THE 10<sup>TH</sup> TO 13<sup>TH</sup> CENTURIES AS PRESENTED IN CONTEMPORARY GERMAN MEDIEVAL STUDIES: METHODS OF ACCOUNTING TRADITIONAL AND NEW INTERPRETATIVE APPROACHES



### INTRODUCTION

This article intends to show how the history of the two first centuries of the Piast monarchy is presented in the texts of contemporary German medievalists. Obviously this scope needs to be defined more precisely. First of all, the term “contemporary German medieval studies” needs to be clarified. Secondly, the time frame related to the chosen subject (early days of Poland) should be explained. One more parameter that has to be defined in the introductory part of this article covers the themes present in the scholarly narrations that were isolated for the purpose of close examination.

Thus, this analysis will cover selected historical publications of a synthetic nature that were published in Germany between 1989 and 2004. These landmarks are without a doubt important for the contemporary history of Poland and Polish-German relations. The year 1989 is the starting point of the transformation of Poland from a non-sovereign communist dictatorship to a liberal democracy and free-market economy. For Germany, the same date is strongly associated with the fall of the Berlin Wall, the beginning of the unification of two German states, and all those processes that are called *die Wende*. On the other hand, the year 2004 is the date of Poland’s accession to the European Union. As a state, Germany with its political elite strongly favoured the accession of Poland and other countries from the region to the EU. Germany’s involvement in the accession was related not only to political and economic interests, but also to redefining its attitude towards its eastern neighbors. Thus, the period between the fall of communism and the full accession of Poland (along with the Czech Republic, Hungary, Slovakia, etc.) to the European Union becomes significant due

to the sharp transition manifested not only in the intensity of the reforms and the complexity of the decisions made also by the older European Union states, but also in the change of thinking on both sides. The united Germany and the Republic of Poland signed in 1991 the Treaty of Good Neighborship which marked the final recognition of the post-war borders.

As the rest of this article shall discuss texts written in Germany, the said change in the way of thinking should be specified as consisting in the mental acceptance of the presence of Poland (and other neighbors) in the European family. This acceptance was neither obvious nor natural. With reference to Poland, historical memory and stereotypes, prejudices, and clichés forming the image of Poland and Poles<sup>1</sup> could have created an obstacle. The accession was announced in advance and promoted. German elites (as well as those of other EU countries, too) tried to convince their fellow citizens (and probably, to some extent, themselves, too) that a rethinking was necessary. Such persuasion was facilitated by the fact that Poland seemed to be undergoing a successful political and economic transformation. The accession to the European Union was treated as not just a political but also deeply symbolic event. This opened the doors to a public presence for historians, seen as experts in tracking continuities, similarities, and symbolic meanings. In other words, today's normalized and peaceful relations started to require historical justifications. Again, one of the basic ideas in Polish-German relations focused on overcoming a past burdened with nationalism. Demand appeared for a historical myth of good neighbors and partners and the search for glorious episodes in history. There was a revived interest e.g., in the episode of the personal union of Poland with the Electorate of Saxony in the 18<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>2</sup> Intensified contacts and joint projects of historians from both countries forced a change in talking "about the other side".<sup>3</sup> One can provisionally assume that this was more dif-

1 Cf. the image of Poland and Poles in German society in the period directly before the accession of Poland to the EU based on the in-depth EMNID survey 2000-2001: X. Dolińska, M. Falkowski, *Polska-Niemcy. Wzajemny wizerunek*, in: *Obraz Polski i Polaków w Europie*, ed. L. Kolarska-Bobińska, Warszawa 2003, pp. 205-246 – a decline in the negative attitude towards Poland and Poles, an increase in the indifference, and a minor role of history in the associations related to the terms Poland and Poles were to be noticed then.

2 This was spectacularly manifested in the commemorative exhibits such as the one displayed in Warsaw and Dresden in 1997: *Pod jedną koroną. Kultura i sztuka w czasach unii polsko-saskiej*.

3 An increased interest in the history and culture of the eastern neighbors in German historiography after the landmark year 1989 and in relation to the accession of new states to the EU was noted by Christian Lübke, *Das "junge Europa" in der Krise: gentilreligiöse Herausforderungen um 1000*, "Zeitschrift für Ostmitteleuropa-Forschung" L (2001) 4, p. 475: "Seit der Epochenwende von 1989 wird der Kultur und der Geschichte der Länder des östlichen Mitteleuropas als den nächsten Beitrittskandidaten in die erweiterte Europäische Union seitens ihrer westlichen Nachbarn auf allen Feldern der Öffentlichkeit ein viel breiteres Interesse entgegengebracht als in den Jahrzehnten zuvor, während der Teilung Europas." Cf. also D. Fraesdorff, *Barbarische Norden*.

ficult on the German side. Apart from the need for the constant “exorcizing” of the legacy of Prussian imperialism and Hitler’s Nazism, one more factor was important – namely, the critical intellectual climate regarding colonial thinking, present also in the country that had to get rid of its “classic” overseas colonies faster than others. This proved conducive to rethinking the way of talking about differences between civilizations, cultures, and mentalities. Highlighting or even suggesting the civilizational superiority of not just Europe over other continents, but also of the “old Europe” over the “new Europe” became politically incorrect and thus, extremely troublesome in academic discourse. In fact, for medievalists who deal with the concept of cultures and their relations, very often this meant the need to create a new language.

It might seem that the above topics from the area of contemporary politics do not have much to do with academia in general and research into the Middle Ages in particular. This is not the case. Social and political events resonate with the humanities. With the current diversity of paradigms, research on history reflects the contemporary transformations of a political and social nature. It is not easy to overcome the tradition of defending the political arguments of one’s times inherited by historians. It is tempting to use historical myths and symbols to support values that are predominant in the discourse of current liberal democracies. That is connected with condemning degeneration arising from the fact that some of the historians of previous generations were in the service of totalitarian ideologies or chauvinistic nationalisms. Interpretations offered today are not only a result of the current state of knowledge. They are also the result of changes in the mindset of academics influenced by the ideological or philosophical trends that are deeply ingrained among the educated parts of society. Even medievalists cannot avoid updating their perspectives on the eras they study. They incorporate perspectives that do not result from sterile analysis of the available historical sources. Immediate references end up not only in the statements of scholars in media of various type and scope, published as part of the promotion of science or civil participation in the public debate. They also appear in strictly scholarly texts in which they are part of the dialog with scholars who e.g., represent a different national community. One of the examples of this phenomenon constitute interpretations of the Congress of Gniezno in 1000.

There is one further serious reason for the selection of this particular timeframe. It is the fact that it covers the period of dynamic changes in German historical science. After the GDR was absorbed by the Federal

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*Vorstellungen und Fremdkategorien bei Rimbart, Thietmar von Merseburg, Adam von Bremen und Helmold von Bosau*, Berlin 2005, p. 23 – here in the context of favoring (also on the rising tide of increased interest in the countries of this region) the concept of the Eastern or the Central and Eastern Europe at the expense of the category of North characteristic of the medieval authors.

Republic of Germany, the abolition of the historiography of the “first German nation of workers and farmers” happened. Not in the sense of closing down academic institutions and total removal of previously active scholars, but by invalidating the paradigm.<sup>4</sup> However, a personal factor was also present: medieval studies were also dominated for good by people representing West German academic circles. The aforementioned paradigm that one could call Marxist (in the version rejecting reformism that also originated in Germany) imposed certain favored topics, types of analyses, and keys to interpretation. When it comes to the interpretation of the history of medieval Germany and its relations with Slavic neighbors, this meant a regular elimination of the approach based on the fight between ethnic elements in favor of the class struggle as well as the departure from the claim that Germany was superior to the Slavs in terms of civilization.

Medieval studies at West German universities were approaching the same point, albeit via a different route. Of key importance here was the fact that already in the 1980s representatives of academic historiography would actively assimilate and process new trends from the areas of Anglo-Saxon and French humanities. One should mention the adoption of postmodernism. Moreover, when it comes to medieval studies one cannot overestimate the importance of the assimilation of concepts from cultural anthropology. Even though the timeframe selected for this article is relatively narrow, one may already observe the impact of these phenomena. It also influenced the re-evaluation of approaches towards the tradition of research on the “German East”, also known as *Ostforschung*.

Finally, the removal of the Iron Curtain dividing Eastern and Western Europe in 1989 led to an obvious intensification of contacts between historians from Poland and Germany in the following years.<sup>5</sup> Even though these relations existed in the past and researchers would read and review each other’s works (with a certain asymmetry that will be discussed below), conference presentations, organization of conferences, academic exchanges, archival research trips, and institutional platforms of scientific coopera-

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4 Concerning the settling of accounts with the medieval studies of the GDR, see for example M. Borgolte, *Eine Generation marxistische Mittelalterforschung in Deutschland. Erbe und Tradition aus der Sicht eines Neu-Humboldtianers*, in: *Mittelalterforschung nach der Wende 1989*, ed. M. Borgolte, “Historische Zeitschrift”, Beihefte N.F., XX (1995), pp. 3-26, as well as S. Epperlein, *Zur Mittelalterforschung in der DDR: Eine Reminiszenz*, in the same volume, pp. 43-73.

5 About this dialog in the second and third quarter of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, cf. S. Guth, *Geschichte als Politik. Der deutsch-polnische Historikerdialog im 20. Jahrhundert*, Berlin-Boston 2015. There is a four-volume bibliography covering texts published in the 20<sup>th</sup> century on the topic of German-Polish relations: *Deutsch-polnische Beziehungen in Geschichte und Gegenwart. Bibliographie 1900–1998*, ed. A. Lawaty, W. Mincer, A. Domańska, cf. especially vol. I: *Politik, Gesellschaft, Wirtschaft, Kultur in Epochen und Regionen*, Wiesbaden 2000.

tion have become part of the academic routine. One cannot fail to mention here the establishment of the European University Viadrina Frankfurt in 1992, the German Historical Institute Warsaw a year later, and the facility of the Polish Academy of Sciences in Berlin in 1999 that was later transformed into a research institute.<sup>6</sup> When it comes to medieval studies, of great importance was the fact that Konstanzer Arbeitskreis, a prestigious research team, became receptive to Polish authors and subjects related to Polish medieval studies. This manifested itself in cooperation on the publication dealing mostly to the Late Middle Ages that featured many authors and was entitled *Das Reich und Polen: Parallelen, Interaktionen und Formen der Akkulturation im hohen und späten Mittelalter*.<sup>7</sup> Informal exchange of views supplemented the presentations and publications.<sup>8</sup> This gave the chance to make people on both sides more sensitive to different perspectives.<sup>9</sup>

6 As it was summarized by J.C. Behrends, *Geschichtspolitik. Die Krise der deutsch-polnischen Verständigung in historischer Perspektive*, "Berliner Debatte Initial" XIX (2008) 6, p. 8: "Diese Gründerzeit [i.e., the 1990s, the period of creating these institutional platforms] ist im Rückblick eine beeindruckende Erfolgsgeschichte"; otherwise, p. 9, the same period was called by the author "goldenes Zeitalter des deutsch-polnischen Dialogs".

7 *Das Reich und Polen: Parallelen, Interaktionen und Formen der Akkulturation im hohen und späten Mittelalter*, ed. A. Patschovsky, Th. Wunsch, Ostfildern 2003, cf. review by J. Strzelczyk, "Roczniki Historyczne" LXX (2004), pp. 233-236; cf. also idem, *Mediewistyka niemiecka XX wieku* (review concerning *Die deutschsprachige Mediävistik im 20. Jahrhundert*, ed. P. Moraw, R. Schieffer, Ostfildern 2005), "Roczniki Historyczne" LXXII (2006), p. 155, footnote 7: "Trudno nie dostrzec związku pomiędzy tymi dwoma przejawami "otwarcia" się Konstanzer Arbeitskreis na problematykę i naukę polską lub z Polską związaną a nową polityką wschodnią RFN w pierwszym i zbliżającym się akcesem Polski do Unii Europejskiej w drugim przypadku" [English: "It is difficult not to see the relation between these two signs of Konstanzer Arbeitskreis 'opening' to Polish or Poland-related issues and science and the new Eastern policy of the Federal Republic of Germany in the first and the approaching accession of Poland to the European Union in the second case"] – to be perfectly clear, one of the volumes "with Polish contribution" mentioned here was published in 1974.

8 In another text, when pointing to the great number of such common initiatives, J. Strzelczyk mentioned in 2006 (*Mediewistyka niemiecka XX wieku...*, p. 161): "Myślę jednak, że nawet najwięksi entuzjaści zgodzą się, że wiele takich spotkań ma charakter przypadkowy, niezupełnie przemyślany, a rzeczywista korzyść z uczestnictwa w nich bywa niekiedy problematyczna" [English: "However, I believe that even the greatest enthusiasts would agree that many of such meetings are of an accidental and not fully well thought out nature and the real profit from the participation in them is sometimes debatable"].

9 Cf. the statements from the introduction to the Polish issue of the controversial and widely discussed monograph by Johannes Fried on year 1000. The author emphasizes there that the text was written before the groundbreaking events of 1989. If Fried was to have written it later, some things would be approached differently. Since then, he had time to discuss his arguments with Polish colleagues and he intends to include the conclusions in the future works: J. Fried, *Otton III i Bolesław Chrobry. Miniatura dedykacyjna z Ewangeliarza z Akwizgranu, zjazd gnieźnieński a królestwa polskie i węgierskie. Analiza ikonograficzna i wnioski historyczne*, Warszawa 2000, p. 8 (earlier published as: J. Fried, *Otto III. und Bolesław Chrobry. Das Widmungsbild des Aachener Evangeliiars, der "Akt von Gnesen" und das frühe polnische und ungarische Königtum*, Stuttgart 1989).

The period from 1989 to 2004 is not seen as strictly closed. It is necessary to take into consideration the continuity and relatively slow course of certain mental phenomena. On the other hand, we should be aware of such a trivial factor as the long duration of the process of writing and publishing scientific texts. That is why the author decided to extend in certain cases the timeframe for the materials analyzed here and include works published a little earlier or later. At the same time, such a timeframe has the benefit of a certain detachment that one can acquire over the course of a dozen or more years from the texts that immediately after being published met with various responses of the reviewers and caused new polemics of various levels of engagement. I do not intend to review these texts anew or focus on their academic value. My goal here is to analyze the strategies of writing about a specific subject.

For the purpose of this outline, the following issues were selected as subjects of consideration: 1) great academic syntheses of German history in parts concerning *Hochmittelalter* where the Piast dynasty appears, 2) selected articles exploring the topic of mutual relations in the Middle Ages that were written by authors who do not specialize in Polish studies. The synthetic texts I will use were published as parts of works intended as academic handbooks or ones that could be adapted for that purpose. The term "academic handbook" has a wider dimension here. I do not mean books for students but such publications that, in using the extended explanation of history and advanced interpretation, form the opinion of readers with sophisticated needs for understanding history. They can be mature in the sense of education and knowledge of methods, and this includes researchers as well as teachers of history. The group includes also intellectuals or experts working actively in different fields who need history both for their own personal mental and spiritual development and as a sort of a material or tool for forming public opinions.

Because of this formative influence, in this article syntheses are at the center of attention. Not only do they reflect the way of thinking (in this case, about medieval Poland) among academics, but they also shape it, consolidate certain elements, and modify others. This potential is fulfilled by the selected outlines of history of medieval Germany as well as the monumental history of Silesia from the 1990s that constitutes a bit different type of synthesis. Themes related to the history of Poland appear in them, but they do not prevail. Their discussion is secondary to the main topic. To a certain extent, it is obligatory in relation e.g., to the presentation of the policies and achievements of Otto III and Henry II.

Analytical documents exploring Polish themes were used to present the situations in which contemporary tendencies present in historiography in a revisionist way influence this area that has a great and, in a sense, uneasy tradition. Thus, I paid special attention to the application of relatively "new" to medieval

studies concepts devised by Gerd Althoff and Knut Görich. I also included reflections on the proposals formulated by Michael Borgolte.

This outline does not refer to the works of the narrow group of German medievalists who specialize in Polish topics, write a lot about Polish history, and, most importantly, who know Polish academic literature well. Obviously their works include important interpretative proposals, or their interpretations reflect the tendencies present in the mainstream German medieval studies that will be mentioned below. However, in terms of my approach, their perspective is “contaminated” by the sharpened awareness of Polish sensitivities, as well as the natural adoption not only of findings but also interpretative models specific to Polish medieval studies. Every generation has had such researchers, for example the distinguished Herbert Ludat and Klaus Zernack,<sup>10</sup> as well as the younger cohort Christian Lübke, Norbert Kersken, Eduard Mühle, and Grisha Vercamer. If I mention their works here, it will be rare and in relation to the fact that they reflect certain tendencies or inspire intra-German historiographic discussion.<sup>11</sup>

It is worth mentioning topics (for now without elaboration and not necessarily in the order in which they will be discussed) that have to appear in relation to the way of writing about Poland in the works of German mediaevalists. They include: declaratory and material dissociation from approaches tinged with nationalism; a shift in the usage of the opposition center-peripheries; the topic of uneven development and the relative backwardness of Slavdom (how to deal with it carefully...); traces of the stereotype of the Pole or, more broadly, the Slav present in the German culture of recent centuries.<sup>12</sup> All these motives should

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**10** It should not be forgotten that before 1989, Klaus Zernack had a great influence on the dialog of German and Polish historians concerning e.g., such an important and sensitive topic as school history textbooks; cf. e.g., Th. Strobel, *Transnationale Wissenschafts- und Verhandlungskultur. Die Gemeinsame Deutsch-Polnische Schulbuchkommission 1972–1990*, Göttingen 2015, especially pp. 190f.

**11** It was not possible to include here a completely new work: a synthesis created jointly by German and Polish historians: N. Kersken, P. Wiszewski, *Neue Nachbarn in der Mitte Europas. Polen und das Reich im Mittelalter* (= WBG Deutsch-polnische Geschichte: Mittelalter), Darmstadt 2020. Cf. review by T. Jurek, “Roczniki Historyczne” LXXXVI (2020), pp. 287-290. And it was “too early” to include work of Eduard Mühle, *Die Slawen im Mittelalter zwischen Idee und Wirklichkeit*, Köln 2020 that was published at the same time in Poland as: *Słowianie. Rzeczywistość i fikcja wspólnoty VI-XV wiek*, Warszawa 2020.

**12** Much has been written on these stereotypes. Cf. the review of Polish literature from before the mid-1990s in: T. Szarota *National Stereotypes as the Theme of Historical Research in Poland*, “Acta Poloniae Historica” LXXI (1995), pp. 55-68. It needs to be emphasized that in Polish research, the focus has been mostly on the Poles as seen by the Germans and the Germans as seen by the Poles and relations with other nations have been discussed much less often. Among later texts, cf. J. Dąbrowska, *Stereotype und ihr sprachlicher Ausdruck im Polenbild der deutschen Presse: eine textlinguistische Untersuchung*, Tübingen 1999. The state of research on *Polenbild* was also presented by A. Kochanowska-Nieborak, *Das Polenbild in Meyers Konversationslexika des ‘langen’ 19. Jahrhunderts*, Posener Beiträge zur Germanistik, XXIV, Frankfurt am Main 2010, pp. 8ff.



be presented in a dynamic aspect. Thus, it is inevitable to include both continuation and change.

The specific nature of the selected topic makes it necessary to include certain safety measures. Apart from the trivial statement about the extensiveness of the problem that makes thorough discussion impossible in the limited frames of this article, it is necessary to point out that, regardless of their intentions, the Polish historians have a certain image of Polish history and way of writing about it. This will be the first perspective they will apply to judging the writings of foreigners when it comes to Poland: both the already mentioned Gerd Althoff and Johannes Fried or widely-read Anglo-Saxon specialists in the 20<sup>th</sup> century such as Norman Davies or Timothy Snyder. They might also have preconceptions about the way that German specialists write about Polish history.

These preconceptions are related to some base knowledge about mutual Polish-German relations even if it is not an extensive knowledge about the historiographic dialog. A sense of inferiority towards the West present among Polish elites regardless of their provenance as well as ideological and political inclinations, applies also to researchers. It is manifested through an almost constant fear that the historians "from out there" will look at Eastern Europe in general and Poland in particular with a lack of respect. Thus, they will harm Polish history with their writings, whether consciously or not. Every Polish reviewer of German texts about the history of Poland needs to be incredibly careful and avoid waiting for misrepresentations, mistakes, and careless phrases confirming *a priori* assumptions that "they look down on us".

This is connected to another danger that I by all means wish to avoid: a certain "occupational disease" of reviewers, if I may call it so. What I mean here is the approach that can be described as follows: the researchers have a more or less justified belief that "this is their field" and when an outsider approaches this topic (in this particular case: the history of Poland written or even presented and interpreted by Germans on the peripheries of the German history) they are getting vigilant. Thus, they take the stance of an instructor who fixes mistakes and wrong approaches, points out oversights and suggests that they result from the author's so to speak inherent and unavoidable dilettantism when it comes to this field. Historians whose way of writing about the early-Piast period of Poland I want to examine have unquestionable achievements deserving great respect and the approach based on alternate scolding and praising absolutely cannot be used here.

This search for supposedly wrong phrasing might be a result of using an acceptable semantic analysis or a curricular or habitual attentiveness to the rhetorical layer of the given message. However, this is related to another trap. Namely, any reliable deduction requires sensitivity to the nuances of the foreign language. It can be acquired by studying texts from the given field for years. This is the only way one can achieve sensitivity to the lan-

guage-specific stylistical devices, techniques of persuasion, and elements smoothing the narration. This is why I will avoid using translations into Polish. It should be added that these exist: a few monographs and articles published in Polish journals or separate anthologies.<sup>13</sup>

It is less of a trap, but still difficult to properly estimate the context for contemporary German theses about the medieval history of Poland and Polish-German relations in these ages. It would be very easy to limit everything to a few crucial points: the impact of contemporary events: the fall of communism), the establishment of normal neighborly relations, European integration; additionally the German sense of guilt. The latter is not limited to the memory of crimes. It also includes the conviction that the Prussian/German teacher of history participated in the creation of German imperialism and arises from the awareness of nationalistic involvement of great figures of German historiography in the 19<sup>th</sup> century and the beginnings of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. Finally, current contacts between scholars from both sides of the border have an impact.

However, apart from these points, there are also factors that are less obvious and much more difficult to study. They include philosophical trends shaping the contemporary humanities as well as changes in the German perception of other nations or European countries. It is important to mention here two objects that are of key importance: Russia and its more or less obvious predecessors (vide the Ukrainian-Russian conflict about the true cultural heritage of country of Vladimir the Great and Yaroslav the Wise) as well as Bohemia (due to the obviously still open discussion about the place of medieval Bohemia in the Reich). Moreover, in the current German historiographic discourse, nor are the images of France and Italy static.

The selection of the timeframe 1989-2004 for the publication of books and articles does not exempt the author from the need to refer to the earlier period.<sup>14</sup> The element of continuity is ever-present in scholarship. It is not only about the accumulation of knowledge. It is obvious that scholars writing in the selected timeframe most likely began their research activity earlier. Furthermore, they are related to previous generations due to their affiliation with the previously established and mostly informal schools of research as well as personal relations created in the past between apprentices and masters. The meaning of this factor did not escape notice as part of the advanced

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13 For example: K. Zernack, *Niemcy-Polska: z dziejów trudnego dialogu historiograficznego*, ed. H. Olszewski, transl. Ł. Musiał, Poznań 2006.

14 About this previous historiography in one of the key areas, i.e., German colonization, compare e.g., Ch. Lübke, *Ostkolonisation, Ostsiedlung, Landesausbau im Mittelalter. Der ethnische und strukturelle Wandel östlich von Elbe und Saale im Blick der Neuzeit*, in: *Ostsiedlung und Landesausbau in Sachsen. Die Kihrener Urkunde von 1154 und ihr historisches Umfeld*, ed. E. Bünz, Leipzig 2008, pp. 467-484 with the overview of historiography from the second half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century (last text selected for the purposes of this overview was by Klaus Zernack and was published in 1994).

self-reflection within the scope of contemporary German historical science: for example, when students were accused of ignoring and treating as normal Nazi elements in the biographies of masters.<sup>15</sup>

When it comes to academic thought on medieval Poland as well as being neighbors with Poland in the Middle Ages, the thesis about the civilizational inferiority of the Slavs in general and the Poles in particular was a troublesome inheritance from previous generations. It thrived not only in the period of totalitarianism. A little known period in the history of prejudices concerns the times of the Weimar Republic when, for example, literature created by the veterans of the Freikorps would provide images of the savage cruelty of the Poles allegedly expressed during the Silesian uprisings and plebiscites on the disputed territories. This cruelty explicitly proved their savagery and a German reader discovering the established clichés would have a sense of familiarity.<sup>16</sup> A rejection of Nazism (including racism) after World War II had to involve withdrawal from forming similar theses – at least in the open. Due to what can be called external circumstances, a new language of discourse started to form. It was adopted both in the public space and in academic writings. It was successfully used not only with reference to European neighbors, but also to other cultures. When it comes to the humanities, another incentive was provided by the deconstruction (associated e.g., with works of Edward W. Said) of the concepts related to the presentation of people and lands that were subject to the colonial expansion of Europe in modern times.<sup>17</sup> In terms of Eastern Europe, Larry Wolf expended similar effort by analyzing the image of this region shaped by travelers, intellectuals, or simply popular authors from France, the Germanic countries, and Great Britain of the 18<sup>th</sup> century and the beginnings of the 19<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>18</sup>

Consequently, the reformed or cleansed language should not involve statements meaning that “different is worse”. Texts from the researched period that openly suggest the savagery of e.g., Slavic neighbors can no longer be used to prove this savagery and have to be reinterpreted, including by analysis of the ways of thinking present in the source texts. Previous historians used this method much less frequently. In terms of academic historiography,

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15 Cf. E. Mühle, *Ostforschung und Nationalsozialismus. Kritische Bemerkungen zur aktuellen Forschungsdiskussion*, “Zeitschrift für Ostmitteleuropaforschung” L (2001) 2, p. 257 – example concerning an argument about the paradigm shift and generational change within the scope of social historiography.

16 This fact was recently discussed in a popularizing form in the opinion-forming journal “Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung” – D. Brewing, *Das Volk soll selbst nach Gewalt schreiben*, “FAZ”, no. 203, 2.09.2019, p. 6.

17 Cf. especially E. Said, *Orientalism*, Polish edition: Warszawa 1991 and idem, *Kultura i imperializm*, Kraków 2009.

18 L. Wolf, *Inventing Eastern Europe. The Map of Civilization on the Mind of the Enlightenment*, Stanford 1994.

this is an implementation of the principles of political correctness that started long before the term was created and popularized in the public spheres, not to mention before it started to be harshly challenged.

Another reason for the linguistic change in recent decades is the revitalization of contacts between historians of different nationalities. Joint participation in conferences and scholarly projects made it necessary to show mutual respect. This could not be limited to the polite forms specific for the field of personal relations. It had to reach the essence of the matters. A historian repeating in their presentations and published texts opinions about the Poles based on the works by Heinrich von Treitschke or Albert Brackmann could not count on fruitful cooperation. Thus, a constant vigilance and heightened sensitiveness has become more prevalent. This vigilance was made possible by asymmetry, which is still present and probably impossible to change in the predictable future. Polish medievalists more often read in German and sometimes communicate fluently in German, for example during academic conferences. Conversely, their German colleagues rarely know Polish to a degree allowing them to read scholarly texts. In other words, Polish specialists were able to quickly discover who writes and how about Poland.

Gerard Labuda was one of people who had a great knowledge of German literature on the subject and who was ready to “counter” not only the oversights which he saw as content-related, but also the presumed reflections of German nationalism.<sup>19</sup> As the proximity of Poland, Polish culture, and history of Poland have never been as important for Germany as the proximity of Germany, German culture, and history of Germany are to Poland (a statement as objective as still valid), this asymmetric state of affairs will not change.<sup>20</sup>

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19 Apart from individual reviews, polemics, and small remarks in his own original texts, it is worth mentioning works in which he discussed German historiography in the matters concerning Poland and Slav lands, such as articles published in: G. Labuda, *Polsko-niemieckie rozmowy o przeszłości: zbiór rozpraw i artykułów*, Poznań 1996 and his contribution *Początki państwa polskiego w historiografii polskiej i niemieckiej*, in: *Stosunki polsko-niemieckie w historiografii*, part 1, ed. J. Krasuski, G. Labuda, A.W. Walczak, Poznań 1974, pp. 150-217, where topics like Christianization, Church organization in Poland and relation of Piast monarchy to the empire are discussed.

20 Cf. H. Grzempa, *Obraz Polski i Polaków w niemieckich podręcznikach do historii*, in: *Interakcje. Leksykon komunikowania polsko-niemieckiego*, vol. II, ed. A. Gall et al., Wrocław 2015, p. 83: “Podczas gdy w polskiej pamięci kolektywnej Niemcy zajmują jedno z centralnych miejsc, Polska w niemieckiej pamięci ma raczej marginalną pozycję. Wynikać to może z faktu, że w przeszłości Polska była pod dużo silniejszym wpływem (zarówno pozytywnym, jak i negatywnym) niemieckiej polityki, gospodarki i kultury niż odwrotnie, a te dysproporcje w historycznych zależnościach znajdują odzwierciedlenie we współczesnej, asymetrycznie ukształtowanej, wzajemnej percepcji Polaków i Niemców” [English: “While in the Polish collective memory Germany occupies one of the center spots, Poland in German memory is of rather marginal importance. This might result from the fact that in past, Poland was under much bigger influence (both positive and negative) of German politics, economy, and culture than the other way around and these disproportions in the historical dependencies are reflected in the currently asymmetric mutual perception of the Poles and the Germans”], cf. also J.C. Behrends, *Geschichtspolitik...*, p. 8.

Change in language leads to change in the way of thinking. This happens also when it is a result of an informal internal censorship and a related self-censorship. One can never know the extent of this process. Besides, what is important from the point of view of this discussion are the written texts (or uttered statements which were later published after authorization, e.g., as part of the discussions during congresses and conferences), and not what professor X personally thinks about the Poles and their ancestors and medieval emanation of statehood.

#### THE TRADITION OF *OSTFORSCHUNG* AND ITS LEGACY

In the post-war period, research on topics related to the medieval history of Poland was still done mostly as part of the narrow area known as *Ostforschung*.<sup>21</sup> Of course, this thrust of research had crystallized much earlier, and was conducted not only for purely scholarly reasons. However, this does not mean that excellent specialists with great methodologies and genuine scholarly achievements did not work in the field. The central motive of *Ostforschung* was the historical presence of the Germans in the European East, and thus works from this trend could be used to defend contemporary political interests such as the borders of Germany in 1914 and the rejection of rival Polish aspirations. Their particular feature was the deep conviction of the insurmountable abyss between the cultural level of the Germans and the Slavs that obviously accented the superiority of German culture.<sup>22</sup> East-Central Europe was seen as “ethnically and culturally German regions” and “Ostmitteleuropa” was seen as equal to the allegedly existing “German East” (“deutscher Osten”).<sup>23</sup>

Recognition of the border changes of 1945 by the politicians and elites of Germany was defined by two dates: the Treaty of Warsaw between West Germany and the People’s Republic of Poland of 1970 and the Ger-

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21 Cf. on this topic e.g.: E. Mühle, ‘*Ostforschung*’. *Beobachtungen zu Aufstieg und Niedergang eines geschichtswissenschaftlichen Paradigma*, “*Zeitschrift für Ostmitteleuropaforschung*” XLVI (1997), pp. 317-350. About Polish topics in *Ostforschung* cf. especially N. Kersken, *Bilder und Vorstellungen deutscher Ostforschung zu Fragen der mittelalterlichen polnischen Geschichte*, “*Zeitschrift für Ostmitteleuropaforschung*” XLVI (1997), pp. 351-375 – concerning years 1918-1970. Cf. also introduction by H. Olszewski in: K. Zernack, *Niemcy-Polska...*, pp. 9-21 – with the historiographic outline of the relations between these two countries/nations against the politics of the 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> centuries (without the most recent period); also in the Polish academic literature the review of the monograph by Eduard Mühle concerning *Ostforschung* and the historian of this trend, Hermann Aubin: M. Górny, *Historia historiografii kłopotliwej. Europa środkowo-wschodnia w optyce niemieckiej*, “*Kwartalnik Historyczny*” CIII (2006) 1, pp. 113-122, esp. pp. 115f.

22 E. Mühle, ‘*Ostforschung*’..., p. 327.

23 Idem, *Uwagi o ograniczonej przydatności pojęcia “Europa Środkowo-Wschodnia” (“Ostmitteleuropa”)* [survey answer], “*Kwartalnik Historyczny*” CXX (2013) 4, p. 866.

man–Polish Treaty of 1991. During the intervening period, *Ostforschung* operated in West German research centers with certain undertones of nostalgia and the conviction about the need to defend almost heroically the heritage of German culture in Silesia, Pomerania, Bohemia, Prussia, etc.<sup>24</sup>

Putting aside the political aspect, it is important to mention certain characteristics that are of significance to the topic at hand. First of all, the geographical criterion was a distinctive feature of the entire *Ostforschung* trend. Research covered all the areas in which there were German settlements. Time frames were of secondary importance. This led to relatively more research on the later ages that are obviously richer in source texts. Thus, the earliest period would suffer from it.<sup>25</sup> The “usage” of the history of Poland (considered only as a supplement to the history of the Germans in these regions) as part of *Ostforschung* led, as German historians of the historiography claim, to its removal from the contexts of general history. Poland would be written and talked about in relation to the regional histories (*Landesgeschichte*) of Silesia and Pomerania.<sup>26</sup> Thus, despite the fact that mainstream medieval studies in Germany focused not only on the medieval empire but also on France, Italy, England, Spain, and the crusades, specialists in Slavic studies belonged to a certain niche. This resulted in the “proper medievalist’s” ignorance of the history of Eastern Europe.<sup>27</sup>

A subject that absolutely could not be avoided in the discussed trend of research was that of the relations of representatives of the German ethnos and Slavic tribes. Thus, this is where the concept of *Germania Slavica* was crystallized as an area of the merger of cultures and, in a sense, the creation of new Germanic tribes apart from e.g., “old” Bavarians and Saxons: Mecklenburgians, (German) Silesians, (German) Pomeranians, etc. This was to happen based on two ethnic substrata and with the dominating

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24 In 1951, one of the key interwar representatives of this trend, Hermann Aubin, openly called in the platform text for the defense by research “[des] Anspruch(s) des Deutschtums auf seine östlichen Gebiete” – E. Mühle, ‘*Ostforschung*’..., p. 339. About the political entanglements in both German states, cf. S. Creutzberger, J. Unser, *Osteuropaforschung als politisches Instrument im Kalten Krieg. Die Abteilung für Geschichte der imperialistischen Ostforschung in der DDR (1960 bis 1968)*, “*Osteuropa*” XLVIII (1998), pp. 849–867.

25 N. Kersken, *Deutsche mediävistische Polenforschung. Traditionen, Themen, Tendenzen*, “*Inter Finitimos. Jahrbuch zur deutsch-polnischen Beziehungsgeschichte*” II (2004), p. 34.

26 Idem, *Deutsche mediävistische Polenforschung*..., pp. 25, 27.

27 “Extremely dismissive” (*extrem stiefmütterlich*) treatment of the history of Central and Eastern Europe in German medieval studies and the presence of “iron curtain” in the minds of many medievalists was emphasized lately by G. Vercamer, *Hochmittelalterliche Herrschaftspraxis im Spiegel der Geschichtsschreibung. Vorstellungen von »guter« und »schlechter« Herrschaft in England, Polen und dem Reich im 12./13. Jahrhundert*, Wiesbaden 2020, p. X and p. 5.

input of the culture of colonizers coming from the West.<sup>28</sup> Only recently does the concept of *Germania Slavica* discern the intellectual supplement in the idea of *Slavia Germanica*.<sup>29</sup>

Another element of *Ostforschung* was its relative modernity compared to the historic sciences of the first decades of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. These studies were centered not around rulers and chiefs, but the German peasant, merchant, knight, and priest. They were oriented towards social and economic issues. Whenever it was possible, they used source documents, statistics, and quantitative texts. Researchers were focused on everyday lives or technological progress.<sup>30</sup> To a certain degree, the state of knowledge about Poland benefited from that.

Even after the fall of nationalist and racist paradigms, such specialized studies were burdened with a certain distortion of perspective which I would call here the teleology of German colonization. Namely, when writing about the very beginnings of this process, historians would more or less openly justify its inevitability, necessity, and validity and would assess the actions of the historical protagonists in terms of compliance with this victorious, grandiose, and far-reaching historical movement. This is the source of the still-used interpretation of the interventions of Frederick Barbarossa into the fights among the Piasts as opening the door to German colonization.<sup>31</sup>

The same applies to the subordination of the way of writing about Henry the Bearded to one aspect of his policy supporting German settlement, and ignoring such things as his fights for control over other than Silesian areas of Piast heritage (which since forever and sometimes mindlessly has been interpreted within Polish historiography as attempts at uniting the Polish state). The essence of the deformation of perspective lies in the fact that even for the earliest stages of the phenomenon its nature was assumed to be determined together with a single variant of the historical process. It was even

28 Cf. G. Labuda, *Początki państwa polskiego w historiografii...*, pp. 156f. on the theses about the cultural and political common regional characteristics of the Polish-German borderland that are expressed in the German historiography and their dangerous consequences; it was an integral part of the political and geographical doctrine of Albert Penck that extended the Germanness very far to the East.

29 Cf. recently thereon J. Hackmann, *From Germania Slavica to Slavia Germanica?*, "Петербургские славянские и балканские исследования" XXII (2017) 2, pp. 122-139.

30 E. Mühle, 'Ostforschung'..., p. 335.

31 Cf. for example H. Patze, *Kaiser Friedrich Barbarossa und der Osten*, in: *Probleme des 12. Jahrhunderts*, Vorträge und Forschungen, XII, Konstanz-Stuttgart 1968, p. 407: thanks to the interventions of Frederick: "Das Land [Schlesien] ist in der Folge deutsches Land geworden". And later p. 408: Barbarossa defined borders for the German *Lebensraum* (extended later only in the Prussian region) that corresponded to the ration of power between the Germans and the Slavs and determined the balance the destruction of which was experienced only by the generation of this author.

easier to give in to this kind of approach as German colonization was seen as a civilizational process transforming the backward areas of Europe into participants of the historical prosperity of the leading part of the continent and as a sign of progress seen as one of the basic categories of history.

Thus, the *Ostforschung* trend has its accomplishments but also limitations resulting from the specific mental frames. Gradually, researchers became more and more aware of them and thus, when the volumes of *Deutsche Geschichte im Osten Europas* on Poland, Lithuania, Silesia, and Prussia were published in the period from 1992 and 1999 in Germany, their authors would intentionally distance themselves from the tradition of *Ostforschung*.<sup>32</sup>

#### THE FIRST CENTURIES OF THE PIAST MONARCHY IN THE SYNTHESSES OF HISTORY OF GERMANY

In the mainstream of German medieval studies, the presence of Polish topics remained limited. Two factors were responsible for this: source texts and familiarity with Polish historical literature. Provisionally, let's consider the second factor to be less important and thus, easier to present. Heinrich Treitschke, the 19<sup>th</sup>-century historian with a clearly nationalistic orientation, is believed to be the author of the statement *Polonica non leguntur* – one does not read in Polish: not as an assertion of the status quo but simply as a claim. Behind it lay the conviction that Polish historical writing is worthless: either completely derivative of the West or marked with Polish nationalism. Implementation of this slogan was well underway among later generations.<sup>33</sup> However, it should be emphasized that the reason for this was unrelated to the prejudices against historiography. In German culture, there have never been any strong incentives to widely teach and learn Polish. Unlike French and, later, English, the Polish language was not perceived as important from the perspective of aspiring to higher education and belonging to the elite. Thus, Polish was learnt by either polyglots or people wanting to specialize in something related to Polish history.

In historical science, the second aspect was of a fluid nature: among those specializing in the Teutonic Order, including the period when it had strong relations with Poland, the knowledge of Polish literature in the original has

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<sup>32</sup> K. Zernack, *Die deutsch-polnischen Beziehungen in der Mittelalterhistorie aus deutscher Sicht*, in: *Polen und Deutschland vor 1000 Jahren*, ed. M. Borgolte, Berlin 2002, pp. 35f. The volume about Silesia with sections about the Middle Ages written by Winfried Irgang is mentioned further in this article.

<sup>33</sup> Cf. reflections on historiography concerning modern times and history of law, not only German, in the short text: S. Salmonowicz, *Czy nadal Polonica non leguntur?*, in: *Vetera novis augere. Studia i prace dedykowane Profesorowi Wacławowi Uruszczakowi*, vol. II, ed. S. Grodziski et al., Kraków 2010, pp. 905-909.



never been the norm. This is the reality and one should not lament it: Polish language is not one of the conference languages and close proximity does not result in greater interest. One can easily find analogies: not many Polish historians have ever learned Lithuanian or Hungarian to a degree allowing them to use these two languages in their work despite the centuries of close proximity and historical contacts. Thus, Polish historical literature would reach German historians mostly in translation, as summaries in conference languages, and in a selection that was sometimes random. What is important, to this day Polish historians are seen as specialists in Polish affairs and there are still not many situations in which a prestigious journal of medieval studies would publish an article of a Polish scientist on a topic unrelated to Poland.<sup>34</sup> This is certainly not the case when it comes to Anglo-Saxon, French, or Dutch historians. It seems that the demand expressed towards a Polish historian is to deliver a synthetic discussion concerning topics he or she would be familiar with, for the analysis of which German historiography lacks time and language skills.

The matter of sources, in turn, is more important. The starting point is seemingly obvious. In general, medievalists have to deal with the scarcity of sources. When it comes to at least the two first centuries of the Piast monarchy, this scarcity is downright overwhelming, at least if one compares it to the empire (even though the situation is similar for other regions of Eastern and Northern Europe). However, when one digs a bit deeper, a certain tendency starts to be obvious. In terms of Polish affairs, German historiography extensively uses these sources that originated in the Reich, including relatively wide and evocative images, and were subject to the research of generations of Germans or scholars publishing in German and thus, are simply well-recognized. The best example would obviously be Thietmar's chronicle from the beginnings of the 11<sup>th</sup> century. One can add to them annals from various German monasteries, Widukind, Adam of Bremen, the *Annalista Saxo*, and sometimes other texts. The first Polish chronicles that are relatively easily available are those by Gallus Anonymus and Wincenty Kadłubek, yet they are only rarely subject to analysis.

Anonymous was published in the 19<sup>th</sup> century in the 9<sup>th</sup> volume of the *Scriptores in the Monumenta Germaniae Historica* series and Polish critical source editions concerning the Middle Ages are sometimes taken into account in the German medieval studies as proven by the example of the first lives of Adalbert of Prague and other texts by Bruno of Querfurt edited by Jadwiga Karwasińska in *Monumenta Poloniae Historica series nova*. However, neither of the two above-mentioned chronicles nor the Polish annals are taken into consideration while the relations of the empire with the monarchy of the Piasts are discussed, even

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<sup>34</sup> Exceptions include for example: J. Banaszekiewicz, *Bischof Alberich von Marsica und seine Reliquiengeschenke für Dietrich von Metz und Otto I. 'Translatio pp. Alexandri' und 'Inventio sanctorum'*, "Frühmittelalterliche Studien" XLVI (2012), pp. 99-156.

though it is one of their more important topics. It is obvious that the reliability of every text is potentially under discussion. For medieval studies, discussing such reliability is almost an everyday occurrence. What matters in relation to Gallus Anonymus or Kadłubek is the fact that this discussion can be absent as the texts themselves go unnoticed.<sup>35</sup> I will discuss one exception below.

Thietmar's chronicle is undoubtedly a rich mine of knowledge thanks to the fact that Mieszko I, Bolesław I the Brave, and the still young Mieszko II are present in the work.<sup>36</sup> Thietmar imposes topics and a structure of writing about the beginnings of the Piasts' state and its internal relations.<sup>37</sup> When the narration of the bishop of Merseburg ends in 1018, even though there are other sources concerning this period and topic, the relations between the empire and the Piast monarchy are pushed completely to the sidelines. They are mentioned in the biographies of Conrad II, albeit as noticeably much less important than Italian and Burgundian affairs.<sup>38</sup> One can say that researchers remain under the influence of the first biographer of the Salian

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35 It was already pointed out by G. Labuda, *Początki państwa polskiego w historiografii...*, pp. 197f. A significant exception is very recent and thus, does not fit the timeframe selected by me; it is the already cited extensive monograph by G. Vercamer, *Hochmittelalterliche Herrschaftspraxis...*, where Gallus and Kadłubek represent Polish historiography. It is also worth to mention a similar in premise and earlier work A. Plassmann, *Origo gentis: Identitäts- und Legitimitätsstiftung in früh- und hochmittelalterlichen Herkunftserzählungen*, Berlin 2006, in which the text of Gallus Anonymus and the *Chronica Boemorum* are analyzed as representing the "Roman-German circle" compared to e.g., Bede the Venerable, Paul the Deacon, or Dudo of Saint-Quentin; cf. also a shorter text by N. Kersken, *Gott und die Heilige in der mittelalterlichen polnischen Geschichtsschreibung*, in: *Ecclesia – cultura – potestas. Studia z dziejów kultury i społeczeństwa*, ed. P. Kras et al., Kraków 2006, pp. 619-647. One can regret such a limited interest of the German medieval studies, for example because of the fact that the chronicles provide materials enabling to examine relations between Poland and the empire – cf. recently about that in the Polish historiography A. Pleszczyński, *Gall Anonim o relacji Polski do Niemiec/Cesarstwa Rzymskiego w kontekście wywodu Mnicha Sazawskiego o położeniu Czech*, in: *Symboliczne i realne podstawy tożsamości społecznej w średniowieczu*, ed. S. Gawlas, P. Żmudzki, Warszawa 2017, pp. 313-332.

36 Cf. S. Weinfurter, *Niemcy w średniowieczu 500-1500*, transl. A. Gadzała, Warszawa 2010, original German edition: *Das Reich im Mittelalter. Kleine deutsche Geschichte von 500 bis 1500*, München 2008, in which out of Polish rulers only Mieszko I, Mieszko II and, especially Bolesław I the Brave, are mentioned. In the author's introduction to the Polish edition, when writing about many intersections between the history of Poland and the social order and political system out of which Germany was to be created, only the turn of the 10<sup>th</sup> and 11<sup>th</sup> centuries is emphasized and Gniezno Congress as well as the marriage of Mieszko II are mentioned as signs of early alliances – p. 7.

37 The chronicle remains a subject of research on the opinions of the chronicler and his circle in relation to Poland and other nations/countries in the region, what was reflected e.g., in the monograph concerning the medieval conceptualization of the North: D. Fraesdorff, *Barbarische Norden...*, passim.

38 Even though it is different in the biography of Conrad II written by an Austrian medievalist, H. Wolfram, *Konrad II, 990–1039: Kaiser dreier Reiche*, München 2000.

emperor, Wipo. However, there are also such interpretations of the crisis in the state of the Piasts that see the rebellions of the 1030s as directed also against the Reich, which is an important shift of perspective.<sup>39</sup>

Later, neither are dynastic relations necessarily enough to include this thread. In the biographies of Henry IV there is no need for even a mention of Władysław I Herman, the second husband of Judith, the emperor's sister.<sup>40</sup> Polish elements in the biography of Otto of Bamberg or the bold hypothesis of Johannes Fried about the Bamberg origin of Gallus Anonymus also do not get much publicity.<sup>41</sup> Thus, without a "great" evocative message from within the Reich, the Piasts are not interesting even though until the end of the 12<sup>th</sup> century, kings and emperors would occasionally act there. Thus, there is not much that was written about the interventions of Conrad III and Frederick Barbarossa into Polish dynastic disputes despite the fact that the Krzyszkowo expedition of Barbarossa in 1157 provides materials for the analysis of a topic that is of much interest to the leading specialists in this period: rituals of power, honor as a value driving actions of emperors, etc. In his especially important monograph about the honor of Frederick Barbarossa, Knut Görich wrote relatively few words about the expedition of 1157. He wrote about its seemingly financial nature: an insult to the emperor due to the Piast duke's refusal to pay tribute; more or less in detail about Bolesław IV the Curly having to humble himself before Barbarossa; and finally, about the most important (according to the author) motive for Frederick's action: restoration of order.<sup>42</sup> This presentation lacks the in-depth discussion of the context, i.e., the Staufers supporting their relative, Władysław II (the Exile) and damage to the authority brought about by the fiasco of their previous actions. One might say that if Otto of Freising reported these events from the perspective of a direct participant, the reflection on the contemporary relations between the empire and Poland would have been much more extensive (the expedition was recounted by the continuator of Otto's *Gesta Frederici*, Rahewin).

Consequently, what characterizes the presence of Polish history between the 10<sup>th</sup> and the beginnings of the 13<sup>th</sup> centuries in the more gen-

39 F.-R. Erkens, *Konrad II. (um 990-1039). Herrschaft und Reich des ersten Salierkaisers*, Regensburg 1998, p. 153.

40 Cf. for example G. Althoff, *Heinrich IV*, Darmstadt 2006.

41 Cf. J. Fried, *Kam der Gallus Anonymus aus Bamberg?*, "Deutsches Archiv zur Erforschung des Mittelalters" LXV (2009), pp. 497-545, abridged Polish version: *Czy Gall Anonim pochodził z Bambergu?*, "Przegląd Historyczny" CI (2010) 3, pp. 483-501.

42 K. Görich, *Die Ehre Friedrich Barbarossas. Kommunikation, Konflikt und politisches Handeln im 12. Jahrhundert*, Darmstadt 2001, pp. 358f. The author does not seem to be blamed for combining in the book's index Bolesław IV the Curly with Bolesław who participated in the emperor's fights near Milano (who was obviously the son of Władysław II the Exile: Bolesław I the Tall). H. Patze, *Kaiser Friedrich Barbarossa...*, p. 357 wrote a little bit about this expedition in his long article about the East in Barbarossa's politics.

eral German studies is scarcity. German articles concerning, even tangentially, the political and church history of the Piasts' state would focus on the 10<sup>th</sup> century/beginning of the 11<sup>th</sup> century and in the 13<sup>th</sup> and 14<sup>th</sup> centuries as it was the history of German settlement that was prevalent.<sup>43</sup> This means that only certain topics have a "sure" (guaranteed) place in historical narratives of a synthetic nature. They include the Congress of Gniezno and the eastern politics of Theophanu (seen as a prelude to it), and later of Otto III, the wars of Henry II against Bolesław I the Brave, the intervention of Conrad II of 1031, relations between Lothair III and Bolesław III Wrymouth connected to the rivalry on the coast of the Baltic Sea in the 1130s, maybe even the expeditions of Barbarossa – especially if the author of the account shares and repeats the teleological clichés about Barbarossa's politics opening (and intending to open) the door to Germanness in Silesia.

It is worth showing the way these most willingly written about and discussed topics are presented using the example of Gebhardt. This pertains to the multi-volume synthesis of German history named after its initiator, Brunon Gebhardt. As a whole, this body of work is difficult to analyze and thus, it is challenging for the historians of historiography and historical consciousness as it underwent important modifications. For example, the interpretation was different in Wilhelm's empire (the original publication started in 1891), different in the Weimar Republic, and finally, different in the post-war democratic Germany (there was no "Nazi Gebhardt").

After World War II, the eighth edition of Gebhardt was published – between 1954 and 1970 (four volumes). Herbert Grundmann, a medievalist, gave it its general form. The ninth edition, also comprised of four volumes, was published between 1970 and 1976. It was later modified into a smaller format: 22 volumes. It would be reissued without changes until the 1990s. This is when the climate allowed for undertaking another transformation of this flagship of German history syntheses. Starting from 2001, Gebhardt started to be published in the 10<sup>th</sup> version. I will be discussing its parts on medieval history. The new team of authors announced a new concept for the work. This was no longer meant to be a great chronicle of German history. They declared departure from event-based history. The 10<sup>th</sup> edition was to present a Europeanized, or even globalized, image of German history that was different from the one typical of older historiography.<sup>44</sup>

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43 N. Kersken, *Bilder und Vorstellungen...*, p. 367.

44 To the first German reception of this attempt, cf. M. Kaiser, *Inmitten einer pluralisierten Geschichtswissenschaft. Der neue Gebhardt, "Zeitschrift für historische Forschung" XXXI (2004), pp. 93-108; D. Mares, Der neue "Gebhardt". Zum Erscheinen der 10. Auflage des Standardhandbuchs zur deutschen Geschichte, "Geschichte, Politik und ihre Didaktik" XXX (2002), pp. 295-300.*

This time, Alfred Haverkamp was responsible for the medieval part. It covered eight volumes.<sup>45</sup> Out of these, useful for our topic are: volume 3 (the last Carolingians and Ottonians; by Hagen Keller and Gerd Althoff), 4 (the Salian dynasty; by Hanna Vollrath), and 5 (the first Staufers – until 1198; by Alfred Haverkamp). Eduard Mühle recently discussed in detail Polish threads in “Gebhardt” in relation to the 12<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>46</sup> He pointed out that in its subsequent editions, the same five episodes were always mentioned: the expedition of Henry V of 1109 (always briefly), the mission of Otto of Bamberg in Pomerania, the tribute of Bolesław III in 1135, the interventions of Conrad III, and the interventions of Barbarossa. However, the 10<sup>th</sup> edition importantly departs from treating Barbarossa’s intervention as an introduction to the colonization of Silesia that was still found in the presentation of Helmut Beumann of 1987.<sup>47</sup>

Due to the discussion of the 12<sup>th</sup> century in Eduard Mühle’s article, I will focus here on the way in which this synthesis mentions Poland and its rulers from the previous period: the turn of the 10<sup>th</sup> and 11<sup>th</sup> centuries. As I mentioned, the volume discussing this chronological segment was created by Gerd Althoff and Hagen Keller. The analyzed fragments bear obvious marks of concepts and interpretations, especially by the first of these authors.<sup>48</sup> The state of Mieszko I together with its ruler appears in the narration of the entire volume for the first time not in relation to the writings of Widukind about the events of 963, but only in the context of the cooperation of this Piast with the empire in the 980s and the beginnings of the 990s.<sup>49</sup> Seeing the inclusion of Mieszko with the term “marchio” in one of the necrological sources (which would suggest incorporation of his state into

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45 The most reliable information concerning to the structure of the whole and the publishing schedule as of 2017 can be found on the website of Klett Cotta publishing house that took over publishing of “Gebhardt”, [https://www.klett-cotta.de/buecher/sachbuch/geschichte/gebhardt\\_handbuch?subbereich=editionsplan](https://www.klett-cotta.de/buecher/sachbuch/geschichte/gebhardt_handbuch?subbereich=editionsplan), access: 6.09.2019.

46 E. Mühle, *Polen im 12. Jahrhundert. Wahrnehmungen deutschsprachiger Mediävisten des 19. und 20. Jahrhunderts*, in: *Friedrich Barbarossa in den Nationalgeschichten Deutschlands und Ostmitteleuropas (19.-20. Jh.)*, ed. K. Görich, M. Wihoda, Köln-Weimar-Wien 2017, pp. 33-46, with an observation that the collection of facts mentioned in subsequent versions of Gebhardt is actually the same and the 12<sup>th</sup> century, when it comes to the German-Polish relations, remains overshadowed by the earlier and later periods.

47 E. Mühle, *Polen im 12. Jahrhundert...*, pp. 37, 39-41.

48 From a different perspective (interpretation of the texts of Liutprand and Widukind concerning the origins of the kingdom of the Ottonians), this volume was recently analyzed together with other important works of German historiography of the 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> century in: A. Grabowski, *The Construction of Ottonian Kingship. Narratives and Myth in Tenth-Century Germany*, Amsterdam 2018.

49 *Gebhardt Handbuch der deutschen Geschichte*, vol. II: H. Keller, G. Althoff, *Die Zeit der späten Karolinger und Ottonen. Krisen und Konsolidierungen 888-1024*, Stuttgart 10<sup>2008</sup> (later referred to as: *Gebhardt III*), pp. 282f.

the political system of Reich), the author considers as surprising the transfer of the “Shinesghe state” to the Holy See by the document *Dagome iudex*.<sup>50</sup>

Indeed, Poland is discussed in more detail only in relation to the eastern politics of Otto III and his concepts, especially when it comes to the Congress of Gniezno, introduced in the narration as “seine [sc. Otto III’s] berühmte Zug nach Gnesen”.<sup>51</sup> Regarding the reception of the imperial guest by Bolesław I the Brave, the opinion of Saxon sources is mentioned according to which this reception overshadowed everything that had been known before. However, later Gerd Althoff focuses on discrediting the reliability of the Polish chronicle, i.e., Gallus Anonymous. According to the medievalist, Gall would stop at nothing to emphasize the importance of Bolesław I and his power. Elements of the oral tradition formed the chronicle’s manner of presenting the Congress of Gniezno as is most evident by the history about gift-giving that breaches the universal rules of the exchange of gifts (first and foremost the one according to which a person who is higher in the hierarchy gives more and better things). The contemporary historian concludes that when an author provides such an obviously changed depiction of events, this undermines the reliability of the rest of the text.<sup>52</sup>

Using this reasoning, G. Althoff questions the highly controversial source fact of the royal coronation of Bolesław I the Brave in Gniezno in 1000 during the pilgrimage of Otto III to the grave of Saint Adalbert. At the same time, he admits that it is possible that the extremely ceremonial setting of the beginning of friendship between the Emperor and Bolesław was semantically transformed in the memory of the descendants into putting the latter on the throne. It is the relation of friendship (*amicitia*) that was to be connected with the increase in the rank of Bolesław as included in the bitter remark of Thietmar about a *tributarius* made *dominus* by a young Emperor. Interestingly, the matter of tribute from which Bolesław was exempted, if one is to believe Thietmar, is not elucidated anywhere in the analyzed volume. In presenting at the end of the discussed passage the goals of the politics of Otto III, the author of the part of Gebhardt that is of interest to us concludes that the notions (of the ruler and his surroundings) concerning the relations with Polish neighbors were aimed at peaceful cooperation, respect towards their rank, and independence.<sup>53</sup> Thus,

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50 Gebhardt III, p. 283.

51 Ibidem, pp. 295ff.

52 On the part of G. Althoff, this passage constitutes a clear polemics with the theses about the oral tradition in the 10<sup>th</sup> century formed by Johannes Fried – cf. idem, *Die Königserhebung Heinrichs I. Erinnerung, Mündlichkeit und Traditionsbildung im 10. Jahrhundert*, in: *Mittelalterforschung nach der Wende 1989*, ed. M. Borgolte, “Historische Zeitschrift”, Beihefte N.F., XX (1995), pp. 267-318. About the breach of the rules of the exchange of gifts and related to that unreliability of the text of Gallus Anonymous about the Congress of Gniezno, cf. G. Althoff, *Spielregeln und Ironie im Gallus Anonymus*, “Frühmittelalterliche Studien” XLIII (2009), p. 414.

53 Gebhardt III, pp. 299-302.

the entire part fits the trend of modern, non-antagonistic interpretations that see in the fact of the Congress of Gniezno an opportunity (wasted shortly thereafter) to create proper, friendly relations between the Reich and the Piast monarchy. In such interpretations, the politics of Otto III is seen as a departure from the conquest- and integration-based politics of his grandfather, Otto the Great. At the same time, this would be a more realistic program than the concept of conquest and inclusion of Poland into the East Francia Reich.<sup>54</sup>

In relation to the events of 1000, a certain popularity in German medieval studies was achieved by the thesis that the state built by Mieszko I and his son obtained then the name that was later to be widely used: Polonia. Thus, the act of Gniezno would also be, metaphorically, the act of baptism (*Taufakt*) of the state and the nation forming within it. Johannes Fried promoted this thesis and substantiated it eruditely with references to the Bible and biblical commentaries.<sup>55</sup> He believed that the reasons for the change of name included e.g., the growth and stabilization of the power of Bolesław.<sup>56</sup> Stefan Weinfurter had a similar opinion: according to him, the events of 1000 meant not only the inclusion of the Polish state into the family of Christian powers, as they also were of fundamental importance to its creation.<sup>57</sup>

Without discussing the arguments and premises, it seems worthwhile to raise one subject. The Empire and its head have an active role here: they give a name. According to Fried, Otto III and Bolesław I the Brave “typologically and ritually” act fully in the spirit of the exegesis of the prophecy of Isaiah as translated by Jerome and perform the roles of father and the son (godson), respectively. Freedom and friendship are central motives of their cooperation.<sup>58</sup> However, the Slavic dominion and the duke are the recipients, beneficiaries – i.e., a passive party. This fits the notions about the nature of mutual contacts. The Empire that is representing high Christian culture has a lot to offer. The role of the other party is to be willing to be included in the culture and the system and to adopt from them essential elements of future identity. What remains a bit safer (as it is closer to the research on the source) is the related interpretation of Gallus’ writing

54 Here I refer to the interpretations included explicitly in: J. Ehlers, *Die Entstehung des Deutschen Reiches*, Enzyklopädie Deutscher Geschichte, XXXI, München 42012, pp. 22f.

55 J. Fried, *Der Hl. Adalbert und Gnesen*, “Archiv für mittelrheinische Kirchengeschichte” L (1998), pp. 41-70, cf. for example p. 51: “Was damals in Gnesen geschah, erscheint unter dieser Perspektive wie der Taufakt von Land und Volk.”

56 J. Fried, *Der Hl. Adalbert und Gnesen...*, p. 63.

57 S. Weinfurter, *Heinrich II. (1002-1024), Herrscher am Ende der Zeiten*, Regensburg 1999, pp. 208f. Likewise: M. Borgolte, *Einleitung*, in: *Polen und Deutschland vor 1000 Jahren (Die Berliner Tagung über Akt von Gnesen)*, ed. M. Borgolte, Berlin 2002, p. 14. Similarly A. Plassmann, *Origogentis...*, p. 301.

58 J. Fried, *Der Hl. Adalbert und Gnesen...*, p. 63 and footnote 78 therein.

on the Congress of Gniezno as providing legitimization for the Piasts from outside: from the Empire (this is how Allheydis Plassmann saw it in her monograph published in 2006).<sup>59</sup>

Taking a short break from the discussion of the perspectives on Polish-German relations in the Middle Ages proposed in the most recent "Gebhard", let us focus a bit more on the topic of the exchange of gifts in Gniezno, as it became the basis for the deepened reflection of Gerd Althoff on the chronicle of Gallus in other analytical texts. This is the previously announced topic in relation to which the source from the area of the Piasts' control was noticed in the mainstream of German medieval studies. As readers of Gallus' writing remember, the chronicle includes a well-developed story about the rule of Bolesław I the Brave. One of the dominant features in this part of the account is the supposed great wealth of Poland in these times. The chronicler wanted to preserve in the minds of his readers the image of the times of Bolesław I as the past golden age of the Piasts' rule, and this is also noticed by Althoff. When assessing the elements of the description, especially the ones pertaining to the court of the monarch, the German medievalist concluded that this is not a serious story (Althoff referred even to the authority of archaeologists who assure us that the Slavs did not wear the grand, heavy jewelry mentioned in Gallus' writing<sup>60</sup>). That is to say, Gallus was supposed to know and presume that his reader would not believe in the literalness of his information. He intentionally employed exaggeration and, in the case of the story about "the orgy of gifts in Gniezno", transgression, as he showed the breaching of norms that were obvious also for his readers. Thus, he caused a comical effect as this was his intention.<sup>61</sup> For Althoff, openly grotesque is e.g., Gallus' story about Bolesław's wife who hides people sentenced to death by the angry monarch and later when she makes him express his grief, allows them to reappear alive.<sup>62</sup>

Althoff included writings of Gallus in the collection of texts in which irony plays an important role as a means allowing both the creation of an attractive

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59 A. Plassmann, *Origo gentis...*, p. 302.

60 G. Althoff, *Spielregeln und Ironie...*, p. 411: "Dass auch hier keine realen Zustände beschrieben werden, wird spätestens dann einsichtig, wenn man sich eine Szene mit den goldbehangenen und von anderen gestützten Edelfrauen konkret vorstellt. Es ist eine zusätzliche Pointe, dass schwerer Goldschmuck bei den Slawen gar nicht üblich war, wie Archäologen heute versichern".

61 G. Althoff, *Spielregeln und Ironie...*, pp. 409f., 414; idem, *Symbolische Kommunikation zwischen Piasten und Ottonen*, in: *Polen und Deutschland vor 1000 Jahren*, ed. M. Borgolte, Berlin 2002, pp. 293-308; reprint in: idem, *Inszenierte Herrschaft. Geschichtsschreibung und politisches Handeln im Mittelalter*, Darmstadt 2003, pp. 230-250, here cited according to this second edition, pp. 245-247. Polemics, not only with Althoff: J. Banaszkiwicz, *Gall jako historyk poważny, czyli dlaczego dzieje i Bolesława Chrobrego, i Bolesława Krzywoustego są prawdziwe i niegroteskowe*, "Przegląd Historyczny" XCIX (2008) 3, pp. 399-410.

62 G. Althoff, *Symbolische Kommunikation...*, pp. 248f.



narrative and conveyance of content considered important.<sup>63</sup> He also believed that the author's (chronicler's) game with the reader was in the foreground as compared to the declared intent to tell the history of the ancestors of Bolesław III Wrymouth and the actions of this duke. It is worth pointing out that this kind of interpretation attributes literary sophistication not only to the anonymous creator (all people who work closely on Gallus readily agree with this notion which would have to be documented by a footnote of monumental size) but also to the first readers of his text, i.e., Polish elites from the beginning of the 12<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>64</sup> Otherwise, one would have to assume (which Althoff does not do) that, to put it simply, Anonymous did not laugh with them but at them, and more specifically at their presumed megalomania. However, the premise serves a different purpose: to undermine the reliability of Gallus as a historian providing reliable information about the events ca. 1000 in general and the Congress of Gniezno in particular. Even though Althoff referred to the number of passages from the chronicle, including the ones concerning Bolesław III Wrymouth, the defense of the thesis about irony as a peculiar rule of storytelling would require approaching the structure and content as a whole. The German historian did not decide to do so.

The volume written by Gerd Althoff and Hagen Keller focuses in detail on the conflict between Henry II and Bolesław I the Brave. However, the authors did not attempt to summarize the accounts from chronicles or annals when it comes to its military side and were not generous with the details of the campaign, unlike in previous syntheses such as the classic one by Robert Holtzmann.<sup>65</sup> The passage dedicated to the conflict is opened by the statement that only the newest research revised the nationalistic manner of presenting the conflict between Henry and Bolesław I and showed that the national and state-based pattern of interpretation makes it impossible to properly show its multilayered structure.<sup>66</sup> However, in a sense this is an admission that the next part will remain overshadowed by the traditional narratives even though it will polemicize with them using newer concepts.

Later, it is said that Bolesław I was one of the people who stopped having influence on the new king, which contrasted heavily with the way he was

63 Cf. also G. Althoff, Ch. Meier, *Ironie im Mittelalter. Hermeneutik – Dichtung – Politik*, Darmstadt 2011.

64 G. Althoff, *Spielregeln und Ironie...*, p. 409: "Mit solchen Geschichten zielte er, was nicht unwichtig ist, ganz sicher auf ein gebildetes und in den gesellschaftlichen Konventionen erfahrenes Publikum". This article refers to a number of stories believed to be grotesque: such as the one about the victory of Bolesław's camp followers and kitchen boys over the army of the king of Ruthenia (cf. p. 410) or the history about the troops of Bolesław II the Generous ditching heavy armors after the war against Pomeranians (p. 411).

65 R. Holtzmann, *Geschichte der sächsischen Kaiserzeit (900 – 1024)*, first edition: 1941.

66 Gebhardt III, p. 321.

honored by Otto III in Gniezno in 1000. According to the author of the relevant part of the *Gebhardt*, what was overlapping in the conflicts of 1002-1018 were the crucial issues of rank and honor and the dispute over the inheritance from Eckard I. And this is the new (let's specify: in the 1990s) interpretative key that allows for the departure from the nationalistic paradigm: using the concept of rank and honor. When meeting for the very first time with the new king in 1002 Bolesław was to use the rights or the position of duke of the Reich (Reichsfürst; whatever that could mean at the beginning of the 11<sup>th</sup> century). After an attempt on his life that was made famous by the story of Thietmar, he reacted as a typical aristocrat who felt deeply wronged and believed his rights to have been injured. By burning the castle in Strehla, he started what German literature calls *Fehde*.<sup>67</sup>

In the discussion concerning the later part of this conflict the same interpretative key is also used. What is interesting is the explanation of the lengthiness of the conflict by the fact that it was due to the failure or impossibility of using the mechanism used successfully in the conflicts inside the Reich, as G. Althoff claims, that relies on the settlements of disputes with respect for the rights and honor of all the protagonists. The comparison of the conflicts of Henry II with Bolesław and Henry of Schweinfurt (partially happening in the same time) shows that in the second case, *deditio* (ritual surrender of Henry of Schweinfurt) and his relatively short imprisonment limited the scale and time of the dispute. During the fight against Bolesław I, mediators negotiated in 1005 near Poznań a peace guaranteed by oaths. However, the meeting between the rulers and *deditio* of the Piast did not happen, and this (following the medievalist's interpretation) was supposed to be something unusual compared to many other situations of this age when the performative acts with the direct participation of the people of interest would be happening regularly.<sup>68</sup>

While analyzing the congress of Merseburg on Pentecost in 1013, the author of the interpretation of history in *Gebhardt* is willing to believe that Bolesław I was spared humiliation in the scenario typical of the full act of surrender. Thus, he did not have to throw himself at the feet of Henry II and his service as a sword-bearer during the ceremonial procession was enough. One may conjecture that this happened because it was Henry II who denounced the previous agreement and started war. Interpretation of the rituals of making peace in which sword-bearing had a central part suggests that while Bolesław I acknowledged his subordination to Henry, he did not end up as a defeated and subjugated but as the honored; he was honored with gifts and he obtained the fiefdoms of Lusatia and Milsko. This remains

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67 Ibidem, p. 323.

68 Ibidem, p. 324.

in keeping with other interpretations of contemporary German medievalists: according to S. Weinfurter, the biographer of the Holy Emperor, the congress of Merseburg in 1013 was not a humiliation or unconditional surrender of Bolesław I, but his elevation that was the price of peace.<sup>69</sup>

What is noticeable here is the belief that Bolesław not only was politically part of the system of the Reich but also mentally fully adopted and used the rules of the game, ones (according especially to Gerd Althoff) inextricably linked to functioning in the politics of the aristocracy in the Ottonian era.<sup>70</sup> It should be mentioned that in this and other narratives on the wars of Henry and Bolesław, what is emphasized is the currently varied attitude of Saxon aristocracy during the entire conflict. Its representatives had personal relations with Piasts. These relations were manifested both in the series of marriages and reflected in the obituary records of Saxon monasteries. It influenced their lack of enthusiasm for war with Bolesław. This emphasis repudiates (altogether efficiently in academic circles) the downright atavistic tendency to talk even here about the Polish-German wars as the first in the series of events reaching until the 20<sup>th</sup> century. The fact that Saxons were hindering the actions of Henry II was supposed to contribute to his failure. Despite numerous campaigns, a solution satisfactory for the Emperor could not be achieved.

This was also partly due to the fact that the defensive strategy of Bolesław incorporated swampy and difficult to reach places in order to defeat Henry's army of knights.<sup>71</sup> This last thread, seemingly of minor importance, is also present in other syntheses and has a certain significance from the perspective that constitutes the axis of this text. Accounts from both Polish and German sources bring information about the more or less successfully repeated the tactics of Piast dukes during the expeditions of kings and emperors to their lands in the 11<sup>th</sup> and 12<sup>th</sup> centuries. The defensive part avoided decisive battles (thus, there is no counterpart of the Battle of Chlumec during which Soběslav I of Bohemia crushed the army of king Lothair; the so-called Battle of Hundsfeld is the construct of future historiographers which made

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69 S. Weinfurter, *Heinrich II...*, pp. 218f. The same publication includes an interesting interpretation of concessions that on the part of Henry II were the circumstances and content of the Peace of Bautzen: similarly to the peace with Robert II of France, the more conciliatory politics towards Bolesław in the final years of Henry's reign expressed his increasing sense of responsibility for the Christendom – *ibidem*, pp. 219f., 225, 270.

70 Piasts such as Bolesław I and Bolesław III understood "the rules of the game" – G. Althoff, *Symbolische Kommunikation...*, p. 241 and *idem*, *Die Macht der Rituale. Symbolik und Herrschaft im Mittelalter*, Darmstadt 2003, pp. 95f., 162 (Bolesław III Wrymouth in 1135 in Merseburg during the congress with Lothair III suffers humiliation in the form of a symbolical, temporary lowering of the rank but is compensated via extremely estimable reception).

71 *Gebhardt III*, p. 322.

it into Polish historical awareness due to the demand for great heroic acts in the distant past). If one is to believe the contemporary writings, the opponent would be pulled deep into the territory with the goal of exhausting them with the difficulties of the campaign, problems with food, and small skirmishes that led to huge losses. Selected fortified castles were also defended. This is how it is described in the account of Kadłubek admiring the cleverness of Bolesław IV the Curly who tried to use starvation to annihilate the “Roman legions” of Frederick (elevated by this albeit ironic term to the role of representatives of the recognized center of civilization).

Historians of our age, if they do not specialize in military history, easily adopt this perspective and together with it, a number of judgments that occur altogether explicitly or are revealed incidentally. For example, when Werner Trillmich presented in the biography of Conrad II the possible rational reasons for the controversial (according to some of his contemporaries) alliance of Henry II with the pagan Veleti against Bolesław I the Brave, he claimed that these were great allies due to the fact that they used the same tactics as those used by the subjects of Bolesław I.<sup>72</sup> Thus, he believes this manner of fighting to be typical for the Slavs. Researchers adopt and believe to be obvious a sharp opposition between the army of knights (i.e., with heavily armed cavalry) of the Ottonians, Salians, and Staufers and the Slavic warriors who had worse weaponry and were less organized but specialized in the ambushes using the natural qualities of their mother country.

It is worth pointing out the matter of these qualities: it is believed obvious that the lands ruled by the Piasts were covered with thick forests, full of bogs, marshes, and rivers that were difficult to cross, and remained scarcely populated and hard to travel across.<sup>73</sup> Detailed discussion about that is the domain of specialists in historical geography. After all, emphasizing this motive in the discussion of the medieval campaigns is related to the notion implicitly present here that these parameters (as one can call them): afforestation, swamps, poor communication, low population density were in the 11<sup>th</sup> or 12<sup>th</sup> centuries responsible for the drastic difference between the state of the Bolesławs and, for example, the Eastern marches of the Empire from which came the majority of warriors fighting in German campaigns. Thus, the war involved not only differently armed and differently fighting troops, but also people allegedly adapted to different environmental conditions.

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72 W. Trillmich, *Kaiser Konrad II. und seine Zeit*, Bonn 1991, p. 166.

73 For example, citation from the same work by W. Trillmich, p. 163: “Aber kurze Feldzüge in den unwegsamen, sumpfigen Urwäldern des Ostens schädigten den Gegner nur durch Brandschatzungen, ohne ihm bleibenden Schaden zuzufügen. Ausgedehnte Landschaften zu behaupten, war den zahlenmäßig schwachen Kräften der Deutschen unmöglich, brachte ihnen auch keinen Nutzen”.

One might suspect that the readiness to accept this pattern is not only the result of its accuracy (which, after all, is not tested every single time) but also of the fact that, in general, such questions do not appear at all. This is where the image widely present in the minds of the Germans (and other Europeans from the Central or Western part of our continent) of the “war in the East” joins in. It was shaped over the centuries, not only the ones belonging to the Middle Ages but also those much closer to us. I mean here the perception of wars of Charles XII of Sweden and Napoleon against Russia, as well the eastern fronts of the two world wars. What is (sometimes, not always) present in the huge literature reflecting all these experiences is the conviction about the specificity of the war waged on the territories of Eastern Europe. These would be wars in which the advanced technology and logistics of the invading armies would be confronted with a space without infrastructure. And the defenders of these lands were to rely more on nature than their own war technique. To be even more brutal: consolidated by propaganda, permeating memories, present in cultural texts regardless of the ideological dissociation – this vision can be easily transferred to the past. One salient image is that of when modern tanks battled against mud or sand in Polish fields or even wilderness from September 1939. The modern historian assumes that this difference has always existed and it seems that the tenor of the accounts of chroniclers from the 11<sup>th</sup> and 12<sup>th</sup> centuries as well as the tone of the writings about e.g., the conquest of the Prussians and other Balts by the Teutonic Order agree with that. The said difference juxtaposed the area already transformed by humans and evincing economic stability with lands still lagging behind. The persistence of such notions circulating for centuries and finding new incarnations in scholarly texts remains a phenomenon that is worthy of research. While the low population density can be seen as a particularly important quality, it is of great importance to interpretations belonging to a different synthesis, one analyzed in the next section of this article.

We need now return to *Gebhardt*. In the final chapter entitled *Wirtschaft und Gesellschaft* (economy and society) there is also a rather marginal statement that while relations of the Reich with the pagan Polabians ended up being bad, the establishment of Christian monarchical states such as Bohemia, Poland, and Hungary fundamentally changed the attitude of the Reich towards them. Marriages between representatives of local dynasties and Saxon aristocracy (including the Liudolfings themselves) combined with Christianization led to a cultural rapprochement and integration (“beförderten... den kulturellen Brückenschlag”).<sup>74</sup> The remarks reported here express almost

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<sup>74</sup> *Gebhardt* III, pp. 432f. These interpretations harmonize with the statements concerning the relation between the relatively early Christianization of Poland and faster development of a sense of political identity in the Piast monarchy compared to its pagan neighbors – A. Plassmann, *Origo gentis...*, p. 295.

incidentally a certain way of thinking that is so common (also in Poland) that it goes unnoticed. However, its emphasis in the texts published approximately between the fall of communism and the accession of Poland and its southern neighbors to the EU is important. Thus, the Christianization of Poland, Bohemia, and Hungary is believed to indicate the beginning of the civilizational assimilation to the better developed areas of Latin Europe and at the same time, an element of progress which explains the poor fate of these tribes to the east of the Elbe that defended themselves against Christianity. Left unsaid in scholarly texts but present in the perception of events from one thousand years seems to be a parallel between the acceptance of the peoples of Eastern Europe to the family of Christian nations of the Latin liturgical rites and their entrance into contemporary European structures. Both processes are seen as positive especially when compared with the alternative: staying outside – then or now.

I already mentioned the interpretation of the actions of Bolesław I the Brave and the dynamics of his relations with Otto III and Henry II as well as the Saxon aristocracy in light of Gerd Althoff's conception of the rules of the game defining the medieval exercise of power and politics in general. This was shown by the article written by Althoff himself in the most recent version of Gebhard with emphasis, in this specific case, on the categories of honor and rank. Naturally, this interpretative proposal – important certainly from the perspective of currently conducted research but also for the subject of this article – could be included more fully than as part of the synthetic overview in the selected detailed texts. One of them should be presented in more detail.

In a long article published in 1997, Knut Görich presented an in-depth analysis of the relations between Henry II and Bolesław I the Brave.<sup>75</sup> The author referred to numerous opinions of old German historiography stigmatizing the allegedly sentimental and thus, weak Polish politics of Otto III and praising the achievements of Henry II as the defender of German interest in the conflict with Bolesław. For Görich, this seems to be a deeply flawed perspective as it is anachronistic to express these events only in the categories of the external politics of the Reich/Empire. As Bolesław I the Brave became an influential participant in the rivalry of the high and mighty from within the state of the Ottonians, there is a certain validity in seeing the struggles against him as an element of an internal Saxonian conflict.<sup>76</sup> Examples mentioned in support of this thesis show that there was not only a political but also a cultural proximity between the Piasts and the Saxo-

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<sup>75</sup> K. Görich, *Eine Wende im Osten: Heinrich II. und Boleslaw Chrobry*, in: *Otto III. - Heinrich II. Eine Wende?*, ed. B. Schneidmuller, S. Weinfurter, Sigmaringen 1997, pp. 95-167.

<sup>76</sup> K. Görich, *Wende...*, p. 127.

nian elite (the picture painted in the chronicles of the mourning of Mieszko, the son of the Brave, after the death of his friend Hodon, who was fighting on the other side, is associated by a contemporary medievalist with scenes from *The Song of the Nibelungs*<sup>77</sup>).

However, the main thesis of Görich remains the statement that indignation, anger, revenge, shame, and mourning are the key motives important to the justification of Henry's acts towards Bolesław (and *vice versa*) and the absolutely central category describing the politics of the Liudolfing was that of royal honor.<sup>78</sup> When analyzing specific aspects of the relation between Henry and Bolesław, the scholar suggests that the elevation of Bolesław I in Gniezno in 1000 was the source of the dislike of the Empire's elites for him mainly due to the sensitivity to the matter of the rank. On the other hand, if Bolesław really was crowned then, he obtained a higher position than Henry who was a duke of Bavaria then, and two years later it was difficult for him to accept the reversal of their relation when Henry ascended to the royal throne. Moreover, during the memorable, unlucky congress of Merseburg in 1002, Bolesław's ostentatious appearance (grand retinue, etc.) might have offended the Saxon high and mighty refusing him such high rank. The attempt on his life during the departure from Merseburg could have resulted from the feeling of offense.<sup>79</sup>

As noticed by Dariusz Andrzej Sikorski, such an interpretation presents the conflict as a "personal war" and assumes the "denationalization of relations".<sup>80</sup> This thrust was also preferred by Johannes Fried who understood that vagueness irritates historians used to institutions (of the state) and thus, saw ancestral categories as more useful than national ones in the interpretation of events from around 1000 as the states were only starting to form them.<sup>81</sup> This departure from interpretation in terms of divergent state or national interests is worth noting. Their place has been taken by the categories of rank and honour,

77 Ibidem, p. 140.

78 Ibidem, p. 147.

79 Ibidem, respectively: pp. 149, 119.

80 D.A. Sikorski, *O stosunkach polsko-niemieckich z X i XI wieku*, "Studia Historica Slavico-Germanica" XXVI (2004-2005/2006), p. 257.

81 J. Fried, *Ottón III i Bolesław Chrobry...*, p. 21. This interpretative direction is also supported by another respected contemporary medievalist in a synthesis published outside the chronological scope of this article – E. Boshof, *Königtum und Königsherrschaft im 10. und 11. Jahrhundert*, Enzyklopädie Deutscher Geschichte, XXVII, München<sup>3</sup>2010, p. 23: "Die deutsch-polnischen Auseinandersetzungen, die natürlich nicht in nationalen Gegensätzen, sondern dynastisch und machtpolitisch begründet waren..." The same author discussed in more detail relations between Poland and the Empire in the period of the Salian dynasty in the article: *Das Salierreich und der europäische Osten*, in: *Auslandsbeziehungen unter den salischen Kaisern: geistige Auseinandersetzung und Politik. Referate und Aussprachen der Arbeitstagung vom 22. – 24. November 1990 in Speyer*, ed. F. Staab, Speyer 1994, pp. 167-193.

the struggle for individuals' and their family/dynasty's prestige. This allows to avoid in contemporary medieval studies the perspective imposed by modern conflicts between states. Thus, from the perspective of this article it should be said that shifting the burden of interpretation from what is typical of the historiographic *tradition* (i.e., the clashing state or national interests) to that of rank and honor and free play as part of the struggle for prestige of individuals and a family/dynasty is one of the ways used by contemporary medieval studies to avoid using the entire value system burdened with the political perspective.

The historian writing about conflict centered around rank does not have to judge the actions of protagonists from the point of view of the national interest. For examining Bolesław I, his politics, and family in the works using this interpretative key, this approach is important as (similarly as during the discussion of the topic of the exchange of gifts) the Polish duke is considered a willing partner who knows how to play the same game that defined the forms of politics inside the Empire. The question about where and how he learnt this game is not articulated – or rather, the answer is given implicitly. Namely, by maintaining good relations with the court of the Ottonians and with Saxon aristocracy, the Piasts gradually went through a certain process of acculturation: first Mieszko who ostentatiously expressed his respect for margrave Odo; later Bolesław; and finally, seemingly the most adapted to the world of politics and values of the state of the Liudolfings, though for researchers more interesting rather as a young duke than the ruler-heritor Bolesław I, Mieszko II.

The “positive” moment of the contemporary relations between the Empire and the Piasts, the events of 1000 in Gniezno, and the supposed continuation of this Congress (Bolesław I escorting his guest possibly as far as to Aachen) became the subject of intense mythologization. To be perfectly clear: by mythologizing I mean here to some extent added elements of the interpretation. They are characterized by references to later history or even times contemporary to the researcher. Another significant procedure here is the extraction of such symbolic meanings, which for the medieval authors and for their heroes probably could not have existed. There are many examples and they appear especially frequently (which will not surprise anyone) in the texts intentionally addressed also to Polish recipients: thus, in the published versions of international or especially Polish-German conferences and workshops, in articles published in collective works created as a result of the bilateral cooperation or, finally, in the introductions to Polish translations of books by German medievalists. One can also see similar interpretative ideas – or just rhetoric devices – in a range of other situations.

For example, Knut Görich, when exploring the story of Otto III opening the tomb of Charlemagne and analyzing texts on Bolesław I's possible gift-giving of the relics of the Emperor (who indeed was not canonized yet at



that time), asks if Adalbert and Charlemagne were not patrons of *amicitia* between Otto and Bolesław and patrons of their cooperation for the Christianization of Slavdom.<sup>82</sup> Is it possible to answer a question asked in such a manner? Or maybe it remains metaphorically suspended over the entire interpretative construction serving as a way of emphasizing this “positive pattern” of shaping mutual relations that Gniezno in 1000 became? The same doubt concerns the scholar’s suggestion about Bolesław I modeling himself after Charlemagne in his politics towards his Slavic neighbors.<sup>83</sup> In all of these cases a certain rhetorical strategy can be used, to not rashly use words, such as *topica* or *topos*. An event that from the perspective of a longer history of mutual relations had only transitory meaning – namely, the Congress of Gniezno and the close alliance between Otto and Bolesław (leaving aside the discussion concerning its legal nature) – is said to have an enormous symbolic meaning and to throw light on entire centuries of mutual relations.

As a matter of fact, in recent decades one can encounter theses that in reality, until the establishment of the modern state of Prussia together with its imperialist politics towards Poland, Polish-German relations were not antagonistic. Even the image of the Poles and Poland in the eyes of the Germans was rather positive; thus, Gniezno is not an ephemera but the crowning point for the dominant tendency.<sup>84</sup> A higher level of the above-described tendency is obtained when a parallel is drawn between the political idea of Otto III and the alleged cooperation of Bolesław I and Saint Stephen for the sake

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82 K. Görich, *Otto III. öffnet das Karlsgrab in Aachen. Überlegungen zu Heiligenverehrung, Heiligensprechung und Traditionsbildung*, in: *Herrschaftsrepräsentation in ottonischen Sachsen*, ed. G. Althoff, R. Schubert, Sigmaringen 1998, p. 424: “Körperreliquie des heiligen Märtyrers gegen Berührungsreliquie des (noch nicht heiliggesprochenen) Herrschers – waren Adalbert und Karl der Große die Schutzpatrone der *amicitia* zwischen Otto III. und Boleslaw und ihrer gemeinsam betriebenen Christianisierung der Sclavinia?”; similarly – p. 430.

83 Ibidem, p. 425.

84 For example: A. Plassmann, *Origo gentis...*, p. 296 where it is said that hostile policies of Henry II towards Poland were not continued by subsequent rulers. Cf. H. Grzempa, *Obraz Polski i Polaków...*, p. 85, where it is written about the contemporary presentation of the history of the Teutonic Order in the German history textbooks: “konflikt militarny pomiędzy polskimi władcami a wielkimi mistrzami zakonu zepchnięty zostaje na margines narracji. Ekspansywna polityka zakonu, proces narastania konfliktu i jego apogeum w dwóch wojnach, stanowiące w polskim nauczaniu historii dominujący wątek, na niemieckich lekcjach historii nie odgrywają znaczącej roli” [English: “military conflict between Polish rulers and Grand Masters of the Order is pushed into the background. The expansive politics of the Order, the process of increasing conflict and its apogee in two wars that are the most important topics in the Polish teaching of history are not important during German lessons”]. About the supposedly free of stains despite neighborly frictions image of Poland/the Poles in the previous centuries that was to be influenced by the same religion cf. H. von Zitzewitz, *Das deutsche Polenbild in der Geschichte: Entstehung, Einflüsse, Auswirkungen*, Köln-Weimar 2<sup>1992</sup>, esp. pp. 13f., 227.

of its execution – and European integration via the European Union involving at the beginning of the 21<sup>st</sup> century also Poland and Hungary.<sup>85</sup> Such a rhetorical strategy can be compared to a peculiar exorcizing of the “vicious ghosts” of old history and historiography and is to declare faith in a better future for the Polish-German relations.<sup>86</sup> Moreover, the spread of similar formulations in the narratives of medievalists is slowly causing the obsolescence (I wonder if scholarship will benefit from it) of Knut Görich’s statement that the journey of Otto III to Gniezno remains one of the most controversial events in the history of emperors from the Saxon dynasty.<sup>87</sup>

This raises a special kind of question. Contemporary German historians in works published in the timeframe of interest to us renounce nationalistic historiography both because of the ideology itself and due to the fact that historiography with this kind of tendency was used for current political interests and thus, in a way, betrayed scholarship.<sup>88</sup> With reference to the latter: does the friendly, declaratively pro-Polish, and pro-integration approach permeating their texts not reflect their needs for interpretations matching the political goals of German (and Polish) elites of the period from just before the accession of Poland to the EU? This phenomenon can be traced

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85 Cf. M. Borgolte, *Einleitung...*, p. 16: “Der Akt von Gnesen, verstanden als friedlicher Interessenausgleich von – werdenden – Nationen, kommt für eine europäische Mythenbildung gewiß in Betracht, zumal er am Anfang einer Geschichte steht, die sich heute erfüllt zu haben scheint”. On the other hand, J. Fried wrote in this volume in the conclusion to his very substantive article that 1000 years after Gniezno it is possible to overcome prejudices and rebuild the commonwealth of people around the Antique-Christian tradition, the Mediterranean Sea, and the West – J. Fried, *Gnesen – Aachen – Rom. Otto III. und der Kult des hl. Adalbert. Beobachtungen zum älteren Adalbertsleben*, in: *Polen und Deutschland vor 1000 Jahren*, p. 272. Cf. Ch. Lübke, *Das “junge Europa”...*, p. 476: “Gnesen kann (...) als Symbol für die Integration der im Laufe des 10. Jahrhunderts entstandenen Staaten – Böhmens, Polens und Ungarns – in das lateinisch-christliche Europa gelten, und zwar bei gleichzeitiger Anerkennung ihrer politischen und kirchlichen Selbständigkeit”.

86 Cf. declaring hope for overcoming the burdens of old historiography at J. Fried, *Otton III i Bolesław Chrobry...*, p. 73, where it is written about “leaving the pedestal of nationalism”, changing the perspective and new questions giving hope for new results.

87 K. Görich, *Ein Erzbistum in Prag oder Gnesen?*, “*Zeitschrift für Ostforschung*” XL (1991), p. 10.

88 For instance: idem, *Otto III. öffnet das Karlsgrab*, footnote: 89, p. 407: here the alleged eastern expansion of Otto I under the guise of the development of Church organization around archdiocese in Magdeburg is considered to be an interpretation created by the historians in relation to the national antagonisms between the Germans and the Poles after World War I. About departing from nationalistic interpretations A. Plassmann, *Origo gentis...*, p. 296: “Die Beurteilung der polnischen Frühzeit hat in den letzten Jahrzehnten intensive Neubewertungen erfahren, da sich Historiker polnischer und deutscher Provenienz von alten nationalistischen Vorurteilen befreien und die Rückprojektion der problematischen neuzeitlichen Geschichte der beiden Völker auf das Mittelalter zunehmend vermieden wird”.

back to the time when, after World War II, the Federal Republic of Germany was becoming part of the new European structures. It was then that West German historiography made the transition from *Reichsgedanken* to *Europagedanken*, from thinking in categories of the Reich to thinking in categories of Europe and to searching for Germany's European roots in the state of the Carolingians and in the Mediterranean world.<sup>89</sup> Obviously, this might be inevitable. The historian's work in any given period reflects the tendencies in the society and culture for which every scholar remains a recipient, representative, and co-creator. And in this very specific case (the attitude to Poland at the turn of the millennium), the culmination of the process of reconciliation between nations (a completely different matter that is completely beyond the scope of this text) was happening in journalism (*vide* the activity of such people as Marion Dönhoff), literature (*vide* the role and popularity of works of Günther Grass), and historiography.

The one and only character in Polish history from the period between the 10<sup>th</sup> and the end of the 12<sup>th</sup> century that is of any interest to modern narratives of German medievalists who do not specialize in Polish history is Bolesław I the Brave. One of the main reasons for this is the detailed, though extremely critical, account of his character and deeds in Thietmar's chronicle. But there are also other reasons for this selectiveness privileging only one in the series of Polish rulers. One of them is the relation of Bolesław with Otto III and everything that concerns the Congress of Gniezno. This obviously includes the dispute that pitted two prominent experts in the era (though, it needs to be repeated, not as knowledgeable about Polish literature on these topics): Gerd Althoff and Johannes Fried who did not agree on whether Otto elevated his host to the royal position in Gniezno as Gallus writes or not.

Another reason is even more interesting. That is, Bolesław I is presented in syntheses as a Slavic counterpart of the Scandinavian conqueror (his own nephew, by the way), Cnut the Great.<sup>90</sup> Historiography seems to be impressed by the dynamism of his politics. His actions illustrate what is called, rather without open criticism, a serious expansiveness of the newly established state of the Piasts. This expansiveness is, for example, the central theme of a small portrait outline of the new Christian neighbor of the Reich presented by Ekkehard Eickhoff in his 1999 biography of Otto III.<sup>91</sup> Another "hero" in this pub-

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<sup>89</sup> Cf. G. Althoff, *Die Beurteilung der mittelalterlichen Ostpolitik als Paradigma für zeitgebundene Geschichtsbewertung*, in: *Die Deutschen und ihr Mittelalter – Themen und Funktionen moderner Geschichtsbilder vom Mittelalter*, ed. G. Althoff, Darmstadt 1992, p. 162.

<sup>90</sup> Direct comparison of both conquerors: *Gebhardt III*, p. 433. Cf. W. Trillmich, *Kaiser Konrad II...*, p. 166: Bolesław I is "der große Eroberer".

<sup>91</sup> E. Eickhoff, *Kaiser Otto III. Die erste Jahrtausendwende und die Entfaltung Europas*, Stuttgart 1999.

lication is... Europe. This might be recognized as a sign of the times. Thus, Eickhoff wrote about the dynamism of expansion, the surprising strength of the development of the state of the Piasts, its participation in the conflicts set in the contemporary geopolitical location.<sup>92</sup> He did not forget to emphasize that Mieszko I and Bolesław I the Brave could combine with the core of their dominion the regions of Cracow and Silesia under the cover of friendship with the Reich ruled by Theophanu; the value of this ally for Germany was also highlighted.<sup>93</sup> Later, the historian described Bolesław I the Brave as the most powerful duke in this part of Europe, combative, ruthless in the consolidation of his power, merciless in the removal of his rivals, and unwaveringly loyal towards Otto III.<sup>94</sup> After Otto's death, Bolesław turned from a reliable ally and liege into a dangerous neighbor whose aggressive force was directed towards the West. Still, the historical merit of Otto and Gerbert of Aurillac (pope Sylvester II) proved to be the inclusion of Poland and Hungary into the Latin-Christian cultural community for good.<sup>95</sup>

Even though expressing enthusiasm for the aggressiveness manifested during the conquests and linked with vitality, freshness, and (historical) youth is definitely no longer prevalent, certain traces of concepts permeating European culture before World War II are still there. It should be emphasized that this is not unique to German historiography. Change in comparison with previous interpretations consists currently in diminishing the national or ethnic dimensions of expansions: they become actions of dynastic rulers, families, and their circles or church institutions that are guided by a non-national logic.

This does not mean that the explanations referring to the movements of ethnicities have completely disappeared. This is the case of the expansion of the Saxons mostly to the bordering Slavic lands. The Slavic pressure to the West from the previous centuries is mentioned in expressions that justify the actions from the period of the Liudolfings as a result of the defense of borders conducted already in the times of Charlemagne.<sup>96</sup> Again: regard-

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92 Cf. a very distinctive choice of vocabulary: *ibidem*, p. 107: "zwischen Oder und Weichsel unter Mieszko I ein neues Staatsgebilde (...) mit erstaunlicher Kraft verschafft es unter der werdenden Völkern Ostmitteleuropas Geltung..."; p. 110: "expandierende, streitbare Polen"; p. 111: "stürmisch gewachsene polnische Herrschaftsgebiet".

93 *Ibidem*, p. 110.

94 *Ibidem*, p. 269.

95 *Ibidem*, pp. 355, 356.

96 Cf. M. Borgolte, *Einleitung...*, p. 15 – about the traditional interpretations within which the assessment of Bolesław I the Brave as the ruler of an expansive state and accusations of Polish aggressiveness accompanied the justifications of German politics and, e.g., accusing Otto III of abandoning proper positions. Cf. on the other hand, quite recently, E. Boshof, *Königtum und Königsherrschaft...*, p. 23: Bolesław I meddling in the Czech fights for the crown leads to the battle for dominion over Sclavinia and Henry II gets involved against his will. Downplaying aggressiveness and expansiveness of the state of the Ottonians and statements that actions under-

less of the accuracy of these perspectives verified by historians with the help of archaeologists and linguists, we are dealing here with a certain long-lived concept that goes back to the Middle Ages. Already at that time in the historiographic texts aspiring to scholarship do we see an image of the space of Eastern Europe as originally settled by the Germanic peoples and even called *Germania* and only later overrun by waves of Slavs.<sup>97</sup>

Appreciation for the vitality of the Slavic state of Bolesław is rarely connected in the writings of German historians with reflection on the causes of the fall of his "Slavic empire". This is the period of the Piast monarchy that stops being important for the history of the Empire in the perspectives of the authors of syntheses. If such reflection appears, it is accompanied by remarks about the lack of lasting foundations of the constructed order (institutional, ideological, or moral) other than the personal charisma of the ruler and brutal strength used to exercise power over subjects and expanding it to other peoples. For example, this aspect of brutal strength appears in the foreground in an article written by Felix Biermann later than the timeframe of interest to us. While it is focused on Christianization, it also mentions other aspects. To be fair, it should be emphasized that this author knows well and cites Polish literature on the subject (especially archeological).<sup>98</sup> Biermann wrote that because of the early days and weakness of the institutions, as well lack of all these compensating elements that were at the disposal of e.g., the Ottonian ruler of the Empire, in early-Piast Poland violence had to be an important element of power. Following Herwig Wolfram, he also points out the similarities between the strategies of the Germanic peoples and Slavic peoples during the establishment of their early states.<sup>99</sup> He also interprets the crisis of the Piast dynasty

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taken by Saxons on the Elbe were the result of the defense against the prolonged expansion of the Slavs to the West: F. Halbauer, *Deutsch-polnische Geschichtsbild-Probleme: dargestellt an 1000 Jahren deutsch-polnischer Begegnung: zur Klärung eines beiderseits revidierten deutsch-polnischen bzw. polnisch-deutschen Geschichtsbildes*, Europäische Hochschulschriften, Reihe III, Geschichte und ihre Hilfswissenschaften, CCCXLV, Frankfurt am Main 1988, pp. 15-17. This text also includes the itemized polemics with the theses of Polish historians about the "peaceful" development of the state of the Piasts.

97 Recently on that: A. Pleszczyński, *Die Sicht auf die Geschichte der Slawen im Chronicon imperatorum et pontificum Bavaricum im Kontext damaliger stereotyper deutscher Ansichten, "Quaestiones Medii Aevi Novae"* XXIV (2019), pp. 206f.

98 F. Biermann, *Überzeugung und Zwang bei der Christianisierung Polens unter den ersten Piasten*, in: *Schwertmission. Gewalt und Christianisierung im Mittelalter*, ed. H. Kamp, M. Kroker, Paderborn 2013.

99 Ibidem, p. 79. Cf. crucial here text by the Austrian researcher: H. Wolfram, *Die ostmitteleuropäischen Reichsbildungen um die erste Jahrtausendwende und ihre gescheiterten Vorläufer. Ein Vergleich im Überblick*, in: *Böhmen und seine Nachbarn in der Přemyslidenzeit*, ed. I. Hlaváček, A. Patschowsky, Vorträge und Forschungen, LXXIV, Ostfildern 2011, pp. 49-90.

after Bolesław I in accordance with this reasoning. Tensions were growing in the seemingly powerful country. Bolesław I was able to have control over everything due to his charisma, victories, and willingness to take draconian steps. After his death, those with a hostile attitude towards the new political and religious order found the main goal and object of rebellion in Christianity.<sup>100</sup>

Reflection on grand changes in the cultural geography of the era also influenced the interpretations of the history of the first centuries of Piast Poland in German syntheses (and not only). At the close of antiquity the lands inhabited by the tribes which were to build the German nation and state remained, as is sometimes still formulated, outside the civilized world represented by the Roman empire. Later, as a result of the expansion of the Franks and the progressive Christianization, they became part of it, albeit located peripherally. In the 10<sup>th</sup> century, however, with the establishment and Christianization of the Western Slavic and Hungarian states, they found themselves in a central position: in the middle of culturally understood Europe.

Becoming aware of this *Mittellage*<sup>101</sup> did not lead to perceiving France as peripheral but the eastern neighbors advanced to the role of "our (at least partially) tamed peripheries". This did not have to be expressed directly, but this is how an old and vital scheme including the concepts of the development of civilization from the center towards the peripheral lands is being preserved. For example, this is true for the biography of Conrad II by Franz-Rainer Erkens, in which the chapter about the eastern politics of the protagonist of the book was titled "Countries of the eastern borderland of Reich" ("die östliche Randstaaten des Reiches"), and the author decided to present in it the empire of the Salians as a force bringing order to Central and Eastern Europe.<sup>102</sup>

#### HISTORY OF THE REGION AS AN ALTERNATIVE TO NATIONAL HISTORY?

An extremely important and often extremely sensitive topic in the historiography of Polish-German relations was the German colonization of the late Middle Ages with its consequences in the ethnic map and political affiliation of Pomerania and Silesia. After World War II *die Vertriebene* (the Germans expelled from lands given to Poland and the USSR in Potsdam as well as from Czechoslovakia) cultivated bonds with their lost local homelands also on the plane of historiography reaching long gone eras. This was also hap-

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100 F. Biermann, *Überzeugung...*, p. 89.

101 A term emphasized for example in a bit more recent work, J. Ehlers, *Die Entstehung des Deutschen Reiches...*, pp. 54, 61, 109.

102 F.-R. Erkens, *Konrad II...*, p. 150.

pening as part of the *Ostforschung*. Academic approaches towards the history of Silesia in the FRG, regardless of the biographical relations between the authors and this land, also reflected this sentiment.<sup>103</sup> Unlike in the previous part of this article, here I will focus on one selected work or, to be more exact, on its part. I mean here chapters of the monumental synthesis of the history of Silesia published in 1994.<sup>104</sup>

It was written by Peter Moraw, a researcher of undisputed expertise in the world of German scholarship who died in 2013. He came from the region belonging at the moment of his birth to Czechoslovakia. His family left this region because of World War II. However, it would be vastly oversimplistic to attribute to the biographical factor the decisive influence on his interpretations of the history of lands that from the Late Middle Ages were populated in great numbers by Germans and after 1945 were abandoned by the German population under constraint. In this outline, the theses of Moraw will be treated as representative of a significant part of current German historiography that has shaped the views of subsequent generations of academics.

Let us start with an element that most obviously differentiates Moraw's perspective from the one prevailing in Polish historiography and Polish historical awareness. For this German medievalist, Silesia is not Poland. In his text, these two names are always mentioned as referring to separate entities. In Polish historical writing such an understanding is also present but is clearly limited in terms of time periods. Namely, it only covers the period from the beginning of the 14<sup>th</sup> century when Władysław Łokietek and Casimir III the Great united some of the Polish provinces but not Silesia, which apart from some minor borderlands became part of the Kingdom of Bohemia and later, the states of the Habsburgs and the Hohenzollerns. However, Polish historians consistently treat Silesia in the previous centuries (11<sup>th</sup>, 12<sup>th</sup>, and 13<sup>th</sup>) as part of the Piast dominion in the same manner as Greater Poland, Kuyavia, Masovia, and Lesser Poland. They do perceive Pomerania as a separate entity: and this goes for both Western Pomerania (ephemerally dependent on the Piasts) and the so-called Gdańsk Pomerania that had closer relations to the Piasts.

Such a phraseological convention is neither a discovery nor the specific feature of Peter Moraw's narrative. Some German texts argue for it by referring to the titles of the Piast dukes of Silesia as *duces Silesiae et Poloniae*, where

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103 For an interesting presentation of historiographical approaches to these border regions: J. Hackmann, *Deutschlands Osten – Polens Westen als Problem der Geschichtsschreibung. Anmerkungen zu einer vergleichenden Historiographieggeschichte*, in: *Deutschlands Osten Polens Westen. Vergleichende Studien zur geschichtlichen Landeskunde*, ed. M. Weber, Frankfurt am Main 2001, pp. 209-235, with the thesis about this historiography being burdened on both sides, Polish and German, with a one-sided, nationally-oriented perspective.

104 *Schlesien*, ed. N. Conrads, *Deutsche Geschichte im Osten Europas*, III, Berlin 1994.

Polonia actually means Great Poland.<sup>105</sup> Moreover, the consistent isolation of Silesia from Poland (or another historical regions of Poland) gives this region in the period before German colonization and the attendant demographic and cultural changes the same status as Pomerania and Polabia: regions that usually were not seen as belonging to the adjacent political entities.<sup>106</sup>

This is similar to recognizing Red Ruthenia and Vladimir Rus before the incorporations of Casimir the Great as entities that are not part of Ruthenia despite the same dynasty ruling over duchies there, as in Kyiv, Chernihiv, Pereiaslav, etc. Such a treatment has fairly clear consequences: the historian who uses it communicates indirectly that the aforementioned great demographic and cultural change (in Moraw's work, the basic topic of the entire narration) did not happen in any case "to the detriment of Poland".

This goes hand in hand with the tendency that constitutes a trademark of Peter Moraw's interpretation. Namely, when it comes to the Middle Ages, he sees the history of regions as intellectually more productive than the history of states and nations.<sup>107</sup> Ostensibly, this looks like moving away from the practice of *Ostforschung* studies, in which the central theme constituted the history of Germanic ethnicities in various parts of Eastern Europe. According to Moraw, his preferred paradigm seems to dissolve disputes over who has historically better rights to these or other lands.

In fact, Moraw's proposal was directed mainly against the nationalistic interpretation of contemporary Polish historiography that the author perceived as less mature. Confronting the traditions of seeing the history of Silesia from the angle of the history of states, Moraw wrote that Polish historians, not moved by the most recent trends in medieval studies, are used to writing about the "Polish state" even for the 10<sup>th</sup> century and ignore the fact that it would be difficult to perceive Poland located on the peripheries of Europe as more modern than the West and the South of Europe,<sup>108</sup> where the formation of countries was none too advanced, after all. For Moraw, this Polish point of view deserves to be called "traditionell-national". The first

105 A. Rütger, *Landesbewußtsein im spätmittelalterlichen Schlesien. Formen, Inhalte und Trägergruppen*, in: *Spätmittelalterliches Landesbewußtsein in Deutschland*, ed. M. Werner, Vorträge und Forschungen, LXI, Ostfildern 2005, pp. 305f.

106 This is a traditional convention: the history of Silesia before the beginnings of German settlements was included in German science to *Landesgeschichte* of individual parts of (former) Germany – cf. N. Kersken, *Bilder und Vorstellungen...*, p. 351.

107 Cf. opinions of Klaus Zernack in his overview of contemporary German historiography: according to him, Moraw in his various studies tried to develop regional and microregional research with methodological rigorism and polemical strictness towards Polish historiography – K. Zernack, *Die deutsch-polnischen Beziehungen...*, p. 36.

108 P. Moraw, *Das Mittelalter (bis 1469)*, in: *Schlesien...*, p. 40.



element of that term seems to form a stronger charge as this traditionalism suggests to the contemporary reader a certain obsolescence or backwardness of the Polish historical writings.

In the case of the chronological, synthetic approach covering a longer period of time, the historian's adoption of division into subperiods is, on the one hand, purposeful, and on the other it can reflect a deeper vision accompanying the execution of the subject. This is also true here. Peter Moraw's narration covers the period to 1469. It was divided into subchapters that have distinctive titles and are curious due to the selection of timeframes: this is certainly true for at least one case and thus, one worth analyzing. The first subchapter is entitled "Silesia in Poland" and covers the years 990-1202. The second one, entitled "Transformation and Europeanization. Independent Silesia" extends between 1202 and a "broken" date of 1327/1339. The third is entitled "Consolidation and crisis, Silesia in Germany (*Deutschland*)" and covers the period from 1327/39 to 1469. Naturally, political history and events seen as important remain the reservoir for the selected dates: it seems that this is how it has to be in more or less general periodizations. For comparison that will be of much use here, analogical dividing points for the Middle Ages adopted in the Polish synthesis of the history of Silesia from 2002 are: 990, 1138, 1335, and 1526.<sup>109</sup> Evidently, the year 990, the widely approved date of the Piasts taking over Silesia, is not controversial. Thereafter, the situation changes. The German historian saw the death of Bolesław III Wrymouth and division of his dominion as less important from the perspective of the history of Silesia than the death of the last of the sons of this ruler, Mieszko III and, according to the medievalist, the end of the idea of supreme power in Poland. This date is also very close to the date when Henry the Bearded took power over most of Silesia. And he is a prince recognized by Moraw as a key figure for the processes referred to throughout this subchapter.

Let us repeat: for P. Moraw, until 1202, Silesia is part of Poland. Later it becomes "independent", only to become part of Germany in the first part of the 14<sup>th</sup> century. In this last case, the dates are related to the end of the era of Polish bishops in the Wrocław diocese after the selection of Przecław of Pogorzelski who was the candidate of Luxembourg king of Bohemia. What is striking here is the fact that on the level reflecting the overriding ideas of his synthesis, the author "does not notice" that this is when Silesia became part of the Kingdom of Bohemia and stayed like that without a break until the 1740s. Bohemia was part of the Empire, but is it not somewhat risky to see it as part of Germany in a synthesis written in the 1990s? The author claims that structurally, Silesia became a part of German history before politically

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109 *Historia Śląska*, ed. M. Czapliński, Wrocław 2002. Interestingly, bibliography of this work does not include the synthesis for which P. Moraw wrote a chapter about the Middle Ages.

becoming part of Germany.<sup>110</sup> As we see from the rest of the text this relates to demographic and social structures; one could say with a dose of irony that in accordance with the most recent paradigm, Moraw gave priority to social history over political history...

The isolation of a “long” 13<sup>th</sup> century in Moraw’s narration is of fundamental importance to his entire concept. Firstly, it allows him to create a concept of Silesia as already not belonging to Poland, independent, and somewhat “unclaimed”. The German historian ignores the entire politics of Henry the Bearded and his successors happening within the Piast dominions, their ambitions and achievements in winning lands belonging to Bolesław III Wrymouth’s legacy, matrimonial strategy of binding with other branches of the Piasts, etc. He does that as, according to him, such facts like the cooperation of the related Piasts, joint church province, and Polish aristocratic clans with estates and interests in different districts of the country could not be an equivalent of statehood. And statehood was reputedly lost when the rule of seniority was buried, which was a unique catastrophe on a continental scale (“Unikum auf den Kontinent”).<sup>111</sup> After all, as it was written by another German historian, West Slavic kingdoms had no stability or territorial durability.<sup>112</sup> A certain radicality of Moraw’s approach seems to be indicated by the way in which Winfried Irgang wrote about the same topic in his only slightly more recent synthesis (published in 1995) that was more succinct and focused more on the strictly political topics.<sup>113</sup> The author notices not only that Henry the Bearded consolidated under his rule the majority of Polish lands but also that Silesian dukes used the term *dux Poloniae*. Admittedly, according to Irgang after 1202 the Piast dominion fell apart into independent duchies but all the provinces kept the idea of the unity of Poland.<sup>114</sup>

Thus, in Moraw’s interpretation, Silesia left the Polish orbit already in the 13<sup>th</sup> century. It had the same status as, for example, Pomerania. Thanks to this treatment, its inclusion in Germany in the 14<sup>th</sup> century (again, a very

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110 P. Moraw, *Das Mittelalter...*, p. 44.

111 Ibidem, p. 74.

112 A. Rütther, *Landesbewußtsein im spätmittelalterlichen Schlesien...*, p. 329.

113 *Schlesien. Geschichte, Kultur und Wirtschaft*, ed. W. Irgang, W. Bein, H. Neubach, Köln 1995 (hereinafter referred to as: Irgang, *Schlesien*). Winfried Irgang, a distinguished researcher of diplomatics and history of Silesia, age-wise belonging to the same generation as Moraw (born in 1942), is also the author of many detailed articles, 30 of which were included in the collection *Schlesien im Mittelalter: Siedlung – Kirche – Urkunden: ausgewählte Aufsätze*, Marburg 2007; due to their analytical and very specialized nature I do not include them in this outline.

114 W. Irgang, *Schlesien...*, pp. 34f.; A. Rütther, *Landesbewußtsein im spätmittelalterlichen Schlesien...*, p. 321, notices even at the end of the 14<sup>th</sup> century, when referring to the chronicle of Piotr of Byczyna, actions of Silesian Piasts acting as Polish dukes.

dubious mental shortcut) ceases to have even the appearance of annexation to the detriment of the neighboring state. It is an inclusion of an area that had already liberated itself on its own, thanks to the sovereign decisions of subsequent rulers. If this is to be a departure from the nationalistic interpretations of German science, it is truly peculiar.

Secondly, and from Moraw's perspective this seems to be more important, such an isolated 13<sup>th</sup> century can be presented as the age when Silesia is the best European example of catching up, making up for civilizational backwardness. It is a positive pole of the history of Silesia for which the catastrophe of 1945 constitutes an antithesis.<sup>115</sup> The sense and content of this transformation that was to be experienced by this independent Silesia in the 13<sup>th</sup> century was to be the modernization seen as equivalent to Europeanization.<sup>116</sup> These phrases are without question burdened with ideological meanings. Moreover, one can wonder if Europeanism did not become a substitute for the extremely positively defined Germanness that was prevalent in the interpretations of the predecessors of Moraw in this field.<sup>117</sup>

The concept of modernization as the absolutely most important process that shaped the specificity of Silesia in the Late Middle Ages would remain in an interpretative vacuum without setting a starting point. Moraw starts the key part of his interpretation by writing that "Polen liegt an der Peripherie" – Poland lies on the peripheries. According to him, this is an essential fact that shaped all these aspects of Polish history that are related to Europeanization.<sup>118</sup> A stigma of this history is backwardness, also in relation to Bohemia: the state was created later here, Christianization happened later. On the other hand, the Polish nation was younger than the state and the conditions determined by the peripheral position did not create the best conditions for the development of national awareness. Around 1200, when the independent history of Silesia started, nowhere on the peripheries of Europe existed "national" awareness: at most, there was dynastic awareness.<sup>119</sup> These statements, acceptable on their own, must in context lead

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115 P. Moraw, *Das Mittelalter...*, p. 44.

116 Ibidem, p. 48. Elsewhere, this transformation is respected as unique for its scale – cf. p. 91: "Oderland... so gründlich neu geformt worden ist wie wohl keine andere Region gleicher Größe".

117 As a matter of fact, this is how Moraw's theses were seen by K. Zernack, *Die deutsch-polnischen Beziehungen...*, p. 36: "Die alte deutsche Kulturüberlegenheit wird – in Namen des Westens – ersetzt durch dessen unüberholbare Maßstäblichkeit".

118 P. Moraw, *Das Mittelalter...*, p. 47.

119 Ibidem, pp. 55f. Similar approach: A. Rüter, *Landesbewußtsein im spätmittelalterlichen Schlesien...*, p. 295: "politischer und regionaler Identitätsbildung(en) Schlesiens (...), die zunächst überwiegend dynastisch bzw. ethnisch bestimmt und später eher staatlich oder national geprägt waren".

the bright or extra suspicious reader to the conclusion that the medieval inhabitants of Silesia did not have time to adopt Polish identity – they had no chance due to its weak development – before they became Silesians belonging to German culture. Besides, at some point the author states quite explicitly that until the end of the 12<sup>th</sup> century there was no awareness of state identity among the Poles.<sup>120</sup> The usage of the term *Polonia* is not enough of a proof as, according to Moraw, this was only a quasi-ancient name for the region operating similarly to the names *Gaul* and *Germania* among chroniclers with intellectual aspirations.<sup>121</sup>

The 11<sup>th</sup> century – the lion's share of the "Polish period" – was presented in Moraw's text as a bad time for Silesia, ruined by the actions of the two rivals fighting for control over this area: Polish and Bohemian dukes. The fate of the Wrocław diocese is to be the reason for this assessment. On the other hand, Moraw introduces in his narrative the rebellion of comes Magnus of Wrocław against the Polish duke that was caused by bringing clerks from other regions of Poland to Silesia.<sup>122</sup> Let us recall here that in the chronicle of Gallus Anonymus, comes Magnus is only ephemerally present as giving support to the sons of Władysław Herman during the rebellion against their father.<sup>123</sup> Polish historiography is rather free of interpretations making this figure into an independent political entity and a representative of interests of his land (even though as part of pseudo-scientific constructions, as proven, unfortunately, by the Polish Wikipedia and presentations available to everyone visiting the Czersk castle, he got identified with the son of Harold Godwinson, the last king of Anglo-Saxon England). When writing about Peter Wlast, the German medievalist states that he acted like a duke due to his grand foundational actions.<sup>124</sup> Behind all of this lies a suggestion that under the rule of the Piasts, Silesia was in a way an aggrieved province and that it demonstrated separatist tendencies that were fully revealed in the next period as set by Moraw.

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120 P. Moraw, *Das Mittelalter...*, p. 74: "... man ein 'Staatliches' Zusammengehörigkeitsbewußtsein des Polen bis zum Ende des 12 Jts nicht auffindet". Johannes Fried expressed a different point of view in his *Der Weg in die Geschichte: Die Ursprünge Deutschlands bis 1024, Propyläen Geschichte Deutschlands*, Berlin 1994, p. 22, where the Poles were listed together with the French, Czech, Danes, but also the Bavarians, Saxons, Alemanni, etc. as a nation that as opposed to the Germans has their own *patria* already in the 12<sup>th</sup> century.

121 P. Moraw, *Das Mittelalter...*, p. 74: "quasiantike Regionsbezeichnung – ähnlich geographisch akzentuiert wie *Gallia* oder *Germania*".

122 P. Moraw, *Das Mittelalter...*, p. 60. Similarly – and probably depending on Moraw – W. Irgang, *Schlesien...*, pp. 30f. (1093: rebellion in Silesia). However, a stabilization reached by the Piast Silesia in the times of Bolesław III Wrymouth is mentioned there; Moraw has no such "positive moments".

123 *Galli Anonymi Cronica et Gesta ducum sive principum*, ed. K. Maleczyński, Monumenta Poloniae Historica n.s., Kraków 1952, II, 4, pp. 69f.

124 P. Moraw, *Das Mittelalter...*, p. 60.

This earlier period was presented as a time of primitive economic relations, underdevelopment of trade, barter exchange, and cities that were completely different from the future “real” ones. While the adoption of Christianity brought about the first wave of modernization and Europeization (a term used by the historian in relation to the Middle Ages consistently, intentionally, and without inverted commas), the number of foundations of monasteries (only 3) proves the extreme underdevelopment of Silesia within this field.<sup>125</sup> The Slavic period (“die slawische Zeit”; and thus, probably jointly Bohemian and Polish) left Silesia scarcely populated and poorly developed, also when compared to Bohemia.<sup>126</sup> On the other hand, when referring to the registers of Peter’s Pence, Moraw claims that in the 14<sup>th</sup> century Poland was still scarcely populated – even compared to such an area as the neighbouring diocese of Chełmno in the Teutonic Order state. In his interpretation, this is a basic measurement of backwardness while Silesia is already on the other side. Let us return once more to the topic of low population density. This is also where the trace of the traditions of German historiography is still present, as it saw medieval Poland as a scarcely populated country of passive Slavs in which there were no cities before the coming of Germans.<sup>127</sup>

P. Moraw asks in his text: why did such a comprehensive ethnic, linguistic, and social transformation happen in Silesia and change the region of archaic qualities into a full member of the modern (in that era) culture? He answers: in the 13<sup>th</sup> century, thanks to the proportional influx of representatives of various social groups from the West, it was possible for the complete social structure (in the original text, a pyramid: *Sozialpyramide*) to form in Lower Silesia. Nothing similar existed there before, which suggests a deeper backwardness than in Bohemia of that time.<sup>128</sup> Due to the development of the cities perceived as “nodes of modernization” throughout the entire continent, Silesia was radically transformed and thereby, in the understanding fitting this period, became Europeanized.<sup>129</sup> And finally, as the researcher concludes a bit further (and this is of key importance to our reflection on this text), countries without a large layer of burghers, such as early modern Poland, are classified as backward or peripheral. At the end of the Middle Ages, thanks to the burghers, Silesia was so to speak “in the center of Europe” or very close to that.<sup>130</sup>

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125 Ibidem, p. 67: “die extreme Unterentwicklung Schlesiens in diesem Bereich bis zum Stichjahr 1200”.

126 Ibidem, p. 91.

127 About popularization of this approach by works of Karl Hampe from 1920s cf. Z. Kaczmarczyk, *Kolonizacja niemiecka i kolonizacja na prawie niemieckim w średniowiecznej Polsce*, in: *Stosunki polsko-niemieckie w historiografii...*, pp. 273f.

128 P. Moraw, *Das Mittelalter...*, p. 100.

129 Ibidem, p. 101.

130 Ibidem, p. 109: “Länder ohne breites Bürgertum, wie noch das frühneuzeitliche Polen, wird man weiterhin als verspätet und peripher klassifizieren”.

Why should we pay attention to this? Namely, it turns out that (not for the first time in this analysis) certain concepts truly are long lasting. In the German reflection on Poland already from the Enlightenment (and it was a period of key importance for forming the German canon of stereotypes concerning the Slavs in general and the Poles in particular<sup>131</sup>) the opinion appears about the defectiveness of its social structure in which there are only peasants and the gentry, there are no native burghers (only the Germans and the Jews matter in the towns) and thus, it is impossible for civic virtues to develop. This notion remains to a certain extent in accordance with the historiosophic vision of the early Slavs in the writings of Johann Gottfried Herder, whose ideas were generally well received by historians from Slavic countries (such as Joachim Lelewel). To a large extent, this vision replaced previous ideas of the Slavs in general who were perceived in the Middle Ages as prone to aggression and untamed by the long-lasting proximity of Germany.<sup>132</sup> Let us repeat that in Herder's vision, the Slavs formed communities of peaceful farmers creating their own original culture until their development was hindered by German expansion.<sup>133</sup> They were not characterized by some particular resourcefulness or rowdiness and they did not settle their historical residences via conquest. From here it was not far to the view that the Slavs did not have a habit of establishing states or cities and that this never became their strong point. As part of the German self-reflection on the nation, its mentality, and fates complemented by presenting the image of the "other" (the *othering* that is so popular in the sociological ambitious literature of our times), the Slavs became these Others through which Germans perceived themselves as burghers shaping their own identity and the identity of the imagined community (nation).<sup>134</sup> Lack of a perfect social structure was a feature of Slavic neighbors. As in this approach, the burghers to a large extent were responsible for creating the culture of nations – thus, it is mostly peasant nations that suffer from this critical defect.

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131 Cf. on that e.g., F. Steffen, *Probleme des Transfers deutscher Polenbilder im Zeitalter der Frühaufklärung und Aufklärung*, in: *Aufklärung und Kulturtransfer in Mittel- und Osteuropa*, ed. A. Pufelska, I.M. D'Aprile, Hannover 2009, pp. 267-291.

132 Cf. F. Schmieder, *Menschenfresser und andere Stereotypen gewalttätiger Fremder – Normannen, Ungarn und Mongolen (9. – 13. Jahrh.)*, in: *Gewalt im Mittelalter. Realitäten – Imaginationen*, ed. M Braun, C. Herberichs, München 2005, pp. 167f.

133 Cf. P. Drews, *Herder und die Slaven. Materialien zur Wirkungsgeschichte bis zur Mitte des 19. Jahrhunderts*, München 2009; *ibidem*, pp. 11-68 – about Herder's views on the Slavs and further about reception of his ideas in individual Slavic cultures in the 19<sup>th</sup> century. Cf. also J. Hackmann, *From Germania Slavica...*, p. 123.

134 About this issue with reference to an indeed narrow timeframe cf. F. Rash, *German Images of the Self and the Other. Nationalist, Colonialist and Anti-Semitic Discourse 1871–1918*, New York 2012.

Moraw's text is an apology of change that was brought about by German colonization, even though this last term is not used enthusiastically. This apology includes another opposition. This time, it is related to a later era. The historian shows what was removed or avoided by the inhabitants of Silesia as opposed to the less lucky Slavic (i.e., Polish) neighbors: attachment to land, compulsory service resulting from the lawlessness of the masters, life in terrible conditions, and also the obligation to select a spouse from their own village. In Silesia, the new system provided individual freedoms and led to the creation of a new, extensive middle class (*Mittelschicht*).<sup>135</sup> The modern historian, without direct references, clearly follows the idea formed in the mid-19<sup>th</sup> century by Gustav Adolf Stenzel about the extreme oppression of Polish peasants by their masters in the times before the German colonization (and this does not mean the times of serfdom).<sup>136</sup>

Another interesting opinion of Moraw is the thesis about the reactionary attitude of the Church in Silesia, which until the beginnings of the 14<sup>th</sup> century was dominated by the elite coming from Polish magnatial families.<sup>137</sup> In Silesia, the Church, originally part of the Polish Church, defended itself against changes. Very late (between 100 to 200 years later than in the West) it started to move towards the European medieval Church reform. This delay remained its essential characteristic ("ein maßgeblicher Wesenzug"). Such an opinion matches the view that is obviously deeply set in Protestant historiography, but also easily repeated in the Enlightenment and later that even though in the earlier Middle Ages the Church could have been seen as a culture-creating power basically in all areas, in the era discussed in the text analyzed here it started to be a factor hampering i.a., economic transformations. However, the significant context and explanation of Moraw's thesis constitutes the negative attitude of at least parts of the Church elites toward the increase in the meaning of the German factor.<sup>138</sup> At this stage still Polish, the Church in Silesia was reactionary because it opposed the modernization that Moraw equated with the influx of Germans from all social classes and with the increase in their role which, according to the scholar, was not only inevitable but also posi-

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135 P. Moraw, *Das Mittelalter...*, pp. 115, 117.

136 Cf. on that: M. Cetwiński, *Historia i polityka. Teoria i praktyka mediewistyki na przykładzie badań dziejów Śląska*, Kraków 2008, pp. 59-62: Stenzel, representative of the liberal wing of the public opinion of his times considered the history of spreading German law to be the execution of the idea of freedom as for him, the history of Germany was indeed the history of execution of the idea of freedom.

137 P. Moraw, *Das Mittelalter...*, pp. 127-129.

138 Cf. on that e.g., J. Strzelczyk, *Deutsch-polnische Schicksalgemeinschaft in gegenseitigen Meinungen im Mittelalter*, in: *Mittelalter: eines oder viele / Średniowiecze: jedno czy wiele*, ed. S. Moździoch, W. Mrozowicz, S. Rosik, Wrocław 2010, pp. 117-119.

tive. Thus, only the clergy (or rather a small number of them), supported the national antagonism due to their financial interests.<sup>139</sup>

At the end of this discussion it is worth putting things in a wider context. Moraw's suggestion – that the inclusion of Silesia in the political and cultural area of Germany was done on the basis of a liberation that did not happen to the detriment of Poland – resonates with the views about the peacefulness of the process of German settlement. They are rooted in the myth of successful and bloodless colonization. One of its best-known verbalizations is found in the statements of the Chancellor of the German Reich Bernhard von Bülow included in the book of 1916, according to which, no colonization of such magnitude was so bloodless or used so little violence.<sup>140</sup> This was a discourse proving that especially compared to later acts of the Spaniards, the Portuguese, and the English, medieval Germans were already immensely successful as colonizers.<sup>141</sup> Colonization itself constituted in these traditional approaches a great achievement of the nation with all its classes. Moreover, it meant the repopulation of previously Germanic lands. What was emphasized were the peaceful seizure of these regions and the magnitude of civilizational work.<sup>142</sup> Without the idea of the "pre-Germanness" of the settled areas, these theses or perspectives clearly permeated into the currently published German history books in which, in the era of the reduction of materials provided for schoolchildren, the settlement of the East and the Teutonic Order constitute the first opportunity to even mention Poland.<sup>143</sup>

As Hanna Grzempa wrote, "jednym z istotnych elementów przekazu podręczników jest eksponowanie pokojowego przebiegu osadnictwa oraz zgodnego sąsiedztwa pomiędzy Polakami i Niemcami oraz współpracy o obustronnych korzyściach" [English: "one of the important elements of the message from textbooks is exhibiting the peaceful process of the settlement and the harmonious coexistence between the Poles and the Germans as well their mutually-beneficial cooperation"]. And elsewhere: "uczeń

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139 P. Moraw, *Das Mittelalter...*, p. 98.

140 "Niemals in der Weltgeschichte ist um eine Kolonisation von solchem Umfange weniger Blut geflossen, weniger Gewalt geschehen, als um diese", cited as in: H.H. Hahn, *Der deutsche Kolonialdiskurs und Osteuropa?*, in: *Dekonstruieren und doch erzählen. Polnische und andere Geschichten*, ed. J. Heyde et al., Göttingen 2015, p. 49.

141 H.H. Hahn, *Der deutsche Kolonialdiskurs...*, pp. 49f.

142 Cf. A. Meissner, *Die Nationalisierung der Volksschule. Geschichtspolitik im Niederen Schulwesen Preußens und des deutschsprachigen Österreich, 1866 bis 1933/38*, Berlin 2009, p. 126. About the development of these perspectives cf. Z. Kaczmarczyk, *Kolonizacja niemiecka...*, pp. 265f.: the idea gained in importance thanks to the synthesis of Karl Lamprecht published in 1891-1894; he presented colonization as a great deed of a nation to which the Germans owe 3/5<sup>th</sup> of their territory; Lamprecht coined the term "German movement to the East".

143 H. Grzempa, *Obraz Polski i Polaków...*, p. 84.



niemiecki poznaje średniowieczną Polskę – jako wprawdzie zaściankową w stosunku do zachodnich sąsiadów, jednak otwartą na postęp oraz zmiany i korzystającą z doświadczenia zachodnich migrantów, czyli w dużej korelacji z XIX-wiecznymi narracjami o “pokojowym” podboju wschodu Europy”<sup>144</sup> [English: “a German student learns about a medieval Poland that is admittedly impoverished compared to its Western neighbors but still open to progress and changes and using the experiences of Western migrants which remains in significant correlation with the 19<sup>th</sup>-century narrations about a “peaceful” conquest of the east of Europe”].

In fact, the above-discussed approach of Peter Moraw bears the mark of the entire *Ostforschung* tradition. At the end of this chapter, for the sake of fairness, it is necessary to look at German historiography’s attempts at revisiting problems that are in the center of this narrative. Great demographic movement and cultural change are being redefined by referring to two complementary terms: *Germania Slavica* and *Slavia Germanica*.<sup>145</sup> This is happening under the influence of discussion with Polish scholars. Such redefining allows for a deepened reflection on regional identities shaped by both substrates: German and Slavic. This should lead to noticing and appreciating the bilateralism of interactions on this vast area covering lands along the Elbe, the Baltic littoral, and a considerable part of Poland. However, one of the key topics regularly appearing in the older perspectives was the thesis about the progress happening in the Slavic lands exclusively or mainly under the influence of an impulse from the outside, with the Slavic people being given the role of a passive recipient, a more or less clever student and follower.

#### COMPARISON OF CULTURES OF MEDIEVAL EUROPE AND ITS PRACTICAL USE IN WRITING ABOUT THE HISTORY OF POLAND

The contemporary German medievalist Michael Borgolte contributed significantly to the development of institutional frameworks and program postulates for research, the essence of which is a comparative approach towards cultures coexisting in Europe during the “High Middle Ages” (as one could

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144 Ibidem, pp. 84f.

145 J. Hackmann, *From Germania Slavica...*, passim, with the easiest explanation of both terms *Germania Slavica*, *Slavia Germanica*, at the beginning, p. 122: “Whereas the first concept refers to the «Germanisation» of Slavic regions, the second notion points at an opposite development as the «Polonization» of former German regions”. About the scope: cf. Th. Wunsch, *Deutsche und Slawen im Mittelalter. Beziehungen zu Tschechen, Polen, Südslawen und Russen*, München 2008, p. 11: Silesia, Pomerania, and Prussia are distinguished as “hochmittelalterliche Germania Slavica” (where not only the mutual influence but also ethnic blending were happening) from located further Bohemia, Moravia and Poland.

translate the German term *Hochmittelalter*). He did not write much about Polish topics and mostly repeated approaches typical of both Moraw and authors of textbook syntheses.<sup>146</sup> However, apart from organizing a platform of cooperation, he wrote program texts concerning research on the history of medieval Europe using the comparative approach.<sup>147</sup>

The demand for such perspectives is connected with two approaches present in the contemporary reflection of German historians on Europe. The first of them compiles a list of positive (in the meaning of present/detectable) factors that “created Europe” and the adequacy of which within this scope is to be proven by research. The second approach presupposes the existence of an entity called Europe. The history of such a Europe is to be a subject of reconstruction and the historical narrations set features that are to be essential for “European identity”. Both approaches encourage comparisons whether between European territories or between them and other regions of the world.<sup>148</sup> What is dangerous in terms of the former, is the arbitrary nature of and difficulties related to the creation of lists of characteristics of Europe that are accompanied by the “teleological” nature of such syntheses. According to Thomas Frank, whose remarks I am presenting here, Michael Borgolte represents the latter method of operation – giving up the creation of such a list at the beginning and focusing on solely comparative presentation.<sup>149</sup>

It should be admitted that the texts of Michael Borgolte that are discussed here are strongly saturated with the contemporary integrative phraseology from under the banner of the European Union. This historian openly considers the teaching of Europe’s medieval history at schools to be potentially useful for the construction of European identity (making it clear that such teaching should also show the diversity of Europe that cannot be integrated and that

**146** Cf. typical sentence concerning Silesia that perfectly corresponds to the above-discussed statements of Peter Moraw in: M. Borgolte, *Vom Sacrum Imperium zum Heiligen Römischen Reich Deutscher Nation. Mittelalterliche Reichsgeschichte und deutsche Wiedervereinigung*, here according to the reprint in: idem, *Mittelalter in der größeren Welt. Essays zur Geschichtsschreibung und Beiträge zur Forschung*, ed. T. Lohse, B. Scheller, Bad Langensalza 2014, p. 17: “Die schlesischen Herzöge waren den polnischen Piasten eng verbunden, wenn sie sich auch seit 1163 stärker an das Reich angelehnt hatten”. A confused or inattentive reader would not quite grasp that Silesian dukes were not only tightly connected to the Piasts but they themselves were also Piasts... – ibidem – mentioning Silesia and Poland separately.

**147** Among the ones used below one should mention especially: M. Borgolte, *Vor dem Ende der Nationalgeschichten? Chancen und Hindernisse für eine Geschichte Europas im Mittelalter*, “Historische Zeitschrift” CCLXXII (2001), pp. 561-596.

**148** Th. Frank, *Historiker über Europa. Figurationen des Europäischen in der neueren Geschichtswissenschaft*, in: *Figuren des Europäischen. Kulturgeschichtliche Perspektiven*, ed. D. Weidner, München 2006, p. 249.

**149** Ibidem, p. 251.

in the past led to conflicts, wars, and destruction).<sup>150</sup> Even though he repeats that history as field of scholarship should not be used to serve current politics, he also expresses his conviction that research on the European Middle Ages can contribute to clarifying the opportunities and risks of contemporary European integration and should prepare people both for the success and the failure of this process.<sup>151</sup> At the same time, this medievalist's suggestions correspond with the questioning of old colonial narratives. These narratives emphasized not only with reference to other continents but also to Europe the civilizational superiority and civilizing mission of the nations and states of Western Europe, including Germany. They also highlighted a certain unidirectionality of history: its core was the idea of the progress or development relying on the gradual extension of the pattern developed in the civilizational center.

Already in the 90s, Borgolte wrote that the previous decade, just before the turning point (*die Wende*), was marked by the renaissance of national history in German historiography. As many as five West German publishing houses decided then to publish new multi-volume syntheses of the history of Germany. The author left the explanation of this phenomenon as an open matter. He did notice parallels for it outside Germany. However, it is obvious for readers that he was reserved about it.<sup>152</sup> Anyway, these reflections were related to another one: mainly, that there was still (at the end of the 20<sup>th</sup> century) no European history of the Middle Ages. There were only national stories for which Europe was not a subject.<sup>153</sup>

Borgolte proposes writing about the culture of medieval Europe with emphasis on its diversity. He suggests moving away from judgments, focusing on mutual connections and interactions and on the lowest common denominator that can be detected.<sup>154</sup> At the same time, it is a vision of Europe as *Global-*

150 M. Borgolte, *Vor dem Ende...*, p. 596: "Europäische Geschichte des Mittelalters in der Schule könnte gewiss zur Ausbildung europäischer Identität beitragen, sie sollte aber auch die nie restlos integrierbare Vielfalt Europas zeigen zusammen mit ihren Gegensätzen, die zu Konflikten, Kriegen und furchtbaren Vernichtungen geführt haben".

151 Ibidem, p. 595: "Selbstverständlich darf sich Geschichte als Wissenschaft nicht in den Dienst einer aktuellen politischen Bewegung wie der europäischen Einigung stellen, aber sie darf und sollte ihre Ziele an den Orientierungsbedürfnissen der Gegenwart kontrollieren. In diesem Sinne kann auch europäische Geschichte des Mittelalters zur Aufklärung über Chancen und Risiken der gegenwärtigen europäischen Integration beitragen, sie muss auf das Gelingen dieses Prozesses ebenso vorbereiten wie auf das Scheitern".

152 M. Borgolte, *Vom Sacrum Imperium...*, p. 13.

153 Idem, *Perspektiven europäischer Mittelalterhistorie an der Schwelle zum 21. Jahrhundert*, in: *Das europäische Mittelalter im Spannungsbogen des Vergleichs. Zwanzig internationale Beiträge zu Praxis, Problemen und Perspektiven der historischen Komparatistik*, ed. M. Borgolte, Europa im Mittelalter, I, Berlin 2001, p. 14.

154 Cf. idem, *Europäische und globale Geschichte des Mittelalters. Erfahrungen und Perspektiven*, "Francia" XLIII (2016), pp. 288f.: methodological postulate for the scientific historiography of the European Middle Ages: "...eine konsequent vergleichende Sicht auf Europa, die an den Gemeinsamkeiten ebenso interessiert ist wie an den Differenzen".

*geschichte*, including as rightful objects of interest not only the post-Roman-Carolingian world but also the Slavs from various parts of Europe, the Jews, the Muslims from the Mediterranean area and the nomadic peoples of the East. According to this historian, in order to avoid marginalization as the guardian of cultural uniqueness, European research on the Middle Ages needs to be expanded to other cultures.<sup>155</sup> The real integration of Europe requires that the “Latin-centric” approach of medieval studies be abandoned and instead, this field of research is broadened in an interdisciplinary manner by opening it up to Slavic studies, Byzantine studies, Jewish studies, and Arab studies (obviously not in the meaning of language studies, but as studies of individual cultures).<sup>156</sup> Of course there are intense polemics concerning the manner of defining Europe’s borders in the Middle Ages and the view of Michael Borgolte itself is sometimes criticized as narrowing them too much.

In this vision, the global approach is expressed not by covering the entire world but the ecumenes that include Europe, Northern Africa, and Asia.<sup>157</sup> At the same time, the postulated version of *Globalgeschichte* considers suspicious premises about a strict territorial embeddedness and homogeneity of the so-called great cultures (Latin Europe, Byzantine Europe, Slavic Europe, and the Islamic world). Successes are to be achieved mostly by researching cultural contacts and connections on the local or regional level.<sup>158</sup> The regional and pan-European levels are preferred at the expense of the national perspective. Such a shift is however also criticized.<sup>159</sup>

The question is how these premises are to be realized. One could probably see as a kind of an attempt the presentation in E. Eickhoff’s book about Otto III. The author wrote separate chapters or subchapters about Bohemia, Poland, and Kievan Rus. When writing about Poland, he emphasized the similarity of the social structure to that of the Frank-Saxonian neighbor. He stressed that similarly to western kings, the Polish duke had thousands of heavy cavalymen at his disposal and their war power was feared.<sup>160</sup> He compared Bolesław’s state with Ruthenia pointing to other than the close proximity factors leading to their confrontation.<sup>161</sup>

Finding structural similarities is related to thinking in the categories of convergence: similar conditions lead to similar solutions which consti-

155 Idem, *Vor dem Ende...*, p. 589.

156 Ibidem, p. 595.

157 M. Borgolte, *Europäische und globale Geschichte...*, p. 296.

158 Ibidem.

159 G. Vercamer, *Hochmittelalterliche Herrschaftspraxis...*, p. 352: according to this author, the reduction of the national theme in research is dangerous; in a way, it means yielding to populists; while properly conducted research “können dann im Vergleich gerade in einem immer wieder bekräftigen Europa ‘der Einheit aus der Vielfältigkeit’, äußerst interessante Einsichte erbringen”.

160 E. Eickhoff, *Kaiser Otto III...*, pp. 107f.

161 Ibidem, p. 120.

tutes an alternative to genetic judgments, i.e., conjecturing the ethnic similarities of the creators of given structures. In other words, this approach seems to allow for a definite liberation from patterns present in German historiography down to World War II according to which, German incomers-conquerors established towns for the Slavs. These patterns also made it easier to accept the thesis about the Norman origin of the dynasty of Polish princes.<sup>162</sup>

Michael Borgolte himself had to deal e.g., in his discussions with a problem concerning eastern colonization. It should be emphasized that the text I mention here was written earlier than the programmatic articles closer to the millennium.<sup>163</sup> He saw this phenomenon as the most important part of a great European process. He stressed that the expansion of the national state of the Germans was not the goal here, that not all settlers were German and that they were not the only ones contributing to the civilizational progress.<sup>164</sup>

Borgolte opposed the then still present (at the beginnings of 1990s) writing about great streams of settlers or even, with the use of military vocabulary, about marching columns. He noted the semantic change: abandonment the term *Ostbewegung* in the FRG's historiography from the 1950s in favor of *Kolonisation*<sup>165</sup> freed from the ideological influences and therefore supposedly neutral. This was related to an appreciation of the Slavic contribution to this great process and a reaching out to the research conducted in the historiographies of Germany's eastern neighbors. From their side, there was also a kind of opening.<sup>166</sup>

The realization of the idea of a comparative cultural history of Europe nevertheless appears to be nebulous. Collective works using this perspective have of course already been published.<sup>167</sup> However, it remains an open question whether this brings a new quality. One can assume, for example, that

162 Cf. G. Althoff, *Die Beurteilung...*, p. 158; N. Kersken, *Bilder und Vorstellungen...*, p. 352 – about presence of a thesis about Norman origins of Polish dynasty in German historiography to World War II, defended even by such authorities as Robert Holtzmann. In Polish literature on this topic for example A. Wierzbicki, *Między endo- a egzogenezą państwa polskiego. Polemiki historyków polskich z historiografią niemiecką w czasach II Rzeczypospolitej*, “Klio Polska. Studia i Materiały z Dziejów Historiografii Polskiej” VIII (2016), pp. 49-62; this author notes a seemingly surprising reserve towards the thesis about Norman genesis of the Polish state in the Nazi historiography, see also G. Labuda, *Początki państwa polskiego w historiografii...*, pp. 164f.

163 M. Borgolte, *Vom Sacrum Imperium...*, pp. 19ff.

164 Ibidem, p. 20.

165 Ibidem, pp. 21, 23.

166 Ibidem, p. 23.

167 Cf. *Mittelalter im Labor. Die Mediävistik testet Wege zu einer transkulturellen Europawissenschaft*, ed. M. Borgolte et al., Berlin 2008 and *Integration und Desintegration der Kulturen im europäischen Mittelalter*, ed. M. Borgolte et al., Berlin 2011.

when it comes to the Slavs, it requires a more intensive use of archeological material.<sup>168</sup> However, this leads to the problem related to the assessment of changes happening under the influence of the Western culture. If people started to build stone churches and imitate other signs of material culture, was it not because the local elites believed, contrary to the assumptions present in comparative history, that the other civilization was better than the native one and therefore worth imitating, even at great expense? Related discussions about the specificity of the development of certain regions or the functioning of a relatively uniform pattern of state-building, social transformations, etc. also seem inconclusive or of little relevance.<sup>169</sup>

The proposal to write a comparative history of the cultures making up medieval Europe, showing similarities as well as differences, is undoubtedly an attempt to move away from thinking in categories of: center (deserving more attention from the researchers) versus periphery; progress and advancement versus centuries of stagnation and backwardness; and finally, creators of civilizational values versus followers. This is to be a non-assessing and non-judging approach. Key words such as modernization and Europeanization treated as objectively existing vectors lose importance here. Above all, practical implementation seems difficult.

#### FINAL REMARKS

The center-periphery opposition still has to be considered one of the basic categories present in the perception of Polish history in German medieval studies. On the one hand, it is obvious that a synthetic or analytical text concentrating on the history of Germany and incidentally treating facts concerning Poland would place the eastern neighbor in the distant foreground. However, this is about something more than that. France and Italy in that era – after the demise of the Carolingian Empire – were also politically external compared to the new unity created by the Saxons, Bavarians, Swabians, and Thuringii. However, in historiographies they are not discussed in the category of cultural peripheries. It is not about the geographical distance or the strength of interrelations. What is more important here is an answer to a rarely asked question: did they belong to the same civilizational community or not? For France and Italy around year 1000, the answer given in German historiography remains unequivocally positive.

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**168** The result of such an attempt and at the same time the result of the interdisciplinary research group “*Gentes trans Albiam – Europa östlich der Elbe im Mittelalter*” is the publication entitled *Mittelalterliche Eliten und Kulturtransfer östlich der Elbe. Interdisziplinäre Beiträge zu Archäologie und Geschichte im mittelalterlichen Ostmitteleuropa*, ed. A. Klammt, S. Rossignol, Göttingen 2009.

**169** Cf. e.g. H. Wolfram, *Die ostmitteleuropäischen Reichsbildungen...*, p. 84.

It is different in the East. Contrary to what some might think, the matter of adopting Christianity, which was presented as the most important element deciding about civilizational affiliation from the perspective of the culture-making elites of the European Middle Ages, is not as significant in the opinions formulated in advanced modernity. Summing up the conclusions that are reached by tracking German historiography dealing with this topic, one can say that in the geographical space of European East we are, in fact, dealing with separate zones with different levels of interest corresponding to them. The conquered state systems of the Polabian Slavs with their later almost completely Germanized population became perhaps to a greater degree a domain of research in regional history. More attention is given to the Czechs and their fate. This is due not so much to the good source base as to the knowledge of the later course of history – the Přemyslid state and later the Luxembourg state became an inseparable part of the Reich for centuries, which culminated in the status of the emperor's elector permanently granted to the Bohemian monarch since the Golden Bull of Charles IV of 1356. Thus, regardless of the Slavic lineage of the state and its ethnic structure, it was seen as integrated with the rest and, to say it non-academically, "ours". As the history of Poland unfolded differently, and the relatively frequent and close contacts between the elite of Reich and Piast dynasties loosened, this state of affairs influenced the assessment of the significance of Poland to the history of the Ottonians and the Salian dynasty.

What does peripheral mean in the contexts characteristic of contemporary German narratives on the Middle Ages? Several elements can be mentioned. One of them is distance from points or regions perceived as decision centers. Thus, it is a kind of area where the fate of the world is certainly not decided. These are also places where representatives of the European elite, in this case cultural elites, feel strange or believe that they would feel strange (because, as per one of the well-known clichés, this is where wild bears run on the streets).<sup>170</sup> It is less safe there – and such a belief certainly still prevails to this day.<sup>171</sup> No one rational would like to stay there permanently and so, for Adalbert, later Archbishop of Magdeburg, being sent by Emperor Otto I to Kyiv as a missionary bishop was a dubious honor (which he probably expressed in his continuation of Regino's chronicle<sup>172</sup>). And finally, it is a place that has nothing to offer.

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170 Larry Wolf's book *Inventing Eastern Europe* presented this in more detail for the 18<sup>th</sup> century and the beginning of the 19<sup>th</sup> century.

171 Cf. anecdotes told by a German journalist with strong connections with Poland, Uwe von Seltmann, in his lecture delivered in Opole in 2001: *Das Bild von Polen und Tschechen in den deutschen Medien*: <https://uwevonseltmann.wordpress.com/2007/01/11/das-bild-von-polen-und-tschechen-in-den-deutschen-medien/>, access: 1.09.2020.

172 Cf. *Reginonis abbatis Prumiensis Chronicon cum continuatione Treverensi*, ed. F. Kurze, *Monumenta Germaniae Historica Scriptores rerum Germanicarum*, L, Hannover 1890, pp. 170, 172.

Not in the material sense as that age was accustomed to the topos of a land abundant in everything (and historiography knew how to use it). Not only did Cosmas, the Bohemian chronicler, present a valley inhabited by the Czechs like that, but so did the Archbishop of Magdeburg, Adalgod, use this topos at the beginning of the 12<sup>th</sup> century in his calls for the conquest of land belonging to the pagan Slavs.<sup>173</sup> Slaves, furs, skins, and honey as goods that could be brought from there also managed to settle in the awareness of open-minded medieval intellectuals (and thus, not only merchants) and later, had an effect on the image on the world in which it was still nature and not the hardship and invention of a human that was the most generous creator and supplier of goods (after all, humans operate here “only” as hunters, woodcutters, forest bee-keepers, or slave hunters). Culturally, however, this part of the world contributed nothing. There were no expectations of this kind towards it, similarly to the Greeks having no such expectations towards the Thracians, Scythians, Illyrians, or even Macedonians. Such thinking proves to be extremely durable.

For this very reason, even in the explicitly medieval approach (which is, in fact, impossible: a sterile isolation from knowledge about the “future” and the “past” is impossible to implement in the mind, views, and narration of any historian), England and Italy will never be treated as peripheries. However, the Slavic East absolutely will be.<sup>174</sup> This is also because in the culture of the continent, stereotypes concerning other Europeans are subject to a geographical pattern: people from the West and North Europe are judged rather positively unlike people from the East. Eastern neighbors are suspected of civilization inferiority. An example of that would be notions that the French are used to having about the Germans, the Germans about the Poles, the Poles about the Russians, albeit with a twist: the closest neighbor from the east gets worse marks than the one located a bit further (examples: what the French usually think about the Poles and the Germans about the Russians).<sup>175</sup>

Looking at the Slavs from a German perspective is obviously a topic from the area of “long lasting”. Specialists who were working on it would isolate the features that, according to the Germans (and especially intellectual and

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173 *Epistola pro auxilio adversus paganos (slavos)* – published e.g., in: W. Wattenbach, *Handschriftliches*, “Neues Archiv der Gesellschaft für ältere deutsche Geschichtskunde” VII (1882), pp. 624-626, cf. esp. p. 626: after a detailed presentation of savagery and cruelty of the pagans, author of the letter stated that the land of these worst of the humanity is rich in meat, honey, grain, and birds.

174 Cf. K. Zernack, *Die deutsch-polnischen Beziehungen...*, p. 30 about traditions of the German perception of Slavic lands as a zone that had practically no cultural achievements of their own which was to open the way for the cultural expansion of the Germans.

175 Cf. J. Dąbrowska, *Stereotype und ihr sprachlicher Ausdruck...*, pp. 23f.; also R. Jaworski, *Osteuropa als Gegenstand historischer Stereotypenforschung*, “Geschichte und Gesellschaft” XIII (1987) 1: *Widerstand und Dissens in Osteuropa*, p. 68.



political elites of Germany), were characteristic of the Slavs. These features were to include the alleged lack of culture-creating abilities at the Slavs, together with the uselessness of Slavic languages for the production and transmission of cultural texts, derivativeness combined with a relative ease of learning and imitating, as well as hate towards nations that were on a higher cultural level than the Germans saw as a sign of an inferiority complex. They would accent Slavic laziness, indolence, instability, unpredictability, and dirt; on the other hand, Slavic hospitality and musicality were also not necessarily judged positively. In the 19<sup>th</sup> and mid-20<sup>th</sup> centuries, these notions made it easier to justify the Germanic-German mission of "bringing culture to the East".<sup>176</sup>

In the contemporary discourse of the humanities (because not just of history), the categories of backwardness, peripheries, and civilizational inferiority are marked and potentially dangerous. Indeed, how can one write without them about the Slavic neighbors of medieval Germans and Germany? Cultural comparative analysis is currently the most often used method. In spite of appearances, comparison does not have to lead to the delivery of a verdict. Historians such as Michael Borgolte practice this type of comparison, which points to peculiarities in different areas of Europe that are historically explainable and thus escape value judgement. This, moreover, is in line with narrative strategies used in contemporary European discourse, for example in relation to the world of Islam. In the latter case – no longer with reference to the Middle Ages but to the present day – cultural difference can be a subject of description. However, as it has been suggested, this difference should not be stigmatized (obviously, this is only how it is in the mainstream: both the Internet and the print sources deliver almost daily examples of contesting this approach, driven by emotional entanglement present in the societies of the West writ large). Medieval cultures submit to the same treatment in terms of distinctiveness and participation in diversity.

The impact of the tradition of historical writing, the established ways of reading historical sources, and images embedded in culture – in this case with reference to the European East, Slavdom, Poland – will probably continue to uphold the pattern based on the oppositions: center-peripheries,

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176 A monograph on this topic focusing on the 19<sup>th</sup> century was written: M. Lammich, *Das deutsche Osteuropabild in der Zeit der Reichsgründung*, Boppard am Rhein 1978; cf. review from this book: T. Szarota, *Stereotyp Słowianina w świetle badań zachodnoniemieckich*, "Kwartalnik Historyczny" LXXXVII (1980) 1, pp. 219-225, esp. p. 221. Cf. also a comprised of separate text work by the same author, idem, *Niemcy i Polacy. Wzajemne postrzeganie i stereotypy*, Warszawa 1996: especially the second text, pp. 64-100 with the analysis of terms "Pole", "Polen", and "pol-nish" in general German dictionaries, dictionaries of dialects, and collections of proverbs from the 19<sup>th</sup> century leading to the conclusion about universal connotations: poverty, backwardness, primitivism, driven by set phrases burdened with such meanings: *Polnische Wirtschaft*, *Polnische Reichstag*.

development-backwardness. It is renewed whenever, for example (and leaving aside the accuracy of the conclusions), it is emphasized that Gallus Anonimus and Wincenty Kadłubek, regardless of their erudition, were unable to connect Polish history with the concept of holy history or weave in their texts a universal reflection on the times from the creation of the world; and they were unable to connect the Polish history with the view of history of Western authors of their times because they remained too oriented towards the indigenous model of thinking about the origins of community.<sup>177</sup>

Undoubtedly, readiness to self-reflection and introspection is a feature of contemporary German historiography. This is related to the critical assessments in matters of high caliber: settling accounts with the involvement of historians in the support for nationalism and Nazism in the past; and in essentially side issues. The place of the Polish Middle Ages in all medieval studies and its presentation in Germany can be regarded as such.

And so this occasion offers postulates that should be mentioned in closing without passing any judgment. In 2004, Norbert Kersken said that for German history and historical science, the Polish Middle Ages, similarly to the Hungarian, is not part of a remote world deserving attention due to entirely comparative interests, but a historical space that is structurally linked to the history of the Reich. Thus, German interest in the Polish Middle Ages means interest in the dimensions and structures of German history, Slavic participation in it, as well as the participation of Poland in the history and culture of Central Europe.<sup>178</sup>

translated by Anna Oleszczuk

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177 N. Kersken, *Gott und die Heilige...*, p. 621.

178 Idem, *Deutsche mediävistische Polenforschung...*, p. 35, quotation: "Für die deutsche Geschichte und die deutsche Geschichtswissenschaft ist das polnische Mittelalter – dies gilt im übrigen in kaum geringeren Maße auch für das ungarische Mittelalter – nicht Teil einer fernen Welt, der aus rein komparativen Interessen Aufmerksamkeit verdiente, sondern ein historischer Handlungsraum, der mit der Reichsgeschichte strukturell seit dem ausgehenden 10. Jahrhundert verbunden ist. Das deutsche Interesse am polnischen Mittelalter ist immer auch ein Interesse an den Dimensionen und Beziehungsstrukturen der deutschen Geschichte, es geht um den slavischen Anteil an der deutschen Geschichte und den Anteil Polens an der mittelalterlichen Geschichte und Kultur Mitteleuropas". This harmonizes with the demands for internationalizing and adopting diverse perspectives in research on German history such as in: Th. Wünsch, *Deutsche und Slawen...*, p. VIII.

## ABSTRACT

The topic of the article is the way of writing about the first centuries of Polish history in the scholarly works of contemporary German medievalists. The subject of interest is that of synthetic studies of medieval German history and history of Silesia as well as selected analytical texts written by scholars who are not specialists in Polish history. The analyzed texts were published between 1989 (the fall of the Berlin Wall and the political transformation in Poland) and 2004 (Poland's accession to the European Union).

A polemical attitude towards the tradition of German historiography focusing on the history of the nation and presenting history in national categories is characteristic of the examined texts. Examples of medieval good relations between the empire and the rulers of the Piast dynasty are highlighted. The wars between these neighbours, on the other hand, are treated not as national conflicts and wars over land, but as conflicts between individuals or dynasties, whose important motive was supposed to be competition for rank and prestige.

One can also observe a progressive change in thinking about the phenomenon of medieval German colonization in Eastern Europe. At the same time, certain patterns of thinking about Poland and Eastern Europe, typical of Ostforschung studies, remain. Polish history and Polish historical sources for this period also remain on the margins of interest of the mainstream of German medieval studies.

**Keywords:** contemporary German historiography, German medievalists, Piast Monarchy, Gniezno Congress, German colonization, Ostforschung

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## LES ÉLÉMENTS GÉOGRAPHIQUES DE DÉFINITION ET D'IDENTIFICATION DU MONDE SLAVE DANS L'HISTORIOGRAPHIE DE LA POLOGNE, DE LA BOHÈME ET DE LA RUS' (XII<sup>E</sup>-XIV<sup>E</sup> SIÈCLE)



Si la question de la géographie médiévale du monde slave s'est posée, elle l'a été plutôt dans son espace réel plutôt que dans l'espace imaginée par les contemporains médiévaux<sup>1</sup>. Une des questions les plus discutées dans l'historiographie a été celle de la patrie d'origine des Slaves et de leur ethnogénèse, sans que la géographie d'ensemble ne soit réellement envisagée<sup>2</sup>. De même, on s'est également attaché au regard extérieur vis-à-vis du monde slave, sans toujours s'intéresser à la perception interne<sup>3</sup>. Toutefois, cette vision extérieure ne peut être entièrement laissée de côté : les chroniqueurs du monde slave ont à leur disposition des sources, des lectures issues de la Chrétienté occidentale ou orientale, qui jettent sur eux un autre regard. Démêler ces regards croisés peut s'avérer périlleux, mais ils constituent néanmoins un angle d'analyse pertinent pour comprendre la manière dont les contemporains se représentaient le monde slave.

Nous nous intéresserons aux éléments géographiques d'identification du monde slave, à partir des chroniques polonaises, tchèques et ruthènes du XII<sup>e</sup> au XIV<sup>e</sup> siècle. Ces chroniqueurs définissent-ils un monde slave dis-

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1 M. Kowalski, *Geografia średniowiecznej Słowiańszczyzny*, « Kultura Słowian. Rocznik komisji kultury Słowian PAU » XV (2019), p. 15-64.

2 F. Curta, *The Making of the Slavs: History and Archaeology of the Lower Danube Region c. 500-700.*, Cambridge 2001 ; T. Jasiński, *Rozważania o praojczyźnie Słowian*, « Historia Slavorum Occidentis » XXV (2020) 2, p. 11-90 ; M. Tera, *Etnogeneza Slovanů: staré a nové otázky a spory*, « Theatrum historiae » XX (2017), p. 271-297.

3 J.-C. Ducène, *L'Europe et les géographes arabes du Moyen Age*, Paris 2018, p. 126-143 ; Д.Е. Мишин, *Сакалиба (славяне) в исламском мире в раннее средневековье*, Moscou 2002 ; A. Pleszczyński et al., *Historia communitatem facit. Struktura narracji tworzących tożsamości grupowe w średniowieczu*, Wrocław 2017, p. 189-207.

tinct du reste de l'Europe et si oui, quels sont ses contours ? Quels sont les éléments géographiques qui servent de marqueurs du monde slave ? Lesquels sont retenus et lesquels servent d'identification à un peuple particulier ou au monde slave en général ?

Les passages qui ont particulièrement retenu notre attention sont ceux s'intéressant aux temps mythiques, à l'*origo gentis* des Slaves. Ces mythes créent en effet une image des origines idéalisée mais témoignent aussi des réalités de l'époque de l'auteur. La géographie revêt alors un rôle indispensable dans la représentation de ce passé slave. La description des pays qui composent la terre slave, ses frontières, ses fleuves ou ses montagnes sont autant d'éléments qui deviennent constitutifs d'une véritable identité géographique.

## I) SITUER LES SLAVES DANS L'ŒKOUMÈNE (XII<sup>E</sup> SIÈCLE)

### 1. Une définition du monde slave issue d'une vision extérieure ?

Au début du XII<sup>e</sup> siècle, quasi simultanément, trois chroniques apparaissent en Pologne, dans la Rus' et en Bohême. Même si leur forme, leur inspiration et leur style diffèrent sensiblement, elles donnent toutes trois une vision du passé du peuple dont elles entendent narrer l'histoire<sup>4</sup>. Toutes trois évoquent également les Slaves, d'une manière ou d'une autre, à des degrés très divers toutefois. Enfin, elles ont toutes également une introduction géographique, cherchant à situer leur peuple dans l'œkoumène.

La plus tardive est celle du chanoine de Prague, Cosmas, achevée autour de 1125<sup>5</sup>. Il débute son premier livre avec la dispersion des peuples à la suite de la chute de la tour de Babel. Avant même d'évoquer les Tchèques – et leur père, *Boemus* – il décrit d'abord la terre qui les accueille, qu'il situe dans la *Germania* :

« D'où le genre humain – par la volonté de Dieu commandant toute chose – est tant dispersé par toute la Terre, qu'après de nombreux siècles il arrive aussi dans ces régions de Germanie. A cette époque, toute cette

<sup>4</sup> Ces trois chroniques ont été abondamment utilisées par les chercheurs de l'Europe orientale et du centre-est, même si les comparaisons d'un point de vue culturel sont plus rares. Voir notamment P. Gonneau, *Récits des origines et fondation des dynasties slaves à travers les premières chroniques polonaise, russe et tchèque*, « Annuaire de l'École pratique des hautes études, Section des sciences historiques et philosophiques » CXLI (2010), p. XXI-XLIX ; M. Cetwiński, *Gall, Kosmas, Nestor: ustanawianie tradycji o początkach państwa i jego chrystianizacji*, « Klio Polska » X (2018), p. 35-46 ; A.C. Щавелёв, *Славянские легенды о первых князьях. Сравнительно историческое исследование моделей власти у славян*, Moscou 2007, p. 105-139.

<sup>5</sup> Sur la vie et l'œuvre de Cosmas, voir A. Perodeau, *Histoire et « nation » dans : la Chronica Boemorum de Cosmas de Prague*, Lyon 2015, p. 26-32 ; sur les conceptions géographiques de Cosmas, voir J. Hasil, *Geografické horizonty Kosmovy Kroniky Čechů*, dans : *Přednášky z 60. běhu Letní školy slovanských studií*, dir. S. Škodová, Prague 2017, p. 141-160.

contrée s'étendant depuis le pôle nord jusqu'à la rivière Thanay [Don] et jusqu'à l'Ouest, est désignée sous le nom générique de *Germania* (bien qu'à l'intérieur les lieux particuliers possèdent leur propres noms) »<sup>6</sup>.

Ce premier passage s'appuie, quasiment mot pour mot, sur la chronique de Reginon de Prüm, qui l'a lui-même repris de l'*Histoire des Lombards* de Paul Diacre<sup>7</sup>. Quelques lignes plus loin, Cosmas replace la Germanie dans une géographie universelle, au sein de l'Europe, puis décrit la future Bohême : « En Europe se situe la Germanie, où, dans sa partie qui s'étend vers le nord, se trouve une contrée très étendue entourée de toutes parts par les montagnes »<sup>8</sup>. Cette contrée sera le lieu où *Boemus* et les siens s'arrêteront et s'installeront.

L'auteur s'appuie sur ses lectures, tel Isidore de Séville – à qui il doit la division du monde en trois continents – pour élaborer cette géographie. Une question se pose : pourquoi Cosmas insère-t-il la Bohême dans la *Germania* plutôt que dans le monde slave, contrairement à son homologue en Pologne, Gallus Anonymus ? Cosmas est pourtant conscient du caractère slave de son peuple. La langue qu'il parle est la langue slave, faute d'une distinction linguistique qui n'apparaît qu'au XIV<sup>e</sup> siècle. A trois reprises, les Tchèques sont qualifiés de Slaves. La première association entre les Tchèques et les Slaves intervient quand le duc Břetislav cherche à obtenir la main de Judith, la fille d'Henri de Schweinfurt. Cependant, il doit faire face à « l'arrogance des Allemands » qui n'avaient que du « mépris pour les Slaves et leur langue »<sup>9</sup>. Deux mentions se succèdent dans le livre II, au moment où l'empereur Henri III exige des Tchèques/Slaves qu'ils rendent les biens pillés par le raid du duc Břetislav en Pologne, en 1038<sup>10</sup>. Peu après, le duc saxon Ekkehard, allié de l'empereur, apprend que « les Slaves eurent la victoire sur l'empereur »<sup>11</sup>.

Pour Cosmas, le fait que les Tchèques appartiennent à un ensemble plus vaste – celui des Slaves – et qu'ils parlent une langue slave ne se traduit pas par l'inscription géographique dans un terme englobant le monde slave,

6 *Die Chronik der Böhmen des Cosmas von Prag*, éd. B. Bretholz, Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Scriptores rerum Germanicarum n.s., II, Berlin 1923, p. 5 : « Unde humanum genus Dei nutu omnia disponente in tantum diffusum est per orbem terre, ut post multa secula tandem has etiam in partes deveniret Germanie ; tum enim omni silla regio sub arcto axe Thanay tenus et usque ad occidum sita, licet in ea singula propriis loca nominibus nuncupentur, generali tamen vocabulo Germania vocitatur ».

7 D. Třeštík, *Kosmas a Regino: ke kritice Kosmovy kroniky*, « Československý časopis historický » LVIII (1960) 4, p. 564-587.

8 *Die Chronik der Böhmen...*, p. 5 : « In Europa sita est Germania, cuius in partibus versus aquilonalem plagam est locus late nimis diffusus, cinctus undique montibus per girum ».

9 *Die Chronik der Böhmen...*, p. 73 : « Perpendit enim innatam Teutonicis superbiam et, quod semper tumido fastu habeant despectui Slavos et eorum linguam ».

10 Ibidem, p. 93 : « Ad hec Sclavi inquit ».

11 Ibidem, p. 97 : « ut percepit sinistram Slavos de cesare habuisse victoriam ».

comme celui de *Slavinia*<sup>12</sup>. Les sources connues, utilisées par Cosmas, ne mentionnent pas la *Slavinia* ou d'autre terme utilisé pour désigner le monde slave. Il faut toutefois noter une chose : la *Germania* telle qu'elle est utilisée par les auteurs du Haut Moyen Âge n'a pas une acception ethnique ou nationale. On peut y voir plutôt un terme de la géographie antique, avec un sens territorial, qui admet l'existence de nombreux *ethnoï* en son sein<sup>13</sup>. Ce n'est qu'à partir du XIII<sup>e</sup> siècle que le terme de *Germania* commence à avoir une acception plus restreinte, encore qu'il tende à être remplacé par celui d'*Alemannia*<sup>14</sup>. Paul Diacre – car Reginon de Prüm le reprend mot pour mot ici – étend la conception de la Germanie à toute la partie septentrionale du monde<sup>15</sup>. C'est une terre barbare, mais teintée de vertus positives, qui est destinée à être évangélisée. Cette Germanie correspond en fait à la partie septentrionale et orientale de l'Europe, ce qui ressort clairement de la description reprise par Cosmas : elle s'étend *versus aquilonem* (un autre manuscrit donne *arcto*) jusqu'à l'Occident (*ad occidum*).

Le contemporain de Cosmas de Prague, Gallus Anonymus, dans le prologue du premier livre de sa chronique, rédigée autour de 1115-1117, considère également la Pologne comme une contrée nordique. Il décrit d'abord la situation de la Pologne au sein du monde slave, la qualifiant de « partie septentrionale de la *Sclavonia* » (*Polonia septentrionalis pars est Sclavonie*) avant d'explicitier ses frontières en citant tous ses voisins<sup>16</sup>. Puis le monde slave est plus amplement décrit :

« Ainsi donc la terre slave est divisée au Nord en parties ou est constituée de ces régions : elle part des Sarmates, qui sont aussi appelés Gètes, jusqu'au Danemark et la Saxe, à la Thrace par la Hongrie – occupée à une époque par les Huns, qui sont dits aussi Hongrois – et en descend-

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12 Concernant les conceptions géographiques des chroniqueurs tchèques médiévaux, voir M. Bláhová, *Geographische Vorstellungen und Kenntnisse der böhmischen mittelalterlichen Chronisten*, dans : *Raum und Raumvorstellungen in Mittelalter*, dir. J.A. Aertsen, A. Speer, Cologne 1998, p. 540-556.

13 T. Reuter, *Germany in the early Middle Ages c. 800-1056*, New York 1991, p. 51-53.

14 Len Scales, *The Shaping of German Identity: Authority and Crisis, 1245-1414*, Cambridge, 2012, p. 447-483.

15 P. Gautier Dalché, *La connaissance des régions septentrionales de l'Europe à l'époque carolingienne. Un changement de point de vue*, « *Geographia antiqua* » XXV (2016), p. 12-13.

16 *Galli Anonymi Cronica et Gesta Ducum sive Principum Polonorum*, éd. K. Maleczyński, Monumenta Poloniae Historica n.s., II, Cracovie 1952, p. 6-7 : « Igitur ab aquilone Polonia septentrionalis pars est Sclavonie, que habet ab oriente Rusiam, ab austro Vngariam, a subsolano Moraviam et Bohemiam, ab occidente Daciam et Saxoniam collaterales ». Pour ce qui est de la notion de *Slavinia* dans les sources médiévales, voir l'article de N. Malinovska, *Geographical Concepts of Slavinia in Historical Sources from the Sixth to the Fourteenth Century, with an Emphasis on the Moravian-Pannonian and South Slavic Tradition*, dans : *Slovakia and Croatia. Historical Parallels and Connections (until 1780)*, dir. M. Homza et al., Bratislava-Zagreb 2013, p. 60-65.

ant par la Carinthie jusqu'à la Bavière elle se termine. Quant au Sud, en jouxtant la mer Méditerranée, en commençant par l'Épire et dérivant par la Dalmatie, la Croatie et l'Istrie elle se termine par la mer Adriatique, où sont situées Venise et Aquilée, séparées de l'Italie ».<sup>17</sup>

Cette description détaillée du monde slave, tout à fait exceptionnelle, a été auparavant exploitée pour prouver la thèse selon laquelle Gallus serait originaire de Dalmatie, ou du moins d'une province sous la domination de Venise<sup>18</sup>. Pour T. Jasiński, il est certain que cette description est rédigée depuis « une perspective vénitienne »<sup>19</sup>. D. Borawska attire justement l'attention sur le fait que la mention de Venise et d'Aquilée semble ici superflue, puisqu'elles ne font pas partie de la *terra slauonica*<sup>20</sup>. La connaissance du monde slave méridional par Gallus n'est pas un argument convaincant quant à son origine<sup>21</sup>. Toutefois, voir dans la description de Gallus une connaissance a priori du monde slave – un savoir intellectuel comme l'affirme A. Krawiec – n'a pas de sens. Il n'existe tout simplement pas de description aussi détaillée du monde slave dans les sources latines extérieures : Gallus Anonymus est le premier à donner une représentation complète de la *terra slauonica*. Cette connaissance ne peut être donc qu'empirique, étant donné la précision de ses informations, qui peuvent venir de son entourage polonais. Il distingue le monde slave septentrional du monde slave méridional : cette distinction devient une donnée fondamentale dans l'historiographie polonaise, puis tchèque. Enfin, il utilise deux termes différents : la *Slavonia* ainsi que la *terra Slauonica*. Cette « terre slave » pourrait correspondre à une définition plutôt linguistique qu'ethnique du monde slave. Il emploie en effet le terme de *slauonice* pour désigner la langue slave<sup>22</sup>. L'utilisation de deux

17 *Galli Anonymi Cronica...*, p. 7-8 : « Igitur terra Sclauonica ad aquilonem hiis regionibus suis partialiter divisivis sive constitutivis existens, a Sarmaticis, qui et Gete vocantur, in Daciam et Saxoniam terminatur, a Tracia autem per Ungariam ab Hunis, qui et Ungari dicuntur, quondam occupata, descendendo per Carinthiam in Bauariam diffinitur; ad austrum vero iuxta mare mediterraneum ab Epyro derivando per Dalmatiam, Crouaciam et Hystriam finibus maris Adriatici terminata, ubi Venetia et Aquileia consistit, ab Hytalia sequestratur ».

18 D. Borawska, *Gallus Anonim czy Italus Anonim*, « Przegląd Historyczny » LVI (1965) 1, p. 114-116 ; T. Jasiński, *O pochodzeniu Galla Anonima*, Cracovie 2008, p. 16-19. Pour une vision d'ensemble des théories sur l'origine du chroniqueur Gallus Anonymus, voir A. Quéret-Podesta, *Travaux philologiques, recherches textuelles et identification des auteurs anonymes dans la médiévisique du XIX<sup>e</sup> siècle : l'exemple du Gallus Anonymus*, dans : *Naissance de la médiévisique. Les historiens et leurs sources en Europe (XIX<sup>e</sup>- début du XX<sup>e</sup> siècle)*, dir. I. Guyot-Bachy, J.-M. Moeglin, Paris 2015, p. 269-284.

19 T. Jasiński, op. cit., p. 17.

20 D. Borawska, op. cit., p. 114-115.

21 A. Krawiec, *Koncepcja przestrzeni w tekście Kroniki Galla Anonima, geografia mentalna jej autora i ich znaczenie w dyskusji nad jego pochodzeniem*, dans : *Nobis operique favete. Studia nad Gallem Anonimem*, dir. A. Dąbrówka et al., Varsovie 2017, p. 84.

22 *Galli Anonymi Cronica...*, p. 9, 11.



termes différents – *Slavonia* et *terra slauonica* – n'est pas anodine. Le premier, *Slavonia*, n'a pas seulement une connotation géographique, mais également politique. Ce terme n'apparaît en effet qu'en lien avec la cour impériale, d'abord franque puis ottonienne. Il ne désigne pas le monde slave dans son ensemble, mais les Slaves destinés à entrer dans le giron impérial, d'une manière ou d'une autre. Ainsi, il n'est appliqué en réalité qu'aux peuples slaves, souvent païens, de l'autre côté de la frontière. La *terra slauonica* de Gallus correspond donc à une tentative d'extraire le monde slave de son caractère d'assujettissement vis-à-vis de l'Empire. Aucune autre source latine ne mentionne une *terra slauonica* : il est probable qu'il s'agisse tout simplement d'une traduction du slave *zemlja sloven'skaja* que l'on retrouve dans la *Povest' Vremenyx Let'*.

Cette explication permet de mieux comprendre la distinction que font les auteurs entre la *Germania* et la *Slavonia*, ou, au contraire, l'imbrication de l'une dans l'autre<sup>23</sup>. En effet, dans la première vie de Saint Adalbert, rédigée par Jean Canaparius, un moine de l'Aventin à Rome, autour de 998, il existe une partie de la *Germania* que les habitants appellent la *Slavonia*<sup>24</sup>. Adam de Brême, dans la *Gesta Hammaburgensis ecclesiae pontificum* rédigée entre 1075 et 1080, évoque également la *Slavania*, province la plus étendue de la *Germania* dont les habitants, auparavant appelés Vandales, sont aujourd'hui appelés les Viniles<sup>25</sup>. Toutefois, il hésite à placer la Pologne et la Bohême au sein de cette *Slavania*, alors qu'il ne voit pas de différence linguistique ou culturelle avec les autres Slaves<sup>26</sup>. Sa description de la *Slavania* reste exceptionnelle pour son temps, mais encore relativement imprécise : ainsi, « du nord au sud, elle s'étend de l'Elbe à la mer scythique. En longueur, elle commence depuis notre diocèse d'Hambourg, et elle s'étend en d'infinies territoires jusqu'à la Bavière, la Hongrie et la Grèce »<sup>27</sup>. Fait marquant, il décrit ensuite uniquement les territoires du diocèse d'Hambourg ou voisins de ce diocèse. Sa vision de la *Slavania* correspond donc bien

23 Voir l'analyse de A. Pleszczyński, *Przekazy niemieckie o Polsce i jej mieszkańcach w okresie panowania Piastów*, Lublin 2016, p. 75-90.

24 *Jana Kanaparza život světého Wojciecha*, éd. A. Bielowski, dans : *Monumenta Poloniae Historica*, I, Lwów 1862, p. 162 : « Est locus in partibus Germaniae dives opibus, praepotens armis ferocibusque viris, quem incolae Slavoniam cognomine dicunt ».

25 *Magister Adam Bremensis Gesta Hammaburgensis ecclesiae pontificum*, éd. B. Schmeidler, *Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Scriptorum rerum Germanicarum in usum scholarum*, II, Hanovre-Leipzig 1917, p. 75-76 : « Slavania igitur, amplissima Germaniae provintia, a Winulis incolitur, qui olim sunt Wandali ».

26 *Ibidem*, p. 76 : « decies maior esse fertur quam nostra Saxonia, presertim si Boemiam et eos, qui trans Oddaram sunt, Polanos qui nec habitu nec lingua discrepant, in partem adieceris Slavaniae ».

27 *Ibidem*, p. 76 : « Eius latitudo est a meridie in boream, hoc est ab Albia fluvio usque ad mare Scythicum. Longitudo autem illa videtur, quae initium habet ab nostra Hammaburgensi parrochia et porrigitur in orientem infinitis aucta spatiis usque in Berguariam, Ungriam et Greciam ».

à une vision politique : ce qui l'intéresse, ce sont les territoires habités par les Slaves qui peuvent entrer dans la composition de son diocèse. Son continuateur, Helmold de Bosau, reprend la phrase d'Adam de Brême en opérant un changement en apparence mineur : la *Germania* est remplacée par la *Slavorum provintia*<sup>28</sup>.

Face à une hésitation quant à l'appartenance de leur principauté au sein d'un ensemble plus vaste, Gallus et Cosmas offrent deux réponses différentes. Cosmas choisit d'utiliser un terme plus neutre et plus classique, celui de *Germania*, tandis que Gallus Anonymus participe à l'émergence d'un monde slave vu non plus seulement à travers le prisme impérial, mais comme entité à part entière. Il est intéressant de constater que dans un cas comme dans l'autre, la Pologne et la Bohême sont vues comme des territoires septentrionaux. Gallus et Cosmas auraient alors conscience de faire partie de ce Nord mythique, barbare et païen, mais aussi matrice des peuples et terre fertile et salubre, comme l'écrit Paul Diacre<sup>29</sup>.

Cependant, dans les deux cas, ce monde slave reste un territoire défini seulement par ses frontières ou ses parties : qu'en est-il de la géographie intérieure ?

## 2. Le tournant : la *Povest' Vremmenyx Let* (la *Chronique des Temps passés*)

La première source à broser un véritable tableau détaillé du monde slave est la *Povest' Vremmenyx Let* (PVL), compilée elle aussi entre 1110 et 1117 à Kiev. Comme Cosmas, l'annaliste ruthène débute son récit par l'évocation du Déluge, par le partage du monde entre les trois fils de Japhet et enfin par le mélange des langues suite à la chute de la tour de Babel, qui entraîne l'exode des nouveaux peuples. Il présente ensuite un tableau de la dispersion des Slaves depuis leur contrée originelle, située sur le Danube et qu'il appelle la « terre slave » (*zemlja sloven'skaja*)<sup>30</sup> :

« Après de nombreuses années, les Slaves s'installèrent sur le Danube, là où se trouve aujourd'hui le pays des Hongrois et des Bulgares. C'est de là que les Slaves se sont répandus sur la terre et qu'ils ont pris leurs noms à partir des lieux sur lesquels ils se sont installés. Ainsi ceux qui s'installèrent le long de la rivière Morava, prirent le nom de Moraves,

28 *Helmoldi Presbyteri Chronica Slavorum*, éd. B. Schmeidler, Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Scriptores rerum Germanicarum in usum scholarum, XXXII, Hanovre 1937, p. 7 : « Ubi igitur Polonia finem facit, pervenitur ad amplissima Slavorum provinciam, eorum qui antiquitus Wandali, nunc autem Winithi sive Winuli appellantur ».

29 P. Gautier Dalché, op. cit., p. 7.

30 Sur l'utilisation et la signification de ce terme de « terre slave », voir N. Veresova, *Povest' vremennykh let a jej koncepcia Slovienskoj zemli*, dans : *Štúdie k jubileu Pavla Jozefa Šafárika*, dir. P. Podolan, Bratislava 2011, p. 12-20.

et d'autres prirent le nom de Tchèques. Et voici ceux qui sont encore des Slaves : les Croates blancs, et les Serbes, les Carinthiens. Quant aux Valaques qui avaient marché contre les Slaves installés sur le Danube, et s'étaient établis au milieu d'eux, et les avaient opprimés, ces Slaves partirent et s'établirent sur la Vistule et prirent le nom de Liakhs. Parmi ces Liakhs, les uns s'appelèrent Polianes, d'autres Lusaciens, d'autres Mazoviens, d'autres Pomoriens.

Des Slaves partirent aussi s'installer sur le Dniepr et s'appelèrent aussi Polanes, et d'autres, parce qu'ils habitaient dans les forêts ; d'autres qui vivaient entre le Pripet et la Dvina, s'appelèrent Drégovitches ; d'autres qui vivaient le long de la Dvina s'appelèrent Polotchanes du nom de la rivière, appelée Polota, qui se jette dans la Dvina ; quant aux Slaves qui vivent près du lac Il'men, ils conservèrent leur nom et fondèrent une ville qu'ils appelèrent Novgorod. Et d'autres s'établirent le long de la Desna, de la Sem et de la Soula et s'appelèrent Sévériens. C'est ainsi que s'est répandu le peuple slave et son écriture s'appelle slave ».<sup>31</sup>

Ce passage extrêmement célèbre de la PVL a été abondamment commenté dans l'historiographie depuis le XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècle. Les historiens ont voulu y voir un tableau de la dispersion et de l'établissement des tribus (*plemena*) slaves dans l'Europe orientale<sup>32</sup>. L'archéologie et la critique du texte ont mis à mal ces interprétations, qui, pour beaucoup, avaient une lecture autochtoniste de l'apparition des Slaves en Europe<sup>33</sup>. O. Tolochko insiste sur le caractère totale-

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31 Traduction de J.-P. Arrignon, *Centre d'études byzantines, néo-helléniques et sud-est européennes - СЕВННХЕ*, « Annuaire de l'EHESS » (2008), p. 666-667. Texte original : *Повесть временных лет*, éd. D.S. Lihačëv, Moscou-Leningrad, 1950, p. 11 : « По мнозѣхъ же времянѣхъ сѣли суть словѣни по Дунаевѣ, гдѣ есть нынѣ Угорьска земля и Болгарьска. Иъ от тѣхъ словѣнъ разидошася по землѣ и прозвашася имени своими, гдѣ сѣдше на которомъ мѣстѣ. Яко пришедше сѣдоша на рѣцѣ имянемъ Марава, и прозвашася морава, а друзии чеси нарекошася. А се ти же словѣни: хрватѣ бѣлии и серебѣ и хорутанѣ. Волхомъ бо нашедшемъ на словѣни на дунайския, и сѣдшемъ в них и насилящемъ имъ, словѣни же ови пришедше сѣдоша на Вислѣ, и прозвашася ляхове, а от тѣхъ ляховъ прозвашася поляне, ляхове друзии лутичи, ини мазовшанѣ, ини поморяне. Тако же и ти словѣне пришедше и сѣдоша по Днѣпру и нарекошася поляне, а друзии древланѣ, зане сѣдоша в лѣсѣхъ; а друзии сѣдоша межю Припѣтью и Двиною и нарекошася дреговичи; инии сѣ дота на Двинѣ и нарекошася полочанѣ рѣчкы ради, яже втечетъ въ Двину, имянемъ Полота, от сея прозвашася полочанѣ. Словѣни же сѣдоша около езера Илмеря, и прозвашася своимъ имянемъ, и сѣлаша градъ и нарекоша и Новъгородъ. А друзии сѣдоша по Деснѣ, и по Селси, по Сулѣ, и нарекошася сѣверѣ. И тако разидеся словѣньскій языкъ, тѣмъ же и грамота прозвася словѣньская ».

32 Pour un aperçu de l'historiographie à ce sujet, voir : M. Font, *Ranние славяне в Повести временных лет. Мифы летописцев и историографии*, « *Slavia Antiqua* » LXI (2020), p. 53-66.

33 Voir O.P. Tolochko, *The Primary Chronicle's 'Ethnography' Revisited: Slavs and Varangians in the Middle Dnieper Region and the Origin of the Rus' State*, dans : *Franks, Northmen, and Slavs: Identities and State Formation in Early Medieval Europe*, dir. I.H. Garipzanov, P. Geary, P. Urbańczyk, Turnhout 2008, p. 169-188.

ment construit des Polanes de Kiev, dont l'inspiration serait uniquement fondée sur la Bible<sup>34</sup>. P. Żmudzki a montré au contraire que cet ethnonyme est bien d'origine locale et surtout qu'il correspond à une tradition réelle : les Polianes ne sont pas les habitants « des champs » (*pole*) mais plutôt de la « terre civilisée »<sup>35</sup>. On trouve en effet des échos de récits plus anciens, comme celui qui voit dans le Danube le bassin originel des Slaves. Certains historiens affirment que cette tradition pourrait être passée depuis la Grande Moravie et le *regnum Sclavorum* de Svatopluk jusque dans la Rus' de Kiev, peut-être à travers un texte retraçant l'histoire de la mission de Constantin-Cyrille et Méthode<sup>36</sup>.

Cette hypothèse n'est pas tenable : l'existence d'un tel texte n'est qu'une supposition s'appuyant sur le modèle d'A. Šachmatov, dont les critiques ont souligné les limites<sup>37</sup>. De fait, la « terre slave » de la PVL n'est pas la Grande Moravie : l'annaliste évoque la *zemlja sloven'skaja* pour les temps les plus anciens, avant qu'elle ne soit conquise par les Bulgares, puis par les « Hongrois blancs ». Ces derniers événements sont datés du temps de l'empereur Héraclius et des Avars, à la suite de la chronique byzantine de George le Moine, c'est à dire du VII<sup>e</sup> siècle<sup>38</sup>. Même si la chronologie est absente dans cette partie de la PVL, dans l'esprit de l'annaliste, la Grande Moravie n'est qu'une composante éphémère et partielle de cette même « terre slave ». Elle n'a d'ailleurs que pour rôle d'introduire la clef de voûte de l'identité slave ruthène, c'est-à-dire la mission de Cyrille et Méthode. L'idée d'un bassin originel des Slaves ne doit pas être compris uniquement comme un emprunt extérieur : il peut s'agir aussi d'une mémoire partagée. En effet, si certains éléments de la narration de la PVL viennent de la version en vieux-slave de la chronique de Georges le Moine, d'autres éléments témoignent de la trace d'évènements anciens, remontants au VI<sup>e</sup> et VII<sup>e</sup> siècle<sup>39</sup>.

34 Ibidem, p. 183.

35 P. Żmudzki, *Kulturowy kontekst nazw „Polanie”, „Polacy”, „Polska” w średniowiecznej historiografii polskiej i ruskiej*, dans : *Symboliczne i realne podstawy tożsamości społecznej w średniowieczu*, dir. S. Gawlas, P. Żmudzki, Varsovie, 2017, p. 208-209, 165-219.

36 Н. Малиновска, «*Regnum Sclavorum*» Святополка как источник средневековых славянских концепций «Склавинии», «*Studia Slavica et Balcanica Petropolitana*» (2017) 1, p. 23-25, 21-38 ; R. Grzesik, *Wielkie Morawy podstawą środkowoeuropejskiej pamięci historycznej*, «*Porównania*» IX (2011), p. 124-133.

37 Pour une de ces critiques, voir O. P. Tolochko, *Christian Chronology, Universal History and the Origin of Chronicle Writing in Rus*, dans : *Historical narratives and Christian identity on a European periphery : early history writing in Northern, East-Central, and Eastern Europe (c. 1070–1200)*, dir. I.H. Garipzanov, Turnhout 2011, p. 205-229.

38 PVL, p. 14 : « Словоѣнску же языку, яко же рекохомъ, живушцю на Дунай, придоша от скуфъ, рекше от козаръ, рекомии болгаре съдоша по Дунаеви, и населници словоѣномъ быша. Посемъ придоша угри бѣлии, и наслѣдиша землю словоѣнску. Си бо угри почаша быти пр-Ираклии цари, иже находиша на Хоздроя, царя перьскаго. Въ си же времяна быша и обри, иже ходиша на Ираклия царя и мало его не яша ».

39 A. Vaillant, *Les Hongrois « blancs » et les Hongrois « noirs »*, «*Revue des études slaves*» XXXVI (1959), p. 17-22.

Toutefois, une question est restée quelque peu en retrait : l'identification entre un cours d'eau ou – dans un seul cas – un lac, et le territoire d'un peuple donné. En effet, quasiment tous les peuples slaves s'installent sur un cours d'eau. De fait, le bassin originel des Slaves ne porte pas le nom d'une province romaine, mais celui du Danube. Les « Slaves du Danube », auxquels il paraît logique d'ajouter les « Croates blancs, les Serbes et les Carinthiens », s'installent ensuite sur la Vistule, donnant naissance aux *Liakhs*, c'est-à-dire les Polonais. D'une certaine manière, la Vistule leur donne une identité différente, visible par le changement d'ethnonyme. Les Tchèques ne sont pas associés à un cours d'eau, cependant, ils sont distinctement associés aux Moraves, qui s'installent sur la Morava, formant un couple dans l'esprit de l'annaliste. Enfin, les Polianes de Kiev s'installent sur le Dniepr.

Dans ce tableau géo-historique du monde slave, les trois cours d'eau – Dniepr, Vistule et Morava – sont érigés en éléments d'identification du monde slave. Désormais, cette *zemlja sloven'skaja* est plus qu'un espace délimité par ses frontières externes : elle devient une mosaïque de peuples, où les cours d'eau deviennent des marqueurs géographiques fondamentaux. Si les fleuves et rivières sont bien évidemment des références obligatoires de la géographie médiévale, notons que le chroniqueur ne fait pas du tout mention du relief. On ne trouve pas la vision d'un pays entouré de montagnes pour la Bohême, comme le voyait pourtant Cosmas. Les Carpates ne sont pas non plus mentionnées. Certes, Gallus Anonymus évoque à plusieurs reprises la Vistule, mais il ne le fait qu'en tant que marqueur purement géographique, sans que la Pologne ou les Polonais ne soient identifiés à ce fleuve<sup>40</sup>. Du côté tchèque, l'importance des cours d'eau est également affirmée, mais seuls ceux situés en Bohême sont évoqués. En effet, *Boemus* et les siens s'installent près du mont Rip, entre l'Ohře et la Vltava<sup>41</sup>. La Vltava, en particulier, devient un élément important de l'identité tchèque, comme en témoigne notamment la prophétie de Libuše concernant la fondation de Prague, où coule cette rivière<sup>42</sup>. Cosmas mentionne également l'Elbe, alimenté par les nombreuses rivières qui traversent la Bohême<sup>43</sup>.

Cette assimilation des Slaves aux cours d'eau se retrouve également dans les sources extérieures. Ibn Khordadbeh, dans son *Livre des Routes et*

40 *Galli Anonymi Cronica...*, p. 43 : « ultra flumen Wysla in Mazouiam fugiebant ».

41 *Die Chronik der Böhmen...*, p. 6-7 : « circa montem Rip inter duos fluvios, scilicet Ogram et Wlitaum ».

42 *Ibidem*, p. 18 : « Urbem conspicio, fama que sydera tanget / Est locus in silva, villa qui distat ab ista / Terdenis stadiis, quem Wlitaua terminat undis ».

43 *Die Chronik der Böhmen...*, p. 6 : « sed quotquot amnes, parvi et inmanes ex diversis montibus orti, a maiori aqua que dicitur Labe recepti usque aquilonale fluunt in mare ».

*des Royaumes*, assimile le Don ou la Volga à une « rivière des Slaves »<sup>44</sup>. Du côté byzantin, Constantin Porphyrogénète insiste sur l'importance du Dniepr pour les échanges commerciaux entre les Slaves et les Rus' (Varègues) de Kiev<sup>45</sup>. D'après lui, les « Slaves et leurs alliés » montent dans des embarcations et rejoignent le Dniepr à travers un dense réseaux de lacs.

## II) LA DIFFUSION DES SYMBOLES GÉOGRAPHIQUES DU MONDE SLAVE (XIII<sup>E</sup>-XIV<sup>E</sup> SIÈCLE)

### 1. L'historiographie polonaise (XIII<sup>e</sup>-XIV<sup>e</sup> siècle)

Un premier écho intéressant de cette conception identitaire apparaît dans la chronique de Vincent Kadłubek qui date du début du XIII<sup>e</sup> siècle<sup>46</sup>. Son auteur, à l'érudition inégalée alors en Pologne, devient une autorité dans l'historiographie de son pays. Ses lectures et influences ont fait l'objet de nombreux travaux<sup>47</sup>. Vincent Kadłubek, contrairement à son prédécesseur Gallus Anonymus – dont il s'inspire fortement – donne aux Polonais une véritable histoire antique.

Dans ce récit, les ancêtres des Polonais se taillent rapidement un empire immense, dont les limites ressemblent suspicieusement à celle du monde slave de l'époque. A la suite de nombreuses guerres, « toute la Grèce échut aux Celtes (*Galli*) tandis que les nôtres virent leur territoire s'étendre d'un côté jusqu'au pays des Parthes, de l'autre jusqu'à la Bulgarie et de là jusqu'à la Carinthie »<sup>48</sup>.

Dans ce partage du monde entre *Galli* et Polonais, ces derniers obtiennent toute la partie orientale et septentrionale du globe terrestre, puisqu'une troisième partie est dévolue aux Parthes. La frontière méridionale ainsi dessinée, à travers

44 Voir J.-C. Ducène, op. cit, p. 126 ; Ibn Hurdadebh, *al-Kitab al Masalik w'al Mamalik*, éd. T. Lewicki, *Źródła arabskie do dziejów Słowiańszczyzny*, vol. I, Wrocław 1956, p. 77. Voir la note 156, p. 133-137 où T. Lewicki lit le nom du fleuve comme *Itil* ou *Jitil*, ce qui provient du turc. D'autres éditeurs (De Goeje, Marquart) le lisent plutôt comme *Tanaïs* ou *Tin*, ce qui correspond à la forme grecque du Don. Toutefois, T. Lewicki admet que la forme *Itil* pourrait aussi correspondre au Don, en se basant notamment sur les sources hongroises qui qualifient le Don de *Eutil*.

45 Constantin Porphyrogénète, *De administrando imperio*, éd. M. Basaj, *Testimonia najdawniejszych dziejów Słowian. Seria grecka 3. Pisarze z VII-X wieku*, Wrocław 1989, p. 300.

46 Sur la géographie dans la chronique de Vincent Kadłubek, voir A. Krawiec, *Wyobrażenia geograficzne w kronice Wincentego*, dans : *Onus Athlanteum. Studia nad Kroniką biskupa Wincentego*, dir. A. Dąbrówka, W. Wojtowicz, Łódź 2017, p. 294-304.

47 Z. Kałuża, *Lektury filozoficzne Wincentego Kadłubka*, Cracovie 2015 ; K. Chmielewska, *The Impact and Influence of Antiquity and the Bible*, dans : *Writing History in Medieval Poland*, dir. D. von Güttner-Sporzyński, Turnhout 2017, p. 119-138.

48 *Magistri Vincentii dicti Kadłubek Chronica Polonorum*, éd. M. Plezia, *Monumenta Poloniae Historica n.s.*, XI, Cracovie 1994: p. 8 : « Gallis igitur cessit universa Grecia, istorum vero hinc usque Parthiam, istinc usque Bulgariam, illinc usque Carinthiam creuit accessio ».

la Bulgarie et la Carinthie, coïncide effectivement avec les limites du monde slave. La limite orientale – les Parthes – n'est pas totalement claire. Il pourrait s'agir de la Rus' : dans le livre II, au moment de l'expédition de Boleslas II à Kiev, le chroniqueur nous indique qu'il « passait beaucoup de temps dans les pays ruthènes, c'est-à-dire au-delà du pays des Parthes »<sup>49</sup>. Toutefois, dans sa source principale – Justin, l'abréviateur de Trogue Pompée – les Parthes, descendant des Scythes, sont l'incarnation des Barbares. En cela, ils pourraient plutôt correspondre aux multiples peuples de la steppe, Coumans ou Yatvinges. Quant à la limite septentrionale, elle n'est pas indiquée. L'auteur ne donne toutefois aucun terme pour définir cet empire. Ce n'est qu'un peu plus loin qu'une première identification géographique et ethnique apparaît, où l'auteur fait le lien entre le souverain (Wanda, la fille du premier roi Gracchus), ses sujets et surtout la Vistule : « On dit que le nom du fleuve *Vandalus* [la Vistule] a été choisi pour elle [Wanda], car il se dressait au centre de son royaume, ainsi sont appelés Vandales tous ceux qui sont soumis à son pouvoir »<sup>50</sup>. Ce passage peut susciter une incompréhension. Qui sont ces Vandales, élément que l'auteur ne prend pas la peine d'expliquer<sup>51</sup>? Même si la question peut prêter à discussion, les Vandales sont explicitement désignés comme étant ceux « soumis au pouvoir » de Wanda. Il ne s'agit pas seulement des Polonais : nous avons vu plus haut qu'ils se taillent un empire bien plus grand que leur patrie d'origine. Il faut donc admettre que ces Vandales correspondent à tous ceux qui ont été conquis par les Polonais. D'ailleurs, l'auteur fait ensuite la différence entre Polonais et Vandales : les premiers sont appelés Léchites lors de leur guerre contre Alexandre le Grand<sup>52</sup>.

Les sources extérieures, jusqu'à la fin du XIII<sup>e</sup> siècle, assimilent aussi les Vandales aux Slaves<sup>53</sup>. Vincent Kadłubek n'a fait que reprendre cette vision extérieure, tout en lui donnant une nouvelle définition<sup>54</sup>. D'ailleurs, la *Chronique de Grande*

49 Ibidem, II, 18, p. 55 : « Rege siquidem perditissime nunc Ruthenicis nunc pene transparthanicis inmorante regionibus ».

50 Ibidem, p. 13 : « Ab hac Wandalum flumen dicitur nomen sortitum, quod eius regni centrum extiterit ; hinc omnes sunt Wandali dicti ; qui eius subfuere imperiis ».

51 Sur l'assimilation entre les Slaves et les Wendes/Vandales voir J. Strzelczyk, *Wandalowie i ich afrykańskie państwo*, Varsovie 1992, p. 311-335 et R. Steinacher, *Studien zur vandalischen Geschichte. Die Gleichsetzung der Ethnonyme Wenden. Slawen und Vandalen vom Mittelalter bis ins 18. Jahrhundert*, Vienne 2002; idem, « Wenden, Slawen, Vandalen : Eine frühmittelalterliche pseudologische Gleichsetzung und ihre Nachwirkungen » dans : *Die Suche nach den Ursprüngen*, dir. W. Pohl, Vienne 2004, p. 329-335.

52 *Chronica Polonorum...*, p. 16 : « Igitur inermes a Polonis obruuntur et inprovidi, inter prelium argiraspidica Lechite signa proclamant ».

53 Voir R. Steinacher, *Studien zur vandalischen...*, p. 53-96 pour un aperçu des sources qui assimilent les Vandales aux Wendes-Slaves.

54 Dans une perspective comparatiste, sur la création d'un passé vandale aux Slaves-Wendes, voir J. Banaszkiwicz, *Polskie dzieje bajeczne mistrza Wincentego Kadłubka*, Wrocław 2002, p. 101-113 en particulier.

Pologne au XIV<sup>e</sup> siècle interprète de la même manière ce passage, en affirmant que la Vistule tire son nom de *Vandalus* grâce à la reine Wanda et que « les Polonais et les nations slaves voisines s'appellent depuis Vandales, et non Léchites »<sup>55</sup>.

Le doute est dissipé définitivement dans la chronique de Kadłubek quand, à l'apogée de ce premier empire polonais, l'un de ses souverains, Pompilius, gouverne « non seulement la monarchie slave (*Slauię monarchia*), mais aussi les États environnants »<sup>56</sup>. L'empire primitif des Léchites-Polonais correspond donc à l'espace délimité par le premier partage du monde avec les *Galli* : il s'agit donc bien d'un monde slave, que l'auteur appelle la « monarchie slave ».

Dans sa vision, les Vandales sont donc les peuples conquis et soumis au pouvoir de Wanda, dont le centre du royaume est le fleuve *Vandalus* c'est-à-dire la Vistule. Ce terme de *Vandalus* est une invention du chroniqueur, qui n'emploie pas le terme antique de *Vistula* ou, comme Gallus Anonymus, celui de *Wysla*<sup>57</sup>. De cette manière, le chroniqueur crée un lien étroit entre les Slaves-Vandales et *Vandalus* – la Vistule. Ainsi, le fleuve devient un marqueur identitaire important pour les Polonais, non pas seulement pour la Pologne divisée, mais en tant qu'élément d'idéologie impériale. La Vistule représente le centre d'un empire slave, qui a vocation à être sous domination polonaise.

Ce n'est pas autrement que les chroniqueurs polonais, au XIII<sup>e</sup> et XIV<sup>e</sup> siècle, perçoivent le lien entre Polonais, Vandales-Slaves et la Vistule. Au début du XIV<sup>e</sup> siècle, vers 1320, un franciscain de Cracovie rédige la *Chronique de Dzierzwa* où l'héritage vandale et slave est assumé, et même développé. L'auteur définit la *Slauię monarchia* évoquée par Vincent Kadłubek. Pour cela, il insère un nouveau personnage : *Vandalus*, qui désormais désigne aussi bien la Vistule que le père des Polonais et d'une multitude d'autres nations slaves :

« Il [Vandalus] décida de nommer le fleuve Vandale, qui est appelé en langue vulgaire Wisla, de même que la montagne, dont tire sa source le fleuve, est appelée Wanda en son nom.

[...] C'est ainsi que Vandalus, qui descend d'une autre lignée, avait lui aussi de nombreux fils, dont leur descendance se multipliait dans les royaumes et les régions d'Europe en possédaient la quatrième partie. Ce sont : la Rus qui s'étend jusqu'à l'Orient, la Pologne, magnifique terre et mère, la Poméranie, la Séleucie, la Cachoubie, la Sarnie, qui est dite Saxe à présent, la Bohême, la Moravie, la Styrie, la Carinthie, la Carniole, la

55 *Chronica Poloniae Maioris*, éd. B. Kürbis, Monumenta Poloniae Historica n.s., VIII, Varsovie 1970, p. 9 : « Unde fluvius Wysla a Woda regina Vandalus nomen accepit, a quo Poloni et cetera Slawonice gentes eorundem ditioni adherentes non Lechite sed Wandalite sunt appellat ».

56 *Chronica Polonorum...*, I, 17, p. 23 : « Cuius nutu non Slauię dumtaxat monarchia, set etiam finitimorum gubernata sunt imperia ».

57 J. Rozwadowski, *Nazwy Wisły i jej dorzecza*, Varsovie 1921, p. 3-8; O. Balzer, *Pisma późnośrednio-wieczne. Studium o Kadłubku I*, Lwów 1934, p. 103.



Slavonie, qui est appelée Dalmatie aujourd'hui, la Croatie, la Pannonie, la Bulgarie et bien d'autres que nous passerons sous silence pour ne pas rallonger notre propos »<sup>58</sup>.

*Vandalus* devient donc, chez Dzierzwa, non seulement le père des Polonais mais aussi des autres nations slaves, qui sont énumérées une à une. Le monde slave n'est donc plus seulement délimité par ses frontières, comme le faisait Gallus Anonymus, mais devient une entité aux parties bien définies. Toutes ces régions sont effectivement slavophones même si un doute peut subsister à propos de la Saxe, voire de la Cachoubie. Il s'agit en réalité de régions limitrophe du monde slave, encore non totalement germanisées puisque les Slaves polabes sont voisins de la Saxe, tandis que les Cachoubes forment, encore aujourd'hui, une minorité de la Poméranie parlant un dialecte germanique. L'auteur de la *Chronique de Grande Pologne* affirme distinctement leur caractère slave<sup>59</sup>. Quant à la *Swecia*, qu'on pourrait traduire comme Suède, il s'agit peut-être d'une erreur de l'éditeur<sup>60</sup>. L'éditeur précédent, Auguste Bielowski, écrivait *Seleuciam* au lieu de *Sweciam*, ce qui paraît plus cohérent avec le reste du propos<sup>61</sup>. Cette Séleucie est déjà évoquée par Gallus Anonymus, sans que l'on sache davantage de quelle région il s'agit exactement, à part qu'elle se situerait au nord-est de la Pologne, sur la Baltique.

La Vistule devient, dans la *Chronique de Dzierzwa*, un symbole géographique qui préexiste même à la naissance de la Pologne et des autres nations slaves. C'est en effet la première action de *Vandalus* : il nomme ce fleuve en son nom. L'aspect central de la Vistule est donc encore davantage accentué par la narration du franciscain.

Bien que la Vistule reste un élément important du monde slave dans sa narration, l'auteur de la *Chronique de Grande Pologne* – contrairement à toute la tradition historiographique polonaise plaçant la Pologne au sein de la *Slavinia*,

58 *Chronica Dzirsvae*, éd. K. Pawłowski, Monumenta Poloniae Historica n.s., XV, Cracovie 2013, p. 1-3 : « Hic ex nomine suo fluvium, qui nunc Wysła wlgariter nuncupatur, Wandalum censuit appellari, nam et mons, de quo oritur dictus fluvius, Wanda ab eiusdem nomine vocitatur. [...] Sic et Wandalus per aliam lineam descendendo habuit quoque multos filios, qui generationibus suis ultra quartam partem Europe per regiones et regna semen suum multiplicando possederunt, videlicet: Russiam usque ad orientem, Poloniam maximam terrarum et matrem, Pomoraniem, Sweciam, Cassubiam, Sarniam, que nunc Saxonia dicitur, Bohemiam, Moraviam, Stiriam, Carinthiam, Carneolam, Scalvoniam, que nunc Dalmatia dicitur ; Chorvatiam, Pannoniam, Bulgariam et alias quam plures, quarum multitudo propter prolixitatem subticetur ».

59 *Chronica Polona Maioris...*, p. 5 : « Est quedam gens Slawonica que Cassubite dicuntur et hii a longitudine et latitudine vestium, quas plicare ipsos propter earum latitudinem et longitudinem oportebat, sunt appellat ».

60 R. Grzesik, *Etnogeneza Słowian w polskich kronikach średniowiecznych*, «Historia Slavorum Occidentis» (2020), p. 46.

61 *Kronika Mierzwy*, éd. A. Bielowski, Monumenta Poloniae Historica, II, Lwów 1872, p. 164-165.

*Slavia* ou *terra slauonica* - situe son pays, ainsi que la Bohême, au sein de la *Germania*. Il s'inspire d'une tradition tchèque, présente dans la chronique de Martin d'Opava. L'auteur et la composition de la *Chronique de Grande Pologne* ont donné lieu à maints débats historiographiques. La plupart des historiens s'accordent aujourd'hui pour dire qu'elle a été composée sans doute dans la seconde moitié du XIV<sup>e</sup> siècle<sup>62</sup>.

Le mythe d'origine débute par la légende des trois frères slaves : Lech, Czech et Rus, originaires de Pannonie, reprenant donc une tradition faisant de cette province le berceau originel des Slaves. Chacun des frères fonde son royaume : Lech en Pologne, Czech en Bohême et Rus dans la Rus'. Parmi eux, bien entendu, « les Léchites avaient de tout temps le pouvoir et la prééminence dans tout l'empire, comme cela apparaît de par les chroniques et leurs vastes frontières »<sup>63</sup>. L'auteur fait ici référence au mythe impérial, présent dans la chronique de Vincent Kadłubek, qui fait des Polonais-Léchites les maîtres de cet empire slave.

Toutefois, le monde slave en tant que telle n'est pas une entité indépendante : il est situé au sein de la *Germania*, reprenant donc de manière curieuse une tradition plus ancienne, tout en faisant référence à une autre tradition qui définit le monde slave comme une terre parcourue par les fleuves. L'auteur commence par expliquer que les « Slaves et les Allemands sont deux frères », deux fils de Japhet, en se référant à Isidore de Séville et à la chronique universelle de Martin d'Opava<sup>64</sup>. Ces deux auteurs « décrivent la Germanie à travers ses fleuves, par exemple par le Danube, le Rhin, la Vistule ou le *Vandalus*, par l'Oder ou le *Guttalus* et par l'Alba ou l'Elbe, décrivant ainsi les alentours par ses fleuves majeurs, depuis la source jusqu'à l'embouchure. De fait, le Rhin et le Danube sont les fleuves majeurs du peuple allemand, tandis que le *Vandalus*, l'Oder et l'Elbe sont ceux des royaumes de Pologne et de Bohême. Ils possédaient auparavant les régions centrales entre ces trois fleuves, ainsi que celles qui étaient attenantes, et ils ont en leur possession ces terres depuis ici jusqu'à la mer septentrionale ».<sup>65</sup> Un rapprochement

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62 L'historiographie consacrée à ce problème est présentée dans W. Drelicharz, *Idea zjednoczenia Królestwa w średniowiecznym dziejopisarstwie polskim*, Cracovie 2012, p. 357-368.

63 *Chronica Poloniae Maioris...*, p. 4 : « quorum maioritas semper apud Lechitas et dominium ac totius superioritas imperii prout tam ex cronicis quam ex gradibus apparet, semper habebatur ».

64 Ibidem, p. 6.

65 Ibidem : « Describunt namque Germaniam per fluvios, ut puta per Danubium, per Renum, per Wislam seu Vandalum, per Odram seu Guttalum, et per Albeam seu Lab, designantes per hos fluvios majores ab exitu usque ad infimum descensum eorundem. Nam Renus et Danubius sunt gentis Theutonicae fluvii maiores, Vandalus vero, Odra et Albea Poloniae, et Bohemiae regnorum. Circa hos autem tres fluvios ultimos medias quoque regiones, inter eosdem obtinentes ac adhaerentes eisdem, olim possederant et adhuc usque ad mare septentrionale possidere cernuntur regiones ».

entre la Germanie et le monde slave est opéré ici, comme pour prouver que les Slaves et les Allemands sont effectivement des frères, que le temps a éloignés. Sa source est la chronique de Martin d'Opava déjà évoquée, véritable best-seller médiéval rédigé dans les années 1260-1270, qui inclut la Vistule ainsi que l'Oder dans la Germanie<sup>66</sup>. On le voit, l'auteur de cette interpolation slave hésite entre plusieurs traditions, surtout qu'il ne situe pas précisément la Rus', qui est pourtant selon lui l'un des quatre *regna* slaves, qui sont « ceux des Pannoniens, des Léchites, des Ruthènes et des Tchèques, appelés aussi Bohémiens »<sup>67</sup>. Ce sont les plus anciens, mais non les seuls : la Bulgarie et la Dalmatie dérivent de ces nations majeures. La Bulgarie tire son nom du fleuve *Bulga*. L'étymologie de la Dalmatie est plus alambiquée, mais encore une fois, l'auteur parvient à la rattacher à un cours d'eau, via la reine Saba, dont le nom vient d'une rivière Saba en Pannonie<sup>68</sup>. D'autres principautés slaves ont toutefois un nom dont l'étymologie dérive d'une autre origine que les fleuves.

On retrouve donc dans la *Chronique de Grande Pologne* une assimilation entre les *regna* slaves et leurs cours d'eau, particulièrement leurs fleuves, d'une manière comparable à celle de l'auteur de la *Povest' Vremmenyx Let* du début du XII<sup>e</sup> siècle, avec des éléments du mythe impérial de Vincent Kadłubek. Toutefois, il n'y a pas d'image globale du monde slave, ni la mention d'un terme pour le désigner dans sa totalité, puisque la Pologne et la Bohême sont placées dans la *Germania*. De plus, l'absence curieuse de la Rus' dans ces descriptions géographiques montre que l'auteur ne concevait pas le monde slave comme un ensemble géographique à part entière, bien que l'origine et la langue commune des Slaves soit affirmé à plusieurs reprises. Il en ressort une image disparate du monde slave, avec l'impression que l'auteur n'a pas voulu choisir entre ses différentes sources, écrites ou orales.

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<sup>66</sup> Voir note 18 dans *Kronika Wielkopolska*, éd. B. Kürbis, trad. K. Abgarowicz, Cracovie 2010, p. 42. Pour la chronique de Martin d'Opava, voir *Martini Oppaviensis chronicon pontificum et imperatorum*, éd. L. Weiland, Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Scriptores, XXII, Hanovre 1872, p. 406 : « Illis temporibus Pannoniam, ubi modo sunt Ungari, per Tyberium privignum cruentissima cede delevit et continuo Germaniam que a Pannonia usque ad Renum fluvium extenditur, sicut innuit Orosius et Solinus, qui dicit maiores fluvii Germanie sunt Alba, que fluit de Bohemia, et Gotalus id est Odra, qui nascitur in Moravia, Wisla qui nascitur in Polonia et fluit ipsam in oceanum ».

<sup>67</sup> *Chronica Poloniae Maioris...*, p. 5 : « Per premissa autem quatuor regna Slawonica, videlicet Pannoniorum Lechitarum, Ruthenorum et Czechorum seu Bohemorum designata habentur ».

<sup>68</sup> *Ibidem* : « Regnum itaque Bulgarorum a Bulga fluvio nominatur. [...] Item regnum Dalmacie dicitur ab eo, quia Pannoniorum regina filio suo partem illam maritimam donavit ipsumque in regem coronari fecit et creditur, quod illa fuit Austrii Saba nomine, que ad regem Salomonem venerat sapienciam eius auditura. Nam et fluvius Pannoniorum Saba dicitur qui ab ipsa nomen sumpsisse perhibetur. Diciturque regnum Dalmacie dal a macz quasi dedit mater ».

## 2. L'historiographie tchèque (XIII<sup>e</sup>-XIV<sup>e</sup> siècle)

En Bohême, c'est au XIV<sup>e</sup> siècle que l'historiographie connaît un nouvel essor. Le règne de Charles IV (1346-1378) polarise la production historiographique, puisque pas moins de cinq chroniques sont écrites sous son règne. On peut trouver ainsi les traces d'un mythe impérial slave sous domination tchèque dans les *Summula chronicae tam Romanae quam Bohemicae* de Neplach d'Opatovice (1322-1371), qui déclare que le pouvoir de Wenceslas III (mort en 1306) s'exerçait sur la Bohême, la Pologne et la Rus<sup>69</sup>. Il ne s'agit toutefois pas d'une réelle définition du monde slave mais plutôt d'un programme idéologique. En réalité, seules la chronique de Jean de Marignolli (c. 1290-1358/9) et celle de Přebík Pulkava de Radenín (mort en 1380) s'intéressent de plus près aux Slaves.

Jean de Marignolli est un Florentin, qui écrit une chronique visant très clairement à légitimer le pouvoir de Charles IV, en insistant notamment sur la généalogie de sa mère, une Přemyslide<sup>70</sup>. Sa chronique est une œuvre bâtarde, puisque les deux premiers livres prennent la forme d'une histoire universelle tandis que le dernier est dévolu à l'histoire de la Bohême. Cependant, s'il fournit une histoire antique des Slaves, il n'innove guère concernant la géographie, reprenant l'autorité que constitue alors la chronique de Cosmas. Il ne fait que replacer la « Bohême au sein de la Germanie, qui est en Europe », en réaffirmant son caractère septentrional, une terre séparée « de la Pannonie et des autres nations par les montagnes, les forêts et les rivières »<sup>71</sup>. Son territoire est aussi décrit à partir des cours d'eau dont l'Elbe, le « fleuve noble, qui a sa source dans les montagnes bohémiennes » ainsi que les « autres rivières, comme la Vltava, qui coule à Prague »<sup>72</sup>.

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69 Voir V. Adamovyc, *Rus v českých kronikach 13–14 storočia*, dans : *Княжа доба: історія і культура*. Bun. 7, Lwow 2013, p. 102 ; *Neplacha, opata opatovského, krátká kronika římská i česká*, éd. J. Emler, *Fontes rerum Bohemicarum*, III, Prague 1882, p. 478 : « MCCCVI rex Wenceslaus moritur... Et idem accidit, cum fi lius eius occidebatur... Nam post mortem ipsorum regnum Vngarie, Polonie, Cracouie, Pomoranie, maxima pars Russye, terra Syrasye, Misnensis, omnes hec terre a regno recesserunt et a diversis partibus Boemiam vastare ceperunt et Morauiam »

70 M. Bláhová, *John of Marignolli*, dans : *Encyclopedia of the Medieval Chronicle*, vol. I, dir. G. Dunphy, Leiden-Boston 2010, p. 934-935 ; I. Malfatto, *John of Marignolli and the Historiographical Project of Charles IV*, « *Acta Universitatis Carolinae - Historia Universitatis Carolinae Pragensis* » LV (2015) 1, p. 131-40.

71 *Kronika Jana z Marignoly*, éd. J. Emler, *Fontes rerum Bohemicarum*, III, Prague 1882, p. 523 : « Boemia, pars Germanie, in Europa sita, sub polo artico versus aquilonarem plagam posita est, que montibus altissimis a Pannonia et nacionibus aliis est divisa per montes, silvas et flumina ».

72 Ibidem, p. 578 : « Unus est nobilis fluvius, qui de monte oritur Boemorum, nomine Albea, et alia flumina multa, sicut Wltava, qui preterfluit civitatem Pragensem ».

Son quasi-contemporain, Přebík ou Pulkava de Radeníň, livre une véritable description du monde slave sans équivalent jusque-là dans l'historiographie tchèque. Prenant comme point de départ la chute de la tour de Babel, il raconte ensuite la migration des Slaves depuis la Grèce, s'installant dans tous les territoires au Sud et à l'Est de l'Europe, qui deviennent ensuite « la Bulgarie, la Rus', la Serbie, la Dalmatie, la Croatie, la Bosnie, la Carinthie, l'Istrie et la Carniole »<sup>73</sup>. Cet extrait n'est pas anodin. Pulkava peut ainsi rattacher l'histoire des Slaves à celle de la Bohême, puisqu'il reprend ensuite la narration de la *Chronique de Dalimil* qui fait venir Čech, le père des Tchèques, de la Croatie<sup>74</sup>. Ce Čech traverse ensuite le Danube pour arriver dans le pays qui sera la Bohême<sup>75</sup>. Il continue ensuite la description de la Bohême, qui correspond peu ou prou à celle rédigée par Cosmas : une région entourée de montagne, entre l'Elbe et la Vltava. Toutefois, il ne s'arrête pas là. Vient le tour des Polonais, et de leur père Lech – inspiration qui pourrait soit venir de la *Chronique de Dalimil*, soit de la *Chronique de Grande Pologne* – qui « traverse les Carpates (*Alpes nivium*) » - qui forment la frontière entre la Bohême et la Pologne - et s'installe avec son peuple sur ces terres, « jusqu'au bord de la mer »<sup>76</sup>. D'autres, de la lignée (*suo genere*) de Lech, continuent leur périple vers la « Rus', la Cachoubie, la Poméranie, jusqu'au royaume du Danemark et les rives de la mer septentrionale [la mer Baltique] et s'installent sur toute la terre de la Rus'. D'autres encore, cette fois-ci issus de la Bohême, « traversent la Morava, et s'installent sur la terre appelée Moravie, ainsi qu'en Misnie, dans la terre de Budyšin, dans le Brandebourg et la Lusace »<sup>77</sup>.

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73 *Kronika Pulkavova*, éd. J. Emler, Fontes rerum Bohemicarum, V, Prague 1893, p. 4 : « Igitur prefati Slowani recedentes de campo Sennar transeuntesque per Caldeam venerunt in terram, ubi nunc habitant Greci, deinde progredientes quoddam brachium maris intrans mare maius prope Bisanciam, que Bisancia nunc Constantinopolis nuncupatur, intraverunt terras, videlicet Bulgariam, Rasiam, Seruiam, Dalmaciam, Charuaciam, Bosnam, Carinthiam, Istriam et Cornoliam, quas in hodiernum diem possident ».

74 Sur la chronique de Dalimil, voir E. Adde-Vomačka, *La Chronique de Dalimil. Les débuts de l'historiographie nationale tchèque en langue vulgaire au XIVe siècle*, Paris 2016 ; *Rymovana kronika ceska*, éd. J. Emler, Fontes rerum Bohemicarum, III, Prague 1882, p. 6 : « V srbskem jazyku jest zeme / jiezto Charvaty jest jme. V tej zemi biese lech, jemuzto jme bise Čech ».

75 *Kronika Pulkavova...*, p. 4 : « Et de loco in locum progrediens transivit Danubium ».

76 *Ibidem*, p. 4 : « Frater autem seu consors nomine Lech, qui secum venerat, transivit Alpes nivium, que dividunt Boemiam et Poloniam. Et cum vidisset planiciem maxima musque fines maris tendentem, ibi se locavit et cam de suo genere populavit ». Sur la réception de la chronique de Pulkava dans la *Chronique de Grande Pologne* voir R. Heck, *Z recepcji Kroniki Pulkawy w polskiej historiografii średniowiecznej*, dans : *Słowianie w dziejach Europy. Studia historyczne ku uczczeniu 75 rocznicy urodzin i 50-lecia pracy naukowej Henryka Łowmiańskiego*, dir. J. Ochmański, Poznań 1974, p. 139-146.

77 *Ibidem*, p. 4 : « Alii vero de Boemia transverunt super flumen Morauię, et ibi regionem, que terra Morauię dicitur, nec non similiter Misnam, Budissinensem, Brandenburgensem, et Lusaciam principatus inhabitare cepereunt ».

Pulkava nous livre donc un tableau complet du monde slave, en commençant par les Slaves du Sud, avant de passer aux Slaves septentrionaux. Il mêle de façon habile les récits issus de la chronique de Cosmas ou de celle de Dalimil avec une vision d'ensemble de l'installation des Slaves suite à la chute de la tour de Babel, qui n'est pas sans rappeler la *Chronique de Grande Pologne* voire même la *Povest' Vremmenyx Let*. Sa description ne se contente pas d'énumérer les pays slaves : il s'appuie sur des éléments géographiques concrets, tels les Carpates (*Alpes nivium*), la « mer septentrionale » (la mer Baltique), le Danube ou encore la Morava. La géographie du monde slave, avec Pulkava, devient donc une géographie complète où le trajet mythique des anciens Slaves est imaginé selon une réalité où le relief ainsi que les cours d'eau ont une place identitaire de premier plan.

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Situer le monde slave constitue donc – pour les chroniqueurs de cette partie de l'Europe – une tâche qui s'avère plus ardue que prévue. Pendant longtemps, les historiographies s'appuient sur des autorités quasiment indétrônables avant la fin du XIV<sup>e</sup> siècle : la chronique de Cosmas en Bohême, la chronique de Kadłubek pour la Pologne et enfin la *Povest' Vremmenyx Let* pour la Rus', qui reste encore le texte de référence bien des siècles plus tard. Pour les Tchèques, il n'existe pas d'association automatique entre le fait d'être slave et l'inscription géographique dans le monde slave : la Bohême reste une partie de la *Germania*, au moins jusqu'à la fin du XIV<sup>e</sup> siècle quand Pulkava réécrit la migration mythique des Slaves. L'historiographie ruthène et polonaise affirment distinctement l'existence d'un monde slave séparé, qui prend parfois le nom de *Sclavonia*, *terra slauonica*, *zemlja sloven'skaja* ou de *Slavia*, avec toutefois des exceptions, notamment au XIV<sup>e</sup> siècle.

Ce monde slave n'est que rarement défini par des frontières naturelles : il l'est plutôt par les contrées qui le composent. La « mer septentrionale » c'est-à-dire la Baltique, constitue une frontière fermement établie. Les autres sont beaucoup plus fluctuantes. Seuls le Danube et la Pannonie deviennent progressivement, dans la mémoire collective, le berceau originel des Slaves. La frontière occidentale n'est pas délimitée précisément, alors que les principautés slaves païennes disparaissent de cet espace tampon entre l'Empire d'une part, et la Pologne et la Bohême d'autre part. La limite orientale est quant à elle souvent incarnée par la Rus', sans que ce territoire soit davantage décrit, sauf dans la *Povest' Vremmenyx Let*.

On observe une distinction progressive entre le monde slave septentrional et méridional, ce qui correspond aux préoccupations idéologiques et politiques de leurs auteurs, qui s'intéressent davantage à leurs voisins proches qu'aux Slaves du Sud, plus éloignés. En ce sens, le Danube apparaît comme

une frontière symbolique : bassin des anciens Slaves, son franchissement permet la création de nouveaux peuples. Enfin, point le plus marquant, les auteurs laissent peu à peu apparaître des éléments géographiques tels que le relief ou les cours d'eau dans leurs descriptions. Si la mention du relief reste rare – ce qui correspond aussi à une réalité topographique – les rivières et les fleuves deviennent des éléments identitaires majeurs. Au XIV<sup>e</sup> siècle, le monde slave et les pays qui le composent ne peuvent plus être décrits seulement en énonçant les différentes principautés. Les cours d'eau se muent alors en véritables symboles : le Danube pour les anciens Slaves, la Vistule pour les Polonais, le Dniepr pour la Rus' kiévienne, ainsi que l'Elbe et la Vltava pour la Bohême. L'image du monde slave en vient à correspondre à celle de ce « pays de fleuves » évoqué par les sources arabes et byzantines du Haut Moyen Age.

#### ABSTRACT

#### **Identifying and defining a Slavic world in Polish, Czech and Ruthenian historiography (12<sup>th</sup>-14<sup>th</sup> century)**

Did a specific Slavic world exist in the medieval chroniclers' minds of Poland, Rus' and Bohemia? This article shows that this idea mainly comes from the Slavic chroniclers, not from external sources. Beginning with the *Povest Vremmenyx Let'*, the Slavic world is described as a land of rivers, a strong element of Slavic geographical identity. Polish historiography uses and develops this notion relatively early, while Czech historiography maintains Cosmas' conceptions of Bohemia as part of *Germania* until the end of the 14<sup>th</sup> century. In the same time, the distinction between the northern and the southern Slavic world breaks its unity. Ultimately, a comparative study of Polish, Czech and Ruthenian historiography shows that various traditions were known and spreading among these people, thus contributing to create a common picture of the Slavic world.

**Keywords:** Slavic identity, Slavic geography, historiography, oral tradition, origo gentis

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## ABLE BODIES: THE ORGANISATION OF LABOUR AND HEALTH, 1300-1600: A RESEARCH AGENDA



One of the longer term, much-debated consequences of the outbreak of the Second Plague Pandemic in the mid-14<sup>th</sup> century, was the increased poverty and geographical mobility of labourers in Europe's urbanised regions.<sup>1</sup> Urban bylaws attest that in the 15<sup>th</sup> century, cities recorded and regulated through repression the presence of itinerant workers and beggars, who took to the road in seek of labour opportunities and, in times of famine, of food.<sup>2</sup> How to deal with the urban poor and vagrants was subsequently a question prominent on the agenda of city governments, including in the early 16<sup>th</sup>-century Low Countries. This article argues that health experts played a significant role in the organization of labour at this time.

Thus, in 1526, at the behest of the city government of Bruges, the philosopher Juan Luis Vives (1493-1540) drafted *De subventionem pauperum* (On the Assistance to the Poor).<sup>3</sup> In it, after weighing how each individual should show virtue through charity, he lays out a scheme focusing on the social, moral and physical "betterment" of the poor. This is brought to fruition by gathering information on and training the able-bodied poor, to raise their productivity and find gainful employment. Strategies include learning a trade or being forced to labour on public works, working in textile, on the ditches, sewers or other edifices. Vives also suggests establishing various administrative procedures for the programme's execution. Officials should be appointed to visit the houses of the poor and make inquiries about their way of life and predicament. Able-

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1 S. Cohn, *After the Black Death: Labour Legislation and Attitudes Towards Labour in Late-Medieval Western Europe*, "The Economic History Review" LX (2007) 3, pp. 457-485; J.P. Byrne, *The Black Death*, Westport 2004; S.A.C. Penn, *Female Wage-Earners in Late Fourteenth-Century England*, "The Agricultural History Review" XXXV (1987) 1, pp. 1-14.

2 C. Lis, H. Soly, *Worthy Efforts: Attitudes to Work and Workers in Pre-industrial Europe*, Leiden 2012, pp. 457-461; C. Lis, H. Soly, *Poverty & Capitalism in Pre-Industrial Europe*, Brighton 1982; B. Geremek, *Poverty: A History*, trans. A. Kolakowska, Oxford 1994.

3 Juan Luis Vives, *De subventionem pauperum*, ed. A. Saitta, Florence 1973.



bodied beggars, furthermore, should render their names and the reason for their state-of-being to the city council. Sick beggars, considered to be a public health threat, should do so in the presence of a doctor and two to four councillors, thus sparing the other council members' delicate senses. The officials should be invested with the power to coerce, punish and, if necessary, incarcerate. As soon as the sick recover in the hospitals, they should be put to work and health experts should ascertain that sickness is not feigned. Indeed, no able-bodied man, in good health and of the right age, should go without work, as Paul the Apostle had written in his Epistle to the Thessalonians. Healthy beggars, finally, should be removed from the city and sent to their original place of dwelling.<sup>4</sup>

Juan Vives, who originated from Valencia in Spain, came from a family of so-called *conversos* or New Christians who had converted from Judaism at the time of the Spanish Inquisition. Advising to reorganise the aid to the poor by bringing it into the sphere of the public domain, Vives's treatise has been heralded as a foundational text in the development of the early modern, centralised welfare state. This is particularly so because the Habsburg emperor Charles V, in 1531, decreed that cities must establish a *Gemene Beurs*, a central fund for the common poor under the auspices of the city government instead of the Church. Whereas the government, it is argued, thus took informed measures for the sake of communal wellbeing, the Church acted out of religious duty, charity and mercy.<sup>5</sup> However, on closer examination, many of Vives's ideas, about the significance of health and environment in children's education, can be identified as standing in a longer tradition of the organisation of labour, production and reproduction in an emerging capitalist society. Ben Parsons's *Punishment and Medieval Education*, for instance, has shown how Galenic medical theory was applied in teaching manuals in the 13<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>6</sup>

Moreover, medical efforts to contain the plague sick earlier had readily transformed into issues of social control. In the 15<sup>th</sup> century in Mantua, for instance, during outbreaks of plague, Italian health boards organised the sequestration of migrant beggars.<sup>7</sup> Nor were authorities only awakened to the challenges of public health issues in the face of the crisis of Black Death, as the systematic issuing of bylaws and policing of public health

4 Ibidem, I.6.4; II.1.3; II.2.4-7; II.3.3, 6, 8, 14; v.1-2.

5 G. Tournoy, *Towards the Roots of Social Welfare: Joan Lluís Vives's De subventionem Pauperum*, "City" VIII (2010) 2, pp. 266-273; A. Keck, *The Change of Philosophical Motives of Care From Thomas Aquinas' Notion of Alms to Juan Luis Vives' 'De subventionem pauperum'*, "European Journal of Social Work" XIII (2010) 1, pp. 127-130.

6 B. Parsons, *Punishment and Medieval Education*, Melton 2018.

7 A.G. Carmichael, *Plague Legislation in the Italian Renaissance*, "Bulletin of the History of Medicine" LVII (1983) 4, p. 522; A.G. Carmichael, *Plague and the Poor in Renaissance Florence*, Cambridge 1986, pp. 108-165.

before the 14<sup>th</sup> century attest.<sup>8</sup> Finally, the transition from a decentralised apparatus of religious charity in an economy of salvation to a centralised state welfare system around 1550 is likewise less linear than is often suggested. Before the creation of a central coffer for poor relief, cities already had a finger in the pie of charitable funds. In the Low Countries, for example, city governments appointed *heilige geest meesters* to oversee the parochial distribution of alms through the Church. The more fragmented poor relief was organised via various additional channels, including through abbeys and the hospitals of Beguines as well.<sup>9</sup>

This article aims to explore approaches to the question to what extent health experts, alongside religious organisations, were involved in the organisation of labour and welfare in the period 1300-1600 in European cities. Rather than seeking to establish a tipping point when religious charity was replaced by a welfare system, I argue that looking at the involvement of health experts in the organisation of labour opens up new avenues for exploring the nexus of the categorisation, disciplining and valuation of the worker's body in racial capitalism. Understanding the long, multiscalar history of health and labour irrevocably means challenging the dominant conception that biopower – the governing of collective life – is a modern, European phenomenon emerging in the 18<sup>th</sup> century. Within a Foucauldian framework, the emergence of biopower entailed the transformation of power from the external to the internal and the productive, whereby the domain of medicine became social. State power was thereby considered to be diverged through a network of institutions and resources to be able to govern collective life.<sup>10</sup>

But how then, to view earlier efforts to govern life, through networks of government and in relation to productivity? My suggestion is to explore this question from two perspectives. First, to look at how health or body experts, as voices of authority, acted as intermediaries in these networks and negotiated between the state, church and populations in the organisation of labour and

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8 C. Rawcliffe, *Urban Bodies: Communal Health in Late Medieval English Towns and Cities*, Woodbridge 2013; G. Geltner, *Roads to Health: Infrastructure and Urban Wellbeing in Later Medieval Italy*, Philadelphia 2019; *Policing the Urban Environment in Premodern Europe*, ed. C. Rawcliffe, C. Weeda, Amsterdam 2019.

9 J. Haemers, W. Ryckbosch, *A Targeted Public: Public Services in Fifteenth-Century Ghent and Bruges*, "Urban History" XXXVII (2010) 2, pp. 218-224; A. Tervoort, 'To the Honour of God, for Concord and the Common Good': *Developments in Social Care and Education in Dutch Towns (1300-1625)*, in: *Serving the Urban Community: The Rise of Public Facilities in the Low Countries*, ed. M. van der Heijden, E. van Nederveen Meerkerk, G. Vermeesch, M. van der Burg, Amsterdam 2009, pp. 89-106; J. Haemers, *For the Common Good: State Power and Urban Revolts in the Reign of Mary of Burgundy, 1477-1482*, Turnhout 2009, pp. 185-187.

10 For a discussion of Michel Foucault's concept of biopolitics and its applicability in earlier periods and regions: M. Meloni, *The Politics of Environments Before the Environment: Biopolitics in the Longue Durée*, "Studies in History and Philosophy of Science" LXXXVIII (2021), pp. 334-344.

the redistribution of bare necessities in earlier times and regions. And second, to look at how workers themselves cared for their bodies and social lifeworlds with a view to the requirements of labour, taking health and safety measures and at specific moments exerting claims to welfare via their bodies, for instance by drawing attention to physical impairment or employing specific signifiers of ill-health.

The involvement of medical practitioners in administration, and the medicalisation of social and legal institutions, is visible in several domains in the period prior to the outbreak of plague in 1347-1353. Urban financial records from Italy, the Low Countries and German territories show that governments, from the thirteenth century, placed certified doctors and surgeons on their payroll.<sup>11</sup> Besides doctors who cared for the health of the affluent, surgeons and barbers had forensic and military tasks, tending to wounds, and sometimes also working at the local hospitals for the poor and needy. In the sphere of forensics, midwives and surgeons sometimes also facilitate in criminal procedures, for instance by examining wounds or the physical stamina of the interrogated, even assisting in executions.<sup>12</sup> Beyond the sphere of forensics and the military, we can also see health professionals stepping in directly in domain of the organisation of labour.

City courts in Ghent, as Lola Digard argues, summoned surgeons to examine the extent of workers' injuries in private litigation, to establish indemnities in the context of work.<sup>13</sup> Poignantly, as Luke Demaitre and Carole Rawcliffe have shown, doctors, together with city councillors, took an active role in detecting leprosy – thereby establishing inmates' rights to receive support, attested with a special *vuilbrief*.<sup>14</sup> Finally, as the groundbreaking work of Irina Metzler argues, workers themselves, through their

11 A.W. Russell, *The Town and State Physician in Europe from the Middle Ages to the Enlightenment*, Wolfenbüttel 1981; C. Rawcliffe, *Urban Bodies...*, pp. 299-308; R. Ladan, *Gezondheidszorg in Leiden in de Late Middeleeuwen*, Hilversum 2012; M.R. McVaugh, *Medicine before the Plague: Practitioners and their Patients in the Crown of Aragon, 1285-1345*, Cambridge 1993; J. Shatzmiller, *Jews, Medicine, and Medieval Society*, Berkeley 1994; K. Park, *Doctors and Medicine in Early Renaissance Florence*, Princeton 1985.

12 For physicians and forensic medicine: S. Butler, *Forensic Medicine and Death Investigation in Medieval England*, New York 2015; *Medicine and the Law in the Middle Ages*, ed. W.J. Turner, S. Butler, Leiden 2014; J. Mattelaer, *Le Medionat – une tache moins connue du barbier-chirurgien lors d'une execution*, "Janus" LX (1973), pp. 137-147; E.T. Hurren, *Dissecting the Criminal Corpse: Staging Post-Execution Punishment in Early Modern England*, London 2016; M.A. van Anandel, *Chirurgijns, vrije meesters, beunhazen en kwakzalvers: De chirurgijns-gilden en de praktijk der heekunde (1400-1800)*, Amsterdam 1941.

13 L. Digard, *Alleviate and Compensate: Forensic Medicine and the Medical Market in the Pacification Court of Ghent, 1350-1500* (forthcoming).

14 L. Demaitre, *Leprosy in Premodern Medicine: A Malady of the Whole Body*, Baltimore 2007, p. 59.

guilds and confraternities, organised their own safety networks, taking precautions to protect their bodies and work environment.<sup>15</sup> Nonetheless, relatively few publications about the involvement of health professionals in labour have appeared to date.<sup>16</sup>

The period 1300-1600 marks the influx of Graeco-Arabic Hippocratic, Aristotelian and Galenic ideas pertaining to medicine and the body politic in Europe and the institutionalisation of medical knowledge. The main focus of this present survey is on the involvement of health experts organising the labour of free and semi-free vagrants, the impoverished and enslaved workers, who often worked in the army/naval sphere and public works, as well as in smaller and larger households. Two main questions raised here are, first, how medical knowledge informed the categorisation of bodies for various forms of labour, free or coerced, and their functioning in communities; and, second, how health experts in practice contributed to the evaluation, care, and disciplining of those bodies. This approach helps to bridge ideas and practices, both directly through health professionals' own actions and mediated through their texts and through collaborators such as city officials.

#### CLASSIFICATION AND REPRESENTATION

In recent years, substantial work has been done on the impact of ancient Greek and Arabic thought on the classification of bodies, particularly from the second half of the 13<sup>th</sup> century onwards in Europe.<sup>17</sup> For that reason, I will only discuss the schoolmen's contribution to the categorisation and representation of bodies briefly here. From antiquity, in the Mediterranean world, men educated in natural philosophy and medicine discussed the classification of peoples, their alleged abilities, qualities and functions, in conjunction with the place where they dwelled, their gender, age and profession. They did so within the framework of two scientific contexts: climate theory and its sibling theory of the humours. Graeco-Arabic thought held that collectively, the environment, matter, movement and emotions were crucial external agents whose workings manipulated the balance of the four bodily humours (sanguine, choleric, phlegmatic and melancholic). To attain

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15 I. Metzler, *A Social History of Disability in the Middle Ages: Cultural Considerations of Physical Impairment*, New York 2013, pp. 36-91; R. Jütte, *Poverty and Deviance in Early Modern Europe*, Cambridge 1994.

16 V. Zimmermann, *Ansätze zu einer Sozial- und Arbeitsmedizin am mittelalterlichen Arbeitsplatz*, in: *Mensch und Umwelt im Mittelalter*, ed. B. Herrmann, Stuttgart 1986, pp. 140-149 is one of the few publications.

17 For humoral theory and the classification of ethnic and religious groups: *The Origins of Racism in the West*, ed. M. Eliav-Feldon, B. Isaac, J. Ziegler, Cambridge 2009.

a level of balance, human beings were advised to constantly administer to the proportions of elements and qualities of heat, cold, moisture and dryness in their bodies. The combination of these elements and qualities was believed to have a profound effect on peoples' bodies and minds.<sup>18</sup>

Given the focus on environment, a species's physiology accordingly was linked to geographical situation. The oldest surviving text applying the theory of climate and place is *Airs, Waters, Places*. Attributed to Hippocrates (c. 460-c. 370 BC), this treatise argued that the climate, winds, rain and terrain affects the physiology of peoples and animals, producing various different types with different physical and mental qualities.<sup>19</sup> These qualifications subsequently were aligned with systems of governance and fed into arguments about the organisation of labour, notably in Aristotle's *Politics* written in the 4<sup>th</sup> century BC. European schoolmen, monks and courtiers, influenced by the translation of Arabic and Greek texts in the field of medicine and the natural sciences from the late 11<sup>th</sup> century onwards with the rise of universities, increasingly began to apply these ideas to groups in western Europe as well, particularly from the second half of the 13<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>20</sup> Texts comment on the physical and mental traits of ethnic groups, but also on those of peasants and professions, based on their proximity to the elements and qualities.<sup>21</sup> Before the 12<sup>th</sup> century, ideas about group characteristics and the labour of military recruits, moreover, were transmitted separately through copies of the 4<sup>th</sup>-century AD military manual of Vegetius, *De re militari*, which engages climate theory to advise how to manage army troops and recruit the best soldiers.<sup>22</sup>

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18 C. Rawcliffe, *The Concept of Health in Late Medieval Society*, in: *Le Interazioni fra Economia e Ambiente Biologico nell' Europa Preindustriale Sec. XIII-XVIII*, ed. S. Cavaciocchi, Florence 2010, pp. 317-334.

19 Hippocrates, *Airs, eaux, lieux*, ed. J. Jouanna, Paris 1996, XXIII.I-IV, pp. 241-244; B. Isaac, *The Invention of Racism in Classical Antiquity*, Princeton 2004.

20 P. Biller, *Proto-Racial Thought in Medieval Science*, in: *The Origins of Racism in the West*, ed. M.E. Eliav-Feldon, B. Isaac, J. Ziegler, Cambridge 2009, pp. 157-180; J. Ziegler, *Physiognomy, Science, and Proto-racism 1200-1500*, in: *ibidem*, pp. 181-199; J. Kaye, *A History of Balance, 1250-1375: The Emergence of a New Model of Equilibrium and its Impact on Thought*, Cambridge 2014.

21 For Jews, for instance I.M. Resnick, *Marks of Distinctions: Christian Perceptions of Jews in the High Middle Ages*, Washington 2012, pp. 175-214; P. Biller, *A 'Scientific' View of Jews from Paris Around 1300*, "Micrologus: Natura, scienze e società medievali – Nature, Sciences and Medieval Societies" IX (2001), pp. 137-168; W. Johnson, *The Myth of Jewish Male Menses*, "Journal of Medieval History" XXIV (1998), pp. 273-295; B. Bauchau, *Science et racisme: les juifs, la lèpre et la peste*, "Stanford French Review" XIII (1989), pp. 21-35. For serfs: P.H. Freedman, *Images of the Medieval Peasant*, Stanford 1999, pp. 139f.

22 Vegetius, *Epitoma rei militaris*, ed. M. D. Reeve, Oxford 2004, I.II; C.T. Allmand, *The De Re Militari of Vegetius: The Reception, Transmission and Legacy of a Roman Text in the Middle Ages*, Cambridge 2011.

Through the adoption of ancient Greek Hippocratic climate theory, schoolmen contributed to shaping racial ideological discourse, determining which bodies qualified for specific types of labour in a hierarchy of power.<sup>23</sup> Throughout this period, ethnographic texts categorise bodies of others in terms of functionality, physical strength and rationality, applying scales of humanness.<sup>24</sup> But the use of medicine also stretched to the categorisation of workers within the own community, including of army recruits, servants, wet nurses, and preachers.<sup>25</sup>

The allotment of tasks to specific groups offered employers a framework for unequally distributing rewards for labour. The textual representations, commenting on individuals' and groups' degrees of strength, rationality and hence functionality, thereby portrayed which bodies were well or less qualified to, for instance, protect territories and property in the military sphere – such as knights –, and which bodies were more or less qualified for different forms of labour in the service of others. The self-representations of those wielding power tended to emphasise their own manly strength in combination with rationality – think courtly knight –, while depictions of others might underscore more irrational or weak features. In addition, within the sphere of the distribution of alms, representations of the deserving and undeserving poor served to distinguish between those entitled to community support, such as the infirm and those following in Christ's footsteps, and those who must work for a living. This also happened based on moral and physical description.

These representations were not empty signifiers. Cicero, whose work was influential in the period under review, had presented ideas about how specific human qualities justified claims to property.<sup>26</sup> Cicero's *De officiis* stated that reason and eloquence held society together. They were prerequisites for maintaining public order and the rule of law. Primordial society, where man lived erratically, without rationality, law or religion, had transformed into social

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23 K.E. Fields, B.J. Fields, *Racecraft: The Soul of Inequality in American Life*, London 2016, argue that perceived differences are produced through practices embedded in structures of inequality.

24 C.V. Weeda, *Ethnicity in Medieval Europe, 950-1250: Medicine, Power and Religion*, Woodbridge 2021.

25 For preachers: A. Montford, *Fit to Preach and Pray: Considerations of Occupational Health in the Mendicant Orders*, in: *The Use and Abuse of Time in Christian History*, ed. R.N. Swanson, Woodbridge 2002, pp. 95-106. For references to wet nurses, see below note 66, and R.L. Winer, *Conscripting the Breast: Lactation, Slavery and Salvation in the Realms of Aragon and Kingdom of Majorca, c. 1250-1300*, "Journal of Medieval History" XXXIV (2008) 2, pp. 164-184.

26 For the influence of Ciceronian learning on court ideals and ethics: C.S. Jaeger, *The Origins of Courtliness: Civilizing Trends and the Formation of Courtly Ideals, 939-1210*, Philadelphia 1985; C.S. Jaeger, *The Envy of Angels: Cathedral Schools and Social Ideals in Medieval Europe, 950-1200*, Philadelphia 1994.

existence through urbanisation and professionalisation. Such a transformation allegedly occurred because of human beings' natural ability for speech and reason, in which they distinguished themselves from animals. The capacity to use speech allowed humans to claim property under the law, which was considered to historically evolve from the fruits of labour; animals, on the other hand, were subjected to humans and unable to make moral choices or claim the fruits of their labour.<sup>27</sup> Thus, by toiling on a plot of land, it was argued, property claims emerged and this had happened from the earliest times – there were debates about whether this was before or after the original sin.<sup>28</sup>

Accordingly, whereas all peoples were subject to and protected in various degrees by the *ius gentium*, animals, lacking reason, fell under natural law. However, some groups of people, such as peasants or women, were positioned lower on the hierarchical scale and represented as less endowed with rationality. These classical representations merged with Christian thought. In Vives's treatise, for instance, work is considered to be God's punishment as a result of the fall. This is reflected in scholastic discussions from the 13<sup>th</sup> century onwards.<sup>29</sup> It was argued through genealogical constructions of descent that some groups were more stricken by the original sin than others. Schoolmen pathologized group features after the original sin, claiming some groups, such as Jews or serfs, to be more melancholy.<sup>30</sup> Theologians framed specific lineages of Jews and serfs as cursed descendants of Cain whose bodies were weakened or corrupt.<sup>31</sup> The significance of these categorisations in relation to labour has only recently begun to be explored. In 2019, Lindsay Kaplan's *Figuring Racism in Medieval Christianity* made the important argument that the discourse of racism pertaining to Jews as slaves concerned, above all, narratives of servitude in a hierarchy of power.<sup>32</sup>

At times, climate theory was engaged to frame these bodies within a scientific discourse. The Latin translation of Aristotle's *Politics* in about 1260, discussing natural slavery and its interaction with environment, gave an impetus to discussions about the relationship between the body, climate and labour. Climate theory increasingly was applied in the ethnography

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27 C.J. Nederman, *Nature, Sin and the Origins of Society: The Ciceronian Tradition in Medieval Political Thought*, "Journal of the History of Ideas" XLIX (1988) 1, pp. 3-26; J. Coleman, *Medieval Discussions of Property: "Ratio" and "Dominium" According to John of Paris and Marsilius of Padua*, "History of Political Thought" IV (1983) 2, pp. 209-228.

28 C.J. Nederman, *Nature, Sin...*, pp. 5-9. For a discussion of power, work and (typologies of) the human body in Eden A. Minnis, *From Eden to Eternity: Creations of Paradise in the Later Middle Ages*, Philadelphia 2015, pp. 84-139.

29 Juan Vives, *De subventionem pauperum...*, I.1.

30 See note 21 for references.

31 I.M. Resnick, *Marks of Distinctions...*, pp. 206-214.

32 M.L. Kaplan, *Figuring Racism in Medieval Christianity*, New York 2019.

of colonised peoples.<sup>33</sup> In his *Politics*, Aristotle had defined enslaved persons as instruments of action, whose functionality was reflected in their strength and inferior rational capacities. Aristotle alleged that the enslaved, because of environment and training, understood reasoning, but could not actively conceive how to achieve the best action.<sup>34</sup> Enslaved persons accordingly carried out menial tasks. Mirroring their qualities, on the other hand, the master was said to be rationally superior, educated and virtuous, from whose qualities and recreational activities those lower in the hierarchy could benefit in pursuit of a 'common good'. Bryson's ancient text *Management of the Estate*, translated in Montpellier into Latin from Arabic by the university professor and physician Armengaud Blaise in 1312 under the title *Yconomica Galieni*, in this way distinguishes between servants and slaves, as those able to make informed decisions and those destined for menial tasks respectively.<sup>35</sup> These ideas formed a theoretical underpinning in the development of racial capitalism.<sup>36</sup>

#### ABLE-BODIEDNESS AND IDENTITY

Not only were experts of the body involved in the theoretical classification and representation of bodies, however. Experts of the body also took upon themselves the task of examining workers, for two purposes: to determine able-bodiedness for labour and to establish identity. Establishing able-bodied-

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33 For climate theory's application in ethnography in colonisation programmes: A. Pagden, *The Peopling of the New World: Ethnos, Race and Empire in the Early-Modern World*, in: *The Origins of Racism in the West*, ed. M. Eliav-Feldon, B. Isaac, J. Ziegler, Cambridge 2009, pp. 292-321; A. Wear, *Place, Health, and Disease: The Airs, Waters, Places Tradition in Early Modern England and North America*, "Journal of Medieval and Early Modern Studies" XXXVIII (2008) 3, pp. 443-465; M. Harrison, *Climates and Constitutions: Health, Race, Environment and British Imperialism in India, 1600-1850*, Oxford 1999.

34 R. Kamtekar, *Studying Ancient Political Thought Through Ancient Philosophers: The Case of Aristotle and Natural Slavery*, "Polis: The Journal for Ancient Greek Political Thought" XXXIII (2016), pp. 150-171; N.D. Smith, *Aristotle's Theory of Natural Slavery*, "Phoenix" XXXVII (1983) 2, pp. 109-122.

35 *Economy, Family, and Society from Rome to Islam: A Critical Edition, English Translation, and Study of Bryson's Management of the Estate*, ed. S. Swain, Cambridge 2013.

36 N. Leong, *Racial Capitalism*, "Harvard Law Review" CXXVI (2013) 8, pp. 2151-2226; G. Bhattacharyya, *Rethinking Racial Capitalism: Questions of Reproduction and Survival*, London 2018. Racial capitalism stretches beyond the buying and selling of human beings for economic value and entails the capital valuation of race in and by itself and involves the financialization of the racial body, that by and in itself becomes an asset. The value of the body depends on factors such as age, gender, strength, skills and education. In addition, the body's value also relies on the degree in which the person to whom the body belongs, is considered to rightfully lay claim to the fruits of its labour. A. Bride, *Dead or Alive: Racial Finance and the Corpse: Value of the African American Slave Body*, "Journal of Historical Sociology" XXXIII (2020), pp. 99-115.



ness occurred to appraise a body's value in relation to profession; it was determined along scales of health, abilities, gender, age, class and ethnicity. Beyond the scope of this article, doctors thus appear on quaysides examining the bodies of enslaved workers after the Atlantic crossing, or earlier in the Islamic context of the slave market.<sup>37</sup> Medical knowledge mediated through inspection notably also appears in Mediterranean notarial deeds securing the sale of enslaved workers.<sup>38</sup> Workers' bodies also were examined for compensation claims.

From the late 14<sup>th</sup> century, the documenting of physical traits primarily aimed to identify workers in an increasingly mobile world. The information drawn from bodily examinations, listing the physical features – the scars, eyebrows, teeth, warts and moles, skin colour, height and gender – had various purposes. Authorities attempted to control and reduce the movement of the working poor seeking better labour conditions, thus introducing documents of identity to register their whereabouts. Indeed, as Juan Vives suggests in *De subventionem pauperum*, urban governments desired to obtain a clear view of who mobile workers or beggars were, and where they came from, in order to establish to what extent they could demand access to facilities such as hospitals. In the 15<sup>th</sup> century, city governments in the Low Countries accordingly might limit the length of stay of such workers in city facilities to one night. Valentin Groebner, in *Who are you?*, has argued that such registers served to identify both criminals and vagrants.<sup>39</sup> To an extent, these two categories merge in the 16<sup>th</sup> century with the criminalisation of vagrancy. In addition, the documentation of the movement of both goods and people, from the late 15<sup>th</sup> century onwards, served as a public health intervention to stem the spread of communicable disease such as plague.<sup>40</sup> Officials tied to hospitals were directly involved in the examinations of these migrant workers.

Registers recording the clothing, markings, hair, beards and skin colour survive from the 14<sup>th</sup> century of police and army recruits, enslaved workers and pilgrims. For instance, in Florence, a list was drawn up of garrison soldiers and their traits dating to between 1351 and 1363; of wool guild masters, their

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37 H. Barker, *That Most Precious Merchandise: The Mediterranean Trade in Black Sea Slaves, 1260-1500*, Philadelphia 2019, pp. 98-104; S. Snelders, *Vrijbuiters van de heelkunde: Op zoek naar medische kennis in de tropen 1600-1800*, Amsterdam 2012.

38 See below note 56.

39 V. Groebner, *Who Are You: Identification, Deception, and Surveillance in Early Modern Europe*, transl. M. Kyburz, Cambridge MA. 2007, p. 75; C. Cluse, *Zur Repräsentation von Sklaven und Sklavinnen in Statuten und Notariatsinstrumenten italienischer Städte um 1400*, in: *Fremde in der Stadt: Ordnungen, Repräsentationen und soziale Praktiken (13.-15. Jahrhundert)*, ed. P. Bell, D. Suckow, G. Wolf, Frankfurt 2010, pp. 395f.

40 A. Bamji, *Health Passes, Print and Public Health in Early Modern Europe*, "Social History of Medicine" XXXII (2017) 2, pp. 441-464

family and minions dating to 1369; and of pilgrims in the books of the hospital of Santa Maria della Scala in Siena, dating to between 1382 and 1446.<sup>41</sup> Between 1366 and 1397, Florentine officials recorded the age, skin colour, height, marks, forms of nose and eyes in the *Registro degli schiavi* of enslaved persons.<sup>42</sup> Trevor Dean has shown that in Bologna, in 1406, the notary of the *podestà* registered the physical traits of the *birri*, foreign policemen attached to the city's *podestà*.<sup>43</sup> Similar lists were drawn up recording the features of mobile army recruits, such as in 1464 of the mercenaries in the Castel Sant' Angelo in Rome, recording their name, age and several physical features, as well as those of their horses.<sup>44</sup>

Before the publication of Vives's treatise, we can observe how the able-bodied poor at times were set to work in public work programs, although to date I have not found any lists recording their physical features in this context. The earliest known, clear incidences of such work programs are found in 14<sup>th</sup>-century France and England, organised under the crown during the Hundred Years War. For instance, in 1367, all able-bodied men in Paris without work were ordered to repair the city's ditches.<sup>45</sup> Similar ordinances, extending to women as well, were issued in Utrecht when the city was under siege in 1483.<sup>46</sup> In 16<sup>th</sup>-century Florence, we similarly see lists of peasant conscripts drafted to work on the Pratolino, Grand Duke Francesco de' Medici's new villa, garden and estate north-east of Florence, in exchange for a meagre salary.<sup>47</sup>

There is a large body of scholarship on how, in the wake of the 1347-49 plague outbreak, peasants in England were subjected to coercive labour, when able-bodied labourers were forbidden to take on the lighter task

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41 E. Hubert, *Una et eadem persona sive aliae personae: certifier l'identité dans une société mobile (à propos de l'Italie communale)*, in: *Arriver en ville: Les migrants en milieu urbain au Moyen Age*, ed. C. Quertier, R. Chilà and N. Pluchot, Paris 2013, pp. 51-64 for source references.

42 S. Epstein, *Speaking of Slavery: Color, Ethnicity, & Human Bondage in Italy*, Ithaca 2001, pp. 108-111.

43 T. Dean, *Police Forces in Late Medieval Italy: Bologna, 1340-1480*, "Social History" XLIV (2019) 2, pp. 151-172; G. Morosini, *The Body of the Condottiero A Link Between Physical Pain and Military Virtue as it was Interpreted in Renaissance Italy*, in: *Killing and Being Killed: Perspectives on Fighters in the Middle Ages*, ed. J. Rogge, Bielefeld 2017, p. 178; V. Groebner, *Complexio/Complexion: Categorizing Individual Natures, 1250-1600*, in: *The Moral Authority of Nature*, ed. L. Daston, F. Vidal, Chicago 2004, pp. 372-376.

44 V. Groebner, *Who are You?...*, p. 112.

45 B. Geremek, *The Margins of Society in Late Medieval Paris*, Cambridge 1987, p. 34.

46 For instance, Utrecht Stadsarchief, Buurspraakboek 1481-1490, f. 61v. See also the 16<sup>th</sup>-century Antwerp gebodboeken, catalogued in "Antwerpsch Archievenblad" I (1864), pp. 120-464 for examples.

47 S.B. Butters, *The Medici Dukes, Comandati and Pratolino: Forced Labour in Renaissance Florence*, in: *Communes and Despots in Medieval and Renaissance Italy*, ed. J.E. Law, B. Paton, Abingdon 2016, pp. 249-277.

of gleaning in harvest.<sup>48</sup> In these cases, it is unclear who determined their able-bodiedness. In 14<sup>th</sup> and 15<sup>th</sup> century towns in France and the Low Countries, so-called ribalds or *koningskinderen* were set to labour on public works and in public health services, cleaning streets and removing waste, setting up tents, digging ditches, as well as policing lepers and sex workers. These men and women also appear to intermittently take on all kinds of logistical and menial tasks in the army, as foot soldiers, porters, cooks, nurses, washer-women and sex workers.<sup>49</sup> As a group of mobile casual labourers, they were themselves considered a risk to public health and order, and their movement was regulated and partially criminalised.<sup>50</sup> Significantly, it is in this world that we also come across itinerant health workers designated as quacks – men and women offering non-certified health services outside of the institutionalised remit of city governments and guilds.<sup>51</sup>

On occasion, coercive labour is organised from out of the hospitals. In 1519, beggars in Paris and elsewhere dwelling in hospitals were forced to labour on public works, cleaning streets and building fortifications.<sup>52</sup> Through the criminalisation of vagrancy, in the course of the 16<sup>th</sup> century, they were subjected to coercive labour on galley ships and in the army as well.

In the 16<sup>th</sup> century, surgeons submitted the sick and the poor to examinations to determine whether they might benefit from public facilities.<sup>53</sup> For instance in 16<sup>th</sup>-century Middelburg, the men and women admitted to the hospital – listed in so-called *lootjesboeken* – received a leaden token.<sup>54</sup> How do these tokens stand in relation to the tokens handed out to the poor as

48 J.M. Bennett, *Compulsory Service in Late Medieval England*, “Past and Present” CCIX (2010), pp. 7-51.

49 B.C. Hacker, *Women and Military Institutions in Early Modern Europe: A Reconnaissance*, “Signs” VI (1981) 4, pp. 643-671.

50 R.C. Trexler, *Correre la terra: Collective Insults in the late Middle Ages*, “Mélanges de l’Ecole française de Rome: Moyen-Âge, Temps modernes” XCVI (1984) 2, pp. 845-902; J. Coomans, *The King of Dirt: Public Health and Sanitation in Late Medieval Ghent*, “Urban History” XLVI (2019), pp. 82-105; F. Viltart, *Le roi des ribauds à la fin du Moyen Âge: Une royauté infâme?*, in: *Les ‘autres’ rois: Études sur la royauté comme notion hiérarchique dans la société au bas Moyen Âge et au début de l’époque moderne*, ed. T. Hiltmann, Oldenbourg 2010, pp. 80-94.

51 For early modernity: D. Gentilcore, *Medical Charlatanism in Early Modern Italy*, Oxford 2006.

52 G. Fumasoli, *Ursprünge und Anfänge der Schellenwerke: Ein Beitrag zur Frühgeschichte des Zuchthauswesens*, Zurich 1981, pp. 31-34; J. Heinsen, *Historicizing Extramural Convict Labour: Trajectories and Transitions in Early Modern Europe*, “International Review of Social History” LXVI (2021), p. 120.

53 M.L. Hammond, *Medical Examination and Poor Relief in Early Modern Germany*, “Social History of Medicine” XXIV (2010) 2, pp. 244-259.

54 Zeeuws Archief, 24.1 Godshuizen Middelburg 1343-1812, 1343-1812, no. 21-26. The earliest surviving registers from Middelburg date to 1584, but the hospital financial accounts already record the issuing of such tokens in 1498-1499.

a sign that they qualified to collect alms? Earlier, suspected lepers were carefully examined by body experts at designated centres, such as in Cologne or Haarlem. As mentioned, those diagnosed with leprosy obtained a *vuilbrief*, certifying their condition while extending to them the right to collect alms and admission to a leprosarium. Mirroring this practice, 15<sup>th</sup>-century doctors associated with collegiate churches of Utrecht issued attestations that sick canons were permitted to take sick leave, and visit the baths, while retaining the right to their stipends.<sup>55</sup> These examinations formed a mechanism of control in order to establish authentic claims to support of the deserving sick. They also suggest a moral concern over alleged fraudulency, for instance of healthy workers presenting their bodies as infirm in exchange for support or in order to avoid being expelled from inside the city walls.

Beyond to establishing a person's identity, physical examinations also took place to appraise the enslaved persons' value for labour. Doctors surface across the Mediterranean region in 14<sup>th</sup>- and 15<sup>th</sup>-century notarial deeds acting as expert witnesses, establishing the health and detecting any possible hidden 'defects' of workers, as Hannah Barker has shown for Cairo, Genoa and Venice, and Carmel Ferragud for Valencia, among others.<sup>56</sup>

The lexicography of the lists drawn up by Italian city governments recording the traits of army recruits, enslaved workers, as well as those of horses, show similarities. Some surviving formularies, mostly created by jurists at the university in Bologna, group the sale of the enslaved with that of animals. A sale contract for horses was adaptable for the sale of enslaved persons of both genders, and of various domesticated animals.<sup>57</sup> This is perhaps less surprising, although not less heinous, if we consider that in both ethnography and legal tradition, the comparison between animals and humans was used to categorise species in terms of functionality. Moreover, physicians in this period themselves produced treatises on the medicine of both humans and horses, and traders sometimes dealt with both enslaved persons and livestock.<sup>58</sup> There were close ties between

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55 B. van den Hoven van Genderen, *De heren van de kerk: De kanunniken van Oudmunster te Utrecht in de late Middeleeuwen*, Zutphen 1997.

56 H. Barker, *That Most Precious Merchandise...*, pp. 98-104; C. Ferragud, *The Role of Doctors in the Slave Trade during the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries within the Kingdom of Valencia (Crown of Aragon)*, "Bulletin of the History of Medicine" LXXXVII (2013) 2, pp. 143-169; D. Blumenthal, *Domestic Medicine: Slaves, Servants and Female Medical Expertise in Late Medieval Valencia*, "Renaissance Studies" XXVIII (2014) 4, pp. 515-532.

57 In similar vein, in Mamluk *shurūḥ* manuals containing legal formularies, the sale of slaves is grouped alongside that of horses H. Barker, *That Most Precious Merchandise...*, pp. 16, 18, 26, 113, 120.

58 For instance in Portugal: J.L. Vogt, *The Lisbon Slave House and African Trade, 1486-1521*, "Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society" CXVII (1973) 1, p. 11.

horses and humans, particularly in a military and agricultural context. Trevor Dean observes that in literary sources as well, the foreign policemen (*birri*), whose features were listed, could be described as animate tools in the Aristotelian tradition, men who took orders and executed routine actions while remaining silent.<sup>59</sup>

The medicalisation of difference using the language of Galenic humoralism categorising physical and mental traits, is sometimes present in the notarial deeds recording the sale of enslaved workers.<sup>60</sup> Ancient Greek-Arabic humoral theory, assigning to bodies complexions based on the balance of the humours, was particularly useful for valuation because of its psychosomatic and aesthetic perspective on physical *and* mental traits. The notarial deeds, produced in Italy, the Crown of Aragon, Marseille, on the islands of Mallorca, Sardinia, Sicily, Malta, Crete and Caffa, to name but few sites, contain medical clauses to protect the buyers of enslaved persons against fraud and to establish accountability in case any 'deficiencies' were detected.<sup>61</sup> In what manner do race and skin colour feature in these descriptions? It is often difficult to discern whether references to colour in the lists and notarial deeds refer to skin colour or the internal humoral state produced by nature, place, and nurture, in which the four humours are tied to four colours (yellow, black, red, white). Within the medical humoral system, a person's innate complexion, which impacted the bodily functions and the mental state, ideally was sanguine and coloured a combination of red and white. Notarial documents occasionally mention mixed colours, such as olive-brown or blackish-olive.<sup>62</sup>

An example in which medical humoralism is evidently applied, is found in a slave contract from Sicily dating to 1344. It stipulates: 'The said female slave is intoxicated, a runaway, thief, liar, [word unclear], garrulous, melancholy, and she has a diseased liver, and is sick from dropsy and phthisis

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59 T. Dean, *Police Forces in Late Medieval Italy...*, p. 160. In addition, there was perhaps also a performative aspect to the comparison between horses and humans. Several descriptions of slave inspections at markets for instance emphasise that the teeth, arms and legs of naked enslaved persons were inspected 'in the manner of horses'. Horse traders or *maquignons* interrogated the enslaved and gathered information from their physique using sight and touch.

60 I have not come across the use of the theory of the humours in the lists identifying police and army recruits, the latter often blankly categorising physical features.

61 A question is whether medical practitioners continued to detail the traits in the trans-Atlantic slave trade using the same lexicography, recording features upon the enslaved's arrival or, later, on plantations for insurance purposes.

62 H. Barker, *That Most Precious Merchandise...*, p. 55 states that only 3 percent of documents from Venice mention enslaved persons' colour. However, it is about 30 percent in Genoa in the 13<sup>th</sup>-14<sup>th</sup> centuries, and then drops significantly in the 15<sup>th</sup> century. The practice seems to be related to individual notaries methods of identification. A. d'Amia, *Schiavitù romana e servitù medievale*, Milan 1931, pp. 178-180.

[tuberculosis], and has a blocked liver and is spitting blood.<sup>63</sup> Humoral colour, such as black melancholy, designated a health condition, but colour was also a means of aestheticization. Beyond a focus on colour, in these deeds it is useful to look at classifications of essentialised traits of strength, weakness and rationality as well. These descriptions were used racially to classify people in regards to functionality.

Specific physiognomic manuals in the Mediterranean Mamluk world, such as the early 14<sup>th</sup> century *Book of Observation and Inspection in the Examination of Slaves* of Ibn al-Akfani, advised potential buyers and traders on how to appraise the bodies of workers based on external, physical features. Unlike the Mamluks, the Latinate trade did not rely directly on manuals and *shurūt* collections of model contracts. Barker has suggested the absence of specialist traders and brokers meant buyers in Europe may have consulted a physician instead when purchasing an enslaved person.<sup>64</sup> Yet is it conceivable that these body experts, alongside court officials, used physiognomic treatises to guide them when tasked with the appraisal of bodies in the context of labour? Joseph Ziegler has argued that the science of physiognomy aided some physicians in the determination of the complexion. He observes that many 15<sup>th</sup>-century treatises were dedicated to the nobility and suggests they advised how to choose one's associates based on natural dispositions.<sup>65</sup>

It is possible some of these texts were used in large households and courts as well, to appraise servants and other types of workers. Bartolomeo della Rocca (also known as Cocles), in his *Chiromantie ac physionomie anastatis* produced in Bologna in 1504, specifically mentions that the art of physiognomy served, in the Aristotelian tradition, to 'instructeth a man by the outwarde notes, to foretell the naturall motions, and actuall conditions, that consist and dwell in many persons, especially in those, which lyue after their affection, and appetites, rather than gouerning themselues by reason'.<sup>66</sup> Bartolomeo is referring here to those men classed lower in the social hierarchy, governed less by reason than by appetites (and hence more well-suited for menial tasks). Bartolomeo's treatise indeed discusses the value of bodies for labour in at least ten

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63 R. Livi, *L'esclavage domestique au moyen âge et son importance en anthropologie*, "Bulletins et Mémoires de la Société d'anthropologie de Paris" X (1909), p. 441: "Dictam servam fore ebriam, fugitivam, latronissam, mentitricem, sarreram, lingutam, melancholicam, et eam fore infirmantem epar, et habentem infirmitatem tropichiae, et malem subtilem (phtisie), ac habentem epar oppilatum, et spuentem sanguine".

64 H. Barker, *That Most Precious Merchandise...*, pp. 49, 56.

65 J. Ziegler, *Text and Context: On the Rise of Physiognomic Thought in the Later Middle Ages*, in: *De Sion exhibit lex et verbum domini de Hierusalem: Essays on Medieval Law, Liturgy and Literature in Honour of Amnon Linder*, ed. Y. Hen, Turnhout 2001, pp. 176-179.

66 Bartolomeo de Rocca, transl. Th. Hill, *The contemplation of mankinde contayning a singuler discourse after the art of phisiognomie etc.*, London 1571.

passages. Specific physiognomic tracts survive that aimed to aid the selection of wet nurses in households.<sup>67</sup> An exploration of the context of labour mentioned in other treatises of physiognomy – of which Lisa DeVriese has identified at least 193 manuscripts containing anonymous commentaries in Latin between the twelfth and fifteenth centuries and an additional 60 manuscripts of the Latin commentary of the pseudo-Aristotelian *Physiognomonica* – leaving aside the commentaries in the vernaculars! – would be worthwhile, as the context of these texts is currently poorly understood.<sup>68</sup>

## DISCIPLINING

Besides examination, regimens containing advice on the disciplining of the body, sometimes in conjunction with the management of territories, cities or households, appear in Europe in significant numbers from the 12<sup>th</sup> century onwards.<sup>69</sup>

The learned men who produced regimens, such as Juan Vives, were sometimes actively involved with the development of policies to discipline the bodies of the workforce in the context of social reproduction.<sup>70</sup> Especially the young poor and orphans were subjected to disciplinary labour training through educational programs, such as in the Bogardenschool in Bruges, that fell into the hands of the city government in 1513, and where a surgeon and doctor were at hand.<sup>71</sup> The involvement of doctors in education in European school systems is poorly understood, despite the fact that a significant number of school rectors in the 14<sup>th</sup> and 15<sup>th</sup> century Low Countries doubled as the city doctor, and that health and physical environment are factored into tracts on education such as the 13<sup>th</sup> century *Disciplina scolarium*.<sup>72</sup>

Through disciplinary programs, vagrants, orphans and miscreants subsequently were put to work. The criminalisation of vagrancy and establish-

67 For instance in manuscripts The Hague, KB, MS 71 G 60; Utrecht, UB MS 1328 and Vienna, ÖNB MS 2818.

68 L. DeVriese, *An Inventory of Anonymous Medieval Physiognomic Treatises*, "Revue d'histoire des textes" XIV (2019), pp. 225-255; L. DeVriese, *An Inventory of Medieval Commentaries on pseudo-Aristotle's Physiognomonica*, "Bulletin de philosophie médiévale" LIX (2017), pp. 215-246.

69 M. Nicoud, *Les régimes de santé au moyen âge: Naissance et diffusion d'une écriture médicale (XIII<sup>e</sup>-XV<sup>e</sup> siècle)*, Rome 2007, for an overview of health regimens.

70 Vives for instance produced a regimen for the daughter of Catherine of Aragon for instance (*De institutione feminae christianae*).

71 Inventaire diplomatique des archives de l'ancienne Ecole Bogarde à Bruges, ed. L. Giliodts-Van Severen, Bruges 1899.

72 Pseudo-Boethius, *De disciplina scolarium*, ed. O. Weijers, Leiden 1976. Compare also the recruitment of the *devşirme*s in the Janissary system in the Ottoman Empire: G. Yilmaz, *Becoming a Devşirme: The Training of Conscripted Children in the Ottoman Empire*, in: *Children in Slavery through the Ages*, ed. G. Campbell, S. Miers, J.C. Miller, Athens-Ohio 2009, pp. 119-134.

ment of intra- and extramural coercive labour programs could serve to supply armies and navies with cheap labour.<sup>73</sup> Dirk Coornhert, in his *Boeventucht* in 1587, argued explicitly that vagabonds, beggars, thieves, drunks, adulterers and unruly children be put to work, instead of punished, on ships and in public works. In 1598, the Estates of Holland equipped a galley ship powered by men convicted of various transgressions including vagrancy.<sup>74</sup>

The men and women subjected to coercive labour were often represented as idle poor, distinguishing them from the deserving poor – the sick, the elderly, the disabled and the mendicant friars following in Christ's footsteps – and the idle rich, whose leisurely time was spent on the pursuit of virtue.<sup>75</sup> In 13<sup>th</sup> and 14<sup>th</sup>-century Europe, idleness is contrasted with the virtuous leisure and the recreation of the wealthy, as are manual labour vis-à-vis intellectual enterprise.<sup>76</sup>

Accusations of idleness similarly feature in the ethnographies of peoples subject to colonisation, such as the 12<sup>th</sup>-century Irish, and of the able-bodied poor seeking alms, allegedly unwilling to work yet in reality often in search of work under marginally better conditions than serfdom. Such alleged idleness was encapsulated in negative tropes attached to itinerant workers, masterless men, who in 14<sup>th</sup> and 15<sup>th</sup>-century urban sources are depicted as disorderly, lewd, dirty types. The deserving poor, on the other hand, are foci of charity and reverence.<sup>77</sup>

It is important to note that idleness and labour are, in this context, distinguished from physical exertion as a form of exercise. The latter was considered to be beneficial to health, movement being one of Galen's non-naturals.<sup>78</sup> Despite being condemned by the clergy, from a medical perspective dancing, for instance, could be health-giving.<sup>79</sup> Likewise, monastic work was considered beneficial to one's spiritual health. Whether or not movement

73 J. Heinsen, *Historicizing Extramural Convict Labour...*, pp. 111-133.

74 P. Spierenburg, *The Prison Experience: Disciplinary Institutions and their Inmates in Early Modern Europe*, Amsterdam 2007, p. 260.

75 C. Lis, H. Soly, *Worthy Efforts: Attitudes to Work...*, pp. 426-494.

76 Nonetheless, the appreciation of cratmanship, practiced by artisans, increased in this period, *ibidem*, pp. 313-425.

77 M. Rubin, *Charity and Community in Medieval Cambridge*, Cambridge 1987; *Approaches to Poverty in Medieval Europe: Complexities, Contradictions, Transformations*, c. 1100-1500, ed. S. Farmer, Turnhout 2016.

78 L. García-Ballester, *On the Origins of the Six Non-Natural Things in Galen*, in: *Galen und das hellenistische Erbe: Verhandlungen des IV. Internationalen Galen-Symposiums veranstaltet vom Institut für Geschichte der Medizin am Bereich Medizin (Charité) der Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin 18.-20. September 1989*, ed. J. Kollesch, D. Nickel, Stuttgart 1993, pp. 105-115.

79 In later Atlantic crossings, surgeons 'danced' the enslaved on long crossing in order to keep up levels of fitness and spirits. L. Fauley Emery, *Black Dance in the United States from 1619 to 1970*, New York 1972.



and exercise were considered healthy, immoral or unbecoming, therefore depended on class and situation.

#### PROPHYLACTIC AND CURATIVE PROGRAMS

Finally, the question arises which programs were in place to care for the bodies of workers, and to what extent workers themselves maintained their bodies for work. In recent years, historians of the body such as Irina Metzler successfully challenged the assumption that artisans and casual labourers had no access to medical care or a safety net before the Protestant Reformation.<sup>80</sup> They have shown that programs addressed both the prevention of sickness and injury as well as curing work-related diseases and caring for the disabled or elderly, across a range of professions and groups. Workers themselves had a set of tools to try to maintain the health of their bodies for work, or in the case of injury or sickness, seek relief. Many miracle accounts record working professionals visiting shrines in a bid to seek physical aid in case of injury, sometimes after the consultation of a surgeon had failed.<sup>81</sup> They also took recourse to a range of religiously informed prophylactic practices, often administered by women, to protect their health, such as the use of amulets, charms, prayers and religious symbols.<sup>82</sup>

Supported mainly by guilds and confraternities, hospitals were set up for sick or disabled workers, such as carpenters or stone masons. Attention was paid to protecting health through protective gear designed to enhance work safety, such as the face coverings used by masons and tanners to reduce inhalation of dust and toxic fumes.<sup>83</sup> Sanitary and health provisions were in place for miners and seafarers, and pertained to workspaces and air circulation, as well as to their diets.<sup>84</sup> Ship surgeons' tasks concerned both the curative – tending to wounds and sickness on board ships – as well as the preventative –, securing clean water and fresh food for seafarers. The demand for ship surgeons was particularly pressing on naval fleets, and naval surgeons used empirical knowledge drawn from practices to further

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80 I. Metzler, *A Social History of Disability...*; V. Zimmermann, *Ansätze...*

81 I. Metzler, *A Social History of Disability*, pp. 43f.

82 S. Ritchey, *Acts of Care: Recovering Women in Late Medieval Health*, Ithaca 2021.

83 I. Metzler, *A Social History of Disability...*, pp. 36-91.

84 G. Geltner, C. Weeda, *Underground and Over the Sea: More Community Prophylactics in Europe, 1100-1600*, "The Journal of the History of Medicine and Allied Sciences" LXXVI (2021) 2, pp. 123-146; G.-M. Fleischer, *Seereise mit Uringlas und Speikübel – Reiseumstände und Medizinisches von Kreuzzug und Pilgerfahrt ins Heilige Land*, "Zentralblatt für Chirurgie" CXXXVII (2012), pp. 587-591; L. Cifuentes, *La medicina medieval i els viatges per mar*, "Mot, So, Razo" III (2004), pp. 35-44; P. Horden, *Regimen and Travel in the Mediterranean*, in: *Mobility and Travel in the Mediterranean from Antiquity to the Middle Ages*, ed. R. Schlesier. U. Zellmann, Münster 2004, pp. 117-132.

develop medical treatments. The earliest known ship surgeon from Venice, Master Gualteri, established the first hospital for sick and elderly seamen in 1318. In 1337, each of the 40 galley ships from Genoa has its own barber and assistant on board, and the admiral his own surgeon. Naval ships themselves could be transformed into floating hospitals, such as the *St John* in the naval convoy of 1556.<sup>85</sup>

Advising pilgrims, army commanders and household officials on preventive health measures, and taking into account environmental factors, mobility, and seasonality, physicians also produced health regimens for army recruits and travellers that draw from a rich Greek-Arabic tradition. An example is Valencian physician Arnald of Villanova's (1235-1311) military manual *Regimen almarie* produced in 1309 for King James II of Aragon – there is a plethora of medically informed military texts originating from the Arab and Byzantine world.<sup>86</sup>

The extent and quality of the care is, however, subject to debate, certainly where it concerns enslaved workers on galley ships or later on plantations, for whom hospitals also existed, for instance in the harbour of Genoa in the 15<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>87</sup> Surgeons and barbers on later sea crossings took responsibility for the health of the 'cargo', investing in the reduction of levels of disease, as communicable disease would have endangered the entire crew.<sup>88</sup> A question is whether surgeons also tended to convicts and vagrants sent to the galleys in western ports. Tending to the health of enslaved workers was economically rational, as it contributed to the maintenance of the workforce. As Eugene Genovese in *Roll Jordan Roll* observed, owners of slaves also made an effort to perform, as paternalistic 'good masters', a moral duty towards enslaved workers.<sup>89</sup> Acts of extreme cruelty in this sense were counterproductive, and illegal, for they undermined the allegedly moral foundations upon which the organisation of labour balanced, that was framed as a pursuit of the common good. It is not unthinkable that empathy on occasion slipped in through

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85 G.-M. Fleischer, *Seereise mit Uringlas und Speikübel – Reiseumstände und Medizinisches von Kreuzzug und Pilgerfahrt ins Heilige Land*, "Zentralblatt für Chirurgie" CXXXVII (2012), pp. 590f.; L. Sicking, *Neptune and the Netherlands: State, Economy, and War at Sea in the Renaissance*, Leiden 2004, p. 404.

86 G. Geltner, *In the Camp and on the March: Military Manuals as Sources for Studying Premodern Public Health*, "Medical History" LXIII (2019), pp. 44-60.

87 S. Epstein, *Speaking of Slavery...*, p. 170. Especially the Knights Hospitaller present an interesting case. C. Savona-Ventura, *Knight Hospitaller Medicine in Malta 1530-1798*, Malta 2004, pp. 97f.; P. Cassar, *A medical service for slaves in Malta during the Rule of the Order of St. John of Jerusalem*, "Medical History" XII (1968) 3, pp. 270-277.

88 I. Bruijn, *Ships' Surgeons of the Dutch East India Company: Commerce and the Progress of Medicine in the Eighteenth Century*, Leiden 2009.

89 E.D. Genovese, *Roll, Jordan, Roll: The World That Slaves Made*, New York 1976.

the cracks as well. Nonetheless, the treatment of enslaved workers was certainly most harsh and cruel.

A fruitful new approach that allows scholars to establish the extent of physical impairment sustained in labour, and possible care received, forms the osteoarchaeological research of the remains of enslaved workers. Michael Blakey's ground-breaking work on the bioarcheology of the Atlantic slave trade in 1998 gave insight into the extent of physical trauma of labour.<sup>90</sup> Collaborations within this developing field will substantially enhance knowledge of the effects of work and care for the bodies of the enslaved.

#### A RESEARCH AGENDA

The ties between the world of medical science and labour are still poorly understood. In the final section of this essay, I would like to set out several research questions in relation to medical practice and labour and their broader implications. Beyond engaging Hippocratic and Galenic medicine to appraise bodies, medical practitioners in the pre-industrial world worked within a range of legal provisions, embedded in political and philosophical ideas about the relationship between property rights, labour, and humanness. The mechanisms through which medical practitioners established the value of able-bodied-workers thus lay to bare entrenched traditions in which the classification of bodies by experts ultimately served to solve moral issues of rights of ownership of the fruits of labour, status and recognition. Workers themselves engaged with the medical-social apparatus of work and welfare, for instance by making claims to social support in times of dearth or because of disability. Such claims, however, could be met with distrust, for the body was also considered a site of possible disinformation, through feigning ill health.

This raises several questions. First, how were medical practitioners, as voices of authority, appointed to categorise workers? Who paid for their services, city governments, navies and armies, merchant enterprises? In which networks were they active? Were these doctors also active in medical faculties at the universities? Did surgeons and doctors draw information in their medical practices, examining the bodies of workers, to develop medical knowledge? Second, did the classification of bodies serve to establish a privilege for masters, presented as situated in the body, to withhold certain profits from labour from workers? Third, how did morality claims of the pursuit of a common good allow masters and workers to make contesting moral claims, in legal courts and social relations? How did body experts'

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<sup>90</sup> D. Martin, A. Osterholtz, *A Bioarchaeology of Captivity, Slavery, Bondage, and Torture*, "The SAA Archaeological Record" XII (2012), pp. 32-34.

activities facilitate a moralised negotiation of the unequal distribution of capital and the expenditure of energy within a hierarchy of power? Did this moral negotiation justify and reinforce the hierarchy in which inequalities were entrenched?

Exploring the multifaceted role of medical workers helps to lay bare the interaction between discourses and practices categorising bodies of workers in many contexts – those defined as ‘natural slaves’, servants, vagrants, army recruits.<sup>91</sup> This interaction had significant consequences and implications in racial capitalism and the institutional production of knowledge. Scholars in recent years have shown how physicians and surgeons appropriated bodies of enslaved persons as sites of knowledge, for medical experimentation.<sup>92</sup> Universities also built extensive collections of *materia medica* drawn from the slave trade and in the colonies.<sup>93</sup> The extent to which western universities not only profited financially, but also in the foundation of collections, from the slave trade is yet to be broadly understood and acknowledged. To understand these interactions, historians can look at the broader, social role of medicine in history from a *longue durée* perspective.

#### ABSTRACT

In the wake of the Black Death in the mid fourteenth-century, levels of poverty and casual labour rose significantly in Europe’s urbanized regions. In response cities increasingly regulated the labour of migrants and the working poor. Able-bodied men and women were set to work in trade enterprises, public works, armies and navies, or expelled from cities. In this situation, medical professionals played a notable role in the organization of labour. In physiognomic texts and manuals informed by Galenic medicine, body experts described who qualified for which kind of tasks, based on physical and mental abilities. In practice, they contributed to the inspection, valuation, compensation, training and care for workers. This article argues that researching how medical professionals facilitated the organization of labour benefits our understanding of the development of racial capitalism in the late middle ages.

**Keywords:** health, labour, middle ages, racial capitalism, poverty

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<sup>91</sup> G. Fioravanti, *Servi, Rustici, barbari. Interpretazioni medievali della Politica aristotelica*, “Annali della Scuola Normale Superiore di Pisa” XI (1981), pp. 399-429.

<sup>92</sup> L. Schiebinger, *Secret Cures of Slaves: People, Plants, and Medicine in the Eighteenth-Century Atlantic World*, Stanford 2017; H.A. Washington, *Medical Apartheid: The Dark History of Medical Experimentation on Black Americans from Colonial Times to the Present*, New York 2006.

<sup>93</sup> J. Delbourgo, *Collecting the World: Hans Sloane and the Origins of the British Museum*, Cambridge Ma. 2017.



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## CITIES IN THE FACE OF DISASTERS TO JEWISH COMMUNITIES – A DRAFT OF THE PROBLEM IN THE LATE MIDDLE AGES



The topic of this draft was inspired by the title of the conference “Město v čase katastrof” organized in September 2021 by the Centrum mediévistických studií in Prague. By catastrophes affecting Jewish communities I mean the most spectacular of hostile acts and communal incidents (pogroms, judicial killings, forced baptisms, confiscations, expulsions) against entire local Ashkenazi communities in the late Middle Ages. As pointed out by Michael Toch, it is precisely deeds such as these that have unfortunately become the content of the term “persecution of the Jews” in historiography, although the term refers to various broader types of actions driven by the hostility of the Christian environment towards the Jewish diaspora.<sup>1</sup> At the same time, attempts to interpret the attitudes of the bourgeoisie towards these “catastrophes” will remain far from truth due to the impossibility of taking into account the possible habituation (or presumed indifference) of late medieval society to the fact that Jews had become almost permanent victims of harassment and persecution.<sup>2</sup>

Treating such a state of affairs as part of “the way the world works” – i.e., based on the awareness of everyone’s inability to escape the inevitable, the uncertainty of tomorrow, familiarity with death, and thus a situation

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1 M. Toch, *Spätmittelalterliche Rahmenbedingungen jüdischer Existenz: Die Verfolgungen, in: Hoffjuden und Landjuden: Jüdisches Leben in der Frühen Neuzeit*, ed. S. Hödl, P. Rauscher, B. Staudinger, Berlin 2004, pp. 19f., 30-38; idem, *Die Verfolgungen des Spätmittelalters (1350-1550)*, in: *Germania Judaica* [further: GJ], vol. III: 1350-1519, part 3, ed. A. Maimon, M. Breuer, Y. Guggenheim, Tübingen 2003, p. 2298.

2 I assume that my perception of the situation has also been shaped by studies whose authors were guided by intentional or not necessarily conscious, non-scientific motives. The above problem with regard to Jewish historiography from the 1930s is signaled by: H. Węgrzynek, *Czy w 1483 r. książę mazowiecki Bolesław V wygnał Żydów z Warszawy? Możliwości interpretacji dokumentów miejskich*, in: *Causa creandi: O pragmatyce źródła historycznego*, ed. S. Rosik, P. Wiszewski, Wrocław 2005, pp. 516f.

in which man-made disasters are treated as natural cataclysms – could have been just as important as directly justifying the “Jewish fate” on the basis of religion. But such reasoning could also be convenient for those who held radical anti-Jewish views, making it possible to appease their consciences by shifting collective guilt from the perpetrators to the victims, without having to look at the individual human’s fate, which might evoke compassion. Adopting such a cognitive perspective obviously requires familiarity with reflections on the social background of 20<sup>th</sup>-century events, which can even lead to the formulation of definitions such as: active hostile attitude, reluctant passivity, complete indifference, and compassionate passivity.<sup>3</sup>

However, this meets with important resistance on the part of the source material, despite the mass character in the late Middle Ages of the phenomenon described. Serious acts of persecution of the Jews, counted in the hundreds, were recorded in 40% of the cities inhabited by Jews in the Reich.<sup>4</sup> As historians have long recognized, from the 13<sup>th</sup> century onwards, “the economic maturation of European society... created a sense of redundancy...” of this social group.<sup>5</sup> The mechanisms that inhibited the influence of the “socio-psychological” factor in deteriorating relations with representatives of religious minorities thus ceased to function. However, this does not mean they stopped functioning completely.

One of Prague’s writers commented on the King’s cancellation of the decision to expel the Jews from the country with a remark written on the margin of the council book that the saying “As long as peasants are called people, the Jews will stay in Prague”<sup>6</sup> was old and true. Although in this case it was probably used to ironically sum up the results of the lengthy (1507-1508) decision-making process involving the participation of the highest authorities in the kingdom in the person of the monarch and the estates, the saying itself reflected, in its neutral version of interpretation, the popular conviction about the inseparability of the fate of the city and the Jews. In an unfavorable version, the Jews were reconciled with the fact that their removal from Prague was beyond anyone’s power. We are omitting here the not necessarily well-known complication of economic ties, which meant that in the case of large cities, it was indeed very difficult to permanently remove the Jews.

3 A. Kłoskowska, *Polacy wobec Zagłady Żydów polskich: Próba typologii postaw*, “Kultura i Społeczeństwo” (1988) 4, pp. 113, 116f., as cited in: M. Melchior, *Zagłada i stosunki polsko-żydowskie w opracowaniach socjologicznych*, “Zagłada Żydów: Studia i Materiały” I (2005), p. 61.

4 M. Toch, *Spätmittelalterliche...*, p. 38; idem, *Die Verfolgungen...*, p. 2315.

5 H. Zaremska, *Migracje Żydów aszkenazyjskich w średniowiecznej Europie*, in: *Wędrowka i etnogeneza w starożytności i średniowieczu*, ed. M. Salamon, J. Strzelczyk, Kraków 2010, p. 364.

6 “Pokudž slovou sedláci lidé, podtud v Praze zůstanou židé”, *K historii Židů v Čechách, na Moravě a v Slezsku: 906 až 1620*, vol. I, ed. B. Bondy, F. Dvorský, Praha 1906, p. 200; H. Teufel, *Böhmen*, in: GJ III/3, p. 1827.

This is illustrated by the striking example of Speyer, where the local Jewish colony was tormented by seven catastrophes in the space of about a century and a half, and yet each time it was reborn.<sup>7</sup> Therefore, even more striking are those large centers where Jews were not allowed to return at the beginning of the modern era, which is often interpreted as a sign of communal emancipation.<sup>8</sup> Wrocław (Breslau) became such a place relatively early, in the second half of the 15<sup>th</sup> century, which might have been related to its far-reaching independence from external factors and the possibility of pursuing its own interests, a factor that seems to have been neglected in the local literature. However, this is also subject to the reservation that the salient interests could have been understood in different ways by the competing social groups.

Removing Jews from the city – be it through unplanned extermination, expulsion, top-down ordinances, spontaneous bottom-up protests, a trial, or a pogrom – meant above all the elimination of threats stemming from their presence in the community. Both the direct and concrete ones, as if purposefully created, and the indirect ones were connected with the possible consequences of the uncontrolled reactions of the Christian environment, as well as with disturbing societal peace, not to mention the fear of supernatural forces. Thus, the satisfaction given by the feeling of achieving the expected goal, i.e., ensuring the physical and spiritual safety of the local community, should have remained the primary effect of the measures aimed at “getting rid” of the Jews. This was the case for those directly involved in such actions, as well as for the passive majority – in other words, all those who believed that the result of the events that had taken place would not dismiss the prospect of their own salvation in eternal life. The possible conviction that the goal had not been achieved, that the dangers lurking in the community had not been eliminated, made one wonder not so much about the correctness of the identification of the source of danger as such, but rather about the reasons for the inefficiency of its elimination or the failure to take into account all the enemies revealed over time.

In a situation where an epidemic was linked with the deliberate poisoning of wells and accepted as true, the logical consequence was not only to demand that the responsible people be punished, but also to avert the danger by removing potential polluters and not allowing them to enter the space occupied by the community. When opinions differed regarding the source of the disease, tolerant attitudes towards the views shared even by a smaller part of the population could be seen as necessary to ensure peace in the city and maintain stability of the government. The presentation of actions taken

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7 M. Toch, *Die Verfolgungen...*, pp. 2316f.

8 *Ibidem*, p. 2326.



against the alleged polluters as a reaction to an already committed crime leads us to the question whether these poisoned wells were identified and what was done with them. This question must have troubled the author of "The Chronicles of the World of Monk Albert" as early as in the middle of the 15<sup>th</sup> century since in his narrative he included news about a common practice of sealing water sources in order to prevent them from being used for drinking or cooking.<sup>9</sup> When removing the cause of the plague by eliminating the Jews from one's surroundings was ineffective, this did not, of course, have to lead to the verification of views, but rather to a continued search for the attack of disease via in the clandestine actions of enemies that used vagrants, baptized allies, and paid agents.

According to chroniclers' accounts, in 1321 it was a widespread belief was that lepers were poisoning water sources and planning the extermination of the healthy (and, in the extended version, acting in agreement with external and internal enemies of Christianity). This provoked a wave of agitation and murders in Aquitaine, the participants of which were literally trying to burn the source of the danger.<sup>10</sup> Without disregarding all the other, not necessarily conscious motives for hostile actions against people excluded from society, the most important thing here is the visible, concrete form of the carrier of the danger – that is, the leper – and their known location. Getting rid of them should automatically give satisfaction and a sense of restored security. The exact same mechanism worked when the "authorship" of the Black Death epidemic between 1348 and 1350 was attributed to beggars and, above all, to the Jews poisoning wells, or more generally poisoning both water and air<sup>11</sup> (I omit here the use of the same idea in accusations made against any kind of enemies,<sup>12</sup> including even the clergy, as in Rostock<sup>13</sup>).

This view, although strongly condemned by the papacy, again due to its concreteness supported by either the alleged or forced testimonies of Jews

9 J. Heil, "Gottesfeinde" – "Menschenfeinde": Die Vorstellung von jüdischer Weltverschwörung (13. bis 16. Jahrhundert), Antisemitismus: Geschichte und Strukturen, III, Essen 2006, p. 293.

10 J. Heil, "Gottesfeinde"..., pp. 277-281.

11 H.-J. Gilomen, *Jüdische Nutzung öffentlicher und privater Brunnen im Spätmittelalter*, in: "...zum allgemeinen statt nutzen": Brunnen in der europäischen Stadtgeschichte, ed. D. Rippmann, W. Schmid, K. Simon-Muscheid, Trier 2008, p. 141; J. Heil, "Gottesfeinde"..., pp. 286-295, 396-399.

12 In 1350, playing on already inflamed emotions, the Visby authorities attributed the poison conspiracy not to the Jews but to the whole coalition of their competitors, albeit indicated in form of an allusion. Interestingly enough, from the same area (Gotland) simultaneously a document was issued which exposed the local, Hanseatic branch of Jewish poisoners. Vide U. Simon, "Tho Lubeck son kene Juden, man bedarferer ock nicht": Lübeck und die Verfolgung der Juden in der Mitte des 14. Jahrhunderts: eine Quelle aus der sächsischen Landesbibliothek in Dresden, "Zeitschrift für Weltgeschichte: Interdisziplinäre Perspektiven" XI (2010) 1, pp. 122f., 131.

13 J.H. Ibs, *Judenverfolgungen in den Hansestädten des südwestlichen Ostseeraums zur Zeit des Schwarzen Todes*, "Hansische Geschichtsblätter" CXIII (1995), p. 41.

mentioned by name, appealed more effectively to the mass (folk's) imagination than other contemporary, equally fantastic (scientific) concepts about the cause of the plague.<sup>14</sup> Therefore, among its supporters one should expect above all those waiting for the real effects of measures (that is, the pogroms recorded between the spring of 1348 and the summer of 1350, mainly in France and the Reich) undertaken in order to stop the diseases by eliminating their perpetrators. This motif cannot be overlooked in analysis of the reasons for the phenomenon of an apparent weakening of the impact of accusing the Jews of poisonous practices in the following decades, even though its knowledge remained widespread.

Thus, the effect in the form of a sense of "epidemiological security" that the urban community wanted to obtain by amputating one of its elements would have been rather fragile. It did not necessarily stimulate reflection. The accusations raised were combined with the suspicion, already known for centuries, of the Jews as potential polluters, and yet despite this conviction, people lived alongside them without any harm to their health while the physical distance and caution recommended by the Church were not necessarily kept. For the first time in the Catholic Church, these indications were justified in the Statutes of the Synod of Legates in Wrocław in 1267 – precisely because of the fear of poisoning.<sup>15</sup> Fears stemming from the conviction that Jews were connected with magic could have been not far from that, providing an additional, non-religious foundation for accusations of poisoning, ritual murder, and profanation through the motif of blood. However, even in Switzerland, the Central European homeland of witch-hunting, no argument justifying the necessity of getting rid of the Jews was developed on those grounds.<sup>16</sup>

The conviction, born at the beginning of the Hussite revolution and recorded in German-speaking countries – namely, that the Jews had helped heretical Bohemians – was one of the reasons known to medieval historiography for the persecutions ordered top-down in Austria and allegedly in Bavaria, which culminated (after adding the heavier accusation of a crime against the sacrum) in the mass extermination of the Viennese Jews on March 12, 1421. I am of course abstracting here from the complexity of the background of the successive stages

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14 Cf. J. Delumeau, *Strach w kulturze Zachodu XIV–XVIII w. Oblężony gród*, transl. A. Szymanowski, Warszawa 1986, pp. 124-130.

15 Cf. R. Grodecki, *Dzieje Żydów w Polsce do końca XIV w.*, in: idem, *Polska Piastowska*, Warszawa 1969, p. 671; M.J. Wenninger, *Von der Integration zur Segregation: Die Entwicklung deutscher Judenviertel im Mittelalter*, in: *Ein Thema – zwei Perspektiven: Juden und Christen in Mittelalter und Frühneuzeit*, ed. E. Brugger, B. Wiedl, Innsbruck-Wien-Bozen 2007, pp. 199-201.

16 Cf. O. Landolt, "Mit dem Fir zu ir richten und si zuo Bulferverbrennen: Zaubervahn und Hexenverfolgungen im spätmittelalterlichen Schaffhausen", "Schaffhauser Beiträge zur Geschichte" LXXVIII (2004), pp. 172f.

of events, as well as from the thesis that the religious motivation of the ruler's actions cleverly concealed a financial one.<sup>17</sup> However, if we assume that not only the rulers, but also the townspeople upheld this view from Church circles, we could also expect that the removal of Jews from the towns offered a feeling of regained security. This may have taken place in Jihlava, from where in 1426 the Jews were expelled by the Austrian Duke Albrecht V, in response to the request of the local citizens who were under pressure of the Hussite threat from Bohemia.<sup>18</sup> It is, however, difficult to treat this view as the real reason for the excesses and pogroms committed in Germany by Crusaders fighting against the infidels. Most importantly, and as has already been demonstrated in the literature, it was the desire to prevent such further attacks that, among other arguments, justified the removal of the Jews from Cologne in 1424. At least this is how the event was explained to the king by the local council in 1431.<sup>19</sup>

The motif of securing the safety of the city in result of a deliberate removal of its unwanted inhabitants reappears regularly. Although it can be assumed that the potential victims of a crime may bring misfortune on their neighbours. The source of evil would be the confrontational strength of their faith. Thus, in such a cause-effect chain, religious prejudice was inseparably intertwined with fears for physical safety and peace. The same was true for accusations of poisoning wells or collaborating with heretics, where the Jews were viewed as guilty of scheming due to their permanent hostility against Christianity. In fact, the aim was to make the dangers resulting from the presence of the enemy within the city walls appear more realistic. This was a reality borne especially in the minds of all those who were not satisfied with the fear of dangers in the spiritual sphere or crimes in the sphere of the sacrum, as well as the speculations about the possibility of the Jews using poor Christians to fulfill their evil goals.

Thus, the dismissal of certain fears about the future, the elimination of manifestations of panic, and obtaining a comfortable life without having to dodge alleged pitfalls, might have remained the universal expecta-

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17 K. Lohrmann, *Judenrecht und Judenpolitik in mittelalterlichen Österreich*, Wien-Köln 1990, pp. 298-309; idem, *Österreich*, in: GJ III/3, p. 1386; M. Keil, *Judenschutz auf dem Papier? Juden im Herzogtum Österreich 1305-1421*, in: *Das Wormser Passionsspiel: Versuch, die großen Bilder zu lesen*, ed. V. Gallé, K. Wolf, R. Rothenbusch, Worms 2013, p. 110; P. Elbel, W. Ziegler, "Am schwarzen suntag mardert man dieselben juden, all die zaigten vill guets an under der erden...": *Die Wiener Gesera: eine Neubetrachtung*, in: "Avigdor, Benesch, Gitl". *Juden in Böhmen, Mähren und Schlesien im Mittelalter: Samuel Steinherz zum Gedenken*, ed. H. Teufel, P. Kocman, M. Řepa, Essen-Brünn-Prag 2016, pp. 201-267; J. Heil, "Gottesfeinde"..., pp. 302f., 307.

18 J. Heil, "Gottesfeinde"..., p. 305; D. Soukup, *The Alleged Conversion of the Olomouc Rabbi Moses in 1425: Contribution to the Host Desecration Legends in Mediaeval Literature*, "Judaica Bohemiae" XLVIII (2013) 1, p. 29.

19 J. Heil, "Gottesfeinde"..., p. 304; M. Toch, *Die Verfolgungen...*, pp. 2324f.

tions associated with freedom from proximity to Jews. These factors cannot be ignored when discussing the mood of the observers and perpetrators of the disasters that disturbed the existence of Jewish communities. For the same reasons, it seems understandable to consider the absence of the Jews in the city as a state preventing the dangers supposedly lurking for Christian children, especially boys.<sup>20</sup> However, this does not mean that the people who demanded collective consequences against the Jews as the collective perpetrators of the alleged ritual murders and profanations, were guided only by the intention of prevention, and not primarily by hatred and desire for revenge. But even when viewed from this perspective, again the desire to get rid of the source of one's own deep fears cannot be underestimated. It's not a coincidence that the setting of Jewish crimes described by Christian writers since the 13<sup>th</sup> century were basements and cellars (including those in Wrocław), and thus hidden, secret, remaining in the dark. They were also supposed to be connected with the nature of the economic activity of the landlords, supposedly serving as places to deposit pledges and capital.<sup>21</sup>

Since all too often baptism was made the alternative to death or expulsion, and forced baptisms became part of the spontaneous assaults on Jews, we may venture to say that for the perpetrators of these actions, as well as for all those who were satisfied with their results, it was not only the religious satisfaction that was important. However, such satisfaction might seem to be the most important in those cases where repressions were only a means of enforcing baptism as the basic aim in relations between Christians and non-Christians.<sup>22</sup> An important aspect was also the desire to get rid of one's own fears by eliminating threats from the hitherto "strangers" by freeing them from satanic influence, "taming" them in a way, and even including them in the community.<sup>23</sup> The undisguised reason of the conversions in the case of Central and Eastern European cities directly suggests

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20 H. Węgrzynek, "Czarna legenda" Żydów: *Procesy o mordy rytualne w dawnej Polsce*, Warszawa 1995, p. 25; J. Tokarska-Bakir, *Legendy o krwi: Antropologia przęsądu*, Warszawa 2008, pp. 177f.

21 J. Heil, "Gottesfeinde"..., p. 373; idem, *Verschwörung, Wucher und Judenfeindschaft oder: die Rechnung des Antichristen – Eine Skizze*, "Aschkenas: Zeitschrift für Geschichte und Kultur der Juden" [further: Aschkenas] XX (2010) 2, pp. 395f.; J. Tokarska-Bakir, *Legendy...*, p. 40.

22 M. Toch, *Die Verfolgungen...*, p. 2313.

23 Cf. J. Delumeau, *Strach...*, pp. 274f. Obviously one should not underestimate here the thoughtless malice, the simple desire to annoy. On the other hand, it is possible that the baptisms were a manifestation of humanitarianism on the part of the people who, via suggesting the idea, were trying to protect the potential victims from the inevitable murders. Such initiatives would not have met with social acceptance if they had not appealed to the public's expectations about the positive effects of baptism and their own sense of merit.

that baptism combined with moving outside of the Jewish quarter should be enough to neutralize the fears and hostility of one's neighbors.<sup>24</sup> Yet, the possible earlier loss of property and home, or the inability to perform one's previous profession, could lead to dramatic impoverishment and even becoming dependent on almsgiving.<sup>25</sup> In the countries east of the Reich, the phenomenon of legalized begging by baptized Jews (or people claiming to be baptized) is hardly noticeable in the Middle Ages. Meanwhile, as redundant people, unwelcome in the cities of the southern borderlands of the Reich, the impoverished converts were forced to travel the roads and seek the company of other marginal groups, even lending them their vocabulary.<sup>26</sup>

This does not mean that the problem of poverty did not affect the Polish neophytes – in the 15<sup>th</sup> century in the Diocese of Cracow forms were developed that allowed married neophyte couples to practice begging, supported by an appeal for help for the newly baptized families<sup>27</sup> with a promise of reward in the form of an indulgence. Such cases, however, do not indicate that the converts in question were victims of collective, compulsory baptisms. The same is true for alms given to baptized Jews recorded annually in Cracow city accounts from ca. 1400 – perhaps apart from the short period of a few years after the pogrom in 1407, when the side effects of the catastrophe which struck the Cracow community possibly had to be tackled in this respect.<sup>28</sup> In the case of the city councilors, awareness of the inevitability of facing the far-reaching consequences of such events must have consisted, among other things, in knowledge of the need to provide merciful support to the new Christians. At the same time however, its costs were literally minimal, causing only an insignificant strain on the municipal budget.

It can be assumed that the number of converts who accepted their new status or consciously chose it was rather small and their presence rather dispersed, therefore they did not constitute a noticeable social problem similar to the situation on the Iberian Peninsula from the end of the 14<sup>th</sup>

24 Vide: H. Zaremska, *Żydzi w średniowiecznej Polsce: Gmina krakowska*, Warszawa 2011, pp. 435-438, 441-455; M. Goliński, *Ulica Żydowska we Wrocławiu do początków XV w.* (part 2), "Śląski Kwartalnik Historyczny Sobótka" [further: Sobótka] LXVII (2012) 2, p. 36; idem, *Ulica Żydowska we Wrocławiu w XV wiek*, (part 3), "Sobótka" LXIX (2014) 1, pp. 56f.

25 Giving a new legal status to the Christians and also to their property earned under the old status of "servant of the treasury" meant a loss for the ruler, but a gain for the communal tax office. Vide H. Zaremska, *Żydzi...*, pp. 316, 442.

26 H.-J. Gilomen, *Kooperation und Konfrontation: Juden und Christen in den spätmittelalterlichen Städten im Gebiet der heutigen Schweiz*, in: *Juden in ihrer Umwelt: Akkulturation des Judentums in Antike und Mittelalter*, ed. M. Konradt, R.C. Schwinges, Basel 2009, p. 158f.

27 H. Zaremska, *Żydzi...*, pp. 440f.

28 Ibidem, pp. 442f.

century.<sup>29</sup> Thus we need not expect them to be noticeable in the Central European countries, especially among in secular society. At the same time, we do not know how common it was in such cases for lay-people commentaries to be limited to dispassionate statements about the acts of baptism as an inevitable consequence of anti-Jewish activities. Such an attitude can be seen in the written testimonies, which, by the way, were usually written by clergymen, who in theory were aware of the incompatibility of such a procedure with the pope's teaching.

Remorse could be suppressed by the conviction that the evil of the "riot" and its consequences could have actually resulted in good in the form of winning new Christians. And although accusations of crypto-Jewishness were hardly ever leveled at one's own "converted" neighbors, people thinking in such way must have been subsequently appalled by their own helplessness in face of the return of the (forcefully) baptized Jews to the religion of their ancestors, which was sometimes enabled by the monarch's patronage and facilitated by mobility. It is difficult to assume that the clergy did not share their concerns about the issue with people in their parishes, just as they made the rulers aware of the fact that the crime of apostasy could not be tolerated<sup>30</sup> – or that this theme was not taken up by preachers from mendicant orders. Finally, an anonymous convert was supposed to show off his testimony of returning to the path of true faith. It was issued by the diocesan inquisitor in Wrocław in 1464, concluding the case of the public declaration of the apostasy of this convert.<sup>31</sup>

Finally, we should consider the extent to which the aggressive, often vulgar and dehumanizing anti-Jewish content of literature, theatre, and the visual arts was used, even if – as far as the written word is concerned – in the era before the invention of print it was propagated only to a very limited extent (let us add here the regional presence of the image of *Judensau* in archi-

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29 Cf. J. Delumeau, *Strach ...*, pp. 280-286; M.T. de Lara, J.V. Baruque, A.D. Ortiz, *Historia Hiszpanii*, transl. Sz. Jędrusiak, Kraków 1997, pp. 222-224; J. Edwards, *Inkwizycja hiszpańska*, transl. M. Urbański, Warszawa 2002, pp. 59-75; J. Lévy, Y. Cohen, *Żydzi sefardyjscy. Odyseja sefardyjskich Żydów od czasów inkwizycji do naszych dni. 1492-1992*, transl. K. Pruski, Warszawa 2005, pp. 35-38; S. Schama, *Historia Żydów od 1000 r. p.n.e. do 1492 n.e.*, transl. M. Fafiński, Poznań 2016, pp. 467f., 471, 479-483; F. Soyer, *Medieval Antisemitism?*, Leeds 2019, pp. 70-85.

30 H. Zaremska, *Żydzi...*, p. 315. Concerns about the return of converts to the path of error are expressed even in the formulas of prayers of petition recommended by the Bishop of Wrocław (*Das Formelbuch des Domherrn Arnold von Protzan*, ed. W. Wattenbach, Codex Diplomaticus Silesiae, V, Breslau 1862, p. 158 no. 33-34), although it remains an open question whether the 14<sup>th</sup> century clergy translated them into a language understood by the average believers. It is noteworthy that the editor of the book put them between the prayers for lepers and hospitals, which suggests the identification of the condition of neophytes with the situation of the suffering and the poor, but at the same time close to salvation.

31 L. Oelsner, *Schlesische Urkunden zur Geschichte der Juden im Mittelalter*, Wien 1864, no. 40.

tectural sculpture<sup>32</sup>). Was this still religiously motivated anti-Judaism or was it already racist anti-Semitism?<sup>33</sup> Would it then become clear whether (from the point of view of possible vicious “Jew-eaters” among the members of the urban community) the sacrament of baptism erased the “natural” psychological and even physical characteristics of their enemies (*odor Judaicus*), minimizing the tension existing between them?<sup>34</sup> From the mass murders, whether judicial or pogroms, of which whole Jewish communities fell victim, children often came out alive, treated as unaware of the “sins” of their parents and slated to be baptized because of their ability to effectively accept the new teaching.

Let’s recall here the “little children” in Prague in 1389, children up to 11 years of age in Salzburg in 1404 and up to 7 years of age in Wrocław in 1453, but also the “youngsters” in the latter center who already made their own decisions, and finally children of undetermined age allegedly in Cracow in 1407.<sup>35</sup> Their further fate was not disclosed in the accounts of those events; at best, as in the case of Wrocław, it was mentioned that the monarch ordered these children to be brought up as Christians. In practice, however, it could not have been indifferent to whom and on what grounds these orphans were entrusted for upbringing and upkeep (were these the “pious women” who took the children saved from the pogrom to be baptized in Prague?), especially in the absence of institutionalized forms of care.

At the same time, however, the forbidden practice of baptizing Jewish children without the consent of their living parents could not be eliminated, as evidenced by the intervention of the Holy See in form of a bull dated at January 1, 1421, in response to such an event in Austria (as the next stage of persecution after arrests).<sup>36</sup> So the problem must have existed, regardless of the reality of particular stories of didactic character about Jewish misdeeds and the inevitable divine vengeance carried out by human hands, whose authors, relying on evoking strong emotions in the readers, inserted

32 *Vide* “Judensau – Architektonische Hinweise,” <https://www.wikiwand.com/de/Judensau> (accessed 16.10.2021).

33 Cf. F. Soyer, *Medieval...*, pp. 21, 45-66.

34 Cf. M. Diemling, “Mit Leib und Seele?": Überlegungen zum Körperbild jüdischer Konvertiten in der Frühen Neuzeit, “*Aschkenas*” XV (2005) 2, pp. 399f., 408-416.

35 E. Brugger, *Von der Ansiedlung bis zur Vertreibung*, in: E. Brugger, M. Keil, Albert Lichtblau, Christoph Lind, Barbara Staudinger, *Geschichte der Juden in Österreich*, Wien 2006, p. 220; *Vita clarissimi viri fratris Joannis de Capistrano* by Mikołaj from Fara (transl. T. Płóciennik), *De caede Judaeorum Pragensesium* and *De persecutione Judaeorum Vratislaviensium* (transl. M. Szymański), in: J. Tokarska-Bakir, *Legendy...*, pp. 111, 679, 691; H. Zaremska, *Żydzi...*, p. 460.

36 E. Brugger, *Von der Ansiedlung...*, p. 224; M. Toch, *Die Verfolgungen...*, p. 2313. There was, however, a view that placed the rights of the monarch to decide about the fate of children above the will of their parents. *Vide* H. Zaremska, *Żydzi...*, p. 315.

the motif of mercy alongside that of punishment. Thus, in Jan Długosz's works, the baptized *pueri* are not only those spared by the participants in the Cracow pogrom, but also those saved by Christians from the flames – that is, from burning houses.<sup>37</sup>

Influenced by an increased desire to know all the Jewish secrets, as recorded from the 13<sup>th</sup> century onwards, full satisfaction with the discoveries made had certainly not been achieved. By the same token, a violent catastrophe affecting a Jewish community unprepared for it could be seen first as an opportunity to reveal a piece of mystery, and then as an anchor point for making substitute suppositions and legends. Forced conversions were, among other things, a chance to obtain the testimony of new “credible” witnesses of Jewish blasphemies and deceptions. Or at least to authenticate the existence of a source of knowledge contained in the accounts of those crimes with reference to the testimonies of trustworthy converts. Confiscation of books could make it possible to penetrate their hidden contents, including the confirmation of the accusation of a deliberate concealment of the Truth. Finally, a thorough examination of Jewish homes could uncover still unknown crimes. According to the authors of the life of St. John of Capistrano, in the testimony of a certain female convert was a reference to a victim of a mass Jewish murder buried in a corner of the house, as well as to ritual murders, which allegedly led to the discovery and exhumation of the remains in one of the houses in Lwówek (Löwenberg).<sup>38</sup>

The reasoning presented can, of course, be extended to the expected effects of actions undertaken to remove Jews motivated in any other way than what has already been mentioned. The main one would be satisfaction with the elimination of a particular evil perceived by the city community, which wanted to identify itself with all Christians. Or at least the appeasement of the groups pointing to this evil, whose satisfaction was to facilitate the maintenance of order and control over the city. The most important evil pointed out was usury, and only in this background was the whole economic activity of the Jews supposedly dangerous to the Christian environment, as it was aimed at the material basis of its existence.<sup>39</sup> At the same time, popular imagination was more affected by its social consequences than by the evil itself. This is why the issue of the impoverishment of the popula-

37 Joannis Długosii *Annales seu cronicae incliti Regni Poloniae*, VII, Varsaviae 1997, Book X, p. 17.

38 J. Tokarska-Bakir, *Legends...*, pp. 78, 111, 238 (transl. T. Płóciennik); W. Hayek, *Geschichte der Juden in Löwenberg/Schlesien (bis 1453)*, “Aschkenas” VI (1996) 2, pp. 344-346; M. Goliński, *Wrocławskie spisy zastawów, długów i mienia żydowskiego z 1453 r. Studium z historii kredytu i kultury materialnej*, Wrocław 2006, p. 12; H. Manikowska, “Eine erschreckliche Sache mit den Juden”. Piotr Eschenloer o udziale Jana Kapistrana w procesie i kaźni Żydów we Wrocławiu w 1453 roku, in: *Księga: Teksty o świecie średniowiecznym ofiarowane Hannie Zaremskiej*, ed. H. Manikowska, Warszawa 2018, p. 190.

39 J. Heil, *Verschwörung...*, pp. 396, 412.



tion as a result of usury, resulting in the spread of robbery, theft, fornication, and impiety,<sup>40</sup> was introduced into the already prepared justification of the decision to expel the Jews from Cologne in 1424, which has already been mentioned above.

Elimination of one problem was thus to bring hope for reducing other serious ills of the society. This logical reasoning was fundamentally different from the careless formal argumentation that accompanied the monarch's decisions, which is visible in the royal decrees of 1457 confirming the expulsion of Jews from Olomouc, Znojmo, and Brno and the transfer of their property to the townsmen. The reasons given there were simply "corruption and burdens" driving Christians into poverty.<sup>41</sup> However, the silence on the topic could have been deliberate. Only a few days after the notorious pogrom in Prague, a delegation from the town council of Görlitz along with local knights went to duke John "in order to remove the Jews". Their efforts were successful – after a few days, on April 30, 1389, the duke issued a privilege which forbade the Jews from settling in his dukedom and set up a committee to take over their possessions. He referred to the request of the knights and the townspeople as justified by the damages they had suffered from the Jews. It was not explained to what kind of damages the duke referred, but apparently such explanation was sufficient. What's more, the joint – and early – action of both states is not considered in the literature as spontaneous. As evidence of the satisfaction of the townspeople with the decision of the duke one may consider expenses for gifts or the ruler and his court recorded in the accounts of Görlitz.<sup>42</sup>

According to a memorandum submitted in 1369 by the Cracow council to the King on the issue (or rather on the pretext) of the city's "incredible impoverishment", the main reason for this state of affairs was the "Jewish domination" (*dominatio*). This in turn consisted of the impunity of harms done by the Jews to Christians, which in turn consisted of the alleged viola-

40 M. Toch, *Spätmittelalterliche...*, p. 46; idem, *Die Verfolgungen...*, p. 2323. This does not mean the exclusive usage of such an elaborate argumentation. The growing criticism of excessive usury itself, as leading to the ruin of Christians, attracted the attention of the Bohemian parliament from 1490 onwards, which imposed restrictions on Jewish pledge credit, H. Teufel, *Böhmen...*, p. 1826.

41 Vide M. Keil, *Jüdinnen als Kategorie? Jüdinnen in obrigkeitlichen Urkunden des deutschen Spätmittelalters*, in: *Räume und Wege: Jüdische Geschichte im Alten Reich 1300-1800*, ed. R. Kießling, P. Rauscher, S. Rohrbacher, B. Staudinger, Berlin 2007, p. 360.

42 H. Knothe, *Zur Geschichte der Juden in der Oberlausitz während des Mittelalters*, "Neues Archiv für Sächsische Geschichte und Alterthumskunde" II (1881), pp. 62f.; M. Brann, *Geschichte der Juden in Schlesien*, (Jahresbericht des jüdisch-theologischen Seminars Fraenckelscher Stiftung) Breslau 1896-1917, pp. 77f.; A. Süßmann, *Die Judenschuldentilgungen unter König Wenzel*, Berlin 1907, pp. 101f.

tion of the binding legal order. Examples illustrating this claim addressed abuses in the sphere of debt collection and prosecution of offenders, taking pledges (fencing), and collaborating with thieves.<sup>43</sup> In this case the conduct of the Jews was presented not only as crime-inducing, but directly criminal, or contradictory to moral and legal norms. The most interesting further aspect in this thought construction turns out to be the recognition of the Jewish money trade in the current situation as... indispensable, due to the fact that, according to the authors of the memorandum, the burghers were forced to take harmful loans on pledge in order to meet the unfairly constructed tax demands of the monarch. The implicit suggestion is that it was the king's erroneous policy that drove the usurers' machinery.<sup>44</sup>

While social problems associated with usury were used instrumentally in relations with various external and internal entities, a rather concrete effect in the form of release from debt was expected from getting rid of (and at the same time "punishing") the usurers. It is no coincidence that the related issue of the recovery of pawned objects is clearly reflected in the source texts.<sup>45</sup> It was impossible to be certain about the outcome expected by the debtors, especially in the perspective of the territorial authorities' efforts to retain loan property in their hands, including pledges and debt documentation that could then be used to enforce the seized liabilities. The only thing left to do was to rob, set fires, or beg mercy from the ruler, unless the ruler himself, in pursuit of his policy, made gifts to his subjects in the form of cancellation of interest or entire debts. On the other hand, the elimination of "unfair" competitors in trades and crafts brought tangible, albeit only temporary relief to the few professional groups who believed that they were up against some real rival capable of circumventing the urban monopoly system. From their point of view it was the total solutions that counted, because simple half-measures such as banning some activity or pushing the Jews out of the area under the city's jurisdiction ended with the loss of control over the situation once the unwanted group moved to the suburbs or to the properties of the nobility or the Church. Nevertheless, opinions based on economic rivalry had to have more semblance of reality than the expectation of getting rid of forgers and fencers from the town along with the Jews.

A fire in a Jewish house could spread to the houses of Christians and threaten the whole city, arousing in some of its inhabitants anger-driven aggression, while for others it provided an opportunity to enrich themselves. Unpunished robberies and thefts that accompanied the fires demoralized the participants, potentially encouraging them to repeat the crimes. Simi-

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43 R. Grodecki, *Dzieje Żydów...*, pp. 686-690; H. Zaremska, *Żydzi...*, pp. 184f.

44 R. Grodecki, *Dzieje Żydów...*, p. 690.

45 Vide D. Willoweit, *Die Rechtsstellung der Juden*, in: GJ III/3, pp. 2204-2207.

larly, arson of houses plundered in the course of pogroms could have been the starting point for disastrous fires (in the Długosz' story, such arson was supposed to have served as prevention from riots in Cracow<sup>46</sup>). At this point, let us add, we are entering the dangerous territory of a scheme reproduced in historiography regardless of the actual content of the source record. This is visible in the process already described, which led from a vaguely mentioned yearbook note by Sigismund Rosicz, who in 1453 reported on the simultaneous fire in Legnica (Liegnitz) and burning of the Jews, which brought into existence an alleged pogrom related to that fire.<sup>47</sup>

In any case, if such incidents occurred, the problem went beyond the issues concerning the Jews themselves and the monarchal authority competent towards them. Forced by the current situation on the city streets, tolerating the acts raised above could not be an easy decision for the councilors and did not exclude further actions to restore their authority.<sup>48</sup> In addition, the theft of pledged items caused difficulties not only for usurers who lost the security of their money, but also for debtors who lost their property. This is exactly what happened in Vienna in 1406, when a fire that lasted several days and was supposed to have spread from the synagogue provided a background for robberies of Jewish houses and the "vanishing" of pledges kept in them.<sup>49</sup> But also the losses suffered by Wrocław as a result of the fire caused during the pogrom in 1349 were used by the councilors to present themselves in their correspondence with the king as victims, and not the ones responsible for allowing "foreign vagabonds" to strike the servants of his chamber, and, instead of the expected punishment, to expect compensation in Jewish property.<sup>50</sup>

The argument proved to be effective and the monarch, declaring that he was doing it because of the circumstances described above, granted all the Jewish properties to the town, including two synagogues, yet at the same time reserving for his treasury all the money, valuables and pledges found in Jewish houses, as well as the possible surplus from the sale of the latter over the expected 400 Marks.<sup>51</sup> Two documented instances of the town

46 H. Zaremska, *Żydzi...*, p. 459.

47 M. Goliński, *Wrocławskie spisy...*, pp. 13f.

48 Such as the order to return looted property the day after the pogrom in Prague, and to man the gates to the Jewish quarter with guards two days after it. *K historia Židů...*, no. 170; M. Goliński, *Dzieje miast praskich do początku XV wieku*, Kraków 2018, p. 338.

49 E. Brugger, *Von der Ansiedlung...*, p. 221.

50 L. Oelsner, *Schlesische Urkunden...*, no. 9; M. Goliński, *Wrocław od połowy XIII do początku XVI wieku*, in: C. Buško, M. Goliński, M. Kaczmarek, L. Ziątkowski, *Historia Wrocławia*, vol. I: *Od pradziejów do końca czasów habsburskich*, Wrocław 2001, p. 157.

51 S.B. Klose, *Von Breslau: Dokumentirte Geschichte und Beschreibung: In Briefen*, vol. II, Breslau 1781, pp. 184f.; L. Oelsner, *Schlesische Urkunden...*, p. 19.

councilors handing over real estates in the king's name (possibly the best of the above-mentioned) to the clergy, who treated them as leased property due to their work at the monarch's court, prove that the benefits from the gift received by the town were by no means obvious and complete.<sup>52</sup> Nevertheless, in the town's account book for 1350 the income of 446 Marks *de debitis judeorum et pecunia inventa in areis judeorum* was recorded, which once again disturbs the rule of dividing the legacy of the victims of the pogrom that happened along with the fire. Not only did the found money go to the town hall, but also the town somehow collected the Jewish debts, which meant they must have taken over their documentation.<sup>53</sup> The sales of little plots of the former Jewish land by the council for small amounts of money were still recorded in 1355 and between 1371 and 1372, so with a considerable delay. Among them was one of the synagogues, which had been leased by the councilors to a fellow citizen, as if they did not know what to do with such an acquisition until the question of the new Jewish presence in the town was settled.<sup>54</sup>

Expectations may have also differed from reality. The evaluation of the benefits from the privilege of 1345 granted by John of Luxemburg, who, by declaring his willingness to relieve Wrocław drowned in debt and burdened with the task of improving the fortifications, allowed the town councilors to seize tombstones from an active Jewish cemetery and use them to repair the walls, is not at all explicit. There are no traces proving that this peculiar building material was used in accordance with the king's will, or whether some other municipal investment was carried out with the use to it, or if perhaps it was monetized. The largest number of identified gravestones (a dozen or so) was used for paving the courtyard or possibly the basement in the town hall, which can hardly be considered as satisfying an indispensable need of the town. Single ones were used to support pillars in religious buildings (Town Hall chapel, St. Elizabeth Church), so they played a rather symbolic rather than necessary role. Meanwhile, the meticulously recorded expenses of the city councilors resulted from excavation and transport of the stones amounted to as much as 50 Marks.<sup>55</sup>

These reservations can be justified by an assumption that the majority of the stones taken from the cemetery disappeared over the centuries or that

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52 M. Goliński, *Ulica...* (part 2), p. 22; idem, *Średniowieczni właściciele posesji Szewska 49 we Wrocławiu i ich sąsiedzi*, in: *Orbis hominum: civitas, potestas, universitas. W kregu badań nad kształtowaniem cywilizacji w wiekach średnich*, ed. M. Goliński, S. Rosik, Wrocław 2016, p. 177.

53 Henricus Pauper, *Rechnungen der Stadt Breslau von 1299-1358...*, ed. C. Grünhagen, *Codex Diplomaticus Silesiae*, III, Breslau 1860, p. 78; L. Oelsner, *Schlesische Urkunden...*, p. 19.

54 M. Goliński, *Ulica...* (part 1), "Sobótka" LXVII (2012) 1, pp. 15-18.

55 L. Oelsner, *Schlesische Urkunden...*, pp. 12f., no. 6-7; Henricus Pauper..., p. 73; M. Wodziński, *Hebrajskie inskrypcje na Śląsku XIII-XVIII wieku*, Wrocław 1996, p. 165.

there were not many more stones than those found so far. They lead to polar opposite conclusions: either the commune took advantage of a robbery carried out in the majesty of the law, only it is now too late to find out in what way, or this gift from the ruler balanced the expenses and did not cover any real needs, and its sources should be sought in a dimension other than physical. This problem can be seen even more clearly via the example of Legnica, which received the same privilege from its duke a few months before Wrocław. It was noticed a long time ago that none of the tombstones which, according to the document, were to be used for the construction of the walls, survived.<sup>56</sup>

The description of measures taken in parallel with Wrocław remains more complicated after the pogrom in Zürich in 1349. As a result of an agreement made on the 25<sup>th</sup> of April with a marshal representing Charles IV, the city was supposed to pay the ruler 300 guildens, which can be regarded as an equivalent of the lost Jewish tax for 12 years, and obtain (both the community and its individual members) release from debts and a possibility to acquire real estate. Then, on the 5<sup>th</sup> and 6<sup>th</sup> of September, the Jewish property in Zürich was purchased from the marshal by a company formed by the three leading councilors and the city itself, yet one of the acquisitions was later repurchased by the mayor, allegedly at a very favorable price.<sup>57</sup> The same suspicion applies to the conditions of the purchase in 1401 of a post-Jewish house in Schaffhausen from the territorial lord by one of the local rich men. Of course, this was not the only result of the execution of the local Jews – the town accounts from that year showed 226 pounds of “Judengelt” among the receipts, and another 13 pounds in the following year.<sup>58</sup>

Finally, an example of a solution from the following century: in Regensburg, the proceeds from the sale of pawned Jewish objects seized in 1519 were to supply the city budget.<sup>59</sup> What could also be the case is that real benefits, without any connection with the content of official announcements, were gained by officials directly involved in handling the “Jewish

56 M. Brann, *Geschichte...*, pp. VI (Anhang II), 47f.

57 J. Leutenegger, *Das Pogrom von 1349: Eine antijüdische Verschwörungstheorie im mittelalterlichen Zürich*, master thesis, Universität Zürich 2017, [https://www.academia.edu/36338173/Das\\_Pogrom\\_von\\_1349\\_Eine\\_antij%C3%BCdische\\_Verschw%C3%B6rungstheorie\\_im\\_mittelalterlichen\\_Z%C3%BCrich](https://www.academia.edu/36338173/Das_Pogrom_von_1349_Eine_antij%C3%BCdische_Verschw%C3%B6rungstheorie_im_mittelalterlichen_Z%C3%BCrich) (accessed 13.08.2021), pp. 40, 59-63.

58 O. Landolt, “*Wie die juden zü Diessenhofen ein armen knaben ermurtend, und wie es inen gieng*”: *Ritualmordvorwürfe und die Judenverfolgung von 1401*, “*Schaffhauser Beiträge zur Geschichte*” LXXIII (1996), pp. 181, 187.

59 K. Matzel, J. Reiecke, *Das Pfandregister der Regensburger Juden vom Jahre 1519*, “*Zeitschrift für Bayerische Landesgeschichte*” LI (1988), p. 768; V. Nickel, *Widerstand durch Recht: Der Weg der Regensburger Juden bis zu ihrer Vertreibung (1519) und der Innsbrucker Prozess (1516-1522)*, Wiesbaden 2018, pp. 260f.

issue". As it was shown for Wrocław in 1453, this difficult to establish group captured at the expense of the monarch about  $\frac{3}{4}$  of the reported income from the secured movable property.<sup>60</sup> At the same time, it is not known how the issue of Jewish debts secured with a debtor's letter was solved here, which makes it impossible for us to define the city's attitude towards that issue (taking into account the fact that the immaterial form of security referred mostly to loans granted to the nobility). The example of the city Świdnica (Schweidnitz), to which the king donated all the former Jewish properties in 1454 as part of the same "matter" (and which the town council sold to its fellow citizens a year later) cannot suggest that such were the expectations of the townspeople from the very beginning. The donation was justified by the fact that it covered "many costs" incurred by the townsmen in connection with the arrest of the Jews, which was not far removed from the above-mentioned toleration of the "resourcefulness" of the executors of the monarch's will.<sup>61</sup>

The people who had plundered Jewish houses before the emissaries of the authorities managed to secure them, could present their actions as restitution of property gained at their expense in an unfair manner. In the next stage systematic penetration of properties appeared, either ordered or spontaneous, in search of what had been hidden. At the same time the passing of years did not diminish the hope of seizing real wealth that was waiting to be discovered somewhere. The anticipation of finding the treasure in Wrocław, in a house whose Christian owner had replaced the Jewish one already 20 years earlier, led in 1380 to the owner of the building convincing the monarch to give up the ownership of the possible find. Sometime earlier in Prague, in 1336 a frantic search for money is said to have prompted the aforementioned monarch's grandfather to order excavations in the synagogue, which – according to the chronicler, who distanced himself from the question of the story's credibility – were to have yielded the equivalent of 2,000 Marks.<sup>62</sup> Such actions, apart from proving the timeless faith of treasure hunters in the rationality of their endeavours, were a result of a commonly held conviction about a method of hiding money.

The main difference was that the field known from the Gospel parable was replaced by an urban space. What's more, the spectacular depos-

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60 M. Goliński, *Wrocławskie spisy...*, p. 16. Cf. the opinion of the chronicler referring to the correspondence of the city with the king. Peter Eschenloer, *Geschichte der Stadt Breslau*, ed. G. Roth, part 1, Quellen und Darstellungen zur schlesischen Geschichte, XXIX, Münster-New York-München-Berlin 2003, p. 169.

61 M. Brann, *Geschichte...*, p. 138 note 2; M. Goliński, *Wrocławskie spisy...*, p. 16.

62 *Chronicon Aulae Regiae*, in: *Fontes Rerum Bohemicarum*, IV, ed. J. Emler, Praha 1884, p. 332; I. Hlaváček, *Královský poklad ve slezské Středě (Několik poznámek)*, "Český časopis historický" XCV (1997) 2, p. 451; M. Goliński, *Średniowieczni właściciele...*, p. 178; idem, *Dzieje miast...*, pp. 101, 185.

its of cash and valuables found in more modern times in places associated with Jewish habitation (e.g., two treasures in Środa/Neumarkt and treasures in Jawor/Jauer and Erfurt, all linked to the great catastrophe of the Ashkenazi diaspora in the mid-14<sup>th</sup> century<sup>63</sup>) must be a continuation of such earlier discoveries, although it is impossible to say whether it was them or just the legends about them that sparked the imagination. Similarly ambiguous seems to be Długosz' statement that after a pogrom in Cracow numerous treasures were found in Jewish houses hidden *in zabulo aut cloacis*.<sup>64</sup> Thus, he either passed on knowledge about the usual places of hiding valuables in his times, or the fact that he mentioned sand, he pointed to a cloaca as a proper place to store property dishonestly acquired by the Jews, in which, in addition, one has to immerse themselves if they want to get hold of the treasure. No objections of that sort were held by the academic community of Cracow as they kept the happy memory of a treasure discovered in 1494 within the walls of Collegium Maius, associated with the Jews who had lived there much earlier.<sup>65</sup>

The question of the benefits of material acquisitions became more complex when a place of symbolic meaning in the urban space was encountered. Most of the cases of the fate of former synagogues that were freely used by their new, private owners (e.g., the one in Erfurt was converted into a granary) indicate that their former function was not enough in itself to arouse anything more than the indifference or contempt of the townspeople. It needed to be placed in the context of events from the spiritual sphere, although not all of them can be identified. The physical annihilation of the Viennese Jews in 1421 was followed by the demolition of their synagogue and use of material from it to build the headquarters of the theological faculty.<sup>66</sup> The location of the university next to the Jewish quarter was an intentional, recurring measure that referred to the religious mission of the institution, but the demolition of anything for ideological reasons (the theologians' seat literally grew on the ruins of the synagogue) for economic purposes did not happen often, and it is difficult to assess whether this was in line with the views of the watching bourgeoisie.

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63 Cf. I. Hlaváček, *Královský...*, pp. 448-458; R. Kiersnowski, *Floreny śląskie z XIV w. i ich obieg w Europie*, in: idem, *Historia – pieniądz – herb. Opera selecta*, Warszawa 2008, pp. 148, 150-154; M. Goliński, *Środa Śląska w średniowieczu*, in: *Środa Śląska: Dzieje miasta, wina i skarbów*, ed. R. Żerelik, Wrocław 2006, pp. 68-70; idem, *Jawor do 1526 r.*, in: idem, A. Muła, T. Przerwa, *Stolica na pograniczach. Dzieje miasta Jawora (do 1945 r.)*, Wrocław 2018, pp. 86-87; M. Stürzebecher, *Der Schatzfund aus der Michaelisstraße in Erfurt*, in: *Die mittelalterliche jüdische Kultur in Erfurt*, vol. I: *Der Schatzfund: Archäologie – Kunstgeschichte – Siedlungsgeschichte*, ed. S. Ostritz, Weimar 2010, pp. 156f.

64 *Długosii Annales...*, VII, Book X, p. 17.

65 H. Zaremska, *Żydzi...*, p. 501.

66 P. Elbel, W. Ziegler, *„Am schwarzen...“*, p. 210.

In Linz, the synagogue and the neighboring Jewish buildings were bought from the duke by a burgher and Hauptmann's scribe, Mert Raninger, who in 1428 founded there the Holy Trinity Chapel and the houses of the benefactors and mansionaries.<sup>67</sup> In 1438 in Jawor, the monarch allowed the town councilors and townspeople to rebuild an abandoned synagogue into St. Adalbert's Church, which from 1443 was attached to a hospital moved there from the outskirts. The circumstances in which the synagogue and at least one adjacent property ceased to perform their previous functions remain unknown, though purely hypothetically they are linked to events in 1420.<sup>68</sup> We can presume that, at least in this case, the very existence of abandoned buildings in the city attracted a bottom-up initiative to use them by a foundation for charitable and devotional purposes, and subject to the patronage of the council. Only eight months later, in 1439, the Duchess of Brzeg (Brieg) confiscated the synagogue and its belongings in Strzelin (Strehlen) in order to hand them over to her creditor.<sup>69</sup> Thus, the earlier incidents did not indicate any breakthrough in treating every synagogue as an opportunity to create a Christian temple.

An offshoot of the mass murder committed against the Jews in 1305 in the Lower Austrian town of Korneuburg, according to local tradition, was the transformation of a private Jewish house, where the profanation of the Host was allegedly carried out, into a chapel of the Holy Blood. The chapel and the plot of land were later given by the duke to Augustinian-hermits for the foundation of their monastery.<sup>70</sup> This somewhat blurs the picture of the initial situation. Taking into account the supposedly unanimous participation of the local community in the fight against the alleged sacrilegious community members, giving the place in question a cult function would have suited their spiritual needs, even if the initiative came from the circles of the clergy, concentrating here on the Eucharistic miracle, for which the Jewish issue was only a background.<sup>71</sup> In 1427 the Pope granted permission to transform the synagogue into the Corpus Christi church in Jihlava, from where the Jews had been expelled the previous year.<sup>72</sup> In Olomouc, a 15<sup>th</sup>-century counterfeit account led to the belief from the 16<sup>th</sup> century onwards that the Corpus Christi chapel had been built in place of the synagogue, where the Eucharistic miracle had happened.

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67 Ibidem, p. 210.

68 M. Brann, *Geschichte...*, pp. 105f.; M. Goliński, *Jawor...*, pp. 77f., 84.

69 M. Brann, *Geschichte...*, p. 107.

70 E. Brugger, B. Wiedl, *Regesten zur Geschichte der Juden in Österreich im Mittelalter*, vol. I, Innsbruck-Wien-Bozen 2005, no. 447; E. Brugger, *Korneuburg 1305: Eine blutige Hostie und die Folgen, "Juden in Miteuropa"* (2005): *Nicht in einem Bet: Juden und Christen in Mittelalter und Frühneuzeit*, p. 25; eadem, *Von der Ansiedlung...*, p. 215; M. Keil, *Judenschutz...*, p. 103.

71 E. Brugger, *Korneuburg...*, pp. 20f.; eadem, *Von der Ansiedlung...*, p. 212.

72 D. Soukup, *The Alleged...*, p. 29.



A negative verification of the tradition was determined only by the results of architectural research, which denied such reconstruction of the synagogue and gave rise to the claim that the chapel was built merely in its vicinity.<sup>73</sup> Thus, the primary goal was to create material support points for the propagated cult, while the sealing of the synagogue's fate was, in such circumstances, only desirable for its ideological and didactic dimension. But this was not necessary, as it could be replaced by a mere false narrative. After all, the legends of Cracow (of Kazimierz) and Poznań, which belonged to the same trend, did not need the motif of the synagogue at all – an isolated place with an unclear connection to a well or a cellar was more than enough.<sup>74</sup> As pointed out in the literature, in Pulkau, Austria, the chapel of the Most Precious Blood was consecrated no earlier than in 1397, i.e., 59 years after the expulsion of the Jews from the town, while in Deggendorf, Bavaria, the church of the Holy Sepulchre and Saints Peter and Paul was erected no earlier than in 1360/61, so 23 years after the catastrophe of the local Jewish community.<sup>75</sup> Thus, even if there was a spatial connection between the temple and the place of Jewish presence or worship, such foundations were not a direct effect of the removal of the Jews and were not derived from the mood accompanying such event. They were meant to preserve the memory of the event, as the inscription from Deggendorf reveals. Written in rhyming German, and thus addressed directly to the general public, it stated successively that the Jews were killed, the town burned down, Corpus Christi was found there, as witnesses attested, and therefore the House of God was built in the place.<sup>76</sup> Of course, these short announcements were clear only to those who knew the whole story behind them.

The donation made by the King in 1454 of a plot of land on which the local synagogue stood to the municipality of Świdnica, following a court murder less than a year earlier, was intended to build (or actually adapt) a Corpus Christi church there. This decision was documented separately and, above all, only two months after the general transfer of former Jewish properties in Świdnica to the council.<sup>77</sup> Thus, despite the fact that it was a manifest reaction to (or expiation for) the alleged act of desecration of the Host by the Jews, we do not know if it was spontaneous or by whom it was initiated, nevertheless extensively described in the document, evidently time was needed in order to achieve agreement on the matter.

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73 Ibidem, pp. 8f., 28-31, 35, 38.

74 H. Zaremska, *Żydzi...*, pp. 285-288.

75 D. Soukup, *The Alleged...*, p. 35.

76 M. Rubin, *Imagining the Jew: The Late Medieval Eucharistic Discourse*, in: *In and out of the Ghetto: Jewish-Gentile Relations in Late Medieval and Early Modern Germany*, ed. R. Po-chia Hsia, H. Lehmann, Cambridge 1995, p. 199.

77 F.J. Schmidt, *Geschichte der Stadt Schweidnitz*, vol. I, Schweidnitz 1846, pp. 159f.; M. Goliński, *Wrocławskie spisy...*, p. 16.

Perhaps the council was in no hurry to bear the burden of the foundation, which absorbed some of the expected material benefits from the sale of the acquired Jewish properties. Similarly, such basic question may be asked about the identity of the founders of the St. Barbara's Chapel founded under the same pretext in place of the synagogue in Strzegom (Striegau). Such identification of the temple (mentioned in sources since 1463) is owed to a 17<sup>th</sup>-century historian who claims that in 1454 a monarch gave the town an order to adapt the building to the needs of Christian worship and to dedicate it to the cult of the Holy Sacrament and St. Barbara.<sup>78</sup> Regardless of the credibility of the account, what is important here is that this kind of event fitted in the historical memory of Strzegom's inhabitants, providing, as elsewhere, a material point of support for tradition about the reasons for "parting" with the Jews.

The case of Wrocław did not fit into the model of conduct described above, which seems puzzling given that the city was at the center of the events described in the scenario of the drama of the Silesian Jews in 1453. The best place to build the cult of the Host being the victim of "Jewish crimes" or to commemorate the events justifying the "eternal" removal of the Jews from the city, would be the third (along Świdnica and Lwówek) *crime scene*. Not to mention the propaganda impact of such a place in the capital of the diocese, a place of great clergy concentration and a communication hub. Meanwhile, no chapel was founded in Wrocław, although there were still intact houses and synagogues left by the Jews.<sup>79</sup> This must have been simply a consequence of the lack of Jewish property ownership<sup>80</sup> here after 1361. No one was in a hurry to buy the synagogue for a pious purpose, nor did any of the owners who so far had derived income from renting the premises to Jews feel morally obliged to initiate a foundation.

This may suggest, if not a different intellectual climate from that prevailing in smaller centers, at least an assertiveness towards suggestions coming from the circle of religious radicals. All the more so because at the same

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78 Ephraim I. Naso, *Phoenix redivivus, ducatum Svidnicensis et Javroviensis*, Breslau 1667, pp. 138f.; A. Schade, *Geschichte der ritterlichen Johanniter-Kirche und Comthurei von St. Peter und Paul in Striegau ihrer vier Nebenkirchen dasebst*, Breslau 1864, p. 84; M. Brann, *Geschichte...*, pp. 30, 139.

79 An inhibiting factor may have been the simultaneous costly investment in a magnificent sacramentarium in the St Elizabeth parish church, where the recovered desecrated hosts were allegedly deposited, which Bogusław Czechowicz links (*Między katedrą a ratuszem: Polityczne uwarunkowania sztuki Wrocławia u schyłku średniowiecza*, Warszawa 2008, pp. 134-138) precisely with the ideological background of the Wrocław process. The order for the work was placed by the church's vitrine not long before the "Jewish case" arose, which of course does not exclude that it was later given a new meaning in the context of the events that took place. However, the content of the work, which could be read by the faithful, if it refers in any way to the case, is limited to the presence of the pig as a symbol of the Jews.

80 M. Goliński, *Ulica...* (part 3), pp. 37-39.

time social forces began in the city to successfully implement their project of building a monastery and then a Bernardine church. This initiative was later criticized by the bourgeois elite recorded by the city chronicler, although we do not know whether it actually reflected the original position of the town hall towards the phenomena over which it was about to lose control.<sup>81</sup> The same doubt can be applied to the metrics of the famous sentence by the same chronicler, who at the end of his account of the trial of the Jews in Wrocław, complains about the distribution of their property and granting the city the privilege of the lack of tolerance, eloquently leaving the dilemma of whether or not it was indeed the “God’s way” to the discretion of the “spiritual teachers”. Then he referred not to the ethical side of the deeds described, but to the teaching of the Church about the survival of the followers of Judaism until the “end of the world”, when they will enter the fold of Christ.<sup>82</sup> It was definitely a negative evaluation of the current exclusion of Jews from the Wrocław community. The writer, who was in the service of the council, did not reveal his attitude towards their trial and execution.<sup>83</sup>

All of the above mentioned topics were allegedly connected with the appearance of the future saint John of Capistrano in the city, and the religious emotions stirred up by him that paved the way for the future “rule of the preachers” which later brought misfortune to Wrocław. Looking from this perspective, Peter Eschenloer, as it was proved by Halina Manikowska in her erudite argument, attributed all the responsibility (but not the blame) for the assault on the Jews to John of Capistrano, reducing to a minimum, or even omitting the participation of town councilors, the king and the bishop. The final content of the chronicle did not correspond with its original version, and the amendments changed it along with the changing political situation.<sup>84</sup> Allegations of the existence of a critical reflection on the rightness of past actions among the upper middle class do not change the fact that such a stance did not enter the public debate and did not change the policy towards the Jews.

When considering the overall economic impact of the seizure of Jewish capital (both cash and assets) by a ruler who considered himself its owner, one cannot ignore the fact that it returned to circulation in order to finance politics, war, the needs of the court, but also to repay debts. On a local scale,

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81 H. Manikowska, *“Eine erschreckliche...”*, pp. 177f.

82 “Adir ap dis götlich sey adir nicht, secze ich vff erkenntnis der geistlichen lerer. Wenn die ewangelisten sagen, das Cristus gesaget hat, das dis judisch geschlecht nicht sal vorgeen bis an das ende der werlt, do ein hirte vnnd ein schoffstal sein wirt”, Peter Eschenloer, *Geschichte...*, part 1, p. 169; H. Manikowska, *“Eine erschreckliche...”*, pp. 179-181.

83 H. Manikowska, *“Eine erschreckliche...”*, p. 196.

84 *Ibidem*, pp. 196-200.

the degree and pace of this return certainly varied greatly, depending on the links between the given market and the stream of cash flowing from the monarch's treasury. The value of the capital traded by the Jews of Vienna is currently estimated at 250-300 thousand pounds around 1420, thus its fate could not have remained indifferent at the moment of the upcoming annihilation.<sup>85</sup> The size of the working capital of all the Jews in the Reich at about the same time is estimated at 1.5-2 million guildens, which seems to be an enormous amount. Nevertheless, it was equivalent to the bourgeois assets of only three medium-sized cities. Thus, it represented only a fraction of the already existing gigantic Christian working capital in German cities.

It must be remembered that the situation described here concerns a period of time when the Jews of Austria and southern Germany, who had repeatedly been badly tried, already transferred part of their capital to Italy.<sup>86</sup> The immediate and quickly noticeable effect of the catastrophe brought upon the local Jewish community was the disappearance of one of the previous sources of credit in the form of the usurers' own resources, as well as funds obtained by them from outside when necessary. Of course, this again depended on the role that this source played for a given market, the center of which being a particular town. As observed by Hans-Jörg Gilomen via the example of Swiss cities, almost all returns of Jews there after catastrophes and periods of intolerance were justified by the need to acquire money. Moreover, not only (implicitly) through loans, but also through tributes. At least that is how it was officially stated, justifying the withdrawal from the intolerance of Jews with a state of higher necessity in the face of misfortunes that had befallen the city.<sup>87</sup>

The validity of the statement about the length and regional differentiation in the chronology of the process of replacing Jewish credit with Christian credit is beyond doubt.<sup>88</sup> The problem, however, is to establish the relationship of this process to the consequences of the dramatic incidents that affected Jewish communities. Were alternative sources of credit already able to satisfy local needs so that the services of Jewish financiers were disposed of with without any sense of greater harm? Or was it only their irreversible disappearance that made it necessary to look for new solutions? Obviously

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<sup>85</sup> P. Elbel, W. Ziegler, "Am schwarzen...", pp. 223, 225, 259.

<sup>86</sup> M. Toch, *Economic Activities of German Jews in the Middle Ages*, in: *Wirtschaftsgeschichte der mittelalterlichen Juden: Fragen und Einschätzungen*, ed. idem, E. Müller-Luckner, München 2008, p. 203.

<sup>87</sup> H.-J. Gilomen, *Kooperation...*, pp. 195, 197.

<sup>88</sup> Vide H.-J. Gilomen, *Die Substitution jüdischer Kredite im Spätmittelalter: Das Beispiel Zürichs*, in: *Christliches und jüdisches Europa im Mittelalter*, ed. L. Clemens, S. Hirbodian, Trier 2011, [https://www.academia.edu/3400693/Die\\_Substitution\\_j%C3%BCdischer\\_Kredite\\_im\\_Sp%C3%A4tmittelalter](https://www.academia.edu/3400693/Die_Substitution_j%C3%BCdischer_Kredite_im_Sp%C3%A4tmittelalter) (access 14.08.2021), p. 1.

this is related to the phenomenon of limiting the circle of clients of Jewish usurers, from which in the countries of the Reich first the merchants (14<sup>th</sup> century) dropped out, then the privileged classes (first half of the 15<sup>th</sup> century), leaving the lower and middle classes benefiting from small loans against property<sup>89</sup> pledge. However, this scheme is not that simple, because at the same time the highest classes (the dukes) increasingly often pawned items, particularly valuables.<sup>90</sup> Nevertheless, pledging was a mass phenomenon, and more than half of the pledged items were of minimal value (up to 8 Groschen), as  $\frac{3}{4}$  of the loans secured in this way were for small amounts of money (up to  $\frac{1}{2}$  Mark), as has been shown for Wrocław in the mid-15<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>91</sup> Small loans based on pledges were linked to trade in unredeemed items. The possible absence of the former necessitated a different function of the trade in second-hand goods, in which purchasers of those became direct providers of cash to all those who had no other way to obtain it.

The diversity of situations depending on the level of economic development and the times seem to be illustrated by contradictory examples. As evidence of the lack of possibilities to obtain alternative investment capital, the literature points to the situation in Bern, from where the town councilors expelled the Jews "forever after" (1404/05), only to bring them back again soon after the fire and impoverishment of the city (1408), citing the request of the townspeople who confirmed their friendly relations with them.<sup>92</sup> Hanna Zaremska, on the other hand, pointed to the poor state of knowledge about the significance and function of Jewish loans in Polish lands, pointing out that according to Henryk Samsonowicz's survey of the entire group of towns, only 4.1% of town borrowers went to the Jews in the second quarter of the 15<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>93</sup> It can be concluded that from the perspective of the Polish bourgeoisie the possible disappearance of Jewish credit would not cause a problem, and accumulation of sufficient capital on that occasion would make it possible to take over Jewish clientele from other social groups. Things do not seem so straightforward after taking into account the detailed research by Adam Rutkowski, who shows that in 15<sup>th</sup>-century Warsaw 24% of those borrowing from the Jews were towns-

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89 This in turn could have been a consequence of the Jews becoming relatively poorer in comparison with their Christian competitors. *Vide*: M. Toch, *Die Juden im mittelalterlichen Reich*, Enzyklopädie deutscher Geschichte, XLIV, München <sup>3</sup>2013, pp. 99f.; H.-J. Gilomen, *Die Substitution...*, p. 2.

90 M. Toch, *Der jüdische Geldhandel in der Wirtschaft des Deutschen Spätmittelalters: Nürnberg 1350-1499*, "Blätter für deutsche Landesgeschichte" CXVII (1981), p. 303; M. Goliński, *Wrocławskie spisy...*, p. 47.

91 M. Goliński, *Wrocławskie spisy...*, pp. 69f.; cf. M. Toch, *Economic...*, p. 199.

92 H.-J. Gilomen, *Die Substitution...*, p. 3; idem, *Kooperation...*, p. 195.

93 M. Bogucka, H. Samsonowicz, *Dzieje miast i mieszczaństwa w Polsce przedrozbiorowej*, Wrocław 1986, p. 192; H. Zaremska, *Żydzi...*, pp. 190f.

men, locals (21%), and visitors (3%).<sup>94</sup> The credit market in the city would have collapsed if the Jews had been excluded from it, depriving their main clients – the nobility – of their money, but for the townsmen the possible changes would have been a shock as well.

This is even more visible in the structure of credit, absolutely dominated by small loans and short-term transactions, in almost 1/3 of cases secured by a property pledge. This suggests the existence of a large clientele dependent on this source of money, although it does not determine whether this was solely a matter of consumer credit, which was necessary to survive on the hungry gap, or also investment credit. In fact, some small sums which were to be repaid quickly might have been needed to finance current purchases of raw materials necessary to sustain production and commercial activity – their absence would therefore have a negative impact on the functioning of the economy.<sup>95</sup> In turn, the described state of affairs is contradicted by Piotr Łozowski, whose observations show that in Old Warsaw alone, in the 15<sup>th</sup> century, loan transactions concluded with Jews accounted for only 1% of the market and only 3% of turnover, and in New Warsaw their share was even lower. What is more, such activity was to disappear completely even before the Jews were expelled from the city in 1527.<sup>96</sup>

To sum up, as far as the Kingdom of Poland and Mazovia are concerned, it is possible to draw completely opposite conclusions on the basis of research based on heterogeneous source texts, which may be far from being able to capture the whole phenomenon described.<sup>97</sup> In this situation, the most reliable resource is the fact that in general the services of Jewish usurers were not abandoned in Poland, although the privileges of intolerance obtained in the 16<sup>th</sup> century by Warsaw or Gdańsk (Danzig) concerned cities with a starkly different level and specificity of economic development, and thus did not have easily identifiable sources. Moreover, they did not translate into the situation in large urban centers that had long been connected with the Crown, such as Poznań, Cracow, and Lviv (Lwów). Even the removal of Jews from Cracow in 1494 did not mean getting rid of them from the agglomeration area, but resettlement (or relatively beneficial self-resettlement) to the town of Kazimierz.<sup>98</sup>

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94 A. Rutkowski, *Kredyt żydowski na rynku lokalnym Warszawy w pierwszej połowie XV wieku*, "Przegląd Historyczny" LXX (1979) 2, pp. 271f.; H. Zaremska, *Żydzi...*, pp. 192-194.

95 A. Rutkowski, *Kredyt...*, pp. 269, 275-278; P. Łozowski, *Kredyt i dom: Rynki obrotu pieniężnego i nieruchomości w Warszawie okresu XV i początków XVI wieku*, Białystok 2020, p. 359.

96 P. Łozowski, *Kredyt...*, p. 137f., 327f.

97 H. Zaremska, *Żydzi...*, p. 195.

98 An in-depth study of the problem: H. Zaremska, *Żydzi...*, pp. 493-504; in general terms: D. Tollet, *Historia Żydów w Polsce od XVI wieku do rozbiorów*, transl. D. Zamoyska, Warszawa 1999, pp. 25-27.

Meanwhile in Zürich, almost immediately after the expulsion of the Jews (1423), in 1424 the local council demanded that the Christian Lombards forgive the townsfolk their debts and interest, and return their pledges, or else leave the city. Both the Jews and the Lombards, in both cases emphasizing that they were usurers, were expelled from Bern in 1427. The townspeople in that case seemed to refer to the newly arisen mercantilist point of view, which saw the transfer of money and silver pledged with these two groups as an “escape” of goods abroad, which was perceived as harmful for the country.<sup>99</sup> Thus, it is usury itself that was considered a greater problem than the religion professed by usurers, whether by virtue of the townspeople’s own moral code, economic views, sensitivity to social issues, or political expediency, without seemingly taking into account the need to satisfy the demand for credit. Also, people with free capital were well aware of the dilemma between preventing its waste by keeping it working and, conversely, the promise of eternal salvation, which was openly articulated at least in Italy.<sup>100</sup> Of course, the ruling group in the city which allowed the liquidation of Jewish credit, might have been aware of the upcoming economic difficulties, but they were driven to rash and risky measures by pressure from their political competitors or by an attempt to channel and defuse social discontent.

Realizing that the Jews, Lombards, and Florentines complemented each other and cooperated with each other, as it had been the case since the beginning of the 14<sup>th</sup>-century in Tirol (a “land of passage”, through which new groups of Jewish financiers constantly flowed without putting down roots), the ruling group undertook integrated measures towards them, equally perceiving them as actors of “foreign interests”.<sup>101</sup> One cannot put an equals sign between these groups of lenders. In 1383 in Zürich, Jewish loans accounted for 86.7%, Lombards for 3.9%, and other Christians lenders for 9.4% of debts which were difficult to collect. The average volume of credit granted there at the beginning of the 15<sup>th</sup> century by the Jews was 3.5 times lower than that from pawnshops, but at the same time almost 10 times higher than that from local Christians. No wonder that 95.4% of the loans came from the latter, and only 4% from the Jews.<sup>102</sup> This illustrates the nature of the changes occurring on the local market, but also the diversity of clients to whom the offer of the indicated groups was addressed. Above all, it proves a leap forward

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99 H.-J. Gilomen, *Die Substitution...*, p. 5; idem, *Silbermangel und jüdische Geldleihe: Prämerkantilistische Bedenken gegen den lombardischen und jüdischen Geldhandel im Spätmittelalter*, “Aschkenas” XX (2010) 2, pp. 281f.

100 H.-J. Gilomen, *Wucher und Wirtschaft im Mittelalter*, “Historische Zeitschrift” CCL (1990), p. 265.

101 E. Brugger, “Do musten da hin zue den iuden varn” – Die Rolle(n) jüdischer Geldgeber im spätmittelalterlichen Österreich, in: *Ein Thema – zwei Perspektiven...*, p. 127.

102 H.-J. Gilomen, *Kooperation...*, pp. 213, 217, 219.

on the road leading in the opposite direction of the processes which were to push the Jews to petty credit.

Finally, we should refer to the situation in the monastic state of Prussia, where the Teutonic Knights probably did not allow Jewish settlement at all, based on their worldview assumptions, and which the local townsmen had to accept as normal. The above thesis, put forward in the interwar period, has so far met with only unsuccessful attempts to undermine it, therefore there is no reason to reject it.<sup>103</sup> A well-developed money-goods economy, highly compared with the neighboring lands of the urbanized region, could therefore have been formed and functioned without the participation of the Jews (apart from occasional trade or services provided by imported specialists, such as medics). This was due both to the connection of Prussian cities with the resources of the Order and the Hanseatic League, and to the fact that the credit was based on a rent system, weak even in Warsaw.<sup>104</sup> This does not change the fact that loans combined with the creditor's pledge (i.e., the same as for Jews) were recorded among Christians in 15<sup>th</sup>-century Gdańsk.<sup>105</sup> The situation in the Prussian centers was not supposed to differ much from (or even to be derived from) that identified with the closest Hanseatic partners, Gotland and the Veneti towns, where the settled Jews did not exist (as in Lübeck and Visby), or were few in number and did not play a role in the local economy – yet there were some attempts to question this point of view. However, the Jews from Rostock or Wismar (removed in 1350), mentioned in this context, were primarily involved in business with the nobility, and their alleged detriment to the Hanseatic League, raised by their enemies, was only indirect.<sup>106</sup>

The economic and social background of the events occurring at the end of the Middle Ages is generally seen in the process leading from a situation where the bourgeois elite benefited from Jewish credit to a situation where they themselves became lenders. This resulted in the displacement of Jewish entrepreneurship to small loans based on pledges, which in turn faced increased demand (growing to a mass scale) among the lower spheres of urban societies.<sup>107</sup> This is all the more relevant if

**103** An in-depth critique of arguments supposedly refuting the veracity of the thesis: M. Maleszka, rev: *Cordelia Hess, The Absent Jews: Kurt Forstreuter and the Historiography of Medieval Prussia*, New York-Oxford 2017, "Roczniki Historyczne" LXXXIII (2017), pp. 321-324.

**104** P. Łozowski, *Kredyt...*, p. 355.

**105** C. Kardasz, *Rynek kredytu pieniężnego w miastach południowego pobrzeża Bałtyku w późnym średniowieczu (Greifswald, Gdańsk, Elbląg, Toruń, Revel)*, Toruń 2013, p. 44.

**106** J.H. Ibs, *Judenverfolgungen...*, pp. 34-36; U. Simon, "Tho Lubeck...", pp. 108, 122, 124-128, 133, 142.

**107** E. Brugger, "Do musten...", p. 133; H.-J. Gilomen, *Die ökonomischen Grundlagen des Kredits und die christlich-jüdische Konkurrenz im Spätmittelalter*, in: *Ein Thema - zwei Perspektiven...*, pp. 156-157.



the thesis about the dependence of crafts on the availability of credit is true.<sup>108</sup> Thus, the condition of the common people and the prevailing moods among them were commonly associated with the state of indebtedness of that group, spoiling the relations between the Jews and other urban communities, whose ruling class lost interest in protecting the less and less needed group of Jewish entrepreneurs. Of course, this is only a scheme. It does not take into account, on the one hand, the lack of pawnshops as a Christian alternative in pawn credit in many European countries, and on the other hand, the Christian-Jewish competition in other economic fields – this being a problem which, depending on the level of development of a given region and center, as well as population relations, did not have to disappear throughout the Middle Ages. Thus, in one city, guild craftsmen and merchants strove at all costs to achieve a monopolistic position, while in another they had to accept that without the Jews its existence as a center of exchange and production would be unsuccessful – which was mainly the case of the centers in Red Ruthenia in the 16<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>109</sup>

The case of the municipal authorities of Wrocław benefiting in the middle of the 15<sup>th</sup> century from a loan granted by the Jews from the Kingdom of Poland seems to be inconsistent with the level of economic and social development of this important supra-regional commercial center, as well as with the resignation from tolerating the presence of the followers of the Mosaic religion in the area.<sup>110</sup> If we assume that the phrases used in the document reflect the actual procedures, the privilege of intolerance was issued at the request of the citizens of Wrocław themselves, who took advantage of the monarch's visit to the city in 1455 to seal the state of affairs which had actually existed since 1453.<sup>111</sup> It can be assumed that this inconsistency of behavior was caused, on one hand, by the scarcity of free capital in Silesia (plagued as it was by the economic crisis and wars), which forced the citizens to look for large amounts of money wherever it was quickly available, and, on the other hand, by the conviction that such a state of affairs was only temporary and could not disturb the long-term strategy of the city. The council's borrowing from local and foreign usurers had a long tradition, but the importance of this practice after the middle of the 14<sup>th</sup> century decreased significantly (especially after 1360 with

108 H.-J. Gilomen, *Die ökonomischen...*, pp. 154f., 157.

109 M. Horn, *Żydzi na Rusi Czerwonej w XVI i pierwszej połowie XVII w. Działalność gospodarcza na tle rozwoju demograficznego*, Warszawa 1975, pp. 19-21, 25.

110 The already existing debts of the Wrocław council to the Poznań Jews are documented from 1451. State Archive in Wrocław, Documents of the city of Wrocław, no. 3631, 3632, 4086; M. Goliński, *Wrocławskie spisy...*, p. 11 note 21.

111 L. Oelsner, *Schlesische Urkunden...*, p. 42.

the temporary expulsion of the Jews in favor of the successively increasing sale of rents secured "at the town hall"<sup>112</sup>).

It should be noted that in Wrocław, the privilege of intolerance was kept for a long time, and in other, smaller royal towns of Silesia even longer and more consistently. Nothing had changed in this matter even when the Reformation and humanism started to gain popularity.<sup>113</sup> This was done in spite of the growing importance of the Jews in the exchange of goods between Silesia and the Kingdom of Poland and Lithuania (where their participation in foreign trade was not restricted), as well as their growing importance to the economy of the region and the city.<sup>114</sup> Maybe even the financial contacts of the Wrocław council with the Jews from Greater Poland are an indirect, early testimony of these new trade relations, built along the Poznań-Wrocław axis, independently of the former parallel Cracow-Wrocław route? If so, then the fact that the Jewish settlement was not tolerated may have been regarded as securing one's monopoly on trade with outsiders without the mediation of their local fellow believers. Nevertheless, the circumstances accompanying the participation of the Jews in Silesian trade at the beginning of the modern period are very poorly known, including the ways of circumventing the restrictions imposed in Wrocław.<sup>115</sup>

According to a laconic statement made by a monastic chronicler, the Jews in Erfurt prevented a pogrom threatening them in 1303 thanks to substantial money for the councillors ("nisi quod multa eorum pecunia apud magistros consulum et reliquos meliores civitatis defensavit"), which in historiography is understood as a kind of ransom.<sup>116</sup> The most important thing here is to point to the municipal authorities and patricians as a force capable of preventing an attack of the folk, in this particular case stimulated by the news of the ritual murder and pogrom in Weißensee. Therefore the incident described can also

112 M. Goliński, *Wrocław...*, pp. 140, 148f., 157f., 172f.; idem, *Zmiany w budżecie Wrocławia w XIV-XV w. (w świetle bieżącego stanu badań)*, "Rocznik Dziejów Społecznych i Gospodarczych" LXX (2010), pp. 33-62.

113 M. Brann, *Geschichte...*, pp. 153f.; L. Ziątkowski, *Dzieje Żydów we Wrocławiu*, Wrocław 2000, pp. 17-19.

114 M. Brann, *Geschichte...*, p. 152; I. Schiper, *Dzieje gospodarcze Żydów Korony i Litwy w czasach przedrozbiorowych*, in: *Żydzi w Polsce Odrodzonej. Działalność społeczna, gospodarcza, oświatowa i kulturalna*, ed. idem, A. Tartakower, A. Hafftko, Warszawa 1932, pp. 123f., 132-136; M. Horn, *Rola gospodarcza Żydów w Polsce do końca XVIII wieku*, in: *Żydzi wśród chrześcijan w dobie szlacheckiej Rzeczypospolitej*, Kielce 1996, pp. 18, 20; H. Zaremska, *Żydzi...*, pp. 203-205, 207.

115 For example, the presence of *die Juden* in the property tax register of 1558 requires clarification, *vide* M. Goliński, *Wrocławska księga podatkowa Kwartału Wielkiego z lat 1558-1559*, in: *Z kancelarii XVI-wiecznych miast śląskich: Edycja źródeł ze Strzegomia, Świdnicy i Wrocławia*, ed. idem, Łódź-Wrocław 2016, p. 212 no 430.

116 J. Heil, *Verschwörung...*, p. 401; M. Lämmerhirt, *Zur Geschichte der Juden im mittelalterlichen Erfurt*, in: *Die mittelalterliche jüdische Kultur in Erfurt...*, vol. I, p. 339.

be interpreted as a contract by which the Erfurt council assumed responsibility for the safety of the group which placed itself under their care. It was formally confirmed for a period of two years in 1306 at the request of the chapter, which was in charge of the assets of the church, which included also Jewish members. In this way, the actual state of affairs coincided with the fact that from 1291 the town had already held the Jewish *emolumentum* pledged by the Archbishop of Mainz, called in the literature a Jewish tax or a protective tax.<sup>117</sup>

In the long run and in a broader perspective, the whole described history did not bring a breakthrough in the efforts to protect the Jews more effectively than before, despite the fact that the system was based on the material interest of the city, and that it shared the same space within the walls by the municipal authorities and their contracted object of care. The policy of “protective privileges” popular in the 14<sup>th</sup> century, i.e., granting limited, short-term permissions for a person, family, or community to stay in a given territory or town, was only about the short-term benefits obtained through extortion and promises, and did not prevent a rising tide of persecution, as can be seen in the example of the Jews of Erfurt in 1349. On the other hand, such a policy did not immediately exhaust the possibilities of its application, and it seems that the short-term guarantees fulfilled the expectations of those concerned until the belief in the rationality of the authorities granting them collapsed.<sup>118</sup> From the end of the 14<sup>th</sup> century the authorities resorted to less subtle methods. They were introduced by the dukes and followed by the towns.

For example, in 1401 the Zürich council, pointing out to the dangers stemming from events in other cities, took the local Jews into “protective custody” and inventoried their property, and then released them at a cost of 1500 gulden.<sup>119</sup> In Augsburg, the councilors imprisoned the Jews two or three times, in 1374, 1381, and 1384, in order to force them to pay extraordinary taxes on the basis of an estimated value of their secured property; a similar measure was taken (illegally) in Schweinfurt in 1439 and Frankfurt in 1495.<sup>120</sup> Such proceedings, although they were at least contrary to the spirit of the obligations undertaken towards the Jews, by decreasing the level of trust in councilors to the level of greedy rulers, seemed to be an illusory guarantee that the local Jewish community would not face the final catastrophe that would make the fiscal robbery at its expense impossible. The protective policy in which the cities

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117 A. Jaraczewsky, *Die Geschichte der Juden in Erfurt*, Erfurt 1868, pp. 17, 77; M. Lämmerhirt, *Zur Geschichte...*, p. 339.

118 For example, shortly after the pogrom of 1349, the Zürich council in 1354 issued a protective privilege for Jews who wished to continue living there, J. Leutenegger, *Das Pogrom...*, p. 65.

119 O. Landolt, “*Wie die juden...*”, pp. 184f.

120 R.H. Seitz, *Augsburg*, in: GJ III/1, ed. A. Maimon, Tübingen 1987, p. 49; M. Toch, *Die Verfolgungen...*, p. 2300; E. Isenmann, *Steuern und Abgaben*, in: GJ III/3, pp. 2224, 2259.

joined in the next stage might have turned into a policy of intolerance. Only the addressee of the privilege was changed: at first the prolongation of the Jews' stay within the city was supposed to be a favor for them, then the absence of the Jews was supposed to be a favor for the townsmen.

The issue of a sudden interruption of the presence in the city of a group of its inhabitants, among whom were estate owners and wealthy people, should not have been indifferent to the defense system and the municipal budget. The "servants of the chamber" of the monarchy, because of their status, did not pay taxes to the town, but to their lord. Yet it was a natural thing that their surroundings, with various amounts of success, tried to enforce their participation in expenses for the benefit of the community, especially when justified by the common good. However, the enforcement of guardianship and military service from the Jews was rather sporadic, in the Reich limited to those few towns where their status was similar to full citizenship, and in practice was limited to the forced payment of an exemption or redemption.<sup>121</sup>

In Wrocław in 1274 Duke Henry IV introduced an obligation for the holders of real estates in the city to participate in a "collection for the walls", according to the tax levels decided by the municipality mayor and jurors. Emphasizing the fact that it applies to everyone regardless of their condition, he explicitly mentioned the knights, canons, and monks, apparently as groups that could consider themselves not subject to municipal authority.<sup>122</sup> However, he did not mention the Jews and we do not know why. Unfortunately, we cannot directly check whether they were covered by the municipal property tax, which might have been a continuation of the above-mentioned benefit, provided that it was of a permanent character. The oldest surviving list of its payers comes from 1370, so from the period lasting from 1362, when the Jews did not acquire ownership of houses in the town. All we have at our disposal are the words of the town councilors from Wrocław, who in 1315 in an instruction to their counterparts from Głogów (Glogau) assured them that in their town the estates of clerics, barons, knights, Jews, and anyone else were subject to the tax, except for the parson's estates and one municipality mayoral estate.<sup>123</sup>

On the contrary, we gain valuable information in this respect in Świdnica. In 1285 the Duke released the Jews from municipal services and benefits on the account of real estate ownership (i.e., confirmed the consequences of their special status), except for paying "for the guards and the walls, as well as other municipal fortifications".<sup>124</sup> After several decades, in 1328

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121 H.-J. Gilomen, *Kooperation...*, pp. 165-167.

122 *Schlesisches Urkundenbuch*, IV, ed. W. Irgang, Köln-Wien 1988, no. 236.

123 *Breslauer Urkundenbuch*, ed. G. Korn, Breslau 1870, no. 100.

124 *Schlesisches Urkundenbuch*, V, ed. W. Irgang, Köln-Wien 1994, no. 224. I do not cite the literature here because of its inaccurate representation of the document's content.

the councilors of Świdnica, referring to the approval of its laws by the reigning duke Bolko II, entered them into the newly established municipal registry, maintaining that they had already been introduced during the reign of Bolko I – that is, between 1290 and 1301. Here we can find a prohibition to sell estates to Jews, nuns, and widows, as people from whom the town “gets little advice and law”. While the rationale for this “unprofitability” may have been different for each of these otherwise protected groups, the important point is that they were made redundant in order not to take the place of more desirable fellow citizens.

This clear conclusion, if limited to the question of the size of the benefits received under the privilege of 1285, is disturbed by reading the next point of the same document, which makes the initial state of affairs obsolete. It states that each Jew who owned a property was supposed to pay taxes together with the townsmen, guard the town, and help in times of need as its citizen.<sup>125</sup> Thus, the losses of the community were understood first of all in abstract terms in connection with the Jews not being subject to the municipal law. But not only. As evidenced by the tax registers preserved from 1379, the Jews in the town paid taxes on property, but not on movable property, crafts, or on anything else paid by other inhabitants. Thus, the municipal tax was avoided by all those living in lodgings with their fellow believers, who were not only numerous among the Jews, but also recruited from among the financiers distinguished by their mobility.<sup>126</sup>

The expansion of the system of fees and direct taxes beyond the original system of property taxes was a gradual process and only its completion over the 14<sup>th</sup> century could make it clear how indifferent it was to the town hall from the perspective of standard fiscal benefits the group was not covered by – in combination with the low value, and thus taxation, of the properties they leased.<sup>127</sup> In addition, if this group was removed from the city, the tax and other obligations of the property owners were transferred to their new owners, without loss or even with benefit for the city treasury, provided that the property was put up for sale soon after the takeover. The city also let the seized houses for rent and then the rent replaced the tax income. This happened provided that the properties did not belong to the monarch already, from whom they were hereditarily leased by the Jews, as was the case in Cracow, according to Hanna Zaremska. However, even in Cracow we have evidence that the pur-

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125 *Urkundensammlung zur Geschichte des Ursprungs der Städte und der Einführung und Verbreitung deutscher Kolonisten und Rechte in Schlesien und der Oberlausitz*, ed. G.A. Tzschoppe, G.A. Stenzel, Hamburg 1832, no. 135 § 48-49 et p. 251. Cf. M. Brann, *Geschichte...*, pp. 19f.; R. Grodecki, *Dzieje...*, p. 681; M. Goliński, *Ze studiów nad Żydami świdnickimi w średniowieczu*, in: *Z historii ludności żydowskiej w Polsce i na Śląsku*, ed. K. Matwijowski, Wrocław 1994, pp. 14f.

126 M. Goliński, *Ze studiów...*, pp. 15, 27.

127 *Idem*, *Wokół socjotopografii późnośredniowiecznej Świdnicy*, part 2, Wrocław 2003, p. 154.

chase of a house from a Christian (which required royal approval) resulted in an obligation to pay all municipal taxes.<sup>128</sup>

Changes in relations between rulers and their cities, which depended on various conditions, led in some countries to the transfer or toleration of the expansion of municipal competences in relation to the Jews, and in conditions favorable for councilors, even to taking over of part or all of the taxes due to the monarch.<sup>129</sup> This could also be done by lease or pledge, as we have already seen in Erfurt. The occurrence of such situations in confrontation with the state of affairs signaled above could have led to ambivalence on the part of the city authorities. The feeling of security among the highly burdened taxpayers was based on the conviction of special benefits derived from the tributes they paid, which in theory should have stabilized the situation of everyone who accepted the described state of affairs and did not avoid payments to the town. However, the share of taxes in the total revenue of the municipality was very different, often small, and therefore even smaller when it concerned only one group of taxpayers. In Basel in the second half of the 14<sup>th</sup> century the Jewish tax covered at first 6%, then 1% of the municipal budget, but this does not reflect the typical situation of the cities in that region of Europe, because it simply did not exist due to extreme fluctuations throughout time and space.<sup>130</sup>

The situation was similar in other places. In 1341 the Jews of Wrocław were charged by the king with an extraordinary 10-year tribute for the ongoing construction of the city walls, and in 1345 the monarch mortgaged the fixed "rent" collected from them to the council to cover his debt. His son introduced a 2:1 division of the aforementioned income between himself and the town, and leased his share to a company formed by several townsmen.<sup>131</sup> The benefits were rather significant, and it may come as a surprise that the inclusion of the municipal authorities in these benefits did not fulfill the role of an additional protection system for the "servants of the treasury" (now not only of the monarch). This prevented neither the pogroms of 1349 and 1360, nor the long-lasting minor presence of the Jews in Wrocław. What is important, however, the collective amount of various kinds of income (e.g., from customs duties, mills), in which "rent" from the Jews was included in the council's accounts, did not show any major fluctuations in connection with the incidents of 1349, although they obviously found their way into it again only in 1352 (it was also then that the city proceeded to pay them

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128 H. Zaremska, *Żydzi...*, pp. 350, 352.

129 Vide E. Isenmann, *Steuern...*, pp. 2262-2267; on municipal sovereignty over the Jews: D. Willoweit, *Die Rechtsstellung...*, pp. 2169, 2173-2174, 2181-2201.

130 H.-J. Gilomen, *Kooperation...*, pp. 198f.

131 L. Oelsner, *Schlesische Urkunden...*, no. 5, 13, 16 et pp. 12, 20.

their old debts). We also know that in 1344 one hundred Marks *de Judeis* accounted for 4.8% of the income of the town treasury.<sup>132</sup> It is also worth noting that the town was less able to impose extraordinary payments on the Jews, which required the king's consent (unless they were hidden behind the forced "gifts" and "honors"<sup>133</sup>). Otherwise the state authority could not effectively enforce its powers, as was the case in 1444 when in Wrocław the "shooting" tax designated for the army was collected from guilds, corporations, and the Jews. Each of the groups was charged separately, and the amount was divided among its members.<sup>134</sup>

Reflected by the diversification of tax amounts, the significant differentiation of property ownership within the local Jewish communities should have led to an individualization of the Christian's attitude towards particular individuals depending on their influence built on the foundation of wealth. A characteristic example could be the story of Muscho, who, according to a privilege from 1348 that prolonged his stay in Środa, was supposed to pay individually as much as 1/3 of the whole amount paid by the local Jews to the king.<sup>135</sup> However, in order for such a state of affairs to entail any special references on the part of the local urban elite, more serious economic relations would have to exist, generating mutual dependencies. It is difficult to expect such relations between the bourgeoisie of the small town of Środa and a local potentate, probably a financier or a merchant, who did not look for clients or partners in the town, let alone for their protection which was to be provided by the King. So if his business connections went beyond the sphere of satisfying the needs of the local dukes and knights, such could be sought in Wrocław. There, on the other hand, his counterpart, Canaan, operated at the same time, covering in the same way 1/3 of the royal rent paid by the Jewish community. Only that the amounts involved were 10 times larger.<sup>136</sup> The example of the famous Lewko, a banker of Kazimierz the Great in Cracow, who by lending to everyone, from the king to the townsmen, skillfully made the debtors dependent on him, but at the same time was also involved in animosities between them, seems to prove that financiers of this class did not risk building their security on the patronage of only one factor.<sup>137</sup>

The city of Zürich took scrupulous care to include in the forgery of the privilege allegedly granted to it on April 23, 1349 by King Charles IV of Rome an exemption from liability for the pogrom which took place

132 *Henricus Pauper...*, pp. 70, 74-81.

133 E. Isenmann, *Steuern...*, p. 2264.

134 M. Goliński, *Zmiany w budżecie...*, p. 51.

135 L. Oelsner, *Schlesische Urkunden...*, no. 8; M. Goliński, *Środa...*, p. 68.

136 L. Oelsner, *Schlesische Urkunden...*, no. 5.

137 H. Zaremska, *Żydzi...*, p. 425.

there in February of the same year.<sup>138</sup> Expectations of such protections were in fact real, as evidenced by the example of Świdnica, which a hundred years later, in 1454, received from Ladislaus the Posthumous a release from responsibility for the imprisonment and treatment of Jews, as actions performed under royal orders.<sup>139</sup> There, of course, the context was different from that of Zürich, since the inquisition process, expulsion and confiscations actually took place under a monarchical mandate and possibly even with monarchical inspiration. The city could “wash its hands” of it and the Świdnica councilors did not appear in the (at least surviving) documentation produced at the *Judensache* stage, they only came forward when the “cleaning up” afterwards was done. The city could even declare disinterestedness. In Augsburg in 1438, the decision of the council – complaining about acting under pressure from preachers inciting the townspeople – to expel the Jews was not accompanied by an attack on their property. The Jews were to leave their houses only after selling their properties. As a result, we can assume that they consciously agreed to the losses for the town treasury which were to result from that fact, and the only benefit for the city was the taking of tombstones from the cemetery to build the town hall 7 years later.<sup>140</sup>

The content of the application sent in 1495 by the city of Graz to the monarch in reference to the negotiations conducted by the monarch with the states regarding the removal of the Jews from Styria seems significant, albeit ambiguous. The townspeople of Graz requested the Jewish houses to be given to them as soon as the banishment process of the Jews was over, as they “ask God for it every day”.<sup>141</sup> So maybe they really couldn’t wait for this expulsion to be carried out and for the benefits mentioned? Or were they simply fed up with the never-ending negotiations over the monarch’s idea of a one-time payment from the states to compensate the Jews? What is important is that the local towns at the end of the 15<sup>th</sup> century were so interested in expropriating the Jews that they were ready to pay them the sums corresponding to the assessment of the value of their property<sup>142</sup> ordered by Maximilian I. A slightly different situation can be observed in Nuremberg in 1498, where the council supported their request to expel the Jews with a proposal to pay the monarch 4,000 guldens in exchange for the right to the Jewish properties, and a promise to compensate him up to the amount

138 J. Leutenegger, *Das Pogrom...*, pp. 37f.

139 M. Goliński, *Wrocławskie spisy...*, pp. 16f.

140 B. Schimmelpfennig, *Christen und Juden im Augsburg des Mittelalters*, in: *Judengemeinden in Schwaben im Kontext des Alten Reiches*, ed. R. Kießling, Berlin 1995, p. 37.

141 E. Brugger, *Von der Ansiedlung...*, p. 225.

142 A similar payment of compensation to Jews expelled from the city was decided upon by Laibach in Krain in 1515; E. Brugger, *Von der Ansiedlung...*, pp. 226f.



that could be obtained from the sale of those properties. The council also had to take care of the formal side of the undertaking on behalf of the king, part of which was to attribute the banishment to his initiative.<sup>143</sup> Knowledge of this case should caution us against taking literally the narrative in other documents, the backstories of which we do not know.

Just as knowledge of effects does not *ipso facto* entail knowledge of causes, so the articulation of the expected benefits from the absence of Jews on behalf of the city did not have to reflect the making of any rational calculations about the possible results of decisions made under the influence of irrational emotions. The outcome of the decision was known only after some time and the position towards it was adjusted (or not) accordingly (both after a few, as well as a few dozen years). The precaution taken by the city fathers in material matters can be treated as a fact independent from their position on the whole issue and their precaution in matters of the spirit. Since the monarch, in accordance with his own unquestionable laws, considered the property of the "servants" of his treasury to be his own, such a state of affairs had to be acknowledged. And only then was it possible to take advantage of the opportunity that was created by the awkwardness of entering into the management of this property by the completely unprepared and unwilling administration of the monarch.

translated by Joanna Golińska

#### ABSTRACT

The article outlines research problems related to the interpretation of various attitudes of municipal authorities and city dwellers towards the most radical forms of persecution of Jews in the 14<sup>th</sup> and 15<sup>th</sup> centuries. The persecutions led to a temporary or permanent cessation of Jewish communities in a great number of cities in Central Europe. Thus, the economic effects of this fact were widely known and felt. Communities accepting the expulsion or extermination of local Jews potentially had to calculate profits and losses, also in the spiritual sphere. These calculations, however, remain very difficult to reconstruct due to the involvement of ambiguous emotional factors.

**Keywords:** late Middle Ages, cities, Jews, anti-Judaism, credit

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<sup>143</sup> M. Toch, "Umb gemeyns nutz und nottdurfft willen". *Obrigkeitliches und jurisdiktionelles Denken bei der Austreibung der Nürnberger Juden 1498/99*, "Zeitschrift für Historische Forschung" XI (1984) 1, pp. 2f.

### III. IN MEMORIAM

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#### PROFESSOR HENRYK SAMSONOWICZ (1930-2021)



Professor Henryk Samsonowicz, who passed away May 28, 2021, was one of the most eminent and best-known Polish medievalists of the post-war period. He was born January 23, 1930, in Warsaw into a family cultivating scientific and scholarly traditions – his father, Jan Samsonowicz, was the eminent geologist, Professor of the University of Warsaw and the Jan Kazimierz University in Lvov (until 1939), a discoverer of many mineral deposits exploited by the industry.

In his teenage years during the war, Henryk Samsonowicz was educated at underground courses run by teachers from the Jan Zamoyski secondary school. He was also a member of the underground scout movement, which in 1943 was incorporated into the main armed resistance organization of the Polish underground – the Home Army (Armia Krajowa). After the war he graduated from the Juliusz Słowacki secondary school in Warsaw and in 1947 began reading

history at the Faculty of Humanities at the University of Warsaw. After graduation in 1950 he began his scholarly career under the supervision of Professor Marian Małowist, one of the most outstanding Polish researchers of the economic history of the Middle Ages and early modern times. In 1954 H. Samsonowicz presented his doctoral thesis entitled *Rzemiosło wiejskie w Polsce XIV–XVI w. (Rural Crafts in Poland in the 14<sup>th</sup>-16<sup>th</sup> Centuries)* and began work on his habilitation thesis; its subject differed substantially from that of his doctorate, but it still remained within the realm of economic history.

Following archival research in Gdańsk he presented a novel work on the capital investments made by the burghers from this leading economic centre of both the Baltic zone and the Kingdom of Poland. *Badania nad kapitałem mieszczańskim Gdańska w II połowie XV wieku (Research into the Burghers' Capital in Gdańsk in the Second Half of the 15<sup>th</sup> Century)* (Warsaw 1960) was translated into German and published in the German Democratic Republic in 1969. In 1971 he received his professorial title, and was promoted to full professorship in 1980. Throughout his entire career he worked at the Faculty of History, University of Warsaw. From 1983 to 2000 he was the Head of the Department of Medieval History. After his retirement in 2000 he continued to conduct graduate (until 2009) and doctoral (until 2016) seminars; the latter in co-operation with his colleagues, including the famous medievalist Benedykt Zientara, eminent specialists in modern history – Antoni Mączak and Andrzej Wyrobisz, and researchers in African studies – Michał Tymowski and Bronisław Nowak. The doctoral seminar was in fact a forum for exchanging ideas between scholars representing different generations, from PhD students to the doyens of historiography. Having retired completely from teaching at the University in the summer of 2016, a year later H. Samsonowicz promoted his last, ninth candidate to his doctorate.

Henryk Samsonowicz's scholarly work is exceptionally rich; he published more than a dozen books and several hundred articles, both strictly academic and those intended for the general public. Not only was he an outstanding analyst but also a researcher of extraordinary synthetic skills. Therefore, many of his works are syntheses and essays devoted to economic and social history as well as the history of culture and politics confined not only to Poland, but also encompassing Central-Eastern Europe, Germany, and the Netherlands; later the scope of his work extended beyond even these geographical boundaries.

In developing his scholarly interests, he constantly embraced new subjects. Yet at the same time, H. Samsonowicz remained faithful to the issues of economy, which in the 1950s and 1960s predominated in his research. Originally focusing on the history of rural crafts in late-medieval and early-modern Poland, he went on to focus on issues whose research earned him the reputation of an eminent scholar – the history of long-range commerce and capital turnover

in the towns on the Baltic, the history of the Hanseatic League, and the social history of the towns of the widely-understood North. The most prominent works of that period are his habilitation thesis about the capital turnover of the burghers from Gdańsk mentioned above, as well as *Późne średniowiecze miast nadbałtyckich. Z dziejów Hanzy nad Bałtykiem w XIV-XV w.* (*The Late Middle Ages in the Towns on the Baltic. From the History of the Hanseatic League on the Baltic in the 14<sup>th</sup>-15<sup>th</sup> Centuries*) (1968). The book presented a comprehensive view of social, economic, political, and cultural life in the towns on the Baltic. The next monograph, *Życie miasta średniowiecznego* (*The Life of a Medieval Town*) (1970) combined the original nature of a scholarly work with the merits of a popular science publication aimed at the general public. This book, reissued several times, is not confined solely to the Hanseatic League and Poland, as it also explores issues from the history of mentality (e.g., understanding and organization of time in urban environment) to a much greater extent than the previous one.

In the early 1970s H. Samsonowicz intensified his research of the history of Poland. His most popular book, reissued several times, in its title (*Złota jesień polskiego średniowiecza – The Golden Autumn of the Polish Middle Ages*) (1971) referred to Johann Huizinga's work *The Autumn of the Middle Ages*. It is a comprehensive overview of the Polish state and society in the prosperous period of the 14<sup>th</sup> and 15<sup>th</sup> centuries. Yet, even then the economy of Central Europe, the Hanseatic League, and – later – the Teutonic Order still remained the main focus of his research. At the same time his articles discussed the history of culture (e.g., burghers' ideology) and mentality (understanding and organization of urban space).

H. Samsonowicz's *opus vitae* was published in 1986 – a monumental synthetic work co-written with Maria Bogucka, a specialist in modern history – entitled *Dzieje miast i mieszczaństwa w Polsce przedrozbiorowej* (*The History of Towns and Burghers in Poland before the Partitions*). It covers the period from the 10<sup>th</sup> century till the fall of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth in 1795. Samsonowicz discussed here the histories of towns and their residents in his unique style: comprehensively focusing on particular issues presented in chronological order. In five long chapters he discussed the establishment of towns in Poland, their functioning in the High Middle Ages, the subsequent period of urban colonization based on German town laws (its development and aftermath, accompanied by the detailed list of urban locations), the organization of urban space, the extent of urbanization in late-medieval Poland, and finally the cross-section of urban society in terms of its legal and professional status as well as ethnic and religious affiliation; the last three chapters were devoted to the economic life, burghers' culture (including their mentality and world view). Samsonowicz's part ends with the chapter describing the involvement of Polish towns in great politics. This synthetic work crowned the long period of its author's research of towns in Poland, but by no means did it mark the end of his schol-

arly interest in them, which he maintained till the end of his life. It was also a summary of several decades of intensive research in this area.

Even though Samsonowicz went on to publish many more analytical and synthetic articles, the synthesis from 1986 marks the beginning of the period of recapitulation and summary of his work. His synthetic approach manifested itself in the form of book-long essays published as separate volumes. In his work on the heritage of the Middle Ages Samsonowicz discussed popular notions about the Middle Ages (*Dziedzictwo średniowiecza. Mity i rzeczywistość – The Heritage of the Middle Ages – Myths and Reality*, Wrocław 1991). His famous essay about the place of Poland in Europe was an outline and assessment of the history of his native country (*Miejsce Polski w Europie – The Place of Poland in Europe*, Warsaw 1995). Samsonowicz's view was a balanced picture of the national history and at the same time a covert polemic with nationalistic attitudes as well as cosmopolitanism and oikophobia. The essay was translated into German in 1997. He returned to the issue in another work published many years later (*Nieznane dzieje Polski. W Europie czy na jej skraju? – The Unknown History of Poland. In Europe or on its Outskirts?*, Warsaw 2012).

As early as the 1990s Samsonowicz focused on historiographic and political myths to show how ideologies and the current political situation brought about and shaped false notions of one's own history and that of other nations (*O historii <prawdziwej>. Mity, historie i podania jako źródło historyczne – On <Real> History. Myths, Histories and Legends as a Historical Source*, Warsaw 1997). In his essay *Północ – Południe (North – South)* (Warsaw 1999) he attempted to outline the history of Europe in a novel way, differing from the traditional view practised in Polish historiography: not as a mutual influence between the East and the West but – in a way similarly to the views represented by the historians writing in English and Romance languages – as a result of mutual influence of the Mediterranean world and the trans-Alpine North.

At the beginning of the 21<sup>st</sup> century Samsonowicz turned to the early Middle Ages, which till then he had only been occasionally interested in. In his yet another book he focused on the pivotal significance of the 10<sup>th</sup> century, when the countries of East-Central Europe and Scandinavia came within the orbit of Christianity, which changed the extent and potential of Latin Europe (*Długi wiek X. Z dziejów powstawania Europy – The Long 10<sup>th</sup> Century. From the History of Europe's Emergence*, Poznań 2002). The book was published in Germany in 2009. His next book discussed numerous, not necessarily religious circumstances of the conversion of the rulers of the so-called "younger Europe", as well as the consequences of baptism and Christianization – *Dzień chrztu i co dalej... (The Day of Baptism and what next...)* (Warsaw 2008). Attaching greater significance to the international background of the events in the history of Poland is clearly seen in his biography of the ruler of Mazovia and, briefly, the sovereign of Polish territories, Kon-

rad I (*Konrad Mazowiecki, 1187/88-31 VIII 1247 – Konrad I of Mazovia, 187/88-31 August 1247*, Cracow 2008). He successfully combined the story of the main developments taking place at that time with an outline of the ruler's biography, who is generally considered a negative figure.

Henryk Samsonowicz was carrying out research and publishing almost till the end of his life. In his last works he recapitulated two issues which he had always found important. In 2014 he once again published a volume comprehensively discussing the issue of the medieval town. The concept of the work *Szkice o mieście średniowiecznym – Sketches of a Medieval Town* (Warsaw 2014) was similar to *Życie miasta średniowiecznego (The Life of a Medieval Town)* published earlier. However, the new book's focus differed from that of the previous one, while the issues to which it is devoted are discussed in more detail. The work from 2014 may be considered the academic testament of the great scholar, who had devoted his research to the towns of medieval Europe. A year later he published his last book, wherein he presented a comprehensive view of the issue which he – as a historian of commerce and mentality – had always found interesting: space (*Studia nad postrzeganiem przestrzeni przez ludzi średniowiecza – Studies of Perception of Space by the People of the Middle Ages*, Poznań 2015). Its most interesting aspect is the conceptualization of such a broad notion as space, which is the focus of research of representatives of other humanistic disciplines and sciences.

Even though Henryk Samsonowicz was perceived by many Polish historians as a researcher of the economic life and towns, his works – not necessarily those published in the last decades of his life – often feature issues from the broad domain of culture. Another characteristic feature was the European perspective which he also adopted in his research of the history of Poland, treating it as an integral part of general history.

Henryk Samsonowicz was a scholar deeply involved in the life of his university and Polish science, as well as in social and political activity. He was the vice-dean (1967-1970) and the dean (1970-1973) of the Faculty of History. In 1975-1978 he was the head of the Faculty's Institute of History. In 1980, following the pivotal moment in political life in Poland, i.e., the establishment of NSZZ "Solidarność" – the first independent trade union in the Eastern Bloc – the academic community elected him rector of the University of Warsaw. He held the post from 1 October 1980 to 8 April 1982, when during the period of martial law (1981-1983) he was dismissed by the minister of education as a person who refused to implement the official policy of the authorities. In the same year he was dismissed from the Polish United Workers' Party, which he had joined in 1956, when the end of the Stalinist period seemed to promise liberalization and at least partial democratization of the political system. In a book-long interview H. Samsonowicz justified this decision, saying that he had hoped he would have a greater opportunity to act for the benefit of the University and science (*Henryk Samsonowicz, świadek*

*epoki. Wywiad-rzeka, prowadzenie Andrzej Sowa – Henryk Samsonowicz, a Witness to the Age. An Interview, conducted by Andrzej Sowa, Warsaw 2009).*

In the 1980s he sympathized with the delegalized democratic opposition. In the same year in which he was dismissed from the post of rector of the University of Warsaw, he became a member of the Citizens' Committee of Science (Społeczny Komitet Nauki), independent of the authorities. As a representative of the political opposition he took part in the negotiations of the Round Table between the communist authorities and the democratic opposition, which led to the legalization of the NSZZ "Solidarność" and the first, partly free parliamentary elections on 4 June 1989. In their wake Tadeusz Mazowiecki's democratic government was formed, in which Samsonowicz was appointed the minister of education. After the dissolution of the government in January 1991 he resigned from the post and further participation in political life.

During the democratic period Samsonowicz held various important posts in the institutions of Polish science. He was the vice-president of a newly-appointed Committee for Scientific Research (Komitet Badań Naukowych) (1991-1996) and later the chairman of the 1<sup>st</sup> Department of Social Sciences, Polish Academy of Sciences (1996-2006). In recognition of his scholarly achievement and merits in political activity he was awarded by the President of the Republic of Poland – Bronisław Komorowski – with Poland's highest decoration: the Order of the White Eagle (Order Orła Białego) in 2010.

He was a member of numerous scientific associations in Poland, e.g., the Polish Historical Association (Polskie Towarzystwo Historyczne (chairman in 1978-1982), the Warsaw Scientific Association (Towarzystwo Naukowe Warszawskie), the Polish Academy of Sciences (Polska Akademia Nauk) (a member from 2002), and the Polish Academy of Arts and Sciences (Polska Akademia Umiejętności) in Cracow – and abroad: Hansischer Geschichtsverein in Lübeck, Istituto Internazionale di Storia Economica "F. Datini" in Prato (Italy), Académie des Belles Lettres in Paris, Académie européenne des sciences, des arts et des lettres in Paris and Academia Europea in London. He was awarded honoris causa doctorates by nine universities, e.g., the University of Gdańsk, Jagiellonian University, Nicolaus Copernicus University in Toruń, Maria Curie-Skłodowska University in Lublin, Adam Mickiewicz University in Poznań, and Duquesne University in Pittsburgh (USA).

Henryk Samsonowicz was not only an outstanding humanist, but also a historian who lived to witness the recognition of his academic and scholarly achievement.

Grzegorz Myśliwski  
Warszawa

translated by Bartłomiej Madejski

## IV. BOOK NOTICES

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*A Companion to the Patriarchate of Constantinople, Brill's Companions to the Byzantine World, IX*, ed. Christian Gastgeber, Ekaterini Mitsiou, Johannes Preiser-Kapeller, Vratislav Zervan, Brill, Boston-Leiden 2021, XII, 320 pp., 25 ill., 2 maps, indexes, general bibliography, hardback.

This presented collection of articles has been edited by Byzantinists associated with the centers in Vienna: Austrian Academy of Sciences – ÖAW (Christian Gastgeber, Johannes Preiser-Kapeller, Vratislav Zervan) and University of Vienna (Ekaterini Mitsiou). The collection contains thirteen articles on the topic of the Patriarchate of Constantinople. The book begins with an article by Claudia Rapp describing the functioning of the Patriarchate in its early period (325-726), in which she takes on such issues as the growth of the Church in the Mediterranean context; finance and administration of the Patriarchate and its relations with the Byzantine emperors. Then, Frederik Lauritzen describes the history of the Patriarchate in the Synods that took place in the Middle Byzantine Period (843-1081). Tia M. Kolbaba shows the relationship between the Western Church and Constantinople until 1204. Johannes Preiser-Kapeller analyzes the matters of the Patriarchate and Synods in the Late Byzantine Period (1204-1453), while Marie-Hélène Blanchet investigates the union of the Eastern and Western Churches. In two subsequent articles, by Dimitris G. Apostolopoulos and Machi Païzi-Apostolopoulou, the problem of continuation and changes in the functioning of the Patriarchate of Constantinople in the Early Ottoman times was addressed. The next three articles examine the complex relationship between the Patriarchate of Constantinople and other Churches in the Byzantine Commonwealth area: Klaus-Peter Todt analyzes the relations with the Greek-Orthodox Patriarchates of the East; Mihailo S. Popović with the Churches of the Balkans and Konstantinos Vetochnikov with the Russian Countries in the Middle Ages. Then, Ekaterini Mitsiou explores the relationship between the Patriarchate and the Byzantine imperial power. Vratislav Zervan presents issues related to education and the Patriarchs of Constantinople, such as the educational



level of patriarchs, their contribution to and patronage of Byzantine education and the case of the patriarchal library. Christian Gastgeber analyzes the state of research on patriarchal chancery.

TOMASZ PELECH

Paweł Babij, *Wojskowość Słowian Połabskich*, vol. II (The Warfare of the Polabian Slavs, vol. II), Wrocławskie Studia z Historii Wojskowości, VIII, Chronicon, Wrocław 2021, 630 pp., indexes, bibliography, appendix, paperback.

In accordance with earlier declarations, the Chronicon Publishing House published in 2021 the second volume of the monograph by Paweł Babij, a graduate of the Faculty of Historical and Pedagogical Sciences of the University of Wrocław, devoted to the military history of the Polabian Slavs. Thus, at present, together with the first volume published in 2017, they form a coherent whole and fulfil the postulate of collecting in one place the hitherto research on the militarism of the Slavs inhabiting the areas north-east of the course of the Elbe river to the line of the Oder river in the early Middle Ages. The second volume, like the first, consists of four chapters. After a brief introduction, which is a direct link to the previous volume, individual chapters are devoted to: the characteristics of military technology; warfare on land; sieges and defences of strongholds; while the final chapter juxtaposes battles at sea with the use of the navy, which was often supported by land forces. The first chapter is an extensive typology, in places enriched by the author with elements of comparative analysis, collecting all archaeological finds (types of weapons and military equipment) related to the subject of the study. The remaining chapters present chronologically, according to the division into field battles, sieges and naval actions, descriptions of all the battles in which the Elbe troops participated, available to our research perception. It is worth emphasizing that in several places in the work the author also successfully refers to his own analyses and observations resulting from his historical reconstruction activity ("Panser Galter Drott" team). All the key themes of both volumes are brought together in the conclusion, which is treated as a synthesis bringing together all the information from the previous parts of the work, including volume one. At the end, there is also an extensive appendix containing a list of the discussed armaments with a bibliographical reference to the sources of information used by the author.

PIOTR PIĘTKOWSKI

Péter Báling, *Az Árpád-ház hatalmi kapcsolatrendszerei* (Systems of Power Relations in the Arpad Dynasty), Arpadiana, VII, BTK Történettudományi Intézet [BTK Institute of History], Budapest 2021, 568 pp., genealogical annex, index of personal and geographical names, paperback.

This publication is the book version of Péter Báling's doctoral dissertation, written under the supervision of Dániel Bagi and defended at the University of Pécs in 2019. The author deals with the system of power relations in the Arpad dynasty, paying attention primarily to their relations and dynastic links with the Piasts and the Přemyslids. Thus, the research covers the history of Hungary, Bohemia, and Poland from the end of the 10<sup>th</sup> century to the beginning of the 12<sup>th</sup> century, providing a kind of panorama of Central and Eastern Europe in the period. The work begins with an Introduction consisting of two subchapters, the first of which presents the thematic framework of the work, while the second, divided into five sections, presents its methodology and the state of research. The next chapter, consisting of eight subchapters, is entirely devoted to the sources of Báling's work, which include chronicles, hagiographic works, documents, and oral sources. P. Báling has divided the next chapter, which constitutes the main analytical part of the work, into three main thematic axes: (1) the legal basis of medieval marriages; (2) dynastic marriages in Central and Eastern Europe on the example of the marriages of five generations of the Arpads, showing the horizons and political goals of the rulers of the Kingdom of Hungary; (3) the analysis of succession laws and forms, gestures, and symbolic acts, such as *deditio*, *amicitia*, *consilium et auxilium*, *asylum*, etc., as well as other activities present and playing an important role in dynastic interactions in the region of Central and Eastern Europe. The author offers general conclusions in the final part of his work. It is worth noting that P. Báling has carried out his analyses within the methodological framework developed by the Gerd Althoff school (Münster), thus becoming a part of the research on political culture and symbolism of power in the Middle Ages, though not limiting himself to this, as is evidenced by the insightful consideration of the genealogy and network of family relations between the rulers of the Kingdom of Hungary and other dynasties. The work contains an extensive genealogical appendix (of twenty-six characters), which discusses in detail the relatives and marriages of the Arpads up to the beginning of the twelfth century, and, crowning the whole work, an index of personal and geographical names.

Jacek Banaszekiewicz, *W stronę rytuałów i Galla Anonima* (Toward Rituals and Gallus Anonymus), Wydawnictwo Avalon, Kraków 2018, 376 pp., paperback.

According to J. Banaszekiewicz's declaration in the introduction, the book is "the last collection [of his – P.D.] articles"; the Avalon publishing house in Kraków had previously published *Takie sobie średniowieczne bajeczki* (Kraków 2013) and *Trzy po trzy o dziesiątym wieku* (Kraków 2014). The author's intention – explained a little further on – was to collect sketches concerning the lecture written by Gallus Anonymus covering the golden age of Polish history, i.e., the reign of Bolesław Chrobry. The complementary works devoted to it were written starting from 2013 and, according to the author, can be described as *Gesta Magni Boleslai* (or as "The Knight's Tale of the Great King Bolesław").

The works have been divided into four groups, of which the remaining ones, collected under *Ryty II* ("Rites II"), were written in the years 1994-2014, while almost all of those included in *Ryty I* ("Rites I") and *Miejsce władzy* ("Places of Power") date from 1987-1996. This rather broad time horizon spanning almost three decades allows the attentive reader to follow the evolution of the writer's workshop, his interests, often strongly corresponding with trends present in historical writing at the time, or constituting a clear polemic with them. The text and the critical apparatus have not been revised or supplemented.

PAWEŁ DERECKI

Danuta Bogdan, Jerzy Przeracki, *Urzednicy Starego i Nowego Miasta Braniewa do 1772 roku* (Officials of the Old and New Towns of Braniewo until 1772), Archiwum Państwowe w Olsztynie, Olsztyn 2018, XLVII, 693 pp., hardback.

The book by Danuta Bogdan and Jerzy Przeracki was written within the framework of the project of the National Programme for the Development of the Humanities "Town clerks from the lands of the former Republic of Poland, Silesia and Pomerania in the 13<sup>th</sup>-18<sup>th</sup> centuries" ("Urzednicy miejscy z ziem dawnej Rzeczypospolitej, Śląska i Pomorza w XIII-XVIII wieku"). It is the culmination of archival research conducted by the authors for many years in the Archives of the Warmian Archdiocese in Olsztyn. The chronological scope of the work covers the period from the Middle Ages to 1772.

The publication consists of three main parts: an extensive introduction (pp. XI-LXVII), a list of officials of the Old Town of Braniewo until 1772

(pp. 1-499) and the list of officials of the New Town of Braniewo up to 1772 (pp. 501-600). The introduction first of all discusses the system and organization, first of the Old and then of the New Town of Braniewo. In both cases, the same arrangement of content was adopted. First, the historical outline, the history of both cities is presented (in the case of the Old Town Braniewo, however, the description of the history ends in the second half of the 16<sup>th</sup> century), followed by their councils, indicating the method of selecting the municipal authorities (*kiera*), the number and composition of the Council, privileges and benefits of its members, the careers of councillors, and the judiciary. Next, the issue of communes (referred to in the sources as "Gemeine", "Gemeinde") was addressed, which were representations of the urban common, i.e., middle-income craftsmen, small merchants, and stallholders. Both cities also described craftsmen's guilds and full-time town employees, i.e., people employed and paid by the Council, the so-called fiefdoms ("Lehnsleute", "Lehnsmmänner"). This group in the old town of Braniewo included: a scribe, a city mason, a midwife, a doctor, a senior servant of the city council, a weighing officer, a lackey, a clock and a bell-ringer. In the New Town of Braniewo, on the other hand, the following were employed: a scribe, a clock-worker (who was often a teacher), a town hall stooge (a chime), a bell-ringer, an official dealing with the bishop's treasury ("advocatus fiscalis") and a hangman.

The list of officials – according to the authors – includes, separately for the Old and New Town of Braniewo: mayors, councillors, town clerks, weighing officers, town servants, municipalities and guild elders. The chronological arrangement was adopted here; underneath the next annual date, the officials were listed together with the numbers preceding them which at first sight seem puzzling. The numbers indicate to which official group each person belongs. The introduction contains information that in the list for the Old Town of Braniewo: mayors appear from number 1-107, town councillors from 108-559, scribes from 560-593, weighing officers from 594-619, municipal servants from 620-961, the municipal community from 962-1362, and guild elders from 1363-1854. On the other hand, in the New Town of Braniewo: mayors appear from 1855-1889, councillors from 1890-2009, scribes from 2010-2032, municipal services from 2033-2052, the municipal community from 2053-2137, guild elders from 2138-2237 (p. LXVI).

The work is supplemented by a few pages of abbreviations, an index of persons and a summary in German; a full bibliography is missing. This solid, source-based publication is a must-read not only to learn about the history of Braniewo and its inhabitants, Warmian towns, but also the functioning of towns in general, both in the Middle Ages and in modern times.

Zofia A. Brzozowska, *Chadijka i jej czarnoookie siostry. Obraz kobiet bliskowschodnich z epoki narodzin islamu w średniowiecznej literaturze kręgu bizantyńsko-słowiańskiego* (Khadijah and Her Black-Eyed Sisters. The Image of Middle Eastern Women from the Era of the Birth of Islam in the Medieval Literature of the Byzantine-Slavic Circle), *Byzantina Lodziensia*, XLIV, Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Łódzkiego, Łódź 2021, VI, 298 pp., 5 appendices, ill., summary in English, bibliography, Polish and English abstracts, index of people, index of geographic and ethnic names, paperback.

The work by Zofia A. Brzozowska (University of Łódź) presents literary images of Arab and Persian women from the 4<sup>th</sup>-8<sup>th</sup> centuries, created in the circle of Byzantine-Slavic culture. The author bases her work primarily on Church Slavonic works of Old Russian provenance from the 11<sup>th</sup>-16<sup>th</sup> centuries, created several hundred years after the events presented. The created images show the intellectual background of the Slavic community – Bulgarians, Serbs, Ruthenians – who, having adopted Christianity in the Eastern Rite, entered the sphere of direct influence of the Byzantine civilization.

The introduction offers a clearly formulated purpose of the work, the source material used, and the methodological basis. Then the analytical part of the thesis follows, which consists of five chapters. It can be pointed out that the first three chapters are characterized by the fact that they present a picture of women from the pre-Muslim era. In the first chapter there is a description of priestesses, heresiarchines and saints from Sassanid Persia, and therefore martyrs from the period of persecution of Christians during the reign of Shapur II (339–379); holy women Krystyna and Golenducha; and the Manicheans Kalinika and her students. In the second chapter, the “Tsarina of the Saracens” Mawia was presented, and the third chapter contains a group portrait of Himyar from Nadžran, i.e., South Arab women who were between Christianity, Judaism, and traditional culture. The fourth chapter presents a picture of women from the Prophet Muhammad’s entourage, incl. Chadijah and Fatima. The fifth chapter presents the literary depiction of the “Saracen Tsarina” Saida, the wife of the Umayyad caliph, described as the “a fierce lioness”, who was to be the martyr of the monk Michael of St Saba. The book ends with a summary in which Z.A. Brzozowska emphasizes the role of the presented images of women in Byzantine-Slavic literature as having an important didactic value for the audience, and of the transmission of content that is almost exotic for Slavic authors but it indicates the authors’ belonging to the Byz-

antine cultural circle. The work is completed with an annex in the form of five selected Church Slavonic texts devoted to Persian women and Arab women from the 4<sup>th</sup> to the 8<sup>th</sup> centuries.

TOMASZ PELECH

Stéphane Coviaux, *La fin du monde viking, Passés Composés*, Paris 2019, 368 pp., bibliography, index of names, index of geographical names, paperback.

Stéphane Coviaux, a pupil of Michel Parisse and a researcher associated with the Université Paris 1 Panthéon-Sorbonne, where he defended his doctoral thesis, has prepared a book on a topic of a complex question of the Christianization of the North – a synthesis that was lacking in French historiography. The author reflection is organized around the concepts, highlighting the progressive and negotiable dimension of the process of Christianization: dialogue, compromise, adaptation, syncretism, hybridization, continuity between two belief systems. S. Coviaux's main thesis is that the transformation from Nordic paganism to Christianity should be conceived as a long phase of transition, marked by phenomena of persistence, of interpenetration, with Christian re-readings of pagan motifs and characters, a “real change of civilization”, with its religious, political, social and cultural consequences. In the Introduction, the author presents the main approaches to his work, such as a periodization by Norwegian historian Fridtjov Birkeli, who distinguished a long phase of Christian infiltration, a missionary phase, shorter and centered on kings, and a phase of organization of the Church. However, the author stipulates that this model cannot be applied automatically to all regions of Scandinavia, pointing to the example of Sweden. Furthermore, S. Coviaux places great emphasis on the “decolonization” of Scandinavian history, claiming that the Christianization of the North cannot be reduced as an idea imposed from the outside, but must also be perceived as a transformation largely initiated within the Scandinavian world itself.

The analytical part consists of seven chapters presented mainly in the model of the F. Birkeli's periodization. However, it does not always stick to specific frames, at the same time showing the limitations of this model in the description of dynamic and complex phenomena. Chapter 1 presents the contacts between Vikings and Christian West, e.g., the raids, which led to the image of a violent invader, an “other” from the North, and earlier connection between the Scandinavian and Western worlds since the 4<sup>th</sup>-5<sup>th</sup> century. In the next Chapter, the author discusses the case of Saint Anschaire, one of the central figure in the Christianization of the North in the 9<sup>th</sup> century, showing that the con-

version of the North was not a linear process: phases of rejection of Christianity, as in the 840s, can follow quite quickly phases of tolerance. Chapter 3 shows the long process of penetration and diffusion of Christian influences in Scandinavia and that the change of religion in that area has resulted in forms of hybridization between Christian and pagan motifs. In Chapter 4 Coviaux describes the process of conversion, understood as the institutionalization of Christianity, and the role of the Scandinavian kings in the formalization of Christianity in Scandinavia. In the next chapter, the author presents the role of the missionaries in the North, who, in contrast to the Western world, stood in the shadow of Christianizing rulers. Chapter 6 is about the perception and reception of conversion by the men of the North and their attitudes toward the Christianization, because the change of religion had its repercussions far beyond religion alone, because it was associated with an almost total social change.

Moreover, S. Coviaux focuses on showing the diversity of the actors involved in the process of the Christianization, especially of the role of the elites and of women in particular. The last chapter takes up the issue of the broad organization of the Scandinavian Church, which consists of such matters as the creation of ecclesiastical provinces and monastic foundations, the construction of churches, and the establishment of a parish system, but also the development of homiletic literature in the 12<sup>th</sup> century and establishing the new model of life of Northern Christian society, which adapted new rituals, a new calendar, new funeral practices, etc. The work ends with a short epilogue, the endnotes, an extensive bibliography in many languages, and two indexes: of persons and place names.

TOMASZ PELECH

*Das slawische Gräberfeld von Stolpe und früh- bis hochmittelalterlichen Bestattungssitten zwischen Ucker und Oder*, ed. Felix Biermann, Thomas Kersting, Philip Roskoschinski, *Scripta Historica Europaea*, VI, University of Wrocław – Institute of History, Laboratory for Research into the Early History of Central Europe, Wrocław 2020, 434 pp., ill., bibliography, paperback.

This monograph is a comprehensive study of the results of excavations from the Stolpe cemetery associated with the 11<sup>th</sup>-12<sup>th</sup> century castle functioning at the Odra crossing, hypothetically linked with the Ukran tribe. The site was discovered in 2012 and work on it was carried out by a team led by Felix Biermann. In 2016 this research was included in the project “Poland and Pomerania in shaping European civilisation (from the era of Slavic tribes to the turn of the 13<sup>th</sup> century)” and the vol-

ume was published in the publication series of this project (for more information see: <http://europacentralis.eu>, where the book is also available). The work as a whole comprises 12 chapters and a catalogue presenting individual finds from the Stolpe cemetery. Although the deceased buried there were not Christians, we are dealing here with inhumation. In chapter 1 F. Biermann presented postulates on the research on phenomena and transformations in social and religious life on the basis of archaeological exploration of cemeteries, while in chapter 2 he presented the history of Stolpe, geomorphology and settlement layout of this centre in the context of the Ukrani history. In chapter 3, the above-mentioned author has already moved on to the presentation of field research carried out on the Stolpe cemetery in 2012-2017, while in chapter 4, written by Erika Lück and Jens Tronicke, the effects of the geophysical survey there in 2016 are presented. Separately, relics of prehistoric settlement are discussed (chapter 5, authored by F. Biermann).

In chapter 6 F. Biermann discussed in detail the location and extent of the Stolpe cemetery, its layout and the forms of burial rites and grave furnishings. In chapter 7 F. Biermann and Philipp Roskoschinski presented the individual finds, headed by the precious sword, and further on, among others, belt components, knives, whetstones, flints, women's ornaments or coins. A numismatic analysis of these finds is already included in the next chapter, carried out by Markus Leukhardt, as well as analyses of textile remains carried out by Eva-Maria Pfarr. Chapter 9 focuses on the study of the skeletons from the Stolpe cemetery: anthropological analysis (age, health, etc.) was carried out by Susanne Bocian, pathological changes in teeth and jawbones and traumatological changes were analyzed by Bettina Jungklaus, while molecular genetic studies of the burials were carried out by Janine Mazanec, Birgit Grosskopf, and Susanne Hummel, establishing, among other things, the kinship relations between two of the deceased from the power elite (father and son).

The last three chapters place Stolpe in the broader context of studies on cemeteries in the zone between the Odra and Wkra rivers. Firstly, F. Biermann characterized the burial customs of the Ukrani tribe, then – in chapter 11 – Katrin Frey, Bettina Jungklaus presented late Slavic burials equipped with weapons from the Prenzlau cemetery, which provided important comparative material for the last chapter. In it, F. Biermann summarized his research on the graves from the Stolpe cemetery, placing them in a group of richly equipped burials, known primarily from Pomerania, Northern Brandenburg and Mecklenburg, generally occurring in a rather short phase from the late 11<sup>th</sup> century to the 12<sup>th</sup> century. The author regarded the furnishing of these graves as evidence of a breakthrough and crisis of the old order in the tribal areas. With the use of the wealth of graves and funer-



ary ceremonies, the elites reacted to the Christianization drive coming from outside, the military pressure of their neighbours and the radical political changes of the period, as well as the internal rivalry for power.

A richly illustrated catalogue of finds from the Stolpe cemetery (pp. 315-382), which forms a separate part of the study, was prepared by F. Biermann on archaeology, B. Jungklaus and Susanne Storch on anthropology, and M. Leukhardt on numismatics. Individual graves and finds are presented, some spectacular, such as the sword mentioned above or the brass bowls. The work is accompanied by a rich bibliography, and a summary (in German and Polish).

STANISŁAW ROSIK

Norbert Delestowicz, *Bracia zakonu krzyżackiego w Prusach (1310-1351). Studium prozopograficzne* (Brothers of the Teutonic Order in Prussia (1310-1351). A Prosopographical Study), Wydawnictwo Avalon, Kraków 2021, 503 pp., paperback.

This work refers to the list of members of the Teutonic Order's State in Prussia in the first half of the 14<sup>th</sup> century. It is divided into two main parts. Firstly, the author presents the status of members of the Order. In the same part, the work is devoted to an analysis of the brothers' origins in terms of geography, society, and ethnicity. Then the author presents the possible ways of the career of the Teutonic brothers – the possibility of promotion also related to their origin, the career of brothers, and clerics.

The second part of the book is a catalogue with short biographic notes about the brothers mentioned in narrative sources, and documents in the first half of the 14<sup>th</sup> century. It presents a brief note about the beginnings of each person, from his origin, moment of becoming a member of the Order, career steps in the Order, and his death or last note about him. This work is recommended to all historians of the Teutonic Order.

MACIEJ BADOWICZ

*Ełk. Herby i przywileje / Lyck. Wappen und Privilegien*, ed. Jakub Knyżewski, Rafał Żytyniec, Muzeum Historyczne w Ełku, Bibliotheca Lyccensis, I, Ełk 2020, vol. I, 102 pp., bibliography, paperback.

The book "Ełk. Herby i przywileje" / "Lyck. Wappen und Privilegien" is the first publication of the publishing series "Bibliotheca Lyccensis", initiated in 2020 by the Historical Museum in Ełk. The book was published in connection with the 595<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the city.

The publication opens with the introductory words of the mayor of Ełk, Tomasz Andrukiewicz. Writing about the origins of the city of Ełk and its symbols, as well as the reasons for the creation of this work and its content are the editors – Jakub Knyżewski and Rafał Żytyniec in the introduction. The core of the publication consists of source texts, including the location privilege of the village of Ełk from 1425, the location of the city of Ełk from 1435, the city privilege from 1669, and images of coats of arms and seals of Ełk. The book contains facsimiles of documents stored in the Geheimes Staatsarchiv Preussischer Kulturbesitz in Berlin-Dahlem, their transcriptions in the original language and translations into Polish. The authors of the transcriptions are Andrzej Szymański (privileges from 1425 and 1669) and Krzysztof Kopiński (privilege from 1435), while the translations are by Alicja Dobrosielska (privileges from 1425 and 1435) and Andrzej Szymański (privilege from 1669). Images of Ełk coats of arms and city seals were described by Marek Adamczewski. Despite the efforts of the editors, the original imprints of the city seals could not be obtained; instead, the book contains letter vignettes and seals used by the Ełk magistrate in the 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> centuries. As a supplement and historical commentary to the earliest history of Ełk, the book includes a reprint of Grzegorz Białuński's article "Uwagi w sprawie pierwszej lokacji miasta w Ełku" ["Comments on the first location of the city in Ełk"], from "Komunikaty Mazursko-Warmińskie". The publication is complemented by a bibliography of works on the medieval and modern history of this urban centre.

ALICJA DOBROSIELSKA

*Europe reaches the Baltic. Poland and Pomerania in the Shaping of European Civilisation (10<sup>th</sup>-12<sup>th</sup> Centuries)*, ed. Stanisław Rosik, Scripta Historica Europaea, VI, University of Wrocław – Institute of History, Laboratory for Research into the Early History of Central Europe, Wrocław 2020 [Polish version: *Europa sięga nad Bałtyk. Polska i Pomorze w kształtowaniu cywilizacji europejskiej (X-XII wiek)*, ed. Stanisław Rosik, Scripta Historica Europaea, V, University of Wrocław – Institute of History, Laboratory for Research into the Early History of Central Europe, Wrocław 2020], 700 pp., bibliography, ill., index of historical, mythical, biblical, and legendary figures, paperback.

The volume is a synthesis of the research of the international project "Poland and Pomerania in shaping European civilisation (from the era of Slavic tribes to the turn of the 13<sup>th</sup> century)" conducted at the University of Wrocław between 2014 and 2020 as part of the National Programme for the Development

of the Humanities in cooperation with the Institute of Archaeology and Ethnology of the Polish Academy of Sciences, several scientific institutions in Germany, Charles University in Prague and the University of Pécs (for more see <http://europacentralis.eu>, where the volume is also available online).

The whole study consists of three main parts, the first of which is devoted to the historiography of the issue and research methodology. Stanisław Rosik and Tomasz Wiślicz critically presented the leading research strategies on the formation of medieval European civilization, which provided a basis for outlining the theoretical foundations and scope of the research presented in the volume. Next Paweł Migdałski sketchily presented an overview of the relations between Poland and Pomerania in historiography from the Middle Ages to the present day (especially in the historical studies of the 19<sup>th</sup> and 21<sup>st</sup> centuries). This extensive panorama is complemented by an excursus by Wojciech Mrozowicz on the beginnings of Pomeranian annalistics in the 12<sup>th</sup>-14<sup>th</sup> centuries.

Part 2: "Poland – Pomerania – the Baltic. Expansion and domination" (*Polska – Pomorze – Bałtyk. Ekspansja i dominacja*) opens with a characterization of the tribal world between the Carpathian and Sudeten arches and the Baltic in the context of phenomena preparing the ground for groundbreaking transformations in the form of the establishment of Christian monarchy structures on these lands and the beginnings of Christianization. Of key importance in these reflections by Marie Bláhová and S. Rosik was the analysis of the terminology of early medieval sources, especially *civitas*, which is also referred to in Marian Rębkowski's discussion of the beginnings of cities on the Baltic Sea in the tribal era. In the next chapter, Władysław Duczko addresses the issue of the presence of "others" (mainly Scandinavians), mainly on the basis of archaeology in the discussed geographical area from the 8<sup>th</sup> to the beginning of the 11<sup>th</sup> century. The most extensive chapter in this part is a comprehensive presentation by Sławomir Moździoch and Andrzej Pleszczyński of the processes of formation of the statehood of the first Piasts with particular emphasis on the importance in this process of expansion into the Baltic lands. This picture is supplemented by a case study emphasizing the importance of communication hubs: Milicz and Santok in the processes of forming the economic foundations of early Piast Poland by Aleksander Paroń. The next chapter discusses the first attempts to introduce Christianity to Pomerania at the turn of the 10<sup>th</sup> and 11<sup>th</sup> centuries in the ideological context of the *renovatio imperii Romanorum* programme implemented by Otto III (S. Rosik), as well as the earliest traces of Christianity in Pomerania in light of archaeological research (M. Rębkowski). This part closes with a reflection on the very emergence and formation of Pomerania as a social and territorial space in the perspective of written sources of the eleventh and early 12<sup>th</sup> century (S. Rosik).

In Part 3: "Pomerania – Poland – Europe. In Search of Its Own Way" (*Pomorze – Polska – Europa. W poszukiwaniu własnej drogi*) the focus of this

volume shifts more closely to this Baltic country and opens with A. Paroń's reflection on Pomerania's position in the space of long-distance communication (*Intermarium*). Further on the Polish expansion to the Baltic Sea in the era of Bolesław the Wrymouth is discussed by S. Rosik, and M. Rebkowski takes into account the importance of the early urban centers in Pomerania at the time of the formation of the Christian monarchy there. The presentation of this issue is supplemented by an excerpt from Darius von Güttner-Sporzyński devoted to the image of the struggle between Bolesław the Wrymouth and the Pomeranians in Gallus Anonymus' *Chronicle*. In the next chapter the process of liquidation of indigenous religion and Christianization of Pomerania (especially in the era of the mission of St. Otto of Bamberg) is presented, with emphasis on archaeological evidence of the changes taking place at that time – religious buildings, cemeteries, etc. (authors: S. Rosik and M. Rebkowski). This issue is directly continued in an extensive chapter by Marcin Pauk on the development of church structures in Pomerania, both the western and the eastern part of Gdańsk in the 12<sup>th</sup> century, also with comparative reference to the Church in the German Reich. The next chapter contains a thorough study by Zbigniew Dalewski on the formation of the position of Pomerania, mainly west Pomerania, in the political circle of its neighbors in the 12<sup>th</sup> century; Poland, Germany, and Denmark. This picture of socio-political relations in the region in the 12<sup>th</sup> century is supplemented by two excursions: P. Migdalski's on the formation of the Polish-Pomeranian border and M. Pauk's on systemic issues (the castellan organization). This part closes with a cross-sectional view of the phenomenon of "discovering" Pomerania and its lands in the circle of medieval scholarly thought by A. Pleszczyński, supplemented with a reflection on the very "adaptation" of the Pomeranians – especially as one *gens Pomeranorum* – to the sphere of common memory of Latin *Christianitas* in the 12<sup>th</sup> century.

This multifaceted view of the expansion of »Europe« to the Baltic made it possible – ultimately in the "Conclusions" (S. Rosik) – to give an up-to-date assessment of the venerable thesis about the contribution of Piast Poland to the processes of expanding the circle of European civilization to the north, but at the same time to definitely – in comparison to earlier historiography – appreciate the role of the Pomeranian communities themselves. It was also important to highlight the different ways in which Poland and Pomerania joined the "creation of Europe" as a cultural unity in the early Middle Ages. Appreciation of the importance of archaeological research and the inclusion of a variety of methodological inspirations has made it possible to significantly re-evaluate the trends established in the last century in research into the subject matter of this volume.

Paweł Gancarczyk, *Petrus Wilhelmi de Grudencz i muzyka Europy Środkowej XV wieku* (Petrus Wilhelmi de Grudencz and the Music of Central Europe in the 15<sup>th</sup> Century), Instytut Sztuki Polskiej Akademii Nauk, Warszawa 2021, 327 pp., ill., annexes, bibliography, summary in English, index of geographic and personal names, index of the Petrus Wilhelmi's works, hardback.

Research on the work of Petrus Wilhelmi de Grudencz (1392-after 1452), composer and poet, was begun by Jaromír Černý with an extensive article in the quarterly "Hudební věda" in 1975. Paweł Gancarczyk's monograph continues and extends the research carried out since then on the person and work of the composer. The first part of the book is a consideration of the elements of his biography, in particular his education, against the background of the environment in which he functioned and the musical culture of the Prussian monastic state. Then there is a discussion of Petrus Wilhelmi's activities at the court of Frederick II and a description of the environment in which he operated, his later efforts to obtain a canonry in Frombork, his pastorate in the parish of Białogard and, finally, his activities at the court of Frederick III, including a trip to Rome, whose musical culture influenced the composer's work.

The second part contains a detailed codicological and source analysis of the manuscripts containing the composer's surviving works, together with a discussion of the musical background against which individual works might have been written and their chronological development. Finally, the areas of reception of Petrus Wilhelmi's work in Europe and the social functioning of the described manuscripts are analyzed. The third part of the book is a study of the genre of the works and their detailed formal analysis, also against the background of the musical output of Central Europe. The fourth part is a study of the stylistics of the works and their formal relationships. The monograph concludes with remarks on the reception of Petrus Wilhelmi's work and the influence of his works on the work of other composers of the period. Although the composer's works circulated anonymously, they were often copied or processed. The book closes with source annexes including a list of the artist's surviving works and the text of the motet *Probitate eminentem* discussed in the book.

Paweł Gancarczyk's monograph is an insightful musicological study of the life and works of Petrus Wilhelmi. A particular merit of the study is its broad approach to the subject, inscribing it into the historical and cultural framework of the period. Noteworthy is the accessible language of the monograph and the skillful combination of source analysis with a synthetic historical and cultural approach. The book will be of interest not only to research-

ers interested in the person of Petrus Wilhelmi, but also those wishing to broaden their knowledge of the musical culture of the era. The aesthetically designed layout is an additional advantage of this book.

KRYSTYNA JAROSŁAWSKA

Pierre Gonneau, *Novgorod. Histoire et archéologie d'une république russe médiévale (970-1478)*, CNRS Editions, Paris, 2021, 246 pp., illustrations, maps, appendix, bibliography, paperback.

The republic of Novgorod holds a special place in historiography and memory, being a symbol of the old-Russian freedom against Moscow's autocracy. Using a great variety of sources – chronicles, charters, travel accounts, archaeology, and birch bark manuscripts – Pierre Gonneau describes in a clear and learned way the uniqueness of Novgorod and its territory. Several illustrations and maps allow the reader for a better representation of its landscape, culture and politics. The first chapter takes us to the origins of the city and its growth through different districts. Then, the expansion of Novgorod and its relations with neighbors is addressed (chapter II). The author shows how its political particularity – symbolized by the *vece*, Novgorod's assembly – emerges in the first centuries, then consolidates in the 13<sup>th</sup> century, before collapsing against Moscow's ambitions (chapter III). Trade and exchange constitute a fundamental aspect of the city's economy, through its inclusion in the Hanseatic network while the birch bark manuscripts offer an exceptional insight of its everyday life (chapter IV). Its religious culture encompasses all the social hierarchy, from the very top to the common townsman's piety, as well as the arts and the material culture (chapter V). Finally, Novgorod is home to several legends which have a strong influence on the Russian culture in the 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> centuries (chapter VI). The book ends with an appendix, Gilbert of Lannoy's travel account in Novgorod and Pskov in 1413.

MARCIN KURDYKA

Grzegorz Białuński. *We wspomnieniach* (Grzegorz Białuński. In Memories), ed. Jerzy Marek Łapo, Bogdan Radzicki, Jan Sekta, Towarzystwo Naukowe Pruthenia, Biblioteka Publiczna w Giżycku, Olsztyn-Giżycko 2019, 143 pp., ill., hardback.

The book may be labelled an introduction and complement to the book published in 2020: *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*). In accordance with the title, however, it does not contain articles dedicated to the memory of the Professor, who died in 2018, but twenty sketches that successfully introduce the reader to his career and scholarly work. From under the pens of G. Białuński's students, colleagues, friends or, finally, members of his closest family, came a complementary portrait of not only an excellent medieval historian, but, what seems even more important, simply a good, universally respected man, always ready to help when asked. Despite the solemn tone characteristic of this type of publications, the reader will find on the pages of the book reminiscences of both the successive stages of the Professor's education, his work at the Mazury Archives in Giżycko, reaching successive levels of his academic career, and those devoted to mundane matters – holidays or meetings with friends. The text is accompanied by numerous photographs, which perfectly complement the lecture, mostly from the archives of G. Białuński's family, as well as people who had the opportunity to work with him.

PAWEŁ DERECKI

Dawn Marie Hayes, *Roger II of Sicily: Family, Faith, and Empire in the Medieval Mediterranean World, Medieval Identities: Socio-Cultural Spaces*, VII, Brepols, Turnhout 2020, 221 pp., 18 ill., 4 tables, bibliography, index, hardback.

This work by Dawn Marie Hayes, associated with the Montclair State University, is about Roger II, (c. 1095-1154), the first king of Sicily (crowned in 1130). This ambitious ruler coming from the extremely entrepreneurial Hauteville dynasty, was a worthy successor to the deeds of Robert Guiscard and Roger I. King Roger II ruled in a highly specific region of the Middle Ages, characterized by its being inhabited by an extremely diverse – ethnically, culturally, and religiously – populations. The author examines the strategies of Roger II's legitimization of his kingship power and authority, through the three main axes of research: an analysis of his family ties and royal policy regarding marriages; the religious policy of his reign, with particular attention to the cult of St Nicholas of Myra and the king's personal devotion; a study of Roger II's ambitious political plans, concerning the Byzantine influences on the Sicilian kingship ideology and an attempt to dominate the Mediterranean Sea Basin.

The book is opened by an Introduction. The analytical part is divided into three parts, containing two chapters each. Part 1 (*Family*) has two chapters entitled: (1) *The Appeal of Alfonso VI of León-Castile's Legacy*; and (2) *Oppor-*

*tunities in the Kingdom of Jerusalem and in the Principality of Antioch.* Part 2 (*Faith*) consists of (3) *St Nicholas of Myra's Cult in Norman Bari, c.1071–c.1111*; (4) *The Devotion of Roger II*, and Part 3 (*Empire*) has two chapters named (5) *French Connections: The Significance of the Fleurs-de-Lis*; (6) *The Message of the Antiquated Loros*. The book ends with a short Conclusion, and then the Brief Glossary, Bibliography and Index.

TOMASZ PELECH

Dieter Heckmann, *Amtsträger des Deutschen Orden / Dostojnicy zakonu niemieckiego*, Towarzystwo Naukowe w Toruniu, Toruń 2020, 616 pp., bibliography, index, hardback.

The first attempt to compile a list of Teutonic Order officials in Prussia was made by Johannes Voigt in 1843, when he published *Namen-Codex der Deutschen Ordens-Beamten, Hochmeister, Landmeister, Großgebietiger, Vögte, Komthure, Pfleger, Hochmeister-Kompane, Kreuzfahrer und Söldner-Hauptleute in Preussen*. This publication, due to the difficult access to sources at the time of its preparation, covered only part of the officials holding higher offices: grand master, national master, dignitaries, komturs, aldermen and procurators, territorially limited to the area of Prussia, not including the other bailiwick of the Order. The list prepared in this way was incomplete as far as the present state of research is concerned.

This gap is filled by the long-awaited monograph by Dieter Heckmann. The study is a list of lay monastic officials (the so-called brother-knights), divided into individual offices, in alphabetical and chronological order. The list includes land and conventual offices in Prussia and the bailiwick of Koblenz, Elsaß-Burgund, Böhmen, Wien and Etsch. Clerical officials of the Order are not included. The chronological scope of the work covers the time from the foundation of the Order to 1525.

The lists have been compiled on the basis of a broad source base: the State Archive in Gdańsk, the Bibliothek der Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Wilna, the Landesbibliothek Hannover (from where the Brandenburger Komtureibuch, known since 1975, was used), the Institut für Stadtgeschichte Frankfurt, the Russische Staatsbibliothek Moskau and above all the Geheimes Staatsarchiv Preussischen Kulturbesitz in Berlin, from which medieval and modern sources were used: letters, parchment documents, books and copybooks. Source editions published up to 2018 also form the basis of the study.

The list of officials is preceded by a discussion of the form and competences of the individual offices in two languages, German and Polish. The lists of former place names and their modern equivalents are help-



ful in the search. An effort has also been made to standardise the clerical nomenclature in Polish by listing the names of monastic officials in Polish and German. Another list is a compilation of the administrative structure of the offices, where each komtura is assigned its own aldermanship and prosecutor's office.

The list of officials opens with the national masters, national commanders and grand masters in Prussia. This is followed by a list of source-captured officials in bailiwicks outside Prussia, dignitaries in Prussia and finally officials in individual komtura in alphabetical order. Finally, the aldermanships of the bishop's offices are included.

For individual offices, the lists are arranged in chronological order, each name is assigned the earliest date of its appearance on the office, as attested by sources. The book closes with an alphabetical list of clerks' surnames, with the offices assigned to them in the order of their assumption of office; care has also been taken to separate persons with the same surname holding different offices at the same time. This list needs to be corrected as it does not always coincide with the list of officials which is the actual content of the monograph. The whole is supplemented by two maps on the cover with the monastic convents in Prussia and the bailiwicks included in the list.

The publication is a very useful tool in various regional, source and comparative studies. It can be a starting point for prosopographical and social studies. It also provides a detailed insight into the source base and helps to orientate in its content. The new findings concerning offices included in the introduction may become the basis for further research into the administration of the Teutonic Order in the Middle Ages. It is certainly a very useful position for both scholars of the history of the Order and researchers of the Central European Middle Ages, with particular emphasis on the Order's Prussia.

KRYSTYNA JAROSŁAWSKA

Andrzej Janowski, *Grodziska wczesnośredniowieczne w dorzeczu Regi* (Early Medieval Strongholds in the Rega Basin), *Scripta Historica Europaea*, III, University of Wrocław – Institute of History, Laboratory for Research into the Early History of Central Europe, 500 pp., ill., maps, bibliography, summary in English, paperback.

This book is a comprehensive study of early medieval strongholds (Polish: grodziska) in the Rega basin, covering over 2,700 km<sup>2</sup>. This work consists of two main parts: a monographic study of the problem posed in the title (pp. 7-141), and a catalogue of sites and finds (pp. 143-475), and was creat-

ed within the framework of the project “Poland and Pomerania in shaping European civilisation (from the era of Slavic tribes to the turn of the 13<sup>th</sup> century)”, carried out as part of the National Programme for the Development of Humanities 2014-2020. It is worth emphasising that the Rega basin had hitherto been one of the least archaeologically recognised areas of early medieval settlement in Pomerania, and thus, this publication definitely improves the state of affairs. Of key importance here is the inclusion of the results of work carried out by the author, and a team led by him at 34 archaeological sites between 2015 and 2019 (more about this at <http://europacentralis.eu>, where the book is also available online).

The first chapter presents the characteristics of the study area, as well as its history from the 2<sup>nd</sup> half of the 18<sup>th</sup> century to the beginning of the 21<sup>st</sup> (with an important contribution from archives). The second chapter discusses the basis (including pottery, coins, radiocarbon and dendrochronological analyses) for establishing the chronology of the sites on the Rega river, as this was the primary objective of the excavations. The beginnings of the construction of strongholds there date back to the 8<sup>th</sup> century, the next century saw a more intensive development of this settlement, which may indicate the crystallization of the communication route connecting the Interior with the Baltic Sea. In the following century the settlement zone did not undergo any major changes, but the network of strongholds within it grew considerably denser. In the first half of the 11<sup>th</sup> century at the latest, all the old tribal strongholds were abandoned. The next phase of the development of strongholds in this region is linked to the development of the West Pomeranian principality from the mid-11<sup>th</sup> and 12<sup>th</sup> centuries.

This picture of the formation of a network of strongholds on the Rega river is provided in particular by the summary of the research, and also includes (in the third chapter) the characteristics of the construction of these fortresses and their layout. Most of the strongholds have only one segment, are circular or oval in shape, have an area not exceeding 1 ha, and have ring-shaped ramparts preceded by a moat. The fourth chapter discusses the place of these centres in the overall settlement network of the region, while the fifth chapter highlights their complex functions (military, centres of economic life and exchange, places of power and perhaps religious rituals).

The catalogue of sites from the Rega basin is divided into four parts, the first of which presents the mounds investigated within the framework of the project in 2015-2019, which can certainly be classified as early medieval. The second part discusses the mounds also so dated, but not investigated within the project. The third part is devoted to fortified settlements of uncertain chronology or function, and the fourth to sites which were established later than the 12<sup>th</sup> century, or which, in light of the excavations carried out, did not turn out to be relics of fortified settlements at all (although they had

previously been regarded as such). Each of the sites discussed in the catalogue was provided with rich illustrative material from excavations and visualization of the site on the basis of laser scanning (LIDAR). The work also contains numerous maps, tabular lists of sites and archaeological findings as well as an extensive bibliography.

STANISŁAW ROSIK

Paweł Karp, *Polsko-husycka wyprawa zbrojna przeciw Zakonowi Krzyżackiemu w roku 1433* (Polish-Hussite Expedition against the Teutonic Order in 1433), Eternum, Zielona Góra 2017, 383 pp., source annex, summary in German, index of names, ill., hardback.

Paweł Karp's publication presents the genesis and course of the Polish-Hussite campaign against the Teutonic Order which took place in 1433. The work also discusses the events which preceded the expedition and the content of the Teutonic sources which, many years before the invasion of the Polish and Hussite armies, illustrated the sense of threat from the latter. Although issues concerning the Hussite art of warfare are not the main theme of the book, place has been devoted to these problems. The author focuses primarily on the role of firearms and the legend of invincibility of armies under the sign of the chalice.

The dissertation consists of seven chapters. In the first of them P. Karp presents the genesis of the Polish-Hussite agreement, starting his argument from the moment when Świdrygiełło became Grand Duke of Lithuania in 1430 and the Lithuanian-Teutonic relations were established. Polish-Hussite relations and the Teutonic Knights' fears of these contacts are also discussed. The next part focuses on the Pabianice Treaty of 1432, the Order's reaction to this agreement and the issue of the Tábor withdrawal from the alliance with Poland. The third chapter presents the preparations of both sides for war, highlighting the conditions under which the 'orphans' were to serve Poland, as well as the mobilization by the Teutonic Order of armies and the project to create a fleet of fighting vehicles on the Hussite model. The main part of the work (chapters IV, V, and VI) was devoted by the author to the course of the military expedition: the route of the "orphan" army through Lusatia and Brandenburg, the entry of the Hussites and Wielkopole into the New March, the siege of Chojnice by the Czechs and Poles, the capture of Tczew, and the arrival of the God-fearers at the Baltic coast and the negotiations in Jasieniec. The last, seventh chapter, deals with the direct results of the campaign and its significance in the Polish-Teutonic conflict. The appendix contains six source texts from the years 1432-1433:

three of them come from source editions and the rest are materials that have never been published. In the latter case, each text is accompanied by the original Latin transcript and a Polish translation.

MICHAŁ DUDZIŃSKI

Feliks Kiryk, *Sandomierskie żywoty średniowiecznych władców Polski* (Lives of Medieval Polish Rulers in Sandomierz), ed. Roman Chyła, Urząd miejski w Sandomierzu, Sandomierz 2021, 952 pp., ill., hardback.

This book of over 900 pages, unusually attractive from the editorial point of view, opens with a foreword by Marcin Marzec, the Mayor of Sandomierz, followed by a concise but at the same time extremely informative Foreword by Roman Chyła and Ludwik Kiryk, in which the history of scholarly intimacy linking Feliks Kiryk with Sandomierz is briefly presented. For all these years, F. Kiryk has endowed the town on the Vistula river with both a great and deep research interest and a clear sentiment originating not only in his view of the colourful history of Sandomierz, but also in his relations with its contemporary inhabitants. In 2005, he was rewarded for this by being granted honorary citizenship of the city.

Warmus's rich academic output includes dozens of articles on the history of Sandomierz in the Middle Ages and in modern times, and on prominent figures associated with the city. Among them, a prominent place is occupied by Polish princes and kings, who, over the centuries, bestowed their privileges and endowments on the city community and the local Church. It is out of these interests of F. Kiryk that in the 1980s the lives of mediaeval rulers of Poland from Mieszko I to Aleksander Jagiellończyk were written, published in the Kraków press in 1982-1984. Originally, it was planned to publish them in a book form, but the problems of political transformation postponed these ambitious plans for the indefinite future.

The idea of publishing in Sandomierz a lecture on the history of the Polish Middle Ages as seen from the perspective of the rulers came about at the end of 2018 in Rudawa, near Kraków, thanks to Ludwik Kiryk, the initiator of the whole undertaking, who presented it to Roman Chyła, a student of F. Kiryk. The latter presented the above idea to the local government authorities of Sandomierz and received their very kind approval.

Next, there is an extensive sketch by Roman Chyła on the Sandomierz paths of Feliks Kiryk and his work on the Lives (pp. 13-50). It meticulously presents F. Kiryk's relations with the city, presenting them against the background of numerous scholarly events and accompanying publications. As an expert in urbanization processes in historical Małopolska, the professor

devoted his research attention also to Zawichost, Opatów, Ożarów, and Tarnobrzeg located in the vicinity of Sandomierz. It should be clearly emphasized that the text is not only very informative but also written with zest and without pathos, often typical of this type of works.

Before the main part of the book, i.e., the biographies of Polish rulers, there are two extremely interesting works which successfully emphasize the royal status of Sandomierz and at the same time highlight the rulers' care for the medieval town and city centre. F. Kiryk wrote a synthetic text entitled "*Przeszłość wiekami mierzona. O najdawniejszym o dawnym Sandomierzu*" (pp. 51-75), while R. Chyła wrote an extensive study On the relationship of medieval rulers of Poland with Sandomierz (pp. 77-193), successfully correlating with the previously presented subject matter. Each of the biographies opens with a list of the years of life, reign and information of its protagonist. It is followed by a list of abbreviations (pp. 883-885), Bibliography – On the links of mediaeval rulers of Poland with Sandomierz (pp. 887- 912), General Bibliography – Lives of mediaeval rulers of Poland (pp. 913-917), Bibliography of Sandomierz by Feliks Kiryk (pp. 919- 930), List of illustrations (pp. 931-942) and acknowledgements (pp. 943-945, 947).

PAWEŁ DERECKI

Rafał Kubicki, *Prussia Monastica. Studia z dziejów zakonów w Prusach Krzyżackich, Królewskich i Zachodnich (od XIII do połowy XIX w.)* (Prussia Monastica. Studies in the History of Monasteries in Teutonic, Royal and Western Prussia. From the 13<sup>th</sup> to the mid-19<sup>th</sup> c.), Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Gdańskiego, Gdańsk 2021, 308 pp., ill., hardback.

*Prussia Monastica* is a collection of works devoted to monastic life in Prussia during the Teutonic Order, when it belonged to the Republic of Poland as Royal Prussia, down to the times of the Kingdom of Prussia after the partitions of Poland – and thus, from the 13<sup>th</sup> to the 19<sup>th</sup> century. On more than 300 pages of studies the author focuses his work on the monastic landscape of Prussia during the times of the Teutonic Order, the monastic foundations in the region until the year of 1525, elements of history of St. Dominic's Order in Gdańsk in the 15<sup>th</sup>-century conflict over charity collection, rules for using Dominican's seals, and preserved seals of the order's abbeys in Prussia. It also analyzes the problem of the personnel of Dominicans convents in the Modern Era. Moreover, the texts refers to the history of the Franciscans' friary in Gdańsk, studies about convents in Prussia, and the Reformation, the monastic landscape of Prussia till the time of the 1<sup>st</sup> partition of Poland, the problem of the dissolution

of convents in the 19<sup>th</sup> century, and remarks on the history of Bernardine friaries until the dissolution period.

This compilation presents valuable analysis of the history of the Catholic convents in Prussia from the Middle Ages until the 19<sup>th</sup> century, presenting a very complete perspective of the common life in abbeys, the status of their personnel, and their functioning in the time of historical changes in the region.

MACIEJ BADOWICZ

Jan Łasicki, *Jan Sendecki-Malecki, O bogach i wierzeniach dawnych Żmudzinów, Litwinów i Prusów* (On the Gods and Beliefs of the Ancient Samogitians, Lithuanians, and Prussians), transl. and comment. Magdalena Wolf, Oficyna Wydawnicza Atut – Wrocławskie Wydawnictwo Oświatowe, Bibliotheca Curiosa XXXIV, Wrocław 2019, 80 pp., paperback.

The Polish translation of *De Diis Samagitarum caeterorumque Sarmatarum et falsorum Christianorum* by Jan Łasicki was prepared by Magdalena Wolf in the framework the National Programme for the Development of the Humanities. The reader will find here, as the author convinces, a very interesting collection of information, which in a possibly complete manner for the time and circumstances of its creation, gives a picture of life and beliefs of Samogitians and Lithuanians (p. 25) and – let us add – the Old Prussians of the 16<sup>th</sup> century.

The publication consists of an introduction (pp. 5-37) followed by a bibliography (pp. 39-42), a translation text (pp. 43-60), a separate commentary (pp. 61-72). The list of illustrations (p. 73) and the table of contents complete the work. The latter is followed by information on previous publications in the Bibliotheca Curiosa series and books in preparation.

The introduction discusses the time and circumstances of the work's creation, its authorship, sources, composition and character, the theonyms it contains, and the translator's remarks. The translated work is undoubtedly a compilation of various texts. We find here references to Tacitus' *Germania*, Plutarch's biography of Julius Caesar, Hesiod's *Theogony*, the *Chronicle* of Jan Długosz, the work of Michalon Litwin, the work of Aleksander Gwagnin, the notes of Jakub Łaszkowski, the work of Heinrich Bullinger, fragments of Plautus' comedy, and a dialogue by Erasmus of Rotterdam. Finally, Łasicki included in his work, without mentioning the author, a redacted letter by the Ełk pastor Jan Sandecki-Malecki. This letter, addressed to George Sabinus and dealing with the beliefs of the descendants of Prussians, Samogitians, Lithuanians and Rus, had been printed earlier.

Magdalena Wolf followed the literature on the subject in assuming that Jan Sandecki-Malecki was a co-author of Łasicki's work, which she also expressed in the title of her paper. The work *De Diis Samagitarum caeterorumque Sarmatarum et falsorum Christianorum*, in the researcher's opinion, consists of two parts, separated by a passus on the cult of saints, taken in turn from Bullinger's work. In order to make it easier to find publications on the gods and goddesses cited by Jan Łasicki and Jan Sandecki-Malecki, the author of the translation prepared two tables, separate for both authors, with lists of deities, together with corresponding entries found in the literature on the subject (pp. 29-35).

The basis of the translation is the edition of Johann Jacob Grasser, which appeared in Basel in 1615. The translation was accompanied by numerous commentaries, placed both in the main text, in the form of letter references in the margins, separate for each page, and footnotes, the development of which can be found later in the book, in a separate commentary. It is a pity that Magdalena Wolf did not include in the publication the original text of *De Diis Samagitarum caeterorumque Sarmatarum et falsorum Christianorum*, as Lithuanian researchers did already in the 1960s. This would not only complete the translation, but would also make it possible to follow its course without having to reach for an additional publication.

The Renaissance era saw an increased interest in the culture, daily life, customs and beliefs of various peoples. In the former Prussian lands and neighbouring territories, remnants of pagan customs were discovered, as well as some ancient beliefs and practices that were still being cultivated, all the more interesting because the people participating in the various rituals often spoke a language that was incomprehensible to the general public, e.g., descendants of the pagan Prussians. The purpose of the observers and at the same time the authors of the works was, among other things, to describe and inform their contemporaries about the customs and the course of these rituals. We can probably say that currently we are dealing with a similar process of discovering and bringing cultural descriptions, made by modern authors, in the form of translation to a wide audience.

ALICJA DOBROSIELSKA

Sophie Métivier, *Aristocratie et sainteté à Byzance (VIII<sup>e</sup>-XI<sup>e</sup> siècle)*, Subsidia hagiographica, LXXXVII, Société des Bollandistes, Bruxelles 2019, VI, 312 pp., appendix, indexes, hardback.

This book by Sophie Métivier, a professor of medieval history at the Université Paris 1 Panthéon-Sorbonne, is a revised and updated version of her habilitation. The author presents the issue of sanctity in the Byzantine

Empire, confronting the models of sanctity developed in ecclesiastical and aristocratic circles, without disregarding the fact that many monks and ecclesiastical authors came from aristocratic families or had close relations with them. The book consists of an introduction, five chapters and conclusion supplemented by an appendix. In the introduction, S. Métivier explains the terminology of the work and analyses the understanding of the terms "aristocratie" and "sainteté" in historiography. In Chapter I, the model of sanctity in aristocratic circles is presented on the example of the analysis of the four saints in the *Vies* and *Passiones*, that is, sources produced by monastic circles. The next chapter shows the Byzantine aristocracy's attachment to sanctity in order to secure their power in times of political and social instability, for example during the iconoclastic dispute. In Chapter III, the author presents how the representatives of the aristocracy perceived sanctity in the works they themselves created. In Chapter IV, S. Métivier posits that the model of aristocratic sanctity differs from the model of imperial sanctity, which is a testimony of the aristocracy's apparent tensions with the Macedonian dynasty. Chapter V describes how hagiographical works, written by aristocrats, were accepted by the Church and introduced into the *synaxarium* in Constantinople. In the conclusion, the author points out that aristocrats and their families sought to legitimize their power in Byzantine society through sanctity. The following appendix is closely related to the final conclusion, as S. Métivier analyses a case from the 10<sup>th</sup> century, showing how the hagiographic narrative serves political ambitions. The work as a whole is crowned by an extensive bibliography and personal indexes.

TOMASZ PELECH

Nicholas Morton, *The Crusader States and Their Neighbours: A Military History, 1099–1187*, Oxford University Press, Oxford 2020, XV, 289 pp., 20 tables, 1 map, bibliography, index, hardback.

Nicholas Morton, a researcher associated with the Nottingham Trent University, in his recent book presents the military history of the Crusader States, focusing on the period from the conquest of Jerusalem by the Crusaders (1099) to the fall of the Kingdom of Jerusalem in 1187 after the Battle of Hittin. The region of the Near East during the Crusaders' presence was an area of almost permanent conflicts that could break out for any number of reasons, such as ethnic, religious, dynastic, and commercial rivalry. Thus, the main goal of N. Morton is to study the individual groups that the Crusaders encountered, i.e., the Turkmen tribes, the Kurds (prior to the Ayyubids), the Bedouin and Arab dynasties of northern Syria (e.g., Banu Kilab and Banu Uqayl), and the Armenian lords, in the aim of understanding the Franks'



own military behavior. The author tries to explain how each side of the conflict tried to pursue their own interests by all possible means, adjusting their efforts and war tactics to better respond to the threats posed by their rivals. The author emphasizes that the strategies and tactics used by individual sides of the conflict did not run along the dividing lines of religions: they were often confrontations between nomadic people of Turkish origin associated with the Great Steppe area and urban and agricultural societies of Western Christianity, Byzantium, and the World of Islam.

The book opens with an Introduction divided into subsections: (1) Methodology and Definitions; (2) Methodology: Army Sizes; (3) The Near East in the Summer of 1099. The main analytical part of the work consists of seven internally developed chapters, the arrangement of which is mostly chronological. The first chapter presents the period of the Frankish expansion through the prism of description of the first decades of the existence of the Crusader states (the Kingdom of Jerusalem in the years 1099-1118; the County of Tripoli in 1099-1117; the Principality of Antioch and the County of Edessa in the years 1099-1115). The second chapter describes the Crusaders' relations with their neighbors in 1099-1129, i.e., with the Egyptian Fatimids, the emirates of Aleppo and Damascus, and the Armenian rulers. The third chapter is entirely devoted to the two most powerful Muslim cities in Syria, with which the Crusaders fought and negotiated: Aleppo and Damascus (in the years 1117-1129).

The next chapter describes the political situation in the Middle East in 1130-1148, assessed as the time of the emerging balance of power and the stopping of Frankish territorial expansion. The fifth chapter was devoted to the military activity of Nur al-Din in the years 1149-1174 and the issues of the Frankish military; their manpower, use of mercenaries, and the size of the crusading armies. Chapter six is devoted to Saladin, and thus his relations with the Crusader States and the Battle of Hattin, but also, i.a., to the contribution of the Kurds to involvement in the Near Eastern conflicts in 1099-1187; to the theoretical models on warfare and alliances functioning in historiography; and to the strategic role of the castles. The seventh chapter eludes the chronological scheme of the book and concerns the process of cross-cultural exchange in the transformation of the warfare (both Frankish and their neighbours) in the Middle East. The work ends with an extensive conclusion, bibliography, and index. N. Morton's book breaks away from the simplistic view that the Crusades were simply a conflict of "Christians versus Muslims" and highlights the key roles played by hitherto unprecedented groups of peoples from the Middle East, such as Kurds, Turkmens, and Bedouins.

Łukasz Nowok, *Tomisław I Trpimirović – w dziejach i narodowej legendzie Chorwatów* (Tomislav I Trpimirović - in the History and National Legend of Croats), Ridero, [n. p.] 2019, 274 pp., summary in English, bibliography, index, annex, paperback.

The book by Łukasz Nowok is the first monograph in Polish dedicated to a special figure in the history of Croatia – Tomislav I. For Croats this ruler was and still is a symbol of independence and of a long lost position in the Balkan world.

The publication consists of an introduction, five chapters, summary, and bibliography. The book is complemented by extensive summaries in Polish and English, an appendix and a personal index. The first chapter entitled Croatia before the 10<sup>th</sup> century is an introduction. It presents the situation in the Balkan Peninsula at the time of the arrival of the Croatian tribes to the area. After discussing the natural conditions, the settlements, it analyses in detail the stages of the creation of Croatian statehood, individual principalities, until they fell into dependence on stronger neighbours. The second chapter is devoted to the issue of Tomislav's ascension to the throne and his rule. It presents the Split synods held during his reign and their decisions, which had a significant impact on the later fate of the Croatian church and the related development of national consciousness. It also addresses the state of the Croatian army, which ensured Tomislav's military successes. Lastly, the issue of the decline of the Croatian state and its subordination to stronger neighbours is addressed here. The third chapter discusses the development of nationalist movements and the Illyrian idea, thanks to which the figure of Tomislav Trpimir permanently embedded in the collective memory of Croats. It presents in detail both the image of the ruler and his achievements recorded in the 19<sup>th</sup>-century literature on the subject, as well as the mechanism of using the figure of Tomislav in political activities until 1940. The fourth chapter discusses the ways and motives of using the image of the medieval ruler by the fascist authorities of the Independent State of Croatia. The last chapter presents references to the figure of Tomislav in Yugoslavia, during the struggle for Croatian independence and after its regaining until modern times.

Tomislav, who lived in the Middle Ages, is not only credited with the unification of two independent Croatian states, but also with the regulation of religious rites in his country, victories over the Bulgarians and Hungarians, the abolition of dependence on Byzantium, and finally he is often considered the first Croatian king. The author of the publication had to confront the legends with which this figure has grown over the centuries. One must admit that he fulfilled this task brilliantly.

Werner Paravicini, *Adlig leben im 14. Jahrhundert. Weshalb sie fuhren: Die Preussenreisen des europäischen Adels*, Vestigia Prus-sica, II, V&R Unipress, Göttingen 2021, 807 pp., hardback.

Another work by Werner Paravicini referring to the motivation for the participation of the mighty of medieval Europe in knightly expeditions to Prussia. This is the third volume of a monumental work which, according to the author's words in the introduction, will probably be continued by his successors. With regard to the footnotes from the author's previous works, the work presented below is not the set of source texts announced in volumes 1. and 2. The expected source volume is now foreseen as forthcoming. *Adlig leben im 14 Jahrhundert* refers to the motivations of knights to start their journeys. The author presents the influence of medieval literature in regions of Europe from which mighty people were travelling to Prussia. This monumental analysis also refers to the presentation of a view of guests who were arriving to Prussia in the Middle Ages, and the the Teutonic Order as seen by foreigners. The final element of the analysis presents the motivation for participating in Prussian crusades, depending on the status of guests. Recommended to all researchers into medieval history, the history of knights, and the history of Central and Eastern Europe in the Middle Ages.

MACIEJ BADOWICZ

Tomasz Pełech, *Jerozolima zdobyta! Dramat roku 1099 w kilku odstępach* (Jerusalem Is Conquered! The Drama of 1099 in Several Scenes), Forum Kultury Historycznej, VII, Chronicon, Wrocław 2021, 62 pp., bibliography, ill., paperback.

This work aims to illustrate the diversity of historiographic accounts of the massacre of Jerusalem in 1099. The author shows that the various images of events indicate not only the knowledge of individual authors about the past, but also the aims they set for their works, including that of influencing contemporaries and promoting the values close to their own socio-cultural circle.

The first chapter introduces the issues of the Jerusalem massacre, describing the sources for the topic, short references to contemporary historiography, and the sphere of pop culture. The second chapter shows the process of the formation of the representation of the Jerusalem massacre in Muslim accounts, from the multiplicity of views of the Egyptian or Syrian historiographic circles to the crystallized historiographic vision created in the Iraqi

circle, as based on the literary works of Ibn al-Jawzī (1117-1200). The third chapter is an evocation of Thomas F. Madden's study on the bloodshed during the Jerusalem massacre; whether it was a historiographical vision or a "real" event. Chapter four shows the discrepancies in the depiction of the events of Jerusalem through the example of two Latin authors; Rajmund of Aguilers, who offers a theological interpretation of history, and Albert of Aachen, who presents an explanation of the Crusaders' deeds from the perspective of their weak strategic position. The fifth chapter illustrates the case of Fulcher of Chartres, who, in his depiction of the massacre of Jerusalem (in which, although he did not participate, he was tempted to describe it at length), made use of existing literary knowledge and probably took inspiration from the work of the Jewish historian Josephus Flavius to describe the Jerusalem deeds of the Crusaders.

The work ends with a conclusion in which the author points out that the accounts of eyewitnesses or nearby witnesses of the events, as well as those being the product of later chroniclers, may turn out to be conventionalized to various degrees and subjected to literary processing in accordance with the mental endowment, creative workshop, and authorial intention of the given writer creating his own vision of the events. The lecture is supplemented by numerous colour illustrations, undoubtedly making it more attractive to read, especially in that most of them have descriptions in the form of digressions supplementing the subject matter.

STANISLAW ROSIK

*Personal Names and Naming Practices in Medieval Scotland*, ed. Matthew Hammond, Studies in Celtic History, XXXIX, The Boydell Press, Woodbridge 2019, bibliography, index, 310 pp., hardback.

The book is partly an outcome of the conference that took place at the Centre for Scottish and Celtic Studies at the University of Glasgow, on March 15, 2014, as part of the Arts & Humanities Research Council programme "Paradox of Medieval Scotland". This work is edited by Matthew Hammond, who is a Research Associate at Kings College London, and it takes up the issue of personal names, which can provide a rich perspective into medieval society, and Scotland's diversity of languages, covering Gaelic, Scandinavian and other Germanic names, as well as names drawn from the Bible, the saints, and secular literature, over the course of the Middle Ages.

The book opens with the introduction to the topic of the study of personal names in medieval Scotland by Matthew Hammond, who presents a database "People of Medieval Scotland" (cf. <https://www.poms.ac.uk/>) and shows the link between names and identities, pointing out as the main sources of inspi-

ration for those who choose a name (i.a., piety, kinship, lordship, etc.). Then, the nine case-studies appear. Nicholas Evans makes a comparison of naming in medieval Scottish *Chronicle of the Kings of Alba*, for the 9<sup>th</sup>-10<sup>th</sup> centuries, and Irish chronicles (*Annals of Ulster*), for the years 661-760 and 901-1000. Roibeard Ó Maolalaigh provides a comprehensive study of Gaelic onomastics, notably using the database “People of Medieval Scotland”, and analyzes the meaning and forms of nouns, particularly by distinguishing those originating from an adjective, a noun, etc. Matthew Hammond analyzes the emblematic nicknames in Scotland: Mac, Ua, and Mac Meic, showing that all of them referred to a genealogical reality, before freezing as hereditary nicknames, if not as a political claim or as a mark of legitimacy to lead a clan. David Sellar shows the link between the Latin Forflissa, Gaelic Forbflaith and Norse Hvarflöd forms of the same name and prepares a list of known mentions of this name in sources. Valeria Di Clemente studies the masculine Germanic origin names presented in the Ragman Roll, a document of 1296 issued by King Edward I, who inscribed there the names of his Scottish followers, who took the oath of loyalty to him. The next article, written by Thomas Owen Clancy and M. Hammond, considers the influence of popular literature on the choice of names in Scotland. John Reuben Davies analyzes, mostly on the basis of the People of Medieval Scotland, the influence of the Old Testament on naming in medieval Scotland, showing the catalogue of 36 Hebrew names, which represent 10% of the stock during the period 1093-1286. Tom Turpie presents the names of Gaelic saints in Scotland in the late Middle Ages and early modern times, comparing three sources – the lists of Scottish migrants to England (1440), sailors in the Navy under James IV (1513) and clerics (1560) – as a reflection of the religious nationalism of a Scotland then dominated by England. Rachel Butter’s article, a last in the volume, is a detailed study of saints names, such as Adomnan, Colomba, Sencha and Munnu, which appeared in Argyll, in the west of Scotland, thanks to whose the author identifies the regional cults centered on the sanctuary of a saint, reinforced by, i.a., hagiophoric toponyms.

TOMASZ PELECH

*Poland, Pomerania and Their Neighbours’ Shaping of Medieval European Civilisation (10<sup>th</sup>-12<sup>th</sup> Centuries)*, ed. Stanisław Rosik, Scripta Historica Europaea, I, University of Wrocław – Institute of History, Laboratory for Research into the Early History of Central Europe, Wrocław 2020, 378 pp., ill., tab., paperback.

This volume is the outcome of the international conference organized in Wrocław, November 16<sup>th</sup>-18<sup>th</sup>, 2017, as a part of the research project “Poland and Pomerania in shaping European civilisation (from the era of Slavic tribes to

the turn of the 13<sup>th</sup> century)", which is being led by Stanisław Rosik, a researcher associated with the University of Wrocław. The project itself brings together a group of over 20 researchers from Poland, Germany, the Czech Republic, Hungary, and Australia, primarily historians and archaeologists, but also specialists in the field of classical philology and cultural studies (for more information see: <http://europacentralis.eu>, where the book is also available).

Focus was placed on mutual relations between Pomerania and other Baltic political or ecclesiastical powers. It should be added that Pomerania, as a historical land, administratively divided into several regions, extending on both sides of the Odra within the borders of Poland and Germany, was in the medieval period an object of the political and military expansion of its neighbours: Poland, Germany, and Denmark. At that time, however, various socio-political organisms were also formed in these areas, the inhabitants of which received the collective name of "Pomorzanie" (Pomeranians) – the etymology of which refers to the people inhabiting the strip of land "by the sea".

The main idea of the volume is strictly connected with the aims of the project, which is to present the Polish-Pomeranian contribution to the redevelopment of the post-tribal world, i.e., to analyze the complex process of social and political transformation which took place in the territory of Pomerania from the 10<sup>th</sup> to the 12<sup>th</sup> centuries, and which brought this area into the Latin circle of European civilization through Christianization and accession to the political system centred around the tradition of the Roman Empire. The totality of these transformations is embodied in the category of "civilizational breakthrough", understood as the emergence of the state, the city, the culture of writing, and in this particular context, the reception of Christianity and the heritage of antiquity.

All articles included in this book fit in this perspective. The volume contains an introduction and 17 articles (6 in German and 11 in English), arranged in four thematic sections: (1) *Pomerania and Poland in the Medieval World. Cosmography and Communication*; (2) *From Slavic Tribes to Early States*; (3) *Within the Circle of Politics and Religion: from Rome to the Baltic*; (4) *The Issues of Historiography: from the Middle Ages to Modern Times*. The first part consists of four articles. A. Krawiec presents the topic of Pomerania in European imaginary geography up to the 13<sup>th</sup> century. A. Paroń shows the early medieval communication networks between the Baltic and the Black Sea *Intermarium*. J. Shepard illustrates the relations between the early Piasts and the Byzantine Empire, while W. Duczko analyzes the Scandinavian influences on Poland and Pomerania.

The second part of the volume has four articles. A. Pleszczyński makes a case study of the land of Sandomierz as an example of the transformations in the sphere of the spatial functioning of Piast authority in Poland. A. Kieseler presents the construction techniques of strongholds in the area of Polabia and Pomerania. F. Biermann shows the issues connected with the social, political,

and religious life of the tribal world of the Lutici. F. Ruchhöft discusses the topic of supraregional relationships in the context of the archaeological findings on the Arkona on Rügen. The third part begins with W. Könighaus' article on the relations between Pomerania and other political and ecclesiastical powers such as Poland, Germany, and the papacy, especially in light of diplomatic sources from the years 1000-1200. M. Rusakiewicz takes up the issue of the practices of commemorations of Otto of Bamberg in Pomerania on the example of donations of wax. M. Pauk examines the process of Christian acculturation of the ecclesiastical practices and customs, via examples of tithes, through the diachronic comparison of the areas of pre- and post-Carolingian conquest of Saxony, Poland, and Pomerania in 12<sup>th</sup> century. Then, M. Smoliński analyzes the 12<sup>th</sup>-century political contacts between eastern Pomerania and Poland.

The final section is devoted to historiography and it consists of five articles. This part begins with the three articles referring to the state of research in historiographies: J. Sobiesiak's article is about the oldest links between Poland and Western Pomerania in medieval and modern Czech historiography; S. Seryakov presents the image of 12<sup>th</sup> century Polish and Pomeranian history in contemporary Ukrainian historiography, while J. Morawiec's article is devoted to the role and status of Jómsborg in Scandinavian historiography. Then, P. Migdalski examines the paradigms used to describe the early Piasts' expansion of Pomerania in the Polish scholarship of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. In the final article of the volume, T. Wiślicz presents the issues of the use of postcolonial categories in medieval research and relates the possibility of their application to the description of the history of Pomerania.

The volume in its entirety links the broad scope of interdisciplinary studies on the topic of the medieval area of the Baltic Sea and it is a fruitful contribution not only to the topic of history of Poland and Pomerania, but more broadly – to the study of the “civilizational breakthrough”.

TOMASZ PEŁECH

*Polska – Pomorze – sąsiedzi (X-XII w.). W kręgu studiów nad początkami średniowiecznej cywilizacji europejskiej* (Poland - Pomerania - Neighbors (10<sup>th</sup>-12<sup>th</sup> c.). In the Circle of Studies on the Beginnings of the Medieval European Civilisation), ed. Stanisław Rosik, *Scripta Historica Europaea*, IV, University of Wrocław – Institute of History, Laboratory for Research into the Early History of Central Europe, Wrocław 2020, 220 pp., ill., tab., paperback.

Presented in this volume are materials prepared as part of a research project “Poland and Pomerania in shaping European civilisation (from the era of Slavic tribes to the turn of the 13<sup>th</sup> century)” conducted

by Stanisław Rosik (for more information: see <http://europacentralis.eu>, where the book is also available). This volume pays attention to the various interactions between Poland and Pomerania, but taking into account the wider context by referring to their neighbors. The volume consists of a Polish-language introduction and ten articles (two in German; one in Czech, and seven in Polish, each with a summary in English), written by authors from the Czech Republic, Hungary, Poland, and Germany. The content has been arranged in three thematic sections: (1) *Od świata źródeł do początków Polski i Pomorza. Historia i archeologia* (From the World of Sources to the Beginnings of Poland and Pomerania. History and Archaeology); (2) *Wieleci – Obodrzyce – Rugianie. Archeologia i historia* (Veleti – Obodrites – Rugians. Archaeology and History); (3) *Polska – Węgry – Pomorze – Prusowie. W kręgu średniowiecznej historiografii* (Poland – Hungary – Pomerania – Old Prussians. In the Circle of Medieval Historiography).

The first section contains four articles and begins with M. Bláhová's studies on the terminology of early medieval sources, focused on the functioning of the concept of *civitas*. A. Pleszczyński analyzes the case of a fortified centre in Chodlik, which played an important role in the tribal era, but lost its political significance during early Piast statehood. W. Duczko presents the issue of ore deposits in Poland and Pomerania in the era of first Piasts and considers them in a broader context of international contacts. A. Paroń presents models of the organization of the borders of the early Piast domain, focusing on the role of two "gates" leading to its central area, i.e., Milicz from the south and Santok from the Pomeranian side.

The second section is opened by a collective article of F. Biermann, N. Posselt, P. Roskoschinski, and J. Ulrich presenting the state of archaeological research carried out as part of the project on the Schulzenwerder island on Lake Jäthensee near Babke in Mecklenburg, where one of the Lucice centres from the 11<sup>th</sup> century was discovered. Then, F. Ruchhöft devotes his article to the cult of Svantevit in Arkona, focusing primarily on an overview of the historiographic and iconographic representations of the famous Arkonian idol from the Middle Ages to the present day. Last in the section, T. Skonieczny presents the process of formation of model power systems in the north Polabian region in the 10<sup>th</sup>-12<sup>th</sup> centuries, one moving towards a Christian monarchy, as among the Obodrites, and the other leading towards the consolidation of the tribes around the rally (i.e., *vece*, cf. thing) and temple in the Veleti-Lutici circle.

The third section is opened by D. Bagi, who analyzes a unique mention in a medieval Hungarian chronicle concerning a duel between Bela I, the future king of Hungary (1060–63), and a Pomeranian warrior, which took place during the Polish expedition to Pomerania. Then, A. Dobrosielska presents the issue of neighborhood relations between Poland, Pomerania, and



Prussia between the 10<sup>th</sup> and 12<sup>th</sup> centuries. The last article in the section and in the whole volume was prepared by M. Stabrowski, who illustrates the wars with Pomeranians in the *Chronicle* of Gallus Anonymous through the prism of an axiological analysis based on methodological assumptions inspired by Max Scheler's typology of values.

TOMASZ PEŁECH

*Reszel 680 lat historii miasta* (Reszel 680 Years of the City's History), ed. Grzegorz Białuński, Robert Klimek, Towarzystwo Miłośników Reszla i Okolic, Reszel 2018, 238 pp., ill., maps, hardback.

The 680<sup>th</sup> anniversary of obtaining civic rights by Reszel encouraged the Society of Reszel and the Surrounding Area Lovers (Towarzystwo Miłośników Reszla i Okolic) to prepare a collective publication devoted to the medieval and modern history of the town. The editors of the book were Grzegorz Białuński and Robert Klimek.

The book consists of an introduction and eight articles. The first one, by Grzegorz Białuński, is devoted to the medieval beginnings of Reszel, analyzing in detail the content of the location privilege of 12 July 1337. Danuta Bogdan discusses the town self-government in the 16<sup>th</sup>-18<sup>th</sup> centuries. Stanisław Achremczyk presented Reszel as a centre of education, science and artistic craftsmanship in modern times. Family and home life of Reszel's inhabitants at the beginning of the 18<sup>th</sup> century was described by Jerzy Kiełbik in light of a census of communicants. The community of Reszel at the end of the 18<sup>th</sup> century based on the baptismal register was discussed by Andrzej Kopiczko. Jerzy Łapo recalled the notes about Reszel and its inhabitants from the Masurian newspapers of the turn of the 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> century. Stanisław Kuprjaniuk's article is devoted to crosses and roadside shrines in Reszel. The last text, like a buckle binding the whole publication, concerns the medieval history of the town. Robert Klimek undertook the task to determine the time of the erection of the castle in Reszel, commonly dated 1241, as well as to refute the belief functioning in the literature on the subject, that a brick bridge was built in the town in the 14<sup>th</sup> century.

Worth emphasizing is that the book contains rich illustrative material, including photographs of source texts, archival maps, plans, lithographs, and postcards of Reszel. This publication cannot be considered a monograph on the history of Reszel, even on the level of German language works by Georg Matern, *Burgund Amt Rößel. Ein Beitrag zur Burgenkunde des Deutschordenslandes*, or Adolf Poschmann, *600 Jahre Rößel. Bilder aus alter und neuer Zeit*.

This book is rather a collection of sketches from the history of the city. Reszel, like many other towns in Warmia, e.g., Olsztyn, is still awaiting a full study of its history in Polish.

ALICJA DOBROSIELSKA

*Saint-Dizier « la Tuilerie » (Haute-Marne): trois sépultures d'élite du vie siècle*, ed. Marie-Cécile Truc, Publications du CRAHAM, Série Antique et médiévale, Presses universitaires de Caen, Caen 2019, 304 pp., annexes, bibliography, ill., paperback.

This book presents the results of archaeological excavations carried out in 2002 at the site of Saint-Dizier (Haute-Marne), led by a team of interdisciplinary researchers under the supervision of Marie-Cécile Truc, a researcher associated with the Centre Michel-de-Bouïard (Université de Caen Normandie) and the Institut national de recherches archéologiques préventives (Inrap). Three exceptionally rich tombs were found at Saint-Dizier – of a woman, two men, and a horse – dating from the second quarter of the 6<sup>th</sup> century. These tombs have features that contrast with the funerary rites usually observed in this region: Morken-type chambers, horse burials, and ring swords, etc.

The work begins with a short Préface, Avertissement, Introduction. The analytical part of the work consists of seven chapters; I – concerns the presentation of the archaeological site and its geographical, geological, historical context; II – presents a detailed analysis of the people buried at Saint-Dizier, mainly from an anthropological perspective; III – addresses the architecture of the tombs and funerary rites; IV – presents the objects found in the tombs, i.e., jewellery, ornaments, weapons, ceramics, coins, etc.; V – describes the finds of textiles and furs; VI – shows the context of the horse burial and the wildlife remains found in the tombs; VII – is entitled Synthèse and presents the main thesis of the work and the arguments in favour of it, namely that the tombs found in Saint-Dizier are the tombs of “Franconian chieftains” (“de chefs francs”) from the early 6<sup>th</sup> century, which can be interpreted as archaeological evidence of Frankish expansion. The authors ask whether the people buried here were Franks or Gallo-Romans who grew up in the war hierarchy and assimilated into Franks’ customs. This question, however, is not necessarily understood in ethnic terms, but rather in terms of social and political identity. The splendour and ritual of these burials reflect a particular material culture and reveal a desire to emphasize the belonging of the deceased to a social elite that follows a very specific fashion after death. The work concludes with a short conclusion, five appendices (1. Catalogue of graves; 2. Inventory of pearls from tomb 12 of Saint-Dizier; 3. Catalogue of textile remains; 4. Study report on DNA

analysis 241; 5. Study report on non-destructive chemical analysis by PIXE method and Raman spectrometry), list of sources and literature, and list of illustrations.

TOMASZ PELECH

Seweryn Szczepański, *Pomezania. Na styku świata pogańskiego i chrześcijańskiego (studia z dziejów)* (Pomezania. At the Junction of the Pagan and Christian World. Studies in History), Edycja wspólna Towarzystwa Naukowego i Instytutu Północnego im. Wojciecha Kętrzyńskiego w Olsztynie, Rozprawy i Materiały Instytutu Północnego im. Wojciecha Kętrzyńskiego w Olsztynie, CCLXVIII, Olsztyn 2019, 267 pp., paperback.

The publication consists of an introduction, preceded by a table of contents and a list of abbreviations, twelve chapters, concluding remarks, the whole is completed by an extensive bibliography and a short summary in English. The first chapter deals with the name Pomezania. The process of shaping settlements on its area, on the basis of written and archaeological sources, is discussed in the second chapter. The third chapter is devoted to the internal division of this land and Prussian colonization on its territory. The next chapter serves as an introduction to the issues related to the social structure of Prussia in the tribal period. It discusses the research conducted to date and characterises the source base. Then, in the fifth chapter, the issue of the family, regarded as the basis of Prussian society, is addressed. It presents family relations, marriages, matters related to the inheritance of the deceased, as well as the place of children in society. The sixth chapter is devoted to Prussian priests. Firstly, the cult's functionaries are characterized, starting from the priest Sicco mentioned in the life of St Adalbert, through the Treaty of Dzierzno of 7 February 1249, that appear in the context of funeral rites. The seventh chapter deals with the social position of the Prussian elites, who function in the sources as a separate group of "mighty ones" or "kings" understood here according to the category of barbarian peoples, thus as local leaders with special authority rather than usurpers aspiring to supra-regional power. The group of the free, referred to in the sources as "populus communi" ("Freie") as the most important social collective on which both the tribal economy and its military power were based is described in chapter eight. It was the Freie who decided at rallies on the most important matters of the land and the tribe, but also made decisions affecting the final shape of local politics. The ninth chapter is devoted to the least numerous group, the slaves in Prussian society. The legal status of women, both in the tribal period and during the reign

of the Teutonic Order, is discussed in the tenth chapter, which is also a continuation of the considerations on family structure. The figure of the first Bishop of Prussia – Chrystian and his achievements in the field of converting the inhabitants of Pomezania to the new faith are discussed in the eleventh chapter. The last study is devoted to the decisions and the role which the Treaty of Dzierzno of 1249 played in the formation of Pomezanian society, being an agreement negotiated by the papal legate between neophytes from Pomezania, Warmia and Natangia and the Teutonic Order.

This is Seweryn Szczepański's latest book on Pomezania, following a work published by the same publishing house in 2016 entitled *Pomezania pruska: Dzieje osadnictwa w XIII-XV wieku, (Prussian Pomezania. The history of settlements in the 13<sup>th</sup>-15<sup>th</sup> centuries)*. The contents of the first three chapters of the book discussed here are based on the author's findings from the earlier monograph and already published studies. The subsequent chapters are also for the most part rewritten articles. Both books, in turn, are the aftermath of a doctoral dissertation defended in 2014 at the University of Warmia and Mazury in Olsztyn. The author in no way hides from the reader that he draws here largely on his earlier publications and informs about it directly in the introduction (pp. 14-16). The smoothness of the language, the accessible way of presenting the content, the skillful use of both written and archaeological sources, will certainly make many readers, especially those unfamiliar with Seweryn Szczepański's earlier works, delighted and interested in Prussian subject matter.

ALICJA DOBROSIELSKA

Claire Weeda, *Ethnicity in medieval Europe 950-1250. Medicine, power and religion, Health and healing in the Middle Ages*, vol. II, York Medieval Press, York 2021, 346 pp., ill., hardback.

This book deals with a very important issue, which – although it has been discussed many times – still has many undiscovered nuances. The subject is about the phenomenon of the birth of European ethnicity, the specifics of which still shape the face of our continent to a large extent.

Claire Weeda examines this issue in the context of the existence of three primary influencing factors, ones serving as a kind of vehicle for her analysis. The first of these, and in a sense the most important, was that of the ideas of medieval intellectuals about the relationship of where people lived to their physiology, or even their body structure to their character (in conjunction with the views of physicians of the time about the supposed innate predispositions to health or disease). The second important causal force shaping the structure of early ethnicity was power and the circle of intellectuals

acting in its interests. The third regards the broad religious issues raised by ecclesiastical thinkers. As one can easily understand, these three determinants were not necessarily always in competition with each other; they were often somehow intertwined and the areas separating them were sometimes not very sharp.

The book is divided into two parts, each of them into three chapters. After the introduction, which sets out the general features of the issue under study, the author in the first chapter presents the problem of the emergence of a catalogue of virtues and vices attributed to European peoples, then she lectures on the idea (which originated in antiquity and came to medieval Europe transformed by the filter of Arabic literature) that the geography, climate, and nature of a given land shape the qualities of body and spirit of the people who inhabit it. Finally, there is a chapter that seems to sum up this part of the book, detailing the phenomenon of tying the character of a population to the area in which it lives, especially in terms of its influence on the problem of the formation of ethnicity of different centres of power.

The second part of the book opens with a general presentation of the issues connected with attributing certain characteristics to particular peoples. Next, using the example of the stereotypical description of Germans and Englishmen, the author reflects on how the way in which their military strength and civilizational abilities are described translates into the formerly established views on the nature of masculinity and femininity. The author shows how these imaginary traits were used to value certain communities, justifying with supposed masculinity the right to conquer and rule over supposedly feminine peoples. The last part of the work consists of a chapter devoted to the development of the issue mentioned above shown in the context of the geographical ideas of the time about the features of particular lands and peoples inhabiting them.

The main text of the book ends with a summary and an appendix in the form of a presentation of several selected medieval rhyming catalogues of peoples, detailing their most, in the opinion of the compilers of these rhymes, characteristic features.

The importance and significance of Weeda's work lies not only in the gathering of appropriate source material, its efficient analysis, and the neat and sensible presentation of problems arising from its interpretation. It is much more important because, after all, the Dutch researcher deals with a phenomenon that was shaped first in the minds of medieval intellectuals, embraced the so-called political nations of Europe, i.e., relatively narrow groups of leaders of the then states, and in the period of late modernity – increasingly broad social circles. Of course, the phenomenon of perception and formation of ethnicity changed over time, but many essential elements of its medieval structure remained important also

in the modern period. In general, scholars of modern European ethnicity have ignored questions of its medieval roots. Claire Weedy's book therefore fills, in part, a gap in the study of this very important problem of our continent's history.

ANDRZEJ PLESZCZYŃSKI

Szymon Wieczorek, *Galla Anonima opowieść o królu Bolesławie i ubogim kleryku. Moraliter, anagogice, allegorice, historice* (Gallus Anonymous' tale of King Bolesław and a poor cleric. Moraliter, anagogice, allegorice, historice), Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Rzeszowskiego, Rzeszów 2020, 148 pp., paperback.

This modest work written by Szymon Wieczorek is the first monographic presentation of Gallus Anonymous' tale of the endowment of a poor cleric by Bolesław II Szczodry (the Generous) [I, 26]. This story, although well-known to scholars and frequently referred to in their works, has often been somewhat marginalized from larger considerations. It is worth noting that already in the 19<sup>th</sup> century this story gave rise to accusations against the chronicler that he devoted too much attention to "anecdotes", and barely mentioned the main issue, i.e., the circumstances of the monarch's exile. However, as S. Wieczorek noted, its seriousness was determined by its outstanding didactic qualities, i.e., the status of a timeless behavioural model (p. 120).

Before we move on to a concise presentation of the content of the book, let us emphasize that it is the result of the author's meticulous research based on impressive bibliographical research, as evidenced by the extensive critical apparatus and the bibliography that concludes the work (pp. 123-144). Using a comparative method of analyzing numerous sources, S. Wieczorek has convincingly demonstrated that the motifs that make up the laconic tale he is interested in – the extraordinary generosity of the monarch offering as many gifts as a man could bear – must have been legible to the literary audience of the period and adequately illustrated the image of Bolesław's generosity (pp. 23-67).

Finally, in the further part of the lecture, the author enters into a polemic with researchers expressing the view that in the analyzed story, the person of the king was criticized, which would be supported by Gallus' ambivalent attitude to this figure, or the version preserved by Kadłubek's pen, in which the cleric dies under the burden of gifts. S. Wieczorek's research, however, convinces us that Gallus included many positive elements in his story, while an unambiguously negative reading of the passus can only be attributed to Master Vincentius (pp. 68-83).

S. Wieczorek also discussed the view according to which, by creating the figure of the cleric, Gallus would suggest to Bolesław III Krzywousty (the Wrymouth) that he should reward him just as generously (pp. 84-88). As the author noted, although the recipient fell into oblivion, the generous monarch lived on enjoying "good fame".

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