Quaestiones Medii Aevi Novae

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Neighborhood and Consent

Historiography and memory

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Contents

I. Neighborhood and Consent

Guido Vannini
Università di Firenze
guido.vannini@unifi.it
https://orcid.org/0000-0001-7903-3961

Frontiers are not borders

1. Frontiers between space and time, between the postclassical and pre-industrial ages in a Euro-Mediterranean context: a period that, globally understood and even with the obvious, remarkable internal articulations, in a '*longue durée*' perspective shows fundamental aspects of clear specificity both compared to the Roman-imperial/late antique period and to the contemporary age (from the 18th century); on the other hand, these two comparatively appear paradoxically closer to each other (but I shall leave aside a discussion that would digress greatly). In these notes, such an assumption will also move from the not simply semantic, but also the cultural-historical value of another term that, in this sense, is certainly not a synonym: 'border'. In other words, frontiers have not always envisaged boundaries, quite the reverse: a relationship, that between frontier and boundary, thus turns into a relevant historical indicator[1] (Fig. 1).

On another level, the 'public' dimension of scientific research has certainly taken on a completely new approach and consistence in recent times; and this in the face of a tradition – in the relations between research

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[1] This paper is a re-elaboration of an unpublished speech made at the EAA 2019 (*Beyond paradigms* – Berne, 4-7 September), 'Life of the Frontiers'.

and society, beyond the institutional and, if I may say so, the 'functional'
dimensions – that even in history[2] and, from the origins, in archaeology,
has solid and well-recognized roots: in every age and, we may add, *for
better or worse*.

Nor can we say that, at least in the best experiences, the relation
between needs and problems of the present and historiographic issues
(archaeological issues are also historiographic or, at least, they should be)
is so flatly biunivocal. I mean that sometimes – I would say often – there
is nothing planned between the sharing of themes – in this case 'studying
borders' as a key to interpreting past realities – and 'the problem of bor-
ders' as it is revealed to us, in various forms, even painfully, by the current
socio-political reality: from the 'Berlin Wall', to the Yugoslav armed fences,
to Orbán's nets, to the liquid border of the entire Mediterranean sea, but
also to the (irreversible?) fall of Europe's internal borders.[3] However, it is
equally true that the exacerbation of these problems is redirecting the his-
toriographic theme, we could say, towards interests[4] of 'Public History'.
Of course, on the other hand, sometimes a relationship does in fact exist:
the magnificent book by Bryan Ward Perkins[5] (whose basic thesis I essen-
tially share; knowing that I belong to a minority…) – for which I foresee
a 'fortune' comparable to Pirenne's 'thesis':[6] certainly highly disputed, but
for almost a century… – represents an intelligent and fascinating reflec-
tion on the 'points of no return' of the crises of "complex societies", such
as the late antique one: but starting from ours[7] (Fig. 2). A 'complex' and
interconnected society, considered – we would say – 'global', and in which

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2   It is "clear that only an interest in the present life can move us to investigate a past event;
which, therefore, insofar as it is unified with an interest in the present life, does not respond to
a past interest, but to a present one." (B. Croce, *Teoria e storia della storiografia*, Bari 1941, p. 12).

3   Some considerations in this regard are in G. Vannini, *Archaeological communication for
the history of Jerusalem and the courage to address the weight of a cultural 'resource'*, in: F. Fabbrizzi,
Around the walls. Four projects for Jerusalem, Firenze 2017, pp. 15-24.

4   An updated synthesis is in S. Noiret, *Internationalizing Public History*, "Public History
Weekly" II, no. 34 (sept. 2014).

5   B. Ward Perkins, *The Fall of Rome and the End of Civilization*, Oxford 2005.

6   Long-standing 'classics' H. Pirenne, *Maometto e Carlomagno*, Bari 2019 [1927]; idem, *Le città
medievali*, Bari 1972 [1937].

7   "Complex" societies, as the Roman one (between the late republic and the low empire)
or even the current post-industrial one, based on strong networks – be they real or virtual –,
combine efficiency with fragility; in the sense that they are societies capable not only of 'func-
tioning' efficiently but also of overcoming serious crises (such as the 'crisis of the 3rd century',
which led to the endowment of Rome, after centuries, with an urban defense, the 'Aurelian
wall'), but which do not overcome 'points of no return' (such as that of the 5th century), from
which it takes centuries to recover. Interestingly, A. Schiavone (*La storia spezzata, Roma antica e
Occidente moderno*, Torino 2006) had also reached conclusions similar to those of Ward Perkins.

the interpretation of the frontier – where the border is a very concrete and, not only materially, very visible 'artefact' – was conceived as an 'external' barrier to a totalizing 'universe': a frontier that also for this reason is very different from the countless and stratified medieval (but, as we shall see, also modern: yet not contemporary!) 'internal' borders, all without any material border.

For some time now, the frontier, as a concept and as a praxis, has been employed by historians – medievalists in particular, but not exclusively – as an effective (and, at this point, we can also say, tested) key to interpret cultural, identity-related and after all simply historical aspects of the communities of reference.[8] It will be useful to add that the concept of frontier has an evocative semantic polyvalence – at least in the sense that, besides being more commonly territorial – it is useful and is, in fact, widely used (with the same aforementioned meaning) even in a chronological sense.[9] Not only that, but in various cases the two levels are even more productive when they can be employed together. Time and space: the classic dimensions of the archaeologist.

In fact, not too recently, archaeologists have also focused their interest on this 'tool' for analyzing past societies. An attention which – as is right in a historical context – is now also suggested by current political activity, the history of tomorrow. This is the case for the frontier of antiquity *par excellence*, the imperial Roman *limes*, with dedicated studies for every part of it, from Hadrian's Wall (which even in these years is giving back fragments

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8 On the topic of borders and its medieval origins there is now a vast and diversified literature (and this is a symptom of its relevance in our contemporary times) and one can also mention, on the historical side, a good review contained in a volume dedicated to the topic: "Quaestiones Medii Aevi Novae" XVI (2011): *Frontiers and Borderlands* by A. Janeczek, *Frontiers and Borderlands in Medieval Europe. Introductory Remarks*, pp. 5-14, esp. footnote 1. Also useful is the picture offered in *The Boundaries of Europe. From the Fall of the Ancient World to the Age of Decolonisation*, ed. P. Rossi, Berlin/Boston 2015 (particularly the essays by A. Marcone, F. Cardini), with contributions that open up fascinating perspectives for other interpretations of this phenomenon. Still a classic, *Medieval Frontiers: Concepts and Practices*, ed. D. Abulafia, N. Berend, London 2002 and, on the archaeological side, *Frontière et peuplemet dans le monde méditerranéen au Moyen-Age*, *Castrum* 4, Actes du colloque d'Erice-Trapani, 18-25 septembre 1988, ed. J.M. Poisson, Rome-Madrid 1992; while I also touched on this subject in a specific case: *Da Petra a Shawbak. Archeologia di una frontiera. Catalogo della Mostra* (Firenze, Palazzo Pitti, Limonaia di Boboli, 13 luglio-11 ottobre 2009), ed. G. Vannini, M. Nucciotti, Firenze 2009.

9 In fact, the meanings have also been extended as far as metaphors, a clear sign of the key role now played by a perspective such as the one that has a confirmed 'structural' connotation in the interpretation effort exerted by contemporary historiography, beyond the classic barriers between disciplines, including the one considered here, history-archaeology (*e.g., Frontiers in the Middle Ages*, ed. O. Merisalo, ed. P. Pahta, Louvain-Neuve 2006: intellectual, osmotic, concrete frontiers).

of identity to its 'two' parts[10]) to the *limes arabicus* (with Parker's ten-year studies[11]), just to give some examples.

2. For the Middle Ages, for example, the mission 'Medieval Petra' of the University of Florence, has for years been placing one of its thematic axes on the analysis of the re-emerged frontier of the 12th (and then 13th) century in southern Transjordan. It has been surprising to notice how it was interpreted by the protagonists (Crusaders, Ayyubids, Mamelukes; in different regional variations between the Latin Kingdom, Syria, Egypt) according to a widespread culture typical of the medieval Mediterranean area, very different from the previous Roman-Byzantine culture (Fig. 3).

The border as the historical structure of an entire cultural area and of the communities living in the region; the Crusader-Ayyubid border as the fulcrum for a new Mediterranean identity in southern Transjordan and not only there: not a 'technical' (military) barrier but a regional microcosm, as in all of Europe at that time (an Italian region bears in its name traces of roles and practices that were actually widespread throughout the Euro-Mediterranean area: the Marche, from the foundational and prolonged role played between the Carolingian empire and *Langobardia minor*).[12] A proof of its vitality – which was anything but episodic – is the successful reinterpretation proposed by Saladin together with the 'urban' solution, between Egypt and Syria, actually producing an identity feature, then consolidated to the point of forming the basis of the current Jordanian State[13] (Fig. 4).

Thus, the region of Shawbak and Petra, for a long time almost a 'no-man's-land' between Egypt and Syria, regained, after five centuries, the role and identity of a 'medieval frontier', maintaining them to this day. The political, institutional, military, economic, and settlement profile of the 'new' frontier is, in fact, vastly different from that of the ancient Roman-Byzantine *Limes* (between

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10   In the above-mentioned conference (EEA 2019, unpublished), on this aspect (from the point of view of 'Public Archaeology') the speech by Richard Hingley (*Hadrian's wall as a 'post-national border'*) is particularly interesting.

11   S.T. Parker, *The Roman Frontier in Central Jordan. Final Report on the Limes Arabicus Project, 1980–1989*, Dumbarton Oaks Studies XL (2006).

12   There are exceptions such as medieval borders erected as physical barriers, that were, however, always limited in time and are not enough to suggest an alternative model, beyond 'technical' (political-military, substantially episodic) contingencies: cf. for example F. Curta, *Linear Frontiers in the 9th Century: Bulgaria and Wessex*, "Quaestiones Medii Aevi Novae" XVI (2011) pp. 15-32.

13   G. Vannini, *Esperienze di Archeologia Pubblica in Giordania. Sulle tracce di una identità territoriale nel Mediterraneo medievale*, in: *Alla ricerca di un passato complesso. Contributi in onore di Gian Pietro Brogiolo per il suo settantesimo compleanno*, ed. A. Chavarría Arnau, M. Jurković Zagreb-Motovun 2016, pp. 359-370.

Hadrian and the Arab conquest). The seigniorial system imported from Europe in the 12th century, given the structural weakness of the central powers, no longer depends, in terms of both material and legal-political aspects, on a (urban) center of power far away, but turns some castles into actual 'rural capitals',[14] at the center of territorial systems which were essentially sustained by local human and material resources (Fig. 5). A region which, in the Ayyubid era, appears to continue to play its role as a frontier – but this time entirely within the Muslim world, between Cairo and Damascus, an autonomous part of a new urban-based system, albeit subordinate to a central power (Fig. 6) – according to canons that combine their role in the territorial context to which they belong with a more widely Mediterranean cultural dimension.[15] Thus, new cities emerged (such as Shawbak, which replaced the crusader *Crac de Montréal*), with their own territories to administer, although in a subordinate form to a central power. Long-term processes begin with this 'crusader-ayyubid' season, determining the autonomy of roles and the development of identities, perhaps at a sub-regional level, with a more widely Mediterranean cultural dimension.[16]

3. Then there is the perception of the frontier, which is something else, but which is also a precise historical fact and has produced concrete historical outcomes both in the medieval-modern age and in the present. A variation and consolidation that, in the long run (it is a typical 'Braudelian structure'), episodically crosses, for example, a Europe where frontiers no longer have borders (which is anything but an oxymoron) and 'build' fluid identities. Exemplary cases, among many others, are the late-medieval and mod-

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14   A now widespread definition (almost an oxymoron), that I proposed on the occasion of the investigations carried out in the 1980s in the archaeological area of the castle of Poggio alla Regina (*Castiglione della Corte*) regarding its territorial role in relation to the Curia 'del Castiglione': a very common condition in the logic of *incastellamento*, subject to intense archaeological investigations since those years (cf. G. Vannini, *Un sigillo dei conti Guidi e il crepuscolo dell'incastellamento nel Valdarno superiore*, "Archeologia Medievale" XXXI (2004), pp. 405-422).

15   G. Vannini, *Foreword to the Articles from RGT2019 Conference, An archeology for history*, in: *From Petra to Shawbak: archeology of a Mediterranean frontier, among crusaders to ayyubids*, ed. G. Vannini, Kraków 2020 [= "Studies in Ancient Art and Civilization" XXIV (2020)], pp. 8-11; idem, *Al-Jaya Palace and the New Shawbak Town. A Medieval frontier and the return of the urbanism in the Southern Transjordan*, in: ibidem, pp. 83-108.

16   On the medieval frontiers in the Mediterranean area, in light of the most important international archaeological and historical (but with a territorial approach) research which, although differently oriented, addresses the subject as a key to historical interpretation, a useful and up-to-date overview can be found in *La Transgiordania nei secoli XII-XIII e le frontiere del Mediterraneo medievale' (Atti del Convegno di Firenze, Palazzo Vecchio-Palazzo Strozzi, 5-8 novembre 2008), BAR, International series, 'Limina / Limites. Archeologie, storie, isole e frontiere nel Mediterraneo (365-1556)'*, ed. G. Vannini, M. Nucciotti, Oxford 2012, see the wide-ranging and focused final discussion of the Conference, pp. 467-474 (in particular, the *Round Table*, with speeches by M. Citroni, G. Vannini, K. Amr, L. Leciejewicz, E. Pruno, D. Pringle, J. Lòpez Quiroga).

ern Pomerania, the 'Spains' of the *reconquista*,[17] surely the 'crusader' states of the Holy Land, but in reality, it is a cultural aspect that is almost entirely shared in medieval, and then modern, Europe, at least until the revolutionary 'rupture' and its nationalist outcomes.

In this regard, I would like to cite an episode that took place on the Baltic 500 years ago, and which I had the opportunity to dwell on in another context; this can 'function' as a catalyst to describe a situation – frontiers without borders – which, despite having been natural for centuries, seems to us (but not to our young people in their thirties or less) an exceptional and recently acquired condition 'for the first time'…

It is in fact an interesting episode which, in this case, in relation to our theme, coincides with the embodying of a phenomenon, the true dimension of History. One day in August 1591, at the mouth of the Vistula, Marquis Bonifacio d'Oria – a traveler, exiled *religionis causa* from his fiefdoms in the Kingdom of Naples – after having wandered through Europe for years, was shipwrecked while sailing from England to Lithuania, where the Radziwill family was waiting for him (Fig. 7). Bonifacio found refuge in Gdańsk, and with the more than 1000 volumes he was carrying with him, the city library was founded (one of Poland's two PANs)[18] (Fig. 8).

But our interest here is in Bonifacio's European journey. Europe appears surprising, much more culturally compact than its nevertheless bloody divisions might allow us to think. The same itinerary of the journey – two decades of Bonifacio's own life – up to the shipwreck off the coast of Gdańsk, takes us through a Europe where borders did not exist as we know them today, or rather did not represent, for various historical reasons since the dissolution of the Roman territorial state, a real obstacle to travels, even if wide-ranging (the Middle Ages, as Le Goff and Cardini have pointed out, is the era of pilgrimages, even mass pilgrimages). Crossing the Kingdom of Naples, the Republic of Venice, France, Spain, Switzerland, Germany, England, Denmark, Sweden, Lithuania, Poland…, as Boniface did several times, in the Europe of the time, was possible with an 'ease' that would then be lost.

This could happen because of the prevailing concept of a polycentric state or even national entity, experienced by cultures and populations capable of building forms of plural coexistence, of which the function of frontier

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17   Now see also P. Burresi, *Appearance of the Frontier Concept in the Iberian Penonsula: At the Crossroads of Local, National and Pontifical Strategies (11th-13th Centuries)*, "Quaestiones Medii Aevi Novae" XVI (2011), pp. 81-100.

18   The episode is discussed (and some parts of it are used here) in G. Vannini, *Katastrofy morskiej z sierpnia 1591 roku ciąg dalszy. Kilka uwag na marginesie sympozjum 'Między Italią a Rzeczpospolitą. Giovanni Bernardino Bonifacio d'Oria (1517–1597). Perpetuus viator'*, in: *Między Italią a Rzeczpospolitą, Giovanni Bernardino Bonifacio d'Oria (1517-1597). Perpetuus viator*, Gdańsk 2019, pp. 5-36; idem, *25 Agosto 1591: naufragare a Danzica*, "Ricerche Storiche" L (2020) 2, pp. 5-20.

was also part, as a place (sub-regional areas) of passage and therefore without the need for borders understood as barriers, but with osmotic margins (Fig. 9). A real 'frontier area'[19] supported by resident communities that, even if by delegation of higher political-administrative authorities, there fostered identity traits capable of implanting traditions.

On this subject, in the modern and pre-industrial age, with some basic connotations in explicit continuity with the late-medieval tradition, the specific historical legal point of view adopted by Paolo Marchetti is also illuminating: "It is the medieval idea of *iurisdictio* rather than the modern one of sovereignty that must be regulated in the forms of its deployment. And its regulation takes place through the use of an all-medieval conceptual register. …It is more the habits, the consolidated behaviors, the daily occupations, the displacements that determine the tracing of the border lines than the imperious act of the *princeps*. Not that this act is not assumed, on the contrary, it is often a source of legitimacy. But together with this, it is time, anchored in its slow flow to the memory of individuals and entire communities, that sometimes determines the political geography of places. Without any anxiety to merge the territories under a single command or to make them impenetrable through the tracing of clearly visible lines of spatial demarcation".[20] A concept still practiced in substance and recognized in modern age treatises.[21]

A side note, regarding the inhabitants of the Baltic coasts, starting with Gdańsk; it is difficult, but necessary, to free ourselves from misleading stereotypes, starting with the terminology itself, which, moreover, has very precise roots we should be aware of (also from the point of view of 'public history'). Like the borders, the 'Poles', the 'Germans', perhaps the Kashubians or the Jews and many others,[22] in the sense assumed in the last two centuries, simply did not exist: all were, and had been for centuries, the sons

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19   According to a way of interpreting territorial and functional residency already described in other similar contexts, such as the 'street areas' (G. Sergi, *"Aree" e "luoghi" di strada: antideterminismo di due concetti storico-geografici*, in: *La viabilità appenninica dall'Età Antica ad oggi* (Atti del Convegno di Porretta, 1997), Porretta Terme-Pistoia 1998, pp. 11-16): here, we could call them 'frontier areas', with frontiers (such as roads) that are not artefacts (unlike 'borders').

20   P. Marchetti, *I giuristi e i confini. L'elaborazione giuridica della nozione di confine tra medioevo ed età moderna*, "Cromohs" VIII (2003), pp. 1-9.

21   For example, Girolamo del Monte, *Tractatus de finibus regendis […]*, *Venetiis, apud Iordanum Ziletum*, 1574.

22   Now we could add, unfortunately: the Ukrainians, as proof of the bloody permanence of a condition that lends itself to be used as a pretext; we still always have the great 'humiliated' nation and the 'external' minorities to be 'protected', to cover imperial aims: (Germany after Versailles, Russia after the collapse of the 'wall'; then Sudetenland and after Czechoslovakia, Donbas and after Ukraine; …then, again '*Danzig*'?).

of these lands. They had different languages, traditions, and habits, but all of them recognized themselves in the region in which they lived, but which they considered their own and which constituted their daily horizon, for generations, much more than distant places that most of them had never seen.[23] The problem is that we are still accustomed to seeing (and misunderstanding) these territorial realities through the distorting mirror of the ideology of nineteenth-century nationalism which, used instrumentally, did so much damage in the twentieth century. In reality we could consider, for example, as 'Germans' the German-speaking people of the Baltic, or Baltic itself,[24] even at the time of Boniface, in reference to Germany, no more than we could consider as 'English' Australians or Canadians in relation to Great Britain (or the *Quebecquois* as 'French').

Instead, cultured, plural, multiethnic, multicultural, and multi-confessional societies (and in times certainly not easier than ours) demonstrate an extraordinary ability: societies used to managing even very bloody conflicts, while at the same time making different cultures coexist, in some cases for centuries, in the same community, even if each is cultivating its own identity (and always capable of synthesis, even after going through conflicting moments: something we have no longer been able to do since the nineteenth century, the century of the nationalisms) (Fig. 10).

4. A story that tells us, among many others, at least two things. That there is a precise relationship between the container (the borders/frontiers) and the content (the communities that live within these 'entities'); a relationship that, among other things, justifies all the attention that historians and archaeologists devote to this effective 'key to interpreting' times and societies. But it also tells us how the age of 'borders' – quite different from the 'frontiers', in fact a way of performing a civil function as interpretation of one's local identity among others – constitutes in the history of at least the Euro-Mediterranean region (and culture) rather a recent exception (no more than two centuries out of twenty…), considering that the limits of ancient empires – Roman and Chinese – were 'external' borders of regions

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23   After all, this was the existential condition of medieval and modern communities throughout the Euro-Mediterranean area. This was also the case, for example, for Christians and Muslims of El Cid's '*Reconquista*' in Spain or for the 'crusaders', already in their second generation, in the Holy Land.

24   Aleksander Baliński, in a recent, efficient and well-documented synthesis about the city on the Motława, shows how its multi-ethnic community, including a large German-speaking component, perceived itself as local and part of the Kingdom of Poland until the second third of the 19th century and only later, until the 1940s, did it consider itself 'German' (A. Baliński, *Die verlorene Seele einer Stadt. Danzig zwischen der Freien Stadt und den Revolutionen 1848-1849*, "Studia Germanica Gedanensia" XLI (2019), pp. 217-226).

that were not only immense but extremely articulated within themselves, real cultural 'universes'.

Therefore, we may conclude that 'boundaries' are a tragic exception, produced by nationalisms and the resulting 'fossilized identities' between Valmy 1792 and Sarajevo 1992, that represents an incident; yet, at least until a few years ago (and still today, for example, on the part of manifestly uncultured and lucidly reactionary dictatorships) perceived as natural and eternal. And let us hope that we do not return to a conception that, historically, would now be objectively not only 'reactionary', but in contradiction with our most authentic shared cultural roots.

Abstract

For a long time now, frontiers as concept and praxis have been employed by historians, medievalists in particular but not exclusively, as an effective (and, at this point, we can also say, tested) interpretive lens to understand cultural, identity-related and basically simply historical aspects, that characterize relevant local communities. The concept of 'frontier' also has a fascinating semantic polyvalence which applies to both spatial and chronological dimensions, sometimes together. Time and space: the classic dimensions archaeologists work with. More recently, in fact, archaeologists have shown interest in this analytical 'tool' to further our knowledge of past societies. Time and space: the classic dimensions archaeologists work with. More recently, in fact, archaeologists have shown interest in this analytical 'tool' to further our knowledge of past societies.

Keywords: borders, frontiers, local communities

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Vannini Guido, *Katastrofy morskiej z sierpnia 1591 roku ciąg dalszy. Kilka uwag na marginesie sympozjum Między Italią a Rzeczpospolitą. Giovanni Bernardino Bonifacio d'Oria (1517–1597). Perpetuus viator*, in: *Między Italią a Rzeczpospolitą, Giovanni Bernardino Bonifacio d'Oria (1517-1597) perpetuus viator*, ed. Aleksander Baliński, Beata Gryzio, Maria Michalska, Gdańsk 2019: słowo/obraz terytoria, pp. 5-36.

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Vannini Guido, *25 Agosto 1591: naufragare a Danzica*, "Ricerche Storiche" L (2020) 2, pp. 5-20.

Ward Perkins Bryan, *La caduta di Roma e la fine della civiltà*, Roma-Bari 2008: Laterza [Oxford 2005].
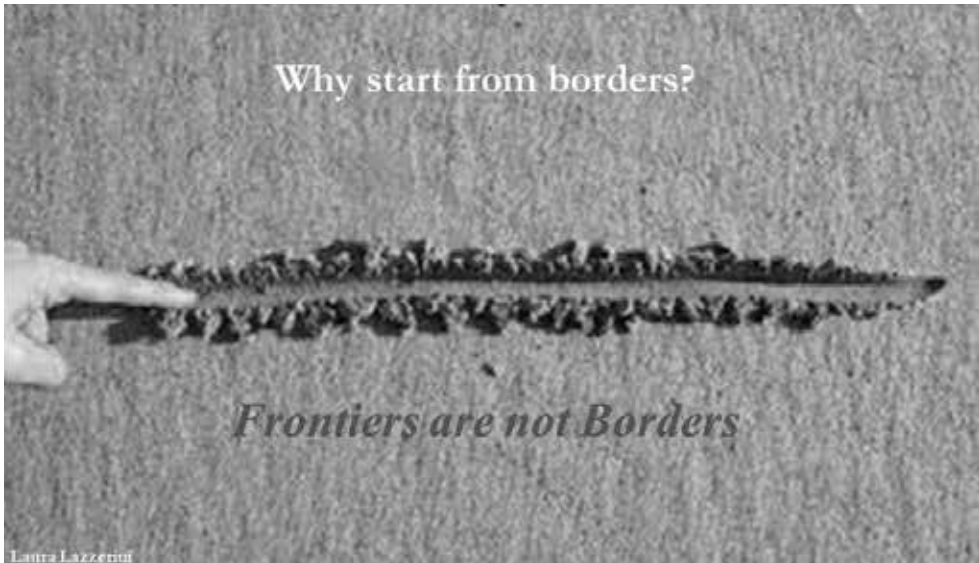
Fig. 1. 'Let's build our own borders. Not to isolate ourselves from the outside, but rather to give value to what is within those boundaries' (Elab. Laura Lazzerini)

Fig. 2. From *Limes arabicus* to Hadrian's Wall: the Roman tricontinental *limes*, an external border
a. From *Britannia* (*Vallum Hadriani*, in the late XX Century)…
https://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/2/29/Hadrian%27s_Wall_with_sheep_1.jpg);
b. …to *Arabia* (The Roman Fortress of Shawbak was connected to the nearby large Severian legionnaire's field of *Augustopolis* on *limes arabicus*, in which Diocletian allocated Legion VI *Ferrata*) (Photo Anna Marx, Mission 'Petra medievale', Un. Firenze)

Fig. 3. Royal Transjordan and the formation of a crusader Signoria (1100-1142): Rebirth of a Frontier (Grapfic elaboration Lapo Somigli, Mission 'Petra medievale', Un. Firenze)

Fig. 4. The southern Transjordan in Crusader-Ayyubid age and its frontiers. From the border like 'line' (Roman *limes)* to the medieval frontier (territorial area) (Elaboration Michele Nucciotti, Mission 'Petra medievale', Un. Firenze)

Fig. 5. Shawbak from the west: traces of the Ayyubid-Mamluk city in the foreground. From the Royal castle (1118) of *Crac de Montrèal* (a. Shawbak) to *Crac de Moab* (b. Kerak), capital of the new Crusader Lordschip of Transjordan (1144) (Photos Anna Marx, Mission 'Petra medievale', Un. Firenze)

Fig. 6. Light Archaeology and Political landscaping in medieval Shawbak. The main street (urbanistic generating axis), the first evidence of the existence of the new city founded by Saladin:

a new Arab town and the return of urbanism in the Transjordan Region, after Roman times. An imposing building standing in a paved square, on an axis (Mission 'Petra medievale', Un. Firenze)

Fig. 7. Map of Poland by Stephan Batory, 'from sea to sea', at the time of Bonifacio, ruler Sigismund III Vasa, with Pomerania, Gdańsk and its gulf, the scene of Boniface's shipwreck (Wacław Grodecki, *Poloniae Lituaniaeque descriptio*, Amsterdam, Abraham Ortelius, 1595; PAN Biblioteka)

Fig. 8. Gdańsk. Bonifacio's Library: the fruits of hospitality, gateway to Europe (R. Curicke, *Der Stadt Dantzig historische Beschreibung*, Amsterdam, Gdańsk: Officina Janssonius van Waesberge, 1687, p. 334 (PAN Biblioteka Gdańska) after: https://pbc.gda.pl/dlibra/publication/48750/edition/42337/content)

Fig. 9. 17th century map of Europe: the indication of borders is not the guiding criterion of its drafting, in line with the role of borders at the time (Engraving *Europa and the cheife cities contained therein, described, with the habits of most Kingdoms now in use*, Londyn, John Speed, 1626 (www.antique-maps.it)
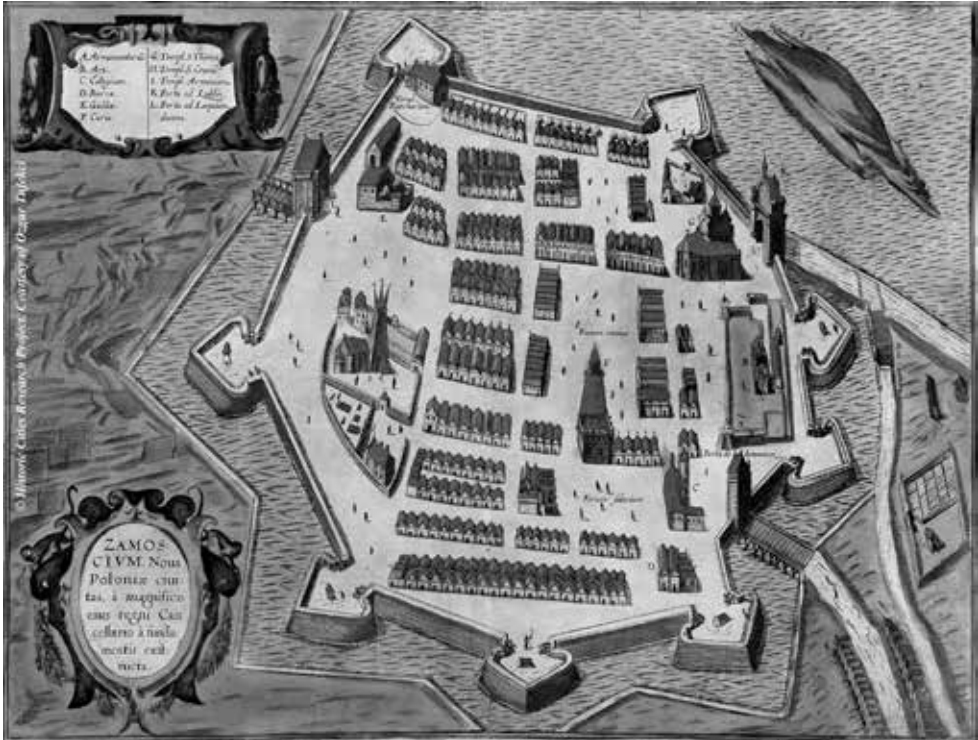
Fig. 10. The urban topography of Zamość, an ideal city in 'Italian' shapes, but a vehicle and *manifesto* of hospitality as the ideology of the Kingdom of Poland (Georg Braun, Franz Hogenberg, *Civitates orbis terrarum*, vol. 6, *Colonia* Antonius Hierat, Abraham Hogenberg, 1618, pp. 53 f. (PAN Biblioteka Gdańsk)

Rafał Simiński
Historisches Institut, Universität Szczecin
rafal.siminski@usz.edu.pl
https://orcid.org/0000-0002-3533-0566

Die Grenze zwischen dem Herzogtum Pommern und der Deutschordensherrschaft in Preussen in den Jahren 1320–1417: Entstehung, Entwicklung, Konflikte[1]

Der Autor der Fortsetzung der sog. Chronik des Johann von Posilge schrieb Folgendes über die im Jahr 1417 geführten Grenzverhandlungen zwischen Bogislaw VIII., Herzog von Pommern-Stolp, und Michael Küchmeister, Hochmeister des Deutschen Ordens in Preußen: *Ouch so hatte der ordin vil tage gehaldin mit dem herczogin von der Stolpe um irre greniczin willin, und kundin nicht wol eyns werdin, als lange das der herczoge und der homeister beydirsyt quomen zcuhouff; und hatte vil jar gewert; das wart ouch nu hingelegit und vruntlich bericht under yn beydin, das ir iklichin wol genugite.* Dieser Textabschnitt informiert kurz und bündig über die Ereignisse, die sich fast das ganze Jahr 1417 über an der Grenze zwischen Pommern und dem Ordensland abspielten. Mit ihnen erreichte der fast ein Jahrhundert andauernde Prozess der Bildung und des Bestehens der Grenze zwischen dem Herzogtum Pommern und dem Deutschordensstaat in Preußen seinen Höhepunkt. Der Chronist betonte einige Elemente, die den erfolgreichen Verhandlungen und ihrem endgültigen Ergebnis vorausgingen, d. h. der Ausstellung einer Urkunde des Hochmeisters Michael Küchmeister am 18. November 1417, die eine Beschreibung

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1 Der vorliegende Artikel entstand auf der Grundlage des Buches von R. Simiński, *Konflikt - pojednanie - współpraca. Studia nad polityką książąt zachodniopomorskich i biskupów kamieńskich wobec zakonu krzyżackiego w Prusach w latach 1320-1423*, Wrocław 2019.

des Verlaufs des umstrittenen Grenzabschnitts in der Nähe des Dolgensees enthielt. Der zuvor ausgetragene Konflikt dauerte mehrere Jahre, Verhandlungen brachten lange Zeit keine positive Lösung. Erst als die Herrscher der benachbarten Territorien die Gespräche persönlich übernahmen, konnte das Resultat beide Konfliktparteien zufriedenstellen.[2]

Die Landesgrenzen im Mittelalter finden seit Langem Interesse in der Geschichtsforschung. Eine Intensivierung dieses Forschungsbereichs ist in den letzten drei Jahrzehnten zu beobachten. Die Studien zu dieser Problematik befassen sich mit den Faktoren und Umständen der Entstehung von Grenzen, ihrem Wesen und ihrer Funktionsweise sowie vor allem mit Grenzkonflikten und den Methoden ihrer Bewältigung.[3] Ein besonders interessantes For-

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2 Johanns von Posilge, Officials von Pomesanien, *Chronik des Landes Preussen (von 1360 an, fortgesetzt bis 1419)*, hrsg. von E. Strehlke, in: *Scriptores rerum Prussicarum. Die Geschichtsquellen der preussischen Vorzeit bis zum Untergange der Ordensherrschaft*, hrsg. von Th. Hirsch, M. Töppen, E. Strehlke, Bd. 3, Leipzig 1866, S. 79–388, hier S. 372; vgl. J. Wenta, *Studien über die Ordensgeschichtsschreibung am Beispiel Preußens*, Toruń 2000 (= Subsidia Historiographica II), S. 236-239; B. Jähnig, *Innenpolitik und Verwaltung des Deutschen Ordens in Johann von Posilges Chronik des Landes Preußen*, in: *Vom vielfachen Schriftsinn im Mittelalter. Festschrift für Dietrich Schmidtke*, hrsg. von H. Löser, R.G. Päsler, Hamburg 2005 (= Schriftenreihe Schriften zur Mediävistik IV 4), S. 205-236; A. Mentzel-Reuters, *Unde den vride machten wider in dem lande - Kriegsziele in der Historiographie des Deutschen Ordens*, „Ordines Militares. Yearbook for the Study of the Military Orders" XVIII (2013), S. 81-103, hier S. 93-96.

3 Zum neuerem Forschungsstand über mittelalterliche Grenzen siehe E. Bünz, *Grenzenloses Mittelalter? Beobachtungen und Überlegungen zur Geschichte, Gestalt und Funktion von Grenzen*, in: *Über Grenzen hinweg - Inschriften als Zeugnisse kulturellen Austausches. Beiträge zur 14. Internationalen Fachtagung für mittelalterliche und frühneuzeitliche Epigraphik, Düsseldorf 2016*, hrsg. von H. Giersiepen, A. Stieldorf, Paderborn 2020, S. 11-52. Vgl. auch R. Schneider, *Institutionen zur Regelung von Grenzkonflikten im Mittelalter*, in: *Granice i pogranicza. Języki i historia*, hrsg. von S. Dubisz, Warszawa 1994, S. 125-132; idem, *Lineare Grenzen. Vom frühen bis zum späten Mittelalter*, in: *Grenzen und Grenzregionen - Frontières et régions frontalières - Borders and Border Regions*, hrsg. von W. Haubrichs, R. Schneider, Saarbrücken 1994 (= Veröffentlichung der Kommission für Saarländische Landesgeschichte und Volkssforschung XXII), S. 51-68; idem, *Spätmittelalterliche Staatsgrenzen und Regelungen von Grenzkonflikten*, „Jahrbuch für die Geschichte Mittel- und Ostdeutschlands" LVI (2010), S. 37-53; Th. Trapp, *Die französische Enquêtes von 1387 und 1390. Ein Beitrag zur Linearität mittelalterlicher Staatsgrenzen*, in: *Grenzen erkennen - Begrenzungen überwinden. Festschrift für Reinhard Schneider zur Vollendung seines 65. Lebensjahres*, hrsg. von W. Haubrichs, K.-U. Jäschke, M. Oberweis, Sigmaringen 1999, S. 317-332; J. Korpela, *Finland's Eastern Border after the Treaty of Nöteborg: An Ecclesiastical, Political or Cultural Border?*, „Journal of Baltic Studies" XXXIII (2002), S. 384-397; D. Power, *French and Norman Frontiers in the Central Middle Ages*, in: *Frontiers in Question. Eurasian Borderlands, 700-1700*, hrsg. von D. Power, N. Standen, Basingstoke 1999, S. 105-127; idem, *The Norman Frontier in the twelfth and early thirteenth centuries*, Cambridge 2004 (= Cambridge studies in medieval life and thought; 4th ser., 62); N. Bock, G. Jostkleigrewe, B. Walter, *Politische Grenzen als Faktum und Konstrukt. Einführung*, in: *Faktum und Konstrukt: politische Grenzziehungen im Mittelalter. Verdichtung-Symbolisierung-Reflexion*, hrsg. von N. Bock, G. Jostkleigrewe, B. Walter, Münster 2011 (= Symbolische Kommunikation und gesellschaftliche Wertesysteme XXXV), S. 9-27; F. Curta, *Linear Frontiers in the 9th Century: Bulgaria and Wessex*, „Quaestiones Medii Aevii Novae" XVI (2011): Frontiers and Borderlands, S. 15-32;

schungsfeld bietet hier der Deutschordensstaat in Preußen mit seinen Grenzen zu den Nachbargebieten. Das liegt auch an einer relativ guten und vielfältigen Quellenbasis. Jüngere Studien befassen sich mit den Grenzen des Ordensstaates gegenüber dem Königreich Polen,[4] dem Herzogtum Masowien[5] und dem

J.-G. Harter, *La frontière entre Bar et Champagne dans l'espace ardennais, sous Thiebaut II de Bar (1221-1291)*, „Revue Belge de Philologie et d'Histoire" XCI (2013), Heft 4, S. 1143–1154; L. Moal, *Dans le royaume ou en marge? Les frontières des principautés (XIIIᵉ-XVᵉ siècle)*, „Annales de Bretagne" CXXI (2014), Nr. 2, S. 47-81; G. Jostkleigrewe, *Die Erfindung mittelalterlicher Grenzen. Kaiser Karl IV., Frankreich und die zweifache Konstruktion der Reichsgrenze bei Cambrai*, in: *Faktum und Konstrukt: politische Grenzziehungen im Mittelalter. Verdichtung-Symbolisierung-Reflexion*, hrsg. von N. Bock, G. Jostkleigrewe, B. Walter, Münster 2011 (= Symbolische Kommunikation und gesellschaftliche Wertesysteme XXXV), S. 223-236; G. Jostkleigrewe, *Entre pratique local et théorie politique: consolidation du pouvoir, annexion et déplacement des frontières en France (début XIVᵉ siècle). Le cas du Lyonnais et des frontières méditerranéennes*, in: *Annexer?: les déplacement des frontières à la fin du Moyen Âge*, hrsg. von S. Péquignot, P. Savy, Rennes 2016, S. 75-96; J.-M. Moeglin, *La frontière comme enjeu politique à la fin du XIIIᵉ siècle. Une description de la frontière du Regnum et l'Imperium au début des années 1280*, in: *Faktum und Konstrukt: politische Grenzziehungen im Mittelalter. Verdichtung-Symbolisierung-Reflexion*, hrsg. von N. Bock, G. Jostkleigrewe, B. Walter, Münster 2011 (= Symbolische Kommunikation und gesellschaftliche Wertesysteme XXXV), S. 203-222; K. Katajala, *Drawing Borders or Dividing Lands?: the peace treaty of 1323 between Sweden and Novgorod in a European context*, „Scandinavian Journal of History" XXXVII (2012), Nr. 1, S. 23-48; A. Rutz, *Die Beschreibung des Raums. Territoriale Grenzziehungen im Heiligen Römischen Reich*, Köln/Weimar/Wien 2018 (= Norm und Struktur. Studien zu den sozialen Wandel in Mittelalter und Früher Neuzeit XLVII); M. Marková, *Hranice a hraničení v českých zemích ve středověku*, Praha 2021.

4 M. Töppen, *Historisch-comparative Geographie von Preussen. Nach den Quellen, namentlich auch archivalischen*, Gotha 1858, S. 76ff; G. Dierfeld, *Die Verwaltungsgrenzen Pommerellens zur Ordenszeit*, „Altpreussische Forschungen" XI (1933), S. 50-51; E. Sandow, *Die polnisch-pommerellische Grenze 1309–1454*, Kitzingen 1954 (= Beihefte zum Jahrbuch der Albertus-Universität Königsberg VI); H.-J. Karp, *Grenzen in Ostmitteleuropa während des Mittelalters. Ein Beitrag zur Entstehungsgeschichte der Grenzlinie aus dem Grenzsaum*, Köln-Wien 1972 (= Forschungen und Quellen zur Kirchen- und Kulturgeschichte Ostdeutschlands IX), S. 31ff; K. Neitmann, *Die Staatsverträge des Deutschen Ordens in Preußen 1230–1449. Studien zur Diplomatie eines spätmittelalterlichen deutschen Territorialstaates*, Köln-Wien 1986 (= Neue Forschungen zur Brandenburg-Preussischen Geschichte VI), S. 506-507, 518-519, 521-525, 545-546; W. Jóźwiak, *Od przestrzeni granicznej do granicy linearnej: ostateczne ukształtowanie się linearnej granicy kujawsko-krzyżackiej w XIV wieku*, „Ziemia Kujawska" XX (2007), S. 137-145; A. Szweda, *Tryb i metody przeprowadzenia delimitacji między Królestwem Polskim a państwem zakonu krzyżackiego w Prusach w XIV i XV wieku*, in: *Pogranicze: przestrzeń kulturowa*, hrsg. von S. Achremczyk, Olsztyn 2007, S. 15-27; idem, *Królestwo Polskie a zakon krzyżacki 1348–1350 – między konfliktem a współdziałaniem*, „Zapiski Historyczne" LXXVII (2012), z. 1, S. 9-24; M. Duda, *Kwestia granicy Nowej Marchii w polsko-krzyżackich traktatach pokojowych z pierwszej połowy XV wieku*, in: *Od traktatu kaliskiego do pokoju oliwskiego. Polsko-krzyżacko-pruskie stosunki dyplomatyczne w latach 1343–1660*, hrsg. von A. Bues, J. Grabowski, J. Krochmal, G. Vercamer, H. Wajs, Warszawa 2014, S. 195-209.

5 H.-J. Karp, *Grenzen…*, S. 33ff; K. Neitmann, *Die Staatsverträge…*, S. 508-512, 520, 531-536, 538-542; E. Kowalczyk, *Topografia granicy mazowiecko–krzyżackiej w świetle ugody granicznej z listopada 1343 r.*, „Kwartalnik Historyczny" XCIX (1992), S. 33-58; eadem, *Dzieje granicy mazowiecko-krzyżackiej (między Drwęcą a Pisą)*, Warszawa 2003; eadem, *Granica mazowiecko-krzyżacka na*

Großfürstentum Litauen.[6] Im Vergleich erscheint der Forschungsstand zum Grenzverlauf zwischen dem Ordensland und seinen westlichen Anrainern, den Hoheitsgebieten der pommerschen Herzöge und Camminer Bischöfe, weniger befriedigend. Die vorhandenen Arbeiten haben zwar oft wertvolle Ergebnisse erzielt, jedoch nicht alle Quellen herangezogen. So vermochten sie die Gesamtheit und Dynamik des Gegenstands nicht darzustellen.[7] Ziel der

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Wysoczyźnie Kolneńskiej w świetle najnowszych badań historyczno-toponomomastycznych: rozważania wstępne, in: *Pogranicze polsko-pruskie i krzyżackie (II)*, hrsg. von K. Grążawski, Włocławek–Brodnica 2007, S. 105-124; eadem, *Dzieje granicy mazowiecko-krzyżackiej (między Pisą a Biebrzą)*, Warszawa 2013; W. Długokęcki, E. Kowalczyk, *Opis granicy Mazowsza z państwem zakonu krzyżackiego z XIV wieku*, „Kwartalnik Historyczny" 109 (2002), Heft 2, S. 5-14; iidem, *Nieznane opisy granicy mazowiecko-krzyżackiej*, Teil 1: *Granice komornictwa działdowskiego i nidzickiego*, „Kwartalnik Historyczny" CX (2003), Heft 1, S. 29-58; Teil 2: *Granica komturstwa bałgijskiego (prokuratorstwo piskie i ełckie)*, „Kwartalnik Historyczny" CXI (2004), Heft 1, S. 5-37; W. Sieradzan, *Spory graniczne między Mazowszem a Zakonem Krzyżackim w XIV i pierwszej połowie XV wieku*, „Komunikaty Mazursko-Warmińskie" 213 (1996), Nr. 3, S. 347-368; idem, *Sąsiedztwo mazowiecko–krzyżackie w okresie przemian politycznych w Europie Środkowo–Wschodniej w latach 1411–1466*, Toruń 1999, S. 129-159; idem, *Mazowiecko-krzyżackie rokowania graniczne w marcu 1420 roku*, in: *Pogranicze polsko-pruskie i krzyżackie (II)*, hrsg. von K. Grążawski, Włocławek-Brodnica 2007, S. 89-103; G. Myśliwski, *Człowiek średniowiecza wobec czasu i przestrzeni (Mazowsze od XII do poł. XVI wieku)*, Warszawa 1999, S. 25-40; M. Radoch, *Kilka uwag o konfliktach granicznych na pograniczu litewsko-mazowieckim i litewsko-krzyżackim w latach 1401–1426 (w świetle źródeł krzyżackich)*, in: *Szkice z dziejów społeczno-gospodarczych Podlasia i Grodzieńszczyzny od XV do XVI wieku*, hrsg. von J. Śliwiński, Olsztyn 2005, S. 9-31; W. Długokęcki, *Die Bildung der Grenze zwischen dem Deutschordensland Preußen und dem Herzogtum Masovien in den Jahren 1343–1422*, in: *Grenze und Grenzüberschreitung im Mittelalter*, hrsg. von U. Knefelkamp, K. Bosselman-Cyran, Berlin 2007, S. 136-151.

6   M. Töppen, *Historisch-comparative Geographie…*, S. 102ff; K. Forstreuter, *Die Entwicklung der Grenze zwischen Preußen und Litauen seit 1422*, „Altpreußische Forschungen" XVIII (1941), S. 50-70; H.-J. Karp, *Grenzen…*, S. 44ff; K. Neitmann, *Die Staatsverträge…*, S. 509, 512-516, 536-537, 542-545, 547-564; Z. Wojtkowiak, *Północna granica Litwy w średniowieczu. Limites inter Litvaniam et Livoniam z 1473*, in: *Poznań - Wilno. Studia historyków w roku tysiąclecia Państwa Litewskiego*, hrsg. von Z. Wojtkowiak, Poznań 2010, S. 213-270; M. Dorna, *Akt delimitacji litewsko-inflanckiej z 7 lipca 1473 r.*, „Lituano-Slavica Posnaniensia. Studia Historica" XIV (2013), S. 87-102; L. Bucevičiūtė, *Regionalna specyfika pojęcia granic i pograniczy Wielkiego Księstwa Litewskiego w XV-XVI wieku*, „Rocznik Lituanistyczny" III (2017), S. 7-25.

7   F. Voigt, *Ueber die Grenzen der von dem Markgrafen Waldemar im Jahre 1310 an den deutschen Orden abgetretenen Gebiete von Danzig, Dirschau und Schwetz*, „Jahresbericht über die Königliche Realschule zu Berlin", Berlin 1847, S. 1-12; L. Quandt, *Pommerns Ostgränze*, „Baltische Studien Alte Folge" XV (1853), S. 205-223; idem, *Ostpommern, seine Fürsten, fürstlichen Landestheilungen und Districte*, „Baltische Studien Alte Folge" XVI (1856), Heft 1, S. 97-156; „Baltische Studien Alte Folge" XVII (1857), S. 41-72; M. Töppen, *Historisch-comparative Geographie…*, S. 52ff; W. Wiesener, *Die Grenzen des Bistums Cammin*, „Baltische Studien Alte Folge" XLIII (1893), S. 117-127; G. Müller, *Das Fürstentum Kammin. Eine historisch-geographische Untersuchung*, „Baltische Studien" XXXI (1929), S. 109-205; G. Dierfeld, *Die Verwaltungsgrenzen…*, S. 47-50; K. Ślaski, *Podziały terytorialne Pomorza w XII–XIII wieku*, Poznań 1960, S. 163-167; H.-J. Karp, *Grenzen…*, S. 26ff; K. Neitmann, *Die Staatsverträge…*, S. 507-508, 517-518, 525-530, 548, 551; W. Sieradzan, *Granica krzyżacko-pomorska w świetle*

vorliegenden Studie ist es, diese Forschungslücke zu schließen und die Problematik der Entstehung und des Bestehens der Grenze von Pommern und dem Ordensland zwischen 1320 und 1417 auf einer umfassenden Quellenbasis zu analysieren.[8]

Die Grenze des Herrschaftsgebietes der Herzöge von Pommern gegenüber dem Deutschordensstaat in Preußen wurde durch komplexe politische und wirtschaftliche Prozesse geprägt. Ihre ältesten Beschreibungen stammen aus den Jahren 1310-1313. Sie entstanden zu der Zeit, als das Land Stolp und Schlawe noch unter der Herrschaft des brandenburgischen Markgrafen Waldemar standen. Die im Zusammenhang mit dem Verkauf von Pommerellen an den Orden ausgestellten Grenzurkunden vom 12. Juni 1310 und 9. Oktober 1313 sind von grundlegender Bedeutung für die Festlegung des Verlaufs des nördlichen und mittleren Abschnitts der Grenze zwischen Pommern und dem Deutschen Orden.[9] Dem Kaufbrief vom 12. Juni 1310 zufolge begann die Grenze an der Stelle, wo der Fluss Leba in die Ostsee mündet.[10] Sie führte dann an diesem Wasserlauf aufwärts bis zum Standort der Herzogseiche. Von diesem Punkt aus ver-

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materiałów z procesu polubownego Zygmunta Luksemburskiego w latach 1412–1413, in: *Pogranicze kulturowe w Europie średniowiecznej. Słowianie i ich sąsiedzi*, hrsg. von K. Grążawski, M. Dulinicz, Brodnica 2012, S. 229-238; W. Długokęcki, R. Simiński, *Opisy granicy państwa zakonu krzyżackiego w Prusach z Księstwem Słupskim z XIV i XV w.*, „Zapiski Historyczne" LXXXIII (2018), Heft 2, S. 169–206. In dem letzten Artikel wurde auch die Datierung aller darin edierten Beschreibungen der pommersch-preußischen Grenzen ausführlich begründet.

8   Die Grenzprobleme zwischen dem Herzogtum Pommern und dem Deutschordenslande in Preußen werden im ersten Teils des Artikels in Bezug auf das Herzogtum Pommern-Wolgast betrachtet, das infolge der Teilungen innerhalb des Greifengeschlechts in den Jahren 1368–1372 in zwei Territorien geteilt wurde: das Herzogtum Pommern-Wolgast im Westen und das Herzogtum Pommern-Stolp im Osten. Der zweite Teil des Artikels betrifft die Grenzfrage zwischen dem Herzogtum Pommern-Stolp und dem Deutschordensland in Preußen, vgl. D. Schleinert, *Die Landesteilungen der Wolgaster Herzöge von 1368 und 1372*, „Baltische Studien" CVII (2021), S. 19-42. Es soll auch unterstrichen werden, dass die Herrschaftsgebiete der Caminer Bischöfe auf einem kurzem Abschnitt im südöstlichen Teil des Bublitzer Landes an den Deutschordensstaat in Preußen grenzte, vgl. F. Salis, *Forschungen zur älteren Geschichte des Bistums Kammin*, „Baltische Studien Neue Folge" XXVI (1924), S. 137-142, 149.

9   Das Thema der brandenburgischen Expansion in Pommerellen wurde am ausführlichsten von B. Śliwiński, *Pomorze Wschodnie w okresie rządów księcia polskiego Władysława Łokietka w latach 1306–1309*, Gdańsk 2003, behandelt. Der Forschungsstand zu den Rechtsgrundlagen der räumlichen Ausdehnung Brandenburgs in Richtung Pommerellen wurde jüngst von E. Rymar zusammengefasst: *Brandenburgia a Pomorze Gdańskie do początków XIV wieku*, in: *Rzeź gdańska z 1308 roku w świetle najnowszych badań. Materiały z sesji naukowej 12–13 listopada 2008 roku*, hrsg. von B. Śliwiński, Gdańsk 2009, S. 50-63.

10   Unter Forschern bleibt umstritten, ob die Leba-Mündung infolge einer gewaltigen Sturmflut in der Ostsee im Jahr 1497 um etwa 1500 m nach Osten verlagert wurde; siehe dazu P. Oliński, *Pogoda i klimat regionów południowobałtyckich od końca XIV do początków XVI w. w źródłach narracyjnych*, Toruń 2022, S. 207.

lief die Grenze zu den Dörfern Malschitz, Groß Wunneschin, Wotzkow und Kolodzeye.[11]

Diese Ortschaften und ihre Felder wurden den Deutschordensbrüdern zugesprochen. Die Grenze zog dann zur Warnowa Woda, dem rechten Nebenfluss der Klonitznitza,[12] weiter zu den als *Weski* bezeichneten Hügeln in der Nähe vom Wetzkesee und südlich zum Lankensee. Der letzte Abschnitt begann am Lankensee, durchquerte die Sümpfe in der Nähe des Volzsees sowie einen Hügel namens *Bobelze*, „auf dem sich einst ein slawischer Burgwall befand",[13] und erreichte *fluvium dictum Kefdicz*.[14] Nur ein Element – die Herzogseiche, wahrscheinlich mit einem eingekerbten Zeichen des Herrschers – kann als eine künstliche topographische Markierung angesehen werden.[15] Unter den übrigen elf Orientierungspunkten gibt es

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11   Die Bezeichnung *Goluzkyna* wurde von einigen Forschern mit dem Dorf Kolodzeye identifiziert. Friedrich Lorentz hingegen sah darin die Dörfer Gowidlin oder Klössen, siehe F. Lorentz, *Goluzkyna–Goluzsino*, „Mitteilungen des Westpreußischen Geschichtsvereins" XXX (1931), S. 5-6. Die Toponymie und Hydronymie des Grenzgebiets zwischen Pommern und dem Deutschordenslande wurde anhand folgender Werke identifiziert: F. Lorentz, *Slawische Namen Hinterpommerns (Pomorze Zachodnie)*, Berlin 1964; J. Rieger, E. Wolnicz-Pawłowska, *Nazwy rzeczne w dorzeczu Warty*, Wrocław-Warszawa-Kraków-Gdańsk 1975 (= Prace Onomastyczne XXIV); E. Rzetelska-Feleszko, J. Duma, *Nazwy rzeczne Pomorza między dolną Wisłą a dolną Odrą*, Wrocław-Warszawa-Kraków-Gdańsk 1977 (= Prace Onomastyczne XXV); E. Rzetelska-Feleszko, J. Duma, *Nazwy terenowe Pomorza Zachodniego zawierające elementy słowiańskie*, Band I, A-O, Warszawa 2008; Bd. II, Q-Z, Warszawa 2013; G. Surma, *Toponimia powiatu bytowskiego*, Wrocław-Warszawa-Kraków-Gdańsk 1990 (= Pomorskie Monografie Toponomastyczne IX); A. Belchnerowska, *Nazwy wód stojących w dorzeczu Bałtyku między dolną Odrą a dolną Wisłą*, Szczecin 1993 (= Rozprawy i Studia CCIV, 130); A. Choiński, *Katalog jezior Polski*, Poznań 2006.

12   Siehe F. Lorentz, *Studien zur mittelalterlichen Topographie Pommerellens*, „Mitteilungen des Westpreußischen Geschichtsvereins" XXXII (1932), S. 6.

13   Aufgrund der archäologischen Forschungen wurden drei früh- beziehungsweise spätmittelalterliche Burgen innerhalb der Grenzen der heutigen Stadt Bublitz festgestellt. Am südwestlichen Stadtrand befand sich die größte dieser drei Burganlagen; siehe J. Borkowski, A. Kuczkowski, *Poza szlakiem. Źródła archeologiczne do dziejów małych miast Pomorza Środkowego*, Teil 1, b: woj. koszalińskie, Koszalin 2013, S. 54-56. Zur Lokalisierung des Ortes vgl. auch E. Sauer, *Der Adel während der Besiedlung Ostpommerns 1250–1350 (der Länder Kolberg, Belgard, Schlawe, Stolp)*, Stettin 1939, S. 97ff; E. Rymar, *Udział rodu Wedłów w ekspansji margrabiów brandenburskich na Pomorze Środkowe i Wschodnie w latach 1269–1313*, in: *Pomorze Słowiańskie i jego sąsiedzi w X–XV w.*, hrsg. von J. Hauziński, Słupsk 1995 (= Pomerania Mediaevalis), S. 55-56.

14   *Pommerellisches Urkundenbuch* (weiter zitiert als PllUB), hrsg. von M. Perlbach, Danzig 1882, Nr. 685; K. Neitmann, *Die Staatsverträge…*, S. 525-526. Der Name *fluvius Kefdicz* kann nach aller Wahrscheinlichkeit mit dem oberen Abschnit des Fliesses Küdde identifizert werden; vgl. R. Simiński, *Konflikt…*, S. 51.

15   Franz Schultz war der Meinung, dass dieser Punkt an der Stelle liegt, an der die Leba nach Osten abbiegt. Dementsprechend müsste die Grenze zunächst dem Lebastrom bis zur Herzogseiche gefolgt und dann in Richtung Malschitz verlaufen sein; vgl. F. Schultz, *Geschichte des Kreises Lauenburg in Pommern*, Lauenburg 1912, S. 60. Anlässlich des ersten Grenzumritts in Pommern um das Jahr 1174 wird eine Eiche mit dem vom Herzog eingekerbten Kreuz erwähnt

sechs natürliche Landschaftselemente (die Leba-Mündung in die Ostsee, das Flüsschen Warnowa Woda, der Lankensee und der Volzsee mit umliegenden Sümpfen, der Fluss *Kefdicz* und die Hügel *Weski*), vier Dörfer (Malschitz, Groß Wunneschin, Wotzkow, Kolodzeye) sowie ein verlassener slawischer Burgwall (*Bobelze*).

In der Urkunde vom 9. Oktober 1313 wurde der Grenzzug zwischen Brandenburg und dem Deutschordensstaat gegenüber der Grenzregulierung vom 12. Juni 1310 wesentlich ergänzt. Der erste Abschnitt begann an der Stelle, an der die Leba in die Ostsee mündet, und verlief dann entlang der Strömung bis zum Ausfluss aus dem Lebasee. Der Beginn der nächsten Strecke war die Stelle, wo sich die Leba in den gleichnamigen See ergießt, und die Grenze folgte von dort aus dem Strom bis zum Lachswehr *Ragy*. Danach führte sie südlich vom Wehr *Ragy* bis zu den Dörfern Malschitz, Groß Wunneschin, Wotzkow und Kolodzeye. Der Verlauf des nächsten Abschnitts ist schwerlich eindeutig zu interpretieren. Den analysierten Aufzeichnungen zufolge ging dieser vom Dorf Kolodzeye bis zur Grenze zwischen den Dörfern Zukowken und Stüdentz, weiter zum Dorf Golzau, dann östlich zum Glinowsee und von dort südlich zum Somminer See. Anschließend zog er an die Grenzen des Dorfes Oslawdamerow, die eine Rute vom Somminer See entfernt lagen,[16] und dann bis zum Flüsschen Zcossow. Nach dessen Querung lief die Grenze bis zur Warnowa Woda und erreichte einen Ort namens *Wosky*.[17] Von dort aus lief sie nach Norden zum Kamenzsee fort, danach südlich zum Lankensee und an die Grenzen des Dorfes Groß Peterkau und des Stüdentzsees. Der letzte Abschnitt der Grenze begann dort und zog durch die Gegend des Volzsees und die nahen Sümpfe bis zum Tessentinsee hinüber. Er endete an einem Ort namens „zu den Schwertern".[18]

– *in quandam quercum cruce signatam, quod signum dicitur Slauice Knzegraniza*, siehe K. Guzikowski, *Procesy kolonizacyjne w posiadłościach cystersów z Kołbacza w XII–XIV wieku. Przestrzeń i ludzie*, Szczecin 2011, S. 139, Fußnote 24.

16   1 Rute entsprach im kulmischen Maß der Länge von etwa 43 Meter. Siehe W. Długokęcki, *Mierzeja Wiślana od XIII do połowy XV wieku (1454 r.)*, Gdańsk 1996, S. 31.

17   Eine Urkunde des brandenburgischen Markgrafen Waldemar bezeichnete diese Stelle als *Westechy*, PlIUB, Nr. 703.

18   PlIUB, Nr 702 (Urkunde des Markgrafen Waldemar) – 703 (Urkunde des Hochmeisters Karl von Trier); K. Neitmann, *Die Staatsverträge…*, S. 526. Siehe U. Nieß, *Hochmeister Karl von Trier (1311–1324). Stationen einer Karriere im Deutschen Orden*, Marburg 1992 (= Quellen und Studien zur Geschichte des Deutschen Ordens XLVII), S. 65. Unter dem Begriff „zu den Schwertern" (*ad gladios*) soll ein nicht näher identifizierbarer Punkt in der Gegend des Gramschsees verstanden werden. Zur Lokalisierung des Ortes vgl. die Stellungnahmen von R. Cramer, *Geschichte der Lande Lauenburg und Bütow*, Teil 1: *Geschichte*, Königsberg 1858, S. 33, 40; M. Töppen, *Historisch-comparative Geographie…*, S. 66; H. J. Schmitz, *Die Stadt Baldenburg und ihre Geschichte: zum 550. jährigen Bestehen der Stadt*, Schneidemühl 1932 (= Grenzmärkische Heimatblätter 1933/1), S. 31-32; K. Ślaski, *Podziały…*, S. 166; H.-J. Karp, *Grenzen…*, S. 27-28, Fußnote 27; K. Neitmann, *Die Staatsverträge…*, S. 526, Fußnote 90.

Die in der Urkunde vom 9. Oktober 1313 beschriebene Grenze begann, wie auch im Diplom vom 12. Juni 1310, an der Stelle, wo die Leba in die Ostsee mündet. Anschließend wurde anstelle der Herzogeiche der Ausfluss der Leba aus dem Lebasee als Orientierungspunkt genannt. Aus den Aufzeichnungen der Urkunde lässt sich schließen, dass die Grenze das Becken des Lebasees durchqueren und entlang der Leba bis zum Wehr *Ragy* verlaufen sollte. Weiterhin sind die Dörfer aufgeführt, die bereits im Kaufbrief vom 12. Juni 1310 erwähnt wurden: Neben Malschitz, Groß Wunneschin, Wotzkow und Kolodzeye wurden die Dörfer Zukowken, Stüdnitz und Golzau genannt, die 1310 nicht erwähnt worden sind. Danach erscheinen weitere Punkte, die in der Urkunde vom 12. Juni 1310 fehlen. Von dieser Stelle bis zum Flüsschen Warnowa Woda nahm ihre Zahl zu. Ergänzungen sind auch in den folgenden Abschnitten zu finden. Zwischen der Gegend der Hügel Wetzke und dem Lankensee wird der Kamenzsee erwähnt, der fortan in allen Beschreibungen als Grenzmarkierung dienen wird. Nach dem Lankensee werden das Dorf Groß Peterkau und der Stüdentzsee aufgeführt. Anschließend verlief die Grenze bis zu den Gewässern um den Volzsee und die umliegenden Sümpfe. Im letzten Abschnitt führte der Grenzverlauf vom Tessentinsee zu einem Ort namens „zu den Schwertern", der in der früheren Beschreibung nicht erwähnt wurde. Interessanterweise handelt es sich auch in diesem Dokument bei der überwiegenden Mehrheit der topografischen Punkte, ähnlich wie im ersten Fall, um natürliche Landschaftsmerkmale und Dörfer sowie umliegendes Ackerland.

Die Beschreibung führte doppelt so viele Grenzpunkte, was sicherlich den Grenzzug genauer definieren sollte. Betrachtet man nur die Elemente aus den Urkunden vom 12. Juni 1310 und vom 9. Oktober 1313, so ist die Tendenz unverkerkennbar, dass deren Anzahl im jüngeren Diplom zugenommen hat: In der ersten der beiden Beschreibungen gab es zwölf Elemente zur Grenzregulierung, während es im zweiten Fall 24 solcher Marken waren. Dies bestätigt die Vermutung, dass sich die neue Beschreibung der Grenze aus Konflikten im damals relativ dicht besiedelten Grenzgebiet zwischen Brandenburg und dem Deutschen Orden ergab.[19] Ferner ist es sehr wahrscheinlich, dass damals eine Sonderkommission zur Festlegung des Grenzverlaufs eingerichtet wurde.[20] Die zweite wichtige Schlussfolgerung aus der Analyse beider Urkunden ist die Feststellung, dass in dem Abschnitt von der Grenze des Dorfes Groß Peterkau bis zum Endpunkt nur natürliche topographische Merkmale erwähnt wurden. Dieses Gebiet war also zu diesem Zeitpunkt noch nicht Gegenstand von Siedlungsaktivitäten.

Nach Übernahme der Länder Schlawe-Stolp durch Herzog Wartislaw IV. von Pommern-Wolgast infolge des Aussterbens der askanischen Linie der

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19 Eine solche Auffassung vertrat B. Śliwiński, *Pomorze Wschodnie…*, S. 558.

20 K. Neitmann, *Die Staatsverträge…*, S. 551.

Markgrafen von Brandenburg wurde die zwischen 1310 und 1313 abgesteck-te Grenze vor dem 2. Juli 1320 zur Außengrenze des Herzogtums der Greifen gegenüber dem Deutschordensstaat in Preußen. Das Herzogtum Pommern-Wolgast wurde daraufhin auch im nördlichen und mittleren Teil zum Nach-barstaat des Deutschordenslandes.[21] Am 2. Juli 1320 schloss Herzog Wartis-law IV. zusammen mit dem Camminer Bischof Konrad IV. ein Bündnis mit dem Deutschen Orden, der durch den preußischen Landmeister Friedrich von Wildenberg vertreten wurde. Es ging um den östlichen Rand von War-tislaws Herrschaft *in Pomerania prope fluvium Leba*. Neben der politischen Bedeutung sollte dieses Übereinkommen auch die Regierung von Wartislaw in Stolp und Schlawe bestätigen. Aus den Quellen geht nicht hervor, dass der Herzog von Pommern-Wolgast die Grenzen von seinen neuen territorialen Errungenschaften gegen den Deutschordensstaat in Frage gestellt hat.[22]

Die nächste Grenzbeschreibung erfolgte in den 1320er Jahren. Es ist anzunehmen, dass die damaligen Grenzverhandlungen zwischen Pom-mern-Wolgast und den Deutschordensbrüdern mit den Präliminarien des bereits erwähnten Bündnisses vom 2. Juli 1320 zwischen Herzog Wartis-law IV. und dem Camminer Bischof Konrad IV. sowie dem preußischen Landmeister Friedrich von Wildenberg zusammenhängen. Ein wichtiger Anstoß für die Aufnahme der Verhandlungen könnten auch die Bestim-mungen der Urkunde vom 1. Mai 1321 zur Abgrenzung der Herrschaft des Wolgaster Herzogs Wartislaw IV. und der Stettiner Herzöge Otto I. und Barnim III. vom bischöflichen Dominium gewesen sein. Einer der dar-

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21   Am 18. Juli 1319 starb Markgraf Waldemar, und bald darauf, d.h. im Juli 1320, folgte der Tod seines Nachfolgers, des minderjährigen Markgrafen Heinrich II., Sohn Heinrichs von Landsberg. Siehe J. Schultze, *Die Mark Brandenburg*, Bd. I (*Entstehung und Entwicklung unter den askanischen Markgrafen bis 1319*), Berlin 1961, S. 235; B. Zientara, *Rozdrobnienie feudalne (1295–1464)*, in: *Historia Pomorza. Tom I do roku 1466*, hrsg. von G. Labuda, Teil 2, Poznań 1969, S. 206-207; A. Bugaj, *Problem przynależności politycznej ziemi sławieńskiej w latach 1316–1320*, in: *Biskupi, lennicy, żeglarze*, hrsg. von B. Śliwiński, Gdańsk 2003 (= Gdańskie Studia z Dziejów Średniowiecza IX), S. 17-38; B. Śliwiński, *Pomorze Wschodnie…*, S. 563-564; P.-M Hahn, *Brandenburg während der ersten Hälfte des 14. Jahrhunderts. Zwischen Expansion und Krisenbewältigung*, in: *Die „Blüte" der Staaten des östlichen Europa im 14. Jahrhundert*, hrsg. von M. Löwener, Wiesbaden 2004 (= Quellen und Studien. Deutsches Historisches Institut Warschau XIV), S. 205-228.

22   *Pommersches Urkundenbuch*, Bd. V: (1311-1320) (weiter zitiert als PUB), hrsg. von O. Hei-nemann, Stettin 1905, Nr. 3375. Zum Zeitpunkt des Abschlusses hielt sich Hochmeister Karl von Trier im Deutschen Reich auf. Im Sommer 1317 schied er als Hochmeister aus und verließ Preußen. In den Jahren 1318/1319 betrachteten zunächst die Ordensherren aus Westeuropa und dann aus Preußen seinen Amtsverzicht als ungeschehen. Karl von Trier erschien jedoch nie wieder in Preußen. Angesichts dieser Umstände ging die oberste Herrschaft in Preußen am 8. September 1317 auf Friedrich von Wildenberg als Landmeister in Preußen über. Dies erklärt, warum gerade dieser Würdenträger der Unterzeichner des Abkommens auf der Seite der Ordens war. Siehe S. Jóźwiak, *Centralne i terytorialne organy władzy zakonu krzyżackiego w Prusach w latach 1228–1410. Rozwój - przekształcenia - kompetencje*, Toruń 2001, S. 95-96, 108-111.

in beschriebenen Grenzabschnitte lag südöstlich des Dolgensees, also in unmittelbarer Nähe zum Herrschaftsgebiet des Deutschen Ordens.[23] Auf die Aufnahme von Grenzverhandlungen zwischen Vertretern des Ordens und Herzog Wartislaws IV. deuten drei kurze Notizen hin, die den südlichen Abschnitt der Grenze zwischen Pommern und dem Deutschen Orden beschreiben und deren Entstehung im vorhandenen Schrifttum auf die Jahre 1323–1326 datiert wird.[24] Der erste von diesen Texten verdeutlicht die Stellung des Deutschen Ordens zum Verlauf der Grenze seines Gebietes gegenüber Pommern. Der Inhalt dieses Vermerks war eine Fortsetzung der Aufzeichnungen des zuvor analysierten Grenzvertrag zwischen Brandenburg und dem Orden vom 9. Oktober 1313. Der darin beschriebene Grenzzug ging – von Norden nach Süden – von „zu den Schwertern" bis zum Dolgensee und dann zum Grenzgraben an diesem See. Weiter folgt eine kurze Schilderung des nächsten Abschnitts der Grenze, der in zwei Varianten erfasst worden war. Im ersten Fall sollte die Grenze vom Graben am Dolgensee bis zum Vilmsee verlaufen, in der zweiten Version vom Graben am Dolgensee bis zu der Stelle, wo der Fluss Küdde aus dem Vilmsee tritt. Dieses Fragment schließt mit einem Satz über die Aufteilung des letztgenannten Gewässers in zwei Hälften, die jeweils Herzog Wartislaw IV. und dem Orden gehören sollten.[25]

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23 PUB VI: (1321-1325), hrsg. von O. Heinemann, Stettin 1907, Nr. 3491: […] *per eandem semitam usque ad stagnum Dolghen et per medium stagnum in longum, ita quod una medietas nobis, alia cedat episcopo, et amplius per semitam, que vadit de fine huius stagni usque ad locum, qui dicitur Sadicker, et abhinc usque ad fluvium Sarne procedatur*; vgl. R. Maske, *Der Grenzzug zwischen dem Lande Belgard und dem bischöflichen Gebiet Arnhausen vom Jahre 1321*, „Monatsblätter der Geselllschaft für pommersche Geschichte und Alterumskunde" XX (1906), S. 24-27.

24 Diese Notizen werden in der Geschichtsschreibung auf die Jahre 1323-1326 datiert. Die erste chronologische Zäsur betrifft den im Text erwähnten Schlochauer Komtur Dietrich von Lichtenhain, der sein Amt zwischen 16. Januar 1323 und 9. Oktober 1326 ausgeübt haben soll. Zur Diskussion über die Entstehungszeit der Schlochauer Komturei vgl. S. Jóźwiak, *Centralne i terytorialne organy…*, S. 122-123 und Fußnote 263; K. Bruski, *Lokalne elity rycerstwa na Pomorzu Gdańskim w okresie panowania zakonu krzyżackiego. Studium prozopograficzne*, Gdańsk 2002, S. 41-42; idem, *Czas powstania komturstwa człuchowskiego*, in: *Stilo et animo. Prace historyczne ofiarowane Tomaszowi Jasińskiemu w 65. rocznicę urodzin*, hrsg. von M. Dorna, M. Matla, M. Sosnowski, E. Syska, unter Zusammenarbeit von W. Baran-Kozłowski, Poznań 2016, S. 413-420, hier S. 419-420. Der in der Quelle erwähnte *here herczige Worislaw* ist mit Wartislaw IV., Herzog von Pommern-Wolgast, Sohn von Bogislaw IV. und Margarethe von Rügen, zu identifizieren. In dokumentierten Rechtshandlungen erschien er zwischen 12. April 1310 und 31. Juli/1. August 1326 - E. Rymar, *Rodowód książąt pomorskich*, 2. Ausgabe, Szczecin 2005, S. 299-305.

25 Geheimes Staatsarchiv Preußischer Kulturbesitz Berlin-Dahlem, XX. Hauptabteilung, Ordensfoliant 270a (weiter zitiert als OF), Bl. 23v (= PUB VII: (1326-1330), hrsg. von H. Frederichs, Stettin 1934–1940, Nr. 4793). Bisher wurden sie in der Geschichtsschreibung noch nicht ausreichend genutzt. Eine Ausnahme ist K. Ślaski, *Podziały…*, S. 163-167, der jedoch nicht alle darin vorkommenden topographischen Namen identifiziert hat.

Aus der Analyse des Grenzverlaufs im zweiten Text geht hervor, dass dieser die Reichweite der territorialen Ansprüche von Herzog Wartislaw IV. in Bezug auf das Grenzgebiet zwischen Pommern und dem Orden widerspiegelt. Der in der zweiten Notiz beschriebene Grenzzug führte in umgekehrter Richtung als in der oben erwähnten Darstellung, nämlich von Süden nach Norden. Der südlichste Orientierungspunkt, der die Einbettung der Grenze in die örtliche Topografie ermöglichte, war der Zusammenfluss von Zahne und Küdde. Weiter lief die Grenze geradeaus nach Zedecker. Von diesem Ort bis zum Ballfließ erstreckte sich ein durch den Wittfelder Fließ geteiltes Areal,[26] dessen Quelle sich südlich des Dorfes Groß Wittfelde befand. Von dort aus fließt der Wasserlauf von Süden nach Nordwesten, biegt nach Westen ab und mündet nach Durchquerung des Stüdnitzsees in den Virchowsee. Den weiteren Verlauf der Grenze bestimmen schwer identifizierbare Gewässer, die wahrscheinlich dem Ballfließ, dem Tessentin- und dem Volzsee entsprechen. Die beiden Seen stimmen mit dem Inhalt der Urkunde vom 9. Oktober 1313 überein.[27]

Der dritte der betrachteten Texte enthielt eine Beschreibung der Strecke vom Grenzgraben am Dolgensee bis zur Mündung des Flusses Zahne in die Küdde. Ihr Ursprung war der Graben am Dolgensee, der als gemeinsame Grenzlinie zwischen der Domäne der Camminer Bischöfe und der Deutschordensherrschaft identifiziert wurde. Von dort aus verlief die Grenze direkt zu dem Ort, wo der Dolgenfließ aus dem Dolgensee austritt. Weiter ging es geradeaus nach Zedecker und dann bis zum alten Weg, der *Suryngis weg* hieß. Die Grenze endete an der Einmündung der Zahne in die Küdde.

Der letzte der analysierten Notizen lässt die Vermutung zu, dass es gelungen ist, den Grenzverlauf vom Grenzgraben am Dolgensee bis zur Einmündung der Zahne in die Küdde festzulegen und zu beschreiben; das gilt unter der Voraussetzung, dass man diese Grenzlinie als Endergebnis der in den 1320er Jahren vorgenommenen Verhandlungen zwischen Pommern-Wolgast und dem Ordensstaat ansehen kann. In einem solchen Fall konnten beide Seiten das Resultat als ihren Erfolg betrachten. Herzog Wartislaw IV. gelang es, die Distanz der Grenze zum Vilmsee zu vergrößern, während die Ordensbrüder sicherlich einen Teil des Dolgensees behielten. Die Grenze der Domäne der Camminer Bischöfe gegenüber dem Deutschordensstaat zwischen dem Volzsee und dem Grenzgraben am Dolgensee verblieb weiterhin

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26 H.J. Schmitz, *Die Stadt Baldenburg…*, S. 18; E. Rzetelska-Feleszko, J. Duma, *Nazwy rzeczne…*, S. 19.

27 Dass diese Notiz mit der Schilderung der Wolgaster Gebietsansprüche identifiziert werden kann, wird auch durch den folgenden Vermerk bestätigt: *Dis sin dy huben, dy wir vinden bynnen der ansprache des herczigen: XIII^C huben ane die see Dolghe und Belczk*. Dabei handelte es sich höchstwahrscheinlich um Berechnungen des Ordensstaates, die auf den Ergebnissen von Vermessungsarbeiten innerhalb des umstrittenen Gebietes beruhten.

ohne eindeutige Festlegung. Aus dem letztgenannten Vermerk geht ferner hervor, dass die Grenze in ihrem Endabschnitt am rechten Ufer der Küdde verlief. In keiner der Quellen wird ein Anspruch des Ordens auf diesen Flusslauf erkennbar. Die beschriebene Grenzstrecke zwischen Pommern und den preußischen Gebieten blieb dauerhaft bestehen. Dieser Schluss ergibt sich aus entsprechenden Dokumenten des späten 14. Jh., die fast wörtlich die Beschreibung aus den 1320er Jahren wiederholen.

Während der Verhandlungen legten sowohl der Orden als auch der Herzog eine Beschreibung des Grenzabschnitts vor. Nur seine anfängliche Strecke ist von den 1310-1313 vorgenommenen Grenzänderungen erfasst worden. Als Orientierungspunkte sind ausschließlich natürliche Landschaftselemente aufgeführt worden. Den Informationen unter den analysierten Notizen zufolge wurden die territorialen Ansprüche von Wartislaw IV. hinsichtlich des Landes zwischen dem Dolgensee und dem Belzigsee auf 1300 Hufen geschätzt. Von diesen waren damals nur 300 Hufen kultiviert, der Rest lag brach.

Die analysierten Vermerke bestätigen, dass in den 1320er Jahren die Grenze zwischen Pommern und dem Ordensstaat im Abschnitt zwischen dem Graben am Dolgensee und der Mündung der Zahne in die Küdde abgesteckt wurde. Sie liefern wichtige Ergänzungen zu den Erkenntnissen über den Verlauf der Grenze zwischen den beiden Hoheitsgebieten. Die Überlieferungen enthalten neue Elemente, die es ermöglichen, den Grenzverlauf fast auf der gesamten Länge der Ordensgrenze zu Pommern zu rekonstruieren, beginnend an der Lebamündung. Zu den neuen topografischen Punkten, die bei den Verhandlungen zwischen dem Schlochauer Komtur Dietrich von Lichtenhain und Herzog Wartislaw IV. festgelegt wurden, gehörten der Grenzgraben am Dolgensee, der Hügel Zedecker nordwestlich der Stadt Hammerstein und der *Suryngis weg* in der Nähe des Dorfes Mockernitz.[28]

Nach den am 9. Oktober 1313 und in den 1320er Jahren getätigten Vereinbarungen war der Grenzabschnitt zwischen der Stelle „zu den Schwertern" und dem Dolgensee immer noch nicht ausreichend reguliert. Das betreffende Gebiet erstreckte sich südlich und östlich des Gramschsees. Am 4. November 1342 erhielten die Gebrüder Paulus und Vicko Bartuskoviz vom Camminer Bischof Friedrich von Eickstedt 500 Hufen des Landes Bublitz zu Lehen. Die Belehnung reichte weit nach Osten, überschritt die Grenzen des bischöflichen Herrschaftsgebiets und umfasste die westlichen Flächen der Komturei Schlochau. Am Marienburger Hof wurden Vorbereitungen

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28 Das Dorf Mockernitz lag vier Kilometer südlich der Stadt Hammerstein. Zur Lokalisierung des Punktes *Suryngis weg* siehe M. Töppen, *Historisch-topographische Geographie…*, S. 74 und Fußnote 340; K. Neitmann, *Die Staatsverträge…*, S. 527; M. Grzegorz, *Słownik historyczno-geograficzny komturstwa człuchowskiego w średniowieczu*, Bydgoszcz 2016, S. 82-83, 110.

getroffen, um dieser Situation entgegenzuwirken, wie aus dem von Hochmeister Ludolf König am 6. Dezember 1344 erteilten Auftrag zur Vidimation der Grenzziehungsurkunde vom 9. Oktober 1313 hervorgeht.[29] Mit dieser Tätigkeit kann auch die Anfertigung eines Exzerpts mit der Beschreibung der Grenze von Pommern zum Ordensstaat, die auf der Urkunde des Markgrafen Waldemar vom 12. Juni 1310 beruhte, in der Marienburger Kanzlei in Verbindung gebracht werden.[30]

Die Auseinandersetzungen um die Grenzen, die durch die bischöfliche Verleihung vom 4. November 1342 ausgelöst worden waren, wurden durch das Grenzabkommen vom 9./22. November 1350 beendet. Der Abschnitt, auf den sich diese Grenzziehung bezog, wurde in dem Brief vom 9. Oktober 1313 und in den Notizen aus den 1320er Jahren allgemein beschrieben: von der Nähe des Volzsees bis zum Grenzgraben am Dolgensee. Der in der Übereinkunft zwischen der Camminer Herrschaft und dem Orden festgehaltene Grenzverlauf war das Ergebnis eines Grenzumritts, den der Bischof von Cammin, Johann von Sachsen-Lauenburg, und Hochmeister Heinrich Dusemer gemeinsam vorgenommen hatten. Dieser begann am Volzsee, wo die Grenzen zwischen dem bischöflichen und dem preußischen Territorium zusammenliefen. Dieser Punkt wurde in den Grenzurkunden vom 12. Juni 1310 und 9. Oktober 1313 erwähnt.[31] Der Verlauf des umstrittenen Grenzabschnitts vom Volzsee bis „zu den Schwertern" wurde „entsprechend dem Wortlaut ihrer Privilegien" beschrieben. Es ist anzunehmen, dass sich dies auf die Grenzverträge von 1310-1313 bezog.[32] Die Grenze folgte dann „einer geraden Linie bis zu einer Eiche, die heute mit einem neuem Kreuz bezeichnet" wurde und nah am Ballfließ und in geringer Entfernung südwestlich der im Jahr 1382 gegründeten Stadt Baldenburg stand (*usque ad unam quercum stantem prope fluvium dictum Bealde cum cruce nova hodie signatam*).[33] Dies wird durch Beschreibungen dieser Grenzstrecke aus der zweiten

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29   *Preußisches Urkundenbuch*, Band III: (1335-1345) (weiter zitiert als PrUB), hrsg. von M. Hein, H. Koeppen, Königsberg 1944–Marburg 1961, Nr. 689. Auf der Rückseite des Dokuments wurde im 15. Jh. der folgende Hinweis vermerkt: *di grenniczen zcu Pomeraren von der Lebe bis zcün Swerten zcwischen dem marcgraven von Brandeburch unde dem orden*. Die Herausgeber führen außerdem den Inhalt von zwei erhaltenen Notizen an: 1) *secunda de graniciebus littera est transumpta continens granicies terre Stolpensis et ordinis*, 2) *copia de limitibus Pomeranie*.

30   PrUB III, Nr. 690.

31   Siehe H.-J. Karp, *Grenzen…*, S. 28.

32   M. Töppen, *Historisch-comparative Geographie…*, S. 73-74; W. Loos, *Die Beziehungen zwischen dem Deutschordensstaat und Pommern*, Königsberg 1937, S. 18; K. Neitmann, *Die Staatsverträge…*, S. 526-527.

33   Das Hydronym *Bealde* meint offensichtlich den Ballfließ – den rechten Nebenfluss der Zahne, der mit der in der Grenzregulierung aus den 1320er Jahren erwähnten Nomenklatur *die Balde* identisch war. Laut H.J. Schmitz ist unter dem Begriff *fluvius dictus Bealde* das Wittfelder Fließ zu verstehen, H.J. Schmitz, *Die Stadt Baldenburg…*, S. 18, 31-34. Dieser Forscher gab irrtüm-

Hälfte des 14. Jahrhunderts bestätigt. Von diesem Punkt aus verlief die Grenze entlang eines Pfades direkt zum Grenzbaum gegenüber dem Graben am Dolgensee, überquerte dann den Dolgensee und endete am Graben am Dolgensee.[34] Im Jahr 1350 wurde erstmals in der Geschichte der Grenzziehungen zwischen Pommern und den Ordensgebieten ein Grenzbaum signiert; damit wurde ein künstlicher topographischer Punkt als Teil der Grenzbeschreibung festgelegt.[35] Die Grenzstrecke von „zu den Schwertern" bis zum Graben am Dolgensee wurde also von beiden Seiten anerkannt, d.h. von den pommerschen Herzögen und Camminer Bischöfen sowie dem Orden. Sie blieb bis zum Jahre 1417 unangefochten.

Der erste in den Quellen verzeichnete Streit, der sich bereits nach der Absteckung und Beschreibung der gesamten Grenze zwischen Pommern und dem Orden entwickelte, fand an deren nördlichem Bereich vor dem 18./20. November 1379 statt. Der Stolper Herzog Wartislaw VII. schloss in Lauenburg einen Vertrag mit dem Hochmeister Winrich von Kniprode über die Grenzziehung zwischen dem ihm gehörenden Dorf Wotzkow und den Ordensdörfern Schimmerwitz, Zewitz und Groß Wunneschin sowie zwischen den herzoglichen Dörfern Mickorow, Runow und Langeböse sowie dem preußischen Dorf Groß Wunneschin. Die genauen Ursachen und Umstände dieses Konflikts, der sich in einem gut entwickelten grenznahen Siedlungsgebiet zwischen dem Herzogtum Pommern-Stolp und der Vogtei Lauenburg abspielte, sind nicht bekannt. Die Regulierung umfasste einen Teil der Grenze, der in den Urkunden von 12. Juni 1310 und 9. Oktober 1313 nur sehr allgemein beschrieben worden war. Dieser begann in der Nähe des Bochowsees und endete in der Nähe des Flusses Lieschnitz (linker Nebenfluss der Leba). Der Grenzzug führte von Süden nach Norden nah am Dorf Schimmerwitz vorbei, bog dann westlich beim Dorf Groß Wunneschin ab und endete in einem Bogen nördlich dieser Ortschaft.[36] In der Grenzzie-

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lich an, dass das Wittfelder Fließ in der Nähe des Dorfes Kasimirshof in die Küdde mündet, während dieser Wasserlauf in Wirklichkeit im Virchowsee endet. Vgl. J. Rieger, E. Wolnicz-Pawłowska, *Nazwy rzeczne…*, S. 22, 270.

34   H.-J. Karp, *Grenzen…*, S. 28, verstand unter dem Begriff *graben* einen Wasserlauf, der in den Dolgensee einfließt. Die Grenzvertragsurkunde vom 9. November 1350 wurde in der Kanzlei des Hochmeisters übersetzt und in OF 270a eingetragen. Der im Lateinischen formulierte Ausdruck *fossa* wurde ins Mittelhochdeutsche mit *graben*, sowie *ex transverso* mit *twere* übersetzt. Zur Bedeutung des Wortes *fossa* siehe https://elexicon.scriptores.pl/pl/lemma/fossa (abgerufen 1.11.2022).

35   K. Neitmann, *Die Staatsverträge…*, S. 527.

36   J. Voigt, *Geschichte Preußens von den ältesten Zeiten bis zum Untergange der Herrschaft des Deutschen Ordens*, Bd. V: *Die Zeit vom Hochmeister Ludolf König von Weizau 1342 bis zum Tode des Hochmeisters Konrad von Wallenrod 1393*, Königsberg 1832, S. 346, Fußnote 1; W. Loos, *Die Beziehungen…*, S. 20-21; H.-J. Karp, *Grenzen…*, S. 29; K. Neitmann, *Die Staatsverträge…*, S. 527; J. Mielcarz, *Dzieje polityczne i społeczne Księstwa Słupskiego w latach 1372–1411*, Poznań 1976 (= Biblio-

hung vom 18./20. November 1379 wurden auch die Vermittler aufgeführt, die im Auftrag des Stolper Herzogs Wartislaw VII. Verhandlungen mit Vertretern des Ordens führten. Diese waren: Martin von Stojentin, Barteke von Stojentin, Mathias von Rexin und Tessmer Tessitz.[37] In einer gesonderten Eintragung im Ordensfolianten 270a, die mit der hier analysierten Vereinbarung in Verbindung gebracht werden kann, ist ferner vermerkt, dass auf pommerscher Seite die Ritter und Knappen Neveling Schmeling, Gropeling, Martin von Stojentin und Matthias von Rexin als Schlichter (*berichtslewte*) im Konflikt über den Grenzverlauf zwischen Wotzkow, Schimmerwitz und Groß Wunneschin auftraten. Die Ritter und Knappen Peter von Russenczin, Przybko von Egsow, Nicze von Groß Pomeiske und Walter Grelle wurden als Ordensvertreter aufgeführt.[38] Hinsichtlich des Verlaufs der zwei übrigen Grenzabschnitte zwischen Wotzkow und Zewitz sowie Mickorow, Runow, Langeböse und Groß Wunneschin wurde sicherlich eine ähnliche Anzahl an Verhandlungsführern bestellt. Es sind jedoch keine Quellen zu diesem Thema überliefert.

In der zweiten Hälfte des 14. und zu Beginn des 15. Jh. verlagerte sich der Schwerpunkt der pommersch-preußischen Beziehungen in Bezug auf die Grenzprobleme allmählich nach Süden. Die systematische Kolonisation seitens des Ordens in dieser Zeit erstreckte sich auf die nördlichen und westlichen Teile der Komturei Schlochau, die an das südliche Gebiet des Landes Schlawe sowie an die östlichen Bereiche der Länder Bublitz und Neustettin grenzten.[39] Der Erschließung des Grenzgebiets zwischen Pommern und

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teka Słupska XXIX), S. 126. Die erwähnten Forscher haben nicht versucht, die Urkunde dieser Vereinbarung zu analysieren, und waren auch nicht an den Umständen der Grenzabsteckung interessiert.

37   Landesarchiv Greifswald (weiter zitiert als LAG), Rep. 2 Ducalia, Nr. 176; Geheimes Staatsarchiv Preußischer Kulturbesitz Berlin-Dahlem, XX. Hauptabteilung, Ordensbriefarchiv (weiter zitiert als OBA), Nr. 409 (= *Geschichte der Lande Lauenburg und Bütow*, Teil. 2: *Urkundenbuch* (weiter zitiert als Cramer), hrsg. von R. Cramer, Königsberg 1858, Nr. 33): […] *iclicher hat gekoren vier manne, die greniczen vnd die czubehorunge czuentrichten, czwisschen den guttern, die do legen vff den landgreniczen czwisschen Woczkow vnd Schimersdorff, vnd Woczkow vnd Zeewicz, czwischen Vndeschin vnd Woczkow, czwisschen Micheraw vnd Vndeschin vnd Vndeschin vnd Runaw, vnd czwisschin Vndeschin und Psregorzelcze*; W. Długokęcki, R. Simiński, *Opisy granicy…*, S. 183-186, Nr. 3.

38   OF 270a, Bl. 89 (= W. Długokęcki, R. Simiński, *Opisy granicy…*, S. 182-183, Nr. 2). K. Bruski, *Lokalne elity…*, S. 91, Fußnote 198, datiert diese Quelle auf die späten 1370er oder frühen 1380er Jahre.

39   Zur Siedlungstätigkeit des Deutschen Ordens im westlichen Gebiet seines Landes im Zeitraum von der ersten Hälfte des 14. Jhs. bis zur Wende vom 14./15. Jh. siehe F. Schultz, *Geschichte…*, S. 47-90; K. Kasiske, *Das deutsche Siedelwerk des Mittelalters in Pommerellen*, Königsberg 1938 (= Einzelschrift der historischen Kommission für ost- und westpreußische Landesforschung VII), S. 142-144, 146-149, 156-157, 159-163; *Kreis Bütow*, bearb. G. Bronisch, W. Ohle, H. Teichmüller, Stettin 1938, S. 53-59, 174-279; A. Czacharowski, *Ziemia bytowska pod rządami brandenburskimi, pomorskimi i krzyżackimi (1308–1454)*, in: *Dzieje ziemi bytowskiej. Praca zbiorowa,*

dem Orden gingen Vorbereitungen seitens der Ordensobrigkeiten voraus.
Am wichtigsten war dabei die Beschreibung des Abschnitts der Grenze zum
Herzogtum Pommern-Stolp, der durch ein Territorium verlief, in dem Kolo-
nisationsmaßnahmen beabsichtigt waren. Es ist eine Beschreibung davon
erhalten geblieben, die grob auf die Zeit zwischen nach dem 17. Juni 1362
und dem 25. Juli 1378 datiert werden kann. Sie stellt die von Norden nach
Süden führende Grenze der Komturei Schlochau gegenüber dem Herzogtum
Pommern-Stolp dar. Diese Strecke begann am Kamenzsee an der Stelle, wo
das Pflegeramt Bütow endete und die Komturei Schlochau begann.[40] Man
hatte hier keinen Grenzumritt vorgenommen, vielmehr frühere Grenzdoku-
mente aus der Hochmeisterkanzlei zu seiner Erfassung herangezogen. Die
analysierte Beschreibung basierte auf den Urkunden zur Grenzfestlegung
zwischen Brandenburg und dem Ordensland vom 12. Juni 1313 und der
Regulierung zwischen Cammin und dem Orden vom 9./22. November 1350.
Grundlage hierfür waren die ins Deutsche übersetzten Grenzvertragsurkun-
den des Markgrafen Waldemar und des Hochmeisters Karl von Trier sowie
des Camminer Bischofs Johann von Sachsen-Lauenburg und des Hochmeis-
ters Heinrich Dusemer. Die Übersetzungen der beiden Dokumente wurden
in das Grenzbuch OF 270a eingetragen. Dieses enthielt eine Beschreibung
des Grenzzugs von den Grenzen des Pflegeramtes Bütow bis zur Einmün-
dung der Dobernitz in die Küdde. Als weitere Orientierungspunkte ab der
Grenze des Pflegeramtes Bütow wurden genannt: der Kamenz- und der Lan-
kensee, das Dorf Groß Peterkau, der Stüdentz- und der Volzsee sowie die
dortigen Moore, der Tessentinsee, die Örtlichkeit „zu den Schwertern", eine
Grenzeiche am Ballfließ, ein Grenzbaum am Dolgensee, der dortige Graben,
der Fluss Dolgen, Zedecker, die Mündung des Flusses Zahne in die Küdde
und der Ort, wo der Fluss Dobernitz in die Küdde einmündet.[41]

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hrsg. von S. Gierszewski, Poznań 1972, S. 89-95; J. Mielcarz, *Pod panowaniem krzyżackim (1308–
1454)*, in: *Dzieje Lęborka*, hrsg. von J. Lindmajer, T. Machura, Poznań 1982, S. 46-67; W. Długokęcki,
Kolonizacja ziemi chełmińskiej, Prus i Pomorza Gdańskiego do 1410 r., in: *Państwo zakonu krzyżackiego
w Prusach. Władza i społeczeństwo*, hrsg. von M. Biskup, R. Czaja, Warszawa 2008, S. 214; K. Brus-
ki, *Lębork w średniowieczu*, in: *Dzieje Lęborka*, hrsg. von J. Borzyszkowski, Lębork-Gdańsk 2009,
S. 21-34.

40 Die Anfänge der Komturei Bütow gehen auf das Jahr 1346 zurück. In der Mitte des 14.
Jhs. wurde sie in ein Pflegeramt umgewandelt. Siehe S. Jóźwiak, *Centralne i terytorialne organy…*,
S. 123-124.

41 OF 270a, Bl. 14-14v (= W. Długokęcki, R. Simiński, *Opisy granicy…*, S. 180-182, Nr. 1). Die
Grenze führte weiter zwischen den Komtureien Schlochau und Tuchel sowie dem nördlichen
Großpolen bis zu der Stelle, wo die Komturei Schwetz begann. Im letzten Absatz unterscheidet
sich die Beschreibung von der von Heinrich Dusemer und Kasimir dem Großen herausgegebe-
nen Grenzziehungsurkunde aus dem Jahr 1349, in der die Grenze zwischen der Komturei Tuchel
und dem nördlichen Großpolen festgelegt wurde. Gleichzeitig könnte dies darauf hindeuten,
dass zwischen den 1360er Jahren und 1382 ein Grenzumritt stattfand, dessen Ergebnisse in der

Eine weitere erhaltene Beschreibung der Grenze entstand wahrscheinlich in den 1380er Jahren (nach 1382) im Zusammenhang mit der Kolonisation seitens der Deutschordensbrüder. Sie stellte den Grenzverlauf von Norden nach Süden entlang eines kurzen Abschnitts von der Stelle „zu den Schwertern" bis zum Zusammenfluss von Zahne und Küdde dar. Die betreffende Strecke begann an dem erstgenannten Punkt und verlief dann bis zur Grenzeiche bei Baldenburg. Anschließend erreichte sie den nächsten Grenzbaum in der Nähe des Dolgensees. Von dort aus überquerte die Trennungslinie geradewegs den letztgenannten See bis zum Grenzgraben, der ein gemeinsamer Grenzpunkt zwischen dem Herzogtum Pommern-Stolp, der Camminer Bischofsdomäne und dem Ordensstaat war. Das nächste Orientierungsmerkmal in diesem Abschnitt war der Fluss Dolgen. Weiter ging es nach Zedecker und zur Einmündung der Zahne in die Küdde. Diese Beschreibung erwähnte auch die Personen, die an der Grenze erschienen und ihren Verlauf beschworen. Es waren Bürger aus Baldenburg sowie Bauern und Zeidler aus Dörfern der Komturei Schlochau, namentlich aus Damerau, Gotzkau, Groß Paglau, Schildberg, Schönberg, Hansfelde, Pollnitz, Geilenfelde, Sichts, Stremlau und Ziethen. Erwähnenswert ist der Einsatz der Bewohner preußischer Grenzdörfer als Zeugen und Informanten, insbesondere von Zeidlern, die sich wohl bestens mit der Topographie der umliegenden Wälder auskannten. Hervorhebenswert ist überdies, dass der Landvermesser Heyne Virchow, Schultheiß von Virchow, in diesem Personenkreis erwähnt wurde.[42] Zugleich bestätigt der Inhalt der Beschreibung nochmals den südlichen Verlauf der Grenze vom Grenzgraben am Dolgensee bis zur Einmündung der Zahne in die Küdde. Diese Regulierung war bereits in den 1320er Jahren von Herzog Wartislaw IV. mit dem Schlochauer Komtur Dietrich von Lichtenhain ausgehandelt worden.[43]

Zu Beginn des 15. Jh. kam es zwischen Pommern und dem Deutschordensstaat zu Konflikten hinsichtlich der Abgrenzung in der Gegend des Dorfes Charbrow,[44] das zum Tafelgut der Leslauer Bischöfe in Pommerellen gehörte,

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Geschichtsschreibung bisher nicht festgehalten wurden. Siehe PrUB IV: (1346-1351), hrsg. von H. Koeppen, Marburg a. d. Lahn 1964, Nr. 623, 625. Mit dem Verlauf dieses Abschnitts befassen sich: G. Dierfeld, *Die Verwaltungsgrenzen…*, S. 55-56; E. Sandow, *Die polnisch-pommerellische Grenze…*, S. 7-12, 32-38; H.-J. Karp, *Grenzen…*, S. 24-26. Zu den Umständen der Abgrenzung von Pommerellen und Großpolen siehe A. Szweda, *Królestwo Polskie…*, S. 13-18.

42   *Handfesten der Komturei Schlochau* (weiter zitiert als HKS), bearb. von P. Panske, Danzig 1921 (= Quellen und Darstellungen zur Geschichte Westpreußens X), Nr. 95.

43   OF 270a, Bl. 23v–24 (= W. Długokęcki, R. Simiński, *Opisy granicy…*, S. 186-188, Nr. 4). Siehe K. Kasiske, *Das deutsche Siedelwerk…*, S. 177.

44   OF 2c, Bl. 259; OF 3, Bl. 78, 104; P. Kriedte, *Die Herrschaft der Bischöfe von Włocławek in Pommerellen von den Anfängen bis zum Jahre 1409*, Göttingen 1974 (= Veröffentlichungen des Max-Planck-Instituts für Geschichte XL), S. 31, 37-38, 95, 228-229; M. Grzegorz, *Słownik historyczno-geograficzny wójtostwa lęborskiego komturstwa gdańskiego w średniowieczu*, Bydgoszcz 2013, S. 38-39.

und vom Jassener See.[45] Die zu dieser Zeit geführten Verhandlungen betrafen den nördlichen und mittleren Abschnitt der Grenze.[46] Die Grenzangelegenheiten wurden 1405 nochmals zum Gegenstand der Korrespondenz zwischen dem Herzog von Pommern-Stolp und dem Haupt des Deutschen Ordens.[47] Der überlieferte Schriftverkehr enthält jedoch keine konkreten Hinweise, die Aufschluss über die unmittelbaren Gründe für die Gespräche zu diesem Thema geben könnten. Der Vorgang reiht sich wohl in die die bereits erwähnten Versuche des Greifen und seiner Untertanen ein, die Ordensstaatsgrenze hinsichtlich einzelner Teilabschnitte anzufechten. Der Orden hatte sich wahrscheinlich zum Ziel gesetzt, aufgrund schriftlicher und mündlicher Zeugnisse den Verlauf der gesamten Grenze gegenüber dem Herzogtum Pommern-Stolp zu beschreiben, und zwar zwischen der Lebamündung und der Mündung der Zahne in die Küdde bzw. der Burg in Landeck. Es sei auch daran erinnert, dass die Grenze zwischen Pommern und dem Ordensland bisher nur in einigen Abschnitten beschrieben worden war. Der Verlauf der westlichen Grenze der Vogtei Lauenburg und der Komturei Schlochau wurde gut dokumentiert. Andererseits besaßen die Deutschordensbrüder keine Aufzeichnungen bezüglich der Abgrenzung des Pflegeramtes Bütow gegenüber dem Herzogtum Pommern-Stolp.[48] Ursprünglich war vereinbart worden, dass das Treffen am 17. Mai 1405 stattfinden solle. Die Zusammenkunft begann jedoch erst am 29. September 1405 in Hammerstein. Man beschloss, dass die Vertreter des

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45 OF 2c, Bl. 67; OF 3, Bl. 143-144, 159; M. Töppen, *Historisch-comparative Geographie…*, S. 72; W. Loos, *Die Beziehungen…*, S. 19-20, 33; J. Zdrenka, *Dalsze materiały do historii (Święców)-Puttkamerów w XIV–XV wieku*, in: *Władcy, mnisi, rycerze*, hrsg. von B. Śliwiński, Gdańsk 1996 (= Gdańskie Studia z Dziejów Średniowiecza III), S. 402-404; M. Grzegorz, *Słownik historyczno-geograficzny prokuratorstwa bytowskiego komturstwa gdańskiego/malborskiego w średniowieczu*, Bydgoszcz 2012, S. 36-37. Es soll hier auch auf den Grenzstreit zwischen dem pommerschen Adligen Jerslaff von Zitzewitz und dem Bütower Pfleger Jakob von Reinach hingewiesen werden. Der Konflikt der Familie Zitzewitz mit den Gebietigern des Deutschen Ordens wurde in den Jahren 1412-1414 Gegenstand eines Schiedsprozesses, OF 2c, Bl. 208-210; R. Simiński, *Konflikt…*, S. 106-109, 193-197, 212.

46 OF 3, Bl. 78, 120-121, 131, 141-144. Die Probleme sollten in Lauenburg oder in Bütow durch die Vertreter beider Seiten vermittelt werden.

47 OF 3, Bl. 187-188, 192, 194.

48 19. November 1329 verkaufte die pommersche Adelsfamilie von Behr das Bütower Land an den Deutschen Orden, PUB VII, Nr. 4458; W. Loos, *Die Beziehungen…*, S. 10-14; K. Kasiske, *Das deutsche Siedelwerk…*, S. 110-111; J. Zdrenka, *Bytów i ziemia bytowska pod rządami zakonu krzyżackiego (1329–1454, 1460–1466)*, in: *Historia Bytowa*, hrsg. von Z. Szultka, Bytów 1998, S. 14; S. Helms, *Luther von Braunschweig. Der Deutsche Orden in Preußen zwischen Krise und Stabilisierung und das Wirken eines Fürsten in der ersten Hälfte des 14. Jahrhunderts*, Marburg 2009 (= Quellen und Studien zur Geschichte des Deutschen Ordens LXVIII), S. 52. Das Tuchomer Land wurde am 25. April 1385 den Deutschordensbrüdern von den Stolper Herzögen Wartislaw VII. und Bogislaw VIII. verpfändet, Cramer 2, Nr. 29; K. Neitmann, *Die Pfandverträge des Deutschen Ordens in Preußen*, „Zeitschrift für Ostforschung" XLI (1992), S. 6.

Hochmeisters einen Grenzumritt vornehmen sollten, dessen Ergebnis auf zwei Kerbzetteln (*in czwu usgesneten czedelen*) festzuhalten sei. Zwei Wochen nach der Versammlung wollte man eine der Urkunden an Herzog Bogislaw VIII. nach Neustettin senden, während die andere in den Händen des Ordens blieb. Um Weihnachten wurde ein weiteres Treffen zwischen Bogislaw VIII. und Konrad von Jungingen geplant. Vorgesehen war, ein Schriftstück mit den Aufzeichnungen über den Grenzverlauf auszustellen und von beiden Seiten zu besiegeln. Diese Absichten wurden jedoch nicht verwirklicht, da Hochmeister Konrad von Jungingen nicht zum vereinbarten Treffpunkt erschien. In dieser Situation händigte er dem Stolper Herzog am 22. Dezember 1405 einen von zwei Kerbzetteln (*eyne usgesnetene czedil*) mit der Beschreibung des Grenzverlaufs aus. Wahrscheinlich war dieses Dokument ein sog. Chirograph – „ein Blatt, das so durchgeschnitten wurde, dass jede Vertragspartei einen Teil davon erhielt und erst das Aneinanderfügen beider Teile ein Ganzes ergab".[49] Die einzige Kontroverse, die damals vonseiten des Deutschen Ordens bezüglich der Grenze deutlich zum Ausdruck gebracht wurde, bezog sich auf den Lebasee. Die Deutschordensbrüder vertraten den Standpunkt, ein ausschließliches Recht darauf zu haben. Nach Auffassung der Ordensvertreter wurden die beschriebenen Grenzen vom Orden „von alters her" respektiert. Sie behaupteten, über entsprechende Belege zu verfügen, die den geschilderten Verlauf der Grenze bestätigen würden.[50]

Die erwähnten Kerbzettel können mit drei Beschreibungen der Ordensgrenze gegenüber dem Herzogtum Pommern-Stolp in Verbindung gebracht werden, die vom Danziger Komtur Albrecht, Graf von Schwarzburg, angefertigt wurden. Das Ergebnis des Ende 1405 durchgeführten Grenzumritts waren drei Beschreibungen der Grenzen von preußischen Verwaltungseinheiten gegenüber dem Herzogtum Pommern-Stolp: Komturei Schlochau (*Slochow*), Pflegeramt Bütow (*Butow*) und Vogtei Lauenburg (*Lewinburg*). Die Beschreibungen betrafen den Verlauf der gesamten Länge der Grenze zwischen dem Herzogtum Pommern-Stolp und dem Ordensstaat, beginnend bei Landeck im Süden bis zur Mündung des Flusses Leba in die Ostsee im Norden. Die erste davon wurde auf der Grundlage von Aussagen der Bewohner der Gegend (*die altsessen*) erstellt.[51]

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49   T. Jurek, K. Skupieński, *Wprowadzenie do dyplomatyki*, in: *Dyplomatyka staropolska*, hrsg. von T. Jurek, Warszawa 2015, S. 45.

50   OF 3, Bl. 200, 226, 236; R. Simiński, *Od układu korczyńskiego do traktatu toruńskiego. Polityka księcia Bogusława VIII wobec zakonu krzyżackiego w latach 1403–1411*, in: *Od traktatu kaliskiego…*, S. 175-176. Aus einem Vermerk neben dem Text geht hervor, dass ihre Vornamen auf ein separates Blatt geschrieben wurden, das jedoch nicht erhalten geblieben ist. Es wurde auf der ersten Seite des Buches mit den Beschreibungen der Grenzen des Ordensstaates eingefügt.

51   OF 270a, Bl. 92-93 (= W. Długokęcki, R. Simiński, *Opisy granicy…*, S. 188-192, Nr. 5-7). Es wurden damals 54 topografische Punkte angegeben, um die Grenze zu beschreiben.

Zu Beginn des Jahres 1407 sollten erneut Verhandlungen über die Grenze zwischen Pommern und dem Orden stattfinden. Hochmeister Konrad
von Jungingen beabsichtigte, den Großkomtur Kuno von Lichtenstein, den
Ordenstreßler Arnold von Hecke und den neumärkischen Ritter Heinrich
von Güntersberg zu den Gesprächen nach Hammerstein zu schicken.[52] Die
Verhandlungen gewannen an Dringlichkeit aufgrund eines Konflikts, der
sich in den ersten Februartagen des Jahres 1407 ereignet hatte. Damals intervenierte der herzogliche Landvogt Klaus Kameke in Hammerstein wegen
des Fischfangs der Ordensleute am Dolgensee. Der Beamte argumentierte,
dass dieses Recht nur den Untertanen des Herzogs von Pommern-Stolp zustehe. Er forderte im Namen des Stolper Herrschers eine Zusammenkunft mit
dem Hochmeister, um diese Angelegenheit zu regeln. Ursprünglich wurde
erwartet, dass dieses Treffen am 3. April 1407 stattfinden würde. Aufgrund
der Situation innerhalb der Ordenskorporation konnte dieser Termin jedoch
nicht eingehalten werden. Am 30. März 1407 starb der bisherige Hochmeister
Konrad von Jungingen, und sein Nachfolger, Ulrich von Jungingen, wurde
erst am 26. Juni 1407 vom Ordenskapitel gewählt.[53] Dieser Umstand führte
dazu, dass sich der neue Hochmeister und Herzog Bogislaw VIII. erst am
8. September 1407 in Hammerstein trafen. Die Versammlung endete ergebnislos, da der Herzog keine bindenden Entscheidungen treffen wollte, angeblich wegen der Abwesenheit seiner Berater. Es wurde vereinbart, dass am
13. Oktober 1407 eine weitere Verhandlung in Hammerstein stattfinden solle,
dieses Mal zwischen den Bevollmächtigten beider Seiten. Es wurde damals
der vorläufige Text eines Grenzabkommens ausgehandelt, samt Beschreibung
der Grenze zwischen dem Herzogtum Pommern-Stolp und dem Ordensstaat,
beginnend von Landeck im Süden bis zur Mündung der Leba in die Ostsee
im Norden. Grundlage dafür waren die Aufzeichnungen des Komturs zu
Danzig, Graf Albrecht von Schwarzburg, vom Ende 1405. Man versicherte,
dass die vorläufigen Bestimmungen in Kürze in einem von beiden Machthabern gesiegelten Dokument bestätigt werden würden.[54] Am 26. Juli 1408

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52 OF 3, Bl. 292. Konrad von Jungingen bat den Stolper Herzog um ein Geleit für den Ritter
Heinrich von Güntersberg, der von den Bewohnern des pommerschen Städtchens Bärwalde bei
Neustettin gefangen genommen worden war.

53 D. Heckmann, *Amtsträger des Deutschen Ordens/Dostojnicy zakonu niemieckiego*, Toruń
2020, S. 151.

54 OBA, Nr. 910, 950 (= *Die Staatsverträge des Deutschen Ordens in Preußen im 15. Jahrhundert*
(weiter zitiert als Staatsverträge), Bd. I, bearb. von E. Weise, Königsberg 1939, Nr. 56); OF 3, Bl.
303; J. Mielcarz, *Stanowisko Bogusława VIII wobec konfliktu polsko-krzyżackiego w latach 1403–1411*,
„Rocznik Koszaliński” X (1974), S. 10; J. Zdrenka, *Polityka zagraniczna książąt szczecińskich 1295–
1411*, Słupsk 1987 (= Biblioteka Słupska XXXIV), S. 258; R. Simiński, *Od układu…*, S. 176-177. Die
preußische Seite wurde bei den Verhandlungen durch den Graudenzer Komtur Wilhelm von
Helfenstein, den Schlochauer Komtur Gamrath von Pinzenau, den Tucheler Komtur Heinrich
von Schwelborn und den Neumarker Vogt Baldwin Stal vertreten.

fanden weitere Verhandlungen im Grenzgebiet von Pommern und dem Orden statt, um die ein Jahr zuvor getroffenen vorläufigen Vereinbarungen abzuschließen. Der Hochmeister wartete die Ergebnisse der Gespräche in Hammerstein ab, während der Stolper Herzog zu dieser Zeit in Neustettin weilte. Die Verhandlungen wurden von Gesandten beider Seiten geführt. Sie endeten erfolgreich mit der Ausstellung einer besiegelten Vertragsurkunde in Hammerstein am 23. September 1408. Im Text wurde betont, dass die beiden Antagonisten einen Friedenszustand geschaffen hätten, der die langjährigen Spannungen an der Grenze beende. Unterhändler der Vereinbarung auf preußischer Seite waren der Thorner Komtur Albrecht, Graf von Schwarzburg (in dieser Rolle vom 16. Oktober 1407 bis zum 4. April 1410 nachweisbar), der Schlochauer Komtur Gamrath von Pinzenau, der Tucheler Komtur Heinrich von Schwelborn und der neumärkische Ritter, Heinrich von Güntersberg. Die Anwesenheit des Komturs zu Thorn am Ort der Gespräche war wohl kein Zufall. Er kannte den Verlauf der Grenze sehr gut, da er sie fast drei Jahre zuvor als Komtur zu Danzig umritten und beschrieben hatte. Die damals erstellten Notizen wurden zur Grundlage für die Bestimmungen des Vertragsdokuments. Der Haupttext des Diploms wiederholte wortwörtlich den Inhalt der Grenzbeschreibung, die bereits ein Jahr zuvor bei den Präliminarien formuliert worden war. Der Grenzvertrag vom 23. September 1408 übernahm auch die Regelungen zum Grenzverlauf von der Stelle, die „zu den Schwertern" genannt wurde, bis zum Stüdentzsee, die in der Urkunde zur Abgrenzung von Brandenburg gegen den Ordensstaat vom 9. Oktober 1313 enthalten waren. Dadurch wurde sichergestellt, dass der Tessentinsee und der Bach, der aus dem Biallensee ausströmt, als Orientierungspunkte in den Text des Abkommens aufgenommen wurden. Damit bestätigte man den Verlauf der Grenze entlang der Linie südlich des Volzsees. Der Lebasee blieb in den Händen des pommerschen Herzogs und des Hochmeisters, und zwar nach den Festlegungen der Urkunde vom 9. Oktober 1313.[55] Unmittelbar nach Abschluss des Abkommens begann der Deutsche Orden jedoch damit, Beweise zu sammeln, um die im Übereinkommen vom 23. September 1408 getroffenen Vereinbarungen zu unterlaufen.[56]

Die Unzufriedenheit des Ordens über die Ergebnisse der Verhandlungen betraf vor allem den südlichen Grenzabschnitt in der Nähe von Neustettin,

55 LAG, Rep. 2 Ducalia, Nr. 218; OF 3, Bl. 349-350; Cramer, Nr. 35; Staatsverträge I, Nr. 57; K. Neitmann, *Die Staatsverträge…*, S. 527-529; R. Simiński, *Od układu…*, S. 179. Laut Berechnungen von K. Neitmann wurden in der vorläufigen und der endgültigen Fassung des Grenzvertrags vom 14. Oktober 1407 und 23. September 1408 insgesamt 56 topographische Punkte erwähnt, K. Neitmann, *Die Staatsverträge…*, S. 528.

56 Vielleicht weilte aus diesem Grund der Berater von Herzog Bogislaw VIII., Henning Below, bereits um 24. Oktober 1408 auf Marienburg, *Das Marienburger Tresslerbuch der Jahre 1399-1409*, hrsg. von E. Joachim, Königsberg 1896, S. 505.

Baldenburg und Hammerstein. Am 14. November 1408 ordnete der Schlochau-
er Komtur Gamrath von Pinzenau an, Zeugnisse der örtlichen Ritter und Bür-
ger von Baldenburg, Conitz, Schlochau und Preußisch Friedland zu diesem
Thema zu sammeln. Der Inhalt des gesammelten Materials sowie die Auswahl
der Zeugen weisen eindeutig darauf hin, dass die Deutschordensbrüder den
Grenzverlauf in der Nähe des Dolgensees bestritten, und dass sich die terri-
torialen Ansprüche des Ordens auf alle bzw. zumindest einen Teil der Seen
in unmittelbarer Nähe von Neustettin – Dolgen- und Vilmsee – erstreckten.[57]

    Bogislaw VIII., Herzog von Pommern-Stolp, war im Vorfeld des Krieges
von 1409–1411 zwar zunächst mit dem Orden verbündet, wechselte aber letzt-
endlich auf die Seite Polens und Litauens. Gemäß dem am 29. August 1410
mit Władysław II. Jagiełło geschlossenen Vertrag sollte er die westlichen,
zum Ordensstaat gehörenden Gebiete lebenslang erhalten (darunter Teile
des Bütower Pflegeramtes, der Schlochauer Komturei und der Neumark).[58]
Schließlich stellte das Friedensabkommen von Thorn vom 1. Februar 1411
den Status quo ante bezüglich der Grenze zwischen Pommern und dem
Ordensstaat wieder her. Der Text dieses Vertrags enthielt Vereinbarungen
über die Art und Weise der Beilegung von Grenzkonflikten zwischen den
Unterzeichnern. In einem der Punkte wurde festgehalten, dass jegliche
Grenzstreitigkeiten zwischen dem Herzogtum Pommern-Stolp und dem
Deutschen Orden in Preußen von zwölf ehrbaren Personen, die vom polni-
schen König und dem Hochmeister ausgewählt wurden, beizulegen seien.
Wenn keine Einigung erzielt werden kann, werde die Angelegenheit dem
Urteil des Papstes als Schiedsrichter unterworfen.[59]

    Die Grenzproblematik zwischen Pommern und dem Ordensland kehrte
im Herbst 1411 zurück. Auf diese Fragen bezog sich die Liste von Beschwer-

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57   OBA, Nr. 1016. Diese Quelle ist in Form von zwei doppelseitig beschriebenen Papier-
bögen erhalten. Die Aussagen von Zeugen wurden in einer notariellen Urkunde niedergeschrie-
ben. Ihr Inhalt ist nur in Form eines sehr schlecht erhaltenen Konzepts mit zahlreichen Lücken,
Streichungen und Verfärbungen überliefert. Diese Umstände führen zu Schwierigkeiten beim
Lesen der Quelle an einigen Stellen und erschweren die eindeutige Interpretation ihres Wort-
lauts.

58   Siehe S. Jóźwiak, K. Kwiatkowski, A. Szweda, S. Szybkowski, *Wojna Polski i Litwy z Zako-
nem Krzyżackim w latach 1409-1411*, Malbork 2010, S. 530-531; R. Simiński, *Od układu…*, S. 186-187.

59   Staatsverträge I, Nr. 83: […] *similiter et facta granicierum* […] *Boguslai ducis Stolpensis ad
decisionem duodecim personarum probarum per dominum regem Polonie predictum et magistrum eligen-
darum remitti debent. Que si per ipsas ad finem deduci non poterint, ad superabitrem dominum Papam
remittantur.* Diese Vereinbarungen betrafen auch die Art und Weise der Beilegung von Grenz-
streitigkeiten zwischen den masowischen Herzögen und dem Deutschen Ritterorden, W. Sie-
radzan, *Sąsiedztwo…*, S. 138. Siehe auch S. Flemmig, *Die Beziehungen des Deutschen Ordens zum
Reich vom Thorner Frieden bis zum Tag von Breslau*, „Miscellanea Historica-Archivistica” XIX (2012),
S. 7-41; A. Szweda, *Pierwszy pokój toruński w stosunkach polsko–krzyżackich do 1423 r.*, „Miscellanea
Historica-Archivistica” XIX (2012), S. 69-77.

den, die Adam Szweda korrekt datiert und analysiert hat. Diese sind von der polnischen Seite während der Zusammenkunft mit den Verhandlungsführern des Ordens im kujawischen Dorf Groß Morin vom 12.-26. September 1411 vorgebracht worden. Darunter befanden sich auch Artikel von Pommern-Stolp. Weder der Stolper Herzog Bogislaw VIII. selbst noch einer seiner Vertreter nahmen jedoch an diesem Treffen teil. Diese Materialien sind eine wichtige Bereicherung unseres Wissens über die Beziehungen zwischen Pommern und dem Orden in der Zeit unmittelbar vor dem Ausbruch des Krieges 1409. Zudem erweitern sie den Wissensstand hinsichtlich des zu dieser Zeit zwischen Bogislaw VIII. und den Deutschordensbrüdern andauernden Konflikts über den Verlauf des südlichen Abschnitts der Grenze zwischen Pommern und dem Ordensstaat. Die pommerschen Beschwerden wurden während der Verhandlungen in zwei einander ergänzenden Fassungen vorgelegt. Es ist auch das Konzept eines Fragments der hochmeisterlichen Entgegnungen erhalten geblieben, das Aufschluss über ihren Standpunkt in der strittigen Frage gibt.[60] Diese Quellen legen nahe, dass die am 14. November 1408 gesammelten Zeugenaussagen über die Rechte des Ordens auf das Gebiet um den Dolgensee zur Grundlage dafür wurden, dass die Ordensleitung entschieden gegen den Stolper Greifen vorging. Am Vorabend des Ausbruchs des Krieges von 1409–1411 kam es zu einem Konflikt zwischen Herzog Bogislaw VIII. und König Władysław II. Jagiełło.[61] Angesichts dieser Sachlage versprach Hochmeister Ulrich von Jungingen dem Herzog von Pommern-Stolp die Wiederherstellung der ursprünglichen Grenzziehung zwischen den beiden Herrschaften und die Rückgabe der vom Orden besetzten pommerschen Gebiete. Er tat dies in der Hoffnung, den Greifen für die sich abzeichnende Koalition der dem Königreich Polen und dem Großfürstentum Litauen feindlich gesinnten Staaten zu gewinnen. Die Angelegenheit wurde dann dem Stettiner Herzog Swantibor I. zur Entscheidung überlassen.[62] Die Deutschordensbrüder lieferten ihm auch Urkunden,

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60   Das von den polnischen Delegierten während der Zusammenkunft vorgelegte Material wurde von Jan Budkowic, Notar des Posener Bischofs, redigiert. Zu den sechs von Hochmeister Heinrich von Plauen entsandten Schlichtern gehörte der neumärkische Ritter Heinrich von Güntersberg, OBA, Nr. 1620-1622; A. Szweda, *Po wielkiej wojnie. Zjazdy polsko-krzyżackie w 1411 roku*, in: *Kancelaria wielkich mistrzów i polska kancelaria królewska w XV wieku. Materiały z międzynarodowej konferencji naukowej, Malbork 2-3 IX 2004*, hrsg. von J. Trupinda, Malbork 2006, S. 267-298; idem, *Organizacja i technika dyplomacji polskiej w stosunkach z zakonem krzyżackim w Prusach w latach 1386-1454*, Toruń 2009, Nr. 26, S. 378-379. Siehe auch D. Wróbel, *Elity polityczne Królestwa Polskiego wobec problemu krzyżackiego w czasach Władysława Jagiełły*, Lublin 2016, S. 286-289.

61   Siehe J. Zdrenka, *Dokument poznańskiego rozejmu polsko-pomorskiego z 1409 r. w kontekście „Wielkiej Wojny"*, in: *Biskupi, lennicy, żeglarze*, hrsg. von B. Śliwiński, Gdańsk 2003 (= Gdańskie Studia z Dziejów Średniowiecza IX), S. 427-431.

62   Die Darstellung des damaligen Streits wird sowohl durch den Bericht von zwei Ordensgesandten an den polnischen König Władysław II Jagiełło von Anfang 1411, dem Ragniter

die ihre Rechte an dem umstrittenen Gebiet bestätigten, darunter höchst-
wahrscheinlich die oben erwähnte Urkunde vom 14. November 1408.[63]

Aus den von pommerscher Seite vorgelegten Artikeln geht hervor, dass
die Vorfahren von Herzog Bogislaw VIII. dem Orden ein gewisses Gebiet
zwischen Neustettin und Hammerstein zur Nutzung überlassen sollten. Die
Deutschordensbrüder waren mit der Größe der Schenkung nicht zufrieden
und übernahmen auch einen Teil der Ländereien des Herzogs von Pommern-
Stolp zwischen Neustettin und Hammerstein. In der Erwiderung des Ordens
auf die pommerschen Einwände findet sich der Hinweis, dass der Grenz-
streit mit dem Stolper Herrscher einen Teil eines Hochwaldes und eines Sees
betraf. Alle Anzeichen sprechen dafür, dass es sich um die Gegend um den
Dolgensee handelte.[64] Bogislaw VIII. schätzte die dadurch entstandenen Ver-
luste auf 4000 Schock böhmischer Groschen. Er versicherte, dass er den Streit
via juris et amicicia beilegen wolle. In ihrer Erwiderung auf die pommersche
Beschwerde bestätigte der Deutsche Orden, dass der Konflikt dem Herzog
Swantibor I. zur Beilegung anvertraut worden war. Allerdings kam diese
letztlich durch den Tod des Hochmeisters[65] nicht zustande. Wie die Ordens-

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Komtur, Helferich von Drahe, und dem Brandenburger Komtur, Ulrich Zenger, als auch durch
den Brief von Bogislaw VIII., Herzog von Pommern-Stolp, an den Schlochauer Komtur Jobst
von Hohenkirchen vom 7. März 1417 vervollständigt. In diesen Quellen erwähnt wurde die
Schlichtung des pommersch-preußischen Grenzstreites durch Swantibor I., den Herzog von
Pommern-Stettin, OBA, Nr. 2487; *Codex epistolaris Vitoldi, magni ducis Lithuaniae*, hrsg. von A. Pro-
chaska, Kraków 1882, Nr. 467; K. Kwiatkowski, *Książęta pomorscy wobec konfliktu Polski i Litwy
z zakonem niemieckim w 1409/1410 roku (przyczynek do uwarunkowań aktywności władczej w późnym
średniowieczu)*, „Zapiski Historyczne" 79 (2014), Heft 3, S. 25-27. Dem Bericht zufolge soll der Stol-
per Herzog aufgrund des Ausspruchs von Herzog Swantibor I. „alte Grenzen" erhalten haben.
Diese Nachricht kommt aus dem Brief, den Bogislaw VIII. dem polnischen Herrscher sand-
te. Über den Inhalt des Briefes informierte Władysław II. Jagiełło die Vertreter des Deutschen
Ordens.

    63   OBA, Nr. 1620, Bl. 20v. Herzog Bogislaw VIII. erhielt vom Orden Geld als Garantie
dafür, dass er die Bestimmungen des am 20. August 1409 geschlossenen Bündnisses zwischen
Pommern-Stolp und dem Orden erfüllen würde, Statsverträge I, Nr. 69; S. Jóźwiak, K. Kwiatkow-
ski, A. Szweda, S. Szybkowski, *Wojna…*, S. 50-51; R. Simiński, *Od układu…*, S. 183-184.

    64   Die genaue Ermittlung des wichtigsten Ortes des laufenden Konflikts ergibt sich aus
der Analyse des Inhalts des oben erwähnten Schreibens von Herzog Bogislaw VIII. an den Kom-
tur Jobst von Hohenkirchen vom 7. März 1417. Als solcher ist der Grenzgraben in der Nähe des
Dolgensees zu betrachten, der laut Bogislaw VIII. in seiner gesamten Länge sein ausschließ-
liches Eigentum war. Die Inbesitznahme dieser topografischen Marke durch den Orden kam
wahrscheinlich der Besetzung des gesamten Beckens des Dolgensees gleich, d.h. sowohl des
nördlichen als auch des südlichen Teils. Der Herzog verwies bei dieser Gelegenheit auf die Bei-
legung des Konflikts durch seinen Cousin, Herzog Swantibor I., und schrieb an den Komtur von
Schlochau, dass *use vedder hertogh Swantebur salighen dachtnisse heft us dar umme entscheden, dat he
use is und iuwe nicht*, OBA, Nr. 2487.

    65   Der Hochmeister Ulrich von Jungingen fiel am 15. Juli 1410 in der Schlacht bei Tannen-
berg, D. Heckmann, *Amtsträger…*, S. 151.

seite weiter ausführte, war der derzeitige Hochmeister (Heinrich von Plauen, Hochmeister vom 9. November 1410 bis zum 14. Oktober 1413), bereit, alle Streitigkeiten in dieser Angelegenheit zu beenden.[66]

Über die Umstände, unter denen der Konflikt über den Grenzverlauf in der Nähe des Dolgensees zwischen Pommern und dem Orden beigelegt wurde, gibt ein Bericht Aufschluss, der in einem der Bücher der Hochmeisterkanzlei erhalten ist. Dem Bericht zufolge einigten sich die beiden Parteien nach vielen vergeblichen Lösungsversuchen schließlich auf eine Methode zur Beilegung der Streitigkeit – diese wurde dem Urteil des Stettiner Herzogs Swantibor I. überantwortet. Aus dem Wortlaut geht jedoch nicht eindeutig hervor, ob eine Schlichtung seitens Swantibors I. tatsächlich stattgefunden hat.[67]

Vermutlich besetzte der Deutsche Orden also vor dem 20. August 1409 die Gebiete, die kraft der Grenzvereinbarung vom 23. September 1408 im Besitz des Herzogs Bogislaw VIII. stehen sollten. Die Kontroverse betraf jedoch nicht den Teil der Grenze, der sich von der Einmündung des Flusses Zahne in die Küdde bis zum Hügel Zedecker erstreckte. In diesem kurzen Abschnitt verlief sie entlang des Flusses Küdde zwischen dem Zusammenfluss der Mockernitz und der Küdde sowie der Mündung der Zahne in die Küdde.[68]

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66 In der ersten Novemberhälfte 1409 versicherte Ulrich von Jungingen dem Herrscher von Pommern-Stolp, dass er sich „an die weise Entscheidung des Herzogs Swantibor I. halten wolle" (*nach synem wysem dirkentnisse und vssproche*). Die Natur dieses Konflikts wird in dem Brief jedoch nicht explizit dargelegt. Es kann nur vermutet werden, dass es sich um Auseinandersetzungen um den südlichen Bereich der pommerschen Grenze gegen das Ordensland in der Nähe des Dolgensees handelte, OF 3, Bl. 375. Diese Quelle hat weder ein Jahres- noch ein Tagesdatum. Der Empfänger wird auch nicht genannt. Aus dem Inhalt des Briefes lassen sich jedoch Rückschlüsse auf die Personalien ziehen. Allerdings lässt sich aus seinem Zusammenhang mit der Epistel Heinrichs von Güntersberg an den Hochmeister Ulrich von Jungingen, die laut neuester Forschungsergebnisse am 30. Oktober 1409 entstand, eine Datierung erschließen. Der neumärkische Ritter informierte darin den höchsten Würdenträger des Ordens über die Botschaften des polnischen Königs Władysław II. Jagiełło an die europäischen Königs- und Herzogshöfe. Der Hochmeister wiederum teilte dem Herzog Bogislaw VIII. mit, dass er das Schreiben des neumärkischen Ritters erhalten habe. Zu den Argumenten für eine Datierung der Korrespondenz von Güntersberg auf den 30. Oktober 1409 siehe S. Jóźwiak, K. Kwiatkowski, A. Szweda, S. Szybkowski, *Wojna…*, S. 192 und Fußnote 73.

67 OF 14, Bl. 39. Nach Ansicht von K. Kwiatkowski, *Książęta…*, S. 16, war der Autor dieses Berichts der neumärkische Ritter Heinrich von Güntersberg. Dieser Forscher datiert seine Entstehung auf das Jahr 1414.

68 Am 21. September 1411 wurde dieser Grenzabschnitt in der Verleihungsurkunde des Hochmeisters Heinrich von Plauen beschrieben. Die Grenze der Verleihung verlief von der Einmündung des Flusses Mockernitz in die Küdde, dann bis zur Mündung der Zahne in die Küdde, weiter nach Zedecker und bis zum Weg nach Baldenburg, vgl. HKS, Nr. 162; M. Grzegorz, *Słownik historyczno-geograficzny komturstwa człuchowskiego…*, S. 82-83.

Eine weitere Gelegenheit zur Schlichtung der Grenzstreitigkeiten zwischen Pommern und dem Orden war der gütliche Prozess von 1412-1414, der vor dem ungarischen und römischen König Sigismund von Luxemburg als Schiedsrichter geführt worden war. Am 24. August 1412 hatte er entschieden, dass Benedikt Makrai als sein *subiudex* alle strittigen Sachen prüfen sollte.[69] Im Zuge des Verfahrens in Neustettin am 15. und 16. Mai 1413 legte Henning von dem Wolde als Vertreter der beiden Greifen Herzog Bogislaw VIII. und König Erich von Pommern Unterlagen bezüglich der Grenze zum Deutschordensstaat in Preußen und Artikel zu diesem Thema vor. Im ersten Fall handelte es sich um zwei notarielle Urkunden, darunter ein Urteil des Herzogs Swantibor I. über die Grenze in der Gegend des Dolgensees sowie ein Dokument Wartislaws III., Herzog von Pommern-Wolgast. Das zweite der vorgelegten schriftlichen Zeugnisse lässt sich wahrscheinlich mit einer Verleihung Herzogs Wartislaw III. am Dolgensee bei Dramburg vom 22. März 1254 an das Prämonstratenserkloster Belbuck identifizieren.[70] Für den mit der Geographie nicht vertrauten Richter sollte dies ein Argument für die Beilegung des Grenzstreits über das Gebiet um den Dolgensee bei Neustettin zugunsten der pommerschen Seite sein. Die Vorwürfe gegen den Deutschen Orden hinsichtlich des Grenzzugs wurden in zwei Punkten formuliert, die mit dem Streit zwischen Stolp und dem Orden vom Ende des Jahres 1408 bis zum 20. August 1409 in Verbindung gebracht werden können. Im ersten Fall ging es um die Honigernte und die Nutzung der Grenzwälder durch die herzoglichen Beamten, die sich laut dem Stolper Vertreter Henning von dem Wolde *prope Nyestetin infra limites dicti ducatus* befanden.[71] Der zweite Artikel hingegen bezog sich direkt auf den Inhalt des oben erwähnten Grenzvergleichs (*certam pronuncciacionem super hiis limitibus*), vermittelt 1409/1410 vom Stettiner Herzog Swantibor I. zwischen dem Orden und dem Herzog von Pommern-Stolp. Die Stolper Seite vertrat die Auffassung, dass die von ihm getroffene Entscheidung „rechtmäßig und gerecht war".[72] Der Deutsche Orden zog sich schließlich am Vorabend der Schiedsgerichtsverhandlung in Neustettin aus dem Verfahren zurück. Am 11. Mai 1413 richtete der Schlochauer Komtur Wilhelm von Steinheim einen Brief an Benedikt Macrai, in dem er sich entschieden gegen die Besichtigung der Westgrenze der Deutschordens-

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69 Siehe W. Sieradzan, *Misja Benedykta Makraia w latach 1412–1413. Z dziejów pokojowego rozwiązywania konfliktów międzypaństwowych w Europie Środkowo-Wschodniej w późnym średniowieczu*, Malbork 2009, S. 51-52, 129-151.

70 PUB II (1254-1286), hrsg. von R. Prümers, Stettin 1881, Nr. 586; E. Rymar, *Historia polityczna i społeczna Nowej Marchii w średniowieczu (do roku 1535)*, Gorzów Wlkp. 2015, S. 145.

71 *Lites ac Res Gestae inter Polonos Ordinemque Cruciferorum* (weiter zitiert als Lites), Bd. II, 2. Auflage, Poznań 1892, S. 314, 317.

72 Ibidem.

herrschaft aussprach.[73] Zur Beweisführung im Zusammenhang mit dem Prozess erstellte der Deutsche Orden eine Beschreibung des Grenzverlaufs zum Greifenland. Dieser verlief von der Lebamündung bis in die Gegend der Dörfer Gowidlin, Jassen und Klein Rakitt. Eine Analyse des Textes lässt den Schluss zu, dass es sich nicht um eine originale Quelle handelt, die anhand des Grenzumritts gefertigt wurde, sondern lediglich um eine verkürzte Kompilation auf der Grundlage von Beschreibungen vom 9. Oktober 1313, 18./20. November 1379 und vom Ende des Jahres 1405.[74] Es sind jedoch keine preußischen Materialien über den Grenzabschnitt um den Dolgensee erhalten geblieben.

Bei den gütlichen Verhandlungen konnten die heiklen Fragen über den Verlauf des strittigen südlichen Grenzabschnitts zwischen dem Herzogtum Pommern-Stolp und dem Ordensstaat nicht geklärt werden. Im Jahr 1417 wurde das Grenzstück um den Dolgensee erneut zum Gegenstand der größten Kontroverse zwischen Bogislaw VIII. und dem Orden. Der Beginn des Konflikts fällt in die Zeit zwischen Februar und März 1417. Am 3. März 1417 intervenierte Herzog Bogislaw VIII. beim Schlochauer Komtur Jobst von Hohenkirchen wegen des Fischereiverbots am Dolgensee, das dem herzoglichen Landvogt Klaus Köller und den pommerschen Untertanen von dem Ordensbeamten auferlegt worden war. In einem emotionalen Brief argumentierte der Greif, dass der Dolgensee in seinem Machtbereich liege. Weiter im Text erwähnt er, dass sowohl seine Vorfahren als auch er selbst den See genutzt haben. Es sei noch nie vorgekommen, dass ein Einwohner von Preußen ihm den Fischfang untersagt habe. Bogislaw VIII. forderte den Würdenträger des Deutschen Ordens auf, unverzüglich zu den gegen ihn erhobenen Vorwürfen Stellung zu nehmen.[75] In einem weiteren Schreiben vom 7. März 1417 an den Schlochauer Komtur schilderte der Stolper Herzog die Umstände der Entstehung des Konflikts ausführlicher. Er brachte vor, dass der Streit durch die Nichtbeachtung der Grenze entlang eines Grabens in der Gegend des Dolgensees durch den Deutschen Orden ausgelöst wurde. Der Greif vertrat den Standpunkt, dass dieser seit langem in seinem ererbten Herrschaftsgebiet liege. Das wurde durch eine 1409/1410 erlassene Entscheidung des Herzogs von Pommern-Stettin, Swantibor I., bestätigt.[76] Am 10. März 1417 legte Komtur Jobst von Hohenkirchen dem Hochmeister Michael Küchmeister seine Ansicht über die Entstehung des

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73   OBA, Nr. 1928 (= *Lites* II, S. 323).

74   OF 270a, Bl. 89 (= W. Długokęcki, R. Simiński, *Opisy granicy…*, S. 192-194, Nr. 8). Diese Quelle wurde von W. Sieradzan in seiner jüngsten Monographie über die Tätigkeit von Benedikt Macrai in den Jahren 1412-1413 nicht verwendet, siehe W. Sieradzan, *Misja…*, S. 117-118.

75   OBA, Nr. 2481.

76   OBA, Nr. 2487.

Grenzkonflikts mit dem Herzog von Pommern-Stolp vor. Seiner Schilde-
rung zufolge verbot er den pommerschen Untertanen in der Tat, in dem
angrenzenden Gewässer zu fischen, doch habe er dies auf ausdrückliche
Anordnung von Marienburg unternommen. Er bat den Herzog, seinen
Untertanen mitzuteilen, dass der Teil des Sees, in dem sie fischen wollten,
eigentlich dem Orden gehöre. Das Verbot galt nur für den Teil des Beckens,
der sich auf dem den Deutschordensbrüdern vorbehaltenen Gebiet befand.
Alten Dokumenten zufolge verlief die Ordensstaatsgrenze vom Grenzgra-
ben aus über den Dolgensee. Dies wurde sowohl von seinen Vorgängern
als auch von den Bewohnern der unmittelbaren Umgebung respektiert.
In seiner Argumentation verwies von Hohenkirchen auf die aus den bereits
zitierten Dokumenten bekannten Grenzzüge, die den Verlauf im Abschnitt
vom Grenzgraben über den Dolgensee bis zum Grenzbaum auf der ande-
ren Seite des Gewässers beschreiben. Der Beamte des Deutschen Ordens
beschuldigte Bogislaw VIII. der rechtswidrigen Grenzverletzung und der
Absicht, sich das dem Orden gehörende Gebiet anzueignen. Er informierte,
dass jeglicher Versuch seines Widersachers, die Grenze des Ordensstaa-
tes zu verschieben, eine entschlossene Antwort erhalten werden. Weitere
Schritte in dieser Angelegenheit machte er von den Vorgaben des Hoch-
meisters abhängig.[77]

Wahrscheinlich unmittelbar nach Beginn des Konflikts hat der Schlo-
chauer Komtur Jobst von Hohenkirchen die Grenze der ihm untergeord-
neten Verwaltungseinheit gegen das Herzogtum Pommern-Stolp umritten
und verfasste daraufhin eine Beschreibung, die dann an die Hauptstadt des
Ordensstaates gesandt wurde. Sie diente als Grundlage für die Verhand-
lungen zwischen dem Herzog von Pommern-Stolp und dem Hochmeister.
Anhand des Inhalts der dieser Beschreibung vorangestellten Notiz lässt sich
erschließen, dass sie zwischen dem 10. März und dem 15. August 1417 in der
Kanzlei der Komturei von Schlochau erstellt wurde und einen von Süden
nach Norden verlaufenden Grenzlauf darstellte. Dieser begann an der Mün-
dung der Zahne in die Küdde und endete am Flüsschen Warnowa Woda. Im
ersten Teil der Beschreibung verlief die Grenze vom Anfangspunkt bis zum
Graben am Dolgensee, also entsprechend den bereits aus früheren Quellen
bekannten Orientierungspunkten. Im weiteren Verlauf können signifikante
Veränderungen festgestellt werden. Einige in früheren Dokumenten aufge-
führte Punkte wurden dieses Mal ausgelassen; dafür kam eine beachtliche
Zahl von neuen Objekten in der Beschreibung hinzu, die insgesamt ca. 25
Elemente enthielt.[78]

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77   OBA, Nr. 2490.
78   OF 270a, Bl. 91 (= W. Długokęcki, R. Simiński, *Opisy granicy…*, S. 195-197, Nr. 10).

Das Treffen zwischen Herzog Bogislaw VIII. und dem Hochmeister fand am 22. August 1417 an der Küdde statt.[79] Bei dieser Gelegenheit wurden keine verbindlichen Beschlüsse gefasst. Es wurde jedoch vereinbart, in naher Zukunft einen gemeinsamen Grenzumritt zu unternehmen.[80] In den Maßnahmen der Obrigkeiten des Deutschen Ordens spiegelt sich die Sorge wider, für weitere Verhandlungen mit dem Herzog von Pommern-Stolp gut vorbereitet zu sein. Es scheint, dass Michael Küchmeister die persönliche Begegnung mit dem Greifen absichtlich verzögert hat.[81] Somit gewannen die Deutschordensbrüder die nötige Zeit, um zwei verschiedene Optionen für den Verlauf des umstrittenen Grenzabschnitts zu erwägen. Der Hochmeister beauftragte im Geheimen (*heymlich*) den Landvermesser Hanno von Thomaswalde, die Grenze zwischen dem Ort „zu den Schwertern" und dem Hügel Zedecker zu vermessen. In der ersten in Betracht gezogenen Möglichkeit folgte sie ihrem ursprünglichen Verlauf von „zu den Schwertern" bis zu den Feldern und dem Dorf Groß Wittfelde. Danach zog die Scheidelinie weiter zu den Feldern und dem Dorf Ebersfelde, anschließend nach Schönau, durch einen Teil des Urwaldes beim Dorf Demmin und erreichte im nächsten Abschnitt den Hügel Zedecker. Die zweite Variante war die Beibehaltung der „alten beschriebenen Grenzen". Sie sollten von der Stelle namens „zu den Schwertern" bis zum Graben am Dolgensee und von dort bis zur Mündung des Flusses Dolgen in den gleichnamigen See und weiter zum Hügel Zedecker laufen. Die Berechnungen des preußischen Landvermessers ergaben, dass der so ermittelte erste

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79   Auch Herzog Bogislaw VIII. begab sich zu dieser Zeit auf die Burg in Schlochau, wo weitere Verhandlungen erfolgten. Informationen zu diesem Thema finden sich in einem Brief von Hochmeister Michael Küchmeister an den Hauptmann von Crone, Arnold von der Bone, vom 25. August 1417, Geheimes Staatsarchiv Preußischer Kulturbesitz, Berlin-Dahlem, XX. Hauptabteilung, Findbuch (weiter zitiert als Fb.), Nr. 66, Bl. 95 (= OF 10, Bl. 3).

80   OF 270a, Bl. 90v (= W. Długokęcki, R. Simiński, *Opisy granicy…*, S. 198-199, Nr. 12). Am 2. und 7. September 1417 wies Hochmeister Michael Küchmeister in Briefen an Bogislaw VIII. auf die Frage des Austauschs von versiegelten Dokumenten hin. Der Herzog hatte das mit seinem Siegel versehene Diplom in Schlochau abzuliefern, wo die vom höchsten Würdenträger des Ordens ausgefertigte Rückseite der Vereinbarung auf ihn warten sollte. In der zweiten Epistel forderte Küchmeister nachdrücklich, dass das Ratifizierungsverfahren innerhalb von drei Wochen nach Weihnachten durchgeführt werden müsse, Fb. 66, Bl. 95 (= OF 10, Bl. 153), 96 (= OF 10, Bl. 154). Angesichts der äußerst uneindeutigen Formulierungen in den angeführten Regesten von nicht überlieferten Briefen fällt die Entscheidung schwer, worauf sich diese versiegelten Dokumente bezogen. In den folgenden Monaten des Jahres 1417 richtete der Hochmeister Schriftverkehr bezüglich des Grenzumritts an den Stolper Hof. Es scheint daher, dass sich die Ratifizierung auf Dokumente bezog, die Regelungen über andere Streitigkeiten in den gegenseitigen Beziehungen enthielten.

81   Dies ergibt sich aus dem Inhalt des Briefes vom 23. August 1417, in dem der Hochmeister Herzog Bogislaw VIII. bittet, diese Handlungen bis zur Rückkehr des Schlochauer Komturs Jobst von Hohenkirchen einzustellen. Der Komtur von Schlochau sollte zu dieser Zeit mit den Stettiner Herzögen Kasimir V. und Otto II. verhandeln, Fb. 66, Bl. 95 (= OF 10, Bl. 149).

Grenzverlauf für den Orden einen Verlust von 200 Hufen und des Dolgensees bedeutete. Gleichzeitig gewann der Deutsche Orden nicht mehr als 80 Hufen hinzu, die jedoch nicht dem Herzog von Pommern-Stolp, sondern dem Camminer Bischof gehörten. Hätte man den bisherigen Verlauf erhalten, blieben 200 Hufen und der Dolgensee in den Händen der Ordensritter.[82] In der Tat besaß der Deutsche Orden nur einen Teil des Dolgensees, nämlich seine südliche Hälfte, was im Widerspruch mit der oben zitierten Quelle steht.

Im Herbst 1417 wurden die Verhandlungen über die Grenzziehung am Dolgensee wieder aufgenommen. Am 22. Oktober 1417 wandte sich Hochmeister Michael Küchmeister mit dem Vorschlag an Bogislaw VIII., einen neuen Termin für die Zusammenkunft festzulegen, bei der man den strittigen Grenzabschnitts gemeinsam abreiten wolle.[83] Dies geschah wahrscheinlich erst Mitte November 1417. Das Ergebnis war eine Einigung über den Wortlaut des Vorvertragsdokuments vom 18. November 1417.[84] Beide Seiten

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82   OF 270a, Bl. 90v. Die Vermessung der Grenze zwischen dem Ordensstaat und dem Herzogtum Pommern-Stolp war kein Einzelfall. Eine ähnliche Situation ist bekannt von den 1423–1425 geführten Verhandlungen über die zwischen Litauen und dem Orden liegende Grenze bei Polangen, K. Neitmann, *Die Staatsverträge…*, S. 555-558. Während der Regierungszeit des Hochmeisters Konrad von Jungingen wurde im Deutschordensstaat eine Geometrieabhandlung niedergeschrieben, die sog. Geometria Culmensis, siehe *Geometria Culmensis: ein agronomischer Tractat aus der Zeit des Hochmeisters Conrad von Jungingen (1393–1407)*, hrsg. von H. Mendthal, Leipzig 1886; R.G. Päsler, *Deutschsprachige Sachliteratur im Preussenland bis 1500. Untersuchung zu ihrer Überlieferung*, Köln-Weimar-Wien 2003 (= Aus Archiven, Bibliotheken und Museen Mittel- und Osteuropas II), S. 312. Zu mittelalterlichen Vermessungen siehe auch H. Roedder, *Zur Geschichte des Vermessungswesens Preussens insbesondere Altpreussens aus der ältesten Zeit bis ins 19. Jahrhundert*, „Zeitschrift für Vermessungswesen" XXXVI (1907), Heft 28-35, S. 689-712, 721-745, 753-768, 785-801, 817-832, 849-865, 881-896, 913-927; G. Myśliwski, *Miary i miernicy na Mazowszu od XII do drugiej połowy XVI wieku*, „Kwartalnik Historii Kultury Materialnej" XCVII (1997), Nr. 3-4, S. 319-349; idem, *Człowiek…*, S. 100-104; A. Pieczunko, *Miernictwo i miernicy na Warmii. Szkic do dziejów delimitacji pruskiej w średniowieczu i czasach nowożytnych (XIV–XVIII w.)*, „Komunikaty Mazursko-Warmińskie" 247 (2004), Nr. 1, S. 3-15; Th. Horst, *Grenzvermessung und -abmarkung im Spätmittelalter am Beispiel einer illustrierten Handschrift um 1400*, „Zeitschrift für Geodäsie, Geoinformationen und Landmanagement" CXLII (2017), Heft 3, S. 187-196; D. Heckmann, *Landvermessung im Ordensland Preußen*, in: *Globale und regionale Aspekte in der Entwicklung des Deutschen Ordens. Vorträge der Tagung der Internationalen Historischen Kommission zur Erforschung des Deutschen Ordens in Würzburg 2016*, hrsg. von U. Arnold, Weimar 2019 (= Quellen und Studien zur Geschichte des Deutschen Ordens LXXXII/Veröffentlichungen der Internationalen Historischen Kommission zur Erforschung des Deutschen Ordens XVIII), S. 93-103.

83   Fb. 66, Bl. 101 (= OF 10, Bl. 152). Ursprünglich sollte der Tag am 3. Oktober 1417 abgehalten werden, Fb. 66, Bl. 97 (= OF 10, Bl. 151).

84   In Anbetracht der angeführten Informationen über den geplanten Grenzumritt ist die Schlussfolgerung von Erich Weise, dass die Absteckung der Grenze Pommerns gegen den Orden zwischen Neustettin, Hammerstein und Baldenburg bereits auf der Versammlung am 22. August 1417 stattgefunden habe und die Urkunde vom 18. November 1417 lediglich eine Bestätigung der damals gefassten Beschlüsse sei, als unzutreffend anzusehen, Staatsverträge I, Nr. 128 (Kommentar zur Grenzvertragsurkunde vom 18. November 1417).

einigten sich auf die Grenzziehung zwischen der herzoglichen Stadt Neustettin und den Deutschordensorten Baldenburg und Hammerstein. Der Grenzzug zwischen dem Zusammenlauf von Zahne und Küdde sowie dem Ort „zu den Schwertern" wurde von Süden nach Norden beschrieben. Von diesem Punkt aus zog sich die Grenze bis zu der auf dem Hügel Zedecker stehenden Fichte, die gemeinsam von Herzog Bogislaw VIII. und Hochmeister Michael Küchmeister bezeichnet wurde. Die Scheidelinie führte geradeaus zu einer weiteren Fichte, die unweit des Dolgensees wuchs und an der ein Grenzzeichen in Form eines Horns eingekerbt war.[85] Der Dolgensee sollte in den ausschließlichen Besitz von Herzog Bogislaw VIII. und seinen Erben übergehen. Ein weiterer Grenzbaum, der mit dem Zeichen eines Schwertes und eines Schildes sowie anderen nicht näher bezeichneten Symbolen versehen war, befand sich auf dem „Spitzen Berg". Von diesem Punkt aus verlief die Grenze direkt zu einer Eiche in der Nähe von Baldenburg. Die Beschreibung endete an dem Ort namens „zu den Schwertern" am Weg nach Bublitz.[86]

Trotz der ungünstigen Umstände, unter denen die Vereinbarung vom 18. November 1417 zustande kam, und der Tatsache, dass der Vertrag letztendlich nicht ratifiziert wurde,[87] scheint die damals ausgehandelte Grenze

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85 Laut der aus dem Dokument vom 1. Mai 1321 bekannten Beschreibung der Grenze des bischöflichen Herrschaftsgebiets wurde dort ein analoges Zeichen auf den Bäumen eingekerbt, PUB VI, Nr. 3491: *ad arborem signatam cornu et baculo*. Nach R. Kiersnowski handelt es sich um Darstellungen einer Mitra und eines Hirtenstabs, R. Kiersnowski, *Monety biskupów kamieńskich z XIII i XIV wieku*, „Wiadomości Numizmatyczne" VI (1962), Nr. 1, S. 21-22; R. Marciniak, *Kolonizacja ziemi kamieńskiej w XIV wieku*, „Materiały Zachodniopomorskie" XVII (1971), S. 181 und Fußnote 27.

86 Geheimes Staatsarchiv Preußischer Kulturbesitz Berlin-Dahlem, Pergamenturkunden, Nr. 51/27; OBA, Nr. 2612 (= K. Tümpel, *Neustettin in 6 Jahrhunderten, nach den archivalischen und anderen Quellen*, Neustettin 1910, S. 385-386; Staatsverträge I, Nr. 128). W. Nöbel, Biograph des Hochmeisters Michael Küchmeister, erwähnt den Abschluss der Vereinbarung vom 18. November 1417 in nur einem Satz. Dieser Wissenschaftler ordnet sie in eine Reihe von Ereignissen ein, die positive Veränderungen für den Orden ankündigten, die zu dieser Zeit auf internationaler Ebene stattfanden, W. Nöbel, *Michael Küchmeister, Hochmeister des Deutschen Ordens 1414-1422*, Bad Godesberg 1969 (= Quellen und Studien zur Geschichte des Deutschen Ordens V), S. 101. Siehe auch die Ausführungen zur Außenpolitik von Michael Küchmeister: S. Kubon, *Hochmeister Michael Küchmeister und die Konflikte des Deutschordenslandes Preussen mit Polen-Litauen 1414-1422. Krisen ohne Ende oder eine Phase der Konsolidierung? Vorüberlegungen zu einer Studie mittelalterlicher Aussenpolitik*, „Biuletyn Polskiej Misji Historycznej" XI (2016), S. 359-380, jedoch ohne Bezugnahme auf die Verhältnisse zwischen dem Orden und dem Herzogtum Pommern-Stolp.

87 18. Januar 1418 schickte der Hochmeister Michael Küchmeister Herzog Bogislaw VIII. den Entwurf des Vertrages, der dann zwischen beiden Herrschern ausgetauscht werden sollte (Fb. 66, k. 108 (= OF 10, k. 155)). Der Stolper Herzog Bogislaw VIII. starb unerwartet am 11. Februar 1418, vgl. E. Rymar, *Rodowód…*, S. 325-328. Noch im März 1418 teilte der Neustettiner Landvogt Heinrich von der Goltz dem Schlochauer Komtur mit, dass Sophie, Herzogin von Pommern-Stolpe, bei den Hammersteiner Vereinbarungen bleiben wolle, OBA, Nr. 2690. Die mit dem hochmeisterlichen Siegel versehene Urkunde vom 18. November 1417 blieb im Marienburger Archiv erhalten.

zwischen Pommern und dem Ordensland von dauerhafter Natur gewesen
zu sein. In den folgenden Jahrzehnten wurde der Verlauf dieser Strecke nicht
mehr im selben Maße wie zuvor in Frage gestellt. Diesen Umstand bestäti-
gen auch die zweimaligen Abschriften, die auf dem Inhalt der Vereinbarung
vom 18. November 1417 basieren. Die erste Abschrift wurde in der Hoch-
meisterkanzlei wahrscheinlich um 1422 erstellt.[88] Die zweite, aus dem Jahr
1438, wurde in das Privilegienbuch der Komturei Schlochau eingetragen.
In diesem Fall dürften es praktische Gründe gewesen sein. Die Kenntnis des
Grenzverlaufs zum Herzogtum Pommern-Stolp war für die übliche Deutsch-
ordensverwaltung und das alltägliche Leben der Untertanen des Ordens im
Grenzraum unerlässlich.[89]

Die Grenzregelung, der zeitaufwändige und mühsame Verhandlungen
vorausgingen und die am 18. November 1417 in Hammerstein abgeschlossen
wurde, trug jedoch nicht zur vollständigen Beilegung der Grenzstreitigkei-
ten bei. Nach wie vor kam es zu Zwischenfällen, deren Folgen man laufend
zu mildern versuchte. Die sich daraus ergebenden Meinungsverschieden-
heiten wurden auf Zusammenkünften der von beiden Seiten entsandten Ver-
handlungsführer beigelegt. Am 25. Juli 1425 informierte Herzogin Sophia
von Pommern-Stolp Hochmeister Paul von Rusdorf über eine schwerwiegen-
de Verletzung der Grenze ihres Herzogtums durch den Komtur von Schlo-
chau und den Heidereiter zu Hammerstein. Sie warf den Deutschordens-
beamten vor, durch Diebstahl von Holz aus ihren Wäldern großen Schaden
angerichtet zu haben. Sie wollte ihre Berater in dieser Angelegenheit zum
Marienburger Hof entsenden. Später schlug sie vor, eine Zusammenkunft
zwischen Hammerstein und Neustettin abzuhalten. Beide Seiten sollten
„ehrwürdige Personen" wählen, um den entstandenen Konflikt zu unter-
suchen und zu lösen. Es ist nicht bekannt, ob die geplante Versammlung
tatsächlich stattgefunden hat. Es sind keine Quellen überliefert, die diese
Tatsache bestätigen würden. Die Ordensbrüder nahmen jedoch in dieser Zeit
Vorbereitungen vor, um die Grenze zu Pommern-Stolp zu besichtigen. Am
19. November 1425 teilte der Danziger Komtur Konrad von Bellersheim dem
Hochmeister Paul von Rusdorf mit, dass er den Grenzumritt vornehmen
werde. Ob irgendwelche Maßnahmen in diesem Bereich seitens des Ordens

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88   OBA, Nr. 27875. Es ist eine auf einem separaten Blatt verfasste Beschreibung der Grenze
in der Nähe von Neustettin und Hammerstein.

89   HKS, Nr. 178: *Dis ist eyne usschrifft us den hewptbrife von der grenicz czwusschin dem herc-
zogin von Stulpe unde dem Slochawschin gebiete, unde czwusschin den Newestetinschin*; K. Neitmann,
Die Staatsverträge…, S. 551, Fußnote 161. Es ist nicht ausgeschlossen, dass diese Abschrift auch
in Verbindung mit den Ergebnissen des Brester Vertrages vom 31. Dezember 1435 entstand,
Staatsverträge I, Nr. 181. Die pommersch-preußische Grenze zwischen Neustettin und Hammer-
stein sprach der Brief vom 19. April 1437 an, den der Hochmeister Paul von Rusdorf dem Stolper
Herzog Bogislaw IX. sandte, OF 13, Bl. 415-416; K. Neitmann, *Die Staatsverträge…*, S. 285.

ergriffen wurden, ist ungewiss.[90] Es scheint, dass der Umritt letztendlich nicht zustande gekommen ist und der im Abkommen vom 18. November 1417 festgehaltene Stand gegenseitiger Beziehungen mindestens drei weitere Jahrzehnte Bestand hatte.[91] Diese Frage erfordert weitere Forschungen.

Die pommersch-preußische Grenze wurde in drei Etappen gestaltet: zwischen 1310 und 1313, in den 20er Jahren des 14. Jahrhunderts sowie zwischen 1342 und 1350. In der ersten Phase erfolgte die Grenzziehung ohne Beteiligung der pommerschen Herrscher. Erst zwischen 1342 und 1350 wurde die Trennlinie zwischen der Domäne der Camminer Bischöfe und dem Ordensstaat festgelegt sowie markiert. Von den 1320er Jahren bis 1350 wurde der Grenzabschnitt von der Lebamündung in die Ostsee im Norden bis zum Zusammenfluss von Zahne und Küdde im Süden abgesteckt und beschrieben. Die Grenzregulierung zwischen Pommern und den preußischen Gebieten basierte in erster Linie auf natürlichen Landmarken (Flüsse, Bäche, Seen, Wiesen, Wälder, Felder, Hügel, Steine) und Elementen der Kulturlandschaft (Straßen, Wege, Brücken, Grabhügel, Burgwälle, Dörfer). Der Anteil künstlicher Grenzmarken war relativ gering. Die erste von Menschenhand geschaffene Abmarkung fand 1350 anlässlich der Abgrenzung der Herrschaftsgebiete der Camminer Bischöfe gegenüber dem Orden statt. Als besonders neuralgisch ist die Strecke zwischen dem Land Neustettin und der Komturei Schlochau von der Stelle „zu den Schwertern" bis zum Hügel Zedecker zu betrachten. Davon zeugt die außergewöhnlich große Zahl von Beschreibungen dieses Grenzabschnitts, die aus den Jahren 1382-1405 und 1417 (vier Beschreibungen) überliefert worden sind. Es war üblich, dass Grenzstreitigkeiten auf Zusammenkünften der Herrscher oder ihrer bevollmächtigten Vertreter beigelegt wurden. Die Verhandlungsergebnisse wurden zusammen mit den von beiden Seiten akzeptierten Beschreibungen des umstrittenen Grenzabschnitts in besiegelte Vertragsdokumente aufgenommen, die dann ratifiziert werden sollten.

Übersetzung: Joanna Sadowska
Sprachliche Durchsicht: Felix Biermann

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90   OBA, Nr. 4448, 4508, 4542, 4559.

91   Zum Grenzumritt des Schlochauer Komturs im April 1447, OBA, Nr. 9324; K. Neitmann, *Die Staatsverträge…*, S. 548. In einem Brief vom 19. Juni 1448 überzeugte der Schlochauer Komtur den Hochmeister Konrad von Erlichshausen von der Notwendigkeit eines Grenzritts zwischen dem Ordensland und dem Herzogtum Pommern-Stolp, weil diese, wie er schrieb, während der Herrschaft Michael Küchmeisters zustande gekommen sei (*die reitunge der grenicze, die do geschen ist bei her meister Michel Kogemeisters geczeiten seliges gedechtnisse*), OBA, Nr. 9596.

ABSTRACT

The article discusses, based primarily on hitherto unused archival sources, the process of formation and functioning of the border between the Duchy of Pomerania and the Teutonic Order's state The first part describes the formation of the border between the two indicated political powers along its entire course from the mouth of the river Łeba in the north to the estuary of the river Dobrzynka to the river Gwda in the south. Then, the causes of border conflicts were examined against the background of the overall Pomeranian-Teutonic relations and the situation on the border, as well as methods of the conflicts' settlement. The research postulate for the future is the analysis of an interesting issue for the years 1417-1454.

Keywords: Duchy of Pomerania, Teutonic Order, Prussia, border, conflicts

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Adam Szweda
Nicolaus Copernicus University in Toruń, Faculty of History
aszweda@umk.pl
https://orcid.org/0000-0003-0138-9575

Diplomacy of the weaker partners. Ducal Masovia and the Teutonic Order after the Second Peace of Toruń (1466)[*]

The Thirteen Year's War between Poland and the Teutonic Order changed the situation in Prussia and the adjacent territories. The Peace of Toruń introduced territorial adjustments: the Kingdom of Poland had gained Gdańsk Pomerania (Pommerellen), Chełmno Land (Kulmerland), part of Pomesania with Malbork (Marienburg), Elbląg (Elbing) and supremacy over the Warmia (Ermland) Bishopric. The Grand Master of the Teutonic Order had become a dependent ruler, styled as „the duke and advisor to the king and the Kingdom". He was also obliged to swear the oath of allegiance and to supply military aid. On his side, the king was to provide protection to the master, and the election of each superior of the Order was to be unrestricted and performed in accordance with the Order's rule, however his eventual dismissing could happen only with the consent of the Polish ruler.[1] Already

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1 M. Biskup, *Trzynastoletnia wojna z Zakonem Krzyżackim 1454-1466*, Warszawa 1967, pp. 703-709; K. Neitmann, *Von der Herstellung und Sicherung des „ewigen Friedens". Der II. Thorner Friede von 1466 im Rahmen der Landfriedensvereinbarungen und Friedensschlüsse des Deutschen Ordens in Preußen mit seinen Nachbarmächten im 15. Jahrhundert*, in: *Erbeinungen und Erbverbrüderungen in Spätmittelalter und Früher Neuzeit. Generationsübergreifende Veträge und Strategien im europäischen Vergleich*, ed. M. Müller, K.H. Spieß, U. Tresp, Berlin 2014, pp. 185-210; A. Szweda, *II pokój toruński*, in: *Toruń miastem pokoju. II pokój toruński*, ed. P. Oliński, W. Rozynkowski, Toruń 2016, pp. 48-59.

since the times of Casimir the Great (r. 1333–1370), the vassals of the Polish kings had been the Piast dukes of Masovia.[2] Being aware of their descent from a dynasty once ruling over Poland and having aspired to the Polish throne (Siemowit IV in 1384 and Bolesław IV in 1446), together with the conflict with Lithuania over the Podlasie region, had made them rather reluctant towards the kings from the Jagiellonian dynasty. However, they did not openly opposed their duties as the Crown vassals.[3]

In the discussed period the inner structure of Masovian dynasty is characterised by significant changes. The western part of Masovia (present-day Płock) was ruled by Władysław I, who had died in December 1455. His sons also died successively – Siemowit V in early January 1462 and Władysław II only two months later. In eastern Masovia (Warsaw) Bolesław IV (paternal cousin to both Siemowit VI and Władysław II) who had died in September 1454, had left underage sons: Conrad III the Red, Casimir III (the bishop of Płock from 1475), Bolesław V, and Janusz II. After the death of Władysław II, King Casimir Jagiello, wanted to sieze his duchy. He had managed to incorporate the lands of Bełz, Rawa and Gostynin into the Crown. However, Płock was sized by Conrad the Red and finally the land fell to Janusz II. Following his death in 1495, the land around Płock became a subject of dispute between Duke Conrad and King Casimir.[4] Already before the outbreak of the Thirteen Years War, the Teutonic Order was forced to face the growing conflict with the Prussian Estates. As such, they attempted to gain favour of the dukes of Masovia, appealing to historical links joining them with Teutonic Knights. For example, in a letter sent by Grand Master Ludwig von Erlichshausen to Bolesław IV on February 11th 1454, there was a reference to the duke's ancestors who "had settled and founded our Order in this country".[5]

Similar rhetoric can also be observed among the Piasts. The Masovian rulers, first of all, tried to maintain political balance (to the extent that it was possible). They did not want to encourage rebellious subjects, hoping to avoid similar rebellions in their own land. They also emphasized that

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2 E. Maleczyńska, *Książęce lenno mazowieckie (1351-1526)*, Lwów 1929; H. Samsonowicz, A. Supruniuk, *Dzieje polityczne (połowa XIV – początek XVI w.)*, in: *Dzieje Mazowsza*, vol. I, ed. A. Samsonowicz, Pułtusk 2006, pp. 257-338; J. Grabowski, *Dynastia Piastów mazowieckich. Studia nad dziejami politycznymi Mazowsza, intytulacją i genealogią książąt*, Kraków 2012, pp. 99-211.

3 M. Biskup, *Zjednoczenie Pomorza Wschodniego z Polską w połowie XV wieku*, Warszawa 1959, pp. 166-168; W. Sieradzan, *Sąsiedztwo mazowiecko-krzyżackie w okresie przemian politycznych w Europie Środkowo-Wschodniej w latach 1411-1466*, Toruń 1999, pp. 58-63.

4 K. Jasiński, *Rodowód Piastów mazowieckich*, Poznań-Wrocław 1998, passim; P. Węcowski, *Mazowsze w Koronie. Propaganda i legitymizacja władzy Kazimierza Jagiellończyka na Mazowszu*, Kraków 2004, pp. 49-70; J. Grabowski, *Dynastia Piastów…*, pp. 129-139, 177-180; see also below.

5 Geheimes Staatsarchiv Preussischer Kulturbesitz in Berlin, XX. HA, Ordensbriefarchiv (henceforth: OBA), no. 12824; W. Sieradzan, *Sąsiedztwo mazowiecko-krzyżackie…*, p. 68.

it did not become them to go against the Teutonic Knights, for their ancestors were „the Order's benefactors and friends".[6] Finally, however, both dukes exercised restraint both towards the Teutonic Knights' proposals to support the Order in its conflict with the Estates and towards the expectations of the Prussian Federation.[7] In the spring of 1455, some military incidents involving both sides occurred, but these were only occasional. Somewhat later, duke Władysław I had talked his way out of the Order's proposition to act as an intermediary in their conflict with the Crown. In his letter to the Order's Grand Master, Władysław I pleaded to keep that matter secret, because of the presence of the king's spies at his own court.[8] Casimir Jagiellon had, in that time, managed to press his vassals to provide military assistance. A squad of Masovian knights joined the Polish forces in Prussia and – after the failed campaign in Chełmno Land in the autumn of 1455 – the Polish army retreated through Masovia.[9]

Following the death of Władysław I, with his two sons – Siemowit VI and Władysław II being underage – the authority in Western Masovia was assumed by a group of regents. Paweł Giżycki, Bishop of Płock, was the informal leader of this group. The regents had to face the situation of breaching the Masovian border by the mercenaries of the Order, who tried improve their provision at the expense of the states neighbouring the Teutonic Order. Hence the diplomatic contacts aiming to resolve to conflicts, which both sides cared about. The first negotiations, which resulted in a truce, took place already in 1457.[10] However, on November 10th 1458 the representatives of the grand master had negotiated with the dukes conditions for an armistice with Siemowit VI of Płock and Conrad III the Red of Warsaw. This was to remain in force until June of 1459.[11] On June 24th 1459, another act (known only from its German draft) prolonged the armistice for the following year.[12] However, the next tour of negotiations was held while the prolonged armistice was still enforced. They resulted in concluding a six-year treaty, starting from the last St. John the Baptist feast, that is

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6 OBA, no. 11662 – the statements of Bolesław IV, the Duke of Warsaw, directed at the provisor (*Pfleger*) from Nidzica (Neidenburg) in 1453; M. Biskup, *Zjednoczenie Pomorza…*, p. 197 - here also remarks on the date of that source.

7 J. Grabowski, *Dynastia Piastów…*, pp. 126-127.

8 W. Sieradzan, *Sąsiedztwo mazowiecko-krzyżackie…*, pp. 72-73.

9 Ibidem, p. 74.

10 Ibidem, p. 77.

11 *Die Staatsverträge des Deutschen Ordens in Preußen im 15. Jahrhundert*, vol. II, ed. E. Weise, Marburg 1955, no. 370, pp. 228-229 (the document of that treaty did not survive, but remarks in that respect can be found in the contemporary correspondence and in the document of the truce from the following year).

12 Ibidem, no. 371, p. 229.

from June 24th 1459. The dukes' document is known from its draft dated in Czerwińsk on August 5th 1459, the original Order's act had been issued in Przezmark (Preussisch Mark) on November 10th 1459. Both sources can be found in the Order's archive in Berlin. Thus, probably, when the armistice was over, both sides had exchanged their copies of the document. The grand master received his copy and the dukes' copy went to Masovia and later had gone missing. Both sides were above all concerned with securing peace in the borderland. The treaty ensured the freedom of trade (except, however, delivering supplies to the members of Prussian Confederation), in addition to pledging to refuse shelter to the runaway subjects, etc.

From the perspective of the relations of Masovian dukes with the king of Poland, Casimir Jagiellon, the key article of the discussed document is the third clause. This clause states that both Piast dukes declared that „the services or aid that we or our subjects are used to provide to His Majesty lord king of Poland, whenever we do, should not give reason for breaking the peace". The respective passage occurred of course also in the grand master's document. The Masovian party took care not to name the cause of the military aid provided to Poland and not to refer to the king of Poland as to the dukes' sovereign. It is also worth paying attention to the eighth article, proving that both sides were interested in permanence of the treaty. This article stipulated the establishment of the mixed tribunals consisting of four representatives of the Order and of Masovia that were to assemble yearly on January 7th in Działdowo (Soldau). However, in the case when the peace treaty was signed between the grand master and the king, the tribunals were to assemble alternately in Działdowo and in Janowo.[13] The pact was beneficial for both sides - Masovia gained peace with the Teutonic mercenaries and the Teutonic Knights gained freedom of action on their side of the border. Masovia's independent political attitude comes to the fore here.[14] Implementing the armistice was not hindered by the king's discontent, and this is expressed directly in the document. Already in December 1459, the monarch forbade the merchants from Poland, Masovia and Prussia supplying food to the lands controlled by the Order.[15] That prohibition was not effective. In February of the following year, the councillors of the city of Gdańsk had forwarded the information on the six-year Masovian armi-

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13 Ibidem, no. 372, 373, pp. 230-235.

14 M. Biskup, *Trzynastoletnia wojna…*, p. 553, refers to that treaty as to „a clear evidence of a separatists' politics of the Duchy of Masovia"; W. Sieradzan, *Sąsiedztwo mazowiecko-krzyżackie…*, p. 79, underestimates the passage referring to the „customary" aid for Poland; J. Grabowski, *Dynastia Piastów…*, p. 130, does not notice and „separatists'" aspect of that treaty.

15 State Archives in Toruń, Akta miasta Torunia, Katalog I, no. 1872; compare A. Radzimiński, J. Tandecki, *Katalog dokumentów i listów krzyżackich oraz dotyczących wojny trzynastoletniej z Archiwum Państwowego w Toruniu*, vol. II, Warszawa 1999, no. 270, p. 121.

stice with the Order both to the king and to city of Toruń, expressing their disbelief and hope that the king would persuade the dukes to withdraw from the treaty. They had also demanded that the Toruń city council should bring that matter to the king.[16]

The armistice pact, obviously, did not mean that Masovia ceased to provide military support to the Crown against the Teutonic Knights, that was clearly stated in the text of the pact. For instance, Masovian reinforcements took part in the summer campaign in Gdańsk Pomerania in 1461.[17] On the other hand, Masovia had also been the target of raids of the Teutonic mercenaries, who acquired their provisions in that way, having not been paid their salary for some time then. Such a situation also occurred in the autumn of 1462.[18]

As has been mentioned, a significant caesura for the discussed matters were the deaths of the sons of Władysław I – Siemowit VI (January 1st 1462) and Władysław II (February 26th/27th 1462). With their demise, their line of the dynasty ruling over Western Masovia went extinct. The determined incorporative efforts of Casimir Jagiellon[19] had to convince the dukes and the Masovian political class that the direction of Polish politics should not change, since the king's claims had been made even despite the ongoing war.

Officially, nothing had changed regarding relations between the Polish Crown and Masovia. In Second Peace of Toruń, the Masovian dukes (Conrad III and his brothers, Casimir, Bolesław and Janusz) were, obviously, on the Polish side. Added to this party are Eric, Duke of Słupsk (Stolp), Stefan, Hospodar of Moldovia, and Paul Legendorf, the bishop of Warmia.[20]

Both powers had found themselves in a new situation and had clearly seen the common political interest ahead of them. However, any actions had been undertaken with considerable caution and respected the unquestionable supremacy of Poland and its ruler. The real action ns had been undertaken only when the circumstances allowed for the possibility of success. In the first years following the Second Peace of Toruń both sides had focused mostly on securing good neighbourly relations by addressing any issues between their subjects, particularly in the border area. This occurred on a regular basis, and was the subject of negotiations carried out by tribunals tribunals held at least from the year 1472 to 1490 in Prussia (at

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16   State Archives in Gdańsk, 300/27 (Missiva), no. 6, p. 305; State Archives in Toruń, Akta Miasta Torunia, Kat. I, no. 1895 (A. Radzimiński, J. Tandecki, *Katalog dokumentów…*, no. 285, p. 128); M. Biskup, *Trzynastoletnia wojna…*, p. 553.

17   M. Biskup, *Trzynastoletnia wojna…*, p. 590.

18   Ibidem, p. 631.

19   P. Węcowski, *Mazowsze w Koronie…*, pp. 49-57; compare above.

20   *Die Staatsverträge des Deutschen Ordens…*, vol. II, no. 403; P. Nowak, *Dokumenty II pokoju toruńskiego z 1466 roku*, „Studia Źródłoznawcze" XLIII (2005), pp. 98-99, 105-106.

Nidzica (Neidenburg) and Pisz (Johannisburg) or in Masovia (at Janowo and Kolno).[21]

The first opportunity for the dukes and the Order to enter more advanced cooperation occurred in late 1470s. In February of 1476, Anna, the widow of Władysław I, handed over the Sochaczew land (which she had once been given by her husband in perpetual ownership) to king Casimir Jagiellon. Dukes Janusz II and Bolesław V attempted to prevent the implementation of that act by military action, but without success.[22] There is, however, information from the year 1477 that indicates a circulation rumours of the planned cooperation between Masovian and the Teutonic Knights. It was the time of conflict between king Casimir Jagiellon and the bishop of Warmia, Nicolaus Tungen, whom the Polish ruler refused to recognise. Tungen entered into an agreement with the Teutonic Order on November 30th 1476, and in doing so, the Order perceived this as an opportunity to alter the terms of the Second Peace of Toruń. Both Prussian parties contacted the king of Hungary, Matthias Corvinus, who was in conflict with Poland. On February 13th 1477, the plenipotentiaries of Nicolaus Tungen and the Grand Master of the Order, Heinrich von Richtenberg, signed pacts of alliance with the representatives of Matthias Corvinus. The principal document of the treaty was issued on March 12th 1477, already after Heinrich von Richtenberg's death. The treaty had been ratified by the acting Grand Master, Martin Truchsess, along with the Order's dignitaries on June 27th 1477. The Order had officially entrusted themselves to protection of the king of Hungary. As a product of this alliance, both sides were obliged to provide military aid to each other, and potential negotiations with Poland were to be conducted with the knowledge and consent of both sides.[23] With a very prudent approach of the Prussian Estates, the direct military actions of the war between Poland and the Teutonic Order took place in the second half of 1478 and in early 1479. The Polish-Hungarian truce and the signing of a treaty between Matthias Corvinus and Casimir

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21   A. Szweda, *Mazowiecko-pruskie sądy graniczne po 1466 roku*, in: *Dziedzictwo książąt mazowieckich. Stan badań i postulaty badawcze*, ed. J. Grabowski, R. Mroczek, P. Mrozowski, Warszawa 2017, pp. 305-314.

22   P. Węcowski, *Mazowsze w Koronie…*, pp. 71-76 – here the sources and earlier literature; see also J. Grabowski, *Dynastia Piastów…*, pp. 139-140.

23   On those events see L. Dralle, *Der Staat des Deutschen Ordens in Preußen nach dem 2. Thorner Frieden. Untersuchungen zur ökonomischen und ständepolitischen Geschichte Altpreußens zwischen 1466 und 1497*, Wiesbaden 1975, pp. 115-120; L. Pósán, *Hungary and the Teutonic Order in the Middle Ages*, Budapest 2021, pp. 299-300; A. Szweda, *How Did the Grand Masters of the Teutonic Order Interpret their Dependence on the Polish Crown (1466-1497)?*, in: *Unions and Divisions. New Forms of Rule in Medieval and Renaissance Europe*, ed. P. Srodecki, N. Kersken, R. Petrauskas (in print).

Jagiellon that followed (April 2nd 1479) had forced the Order to return under the suzerainty of Polish monarch.[24]

The brief outline of the international situation sketched above forms the context for the source information dated to the middle of the year 1477. At that time, the Teutonic-Hungarian alliance was in its initial stage. It might have seemed then that its perspectives were positive ones. On June 1 1477, the Teutonic administrator (*pfleger*) of Nidzica (Neidenburg)[25] informed Martin Truchsess, then commander of Ostróda (Osterode) that, on May 23, he had had a visit from a chamberlain of Masovian dukes (*der forsten marschalk us der Massow*), who had left on May 26. The dignitary had offered to provide, within 8-10 days, 100 or 300 mercenaries to serve the Order. He emphasized that this had the dukes' approval. The same offer came from „master Nicolas", the son of „master Gollenskyy" (*pan [!] Niclaus herre Gollenskyy son*). They requested for a binding answer to be given by June 8th, claiming at the same time that, if the Order's authorities were not interested in their offer, they would go where their services were needed (*were is sache, das e[uwer] w[irdikeit] sy nicht bedrofte, so willen sy czyen, wo sy dinst mogen haben*).[26]

The first of the persons mentioned would probably be Mikołaj Drużbic of Zastowo, who served as a chamberlain both to Janusz II, and to Bolesław V. At the same time, in the years 1472-1488 he had also held the office of the Warsaw standard-bearer,[27] The other was most probably Mikołaj Gołyński of Gołymin, the son of Jakub of Gołymin, the castellan of Ciechanów. Mikołaj is confirmed in 1477 as a courtier of Janusz II and Bolesław V and, later, he appears as holding the offices of Wyszogród standard-bearer and the castellan of Liw.[28]

Nothing is known whether the plans drawn here ever came into fruition. Accepting the offer of Masovian dignitaries would have obliged the Order to pay those mercenaries, which had always posed a problem. Although the Order had the consent of the Estates to impose an additional tax, they

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24 L. Dralle, *Der Staat des Deutschen Ordens…*, p. 124; L. Pósán, *Hungary and the Teutonic Order….*, pp. 303-306; A. Szweda, *How did the Grand Masters…*, pp. 164-165.

25 The person holding that office at that time is not known by name - compare D. Heckmann, *Amtsträger des Deutschen Ordens. Dostojnicy zakonu niemieckiego*, Toruń 2020, p. 422.

26 OBA, no. 16668.

27 J. Grabowski, *Współpracownicy i dworzanie Janusza II, księcia mazowieckiego (1471-1495). Ze studiów nad otoczeniem władców prowincjonalnych w późnym średniowieczu*, in: *Średniowieczni władcy i ich otoczenie*, ed. J. Sperka, K. Kollinger, Rzeszów 2018, p. 296; A. Wolff, *Studia nad urzędnikami mazowieckimi 1370-1526*, Wrocław 1962, p. 291.

28 J. Grabowski, *Współpracownicy i dworzanie…*, p. 298; A. Wolff, *Studia nad…*, p. 292. I would like to express my gratitude to prof. Janusz Grabowski from the Central Archives of Historical Records for additional information that allowed me to identify both Masovians.

rather intended to use their local forces in the forthcoming conflict.[29] It's worth to pay attention to the previously quoted fragment that left the possibility for the Masovian squad to serve other party, if their expectations were not met. However that could have simply been an instrument for putting some pressure on the Order.

Another source significant in the discussed context is a letter by duke Janusz II to the starost of Bratian, Adam Wilkanowski, dated in Ciechanów on June 2nd 1477. Here, the duke confirmed receiving the missive from the starost on the previous day and reading the forwarded rumours of him entering into a pact with Teutonic Knights. Such messages had reached him also from Masovian merchants making trade in Prussia. Janusz II denied the truth of that information as misinformation spread by his enemies. He emphasized that his ancestors had always been „the most loyal, most true-hearted protectors, defenders and advisors to the Polish Kingdom" (*predecessores nostri semper fidissimi et constantissimi tutores, propugnatores et consultores Regni Polonie fuerunt*), and that he himself had always followed their footsteps and would always be faithful to the Polish Kingdom. He added, however, that he had suffered considerable damage and harm from the Kingdom to his inheritance and expressed hope that they would, with God's help, be restored. Finally, he had shared the heard news that certain persons in Prussia had planned to surrender some towns there to king's enemies, which he nevertheless had found hard to believe.[30]

On June 7th 1477, in his turn, the archbishop of Gniezno, Jakub of Sienno had addressed a missive to Masovian dukes (the preserved copy does not mention their names, but uses plural form), in which he reported some information he had received, namely that the Order's delegation had appeared in Ciechanów and, during its audience, had accused king Casimir of not respecting the terms of "eternal peace". Hence, the Teutonic Knights had urged the dukes, as protectors of the Order, to provide them with aid and to make an alliance. Archbishop's informants in Prussia wrote him that the Order were to be given some hope in the matter of the alliance. Subsequently, the next delegation of Teutonic Knights had made their way to Opinigóra near Ciechanów (where the dukes had their hunting lodge). The remaining part of the letter contains an admonition to the dukes, warning them not to continue such policy. The Archbishop wondered why, since they were part of the Kingdom of Poland (*membrum Regni*), the dukes associated with people of foreign descent and language. He then accused them of humiliating their mother (i.e., the Crown), choosing instead the people of low status. Jakub of Sienno expressed his belief that the dukes' advisors

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29 L. Dralle, *Der Staat des Deutschen Ordens…*, pp. 119-120.
30 *Codex epistolaris saeculi decimi quinti*, vol. III, ed. A. Lewicki, Kraków 1894, no. 248, p. 275.

would instruct them to follow the example of their ancestors. Finally, he resorted to threats, claiming that the aspirations of achieving success in alliance with Teutonic Order were deceptive. As such, all who acted against the king had ultimately been defeated.[31]

The information from archival sources is complemented by the relations of Jan Długosz, a contemporary to these events. According to him, all four brothers had been urged to enter into an alliance against the king of Poland in equal measure by Matthias Corvinus and by Teutonic Knights; some negotiations to that effect between them and the Teutonic Knights took place. Długosz states that the attitude of Piasts and their advisors to that initiative had been positive, however the matter was dropped because of their fear of the king and the Kingdom, as well as due to the virtue of some minor part of the advisors.[32] One can clearly see here the convergence with the contents of the letter by Jakub of Sienno which, however, is more abundant in details.[33] This begs the question as to how to evaluate the the proper meaning of the recounted information. The unquestionable fact is that the Masovian dukes did indeed offer to provide the Order with mercenaries. The administrator of a border town Nidzica had reported on the events he participated in.

The missive of archbishop Jakub of Sienno and the passage from Jan Długosz chronicle convey only rumours, but the archbishop lists the places where the Order's envoys' audiences took place (Ciechanów, Opinogóra). He also informs us on a characteristic motif of Teutonic Order propaganda (the Masovian Piasts as descendants of the Order's benefactors and founders) already employed during the Thirteen Years' War, in addition to the dukes' positive attitude to the offer of alliance. This thread was also emphasized by Długosz. In that situation, Janusz II's letter, intentionally worded in a very emotional way, appears rather to reflect an official position in the situation when the covert negotiations were nowhere near completion. It could also have been a form of diverting the attention from actual intentions.

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31 *Codex epistolaris saeculi decimi quinti*, vol. III, ed. A. Lewicki, Kraków 1894, no. 249, pp. 275-276.

32 Jan Długosz, *Annales seu Cronicae incliti Regni Poloniae*, liber XII (1462-1480), ed. J. Wyrozumski et al., Kraków 2005, p. 395.

33 See also *Rozbiór krytyczny Annalium Poloniae Jana Długosza z lat 1445-1480*, vol. II, ed. J. Dąbrowski et al., Wrocław 1965, p. 356. According to H. Schmauch (*Der Kampf zwischen dem ermländischen Bischof Nikolaus von Tüngen und Polen oder der Pfaffenkrieg (1467-1479)*, "Zeitschrift für Geschichte und Altertumskunde Ermlands" XXV (1933), p. 138, footnote 5, in favour of understanding between the Order and Masovia speaks also a letter by Martin Truchsess dated July 24th 1477 intervening at Bishop Tungen in the case of a Masovian subject robbed in Dobre Miasto (Guttstadt). Though there is hardly any political context to be seen here, it is undoubtedly a sigh of good neighbourly relations.

The addressee of duke's letter had not been picked at random, since Adam Wilkanowski was a Masovian, of a considerable wealth, confirmed in 1475 as holding the office of the standard bearer of Wyszogród. During the Thirteen Years' War he was a commander of mercenaries in Polish service, receiving the office of starost of Bratian in the Chełmno land from the king as a payment for his services. All the time, however, he was active in Masovia, dealing with both his own financial matters and those of his wife.[34] Thus, the duke wrote to his acquaintance who had also put down his roots in Prussia. He could have expected that his explanations would be spread widely. Such hopes were obviously well grounded, since the only form in which the contents of Janusz II's letter to Wilkanowski is a copy in the state archives in Gdańsk. Perhaps the suitably wide distribution of the contents of that letter had from the beginning been task given to Adam Wilkanowski, although this must remain a hypothesis. For his faithful service, on June 30th 1477 he was granted by Janusz II a release from jurisdiction of all the duke's officials and from all penalties imposed by them.[35] The contacts between Masovia and Teutonic Order concerning an alliance never went far beyond initial attempts. This was due to the viewpoint of of some of the members of duke's council, the dynamic politics that shifted to the Order's disadvantage and the decisive attitude of the Polish monarch. Already in July of 1477 Casimir Jagiellon summoned duke Janusz II and duke Bolesław V to participate in a campaign against the Hungarians. Although this did not happen, the Piasts received a clear message, namely that the Polish court was watching their dealings carefully. In January of the following year (1478), both dukes appeared at the general assembly (sejm) in Piotrków, which probably entailed the necessity to explain themselves before the sovereign for the charges brought against them.[36] That is why it cannot be argued that „there was […] an understanding between grand master Truchsess with Masovian duke Jan (Janusz)".[37] Janusz II's letter to Adam Wilkanowski should also not be regarded as a demonstration of his definite distancing from the circulating rumours.[38] Perhaps the most relevant interpretation of that matter is the one

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34 *Słownik historyczno-geograficzny ziemi wyszogrodzkiej w średniowieczu*, ed. A. Wolff, A. Borkiewicz-Celińska, Wrocław 1971, pp. 58-59; *Słownik historyczno-geograficzny województwa płockiego w średniowieczu*, ed. A. Borkiewicz-Celińska, fold 2, Wrocław 1982, p. 124; fold 3, Warszawa 1998, p. 267; A. Wolff, *Studia nad…*, p. 292; S. Szybkowski, *Korespondencja książąt mazowieckich z radą miasta Gdańska*, in: *Dziedzictwo książąt mazowieckich. Stan badań i postulaty badawcze*, ed. J. Grabowski, R. Mroczek, P. Mrozowski, Warszawa 2017, p. 287.

35 The Central Archives of Historical Records, Warsaw, Metryka Koronna, no. 6, fol. 100v-101r – an exception was to be the penalty of „fifty": should that be imposed Adam should have paid 5 groschen to the ducal treasury.

36 See P. Węcowski, *Mazowsze w Koronie…*, p. 77.

37 *Rozbiór krytyczny Annalium…*, p. 356.

38 Compare S. Szybkowski, *Korespondencja…*, p. 288.

provided by Johannes Voigt, who wrote of „a positive attitude" (Geneigtheit) of the Piasts towards the Teutonic Order.[39] Simultaneously, that was an attempt to make the best of the arising opportunity.

To confirm this idea of positive relations between Masovia and Teutonic Order, one can refer to a report from July 1483. Here, Martin Truchsess (with his cortege) met king Casimir Jagiellon at Troki. Among the matters discussed at the meeting was the issue of confirming the border between both parties. The Grand Master of the Order complained about problems in that matter since the subsequent negotiations with the Lithuanians did not bring about any effects. As if in opposition to this, and to demonstrate that an agreement concerning proper demarcation of borders was possible, he indicated that „the lords of Masovia" had granted the old borders to the Order as a sign of favor.[40] The persistent very good relations between Masovia and Teutonic Order had been demonstrated with all ostentation in 1489. Grand Master Johann von Tiefen made a journey to Radom in this year to take part in the general assembly (sejm) where he swore allegiance to the Polish king (in keeping with the terms of the Second Peace of Toruń). In order to reach Radom, he travelled through Masovia and on his way back to Prussia he took the same route. In late November and early December of that year, in Ciechanów, Johann von Tiefen met Janusz II in person. This meeting was an opportunity for political talks concerning the matters resolver within competences of border tribunals, as well as to participate in a feast and hold a tournament. Duke Janusz II even became an honorary member of the Teutonic Order.[41] The death of Janusz II in 1495 at the age of 40 was received in Prussia with concern. The instruction for Johan von Tiefen's envoy to Livonia emphasized the unexpected character of duke's demise, his righteous disposition, but above all the threat to Prussia caused by his death. An apprehension prevailed that king Jan Olbracht would attempt to size the remaining part of Duchy of Masovia for himself. If this happened, it would lead to Prussia being entirely

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39 J. Voigt, *Geschichte Preussens*, vol. IX, Königsberg 1839, p. 100.

40 Geheimes Staatsarchiv Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Berlin, XX. HA, OF 18a, p. 127 - an extensive report from the meeting in Troki has been published only in excerpts (S.C. Rowell, *Trumpos akimirkos iš Kazimiero Jogailaičio Dvaro: neeilinė kasdienybė tarnauja valstybei*, "Lietuvos istorijos metraštis" 2004, 1 (Vilnius 2005), pp. 51-55; *Liv-, Est – und Kurländisches Urkundenbuch*, 1. Abteilung, vol. XIV, ed. Ch. Gahlbeck et al., Köln-Weimar-Wien 2020, no. 899, pp. 798-802 - however they do not contain any Masovian thread.

41 A. Szweda, *The King's Vassals. The Encounter of Janusz II Duke of Masovia and the Grand Master of the Teutonic Order in Ciechanów in 1489*, in: *Studies on the Military Orders, Prussia and Urban History: Essays in Honour of Roman Czaja on the Occasion of His Sixtieth Birthday*, ed. J. Sarnowsky et al., Deberecen 2020, pp. 397-403 - here the sources.

surrounded by his subservient territories.[42] As it soon turned out, these
fears were very well grounded. The Grand Master and his advisors,
however, did not see any legal or practical possibility to oppose Jana
Olbracht's summon to provide him with military aid. He issued such
request exactly after the death of Janusz II, when Conrad the Red took
the Duchy of Płock by force. According to the Polish royal court it should
have already belonged to the Crown since 1462. Johann von Tiefen only
attempted to delay the matter, offering the Order's mediation between
the king and the duke. Finally, the decisive steps taken by Jan Olbracht
brought the controversies to a quick end in his favor.[43] This situation
did not influence the relations between Conrad III the Red and Johann
von Tiefen. Admittedly, in 1497 when Teutonic Knights crossed Masovia
on their way to Jan Olbracht's Moldovian campaign, the duke failed to
meet the Grand Master. Liborius Naker, Johann von Tiefen's secretary,
noted in his report from the campaign that duke Conrad did not show
the Grand Master his usual reverence, and excused himself that the king,
whom he did not wish to antagonise, prohibited such gestures.[44] Over
a year after assuming the office of Grand Master of the Teutonic Order
by Friedrich, Duke of Saxony, in November of 1499, Conrad III the Red's
envoy, Mikołaj Oborski, the starost of Zakroczym declared in Königs-
berg, that his master would like to continue the friendship his brother
shared with the grand master's predecessors and with the whole Order.[45]

The earlier good relations of Conrad the Red (the brother of Janusz II)
with the Teutonic Order were demonstrated undoubtedly by his initia-
tive of the year 1493. On February 22nd of that year, in Czersk, the Duke
of Masovia issued credentials for Jan of Podosie, starost of Warsaw. He
acted as Conrad's envoy to the Grand Duke (tzar) of Moscow. The envoy,
admitted at an audience, after the usual humble homage and enquiry about
the ruler's health, presented the matter of his mission. First, he asked for
the hand of Ivan III's daughter for his duke. Sent to another chamber with
the deacon (diak) of Moscow, Fiodor, he had been asked whether Conrad
would aid the Grand Duke of Moscow against his enemies, „king Casimir's
children" (i.e., Alexander Jagiellon ruling over Lithuania and his brother,
Jan Olbracht ruling over Poland). Jan of Podosie answered in the affirma-
tive, adding that „our lord duke Conrad is as one man with the Prussian

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42 *Liv-, Est- und Kurländisches Urkundenbuch*, 2. Abteilung, vol. I, ed. H. Hildebrand, Ph. Schwartz, L. Arbusow, Riga-Moskau 1900, no. 181, p. 137, 140.

43 A. Szweda, *Starania króla Jana Olbrachta o krzyżacką pomoc przeciwko księciu mazowieckiemu Konradowi Rudemu w 1495 roku*, „Roczniki Historyczne" LXXII (2016), pp. 187-195.

44 *Liborius Naker's Tagesbuch über den Kriegszug des Hochmeisters Johann von Tiefen gegen die Türken im Jahre 1497*, ed. M. Toeppen, in: *Scriptores rerum Prussicarum*, vol. V, Leipzig 1874, p. 291.

45 OF 23, p. 40.

master and they want to stand as one against Casimir's children".[46] Ivan III decided to send his own diplomats to Livonia, Prussia, and Masovia. They accompanied Jan of Podosie on his return journey. Among the diplomatic affairs that they were instructed to carry out, they were obliged to ask duke Conrad III whether he was a subject of king Casimir, about his relations with the Grand Master of Teutonic Order, whether the master was currently at war or at peace with Casimir's sons (Olbracht, Alexander and Sigmund), and whether cities, taken from him by king Casimir (Gdańsk and Toruń) were willing to return under the Order's power.[47] The whole documentation demonstrates great care about getting acquainted with the details of circumstances of countries (in particular, Prussia and Masovia) that were quite peripheral from Moscow.[48]

With this, the information in the source material ends. It is doubtful, whether the Moscow envoys went beyond Livonia, and there is no trace of them having visited Prussia or Masovia. Conrad proved to be too poor a match for Ivan III's daughter, and Grand Master Johann von Tiefen had to face a firm policy of king Jan Olbracht, who emphasized his status as the Order's sovereign.[49] One should also consider the ideological issues – fighting the Orthodox Church formed one of the most important motifs of Teutonic propaganda at that time.[50] As such, an active alliance with Ivan III would be entirely incomprehensible. There is also no information on Conrad's initiative being in any way consulted with the Order's authorities. Even if it was not, it is symptomatic for the duke to indicate no other party than the Teutonic Knights as his prospective allies in cooperation with Moscow. On the political horizon, there were no other partners for Masovia's emancipation policy.

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46 *Sbornik Imperatorskago Russkago Istoričeskago Obščestva*, vol. XXXV, S. Peterburg 1882, no. 21, p. 90-92.

47 Ibidem, p. 97.

48 For general information on diplomatic contacts between Masovia and Moscow in 1493 see W. Białowiejska, *Stosunki Litwy z Moskwą w pierwszej połowie panowania Aleksandra Jagiellończyka (1492-1499)*, „Ateneum Wileńskie" VII (1930), pp. 99-100; M. Biskup, *Polska a Zakon Krzyżacki w początkach XVI wieku. U źródeł sekularyzacji Prus Krzyżackich*, Olsztyn 1983, p. 42; M. Sach, *Hochmeister und Grossfürst. Die Beziehungen zwischen dem Deutschen Orden in Preussen und dem Moskauer Staat um die Wende zur Neuzeit*, Stuttgart 2002, pp. 114-115, 163; K. Bojko, *Stosunki dyplomatyczne Moskwy z Europą Zachodnią w czasach Iwana III*, Kraków 2010, pp. 139-141 (with errors, the author is not acquainted with the fundamental work by M. Sach).

49 Those elements indicated M. Biskup, *Polska a Zakon…*, pp. 42-43. According to M. Sach (*Hochmeister und Grossfürst…*, p. 117) in the eyes of Ivan III his emissaries' mission could have turned out pointless after the oath of allegiance that Johann von Tiefen had been forced to swear to Jan Olbracht.

50 A. Szweda, *The Fight with Pagans in Poland's Relations with the Teutonic Order after 1466* [in printing].

In September of 1498, on their way to Prussia, the cortege of the new grand master, Duke Friedrich of Saxony, were joined by the envoys of Maximilian, the Holy Roman Emperor, who had been sent to duke Conrad III the Red. This was part of Habsburg's plan to build a coalition against the Jagiellons. Since the Poles had barred the envoys from entering Masovia, they went to Prussia. Their audience with Duke Conrad was arranged by the administrator of the border town of Nidzica, Burkart von Wilmannsdorf.[51] In March of the following year the envoys of the Grand Master went to Poland and visited the court of Conrad the Red on their return journey. As a result of the negotiations carried out, the Masovian thread was present during the mission of Ludwig von Saunsheim, the commander of Königsberg to the court of Emperor Maximilian. The instruction for the Order's diplomat comprised a plea to the king not to abandon „his innate friend", duke Conrad – of course in the context of his conflict with Poland.[52] This was another display of the place of Masovia and Conrad III in a broader plan of Habsburg policy in Central Europe. Both parties maintained in that time lively bilateral contacts, focused on the issues of Polish policy. For example, on November 9th 1499, a note entitled "A warning from Masovia" (*Warnung aus Massaw*) appears in the Order's records. According to its contents, the administrator (*pfleger*) from Szczytno (Ortelsburg)[53] had ordered the chancellor, Paul von Watt, to read the letter from Conrad III at an assembly planned before Christmas in Piotrków, in the presence of the King of Poland. Both the Grand Master and Duke Conrad himself were to be summoned to that assembly, and Friedrich was also to be required to swear allegiance to the king.[54]

The death of Jan Olbracht (on June 17th 1501) gave Conrad III the Red new hope for changing his position and regaining the Duchy of Płock. It motivated him to attempted joint action with Grand Master Friedrich. According to the Conrad, such an undertaking was to be facilitated by the unclear situation in the Kingdom in connection with the election of a new ruler. Friedrich, however, did not feel strong enough to undertake more decisive action.[55] The new king, Alexander Jagiellon, had no doubts as to the character of the relationship between Conrad and Friedrich. In May of 1503 his envoy, Jarosław Łaski, summoned the duke to aid the king against the Order.

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51 OBA, no. 18046; the contents of the message to Maximilian had been copied in the Order's office records – OF 30, pp. 312-313; por. M. Biskup, *Polska a Zakon…*, pp. 73-74; S. Flemmig, *Zwischen dem Reich und Ostmitteleuropa. Die Beziehungen von Jagiellonen, Wettinern und Deutschen Orden (1386-1526),* Stuttgart 2019, p. 373.

52 P. Oberländer, *Hochmeister Friedrich von Sachsen (1498-1510),* part 1, Berlin 1914, pp. 52, 55-56; M. Biskup, *Polska a Zakon…*, pp. 79-80.

53 Most probably Hans von Haugwitz.

54 OF 23, p. 36.

55 M. Biskup, *Polska a Zakon…*, p. 127, 131 - here the sources.

His instructions allowed him also to declare that the monarch did not believe the information on Conrad's alliance with the Order, for such a pact would have been dangerous for Masovia in a situation of military conflict between Poland and the Order.[56] As such it was an entirely open announcement of repressive measures.

In a situation of close collaboration and friendship between Masovia and Teutonic Order in Prussia one should indicate one area in particular where Conrad the Red demonstrated a very principled attitude and refused to consider the claims laid by Grand Master Friedrich. This was an issue of floating timber and navigation on the River Omulew. According to duke's party, this disturbed duke's hunting in nearby forests. The controversies lasted long after duke's death, ultimately ending in the 1520s.[57]

The death of Conrad III the Red (on October 28th 1503[58]) did not change the geopolitical situation of Masovia. As regent his widow, duchess Anna Radziwiłł, tried to prevent the Duchy of Masovia from being incorporated to the Crown.[59]

The collaboration of Masovia with Teutonic Order is visible already since the time of the Thirteen Years' War. The fact that after 1466, both the Piast dukes and the grand masters of the Order were subservient to the king of Poland had strengthened those bonds. Masovian rulers sought the Orders aid especially when the political situation seemed to be favorable. Their initiatives were willingly received by Teutonic Knights. However, they never decided to act openly against Poland, being aware of the disproportion of power. A similar attitude, with the exception for the alliance with Matthias Corvinus, the king of Hungary, was assumed also by the grand masters.[60] Conrad III the Red's failed attempt to build a broader alliance not only with Prussia but also with Moscow clearly demonstrated the posi-

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56 *Akta Aleksandra króla polskiego, wielkiego księcia litewskiego itd. (1501-1506)*, ed. F. Papée, Kraków 1927, no. 165, pp. 273-276; M. Biskup, *Polska a Zakon…*, p. 152.

57 A. Szweda, *Łowy książąt mazowieckich a spław na Omulwi. Handel, polityka i ochrona środowiska w początkach XVI wieku* (in print).

58 J. Grabowski, *Dynastia Piastów…*, p. 195.

59 P. Tafiłowski, *Koncepcje włączenia Mazowsza do Korony w średniowieczu i w czasach nowożytnych*, „Miscellanea Historico – Archivistica" XV/XVI (2008/2009), pp. 26-28; J. Grabowski, *Dynastia Piastów…*, pp. 195-199.

60 A good illustration of the fact, that at the Krakow court the contacts between Masovia nad the Teutonic Order were treated as a constant element of political play-acting and closely monitored, is an information from September 1498. The emissary of Cardinal Frederic Jagiellon to Duke Conrad during a conversation had asked directly, what had a certain Teutonic knight been doing in Warsaw. Duchess Anna Radziwill, the wife of Conrad III, had explained, that a goldsmith had fled to Prussia with the Duke's Janusz II IOU, and that the Order is heavily indebted to the Dukes of Masovia. The talks were to have concerned both issues – *Materiały do dziejów dyplomacji polskiej z lat 1486-1516 (kodeks zagrzebski)*, ed. J. Garbacik, Wrocław 1966, no. 21, p. 63.

tion of Masovian and Prussian rulers in a long line of players in the field of European diplomacy among the "weaker partners". The peculiar alliance of ducal Masovia and the Prussian Branch of the Teutonic Order, two entities that had left the scene of history in the same time, is one of the characteristic elements of the changing political situation in Central Europe of Late Middle Ages and the beginnings of Early Modern times.

ABSTRACT

After the Second Peace of Toruń (1466), the grand masters of the Teutonic Order became rulers dependent on the kings of Poland. Polish vassals from the 14th century were also the dukes of Masovia from the Piast dynasty. Already during the Thirteen Years' War (1454-1466) there were attempts at closer contact between Masovia and the Order, and in 1458 the princes concluded a separate truce with the Grand Master. Later, both sides tried to cooperate to strengthen their position against King Casimir Jagiellon and his sons: Jan Olbracht and Alexander. This can be seen in 1477 when the Order allied with Hungary. In 1493, Prince Conrad III the Red tried to create an anti-Jagiellonian alliance with Moscow and the Teutonic Knights. Such activities can be observed until Konrad died in 1503. Based on the current political situation, it appears improbable that these suggestions will come to fruition.

Keywords: Teutonic Knights, Masovia, alliance, Poland, vassal

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Jarosław Nikodem
Adam Mickiewicz University in Poznań, Faculty of History
jaroniko@amu.edu.pl
https://orcid.org/0000-0002-6365-4795

Reflections on the Polish-Lithuanian Union (On the margin of Robert Frost's book, *The Oxford History of Poland-Lithuania, Volume I: The Making of the Polish-Lithuanian Union, 1385-1569*, Oxford 2015)[1]

Robert Frost's book on the Polish-Lithuanian union was greeted, and rightly so, with interest, sometimes even enthusiasm. The Scottish historian specialising in modern history took on an extremely ambitious task, given that he devoted a large part of his work to the history of the creation of the union of the two states and, therefore, had to deal with the medieval period. He came to the otherwise correct conclusion that, without knowing the origins of the union, it is difficult to talk about its further development. In theory this sounds convincing, in practice it creates barriers that are difficult to circumvent. Towards the end of the second decade of the 20th century when Oskar Halecki wrote his two-volume, still incomparable work on the union covering its entire history, he was in a much easier position. The state of research at the time is difficult to compare with that of today, and the author himself

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1 Polish version: R. Frost, *Oksfordzka historia unii polsko-litewskiej. Powstanie i rozwój 1385-1569*, vol. I, transl. T. Fiedorek, Poznań 2018. In the text I refer to both versions, but I rely on the original (i.e., English) text. The Polish edition proves necessary, primarily because of certain additions made by the Author, which are not to be found in the English edition. I refer to the page numbering in brackets, first referring to the English version, after the sign/to the Polish translation.

was a genuine expert on both medieval and later history. At that time, it was still possible to be such. I dare say that today - due to far-reaching specialisation - it is simply not possible. Based on this assumption, I do not refer in this text to the parts of the book devoted to the early modern period. Moreover, this essay will focus only on the most relevant issues causing controversy and on some of Frost's debatable conclusions.[2]

Frost's book has at least one undeniable value: it was written by a researcher "from the outside", i.e., someone not burdened with any baggage of excessive subjectivism resulting from belonging to one of the nations that used to be part of the Polish-Lithuanian union. Frost himself, writing that his main goal was to find an answer to the question why the union was formed, adds that he will - precisely as an "outside observer" - eschew any national perspective (p. IX/p. 12), and for this reason, he dedicated his book to four great researchers of different nationalities: Oskar Halecki, Adolfas Šapoka, Mykhailo Hrushevsky and Matvei Lyubavsky. I hope that I will be able to show the extent to which he fully succeeded in realizing both assumptions. I agree with the observation that the first volume was to be written from the perspective of political history, although I admit that despite the Author's efforts, this new attempt to outline the history of the union often lacks a more in-depth treatment of legal issues encountered in the source material. It is more difficult to agree with the statement that, until now, scholars have emphasized the construction of the nation-state, rather ignoring "issues of political union in general" (Preface to the Polish edition, p. 18). Another observation would be more accurate: despite exceptions, too little attention was paid to matters concerning the legal nature of the union. Perhaps because later researchers were greatly influenced by the "intimidating" proposals of Stanisław Kutrzeba and Oswald Balzer.[3]

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2 Thus, in the main part of the text I omit passages devoted to the time before the last quarter of the 14th century, Frost, for example, writes about the "co-rulership" of Kęstutis and Jagiełło, only to later state that there was no diarchical system in Lithuania [pp. 3, 30/pp. 31, 71]; the historian recognises Archbishop of Gniezno Bodzęta as Primate [pp. 4/p. 33], but it was Mikołaj Trąba who became the first Primate; in his correspondence with Zbigniew Oleśnicki, Bishop of Kraków, Aeneas Silvius Piccolomini was said to have largely adopted from him a hostile attitude towards the Jagiellons [p. 272/p. 427], which is an untrue statement). At times the rather extensive quotations (always from the English edition only) that I cite have been deemed necessary to avoid the possibility of distorting the author's intentions. They concern - I hope every time - the most relevant issues.

3 S. Kutrzeba, *Unia Polski z Litwą*, in: *Polska i Litwa w dziejowym stosunku*, Warszawa et al. 1914; idem, *Charakter prawny związku Litwy z Polską 1385-1569*, in: *Pamiętnik VI Powszechnego Zjazdu Historyków Polskich w Wilnie 1935*, vol. I, Lwów 1935; O. Balzer, *Unia horodelska*, Kraków 1913; idem, *Nowsze poglądy na istotę prawno-państwowego stosunku Polski i Litwy w jagiellońskim średniowieczu*, "Sprawozdania Towarzystwa Naukowego we Lwowie" I (1921); idem, *Istota prawna zależności książąt litewsko-ruskich w dobie 1386-1398/401*, "Sprawozdania Towarzystwa Naukowego we Lwowie" I (1921); idem, *Stosunek Litwy do Polski*, in: idem, *Pisma pośmiertne*, vol. III, Lwów 1937.

Frost is not wrong in believing that the *corona Regni Poloniae* formula was created in 1382, although to be much more precise, it should be said that it was just beginning to take shape then. However, he is wrong (although reading further parts of his work, it is easy to understand that it is convenient for him to say so), when he writes: "While the monarch was seen as part of the community of the realm, and as necessary for the smooth functioning of the kingdom, the community of the realm was perfectly capable of running its affairs without a monarch, as it demonstrated between 1382 and 1386" (p. 15/p. 50). Apart from these two exceptional situations (interregnum and acting on behalf of a minor monarch), the sources of this independence are not visible for a long time, provided that they are not over-interpreted.[4]

On the 'royalty' of Jadwiga of Poland, Frost adopts the position of Stephen C. Rowell,[5] who argues that she was only a queen because that is how the sources refer to her. The word *rex* was intended to mean only that she was considered the reigning queen and not merely the spouse of the reigning monarch (note 38, p. 17/note 38, p. 52). However, if this had been the case, as Rowell suggests, there would have been no need for the adoption of the Košice treaty (1374), let alone Casimir the Great's treaty with the Angevins, since one of his daughters would have become a "queen", a "reigning queen", and not solely the wife of the reigning monarch.

Jadwiga was written as *regina* because it sounded better and more graceful, as it referred to the *regis* of a woman. Moreover, the matter is settled by the information recorded in connection with Jadwiga's coronation, where it was written about her: *in regem Polonie coronate*.[6] Another misunderstanding on Frost's part is his claim that Jadwiga's royal power "could only be exercised in concert with the community of the realm and after she reached her majority", which meant a reduction of the scope of the dynasty's power. The proof of this reduction was to be found in the breaking of the engagement with William von Habsburg (p. 17/pp. 52-53). Several threads are entangled here. Between 1384 and 1386, Jadwiga *rex Poloniae* could not exercise real power because she had not yet reached the appropriate age. In similar situations it was always the same – "the community of the realm" (in the Polish translation of the book: "wspólnota państwowa") had nothing to do with it,

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4   There is not enough space to develop this thread, but it is sufficient to recall two rather spectacular examples proving something else: Jagiełło's bringing about his marriage to Elżbieta Granowska despite everyone's opposition (of course, if we trust Długosz's account, and Frost generally trusts the chronicler) and the conduct of Casimir Jagiellończyk in the first years of his reign.

5   S.C. Rowell, *1386. The marriage of Jogaila and Jadwiga embodies the union of Poland and Lithuania*, "Lithuanian Historical Studies" XI (2006), pp. 139-140.

6   E.g.: *Kalendarz katedralny krakowski*, ed. Z. Kozłowska-Budkowa, in: Monumenta Poloniae Historica (further: MPH) series nova, vol. V, Warszawa 1978, p. 178.

the rights of the dynasty were thus neither diminished nor increased. This is, after all, obvious. There was also another factor at play, which Frost most simply forgets. It is true that Jadwiga came from the Angevin dynasty, but it was not the Angevins who were to rule Poland in the future (just as they were not to rule Hungary). Rather, a new dynasty founded by her husband (and, in Hungary, by the husband of Maria of Anjou) ruled those realms.

On the other hand, Frost must clearly be commended when, indeed in many places in his book, he warns against viewing medieval states from a modern or contemporary perspective (as has often been done in historiography). This led, and not infrequently still leads, to the use of the concept of state sovereignty, which meant something quite different in the Middle Ages. For this reason, one can approve of many of his remarks on the 1385 Krewo Act (pp. 50-51/p. 98). It is when the historian goes into detail that the situation deteriorates. For one, he claims that the wording of this act "suggests that the relationship forged in 1386 was intended to be far more than a personal or dynastic union: a multiple monarchy or dynastic agglomeration united solely in the person of the ruler. Its very existence demonstrates that Polish-Lithuanian union did not begin as personal or dynastic unions usually began, through simple inheritance, as was the case at the institution of the Anglo-Scottish personal union in 1603 […]. If, as Jellinek argues, one of the defining features of a real union is a formal, legal foundation treaty, then the relationship launched by Krewo fulfils this condition, not least because of the involvement of the community of the Polish realm as one of the parties" (pp. 50-51/p. 98). We have to regard these remarks as pure projection by Frost, triggered by matching the 1385 transmission with Georg Jellinek's theories dating from the 19th century[7] and referring to Heinz Duchhardt's text.[8] Here, Frost introduces the terms personal union and dynastic union, unfortunately without explaining how he defines both.

In the 14th century, the name personal or dynastic union was not known or theoretically considered. Nor does Frost prove what the wording of the Krewo Act, which was primarily a prenuptial agreement, as he knows it to be, suggested anything other than a personal or dynastic union. Granted, it was a rather peculiar premarital agreement, above all differing from the others in that it was supposed to lead to the marriage of a Christian

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7 On pp. 36-46/pp. 78-93 Frost eruditely, but without contributing much to the main topic of consideration, presents the opinions of various scholars (from different fields of study) on the union of modern times. He appears to be conscious, moreover, of the differences resulting from the different eras. He also extensively summarises Jellinek's views (also on times beyond the Middle Ages), who, as it turns out in the following pages, became his real *cicerone* in exploring the theoretical significance of the Polish-Lithuanian union.

8 H. Durchhardt, *Vorwort*, in: *Der Herrscher in der Doppelpflicht: Europäische Fürsten und ihre beiden Throne*, ed. H. Durchhardt, Mainz 1997, p. 3.

woman to a pagan man who had to necessarily commit himself to undergo baptism. But where is there any trace here that this could foreshadow anything more than a personal or dynastic union? The reference to the Anglo-Scottish union, on the other hand, leads to nothing, because by making comparisons between phenomena so distant in time, one can always find - depending on the intention - purely coincidental parallels or discrepancies. On the one hand, this "the community of Polish realm", to which Frost attaches so much importance, i.e., representatives of the Crown of the Polish Kingdom. This is something most natural, which should not come as a surprise, since Jadwiga, as ruler, could not yet make any independent decisions. On the other hand, there was a case for establishing a new King, namely the establishment of a new dynasty.

This was not a precedent. In 1300, Wenceslaus II (from the Přemyslid dynasty) was entered into an agreement with Polish lords (for they recognised that they represented the idea of the state, as it was understood at the time), and thus those who represented "the community of Polish realm" (the then reborn, unifying state). However, this had nothing to do with the idea of *corona regni*. And it was something most typical of Europe at the time if we consider, for example, Bohemia after the end of the Přemyslid dynasty. "The community of Czech realm" (in the medieval sense of the word) offered the throne to the Luxembourgs in exchange for marrying Wenceslas II's daughter, treating this, moreover, as a sine qua non condition of the agreement. Thus, John of Luxembourg became the heir and heir of the Přemyslids in every understanding of the word, which was manifested, among other things, by his claim to the throne in Poland. In the second case, the "Polish community of the realm" made an agreement with Louis of Anjou, then already king in Poland, to change Polish dynastic law. The objective was obvious - to maintain the relationship with the Angevins. However, neither the former nor the latter implied or suggested a move towards a real Polish-Czech or Polish-Hungarian union. The third case was the seizure of the Hungarian throne by Władysław III (he reigned in Hungary as Władysław I), son of Jagiełło. It did not occur to anyone at the time that this was to be the leaven of a Polish-Hungarian real union.

Frost is also convinced that, on the eve of the Treaty of Krewo, the situation in Poland (and in Denmark, Sweden, Hungary and Bohemia) was different from that in Western Europe, for the reason that "the community of the realm" of these states claimed a stake in the settlement of the succession (p. 51/p. 99). This is not so. The historian has not delved thoroughly enough into the intricacies of this period. The Polish elites **wanted** the inheritance of one of Louis of Anjou's daughters, because they **had sworn** it while Louis of Anjou was still alive. Everything would have proceeded "normally" if Elisabeth of Bosnia, Louis's widow, had not started playing her

own political game and seeking to decide fully on her own what would happen in Hungary and Poland after 1382. The Poles even approved of this, but it lasted until they saw that Elisabeth could "eternally" delay sending Jadwiga to Poland at all. This would have meant that the queen dowager would have ruled there as her late husband had done: through the trusted and loyal dynasty of Polish lords. Such a situation would have been acceptable in the short term, but did not guarantee stability, especially as Elisabeth was no Louis. The Polish lords therefore put the matter on a knife-edge, as they wanted a king, but a male king, as only he guaranteed internal peace and normal development of the state. That is why when Jadwiga was already crowned king, they decided to find a husband for her as soon as possible.[9]

"The community of the realm" had so stimulated Frost's enthusiasm that he went even further. He concluded that even if the Union of Krewo was merely a prenuptial agreement, "the involvement of the Polish community of the realm" meant something more. The agreement of Krewo "was necessary because neither Jagiełło nor Jadwiga possessed a clear hereditary right to the Polish throne in Polish law or custom. Jadwiga, for all that the Poles recognized her natural rights, had only acquired the Polish crown by election…" (p. 52/p. 100). In the case of Jadwiga, it is enough to consult the account of the chronicle of Janko of Czarnków to see that Frost is not correct.[10] Moreover, the Scottish researcher seems to think that the throne in Piast Poland was fully hereditary, and as such, elections (which of course meant only acclamation) were not necessary. Had he looked at the earlier parts of the chronicle of Jan Długosz he would have been surprised to find that he had gone astray in this case too.[11] Moreover, Dlugosz's message, incessantly praising the Piast as "the inherent lords of the kingdom", can hardly be disregarded in this case.

Frost also writes that the Polish lords were well aware of the difference in meaning "between the community of the realm and the state", for in the Krewo union's document two terms appear: *corona regni*, meaning "referring to the community of the realm", and *regnum* referring to the Kingdom of Poland (p. 52/p. 100). However, the matter is more debatable and complicated. There is also a continuing lack of thorough research on the subject. For lack of space, we should only recall that according to Jadwiga Krzyżaniakowa, both in the Košice Privilege of 1374 and in the documents of the Pyzdry and Radomsko Conventions of 1382, *corona regni* meant the state as an institution, while *regnum*

9　See: J. Nikodem, *Jadwiga król Polski*, Wrocław 2009, chap. III, V.

10　*Joannis de Czarnkow Chronicon Polonorum*, ed. J. Szlachtowski, in: MPH II, Lwów 1872, pp. 732-733, 735-736, 755. Patrz także *Codex epistolaris saeculi decimi quinti* (further: CE), vol. I, ed. A. Sokołowski, J. Szujski, Kraków 1876, no 2.

11　On this subject, see in particular: R. Sobotka, *Powoływanie władcy w Rocznikach Jana Długosza*, Warszawa 2005, passim.

meant the territory. This meaning of *regnum* will gradually begin to prevail in the sources.[12] In the 15th century, moreover, new terms appeared: *res publica* and *corpus regni*. Frost counted how many times regnum (3x) and *corona regni* appeared in the Krewo union document, coming to the following conclusion: "The Poles were perfectly capable of distinguishing between the political community and an abstract 'state', which they termed the kingdom, and of separating the person of the ruler from that state…" (p. 52/p. 101).

However, these are intuitive conclusions and formulated in an exaggerated manner. If one were to write about the consciousness of the Polish political elite in the second half of the 15th century, there would probably be no discussion. For the last quarter of the 14th century, however, this raises reasonable doubts. How can it be believed that in such a short period of time Poles could not only assimilate all this, and therefore not only apply it, but also know where in the text the term should be placed? The term *corona regni* only appeared in the sources almost on the eve of the events described. Besides, it seems to Frost that all terms were used with legal precision (in the modern sense, of course). What if they were treated interchangeably? Nobody has yet proven that their content was strictly defined, because nobody has examined this on all available sources. We know that the monarchical stylization was not always the same either, sometimes it was referred to abbreviated, sometimes with "etc." This did not mean, in any case, that one did not know what it sounded like, but apparently no legal precision was attached to it. Incidentally, we should add that no one has so far proved what the term *supremus princeps* meant because, after all, the common translation of it as "supreme/superior prince" does not capture its essence. Finally, why is there a lack of precision in the homage records of the Lithuanian princes made after the coronation of Jagiełło,[13] especially as their importance could not be overestimated?

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12 J. Krzyżaniakowa, *Regnum Poloniae w XIV wieku. Perspektywy badań*, in: idem, *„Nie ma historii bez człowieka". Studia z dziejów średniowiecza*, Poznań 2011, pp. 350-352. See also: *Kodeks dyplomatyczny Wielkopolski*, vol. III, ed. I. Zakrzewski, Poznań 1879, no. 1709, 1804, 1807. S. Gawlas, *Król i stany w późnośredniowiecznej Europie Środkowo-Wschodniej wobec modernizacji państwa*, in: *Król w Polsce XIV i XV wieku*, ed. A. Marzec, M. Wilamowski, Kraków 2006, pp. 173-174. Frost seems to place an equal sign between the *domini regni* of the document of 1384 (CE, I, no. 2) and the *regnicolas regni* of the Krewo union document at that time the transition from hereditary to electoral monarchy was also alleged to have taken place (and thus the Polish historian sees it in a similar way to Frost). A shortcoming of the generalisations in Gawlas' interesting article is that they are formulated solely on the basis of the insights of the diverse older and new literature on the subject combined with only residual source exemplification. Any generalisation, especially concerning such a complex problem, must refer first and foremost to the sources - all sources concerning the issue.

13 *Akta unji Polski z Litwą 1385-1791* (further: AU), ed. S. Kutrzeba, W. Semkowicz, Kraków 1932, no. 7-9, 13-24, and the later ones of 1389, 1393-1394, ibid, no. 25-28, 32-35; besides, acts of far greater importance but concerning the same issue, ibidem, no. 29-31.

The problems do not end here. Reflecting on Jagiełło's coronation, Frost wrote that although "the community of the realm accorded their new king the respect and obedience owed to a monarch, it was made clear that this obedience was conditional" (p. 53/p. 102). It is sad to say that this is purely an interpretive extravagance. One would like to ask Frost where he read such revelations, and what this conditional obedience would consist of. Louis of Anjou had to accept several demands that the Polish lords made of him. We know this because it was written down.[14] Jogailla, excluding the Krewo Act, was not presented with any demands to fulfil. In any case, no similar act is known to us. And the demands placed on Lithuanians by the Union of Krewo, apart from the obvious ones (baptism, surrender of captives, *applicare* understood as amalgamation), were either "abstract", i.e., concerning the distant future (recuperation), or tertiary (repayment to William von Habsburg). Frost, moreover, lacked consistency. A few pages further on (p. 55/p. 105) he stated that once the Poles had taken the oath of allegiance to Jagiełło, "they were no longer in a position to extract from him any definition of what Krewo's vague terms signified". If they could not even do that, what are we to make of the conditional obedience mentioned earlier?

This is not Frost's only inconsistency. He has used so many words to convince the reader of the power of "the Polish community of the realm", and surprises the reader with the following (otherwise correct!) statement *à propos* of the Union of Krewo: "one should not read too much into the pious phrases concerning 'the whole community of the Polish realm' and its involvement in the negotiations, which were clearly carried out in practice by a narrow group of lords, most of them from Małopolska [the Little Poland]" (p. 54/p. 104).

Frost seems to agree with Rowell's accurate assertion that the relative *applicare* (mentioned above) was a neutral formulation, similar to the use of *adhaerere* of the homage deeds of the Gediminas.[15] Frost adds that, given Jagiełło's strong position, there was no need to specify the meaning of the word *applicare*, which is read as 'joining' Lithuania to the Crown of the Kingdom of Poland (pp. 56/pp. 106-107). Had he stopped there, there would have been no dispute. However, he adds: "It is all but certain that for the Poles 'applicare' did mean 'incorporate'; this was to be made abundantly clear in the 1413 Horodło union […] and the claim that Lithuania had been

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14   KDW, vol. III, nr 1328, and additional pledges made to Casimir the Great on the same day (*Codex diplomaticus Regni Poloniae et Magni Ducatus Lithuaniae*, vol. I, ed. M. Dogiel, Wilno 1758, no. 37). See: J. Dąbrowski, *Ostatnie lata Ludwika Wielkiego 1370-1382*, Kraków 2009², p. 125; H. Paszkiewicz, *Polityka ruska Kazimierza Wielkiego*, Kraków 2002², pp. 180-181; and more recently: A. Marzec, *Pod rządami nieobecnego monarchy. Królestwo Polskie 1370-1382*, Kraków 2017, pp. 44-51.

15   S.C. Rowell, *Krėvos aktas: diplomatijos ir diplomatikos apžvalga*, in: *1385 m. rugpjūčio 14 d. KRĖVOS AKTAS*, red. J. Kiaupienė, Vilnius 2002, pp. 76-77.

incorporated de jure in 1386 was asserted regularly thereafter. Yet that incorporation was not, according to the words used in the act, into the kingdom of Poland, but into the *corona regni Poloniae*" (p. 56/p. 107).

The problem lies in the fact that if incorporation took place in Krewo, why did Jan Długosz not cite the Krewo Act in his chronicle? Significantly, he also did not cite the acts of the Vilnius-Radom union of 1401, yet he quoted *in extenso* the main document of the Horodło union and, what is perhaps particularly interesting, both Grodno documents of Žygimantas Kęstutaitis of 1432, which, after all, were not acts of union.[16] We know that the chronicler was familiar with the content of the Krewo document, as he used it elsewhere. With changes appropriate from his point of view, he summarised the Skirgaila deed in a speech that **Švitrigaila** was to give in Krakow in 1385.[17] The only important thing he omitted from this speech was the famous *applicare*. Długosz replaced it with the word *incorporatio*, which he read out from the Horodło Act.[18] There is no doubt that he did this for one simple reason: Jan Długosz was an ardent supporter of incorporation, and convinced his readers that it had taken place at the dawn of the Polish-Lithuanian union. At the same time he knew very well that *applicare* meant something completely different, which is why he could not recall the content of the Krewo Act.[19] Finally, why are all the surviving acts of the Vilnius-Radom union silent about the incorporation?[20] After all, if Lithuania was incorporated a quarter of a century ago, there was no reason to hide this fact or be ashamed of it. I propose that it was not mentioned because it did not exist. On the other hand, to the question of why it was written in the Horodło Act that Lithuania was incorporated from the very beginning, i.e., from 1385/1386, I have explained extensively elsewhere.[21] One may disagree with my interpretation, but it must be shown to be unconvinc-

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16   *Joannis Dlugossii Annales seu cronicae incliti Regni Poloniae* (further: Długosz), lib. XI 1413-1430, Warszawa 2000, pp. 15-21; ibidem, lib. XI-XII 1431-1444, Warszawa 2001, pp. 68-73.

17   Ibidem, lib. X 1370-1404, Warszawa 1985, p. 142. The changes and differences between the content of the Krewo Act and Skirgiełło's speech from Długosz's *Annales* were enumerated by S.M. Kuczyński, *Rozbiór krytyczny roku 1385 „Dziejów polskich" Jana Długosza*, „Studia Źródłoznawcze" III (1958), pp. 224-228.

18   Długosz, lib. X, p. 142: *terras suas naturales* […] *Regno Polonie perpetua et irrevocabili unione et invisceracione incorporaturum.*

19   J. Nikodem, *Długosz o początkach związku polsko-litewskiego. Przyczynek do dyskusji nad znaczeniem krewskiego „applicare"*, "Białoruskie Zeszyty Historyczne" XXXIV (2010), pp. 25-31.

20   Why Długosz did not quote any part of the Vilnius-Radom Acts (after all, it is difficult to suppose that he did not know them, knowing the other Union documents), I try to answer elsewhere, see: J. Nikodem, *Długosz o początkach…*, pp. 32-33. Here I am only signalling this issue - in the Vilnius-Radom documents there were no incorporation phrases either.

21   See: J. Nikodem, *Witold wielki książę litewski (1354 lub 1355 – 27 października 1430)*, Kraków 2013, pp. 309-318.

ing. Not only has Frost failed to do so, but he has omitted my comments on the subject altogether.

The Scottish historian also errs on another point. He claims that in 1385, Jagiełło may "not have grasped the full significance of the concept of *corona regni*" (with which I agree), besides that he was more than interested in a personal union, because: "without a firmer link than the person of the ruler, there was no guarantee that he would be able to pass on the throne to his heir, or even that he would remain king should Jadwiga predecease him" (p. 57/p. 107). This statement cannot be described as anything other than bizarre. How does Frost even imagine this? An anointed, crowned monarch, to whom his subjects have sworn an oath of allegiance, is unsure of his rights to the throne, even whether he is a "true" king? After all, this is pure fantasy. Moreover, what reason could there be to deprive him of power? All more or less well-known medieval political treatises on the possibility of depriving a king of his crown and throne scrupulously enumerated the reasons that would have to exist for such a thing to happen.[22] None of them dealt with Jagiełło's situation after his coronation.

Frost is correct when he observes that the Krewo Act did not sanction the legal incorporation of Lithuania into the 'Polish state', despite the fact that Polish historiography has for years claimed so. However, in order to reach this conclusion, there is no need to refer, as he does in the Polish edition of his book, to the debatable article by Wacław Uruszczak[23] (Polish edition, p. 108 and footnote 39). He is also not wrong when he argues that Poles and Jagiełło in 1385-1386 deliberately did not formulate a detailed programme for the union, but he adds that the laconic nature of the Krewo Act "and the fact that so much about the future relationship was undefined meant that if it were to survive, the issues of lordship, dominion, and the respective status of the two parties to the union had to be clarified. That process brought conflict and upheaval, in which the ambiguity surrounding the relationship between the *corona regni Poloniae* and the *regnum Poloniae* was to be of critical importance" (p. 57/p. 108). Unfortunately, this appears to be purely speculative on the part of Frost. Until 1401, this clarification was not needed by anyone, and was only made because of Vytautas' conduct. The sources are unequivocal on this matter. They are silent about the issues suggested by Frost, and they are silent because Jagiełło's "programme" - approved by the Polish side - envisaged cooperation between the two states, while preserving the full internal independence of Lithuania,

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22   Addressed in prior publications: J. Nikodem, *Emancypacyjne i separatystyczne dążenia Litwy do końca pierwszej połowu XV wieku. Przyczynek do dziejów unii polsko-litewskiej*, "Rocznik Lubelski" XLV (2019), p. 42.

23   W. Uruszczak, *Unio regnorum sub una corona non causat eorum unitatem. Unia Polski i Litwy w Krewie w 1385 r. Studium historyczno-prawne*, Kraków 2017.

which the king, who was also the Lithuanian lord, put into administration by Skirgaila.[24] Problems began only when Vytautas decided to contest the new order in Lithuania, placing himself under the protection of the Teutonic Order. The conflict that erupted in this context, however, did not concern Polish-Lithuanian relations (and this, too, is clear from the source testimonies), but rather reflect Vytautas' aspirations to regain his fatherland understood both in the narrower sense of the word (Trakai, the residence of the grand dukes) and the broader one (all of Lithuania, since his father Kęstutis was for a short period a grand duke).

Frost's problem stems from the fact that he continually (and, unexpectedly) moves away from and closer to the alleged incorporation, thus falling into contradictions. Apparently forgetting his earlier claim that neither side had outlined a programme of union, he unexpectedly writes: "If the Polish lords who negotiated Krewo intended that Lithuania should be incorporated into the *corona regni* [but let us not forget that *applicare* did not mean incorporation - J.N.], it rapidly became clear that this was not Jagiello's understanding of the matter; that the Polish state - the regnum rather than the *corona regni* - was in no position to absorb the grand duchy; and that Lithuania's elites still saw the grand duchy as a separate realm" (p. 61/p. 111). This is admittedly a less important point, but for the sake of accuracy: for obvious reasons, we do not know what the Lithuanian political elites thought about this. Frost scoffs at Polish historiography for writing about blood incorporation, yet he himself resembles this historiography because he assumes that the Polish elites, although they were so sophisticated, flawlessly applying the formulas of *regnum* and *corona regni*, were at the same time so foolish or naive as to believe that weak Poland was capable of subjugating (incorporating) Lithuania, even though the Teutonic Order, much stronger than Poland, had not been able to defeat it for many years. In the case of Jagiełło, on the other hand, nothing became clear until after the coronation, for if he had even suspected the Kingdom of Poland of wanting to incorporate before the Krewo Act, he would never have agreed to accept the Polish crown.

Frost hesitates to answer the question of who should absorb Lithuania - the *regnum* or the *corona regni* - although he puts his bet on the *regnum*. However, it has ultimately passed as a missed opportunity to elaborate on how he imagines this absorption of Lithuania by the Crown of the Polish Kingdom, since he did not rule out such a possibility. Frost also believes that Jagiełło did not show much desire to implement incorporation in line with his Pol-

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24   Grant issued by Jogaila during the Skojstery hunting season in 1387, see: CE, I, no. 9 = *Codex epistolaris Vitoldi magni ducis Lithuaniae 1376-1430* (further: CEV), ed. A. Prochaska, Kraków 1882, no. 32 = J. Jakubowski, *Opis Księstwa Trockiego z r. 1387. Przyczynek do badań nad ustrojem Litwy przedchrześcijańskiej,* „Przegląd Historyczny" V (1907), Appendix, pp. 44-46.

ish understanding (p. 68/p. 121). Contrary to his opinion, one must conclude that the king of Poland had no opinion on the matter, as Polish desire for incorporation simply did not exist at that time. Frost is unable to prove this thesis of his (which is, at the same time, prevailing in historiography for decades). Not only that, but in the process he creates unnecessary confusion when he notes that Jagiełło wanted to use Polish models "to promote social change within the grand duchy". The proof would be the privilege he issued in 1387 to the Lithuanian boyars (p. 68/p. 121).[25] Such an interpretation is a mere exaggeration of form over substance. Jagiełło's aim was clearly to further entice the boyars to renounce paganism and adopt Catholicism, which would elevate them above the Orthodox boyars in status.

A further inconsistency emerges in regard to the alleged incorporation, one that can be taken almost humorously. According to Frost, "despite his lack of enthusiasm for incorporation, Jagiełło was from the outset thinking of a relationship between his two realms that was more than a simple personal union: he wished to bring them into closer harmony" (p. 68/pp. 121-122). The implication here is that Jagiełło was nevertheless aware of Polish incorporation bids. In such a situation, one would have to ask where the king got this knowledge from. From the Polish lords? Or was he endowed with a prophetic gift? It is even more difficult to come to terms with his knowledge of personal union. And seriously, because it is important, what – according to Frost – did Jagiełło imagine? And what did he need a "greater harmony" for, if the one being formed went against the Polish-Lithuanian bilateral arrangements? The kind that emerges from the Krewo Act and the homage deeds of the Lithuanian princes, not from historiographical over-interpretation. One should also note that it is very surprising that Frost did not actually take any interest in the said homage deeds at all. He did not take them into account when outlining the beginnings of the Polish-Lithuanian connection.[26] Without going into their content it is difficult to say anything about the nature of the emerging legal and political system.

A further problem in Frost's book concerns his assessment of the situation that arose in 1394, when Skirgaila was to receive Kiev as an equivalent for the concessions made to Vytautas in Ostrów (Astrava). Frost states: "the Poles were uninterested in internal Lithuanian politics, while to ask them to help [to support Skirgaila's efforts - J.N.] would raise questions about the grand duchy's position" (p. 83/p. 144). It follows that Lithuania

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25   *Zbiór praw litewskich*, ed. T. Działyński, Poznań 1841, pp. 1-2.

26   On this subject: O. Balzer, *Istota prawna zależności…*, pp. 196-204; J. Nikodem, *Akt krewski i jego znaczenie*, in: *Poznań-Wilnu. Studia historyków w roku tysiąclecia Państwa Litewskiego*, ed. Z. Wojtkowiak, Poznań 2010, pp. 127-134. Significantly, W. Uruszczak was also not interested in the homage acts in his work on the "Krewo union".

remained an independent state from Poland (however understood, whether in relation to the *regni* or the *corona regni*), which there is no reason to argue with. At the same time, if the Poles were not interested in internal Lithuanian politics (in this case we also agree), then what did they care if they were to seek incorporation? Were they interested in Lithuanian external policy?[27] Until 1392, Lithuania, governed by Skirgaila, did nothing to harm Jagiełło, let alone Poland. In 1394, Vytautas, who took over the administration from his royal brother, began to pursue internal Lithuanian policy to the detriment of Jagiełło's interests (which, however, did not interest the Poles), but he did not yet pursue an external policy that could have harmed the king - as Lithuanian *hospodar* (literally "lord"). Moreover, when he did, he in no way intended to act to the detriment of Poland or the Polish-Lithuanian union, and so this issue should not have been of interest to the Poles either. If, therefore, they were interested in neither, how could they at that time seek to incorporate Lithuania? In this context, why would they have sought this?

Frost questions the governorship of Vytautas after the Ostrów (Astrava) agreement of 1392.[28] This hypothesis can be taken into account, I myself did so years ago, but serious evidence to support it, unfortunately, does not exist. The only source cited by the historian, the fifteenth-century *ältere Hochmeisterchronik* composed by a member of the Teutonic Order, is not convincing.[29] For if Skirgaila was to keep Vilnius and the governorship after 1392, there would be no sufficient reason for him to protest against giving Vytautas the principality of Trakai alone. After all, he must have received something for leaving his alliance with the Teutonic Knights, especially as his paternal property was at stake. There is also a further issue here. It is very difficult to imagine (as Frost wishes to) that Skirgaila, as a perpetual governor of Lithuania, would have stayed in Krakow for so long,[30] instead of monitoring the situation in Lithuania on an ongoing basis from Vilnius, if none of the princes from the line of Algirdas could be sure about Vytautas' loyalty following his departure from the alliance with the Teutonic Order. Frost's second piece of evidence, no longer a source, is the absence of a document granting Vytautas governorship. However, such a grant had been given

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27   A few pages further on (I write about this below), Frost states that it was, however, about external politics.

28   AU, nr 29.

29   *Die aeltere Hochmeisterchronik*, in: *Scriptores rerum Prussicarum*, vol. III, Leipzig 1866, p. 622.

30   This was very common at the court of Jadwiga of Anjou in 1394, see: *Rachunki dworu króla Władysława Jagiełły i królowej Jadwigi z lat 1388-1420*, ed. F. Piekosiński, Kraków 1896, pp. 53-57, 171, 172-173, 176, 191-193, 199, 200, 230, 237, 245-251, 260, 262; *Rachunki podrzęctwa krakowskiego. Rachunki stacji nowosądeckiej*, ed. H. Wajs, Warszawa 1993, pp. 16-35, 81, 84, 87.

earlier to Skirgaila (the famous Skojstery's grant[31]), to which I will return. The third assertion, likewise not based on evidence, saying that it would be unlikely for Jagiełło to take Vilnius from Skirgaila, to whom he owed so much, is insufficient. The point here is that the agreement with Vytautas was initiated by Jagiełło, and not by the son of Kęstutis. Therefore, the one who had to make concessions was the king, and giving Vytautas only Trakai did not have to satisfy him at that time. A further issue comes into play. If we assume that Vytautas did not become governor in 1392, because we do not have a deed granting it to him, we must conclude at the same time that he did not become governor after Skirgaila's death either, because we do not have a deed of grant that would have dated from 1395-1401. So, who ruled Vilnius after Skirgaila's death? Frost sees this contradiction and resolves it as follows: "Like it or not, with Skirgaila dead, he [Jagiełło - J.N.] had little option but to entrust Vilnius and the effective governorship of the grand duchy to Vytautas, who had the drive, energy, and political skills to establish the new system" (p. 83/p. 145). This resolution, however, is purely intuitive, as this time he is not bothered by the absence of a document of endowment for Vytautas.

I fully agree with Frost when he writes that the former historiography's claim of full trust prevailing between Jagiełło and Vytautas after 1392 is clearly unreliable (p. 86/p. 149). But on the historian's part, this is only an introduction to the main premise. "Nevertheless", he goes on to state, "despite plenty of evidence from the 1390s of Vytautas's headstrong independence, there is still much to suggest that the political interests of cousins were not as divergent as might be assumed, and that it was the Polish council, rather than Jagiełło himself, that was most strongly opposed to Vytautas's assertive foreign policy, although it cared little about internal Lithuanian politics". In this situation they both "recognised the usefulness of cooperation" (p. 86/pp. 149-150). It is futile to ask what the cousin brothers had in common.[32] The opinion that Vytautas's external policy was opposed

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31   See footnote 24 of this work.

32   A satisfactory answer cannot be found in another passage (pp. 86-87/p. 150): „still thought broadly in terms not of unitary state-building, but of personal government, of lordship, of the tradition of dynastic consultation that had marked the joint rule of their fathers, and of the flexible arrangements possible within the composite polities of late medieval east central Europe". It cannot be, because beyond platitudes it is misleading. What is to say that they "broadly" thought in terms of personal rule? Another way they did not know, another way they could not approve. Dynastic consultation is unnecessarily misleading because Frost stops halfway. Algirdas and Kęstutis did indeed confer for the benefit of both of them and the state, but Jagiełło's consultations with Kęstutis cannot be regarded as such. (*Letopisets' velikikh knyazey litovskikh*, in: *Polnoye sobraniye russkikh letopisey*, vol. XVII, S.-Peterburg 1907, col. 72 = *Letopisets velikiy knyaz' litovskiy*, in: ibidem, vol. XXXXV, Moskva 1980, p. 61). And the consultations

by the Polish royal council rather than by Jagiełło is rumour. The sources are silent about it. Besides, if there was no actual incorporation of Lithuania, and Frost also believes so, then the Poles on their own, in defiance of the king and the Lithuanian *hospodar* at the same time, had no say in any matter related to the policy pursued by Vytautas. Neither internal nor external.

Again, Frost returns to the idea of Polish incorporationism, discussing it more extensively in the 1390s. According to him, Jadwiga was at that time

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between Jagiełło and Vytautas known from the 15th century are explained in a different way. Certainly it was not that the brothers-in-law wanted to undermine the Gediminovychs' system, which Jagiełło accepted in Ostrów in 1392 (p. 87/p. 150-151). Lack of space does not allow me to address this issue in detail, so I write about it as generally as possible. The taking back of Trakai from Skirgaila was agreed with him, although it probably did not please him. The elimination of Fëdor Lubartovych clearly shows that the king had nothing to do with Vytautas' action against the other Lithuanian princes. Fëdor did not make himself known as an anti-Jagiełło malcontent, and everything points to the fact (although the sources are rather sparse) that Jagiełło would not have minded leaving him alone. Besides, and this is particularly important, it was to him that he handed over the Seversk region after the defeat of Kaributas. To him, not to Vytautas (AU, no. 33-34). Fëdor was quickly eliminated from the game, but it was because of Vytautas. Skirgaila's participation in defeating Švitrigaila was a necessity, as the youngest son of Algirdas was not acting against Vytautas but against Jagiełło himself. Kaributas, the son of Algirdas was not eliminated with royal consent. In the latter case, Frost accuses me of using evidence that supported my assumptions about the relationship between Jagiełło and Vytautas in my work *Kaributo maištas*, "Lietuvos istorijos metraštis" (2007) 1, i.e. fitting the arguments to an apriori accepted thesis (note 64, p. 87/note 64, p. 150). This could have been taken seriously if the historian had wished to present his own arguments refuting the evidence I cited. He has not done so, which can be regarded as a completely lip service polemic. And the most important thing. Frost generalises (this was done before him by Ludwik Kolankowski, *Dzieje Wielkiego Księstwa Litewskiego za Jagiellonów,* vol. I: 1377-1499, Oświęcim 2014², pp. 69-72), treating the Gediminid dynasty as a monolith, thus distorting the intentions that guided Vytautas and insinuating into Jagiełło's mind intentions that he had no reason to follow. For he forgets that Fëdor was the line of Lubart, Vladimir ruling in Kiev was indeed from the line of Algirdas, but only the king's half-brother. The latter did not have to interfere with Jagiełło, but was to be sacrificed to the interests of Skirgaila, the king's half-brother. Jagiełło's consent to the elimination of Skirgaila and Kaributas, always faithful half-brothers, would have been political suicide on his part, since Vytautas' position was constantly on the rise and his aspirations rather unquestionable. Besides, the best evidence that things did not turn out as Frost had imagined them would be provided by the granting of western Podolia (the king kept the eastern Podolia for himself) to the voivode of Kraków, Spytko of Melsztyn (*pleno iure ducali, quo ceteri nostri duces Lithuanie et Russie frui soliti sunt, omnibusque aliis iuribus et dominio,* see: CEV, no. 115). Right was H. Łowmiański, *Wcielenie Litwy do Polski w 1386 r.,* in: idem, *Prusy – Litwa – Krzyżacy,* ed. M. Kosman, Warszawa 1989, pp. 362-363, claiming that Spytko received rights greater than those enjoyed by other Lithuanian princes. If the joint plan of Jagiełło and Vytautas was to eliminate the Gediminas, common sense dictates that western Podolia should be given to Vytautas. Meanwhile, Frost explains this omission of Vytautas by the fact that Jagiełło did not always give way to his uncle's brother (p. 87/p. 151), but does not add why the king did not give way to Vytautas this time. Even stronger evidence refuting Frost's claim was the granting of Podolia after Spytko's death to Švitrigaila. And this time not to Vytautas!

becoming a serious political player, in addition acting on her own. Even a cursory review of sources disproves this opinion.[33] The Queen and the Polish lords wanted to "execute and institutionalise the incorporationist interpretation of Krewo". This additionally made Jagiełło even more interested in cooperating with Vytautas in order to defend "his patrimony and of the grand duchy's separate status". Vytautas, in turn, was afraid of removing Jagiełło from the throne because he would return to Lithuania (p. 88/p. 153). Previously, there was a hypothesis (an unconvincing one) in historiography that Jagiełło lost his rights to the crown after Jadwiga's death.[34] Frost's impressions radicalise it even further, suggesting the possibility of Jagiełło being deprived of the throne while Jadwiga was still alive. However, the scholar did not take the trouble to answer the question of what such an eventuality could lead to.[35] I will excuse him. Lithuania would cease to be connected with Poland in any way, which, given the Teutonic Order, would not be something beneficial for Poland. At the same time, Poland would lose a male monarch, Jadwiga could never, as long as Jagiełło remained alive, marry again. Thus, she would never have borne an heir to the throne, and with her death, Poland would have faced quite a problem.

Writing about Vytautas's peace treaty of Salynas (12 October 1398) with the Teutonic Knights and the circumstances that led to the Battle of Vorskla,[36] Frost does not bring much new to what has already been said in historiography (pp. 88-90/pp. 153-157). For obvious reasons I cannot treat this thread in more detail,[37] I will only refer to the conclusion. According to the historian, Jagiełło and Witold had to oppose "the idea that 'applicare' signified incorporation" (p. 91/p. 157). Reading the succession of rather similar statements appearing in the book, one would like to ask since when did the brothers-in-law learn that the relative *applicare* signified incorporation. Unfortunately, Frost does not explain this, which means that he is only guided by his own perceptions.

An almost revolutionary opinion is presented by Frost on the Vilnius-Radom Agreements of 1401, which in his opinion "was not a treaty of union,

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33 See: J. Nikodem *Jadwiga…*, pp. 278-343.

34 Lack of space and this time forces me to signal only this thread. Frost radicalises the aforementioned hypothesis even further (p. 92/p. 158), but his corrections are completely unconvincing.

35 I have already written that such a possibility was not an option at all. None of the reasons which were taken into account in the Middle Ages when considering the possibility of depriving the monarch of power was an option in the case of Jagiełło.

36 *Die Staatsverträge des Deutschen Ordens in Preußen im 15. Jahrhundert*, vol. I (1398-1437), ed. E. Weise, Königsberg 1939, no. 2-3.

37 In addition to the earlier works, I comment on this subject in two articles: *Emancypacyjne i separatystyczne dążenia Litwy…*, pp. 45-47 (p. 45 contains a transposed digits - 1389 as the date of the Salin Agreement); *Spytek z Melsztyna i Worskla* (in print).

but a comprehensive amplification of Astrava, concerned with internal arrangements for Lithuania's government. Nevertheless, it had considerable implications for the union" (p. 92/pp. 159-160). And a little further, he states: "Vilnius-Radom was, nevertheless, far more than just a private dynastic arrangement. It was a confirmation of the union that represented the first real attempt to define how it might work in practice, which took account of Jagiełło's establishment of Vytautas as his deputy in Lithuania" (p. 93/p. 161). The claim that the Vilnius-Radom Acts were not acts of union is simply lip service, i.e., it is unhelpful. If there was a union in 1385 and not one in Vilnius and Radom, Frost should explain how he understands the term "union" because, assuming that a union was the joining of two (or more) states which issued separate documents to that effect, then no union was concluded in Krewa, but was not done until 1401. At the same time Frost, a proponent of the incorporation theory, cannot understand that if Jagiełło was granting Vytautas grand ducal power de *manu sua*[38] in 1401, this meant that he was doing so as a Lithuanian *hospodar*. As such, the Polish side had no say in the matter. Firstly, because the matter concerned Jagiełło's patrimony, and secondly, because there was no *de jure* incorporation, let alone de facto incorporation, before 1413 (as it could not be proven).

A further puzzling element of the book concerns the basis upon which Frost claims that the Lithuanian elite swore allegiance to Jagiełło and the Crown and Kingdom of Poland in 1401 as they did in 1386. Apart from the homage acts of the princes, there are no documents that prove the oath taken by the entire Lithuanian political elite. At least enigmatic is another statement by Frost: "The terms of Vilnius-Radom suggest that the Polish negotiators, while maintaining the idea of incorporation, recognised that this was not a full accessory union: it was what was later to be known as an *incorporatio* minus plena, in which the two parties were not merged into a unitary structure" (p. 95/p. 163). However, the historian does not reveal what specific points of the Vilnius-Radom Union "suggest" a change in the attitude of Poles, who allegedly imagined until then that in their view Lithuania was fully incorporated, and in 1401 suddenly realised that they had to correct this view and accept that Lithuania was incorporated, but in an incomplete way. Is it by any chance that the author shies away from specifics because he was unable to find them?

No less interesting, and at the same time no less controversial, are Frost's comments on the 1413 Horodło Union.[39] He is not wrong when he claims that

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38   AU, no. 38.

39   AU, no. 49-51 = 1413 m. *Horodlės aktai (dokumentai ir tyrinėjimai. Akty horodelskie z 1413 roku (dokumenty i studia)*, ed. J. Kiaupienė, L. Korczak, Vilnius-Kraków 2013, no. 1 (pp. 19-21, 2 (pp. 29-31), 3 (pp. 37-42).

the Horodło deeds were written for the propaganda war against the Teutonic Order that was then underway (p. 116/p. 193). However, going into detail, he again not only loses precision and falls into contradictions, but also indulges in interpretive exaggeration. He writes that "Horodło's carefully constructed phraseology ensured that two interpretations of its meaning were possible. If it contained ample references to the Polish idea of incorporation, [in the Polish edition after this phrase, instead of what Vytautas and the Lithuanians imagined from the English version, there was a passus: "and the Lithuanian view based on the concept of *aeque principaliter*, taken from canon law", further as in the English text - J.N.]. it left the way open for Vytautas and the Lithuanians to conceive of the union as a composite state capable of encompassing two realms and a different political structure within the grand" (p. 119/p. 198). Frost apparently forgot that in analysing the provisions of the Vilnius-Radom Union, he came to a different conclusion from the one quoted above. After all, he claimed that the Poles had changed their point of view from a full union to an incomplete union. Nor do I see any grounds for risking the hypothesis of two possible interpretations of the provisions of the Horodło Union. Frost distinguishes two groups of words defining the nature of the union. To the first, in his opinion, can be included synonyms: *aproprivimus*, *apropriamus*, *incorporavimus*, *incorporamus*, *invisceramus*, *anectimus*; to the second, those that cannot be considered synonyms of the first group: *univimus*, *adiunximus*, *confederavimus*, *coniungimus*, *adiungimus*, *confederamus* (p. 117/p. 195). These were intended to reflect the Polish (group one) and Lithuanian (group two) points of view.

Note, however, that Frost omits the word *coniunximus* from his analysis, an expression found in the set cited in the Krewo Act for the first time. He interpretively goes too far here. After all, *adiunximus* and *adiungimus* can also be translated as 'incarnate', 'incorporate', while *anectimus* is admittedly 'attach', 'append', but also 'join'. I see no basis for opposing the two groups of words. Some of them have a stronger tinge, others a weaker one, and if they were not clearly grouped together, one could speculate, but this is not the case. They are jumbled together (in the first passage of the main Horodło deed, where they are placed, and in the second), which, in terms of their meaning, indicates that they were not juxtaposed. The document states: "we have incorporated", "appropriated", "united" and "allied" (and the other terms) with the Kingdom of Poland, and now we "incorporate", "appropriate", "unite", "ally" (and the other terms) them again to the Kingdom of Poland, and for ever with all principalities, lands, etc. We "unite" with the Crown of the Kingdom of Poland. There is no contradiction because the incorporation took place voluntarily, and therefore nothing was imposed on the Lithuanians. They were previously and still are being incorporated into the Kingdom of Poland and united with the Crown of the Kingdom of Poland, which also means that they allied and united with

the Kingdom of Poland. If the deed mentions both the *regnum* and the *corona regni Poloniae*, then, firstly, Frost's forceful isolation of these terms seems to be an abuse (or at least not convincing). Secondly, if the Crown of the Polish Kingdom was mentioned in Krewa, then why was it more broadly defined in Horodło? Why does Jagiełło say of himself that the Lithuanian lands at the beginning *apropriavimus, incorporavimus*, etc. *prefato Regno nostro Polonie*? If the Krewo Act had been about incorporation, then the Poles preparing the Horodło document would have known that the Crown of the Polish Kingdom would have to be written in the king's name. Especially since, as Frost wants, they never forgot this and always perfectly distinguished the difference between *regnum* and *corona regni*.

Frost also believes that the Horodło Union meant that "if Lithuania was incorporated, this was not a full accessory union, but an *incorporatio minus plena*" (p. 119/p. 198). This sounds rather vague. Even if one takes the definition of an accessory union ('accessory union') proposed by J.H. Elliot,[40] whom Frost cites, at face value, the author of the Oxford History of Union unnecessarily complicates the problem. Lithuania was incorporated because it was so written in the Horodło Act *expressis verbis*. It was not *incorporatio minus plena*, because this term suggests an incomplete degree of absorption and subjugation of a state. In Polish-Lithuanian relations from Horodło onwards, it was about something else. Lithuania was incorporated *de jure* (i.e., voluntarily, with the consent of the Grand Duke and Lithuanian dignitaries), *de facto* remaining a state dependent only on the *hospodar* (this situation did not change, it was so from the very beginning of the Polish-Lithuanian union), because it belonged to him (not to Poland). This was known to both sides, otherwise the Horodło Acts would never have been written. Jagiełło could not and did not want to leave Poland on the side lines, because it was also his state, which was to be inherited by his successor (his daughter or son, if she or he came into the world).

It is time to return to Frost's guiding thought on the phraseology of the Horodło Union, which allegedly presented two interpretative concepts.[41] If we were to admit that he is right, we would have to see the main

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40   J.H. Elliot, *A Europe of composite monarchies*, „Past & Present" CXXXVII (1992), pp. 52-53.

41   I omit the third interpretation, which, according to Frost, could be adequate to Horodło Union: 'the concept of a community of peoples', which overshadowed the first two interpretations, and is found in the documents of the Polish and Lithuanian nobility (p. 120/p. 199). This observation alludes to the proposal of O. Halecki (*Jadwiga Andegaweńska i kształtowanie się Europy Środkowowschodniej*, transl. M. Borowska-Sobotka, Kraków 2000, pp. 283-284; idem, *Idea jagiellońska*, in: idem, *Unia jagiellońska i misja dziejowa Polski, Wybór pism*, ed. M. Kornat, R. Łatka, Kraków 2021, pp. 22-23; idem, *Pierwsze tysiąclecie katolickiej Polski. Przemówienie wygłoszone w dniu 13 stycznia 1966 r. w Audytorium Palazzo Pio w Rzymie*, in: ibidem, pp. 471-473) - Halecki attached great importance to this issue.

Horodło deed as unique in the world. Both parties agree to a provision that they can interpret as they like at any time, apparently without any consequences. In such a situation, there would never have been a dispute between them over the incorporation provisions. After all, we will not conclude that the Poles deceived the Lithuanians by not explaining to them the ambiguity of the bequest, because Poland could only suffer from such ambiguity. The Krewo Act never provoked disputes, nor was it contested, because according to its provisions Lithuania merged with Poland without any regulations defining the nature of the resulting union. The first such regulation was introduced only in Horodło (there is no word about incorporation in the Vilnius-Radom Acts). It was not subject to protest because both sides were satisfied. *De jure* incorporation did not bother Vytautas. At the same time, it did not violate his dynastic interest. The Lithuanian nobles in 1413 were too weak and lacking any experience similar to that of the Polish nobility (especially the magnates), satisfied (the adoption of the coat of arms), besides following the instructions of their monarch. In any case, *de jure* incorporation did not bother them either. After all, the Poles did not influence their fate in any way. The problem with the Horodło provisions began much later, under changed political circumstances.

Frost disapproves of my proposed assessment of the relations between Jagiełło and Vytautas during the Hussite period (pp. 134-141/pp. 220-231). Naturally, he is entitled to do so, but he cites a review of my book "Polska i Litwa wobec husyckich Czech…" as evidence of my intentional treatment of the sources (note 11, p. 135/note 11, p. 221). He is not the first, probably not the last. The problem is that this is an extremely convenient method. One does not have to delve into the problem oneself, it is enough to refer to someone else's opinion (but where is the certainty that this opinion is valuable?).[42] Frost writes: "the evidence suggests not that Vytautas embarked on a Machiavellian campaign to undermine Jagiełło while pretending to cooperate with him, but that a common purpose and willingness to compromise survived for much of the decade, until the spectacular conflagration that flared up in 1429" (p. 135/p. 221). The thought of cooperation is heartening, but remains only a *piissimum desiderium* for Frost, who cites evidence from the literature on the subject. Vytautas supported the Teutonic Knights in the dispute over the mill in Lubicz in 1425 because he became impatient with Polish squabbles over the course of the border with the Order, as this interfered with his intentions to the east. Frost apparently forgets that Vytautas (*magnus dux*)

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42   If someone has researched and interpreted the same sources as me, they have come to conclusions that confirm my findings, see: P. Bar, *Husyci i husytyzm w politycznej korespondencji Władysława Jagiełły i Witolda*, in: *Jagiellonowie i ich świat. Polityka kościelna i praktyki religijne Jagiellonów*, ed. B. Czwojdrak, J. Sperka, P. Węcowski, Kraków 2020, pp. 339-374.

at least should not, in fact could not, have pursued an independent foreign policy, or in any case one detrimental to the interests of the *hospodar* (*princeps supremus*). According to Frost, the proof is supposed to be that Jagiełło did not block Vytautas' expeditions to Pskov and Great Novgorod. Frost briefly imagines the alleged cooperation between Jagiełło and Vytautas in the Bohemian affair, exclusively referring to Długosz's account and a few items of literature. Sigismund Korybutovych's second expedition to Bohemia was supposed to have taken place with the king's tacit consent. Had Frost been familiar with Korybutovych's letters (including those written to Vytautas), he would have avoided this mistake. Contrary to what he thinks, Vytautas was not the guardian of Frederick von Hohenzollern, the young son of the Margrave of Brandenburg stayed only for some time at Vytautas' court. The opinion that Jagiełło, due to his advanced age, needed Vytautas (almost his peer - sic!) "to protect their [royal sons - J.N.] interests after his death, which was bound to occur before they reached their majority" (p. 138/p. 226), can hardly be taken as a serious one in light of this overlooked evidence.

The remarks about a threat to the inheritance for Jagiełło's sons are unfortunate. Their position, contrary to the historian's assertion, was not threatened because the king married Sophia (Sonka) Holshanska despite the negative opinion of the royal council. Their right to the succession was not in doubt. The future Władysław III was recognised as heir to the crown immediately after his birth. In Frost's view, on the other hand, it was not obvious that his arrival in the world "eclipsed Jadwiga' claim" (p. 138/p. 227). He is incorrect here. Polish dynastic law granted royal daughters the right to the throne, but not instead of or in competition with the monarch's sons, but in their absence. Finally, what claim could Jadwiga have had of her own? Does Frost mean to suggest that the Polish lords were behind these alleged claims? Only that this would mean breaking the union, as Jadwiga's future husband would not be able to rule Lithuania if the rightful male heirs were alive. The dispute over the rights of the royal sons (the conventions in Brześć Kujawski and Łęczyca[43]) is reported by Frost in accordance with the proposals of historiography. Although he refers several times to an article by Stanisław Roman[44] (pp. 138-139/pp. 227-228), he apparently did not read it carefully, otherwise he would have learned (and Roman was right – remarkably no one in historiography refuted his theses and no one accepted them) that there was no real conflict between the king and the nobility.

In his interpretation of the "coronation storm" (pp. 143 ff./pp. 235 ff.) Frost, this time following mainly Długosz's account, has virtually only this to say,

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43   Długosz, lib. XI, pp. 211, 216-217.

44   S. Roman, *Konflikt prawno-polityczny 1425-1430 r. a przywilej brzeski*, "Czasopismo Prawno-Historyczne" XIV (1962) 2, pp. 63-92.

"that Jagiełło's support for the plan had indeed been a ploy to put pressure on the Poles, but a tactic that had worked well in 1398 had backfired badly, and he had no choice but to withdraw his support at the risk of destroying his patiently nurtured relationship with Vytautas" (p. 146/p. 239). In this case, I think a more extensive commentary is superfluous. The sources do not give sufficient grounds to see any "trick" in the king's behaviour.[45] Another thing is that by using such a word, it is easier to clarify source ambiguities, so one should try to avoid it. In any case, it would be a nice "ploy" if the "conspirators" were to put their own feet up, and both brothers-in-law could hardly be accused of lacking political savvy. It would have been even nicer if we know that Vytautas wrote in one of his letters that he no longer believed in Jagiełło's excuses.[46] Where is the famous collaboration of the cousin brothers here?

Furthermore, according to Frost, "the coronation plan was more to establish that Lithuania was Poland's equal than a separatist demand for the destruction of the union" (pp. 146-147/p. 240).[47] The most important problem was not what Frost imagines, but what was emphasised in the so-called Kraków *concilium* - Vytautas' coronation *ipso facto* undermined or even negated the hereditary rights of Jagiełło and his heirs to the Grand Duchy.[48] Meanwhile, according to Frost "[if the Poles did not believe – J.N.] that Jagiełło or his sons possessed natural rights to the Polish throne - as was made crystal clear in 1425 - how could they possess those rights in Lithuania, which, so they maintained, had been incorporated into the Polish regnum, and was, therefore, presumably subject to Polish succession law" (pp. 147-148/p. 242). The first part of this sentence is highly questionable, to say the least. Again, there is a lack of careful reading of Stanisław Roman's work, the latter being - let us not forget - a legal historian, unless Frost tacitly assumed that Roman was also matching sources to his own ideas. The second part is simply untrue and, on top of that, unprofessional. There are no source traces (including, tellingly, even Długosz's chronicle) where one can find even a shadow of a suggestion that the Poles ever undermined, disregarded, or failed to recognise the hereditary rights of Jagiełło and his successors to Lithuania. There are, on the other hand, numerous testimonies

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45   The Polish translation uses the word 'conspiracy', which is awkward and in this case also does not, I believe, reflect Frost's real intentions, and consequently distorts the thought the Scottish historian wanted to express.

46   See eg. CEV, no. 1360-1361, 1381, 1390, 1392, 1407-1408, 1416, 1426, 1431, 1480, 1495, 1497.

47   At the time of Vytautas there were no Lithuanian separatist inclinations, only emancipation policy was at stake, see: J. Nikodem, *Emancypacyjne i separatystyczne dążenia Litwy…*, passim.

48   See: S. Zachorowski, *Studya z historii prawa kościelnego i polskiego*, Kraków 1917, Appendix no. 1.

in which these hereditary rights were emphasised explicitly (earlier, then and later).[49] Frost forgets something else: Dynasticism as a way of feeling and thinking in the Middle Ages did not characterise only monarchs. It also characterised the political elites of individual states.

On the other hand, Frost presented the beginning of Švitrigaila's rule in Lithuania extremely well and with a full understanding of the problem (pp. 151-157/pp. 247-257). I would even say more, these are the best parts of his book. The next subsection, entitled "Rus'" (pp. 158-176/pp. 258-284), written without interpretative extravagance, without untimely conjecture, logically presenting the rationale and conduct of both sides, in addition enriched by the problem of Orthodoxy, can also be assessed in broadly similar terms. The historian may even be right when he claims that the Grodno Agreement of 1432 "was more a temporary measure [on the part of the Poles - J.N.] to buy time than a reconceptualisation of the union" (p. 173/p. 278). Let us add that, in Poland in general, no one even dreamed that the Horodło provisions could be renegotiated. Some adjustments could be agreed to, but only such as would not nullify the main thesis of *de jure* incorporation. Besides, the atmosphere was paradoxically in Poland's favour, as Žygimantas Kęstutaitis agreed (and agreed because he had no room for manoeuvre) to conditions worse for himself than those to which Vytautas had to submit and which were proposed to Švitrigaila in the spring of 1432 and rejected by him. The subsection "After Jagiełło" (pp. 177-181/pp. 285-291) is also not bad, although I have a different opinion on many of the issues it raises.

In the subsection "Resolution" (pp. 182-195/pp. 292-312), I disagree with the thesis that the supporters of Mykolas Žygimantaitis wanted to elevate him to the grand ducal stool (p. 185/p. 297). There is no convincing evidence to support this hypothesis.[50] Frost misinterprets the nature of Casimir Jagiellończyk rule, which was proposed to Lithuania in 1440. He writes: "To treat Lithuania as a mere province to be ruled by a governor was insensitive after the coronation tempest, when the issue of Lithuania's status had almost destroyed the union, and ignored Hrodna, which confirmed Horodło by permitting the election of a grand duke on Žygimantas's death. The Poles again disre-

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49 I cite only by way of exemplification: *Lites ac res gestae inter Polonos ordinemque cruciferorum*, vol. II, ed. 2, ed. I. Zakrzewski, Poznań 1892, no. 32; S. Zachorowski, *Studya z historii…*, Appendix no. 1: *maxime cum gravi domini regis Polonie preiudicio et suorum filiorum in Lithwanie, cum Lithwanie ducatus supremus iure successionis legitime post patrem ad ipsum spectabat et spectat…* Jagiełło's hereditary rights to Lithuania are found in every document coming out of the royal chancellery, they are easily read in all acts of the Polish-Lithuanian union, so how can it be claimed that the Poles questioned or at least disregarded the patrimonial nature of his supremacy in Lithuania?

50 See: J. Nikodem, *Bez prawa, bez miłosierdzia. Kazimierz Jagiellończyk kontra Michał Zygmuntowicz* (in print).

garded the spirit and letter of the union treaties, which stressed the need for discussion and consensus over the succession" (p. 186/p. 298). In Grodno (Hrodna) in 1432,[51] the issue of grand ducal rule in Lithuania was not prejudged. They did not say "no", since Žygimantas Kęstutaitis mentioned successive grand dukes in Lithuania, but his power was defined as life-long, which meant that the issue of the person of the successor would be an open question. Mykolas son of Žygimantas was assured only the lease of the Trakai paternal estate. To reduce this to "disregard and insensitivity" on the Polish side in 1440 is simply incorrect. Moreover, it was not, contrary to what Frost suggests, about Poland's interest, but primarily about the dynastic interest of the Jagiellons, because it was inextricably linked to the interest of Poland and the Polish Kingdom. The point was that the grand-ducal mitre on the temples of the young Casimir might complicate the situation of Władysław III, the principal and most important heir of Lithuania, and his future sons. The provisions of the Union of Grodno and the arrangements of Horodło were disregarded - or, literally speaking, trampled upon - by the Lithuanians themselves, who murdered their Grand Duke. They did it a second time three months later, when they arbitrarily elevated Casimir to the grand-ducal throne without the consent of the *hospodar* and the Poles, thus violating the law.

Frost, by writing about "pro-Jagiellonian" Lithuanians and not "pro-Polish" ones, seems to imply that I think otherwise. It is understood that he is referring to supporters of the dynasty, because the Lithuanians, like the Poles between 1444 and 1447, had no choice. However, he is again incorrect, again believing without question Jan Długosz that the Lithuanians, in elevating Casimir, were blameless because they first asked Władysław III to become Grand Duke himself (p. 187/300). This information of the historian does not deserve to be believed, primarily because Długosz contradicts himself.[52] Frost also claims that the Lithuanians stood by the provisions of the union, and if anyone acted against these provisions, it was Władysław III. Even if, he goes on to write, they wanted to grant a grand duke to Lithuania after sorting out matters in Hungary, the decision was taken "without consulting the Lithuanians", which the Lithuanians saw, because they had grounds for it, as a sign of disregard. Had Frost leaned into the chronology of events, he would have seen that this interpretation is incorrect. Władysław III did not leave for Hungary unexpectedly for the Lithuanians. Before deciding to leave, Žygimantas Kęstutaitis, who was still alive at the time, had advocated agreeing to accept the Hungarian offer. His

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51   AU, no. 55.

52   Most of the Polish chronicler's information related to Casimir Jagiellończyk going to Lithuania is chronologically contradictory, which the historian was apparently unaware of. See: Długosz, lib. XI-XII, pp. 219, 223-224, 226, 251-252. I discuss this in detail in the paper: J. Nikodem, *Bez prawa, bez miłosierdzia…* (in print).

assassination, on the other hand, coincided with the King's departure, so there was no possibility of consultation, of which the Lithuanians could not have been unaware. This, in turn, means that it was not the alleged disregard that influenced the Lithuanian decision to elevate Casimir. Frost also claims, naturally following Długosz, that the Lithuanians asked the Polish delegation accompanying Casimir to agree to hand over the grand-ducal throne to the prince but were met with a refusal. In addition, he accuses Jūrate Kiaupienė[53] of being wrong when she speaks of enthroning Casimir without asking for the King's and the Poles' consent (note 31, p. 188/note 31, p. 301). The Lithuanians could not ask the King (there was no time to do so), while the Poles accompanying Casimir in Lithuania, although there were also dignitaries there, did not want to give such consent, because they had no mandate to do so. After all, the consultations recorded in the Horodło records did not say that consent could be given by casual representatives of both sides. Thus, Frost's entire passus does not stand up to criticism.

In his view, Casimir's sending a despatch to Hungary after his elevation to the grand-ducal throne asking for royal approval of his power suggests "that neither he nor his Lithuanian advisors believed that he was an independent monarch" (p. 188/p. 301). What Casimir and his advisors believed, contrary to Frost, we do not know. We do know, however, that in 1440 Casimir was a prince who, adhering to the letter of the law, usurped grand-princely power. The fact that there was no mention of a Lithuanian crown for him, as Frost also invokes such an argument (p. 188/p. 302), was, after all, irrelevant. Finally, Frost concludes that the union was not broken in 1440, stating that "the Lithuanians elected Casimir under the terms of Horodło and never challenged Władysław's hereditary rights as supreme duke" (p. 199/p. 316). Being familiar with the main Horodło document, he appears to have read it superficially. The document clearly states that after the death of Vytautas, the Lithuanians will not choose anyone to be their grand duke, *nisi quem rex Polonie vel ipsius successores cum consilio prelatorum et baronum Polonie et terrarum Littwanie duxerint eligendos, statuendos et locandos.*[54] This quotation best proves that everything Frost wrote about the Polish disregard and the legal election of Casimir is simply inconsistent with reality. On the other hand, the question of not denying the hereditary rights of Władysław III to Lithuania is a more complicated thing than Frost seems to think. If, even in 1440, the Lithuanians did not dispute it and Casimir did not dispute it, the latter could have done so at any time as the son of the deceased *hospodar*. In that case, in turn, the right of Władysław III and his successors to the Lithuanian patrimony would have been severely complicated.

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53   J. Kiaupienė, *1413 m. Horodlės dokumentų „gyvenimai"*, in: *Horodlės aktai…*, p. 257 (Polish translation: *Istnienie i funkcjonowanie dokumentów horodelskich z 1413 r.*, in: ibidem, pp. 291-292).

54   AU, no. 51.

This time, referring to the account of the chronicle of Jan Długosz, Robert Frost states that in 1448 the Poles persuaded the Lithuanians that if "[they] accepted incorporation it would render irrelevant the dispute over Podolia and Volhynia. The Lithuanians rejected these proposals. They were happy to be ruled by a common prince, but refused to accept that Lithuania was a Polish province" (p. 201/p. 318). I do not agree with this interpretation. On the other hand, writing about Zbigniew Oleśnicki's 1451 speech, Frost thinks that the bishop of Kraków "bored everyone with lengthy lectures on the history of the union" (p. 201/p. 319). It was not the historical features that Oleśnicki was concerned with at the time, but the consistently recalled respect for the law, which applied equally to both parties to the dispute, since both had accepted and approved the law voluntarily.

Frost's remarks about the 1446 document (or, as Rowell dates them, perhaps correctly, to 1451 or 1453)[55] are in turn interesting and largely convincing (pp. 202 ff./pp. 319 ff.). In passing, however, referring to Jellinek (albeit with the caveat that transferring his opinion to the 15th century era "is unhelpful") he argues that the union at this time was "far more than a personal union" (p. 203/p. 322). He also adds that, although the Poles held tightly to the incorporation records of Horodło, because of the lack of clarity in the records of the Krewo and the wording of the Horodło deeds, they themselves were not sure what incorporation would mean in practice (p. 204/p. 323). Rather, they did not know how to enforce incorporation de jure, since the Lithuanians began to question the incorporation records. Under the circumstances, after the 1453 congress of Parczew, they had to accept the idea that it was, however, incorporation minus plena (p. 204/p. 323). This interpretation is not convincing. There is no source testimony to show that the Poles recognised such a thing as incorporatio minus plena. For them, Lithuania was a state legally dependent on Poland, while retaining internal independence, and any territorial disputes were to be regulated primarily by those documents issued after Horodło (especially the acts of Žygimantas Kęstutaitis[56]). This,

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55 *Projekt unji polsko-litewskiej z r. 1446*, ed. B. Ulanowski, "Archiwum Komisji Historycznej" VI (1926), pp. 235-239; S.C. Rowell, *Casimir Jagiellończyk and the Polish gamble, 1445-7*, „Lithuanian Historical Studies" IV (1999), p. 31.

56 AU, no. 55-56 (15 October 1432), 59 (20 January 1433), 61 (27 February 1434), 63 (6 December 1437), 66 (31 October 1439 r.). Also royal grants and confirmations of treaties with Žygimantas Kęstutaitis, see ibidem, no. 58 (3 January 1433), 60 (27 February 1434), 65 (16 December 1438), 67 (7 January 1440). Commitment sent through deputies (Archbishop of Gniezno Wincenty Kot, Bishop of Kraków Zbigniew Oleśnicki, Voivodes of Sandomierz Jan of Tęczyn and of Kalisz Marcin of Sławsko) from the Sieradz convention confirming previous agreements (this took place during the minority of King Władysław III), ibidem no. 64. There is also an act by Mykolas son of Žygimantas promising to keep the agreement concluded between Władysław Jagiełło and his father, ibidem no. 57 (18 October 1432); a document by the voivode of Vilnius Jan Dowgird, ibidem no. 62 (1 July 1437).

in turn, the Lithuanians were no longer going to agree with. Frost's thesis that the Polish-Lithuanian union from the beginning was more like a personal union than a real union, such as Jellinek defined it (with corrections concerning the 15ᵗʰ century), is highly controversial (pp. 205-206/pp. 325-327). A further issue is that it was not a personal union either, but - if we necessarily stick to this modern nomenclature - a dynastic union.

Let us not hide another tendency of Frost's either. His idealisation of Casimir Jagiellończyk (pp. 265-276/pp. 415-433) would perhaps be envied even by Frederick Papée himself.

I dare not, as I mentioned at the beginning, judge the parts of Frost's book devoted to the sixteenth-century history of the union. Perhaps they are excellent. The passages dealing with earlier times, by contrast, lack interpretive restraint. Perhaps I should better write this as "caution". Where Frost has followed the guidance of historiography, many of his insights "burden" it in no small measure. By this I do not mean to say that the entirety of other scholars' proposals should be resisted. I would be foolish to think so, especially since I owe so much to earlier scholars. We all owe so much. However, by contenting himself with the insights of others, Frost would have written a compilation history of the Polish-Lithuanian relationship. He did not choose this path, which is to be commended, but instead offered an authorial synthesis. In my opinion, he did not live up to this in the parts referring to the medieval period. Apart from other considerations, his greatest shortcoming was to put forward too many hypotheses, which - unfortunately - must be regarded primarily as his own impressions.

ABSTRACT

The author makes an attempt to take a critical look at R. Frost's book of the history of the Polish-Lithuanian union up to 1569, but he was interested only in those fragments which chronologically do not go beyond the Middle Ages. Among the issues the author presents in polemics with R. Frost are: the nature of the Polish-Lithuanian union, an assessment of the Act of Krevo, the theory of Polish incorporationism, an understanding of the role played by the community of Polish realm, a characterisation of the policy of Vytautas Kiejstutowicz and his relations with Władysław Jagiełło, an assessment of the Vilnius-Radom union of 1401 and the Horodło union of 1413, the consequence of the political upheaval in Lithuania in 1440.

Keywords: Poland, Lithuania, union, incorporationism, communitas

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II. Historiography and memory

Adrian Jusupović
The Tadeusz Manteuffel Institute of History Polish Academy of Sciences
ajusupovic@ihpan.edu.pl
https://orcid.org/ 0000-0001-7734-0001

Rus chronicles as sources of international law

In 2015, Timofey V. Gimon published an article entitled "What Events were Reported by the Old Rus Chronicle?".[1] According to his study, political and military events make up: 59.4% of the *Primary Chronicle* (from 882 to 1110); 62.7% of the *Hypatian Chronicle* (from 1111 to 1200); 57.8% of the *Laurentian Chronicle* (from 1111 to 1305); and 50.9% of the *First Novgorodian Chronicle* (synodal MS from 1016 to 1352). He separated political and military events from events among princely families, which make up: 8.9% of the *Primary Chronicle*; 15.3% of the *Hypatian Chronicle*; 12% of the *Laurentian Chronicle*; and 2.7% of the *First Novgorodian Chronicle*. He also distinguished these events from changes in ecclesiastical hierarchs, which form: 3.7% of the *Primary Chronicle*; 8% of the *Hypatian Chronicle*; 9.7% of the *Laurentian Chronicle*; and 9.4% of the *First Novgorodian Chronicle*. A similar distinction is made for changes in city mag-

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1   T.V. Gimon, *What Events were Reported by the Old Rus' Chronicle*, "Studies across Discipline in the Humanities and Social Sciences" XVII (2015), pp. 92-117 [open access: https://core.ac.uk/download/pdf/33733903.pdf].

istrates such as the *posadniks*[2] and the *tysiatskys*[3]: the latter is not mentioned in the *Primary Chronicle,* the *Hypatian Chronicle* or the *Laurentian Chronicle*, but constitutes 7.6% of the *First Novgorodian Chronicle*. All these categories are related to the political life of Rus. We see that as much as 90% of the narrative of each chronicle is dedicated to political issues. The results of Gimon's analysis should not be surprising. The first sentence in the *Primary Chronicle* is as follows: "These are the narratives of bygone years regarding the origin of the land of Rus, the first princes of Kiev, and from what source the land of Rus had its beginning".[4] The narrative strategy of medieval bookmen was simply to prepare a historical collection that would describe the political system and success of Rus.

The problem of annals as quasi legal documents has been discussed in literature, but never in complete form.[5] We have only some minor contributions

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2　*Posadnik.* The term comes from the word "posaditi" with the meaning "to appoint", "to nominate", "to assign". By the ruler's mandate, the *posadnik* exercised administrative, military, fiscal, and judicial authority over a specific territory with its headquarters based in a *grod*-town centre (implicitly, smaller *grod* units, as well as entire lands-provinces). This counselling institution was set up to streamline the territorial management of the state and belonged genetically to the institutions of the early feudal monarchy; hence, in the 11th century, the *posadnik* did not officiate in the capital cities, where we would encounter high-ranking officials (*e.g.,* the *tysiatsky*, the voivode) – with important, but not so universal competences – directly attached to the prince. Along with progressing regional fragmentation, the proliferation of the royal dynasty and the independence of an increasing numbers of principalities, the counselling institution began to wane in importance, ultimately disappearing in the 13th century. For the effective exercising of his office, the *posadnik* had at his disposal an apparatus of subordinate officials (*e.g.,* tivuns, detskys, etc.). He also performed police and fiscal functions (tax-collector). In literary monuments, the *posadnik* is referred to as "властель града", "стареишина граду", "градникам". See A. Poppe, *Posadnik*, in: *Słownik Starożytności Słowiańskich*, vol. IV, ed. G. Labuda, Z. Stieber, Wrocław-Warszawa-Kraków 1970, pp. 239-240 (see herein for literature).

3　Tysiatsky (тысяцкий; тысячский). In the 13th century, this was the governor/commander of the tysiachi (thousand) of a territorial unit (*e.g.,* we have tysiachi in Przemyśl, in Kiev, etc.). Tysiatsky was an official with an administrative and sometimes military function. In *The Chronicle of Halych-Volhynia* this term was used thirteen times (we know of such tysiatsky as Yarun, Dmitry, Demian, etc.). In narrative sources, sometimes tysiatsky is referred to as voivode (in the meaning of "commander of forces"). See A. Jusupović *Elity ziemi halickiej i wołyńskiej w czasach Romanowiczów (1205–1269). Studium prozopograficzne*, Kraków 2013 (= Monografie Pracowni Badań nad Dziejami Rusi Uniwersytetu Kazimierza Wielkiego w Bydgoszczy II), pp. 44–47, 118–125, 135–138, 176–179, 180–182, 275–276.

4　*The Russian Primary chronicle: Laurentian text*, transl. and ed. S. Hazzard Cross, O.P. Sherbowitz-Wetzor, Cambridge-Massachusetts 1953, p. 51. "Се Повѣсти времяньныхъ лѣтъ, откуду есть пошла руская земля, кто въ Киевѣ нача первѣе княжити, и откуду руская земля стат есть" - *Lavrenťevskaia letopis'*, in: *Polnoe Sobranie Russkikh Letopiseĭ*, vol. I, Moscow 2001, col. 1

5　T. Gimon, *Historical Writing of Early Rus (c. 1000-c. 1400) in a comparative perspective*, Leiden-Boston 2021, pp. 282-289, 338-342 (discussion of the literature therein).

to this topic, such authors as for example I.D. Beliaev,[6] M.I. Sukhomlinov,[7] N.N. Ianish,[8] L.V. Cherepnin,[9] and a short mention in M.Kh. Aleshkovskii.[10] We have some examples where selected princely documents were added to the annals in extenso (*e.g.*, two documents issued by Volodimir Vasilkovich[11] and also most famously the treaties of 912 and 945 between Rus and Byzantium). Ilia Maiakovskii, in a book dedicated to the history of archives in Russia, wrote that "documents, selected by the prince, were included into the annals immediately after their issuing".[12] Simon Franklin argued that Rus chronicles were not purely legal, but quasi-juridical texts: "the Russian chronicles are in themselves legal documents of a kind. They are mostly cumulative annals, compiled from previous annals with the addition of recent events noted year by year. They thus constitute the only form of cumulative record either extant or referred to in early medieval Russia".[13] Dmitrii S. Likhachev also draws attention to the possibility that the very act of the creating of a new annalistic text had a degree of legal significance.[14] As T. Gimon highlighted: "the annals themselves were regarded as a means of preservation of juridically significant information' […] historical and judicial texts could be transcribed separately, but be included into the same manuscripts".[15] We dispose over a small number of works which try to reconstruct a princely archive including *letopisi*,[16] but none of them tried to prepare a complete list of legal or 'quasi-legal' aspects within Rus chronicles.

    This text is only a small contribution to the existing works and proposes a slightly different viewing of the Rus Chronicles/letopisi. One of the questions we would like to pose is, how these legal collections were perceived by the people of their time?

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6   I.D. Beliaev, *O raznykh vidakh russkikh letopisei*, "Vremennik Moskovskogo obshchestva istorii i drevnostei rossiiskikh" 5 (1850), pp. 1-4.

7   M.I. Sukhomlinov, *Odrevnei russkoi letopisi kak pamiatnike literaturnom*, "Uchenye zapiski 2-go otdeleniia Imperatorskoi Akademii nauk" III (1856), pp. 21-22.

8   N.N. Ianish, *Novgorodskaia letopis' i ee moskovskie peredelki*, Moscow 1874, p. 81.

9   L.V. Cherepnin, *Russkaia istoriografiia do XIX v.: Kurs lektsii*, Moscow 1957, pp. 62-88.

10   M.Kh. Aleshkovskiĭ, *Povest' vremennykh let: Iz istorii sozdaniia i redaktsionnoi pererabotki*, ed. F.B. Uspenskiĭ, Moscow 2015, pp. 296-297.

11   *Chronica Galiciano-Voliniana. Chronica Romanoviciana,* ed. D. Dąbrowski, A. Jusupović, MPH, SN, vol. XVI, Kraków–Warszawa, pp. 558-562 [open access: https://rcin.org.pl/Content/190072/WA303_223688_II2781-16_Kronika.pdf].

12   I.L. Maiakovskii, *Ocherki po istorii arkhivnogo dela v SSSR: Opyt sistematicheskogo rukovodstva*, part 1, Moscow 1941, p. 67.

13   S.D. Franklin, *Literacy and Documentation in Early Medieval Russia*, "Speculum: A Journal of Medieval Studies" V (1985) 1, p. 21.

14   D.S. Likhachev, *Poetika drevnerusskoi literatury,* Moscow 1979, p. 65.

15   T. Gimon, *Historical Writing…*, p. 339.

16   E.g. Oleg Kupchins'kiĭ, *Akti ta dokumenti Galits'ko-Volins'kogo kniazivstva XIII –pershoï polovini XIV stolit'. Doslidzhennia, teksti*, Lviv 2004.

In a charter from 1415 regarding the separation of the Kiev metropolitan archdiocese from the Moscow metropolitan archdiocese, and the consecration of Gregory Tsamblak as metropolitan of Kiev, we read: "and we are ourselves now hearing and seeing, that the church is getting poorer, and the Tsar and the patriarch will not give a good builder for us and the church: according to the canons, we previously established by an ecumenical council, as it was in the past, during the reign the grand prince Iziaslav of Kiev, when the bishops gathered at the ecumenical council and established the metropolitanate of Kiev and all Rus. That we found [this] is grounded in the Rus *letopis'*, in the Kiev *letopis'*, in the Vladimir *letopis'*, and in others".[17] This passage refers directly to the record in the so-called Kievian Letopis, which under the year 6655 we reads (in the crucial passage): '[…] The Bishop of Chernigov said: 'I know that it is allowed for bishops, when they gather, to establish a metropolitan'. […]Onufry [the Bishop] of Chernihiv said: "I know that we are allowed to establish [a metropolitan], because we have the head of Saint Clement. After all, the Greeks establish metropolitans by the hand of Saint John". And so, after consultation, the bishops, with the head of St. Clement, made Klim the metropolitan".[18]

Hence, we see that for the population of Rus, before the *Sudebnik* of 1497 (a collection of codified law), the Rus chronicles were also a collection of legal

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17   „И сами но теперно слышимъ то и видимъ, што церковь скудѣеть, а царь и патріархъ строителя добраго къ намъ церкви не дасть: по правиломъ, намъ годиться митрополита зборомъ поставити, какъ и перво сего такожь было; при великомъ князи Изяславѣ Кіевскомъ събрався епископи зборомъ, и поставиша митрополита Кіеву и всеи Руси, **а то нашли есмо, написано стоит въ лѣтописцѣхъ Русскыхъ, въ Кіевскомъ и въ Володимерскомъ, и въ иныхъ"** – *Okruzhnaia gramota* 1846. *Okruzhnaia gramota Litovskago velikago kniazia Aleksandra-Vitovta, ob otdelenii Kievskoǐ mitropolii ot Moskovskoǐ, i o postavlenii v" san" Kievskago mitropolita Grigoriia Tsamblaka* in *Akty otnosiashīesia k" istorīi Zapadnoǐ Rossīi, Sobrannye i izdannye Arkheograficheskoiu Kommissīeiu*, vol. I, Saint Petersburg 1846, p. 36, no. 25.

18   *Ipat'evskaia letopis'* 1908, col. 340-341. The entire ineteresting passage is as follows: "В то же лѣто постави Изаславъ митрополитомъ Клима Смолатича въведъ изъ Зароуба; бѣ бо черноризечь скимникъ и бъ(с)[ть] книжникъ, и философъ, такъ æкоже в Роускои земли не башеть. **Ре(ч)[е] бо Черниговьскии епи(с)[ко]пъ: «Азъ свѣдѣ æко достоить съшедшеса епи(с)[ко]помъ митрополита поставити».** И снидоша(с)а Черниговьски епи(с)[ко]пы Ѡнофрии, Бѣлогородьскии епи(с)[ко]пъ, Феѡд[о]ръ, Переæславьскии епи(с)[ко]пъ Еоуфимии, Гюргиискии епи(с)[ко]пъ Демьæнъ, Володимерьскии – Федоръ, Новгородьскии – Нифонтъ, Смоленьскии – Маноуилъ. Рекоста не есть того в законѣ æко ставити еп̑помъ митрополита безъ патриарха, но ставить патриархъ митрополита а не поклонивѣ ти са ни слоуживѣ с тобою, зане не взалъ еси бл[о]г[о](с)[ло]в[е]ниæ оу с[ва]тоѣ Софьи ни ѿ патриарха. Аще ли са исправиши бл[о]гословишиса ѿ патриарха, и тогда ти са поклонивѣ въ взала ѿ Михаила ѿ митрополита роукописание æко не достоить намъ безъ митрополита въ 12 с[ва]тѣи Софьи слоужити". Ѡнъ же на на про то тажко ср(д)це имѣæ. **Ѡнофрии же Черниговьскии ре(ч)[е]: «Азъ свѣде достоить ны поставити, а глава оу насъ есть с[ва]т[о]го Климента, æкоже ставать Грѣци роукою с[ва]т[о]го Ивана». И тако сгадавше епи(с) [ко]пи славою с[ва]т[о]го Климента поставиша митрополитомъ".**

precedents. My main goal is not to describe all precedents which we can find in Rus sources from 10th to the 13th century (it will be a separate project). In the following, we would like to concentrate on a few selected examples mainly from the 13th century, which serve as the first "international legal precedents" if we will and lay bare the backstage of negotiations and resolving conflicts between rulers.

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The final years of the 10th century were a time when two newly-formed countries, Poland and Kievan Rus, performed a significant role in Central and Eastern Europe. Their interests intersected in the area between the San River Basin in the south and the upper Narew River Basin to the north. As of that time, these lands came to be permanently known as the borderland territories, in political but also religious, linguistic, cultural and legal terms. They also became the arena for various power struggles and witnessed many a march of the Rus armies into Lyakhian lands and of the Lyakhs to Kievan Rus. They also become a background to create a new field: international law concerning the results of conflicts and the necessity for a common – Lyakhs and Rus – coexistence. The text will show only selected examples of international law. I will concentrate my research on the 13th century, because in these times we can observe the first attempts to create a law (or maybe we should say precedents) to secure the interests of both sides of the conflict.

One of the first conflicts, between Poland and Rus, is connected with the so-called Cherven towns. From "The Tale of Bygone Years" we know, that about "6539 (1031) Yaroslav and Mstislav collected a large force and marched into Poland. They recaptured the cities of Cherven, and ravaged the Polish countryside. They also captured many Poles and distributed them as colonists in various districts. Yaroslav located his captives along the Ros', where they live to this day".[19] The narrative for the year 1031, similarly as for the year 981, describes a certain historical process of more than a ten years' duration.[20] The historians suppose, that these conflict ended with some

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19   *The Russian Primary Chronicle…*, p. 136: *В лѣт[о] 6539. Ярославъ и Мьстиславъ собраста вои многъ идоста на Ляхы и заяста грады Червеньскыя опять и повоеваста Лядьскую землю и многы Ляхы приведоста и раздѣливша я. Ярославъ посадї [своя] по Рѣси и суть до сего д[ь]не* (*Lavrent'evskaia letopis'*, col. 150)

20   A. Jusupović, *"Cherven' i iny grady " or "grody cherven'skyia"? History of the domain of cherven' in the written record (10th-13th centuries)*, in: *From Cherven' Towns to Curzon Line*, ed. M. Wołoszyn, Cracow-Leipzig-Rzeszów-Warsaw 2017 (= Frühzeit Ostmitteleuropas III), pp. 31-105.

agreement between Poland and Rus in the end of 30. or in the beginning of 40. 11th century.[21]

I do not want to make reconstruction of details of agreement which end conflict over the so-called Chervens towns in 11th century. I would like to highlight that these, as with the many other conflicts, show us that in the Middle Ages reasons for undertaking such military actions included plundering and looting, while human resources were considered the most important good in medieval economy. The abduction of people from pillaged lands became a permanent element of the military acts perpetrated by the Rurikids and the Piasts. The first agreement that saved human resources regarded the expedition to Kalisz in 1229.[22] This story, preserved on the pages of the Chronicle of Halych-Volhynian, contains a very detailed description of the battle, of the negotiations between the defenders of the town and its besiegers, and includes humorous elements, as well as a list of all the princes and noblemen participating in the battle.[23] We must remember that the analysing source had a draft-like nature. The last editor never finished this monument of historical writing. For that reason this source is so precious. We can read in it more detailed information, regarding for example the humour of rulers during the negotiation and fact that Polish and Rus people were understanding each other without a translator. Allow me to quote the a whole fragment of the negotiation as an example.[24] When

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21   Under the described agreement, in exchange for invading Mazowsze and assisting Mieszko II's son in taking control of Poland, Yaroslav the Wise was to receive Cherven towns, Belz and Brest. This agreement was confirmed by the marriages of Kazimierz with Dobronega, and of Izyaslav Yaroslavich with Gertrude (V.T. Pashuto 1968. *Vneshniaia polityka drevneĭ Rusi*, Moscow 1968, p. 39). Similarly, Grigoriy Demidenko (G.G. Demidenko, *Iaroslav Mudriĭ. Velikiĭ kniaz' Rusī: naukovo-popukiarniĭ naris*, Kharkiv 2013, pp. 238-244). Stefan M. Kuczyński has argued that the agreement was made earlier, in 1039, noting that the Polish-Rusian treaty of 1039 included:

"The matter of the marriage of Kazimierz Odnowiciel with Dobronega-Maria, sister (possibly, daughter) of Yaroslav the Wise, which was entered into in the first months of 1039;

The matter of releasing Rusian taken captive in 1018 by Chrobry;

The matter of the military alliance against Masław and Lithuanian peoples;

The matter of regulating the status of the Polish-Rusian border region. Rus presumably received the strongholds of the Buzhans with Vladimir-Volynsk. Poland kept the territory on the left bank of the Bug River: Belz and Przemyśl remained on the Polish side" (S.M. Kuczyński, *Stosunki polsko-ruskie do schyłku wieku XII*, in: *Studia z dziejów Europy Wschodniej X-XVII w.*, Warszawa 1965, p. 130). Cf. Jusupović, "*Cherven' i iny grady*"…, pp. 48-49 (discussion of the literature therein).

22   *Chronica Galiciano-Voliniana…*, pp. 131-132.

23   *Ibidem*, pp. 130-142.

24   Detailed information about Kalisz conflict see: D. Dąbrowski, *Daniel Romanowicz król Rusi (ok. 1201–1264). Biografia polityczna*, Kraków 2021 (= Monografie Pracowni Badań nad Dziejami Rusi UKW I), pp. 145, 150-155; A. Jusupović, *The Chronicle of Halych-Volhynia and Historical Collections in Medieval Rus'*, Leiden-Boston 2022, pp. 79-80 (discussion of the literature therein).

the coalition of Danilo Romanovich and Konrad of Masovia was preparing to attack the Kalisz, the terrified inhabitants started insisted on negotiations. "Pakoslav asked Danilo to come with them after he had changed his clothing; Danilo did not wish [to come alone], but his brother advised him to go and listen to their conversation, since Konrad did not trust Mstiuj. Danilo donned Pakoslav's helmet and stood behind both of them. Standing atop its ramparts, [the city's] elders addressed [Pakoslav and Mstiuj]: "Relate the following to great Prince Konrad: Isn't this your city? We – its elders – have become worn out [by your siege of] this city. Are we [indeed] foreigners [in your sight]? We are your people and your brothers. Why don't you pity us? If the Rusians take us captive, what glory will Konrad have? If the banner of Rus is [planted] on the city ramparts, whom are you honoring? Is it not Roman's sons, while you disgrace yourself? Now we serve your brother but tomorrow we are yours; Only do not let Rus win the glory: Do not destroy the city!". And they said many other things. [Then] Pakoslav replied: "Konrad would be more than willing to show you his mercy, but Danilo is very angry and will not leave us until we take the city". Then he broke out in laughter and added: "And here he is in person. Speak with him". Prince [Danilo] nudged him with the shaft of his spear and took off his helmet. Thereupon they called down from the city [ramparts]: "We will serve you; only make peace, we beg you". But Danilo continued laughing and conversing with them for a long time. [Then] taking along two elders, he went to Konrad. [Thus] Konrad concluded peace with them and took hostages from them. [During this campaign] the Rusians had captured many servants and boyars' wives."[25]

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25 *The Galician-Volhynian Chronicle: The Hypatian Codex*, part II, transl. G.A. Perfecky, München 1973 (= Harvard Series in Ukrainian Studies XVI, 2), pp. 35-36. „Пакославъ же рече Данилови: «Измѣнивъ ризы своа, поеди с нами». Данилови ж[е] не хотѣв[ъ]шю, рече емоу: «Брат[е], иди, да слышиш[и] вече ихь». Не вѣраше бо Мьстиоуеви Кондрат[ъ]. Данил[ъ] же въземь на са шоломъ[ъ] Пакославль и ста за нима. Стоащим[ъ] же мажем[ъ] на заборолѣх[ъ] и рекоущим[ъ] им[ъ]: «Тако молвита великомоу кнаsю Кондрату: "Съи град[ъ] не твои ли е[сть]? Мы ж[е] мажи изнемог[ъ]шеи въ градѣ сем[ь], ци иного стран[ь]ници есмы? Но людіе твои есмы, а ваша братіа есмы. Чемоу о нас[ъ] не з[ъ]жалитаси? Аще нас[ъ] Роус[ь] плѣнат[ь], тw коую славоу Кондрат[ъ] прïимет[ь]? Аще роус[ьс]каа короговь станеть на заборолѣх[ъ], то комоу ч[ь]сть оучиниши? Не Романовичема ли? А свою ч[ь]сть оуничижиши Н[ы]нѣ братоу твоемоу слоужим[ъ], а заутра твои бждем[ъ]. Не дай славы роуси погоубити града сего"». И ина мнwга словеса гл[агол]ахж. Пакославоу же рек[ъ]шю: «Кондрат[ъ] бы рад[ъ] м[и]л[о]сть оучиниль вам[ъ], но Даниль лют[ъ] sѣлw ес[ть], нас[ъ] не хощет[ь] wтити проч[ь], не прïемъ града». Росмѣав[ъ]са, реч[е]: «А се стоит[ъ] сам[ъ], молвите с ним[ь]». Кназ[ь] же тъче его wскѣпищем[ь] и сна съ себе шелwм[ъ]. Они же кликноуша съ града: «Имѣи слоуж[ь]боу нашю, молим[ъ]са! Сътвори миръ». Ономоу ж[е] мнwго смѣав[ъ]шюс[а] и много вѣстовав[ъ] шю с ними, поа wт[ъ] них[ъ] два мажа и прïеха къ Кондратови. И сътвори Кондрат[ъ] с ними миръ и поа оу них[ъ] таль, роуси бw бахж полонили мнwгоу челад[ь] и боаринѣ" – *Chronica Galiciano-Voliniana…*, pp. 137-141.

During the campaign, it is stated that the Rusians captured many Lyakhs. For that reason we also learn, somewhat later in the source, of the first Polish-Rus treaty: "The Rusians and the Lyakhs pledged each other that if there were ever a feud between them, the Lyakhs would not plunder Rusian subjects nor would the Rus plunder that of the Lyakhs".[26] We can assume that, as in the case of Rus-Byzantine treaties,[27] the contents of the agreement were written down. This account clearly shows that the practice of capturing an enemy's "subjects" and taking them to one's own country was widespread. Such captives also constituted one of the major benefits attracting allied rulers to participate in the battles. The captive population could be scattered across various parts of the country or settled in larger groups in a region selected by the ruler, so as to increase its economic potential. The Polish-Rus regulations, concluded in Kalisz, were the first attempt to regulate the issue of captives and in a larger sense the rights of the people living in the risk area.

Here we should mention that we have indications that the Kalisz regulations were still functioning almost 60 years later. In the passage referring to 1282,[28] we read of the conflict between Konrad II of Mazovia on the one hand, who was supported by Vladimir Vasilkovich, and Bolesław II and Władysław Łokietek on the other (Bolesław and Konrad were also supported by Leszek the Black).[29] As a result, the latter two invaded and plundered Jazdów.[30] The Chronicle mentions the following legal regulation from Kalisz: "The Poles had the following law: they would neither capture nor beat [their opponent's] subjects, but they would rob them [of their belongings]. And thus, the city was taken. They captured much property in it and robbed their subjects [of their belongings]".[31]

I have to mention that the description of the Kalisz campaign ended with reference to the campaign of Volodimer the Great against Poland, the one in which he conquered Cherven, Przemyśl, and other strongholds: "No other prince [**except the Danilo** - A.J.] had penetrated the Polish land so deeply except Volodimer the Great, who had baptized the country".[32]

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26   Translation from: A. Jusupović, *The Chronicle of Halych-Volhynia…*, p. 80. "Сътвориша межи собою клатвоу роус[ь] и лахове, аще по сем[ь], коли бждет[ь] межи ими оусобица, не воеватиiлахωм[ъ] роуское челади, ни роуси лад[ь]ское" – *Chronica Galiciano-Voliniana…*, p. 141.

27   A. Siwko, *A Commonwealth of Interests in the Rus-Byzantine Treaty (c.a. 944)*, "Studia Ceranea" XI (2021), pp. 405-426 (discussion of the literature therein). The work offers a new originally approach to the topic.

28   A. Jusupović, *The Chronicle of Halych-Volhynia…*, p. 155.

29   Bolesław and Konrad was supported by Leszek the Black.

30   *Chronica Galiciano-Voliniana…*, pp. 504–506.

31   *The Galician-Volhynian Chronicle…*, p. 92. "Закон[ъ] же баше в лахох[ъ] таковь: челади не имати, ни бити – но лоупахоу, городоу ж[е] взатоу, и поимаша в[ъ] нем[ь] товара мнωго, и люди полоупиша" – *Chronica Galiciano-Voliniana…*, pp. 505-506.

32   *The Galician-Volhynian Chronicle…*, p. 36. "И внидоста съ славою въ землю свою, иный бω кназь не въходилъ бѣ въ землю лад[ь]скоую тол[ь] глоубоко проче Волωдимера Великого, иже бѣ землю кр[ь]стилъ" - *Chronica Galiciano-Voliniana…*, pp. 141-142.

The next example regards the functioning agreement, or maybe I should say unwritten law or principle, that one ruler will gave shelter to another ruler, when the second is in danger. Of course such behaviour is nothing unnatural and we know a lot of such situations, *e.g,*. Andrew II, king of Hungary took care of Roman Mstislavovich's widow and her children in 1205,[33] in 1227 Mstislav the Dumb gave his patrimony to Prince Danilo and entrusted his son Ivan to his care.[34] Such examples in the middle ages we can multiply, but I would like to pay attention on one specific situation which took place after Mongol invasion of Rus in 1240. The Rus princes was looking a shelter in Hungary and in Poland. In Chronicle of Halych-Volhynian we read that: "[Then] Danilo said that it was not safe for them to remain there [so] close to the foreigners who were waging war against them and set out for the Mazovian land to Kondrat's son Boleslav. **Prince Boleslav gave him the city of Wyszgoród** and he remained there until he received word that the infidels had left the land of Rus. [Then] he returned to his own land".[35] We must remember that just before Mongols incursion Kondrat Mazowiecki and his sons supported Mikhail Vsevolodovich against Danilo Romanovich. Nevertheless when the situation in these part of Europe were difficulty he helped others rulers even enemies or rival, who were in need. In these particular case he gave (вдасть) city to the whole family of Danilo Romanovich. We can only assume, that Wyszgoród's bestowal, was to meet all the needs of the holders over a longer period of time. I suppose that such practices were traditional in the Piasts and Rurikids relationships. These issue could be a separate case study, so we will go to the next example of international law.

I should mention about very important circumstances with had influence on the Polish-Rus relationship. From 1237 to circa 1241, the Mongol army conquered all the principalities of Rus.[36] This event was highly indistinct

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33   *Chronica Galiciano-Voliniana…*, pp. 7-10.

34   Ibidem, s. 118-119.

35   *The Galician-Volhynian Chronicle…*, p. 49. „Данилови ж[е] рек[ъ]шю, æко «не добро нам[ъ] стоати зде близ[ъ] воюющих[ъ] нас[ъ] иноплемен[ь]ником[ъ]», иде въп землю Мазовец[ь]коую, къ Болеславоу, къг Кондратовоу с[ы]н[о]ви, **и вдасть емү кнѧз[ь] Болеславь град[ъ] Вышегорѡд[ъ]**, и быс[ть] тоу, дон[ь]деже вѣсть прїа, æко сошли сѫт[ь] изь земли роус[ьс]кое безбож[ь]нїи, и възвратиса въ землю свою" - *Chronica Galiciano-Voliniana…*, p. 237.

36   See B. D. Grekov, A. Iu. Iakubovskiĭ, *Zolotaia Orda i ee padenie*, Moscow–Leningrad 1950; G. Vernadsky, *Mongoly i Rus*, Moscow 2016; D.G. Khrustalev, *Rus': ot nashestviia do "iga" 30–40 gg. XIII v.*, Saint Petersburg 2004; D.G. Khrustalev, *Rus' I mongol'skoe nashestvie (20–50 gg. XIII v.)* Saint Petersburg 2017 (with a list of relevant literature); J.L.I. Fennell, *The Crisis of Medieval Russia 1200–1304*, London 1983; D. Christian, *A History of Russia, Central Asia and Mongolia*, vol. I: *Inner Eurasia from Prehistory to the Mongol Empire*, Oxford 1998.

in Rus chronicles.[37] In his analysis of these events, Charles Halperin wrote that "Russian writing from the Mongol period clearly shows a rejection of the fact of conquest [by Tatars]".[38] In the oldest chronicles (*e.g.*, the *Halych-Volhynian Chronicle*), we find some scraps of the authentic accounts of the situation in Rus. A good example is a late record about Rus princes' journey to Sarai or Karakoram "for their patrimonies". There, the princes received yarliqs (Mongol patents) from the Khan, though some of them even died during this venture, for example, Mikhail of Chernigov (1179-1246) in 1246.

We also have very interesting records of these trips. At the end of 1245, Danilo Romanovich (1201?-64) travelled to Batu (1205-55). In the *Halych-Volhynian Chronicle*, we read: "Thence he went to Batyj, [who was] on the Volga, wishing to pay him **homage**. [There] a vassal of Jaroslav [Vsevolodovič called] Songur approached him and suggested that since Danilo's 'brother' Jaroslav had worshipped a bush, he should also. But [Danilo] replied that the Devil was speaking through his lips and that God would shut them so that no one would hear what he said. And at that moment he was summoned by Batyj and was thus delivered by God from their godless devilry and sorcery. He bowed according to their custom and entered [Batyj's] tent. Batyj inquired why Danilo had not come to him before this, but was nevertheless pleased that he did come now. Then Batyj inquired whether Danilo drank black milk, which was fermented mare's milk and was their [favourite] drink. Danilo [confessed] that he had not yet tried it, but would drink it if he wished, to which Batyj replied that Danilo was already **one of them – a Tatar** – and should therefor drink their beverage. Danilo drank [the milk], bowed in accordance with their custom, and said that he would now go and **pay homage** to the Grand Princess Barakčikova, and Batyj said 'go'."[39]

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37   Literature review: see J.L.I. Fennell, *'The Tale of Baty's Invasion of North-East Rus' and Its Reflexion in the Chronicles of the Thirteenth–fifteenth Centuries'*, "Russia Mediaevalis" III (1977), pp. 41–60; G.M. Prohorov, *Povest' o nashestvii Batyia* in *Slovar' knizhnikov i knizhnosti Drevneĭ Rusi*, vol. I: *XI – pervaia polovina XIV v.*, Leningrad 1987, pp. 363-365.

38   J.Ch. Halperin, *Russia and the Golden Horde: The Mongol Impact on Medieval Russian History*, London 1987, p. 64.

39   *The Galician-Volynian Chronicle…*, p. 58. "Ѿт[ъ]тоудоу ж[е] прїиде къ Батыеви на Волгоуае, хоташу са емоуаg поклонитиа. Пришед[ъ]шюаi ж[е] Ярославлю ч[е]л[овѣ] коу Съньгоурови, рек[ъ]шюс емоу: 'Брат[ъ]е твой Ярославь кланал[ъ]са коустоу, и тобѣ кла|натиса'. И реч[е] емоу: 'Дїаволъ глаголет[ь] изь оусть твоих[ъ]. |Б[ог]ъ заградио оустар твоа, и не слышано бждет[ь] слѡво твое'. И въ тъи час[ъ] познанъ быс[ть] Батыем[ь]ѡ, избавленъ Б[о]гѡм[ь] быс[ть] и злог[о] их[ъ] бѣшенїаu, и коудеш[ь]ства. И поклонива по обычаюab их[ъ], и вънiде в[ъ]ad вежю его, рек[ъ]шю емоу: 'Данило! Чемоу еси дав[ь]но не пришелъ, а н[ы]нѣ ижеа еси пришелъ, а то добро же. Пїеши лис черное молоко, наше питїе, кобылѣйе коумоузь?'. Ономоу ж[е] рек[ъ]шю: 'Доселѣ есмь не пилъ, но-же ты велишьк, пїю'. Он[ъ] же реч[е]: 'Ты оужен наш[ь] же, Татарин[ъ]. Пїйр наше питїе'. Онь же испивь, поклониса по обычаю их[ъ], измолва слова своа, реч[е]: 'Идоух поклонитисаu великои кнагыни Баракчинови'. Реч[е]: 'Иди'." – *Chronica Galiciano-Voliniana…*, pp. 290-292.

Based solely on this short record, we can read about the new overlordship that the Mongols held over Rus. Danilo should pay tribute and Batu named him '*kholop*' (a slave; Холоп), which in this context means a subject of Batu. At the end of the meeting, Batu told Danilo that he was one of them – a Tatar. All the subjects of Danilo (essentially all the Rus rulers and their subjects) became Tatars (from bureaucratic point of view, including Batu, all subjects of Mongol Empire – who hold yarliqs – were Tatars, including all the nations conquered by them – the people of Rus, the Han Chinese etc.). These people were subject to the Tatars' 'will'.[40]

A new 'nationality' of Rus people changed a lot in relationship between Rus with other rulers. As Tatars they can use Mongols military support but also they were obligated to knuckle under the foreign policy of khan.

In that new reality we read about very interesting events: "[Then] there was a famine in all the lands - among the Rusians, the Poles, the Lithuanians, and the Jatvingians. Then the Jatvingians sent their envoys to [Prince] Volodimer who addressed [him] thus: 'Our Lord, Prince Volodimer! We have come to you [in the name of] all the Jatvingians, placing our hope in God and in your [continued] good health. Master! Do not let us die of starvation, but feed us for your own benefit. Send us your grain for sale and we will gladly buy it. Whatever you desire, be it wax, squirrel, beaver, or black marten skins, or [even] silver, we will give it to you gladly.' And Volodimer sent grain to them from Berestja by boat along the Bug River with good men whom he trusted. They sailed [up] the Bug, entered the Narov, and went [up this river]. Along the way they reached the environs of Poltovesk [where] they made camp to rest for the night. And here near this city they were all killed during the night, their grain was taken away, and their boats were sunk. Volodimer investigated this thoroughly, for he wanted to find out who had done this. He sent [an envoy] to his kinsman Konrad, informing him that it was in the vicinity of his city that his men had been killed on orders from him or someone else and [since] he knew [what went on] in his land, he should tell him [who was responsible]. But Konrad denied that he had killed them and said that he knew no one else who could have done this. His uncle, Prince Boleslav, however, informed Volodimer on his own nephew Konrad saying: 'In vain does he deny [this], for he himself has killed your men'."[41]

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40   Detailed analyses of mooted issue see: A. Jusupović, *Basqaqs in Rus': Social Strategy of Power*, in: *Mongols and Central-Eastern Europe: Political, Economic, and Cultural Relations*, ed. A.V. Maiorov, R. Hautala, London-New York 2021, pp. 235-249.

41   *The Galician-Volhynian Chronicle…*, p. 91. „Потꙗм[ъ] же лѣтѣ голꙏд[ъ] быс[ть] по всей земли: и в роуси, и в лꙗхох[ъ], и в литвѣ, и в ꙗтвѧсех[ъ]. Посем[ь] же ꙗтвꙗсѣ послаша послы своа к Волꙏдимерови, тако ре|коучи: «Г[о]с[по]д[и]не кнꙗже Волꙏдимере, прꙏѣхали есмы к тебѣ ѡт[ъ] всѣх[ъ] ꙗтвꙗсь, надѣючиса на Б[ог]ъ и на твое здоровꙏе. Г[о]с[по]д[и]не, не помори нас[ъ], но перекорми нас[ъ] себѣ, пошли, г[о]с[по]д[и]не, к нам[ъ] жито свое продават[ъ], а мы

How we see: The next passage of the author's source text begins with great precision: "After that year".[42] This phrase indicates the next year according to the March style (March 1, 1279 - February 28, 1280).[43] The bookman wrote about the famine in Rus, Poland, and among the Yotvingians at that time. The last of these asked Vladimir to sell them some of their reserves. While they were being transported to Pułtusk, the prince of Vladimir's men was killed. Konrad II of Czersk was accused of committing the deed. His guilt was confirmed by Bolesław V the Chaste, which resulted in an expedition to Mazovia. Eventually, the conflict ended with a peace treaty between Vladimir and Konrad.[44]

We see the passage told us that Volodimer sent freight with "good men (съ люд[ь]ми з добрыми)[45] whom he trusted". In medieval Rus trade was dealt not only by free people but also by people who were depends of rulers.[46] Often such people were not only merchants of the prince, but also, they were his envoys.[47] Sometimes it happened that merchants, who did not depend on the prince, transported the goods belonging to the rulers or boyars.[48] As we can see Konrad the II of Czersk or his subjects not simply killed merchants, but killed "good men" of Volodimer Vasylkovich which in that time may have performed not only role of merchants but also envoys sent to the Yotvingians. These same attacked directly the prince of Volodimer, who had to react. Before we go forward with conclusion we should moot a very important issue. We do not have any Cyrillic document which detailed describe trade between Romanovichi and the Piasts. In total

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ради коупим[ъ]. Чего ли въсхочешь: воскоу ли, бобровъ ли, чръных[ъ] ли коунъ, бѣли л[и], сребра л[и] – Імы ради дамы». Вълждимер[ъ] же из Берестїа посла к ним[ъ] жито в лодиах[ъ] по Боугоу съ люд[ь]ми з добрыми, комоу вѣра. идоущим же имъ по Боугоу и тако възыдоша на Наровь. И поидоша по Нар[ъ]ви. Идоущим[ъ] же им[ъ], и прїидошапжд[ъ] горжд[ъ] под[ъ] Іполтовескь, тоу ж[е] и сташа на ноч[ь] опочивати собѣ, и тако избиты быша вси пжд[ъ] городжм[ъ] в ночи, жито поймав[ъ]ше, а лжд[ь]и потопиша. Вълждимер[ъ] же искаше сего вел[ь]ми, хота оувѣдати, кто се оучинил[ъ], а къ Кондратови, брату своемоу, слаше, тако река емоу: «Под[ъ] твоим[ь] городжм[ъ] избиты мои людие – любо твоим[ь] повеленїемь, или иного. Ты вѣдаешь въ твоеи земли, повѣжь». Кондрат[ъ] же сѧ запрѣ: «Æ не избивал[ъ], а иного не вѣдаю, кто избил[ъ]». Ол[ь]ны ж[е] повѣдил[ъ] Волждимероу оуй его кнѧз[ь] Болеславъ на с[ы]нжвца своего на Кондрата, тако река: «Безлѣпа ти сѧ прит[ь], а сам[ъ] ти избил[ъ] ти твоа люди»" – *Chronica Galiciano-Voliniana…*, pp. 494-497.

42 *Chronica Galiciano-Voliniana…*, p. 494.

43 Cf.: M. Hrushevsky, *Khronologiia podiï Galits'ko-Volins'koï litopisi*, "Zapiski naukovogo tovaristva imeni Shevchenka" XLI (1901) 3, p. 50.

44 *Chronica Galiciano-Voliniana…*, pp. 494-498.

45 Chronica Galiciano-Voliniana…, p. 495.

46 B.V. Perkhavko, *Srednevekovoe russkoe kupechestvo,* Moscow 2012, p. 93 (discussion of the literature therein).

47 Ibidem, p. 89.

48 Ibidem, p. 93.

during 12th and 13th centuries, there are about 23 documents from Rus territory. As S. Pashin has noted, however, they are not evenly distributed throughout this period: there are 8 known documents from the 12th century, 15 from the 13th, 163 from the 14th, and 2,048 documents for the 15th century alone.[49] By analogies with others part of Rus we can assume that such documents existed. For example we have few Cyrillic charters from 13th centuries with regards to the provide security of merchants by other side of agreement. Very interesting is 'Draft treaty of Smolensk with Riga and Gotland (the so-called treaty of the unknown Smolensk prince, or collection K)'[50] from the period 1219-1228/9. We can read there in detail about rights of 'guests' on both cities: Riga and Smolensk. It is significant, that regulations are connected with The Russkaya Pravda.[51] Such a charter may have been created when the relationship between the two countries developed. Previously one of the sides had to apply for transport and sale permits. In 1298 such efforts were made by the Polotsk Bishop to obtain permission transport agricultural produce (Charter of the Yakov, Polotsk bishop, to the governor of the Archbishop of Riga and the councillor of Riga about peace and trade).[52] For example we also know three charters confirming freeway or free movement for guests ("гость" in the Middle Ages this term meant merchant; someone who trades in another city or country[53]): form 1266-1271, Charter of Prince Yaroslav [Yaroslavich] to the people of Riga about free passage for guests (in the middle age this term meant merchants) according to Mengu-Timur word (command)[54], from 1297-1313, Charter of Prince Alexander Glebovich, prince of Smolensk, confirming the rights of the free movement of merchants between

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49   In addition, there are over 2,000 birch bark manuscripts preserved from the 14th century (http://gramoty.ru/birchbark/). See.: S.S. Pashin, *Russkie dokumenty XII–XVII vekov. Uchebnoe posobie*, Tiumen' 2006, p. 17, S.M. Kashtanov, *Obshchie tendencji razvitiia dokumentirovaniia v kanceliariiakh srednevekovoi Rusi*, in: *Vostochnaia Evropa v istoricheskoi retrospekrive. K 80-letiiu V.T. Pashuto*, ed. T.N. Dzhakson, E.A. Mel'nikova, Moscow 1990, pp. 101-103.

50   *Proekt dogovora Smolenska s Rigoĭ i Gotlandom (tak nazyvaemyĭ dogovor neizvestnogo smolenskogo kniazia, ili spisok K)*, in: Monumenta Palaeographica Medii Aevi. Series Rossica, vol. I: *Les plus anciennes chartes russes. Fonds des Archives municipales de Riga, XIIᵉ-XIVᵉ siècles*, ed. P. Gonneau, A. Ivanov, A. Kuznetsov, Brespol 2021, pp. 19-42 (discussion of the literature therein).

51   Cf. B.V. Perkhavko, *Srednevekovoe russkoe kupechestvo…*, pp. 91-92, 108-109.

52   *Gramota episkopa polockogo Iakova namestniku arkhiepiskopa pizhskogo i ratmanam Rigi o mire i torgovle*, in: Monumenta Palaeographica Medii Aevi…, pp. 203-214 (discussion of the literature therein).

53   *Slovar' drevnerusskogo iazyka (11–14 vv.)*, vol. 2, Moscow 1989, pp. 372-373; B.V. Perkhavko, *Srednevekovoe russkoe kupechestvo…*, p. 87.

54   *Gramota kniazia Iaroslava [Iaroslavicha] Rizhanam o svobodnom puti dlia gosteĭ po Mengu-Temirovi slovu (poveleniiu)*, in: Monumenta Palaeographica Medii Aevi…, pp. 278-284 (discussion of the literature therein).

Riga and Smolensk,[55] and from1284, a Charter issued on behalf of Prince Fyodor [Rostislavich], confirming the rights of free movement of merchants between Smolensk, Riga and Gotland.[56]

These examples show us, that before something was sent, the rulers had to prepare the background for trade exchange. It is highly probable that even if such an agreement between Volodimer Vasilkovich and Konrad the II had not existed (which is less likely), that prince of Vladimir took care of free passage on Mazovian territory for his good mans. In that situation Konrad the II was responsible, as with every ruler, for the safety of merchants in his lands. In the case of an attack, he should find the aggressors. From the source we can assume that Konrad had not even tried to find the felons. Maybe we should connect such behaviour with information that "[Then] there was a famine in all the lands - among the Rusians, the Poles, the Lithuanians, and the Jatvingians". In such cases Konrad the II worked for his subjects. It also did not change anything either, because the crime had been committed and Vladimir wanted to punish the violator. In the beginning he wanted to use diplomatic means, but after he realised that the judge of the land is Konrad the second, he did not want to do anything and after the words of Bolesław the V: "In vain does [Konrad] deny [this], for he himself has killed your men", he was forced to react. Envoys, who were representants of Vladimir died on Konrad's land. If Vladimir wanted to save his position in eyes of his subjects, the reaction needed to be fast. Apart from that according to the Rus law, the perpetrators should be punished. The place of crime was placed in another land and the main culprit was the prince, so the choice was obvious – war. The Chronicle of Halych-Volhynian has saved on its pages a precedent, how react in such a situation.

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As I remarked at the beginning of the text, it is only minor contribution. I realise that detailed work on this topic requires a separate project, with should end with a book and database. It has to be said that in modern states, law is found in statutes and subordinate regulations, and beyond that also in the decisions of courts and other authorized bodies who articulate these documents' meaning. Identification of the sources is unproblematic. How-

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55   *Gramota kniazia smolenskogo Aleksandra Glebovicha s podtverzhdeniem prava svobodnogo peredvizheniia kuptsov mezhdu Rigoĭ i Smolenskom*, in: Monumenta Palaeographica Medii Aevi…, pp. 161-168 (discussion of the literature therein).

56   *Gramota, vydannaia ot imeni kniazia Fedora [Rostislavicha], s podrverzhdeniem prava svobodnogo peredvizheniia kupcov mezhdu Smolenskom, Rigoĭ i Gotlandom*, in: Monumenta Palaeographica Medii Aevi…, pp. 141-151 (discussion of the literature therein).

ever, more problematic is identifying law in the early Middle Ages, when there were two 'legal systems': codified law and further provisions found elsewhere. In the first case, the documents usually concern a legally relevant matter, and embody a particular right or claim that has been preserved with more than usual care. In the second case many legal documents (as *gramoty*, agreements, etc.) were added *in extenso* in the Rus chronicle. This situation strongly suggests that we should not only analyse Rus chronicles as narrative sources, full of political events, but also as collections of legal interpretation and guidance, and propositions of solutions to legal issues, especially at the international level. In that sense, we should see in the Rus chronicles a collection of precedents not included in *Ruskaia pravda*. These precedents were kept for posterity as sources of law, as a kind of annex to *Ruskaia pravda*. From this point of view, they testify not only to the creation of law, but also to legal procedures and possible ways of reacting to them. If a Rus *kniaz'* (prince) served as the personification of the land he ruled, what were the precedents produced by such a ruler? He had the monopoly of the use of force and he could make the peace. He also possessed a monopoly over rule creation, dispute settlement, and enforcement. He possessed the instruments to sustain organisations (*e.g.*, church organisation). As illustrated by both the *Camblack documents* and *Kalisz agreements*, precedents may develop into rules, complementing the legal system. As for *gramoty*, charters, and other written sources, Rus chronicles also became accessible to anyone who could read.

The law in *letopisi* collates precedential norms with reference to relations between the princes of individual principalities, as well as to international relations, which in the Middle Ages were simply relations between monarchs. These further provisions took the form of tradition – knowledge was drawn from the *letopis'* about how a particular issue had been resolved in the past. In this case, we see the major authority. On the one hand, the source possessed its own authority; on the other hand, it also engaged the authority of the ancestor to whose decisions one could refer (in this case, one can even distinguish several princes who enjoyed special veneration among descendants, such as Vladimir the Great – the actual founder of the institutional state – alongside Yaroslav the Wise, Vladimir Monomakh, and – for the Romanovich line – Roman Mstislavovich). Precedential law, in contrast to codified ('normative') law, is more fluid and offers a broader scope for interpretation; it was therefore more suited to the level of international relations, where negotiation and compromise played an essential role. Moreover, in this approach to the relationship between monarchs, the implementation in Rus of the Byzantine concept of rulers as a family headed by the emperor may have played a role. However, it is also important to note that *Ruskaia pravda* itself was a general collection. As a result, the use

of precedent within the framework of possible legal interpretations, was also unavoidable in the law as it applied to individuals. This system, briefly described above, changed a little after the Mongol conquest of Rus, when the Rurikids became de facto *basqaq*s, the Mongol representatives.[57] At this point, another rung in the hierarchy of power appeared: the khan, by whose will (*yarlyk*) the princes exercised power in their own lands. One effect of this change was the intensive development of local law within individual principalities, as is evident from the second half of the thirteenth century.

Abstract

In medieval Rus there were two 'legal systems': codified law and further provisions found elsewhere. In the first case, the documents usually concern legally relevant matter, and embody a particular right or claim that has been preserved with more than usual care. In the second case many legal documents (as gramoty, agreements, etc.) were added in extenso in Rus chronicle. This situation strongly suggests that we should not only analyse Rus chronicles as narrative sources, full of political events, but also as collections of legal interpretation and guidance, and propositions of solutions to legal issues, especially on the international level. In that sense, we should see in the Rus chronicles a collection of precedents.

Keywords: Law, Middle Ages, Rus, letopisi, precedents, documents

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[57] A. Jusupović, *Basqaqs in Rus': Social Strategy of Power*, in: *Mongols and Central-Eastern Europe: Political, Economic, and Cultural Relations*, ed. A.V. Maiorov, R. Hautala, London-New York 2021, pp. 235-249.

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Michał Gniadek-Zieliński
University of Warsaw, Faculty of History
m.gniadek-zielinski@uw.edu.pl
https://orcid.org/0000-0001-6416-7916

"Primo tempore" – almost lost chronicle by bishop Eskil? The attempt of a new reading of the origins of Danish historiography[*]

It is agreed by the scholars that, as is the case with other countries of The Younger Europe (Norway, Poland, Bohemia, Hungary or Rus'), the origins of Danish historiography can be traced to the 12th c.[1] More precise dating of specific relics, as well as the chronology of their creation, remains the matter

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Which does not exclude some origins of historical writing as early as the 11th century (annals, hagiography of the vitae type). Cf. eg. L.B. Mortensen, *Sanctified Beginnings and Mythopietic Moments. The First Wave of Writing on the Past in Norway, Denmark and Hungary, s. 1100-1230*, in: *The Making of Christian Myths in the Periphery of Latin Christendom (c. 1100-1300)*, ed. idem, Copenhagen 2006, pp. 247-273. It is fascinating, moreover, that the first chronicles in Central Europe and Scandinavia were written during the so-called Renaissance of the 12th century, when a new type of historiography emerged - national chronicles, oriented towards presenting the sense of history of particular nations – cf. F. Grauss, *Lebendige Vergangenheit. Überlieferung im Mittelalter und den Vorstellungen vom Mittelalter*, Köln-Wien 1975, pp. 22-23; L.B. Mortensen, *Stylistic Choice in a Reborn Genre. The National Histories of Widukind of Corvey and Dudo of St. Quentin*, in: *Dudone di San Quintino. Sono qui raccolte le relazioni tenute dagli intervenuti al Convegno su Dudone di San Quintino, organizzato a Trento dal Dipartimento di scienze filologiche e storiche dell'Universita atesina il 5 e 6 maggio 1994*, ed. P. Gatti, A. Degl'Innocenti, "Labirinti" XVI (1996), pp. 79-87.

of dispute. In this paper, I will focus on the following: *Chronicon Roskildense*, *Chronicon Lethrense* and the chronicle of Svein Aggesen.[2]

In this paper, I would like to focus on the two anonymous chronicles mentioned above, offering a new way of dating and interpretation. I will begin by presenting previous research regarding these texts, adopting a position towards the most relevant theses and hypotheses, in order to later define the interrelationship of the two texts (or their surviving editions) and to determine their ideological meaning. All this will serve as an argument in supporting the hypothesis of the original identity of the two texts and the existence of a chronicle written probably in 1138 under the auspices of Eskil, Bishop of Roskilde, with the aim of giving voice to the dispute on the existence of an independent Scandinavian ecclesiastical province, and its most appropriate capital.

The Chronicon Roskildense (CR), which is unanimously regarded as the oldest Danish chronicle (more on this later), survived in three manuscripts, only one of which has a medieval origin. We are referring to the thirteenth-century Codex Kiloniensis (of unknown attribution), which is now stored in the University Library of Kiel, where it is stored under the reference SH 8, A8º. The contents of the chronicle are to be found on pages 49r-53v and are known as the K-redaction. This became the basis of the edition by Martin Cl. Gertz, on which I will essentially rely here, who, incidentally, is the author of the work's functioning title in scholarly discourse.

The second of the CR series contains a manuscript that came out of the hand of Franciscan Peter Olsen (c. 1490-c. 1570), belonging to his *Collectanea ad historiam danicam pertinentia* and is stored at The Arnamagnæan Institute in Copenhagen under the reference AM 107 8vo (chronicle on pages: 145r-159v). It is not known on which medieval manuscript the redaction of O was based, but given that Olsen at one time led the convent of the Friars Minor in Næstved on Zealand, Gertz hypothesises that it may have been the manuscript E 39, which belonged at the time to the library of the Benedictine monastery of St Peter's near the city,[3] and which burned in the Great Fire of Copenhagen in 1728.[4] However, since other parts of his Collection contain passages undoubtedly from the CR and differ from the O version, it is presumed that at least two versions of the text were known to the Fran-

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2   Latest editions in: *Scriptores Minores Historiae Danicae Medii Ævi*, ed. M.Cl. Gertz, vol. I, København 1917-1919, pp. 1-54, 94-141. I further use the abbr. CR (*Chronicon Roskildense*) and CL (*Chronicon Lethrense*) referring to the Gertz editions.

3   It was the oldest magnate foundation (1135) in Denmark, and took place with the institutional support of Bishop Eskil of Roskilde, who seems to have placed both spiritual and political hopes in it. – cf. T. Nyberg, *Monasticism in North-Western Europe, 800-1200,* Aldershot 2000, pp. 104-107.

4   [Introduction] CR, p. 11.

ciscan.[5] The lost manuscript was written at the turn of the 14th century, during the ministry of Abbot Jens (c. 1298-1309), or was brought by him from Lund, where Jens had previously held a parallel office.[6] Upon the questioned manuscript Stephan H. Stephansen (Stephanus J. Stephanius) relied entirely. He was a Danish historian in royal service who lived between 1599 and 1650, and who decided to transcribe the text known today as the S-redaction. It is stored in the University Library of Uppsala under signature DG 25-29. A modern manuscript copy of the same transcription is known to be stored in the Hamburg City Archives (61 fol. in catalgogue), functioning traditionally as a H-redaction.

The *Chronicon Lethrense* is much more enigmatic, although preserved (in parts) in three medieval manuscripts, as a fragment of the *Annales Lundenses* each, but it is unanimously considered as an independent work.[7] The title itself comes from Martin Cl. Gertz, who changed the original idea by the person who discovered a text,[8] Jørgen Olrik - *Krøniken om Lejrekongerne*.[9] The idea that the fragment known as CL is an interpolation (or a component of annals) is based on avery different style in which it was composed, compared to the rest of the annals.

The oldest of the codices preserved in CL dates from c. 1300 and is stored at The Arnamagnæan Institute in Copenhagen under the reference AM 843 4to (chronicle: fol. 5r-7v). It functions as an A-redaction and as such forms the basis of Gertz's most recent edition, which I use.[10] His predecessor, Georg Waitz, in his edition of the Annales Lundenses,[11] including the contents of the chronicle, relied on a manuscript datied to the end of the 13th cen-

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5 M.H. Gelting, *Chronicon Roskildense*, in: *Medieval Nordic Literature of Latin*, ed. S. Borgehammar et al. [= MNLL], https://wiki.uib.no/medieval/index.php/Chronicon_Roskildense#Title [access:10.05.2022].

6 A.K.G. Kristensen, *Danmarks ældste Annalistik. Studier over lundensisk Annalskrivning i 12. og 13. Århundrede*, "Skrifter udgivet af det Historiske Institut ved Københavns Universitet" III (1969), pp. 127-132.

7 Ibidem, p. 37; A.L. Knutsen, *Interessen for den danske fortid omkring 1300. En middelalderlig dansk nationalisme*, "Historisk Tidsskrift" C (2000) 1, p. 7; L.B. Mortensen, *De første krøniker - Roskildekrøniken og Lejrekrøniken*, in: V.A. Pedersen et al., *Dansk literaturs historie, t. 1: 1100-1800*, København 2007, p. 64; S.M. Andersen, *Chronicon Lethrense*, in: MNLL, https://wiki.uib.no/medieval/index.php/Chronicon_Lethrense#Editions [access: 11.05.2022].

8 I.e. the historian who first recognised it as an interpolation text for *the Annales Lundenses*.

9 J. Olrik, *Sagnkrøniken i Lundeårbøgerne*, "Historisk Tidsskrift", VII (1899-1900) 2, pp. 222-229.

10 CL, p. 39 [Introduction].

11 Cf. G. Waitz, *Die Quelle der Annales Esromenses, oder Annales Lundenses*, "Nordalbingische Studien. Neues Archiv der Schleswig-Holstein-Lauenburgischen Gesellschaft für vaterländische Geschichte" V (1850), pp. 1-55 (CL on pp. 21-27); *Annales Lundenses*, ed. idem, in: Monumenta Germaniae Historica. Scriptores (further: MGH SS) XXIX, Hannoverae 1892, pp. 185-209 (CL on pp. 192-195).

tury held in the University Library in Erfurt, under the reference CE 8° 23, which the Danish publisher was unable to include in his work due to the outbreak of the Great War.[12] A third manuscript containing the text (dated c. 1400), referred to as M-redaction, is also held at The Arnamagnæan Institute, under catalogue number AM 841 4to. According to Anne Kristensen, they all originate from Lund, but it is difficult to pinpoint their direct filiation.[13]

The CR text begins with the story of Klak-Harald's baptism[14] and the mission of St. Ansgar, and ends with the death of Archbishop Asser of Lund, the conflict over his inheritance and the final agreement between Bishop Eskil of Roskilde and Bishop Rikke of Schleswig. This is followed by the so-called "continuation", i.e. two additions, which probably came out of two hands and at different time. The first is a brief account of the events from the death of Erik III Lam in 1146 until the end of the civil wars in 1157; while the second (one-sentence) reports on the coronation of the sons of Valdemar the Great - Knut VI, and then Valdemar II.[15] The third interpolation seems also possible to exist. Michael H. Gelting speculated that this could be last sentences from what is considered the "original" text, which refers to the abovementioned agreement between the bishops[16] – more on this later. The CR can be characterised as a brief overview of the history of Christianity in Denmark, the periodisation of which was subordinated to the reigns of the subsequent Danish kings. The extensive (by the standards of this chronicle) passages on the bishopric of Roskilde reveal the most probable place of origin of the text - Roskilde.

CL is an entirely legendary tale that begins with the story of the founding of the kingdom of Denmark by Dan (the eponymous) and ends with the defeat of King Harald the War-Tooth at Braval and the subjugation

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12 CL, s. 39 [Introduction]. My work with this manuscript to date has not revealed the need for an improved Gertz edition.

13 A.K.G. Kristensen, *Danmarks ældste Annalistik…*, pp. 21-36.

14 The nickname does not appear in the story, but is later erroneously attributed to Harald Gormsson (who is, in fact, duplicated): „Iste Gorm pater Haraldi extitit […] Hic Christianus estitit, cognomine Blatan sive Clac Harald (CR 4, p. 17)".

15 Anne Kristensen has suggested that both additions must have been added as late as the 13th century, but this is difficult to prove (cf. A.K.G. Kristensen, *Danmarks ældste Annalistik…*, p. 124). The fact is, however, that the first interpolation is stylistically dependent on the Officium in honour of Knut Lavart, the terminus post quem for its composition being the canonisation of the saint, which took place in 1170, and for which the text was written. The second interpolation, on the other hand, does not mention the death of Valdemar II, so it was probably added before 1241.

16 M.H. Gelting, *Da Eskil ville være ærkebiskop af Roskilde. Roskildekrøniken, Liber daticus Lundensis og det danske ærkesædes ophævelse 1133–1138*, in: *Ett annat 1100-tal. Individ, kollektiv och kulturella mönster i medeltidens Danmark*, ed. P. Carelli, L. Hermanson, H. Sanders, Göteborg-Stockholm 2004, p. 220.

of Denmark by the Swedish King Ring. The author does not present a particularly elaborate plot, although his tale goes considerably beyond what we might describe as a catalogue of kings.[17] There are several legends in the narrative on the origin of the local names (Roskilde, Skuldalev, Thorhø, Læsø and Hedeby), but CL is not just a collection of such stories - rather a compact narrative about the earliest history of the Danish kings, which is set in Roman and biblical tradition.

Two Chronicles Or… One? Previous Research On "Chronicon Roskildense" And "Chronicon Lethrense"

The origins of modern research on both texts date back to the late 19th c. and are closely linked to the Olrik brothers - Axel, Hans and (above all) Jørgen. While the first focused on the study of Danish legends (also present in the medieval chronicles), his brothers undertook pioneering research on the oldest Danish historiography. As I mentioned above, it was Jørgen Olrik who "discovered" CL in the Annales Lundenses, and defined CR as the oldest Danish chronicle and associated to Roskilde.[18] The study initiated by him was continued by Martin Cl. Gertz by undertaking first modern editions of both texts. He agreed with both the thesis of the CR's seniority and the possible origin of the CL as a legendary introduction to the older CR. Both scholars dated the CR to the late 30s or early 40s of the12[th] c. (referring to the last events mentioned in the main body of the text), while the CL to the 70s of 12th c., arguing (quite wrongly) that the text was overtly anti-German, and that the peak of anti-German feeling in Denmark was supposed to have occurred as a consequence of the conflict between Valdemar the Great and Emperor Frederick Barbarossa, who was seeking to conquer Denmark.[19] This dating, however, is highly debatable, as this kind of sentiment was not exclusive to one generation, but is certainly an immanent feature of all conflicts with the southern neighbour that took place in the Middle Ages.[20]

he next significant research on the texts took place in the interwar period and was related, on the one hand, to the edition of Annales Lundenses prepared by Ellen Jørgensen, who tried to clearly define the scope of the interpolated CL,[21] and on the other hand, to Lauritz Weibull's

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17   It is at the end of the 12th century that the first catalogues of the Danish kings are written, by Swein Aggesen (lost) and William of Æbelholt.

18   Cf. *Den ældste Danmarkskrønike (Roskildekrøniken)*, transl. J. Olrik, København 1898; idem, *Sagnkrøniken i Lundeårbøgerne…*

19   J. Olrik, *Sagnkrøniken…*, p. 228; [Introduction] CL, p. 36.

20   A.L. Knutsen, *Interessen…*, pp. 6-7.

21   Cf. *Annales Danici medii ævi*, ed. E. Jørgensen, København 1920, p. 51 (problematic sentence: "Hic transit imperium Romanorum ad reges Francie").

research on the oldest Danish chronicles.[22] The most important of Weibull's theses was the recognition of CR as a cannon inspired by Eskil in the time when he held the office of the Bishop of Roskilde. According to the Swedish scholar, the chronicle was intended to present his reformist (Gregorian) views on the relationship between the Church and royal authority, the reading of the chronicle that was based on the long-standing dispute Eskil later had with King Valdemar the Great.[23] Ellen Jørgensen has also commented on CR, based on the content of chapters 1-9 coming to the conviction that the oldest Danish chronicle was simply built on quotations from the Adam of Bremen's Chronicle.[24]

A fundamental criticism of Weibull's thesis was not made until the late 70s and early 80s of the 20th c., thanks to Carsten Breengaard and Michael H. Gelting, the most prominent CR expert today. The scholars have rightly pointed out that the chronicler did not present any clear position on the relationship between the *regnum* and the *sacerdotium*, much less one in which the ecclesiastical community would have fought for some kind of emancipation from the power of the laity, whereas he had, for example, no problem with granting of episcopal investiture by the Danish kings.[25] Breengaard considered the CR to be the product of the aspirations of the local church community in Roskilde,[26] while Gelting did not completely reject the chronicler's connection with Bishop Eskil, emphasising that the finding of the chronicle text in Lund must have taken place with the bishop's consent, or even inspiration, when he was appointed to the dignity of Archbishop of Lund.[27] This latter suggestion was based on the research of Anne Kristensen, who in her study on the Middle Ages Danish annals convincingly pointed 1138 as the date of the CR's writing, noting the reception of the text in the content of the *Annales Colbazen-*

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22 At the same time, research on the Gesta Danorum was being carried out by his brother, Curt Weibull, who, still during the Great War, published the landmark work entitled *Saxo. Kritiska undersökningar i Danmarks historia från Sven Estridsens död till Knut VI*, "Historisk tidskrift för Skåneland" VI [København] (1915), in which he broke with the positivist reading of the contents of Saxo's Chronicle.

23 L. Weibul, *Nekrologerne fråm Lund, Roskildenkrönikn och Saxo*, "Scandia. Tidskrift för historisk forskning" I (1928), pp. 84-112. Cf. also: H. Koch, *Danmarks kirke i den begyndende højmiddelalder*, vol. I, København 1936, pp. 18-36; A.K.G. Kristensen, *Danmarks ældste Annalistik…*, pp. 40-41.

24 E. Jørgensen, *Historieforskning og historieskrivning i Danmark indtil aar 1800*, København 1931, p. 25.

25 *Roskildekrøniken*, transl. & ed. M.H. Gelting, Højbjerg 1979, pp. 60-62, 69-74; C. Breengaard, *Muren om Israels hus. Regnum og sacerdotium i Danmark 1050–1170*, København 1982, pp. 71-72. Cf. also: J. Dissing, *'Augustinsk' terminologi i danske kilder til den begyndende højmiddelalder*, "Kirkehistoriske samlinger" (1975), p. 15.

26 C. Breengaard, *Muren…*, pp. 71-72.

27 *Roskildekrøniken…*, pp. 60-62, 69-74. Cf. also below (his more recent work).

ses.[28] She also suggested that the appearance of the CR in Lund may have been linked to Eskil's bringing the chronicle to Lund, which must probably have taken place with his arrival for the ingress to Lund Cathedral in 1138.[29]

In 1996, at the University of Copenhagen, Lars Hemmingsen defended an interesting PhD thesis on the Danish legendary tradition. Basing on the work of Niels Lukman, who presented a comparative research showing that much of the Saxo Grammaticus story was a continental import, he attempted to supplement his predecessor's research with themes appearing in earlier historiography - in CR and CL.[30] In doing so, Hemmingsen put forward an assumption as to the author of CR, stating that it was Herman, a Benedictine monk whom Eskil had met during his studies at Hildesheim, and whom he had invited to Denmark years later and sent to Rome in 1137 (perhaps early 1138) for a pallium and permission to re-establish the independence of the Danish ecclesiastical province.[31] Unfortunately, this assumption is not supported by any source analysis.[32] Hemmingsen also referred to Ellen Jørgensen's opinion, cited above, about the epigonic character of CR in relation to the Adam's of Bremen Chronicle. He has rightly pointed out that the CR author's frequent and symptomatic reworking of Adam's text serve as a proof not only for his independence, but also to his attempt to write a chronicle in counterpoint to Adam's work - as an objection to the subordination of the Danish Church to Archbishopric of Hamburg-Bremen.[33]

Hemmingsen has also presented a completely new way of reading the CL, as a text written around 1200 and commissioned by Absalon, the Archbishop of Lund, who belonged to the powerful Zealandic family of Hvide - which would explain its Zealandian-centric orientation. This is supposedly evidenced by the nickname of one of the chronicle's protagonists and King Halfdan's son Sivard - 'White' which coincides with the name of Absalon's family (*hvide* is Danish for 'white').[34] In doing so,

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28 The *Annales* came to the Pomeranian Kołbacz (Cistercian monastery) from Lund - cf. A.K.G. Kristensen, *Danmarks ældste Annalistik…*, pp. 37-61.

29 Ibidem, pp. 39-41. More on other, otherwise unconvincing, concepts cf. M.H. Gelting, *Chronicon Roskildense…*

30 L. Hemmingsen, *By Word of Mouth. The Origins of Danish Legendary History. Studies in European Learned and Popular Traditions of Dacians and Danes before A.D. 1200*, PhD thesis, Copenhagen 1996. The author makes only limited comments on the work of Swein Aggesen.

31 Ibidem, pp. 218-221.

32 It is based only on the assumption that the chronicle expresses such a strong position in support of the independence of the Danish Church that the arguments presented in Rome by Herman must have been similar, or even identical - ergo, coming from the same man…

33 L. Hemmingsen, *By Word…*, pp. 221-261 - For more on this, otherwise correct, conclusion by the scholar - cf. below.

34 Ibidem, p. 445.

Hemmingsen completely ignores the fact that this nickname appears only in Latin (*albus*)[35] and is extremely popular, while Sivard himself is a completely marginal character to whom the chronicler has not assigned any action.[36] On the basis of this wrong assumption, the scholar concluded that it was one of the representatives of the Hvide family taking part in the Danish-Norwegian expedition to the Holy Land as a part of the Third Crusade who was supposed to bring news of the history of the People's Wanderings to Denmark.[37] Written around 1200, that is, shortly after the (unsuccessful) expedition, the historiographical work *De profectione Danorum in Hierosolymam* mentions as many as three representatives of the Hvide family taking part in the crusade, Aggie, Peter and Alexander, and tells us that some of the expedition's participants returned home via Rome, while others via Constantinople. The source does not specify who took which route.[38] Hemmingsen, therefore, implies that this alleged representative of Hvide family studied Byzantine and Rus' (sic!) historiography during his stay in Constantinople and (here presumably) Kiev,[39] and had some general ideas about the English tradition as a result of his contact with clerics of Anglo-Saxon origin in Denmark.[40] All this, according to Hemmingsen, was to develop into a historiographical idea, the aim of which was to build an elaborate tradition around Hvide family, and the fruit of which was

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35 CL 4, p. 47.

36 Of course, this can be blamed on the quality of the transmission of the text, but when analysing the extant text, it is really difficult to find where the plot dedicated to Sivard could be found. It is also difficult to see that the interpolator of the text into the *Annales Lundenses* had any particular reason to eliminate this plot without eliminating the character himself from the narrative.

37 They inspired the Danish legends recorded in the CL

38 L. Hemmingsen, *By Word…*, pp. 464-465. Cf. *De profectione Danorum in Hierosolymam*, ed. M.Cl. Gertz, SMHD II, København 1917, cap. 25-27, pp. 489-491. Cf. more aobout the source: A.O. Johnsen, *Ny tolkning av 'Historia de Profectione Danorum in Hierosolymam'*, in: *Från medeltid till välfärdssamhälle. Nordiska historikermötet i Uppsala 1974,* Stockholm 1976, pp. 507-527; K. Skovgaard-Petersen, *Korstogstematik i Historia de Profectione Danorum in Hierosolymam*, in: *Olavslegenden og den latinske historieskrivning i 1100-tallets Norge*, ed. I. Ekrem, L.B. Mortensen, I. Skovgaard-Petersen, København 2000, pp. 281-302; eadem, *A Journey to the Promised Land…*; A.L. Bysted, *Historia de Profectione Danorum in Hierosolymam: A Journey to the Lost Jerusalem*, in: *Tracing the Jerusalem Code*, vol. I: *The Holy City Christian Cultures in Medieval Scandinavia (ca. 1100–1536)*, ed. K.B. Aavitsland, L.M. Bondes, Berlin-Boston 2021, pp. 132-139.

39 And all this despite the fact that the source does not mention the Crusaders' journey through Rus' at all, clearly indicating that they reached their homes via Hungary and Saxony, which vividly rules out their appearance in Rus': „His ergo per oscula salutatis Greciam post terga reliquunt et Ungariam celcant; ubi nihilo minus a rege et principibus honeste suscepti ad australem Saxoniam transducuntur, ut pede iam inoffenso revertantur in regionem suam (De profectione 27, pp. 491-492)".

40 L. Hemmingsen, *By Word…*, pp. 393, 465.

the creation of CL. However, it is difficult to take seriously such a layered hypothesis based on such flimsy premises.

Michael H. Gelting's subsequent research on the CR, which he already published in the 21st c.,[41] proved to be extremely interesting. Developing Hemmingsen's intuitions about the reworking of the content of Adam of Bremen's work, he came to the conclusion that the chronicle was written in the context of an attempt to make the Danish church dependent on Hamburg-Bremen, and thus, after Asser's death and before Eskil's ingress to the Lund cathedral. In this context, it may have been an expression of Eskil's aspirations not only for the office of archbishop, but also for the transfer of this dignity to Roskilde, whose ecclesiastical milieu held some resentment towards Lund for gaining a higher canonical status.[42] I find the scholar's argumentation plausible, and, therefore, accept and develop his proposed interpretation later in this paper.

Of contemporary scholars, it is still worth citing the position of Lars Boje Mortensen, who agrees with Gelting's conception regarding the dating and ideological significance of the CR, while at the same time advocates the traditional dating of the CL. In doing so, the scholar described the CL as a disordered blend of Zealandic local legends,[43] which I absolutely cannot agree with. Attempts to take a new look at the CL were also made a few years ago by Niels Lindow, who concluded that the correct text of the CL is contained in the A-redaction (i.e. AM 843 4to), which is a fragment of most of the lost oldest Danish chronicle, which is supposed to have been written in the early days of the reign of King Erik II Emune (c. 1135) and covers the years from the settlement of Denmark to the overthrowing of King Niels and the enthronement of Erik. This work, which he called *Primo tempore-krøniken* from the first words, the author of CR relied upon in composing parts of his work.[44] Lindow based his thesis on the analysis of the style of the text considered to be CL and the parts of the A-redaction dating back to the death of Knut Lavard, finding significant similarities there, while at the same time clear differences from the other parts of the *Annales Lundenses*, the sources of which can be identified with more

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41 M.H. Gelting, *Da Eskil…*, pp. 181-229; idem, *Two Early Twelfth-Century Views of Denmark's Christian Past. Ailnoth and the Anonymous of Roskilde*, in: *Historical Narratives and Christian Identity on a European Periphery. Early History Writing in Northern, East-Central, and Eastern Europe (c. 1070-1200)*, ed. I.H. Garipzanov, Turnhout 2011 (= Medieval Texts and Cultures of Northern Europe XXVI), pp. 383-56; idem, *Chronicon Roskildense…*

42 M.H. Gelting, *Da Eskil…*, pp. 181-229.

43 L.B. Mortensen, *De første krøniker…*, pp. 64-65.

44 In this way, Lindow takes a stand regarding the linguistic similarities between CR and CL, which I write about further on.

or less clearly.[45] However, this interpretation, as one of many possible in a discussion based solely on stylistic matters, has one fundamental flaw. Namely, Lindow failed to focus on the content of the text itself and did not present any possible reason for the composition of the alleged chronicle. Because of this, his conclusions do not convince me, and I present a different way of interpretation below.

Two very original theses regarding the two texts emerged in the 60s and 70s - and both did not resonate more widely in historiography. Helge Toldberg dated CL to the 11th century, and, more specifically to the reign of Knut the Great. However, he had an unconvincing argument for this thesis, suggesting on the one hand that there was rivalry between the king and the empire (regarding CL's alleged anti-German attitude), and on the other an alleged influence of the Anglo-Saxon tradition on the Danish text.[46] Far more interesting, however, is the claim made by of Helge Søgaard, who, not much later, came to the conclusion that CR and CL originally constituted a single work which, through adversity probably resulting from lack of interest in its ideological meaning, was later used only in parts, two of which, independently, have survived to the present day.[47] The researcher seems convinced that the original text should be called the Chronicle of Eskil (*Eskilskrøniken*), and even if it was not written by the bishop himself, it was definitely written under his inspiration, to express his aspirations.[48] This hypothesis forms the starting point for my analysis. Further in this paper, I will present new arguments supporting it, so far absent from the discussion of the connections between CR and CL.

Linguistic Similarities Between Chronicles

Gertz pointed out for the important similarities between CR and CL in the linguistic layer. The scholar contrasted the fragments of the description of the reigns of Eric I (cap. 12) and Eric II (cap. 14; 18) in CR and the description of King Snyo from CL (cap. 5-6). I list these fragments in the table:

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45 N. Lindow, *Primo tempore-krøniken. En meget gammel danmarkshistorie*, "Historisk Tidsskrift" CXVI (2016) 1, pp. 1-30.

46 H. Toldberg, *Stammer Lejrekrøniken fra Jakob Erlandsøns, Valdemarernes eller Knud den stores tid?*, "Arkiv för nordisk filologi" LXXVII (1963), pp. 195-240. Most of the elements of his attempt to reevaluate in the field not only the dating of the monument itself, but also the beginning of Danish historiography, are simply frivolous. A complex polemic against his position was undertaken by Helge Søgaard - cf. idem, *Om forholdet mellem Roskildekrøniken og Lejrekrøniken*, "Historie/Jyske Samlinger" VIII (1970), pp. 152-157.

47 H. Søgaard, *Om forholdet mellem Roskildekrøniken…*, pp. 160-161.

48 Ibidem, pp. 160-167.

CR	CL
cap. 12: multas iniquas et iniustus leges adinvenit	cap. 5: multas iniquas leges et iniustas instituit
cap. 14: vir flagiciosus, furore et mendacio repletus	cap. 5: esto ibi rex robustus et furore flagiciosus
cap. 18: superbus, elatus et in malicia potens per omnia terribilis more fulminis incessit; flentibus, si quid videbantur habere, abstulit, habentibus et male ridentibus sparsit	cap. 6: superbus et iniquus, elatus et in malicia nimis potens, per omnia terribilis, more fulminis incedens; flentibus, si quid videbantur habere, abstulit, habentibus et male ridentibus sparsit[49]

Further similarities were found in both texts by Helge Søgaard:

CR	CL
cap. 9: non inmemor pacti	cap. 4: facti prioris inmemor
cap. 10: in regnum levatus est	cap. 9: in regnum levatur
cap. 7: Cuius corpus a fidelibus Throndemis humatur	cap. 4: et in insula humata est
cap. 16: Post quem Ruco constituitur	cap. 5: Quibus constituit regem
cap. 14: navali bello	cap. 4: navali bello[50]

However, it is difficult not to agree with Niels Lindow that they do not have the same weight as Gertz's excerpts.[51] In the opinion of the Danish philologist, the words 'ut memores Dani sint imperii tui per evum'[52], which appear in Athisl's speech to Snya (CL), should also be associated with the epithet Memorable (Emune), which is traditionally associated with Eric II and which has unambiguously pejorative connotations.[53] According to the scholar, all these correlations prove both the author's belonging to the Roskilde chapter and to his being inspired by the CR written there.[54] The Danish philologist thus clarified assumptions made earlier by Jørgen Olrik, who also stated that the CL devoted to pagan history was written as a prelude to the already existing CR that did not include Danish history before baptism, which was to arouse the author's resistance from the next generation of church intellectuals - among whom he also mentioned Swein Aggesen and Saxo Grammaticus.[55]

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49 CL, p. 36 [Introduction].
50 H. Søgaard, *Om forholdet mellem Roskildekrøniken…*, p. 166.
51 N. Lindow, *Primo tempore-krøniken…*, p. 27.
52 CL 5, p. 50.
53 CL, s. 36 [Introduction].
54 Ibidem.
55 J. Olrik, *Sagnkrøniken…*, p. 226-227.

Another way of interpretation was presented by Søgaard, on he ground of syntactic similarities quoted above defending his opinion that the two texts were primarily identical. He states that for the 12th c. reality writing a chronicle *ab ovo* till the most recent years is nothing extraordinary. Similar way of thinking is shared by Swien and Saxon in the Danish context.

Narrative Structures And Ideological Meaning

The last statement is nowhere near the popular thesis by Lars Boje Mortensen, who, considering Norwegian and Central European contexts, stated that on the periphery of Latin Europe it was a common phenomenon that pre-Christian and legendary stories appeared together with the second wave of native historiography, when Christian stories were already written down.[56] In accordance with this view, the researcher favoured Olrik and Gertz's opinion that CL was written later than CR,which explains the existing linguistic similarities. This researcher, however, thinks of CR and CL in terms of 12th century "national chronicles", ignoring the fact that CR, while drawing stylistically from the work of Adam of Bremen, also imports his optics to some extent, which brings it closer to episcopal chronicles. It goes beyond the framework of this genre,[57] but to a significant extent fits in. It is in this spirit as the way of reading the stories that appear in the chronicles and, in consequence, of the idea of the text.

Jørgen Olrik found that the 'spirit' of the two texts is quite different. While one chronicle is devoted to the history of the Church in Denmark and begins with baptising of Klak-Harald, as if intentionally silent on earlier pagan history, the second focuses exclusively on them without negatively referring to them.[58] The scholar seemes not to notice that the Danish *origo* was chronologically set by the author of CL in a biblical context, the very moment of baptising the Danes was pre-planned by God, and the opinions on individual kings also bear all the hallmarks purely Christian morality. All this means that there is absolutely no narratological argument that would prevent the two texts from being connected. On the contrary, the analysis of the content suggests their close relationship.

As I mentioned, the author of CR begins his work with the story of the baptism of Klak-Harald (826) and the mission of St. Ansgar, before moving on to the building of the first church in Schleswig, and then the changing status of Christianity in Denmark up to the reign of Harald Bluetooth, who is presented as the proper Christianiser of the kingdom and founder

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56   L.B. Mortensen, *Sanctified Beginnings…*, pp. 259-260; idem, *De første krøniker…*, pp. 65-66.
57   See above.
58   J. Olrik, *Sagnkrøniken…*, p. 227.

of the Danish bishoprics. Meanwhile, the chronicler interjected an extensive paragraph about the incursions of the army of Ivar the Boneless, son of Ragnar Lodbrok, on the western kingdoms, in which the Danish kings were to support him. This was followed by a description of the reign of the sons of Swein Estrydsen, where a special passage was given to the description of the reign and martyrdom of Knut IV, and the turbulent fate of the Gregorian reform during the reign of Niels. This was followed by a description of the assassination of Knut Lavard and the civil war that unravelled with his death, with clear affection for the prince's assassin, Magnus Nilsson - and this was despite the clear indication that his father, in the course of that war, had sacked Roskilde, which was the home of the rebels, led by the later king, Eric II. Finally, the bitter triumph of Erik II, his death and the brief reign of Erik III and the aforementioned conflict over the archbishop's throne in Lund (1137-1138) are discussed.[59] Meanwhile, the chronicler introduces brief information about the Zealandic church into the story. For the first time when discussing the reign of Swein Estrydssen, where a more extensive account of donations to him, building work and episcopal foundations during the pontificates of bishops William and Swein is introduced,[60] and for the second time when discussing the results of the Gregorian reform in Denmark.

The theme of the work is thus the history of Christianity in Denmark, while at the same time very clearly emphasising the position and importance of Roskilde itself, and the Church there. The chronicler makes two interesting remarks about this centre, that is, that it had been the capital of the kingdom since the time of Gorm, and that in the local cathedral lie the mortal remains of his son Harald (Bluetooth), who is portrayed in the text as the one who christened the state (the founder of the church administration![61]) and is compared

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59   At this point, the original narrative breaks off, while the continuator adds information about the abdication and ascension to the monastery of King Erik III, and later the divisions of the kingdom and the wars fought between Swein III, Knut V and Waldemar the Great, together with information about the end of the conflict and a brief laudation for Waldemar, his continuator, in turn, adds further brief information about two successors of Waldemar, his sons.

60   There are arguments in favour the thesis that Swein Estrydssen's original actions for the foundation of the archbishopric in Denmark were specifically about Roskilde, which explains the building momentum and the explicit emphasis on it in the CR. Cf. for more on this – I. Skovgaard-Petersen, *'Lund og Roskilde', Gåvobrevet 1085*, in: *Föredrag och diskussioner vid Symposium kring Knut den heliges gåvobrev 1085 och den tidiga medeltidens nordiska samhälle*, ed. S. Skansjö, H. Sundström, Lund 1988, pp. 82-84.

61   Although the symbolic moment of the baptism of Denmark is the baptism of Klak-Harald, which opens the content of the chronicle. Haralds in general are multiplied in the CR. In addition to the king of this name baptised by Louis the Saint and Harald Gormsson, who led to the creation of the Danish church organisation, there is another figure of this name who links the two rulers to some extent. We are referring to Harald, who "christianus extitit, cognomine

to the biblical King David.[62] Together with descriptions of the material magnificence of the local cathedral and episcopal foundations, this is, I believe, to attest to Roskilde's unique position in Denmark as a whole. Symptomatic, moreover, is the there is no passage on other bishoprics, as well as laconic attitude towards the figure of St Knut the King, especially in terms of his significance for the history of Christianity in Denmark. The reason for this seems to be the saint's patronising of a rival episcopal centre, Odense.[63] Unfortunately, Roskilde could not boast a local patron with a symbolic impact comparable to St. Knut, so it may have been necessary to marginalise this figure for the Danish Church as a whole. It should also be added that the (presumably Anglo-Saxon) story of Ivar Ragnarsson's incursions differs thematically from the rest of the text. It is difficult not to get the impression that this paragraph appeared in CR to clearly emphasise Denmark's former regional power and international importance. If the work was largely produced for export, which I am inclined to believe it was, then nothing could attest to this better than to emphasise the Danes' participation in the Viking invasions, which are strongly present in the memory of Continent.

All this, combined with the clearly intentional alterations to the text of the Adam of Bremen chronicle, the purpose of which - as Hemmingsen and Gelting rightly point out - was certainly to marginalise the significance of the Archbishopric of Hamburg-Bremen for the history of Christianity

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Blatan sive Clac Harald" (CR 4, p. 17). It is possible that this is a certain play with the reader, as all three are very important in the chronicle's narrative from the perspective of the history of the new faith in Denmark, the first starts the process of Christianisation, the second sustains it, the third finally crowns it with the building of the first bishoprics.

62   CR 6, p. 19. The story in which this comparison falls concerns Swein Forkbeard's rebellion against his father and is a loose parallel to the text of Adam of Bremen: "Et quasi alter David procedens ad bellum filium lugebat Absalon, magis dolens [Harald] illius [Swein's] scelus quam sua pericula" (Adam von Bremen, *Hamburgische Kirchengeschichte*, ed. B. Schmeidler, Monumenta Germaniae Historica. Scriptores rerum Germanicarum in usum scholarum II, Hannover-Leipzig 1917, lib. II, cap. 27, p. 87). However, the author of CR did not emphasise (probably intentionally) what the similarity between Harald and David was based on - as the author of his source did. It seems that for him the most important was that David simply appeared, without particularly developing the plot. Of far less importance than the introduction of a moral doctrine was the mere hinting of a parallel and showing that Harald is similar to David, and that Danish history is therefore to some extent a reflection of biblical history. Cf. for more on the familiarity of the Chronicle of Adam in Scandinavia: A.K.G. Kristensen, *Studien zur Adam von Bremen Überlieferung. Die Wiener Handschrift, Erstredaktion oder später verkürzte Fassung? Eine Huitfeldt-Abschrift der Soröer Handschrift*, København 1975.

63   More about Knut and cult of him cf. e.g. *Knuds-bogen 1986. Studier over Knud den Hellige*, ed. T.S. Nyberg, H. Bekker-Nielsen, N. Oxenvad, Odense 1986; *Life and Cult of Cnut the Holy. The First Royal Saint of Denmark. Report from an Interdisciplinary Research Seminar in Odense. November 6th to 7th 2017*, ed. S. Hope, M.M. Bjerregaard, A. Hedeager Krag, M. Runge, Odense 2019 (= Archaeological and Historical Studies in Centrality IV).

in Denmark,[64] suggests the emergence of the text as a voice in the debate over the independence of the Scandinavian ecclesiastical province.

How does CL's way of reporting the events relate to this? It opens with the peculiar birth of Denmark, and the first sentence sets it precisely in time: "[1.] Primo tempore [2.] inuadente Daciam Imperatore [3.] in etate David".[65] The first and third elements unequivocally refer to biblical tradition, the second to Roman tradition. Significantly, the phrase *primo tempore* appears in the Vulgate - and only once, but in a very specific fragment (Is 9, 1-2),[66] which exegetes read (following Mt 4, 12-17) as foreshadowing of Christ's of teaching in Galilee, and more broadly a foreshadowing of the conversion of pagans, to which I think the Danish chronicler may refer Such interpretation is supported by the introduction of an incongruous - to the supposedly ancient legend of the origins of the state - interjection about the conversion of the Danes as a result of the country's subordination to Louis the Pious, who - however CL has extremely liberating overtones (about which later) - is presented as a salvific event for the state.[67] In the CL narrative, Denmark's origins are embedded in Salvation History and the time of the state's conversion fixed by God himself (it occurred neither too early nor, more importantly, too late). As is the case in CR the motif of Klak-Harald's baptising presented as the moment of the baptising the whole of Denmark is clearly exaggerated.[68]

The second of the elements bringing the Danish story' to the biblical history is equally significant. David may not have been the first king of Israel, but he was - at least that is what a reading of the Bible and the tradition based on him suggest It is him who is portrayed as the true builder of the state and its power - moreover, the ideal king, and, therefore, the role model, which was later used in the Middle Ages by all those who, in the spirit of Christianity, will construct didactic narratives for their rulers, which stories aimed mainly at presenting the ideal of governance to be pursued.[69]

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64   Where Adam writes about the continuing efforts of the archbishops of Hamburg-Bremen in the Christianisation of Denmark, there the author CR describes the reign of the already Christian Danish kings.

65   CL 1, p. 43.

66   In the Vulgate: "Primo tempore alleviata est terra Zabulon et terra Nephthali: et novissimo aggravata est via maris trans Jordanem Galilaeæ gentium. Populus qui ambulabat in tenebris, vidit lucem magnam; habitantibus in regione umbrae mortis, lux orta est eis".

67   CL 1, p. 44: "Attestatur equidem nobis antiquorum memoria, predictas partes istas, Juciam, Feoniam, Scaniam et Withesleth, a nullo extitisse subiectas, excepto tantum Lodowico, cuius pace et beniuolencia baptizato Haroldo rege apud Magunciam Dani christianitatem receperunt".

68   CR 1; CL 1.

69   It also appears as such in the Norwegian *Konungs skuggsjá*, the oldest surviving example for Scandinavia (c. 1250) of a genre popular since Carolingian times known as *speculum regale*. Cf. [Konungs skuggsjá] *Speculum Regale. Ein Altnorwegischer Dialog nach Cod. Arnamagn. 243 Fol.*

I do not think that the chronicler's intention was to point the trivial fact that Danish state is as old as Israel, but to compare the two builders of the magnificent kingdoms of David and Dan, which in symbolic terms amounts to their chronological similarity.[70] I take this to mean that, not only from the point of view of the modern scholar, but also from that of the reader of the Bible, the third dating element, namely the emperor's invasion of Dacia, is completely at odds with the dating of the Danish beginnings to the time of David. However, it does not appear here by accident - the essence of the message is to identify the symbolic beginnings of the community, not its strict chronology.

From one of CL's sentences, we learn that the emperor who invaded Denmark was 'Augustus primus Cesar'[71] - and thus, undoubtedly, Octavian, who did not have the reputation of an outstanding leader at the time.[72] The implementation of this element seems to have a twofold significance. Firstly - it introduces Danish history, through Rome, into Evangelical connotations. The phrase used resembles the one by the Evangelist (Luke 2, 1) for the dating of Christ's birth. The birth of Denmark thus coincides with the blessed time of Christ's birth, being a period of peace - the *pax Augusta*. In other Nordic sources from the 12th-13th centuries[73], the figure of the Danish king Froði, during whose reign a great peace

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B und den ältesten Fragmenten, ed. A. Brenner, München 1881, cap. 48, 57, 61. The text has survived to the present day in a vernacular version, but the surviving Latin fragments indicate that we are dealing with a translation – cf. G. Storm, *Brudstykke af en latinsk Oversættelse af Kongespeilet fra 14de Aarhundre*, "Arkiv for nordisk Filologi" I (1883), pp. 110-112. Cf. about Dawid in this text: J. Ø. Sunde, *The Virtues Building Jerusalem. The Four Daughters of God and Their Long Journey to Norwegian Law in the Thirteenth Century*, in: *Tracing the Jerusalem Code…*, pp. 501-505. More about text: S. Bagge, *The Political Thought of the King's Mirror*, Odense 1987; idem, *Nature and Society in The King's Mirro*r, "Arkiv för nordisk Filologi" CIX (1994), pp. 5-42.

70   Creation in the type of *pater patrie* is quite specifically emphasised by the comparison of Dan to God the Father in Genesis (1, 4 f.). Dan is thus likened to God in the act of creation, while the kingdom of Dan constitutes a microcosm.

71   CL 1, pp. 44-45: "Erat igitur Jucia, quia periculis proxima, quodam lignorum fragore munita, ubi nunc est Danaewirchi, pre insidijs Augusti primi Cesaris; ad quem ipse Augustus collecta multitudine primo constituebat prelia. Quibus resistentes Jutones Dan, principi Withesleth, nunciauerunt, ut eis veniret in adiutorium. Quo nuncio Dan magno repletus gaudio suos conuocans exercitus sine mora procedebat ad prelium. Cumque Dan venisset ad fragorem, Jutones cum eo castra sua mouebant ad Cesarem et cum eo graue prelium commiserunt; quo plerosque eius in ore gladij deiecerunt, ceteros autem fugauerunt".

72   Not some German - as the older historiography following Gertz's suggestion wanted.

73   *Danasaga Arngríms lærða*, in: *Danakonunga sǫgur: Skjǫldunga saga, Knýtlinga saga, Ágrip af sǫgu danakonunga*, ed. B. Guðnason, Íslenzk Fornrit XXXV, Reykjavík 1982, cap. 3, p. 6; *Grottasǫngr*, in: *Eddukvæði*, ed. J. Kristjánsson, V. Ólason, vol. II, Íslenzk Fórnrit, Reykjavík 2014, prose, p. 431; Snorri Sturluson, *Edda. Skáldskaparmál*, ed. A. Fulkes, t. 1, London 2006, v. 43, pp. 51-52; Saxo Gammaticus, *Gesta Danorum (= The History of the Danes)*, ed. K. Friis-Jensen, transl. P. Fisher,

was to take place, appears for the Christ's birth time. That is, a similar sense of the intertwining of the birth of Denmark with the birth of Christ in CL. The second meaning is, of course, the implementation of Danish history into Roman history. As we learn later in the CL narrative, the birth of Denmark is the result of a victorious war against the mentioned Roman emperor who invaded Jutland. For the Danes turn out to be more powerful than the Roman legions.[74] There is undoubtedly a certain complex which may be noticed in this reasoning, and, therefore, a certain amount of understanding. The Danes were not placed outside the Roman limes because they did not enjoy Rome's interest, but because they were so determined to fight for their freedom, so they are equal in their greatness to other peoples who grew out of the Roman tradition and could trace their roots back to the Tiber. In almost identical way, the "ancient beginnings" of Polish history were depicted in his work by Vincentius Kadłubek, where Poles crushed the army of Alexander the Great, preserving their freedom and establishing a community.[75]

The further part of CL's first sentence seems interesting, too. Namely, the author writes that his homeland is called 'Dania vel Dacia',[76] and both names are consistently used interchangeably. What is more, they appear in the chronicle as endoethnonyms, which is unambiguously underlined by the story of the naming of the Danus' kingdom, to whom the people supposed were to speak: "Tu es rex Danus: regio tua Dania vel Dacia vocabitur; quod nomen in eternum non delebitur".[77] In using this measure, the chronicler emphasised that by no means did he associate the Danes with the Dacians described by the Romans, but that it was the Romans who adopted their own name used by the community described by him, which they were very interested in and unsuccessfully attempted to conquer.[78]

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vol. I, Oxford 2015 [= Saxo], lib. V, cap. 15.3, p. 352. Cf. also: N. Lukman, *Frode Fredegod - den gotiske Fravita*, København 1981.

74   CL 1, pp. 44-45.

75   *Magistri Vincentii Dicti Kadłubek Chronica Polonorum*, ed. M. Plezia, MPH n.s. XI, Kraków 1994, lib. I, cap. 9. Cf. M. Gniadek-Zieliński, *Wolność jako fundament konstytuujący wspólnotę we wczesnym średniowieczu*, in: *Pro libertate! Niezależność - Suwerenność - Niepodległość w dziejach*, ed. idem, "Studia Międzyepokowe" I (2019), pp. 38-52.

76   CL 1, p. 43.

77   CL 2, p. 45.

78   The term *Dacia* as a term for Denmark first appeared ephemerally in the ninth century in the British Isles, but did not seem to have a continuation for a century, when it was reintroduced (permanently) into Latin writing by Dudo of Saint-Quentin (cap. 1 f.). In the papal chancery, Alexander II and Gregory VII still used the term *Dania*, but from the pontificate of Paschalis II onwards the two forms would function interchangeably – cf. *Diplomatarium Danicum*, vol. III, ed. C.A. Christensen, H. Nielsen, L. Weibul, København 1976, 1, 2, 7 & 1, 2, 27.

The CL has an extremely independence-oriented tone. It defines the Danes unequivocally as fully independent people who can and do defend their freedom.[79] It is a nation of warriors who will not tolerate any foreign power over them, and those who try to impose it by force always end badly, the Roman emperor is defeated (cap. 1), and the rulers imposed by the Swedes die in tragic and symptomatic circumstances, Raki (the dog-king) is bitten by other dogs and Snyo by lice (cap. 4). Last parts of the text, which are preserved in the *Annales Lundenses* and which refer to the attempts of re-conquering Denmark by the Swedish king,[80] clearly do not fit in with this leitmotif. We infer from this that this is not the original ending of the text, which, as a result of partial transmission, leaves us at a random point.[81]

In the context I am interested in, attention is also drawn to Dan's pangermanic filiation at the beginning of the story, as one of the founding brothers of the Scandinavian states[82] - which, in the context of further argument, should clearly be understood as presenting the strong genetic links between three Scandinavian nations and the community of the ecumene with Denmark taking the lead. This is emphasised, it seems, by the change of the name of the founding hero of the state, from Skjöld,[83] associated with the dynastic tradition, to Dan, who seems to be the father of all Danes. Lejre is thus shown in the chronicle simply as the centre of the region, and if so, it is Zealand, and, therefore, Roskilde, its new capital. On the pages of CL there is, of course, the story of the founding of the city by Dan's son, King Ro, who was perceived as an extremely great ruler.[84] Interestingly, a little later, the Lund-associated Saxo Grammaticus presented this figure exactly in the opposite way.[85]

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79   The exception to this is the issue of conversion, as I mentioned above. Cf. comparatively: *Translatio s. Alexandri*, in: B. Krusch, *Die Übertragung des Hl. Alexander von Rom nach Wildeshausen durch den Enkel Widukinds 851. Die älteste niedersächsische Geschichtsdenkmal*, "Nachrichten von der Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen, Philologisch-Historische Klasse" (1933), cap. 1, p. 424.

80   CL 9, p. 53.

81   Already Martin Cl. Gertz has cautiously assumed that the *Annales Lundenses* may not have preserved the entire chronicle - see: CL, p. 36 [Introduction].

82   CL 1, p. 43. Cf. M. Gniadek-Zieliński, *Opowieść o trzech braciach w średniowiecznej historiografii polskiej i duńskiej (XII-XIII w.)*, in: *Historiografia doby rozbicia dzielnicowego Polski*, ed. K. Maik, D. Janiak, B. Jabłoński, „Poznańskie Studia Polonistyczne" (in print).

83   Probably intentional, since Dan retains all the features in other sources attributed to Skjöld.

84   CL 2, p. 46: "Edificavit ibi Ro civitatem honestam, cui nomen inposuit parlitiuum post se et fontem, partem capiens fontis partemque sui, Roskildis Danice vocens, que hos nomine vocabitur in eternum".

85   Saxo II, 5.2, p. 106.

Conclusions

CR and CL are simple stories, in which the chronology is consistent with the reigns of successive Danish kings. The chronicles focus primarily on Zealand, especially Lejre and Roskilde. In both of the texts, the theme of independence - whether secular (CL) or ecclesiastical (CR) - is clearly emphasised, and finally, there are significant linguistic similarities between both texts, which are difficult to ignore.[86]

In favour of Gelting's thesis that CR was composed by the commission of Eskil, the Bishop of Roskilde, in order to create a historical argument for the existence of an independent Scandinavian ecclesiastical province with Roskilde as its capital, I conclude, in the light of the analysis presented above, that CL was originally the initial fragment of CR. The antique origin of the episcopal city and its prominence in the northern world, seems to be an argument clearly in favour of such a change, and resonates with analogous depictions from the nearby German Empire.

It should be noted that in the episcopal chronicles written there in the 12th century, arguments of a historical nature embedded not only in Christian but also in pagan tradition, were used to enhance the prestige of the centre. The latter played a particular role in the case of cathedrals founded in areas outside the Roman limes, for which it was difficult to find a plausible-sounding story about the foundation of the local community by the Apostles or their disciples.[87] As a prime example may serve Magdeburg, a city which struggled to recognise its supremacy over the Polish church at the same time as the conflict over the leadership of the Scandinavian bishops was being played out.

From the 12th century *Gesta Archiepiscoporum Magdeburgensium* we learn that the city was not originally founded by Otto I, but by Julius Caesar, who - as if that was not enough - also founded the very important temple of Diana there, which was served by virgins – hence, the name Magdeburg, i.e. the City of Virgin(s).[88] A similar story can also be found in the 12th

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86 CR is not anti-German, but the interference of Adam of Bremen in the text can hardly be read as a dislike of the aspirations of the Church there. In the CL narrative, on the other hand, a certain Hiawart appears, the assassin of Rolf Krake, an unambiguously positive figure in the text. In later sources, independent of the chronicle, the said Hiawart functions as a magnate in charge of an area in the east (Sweden, Öland, Östergötland), while in the CL he appears as 'comes Scanie', but 'Teutonicus genere', an origin not mentioned in any other source – cf. CL 8, p. 52.

87 R. Michałowski, *Ranga stolic biskupich we wczesnym średniowieczu i jej podstawy sakralne. Wybrane zagadnienia*, in: *Sacrum. Obraz i funkcja w społeczeństwie średniowiecznym*, ed. A. Pieniądz-Skrzypczak, J. Pysiak, Warszawa 2005, p. 200.

88 *Gesta Archiepiscoporum Magdeburgensium*, ed. W. Schum, MGH SS XIV, Hanoverae 1883, cap. 2, p. 377: "Cesar igitur ille quondam potentissimus ab Iulo, Enee filio, stirpis derivatione cognominatus Iulius, dictatoris ordine cum Crasso et Pompeio sublimatus Rome, cum totam

century *Chronica episcoporum ecclesiæ Merseburgensis*, where, in turn, Caesar took great pains to conquer from the hands of the Gauls the hill on which the cathedral stands in the chronicler's day and, as a commemoration of Caesar's final triumph the great ledear founded a city dedicated to Mars there, hence the name Marseburg/Merseburg, i.e. the City of Mars.[89] This story was already briefly presented by Thietmar at the turn of the 10th and 11th centuries.[90] Thietmar, and there is a reason to believe that the Magdeburg legend cited above was also written ar that time.[91] Caesar was a great leader, which is what he was known for in the Middle Ages - so why should his legions not

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Galliam trine divisionis suscepisset in sorte sue defensionis, in has deveniens suspecte gentis partes, causa tutele cum exercitu repausationis vel cohercende circumposite nationis gratia, pures competentibus in locis civitates condit, quarum nonnullas terrelignique materia circumvallatas, plerasque etiam murorum ambitu cinctas munire studuit, quantum opere festinato valuit, inhianter accedens multitudo. Inter quas et hanc non infimam ad honoremDiane, cuiuc, ut fertur, se tuitioni in ea expeditione potissumum commendaverat, condidit, Grecamque sequens ethymologiam, barbaro equipollente vocaulo, a parthena Parthenopolim nuncupavit, ac ad religionis supplementum secus decursum predicti fluminis templum, immo et ydolum instituit, virginiusque quam plurimis ibi dicatis, sacra deestatuit, que posteritas celebravit; et sic ex hoc facto civitas nostra Magdeburg, id est civitas virginum, traxit vocabulum".

89 *Chronica episcoporum ecclesiæ Merseburgensis*, ed. R. Wilmans, MGH SS X, Hannoverae 1852, Proemium, pp. 163-164: "Quum gens Romulea universum orbem bellicis armis sibi subdere contenderet, in diversas regones diversos imperatores diversis temporius transmiserunt. Igitur Iulius Caesar contra Gallos, qui et Bratati nuncupatur, cunctaque ipsorum loca munitissima lustrans sibi suisque sequacibus subdere festinavit. Tandem has in nostras partes devenit et in loco nostro a septentrionali plaga ontem quendam qui usque nunc ex antiquitate Aldenburg vocatur, muro, moenibus, viris munitum invenit. Hunc expugnare volebat nec valebat. Ut autem erat animo acerrimus ira dictante mandavit ultra non progredi donec castellum epugnans excidium subiret. Haec scriptis non vidimus, sed relatu seniorum audivimus. Circumspiciens itaque montem castello ex australi parte oppositum, ubi nunc alta nostra coruscat ecclesia, immunitum reperit. Hunc conscedit, castra locavit: deinde quid acturus esset, secum deliberavit. Tandem placuit ei, hos duos montes aggeris comortatione continuare, quod et factum est. Sicque castellani instantiaoperis devici pacem postulabant seque eius imperialia iuga domitis cervicibus ammodo ferre non recusabant. Tunc Caesar patrato quod intendebat amoenitatem loci ex planitie ubique adiacenti et ex flumine Sala subter decurrenti nec non ex frugali copia terraeillic habundanti pertractans, eo urbem munitissimam contuere intendit, quod actu consummatum est. nam casus agit virtutis opus. Sed quoniam a flumine magno Reno usque ad fluvum Salam et ultra universa victricibus armis Marte prosperante domuerat, hanc urbem bellis aptam deo Marti, quem praecipue colebat dicavit ac nomine consecravit eamque Marseburg, id est Martis urbem, appellavit".

90 *Die Chronik des Bischofs Thietmar von Meseburg*, ed. R. Holtzman, Monumenta Germaniae Historica. Scriptores rerum Germ. N.S. IX, Berlin 1935, lib. I, cap. 2, p. 5: "Huius [scil. Merseburg] a primo fundamentum et cum terra superedificationem Romulea ex gente, que Iulium Cesarem Pompeii generum esthuc olim secuta in omnibus potentem et utrisque viribus precluum, incepisse, lecto diligens, accipe. Et quia tunc fuit hec apta bellis et in omnibus sempert triumphalis, antiquo more Martis signata est nomine".

91 R. Michałowski, *Ranga stolic…*, pp. 201-202.

have ventured to the Elbe? It were precisely these kinds of 'facts' that formed the basis of such stories. In fact, an analogous thing happened in the case of CL, when the theme of 'primi Cesaris […] Augustus'[92] was introduced at the beginning of the history of the Danes. It was known about him that he initially sought to move the limes deep into Germania - does it seem particularly unlikely that he could have ventured into Jutland as well? The purpose of such legends was to add prestige to the origins of one's own centre, and, therefore, to the ecclesiastical community around it. The more powerful the city was in the antiquity, the more significant centre of idolatry it was, the greater the glory of the Church that had grown up in such unfavourable circumstances. In my view, this is what the Danish chronicler is playing with, relying primarily on his native legends. This does not mean, however, that he abandons the Roman plot entirely. If it is not possible to bring the Romans to Zealand, and this, nevertheless, seems difficult, then an even better story can be used - to show the triumph of Danish arms over Rome - just as Master Vincentius showed the triumph of Polish arms over Alexander the Great. This, after all, fits perfectly with the liberating message of CL and CR, and that is, after all, what was at stake - the independence of the Danish Church.

To sum up, Eskil's Chronicle, as I will refer to it after Søgaard, covered the period from the founding of Denmark to the events of 1138. Its aim was to present Denmark as an internationally important, civilised and long-established Christian state, with a strong connection to universal history (Roman and biblical history), while at the same time presenting it as the centre of Scandinavia, and Roskilde itself, as the centre of Denmark - a magnificent royal and episcopal centre with a long tradition going back to the earliest times. Unfortunately, a conflict with Bishop Rikke of Schleswig (after Lund), which probably involved a rebellion by the mighty of Skane against the recreation of the metropolis in a rival centre, prevented Eskil from realising his original plans.[93] Finally he became an archbishop, but not of Roskilde but of Lund - and the chronicle lost its *raison d'être*, which was certainly the reason for its lack of interest in the whole work as a certain ideological option, and its later dismemberment in the subsequent historical process.

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92   CL 1, p. 45.

93   M.H. Gelting, *Da Eskil…*, pp. 199-200.

APPENDIX: *STEMMA CODICUM* **OF THE HYPOTHETICAL CHRONICLE OF ESKIL (CR+CL)**
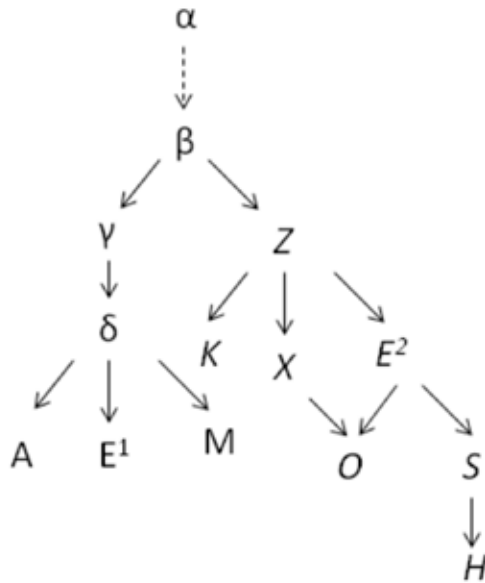
I have italicised the stand-alone CR redactions occurring under the Latin sigils, the other sigils denote the CL redactions preserved within the *Annales Lundenses*.

Sigils:
α – author's autogaf;
β - last rkps of the complete Chronicle of Eskil;
γ - Possibly the first independent ed. of CL;
δ - First ed. of CL within the *Annales Lundenses*;
A - Copenhagen, AM 843 4to (c. 1300);
E^1 - Erfurt, CE 8° 23 (c. 1300);
E^2 - E 39 (c. 1300) - lost in the 18th c.
H - Hamburg, MS 61 fol. (17th c.);
K - Kiel, SH 8, A8o (13th c.);
M - Copenhagen, AM 841 4to (c. 1400);
O - Copenhagen, AM 107 8vo (16th c.);
S - Uppsala, DG 25-29 (17th c.);
Z - first independent ed. of CR.

ABSTRACT

The author of the article expresses the view that two Danish chronicles from the 12th c., *Chronicon Roskildense* and *Chronicen Lethrense,* were originally one chronicle, written around 1138 at the bishop's court in Roskilde. The paper shows that it is extremely likely that the bishop of Roskilde, Eskil, commissioned to write this chronicle to use it in the conflict on independence of the Scandinavian church province. The chronicle presents Denmark as an internationally important, civilised and long-established Christian state, with a strong connection with universal history, while at the same time presenting it as the centre of Scandinavia, and Roskilde itself as the centre of Denmark, a magnificent royal and episcopal centre with a long tradition going back to the earliest times. All of this was possibly an argument for Eskil to gain permission to fund an archbishopric in Roskilde. This thesis is supported by both linguistic and narratological arguments and develops of the claims of Helge Søgaard and Michael H. Gelting.

Keywords: Danish historiography; Chronicon Lethrense, Chronicon Roskildense; Eskil of Lund; ecclesiastical conflict; bishopric of Roskilde

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Joanna Sobiesiak
Maria Curie-Skłodowska University in Lublin,
Faculty of History and Archaeology
joanna.sobiesiak@mail.umcs.pl
https://orcid.org/0000-0002-3590-5956

Between two Emperors. On the excesses of the political success of Bohemian king Vladislav II (1140-1172)[*]

Medievalists researching topics related to Central and Western Europe are faced with a problem characteristic of the period: the amount of contemporary accounts that are used to study issues from this period seems insufficient. Out of this paucity of accounts has arisen a research method that relies on making maximum use of every piece of information at the disposal of the scholar. This is why it is particularly surprising when, studying the reign of one of the most important Czech rulers of the 12th century, Vladislav II the Přemyslid (r. 1140-1172) of Bohemia, we get the impression that certain information from his reign is treated insufficiently. For some time now, I have been researching a number of themes from the period of his reign, and I am also interested in the memory of Vladislav's reign as expressed in Czech historiography over the centuries.

The thesis I am trying to prove with my research assumes that, perhaps already in the Middle Ages, an unflattering opinion was formed in Bohemia regardingVladislav II and his rule. As a result of this, such a characteristic was later reflected in Czech historiography. In the present article, I intend to

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focus on the primary events of Vladislav II's reign which have been the primary points of interest to modern Czech historiography.

Vladislav II stood out among the Czech rulers of the 11th and 12th centuries. He was the second Přemyslid, after Vratislav II, to win the royal crown. This was a high-profile achievement, because until the end of the 12th century, the royal title was granted to Bohemian rulers personally and at the will of the King of the Reich/Emperor in exchange for the promise of military assistance in Italy.[1] More than 70 years passed between the two coronations of representatives of the Přemyslid family - the first was Vratislav II 1086 and the second was Vladislav II 1158. Vladislav II became famous for the battles he fought against the Milanese at the side of Emperor Frederick Barbarossa. We have attested testimony that he also pursued his policy through contacts with the emperor in Constantinople. In 1143, Vladislav set off for Palestine to join the Second Crusade. The knightly crusade movement was only just sweeping Europe, and we know that it was only in the Second Crusade that the rulers of European countries took part. More noteworthy is Přemyslid's bold (in political terms) decision. After all, leaving the capital and the throne for an extended period of time could have ended with the loss of both to one of his ambitious relatives. Testimonies from the period, also of Byzantine provenance, report that Vladislav was received by Emperor Manuel during his stay in the East. Later, in the 1160s, he meddled in Byzantine politics, intervening in the casting of the Hungarian throne. Thus, the Bohemians had a king who was received before two emperors and who, by his actions, made such a significant mark on the politics of these rulers that their court chroniclers decided to insert extensive paragraphs about Vadislav into their works.

Meanwhile, Czech medieval and modern historiography, with very few exceptions, makes little use of such exceptional information about Vladislav's reign. Such management of the news about King Vadislaus draws attention because no Slavic ruler of the time was given the honor of influencing the policies of the emperors of the East and West.

Let us now look at what contemporary authors wrote about Vladislav's rule. The situation presents a good opportunity to examine contemporary views of Vladislav's reign, namely because we have both accounts by foreign authors and a Czech text by an eyewitness to the reign of this ruler.

This Czech text is that of Vincent of Prague, who was chaplain to Bishop Daniel of Prague (1148-1167). Together with the bishop and King Vladislav,

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1 P.E. Schramm, *Böhmen und das Regnum. Die Verleihungen der Königswürde an die Herzöge von Böhmen (1085/86,1158,1198/1203)*, in: *Adel und Kirche. Gerd Tellenbach zum 65. Geburtstag dargebracht von Freunden und Schülern,* ed. J. Fleckenstein, K. Schmid, Freiburg 1968, pp. 346-364, here pp. 351 f.

he took part in Frederick Barbarossa's expedition to Italy in 1158. After King Vladislav returned to Bohemia, Vincent of Prague and Bishop Daniel remained in Italy in the service of the Emperor. Vincent returned to Prague in 1160, only to set off again a few years later for Italy, where Barbarossa was still engaged in military conflict. In 1166 he set off for Italy again together with Bishop Daniel. In the expedition to Hungary that interests us, he did not participate.[2] In August 1167 Bishop Daniel died. At this time, Vincent of Prague finally returned to Bohemia where, it is generally believed, he began compiling and completing his work: the *Chronicon Boemorum* covering the years 1140 to 1167. Vincent dedicated the work to the king before Vladislav took over and concludes with a note on the events of 1167.[3]

In Vincent's account we find descriptions of both the deeds of Vladislav during the Milan expedition alongside Barbarossa and the triumph he achieved, during the Hungarian conflict.[4] I have already commented on the news of Vincents' expedition of Vladislav to Milan on several occasions, so let us just recall the most important facts of this historian's account.

Vincent of Prague gives the circumstances which prompted Vladislav to take part in the expedition. During a meeting in Würzburg, confidential negotiations took place between Frederick Barbarossa and the Bohemian clerics, Daniel and Gervasius, about the participation of Bohemian reinforcements in the planned Italian campaign against Milan.[5] Vladislav vowed to the emperor that he would train at Milan with his best army. The Emperor, in turn, vowed to bestow the royal crown on Vladislav and to return the castle of Budziszyn to him.[6] A few months before the Italian expedition in January 1158, according to Vincent, the Emperor crowned Vladislav in Regensburg. The following description of the Bohemian expedition near Milan in the summer of 1158 is, according to Czech scholars, the focal point of the chronicle.[7]

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2 A. Kernbach, *Vincenciova a Jarlochova kronika v kontextu svého vzniku. K dějepisectví přemyslovského období*, Brno 2010, p. 127.

3 The original chronicle has unfortunately not survived. We have a thirteenth-century copy at our disposal; the numerous gaps and chronological mistakes in the text are most often explained by the fact that the original was written on loose pages which the copyist misplaced. See: M. Bláhová, *Vinzenz von Prag*, in: *Lexikon des Mittelalters*, vol. VIII, [Verlag J.B. Metzler] 2000, col. 1707 f.

4 This has already been pointed out by Anna Kernbach. See. A. Kernbach, *Vincenciova a Jarlochova kronika…*, p. 119.

5 P. Hilsch, *Die Bischöfe von Prag in der frühen Stauferzeit. Ihre Stellung zwischen Reichs und Landesgewalt von Daniel I (1148-1167) bis Heinrich (1182-1197)*, München 1969, pp. 84-86.

6 *Vincentii canonici Pragensis Annales*, FRB II, ed. J. Emler, Praha 1874 (hereafter: Vincent), pp. 401-460, here p. 424.

7 E. Fiala, *Letopis Vincenciův a Jarlochův…*, p. 19. A similar opinion, although also taking into account the description of Vladislav's Hungarian expedition of 1164, is expressed by Anna Kernbach. See. A. Kernbach, *Vincenciova a Jarlochova kronika…*, p. 119.

As Vincent reports, Vladislav set off for Italy in person. The chronicler does not comment on this fact, but it should be noted that this is a huge novelty in the history of Czech expeditions to Italy, to which the Přemyslid rulers usually sent family members while remaining in the country themselves. Přemyslid and his men crossed the Alps two weeks before the Emperor, according to Vincent's report. There, he performed, as Vincent convinces us, a heroic deed, capturing Brescia while plundering the entire surrounding area. The townspeople asked Vladislav to curry favour with the Emperor and paid for their request with numerous gifts.[8] There follows an account of the adventures involved in crossing the River Addy. Barbarossa's army could not cross the river because all the bridges and fords were heavily defended. In Vincent's account, it was Vladislav himself, along with a few warriors, who threw himself into the current of the river and crossed to the other bank. The bravado of the Czechs enabled the emperor's troops to cross the river.[9] We learn from the chronicle that Frederick Barbarossa valued Vladislav not only as a warrior, but also as an advisor, as he conferred with Vladislav and the princes of the Reich on how to conquer Milan and treat the rebellious inhabitants.

The centrepiece of the chronicler's account of Vladislav's expedition is his description of the sequence of battles at the walls of besieged Milan. Vincent reports that Barbarossa deployed his troops closing the city under siege. Vladislav also assigned a section of the walls together with the city gate to the siege.[10] The historian then reports that the Milanese tried to break the siege by striking at the imperial brother's troop. Vincent of Prague reports that the latter, unable to repel the attackers, sent a message to the Bohemian king to come to his aid. A battle ensued, and the Czechs were victorious. Vincent even says that if the night had not interrupted the battle, they would have rushed into the city that very day pursuing the fleeing Milanese.[11] In the end, the city surrendered to the Barbarossa and the Milanese chose Vladislav to be their intermediary in negotiations with the Emperor. Vincent, speaking of Frederick's deliberation with the lords of the Reich, argues that those assembled heeded Vladislav's advice as to the terms of peace with the Milanese. It is also known from the account that it was Vladislav who was entrusted with the Milanese hostages, who acted as surety for the duration of the armistice.[12] The culmination of the expedition, as Vincent relays, was a ceremony during which Frederick Barbarossa, throning in an imperial

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8   Vincent, p. 429.

9   *Ibidem*, pp. 430-431.

10   On the deployment of siege troops around Milan See: J.F. Böhmer, *Die Regesten des Kaiserreiches unter Friedrich I.*, 2 Lieferung 1158-1168, no. 576.

11   Vincent, pp. 436-437.

12   *Ibidem*, pp. 440-441.

diadem, imposed the royal crown on Vladislav in the presence of the assembled lords. Vincent of Prague comments on this coronation as being due to Vladislav after having performed so many royal deeds.[13] The chronicler reports that Vladislav asked the Emperor for permission to return to Bohemia and received it. Barbarossa, before the Přemyslid's departure, bestowed him with numerous gifts and offered Vladislav a thousand fines, which he had received from the Milanese.[14]

Although there is no doubt that Vincent of Prague wrote with the intention of exalting the Bohemian king, the information we obtain from foreign chroniclers about Vladislav's participation in the Milan expedition also agrees with his account. We have Rahevin's account which is contemporary to the events outlined in Vincent's chronicle. He was secretary and chaplain to Otto of Freising, and the continuator of his work *Gesta Friderici*.[15] Rahewin states that when fighting at the city walls, Vladislav Přemyslid fulfilled the duties of both a good king and a brave knight (*strennui militis et boni regis*).[16] We can also glean information about Vladislav's participation in the account of Otto Morena, an imperial court judge from Lodi and a contemporary of the events.[17]

The Bohemians made three more expeditions to Italy in 1161, 1162 and 1166 to assist Frederick Barbarossa in his Italian wars.[18] However, it is Vladislav's first expedition to Milan in 1158 that has received the most attention in historiography, both medieval and modern. Information about this expedition completely dominates the historiographical portrait of King Vladislav. On the other hand, the alliance with Frederick Barbarossa is seen as the defining event of the entire Přemyslid reign. The Czech researcher, Martin Šorm, has rightly pointed out that historiography sees Vladislav as a ruler remaining in the shadow of Frederick Barbarossa.[19]

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13 *Ibidem*, p. 442: "Domnus autem impertor imperiali didemate exornatus in medio tentorio suo tribunali residens, ubi hec fiebant diuina, quod ei rex Anglie miserat maximum et de opere mirabili, domum Wl[adizlaum], regem Boemie, post tot labores et regales triumphos coram tot tam Alamanniae, quam Itliae principus, regio donat et exorant diademate".

14 Vincent, p. 442.

15 K. Sidwell, *Reading medieval Latin. Cambridge*, Cambridge 1995, p. 273.

16 Bischof Otto von Freising und Rahewin, *Gesta Frederici seu rectius Cronica*, ed. F.-J. Schmale, Darmstadt 1965 (= Ausgewählte Quellen zur Deutschen Geschichte des Mittelalters XVII), *Gesta Frederici*, III, 29, pp. 454-456; III, 40, pp. 466-468; III, 41, p. 478; III, 50, p. 494.

17 Otto Morena, *De reditu Imperatoris in Lombardiam*, in: Otto Morena, *Acerbus Morena, Anonymus de rebus Laudensibus*, ed. F. Jaffé, Monumenta Germaniae Historica. Scriptores XVIII, Hannover 1867, p. 603.

18 J. Volf, *Účast českých panovniků při řišských výpravách*, "Časopis Musea královstvi českého" LXXXII (1908), pp. 171-184.

19 M. Šorm, *Uherská tažení Vladislava II. očima Ioanna Kinnama a Vincencia*, "Studia Mediaevalia Bohemica" V (2013) 1, pp. 7-30, here pp. 7 f.

Vladislav, despite the credit given to the Emperor in Italy in 1158, had to pay constant attention to what was going on in the imperial circle. His nephews, Udalryk and Sobieslav, were a constant threat to him. As early as 1152, Udalryk betrayed his dynastic aspirations and, in later years, tried to ingratiate himself to Frederick Barbarossa, waiting for an opportunity to seize the Prague throne with Barbarossa's help.[20] Equally dangerous to the king was Udalryk's brother, Sobieslav, who, captured by Vladislav, stayed for some time in the fortress of Přimda, from where he managed to escape to the Reich. King Vladislav was in a kind of political check, because in order to secure for himself and his son the security of his rule in Prague, he did not want to expose himself to Barbarossa and refuse to help him in the Italian wars.[21]

As we know, not much good came out of this loyalty for Vladislav.[22] Moreover, historiography has pinned him with the label of a ruler completely dependent on the Emperor. As a result, scholarship tends to (with a few exceptions) view all other actions of Vladislav in this light, denying him independence and focusing only on the Milan expedition of the Bohemian king. Let us look, therefore, at how King Vladislav's contacts with the Byzantine Emperor Manuel Comnenus are set against the background of his relationship with Frederick Barbarossa.

As mentioned above, Vladislav's first contacts with Constantinople took place during the Second Crusade when, in 1143, he set off for Palestine to join the Crusaders. As we know, this expedition did not achieve its intended goals. On his way back, the Bohemian ruler was hosted at the court of Emperor Manuel. Vincent of Prague reports on an envoy to Constantinople sent by Vladislav in 1146. The purpose of this expedition is unknown, but it is known that it was led by Vyšehrad's provost and Vladislav's chancellor at the same time, Alexander.[23] The next news of the Přemyslid's contact with the Byzantine

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20 J. Žemlička stated that Udalrik, constantly staying in the proximity of Barbarossa, waited for his moment to rebel the emperor against Vladislav and take the Prague throne himself. See. J. Žemlička, *Čechy v době…*, p. 260.

21 See J. Žemlička, *Křižovatky Vladislava…*, p. 21, footnote 21.

22 In 1172 Vladislav abdicated in favour of his son Frederick, the hardline attitude of Frederick Barbarossa, whom Vladislav did not ask to grant Frederick a fief, thwarted this plan. As a result of the resistance of the Bohemian magnates, and above all of the Emperor's will, the Prague throne fell into the hands of Udalric, who, however, supposedly voluntarily (the magnates accused him of not having been elected by them beforehand), handed over power to his brother Sobieslv's, freed from Přimda. See: *Velké dějiny zemi Koruny České*, ed. M. Bláhová, J. Frolik, N. Profantová, vol. I, Praha 1999, pp. 621-623; J. Žemlička, *Čechy v době…*, pp. 258, 263-264; J. Kejř, *Böhmen und das Reich unter Friedrich I.*, in: *Friedrich Barbarossa. Handlungsspielräume und Wirkungsweisen des staufischen Kaisers*, ed. A. Haverkamp, Sigmaringen 1992 (= Vorträge und Forschungen XL), pp. 241-289, here pp. 260-263.

23 See. Vincent, p. 416; V. Novotný, *České Dějiny. Od Břetislava I. do Přemysla I.*, vol. I/2, Praha 1913, p. 826.

emperor is related to the events that took place in Hungary in the 1160s. It is likely that in 1162 the Hungarian king, Géza, died. As a result of this, there were disputes among the members of the Arpad dynasty as to who should occupy the throne.[24] On behalf of the minor heir to the throne, Stephen III, the regency was held by his mother Euphrosinia. It was she who, when Stefan III's power was threatened, turned to Vladislav for help after she had failed to interest Frederick Barbarossa in the matter.[25] Even in the 1150s, the Hungarian kingdom was still in the field of interest of Frederick Barbarossa. The Emperor's Hungarian affairs were mediated by Vladislav of Bohemia and his immediate entourage. The Bishop of Prague, Daniel,[26] was in Hungary, and had come there to take Géza's daughter, Elisabeth, as a wife for Vladislav's son, Frederick. At the same time, Daniel received a promise from Géza that he would send 500 armed men to the Emperor's Italian expedition.[27] Shortly thereafter, Barbarossa, preoccupied with problems with the rebellious Milan, renounced involvement in disputes over the throne within the Arpadian dynasty, sending back the complaining Hungarians to assert their rights before the Byzantine emperor.[28] Vladislav II. (1162-1163) and Stephen IV, whose wife was niece of Emperor Manuel, rebelled against the young king at the instigation of Byzantium.[29] In defence of Stefan III's right to the throne, the King of Bohemia stepped forward militarily in 1164, while military assistance was sent to Stefan IV by the Byzantine Emperor. The question of Hungary's affiliation to either the Western or Eastern Church was also an important issue. Stephen III, on whose side Vladislav intervened, belonged to the Latin Church and was crowned by the Archbishop of Ostrzygom, while Stephen IV was supported by the hierarchs of the Eastern Church.[30] Hungary can therefore be regarded in the 12th century as a buffer area separating the spheres of influence of the two emperors.[31]

The armies met in Hungary, but the battle did not take place. Most historians agree that Vladislav arbitrated peace terms between Manuel and Stephen IV.[32] As a result of this intervention, Manuel Komnenos ceased sup-

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24 T. Bogyay, *Géza II. König von Ungarn (1141-1162)*, in: *Lexikon des Mittelalters*, vol. IV, München-Zürich 1987-1989, col. 1435.

25 V. Novotný, *České Dějiny…*, p. 938.

26 P. Hilsch, *Die Bischöfe…*, p. 82.

27 *Monachi Sazawiensis continuatio Cosmae*, ed. J. Emler, FRB 2, Praha 1874, pp. 238-269, here p. 264; J. Žemlička, *Čechy v době knížeci…*, p. 237; P. Hilsch, *Die Bischöfe…*, p. 87; *Velké dějiny zemi…*, p. 603.

28 F. Opll, *Friedrich Barbarossa*, Darmstadt 1990, pp. 277 f.

29 V. Novotný, *České Dějiny…*, pp. 939-941.

30 P. Magdalino, *The Empire of Manuel I. Komnenos*, Cambridge 1993, pp. 81-83; G. Györffy, *Zu den Anfängen der ungarischen Kirchenorganisation auf Grund neuer quellenkritischer Ergebnisse*, "Archivum Historiae Pontificiae" VIII (1969), pp. 79-113.

31 M. Šorm, *Uherská…*, p. 9.

32 K. Adamová, *K otázce královské hodnosti…*, p. 11.

porting Stephen IV and the throne was taken by Stephen III.[33] In contemporary literature it can be found that the disputes in Hungary continued as late as 1164 or in 1165, and that Vladislav was to take the side of Stephen III again, already at the side of Barbarossa.[34] Only one author, John Kinnamos, speaks of these incidents, while Vincent knows nothing about it. Some historians believe that such an expedition did not take place, and that the news of it was a stylistic device by Kinnamos to depict Vladislav – who, after all, had in some way humiliated the emperor – as a perjurer who had broken the agreements concluded a year earlier.[35] Let us therefore look at how the relationship between the Bohemian king and the Byzantine emperor is described in period accounts.

Vincent of Prague gives us a comprehensive account of these incidents.[36] He begins with the information that it was the supporters of Stephen III who asked the Bohemian king for help. This first campaign of this conflict, according to Vincent's account, ended quite quickly and successfully for Vladislav. Having restored the young Arpad to the throne, he strengthened the alliance with the promise of a marriage between his younger daughter Euphrosinia, and his son Svatopluk. Euphrosinia's elder daughter, Elisabeth, was already wed to Vladislav's son Frederick. However, it was not long before the Byzantine Emperor arrived in Hungary with a large and strong army, leading with him the late king's brother, Stephen, and Stephen III's minor brother, Bela. Vincent reports that Queen Euphrosyne again asked Vladislav for help in securing the rights of Stephen III to the throne, and Vladislav again promised to intervene in the question of the casting of the throne in Hungary. Here, Vincent of Prague provides the reader with information about the opinion of the Bohemian magnates on Vladislav's involvement in the matter of the casting of the Hungarian throne. The chronicler reports that the king summoned a Diet to Prague to announce to Bohemia that he wanted to set out for Hungary against the Byzantine emperor. According to our informant's account, the opinions of the mighty differed on the matter. Those who opposed the expedition pointed out that it had not happened before that a Bohemian ruler had appointed a Hungarian king. In the end, Vladislav convinced the Czechs to participate in the expedition and, according to the historian, "fell" into Hungary with a strong and large army including Moravian reinforcements sent by his son Frederick.

Vincent, in a manner characteristic of his work's program, reported that the entrance of the Czechs must have instilled great fear in the Hungar-

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33 *Velké dějiny zemí…*, pp. 612-613.
34 J. Žemlička, *Čechy v době…*, p. 261.
35 M. Šorm, *Uherská tažení…*, p. 25.
36 Vincent, pp. 454-458.

ians, for "everyone fled where they could, and before the royal procession the whole country shook".[37] The chronicler reports that the Bohemians plundered and burned the countryside. However, Stephen III, on hearing of Vladislav's arrival was "afraid to face the emperor himself", and sent messengers to Vladislav with a joyful welcome. The chronicler then moves on to describe Emperor Manuel's reaction to the appearance of Vladislav in Hungary. Vincent reports that on hearing of Vladislav's arrival and of his terrible deeds, the Emperor, wanting to find out if what they were saying about Bohemia was true, sent the Moravian Bohuta, who had been in his service since the Second Crusade, to Vladislav. The envoy, however, failed to meet Emperor Manuel's expectations because, as the chronicler reports, the emperor realised that Vladislav was not going to give way. Vladislav then set up camp near where the Byzantine Emperor was camped with his Hungarian allies, *as if he wanted to enter battle at dawn*. The clash did not occur because Manuel, *having listened to the advice of his wise advisers*, crossed the Danube by night with a small detachment of men.[38] Vincent reports that Stephen IV, who was left behind, also fled because he was unable to face such a large force of Bohemians (to use Vincent's words). Vladislav then occupied the imperial camp, where he captured huge booty and took captive many Greek mighty men. The chronicler reports that again there were talks between the parties and, again, the Emperor was the initiator of the contact. Eventually, an agreement was reached whereby Hungary was divided between the young king (Stephen III) and his uncle (Stephen IV). Vladislav, the chronicler informs us, sent rich gifts to the Byzantine Emperor as confirmation of the peace made. At this point, Vincent emphasises even more strongly how much honour the honourable treatment of the king by the Byzantine emperor. To strengthen the alliance with Vladislav, Manuel asked for the hand Vladislav's granddaughter for his nephew. Vincent concludes this lengthy paragraph by stating that it was through the intermediary of the King of Bohemia that peace was made between the Emperor and the King of Hungary (Stephen III).[39]

Probably to a large extent, regarding this account we are dealing with a certain deliberate stylization of the plot. After all, in a similar literary scheme, Vincent presented the story of the merits of Vladislav during his expedition to Italy.[40] Even if we are dealing in this case with an intention-

37   *Ibidem*, p. 455.

38   *Ibidem*, p. 456: "Imperator Grecus relatione Bogute audita ipsam in corde suo firmiter retinet, et in medio noctis silentio de solio gorie descendens, sapientum suorum usus consilio, ultra Danubium, quem transierat, cum paucis exercitibus revertitur, reliqvos exercitus, ibi cum Stephano, cui im auxulium venerate, dimittit".

39   Vincent, pp. 457 f.

40   A. Kernbach, *Vincenciova a Jarlochova kronika…*, pp. 122-129.

al creation of Vladislav as a great king and warrior, the chronicler is not mistaking the truth, which is confirmed by foreign accounts. An account by the Byzantine chronicler John Kinnamos confirms that the Bohemian king played a very important role in the events of 1164.[41]

The work of John Kinnamos was written between 1180 and 1182.[42] He was a close advisor to the Emperor, took part in his war expeditions and was therefore among those well versed in the Emperor's politics. He is the author of the work *Epitomé*, which we know only from an abridged copy later than the original text.[43] In this account, we find information about Vladislav Přemyslid in two places: the first concerns an account of the Second Crusade while the second narrates the dispute over the Hungarian throne in 1164.[44] The purpose of the work was to demonstrate the glory of Emperor Manuel Komnenos' rule. In describing the incidents addressed in the present article, the chronicler is most interested in proving the rights of Emperor Manuel, as the only legitimate Emperor, to intervene in the affairs of the Hungarian kingdom.[45]

The first time John Kinnamos mentions the Bohemian ruler, Vladislav, is in his account of the arrival of King Conrad's army in Nice after the Battle of Dorylaeum (1147).[46] Here, John Kinnamos states that the Bohemian ruler, while at the Emperor's court during the crusade, bound himself to Manuel by an oath of dependence. Kinnamos refers to this with the word 'lizion'.[47] This fact is most often explained as Vladislav's agreement to be the Emperor's fief of all the lands he was to possibly conquer on his way to Jerusalem.[48]

Attention is drawn to the differences in the accounts of the two historians, In the account of Kinnamos we have a reference to Vladislav taking a fief oath to the emperor during the Second Crusade, while Vincent speaks

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41   M. Šorm, *Uherská tažení…*, p. 24.

42   Ch.M. Brand, *Deeds and Acts of John and Manuel Comnenus by John Kinnamos*, New York 1976, p. 9.

43   W. Iwańczak, *Participation of Czechs in the Crusades to the Holy Land*, in: *Peregrinationem. Pielgrzymki w kulturze dawnej Europy*, ed. H. Manikowska, H. Zaremska, Warszawa 1995, pp. 118-125, here p. 120.

44   F. Dvorník, *Manuel I. Komnenos a Vladislav II. král český*, in: *Z dějin východní Evropy a Slovanstva, Sborník J. Bidlovi k 70. narozeninám*, ed. M. Weingart, J. Dobiáš, M. Paulová, Praha 1928, pp. 58-70, tu pp. 61 f.

45   *Ioannis Cinnami Epitome Rerum ab Ioanne et Alexio* [recte: Manuele] *Comnenis Gestarum*, ed. A. Meineke, in: *Corpus Scriptorum Historiae Byzantinae*, ed. B.G. Niebuhr, vol. XXVI, Bonn 1836, pp. 222-224; A. Kernbach, *Vincenciova a Jarlochova kronika…*, p. 128, footnote 425.

46   Ch.M. Brand, *Deeds and Acts…*, p. 70.

47   Ibidem, p. 169.

48   W. Iwańczak, *Participation of the Bohemians…*, p. 120. This act would thus have been a standard move used by the emperor against the leaders of the First or Second Crusade.

only of 'appealing to an old friendship'.[49] Martin Wihoda makes an even different statement about this rather obscure reference by the Greek chronicler. Namely, he suggests that the whole situation of Vladislav paying tribute to the emperor was invented by Kinnamos, and used as a means to evaluate Vladislav's expedition to Hungary in 1164 in his narrative as a betrayal against the Manuel (his "lord").[50]

It is not the purpose of this article to resolve the issue of whether Vladislav did indeed take a fief oath during the crusade.[51] Instead, I want to point out that both historians confirm that the person of the Bohemian king was known to the Emperor Manuel's entourage.

It is only in Book V of Kinnamos' history, when describing Emperor Manuel's expedition against Stephen (III) of Hungary in 1164, that the Vladislav is mentioned by name.[52] In the text, we find information about the dispatch of an envoy to the king of Bohemia to persuade him to stop supporting the young Stephen. Kinnamos reports that the envoy, who knew Czech, reminded Vladislav of an old meeting with the Emperor. In Kinnamos' account, Vladislav is the weaker party, if only morally. Vladislav is also said to have assured the envoys that he had not come to fight the Emperor, but to defend the rights of an orphan (Stephen III) attacked by his uncle. The chronicler, like Vincent, does not report any armed clash between the king and the emperor. Kinnamos reports that the emperor, disbelieving the words of Vladislav, demanded that peace be confirmed by oaths. At this point, Stefan III takes his place in the narrative instead of Vladislav, who demanded a promise from the emperor that he would never support the rebellions of Stefan IV.[53]

What is noteworthy throughout John Kinnamos's account is that the Byzantine writer chose to devote his attention to a seemingly little-known and insignificant ruler in European politics at the time, for whom the Byzantines might until then have considered Vladislav the Přemyslid. After all, it is only when describing the Hungarian events that he refers to Vladislav's presence in Constantinople during the Second Crusade.[54] However, the Hun-

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49   Vincent, p. 456: *amicitia antiqua*; cf. M. Šorm, *Uherská tažení…*, p. 22.

50   M. Wihoda, *První česká království*, Praha 2015, p. 339, footnote 179.

51   Most often, this mention is treated from the factual and political side and interpreted as a not-so-clear message about Vladislav entering into fief dependence on the Emperor Manuel. A historical carbon copy is also applied to this information and compared it to the news of the Byzantine Emperor's actions during the First Crusade, when the Byzantine ruler bound the Latins with an oath to treat the lands conquered on their way to Jerusalem as Byzantine fiefs. See: K. Adamová, *K otázce královské hodnosti a panovnické ideologie českého krále Vladislava I*, "Právněhistorické studie" XXIV (1981) pp. 10 f.

52   Ch.M. Brand, *Deeds and Acts…*, pp. 168 f.; M. Šorm, *Uherská tažení…*, pp. 14 f.

53   Ch.M. Brand, *Deeds and Acts…*, pp. 169 f.

54   M. Šorm, *Uherská tažení…*, p. 16.

garian episode aroused significant interest in the person of King Vladislav on the part of the Byzantine writer, which undoubtedly demonstrates the growing importance of Přemyslid dynasty in Byzantine politics. From the entire description concerning the involvement of Vladislav Přemyslid in the dynastic conflict within the Arpadian dynasty, which Kinnamos dedicated to him, a picture of the Bohemian king as a powerful ruler emerges.[55] It should be emphasised that Vladislav Přemyslid was successfully standing up to the Emperor, heir to the tradition of Constantine and Justinian.[56] Forcing the Emperor to step down from Hungary, in fact defeating him, raises the importance of the ruler of Bohemia also for the reason that he clashed, after all, with the great warrior and strategist who had forced the Sultan of Rum Kilidj Arslan II into submission barely two years earlier (i.e., in the spring of 1162).[57]

Complementing the belief that the Bohemian king had a significant influence on the events in Hungary in 1164 is the news that the clash ended in a peace treaty sealed by a dynastic marriage. And although the news of the conclusion of this marriage is given only by Vincent there is no reason to question it. Given the hitherto very few contacts between Bohemia and Byzantium, the connection of the Přemyslid dynasty with the imperial family undoubtedly distinguishes the reign of Vladislav from that of his predecessors and successors.[58] Although in Czech historiography, Vladislav's action is seen as having been carried out with the knowledge and even in the interests of Frederick Barbarossa,[59] it cannot be denied that it was both a military and political triumph for Vladislav. It should also be noted what a military effort the Hungarian expedition was for Vladislaw's state, even if he was accompanied on the expedition by Ruthenian reinforcements. He was, after all, heavily involved in Frederick Barbarossa's subsequent expeditions to Italy.

Contemporary Czech historiography exposes (rather poorly) the significance of King Vladislav's actions for Manuel Komnenos' Hungarian policy. Vladislav's actions are interpreted as being done with Barbarossa's consent and in Barbarossa's interests. Václav Novotný, in describing Vladislav's

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55 Ibidem, p. 28.

56 M. Šorm, *Uherská tažení Vladislava II. očima Ioanna Kinnama a Vincencia*, "Studia Mediaevalia Bohemica" V (2013) 1, pp. 7-30, here pp. 7 f. Although the aforementioned author argues that Vladislav's agreement with Manuel came about due to the Přemyslid's compliant attitude. Cf. pp. 18, 22.

57 M. Angold, *Cesarstwo bizantyńskie 1025-1204. Historia polityczna*, transl. Władysław Brodzki, Wrocław 1993, p. 273; P. Magdalino, *The Empire…*, pp. 76-78.

58 M. Šorm, *Uherská…*, pp. 16, 25; *Velké dějiny zemi…*, pp. 612 f.

59 J. Žemlička, *Čechy v době…*, p. 261; M. Smoliński, *Cesar et duces poloniae…*, p. 72. In my early scholarly youth I too, unfortunately, espoused such a view in one of my texts.

intervention in Hungary, provided information about Barbarossa's interest in the Hungarian succession who, after all, was busy in Italy and did not get involved in Hungarian affairs. Novotný reports that the Emperor even approached the closest German local princes about the Hungarian matter, but before the envoy reached them, the Bohemian king – certainly with the emperor's consent – found himself with an army in Hungary.[60]

Thus, Vladislav's political actions outside Bohemia are usually denied independence and no attention is paid to the king's triumphs other than the battle for Milan. And yet, during the Hungarian campaign in 1164, the Byzantine Emperor yielded not to Barbarossa, but to the Bohemian king.

In Czech historiography we can also find other opinions about Vladislav's Hungarian expedition. František Palacký, the main representative of the Czech national revival, pointed out that the expedition to Hungary in 1164 was no less famous for the Czechs than the Milanese one. When describing the Hungarian interventions of Vladislav, Palacký does not mention Frederick Barbarossa at all. He follows the account of Vincent of Prague. If he does mention Barbarossa, it is rather negatively, pointing out that the friendly relations between Vladislav and Barbarossa gradually weakened, and could only be maintained as long as Bishop Daniel was alive.[61] So far, the only Czech researcher in whose texts I have managed to come across an appreciation of Vladislav's power is Martin Šorm. He alone emphasises the significance of the Hungarian victory of Vladislav, placing it on a par with the Milanese triumph.[62]

As I have tried to show, Vladislav became a victim of his brilliant participation in Barbarossa's Italian campaign in 1158 in the Czech historiographical tradition. The same can be said of the ambiguous opinions that accompanied the description and evaluation of his reign. The Milan expedition "covered up" all the king's other achievements while, simultaneously, the associated royal coronation, carried out "without the consent of the Bohemians", initiated the evaluation of this ruler as a person completely dependent on Frederick Barbarossa.

However, it may be worth doing justice to King Vladislav and emphasising that he was the first of the Přemyslid dynasty to take an active part in the political games between the two emperors, Eastern and Western. Perhaps a kind of underestimation of the importance of the second of the Bohemian king resulted from the final collapse of his dynastic policy,

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60 V. Novotný, *České Dějiny…*, p. 939: „král český, jsa jist souhlasem císařovým, zásahl do vývoje věcí uherských samostatně".

61 F. Palacký, *Dějiny národu českého v Čechách a v Moravě. Od prvověkosti až do roku 1253*, Praha 1936, pp. 270 f.

62 M. Šorm, *Uherská tažení…*, p. 29.

and the impossibility of passing the crown to his son in the face of both imperial and native mighty resistance. It is also possible that an ahistorical belief in a certain "servility" of Vladislav toward the German ruler was behind the depreciation of his achievements. This is exemplified in the tone of some older, nationalistically inclined Czech historiography. In fact, however, the figure of Vladislas is one of the most colourful and interesting personalities of the era, and by all means he deserves much more scholarly attention and thorough research.

Abstract

As early as the Middle Ages, an unflattering opinion was formed in Bohemia about the reign of King Vladislav II (1140-1172), which was reflected in later Czech historiography. The article juxtaposes the news of contemporary chroniclers (Vincent of Prague and Joannes Kinnamos) about two triumphs of Vladislav: the battle of Milan in 1158 and the expedition to Hungary in 1164. Although it is clear from the narratives of both authors that the expedition to Hungary was as glorious for the Bohemian king as the victory at Milan, Czech historiography places much more importance on the Italian expedition, treating the Milanese triumph more as a credit to the Bohemians than to Vladislav himself.

Keywords: Přemyslid, Vladislav II, Milan, medieval Hungary, Joannes Kinnamos

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Wawrzyniec Kowalski
University of Wrocław
wawrzyniec.kowalski@uwr.edu.pl
https://orcid.org/0000-0002-7875-9741

Borders, robbers and the Slavs in *Historia Salonitana* and in *The Chronicle of the Priest of Duklja*

Wildernesses, outer places, or regions beyond real or fictitious landmarks in the imagination of medieval authors were often seen to be inhabited by savage, stereotypically primitive or distinct people. Their depiction in the works of historians is often linked to the identification of the landscape with the people who inhabited it. This study will examine the invisible and visible boundaries between the civilized sphere and the wild domain in two narrative sources from medieval Dalmatia. In *Historia Salonitana* by Thomas the Archdeacon, the processes of exoticization of the Slavs as a different, foreign and threatening element will be examined, before turning to focus on the image of the Slavic communities in the anonymous *The Chronicle of the Priest of Duklja*. The positive presentation of the Slavic social structure in the latter work is a polemic of negative attitude towards the Slavic people so ubiquitous in *Historia Salonitana*, although it is unlikely that the Priest of Duklja knew this work directly.

In both of these works, the descriptions of banditry and piracy which appear in the context of the negative presentation of the Slavs may well have been a reference to a real phenomenon, albeit one subjected to stereotypization. The landscape also played an important role in both histories, mostly as a backdrop – closely related to the threat to individuals and to urban communities – but also as a place of refuge; the area was often 'barbarized' and exoticized (also in terms of being external, as the Greek etymology of the world 'exotic'

suggests) in the description by both chroniclers, as it was a border between civilization and its absence, but it also demarcated the *ethnoi*, professions, and ways of life of the various groups in medieval Dalmatia. The different descriptions of the Slavs and the role they played in the area may tell us how both chroniclers perceived the place of community organization within visible and invisible boundaries, and how precisely the process of defining, delimiting and measuring separated the civilized from the unknown in both narratives.

Bandits, brigands, and pirates were indeed a very real problem in the medieval Adriatic region, and more broadly in the Balkans. Shepherds were often associated with banditry, but so too were peasants and soldiers or marauders.[1] In coastal areas, these groups were linked to piracy. As protection against bands of brigands, villages and towns were walled, and fortified watchtowers were erected. The landscape, especially the mountains, often appeared both as a hideout for bandits and as a place for their activities. Banditry was also viewed in ethnic terms, with Slavs or Vlahs often associated with it – the latter category was probably not so much the name of an ethnos as that of a profession in many cases: transhuman shepherding. Ethnic categories played the largest role in external descriptions, in the reports of Byzantine officials, the accounts of travellers, but also in documents and narratives related to the Latins of Dalmatia.

In this paper, however, I will primarily explore the examples of discursive strategies. I will thus deal with the portrayal of the Slavs, who lived in the mountains, hid in the forests, and engaged in banditry, and I will point out existing techniques of description and their role within the narrative. The veracity of the events described will not be the focus of this study.

The depiction of a distinct lifestyle in terms of danger, backwardness and barbarism is obviously not new. In *The Frontier in History*, Owen Lattimore offered a particular vision of the interdependence of sedentary and barbarian societies. In his idea, cities and states were inextricably surrounded by a network of nomadic or semi-sedentary communities.[2] Lattimore wrote about the frontier as a distinction. In his conception, "mountain people" or "forest people" would constitute, as James Scott put it, a kind of "dark twin" of agricultural societies.[3] The concept of the savage barbarian, for good measure, was created by urban communities. Located on the outskirts of the polities, the barbarians would exploit its surplus through several strategies: plunder

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1   P. Sophoulis, *Banditry in the Medieval Balkans 800-1500*, London 2020, pp. 1-7, 17-39; idem, *Bandits and Pirates in the Medieval Balkans: Some Evidence from the Hagiographical Texts*, "Bulgaria Mediaevalis" I (2016), pp. 339-350.

2   O. Lattimore, *The Frontier in History*, in: *Studies in Frontier History. Collected Papers 1928-1958*, London-New York-Toronto 1962, pp. 469-492.

3   J.C. Scott, *Against the Grain. A Deep History of the Earliest States*, New Haven-London 2017, pp. 219-257.

raids, trade, tribute extortion in exchange for protection, and hiring them-
selves out to border-controlling armies. A distinctive way of describing
these people also emerged, which, on the one hand justified the existence
of a defending, centralized authority, and on the other responded to the real
fears of the city-dwellers and peasants. Thus, the literate culture introduced
discourses in which the barbarians were portrayed as unequivocally hostile,
viewing their mode of organization, or rather disorganization, as being at
a lower level of social development. A discourse of this type and the associ-
ated topology can be easily grasped in the works of ancient authors, with
particular reference to the *Bellum Gallicum* by Julius Caesar, whose vision
of the evolution of the community from tribes, through tribal unions, to
states, also seems to have had an impact on the historiography to this day.[4]

The roots of such narrative distinctions are much older, and the process
of barbarization and exoticization of the otherness is related to a way of per-
ceiving the world in terms of self/other, that is perhaps universal to humans.
The anthropological category of "the Other" has been used by historians on
a broader scale, at least since François Hartog's landmark book *The Mirror
of Herodotus*.[5] There, Hartog showed how the Scythians, the flagship example
of ancient nomads, were subjected to processes of highlighting otherness
in Herodotus's description through the rhetoric inversion and by emphasiz-
ing divisions. The category of "the Other" and the practices of stereotypical
descriptions of nomadic communities still constitute an important subject
in studies of medieval nomads.[6]

Latin Dalmatian historiography was also not free from these depictions
of others, often in service of the pragmatic aim of the particular work. It is
possible to trace similar discourses and recognize their main features in two
key narrative chronicles written in that region: *Historia Salonitana* by Thom-
as the Archdeacon, dating from the mid-13th century;[7] and the anonymous

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4   Ibidem, p. 250.

5   F. Hartog, *The Mirror of Herodotus. The Representation of the Other in the Writing of History*,
Berkeley-Los Angeles-London 1988 [French edition in 1980].

6   For instance: *The Other Europe in the Middle Ages. Avars, Bulgars, Khazars and Cumans*,
ed. F. Curta, Leiden-Boston 2007; A. Paroń, *The Image of Nomads of the Black Sea Steppes in the Byz-
antine Historiography of the 10th-12th centuries. Perceiving of the "Other" and Political Practice*, "Pon-
tica" XLVII (2011), pp. 111-121.

7   The circumstances of the creation and pragmatic functions of the work of Toma Archidi-
akon are exhaustively described by Mirjana Matijević Sokol, *Toma Arhiđakon i njegovo djelo*, Split
2002, which also includes an extensive bibliography on the subject. In my article I base the cita-
tion on the edition: *Thomae archidiaconi Spalatensis Historia Salonitanorum Atque Spalatinorum Pon-
tificum. Archdeacon Thomas of Split History of the Bishops of Salona and Split*, Latin text: O. Perić,
ed. D. Karbić, M. Matijević Sokol, J. Ross Sweeney, Budapest-New York 2006 (further: *Historia
Salonitana*), which also provides a basic bibliography (pp. 381-388) and a summary of the status
of the research (pp. XIII-XLIV).

Chronicle of the Priest of Duklja, usually dated to the late 12th century, but perhaps much more recent.[8] In both cases, my interest will lie primarily in the function of the literary tropes, in exposing the image of the Slavs as neighbours, enemies or barbarians. I will focus on the attempts in the narrative to sustain or change this image, but will not be discussing its relation to reality. I will present evidence of the persistence of those strategies for describing communities that, from the perspective of medieval writers, resided outside the oecumene or on the verge of its limits. Such tropes are especially evident in the work of Thomas the Archdeacon, but are also realized to some extent in the Priest of Duklja's work. Both chroniclers, when describing the Slavs, often refer to such *topoi* as the lack of organized power, the acephalic nature of the social order, the geographical dispersion of Slavic settlements, and their association with inaccessible places such as mountains, forests, and the sea. Slavs are also often identified as robbers and pirates.

When describing the rhetorical strategies of ancient writers, Hartog listed characteristics of the rhetoric used in describing "the Other". This included the construction of a system of description based on antithesis, in which the stranger, located at a separate pole, would complete the image of 'our' community, further emphasizing its distinctive features. Of the rhetorical devices mentioned by Hartog (which also included comparison and analogy, exoticization of another community by emphasizing its character in terms of fabulousness or miraculousness, as well as the translation and naming of the other culture by a given author with the categories and language of his own), it is the juxtaposition that seems to be the strategy used most frequently in *Historia Salonitana*, with which the Priest of Duklja in turn seems to disagree.

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8   An extensive literature has developed on *The Chronicle of the Priest of Duklja*. It was believed that the text was written in the second half of the twelfth century, see: Ferdo Šišić and Vladimir Mošin: *Letopis popa Dukljanina*, ed. F. Šišić, Belgrade-Zagreb 1928; *Ljetopis popa Dukljanina*, ed. V. Mošin, Zagreb 1950 (further: *Ljetopis*). However, there is no shortage of criticism of this dating. Tibor Živković proposed the turn of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries as the time when *The Chronicle* was written. Slavko Mjušković considered it to be even a fifteenth-century text: T. Živković, *Gesta regum Sclavorum* 2. *Komentar*, Belgrade 2009; *Ljetopis popa Dukljanina. Uvod, prevod i komentar*, ed. S. Mijušković, Belgrade 1988. Problems are posed by both the late surviving copies (mid-seventeenth century) and the lack of unquestionably confirmed traces of familiarity of *The Chronicle* in other sources before the fourteenth century. The complex structure of the text has even led Solange Bujan to claim that we are dealing with a forgery in the case of the Latopis, prepared by the Dubrovnik historian Mauro Orbini in the late sixteenth century: Solange Bujan, *La 'Chronique du prêtre de Dioclée'. Un faux document historique*, "Reveue des études Byzantines" LXVI (2008) 1, pp. 5-38. In this article, unless otherwise indicated, Vladimir Mošin's edition will be the basis for quotations. See also the monograph on the Priest of Duklja's work by the author of this paper: *The Kings of the Slavs. The Image of the Ruler in the Latin Text of The Chronicle of the Priest of Duklja*, Leiden-Boston 2021.

Historia Salonitana, written in the 1260s, reflects the views of its author. Thomas the Archdeacon came from the Latin patriciate of Split. In 1240s he studied in Bologna, and climbed the church hierarchy all the way to the dignity of Archbishop of Split, which he was, however, forced to give up.[9] Croatian historiography has long emphasized Thomas the Archdeacon's aversion to the Slavs. As an advocate of the city's self-government, he described its history in the context of a constant struggle for autonomy from outside forces.[10] In that context he often included in his chronicle an argument about the rulers of Croatia, and later those of Hungary.[11] His attitude toward the Slavs reflected that tendency to some extent, and Slavs also appeared in his work in the context of a threat to the city; he even described the Slavs's assault on the city using biblical tropes,[12] but it seems that in many cases the rhetoric used in describing the Slavs shows both the Archdeacon's views and his good knowledge of ancient conventions for characterizing groups regarded as barbaric.

It is important to mention that it was not only the Slavs who appeared as a synonym for savagery in both of the works. The reader can also find other strategies for describing the so-called barbarians in those texts. In *Historia Salonitana*, the Mongol invasion of Hungary and Dalmatia is depicted almost as a biblical scourge. In Thomas the Archdeacon's work, as much as in *The Chronicle of the Priest of Duklja*, the arrival of the Slavs is linked to the arrival of the Goths led by Totila.[13] The words *Slav* and *Got* are synonyms to some extent, especially in the early parts of both texts. Thomas the Arch-

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9 M. Matijević Sokol, *Toma Arhiđakon Splićanin (1200.-1268). Nacrt za jedan portret,* in: *Studia mediaevalia selecta. Rasprave i prinosi iz hrvatske srednjovjekovne povijesti*, Zagreb 2020, pp. 109-126; eadem, *Toma Arhiđakon i njegovo djelo…*, pp. 33-42; K. Šegvić, *Toma Arhiđakon, državnik i pisac 1200-1268. Njegov život i njegovo djelo*, Zagreb 1927, pp. 42-68.

10 T. Raukar, *Splitsko društvo u Salonitanskoj povijesti Tome Arhiđakona*, in: *Studije o dalmaciji u srednjem vijeku*, Split 2007, pp. 215-244.

11 M. Matijević Sokol, *Razdoblje hrvatskih narodnih vladara u 'Salonitanskoj povijesti'*, in: *Studia mediaevalia selecta. Rasprave i prinosi iz hrvatske srednjovjekovne povijesti*, Zagreb 2020, pp. 161-168; eadem, *Toma Arhiđakon i njegovo djelo…*, pp. 250-328.

12 The fall of ancient Salona is depicted in the manner of the story of Sodom and Gomorrah: N. Ivić, *Domišljanje prošlosti: kako je trinaestostoljetni splitski arhiđakon Toma napravio svoju salonitansku historiju*, Zagreb 1992, pp. 90-105. See also: M. Matijević Sokol, *O nekim stilskim, jezičnim i strukturnim osobitostima 'Salonitanske povijesti' Tome Arhiđakona Splićanina*, in: *Studia mediaevalia selecta. Rasprave i prinosi iz hrvatske srednjovjekovne povijesti*, Zagreb 2020, pp. 133-138.

13 On this occasion, Thomas referred to the accompanying Totila nobles as 'Lingones', which he probably derived from Lucan, although it was also used by Adam of Bremen and Helmold (M. Matijević Sokol, *Toma Arhiđakon i njegovo djelo…*, p. 235. On the relation of this name to the Hungarian term for Poles (*Lengyel*) see: L. Spychała, *'Lingones' Tomasza ze Splitu. Węgierska nazwa Polaków (lengyen/lengyel) czy jej południowosłowiański odpowiednik (Lenđel [Lenđen])?*, in: *Z badań nad historią Śląska i Europy w wiekach średnich*, ed. M. Goliński, S. Rosik, Wrocław 2013, pp. 173-215.

deacon also uses the term Croat interchangeably.[14] In several contexts, however, these three ethnonyms take on slightly different shades of meaning in Thomas the Archdeacon's work. Over time, the Goths were mentioned by the Archdeacon mainly in the context of the alleged Arianism of the Slavs or Croats (in fact, Thomas the Archdeacon showed his contempt for the Slavic rite in that way). A different mode of imagery was also used when describing the Croatian kingdom. The Achdeacon listed the Croatian rulers, titling them with the words *dux* or *rex*, wrote about their regnum, and even wrote about *gentibus Chroatie* (though in the plural).[15] In those excerpts there is no reference to the ferocity of the Croats and the multiplicity of centres of power that would characterize the rest of the Archdeacon descriptions.

Elsewhere in his work, Thomas the Archdeacon, with a few minor exceptions, avoided linking the words "Slav" or "Croat" to any organized structure. Even when he wrote about the rulers of the Hum, Bosnia, or the surrounding polities, he usually did not recognize them as Slavic.[16] That can further highlight the descriptive consistency, as he described the Slavs almost entirely in terms of their lack of structured organization and the dispersion of power.

Early in his work, when describing Dalmatia, Thomas the Archdeacon mentioned that the region was famous for piracy. He wrote about the name Liburnia, which, as he pointed out, originated from a type of pirate longboat used by the locals, whom, following Lukan, he called Liburnians (*Liburnos*).[17] The Archdeacon wrote that they practiced piracy, taking advantage of certain areas on the islands, which were full of places that were inaccessible and offered shelter. He also recalled the story of Cadmus, who, according to one version of the legend, was said to have founded the city of Epiudauros, which was identified by the chronicler with the city of Ragusa (Dubrovnik), where Cadmus later turned into a dragon. However, as the chronicler added, others said that Cadmus was a king in Greece, and after being banished from his kingdom, he came to Dalmatia to become the cruellest pirate, who plundered the seas *quasi lubricus anguis* ("like a slithering snake"), lurking and preying on passing ships.[18]

Thomas the Archdeacon also linked the young inhabitants of Salona with piracy: after the fall of the city, having taken refuge on the islands, they attacked and killed the Slavs in an act of revenge, because they had occupied

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14   See: K. Šegvić, *Hrvat, Got i Slav u djelu Tome Splićanina*, „Nastavni vjesnik" XL (1931-1932), pp. 18-25. M. Matijević Sokol, *Toma Arhiđakon i njegovo djelo…*, pp. 233-249.

15   *Historia Salonitana…*, pp. 60, 62, 92.

16   For instance Toljen of Hum (*Historia Salonitana…*, p. 228) or Ninoslav of Bosnia (ibidem, p. 300).

17   Ibidem, p. 4.

18   Ibidem, p. 6.

and partially demolished the ancient centre. The element of the "homeless-ness" of this group is relevant here, because the roles were already reversed after the return of Diocletian's palace. By around the Archdeacon's time, it would be the residents of Split who would feel the constant threat from the pirates.

According to the chronicler, the residents of the town of Omiš in particular were supposed to specialize in piracy. The Archdeacon, describing the actions of the Podesta Gargano, mentioned the Splitans' attack on the inhabitants of Omiš, as well as the figures of two brothers, Pribislav and Osor, sons of a certain Malduč of Omiš, who ruled on the islands of Hvar and Brač and who were both called *comes* by the chronicler. According to the story, while ruling Split, the podesta who was ruling Split succeeded in breaking Omiš's control over the two islands In response, the people of Omiš organized a robbery raid on the islands. Two representatives of the local elite, Lampredius and Stefan, along with 50 young men, were sent from Split to protect them. The attempt to seize dominion over the areas hitherto controlled by the pirates met with resistance from the younger of the brothers, Osor. The chronicler mentioned that, in his customary manner, he assembled his relatives (*fratribus*) and equipped all the *liburnas* (i.e. long boats), financing the venture from his pirate treasury. As was mentioned in the chronicle, Osor (along with his brother) owned more of these boats than were owned by the inhabitants of Split.

With the help of the band so assembled, the *comes* began to harass Split in every possible way.[19] One of the most spectacular incidents, according to the chronicle, was a raid on the island of Šolta, when the church of St. Stephen was also ransacked, which the attackers then burned - 'in the style of pagans' (*paganorum more*), smashing the altars, scattering relics and profaning the consecrated host.[20] This incident, according to the chronicler, changed the course of events and brought God's vengeance upon Osor. Three days after the attack on Šolta, another expedition set out from Omiš, this time to the island of Brač, but this time Osor's men were defeated by the less numerous and more inexperienced inhabitants of Split. According to Thomas the Archdeacon, a truly astonishing event occurred during the battle. Although they were superior in numbers, at one point Osor's men rushed to flee, as if a bolt of lightning had struck them, and many of them fell lifeless to the ground. Wounded in the battle, Osor was captured and, along with many of the inhabitants of Omiš, thrown into a dungeon beneath the podesta's house, where they were initially treated gently, but were later starved and beaten in order to force Osor's brother and his fugitive companions to

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19   Ibidem, p. 238-253.
20   Ibidem, p. 242.

agree to more favourable terms of peace with Split. Indeed, in the end Osor agreed to surrender all pirate ships to Podesta Gargano and to abandon his plunder, which was also accepted by his comrades who remained at large.

It was not only the sea, but also the forest and the mountains that were part of the imaginarium associated with borders that Thomas the Archdeacon drew upon in his history. Up to this point, Slavs had not yet been explicitly mentioned, as the chronicler did not refer to the *comites* Pribislav and Osor with this term. Looking for the roots of the Slavic (and Croatian) presence on the Adriatic coast, the Archdeacon applied two different strategies: rupture, which was to be associated with the invasion of the Goths; and continuity with the Slavs and Croats as the heirs of the ancient Kuretes, who, according to the chronicler, inhabited the area along with the Dalmatians and Istrians. The distinctive features of these ancient people, as presented in the text, were associated with inaccessible places, with mountains and the woods. Their whereabouts eluded precise designation. They resided outside that main boundary that metaphorically, but also literally, separated civilization and the realm of nature. Describing the geography of Croatia, the Archdeacon stated that this mountainous region used to be called Curetia, and hence Croats were called Curetes or Corybantes (both are of course the names of the wild, noisy demons known from Greek mythology, though the chronicler is silent about that inspiration).[21] For the chronicler, the Curetes are thus Croats, and he derived their name from the fact that they are *quasi currentes et instabiles*, i.e. they are on the move and constantly change their location. Thomas the Archdeacon related that they led a rough life, wandering through mountains and forests.[22] Their nature owed much to the ferocity of their homeland, so they enjoyed war, raiding and pillaging like wild animals, often throwing themselves at the enemy without armour.[23] Also describing the Dalmatians, the Archdeacon wrote that they stayed in the forests, engaged in brigandage and plundered the surrounding provinces. Only the Roman commander Vibius, having defeated them in battle, persuaded this savage human race

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21   In similar way, Thomas also used the ethnonyms known from ancient texts in the context of Hungarians, see: L. Spychała, *Węgrzy jako pars aliqua gentis Massagetum. Ślady późnoantycznej i wczesnośredniowiecznej uczoności w dziele Tomasza Archidiakona Splitu. Cz. 2: Postrzeganie Massagetów. 1) Kontekst Scytyjski*, SAMAI VI (2021), pp. 174-238.

22   *Historia Salonitana…*, p. 36.

23   Thomas described an interesting feature of the religion of these Curetes/Croats, especially related to the lunar eclipse. He could again have been referring to ancient models, but it is possible that he was relying on his own observation: K. Kužić, *Gdje je i kad Toma Arhiđakon doživio hrvatska vjerovanja vezana za pomrčinu mjeseca – doprinos interdisciplinarnoj metodi istraživanja*, "Zbornik Odsjeka za povijesne znanosti Zavoda za povijesne i društvene znanosti Hrvatske akademije znanosti i umjetnosti" XXII (2004), pp. 27-33.

(*efferum genus hominum*) to lay down their arms and start digging gold from the veins of the earth.[24]

The Archdeacon also frequently used similar motifs throughout his work when describing the Croats, and consequently when describing the Slavs as well. Thomas the Archdeacon very rarely mentioned the names of Slavic chiefs or leaders. We hear about the rulers of the Croats slightly more often, but after the description of the seizure of the kingdom of Croatia by the kings of Hungary, these designations appear only sporadically. Exceptionally, the Archdeacon mentioned an otherwise unknown prince or chieftain (*dux*) of the Croats named Reles, who wanted to seize power in Split. It was perhaps a matter of taking over the office of city *comes*, although the chronicler does not specify this. The demands of Reles, however, were rejected by the townspeople, who were disgusted at the very thought that they could be ruled by a Slav.[25] It is in the description of the struggle with Reles that the opposition of the terms Latins and Slavs is most evident. The army of Reles is referred to by the latter ethnonym, while the inhabitants of the city are Latins in this context. Interestingly, in other parts of the work, the chronicler described other groups as Latins – in one case Italian townspeople, in another (probably French) monastic knights – but no longer used the term to refer to the Split residents. The struggle with Reles is often dated to the 1160s, while other references to the office of city *comes* in the work may illustrate a change in the elements defining the identity of Split's burghers. Closer to Thomas the Archdeacon's time, the town was governed by Croatian and even Bosnian magnates, but the chronicler never used the term Slav (or Croat) to refer to them, as if the opposition of Latins and Slavs from the time of Reles's assault had already passed into history.

For example, the archdeacon described the events of the 1220s in this neutral way, when Višen, who was born outside Split, was a *comes*. According to the chronicler's account, at that time the city was frequently invaded by Budimir and his brothers, *homines feroces* – wild men,[26] as the Archdeacon himself described them. However, he did not use either Slav or Croat to describe Budimir. After Budimir's death, his brother Hranislav continued the attacks. As Thomas the Archdeacon wrote: "Together with a troop of armed horsemen, he descended on the plain, robbing and plundering everyone he encountered". Upon hearing that Comes Višen's men were approaching, the bandits (*predones*) would retreat into the mountains, leading the captured animals with them. The problem of livestock abduction

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24   *Historia Salonitana…*, p. 4.
25   Ibidem, pp. 114-117.
26   Ibidem, p. 180.

was perhaps the most vexing manifestation of attacks from the interior. Elsewhere, the chronicler recalled an invasion by Toljen of Hum, during which as many as 80,000 sheep were reportedly taken.[27]

The problem of enclosing and marking out boundaries in terms of the liminal features of the Slavs in *Historia Salonitana* can be seen most clearly in the excerpt devoted to the death of Archbishop Rainer. The archbishop went to the area around Mount Mosor, where the lands belonging to the Church of St. Domnius were located, which according to the chronicler, had been occupied by the Slavs. From the text, we learn that Rainer wanted to redraw the boundaries of the church's estates there (directly defined by the word *ciruicio*), carrying out this task together with people who "had news of the land and its boundaries". During the activity of demarcating the borders, Nikola of the Kačić family came to see the archbishop, along with his brothers and the assembled people. Nikola accused the archbishop of trying to deprive them of land belonging to their ancestors and threatened him with death. Rainer did not yield to the threats, which so enraged the "Slavic mass" (*omnis multitudo Sclavorum*) that they stoned the archbishop and left his body under a pile of stones.

Mount Mosor in the text was a common hideout for the brigands. Describing much later, almost contemporaneous, events in the 1230s, Thomas the Archdeacon reported how the aforementioned Podesta Gargano began building a fortress, or rather a fortification, at a place called Kamen, to the east of the city, which would serve as a shelter against attacks by brigands, who, the chronicler claimed, would descend from Mosor, then float their loot back to that mountain. In this case, the Archdeacon may not have mentioned that the brigantines were certain Slavs, but one could probably hazard such an assumption based on what he had written earlier about this mountain and the disputed territories in the area. On the other hand, the dispute over the land around Mosor was fought against, among others, the Kačić family, who came from Omiš, and may have been part of a broader, politically motivated plan to portray that town as a centre of brigandage and piracy.[28]

The Archdeacon mentioned the Slavs several more times in his chronicle. Three times they appear as a group within larger armies: the Hungarian royal army or among the mercenaries hired by the burghers of Trogir.[29] However, of particular interest are the mentions of Slavs and Croats in his description of the Mongol invasion of the kingdom of Hungary and the Adriatic coast in 1240 and 1241 by the troops led by Kadan and Batu. The Archdeacon recalled that the Mongols, when they approached Trogir, sent a herald who stood under the city walls and spoke to the townspeople in the Slavic language. He also

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27 Ibidem, p. 214.
28 Ibidem, p. 126.
29 Ibidem, p. 316, 344, 370.

wrote that the citizens of Split did not immediately recognize the approaching Mongols, thinking at first that it was some Croatian bands attacking the city, and so they wanted to set out immediately to drive them away.[30] A telling detail, since, according to the historian, the Tartars' apperance was dwistinguished by their exceptional savagery. Finally, writing about the march of Kadan's army through Croatia, the Archdeacon noted that it did not manage to carry out a particularly great slaughter on the Slavs, because these people "had already hidden themselves in the mountains and forests".[31]

A similar trope of Slavs hiding in forests is almost absent in *The Chronicle of the Priest of Duklja*. At only one point in the narrative does the Priest of Duklja depart from this image of the Slavs, adopting a perspective similar to that used by Thomas the Archdeacon. It occurred when he described the destruction of Epidauros and the refugees' founding of Ragusa, or Dubrovnik. According to the Priest of Duklja, the destruction of Epidauros was carried out by Saracens. As the historian wrote: "The Latins, on the other hand, while fleeing, hid in the mountains inhabited by the Slavs. So when the Saracens returned to their land, the Latins also intended to go to their cities, but the Slavs captured them and kept them as slaves. Later, however, quite a few Latins were released on the condition that they would serve them for all time and pay tribute".[32]

According to one of the most important scholars of that text, Ferdo Šišić, this passage was a later addition. Milorad Medini argued that the entire narrative about the founding of Ragusa was an interpolation to the *The Chronicle* of elements of the local Dubrovnik tradition.[33] Without going further into the complex problem of the formation of the the Priest of Duklja text, we can only note that this passage is indeed unusual.

It is not known whether the Priest of Duklja, writing in Latin, was a local Slav, an outsider, or a a citizen of Dalmatian coastal cities for whom the first language was one of the Romance dialects.[34] However, the scholars suspect that he addressed his work to a Slavic audience and, unlike the Archdeacon, did not see the Slavs primarily as invaders or troublesome neighbours living on the fringes of the civilized world. The difference becomes apparent early on in the Priest of Duklja's narrative. In *The Chronicle of the Priest of Duklja*, just

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30 See: W. Kowalski, *The Kings of the Slavs…*, pp. 84-99.

31 *Historia Salonitana…*, p. 294.

32 *Ljetopis*, p. 70.

33 M. Medini, *Kako je postao Ljetopis Popa Dukljanina*, „Rad JAZU" 173 (1942), pp. 113-157; idem, *Starine dubrovačke*, Dubrovnik 1935, pp. 29-64.

34 For instance: Eduard Peričić claimed identified him as the Archbishop of Dubrovnik, Gregory: *Sclavorum regnum Grgura Barskog. Ljetopis popa Dukljanina*, Zagreb 1991; Tibor Živković in *Gesta regum Sclavorum* thought that the Priest of Duklja was a foreigner who came from the area of Bohemia.

as in *Historia Salonitana*, the conquest of Dalmatia is carried out by the Goths under the command of Totila, who in the Priest of Duklja's version was additionally accompanied by his brother Ostroyllus. The Priest of Duklja initially avoided the term Slavs, letting all the burden associated with the pagan invasions fall, as it were, directly on the Goths. The Slavs appeared when the reign of King Silimir was described, who, while remaining a pagan, respected and cared for the Christians, and filled his land with "a multitude of Slavs".[35] Later in the text, the Goths themselves become Slavs. They already have their own kings and a state structure at this narrative point (even if they still remain pagans). The basic division among these pagan rulers of the Goths, later Slavs, was their relationship to the Christians living in the conquered lands.

Silimir treated them well, but his grandson Ratomir persecuted the Christians, who "conceived of gathering on the highest mountains and defensive places, erecting temporary fortifications, strongholds and forts if possible".[36] This interesting detail was repeated several times by the Priest of Duklja. During the reign of the four unnamed kings, "quite a number of Christians from the coastal areas and from outside the mountain areas" fled, "joining those in the mountains".[37] So we thus see in this narrative a complete reversal of the motif of savage Slavs hiding in the mountains. In the face of danger, Christians, representatives of the civilized world, head to the mountains, and it is perhaps only the purpose which remains the same: to protect themselves from the oppressive policies of the rulers and the desire of remove themselves beyond the borders of their realms.

The end of persecution came with the baptism of King Svetopelek, and led to the descent of Christians "from the mountains and the hiding places in which they sought refuge".[38] Svetopelek tried to redraw the boundaries of his kingdom, but there was no one in the entire realm who could remember their course. So the king sent to the pope and the emperor for the relevant documents, and having gathered all his subjects – both the descendants of the barbarians, the Slavs, living on the plains, and the survivors of the ancient civilization, the Latins, hiding in the forests – he ordered them to reconstitute the community together, allowing the Priest of Duklja to abandon the discourse of two antagonized groups living in one area, but hitherto clearly separated.

Although the Priest of Duklja devoted the bulk of his work to rulers descended, in his opinion, from the Goths, who later became Slavs, the category of the Slavs itself did not play a major role in his work. The Priest of Duklja informed readers at the outset that he was merely the translator of the story

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35 *Ljetopis*, p. 44.
36 Ibidem, p. 46.
37 Ibidem, p. 47.
38 Ibidem, p. 50.

from the Slavic archetype into Latin, a much-debated statement which is considered to be unreliable today. However, the chronicler was certainly familiar with the tradition about Saint Constantine (and perhaps Methodius, who he did not mention) and largely represented the Slavic view of the disputes between Latins and Slavs. When he wrote about the baptism and the symbolic founding of the kingdom by Svetopelek, being a Slav or a Latin play a primary role, but the opposition was depicted quite differently than it was in Thomas the Archdeacon's work, and was highlighted only to be downplayed in the course of the story. The very reference to the Slavic ethnos later only appeared in the Priest of Duklja's chronicle while mentioning the peace made between the Slavs and the Hungarians.

The Priest of Duklja also mentioned local names in the "Slavic" language, often juxtaposing them with Latin equivalents. In addition to these passages, the category of Slavic identity and references to the people of the land of the Slavs (*populus terrae Sclavorum*) appeared primarily in the aforementioned story of the founding of Ragusa. The most surprising aspect in this passage is the partial departure from the positive image of the Slavs and the use of the trope of an enemy which recurs so often in the work of Thomas the Archdeacon discussed above. However, in the story of the founding of Ragusa, too, this negative image is quickly blurred, and under the leadership of King Pavlimir, descended from their lineage, the Slavs eventually become one of the groups that solidified the power of this fairy-tale king and his realm. References to the forest appeared twice in the story about the founding of the city.[39] The Priest of Duklja mentioned that the inhabitants of destroyed Epidauros were staying in the mountains and forests (*per silvas et montana manebant*) when Pavlimir arrived from Rome with a group of men, women and children. The Epidaurians came down from the unaccustomed hinterland to welcome Pavlimir, then, working with Pavlimir and his people, they built the city of Ragusa together. The second time, however, the Priest of Duklja explained that the Slavs call Ragusa by the name Dubrovnik, meaning forest or forested (*id est 'silvester' sive 'silvestris'*), because they came from the forest when it was being built. Since the Priest of Duklja earlier mentioned the Epidaurians coming from the mountains and forest, the impression arises that in the second excerpt he confused the Slavs with the refugees from Epidauros, giving them the function of co-creators of the city.[40]

This mode of description may be a testament to a new type of narrative that captured the changes that were taking place in the demographics of Dalmatian cities. Irena Benyovsky Latin has described in depth the process of con-

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39 T. Živković, *Legenda o Pavlimiru Belu*, "Istorijski Časopis" L (2003), pp. 9-32; idem, *On the Foundation of Ragusa. The Tradition vs. Facts*, "Istorijski Časopis" LIV (2007), pp. 9-25.

40 *Ljetopis*, pp. 70-71.

structing identity and ethnicity reflected in medieval and modern sources on Dalmatian cities.[41] The narratives highlighted demographic changes in the cities themselves. Due to changes in the structure of urban populations, primarily migrations to cities or the expansion of cities into inland areas, there were also updates to *origo urbis* legends. Initial legends about the ancient origins of urban communities on the Adriatic were supplemented (sometimes even supplanted) by Slavic tradition, which symbolically included Slavs in legends about the foundation of cities, linking these origins to fabulous Slavic rulers or heroes. This process can be seen most clearly in Dubrovnik, and the traditions regarding the three intertwining legends of origins, which can laboriously be called Epidaurian, Roman and Slavic, have been described in depth by Lovro Kunčević[42] and Zdenka Janeković Römer,[43] who have shown how legends of beginnings served to build new identifications and also later to justify the political order in early modern Ragusa.[44]

Comparing the excerpts of texts dedicated to the Slavs written by Thomas the Archdeacon and the Priest of Duklja, we can see that for both of them the issue of boundaries and the inaccessibility of the landscape surrounding the inhabited centres was an important question, especially in terms of the foudation and survival of the community. Both chroniclers also knew the liminal status of the Slavs, although they exploited that trope in different ways. While the Archdeacon saw the Slavs at best as unfriendly neighbors, and often as bandits and pirates, lying in wait for the Split inhabitants, and their goods and lands, the Priest of Duklja alluded to the wilderness, the mountains and forest, in order to emphasize the community's crisis, and in his narrative he seems confused as to whether it was the Slavs or the Latins who were hiding in inaccessible areas; the resolution

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41   I. Benyovsky Latin, *Grad i zaleđe u narativnim vrelima: konstruiranje tradicije o ranosrednjovjekovnim doseljenjima u Dubrovnik iz slavenskog zaleđa*, "Acta Historiae" XXV (2017), pp. 473-510; eadem, *Introduction. Towns and Cities of the Croatian Middle Ages. Image of the Town in the Narrative Sources Reality and/or Fiction?*, in: *Towns and Cities of the Croatian Middle Ages. Image of the Town in the Narrative Sources Reality and/or Fiction?*, ed. I. Benyovsky Latin, Z. Pešorda Vardić, Zagreb 2017, pp. 13-60.

42   L. Kunčević, *Mit o Dubrovniku. Diskursi identiteta renesansnog grada*. Zagreb/Dubrovnik 2015; idem, *The Oldest Foundation Myth of Ragusa: The Epidaurian Tradition*, "Annual of Medieval Studies at CEU" X (2004), pp. 2131.

43   Z. Janeković Römer, *Stjecanje Konavla. Antička tradicija i mit u službi diplomacije*, in: *Konavle u prošlosti sadašnjosti i budućnosti. Zbornik radova sa znanstvenog skupa održanog u Cavtatu od 25. do 27. studenog 1996. godine*, vol. I, ed. V. Stipetić, Dubrovnik 1998, pp. 31-45; eadem, *Slavensko i romansko tkanje dalmatinskog i dubrovačkog identiteta*, in: *Povijest hrvatskog jezika. Književnost i kultura devedesetih. Zbornik radova 40. seminara Zagrebačke slavističke škole*, ed. K. Mićanović, Zagreb 2011, pp. 207-225.

44   On the influence of Thomas the Archdeacon's work on the historiography of Ragusa in the early modern period see also: M. Matijević Sokol, *'Historia Salonitana' post Thomam – recepcija 'Salonitanske povijesti' od prvotiska*, in: *Humanitas et litterae ad honorem Franjo Šanjek*, ed. L. Čoralić, S. Slišković, Zagreb, 2009, pp. 99-112.

of conflicts ended in his text with the descent of one of the groups to the lowlands or the coast.[45] In such an inversion of the *topoi*, one can see a conscious attempt to change the stereotype, which, as the examples from *Historia Salonitana* suggest, must have been widespread in the Dalmatian coastal urban centres.

Proofreading by dr Sara Elin Roberts

Abstract

The article provides an examination of the image of the Slavs in two medieval works: Thomas the Archdeacon's *Historia Salonitana* and *The Chronicle of the Priest of Duklja*. In both of these texts, the Slavs are portrayed stereotypically, and in both they are linked to the liminal sphere. By analyzing the references to the established image of the Slavs and any deviations from it, the article aims to uncover different attitude towards the Slavs held by both authors. It explores the discursive strategies employed by Thomas the Archdeacon and the Priest of Duklja, shedding light on the evolving image of Slavs as troublesome neighbours. The change of that image suggests a possible correction in the portrayal of the Slavs related perhaps to ethnic changes in medieval Dalmatia.

Keywords: *Historia Salonitana*, Medieval Dalmatia, The Origin of the Slavs, *The Chronicle of the Priest of Duklja*, Medieval Balkans

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45　The motif of symbolic community fusion in the Priest of Duklja's work has previously been discussed (by the author of this paper inter alia): L. Steindorff, *Die Synode auf der Planities Dalmae. Reichsteilung und Kirchenorganisation im Bild der 'Chronik des Priesters von Dioclea'*, "Mitteilungen des Instituts für österreichische Geschichtsforschung" XCIII (1985), pp. 279-324; T. Živković, *O takozvanom saboru na Duvanjskom polju*, "Zbornik za istoriju Bosne i Hercegovine" IV (2004), pp. 45-65; W. Kowalski, *Rupture. Integration. Renewal. The Gathering in Dalma and the Creation of a Political Community in The Chronicle of the Priest of Dioclea*, "Slavia Meridionalis" XIX (2019), pp. 1-28.

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III. Current research

Robert Goczał
Pontifical Faculty of Theology in Wrocław
robert.goczal@pwt.wroc.pl
https://orcid.org/0000-0001-8777-8488

Historical outline of just war theory and its fundamental assumptions in medieval and late renaissance thought (St. Augustine of Hippo, St. Thomas Aquinas, Francis Suárez, St. Robert Bellarmine)

"Everything has an appointed season,
and there is a time for every matter under the heaven.
…A time to love and a time to hate;
a time for war and a time for peace".
Kohelet (Ecclesiastes) 3,1,8

Introduction

The significance of just war theory has been exposed in history using various typologies. It seems that this issue was developed more from the side of a theoretical than a practical science. Nevertheless, it usually assumed a theological context and, from a major perspective, proposed axiological, anthropological, legal and philosophical premises in relation to human activity in a state that basically presupposes certain

moral norms. Suffice it to say that these links between legislation, political, philosophical and theological thought make the essence of just war more achievable, but only when we consider it in different theoretical contexts, combining them into a single whole issue.

This theory apparently existed for hundreds of years of thought spanning from the Middle Ages through most of the following two centuries, and became the *doctrina politica* in Latin Europa on which heritage almost every philosophical and political thinker, especially the Spanish and the Dutch, drew in the era of modern rationalism, both in Catholic and Protestant countries of 16th and 17th century Western Europe.[1]

Considering that the spread of just war theory flourished in the Middle Ages, especially in the thought of St. Augustine († 430), then St. Thomas Aquinas († 1274), it is not without significance that the world of Modernity between the 16th and 17th centuries and the periods that followed studied the theory of laws and just war mainly through the works of Spanish scholastics, such as Pedro da Fonseca († 1599), Francisco de Toledo († 1596), Domingo de Soto († 1560), Gabriel Vázques († 1604), Domingo Báñez († 1640), and above all St. Robert Bellarmine († 1621) and Francisco Suárez († 1617). The last one is even called the "pope and the prince of all metaphysicians" (*omnium metaphysicorum princeps ac papa*) and recognized as the main channel through which medieval scholasticism made its way into modern philosophy.[2] Apart from Suárez and Bellarmine, other authors of the Iberian and Dutch schools should be mentioned, whose theoretical propositions in this field are based on the medieval tradition: Francisco de Vitoria OP († 1546),[3]

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1 K. Eschweiler, *Die Philosophie der spanischen Spätscholastik auf den Universitäten des siebzehnten Jahrhunderts*, in: Spanische Forschungen Der Görresgesellschaft,ed. Konrad Beyerle, Henrich Finke, Georg Schreiber, vol. I, Gesammelte Aufsätze zur Kulturgeschichte Spaniens, Erste Reihe, Münster 1928, pp. 251-325, esp.: part 1. Die Verbreitung der spanischen Schulphilosophie auf den protestantischen Hochschulen in Holland und Deutschland (pp. 262-275); part 3. Der Vorsprung der Jesuiten in der Entwicklung des philosophischen Unterrichtes am Ende des sechzehnten Jahrhunderts (pp. 283-289); part 5. Die Philosophie der Suarez-Schule als normale Universitätsphilosophie des siebzehnten Jahrhunderts (pp. 302-318); part 6. Philosophiegeschichtliche Probleme in der spanischen Spätscholastik (pp. 318-325); B. Jansen S.J., *Die scholastische Philosophie des 17. Jahrhunderts*, "Philosophischen Jarbuch der Görres-Gesellschaft" L (1937) 4, pp. 401-444; E. Lewalter, *Spanische-jesuitische und deutsch-lutherische Metaphysik des 17. Jahrhunderts*, Hamburg 1935; M. Wundt, *Die deutsche Schulmetaphysik des 17. Jahrhunderts*, Tübingen 1939.

2 "…the main chanel by which scholasticism came to be known by modern classical philosophers" (A. Maurer CSB, *Medieval Philosophy*, New York 1962, p. 356).

3 See Francisco de Vitoria, *De indis et de iure belli relectiones*, ed. H.F. Wright, Washington 1917; H.-G. Justenhoven, *Francisco de Vitoria: Just War as Defense of International Law*, in: *From Just War to Modern Peace Ethics*, ed. H.-G. Justenhoven, W.A. Barbieri, Jr., Berlin-Boston 2012 (= Arbeiten zur Kirchengeschichte CXX), pp. 121-136.

Luis de Molina SJ († 1600),[4] Gregory of Valencia SJ († 1603),[5] Francisco Arias SJ († 1605),[6] as well as the Dutch jurist and philosopher Hugo Grotius († 1645).[7]

It is also not without significance that the dominant controversial issue of just war theory seems to be both ethical, philosophical, theological and legal at the same time, including strictly juridical regulations which were often related to religious premises and church legislation as well. The idea of combining the order of legislative provisions with theological ones is an extremely fundamental approach to just war theory in the Middle Ages and postmedieval period in the Renaissance, especially during the late medieval scholasticism, or, more precisely, the second scholasticism.

It is worthwhile to mention that the great flourishing of Christian Aristotelianism and Thomism, combining philosophy with theology and legal thought, and having its origin in the philosophy of Pedro Martinez de Osma († ci. 1480), was present in the philosophy of most authors of that time.[8] In many Iberian writers, philosophy and theology supplemented law with both natural and supernatural knowledge, which, however, did not distort the theories. On the other hand, the new interpretations of philosophical, legal and theological terminology (for example, in Suárez, as E. Gilson writes, *"with accuracy and clarity not found to this extent in his predecessors"*),[9] and new mechanisms of justifying old theories give a picture of exceptional systems on the border between medieval scholasticism and modernity.

A particularly active moment in European thought, in which medieval philosophy, theology and law were still evolving, was the period of the Spanish Renaissance scholasticism of the 16th and 17th centuries (*Spanische Barockscholastik* or *Spätscholastik*).[10] Its twilight, the most *exotic flower*, appeared in the center

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4   See Ludvicus Molinae e Societate Iesu, Primarii quondam in Eborensi Academia Sacrae Theologiae Professoris, *De Iustitia et Iure tractatus*, vol. I, Venetiis 1611, col. 365-370, 374, 375.

5   See Gregorii de Valentia Metimnensis e Societate Iesu, Sacrae Theologiae Academia Ingolstadiensi Professoris, *Commentariorum Theologicorum*, vol. III, Pariisis 1609, col. 829-863.

6   See Franciscus Arias, *De bello et eius iustitia*, in: *Tractatus universi iuris, duce, et auspice Gregorio XIII pontifice maximo, in unum congesti: additis quamplurimis antea nunquam editis*, vol. XVI, Venetiis 1584, pp. 325 ff.

7   See *Hugo Grotius. On the Law of War and Peace. Student Edition*, ed. S.C. Neff, Cambridge 2012; W. van der Vlugt, *L'Oeuvre de Grotius et son influence sur le développement du droit international*, Leiden-Boston 1925 (= Collected Courses of the Hague Academy of International Law VII). T.J. Demy, M.J. Larson, J.D. Charles, *The Reformers on War, Peace, and Justice,* Eugene 2019.

8   T. & J. Carreras Artau, *Historia de la filozofia española. Filosofia cristiana de los siglos XIII al. XVI*, vol. II, Madrid 1943, pp. 550, 569.

9   E. Gilson, *Byt i istota*, transl. P. Lubicz, J. Nowak, Warszawa 1963, p. 124.

10   More on the Renaissance-Iberian scholasticism in Europe, as well as on directions, issues and teaching methods in Portuguese and Spanish colonies in the New World in the Renaissance era, see: K. Eschweiler, *Die Philosophie der spanischen Spätscholastik…*, esp. part. 6. Die Philosophie der Suárez-Schule als normale Universitätsphilosophie des siebzehnten Jahrhunderts, §19-20, pp. 302-309; U.G. Leinsle, *Einführung in die scholastische Theologie*, Serie UTB Für

of the university world on the Iberian Peninsula. Although the Protestant Reformation did not affect the catholicity of Spain and Portugal, the renewal of Iberian scholastic thought was influenced by at least four religious events during the Reformation and Counter-Reformation, lasting from about 1517 (Martin Luther's speech) to 1648 (end of the Thirty Years' War): the Fifth Lateran Council (1512-1517); the Council of Trent (1545-1563); the foundation of numerous religious orders;[11] particularly the foundation of the Society of Jesus. The founding of the Jesuit Order (*Societas Iesu*) in 1539 by St. Ignatius of Loyola († 1556), which was then approved by Pope Paul III in 1540, contributed significantly to the increased interest in medieval thought during the Renaissance. The Jesuits marked their presence at the Council of Trent by proposing apostolic work of a retreat and missionary nature. They put great emphasis on social education and knowledge of philosophy, theology, and legal thought, including canon law, which largely contributed to the reinterpretation of many political categories and regulations in the field of just war tradition.

At all the universities of 17th century Central Europe, with the possible exception of the University of Altdorf, the Spanish-Portuguese scholastic school was the genuine basis for teaching philosophy, theology and law. Professor Franco Burgersdijk († 1635) – lecturing in Leyden between 1620 and 1635, author of the *Institutionum metaphysicorum libri duo* (1640), the teacher of Andreas Heereborg († 1659), another famous professor from Leyden – emphasized the 17th century belief in the role of the Iberian authorities and their philosophical influence throughout the range of various forms of education: *Place respected scholastics*

Wissenschaft, Paderborn 1995, pp. 262-342; P.R. Blum, *Philosophenphilosophie und Schulphilosophie. Typen des Philosophierens in der Neuzeit*, Stuttgart 1998 (= Studia Leibnitiana Sonder-hefter XXVII), pp. 117-262; idem, *Die Schulphilosophie in den katholischen Territorien*, in: F. Ueberweg, *Grundriss der Geschichte der Philosophie, Die Philosophie des 17. Jahrhunderts*, vol. IV: *Das heilige Römische Reich Deutscher Nation, Nord- und Ostmitteleuropa*, ed. H. Holzhey, W. Schmidt-Biggemann, cooperation: V. Murdoch, Basel 2001, pp. 302-391; M.W.F. Stone, *Scholastic Schools and Early Modern Philosophy*, in: *The Cambridge Companion to Early Modern Philosophy*, ed. D. Rutherford, Cambridge 2006, pp. 299-327. On teaching in the Portuguese and Spanish colonies, see J.T. Lanning, *Academic Culture in the Spanish Colonies*, Washington-London 1971, pp. 3-33, 61-92; *Hispanic Philosophy in the age of Discovery*, ed. K.A. White, Washington 1997; *The Cambridge History of Seventeenth-Century Philosophy*, ed. D. Garber, M. Ayers, vol. I-II, Cambridge 1998, pp. 9-32 (*Institutional Setting*); I. Angelelli, *Sobre la restauración' de los textos filosóficos ibéricos*, "Documentación Crítica Iberoamericana de Filosofía y Ciencias Afines" (1965) 2, pp. 423-446.

11   In particular, one can distinguish the Order of Clerics Regular-of Theatine, which was founded in 1517 in Chieti, Italy, by St. Cajetan/† 1559/and John Peter Caraffa (Gian Pietro Caraffa)/† 1559/, later Pope Paul IV. In addition, the establishment in 1517 of the Franciscan branch of the Friars Minor Capuchin (the branch of the Friars Minor Observants) sanctioned by the papal bull of Leo X *Ite et vos ad vineam meam* dated on 1517. The initial reform of this order was carried out by Matthew Serafini from Bascio/† 1552/. After the Council of Trent and the approval of the monastic rule, philosophical and theological teaching was introduced, which was combined with the missionary formation of the order. This contributed to the increase in education among monks and the dynamic expansion and recatholicization of Protestantized countries.

in the hands of youth: Francis of Toledo, Benito Pereira, Francisco Suárez, and the Conimbrians (Conimbriecenses) to teach the elements of philosophy through [their study].[12] This indicates an additional aspect of the ideological value and didactic standards used by schools of Spanish scholasticism, in which an implicit postulate is put forward to use the philosophy of Christian thinkers in the worldview and teaching of law, and on this occasion the just war doctrine. The Iberian-scholastic *modus philosophandi* can be called a breakthrough in relation to the background of traditional Latin Augustinianism and Aristotelianism of earlier centuries. It was practiced until then in the spirit of St. Augustine or St. Thomas Aquinas, but it should be considered instead as a development of these traditions. The centers of thought in the Iberian Peninsula were the universities in Salamanca, Coimbra and the Dominican religious college in Alcalá de Henares (*Complutum*).

Theology seems to have had the most noticeable influence on juridical thought in the Middle Ages. Theology was an accompanying perspective and usually played a complementary role in teaching just war doctrine within the framework of war ethics and policy. Presumably it could be adopted for two reasons. First, depending on the context of justification, the adoption of religious premises sometimes matched secular law, and sometimes remained in clear conflict with it. Second, the statutory law called upon the whole society for evident respect – as was similarly expected in religious law – of the harmonious functioning of separate lifestyles, given customs in countries, universal human rights in different cultures, regulative principles of social life, and even inalienable rights to believe or not believe. These issues can be determined as redefining a regular concept of warfare and had origins within the Augustinian and Thomistic traditions throughout the ages. Both of these issues, that is, concerning statutory law and divine law, were thoroughly developed by medieval and renaissance thinkers in their extensive considerations, whose thought had direct and indirect impact on subsequent philosophers, and apparently through them on the highest state authorities and military commanders in the following centuries. Any violation of internally or externally erected rights and customs, including an attempt to limit tolerance in nations free from prejudice, sooner or later caused harm to citizens by bringing suffering in the form of social oppression caused either by a despotic monarchy, dictatorship or totalitarian tyranny that usually discerned in wars an opportunity to satisfy its false ambitions and fraudulent manifestation of power.

Regardless, the very process of historically molding the just war theory over the course of many centuries consisted of consciously focused analyses that were intended to refine ethical, theological, and legal terminology. The final result of this process was an increase in the ethical and legal

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12   Cf. J. Ferrater Mora, *Suárez et la philosophie moderne*, transl. from Spanish by P.-X. Despilho, "Revue de Métaphysique et de Morale" LXVIII (1963) 1, p. 61.

level of organization of nations for the sake of common peace, the richness of mutual and friendly relations between the states, as well as the increase in the conscious functioning of the structural and formal order. With a fairly obvious resemblance to the division into political and religious thought, it can be noted that the most frequently adopted criterion was the distinction between *defensive war* and *aggressive war*. This idea was quite distinctive for medieval and renaissance social and political thought, appearing in numerous philosophical, social and political concepts, which indicates the formation of a specific tradition and general pattern of the just war. More than that, the use of directives regarding moral, legal and religious conduct in the face of warfare made it possible to define war in the horizon of combined values, that is, on the one hand, based on collective and individual responsibility towards the state and its legal laws, and on the other, based on the obligation to maintain a clear conscience and liability before God Himself.

In the face of World War I and II and in the era of the Second Vatican Council (1962-1965), the so-called *conscientious objection* (that is, a freedom from coercion) was formalized to limit the current moral duty of soldiers, which would allow them to sabotage military service and participation in war, often presenting war as a problem of individual conscience alone. In the legal context, the refusal to undertake a specific action in war has become a common manifestation of exercising the right to the *conscientious objection*, if this objection is actually justified by a specific ethical reason (i.e. moral, religious or philosophical).[13] The *conscientious objection* resulting from freedom of conscience and choice is guaranteed by various constitutions and international treaties, such as the Convention for the Protection of Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms from 1950 (Article 9); the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights from 1966 (Article 18); the EU Charter of Fundamental Rights (Article 10). On the other hand, some regulations on the use of self-defense were not ruled out either. Justification of necessary defense as a sufficient reason is also guaranteed by the Church Constitution *Gaudium et spes*, where it was written that:

> "As long as the danger of war remains and there is no competent and sufficiently powerful authority at the international level, governments cannot be denied the right to legitimate defense once every means of peaceful settlement has been exhausted".[14]

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13 Cf. M. Olszówka, *Gwarancje i istota prawa do sprzeciwu sumienia*, in: *Klauzula sumienia. Perspektywa prawnoporównawcza*, ed. G. Blicharz. M. Delijewski, Warszawa 2019, p. 58 et passim.

14 *Pastoral Constitution on the Church in the Modern World: Gaudium et Spes. Promulgated by His Holiness, Pope VI on December 7, 1965*, Series: Documents of Vatican II, Boston 1966, chap. V (*The Fostering of Peace and the Promotion of a Community of Nations*), no. 79; see more, no. 78-82.

In turn, the secular right to self-defense was also ratified by other agreements, additionally introducing in some provisions the criterion of *proportionality* of measures between the defender and the aggressor, as well as the criterion of *necessity* in the face of an imminent threat. Indications in relation to the so-called defensive war are regulated by the Hague Convention of 1907 (Article 10), the Treaty of Versailles of 1919 (mainly in Articles 10, 12, 15.7, 16), the Pact of the Rhine of 1925 (Article 2), as well as the decisions of the UN Security Council, established in 1945 under the UN Charter (Articles 39, 42, 51).

1. The Origin Of The Doctrine

The basic comprehension of the just war (*bellum iustum*) dates back to antiquity, but its proper concept was developed in the Middle Ages.[15] It is a theory which borders on ethics, political and social philosophy as well as theology. It was studied by Christian theologians, philosophers, politicians, military commanders and lawyers. The inceptive point of this doctrine is the assumption that war can be morally justified by a number of significant

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15 For more on the just war, see D. Whetham, *Just Wars and Moral Victories. Suprise, Deception and the Normative Framework of European War in the Later Middle Ages*, Leiden-Boston 2009 (= History of Warefare Series LV, ed. K. DeVries, J. France, M.S. Neiberg, F. Schneid), pp. 34-70 (*Metaphysical and Moral Context*), pp. 71-113 (*The Role of War as a Legal Instrument in the Middle Ages*); J.F. Coverdale, *An Introduction to the Just War Tradition*, "Pace International Law Review" XVI (2004) 2, pp. 222-277; D. Brown, *The Sword, The Cross, and The Eagle. The American Christian Just War Tradition*, New York 2008, pp. 27-47 (*The Historical Development of Just War Theory*); F.H. Russell, *The Just War in the Middle Ages*, Cambridge 1975 (= Cambridge Studies in Medieval Life and Thought. Third Series VIII), pp. 1-15 (*Introduction*), pp. 16-39 (*St. Augustine and the just war in the early Middle Ages*), pp. 55-85 (*The just war in Gratian's Decretum*), pp. 213-257 (*The medieval theology of the just war*), pp. 258-291 (*Thomas Aquinas and his circle*); J.M. Mattox, *Saint Augustine and the Theory of Just War*, London-New York 2006; *Rethinking the Just War Tradition*, ed. M.W. Brough, J.W. Lango, H. Van der Linden, New York 2007; M. Walzer, *Just and Unjust Wars. A Moral Argument with Historical Illustrations*, New York 2006; O. O'Donovan, *The Just War Revisited*, ed. I. Torrance, Cambridge 2003; J.T. Johnson, *Ideology, Reason, and the Limitation of War: Religious and Secular Concepts, 1200-1740*, Princeton 1975; J.D. Charles, T.J. Demy, *War, Peace, and Christianity: Questions and Answers from a Just-War Perspective*, Wheaton 2010; J.P. Weiss, *La méthode polémique d'Augustin dans le Contra Faustum*, in: *Inventer l'hérésie? Discours polémiques et pouvoirs avant l'Inquisition*, ed. M. Zerner, Nice 1998, pp. 15-39; J. Langan, *The Elements of St. Augustine's Just War Theory*, "The Journal of Religious Ethics" XII (1984) 1, pp. 19-38; M.S. Hahn, *Augustine in the teaching of Thomas: Aquinas's reception and use of Contra Faustum Manichaeum*, A Dissertation Submitted to the Graduate School of the University of Notre Dame, Notre Dame 2018 (October) [691 pp.]; H. Williams, *Kant and the End of War: A Critique of Just War Theory*, International Political Theory Series, New York 2012; *A Companion to Francisco Suárez*, ed. V.M. Salas, R.L. Fastiggi, Leiden-Boston 2014, pp. 29-71 (J.-P. Coujou, *Political Thought and Legal theory in Suárez*); R. Goczał, *Suáreza teoria wojny sprawiedliwej i jej średniowieczna proweniencja*, in: *Profilaktyka wojny*, Monografia Naukowa Instytutu Filozofii Wydziału Nauk Społecznych Uniwersytetu Wrocławskiego, ed. A.B. Jagiełłowicz, Wrocław 2015, pp. 104-130.

factors. The division of these factors or the separation criteria that define the causes, intentions and purpose of the war assume their basic justification and fulfillment within the framework of undertaken warfares. Although from the point of common morality, war is an unimaginably adverse experience, it turns out that in some circumstances it may even be a desirable solution. In a significant way, it can lead to the reduction of a greater evil or simply prevent injustice and open cruelty. As a rule, the just war theory was commonly reduced to a division into the "right to war" (*ius ad bellum*) and the "right to behave in time of war" (*ius in bello*), as well as into the "occasion for war" to be justified (*casus belli*) and the "case for the alliance" justifing war (*casus foederis*),[16] wherein it is necessary to distinguish the contemporary depictions of the just war doctrine from the medieval and renaissance ones. Although both the terms *ius ad bellum*, *ius in bello* and *casus foederis* and *casus belli* are inscribed in the medieval tradition, they did not become widespread in Europe until the 17th century.

The classical understanding of *ius in bello* and *ius ad bellum* indicates that these concepts did not function with the same meanings we use in contemporary political philosophy. In the Middle Ages, they were of a moderate nature rather than radical one, as they seem to be today. Basically, their medieval interpretation referred mainly to the theological context and the widely held theory of law, including canonical law. Nevertheless, almost all medieval and then late renaissance treatises devoted to the just war are characterized by both the systematic approach and homogeneous methodological directives; the authors' efforts aimed at building a consistent system from which more detailed instructions were derived for application in a genuine military conflict (i.e. in specific situations).

In the Christian tradition, it was also a recurring issue to define both general and particular moral standards for soldiers, which did not always coincide with the legal assessment of the rules of war. However, regardless of the variety of solutions, it can be stated that the application of legal law coexisted with references to moral law, which required soldiers to obey the state and the Church. This is reflected in the frequent combination of church (canon) law with applicable legislation (secular) and ethical principles of coexistence with others, with the moral obligation to defend them both. What remains most important, however, is that these rules could likewise be readily derived from Christian ethics as well. This motif is present in most philosophical and theological concepts of the just war from Christian antiquity till the present day. These norms of legal law, which impose a certain morality on the soldier as a social being in a state striving for the happiness of all citizens, on the one hand obliged all soldiers to act

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16   Cf. J.T. Johnson, *Ideology, Reason…*, pp. 7-8, 16.

in accordance with secular legislation during the war by relentless obedience to the majesty of the king. On the other hand, the more ethical norms reflected the natural necessity of living in accordance with human reason and the laws of the natural world, and consequently with God's law, because God being the creator of nature itself. In this way, Hugo Grotius († 1645) postulated an extended approach to natural law as opposed to the Christian understanding in the voluntaristic or volitional aspect; in addition, he also postulated replacing the theory of just war with the theory of international law. Grotius understood the natural law in such a way that it is primarily a true command of *right reason*, which indicates that in every human action there is an agreement or an incompatibility with rational human nature. He assumed that natural law was so immutable that even God Himself could not change it.[17] Similarly, Thomas Hobbes († 1679) argued that all values stem from the basis of natural law, which man finds in reason. In the first place, it is not religion but reason itself that forbids man to do what is unworthy of and unfortunate for his own life and others.[18]

In this somewhat convoluted terminology that laid down the rules of the just war, the prevailing view was that the soldier's unconditional obedience to the law is due both to the very source of human morality and to the law of God, which is superior to reason and statutory law, as a way to sanction all disputes concerning justice itself. This legalistic ethos in the state, combined with the concept of natural and divine law, was an auxiliary premise for supporting the social law and moral assessment of warriors as well as their socialization. Refusing to obey in military service, they had to take into account the application of sanctions working within the system of punishments and rewards (divine and human), which threatened to be used in the form of deprivation of liberty, expropriation, exile, fines, even the death penalty. According to this thinking, if a soldier was not sure about the justice of war, he had to rely on the universality of statutory law and thus could not be dismissed from service or voluntarily evade combat. This assumption was in line with the traditional teaching of Christian theologi-

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17   See. Ch. Edwards, *The Law of Nature in the Thought of Hugo Grotius*, "The Journal of Politics" XXXII (1970) 4, pp. 784-807; Ch. Stumpf, *Hugo Grotius: Just War Thinking Between Theology and International Law*, in: *From Just War to Modern Peace Ethics…*, pp. 197-216; H.J.M. Boukema, *Grotius' Concept of Law*, "ARSP: Archiv für Rechts- und Sozialphilosophie/Archives for Philosophy of Law and Social Philosophy" LXIX (1983) 1, pp. 68-73. See also R.A. Schwartz, D.J. Kapust, *"To Make Men Believe Their Rebellion Just": Thomas Hobbes and the Study of Civil War*, "Polity. The Journal of the Northeastern Political Science Association" LIV (2022) 2, pp. 359-384; Hugonis Grotii, *De iure belli ac pacis libri tres*, Amsterdam 1646; idem, *De iure praedae commentarius*, vol. II, The Collotype Reproduction of the Original Manuscript of 1604 in the Handwriting of Grotius, Buffalo NY 1995.

18   Cf. D. Thivet, *Thomas Hobbes: a Philosopher of War or Peace?*, "British Journal for the History of Philosophy, Taylor & Francis (Routledge)" XVI (2008) 4, pp. 701-721.

ans and philosophers of later provenance, including St. Alphonsus of Liguori († 1787) – a recognized moralist of the *Christianitas* world who defended the principle of obedience among soldiers:

> "We may ask whether a soldier should fight when he has doubts about the justice of war? There are two things to distinguish when replying the question. If he is a subordinate, he not only can, but must fight; this is in accordance with the commonly accepted interpretation of the inspired words of St. Augustine from *Can. Quid culpatur* (dist. 23, q. 1). He argued that a soldier must fight without fear, even if he is not sure if the war is just; even more, so when he is not sure that the war is against God's commands… The reason is that a serf is obliged to obey, even if there is no certitude of sin… On the other hand, if he is not a mere subordinate, but a superior (officer) or commander, and at the same time he is not sure that the war will be just, he has no right to start and wage war under these circumstances. Only the open injustice and evil of one nation against another can guarantee the rightness and justification of the war, despite the cruelty of its consequences"[19]

This type of argumentation was quite common among Christian theologians and gave a kind of ethical identity to war, and also validated the rank of the highest authority in the state, which alone has the right to order its subjects to join the war. Hence St. Alphonsus of Liguori concludes that every Christian soldier is obliged to fulfill the duties of his calling for service and thus obliged to submit irrevocable support to the superior authority in the state. It determines the whole of indispensable and constant norms of conduct in the case of war, which were derived from the objective divine norms. Moreover, it implies the duty of every soldier, even a Christian, who has an inalienable duty to fight for his country and the civilian population, just as every healthy and legally admitted citizen has the duty to enlist in military service, which will provide him with indispensable preparation for war.[20]

The theme of the just war appeared in antiquity. Plato († ci. 348/347 BC) pondered the nature of the proper relation between war and peace and attempted to seek a definition of the perfect state system (*Laws*, 628d). However, it was Aristotle († 322 BC) who undertook a broader analysis of the just war and systematized its criteria in book VII of *Politics*, clearly indicating that

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19　B. Alfonso de Ligorio, *Homo Apostolicus instructus ad audiendas confessiones sive praxis et instructio confessariorum*, Tomus Primus, Apud Perent-Desbarres Editorem. Sancte Sedis ordinum insignibus decoratum, Parisiis 1839, tract. VIII (*De quinto praecepto Decalogi*), cap. III (*De duello et bello*), punct. II (*De Bello*), no. 31, p. 221. Unless otherwise indicated, all Latin translations in the text are entirely mine.

20　Ibidem, no. 31-32, pp. 221-222.

war should be a fight aimed at establishing peace, since only in conditions of peace is it possible to educate, learn, practice nobility, sublime principles or ethical virtues (*Politics*, VII, 1333a30-1333b10). In the same book, he also distinguishes a just war (legitimate) from wars waged for illegitimate purposes, i.e. for material gains, in the name of injustice and enslavement (esp. Spartans). He also recalls the immeasurable benefits of peace as opposed to the evil that war brings (*Politics*, VII, 1334a22-40). In the era of the Roman Republic, Cicero († 43 BC) also delineated the just war topic. He even listed its accurate criteria in *De re publica* (book III), that is, a legitimate motive, an appropriate (formal) call to war, a public announcement, a prior claim for compensation in return for the harm suffered.[21] In the *On Duties* (*De Officiis*), he also maintained that the essential purpose of a just and virtuous man who lives in union with nature is to prevent all evil and facilitate mutual coexistence with others in the state:

> Of the three remaining divisions, the most extensive in its application is the principle by which society and what we may call its "common bonds" are maintained. Of this again there are two divisions – justice, in which is the crowning glory of the virtues and on the basis of which men are called "good men"; and, close akin to justice, charity, which may also be called kindness or generosity. The first office of justice is to keep one man from doing harm to another, unless provoked by wrong; and the next is to lead men to use common possessions for the common interests, private property for their own… But since, as Plato has admirably expressed it, we are not born for ourselves alone, but our country claims a share of our being, and our friends a share; and since, as the Stoics hold, everything that the earth produces is created for man's use; and as men, too, are born for the sake of men, that they may be able mutually to help one another; in this direction we ought to follow Nature as our guide, to contribute to the general good by an interchange of acts of kindness, by giving and receiving, and thus by our skill, our industry, and our talents to cement human society more closely together, man to man".[22]

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21   Cf. M. Tullius Cicero, *De re publica. Librorum sex quae manserunt*, ed. K. Ziegler, Bibliotheca Scriptorum Graecorum et Romanorum Teubneriana, Lipsiae 1929, pp. 81-106 (*liber tertius*). See also A. Keller, *Cicero: Just War in Classical Antiquity*, in: *From Just War to Modern Peace Ethics…*, pp. 9-30.

22   "[20] 7. De tribus autem reliquis latissime patet ea ratio, qua societas hominum inter ipsos et vitae quasi communitas continetur; cuius partes duae, iustitia, in qua virtutis est splendor maximus, ex qua viri boni nominantur, et huic coniuncta beneficentia, quam eandem vel benignitatem vel liberalitatem appellari licet. Sed iustitiae primum munus est, ut ne cui quis noceat nisi lacessitus iniuria, deinde ut communibus pro communibus utatur, privatis ut suis… [22] Sed quoniam, ut praeclare scriptum est a Platone, non nobis solum nati sumus ortusque nostri partem patria vindicat, partem amici, atque, ut placet Stoicis, quae in terris gignantur, ad

Although certain connotations of the just war and justice theory appear in the ancient era, especially, in general form, in Aristotle and during the Roman Republic, the comprehensive doctrine of just war was not fully developed until the Middle Ages. The theory has tangible early medieval provenance. This has been thoroughly studied by Christian authors, although some of them criticize dating its beginning to the medieval period or directly to the philosophy of St. Augustine of Hippo (✝ 430), attributing a much later origin instead.[23] It is likely, however, that the first adequate justification for the just war, or at least extensively described, appears in the theology of St. Augustine in the works *Contra Faustum manichaeum* and *De civitate Dei*, and then in the writings of later Fathers of the Church, and above all in the thought of St. Isidore of Seville (✝ 636) and Pope Nicholas I the Great (✝ 867). Nevertheless, the thoroughly theoretical growth of the doctrine can be found in St. Thomas Aquinas (✝ 1274) and post-Tridentine philosophers (e.g. Iberian Schoolmen in Salamanca and Coimbra).

In the middle of the 12th century, the issue of the just war returns with greater force and gains an immense interest among Christian thinkers, mainly after the publication in 1140 of the famous Gratian's *Decree* (*Decretum Gratiani*), written by a monk from the monastery of St. Felix and Nabor, a lawyer from Bologna.[24] Undoubtedly, in the context of the betterment of the just war theory, Gratian's *Decretum* played an important role in Christendom. It was a strictly elaborated manual of Canon Law, for which Gratian used the specifically scholastic method and took into account all factual and apparent aspects of the laws, then clarified inaccurate and questionable rules. He titled the work *Concordia discordantium canonum* (*Justification of inconsistent canons*). The *Decretum* became a popularly studied work in the Middle Ages. It included almost all key arguments and references, e.g. to the Holy Scriptures, conciliar and synodal canons, numerous papal decrees, also to the Church Fathers' writings and significant penitential and liturgical books. Gratian's *Decretum* was therefore a scholastic treatise read by almost all canonists and theologians of the medieval era, who studied his theses and arguments including the provisions relating to the just war,

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usum hominum omnia creari, homines autem hominum causa esse generatos, ut ipsi inter se aliis alii prodesse possent, in hoc naturam debemus ducem sequi, communes utilitates in medium afferre mutatione officiorum, dando accipiendo, tum artibus, tum opera, tum facultatibus devincire hominum inter homines societatem" (M. Tullius Cicero, *De Officiis*, With An English Translation, ed. W. Miller, Cambridge/Mass.-London 1913, Book I, sec. VII, art. 20 and 22).

23   J.T. Johnson, *Ideology, Reason…*, pp. 7-8. See also Ph. Wynn, *Augustine on War and Military Service*, Minneapolis 2013.

24   Cf. *Decretum Divi Gratiani una cum glossis et thematibus prudentum, et doctorum suffragio* comprobatis, Lyon 1554 (rep. Gratianus, *Decretum Magistri Gratiani*, ed. E. Friedberg, *Corpus Iuris Canonici*, Pars Prior, Leipzig Tauchnitz 1879).

and it was significant up until the works of St. Thomas and the 17th century Spanish Jesuit Francisco Suárez († 1617). Thus, one can venture to say that the medieval just war theory has become a basic reference for all Christian scholars, to which modern historians expressly refer as a well-structured theory and scholastic doctrine of the law of war.

Theologians and philosophers who study the general law framing and the just war theory also rely on the treatise entitled *Etymologiarum sive orginum libri XX* by St. Isidore of Seville († 636) – the official collection of particular law which was an obligatory reference in this respect for medieval writers. In his work, St. Isidore distinguished four types of war.[25] He also commented on key problems in the field of Hellenistic and Peripatetic philosophy, e.g. Porphyry's *Isagogue*, Aristotle's *Hermeneutics* and *Categories*, as well as dialectic and rhetorical issues, the division of definitions, topics related to analogies, logical contradictions, syllogisms, which significantly demonstrates his philosophical approach and highly sophisticated *apparatus* of analytical method.[26] Isidore discussed the fundamental problems in the field of the theory of laws in Book V,[27] while the regulations and rules concerning the conduct of war he considers in the twelve subsections of Chapter II (*De instrumentum bellicis*) of Book XVIII.[28] In turn, the canon XXIII of the *Decretum Gratiani* (*De re militari et bello*) comes down to eight essential questions regarding war and military operations, also presented by Gratian from the point of practical application. Among other things, it directly deals with the morality of war: *An militare sit peccatum?* (Is waging war a sin?). Worth mentioning is the collection of canonical decrees written in the mid-thirteenth century at the behest of Pope Gregory IX († 1241) by St. Raymond of Penyafort († 1275) – a Catalan monk and general of the Domini-

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25   Cf. Isidori Hispalensis Episcopi, *Etymologiarum sive orginum libri XX*, Scriptorum Classicorum Bibliotheca Oxoniensis. Londini et novi eboraci apud Henricum Frowde, Ex Typographeo Clarendoniano, vol. I (lib. I-X), vol. II (lib. XI-XX), Oxonii 1911, esp. lib. XVIII, cap. I (*De bellis*).

26   Cf. ibidem, lib. II B, cap. I (*De dialectica*); cap. II (*De differentia dialecticae et rhetoricae artis*); cap. III (*De definitione philosophiae*); cap. IV (*De isagogis Porphyrii*); cap. V (*De categoris Aristotelis*); cap. VI (*De perihermeniis Aristotelis*); cap. VII (*De formulis syllogismorum*); cap. VIII (*De divisionibus definitionum*); cap. IX (*De topicis*); cap. X (*De oppositis*). Astronomical and cosmological issues are discussed in book III D, medical issues in IV.

27   Questions concerning various forms of law, including the law of nations, public law, martial law, natural law, divine law, etc. are presented in the individual chapters of Book V: cap. I (*De auctoribus legum*); cap. II (*De legibus divinis et humanis*); cap. III (*Quid differunt inter se ius, leges et mores*); cap. IV (*Quid sit ius naturale*); cap. V (*Quid sit ius civile*); cap. VI (*Quid sit ius gentium*); cap. VII (*Quid sit ius militare*); cap. VIII (*Quid sit ius publicum*); cap. IX (*Quid sit ius Quiritum*); cap. X (*Quid sit lex*).

28   Cf. ibidem, lib. XVIII, cap. I (*De bellis*); cap. II (*De instrumentum bellicis*); cap. XII (I. *De signis*; II. *De bucinis*; III. *De armis*; IV. *De gladiis*; V. *De hastis*; VI. *De sagittis*; VII. *De pharetris*; VIII. *De fundis*; IX. *De ariete*; X. *De clypeis*; XI. *De loricis*; XII. *De galeis*).

can Order, considered as the eminent father of ecclesiastical legislation.[29] The author identifies five key requirements for waging a just war. They were then reduced to three essential and instructive rules by St. Thomas Aquinas, and finally extensively developed and deepened by Suárez in his lectures in the 16th century. Aquinas' exposition is considered as the leading outline of the just war doctrine, which he described in four articles (*On war*) of the *Treatise on Mercy* contained in the *Summa theologiae*.[30] Moreover, it is worth mentioning that there are well-documented studies that demonstrate an intriguing aspect of the political dispute between the Kingdom of Poland and the Teutonic Order (the so-called Polish affair) in the 15th century. It was reviewed by the cardinal commission at the Council of Constance (1414-1418) and was not only of juridical nature, but also referred to evaluating the just war legitimacy. Considering the issue of international law (*ius gentium*), one of the postulates of the Polish conciliar delegation, mainly due to Paweł Włodkowic († 1435), rector of the Krakow Academy, was an ethical and legal postulate specifying the universal rights to self-defense (necessary defense) and the autonomy of nations as part of the return to the universalist concept of the just war, so far understood in the spirit of the teaching of St. Augustine from the *Contra Faustum manichaeum*.[31]

Interestingly enough, the broader reception of the *Contra Fuastum* within numerous biblical exegesis in the Middle Ages does not begin until the canonists of the 11th and 12th centuries. As Hahn pointed out efficiently, the *Expositio in epistolas Beati Pauli ex operibus St. Augustini* by Florus of Lyon († 860), a Church writer and deacon, is a thorough exegesis of the First Letter of Paul to the Corinthians (1,5:5), probably written about 53-54 AD at Ephesus (Asia Minor), which contains one passage similar to St. Augustine's

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29   See Raymundus de Peñafort, *Summa de poenitentia, et matrimonio, cum glossis Ioannis de Friburgo*, ed. Guillaume de Rennes, Romae 1603.

30   Cf. Sancti Thomae Aquinatis Doctoris Angelici, *Opera Omnia*, Iussu Impensaque. Leonis XIII P.M. Edita, Tomus Octavus, *Secunda Secundae Summae theologiae*, A quaestione I ad quaestionem LVI, Ad Condices Manusctiptos Vaticanos Exacta, Cum Commentariis Thomae De Vio Caietani Ordinis Praedicatorum, Ex Typographia Polygllota S.C. de Propaganda Fide, Romae 1895, q. 23-46, esp. q. 40 [Quaestio Quadragesima: *De bello,* art. I (*Utrum bellare semper sit peccatum*); art. II (*Utrum clericis et episcopis sit licitum pugnare*); art. III (*Utrum sit licitum in bellis uti insidiis*); art. IV (*Utrum in diebus festis liceat bellare*)].

31   See T. Tulejski, *Paulus Vladimiri and His Forgotten Concept of the Just War*, "Archiwum Filozofii Prawa i Filozofii Społecznej (Journal of the Polish Section of IVR)" II (2019), pp. 39-52. The author proves that Włodkowic's ideas preceded by 100 years the theories of international law and just war developed by the Spanish philosophers from the school in Salamanca. See idem, *Nieświęte „Święte wojny" nowożytności*, "Studia Prawno-Ekonomiczne" LXXXVIII (2013), pp. 157-188. See also Paweł Włodkowic, *Traktat o władzy papieża i cesarza w stosunku do pogan (Tractatus de potestate papae et imperatoris respectu infidelium)*, in: *700 lat myśli polskiej. Filozofia i myśl społeczna XIII-XV w.*, ed. J. Domański, Warszawa 1978, chap. VI, pp. 183-211.

Book XXII (cap. 79) from the *Contra Faustum*. Almost identical to Augustine, Florus compared Paul's assessment that an immoral and atrocious man is to be handed over to Satan; he drew special attention to the punishment imposed on worshipers of the golden calf (*Exodus* 32). However, he maintained that this radical approach in assessing the immoral acts contrary to God's will resulted from love considered in the divine dimension rather than the outright cruelty of man aimed at others or towards neighbors.[32] Almost identical analysis is applied by Anselm II of Lucca († 1086) – a Catholic bishop and participant in the Investiture Controversy – in his *Collectio Canonum*, which, according to Hahn, may directly indicate the extensive influence of the Augustinian tradition up to the period of the Gratian's *Decretum*, and where we find the same approach and argumentations.[33] Some authors assume that it is not really St. Augustine, nor is it Florus or Anselm who systematized the medieval understanding of the just war, but rather it should be attributed to St. Ivo of Chartres († 1115). Ivo was an important canonist in the Investiture Controversy who, together with Anselm of Canterbury († 1109), studied under Lanfranc of Bec († 1089) – an Italian jurist and Benedictine monk. In his *nomen omen* work *Decretum* and also in *Panormia* he included a number of quotations and references to the *Contra Faustum* (XXII, esp. 74-75). Ivo explains the justice of wars conducted under the decree of the legitimate authority of the ruler, and he points to the glorious attitude and obedience of those taking part in a just war, but also, on the contrary, stigmatizes moral evil which becomes an indispensable element accompanying every war. The considerations from *Decretum* formed the regular basis and influenced on subsequent medieval writers and their works, such as the *Sic et non* by Peter Abelard († 1142), *Summa* by Alexander of Hales († 1245), *Speculum conscientiae* by St. Bonaventure († 1274), *Communiloquium* by John of Wales († 1285), *Quodlibeta quinque* by Peter John Olivi († 1298), *Quodlibeta* by Henry of Ghent († 1293), and *Quaestiones de legibus* by Matthew of Aquasparta († 1302).[34]

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32   See Florus of Lyon, *Expositio in epistolas Beati Pauli ex operibus s. Augustini*, vol. III (*In epistolam secundam ad Corinthios; in epistolas ad Galatas, Ephesios et Philippenses*), ed. P.-I. Fransen, L. De Coninck et al., CCCM 220B, Turnhout 2011; in: *Patrologiae Cursus Completus, Series Latina*, ed. J.P. Migne, Paris 1841-1864, pp. 119, col. 326. Cf. M.S. Hahn, *Augustine in the teaching of Thomas Aquinas's reception and use of Contra Faustum manicheum…*, p. 243, no. 27.

33   See Anselm II of Lucca, *Collectio canonum* XIII. 1 (Vatican, Vat. lat. 1363, f. 231v), to which Kathleen G. Cushing refers. Cf. K.G. Cushing, *Papacy and Law in the Gregorian Revolution: The Canonistic Work of Anselm of Lucca*, Oxford 1998, p. 193. See also Gratianus, *Decretum Magistri Gratiani…, decretum* II, c. 23, q. 4, can. 44. Cf. M.S. Hahn, *Augustine in the teaching of Thomas Aquinas's reception and use of Contra Faustum manicheum…*, pp. 243-244 and no. 28-29.

34   Cf. M.S. Hahn, *Augustine in the teaching of Thomas Aquinas's reception and use of Contra Faustum manicheum…*, p. 244 and no. 33.

2. ST. AUGUSTINE OF HIPPO

Among the first far-reaching medieval concepts adopting a commonly-held opinion on the just war typology was the position of St. Augustine, who analyzed the criteria for defining a just war in the treatise *Contra Faustum manichaeum*, written in 400, in which he corrected the errors of the syncretic religion of Manichaeism that had actively been spreading its heresies at the turn of the 4th and 5th centuries. Manichaeism spread mainly in Persia, but also in Mesopotamia, Egypt, Carthage and Rome. It was a specific religious movement with a well-developed philosophy and theology, which combined metaphysical dualism in its classical form with cosmological considerations, ethics and anthropology. Manichaeism influenced the further heresies of the Albigensians, Cathars, and Bogomils. In his treatise, Augustine analyzed the system of values proclaimed by the Manicheans, and also depicted the possibilities of achieving justice in relation to God and warfare. As a consequence, he set a normative approach to the study of this subject within future concepts of justice and just war theories. In 386, Augustine met the Manichaean bishop Faustus of Milevum († ci. 5th century AD), known as an influential promoter of Docetism. Faustus based his teaching solely on the abridged Gospels of the New Testament, including selected letters of St. Paul, which consequently led him to selectively apply biblical exegesis and superficial theories to the field of theology.

In *Contra Faustum*, in which the theory of just war was widely presented in its fundamental and root assumptions, St. Augustine was one of the first co-authors of Christian reflection on war. Although he dealt with this and related topics in works such as *De libero arbitrio* (*On free will*) and *De civitate Dei* (*On the State of God*), the essential treatise on just war is the *Contra Faustum*, especially Book XXII (cap. 70-79), where he bluntly responded to all of Faustus' objections and allegations related to this issue.[35] Augustine's arguments in Book XXII are mostly consistent with their immediate polemical contexts (theological, ethical, political). He defended the conduct of just war based on the *motivations* drawn from the Holy Scripture. As he claimed,

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35 Cf. J. Langan, *The Elements of St. Augustine's Just War Theory…*, passim; R. Kany, *Augustine's Theology of Peace and the Beginning of Christian Just War Theory*, in: *From Just War to Modern Peace Ethics…*, pp. 31-48; F.H. Russell, *The Just War in the Middle Ages…*, pp. 16-22; J.M. Mattox, *St. Augustine and the Theory of Just War…*, pp. 44; R.A. Markus, *Saint Augustine's Views on the 'Just War'*, in: *The Church and War: Papers Read at the Twenty-First Summer Meeting and the Twenty-Second Winter Meeting of the Ecclesiastical History Society*, ed. W. J. Sheils, Oxford 1983, esp. p. 5; M.S. Hahn, *Augustine in the teaching of Thomas Aquinas's reception and use of Contra Faustum manicheum…*, p. 242 and no. 25. This dissertation is an extensive study (691 pp.) filling a serious gap in the study of the influence of St. Augustine to the later legal and theological tradition, including the work of St. Thomas Aquinas and his treatise on laws.

those who fight for goodness and wish to protect the immeasurable wisdom of God in ordering an unjust warefare (*positive intention*), those commanders rather seek to establish the integrity and validity of God's commandments in relation to human deeds and whole existance, as it has been clearly demonstrated in the Old and New Testaments.

One of the most critical issues of the controversy between St. Augustine and Faustus was the issue of warfare, including wars referred to in the Old Testament history of Israel and wars against the nomadic people of the Midianites. In justifying the wars described in the Old Testament, Augustine points to the existence of a law of higher and extraordinary necessity, which he derived directly from the divine law as the ultimate foundation of all natural rights and statutory principles. Hence, pointing to Moses' *obedience* to the thetic norms established by God, which function as a categorical imperative of duty and conscience, the war with the Midianites, (considered more as a religious war) was therefore inherently *justified*. Thus, he demonstrated the validity of the concept of the just war by consolidating the common view of the man's objective dependence on the immutable God's law. This brings Augustine's idea closer to the general theory of natural law, according to which the norms of human moral conduct are based on both rational premises and simultaneously divine or revealed truths. These princicples are inherited from generation to generation and always present in the internal rules of just warfare at all times throughout the history of mankind.

According to Augustine, there is an objective proportion between the positive law and human morality that points to God Himself. Both the law and moral values equally indicate the relation between the legislator and the effectiveness of the law, its direct verifiability and application alike. Therefore, the most important criterion in assessing the legitimacy of warfare is the highest rank of authority and obedience, as in this respect we should understand God. Whatever earthly power or authority truly emerges from the authority of God, because it refers to the very source of laws. This specific divine law calls for an action which is otherwise related to man's striving for freedom and then eternal life with God in the further future after the path of mortal life. Accordingly, this also indicates a direct connection with the historical necessity of the existence of nations, their order, laws, and separate existence, their inalienable right to defend oppressed people in order to live in a peaceful community within themselves and with other nations. The system of Christian values and legal norms relating to just war and based on solid foundations (esp. ethical and social), as well as on the regulatory and final divine authority of adjudicating justice in the earthly state (*civitas terrena*), led Augustine to recognize any war as justified, as long as its initiation is justified by God and supported by a divine source at first. As in St. Thomas, likewise Augustine's entire analysis of justice in war is deeply rooted in his doctrine of supernatural and eternal law (*lex*

aeterna), which exists as such by itself (*per se*). The divine order is the highest order in the state and nature itself on which, through both the efficient causation and principle of participation in God's eternal providence (*per participationem*), the very law of nature (*lex naturale*) is based. This law applies to everyone and everyone is subject to it. From this divine and natural foundation flow other laws promulgated in social and state relations (*lex humana* or *lex positiva*, or *ius civile*), and the canon law as well (*ius canonicum* or *lex divina*). In the hierarchy of rights and laws understood in this way, the monarch or the supreme authority in the state becomes an institution symbolizing the greatest possible order (*ordo*), peace (*pax*) and justice (*iustitia*). Assuming such a divine criterion, the life of societies should be organized with respect for the principles of God as the fundamental ruler of internal (spiritual) and external (social) laws, before unforeseen difficulties or adversities of a military nature occur. The appeal to the divine source indicates that God's law may stand above institutional, diplomatic or political solutions, especially when these temporal rules do not meet the requirements necessary to legitimize peace or social order.

In St. Augustine's approach, the eternal or divine law is understood as an inalienable God's will, which commands man to put this law into practice in order to preserve the natural order of things. This means that actions are truly just when they lead to peace, rational organization of the state and a faultless sense of freedom among citizens.[36] Subsequently, he emphasizes the impor-

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36 According to the theory of St. Augustine, and later St. Thomas Aquinas, the true freedom of man is realized within the framework of an unconstrained intellectual life and an unrestrained volitional life. In other words, true freedom is the complete and perfect development of all intellectual and volitional functions in a human being. The will, however, does not consist in freely and multi-layered choices in life, but in living the truth more and more fully, striving for wisdom and goodness. We find a similar position in St. Thomas in *Summa theologiae* and *Discussed questions on truth*. St. Augustine and St. Thomas distinguished two types of freedom: *libertas a coactione* (freedom from coercion) and *libertas a culpa et a miseria* (freedom from guilt and the misery of moral hypocrisy). A man is only free in whom spiritual and supernatural life can develop freely and without limits, and therefore without lack, coercion and sin. Such a position leads to the indication of the foundations of moral responsibility as the basic attitude in the exercise of freedom, which is the disposal by a moral subject of freedom related to the rational powers of the soul and intellectual cognition. The theory of Augustine and Aquinas has clear signs of voluntarist indeterminism, which emphasizes the importance of conscious human actions and at the same time rejects fatalism negating freedom, as well as all definitions of misunderstood freedom proposed by pietism, sentimentalism or quietism. Finally, Aquinas states that "the root of all freedom is reason" (*totius libertatis radix est in ratione constituta*). Cf. Sancti Thomae de Aquino, *Quaestiones disputatae de veritate*, in: idem, *Opera Omnia iussu Leonis XIII P. M. Edita, Tomus XXII*, cura et studio fratrum praedicatorum, Volumen III, Fasc. 1, QQ. 21-29, Romae ad Sanctae Sabinae 1973, q. 24, art. 2; Sancti Thomae Aquinatis, *Summa Theologiae Iᵃ*, in: idem, *Opera omnia iussu impensaque Leonis XIII P. M. Edita*, Tomus Quintus (*Pars Prima Summae Theologiae*), A quaestione L ad quaestionem CXIX, ad codices manuscriptos Vaticanos exacta, cum commentariis Thomae de vio Caietani Ordinis Praedicatorum S.R.C. Cardinalis, Romae: Ex Typographia

tance of natural law in a double dimension, the *internal purpose* is the individual good of each person in community, but the *external purpose* of which is the highest good for all mankind. Enforcement of positive laws requires that the primary duty of monarchs is to wisely guide the destinies of nations. Therefore, to implement the rules of the just war many things depend on reasons, causes, and given circumstances, but significantly and primarily on the authority that people are guided by. The natural order which presupposes the peace of mankind prescribes that every monarch has the right to undertake war or self-defence in extreme cases or circumstances of sinister and dangerous events. The reason for an armed war must be so clearly obvious and indisputable that even the morally conditioned soldiers recognize the right causes and are able to serve the conscientious performance of military duties in order to gain a natural peace and protection of the civilian population.[37]

The just war must therefore always be waged for a justifiable and legitimate purpose and in obedience to God, who as the supreme lawgiver can chastise, humiliate or crush human pride and audacity. A war that is born out of false motives, such as passion, material or territorial gain, cannot be called a just war. In terms of St. Augustine, every war has its cause, although it is always an undesirable cruelty that changes reality, people and times, because no war is holy either. Parties to a conflict must never regard God as an immanent cause, principle or justification for their intentions, or as the reason for wars in general. Even if war finds grounds for good justification in natural law, even if it meets all the criteria of a just war in relation to God's law, it inevitably ascertains rather the imperfection of means at the disposal of man, his weakness of nature, sometimes only false intentions and bad inclinations of his character, rather than revealing the nature of God

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Polyglotta S.C. de Propaganda Fide 1889, q. 82-83; Sancti Thomae Aquinatis Ordinis Praedicatorum, Doctoris Communis Ecclesiae, *Summa theologiae Iᵃ-Iiae*, in: idem, *Opera omnia iussu impensaque Leonis XIII P. M. Edita*, Tomus Sextus (*Prima secundae Summae theologiae*), A quaestione I ad quaestionem LXX, ad codices manuscriptos Vaticanos exacta, cum commentariis Thomae de vio Caietani Ordinis Praedicatorum S.R.C. Cardinalis, Romae: Ex Typographia Polyglotta S.C. de Propaganda Fide 1891, q. 8-17. On Augustine's concept of the free will, see his dialogue *De libero arbitrio*: Aurelii Augustini Sancti, *De Gratia Dei et libero arbitrio hominis et praedestinatione sanctorum*, vol. I (*Opera Selecta*), Vaticanis [Sumptibus Josephi Wolff] 1764.

37   "Interest enim quibus causis quibusque auctoribus homines gerenda bella suscipiant: ordo tamen ille naturalis mortalium paci accommodatus hoc poscit, ut suscipiendi belli auctoritas atque consilium penes Principem sit; exsequendi autem iussa bellica ministerium milites debeant paci salutique communi" (Sancti Aureli Augustini, *De utilitate credendi, De duabus animabus, Contra Fortunatum Manichaeum, Contra Adimantum, Contra epistulam fundamenti, Contra Faustum Manichaeum, Contra Felicem Manichaeum, De natura boni, Epistula Secundini, Contra Secundinum Manichaeum*, Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum, vol. XXV/2, ed. J. Zycha, Arbeitsgruppe CSEL an der Universität Salzburg 1891-1892, *Contr. Faust. Mani*, lib. XXII, cap. 75).

Himself. No war can diminish His magnificence, unchanging goodness, eternal prosperity and absolute perfection. Moreover, sanctioned warfare should never diminish the faith and spirit of His saints. Paradoxically, Augustine claims that all attempts at spiritual discipline and exercises in patience serve to endure divine or heavenly Father's admonitions.[38] Hence, the purpose of the righteous life of saints (chosen, called or redeemed), which is the foretold promise of eternal life in joy with God, as well as the decency and sanctity of the deeds of His faithful, cannot be changed by any laws of war through the ages, regardless of whether the war is just or unjust. For there is no power other than God that can forbid or command anything to His elected who have been summoned for a glorious redemption in the beginning and before all times. On the other hand, he also finds that a God-serving just man can be under the rules of a godless king, therefore, guided by obedience, he must honestly fulfill any duty belonging to his position in the state, e.g. that in some cases the command or dute to fight turns out to be consistent with the will of God. Contrary, in other cases, where authoritative premises are lacking, such an order may prove to be an unjust order of a tyrant king, which, however, does not, cause the soldier's fault or sin, though his position makes the obedience commanded by an inalienable duty.[39]

Augustine even goes a step further by claiming that waging a just war – resulting from the obligation to obey the natural and divine laws – does not cause a believer to become evil in the face of war, but rather makes him more innocent (*innocentissime*). This statement seems quite controversial. First of all, as Augustine explains, it is through faith that his involvement in war becomes lawful and does not deserve social and moral repression or condemnation. For he who wages war in the name of God's principles or in defense of His truths (including a defense of faith), and at the same time serves God zealously in his spirit and heart, surely God could not order him to perform any evil, because he is neither ignorant in divine matters nor convinced profane. Justified wars and martyrdoms by virtue of the law of duty consistent with natural and divine law, indicate, above all, the power of the one

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38 "Bellum autem quod gerendum Deo auctore suscipitur, recte suscipi, dubitare fas non est, vel ad terrendam, vel ad obterendam, vel ad subiugandam mortalium superbiam: quando ne illud quidem quod humana cupiditate geritur, non solum incorruptibili Deo, sed nec sanctis eius obesse aliquid potest; quibus potius ad exercendam patientiam, et ad humiliandam animam, ferendamque paternam disciplinam etiam prodesse invenitur" (Ibidem).

39 "Neque enim habet in eos quisquam ullam potestatem, nisi cui data fuerit desuper. Non est enim potestas nisi a Deo, sive iubente, sive sinente. Cum ergo vir iustus, si forte sub rege homine etiam sacrilego militet, recte poscit illo iubente bellare civicae pacis ordinem servans; cui quod iubetur, vel non esse contra Dei praeceptum certum est, vel utrum sit, certum non est, ita ut fortasse reum regem faciat iniquitas imperandi, innocentem autem militem ostendat ordo serviendi" (Ibidem).

and true God.[40] Augustine expounds on this by saying that the legitimacy of just war is often erroneously questioned by the preconceived exaggeration of the evil of every war, which was the fundamental error of the Manichaeans, namely that God in His absolute goodness cannot order any war. Deriving this assumption from the words of the Lord Jesus Christ (…*But I say to you: Do not resist the evil one. But if someone strikes you on the right cheek, turn the other to him as well!*, Mt 5, 39), many have used this passage as the main tool of criticism against every war, thereby falling into the error of trivial apprehension, false perception or misjudgment in this regard. Augustine replies *ad contra* that in the particular case of the just war the passage refers to a different interpretation, and the conflict between the divine law and the human moral law is apparent here. This is because subjective reasons, which constituted the basis of Manichaean science, were evidently confused with objective factors, namely, human with spiritual ones. What the Gospel passage actually points to is not bodily or physical action, but interior and spiritual disposition. Hence, in its spiritual sense, this passage does not deal with the armed war. The sacred seat of virtue, as Augustine further explains, is the heart, as were the hearts of fathers and former righteous men. However, a different order of times and the dispensation or redemption have required such a regulation and meaning as to show that while earthly goods (i.e., temporal kingdoms and victories over enemies, sometimes leading to idolatry and service of demons) really anticipate God's judgments, they are nevertheless wholly dependent and subject to control by the one true God.[41] Thus, in the Old Testament, the mystery of the Kingdom of Heaven (*secretum regni coelorum*), which was to be revealed in the messianic time – according to Augustine – was so far obscured by bodily and earthly goods (*bona terrena*) that it was only *a promise* of supernatural goods. Therefore, in the Old Testament, where there are descriptions of numerous wars and idolatrous attitudes, in fact the secret of the true kingdom was hidden, which, however, was to be revealed at a proper time and in circumstances favorable

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40   "…quanto magis in administratione bellorum innocentissime diversatur, qui Deo iubente belligerat, quem male aliquid iubere non posse, nemo qui ei servit ignorat. Et legitima bella et martyria unius Dei veri potestatem ostendunt" (Ibidem).

41   "Si autem propterea putant non potuisse Deum bellum gerendum iubere, quia Dominus postea Iesus Christus: Ego, inquit, dico vobis, non resistere adversus malum; sed si quis te percusserit in maxillam tuam dextram, praebe illi et sinistram; intellegant hanc praeparationem non esse in corpore, sed in corde: ibi est enim sanctum cubile virtutis, quae in illis quoque antiquis iustis nostris patribus habitavit; sed eam rerum dispensationem ac distributionem temporum ordo poscebat, ut prius appareret etiam ipsa bona terrena, in quibus et humana regna et ex hostibus victoriae deputantur, propter quae maxime civitas impiorum diffusa per mundum supplicare idolis et daemonibus solet, non nisi ad unius Dei veri potestatem atque arbitrium pertinere" (Ibidem, lib. XXII, cap. 76).

for the operation of God's grace in history. So when this particular fullness of time came for the revelation of the New Covenant, hitherto hidden under the layer of the Old one, a full testimony would be given about the truth of the existence of spiritual life, especially regarding the majesty and God's kingdom, for which one had to patiently endure all harm, evil, injustice, and earthly humiliations. Those who do so are without exception called martyrs, and they deserve such a noble name. More importantly, however, is that such an attitude does not contradict potential reasons for initiating a just war.[42]

In other words, evil along with meanness, immorality, unrighteousness and wickedness, which appear as a result of wars, isolating man from the affirmation of the highest good, make a human sin distance man from God, as it separates man from a life of grace and destroys his respect for natural law. For Augustine, the just war justification seems to be the exeption. This is due to the fact that all evil – even unintentional but emerging from the just war – separates what essentially is related in man to God from what is the result of his own evil will and reckless deeds. However, from the rational perspective, *a defensive war*, which for Augustine is synonymous with a just war, realizes the absolute value of good affecting the state and the people living within. In this case, it is not in conflict with a purity of thought, nobility of deeds, respect for natural law, study of Scripture, daily modesty, piety, charity, practice of penance, prayer and abstinence. Subsequently, either under civil law, natural law, the law of reason or divine law, the defense of the social order and the common goodness against the enemies of peace seems to restore the harmony of justice. And thus it allows for a justifiable *defensive war* (legitimate) in the name of the greater good and righteousness.

3. St. Thomas Aquinas

St. Thomas († 1274) expounded the concept of just war in the four articles of question 40 in his *Summa theologiae*, in which he mostly refers to earlier descriptions of the doctrine and formerly well-known commentaries, especially to St. Augustine's reasoning which was quite characteristic of most medieval treatises. He enumerated them in the following order: Art. 1) Is

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42 "Unde et Vetus Testamentum secretum regni coelorum tempore opportuno aperiendum promissionibus terrenis operuit, et quodam modo umbrosius opacavit. Ubi autem venit plenitudo temporis, ut Novum Testamentum revelaretur, quod figuris Veteris velabatur, evidenti testificatione iam demonstrandum erat, esse aliam vitam pro qua debet haec vita contemni, et aliud regnum pro quo oportet omnium terrenorum regnorum adversitatem patientissime sustineri. Proinde per quorum confessiones, passiones, et mortes hoc Deo placuit attestari, martyres appellantur, qui latine testes interpretantur: quorum numerus tantus effloruit, ut si eos Christus, qui de coelo Saulum vocavit, et ex lupo factum ovem, in medium luporum misit" (Ibidem).

war always a sin? (*Utrum bellare semper sit peccatum*); Art. 2) Are priests and bishops allowed to fight? (*Utrum clericis et episcopis sit licitum pugnare*); Art. 3) Do warring parties have the right to lay ambushes? (*Utrum sit licitum in bellis uti insidiis*); Art. 4) Is it allowed to fight on holidays? (*Utrum in diebus festis liceat bellare*).[43] In *Summa theologiae*, Aquinas analyzes the treatise *Contra Faustum* by St. Augustine in the context of the Old and New Covenants, recognized as the greatest and most comprehensive anti-Manichean work. Thomas had encountered *Contra Faustum* through quotations from various theological texts from the 12th and 13th centuries. By the early 1260s he had acquired first-hand knowledge of *Contra Faustum*, which came to play an increasingly important role in expressing his own thoughts, especially on just war. The significance of this work to Thomas emerged most clearly in his teaching on the law of God.[44]

Theoretical rules of war, mainly at the stage of forming its foundations and justification, are presented by Aquinas in art. 1 of question 40. Referring to his basic assumptions, for a war to be considered as just, three irrevocable conditions must necessarily be met. First, only a sovereign power has the inalienable right to start a war. Civilians may assert their rights only before a judicial tribunal or a superior. This reservation stems from concern for the common good of the people and those exercising power in the states, whose *ex officio* duty is to ensure the common good and justice in cities, kingdoms and provinces. They are free to resort to severe repression and extreme punishment against evildoers and troublemakers in defense of the social good, which is the most desirable value in a state, especially if this common good has been violated by internal or external unrest or anarchy. This also threatens all forms and goals in the exercise of sovereignty and power. Aquinas refers here to the words of St. Paul of Tarsus about the obedience to secular power: "…For the one in authority is God's servant for your good. But if you do wrong, be afraid, for rulers do not bear the sword for no reason. They are God's servants, agents of wrath to bring punishment on the wrongdoer" (Romans 13, 4). Recalling St. Augustine's position (*Cont. Faust. Manich.*, XXII, 75), he justifies the duty imposed on the authority to defend the social good (*bonum publicum*) against external enemies.[45] The natural order of good,

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43   Sancti Thomae Aquinatis Doctoris Angelici, *Opera Omnia*, Iussu Impensaque. Leonis XIII P. M. Edita, Tomus Octavus, *Secunda Secundae Summae theologiae*, A quaestione I ad quaestionem LVI, Ad Condices Manusctiptos Vaticanos Exacta, Cum Commentariis Thomae De Vio Caietani Ordinis Praedicatorum, Ex Typographia Polygllota S.C. de Propaganda Fide, Romae 1895, q. 40 (*De bello, in quatuor articulos divisa*), art. 1-4.

44   Cf. M.S. Hahn, *Augustine in the teaching of Thomas Aquinas's reception and use of Contra Faustum manicheum…*, pp. vii-xii (*Preface*).

45   Sancti Thomae Aquinatis Doctoris Angelici, …*Secunda Secundae Summae theologiae…*, art. 1.

which promotes peace among mortals, requires that the right to declare war be in the hands of those who hold the highest authority in the state. Secondly, there must be a legitimate reason or cause for the war. As understood by Aquinas, a just war is usually described as one that will compensate and even avenge the wrongs suffered by a nation or state that has been denied justice and will demand reparation by the oppressors for the damage they caused. Thirdly, it is necessary that the party entering the war has "good intentions" to which a righteous and legitimate purpose has been assigned. It must aim to increase the good or to prevent the progress of evil, otherwise war can degenerate into cruelty and tyranny. Apparently, as Aquinas argued, the purpose of all warfare without exception is not to increase cruelty, but to exalt good and liberate oppressed people, to ensure their protection and peace, and at the same time to punish evildoers and oppressors accordingly. However, it may happen that a war is declared by a legitimate authority for a reasonable cause, and yet the evil intentions of the rulers result in its lawlessness. According to Augustine's thought quoted by Aquinas (*Con. Faust. Manich.*, XXII, 74), the irresistible desire to injure a party in a conflict, craving for revenge, a restless spirit, an indomitable will to rebel, or an unbridled lust for power, can cause a lack of prudence and restraint. And thus it may lead to man's loss of good judgment and common sense in assessing reality and facts, as well as to his own irreversible moral loss in the cruelty of war.

4. FRANCIS SUÁREZ

In Suárez' approach († 1617), which is probably the most extensive theory and has not appeared in such scope in all studies so far, the just war theory – next to the theory by Francisco de Vitoria OP († 1546), a leading representative of the second scholasticism and theoretician of international law – became a well developed and in-depth analysis of medieval doctrine.[46] It refers both

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46 "The philosophy of Victoria was, however, for an occasion, or rather to bring a concrete situation – arising from the discovery of the New Wrold – within the law of Christendom, thus universalizing it; whereas the purpose of Suárez was to state the law universal and its elements in the abstract, with sufficient reference to concrete instances to give it a substance and a body. With Victoria, the philosophy of law was subordinated to its application; with Suárez, the *desideratum* was the creation of a philosophy which would permeate not merely one form of law but all law, and would therefore apply not to a single, but to every concrete situation… The reputation of Suárez, on the other hand, does not depend upon his treatment of any single concrete situation of his own day or of any other day. His statement of law and its philosophy was in such terms as to apply equally to his day or to any other day" (F. Suárez, *Selections from Three Works of Francisco Suárez S.J. De Legibus, Ac Deo Legislatore (1612), Defensio fidei catholicae et apostolicae adversus anglicanae sectae errores (1613), De triplici virtute theologica, fide, spe, et charitate (1621)*, in: *The Classics of International Law*, vol. II, ed. J. Brown Scott, transl. by G.L. Williams, A. Brown, J. Waldron, H. Davis, S.J. Publications of the Carnegie Endow-

to the general theory of war in terms of legal regulations, as well as theological matters, including the justification of war in extreme cases of self-defense. Modern legal systems define such a case as a state of extraordinary necessity, but they often marginalize visible lawlessness contrary to common morality and reason. From the general perspective of Christian theology and philosophy, the essence of justice can only be justified in one true and objective way. Thus, Suárez is not content with divergent solutions to this problem derived from the past, and instead, he fundamentally deepens the theory. The law of war cannot only operate in situations of extreme scarcity or absolute abundance, much less in the name of the particular goals of individuals or the whole community. The doctrine of just war was described by Suárez in a treatise entitled *De fide, spe et charitate* (*On faith, hope and love*), published in Lyon and Coimbra in 1621, which is a commentary on section II of part II (IIa-IIae) of the *Summa theologiae* by St. Thomas.[47] Suárez's treatise, combined with considerations of international law, natural law, and divine law, is called the *intervention treaty*.[48]

In the 17th century, Suárez refered to the earlier concepts of war prevailing among theologians, philosophers, papalists, royalists, canonists, and other jurists of the Middle Ages in his four famous treatises: *De triplici virtute theologica, fide, spe, et charitate*; *De legibus ac Deo legislatore*; *Defensio fidei catholicae et apostolicae*;[49] and *De immunitate ecclesiastica a Venetis violata*.[50] The last one titled *On Ecclesiastical Immunities Infringed by the Venetians*, written at the behest of Pope Paul V in 1607, with 150 pages *in folio* format,[51] won

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ment for International Peace, Division of International Law Washington, Oxford 1944, p. 16a. See also S. Moratiel Villa, *The Spanish Scholl of the new law of nations*, "International Review of the Red Cross" (1992 September-October), no. 290, p. 431 (see more, pp. 416-433).

47   See. J.B. Murphy, *Suárez, Aquinas, and the Just War: Self Defense or Punishment?*, in: *From Just War to Modern Peace Ethics…*, pp. 175-196.

48   See M. Kremer, *Morality and Just War According to Francisco Suárez*, in: ibidem, pp. 155-174

49   F. Suário e Societate Jesu, *Defensio fidei catholicae et apostolicae, adversus Anglicanae sectae errores, cum responsione ad Apologiam pro iuramento fidelitatis & Praefationem monitoriam, Serenissimi Jacobi Angliae Regis*, Conimbricae 1613. This work covers volume 24 (Vivès 1859). Critical edition: F. Suárez, *Defensio Fidei III. Principatus Politicus a la Soberiana popular*, ed. E. Elorduy, L. Pereña, Madrid 1965; F. Suárez, *De juramento fidelitatis*, ed. L. Pereña, V. Abril, C. Bariero, A. Garcia, C. Villanueva, in: *Corpus Hispanorum de Pace*, vol. XIX, Madrid 1978. On Suárez' position, see A. del Pino, *La Defensio Fidei de Suárez*, "Revista Nacional de Educácion" III (1943), pp. 79-96.

50   See R. De Scorraille, *François Suárez de la Compagnie de Jésus, d'après ses lettres, ses autres écrits inédits et un grand nombre de documents nouveaux*, vol. I-II, Paris 1911, vol. II, pp. 165-221, esp. p. 193 (hereinafter: De Scorraille); J. Fichter, *Man of Spain, Francis Suárez*, New York 1940, pp. 290-303 (hereinafter: J. Fichter).

51   This work was not published at that time. Cf. De Scorraille, vol. II, p. 122; J. Fichter, p. 271. It was published in Brussels and Paris in 1859 by Mgr. Malou under a revised title: *Francisco Suárezii opuscula sex inedita*. See also G. Ambrosetti, *La filozofia delle leggi di Suárez. I, II sistema*, Roma 1948.

Suárez great respect among the most eminent theologians and the recognition of the Pope himself, who in one of his letters presents Suárez as an outstanding and pious doctor (*Doctor eximius ac pius*).[52]

It is worth mentioning that Suárez also dealt with issues in the field of the strict theory of laws.[53] His concept was later adopted by the German legal theorist Samuel Pufendorf († 1694).[54] In turn, one of the leading representatives of French legal thought, Jean Bodin († 1596), whose methodology was based on the assumptions of Niccolò Machiavelli († 1527), seemed to be influenced by Suárez's thought as well.[55] Suárez became one of the central figures in Dutch political thought in the 17th century, especially due to the numerous controversies surrounding the work *Defensio fidei catholicae et apostolicae*, in which he denies that the emperor has absolute temporal jurisdiction over all Christians. In this treatise, as in the *De legibus ac Deo legislatore* from 1612, Suárez upheld the position of the fourteenth-century papalists who opposed the royalists. They did not recognize the temporal supremacy of the papacy and rejected the concept of natural law as a reflection of the eternal law. The Dutch legislator Hugo Grotius († 1645), who was interested in Suárez's considerations on the issues of international law and natural law,[56] wrote about Suárez as *omnium metaphysicorum princeps ac papa* ("prince and pope of all metaphysicians"), as well as *caput huius saeculi in scholasticis* ("head of the scholastics of the time").[57] He greatly appreciated Suárez and claimed that "he was a doctor of philosophy and theology with an unprecedented acuteness of mind, which was difficult to match".[58] In his works, he was clearly influenced by the conceptual apparatus of the Spanish Jesuit.[59]

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52 De Scorraille, vol. 2, pp. 126-127; J. Fichter, p. 272.

53 For more on Suárez' theory of laws, see F. Cuevas Cancino, *La doctrina de Suárez sobre el derecho natural: doctrina de Suárez sobre lo permanente y lo variable en el derecho natural, sus precedentes en la escuela española y su influencia en el pensamiento jurídico moderno*, Madrid 1952. On the issue of international law in Suárez, see J. Brown Scott, *El origen español del derecho internacional moderno; prólogo de Camilo Barcia Trelles*, Valladolid 1928 (XXV); J. Larequi, *El P. Suárez creador del concepto de Derecho Internacional*, "Razón y Fe" LXXXIII (1928), pp. 225-240; C. Barcia Trelles, *Internacionalistas españoles del siglo XVI, Francisco Suárez: (1546-1617)*, Valladolid 1934; J. Viñas Planas, *El arbitraje internacional en los escolásticos españoles*, "La Ciencia Tomista" LXII (1942), pp. 259-273.

54 R. Tokarczyk, *Klasycy praw natury*, Lublin 1988, p. 212.

55 See. M. Siebert, *Paralléle entre F. Suárez et J. Bodin*, Paris 1949.

56 R. Tokarczyk, *Klasycy…*, p. 178.

57 De Scorraille, p. 437.

58 On Suárez' influence on Grotius, see J. Larequi SJ, *Influencia suáreciana en la filozofía de Grocio*, "Razón y fe" LXXXVIII (1929), pp. 525-538. On the influence of the scholastic theory of natural law on Grotius, see A. H. Chroust, *Hugo Grotius and the Scholastic Natural Law Tradition*, "The New Scholasticism" XVII (1943), pp. 101-133; P. Merêa, *Suárez, Grocio, Hobbes. Liçoes de historia das doutrinas politicas feitas na Universidade de Coimbra*, ed. A. Amado, Coimbra 1941.

59 R. Tokarczyk, *Klasycy…*, p. 177.

Suárez's analyses devoted to the concept of war focused on legal regulations applicable to warfare, as well as on the theory of justice and mercy presented in the context of human morality, natural law (principles of reason) and divine law (supernatural principles of theology). He was well aware that the lack of an objective theory of justice, i.e. one accepted by everyone, could lead to ethical relativism, the collapse of the idea of unity and international justice. If the defense of Christian Europe, as he believed, could not be conducted on the basis of a universally accepted idea of justice, then it could not shape civilization within the main laws of reason and the reclaiming of human rights. The false constitution of the law of war which does not respect the proper law of nations and inalienable social and human rights leads to a barbaric moral relativism, the relativity of laws and uncontrollable anarchy. The theory of just war in Suárez's approach was therefore not an ordinary Latin study devoted to war or only to the defense of Catholicism against the ideology of pagans, Saracens or barbarians. In fact, it was an advanced theoretical *corpus* full of legal, political, theological and philosophical nuances, seeking for rational principles that might lead to peace rather than war.

The fundamental problem in Suárez's concept pertains to a fundamental issue of morality in relation to international law; among other things, is war only *intrinsically* or *extrinsically* evil? What are the justifications for a just war? Are there any moral decrees that allow Christians to join and wage war? Is war against human nature? Does God forbid and condemn every war? Is there a just war in God's eyes? And if so, what conditions must be met to conduct it? Does it depend on the internal nature of war, or is it more important to consider the external conditions? After all, is every war only a consequence of wrong assumptions about imperialistic expansion, territorial annexation, or is there a fundamental difference between a *defensive war* and a *provoked war*? Does moral relativism always preclude the objective order of values in warfare?

Most of the essential theses of his treatise *On War* relate to the understanding of the mutual relationship between factors of a political, legal, social, theological and philosophical nature, contributing to very important and unfortunately, still-current discussions. It is significant that it is with the issue of war, which reveals various weaknesses and contradictions, that contemporary philosophy is unable to make real contact in the theoretical dimension, although in this way it also avoids criticism. Here lies a profound difference between the philosophers and theologians of the Middle Ages and the Renaissance, in whose works these problems emerge in a significant way. Suárez did not deny the importance of the military sphere in the pursuit of science. On the contrary, he analyzed its laws, norms and principles. Moreover, we do not find superficial and symbolic interpretations in his

work, but specifically problematized analyses in the field of systematic the-
ology, morality, spirituality, as well as in the theory of law and politics. There
can be no doubt that in such a structured approach the relation between
man's way of life and questions about the norms of justice and requirements
for eternal happiness comes to the fore.

In the just war context, Suárez's work on the laws entitled *De legibus
seu de Deo legislatore* (*On Laws and God as Legislator*), published in Coimbra
in 1612, remains little known.[60] The *De legibus* – which is the fruit of lec-
tures that Suárez conducted in Coimbra in the years 1601-1603 – shows
the essence of law (its immutability) from the most appropriate perspective,
that is, the phenomenon of the universality of *natural law* and its impact on
the holistic vision of reality. This sets a certain horizon for the definition
of moral life and the righteous principles applicable to the just war theory,
to which Suárez devoted a separate discussion of the *De charitate*, which is
part of the *De triplici virtute theologica, fide, spe, et charitate*, as well as a broader
commentary on the Aquinas' *Summa theologiae*.[61] Both Suárez's works con-
stitute a characteristic unity and should be regarded as the complementary
source of his doctrine. The treatise *On War* from 1621 is by no means the only
content of justice, war, rights and ethical norms. In fact, it corresponds to
exactly the same terminology from the *De legibus*. It is almost identical to
the terms and definitions of laws in the chronologically earlier work. If one
can talk about influence at all, it is rather in a subordinate direction, that is,
the *theory of rights* determined the theory of just war, giving it an adequate
and complete interpretation.

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60   R. De Scorraille, p. XX (vol. I) and p. 156 (vol. II).

61   Suárez devoted a separate dissertation to the just war *in folio* format. It is included
in the theological treatise *On Love*, which is part of the *De triplici virtute theologica, fide, spe, et
charitate* of the larger corpus *Commentaria ac disputationes in primam et secundam partem D. Thomae
de Deo uno, et trino, in tres praecipue tractatus distributae, …Cum indicibus necessariis. Operum tomus
I-XXIII*. For the purposes of this article, I use volume XII: R. P. Francisci Suárez Granatensis è
Societate Jesu Doctoris Eximii, *Opus De Triplici Virtute Theologica. Fide, Spe, Et Charitate, In tres
Tractatus pro ipsarum virtutum numero distributum, Ad Illustrissimum et Reverendissimum D.D. Joan-
nem Emmanuelem Episcopum Visensem etc.*, Operum Tomus Undecimus, Superiorum Pertnissu
ac Previlegiis, Apud Sebastianum Coleti, Venetiis 1742, *Tractatus Tertius* (*De charitate*), disp. XIII
(*De bello*), pp. 406-421 (hereafter: F. Suárez. *De bello*). See also F. Suárez, disp. XIII *(De bello)*, in:
*Selections from Three Works of Francisco Suárez S.J. De Legibus, Ac Deo Legislatore (1612), Defensio
fidei catholicae et apostolicae adversus anglicanae sectae errores (1613), De triplici virtute theologica,
fide, spe, et charitate (1621)*, in: *The Classics of International Law,* vol. II, ed. J. Brown Scott, transl.
by G. L. Williams, A. Brown, J. Waldron, H. Davis, S.J., Publications of the Carnegie Endowment
for International Peace, Division of International Law Washington, Oxford 1944, pp. 799-865
(sec. I-IX). Cf. publishing note: De Scorraille, p. 251 (vol. I); F. Suárez, *Lectiones de Fide, anno 1583
in Collegio Romano habitas, ad fidem codicum manuscriptorum edidit Carolus Deuringer*, "Archivo
Teológico Granadiano" XXXII (1969), pp. 79-232; XXXIII (1970), pp. 191-305.

In fact, in his concept there is an *internal* and *external* difference in the comprehension of the just war (in other words, *formal* and *material*). According to Suárez, people who are attracted more to the experience of sensual life than to the knowledge of reason, favor the interpretation of their own experiences by naively accepting any error, even religious. Going beyond the superficial approach of the general public or coined by the reckless and frivolous crowd is therefore necessary. Because knowledge of the natural world is changeable and cannot be based on changeable principles, it cannot be compared to the perfection that the soul can achieve through spiritual and rational analysis of immutable principles. Thus, going beyond apparent experience is, in a way, a necessity when discovering the truth on the nature of war, and it would not be reasonable for a rational being not to try to find the truth in all possible ways.

The first mistake regarding the question of war, which Suárez explicitly defined as the *heresy of reason*, consists in the assertion that war is inherently evil and contrary to love. And although this view raises obvious moral controversies, it requires a chronological tracing of Suárez's astonishing reply to this problem. Referring to St. Augustine's *Contra Faustum Manichaeum* (book XXII, cap. LXXIV) and the heretical assumption that war is inherently evil, Suárez also attributes this opinion to the Manichaeans, but then to Wycliffe († 1384) – known as the "morning star of the Reformation" – and then to Peter Waldo († ci. 1217) in *De Sacramentalibus* (vol. III: *Doctrinale antiquitatum fidei*) – who was an inspiration of the Christian group of Waldensians from the end of the 12th century.[62] Suárez supplements his argumentation with references to the works of the authorities of his order as St. Robert Bellarmine' SJ († 1621) *De Laicis* (lib. II, cap. XIV, XVI) and Louis Molina's SJ († 1600) *De Iustitia* (disp. XC).[63] The second error defined by Suárez as heresy is the claim that participation in war is an act of eternal lawlessness, especially unacceptable for Christians, and also a war against Christians (just or unjust) is fundamentally reprehensible. In this context, Suárez mainly opposes the arguments of Johann Maier von Eck († 1543), who described his position in the *Enchiridion locorum communium adversus Lutteranos et alios hostes ecclesiae* (cap. xxii). He was a well-known pioneer of the Counter-Reformation who, although openly criticizing Melanchthon († 1560), Zwingli († 1531) and Luther († 1546), did not avoid anti-Semitism. Most of all, he quite surprisingly maintained that religious wars were lawful, thereby justifying the bloody wars of Christians against Turks, Saracens and other heretics.[64]

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62   F. Suárez, *De bello*, sec. I, art. 1.

63   Ibidem.

64   Ibidem.

Consequently, Suárez distinguished between two types of war – "defensive" and "aggressive", the internal and external criteria of which he analyzes in sections 1, 3, 4 and 6 of the treatise *On War*. It is this distinction that characterizes the whole order of command in the treaty, allowing Suárez to establish appropriate meanings, norms, relations, and to distinguish the moral status of just war from unjust war. It is quite interesting that he consciously refers to the works of not only earlier classics, but also contemporary authors, which proves his awareness of significant historical and religious changes of his time (esp. Counter-Reformation efforts). His answer to the objection of the Manichaeans, Wycliffe and Waldo is very instructive and worth following.

Now, the solution to the question of whether all war is *intrinsically* evil by nature corresponds especially to the accepted preconditions to be taken into account in a critical approach evaluating just war. These conditions are both philosophical and theological. In order for a war to be justifiably started, certain preconditions must be met, which Suárez divides into three groups. Firstly, there can be no legislative doubts, so only the legitimate authority has the privilege of starting a war (*ut fit legitima potestate*).[65] Secondly, the cause must be justified and right, providing it has a constitutive rational element (*ut iusta causa et titulus*).[66] Thirdly, the conduct of war must be appropriate and proportionate to the administration of justice from the outset, throughout the war, and including further court or judicial proceedings after the end of war when victory has been achieved (*ut servetus debitus modus, et aequalitas in illius initio, prosecutione, et victoria*).[67] At the heart of Suárez's assumptions is an attempt to objectify a just war, which could help avoid dangers that may turn the state or man into an instrument of evil. The destructive nature of war is often reflected in a warring state and its citizens, and it is easy to overlook the fact that war, while seems not always evil in itself (e.g. just war), is in fact devastating evil, as can be proved by the poignant misfortunes and tragedies it brings.[68] The just war (*bellum iustum*) should therefore correspond to the definition of *defensive war*. Every other form of war is essentially direct aggression and takes on the highest degree of injustice.

Suárez's concept also refers to the field of religious thought, especially canon law, and thus to a system of values that cannot be separated from his political works. He argued that even if it was not forbidden by divine law, written into natural law, for clergymen to engage in warfare, it was

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65 F. Suárez, *De bello*, sec. I, art. 7.
66 Ibidem.
67 Ibidem.
68 Ibidem.

strictly forbidden by ecclesiastical law.[69] As this prohibition exists neither in tradition nor in Scripture, there is no sufficient grounds to consider this prohibition as a thetic norm or commandment of God Himself. One should not underestimate the value of church law which remains regulative and indisputable in this respect, and which was already established by the Gratian's *Decretum* (p. I, dist. I, can. V; causa XXIII, q. IV).[70] Primarily, the *Decretum* did not allow for optional and unrestricted interpretation of the basic norms and categories in canon law, which is why its legitimacy was upheld even by St. Thomas in the *Summa theologiae* (II-II, q. 40, art. 2), i.e. the veracity and legislative nature of these canons. On the other hand, as Suárez points out, in certain borderline circumstances, when it is necessary to appeal to the force of natural law, the Church or the Pope may grant a special dispensation to a clergyman to get involved in the war. Nevertheless, non-religious factors, i.e. external (*extrinsecum*) or accidental (*per accidens*), are highly debatable and may raise obvious reservations in relation to internal or essential factors (*per se loquendo*), the violation of which often leads to apostasy. However, these factors become more moderate, individual and voluntary if engaging in war is related to self-defence, i.e. defense of the highest values, including religious ones, and above all, defense of the oppressed rather than mere aggression. Suárez also grounds his understanding on the commentary by Thomas Cajetan († 1534), an unquestionable authority and expert on Aquinas (*In Com. II.-II*, q. 40, art. 2), on the authority of Diego de Covarrubias y Leyva († 1577), Spanish jurist and bishop of Segovia, professor at the University of Salamanca, as well as on other recognized theologians of his time.[71]

Summarizing, God does not allow evil, and the border of good – although it is infinite in itself in the order of God's grace – is precisely evil. The defensive factor is therefore justified in the natural order and by the divine law. It is built on a deep conviction about the real power of evil and the imperfection of everything contrary to nature created by God. Thus, what constitutes an act of defense should not always be perceived in terms of aggression.[72] For instance, if the enemy deprives others of possessions and private property, robs and murders, these create special circumstances of self-defence, which, after all, are not aggression, but extraordinary defense in accordance with civil law and inherently within the natural law created by God (*Cod.*, VIII, iv, 1; *Digest.*, xliii, xvi, 1, 3).[73]

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69 Ibidem, sec. IV, art. 3.
70 Ibidem.
71 Ibidem, sec. IV, art. 4 et passim.
72 Ibidem, sec. I, art. 6.
73 Ibidem.

5. St. Robert Bellarmine

St. Robert's just war theory, also considered one of the strongest interpretations of this issue, takes into account the existing principle of compatibility of secular legislation with religious thought. Evidently, maintaining respect for the values professed by religion does not preclude Bellarmine's impartiality and objectivity in assessing secular normative systems. In fact, he retains common sense and rational judgment. What is more, he maintains conscious objectivity in assessing legal and ethical standards in the state, as well as in the field of other religious postulates. As in the case of its predecessors, the authority of God and the common good of nations are a superior value, regardless of time, place, race, gender, nationality, social origin, worldview or religious denomination. However, the mechanism of functioning of the just war principles in his theory assumes a reference to divine factors and supernatural sanctions, and also derives from viewing natural law as an element of the social contract. Again, this concept points to the connection between the principles of the secular state and divine norms. He argues that just as natural law allows an individual, even by violence, to resist injustice that threatens his life, fortune, property, or honor, so natural law created by God allows an entire nation to seek moral and public justice through just warfare. The head of the nation has not only a privilege or right, but also a moral duty to use the necessary and sufficient means to ensure order and peace, even with the use of armed force, in the interest of the common good, for which he is responsible at the forefront of the nation.

This obligation extends not only to a *defensive* war, but also to an *offensive* war when the nation is in real danger.[74] It is also in accordance with

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74   Roberti Bellarmini Politiani. Ex Societate Jesu. S.R.E. Presbyteri Cardinalis. Tit. S. Mariae in via, Archiepiscopi Capuani, *Disputationum. De Controversiis Christianae Fidei, Adversus Huius temporis Haereticos Opus: ab ipsomet Auctore nunc demum auctum, recognitum, & in Quatuor Tomos Distributum,* Ex Typographia Adami Sartorii, Inglostadii 1605 (hereinafter: R. Bellarmin. *De laicis, sive secularibus*), vol. I (*Primi Tomi Quinta Controversia Generalis. De membre Ecclesiae militantis. Tribus libris explicata*), Liber Tertius (*De Laicis, sive secularibus*), cap. XIV (*Licere christianis aliquando bella gerere*), pp. 459-470 (more pp. 424-509). On Bellarmine's comprehensive justification of the Just War, see cap. XV (*Quot sint, et qua iusti belli conditiones*), pp. 470-475; cap. XVI (*Licere bellum gerere christianic contra Turcas*), pp. 475-478; cap. XVII (*Ad magistratum non pertinere iudicium de Religione*), pp. 478-480; cap. XVIII (*Ad magistratum pertinere defensionem Religionis*), pp. 480-484; cap. XIX (*Non posse conciliari Catholicos cum haereticis*) pp. 484-488; cap. XX (*Libros haereticorum abolendos esse*), pp. 488-495; cap. XXI (*Posse haereticos ab Ecclesia damnatos, temporalibus paenis, et etiam morte mulctari*), pp. 495-501; cap. XXII (*Solvuntur obiectiones*), pp. 501-509. Other edition of *De laicis*, see *De laicis sive secularibus*, in: idem, *Disputationes. De controversiis christianae fidei, adversus huius temporis Haereticos*, Quatuor Tomis comprehensae, Editio ultima ab ipso auctore aucta, vol. II, Parisiis 1608; idem, *Disputationum. De Controversiis Christianae Fidei, Adversus Huius temporis Haereticos Opus: ab ipsomet Auctore nunc demum auctum, recognitum, & in Quatuor Tomos*

the law of defensive warfare when there is no other way to defend the population against external enemies. This necessity arises from an inalienable law of nature, and is dictated by the fact that all enemies, both internal and external, causing confusion and anxiety, should be kept away from the good of the state. Referring to St. Gregory of Nazianzus († 390), he argues that war can be waged regardless of the defensive factors used, until we are more inclined to peace, for the latter is indeed a higher and more divine good; the will to peace and reconciliation ends the war. Moreover, recalling the comparison of Tertullian († c. 240), he makes a claim about the state that "with you we are sailors, soldiers, farmers and merchants". Even if war does not violate justice, one may ask whether it is not contrary to the virtue of mercy? Bellarmine replies to this in such a way that it cannot be assumed that God, who is the highest authority and lawgiver of nature, on the one hand gave nations and individuals the right to self-defense, and on the other hand, by another law (e.g. mercy) forbade it. If that were the case, the right to wage a just war would become a useless rule and absurd right, and even self-contradictory, which substantially contradicts God's providence and wisdom. This would be a blatant counterfactual or contrast between two mutually exclusive commandments of the Decalogue, that is, between a law that permits and forbids the same thing. Hence Bellarmine concludes that war, if it is actually a just war – that is, legitimated by natural and divine law – cannot by its very nature (*ex natura sua*) be legal and at the same time be unlawful and illegal with respect to the norms of God's charity or mercy. However, if in some cases the law of beneficence or charity precludes the exercise of this law, it is only because there are special circumstances that do not apply to the general law.[75]

Ultimately, Bellarmine concludes that war is by definition incompatible with peace, but that in some cases a just war may be the only means to peace. This points to the important difference between a just war and an unjust war. The latter is by essence the opposite of peace, while the former opposes evil and seeks to bring order and harmony to both the state and nature. This is analogous to the art of surgery in medicine, which at the beginning is opposed to the imperfect health of the ill person, and in the end is supposed to lead to good and perfect health.[76] Accordingly, those who deal with such matters usually enumerate the four conditions of a just war: legiti-

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Distributum, Ex Typographia Adami Sartorii, Inglostadii 1605, vol. 2 (Secundi Tomi Secunda Controversia Generalis. De membre Ecclesiae militantis. Tribus libris explicata), Liber Tertius (*De Laicis, sive secularibus*), pp. 868-918. On Augustine's opinion, see *Cont. Faust. Manich.*, lib. XXII, cap. 75, 78.

75   R. Bellarmin, *De laicis, sive secularibus*, cap. XIV (*Licere christianis aliquando bella gerere*), pp. 459-470.

76   Ibidem.

mate authority; legitimate cause; honest intentions; the use of appropriate methods and rules of war.[77] However, concluding his analysis, Bellarmine points out two basic things. First, if war is a means to peace – and we know that it is cruel, brutal, difficult and dangerous – a just war should not be launched in a mindless rush, even if there is a good reason for doing so. Second, the superior authority should first peacefully demand justice and seek due satisfaction from the enemy, which is in accordance with the thought of St. Augustine that "if you ever have to fight against a city, you will first offer it peace, …good will should respect the pursuit of peace, and only just necessity can cause war".[78]

Conclusions

Apart from the distinction between *just war* and *unjust war*, most of the classical concepts pointed to an equally significant divergence between *false duty* (negative motivation) and *natural duty* (positive motivation). Only false motivation leads people to the relativization of good and the domination of evil, which is the unwillingly adopted principle and the internally hidden essence of every aggressive war. Having said that, evil demands man to overcome his confident trust in God, namely a duty which is a natural law obligation. Man should have the ethical fortitude or spiritual courage to expose every evil and unmask the deceptive appearance by which it seeks to put itself in the place of God. Evil operates in a covert way, less overtly or by depreciating the rational order of natural law (*lex naturalis*) that reflects God's providence, grace, and all divine values (*lex aeterna*, *lex divina*). A precise classification of theological premises concerning war, defined by appropriate ethical, legal and religious values, introduced a rational factor into the common understanding of just war, and thus allowed people to distinguish its nature from the meaning of an unjust war. This type of *quasi-religious* reflection contributed to the enrichment of the resources of the language of legislation in the history of political and philosophical thought, especially by shaping a new and methodologically deepened justification around the issue of war between the Middle Ages and the Modern Era. Almost all significant justifications were based on this fundamental division into *just* and *unjust* war and the related formal, material, political, legal, ethical, theological contrasts.

The erudition of Christian thinkers of Western Europe in the Middle Ages and at the turn of the 16th and 17th centuries, who were staunch and zealous defenders of the just war idea, won them extensive interest from philosophi-

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77   Ibidem.
78   R. Bellarmin, *De laicis, sive secularibus*, cap. XV (*Quot sint, et qua iusti belli conditiones*), p. 470 et passim.

cal and political circles in the following centuries. Furthermore, the just war tradition has been recognized by philosophers shaped by a culture other than Catholic, as in the Dutch jurisprudence in the person of S. Pufendorf (✝ 1694) and H. Grotius (✝ 1645), and even by some representatives of the German Enlightenment, such as J. Althusius (✝ 1638), W. G. Leibniz (✝ 1716), Ch. Thomasius (✝ 1728), Ch. Wolff (✝ 1754), I. Kant (✝ 1804).[79] The delicate nature of this issue – still attractive in modern times, which is considered to be the age of reason in a highly developed civilization – is attracting more and more interest from academic circles, in which the renaissance of research on the rules of just war is clearly noticeable. According to the Catholic Constitution *Gaudium et spes* of 1965 – which is otherwise an exposition on the social teaching of the Church after the Second Vatican Council and non-selectively refers to the shaping of world peace, forms of collective life, including the highest good with all its consequences – an indelible premise for lasting good in temporal existence, its most perfect form of earthly reflection and the ultimate guarantee of its truthfulness can only be the immutable divine criterion of constant law:

> "This peace on earth cannot be obtained unless personal well-being is safeguarded and men freely and trustingly share with one another the riches of their inner spirits and their talents. A firm determination to respect other men and peoples and their dignity, as well as the studied practice of brotherhood are absolutely necessary for the establishment of peace. Hence peace is likewise the fruit of love, which goes beyond what justice can provide…That earthly peace which arises from love of neighbor symbolizes and results from the peace of Christ which radiates from God the Father…For this reason, all Christians are urgently summoned to do in love what the truth requires, and to join with all true peacemakers in pleading for peace and bringing it about. Motivated by this same spirit, we cannot fail to praise those who renounce the use of violence in the vindication of their rights and who resort to methods of defense which are otherwise available to weaker parties too, provided this can be done without injury to the rights and duties of others or of the community itself. Insofar as men are sinful, the threat of war hangs over them, and hang over them it will until the return of Christ"[80]

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79   See C. Willson, *Leibniz on War and Peace and the Common Good,* in: *Fuer unser Gleck und das Glueck anderer,* Hildesheim 2017, pp. 33-62; T. Mertens, *Kant and the Just War Tradition,* in: *From Just War to Modern Peace Ethics…,* pp. 231-248; *The Ethics of War: Classic and Contemporary Readings,* ed. G.M. Reichberg, H. Syse, E. Begby, Oxford et al. 2006, pp. 693, esp. Part III (*Late Scholastic and Reformation*).

80   *Pastoral Constitution on the Church in the Modern World: Gaudium et Spes…,* cha. V (*The Fostering of Peace and the Promotion of a Community of Nations*), no. 78.

As a thread supplementing the just war doctrine, one can also distinguish the problem of *legalism* and *absolutism*. In the field of political and legal history, theories related to legalism and absolutism can also play an important role in defining the doctrine of just war and distinguishing it from unjust one.

The key problem in this context is that a misunderstood legalism of statutory laws could trigger *legalistic absolutism* and social repression, and then lead to totalitarianism rather than liberal respect for the freedom of every human being.[81] There is a pitfall in absolutism regarding the criteria of value. According to one of the proposals, the basic criterion for classifying values may be the method of justifying these values and the social norms related to them, as well as decrees of statutory law. This assumption basically leads to three sources of a possible foundation of values in absolutism: 1. *supranaturalistic*, 2. *naturalistic*, 3. *non-naturalistic*. Absolutism as a socio-political doctrine can be combined with Objectivism, and then adopt only one of these criteria relating to absolute values, regardless of whether it is a secular or religious state. Then, the primacy of dominance of a particular model of the state and system determines the collective order and imposes norms on all citizens accordingly. Most often, however, such identification of the doctrine of absolutism with objectivism has a negative effect, because objectivism as a philosophical doctrine is primarily about analyzing the relationship between the "subject" establishing values (*legislative power*) and the "subject" that learns and implements these values in a lifestyle, i.e. an individual or society. Objectivism, properly understood, is therefore to predetermine inviolable standards of rights and respect for common ethical standards, universal for everyone, and thus preventively exclude any influence of the "subject" as a legislative authority on the non-objective understanding of values, as well as on their relativization. The problem, nonetheless, is that absolutism (political or social) understood in this way, assuming full objectivity, can lead to radical legalism constituted by law, and thus to the tyranny of power or repression against citizens who recognize different value systems in the state. Hence, absolutism in its radical form can become legalism, which often overestimates the legitimacy of absolute law and applies populist standards to the moral dimension of statutory law, disregarding the rightness of distinct human intentions. As a result, such *absolute legalism* or *legalistic absolutism* becomes biased and non-objective, depriving a person of the possibility of exercising freedoms and personal choice of other ways of life, who is striving in a different way to achieve the highest social good and human values.

These ending remarks are only intended to indicate that the absolutist just war doctrine and its legalistic assumptions do not always have to assume an

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81   See R.P. Kraynak, *Hobbes's Behemoth and the Argument for Absolutism*, "American Political Science Review" LXXVI (1988) 4, pp. 837-847.

objectively justified system of values in society and a proper understanding of human intentions in the world of different values. On the contrary, absolute political power combined with legalism seems to be usually guided by a more subjective assessment of social justice than objectivism, including the subjectively defined nature of good and evil. In this case, some criteria of value may be confused, where good and evil themselves – categories so completely different – become absolutely equal values. This kind of problematic method of founding values, which can be observed in the history of political transformations and social value systems, underlies the characteristics of absolutism and the radicalization of legalism, which presumably makes it difficult to find an objective criterion for a just war without combining social and legal values, individual beliefs along with religious beliefs. It seems that only going beyond radical *absolutist legalism* or *legalistic absolutism*, and thus also towards purely human meanings and religious premises, can guarantee a broader polarization of various human values in relation to various social groups and their needs. Such an attitude, with a certain openness to social claims, could also provide a fairly objective study of the just war doctrine in the broader definitional context, adequate for everyone. Arguably no objectivity, whether historical, political, ethical, philosophical or theological, is entirely attainable when it comes to justifying war, whether it is just or unjust.

Proofreading by Angela Delichatsios
B.A. in Social Studies from Harvard College
M.F.A. in Contemporary Performance from Naropa University

Abstract

The paper examines how the just war theory (*bellum iustum*) emerged from traditional concepts in Cicero and Aristotle, but developed significantly in the Middle Ages and the Renaissance. Just war theory borders on ethics, political and social philosophy, and theology. It was studied by Christian philosophers of medieval provenance, politicians, military commanders and lawyers. The basic premise of this doctrine is that war can be justified in moral terms. While human morality recognizes war to be a terrible experience, the just war tradition holds that it may be considered as a reasonable denouement. It can lead to the lessening of greater evils and the prevention of greater cruelty or violence threatening people and states.

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Piotr Boroń
University of Silesia
piotr.boron@us.edu.pl
https://orcid.org/0000-0001-9726-7577

Marzena Kłusek
Silesian University of Technology in Gliwice
marzena.klusek@polsl.pl
https://orcid.org/0000-0003-4341-5719

Ewelina Imiołczyk
University of Silesia/Upper Silesian Museum in Bytom
e.gabala@gmail.com
https://orcid.org/ 0000-0002-0894-1038

Natalia Piotrowska
Silesian University of Technology in Gliwice
natalia.piotrowska@polsl.pl
https://orcid.org/0000-0002-8194-6767

A judge's staff from the market square in Bytom – a symbolic element of medieval legal culture

One of the more interesting artefacts discovered during the excavations at the market square in the Upper-Silesian city of Bytom was a wooden staff. The find, already mentioned in scholarly literature, has only recently been subject to detailed examination, the results of which confirmed that not only is it one of the oldest judge's staffs encountered in Europe but also appears to have been used during the procedure of pronouncing a death sentence. The staff is dated to the last quarter of the 13th century, so if it is related to particular phases of Bytom's development, then it may have belonged to one of the first judges or *advocati* of the town (established under the Magdeburg Law in 1254). It could also belong to one of the last representatives of the Polish law. Moreover, the object was made from yew wood, whose symbolic significance also needs to be discussed in more detail.

The artefact is a straight debarked stick of ca 57.7 cm in length and 2.87 cm in diameter at the shaft's base. At the bottom, the stick's diameter is

2.59 cm. Its maker utilised the natural shape of the tree branch. The staff's bottom part displays distinct evidence of mechanical wear, whereas a fragment of upper layer of the shaft is missing. Apart from this intentional damage, the artefact bears traces of incisions made with a sharp tool. In its bottom part the evidence of burning is visible, and similar damage can also be seen on the handle. The staff also displays natural cracks running across and along its longer axis.

The staff's head consists of a handle of oval cross-section (6.5 x 4.7 cm), conically truncated in its upper part. The slightly elongated and rounded handle conforms to the shape of a palm of a hand, while its upper part and lateral edge are polished. Each of the handle's sides displays a notched pattern. The handle itself bears minor traces of burning (Fig. 1). The handle is well shaped and fits to the palm of a human hand, thus offering comfortable support. Its edge has been processed so the thumb fits the knob appropriately, resulting in a firm grip.

The shaft's asymmetrical position in relation to the handle does not only result from the natural shape of the branch from which the object was made, but also reflects practical needs. It provided more stable support, transferring the pressure to the staff's front part, in addition to offering better adjustment to the shape of the hand gripping the knob. Thus, the elongated end of the handle fits a palm's rear part perfectly. A hand may rest comfortably on the staff's head thanks to its specific shape, but only when sitting or standing. If the staff was ever longer than it is now, the bottom part of the yew stick would not have offered any support. We may thus assume that it was used as a ceremonial object or a symbol of authority rather than an ordinary walking stick (Fig. 2).

The artefact's rich decoration, covering most of its surface, is very interesting. It displays a repeatable ornament, whose essential element is the pattern of parallel double lines incised in wood, crossing diagonally and forming a grid[1] which occupies the middle part of the shaft's surface. Along the artefact, at the length of 23.5 cm, runs a narrow strip made up of a wavy line and diagonal incisions, together forming a pattern resembling a twig. The decoration below the handle consists of lines, arranged horizontally to the artefact's axis, incised all around the shaft. The space between the three parallel lines is occupied by a linear pattern – semicircular strips filled with lines (referred to as fish scales). The second row displays diagonal notches. In its style, the decoration of the staff from

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1   The motif of diagonally crisscrossing lines is a frequent linear pattern. According to E. Cnotliwy, it first appeared in the 5th-7th century (see: E. Cnotliwy, *Rzemiosło rogownicze na Pomorzu wczesnośredniowiecznym*, Wrocław 1973, pp. 94 f.; M. Weinkauf, *Źródła nieceramiczne z początku wczesnego średniowiecza ze strefy chełmińsko- dobrzyńskiej*, in: Acta Universitatis Nicolai Copernici, Archeologia XXXIII (2013), p. 161.

Bytom's market square emulates the early-medieval ornaments encountered on pottery,[2] other objects made from wood[3] or crats made from antler.[4] Below the decoration mentioned above there is a hexagram. It differs from the rest of the ornamentation in how it was cut: it was incised quite carelessly and there clearly was a problem with executing straight lines. The decoration lines on the staff were made a bit darker, as if the craftsman had wanted to make them stand out, while the incisions of the hexagram are light in colour. This may testify to the use of another tool or a different technique. The hexagram may possibly have been cut later than the original ornament.

Both in terms of its length and the head's shape, the Bytom staff corresponds perfectly to the staffs seen in the contemporary iconographic material. Its closest analogy, both in terms of chronology and geography, is represented in the illustrated legend of Saint Hedwig. Illustration no. 36, depicting Saint Hedwig intervening before the court on behalf of widows and orphans, shows a judge, accompanied by the jury, holding a staff – a thin stick – in his hand. The object reaches from his waist to the head, with the height for an adult being is ca 60 cm. The stick in the manuscript, as in the case of the staff discovered in Bytom, also has a head on its top. In each of the three versions of the illustrated legend the staff's top is different (Fig. 3). In one (specifically, the Codex of Lubin) it resembles a curved crosier, while in the so-called Hornig Codex it resembles a hammer. Finally, in the version found by August Sadebeck the top of the staff resembles a knob. The differences are not very important – considering the painting techniques, a certain degree of simplification was inevitable. What is important, however, is that the painters decided to accentuate the staff's top and each of them had certainly seen such a staff in his lifetime.

The artefact was found in a trench of 9.5 to 38 m (Fig. 4; plan of the trench) situated in the market square's north-eastern part, dug parallel to the edge of the road running along the square's northern frontage.[5] A great number of artefacts, including objects made from wood,[6] were dis-

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2 A. Buko, *Wzorce zdobnictwa ceramiki wczesnośredniowiecznej*, in: *Inspiracje i funkcje sztuki pradziejowej i wczesnośredniowiecznej*, ed. B. Gediga, A. Grossman, W. Piotrowski, Biskupin-Wrocław 2018, p. 416.

3 T. Stępnik, *Średniowieczne wyroby drewniane z Ostrowa Lednickiego – analiza surowcowa*, in: Studia Lednickie IV, Poznań-Lednica 1996, pp. 261 f., tab. I/5.

4 M. Weinkauf, *Źródła nieceramiczne…*, fig. 3 (p. 160), fig. 4 (p. 164).

5 A. Andrzejewska, *Rynek starego miasta. Dziennik badań archeologicznych*, vol. II, Bytom 1998-1999 [typescript in the Archive of the Archaeology Department, Upper Silesian Museum in Bytom, no. 362], p. 27.

6 Eadem, *Wyniki ratowniczych badań Rynku starego miasta w Bytomiu*, vol. I, Bytom 1998-1999 [typescript in the Archive of the Archaeology Department, Upper Silesian Museum in Bytom, no. 359], p. 127.

covered in horizon XIII (Fig. 5), denoted as padding IV, which was deposited on natural clay.[7] A thin insulation layer consisting of small twigs and woodchips was deposited directly on top of it. The empty spaces between the pieces of wood were filled with stones, forming small concentrations. Chopped branches were placed above it, forming a compact surface.[8] Layer XIII may be dated to the fourth quarter of the 13th century, when small wooden stalls stood there; the time when they were built was determined as approximately the end of the 13th century. Exact dating of these objects was possible thanks to dendrochronological examination of the construction elements and the analysis of the collected movable artefacts.[9]

The artefacts discovered in layer XIII included a particularly interesting find: an iron spur (Fig. 6a). Partly damaged, probably with originally U-shaped heel-band and a star-shaped rowel, it was dated to the fourth quarter of the 13th century.[10] Excavations of layer IV of the padding also yielded a fragment of a ferrule, an iron nail, an iron chain link and bits of molten lead (Fig. 6b-f).

Therefore, the chronology of the artefact under discussion may be connected with the first few decades following the establishment of the town in 1254.[11] Samples retrieved from the artefact were analysed with the use of the AMS (accelerator mass spectrometry) radiocarbon technique, which yielded the dates 1270-1300 AD.[12] The times of tree growth and deposition are practically identical, which suggests a short period of the object's use.

One of the premises for identifying the object found in the market square in Bytom as a judge's staff is two parallel incisions sawn diagonally. These damage the structure of the wood but do not destroy it completely (Fig. 7). They must have been made intentionally and on purpose, which can only be explained in one way: they were to facilitate the breaking of the staff.

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7 Eadem, *Badania archeologiczne Rynku w Bytomiu w 1997 i 1998 roku*, "Łódzkie Sprawozdania Archeologiczne" VII (2001), pp. 399-421; eadem, *Wyniki badań ratowniczych Rynku Starego Miasta w Bytomiu, woj. śląskie*, in: *Badania archeologiczne na Górnym Śląsku i ziemiach pogranicznych w latach 1999-2000*, Katowice 2002, pp. 329-336.

8 Eadem, *Wyniki ratowniczych badań Rynku starego miasta w Bytomiu…*, vol. I, p. 33.

9 Eadem, *Rozplanowanie przestrzenne średniowiecznego i nowożytnego rynku bytomskiego w świetle najnowszych badań archeologicznych*, in: *Średniowieczny Śląsk i Czechy. Centrum średniowiecznego miasta. Wrocław a Europa Środkowa*, ed. J. Piekalski, Wrocław 2000 (= Wratislavia Antiqua, vol. II), p. 282.

10 W. Kawka, *Militaria późnośredniowieczne z badań na terenie Bytomia*, „Acta Militaria Mediaevalia" XVII (2021), p. 135.

11 A. Andrzejewska, *Rozplanowanie…*, p. 280, suggests that the establishment of Bytom, confirmed in the document from 1254, did not actually happen until the 1270s.

12 N. Piotrowska, M. Kłusek, P. Boroń, E. Imiołczyk, M. Budziakowski, A. Poloczek, A. Poloczek-Imielińska, M. Jaksik, *Dating of wooden heritage objects in the Gliwice 14C and Mass Spectrometry Laboratory* (in print).

The custom of breaking a staff at the conclusion of judicial proceedings goes back to at least the Middle Ages. In German it has been preserved in an idiomatic saying about breaking a staff over someone's head: "Den Stab über jemanden brechen", i.e., finishing with, passing judgement on, or condemning someone. A further parallel appears in Czech, where there is a saying "zlomit nad někým hůl", whose meaning is identical with that in German.[13] In Hungarian there is an idiom "pálcát tör felette", "pálcát tör valaki felett", which means passing a judgement on someone for their crimes. As for the custom itself, its existence has been confirmed by the examples from the 16th century.[14]

In the German legal culture, a staff was symbolically broken over a convict's head even as late as in the 20th century. One of the reliefs on the walls of the new town hall in Hanover devoted to the traditions of the city's legal culture and history depicts a scene where a staff is being broken over a convict's head. Additionally, a raven, possibly waiting for a "meal", is depicted above him (Fig. 8). In 1922, during the preparations for the trial of the murderer of the lord mayor of Herford, Wilhelm Busse, an order was issued that a judge's staff must be 20 cm long and notched in one place. The purpose was probably to facilitate the breaking of the staff as failing to do so would have humiliated the administration of justice on the one hand, and on the other it could have been interpreted as an act of God intervening on behalf of the convict.

People have used staffs of all kinds as symbols for millennia. In different cultures they assumed various shapes and meanings. The finds as old as those from the early Stone Age have been interpreted as sceptres or chieftains' staffs; they were used and are still used by the judiciary.[15] They were instrumental in summoning meetings and promulgating proclamations.[16] Judge's staffs belong to the many types of staffs which in our culture have symbolised authority or leadership. It was a symbol of authority which a feudal lord assigned to the judges to administer justice in his name. In doing so, a judge was supposed to hold it in his hand. Putting it aside was tantamount to terminating or suspending the trial (the latter probably comes from

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13 A. Lojek, *Hůl v právu – právní symbolika držení, užívání, lámání a házení soudcovské hole*, in: *Symbolika a zkratky (Sborník z kolokvia pořádaného Katedrou společenských věd FS ČVU v Praze, The European Society for History of Law)*, ed. K. Schelle, Ostrava 2012, pp. 10-23.

14 "Magyar Nyelvör" XLIX (1920), p. 149; L. Grétsy, *Mai magyar nyelvünk*, Budapest 1976, p. 76.

15 K. von Amira, *Der Stab in der Germanischen Rechtssymbolik*, München 1909 (= Abh. der Königl.-Bayer. Akademie der Wissenschaften, Philos.-philolog. und histor. Klasse XXV, vol. I), pp. 165 ff.

16 S. Szczepański, *Eikim kruwom! czyli „chodźmy na zebranie". Uwagi o kolekcji kriwul ze zbiorów etnograficznych Altertumsgesellschaft Insterburg i trwałości staropruskiej tradycji*, "Pruthenia" VIII (2013), pp. 181-193.

the very act of suspending, i.e., hanging up the staff). In the Polish legal system in the Middle Ages, an appeal to "the staff" was an appeal in the cases when the judgement had already been passed. This custom is better known from 15th century sources but its existence in the 13th century has also been confirmed.[17]

The oldest references to the symbolism of breaking a staff can be found in the Bible. The Book of Zechariah, telling the story of two shepherds, mentions two staffs: one is called "Favour" and the other is called "Union". Breaking the former meant revoking the covenant with all the nations, while breaking the other symbolised breaking the family bond between Judah and Israel (Zechariah, 11: 7-14).

Breaking a staff over a convict's head practised in Europe is not rooted in Judaeo-Christian tradition, but it was probably later associated with the Book of Zechariah. The literature today maintains that the custom of breaking a staff when pronouncing the sentence emerged in England in the 13th century and then became common in Europe. The use of this symbol is thought to have been approved by Emperor Charles V in the *Constitutio Criminalis Carolina* issued in 1532. This view was put forward by a German legal historian, Ernst von Moeller (1876-1944).[18] His theory seems well grounded in appropriately selected sources, but it lacks any arguments directly inferred from the texts. Moeller interpreted the gesture of breaking a staff as "Bruch der Rechtsgemeinschaft", which to a certain degree is justified, yet he failed to provide any concrete proof to support his view. Breaking a piece of wood, a stick, straw, etc., is reflected in many gestures accompanying a conclusion of an agreement or transaction.[19]

Breaking a staff also meant breaking up with a community, as in the case of investiture or withdrawing from a family. Let us quote here a chapter from the *Lex Salica* (c. 500), regulating the withdrawal from family: "If someone leaves a family community, he should go to the assembly and there break four alder sprigs against his head in front of them and then throw the springs into the four corners of the world. He should also declare that he

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17   *Kodeks dyplomatyczny Wielkopolski*, vol. I, Poznań 1877, no. 309, p. 275: "accessit quedam femina uxor quondam Floriani, statuens coram nobis quendam puerum, filium eiusdem Floriani, dicens eidem puero a nostro summo iudice Domardo esse racione propinquitatis villam Starcow adiudicatam, et super hoc accepit, ad eundem Domardum coram nobis baculum, quod vocatur in Polonico wstez, et nunctium". Cf. J. Przyborowski, *Znaczenie wsteczy w sądownictwie polskiem za panowania Władysława Jagiełły*, "Biblioteka Warszawska" (1860), vol. 3, pp. 67-88.

18   E. von Moeller, *Die Rechtssitte des Stabbrechens*, „Zeitschrift der Savigny-Stiftung für Rechtsgeschichte. Germanistische Abteilung", XXI (1900), pp. 27–114. Moeller's theory was recently commented in: A. Lojek, *Hůl v právu…*, pp. 10-23.

19   S. Estreicher, *Początki prawa umownego*, in: Rozprawy Wydziału historyczno-filozoficznego Akademii Umiejętności w Krakowie XLI, Kraków 1901, p. 336 ff.

renounces his right to participate in vows, inheritance, and other bonds, so if any of his next of kin dies or is killed, he will be excluded from the legacy or ransom."[20] We may also quote here a French idiom of "breaking straw" – "rompre la paille avec quelqu'un".

Breaking a staff over a convict's head is mentioned in, e.g., the judicial code for Tyrol from 1499 (the so-called *Maximilianische Halsgerichtsordnung*)[21] in addition to the legal codes of Lüneburg, Bamberg, and Brandenburg.[22] The gesture was legitimised for the whole Empire in the times of Charles V. Article 96 of the *Constitutio Carolina*, entitled *Quando judex baculum suum frangat* outlines the process: "Quando reus per diffinitivam poenae addicitur, declaraturque, judex loco solito bacillum suum frangat, reumque lictori commendet, mandetque medio suo juramento sententiam latam fideliter exequi. Ac tunc quidem a judicio surgat judex, curetque ut lictor sententiam latam tuto satis ac secure exequi possit."[23]

The *Constitutio Carolina* was translated into Polish by Bartłomiej Groicki, who adapted its provisions to the local reality of the Magdeburg Law. Article 52, in free translation, stated that in the court "the Judge or the advocatus must tell others to sit down and himself he will be seated, holding the staff or the sword in his hand as is the law of every Land. And so they will sit solemnly, everyone in his place, and will not be distracted by anything else."[24] At the end of the proceedings, when pronouncing the judgement, the judge symbolically broke the staff: "When the Judge pronounces the judgement, he will

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20   „[Qualiter homo se parentilla tollatur.] Si quis de parentibus tollere se voluerit, in mallo ante tunzino ambulet et ibidem IIII fustibus alninos super caput suum frangat et dicat quod se tam de iuramento quam et de hereditate vel de tota illorum ratione, aut si aliquis de suis parentibus moriatur aut occidaturm nulla ad illum nec hereditatis nec composicio perveniat. Si vero ille occisus fuerit conpositio aut heretitatis ad fiscum pertineat." (R. Hube, *Prawo salickie podług textu rękopisu Biblioteki Głównej Warszawskiej*, Warszawa 1867, p. 42, cap. 93). Other editions mention three sticks.

21   *Tiroler Malefizordnung von 1499,* cap. Urteilsfindung und Vollzug: „sol der Richter das merer machen, aber sunst nicht urtayln. unnd was also durch das merer erkannt würde, sol ain yeder Richter nach Verlesung der urgicht und urtail den Gerichtsstab prechen. den übeltätter dem nachrichter überantwurten. den füern lassen auff die gewondlichen Gerichtstat, und der geuallen urtail verschaffen voltziehung zuthun" (cf. https://www.koeblergerhard.de/Fontes/TirolerMalefizordnung1499.pdf.)

22   Cf. E. v. Moeller, *Die Rechtssitte des Stabbrechens…*, p. 68 ff.

23   J. Goebler, *Interpretationem Constitutionis Criminalis Carolina* […], ed. J.F.H. Abegg, Heidelberg 1837, p. 110: "When the accused is added to the penalty by the definitive, and declared, the judge breaks his baton in the usual place, and commends the accused to the magistrate, and orders him to faithfully execute the sentence passed by his oath. And then indeed the judge rises from the judgment, and takes care that the magistrate can safely and securely carry out the sentence that has been passed."

24   B. Groicki, *Ten Postępek wybran iest s Praw Cesarskich, ktory Karolus V. Cesarz, kazał wydać…*, Cracouię [Cracow] 1562, p. 29v.

break the staff or the stick and the executioner will take the villain to the place where he will be punished" (art. 61).[25] Groicki did not mention the exact circumstances when a staff was broken and thus we do not know whether it was broken over a convict's head. Possibly, in Poland this was not practised, or it may have been so obvious that he decided that it was not worth mentioning. Thus, a staff was broken symbolically to highlight the pronouncement of the judgement in the Polish towns established under the Magdeburg Law.

The symbolism of the wood used to make the staff from Bytom is as profound (if not more so) as the act of breaking it. The yew tree is attributed with an enormous number of meanings in the symbolism of various peoples. Its physical properties need special attention. Yew wood is one of the hardest, particularly in Europe; it is flexible, tough, resistant to wetness and does not contain resin. Due to its toxic properties, it may cause irritation of the skin and mucous membranes when processed. It has been used to produce weapons since the Palaeolithic, and there are examples of spears made from yew wood 400 thousand years ago, found in Clacton on Sea in England. It was commonly used to make bows. Today yew trees are rare.

Possibly due to its toxicity, in many cultures it has become a symbol of death.[26] In Antiquity, people were aware of its poisonous properties[27] and were warned not to fall asleep under a yew tree as they might never wake up again.[28] Its toxicity may have been the reason for its extinction – domestic animals liked to nibble on its twigs, which caused their death. Individual yew trees have thus survived in cemeteries and cloister gardens. They had magical significance in various cultures. The yew was a sacred tree in the Celtic culture. It was described as a sacred and poisonous tree by Julius Caesar in "The Gallic Wars", when he mentioned the king of the Eburones, Cativolcus or Catuvolcus, who committed a suicide, poisoning himself with yew sap or its extract. The very name of the tribe comes from the word denoting a yew tree – *eburos* – similarly as that of the tribe of Aulercī Eburovīcēs. i.e., those who vanquish the yew or vanquish by the yew.

Hildegard of Bingen held a different view. She thought that yew symbolised joy, while staffs made from its wood brought health and prosperity.[29] In her work she indicated which illnesses could be treated with yew

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25   Ibidem, p. 33v.

26   Cf. S. Kobielus, *Floriarium christianum. Symbolika roślin – chrześcijańska starożytność i średniowiecze*, Tyniec-Kraków 2006, pp. 44 f.

27   Isidorus Hispalensis, *Etymologiarum sive Originum libri XX*, ed. W.M. Lindsay, Oxford 1911, lib. 17, cap. 7, par. 40.

28   Albertus Magnus, *Vegetabilibus libri VII: historiae naturalis pars XVIII*, ed. C. Jessen, Berolini 1867, lib. 6, p. 455.

29   Hildegard von Bingen, *Physica: Liber subtilitatum diversarum naturarum creaturarum*, vol. I, ed. R. Hildebrant, Th. Gloning, Berlin-New York 2010, lib. 3, cap. 31, p. 213.

and how. Its properties were used in medicine – even today a considerable number of yew trees are cultivated in China as a source of pharmaceutical substances.

The magical value applied to the yew tree by pagans was taken over by the early Christians. The Celts in Ireland and Scotland were convinced that it was descendent from the tree of life in the Garden of Eden. Some claimed that Jesus' cross was made from yew wood, thus the tree came to symbolise immortality. It was also featured as a magical tree in Germanic mythology, while the name of one of the runes *i(h)waz* comes from yew, representing death and rebirth. According to a German scholar, Fred Hageneder, Odin's magical tree, Yggdrassil, is yew and not ash.[30]

Thus, the symbolism of the tree whose wood was used to make the staff from the market square in Bytom is quite rich. Unfortunately, it is not clear which of yew's symbolic properties was instrumental in selecting it to produce the staff. There is no reference material which would suggest the existence of a custom involving yew trees. Indeed, yew staffs or their fragments have been found, but there are no premises for attributing them with any functions connected with the judiciary. Considering the wood's hardness and flexibility, it is highly unlikely that it is a mere coincidence that the staffs to be broken at the conclusion of a trial were made from yew wood. Instead, we should focus on two very important facts – the staff from Bytom was made to highlight the pronouncement of a capital punishment and it was made from the wood associated with death.

It is hardly possible to relate the staff to any particular type of court functioning in Bytom. We may surmise, however, that following the custom prevailing in German lands staffs may have been used in municipal courts, but no reliable conclusions may be drawn here due to lack of information about the symbolism of the contemporary courts. Additionally, there is the absence of evidence that the use of judge's staffs in Poland in the 13th century was synonymous to the administration of justice. Additionally, after 1254 there were many courts in Bytom, each dedicated to a particular kind of law and the status of the population. From 1281, Bytom was the capital of an independent duchy. Its rulers, dukes Kazimierz (1281-1312), Siemowit (1316),[31] Władysław (1312-1351),[32] Bolesław (1351-1355) and their successors, admin-

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30   F. Hageneder, *Magia drzew*, Warszawa 2006, p. 202.

31   Archiwum Państwowe [The State Archives] Wrocław (further: AP Wrocław), Rep. 67, no. 159.

32   F. Gramer, *Chronik der Stadt Beuthen in Ober-Schlesien*, Beuthen 1863, pp. 343 f. Duke of Bytom, Władysław, gave the village of Dąbrówka to the Cistercians from Mogiła, orderring that all cases concerning this area, murder, injury, rape, theft and any other were adjucated by the judge from the convent in its domain. Also all the cases concerning inheritance or borders were to be filed to the ducal court, passing over the castellan, judge or any other official.

istered justice in their duchy and we may surmise that they did so either in the town or in the castle situated next to it. Much earlier, possibly from the 12th century, castellan courts functioned in the town. A castellan's right to administer justice was mentioned in the document issued by duke Kazimierz on 4 August 1294, which freed the people transferred together with the land to the Norbertine convent in Wrocław from the judicial authority of the castellan, advocatus or any other judge.[33] Similarly, the subjects of the Order of the Holy Sepulchre from Chorzów and Dębia were freed from the judicial authority of the castellan and his judges (*a potestate Castellani et iudicum eius*).[34]

The dukes also appointed their own judges. One of the first mentioned in the sources was Lascarius, a witness signed on the document establishing Bytom in 1254.[35] The extent of Lascarius' judicial authority is nor exactly clear. He was a judge in the duchy ruled by Władysław of Opole – after it was divided, individual dukes probably appointed the judges in their own estates. In 1287 someone called Sobiesław was mentioned as a judge of our (i.e., Kazimierz of Bytom's) duchy.[36] He must have been very busy as a sub-judge (*subiudex*)[37] was appointed; there were probably also court judges.[38]

When establishing the town under the Magdeburg Law, duke Władysław transferred one third of the court fees to the lokator and the advocatus, Henryk. However, he did not transfer judicial rights to him and did not appoint the advocatus (a mayor), but only agreed that one of the duchy's dignitaries would be elected to administer justice.[39] It is not clear (though it is unlikely) whether his competences were limited to lower courts or serious crimes (which is probably the case). Unfortunately, there is no information available about the functioning of municipal courts in Bytom during the first century after the town's establishment. However, an event that was of key significance in the town's history took place in 1363 (or in 1367 according to some other sources). This is when two priests from the parish

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33   AP Wrocław, Rep. 67, no. 179.

34   Samuel Nakielski, *Miechovia, Sive Promptvarivm Antiqvitatvm Monasterij Miechouiensis Vbi Per continuam seriem Praepositum Miechoviensivm*, Cracoviae 1634, p. 226.

35   Codex Diplomaticus Silesiae (further: CDS), vol. VI, *Registrum St. Wenceslai. Urkunden vorzüglich zur Geschichte Oberschlesiens nach einem Copialbuch Herzog Johanns von Oppeln und Ratibor in ausziigen mitgetheilt*, ed. C. Grünhagen, W. Wattenbach, Breslau 1865, p. 177; CDS, vol. VII/2, *Regesten zur schlesischen Geschichte. Bis zum Jahre 1280*, ed. C. Grünhagen, Breslau 1875, p. 63.

36   M. Cetwiński, *Obce rycerstwo na Śląsku do końca XIII w. Biogramy i rodowody*, Wrocław 1982, p. 26, no. B 24.

37   F. Gramer, *Chronik der Stadt Beuthen…*, pp. 343 f.

38   *Zbiór dokumentów małopolskich*, ed. S. Kuraś, part 1, Wrocław 1962, pp. 22 f.

39   CDS, vol. VI, p. 177.

of Our Lady in Bytom were tried, sentenced to death, and drowned. Both surviving accounts of the trial and execution abound in interesting details concerning judicial procedures and municipal buildings. Unfortunately, they were written down more than a century later. Both Mikołaj Liebenthal and Jan Długosz were aware of the situation in Bytom and may have referred to a surviving oral tradition, but when writing they may have referred to the knowledge of their own times, deciding that not much had changed in the meantime.[40]

At the same time when the priests from Bytom were tried and executed, the town was finally divided (1369) between the dukes of Oleśnica and Cieszyn, which was probably followed by the division of the position of the advocatus or at least the appointment of vice-advocati in the town's both parts.

The document recording the principles of the division of the town mentioned one more kind of courts functioning in Bytom. As mining and metallurgy of silver and lead developed in the town's vicinity, the mining community was under the authority of separate courts. The ruler (from 1369 two rulers) had the right to appoint the officials managing the mines (*żupnik*) and the judges for the community. It is not clear what the scope of their competence was. It follows from a subsequent agreement concluded in 1533 between the authorities of Bytom and the emerging mining community of Tarnowskie Góry that some of the mining courts functioned together with municipal courts.[41] As mining in Bytom collapsed at the turn of the 15th century, we may surmise that this particular piece of information on the functioning of the courts in fact comes from the time when the mines were still intensively exploited, i.e., in the 13th and 14th centuries.

Other mentions suggest that there were independent courts for the subordinates of the Church in Bytom, e.g., the residents of the Sutuhali hill and the vicinity of the old stronghold on the St. Margaret's hill (*wzgórze św. Małgorzaty*), remaining outside the judicial authority of the ducal courts from the end of the 13th century. There is also a mention from 1358 of the existence of *advocatia terrae*, which then belonged to the widow of duke Władysław, Ludgarda, who later bequeathed it to her stepdaughter, Euphemia, and her husband, Konrad of Oleśnica. The document states that the duchess gives "totam nostram Advocaciam Provincionalem in Civitate Bythom, cum omni-

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40   *Rumor de submersione sacerodotum in Bythom*, in: Scriptores Rerum Silesiacarum oder Sammlung Schlesischer Geschichtschreiber, vol. II, ed. G.A. Stenzel, Breslau 1839, pp. 149-151; J. Długosz, *Annales seu Cronicae incliti Regni Poloniae/Roczniki albo Kroniki sławnego Królestwa Polskiego*, Lib. IX, transl. J. Mrukówna, Warszawa 2009, pp. 422-424.

41   E.L.G. Abt, *Memoriał w sprawie kopalnictwa rud ołowiu i srebra na Górnym Śląsku*, Katowice 1957, p. 71; Fragments of the agreement were published in: CDS, vol. XXI, *Schlesiens Bergbau und Hüttenwesen. Urkunden und Akten (1529-1740)*, ed. K. Wutke, Breslau 1901, no. 483, pp. 28 ff.

bus pertinenciis et utilitatibus, honoribus et emolumentis ipsius, cum plena eciam potestate judicandi et alias singulas causas ipsam Advocaciam tangentibus, per judicium, sive concordiam, sicut sibi placuerit expediendi, ac eandem Advocaciam Provincionalem ad vite tamen sue duntaxat tempora in omnem eventum, sicut Nos eam habuimus regendi, tenendi ac libere possidendi."[42] However, we may only guess what actual authority the *advocatia* had; there may have been higher courts in the whole district or possibly in an equivalent to a *weichbild* (judicial district).[43]

Considering such a great number of courts functioning in Bytom during approximately a century after the town's establishment, it is impossible to conclude which judge the staff was prepared for. The fact that the artefact was deposited in the layers of the market square might suggest the municipal court, but other courts may have conducted their proceedings in the town's central square.

The artefact from the market square in Bytom fits perfectly the pattern of breaking a staff over a convict's head. Intentionally-made incisions, and – primarily – its appearance almost perfectly resembling the staffs presented in medieval iconography, which leave no doubt as to its function. Additionally, the presence of incisions alongside the fact that the staff was not broken prompts the conclusion that it was prepared to accompany the pronouncement of a judgement. Breaking a yew stick of 2.5-2.9 cm in diameter was not easy considering its hardness, flexibility, and thickness. A double diagonal incision, damaging the stick's structure, shows that its maker was aware of it and carefully worked on the object. The absence of evidence for breaking staffs in such legal procedures suggests that it was a "spare" staff, kept just in case but actually never used. Or (which would have been more spectacular), the staff may have been prepared for the trial where the accused was eventually acquitted. Obviously, we are left with mere conjecture in any case. The chronology of the staff, determined on the basis of archaeological and dendrochronological analyses of the deposit and radiocarbon dating of the object, prove that in all probability it is the oldest surviving judge's staff in Europe, prepared to accompany the procedure of pronouncing a sentence.

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42   *Silesiacarum Rerum Scriptores* […], vol. I, ed. F.W. von Sommersberg, Lipsiae 1729, p. 886: "the whole of our Provincial Advocacy in the City of Bythom, with all its appurtenances and benefits, honors and emoluments, with full power to judge and other individual cases touching the Advocacy itself, by judgment or agreement, as it pleases him to expedient, and the same Provincial Advocacy for life her times alone in every event, as we had her to rule, to hold, and to possess freely".

43   Cf. M. Goliński, A. Muła, T. Przerwa, *Stolica na pograniczach. Dzieje miasta Jawora (do 1945)*, Wrocław 2018 (= Historia obok. Studia z dziejów lokalnych/History next to. Local past studies, vol. X, ed. P. Wiszewski), pp. 47 f.

ABSTRACT

The article presents one of the more interesting artefacts discovered during the excavations at the market square in the Upper-Silesian city of Bytom: a wooden staff. Probably it is one of the oldest judge's staffs encountered in Europe but also appears to have been used during the procedure of pronouncing a death sentence. The Bytom staff corresponds to the staffs seen in the contemporary iconographic material. Its closest analogy, both in terms of chronology and geography, is represented in the illustrated legend of Saint Hedwig. The artefact from the market square in Bytom fits perfectly the pattern of breaking a staff over a convict's head. The artifact is dated to the last quarter of the 13th century, so if it is related to particular phases of Bytom's development, then it may have belonged to one of the first judges or *advocati* of the town (established under the Magdeburg Law in 1254). The object was made from yew wood, whose symbolic significance also needs to be discussed in more detail.

Keywords: history of law, Magdeburg Law, medieval judiciary, medieval Silesia, tree symbolism

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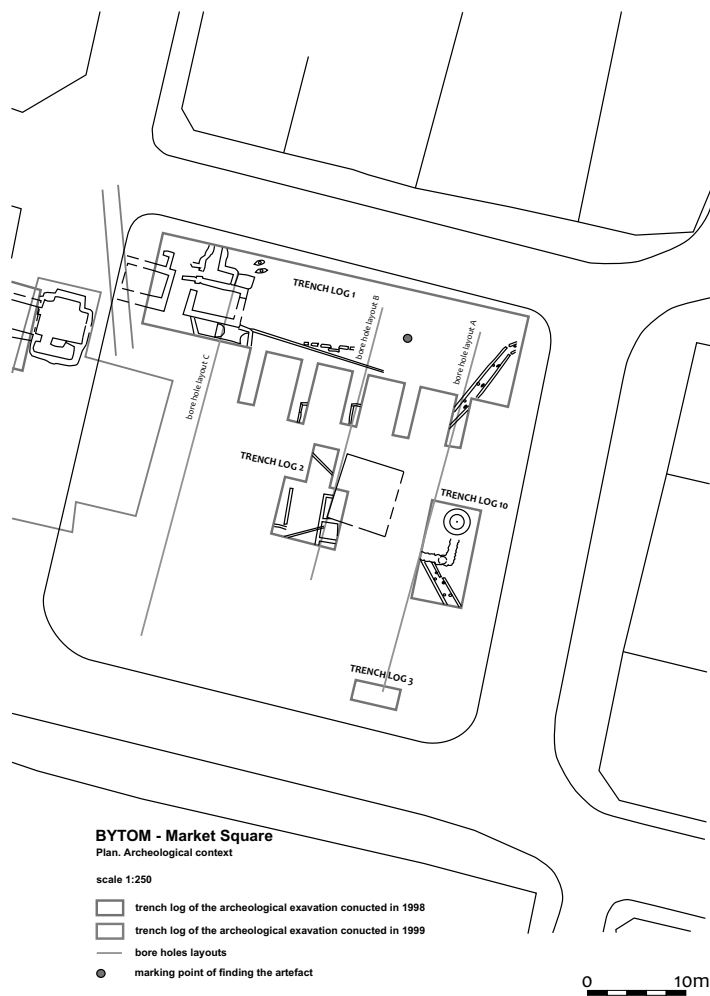
Fig. 1. A judge's staff from the market square in Bytom (Photo: Muzeum Górno-śląskie w Bytomiu)
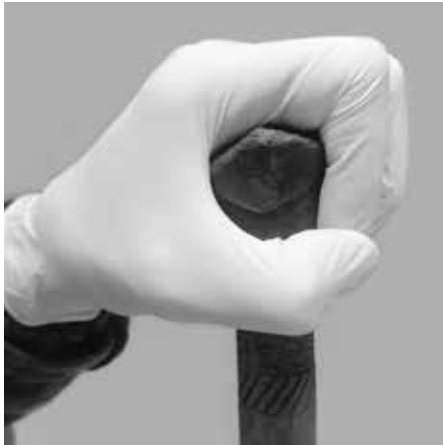
Fig. 2. How to hold the staff (Photo: Muzeum Górnośląskie w Bytomiu)

Fig. 3. A judge sitting in a court. Three images from various manuscripts of the Pictorial Legend of St. Jadwiga (Public License)

Fig. 4. The location of finding the staff on the Market Square in Bytom (Aut. Ewelina Imiołczyk)
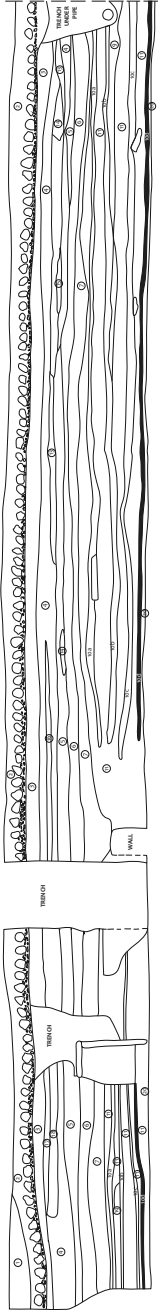
Fig. 5. Profile of stratification at the location of the staff (Aut. Ewelina Imiołczyk)
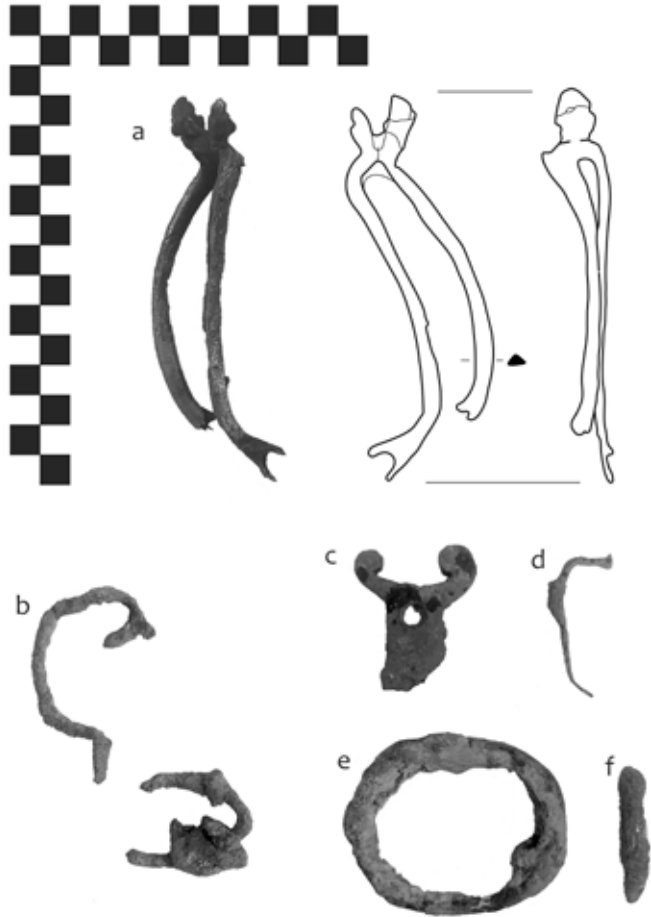
Fig. 6. The artefacts discovered in layer XIII on the Market Square in Bytom (Aut. Ewelina Imiołczyk, Wojciech Kawka)

Fig. 7. Notches on the judge's staff (Photo: Muzeum Górnośląskie w Bytomiu)

Fig. 8. A judge breaking his cane over a condemned man's head. Bas-relief from the New Town Hall of Hannover (Public License)

Jakub Jauernig
Institute of Philosophy of the Czech Academy of Sciences,
Centre for Medieval Studies, Prague
jauernig@flu.cas.cz
https://orcid.org/0000-0002-5207-1025

Lions of Ilion and Lions of Albion. The Trojan myth in English heraldry of the 15th century[1]

The story of the Trojan War resonated throughout medieval Europe, and in addition to biblical heroes, the Trojans became exemplars from the Golden Age. Many medieval royal dynasties sought to incorporate the descendants of King Priam into their pedigree in order to add antiquity and splendour to their own name.[2] A similar effort was also made to connect various customs, institutes, and entertainment activities with the Trojan War.[3] One such case is the institute of heralds and heraldry itself. Several English armorials from the 15th century place the origins of heraldry in the period of the siege of Troy and emphasise, among other things,

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2 W. Pohl, *Genealogy: A Comparative Perspective from the Early Medieval West*, in: *Meanings of Community across Medieval Eurasia: Comparative Approaches*, ed. E. Hovden, Ch. Lutter, W. Pohl, Paderborn 2016, pp. 232-269; P.J. Geary, *The Myth of Nations: the Medieval Origins of Europe*, Princeton 2002; V. Žůrek, *Godfrey of Viterbo and his Readers at the Court of Emperor Charles IV*, in: *Godfrey of Viterbo and his Readers: Imperial Tradition and Universal History in Late Medieval Europe*, ed. T. Foester, New York 2015, p. 92.

3 E. g. the chess: M. Pastoureau, *Une histoire symbolique du Moyen Age occidental*, Paris 2004, pp. 260-231; V. Žůrek, *Recepce šachového traktátu Paulina z Benátek v pozdně středověkých Čechách*, „Studia Medievalia Bohemica" XI/1 (2019), pp. 21-43.

the importance and antiquity of the herald's office.[4] In this article, I explore how English authors[5] in the 15th century combined the Trojan origin of heraldry with the Trojan origin of the people of Britain, which was written in the 12th century by the Oxford canon, Geoffrey of Monmouth.[6] The medieval political argumentation on the British Isles was significantly influenced by prophecies, history, and myths popularised by Geoffrey of Monmouth. Geoffrey's literary output, *Historia Regum Britanniae,* proposed an idea of an ancient kingdom of Britain. Geoffrey's work was rewritten and interpreted by many later authors, such as master Wace, Pierre Langtoft, and John Hardyng. I would like to demonstrate how the idea of British history with Trojan roots was transformed into the shape of a lion and how the laws of Ilion were forged into arms.

I base my theory on the connection between the law of inheritance and the English heraldic and cadency system, where a son takes over the coat of arms of his father only after father's death. This transfer of the coat of arms symbolizes legal continuity of noble house.[7] I believe that this issue has important content, but is marginal in terms of preserved materials. The core of my research lies in the 15th century, but I think we can trace it marginally earlier. Precisely because a small amount of written and iconographic material has been preserved, and because the issue of royal representation in connection with Troy seems to extend across the British Isles from the 13th century onwards, I believe that it is necessary to compose this mosaic from several centuries, even at the cost of neglecting chronology.

Before I can present my hypotheses related to heraldry, it will be necessary to briefly introduce how medieval insular authors worked with the Trojan story in historical works. The narrative about the British kingdom begins with the story of Brutus, the mythical founder of Britannia and the grandson of trojan prince Aeneas. According to Geoffrey of Monmouth, Brutus delivered Trojans from Greek serfdom and led them to the unpopulated island

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4   Further reading: R. J. Moll, *'Brutus the Emperor': National and Heraldic Foundations in London, College of Arms L6,* "Medieval Studies" LXXV (2013), pp. 109-145; idem, *A Heraldic Miscellany, Fifteenth-Century Treatises on Blazon and the Office of Arms in English and Scots*, Liverpool 2018.

5   In the vast majority of English armorials, it is not possible to determine the author and therefore it is not possible to distinguish whether the author was a herald at all. Further reading**:** G.J. Brault, *Early Blason, Heraldic Terminology in the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries with Special References to Arthurian Heraldry*, Woodbridge 1997, pp. 7 f.

6   The very first mention of the Trojan origin of the British comes from the *Historia Brittonum* by Nennius. Nennius: *History of the Britons (Historia Brittonum),* transl. J.A. Giles, Cambridge-Ontario 2000, p. 6. Further reading: S. Anglo, *The British History in Early Tudor Propaganda, With an Appendix of Manuscript Pedigrees Of The Kings Of England, Henry VI To Henry VIII,* "Bulletin of the John Rylands Library" XLIV/1 (1961); H.T. Evans, *Wales and the War of Roses,* Cambridge 1915; G.A. Williams, *The Bardic Road to Bosworth: a Welsh View of Henry Tudor,* "Transactions of the Honourable Society of Cymmrodorion" (1986), pp. 7-31.

7   M. Pastoureau, *Une histoire symbolique…*, pp. 215-216, 232-235.

where the Trojans founded their new kingdom. It was named Britannia after Brutus. The Trojans accepted a new name as well and became Britons. Their newly build capital bore memory to fallen Ilion because its name was New Troy (mangled into Trinovantum). And finally, Brutus established old Trojans laws in the new homeland. According to Geoffrey's *Historia*, Brutus had three sons: Locrinus, Camber, and Albanactus. Before his death, Brutus divided his kingdom (whole Britain) between his three sons. Locrinus' part was named after him: Loegria (England), Camber's part was called Cambria (Wales), and Albanactus' part became Alba (Scotland).[8] The division of the kingdom and the derivation of the names of the lands is an etiological myth important for the purpose of this paper.[9]

Even though several English intellectuals of the 12th and 13th centuries rejected Geoffrey's conception of the Trojan origins of island kingdoms,[10] this narrative became an integral part of English historiography. The first vernacular adaptation of *Historia Regum Britanniae* was created by Master Wace, it is known *as Roman de Brut*.[11] This chivalric romance then gave its name – *Brut* – to the whole spectrum of popular chronicles and related sources, which begin their story with the arrival of Brutus and the Trojans in Britain.[12] Among

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8 *Geoffrey of Monmouth: The History of the Kings of Britain*, ed. M.D. Revee, Woodbridge 2007, pp. 30 f.

9 Further reading about Trojan myth in English historiography: F. Ingledew, *The Book of Troy and the Genealogical Construction of History: The Case of Geoffrey of Monmouth's Historia regum Britanniae*, "Speculum" LXIX (1994) 3, pp. 665-704; R.R. Davies, *The First English Empire,* Oxford 2000; *Imagining A Medieval English Nation,* ed. K. Levezzo, Minneapolis 2004; M.E. Giffin, *Cadwalader, Arthur, and Brutus in the Wigmore Manuscript*, "Speculum" XVI (1941) 1, pp. 109-120; H. Fulton, *History and historia: uses of the Troy story in medieval Ireland and Wales*, in: *Classical Literature and Learning in Medieval Irish Narrative*, ed. R. O'Connor, Cambridge 2014; A.E. Parsons, *The Trojan Legend in England: Some Instances of Its Application to the Politics of the Times. I.*, "The Modern Language Review" XXIV (1929) 3, pp. 253-264; eadem, *The Trojan Legend in England: Some Instances of Its Application to the Politics of the Times. II,* "The Modern Language Review" XXIV (1929) 4, pp. 394-408.

10 *Itinerarium Cambrie* by Gerald of Wales contains an interesting passage about one Welshman who could recognize lies by seeing small devils dancing on a false text or on a liar's tongue. This Welshman (resembling Geoffrey's Merlin) saw the most devils on the pages of *Historia Regum Britanniae*, Gerald of Wales, *The Itinerary Through Wales*, ed. W. Llewelyn Williams, London 1912, p. 53. William of Newburgh pays close attention to the degradation of Geoffrey's authenticity in the preface of his *Historia Rerum Anglicarum*. William repeatedly used the term *fabula* in relation to *Historia regum Britanniae*. William of Newburgh, *Historia Rerum Anglicarum*, ed. H.C. Hamilton, London 1856, pp. 3-10.

11 Wace, *Le Roman de Brut: The French Book of Brutus/Wace,* ed. A.W. Glowka, Tempe 2005, p. IX-XXVI.

12 Term *Brut* or *Brut* narrative is generally used to refer to stories about Brutus from different genres, such as *Le Roman de Brut,* prose *Brut*, or *Brut* chronicles, defined by J. Rajsic, *Looking for Arthur in Short Histories and Genealogies of England's Kings*, "The Review of English Studies" LXVIII (2017), p. 449.

the old British kings, who are given more space in the so-called *Brut Chronicles*, are Brutus himself, his son Locrinus, Belinus (and his brother Brennius), and Arthur, who are given the role of unifiers of the island and the high kings of Britain.[13] For the purposes of my research, the choice of these kings does not lie so much in their actions as in matters of succession law and dynastic politics. Some chroniclers emphasised the Trojan origins of the British Kingdom[14] and the traditions and laws of Troy. These customs include, in particular, the successor principle of primogeniture and the role of the dynasty senior. Geoffrey of Monmouth himself emphasizes this fact in the dispute over the royal crown between the brothers Belinus and Brennius.

> "They (their friends) decided terms to divide the kingdom between them, with Loegria, Wales and Cornwall along with the crown going to Belinus, since he was the elder and Trojan custom demanded that the chief inheritance should fall to him. Brennius, since he was younger, obtained Northumbria from the Humber to Caithness, subject to his brother."[15]

On the advice of bad advisers, Brennius rebelled against his brother and sovereign several times, but unsuccessfully. Belinus always forgave his brother, accepted him back, and returned his property, including Scotland. An example of this fraternal subordination based on Trojan customs was also used as an argument during the Scottish wars at the turn of the 13th and 14th centuries.[16] During the conflict between King Edward I of England and John Balliol of Scotland, Pope Boniface VIII tried to intervene at Scotland's request. Edward claimed the position of hegemon in the British Isles and he saw the King of Scotland as his vassal. On the contrary the King of Scotland sought to act in the same position, not in a subordinate position

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13   The term "the high kingship of the British Isles", used by Robert R. Davies, is probably the most accurate one for explaining the concept of power over the island as seen by the Welsh and English in the Middle Ages. Only few sources use a term "emperor". The perception of this concept in medieval Scotland was different. R.R. Davies, *The First English*, Oxford 2000, pp. 4-53.

14   By the Kingdom of Britain, I mean the realm established by Brutus – that is, one realm comprising the whole island of Great Britain, with all its territories (i.e., the Kingdom of England, the Kingdom of Scotland, the Principality of Wales, and Cornwall, but not the modern-day United Kingdom of Great Britain and the Northern Ireland).

15   "Censuerunt quoque regnum inter eos ea conditione diuidendum esse ut Belinus diadema insulae cum Loegria atque Kambria nec non et Cornubia possideret; erat enim primogenitus, petebatque Troiana consuetudo ut dignitas hereditatis ei proueniret. At Brennius, quoniam iunior fuerat, fratri subditus Northamhimbriam ab Humbro usque ad Katanesiam adeptus est.", *Geoffrey of Monmouth: The History…*, pp. 48 f.

16   1301, 7 May – *Calendar of the Close rolls preserved in the Public Record Office, Edward I*, vol. IV, London 1906, p. 491.

to the King of England. Pope Boniface supported the Scottish view of the dispute and therefore issued the papal bull, *Scimus fili*, which put the Kingdom of Scotland under the protection of the Church. In reaction to the bull, Edward I sent a long letter to Pope Boniface VIII full of historical arguments about the sovereignty of English rulers over the Scottish kings, in response to the Pope's efforts to intervene in the Anglo-Scottish conflict. One version of this letter has been preserved in Old French, also in the manuscript Royal 20 A XI,[17] together with the chronicle of Peter Langtoft, the personal chronicler of Edward I, based on *Historia Regum Britanniae*. Part of the historical argument of this letter also includes Brutus and his sons, Belinus and Brennius, and the ancient Trojan laws:[18]

> "To his younger children he (Brutus) gave his lordship
> Of Wales and Scotland by inheritance,
> According to the law of Troy, to hold in fee
> By homage and service of their elder brother.
> […]
> Belin son of Dunwal, after the death of his father,
> Gave the land of Scotland to Brennius his brother,
> To hold in fee by the law of Troy,
> By homage and service as of his elder brother.
> […]
> We (Edward I) went now
> Into the March of Scotland
> We summoned king John (Balliol)
> to come to us on the fidelity which he owed us,
> …He returned us a reply that he was bound in nothing
> But he had wrongfully acknowledged his service."[19]

Although the Anglo-Scottish wars continued almost constantly in the following centuries, the argument for Scottish subordination to England based

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17   British Library, MS. Royal 20 A XI, fol.129-137.

18   The Scots, on the other hand, based their arguments on their antiquity on the story of Scota, the daughter of Pharaoh, who was to arrive in the British Isles before Brutus. E.J. Cowan, *Myth and Identity in Early Medieval Scotland*, "The Scottish Historical Review" LXIII (1984) 2, p. 111; *Anglo-Scottish Relations 1174-1328. Some Selected Documents*, ed. L.G. Stones, Oxford 1965, p. 227. Further reading: R.J. Goldstein, *The Matter of Scotland: Historical Narrative in Medieval Scotland*, Lincoln 1993; D. Broun, *Scottish Independence and the Idea of Britain. From Picts to Alexander III*, Edinburgh 2007; G.W.S. Barrow, *Robert Bruce and the Community of the Realm of Scotland*, Edinburgh 2006.

19   *The chronicle of Pierre de Langtoft: in French verse, from the earliest period to the death of King Edward I*, ed. T. Wright, London 1868, pp. 404 f., 416 f.

on Brutus's division of the island does not seem to have survived much in the 14th century sources. This idea that English hegemony over the whole of Britain based on Brutus's example can be found again at the beginning of the 15th century in Anglo-Scottish peace negotiation during the reign of Henry IV.[20] An English veteran from the Agincourt campaign, John Hardyng wrote his chronicle from the mythical origins until his times. Anglo-Scottish relations are the central point of the chronicle, and Brutus's story is crucial to them in Hardyng's narrative on the history of the island of Britain. We know two versions of Hardyng's *Chronicle* from the 15th century. An interesting fact about Hardyng's *Chronicle* is that the first one from 1437 was dedicated to king Henry VI and the version from 1464 was dedicated to Richard, Duke of York, and his son Edward IV, the political rivals of Henry VI.[21] Hardyng's *Chronicle* develops the theory of Trojan hereditary law beyond the examples of Loncrinus and Belinus. Hardyng not only describes the sovereignity of the eldest of siblings, but he also explains what will happen to the land of an heirless younger brother without an heir after his death. The land will return to the sovereign, the eldest brother. Hardyng described Brutus's division of the island and its associated Trojan laws as follows:

Henry VI version:

Brutus's sons
"Thus Locryne had, as come hym welle of right
Of Troyans lawe of grete antiquyté
In Troy so made whan thay were in thaire myght
The eldest sonne shuld have the soveraynté
His brether alle of his pryorité
Shuld hold thaire londe withouten variance
So was that tyme thaire lawe and ordynance.

[…]
And alle resorte so shuld ever apperteyne
To the elder by superyoryté
If the yongar non issu have to reyne
The elder shuld by alle priorité
Have alle his parte to his posteriorité.

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20   *Anglo-Scottish Relations 1174-1328…*, pp. 174 f.; F. Riddy, *Hardyng's Chronicle and the Wars of the Roses,* "Arthurian Literature" XII (1993), p. 92.

21   Henry's version survived in British Library MS. Lansdowne 204 and Edward's version survived in 12 manuscripts and 3 fragments. One of the earliest and fullest manuscripts of Edward's version (to which I also refer) is Oxford, Bodleian Libraries, MS Arch. Selden B. 10. S. L. Peverly, *Genealogy and John Hardyng's Verse Chronicle,* in: *Broken Lines: Genealogical Literature in Medieval Britain and France*, ed. R.L. Radulescu, E.D. Kennedy, Turnhout 2008, pp. 259-261.

Thus Brute by lawe of Troy and consuetude
Thurgh Bretayne made the same by rectitude."[22]

Belinus and Brennius

"Than felle discorde betwyx his sonnes two
Whiche of thaym than shuld have alle hole Bretayne
Bot happely thay were acordyd so
By frendes helpe of whiche men were fulle fayne
That Belyne so that elder was shuld rayne
In Loegres fulle and Cambre als eche dele
As Trojan lawe and custome wold it wele.
And Brenny so, who was the latter borne,
Shuld have in pese the reame of Albany
And also alle Northumbreland aforne
From Humbre north to mende his parte forthy
That he shuld holde of Belyne alle his parcenry
As Troyans lawe and fulle consuetude
Afore was ever by subgitts servytude."[23]

EDWARD IV VERSION:

Sovereignty belongs to the eldest one by the Trojan Law

"As, after the lawes of Troye, ye soueraintie,
And all resorte of right doth apertayne
To the eldest brother in propertie
The eldest syster ryghte, so by right shulde bene
Souerayne lady, and ouer theim all queen,
By equytie of that ylke lawe and ryghte,
In place where it is holden lawe perfyghte."[24]

Brutus's sons

"Kyng Locryne, the souerayne lorde of all Britayne, had Logres to
his parte, to whom his ii. brethren dyd homage for Albyne' and for
Cambyr.
This eldest sone was king y hight Locrine,
Of all Britayne hauing y souerante,
Hauing Logres as Brute dyd determine.
To whome Cambre, and Albanacte the free.

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22 *John Hardyng Chronicle. Edited from British Library MS Lansdowne 204*, ed. J. Simpson, S. Peverley, vol. I, Kalamazoo 2015, https://d.lib.rochester.edu/teams/publication/simpson-pevereley-hardyng-chronicle, Book II, lines 808-820.

23 Ibidem, Book II, lines 1556-1569.

24 *The Chronicle of Iohn Hardyng*, ed. H. Elis, London 1812, pp. 42 f.

Obeying both vnto his royalte,
There homage made as to yᵉ lorde souerayne,
And emperoure of that lande of Britayne."[25]

Like the laws, the Trojans of the old homeland were to bring more cus-
toms to Britain, such as decorating prominent warriors and noblemen with
"marks", which means coats of arms and heraldry. After all, the inheritance
of the coat of arms is an expression of continuity and a clear identification
of the rightful successor. Several late-medieval English manuscripts contain
writings dating the origins of heraldry to the Trojan War. Such texts include
the so-called *A Tretys of Armes*[26] – a heraldic treatise from the manuscript
of the Exeter Cathedral, beginning its heraldic part with the sentence "Ye
shull undyrstand that Armes began at the sege of Troy".[27] Both texts (and
similar ones) contain a story about the origin of coats of arms on the basis
of the need to distinguish between a large number of noble warriors at
the gates of Troy. [28] This story addresses four topics: one about the first bla-
zon, one about the origin of the heralds, one about the arrival of Brutus and
the Trojans in Britain, and finally one about the division of the new land
among the sons of Brutus and further among the Trojan nobility. Although
the treatises contain a number of heraldic figures, we do not find any coats
of arms directly associated with Troy. Even though it is necessary to look
elsewhere, we do not have to look far. As previously mentioned, John Har-
dyng gave us one of the first descriptions of Brutus's arms. According to
him, Brutus, on his arrival to Britain, bore a coat of arms of Trojan kings:
Gules, two lions rampart Or. (Fig. 1)

Henry VI version:

"How Brutus entred at Totnesse in Grete Bretayne in the armes of Troye
as heire to Eneas; he bare of goules two lyouns golde rawmpants also he
bare a banere of vert a Diane of golde dischevely corouned and enthro-
nysed, that were Eneas armes whan he entryed the reme of Latyne that
now is Romanye, as it is specyfied in the cronycles of Romanye, as Giral-

25 Ibidem, p. 44.

26 British Library, MS Harley 992, fol. 12r-17v. See also G.R. Keiser, *A Tretys of Armes.
A Revision of the "Ashmolean Tract"*, "Coat of Arms" XI (1996), pp. 178-190.

27 This manuscript (Exeter Cathedral Library, MS. 3533) is still little known in heraldic
context and needs further research.

28 *A Tretys of Armes* even associates the origin of coats of arms with the origin of the nobil-
ity – that is, each coat of arms belongs only to the family that acquired it from Troy and thus
became a noble. In one whole passage, the author is outraged by British burghers, who also adopt
the habit of wearing coats of arms. G.R. Keiser, *A Tretys of Armes…*, pp. 188 f.

dus Cambrensis wryteth in his Topographie of Brutes armes of Troye
aforsayde, and as Trogus Pompeyus wryteth in his book of al storyes
touchant the forsaide armes of Eneas."[29]

EDWARD IV VERSION:

> "In armes of Troye, covered and well araid
> Of whiche Troyanes wer full apaid.
> He (Brutus) bare of goulis, twoo liones of gold,
> Countre rampant, with golde onely crouned,
> Whiche kynges of Troie inbataill bare ful bolde.
> To whiche fro Troye was distroyed & confounded,
> Their children slain, the next heire was he founde.
> And in tho amies this Isle he did conquere.
> As Marian saieth, the veray chronicler."[30]

It is worth mentioning two short notes from Hardyng's *Chronicle* dedicated to Edward IV about Trojan (i. e. Brutus's) coat of arms in connection with the later kings of Britain from the Trojan line, Uther Pendragon and his son, Arthur. For both, Hardyng lists several coats of arms that kings wear, and the Trojan coat of arms is among them: Uther Pendragon (four coats of arms in total): "The armes als of Troy Þat Brutus bare".[31] Arthur (six coats of arms in total): "The iiii. was Brutus armes knowen and vnhid".[32] It can be assumed that Brutus's coat of arms was included both as a reference to the continuation of the house of Troy and as a direct reference to Arthur and Uther as the unifier of Brutus's island. The question is why Hardyng does not describe Brutus's coat of arms here. It is, of course, possible that he did not consider it necessary to blazon the Trojan coat of arms again, when he had already done so once at the beginning of the chronicle and the lion coat of arms is even depicted there. However, it is possible that Hardyng's contemporaries commonly knew the coat of arms associated with Brutus and Troy.

Although John Hardyng argues with older authorities when writing about Brutus's coat of arms, there is no description of Brutus's coat of arms or the arms of Troy in the sources mentioned by him.[33] However, I believe

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29   *John Hardyng Chronicle…*, Book II, line 554m.

30   *The Chronicle of Iohn Hardyng…*, p. 39.

31   Ibidem, p. 117.

32   Ibidem, p. 122.

33   *'Nota how… armes of Eneas.'* The description of Brutus's arms given here does not occur in Justin's *Epitome of Pompeius Trogus* or Gerald of Wales's *Topography of Ireland*, as Hardyng maintains. An identification of the enigmatic *Cronycles of Romanye* may shed further light on this matter, but given his penchant for heraldry, Hardyng may have invented the arms himself.

that this is not entirely Harding's invention and that he based it on the general idea of the arms of the Trojan kings. I believe that the key to this problem is in the iconography of another Trojan hero highlighting the whole of medieval Europe: Hector of Troy. *The Dictionary of British Arms* contains at least nine coats of arms of Hector of Troy and two of Priam, the king of Troy, with two lions combatant in different colour schemes.[34] For Hector, there is one of the Nine Worthies. Another suitable source is a heraldic corpus of *Neuf Preux*, which includes various arms of Hector, as well as arms of Arthur. In the *Neuf Preux* corpus, Arthur's arms are predominantly depicted in the same way, as the coat of arms with three crowns. That is not the case with Hector of Troy, whose heraldry is not as consistent. Some armorials show Hector's arms with an eagle, arrows, or even with a camel. But in most cases, the prevalent figure of Hector's heraldry is the lion. It does not matter if the lion is rampart or passant, if it is gold or red, if it bares a sword or an axe, or if there are one or two lions. Regardless of the circumstances, the lion prevails.[35]

A quite remarkable and illumination of another British king and his arms can be found in one 15th century manuscript. The full-page illumination is a part of *Lancelot en prose* and it portrays King Arthur with his knights gathered around the Round Table and Arthur is pictured with arms *Or, lion rampant Gules*.[36] I believe that this depiction was also supposed to remind the recipients of the Trojan lineage of Arthur, or more precisely the Trojan heritage of Britons. Richard J. Moll points out another link connecting the arms of Brutus and Arthur. Moll cites an excerpt from the *Chronicle of Glastonbury Abbey*, which describes a change of Arthur's arms from three lions, related to British kings since Brutus's time, to Virgin

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It is not unusual for medieval romances and genealogies to provide descriptions of the arms belonging to classical heroes; see, for example, the *Laud Troy Book* 4538-39, 4775-78; *The 'Gest Hystoriale' of the Destruction of Troy* 5926-28, 6144-46; and the genealogical roll made for Edward IV extant in the Philadelphia Free Library, MS Lewis E201, which includes the banners of Brute and Pandrasus." - *John Hardyng Chronicle…*, Book II, a note for line 554m.

34   Contrary to Hardyng's *Chronicle*, none of these colour combinations of Trojan arms is red/gold, *Dictionary of British Arms*, vol. I, ed. T. Woodcock, London 2009, p. 253.

35   Hector's arms are almost the same as those of Alexander the Great; further reading: Ch. van den Bergen-Pantens, *Guerre de Troie et héraldique imaginaire*, "Revue Belge archéologie et d'histoire de l'art" LII (1983) pp. 3-21; P. Adam-Evan, *Les usages héraldiques au milieu du XIIe siècle d'après le Roman de Troie de Benoît de Sainte Maure et la littérature contemporaine*, "Archivum heraldicum: internationales Bulletin" LXXVII (1963), pp. 18-29; H. Schroeder, *Der Topos der Nine Worthies in Literatur und bildender Kunst*, Göttingen 1971, pp. 225-250, 261-291. In *Der Topos der Nine Worthies*, there is a table with 89 armorials describing arms of the Nine Worthies. Concerning the arms of Hector, there are 59 cases with a lion, 13 cases with something else, and 17 cases in which Hector's arms were omitted.

36   Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Rés., Vélins 614 fol. A2.

Mary with child and the Cross.[37] Even though the *Chronicle of Glastonbury Abbey* is a noteworthy source that provides us with information on the pre-Arthurian tradition of royal arms with lions, which traces back to Brutus. In conclusion, on account of the previous examples, I assume the lions in the coat of arms of Brutus and his descendants refer to their Trojan origin and Trojan arms.

I would like to build on the findings of Richard Moll concerning the origin of heraldry. Moll uses some late-medieval manuscripts to show the connection of the institution of heralds and heraldry with the siege of Troy.[38] Moll notes the Trojan–British–English continuity: 'The invocation of Troy reflects not only the English claim to Trojan descent but also the growing relationship between arms and a hereditary nobility: the arms worn at the siege, the text claims, were brought to England by Brutus's followers "and succeden forth to their successours"'.[39]

I would like to point out the material that led me to construct reflections on the connection between heraldry, namely the coat of arms with the lion, and fictitious Trojan laws. The oldest scroll on which the Brutus's coat of arms is depicted is the Bodleian Library MS. Bodl. Rolls 3. Brutus's coat of arms, like all the others, was probably not painted into the scroll until the 15th century. With this scroll, I return to the reign of Edward I, whom I mentioned above, as the ruler who used Trojan law as a weapon in his political struggles. Scroll Bodl. Rolls 3 consists of two parts, the first telling the story of the Golden Fleece, the Trojan War and Brutus's arrival in Britain, and the second part enumerating the British monarchs from Brutus through the Anglo-Saxon and English kings to Edward I. The whole scroll is composed of illuminated roundels, some of which are accompa-

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37   Three lions (*Argent*, three lions regardant *Gules*) and Virgin Mary with child and the Cross (*Vert*, a cross *Argent*, standing on its dexter arm the image of the Holy Virgin and Child also *Argent*). "Arma quoque sua in eorum mutauit honorem. Nam que prius erant argentea cum tribus leonibus rubeis capita ad terga uertentibus, a tempore aduentus Bruti usque ad iam dictam mutacionem regis Arthuri, ob memoriam crusis cristalline sibi per beatam mariam collate fecit esse uiridia cum cruce argentea et super dextrum brachium crucis ob memoriam predicti miraculi collocauit imaginem beate Marie semper virginis, filium suum in ulnis tenentis." - *The Chronicle of Glastonbury Abbey*, ed. J.P. Carley, transl. D. Townsend, Woodbridge 1985, p. 78; R.J. Moll, *'Brutus the Emperor': National and Heraldic Foundations in London, College of Arms L6*,"Medieval Studies" LXXV (2013), p. 126.

38   *'You shall understand that arms began at the siege of Troy'*, Exeter, Exeter Cathedral Library, 3533; *'Some say that Coat Armour began at siege of Troy'*; *The Boke of Saint Albans*, ed. J. Berners, W. Blades, London 1881, n.p.; see also R.J. Moll, *'Brutus the Emperor'…*, p. 112; G. R. Keiser, *A Tretys of Armes…*, passim; A.S.G. Edwards, *Notes on Middle English Heraldic Manuscripts*, "Notes and Queries" LXII (2015) 2, pp. 217 f.

39   R.J. Moll, *A Heraldic Miscellany, Fifteenth-Century Treatises on Blazon and the Office of Arms in English and Scots*, Liverpool 2018, p. 11.

nied by the coats of arms of selected kings. The only coat of arms that is repeated throughout the scroll in both parts is Brutus's coat of arms: *quarterly: 1st and 4th Or, a lion passant guardant Gules*, 2nd and 3rd *Azure, three crowns in bend Or*.[40] (Fig. 2) Presumably even Brutus's coat of arms could have served later royal owners of Edward's scroll in their representation as heirs of Troy and it could be used as another "weapon" in his war against the Scots. However, the same coat of arms example from the end of the 15th century can be better understood.

The most eloquent example of the use of Brutus/Trojan heraldry can be found in four Tudor armorials from the end of the 15th century.[41] In these manuscripts, the coat of arms of Brutus and his sons are depicted among other arms of British and English kings. On Brutus's coat of arms, there is a lion passant with the colours inverted from those described in Hardyng's *Chronicle*. All his sons bare the father's lion, but in different numbers. Furthermore, Brutus's and Locrinus's arms are quartered with three golden crowns in a blue field.[42] (Fig. 3-4)

If we carefully examine the arms of Brutus's sons, we can see the apparent similarity with the 15th century arms of England, Wales, and Scotland. Perhaps most striking is the similarity between the arms of Albanactus and the Scottish royal arms.[43] To reiterate, according to Geoffrey of Monmouth the part of the island given to Locrinus was named Loegria (which means England in Welsh), Camber received the part named after him, Cambria (Wales), and Albanactus's part bore the name Alba (Scotland).[44] All these realms have a lion in their arms even though the colours are inverted. As with Hector's arms, there are cases where the rules of heraldry are not strictly obeyed. The coats of arms of Brutus's sons can also be understood as a specific form of brisure. Presumably the authors of these armorials – but

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40   I interpret the coat of arms *Azure, three crowns in bend Or* (traditionally connected to King Arthur) as a medieval arms of kingdom of Britain. This theory will be expounded upon in a separate article on which I am still working.

41   (I) London, British Library, Harley MS 4632, fol. 27r, 28v, 188v-208r; (II) London, College of Arms MS Vincent 152, pp. 43, 87, 95, 96; (III) London, College of Arms MS L2, fol. 25v; (IV) London, British Library, Add. 46354 fol. 72v.

42   Their arms are as follows: Brutus – *quarterly: 1st and 4th Or, a lion passant guardant Gules, 2nd and 3rd Azure, three crowns in bend Or*; Locrinus – *quarterly: 1st and 4th Or, three lions passant guardant Gules, 2nd and 3rd Azure, three crowns in bend Or*; Camber – *Or, two lions passant guardant Gules*; Albanactus – *Or, a lion rampant within a double tressure Gules*.

43   The oldest are the historical arms of England, Scotland and Wales. The imaginary Trojan heraldry was created independently from them, and lastly were created the arms of Brutus' sons, which linked the coats of arms of the insular realms to ancient Troy.

44   Brief history of the Scottish coat of arms: J.W. McWilliam, *The Royal Arms of Scotland*, "Coat of Arms" (1999) no. 185, https://www.theheraldrysociety.com/articles/the-royal-arms-of--scotland.

more likely Tudor royal propaganda[45] – wanted to show all British realms as realms that were originally Trojan, which are thus subjects of Trojan law. This idea was symbolised through the coat of arms with the lion – the lion of Priam, Hector, and Brutus.

The depiction of the compound coat of arms of the first Tudor king, Henry VII, in the armorial called *Writhe's Book of Knights*[46] can be considered a real practical use of Trojan heraldry: *quarterly of eight: 1st Gules, three lions passant guardant Or* (England); *2nd Azure, three lilies in triangle Or* (France); *3rd Or, a lion passant guardant Gules* (Brutus); *4th Azure, three crowns in bend Or* (Brutus); *5th Azure, three crowns in pale Or* (Belinus); *6th Gules, three crowns in pale Or* (Arthur); *7th Azure, a cross flory Or between five doves of the same* (St. Edward the Confessor); *8th Gules, two leopards Or* (Normandy).[47] (Fig. 5) Henry VII expressed his ancestral claim to the throne of England (and France) by showing the arms of his notable predecessors.

In conclusion, in the late Middle Ages, English monarchs tried to expand their sovereignty on the whole of the British Isles, especially over Scotland. This effort was legitimised by the myth about the origins of Britannia, the royal power, and the Trojan heritage. The visualisation of the Trojan myth in heraldry demonstrated English sovereignty in a simple and understandable way. Furthermore, the Trojan lion's heraldry shows us that seemingly strict heraldic rules could be circumvented, especially in the case of mythical characters. These unconventional cases have to be carefully considered in specific circumstances and they could not be applied generally.

I assume the abovementioned armorials from the end of the 15th century should express the following idea: All three realms of the Island of Britain are of Trojan origin, which implies that they are subjugated to the sovereignty of English monarchs, the heirs of Locrinus. England, Wales, and Scotland should form one united realm of Brutus with the English "high king" in charge.

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45   See also: S. Anglo, *The British History…*, p. 27.

46   London, British Library, Add. 46354 fol. 72v.

47   There is a clear distinction between the English lions and the Norman leopard. In the described coat of arms, the leopards have spots. For further reading on the transformation of heraldic leopards in the English coat of arms, see: E.E. Dorling, *Leopards of England and Other Papers on Heraldry*, London 1913; H.S. London, *Lion or Leopard?* "Coat of Arms" II (1952-1953), pp. 291 f.

ABSTRACT

Imaginary heraldry became an integral part of a narrative about the Trojan origin of the British insular realms (England, Scotland, and Wales) during the High and Late Middle Ages. An essential source of the Trojan origin in insular historiography is the *Historia Regum Britanniae* of Geoffrey of Monmouth. Although this source does not include heraldry material, it laid the foundations for the narrative uniting Troy and Britain. Successive authors working in Geoffrey's tradition (*e.g.* John Hardyng's *Chronicle*) developed the *origo gentis* story, and some of them incorporated the heraldic aspect of Troy. The basic proposition is a claim that the coats of arms of the Kingdoms of England, Scotland, and the Principality of Wales were seen in a specific context as the coats of arms derived from the sons of the founder of the ancient Kingdom of Britain, Brutus. This theory further describes Brutus and his sons as descendants of the Trojan kings. Thus, the whole concept of the coat of arms with the lion connecting ancient Troy, Brutus' insular kingdom, and finally three insular realms, signals the antiquity and indivisibility of the island of Great Britain in a simple and understandable visual form.

Keywords: imaginary Heraldry, Troy, heraldic Lion, Brutus, medieval imagination

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Fig. 1. Brutus's arms accompanying passage on Brutus's arrival; Hardyng's *Chronicle*, Edward's version (Bod. Lib. MS. Bodley Arch. Seldon B 10, fol. 11v.)

Fig. 2. Brutus captures Greek King Pandrasus and frees Trojans from serfdom. The upper arms is not assign to anybody. It can be arms of Pandrasus but it can be arms of Troy as well. The lower coat of arms is attributed to Brutus in this manuscript scroll; Roll Chronicle of British Kings: from Brutus to Edward I (Bodleian Library MS. Bodl. Roll 3 [c. 1292-1307])

Fig. 3. Coats of arms from left: Brutus, Brutus, Locrinus, Camber, Albanactus, King of Scotland; Armorial of Arthur Tudor (c. 1490-1500) (London, College Of Arms MS Vincent 152, p. 43v. Reproduced by permission of the Kings, Heralds and Pursuivants of Arms)
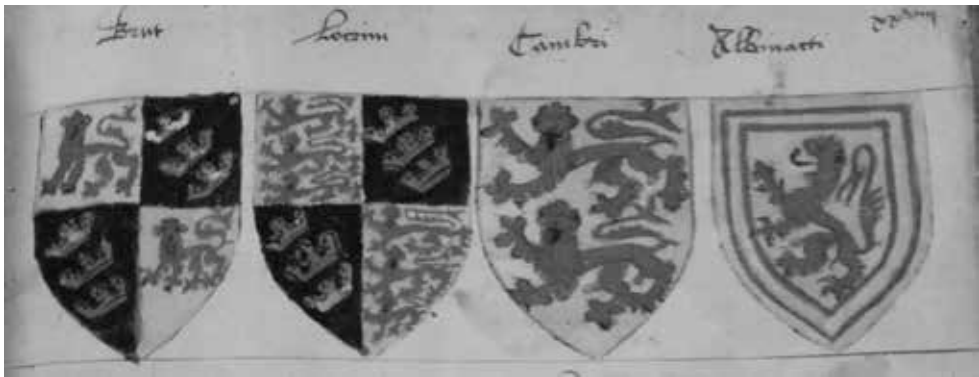
Fig. 4. Coats of arms from left: Brutus, Locrinus, Camber, Albanactus; Book of badges - Herold Christopher Barker (British Library, Harley MS 4632, fol. 28r [c. 1500])

Fig. 5. Coat of arms attributed to Henry VII Tudor. Writhe's book of knights (British Library, Add. MS 46354, Fol. 72v [reign of Henry VII])

III. Announcements

Juliusz Domański
Institute of Philosophy and Sociology, Polish Academy of Sciences
Institute of Classic Studies, Warsaw University (profesor emeritus)
juldom@poczta.onet.pl
https://orcid.org/0000-0001-5468-0767

Zenon Kałuża awarded the *Lux et Laus* medal

Having completed his studies in philosophy at the Catholic University of Lublin (KUL) in 1962 and being an assistant at the Department of the History of Philosophy there, in 1967, Zenon Kałuża received a scholarship in Canada and then in France, due to an unfortunate - or perhaps fortunate in the end - coincidence, could not return to Poland, and even had to renounce his Polish citizenship and accept a French one. He settled permanently in France, where his entire scientific *curriculum* took place until his retirement in 2002. As a result of 35 years of work, mainly at the CNRS, and several years as a *directeur de recherches*, he was at the forefront of French humanities as a researcher of medieval thought. The main subject of his research has been, and still is, the philosophy and theology of the late Middle Ages, with an additional subject being the thought of earlier times, especially of the 12th century, and the result of this research is more than 200 works in this field; books, studies, and editions of source texts, not only doctrinal ones. Most of these works have been published in French, but also in Italian, English, quite a number, in Polish.

In contemporary medieval studies - contemporary in the broad sense, let us say: in post-Gilsonian medieval studies - these works fit into its general trend, but at the same time have distinct individual characteristics, both

of which contribute to their particularly high value within this elite speciality. The very choice of the late Middle Ages as the main subject is an important element in both the alignment mentioned above and, far more importantly, a rich source of ideas and originality in their implementation. After all, considered decadent and therefore less valuable by the enthusiasts of classical thirteenth century scholasticism, the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries not only abounded in detailed doctrinal ideas and in fascinating content on general intellectual culture, but also left behind a vast manuscript resource of texts that will probably never be published in print in their entirety, and which conceal the most varied riddles and do not lend themselves to easy and straightforward interpretations.

I would like to draw particular attention below to what are, in my opinion, the three most important works of Zenon Kałuża on late medieval thought, in which it is easiest to observe all those generally only now outlined advantages of his research and its cognitive effects. Now, for the sake of clarity of their characterisation, I believe it is necessary to add, firstly, that the above-mentioned depreciation of the late Middle Ages by the former traditional philosophical and theological doxography as a period of decline had its basis in a distinct philosophical option of the historians of medieval thought, namely, in their recognition of metaphysics, practised as it was by the great scholastics of the thirteenth century, particularly Thomas Aquinas, as the core of philosophy. On the other hand, the unquestionable crisis of metaphysics practised in this way, caused by the criticism of the 14th century and the accompanying orientation of late medieval thinkers towards finding other guarantors of the certainty of cognition than those associated with Aristotelian metaphysics and epistemology, led directly to the depreciation of everything that could be regarded in the thought of the 14th and 15th centuries as a crisis of this metaphysics and epistemology. There could hardly be a clearer example of such an attitude, and such an assessment, than Etienne Gilson's classic work of the 50s of the last century, his *History of Medieval Philosophy*, which opens a lecture on post-classical scholasticism with the dramatic title 'the end of the journey'.

The Polish scholar of late medieval thought, Father Konstanty Michalski (University of Louvain), was probably the first to break through this optic, and decades later Stefan Swieżawski, a Thomist, fruitfully followed the same path. It should be said here that among other modern scholars of late medieval thought, Zenon Kałuża, a student of Swieżawski at the Catholic University of Lublin, is in a particularly distinctive way one who does not involve his own philosophical preferences and options in his historical-doctrinal research. Both in their point of departure and in their final results, he is first and foremost a historian, most sensitive to the realities of the texts under study and to the individual, specific doctrinal content hidden within them,

to realities that are specific and therefore particularly significant, while at the same time perfectly perceiving the importance of what is extra-doctrinal, what takes place in interpersonal and inter-environmental relations, and at the same time, like few others, he understands the spirit of the epochs, although he never reveals this understanding stridently or obtrusively.

I turn to the announced three examples of what I have attempted to identify as one general feature by which the protagonist of my account fits harmoniously into contemporary medieval doctrinal studies, while at the same time being a distinctive and unmistakable individual within it.

The first example is an early study, from the 1970s, of the figure of Thomas of Cracow, his writings, and his library, culminating in a significant book in 1978 (*Thomas de Cracovie. Contribution à l'histoire du Collège de Sorbonne*). These are studies that proceeded in a special way and yielded results that created a highly fruitful field of further research for Zenon Kałuża. Firstly, a Polish theologian from the turn of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, and then an anonymous collection of texts previously linked to him, *i.e.*, his presumed library, led to their recognition as the workshop of the Parisian theologian Etienne Gaudet, while in this collection of texts they also identified many of them as the writings of English, mainly Oxford, scholars. The relationship between Paris and Oxford in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries has subsequently become an enduring, though by no means the only, area of Zenon Kałuża's research into the philosophy and theology of those centuries. This area expanded in both theology and philosophy to include Prague, its problematic content becoming above all the strong connection of philosophical and theological issues with Oxford logic, the personal representatives of the discussion being, in addition to the aforementioned Gaudet, Nicholas de Aston and Richard Brinkley. I will return to the characterisation of the further course of this individual and peculiar current of Zenon Kałuża's research, harmonised with more general trends, in the third part of my account, in order to characterise its historical and doctrinal fruits in a little more detail.

A second example of this trend would be Zenon Kałuża's *magnum opus*, the great monograph *Nicolas d'Autrécourt ami de la vérité* (Paris 1995), a volume of the monumental *Histoire littéraire de la France* (vol. 42, *Ière partie*), still continuing in the tradition of the Maurins. In this work, which is now nearly thirty years old, all the important characteristics of the author as a scholar of medieval thought and those of his writing are concentrated. These are summarised above in a short formula, which probably does not say much to non-specialists, of simultaneous harmonisation with the tendencies of today's medieval studies and of the author's distinct individuality, and should now be made more precise and thus more explicit in the characterisation of Nicolas of Autrecourt as a friend of truth. Let me repeat, only slightly

paraphrasing it, my own characterisation of this work, which is a paradigmatic specimen of all the features of the author's work that I have so far tried to describe in very general terms.

It is, on the one hand, a comprehensive and all-encompassing characterisation of the views of the fourteenth-century scholastic, reconstructed thanks to an enormous amount of work, and, on the other, an extremely rich source study of his life and ambiguous intellectual personality. The former is due to a thorough analysis of the only fragmentary surviving writing of Nicolas of Autrecourt, the latter to the meticulous gathering of material to reconstruct the entire external context of his biography and biography itself. Regarding views and doctrine, it is worth understanding that before Zenon Kaluża's monograph, there was no positive knowledge of Nicolas of Autrecourt, and that it was only this excellent monograph that clarified what the fourteenth-century Parisian master really thought and preached. The same can also be said of the turbulent turn of his life. In this book, both of these have been accurately identified thanks to a careful reading of not only the meagre remains of his doctrinal texts, but also archival documents and even archaeological artefacts, such as the tombstone which identified his main opponent.

All of this is of paramount importance for a broader picture of intellectual life in fourteenth-century France, and not only in France, and at the same time makes it clear how important the study of sources seemingly unrelated to this intellectual life is for the creation of such a picture. It turns out that Nicolas d'Autrecourt both was and was not typical of his time, that he was a *sui generis* adventurous intellectual of the kind that the Middle Ages had known, and that in order to study their doctrines effectively, it is always necessary to study the whole of their lives. Such a study has revealed both the details of the life and the secrets of the mind of this fourteenth-century connoisseur, but also a follower of Epicureanism, an Aristotelian who nevertheless regarded not wisdom but truth as the core content of the very concept of philosophy and its procedures, has made it possible to understand his Epicureanism not as an abolitionist but as a complement to Aristotelianism and, at the same time, to place his intellectual activity in the context of the fourteenth-century crisis of scholasticism in such a way that, contrary to the belief commonly held before Zenon Kaluża's monograph, Nicolas of Autrecourt can by no means be classified as a nominalist.

Since we have treated *Nicolas d'Autrecourt ami de la vérité* as paradigmatic, if not for Zenon Kaluża's entire oeuvre, then certainly for what is its dominant feature, let us conclude by noting that, like this *magnum opus*, his numerous other doxographic works significantly alter the picture of intellectual and ideological tendencies of the late Middle Ages, They revise, for example, the all too hastily promoted conviction of the weakening - in favour

of nominalism and subjectivism and, on the other hand, of revisionist and reformist ecclesiastical and political tendencies - of the speculative impetus of the thought of the time.

A third example would be the recently published *Etudes doctrinales sur le quatorzième siècle: Théologie, Logique, Philosophie*. This is a collection of the author's previously published minor works, consolidated into two thematic sections, the first dealing with logical-metaphysical tools for dealing with the problem of the (non-) existence of God, the second with the problem of universals. This is one *principium integrandi*, doxographic and problematic. However, there is also a second such *principium*, which must be called problematic-topographical. Here, the doxographic problematic is the subject of the intellectual activity of fourteenth-century scholars active in three university centres: Oxford, Paris, and Prague, with the keystone where ideas and excitement in both directions cross or diverge from is fourteenth-century Paris, in this capacity present in the two parts mentioned above, the first part being organised by the relations of the Parisian milieu with the Oxford milieu then famous for its logic, the second by the tripartite Paris-Prague-Oxford relations. This topographical and ideological grid was used to integrate the previously published studies into the book, but when read now, they give the impression of a far-reaching ideological and compositional homogeneity and make one think that the author already had this book in mind when he published the individual studies that make up the book.

Whether you feel this is right or wrong, the fact is that the studies, now consolidated into a single book, make more clearly visible several important elements of its content, including its material, methodological and technical content, factual content and, most important for me here, its doxographic content, which - all together - have made it a work of the highest quality in contemporary medieval doctrinal studies. It has dealt with hitherto poorly known authors, extracted from manuscripts their writings which had never been studied or which were known only very superficially, produced first editions of some of their minor writings, and brought up issues which were either poorly or inaccurately known, or had not yet been known at all. The author has presented them in a precise and clear manner, making the book highly useful for specialists of the highest rank, and at the same time important for the general cultural picture of the late medieval period, once too hastily regarded as declining and therefore philosophically less interesting.

The most valuable cognitively, and at the same time forming a kind of synthetic core of all the material and formal components of Zenon Kałuża's latest work, as far as I am concerned, is the fact that fourteenth-century philosophical ideas have gained importance there, that they have, as it were,

emancipated themselves from the domination of unquestionably important, but for thinking in philosophical categories, secondary, political, social, or religious ideas, As far as the philosophical content developed in the 14th century is concerned, it has restored due importance to such trends, which the former (Gilsonian) paradigm made us think were waning, or even disappearing, in this period. This certainly only makes Zenon Kaluża's latest work so much more consistent with the current paradigm, as I mentioned at the very beginning of my account. At the same time, however, there is an important authorial *specificum* in this conformity. I see it in precisely what I am trying to describe here from the very first words of my account: in a reliable and richly source-supported appreciation of philosophically important content, especially content derived from ancient philosophy, in particular Plato's philosophy. The author of the *Doctrinal Studies of the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries* was able to extract them from a variety of source materials that are themselves non-doctrinal, and not so much in the Gilsonian as in the contemporary interpretative paradigm: from canonical trials and condemnations, from the forgeries and misrepresentations on which the condemnations were based, and in general from an apparently non-doctrinal context, to which he is always sensitive and which few contemporary historians of philosophy understand. Thanks to these qualities of intuition, inquisitiveness, and impressive technique, a new picture of the philosophy of the 14th and 15th centuries emerges from Zenon Kaluża's doxographic works.

There is one additional thing worth emphasising in this picture, to which I am personally alerted by the formation of an antiquary who directs his own research interests in equal measure towards the late Middle Ages and the early Renaissance. Having not yet enriched the Platonic heritage, which would not happen until fifteenth-century Italy, the scholastically-formed thinkers of these two centuries, the fourteenth and fifteenth, revived and intensified the use of the Platonic *patrimonium* in particular, drawn from the same resources that were also known to the earlier Latin Middle Ages. This intensification occurred along the Oxford-Paris-Prague axis. Thanks to Zenon Kaluża's insightful and revealing source research in the Oxford-Paris-Prague triangle, this intensification of fourteenth-century Platonism has been given peculiar and particularly vivid features, revealing the role of philosophical Platonic ideas in the studies of the Prague religious reformers inspired by John Wycliffe. The tragic figure of Jerome of Prague is emblematic in the *Doctrinal Studies of the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries* not only as a result of the above-mentioned workshop qualities of this work, but also for its doxographic value in the aspect now mentioned.

So much for the last of the three examples with which I wished to illustrate the main current of Zenon Kałuża's research and historical-philosophi-

cal writing. Alongside this main current, there is another, incidental perhaps, but in the circumstances in which this account of mine is being written, a particularly important one, clear from almost the beginning of his scholarly path, although it has intensified considerably in the last quarter of a century. What I mean now is that Zenon Kałuża is also a researcher of the Polish Middle Ages. His research here concerns philosophical and theological doctrines, as well as more general intellectual and literary culture. For understandable reasons, they result in works published mainly in Polish.

The works falling within this additional strand have similar characteristics to those characterised here before from the main strand and produce similar results to those contained therein. This is particularly true of Zenon Kałuża's study of an anonymous theology textbook at the University of Kraków, known under the incipit title *Utrum Deus gloriosus*, where, contrary to earlier interpretations, he saw not nominalism but conceptual realism as the essential philosophical content. On the other hand, Zenon Kałuża's study of the idea of *translatio studii*, dealing jointly with the Parisian and Krakow milieus, is a thematic novelty. More important, however, to me seems to be another thematic novelty in these studies on the Polish Middle Ages. I am thinking of Zenon Kałuża's numerous works on the *Kronika Polska* (*Polish Chronicle*) by Wincenty Kadłubek. Previously published in French and Italian, partly in Polish, they have been collected and complemented by as yet unpublished ones into a large Polish-language book, which in 2014 was published as volume 7 of the Library of the Warsaw Thomistic Institute's Texts and Studies under the title *Lektury filozoficzne Wincentego Kadłubka*, signalling with this title that these, too, are source studies enriching the medieval chronicle work so carefully compiled by Polish medieval historians and philologists - as only an excellent historian of medieval philosophy could enrich it. However, this title of the book on Kadłubek does not reveal the valuable statements and conjectures which, at least in one important area, have helped to mend the text of Kadłubek's work. To these I want to conclude with some more detailed remarks about Zenon Kałuża as a medievalist source scholar and medievalist cultural scholar.

Lektury filozoficzne Wincentego Kadłubka (*The philosophical readings of Wincenty Kadłubek*) are in fact not only a significant enrichment by a historian of medieval thought to the hitherto scarce knowledge of what Wincenty Kadłubek, a Polish beneficiary of twelfth-century Chartrian humanism, learned about the philosophy of Aristotle, and ancient philosophy in general, through his readings of texts hitherto hidden in twelfth-century, and earlier, manuscripts. It is also a book which, by significantly enriching the stock of recognised Kadlubek sources to date, will contribute to at least one philological melioration of the text of the Kadlubek Chronicle that has been published so many times. Let me illustrate these claims with two examples from different, but related,

areas. Namely, they will show both the effectiveness of Zenon Kałuża's work as a source scholar and the textological fruit of this effectiveness.

Several attempts have been made to find the source of what I have called Kadłubek's paradox of justice and mercy, and the source was not found until Zenon Kałuża discovered it in Anselm of Laon's commentary on Matthew 5:7 and described his discovery (on pp. 92-95), adding to it, incidentally, another discovery of the source of the poem quoted by Kadłubek in a two-line poem by Sedulius Scotus. This is an example from one area of research. But even more important than these discoveries, which, like many others included in the *Lektury filozoficzne Wincentego Kadłubka*, will one day enrich the commentary on Kadlubek's chronicle, seems to me to be the philological consection to Kadlubek's text in the annex *Mater societatis or mater satietatis?* (pp. 149-158).

It is this second example, textological, the sentence *Vincentii Chronicon* (*Polish Chronicle* by Wincenty Kadłubek) II 1, 1, "identitas est mater societatis", which has been proposed to replace the common-sounding but admittedly meaningless phrase in all transmissions - a conjuncture minimally graphically but fundamentally semantically changing the last word to *satietatis*, a conjuncture justified by a laboriously traced long tradition of medieval use of a similar phrase from Cicero's *De inventione*, a conjuncture therefore, as sometimes happens, extremely simple, and the only one that makes sense and is consistent with the context: "identitas est mater satietatis", instead of being about "commonality" so talking about "oversaturation" with an unvarnished, constantly same subject matter concerning narrative. It does indeed have the flavour of Bentley's adage "mihi ratio plus valet quam centum codices", with the *ratio* here given a particularly strong empirical basis in a perfectly traced rhetorical topos from Cicero to Abelard[1].

Let us recall briefly: this expression appears at the beginning of Book II of the chronicle as an excuse for the fact that the Polish theme of his narrative was enriched and varied by Wincenty Kadłubek with a narrative concerning history other than Polish. I quote according to Bielowski's nineteenth-century edition (II, 1, 1): "Sed sinuosis longius evagari non convenit anfractibus, ut propositi ut suscepti cursus itineris debito carpatur conpendio. Nemo tamen nostrae id inputaverit ostentationi, quod quaedam ex aliorum historiis principali quo<que> inseruntur seriei. Quae ex industria iubemur non praeterire, tum quia similia gaudent similibus, tum quia identitas mater est societatis, ut etiam non omnino desit in quo lector sese exerceat". In the Polish edition by Brigid Kürbis, based on Bielowski's Latin edition (translated into English): "Admittedly, this is not the time to venture too far astray, so that the path intended and

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1 Needless to say, neither that first, nor that second, account can replace the author's excellent appendix *Mater societatis or mater satietatis?*.

undertaken may be traversed in due abbreviation. However, no one will see it as a [desire] to show off if we weave some information from foreign history into the main thread of the story. We deliberately order ourselves not to omit them, both because similar advice is given to similar people and because identity is the mother of community, and finally, so that the reader does not lack an object on which to train himself". It is difficult to pretend that the phrase "identitas est mater societatis" is understood as natural in this context. However, if one replaces *societatis* with *satietatis*, everything becomes clear: the introduction of alien histories into the story of the familiar does put an end to the situation expressed by the phrase "similia gaudent similibus", but at the same time it introduces a differentiation of the story that prevents the situation expressed by the phrase "identitas mater est satietatis", which in turn means that 'sameness is the parent of excess', *i.e.,* boredom/jadedness. Zenon Kaluża's conjuncture not only removes the easy mistake caused by the graphic similarity of the words, and perhaps also their phonetic similarity - for it was easy to write *satietas* according to medieval phonetics as *sacietas*, and this secondarily to correct for the false *societas* - but, supported by abundant textual documentation, it also shows how Cicero's phrase from De inventione (I, 76): "Similitudo mater est satietatis" became the basis of Kadłubek's discourse. More than that: how it became part of the change from the humanistic, rhetoric-based paradigm of intellectual culture of the pre-scholastic Middle Ages to the logic-based paradigm of scholastic culture. This is not only masterfully explained in the appendix to the Kadłubek chapter on oral history and written history, but also documented with abundant lexical and textual material, starting with Cicero and ending with Abelard.

Zenon Kałuża, for some years now a retired *directeur de recherches* at the Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique in Paris (which corresponds to the Polish national professorial title), has until recently held various scientific and paradidactic (promoter and reviewer), editorial and advisory functions in several European countries (in addition to France, Italy, the Netherlands, Belgium, Germany, Romania, the Czech Republic, and Poland), he is an honorary doctorate holder at the University of Cluj-Napoca, and at Charles University in Prague he was awarded the František Palacký Medal for his special contribution to the history of Czech medieval thought. This is in recognition not only of the high valuation of his knowledge and his achievements as a historian of the philosophy and intellectual culture of the Latin Middle Ages, but also of his paradidactic and organisational contributions to universities in Central and Eastern Europe. The more numerous university centres of Western Europe honoured him on their jubilee anniversaries with commemorative books.

No less than for them, although of a different kind, are his merits for his home country, whose scientific potential he constantly supports with his excellent work, and until recently he was editor for 11 years (2006-2016) - at

the Thomistic Institute of the Dominican Fathers in Warsaw - of the "Przegląd Tomistyczny" ("Thomistic Review"), a journal highly valued by appointed scientific bodies, and his editorial merits together with his scientific ones were rewarded with the Medal św. Jacka (Saint Jack medal) by the Polish Dominican Province. Zenon Kałuża also actively participated in Polish or international medievalist conferences organised in Poland.

These merits for the Polish humanities are only an indigenous addition to what Zenon Kałuża did for world medieval studies with his outstanding work as a historian of philosophical and theological doctrines of the Middle Ages. This is also how I want to treat the honours that have befallen him so far. All this has now earned him the honour of Lux et Laus from the Standing Committee of Polish Medievalists.

IV. Book Notices

After Charlemagne Carolingian Italy and its Rulers, ed. Clemens Gantner, Walter Pohl, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge-New York 2021, list of contributors, maps, bibliography, index, 338 + x pp., hardback.

The presented volume is an effect of a conference entitled *Italy and Its Rulers in the Ninth Century: Was There a Carolingian Italy?* held in Vienna in 2016. The Editors are Clemens Gantner and Walter Pohl, the scholars affiliated with the Austrian Academy of Sciences in Vienna. The volume presents new insights into Italy in the 9th century and the impact of Carolingian culture on the indicated, extremely diverse area, in line with the question posed at the outset: to what extent was there a "Carolingian Italy"? The Editors have assembled a team of researchers from Italy, France, the United Kingdom, the U.S.A, and Spain. The volume offers new research on the politics, culture, society, and economics of the Italian lands from the death of Charlemagne to the assassination of Berengar I in 924. It begins with two introductory chapters: *Italy after Charlemagne: Scope and Aims of the Volume* (C. Gantner, W. Pohl) and *A Brief Introduction to Italian Political History until 875* (. Gantner), followed by four sections: (1) Was There a Carolingian Italy?; (2) Organising Italy; (3) Carolingian Rulers; (4) Cities, Courts, and Carolingians, which contain a total of thirteen chapters. Section 1 contains three chapters. T.F.X. Noble argues that such a construct as "Carolingian Italy" simply did not exist in the minds of 9th century Italian writers, as it is relatively modern, based on chronological and dynastic rather than historical and cultural considerations. Furthermore, he notes that Italian writers showed little interest in the Carolingians, either pre-Alpine or extra-Alpine. P. Delogu analyses what names contemporary chroniclers gave to the Kingdom in Italy, arguing that the use of particular terms was influenced by the formation of the collective identity of its inhabitants based on the Langobard name. F. Bougard examines the influence of the Franks on the Kingdom of Italy through three main categories: Political Integration, Men and Institutions, and Intellectual Production and Reception. The Author argues that, although it was

noticeable (as evidenced by an appendix containing a list of authors from the non-Italian domains of the Carolingians whose works were copied or received in Italy during the 9th century, or found in book inventories up to the beginning of the 11th century), it was only to a limited extent, influenced by the cultural difference of Italy, which was much more practical, juridical, educational, and secular than the Carolingian kingdoms beyond the Alps.

There are three texts in Section 2. In the first, S. Gasparri addresses the governance of the territories in the north-east of the Apennine Peninsula, described as the periphery of the Kingdom. He points out that the area of Friuli, bordering the Byzantine sphere of influence in Venice and Istri, played an important role for economic as well as political reasons, and that the Carolingian rulers paid a great deal of attention to local matters in order to effectively enforce and extend their power in the region. Subsequently, G. Albertoni, analysing the concept of "feudalism", which stems from Italian sources, and he demonstrates the ability of the Carolingians to transform domestic service based on loyalty into an instrument of territorial rule and control. The Author shows that the process thus outlined resulted in two forms of vassalage, sharing a common vocabulary, a pattern of loyalty and rituals, but different functions. At the end of the section, I.S. Salazar, using the example of two episcopal seats, Parma, and Arezzo, presents the turbulent political history of the important players on the scene, who had to find their way through a period of instability and struggle to legitimise their own power, as well as that of the candidate for the throne they supported.

Section 3 consists of three chapters. Firstly, M. Stoffella describes the co-rulership of Italy by King Pippin, reigning with Charlemagne between 781 and 810. The Author devotes a great deal of space to analysing the question of the dating of diplomas produced in the period indicated, the adaptation in Italy of new modes of governance (among others, pointing to the instrument of *beneficium* as a certain novelty), or the reactions to Pippin's untimely death. Then, E. Screen presents the case of a successful political collaboration, rare among the Carolingians, between the father, Lotar I, and his son, Louis II. The Author shows how Lotar paved his son's path to power and in which fields he interacted with him. In the final chapter of the section, C. Gantner depicts the earliest years of Louis II's reign, paying particular attention to his visit to Rome in 844, where he was still treated as a king-in-training, and the political implications of this act on the later stages of his reign or on Carolingian relations with the Romans and the papacy.

Four chapters appear in Section 4. At the beginning, T. Brown considers a case from the socio-political history of Ravenna in the 9th century. He notes that in the 9th century Franks, including those intermarrying with representatives of Ravenna, eventually became prominent figures in the politics of the city, which played an important role, as the former imperial capital,

in Carolingian politics. C. Goodson explores how urbanism shaped and transformed society and politics in 9th century Italy Then, F. Veronese argues that saints, relics, and hagiography were powerful political tools for integrating north-eastern Italy into the Carolingian world. In the closing chapter of the volume, G. Vocino presents the world of rhetoric, intellectual and court culture in Italy between the 8th and 10th centuries, arguing in favour of the thesis of the cultural "uniqueness" of early medieval Italy, which manifested itself, among other things, in the fact that local scholars wrote less than those outside Italy, but at the same time the excellent education of Italian scholars was expressed in other ways that did not necessarily translate into the production of books and documents. The volume concludes with a bibliography and an index.

Tomasz Pełech

https://orcid.org/0000-0002-3722-568X

Archeologia średniowiecza ziem polskich na początku XXI wieku. Grodziska, cmentarzyska i monety w perspektywie nowych metod badawczych (Medieval Archaeology of the Polish Lands at the Beginning of the 21st century. Strongholds, Cemeteries, and Coins in the Perspective of New Research Methods), VI Kongres Mediewistów Polskich, 1, ed. A. Janowski, Chronicon, Wrocław 2021, 270 pp., maps, ill., list of authors, paperback.

The presented volume consists of articles that originated from one of the sessions of the 6th Congress of Polish Medievalists with the main theme *Media aetas – historia viva/The Middle Ages – living history*, which was held in Wrocław on 20-22 IX 2018.

Due to the nature of the sources analysed, the volume can be divided into distinct two parts: (1) studies of strongholds, settlement points, and cemeteries; (2) studies of numismatic material. The first part begins with a text by A. Buko, containing reflections by an experienced scholar on further possibilities of archaeological research into the reception of Christianity on Polish lands and the changes it brought about, *e.g.,* in burial rites. The Author notes that studies on the origins of the Christian religion in the early Piast monarchy still have many questions without clear answers. Then, J. Bojarski characterises the funeral rites of the inhabitants of the early medieval settlement centre in Kałdus. J. Wrzesiński draws a portrait of an early medieval settlement on Ostrów Lednicki and its inhabitants, based on material obtained from research on Lednica necropolis. J. Sikora discusses the problem of re-

use of older burial monuments (*i.e.,* man-made objects legible in the landscape) by people living in medieval Poland, analysing the phenomenon of mythologisation of these objects, perceived *e.g.,* as tombs of giants or burial sites of mythical figures. Then, P. Pawlak investigates the beginnings of early medieval settlement in the Poznań-Śródka complex. S. Wadyl presents the results of long-term research at a cemetery site in Ciepło in Pomerania. In the next chapter, P. Wroniecki and J. Sikora analyse the efficacy of the use of geophysical prospecting (magnetic prospecting, electrical resistivity prospecting, geo-radar prospecting), or more broadly non-invasive prospecting, in research on the Middle Ages, showing that with appropriate planning of research, proper integration of data and their interpretation it is possible to significantly supplement the information resource currently available to scholars and reformulate the research questionnaire. Subsequently, J. Sikora, P. Kittel, and P. Wroniecki show the example of the settlement in Rozprza and its environmental context as a testing ground for the application of new research methods (remote sensing, use of digital documentation in the form of orthophotomap, geographical information systems (GIS), integration of spatial data or geochronometric analyses, *etc.*).

The second part of the volume, devoted to numismatics, contains two chapters. S. Suchodolski considers what was the purpose of issuing the earliest coins in Poland, arguing that the reasons for starting minting in Poland were both manifestation-propaganda and economic, and that the boundary between such division is not sharp. Next, G. Śnieżko presents the minting of Bolesław III the Wrymouth in the light of new research, showing that it was groundbreaking in the history of Polish money, due to the domination of the princely coinage in domestic circulation, the centralisation of production concentrated in only one mint, and the variety of iconography, enriching the manifestation message.

Tomasz Pełech
https://orcid.org/0000-0002-3722-568X

Bałkany – Bizancjum – Bliski Wschód. Studia z dziejów i kultury wieków średnich (Balkans – Byzantium – Middle East. Studies in the History and Culture of the Middle Ages), VI Kongres Mediewistów Polskich, 2, ed. A. Paroń, Chronicon, Wrocław 2022, 172 pp., bibliography, abstracts, list of authors, paperback.

This volume presents articles based on papers presented at the three sessions of the 6th Congress of Polish Medievalists with the main theme

Media aetas – historia viva/The Middle Ages – living history, which was held in Wrocław on 20-22 IX 2018. The volume presents the achievements of scholars of the Balkans, Byzantium, the Islamic world, and the Crusades. It consists of an introduction written by A. Paroń and ten chapters. In the first, T. Wolinska analyses the representation of Islam in the legends of the monk Bahira-Sergius and his disciple Mohammed, the propagators of the new religion, in order to show on this basis the intellectual attempt of Christian authors to present Islam as a simplified and degenerated form of Christianity. Subsequently, M. Dawczyk analyses the views of Riccoldo da Monte di Croce contained in his treatise *Contra legem Sarracenorum*, illustrating that the medieval writer sought to demonstrate not only the falsity of Islamic religious doctrine as incompatible with the dogmas of the Christian faith, but also with the views of ancient philosophers, including Aristotle. T. Pełech, in the next chapter, examines the verse parts of the second book of Fulcher of Chartres' *Historia Hierosolymitana*, found in the descriptions of the conquest of the Levantine cities by Baldwin I, king of Jerusalem, illustrating that the medieval author, using biblical borrowings and the works of ancient authors (*e.g.,* Josephus Flavius), creates an image of the Christian ruler as a "second Joshua", leader of the new chosen people. J. Dudek presents the relationship of the western part of the Balkan Peninsula with Byzantium from the 7th to the 14th centuries, showing that although initially a rather peripheral area, from around the beginning of the 13th century it became a pillar of Byzantine culture, attracting prominent intellectuals. Z.A. Brzozowska analyses the influence of Byzantine literature on the historical consciousness of the Southern and Eastern Slavs, using the example of the Old Bulgarian translation of an abridgement of the *History of Paulicians* by Peter of Sicily. K. Marinov presents an analysis of the work *On the Treaty with the Bulgarians*, originally a speech delivered in 927 on the occasion of the Byzantine-Bulgarian peace, in which he argues that the way the Bulgarians are portrayed, which is one of the main motifs of the work, indicates their place in the Christian ecumene below the Romans. M.J. Leszka illustrates how Tsar Samuel was portrayed in Byzantine sources from the end of the 10th to the 12th century, drawing attention to a certain ambivalence, since on the one hand there is a desire to belittle the successes of the enemy, the rebel, and on the other hand, given that after the Byzantine conquest of Bulgaria, part of the Bulgarian elite entered into family ties with the Byzantine aristocracy, it was better to be descended from a famous figure than from some "barbarian". Then, S. Wierzbiński presents the issue of the Byzantine army's victualling in the light of *Tactica* Leon VII and *Sylloge Tacticorum*. The chapter by A. Paroń discusses the Byzantine policy towards steppe peoples (Pechengs, Uzes, Kumans) arriving in the Byzantine territories in the 11th

and 12th centuries. The Author concludes that the lack of understanding for the cultural differences of nomads influenced the Byzantine policy towards nomads, which was based on the belief that nomads could only be convinced by force and brutal violence. In the final chapter of the volume, Z. Pentek addresses the reliability of Byzantine information provided by ʾAḥmad ibn Yaḥyā al-Balādhurī, in a work entitled *Book of the Conquests of Lands – Kitab Futuh al-Buldan*. The work concludes with a collective bibliography, abstracts in English, and a list of contributors.

TOMASZ PEŁECH
HTTPS://ORCID.ORG/0000-0002-3722-568X

Błażej Cecota, *Islam, Arabowie i wizerunek kalifów w przekazach Chronografii Teofanesa Wyznawcy* (Islam, the Arabs, and the image in the accounts of the Chronography of Theophanes the Confessor), Byzantina Lodziensia, XLIII, Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Łódzkiego, Łódź 2022, VI, 549 pp., summary in English, bibliography, Polish and English abstracts, index of people, index of geographical names, paperback.

This volume by Błażej Cecota provides a detailed analysis of an image of Islam, Muslims, and Arab rulers in one of the most important sources of the early history of Muslims from a Christian perspective – the *Chronography* of Byzantine historian Theophanes the Confessor. The Author strives to investigate how Theophanes' sources and his own opinions affect his work and what the chronicler attempts to achieve through his narratives. The book is divided into three chapters. The first serves as an introduction and presents current research on the biographical data of Theophanes, as well as information about the time of creation and authorship of his *Chronography*. The Author also discusses Theophanes' sources, concentrating on those from which the Confessor could derive knowledge about Muslims and events in the Near East. In the second chapter, the author focuses on the image of Muhammad and the beginnings of Islam. He also investigates Theophanes' reports of persecution of Christians and the alleged role of unorthodox Christian groups in Muslim expansion. The issue of Islamic iconoclasm and how Theophanes exploits it in correspondence with the image of Byzantine iconoclasts is also raised. The third chapter examines in chronological order the information that the Author of *Chronography* provides about caliphs, discussing not only the image of individuals, but also Theophanes' view on whole dynasties and their legitimization, the process of conquest and

the formation of the Caliphate, together with the internal conflicts in a Muslim state. The Author also points out how, simultaneously with the image of Muslims, a depiction of the Byzantine Empire and its rulers is shaped in the depiction of mutual relations and wars. In summary, the Author recapitulates his research, pointing out the most important conclusions of each chapter and identifying issues for further investigation. The work is enriched by an extensive bibliography.

Bartosz Wlazłowski
https://orcid.org/0009-0007-0663-7255

Wiesława Chodkowska, *Dawne ratusze warmińskie. Geneza form architektonicznych i ochrona konserwatorska* (Old Town Halls of Warmia. Origins of architectural forms and conservation protection), Joined edition of Instytut Północny im. Wojciecha Kętrzyńskiego w Olsztynie i Centrum Edukacji i inicjatyw Kulturalnych w Olsztynie, Olsztyn 2021, 292 pp., bibliography, source materials, literature, list of illustrations, paperback.

Wiesława Chodkowska's book is a comparative study devoted to the architectural forms and details of old town halls, especially the Old Town Hall in Olsztyn. The publication is the result of many years of research and the researcher's active involvement in the architectural and conservation projects of the regional municipal architecture, and at the same time it is the outcome of her doctoral thesis entitled *The Old Town Hall in Olsztyn against the background of town halls in Warmia and the neighboring lands: the genesis of architectural forms and conservation protection*, defended by the author in 2021 at the Jagiellonian University. The Author, having at her disposal detailed material from archival, archaeological, architectural, and conservation research on the Old Town Hall in Olsztyn, attempted to set its architecture against a broader background, not only regional, but also Central European.

The publication consists of an introduction, preceded by a table of contents, and nine chapters with an appendix. The whole is complemented by an extensive bibliography, divided into source materials and literature, and a list of illustrations. The first chapter presents the state of research into the municipal architecture not only of Warmian towns and in the Teutonic state, but also of German town halls. The history and documentation of the architectural research and reconstruction of the various phases of the construction of the Old Town Hall in Olsztyn, together with recommendations for res-

toration work and postulates for further research, are included in the second chapter. The next chapter is devoted to the origin and dating of one of the architectural details discovered on the southern and eastern elevations of the Olsztyn Town Hall during the architectural research - the arches in the shape of a donkey's back. The fourth study then discusses the characteristic types of town halls and their functions, ranging from commercial, judicial, meeting place, and representative. The fifth chapter is devoted to the location of towns in the Teutonic state. The comparison of the market square in Olsztyn with the market square in Chełm allows the assumption that the Old Town Hall in Olsztyn served as a merchant's house ('mercatorium') in the 15th and 16th centuries, with stalls adjoining on the northern side. The next chapter characterises, based on the literature on the subject, the location of towns and the beginning of local government in the Warmia dominion. The seventh chapter discusses, in chronological order according to the date of obtaining location privileges, town halls in the towns of the Warmian dominion, taking into account their location in relation to the market frontage, plans, and architectural details. In the eighth chapter, searching for analogous architectural solutions in relation to the Olsztyn town hall, selected examples of municipal buildings in the Teutonic state are referred to. The final, ninth chapter summarises the research. The attached appendix shows the town hall in Krakow as an exemplary municipal building in Central and Eastern Europe, which can serve as a model for researchers of municipal architecture.

The example of the former Olsztyn town hall proves that under the layer of plaster and the facade of buildings considered to be from the 18th or 19th century, there may be buildings that are much older, built in the Middle Ages. Many times, the history of buildings is written not only in texts, but also in their walls, as Wiesława Chodkowska discovered and demonstrated in the publication under discussion. Architectural research combined with archaeological work, together with solid studies of preservation documentation, shed a completely new light not only on the history of the municipal buildings themselves, but also on the towns in which they were built.

The lavishly illustrated publication contains 274 colour and black and white illustrations in the form of maps, plans, blueprints, paintings, and postcards.

Alicja Dobrosielska
https://orcid.org/0000-0002-6867-8550

> *Communitas regni: la "communauté de royaume" de la fin du Xe siècle au début du XIVe siècle (Angleterre, Écosse, France, Empire, Scandinavie), actes de colloque (Nancy, 6-8 novembre 2014)*, ed. Dominique Barthélémy, Isabelle Guyot-Bachy, Frédérique Lachaud, Jean-Marie Moeglin, Cultures et civilisations médiévales, 72, Sorbonne Université Presses, Paris 2019, 352 pp., paperback.

This volume addresses the question of whether specific political communities (*communitas regni*) with a specific political agenda existed within the political units referred to as the "kingdom" (*regnum*), which the authors found to be a less confrontational concept than the "state" or "nation" for the Medieval period. Indeed, the authors note that the term *communitas regni* was more characteristic of the terminology of the political programmes of movements opposed to the king. This volume brings to the fore the question of the motivation and political basis for the slow emergence of nation-states across Europe. The notion of *communitas regni*, which is deliberately ambiguous and ambivalent, lends itself to this purpose. Starting from such an agenda, the editors of the volume, D. Barthélémy, I. Guyot-Bachy, F. Lachaud, and J.-M. Moeglin, assembled an international team of contributors to examine the phenomenon in a broad temporal (late 10th century to the early 14th.) and geographical perspective (including England, Scotland, France, Germany, Italy, and the area of Scandinavia).

The volume opens with a succinct introduction that provides the basis to which almost all authors will refer, *i.e.,* the well-known work of S.B. Reynolds, *Kingdoms and Communities in Western Europe, 900–1300,* where there is a postulate to make community experiences objects of study in their own right, because the social identities, and hence social conscience, were innate to all realms of Medieval Europe. The volume contains seventeen chapters, which are grouped according to three thematic axes: (1) The *communitas regni*: terminological, legal, and theoretical approaches; (2) The king and the princes; (3) The realized community.

The first part consists of five chapters: M. Bur analyses the occurrence of the term communitas in normative and narrative sources from the 11th to the 12th centuries. in the area between the Seine and the Oise (Île-de-France), finding virtually nothing, apart from the collective rights pertaining to canonical or monastic communities. Subsequently, G. Jostkleigrewe considers the use of the terms "nationalism" and "proto-nationalism" in relation to pre-modern realities, arguing that although Medieval writers noted a difference in, among other things, the languages used (a clear distinction between German and French), no medieval "nationalism" existed. Y. Sassier,

starting from the Roman legal tradition, concludes that whatever collective power was claimed by the representatives of the people, the *populus*, was later, by the jurists of the 12th and 13th centuries, recognised as not only delegated, but completely transferred to their rulers. L. Scordia examines how the disputations of the masters of the theological faculty in Paris address communal issues at the end of the 13th century, noting that ideas that foster community cohesion such as the common good, utility, and the place of each member in the social hierarchy appear in them. K. Ubl addresses the reception of Aristotle's thought on the understanding of political categories such as *imperium*, *regnum*, and *principatum*, *etc*. in Albert the Great and Engelbert of Admont, noting some originality in the second author's reference to the idea of *communitas regni*. F. Lachaud analyses the use of the term *communitas regni* from the end of the 12th century (finding the earliest example in the Assize of Arms of 1181) to the beginning of the 14th century, and noting from this that the political tradition of England developed instruments of ruler control with a solid ideological foundation through which public participation in government was emphasised; it was therefore more the idea of *res publica* than *communitas regni*.

The second part has six chapters. R. Große's chapter shows the process of appropriation of power by the territorial princes of the Reich in the 11th and 12th centuries, which led to the princes, rather than the emperor, being seen as *capita rei publice*. J. Peltzer, on the other hand, analyses the cases of the great offices of the English royal court (*e.g.,* the stewardship "of England"), which in the late 13th and early 14th centuries evolved from an initial personal service to the king to more general institutions of the realm, without such strong personal ties to the king. D. Barthélemy addresses the presence of the kingdom's barons in descriptions of the Battle of Bouvines, finding a filter in the opposition between feudal and baronial values and chivalric, princely, and royal values, which can be seen in the commitment to honour on the one hand and the unbridled rivalry of ego on the other. Noting also the tendency to celebrate victory as a collective triumph for both the king and the wider political community. I. Guyot-Bachy, analysing mainly the descriptions from the battles of Courtrai and Mons-en-Plève and their further transmission and adaptation, notes that the wars in Flanders served in the exposition of the image of a common enemy against which the whole community of the kingdom of France, *i.e.,* the king and his barons, could unite. Then, J.-M. Moeglin shows that the description of the international relations of the kingdom of France (in the 11th to 13th centuries) served to build a political community, since the king of France is always surrounded by his bishops and his barons.

In the last part there are six chapters. In the first, J.-C. Blanchard presents and analyses the coat of arms of Winjbergen as an expression of the politi-

cal plans of Philip III the Bold. L. Moal presents the reign of Peter of Dreux, 1217–1237, in the Duchy of Brittany, where this ruler managed, through skilful negotiation with the local barons, to strengthen his princely power. G. Cattaneo, on the other hand, shows the case of a political community that had no king, *i.e.*, Iceland, and constituted a communal system of elites, where leadership was based on the law governing the position of the chief (*goðorð*). C. Péneau depicts the process of the birth of *communitas regni* in the 14th century in Sweden, where an institutionalised and sanctified principle of the representativeness of the whole people emerged. A. Taylor shows the emergence of a clearly defined political community on the political scene in Scotland, which, after the sudden death of King Alexander III in March 1286, had to assume regency powers: a college of two bishops and four barons was then established. É. Adde analyses the elites of the kingdom of Bohemia in the 13th and 14th centuries, showing their attachment to St Wenceslas as a kind of distinguishing feature of the legitimacy of the power of the local nobility, especially in reaction to the developing urban communities.

The volume ends with a conclusion by B. Lemesle, which in essence constitutes a separate chapter. The Author notes that *communitas regni* is not a term denoting the whole of society, but only a part of it, admittedly an extended, but nevertheless a representation, which legitimised its political power through a game of political competition centred around a central figure of the sovereign.

Tomasz Pełech
https://orcid.org/0000-0002-3722-568X

Thierry Dutour, *La France hors la France. L'identité avant la nation. (France outside France. Identity before nation)*, Vendémiaire, Paris 2022, 372 pp., selected bibliography, paperback.

Thierry Dutour's essay is an original and insightful view on a much-discussed topic, that is the question of the beginning of the French nation and the French identity. As for the question of a French nation, the author states explicitly – in the first lines of the book - that there was no such thing during the Middle Ages. The first chapter offers an explanation of this fact. 'Frenchness' then and now was a different category. For example, the trajectory of famous aristocratic families cannot be circumscribed solely to the kingdom of France; likewise, certain authors, now called French or English, could write in several languages and often transcended political divisions.

One of the key factor of Frenchness in the Late Middle Ages was indeed the language (chapter II). However, there were no standardized version of the French language, of which other versions would be just bastard off-spring: French could be defined then as a "group of dialects of langue d'oïl". It was the second main language in Europe and was widely used in its western part and in Outremer. It was not specifically linked with the kingdom of France, that's why the history of the French language and the history of France should be separated. Moreover, the old French historiographical tradition of associating power, State and nation should also be reconsidered (chapter III). Contrary to this tradition, political identity – being a subject of the king of France – and cultural identity – using the French language – cannot be equated. 'Frenchness', in a time where most polities were multilingual, was fundamentally a cultural one, linked with the language (chapter IV). Awareness of this identity arises through contact with speakers of other languages, as in England between Normans and Anglo-Saxons.

The second part of the book focuses on a quite different topic, although still linked with identity: the political community and individual freedom. Therefore, the theorization of the private or public person, as well as the development of Roman law, should not be seen as key elements enabling the subjugation of individuals by the state (chapter V). Even in the late Middle Ages, the state was not considered a transcendental entity: it didn't have rights or interest superior to those of the community. Medieval political thought strongly emphasized the importance of consent: the prince could not transgress the law (chapter VI). If he did, the governed could oppose him. This community of people shared certain values, one of which was citizenship, *i.e.*, the involvement of community members in political affairs. It's only in the late 14th century that another conception emerges, that of the sacred king as the State.

Throughout this brilliantly written essay, Thierry Dutour departs from a longstanding French tendency to consider French identity only through the prism of the state and central power. He insists on two elements, long forgotten: language and political freedom. Moreover, this essay encourages us to always recontextualize and historicize our categories of thought and the words we use. The book ends with an open conclusion and a bibliography of selected works.

Marcin Kurdyka
https://orcid.org/0000-0003-3975-9834

Franks and Crusades in Medieval Eastern Christian Historiography, ed. Alex Mallet, Outremer Studies in the Crusades and the Latin east, 10, Brepols, Turnhout 2020, 1 b/w ill., index, 351 pp., hardback.

This work is a collection of studies on Eastern Christian medieval writers and their works that relate to the history of the Crusades. Each writer came from one of the four Eastern Christian communities, *i.e.,* Greek Orthodox Byzantine, Armenian Orthodox, Syriac Orthodox ("Jacobite"), and Coptic Christian, which the Franks encountered in the Levant. This choice of arrangement influenced the layout of the content, for the volume is divided into four sections, each corresponding to a specific religious-cultural circle: (1) Greek Sources; (2) Armenian Sources; (3) Syriac Sources; (4) Copto-Arabic Sources. In Part 1 such Byzantine writers as Anna Komnena (J. Shepard), John Kinnamos (Christopher Hobbs), Niketas Choniates (A. Simpson), George Acropolites (R. Macrides, J. Brubaker) are presented. In Part 2 two Armenian writers are Matthew of Edessa (T.L. Andrews) and *The Chronicle Attributed to Smbat the Constable* (S. La Porta). Part 3 consists of Syriac writers: Michael the Great (D. Weltecke), *The Anonymous Syriac Chronicle to the Year 1234* (H.G.B. Teule), Gregory Abū l-Faraj Bar ʿebrōyō, also known as Bar Hebraeus (M. Mazzola). The Copto-Arabic texts, represented by *The History of the Patriarchs of the Egyptian Church* (A. Mallett, J. den Heijer) and Al-Makīn Ibn al-ʿAmīd (A.-M. Eddé), constitute Part 4 of the volume. Each of the eleven studies contained in the volume follows a similar pattern, *i.e.,* each is divided into two main parts. The first is an elaborate biography of the medieval writer, including information on the author's (or authors') background, family relations, career, summaries of the entire literary output, *etc.*, which serves to provide an insight into the political, cultural, social, and religious contexts in which they lived and worked and from where such, and no other, attitudes towards the Crusaders emerge. The second part of each chapter refers strictly to the works of the authors concerned, which contain information related to the history of the Crusades and the Latin East. The researchers have paid particular attention to content such as describing the manuscript tradition of each work, presenting contemporary editions and translations, as well as highlighting the *causa scribendi* of individual medieval authors and, above all, showing how Eastern Christian writers described the Franks and the Crusades. Each study contains a separate bibliography and an index is included at the end of the volume. The work is thus, in its essence, a solid research aid for both students and more experienced Crusade scholars.

Tomasz Pełech
https://orcid.org/0000-0002-3722-568X

Franks and Lombards in Italian Carolingian Texts. Memories of the Vanquished, ed. and transl. Luigi Andrea Berto, Studies in Medieval History and Culture, Routledge, London-New York 2021, maps, bibliography, indexes, 199 + xliv pp., paperback.

The volume is a selection of extracts drawn from sources produced during the Carolingian period. The aim of the work is to show how Carolingian authors presented the history of the Lombards, who invaded Italy in 569, and to describe the conquest of the Lombard kingdom by Charlemagne in 774 and the subsequent activities of Carolingians such as Louis the Pious, his sons, and Louis II. The work begins with an Introduction covering topics such as Carolingian Italy, The Italian Carolingian chronicles, Lombards and Franks in the Italian Carolingian chronicles, the poem of King Pippin's victory over the Avars, Rythmus on emperor Louis's captivity. The book consists of twenty-four thematic sections containing extracts from Latin texts with English translations. The sections contain extracts from the following texts: *Historia Langobardorum codicis Gothani* and *History* of Andreas of Bergamo; (1) The origin of the Lombards; (2) The migrations and the settlement in Pannonia; (3) The Lombard invasion of Italy; (4) The rule of the Lombards in Italy until King Liudprand; (5) The last Lombard kings; (10) The rule of Pippin. Section (6) Charlemagne's conquest of the Lombard kingdom, also includes excerpts from *Annales regni Francorum*, *Vita Hadriani papae*, Einhard, *Vita Karoli Magni*, Notker the Stammerer, *Gesta Karoli*. While section (7) The revolt of northeast Italy's Lombards includes extracts from the *History* of Andreas of Bergamo, *Annales regni Francorum*, and Einhard, *Vita Karoli Magni*. (8) Opinions about Charlemagne contains *Historia Langobardorum codicis Gothani* and the *History* of Andreas of Bergamo; (9) The imperial coronation of Charlemagne consists of extracts from *Historia Langobardorum codicis Gothani*, Einhard, *Vita Karoli Magni, Vita Leonis papae*. (11) Pippin's expedition against the Avars contains, in addition to a paragraph from *Historia Langobardorum codicis Gothani*, also *De Pippini regis victoria Avarica*. Section (12) The rule of Bernard consists of several extracts from the texts of the *History* of Andreas of Bergamo, *Annales regni Francorum*, Astronomer's *Vita Hludovici*, Thegan's *Vita Hludovici imperatoris*. Sections (13) Louis the Pious and his sons; (14) The archbishop of Milan teaches Louis the Pious and Lothar a lesson; (15) The death of Louis the Pious and the civil war among his sons; (16) Disasters provoked by a Carolingian in Italy; Section (17) Louis II punishes a rebellion in Burgundy in addition to the work of Andreas of Bergamo also contains an extract from the *Annales Bertiniani;* (18) Louis II's expedition against the Muslims in Benevento; (19) A campaign against the Muslims in Calabria; (20) Holy war against the Muslims; (21) The siege and conquest of Bari; (22) Emperor Louis II's

captivity – *Rythmus de captivitate Lhuduici imperatoris*. Section (23) The last years of Emperor Louis II and his death are shown through the lens of the *History* of Andreas of Bergamo alone. The final thematic section (24) The conflicts for the acquisition of the Italian Kingdom is based on paragraphs from the *History* of Andreas of Bergamo, the *Annales Bertiniani* and the *Annales Fuldenses*. The work has the character of a research aid, which is supplemented by maps, indexes, and a basic bibliography of the subject.

Tomasz Pełech

https://orcid.org/0000-0002-3722-568X

Adam Izdebski, *Średniowieczni Rzymianie i przyroda. Interdyscyplinarna historia środowiskowa* (*Medieval Romans and nature. An interdisciplinary environmental history*), Towarzystwo Wydawnicze "Historia Iagellonica", Kraków 2018, 259 pp., acknowledgements, bibliography, list of tables, maps and figures, appendix, 9 maps, 9 figures, hardback.

Adam Izdebski's monograph introduces a relatively young discipline to Polish historiography – environmental history, which, due to its interdisciplinary character, combines knowledge from the humanities and sciences. The author not only transfers the American and European tradition of researching the relationship between human and nature in the past to the Polish scientific arena, but also, on the example of Byzantium, shows the possibility of using natural data to describe history. With this view of presenting the history of the Eastern Roman Empire, the publication is divided into two parts. In the first, consisting of four chapters, due to the fact that environmental history as a scientific discipline was defined in the United States, the author discusses the achievements of American historiography. Thereafter, he characterizes the European achievements as much richer both in terms of the topics covered and the methodology. An important point in this part is also the presentation of the use of natural sources in historical research, for which, following Christian Pfister, he distinguishes two types of "archives" - the archives of society, *i.e.*, historiographical sources containing descriptions of weather or texts with weather observations, and the archives of nature, *i.e.*, its elements created under the influence of climatic conditions. The second part of the monograph, divided into five chapters, concerns socio-natural interdependence in Byzantium and is, as the author himself has described it, an environmental history in practice. At the beginning, A. Izdebski considers changes in the socio-natural system in an attempt to answer the question of whether the Byzantines were Romans. Thereafter,

the author conducts an analysis of the source base he used in his research and discusses his conclusions. In determining the human impact on the ecosystem, he refers to palynological, dendrochronological and pollen data, as well as archaeological data. Based on these, he also attempts to answer the question of the extent to which marks of the Roman Empire were preserved in Byzantium from the perspective of the natural environment. To do this, he refers to the concept of the "ecological revolution", introduced by Carolyn Merchant, according to which changing social, legal, and cultural relations entail changes in human-nature relations. The author also discusses how climate may have affected society and the economy, focusing on factors affecting agriculture, namely rainfall and temperature. A. Izbebski's publication discusses the history of the Byzantine Empire, but primarily demonstrates in an interesting way the possibility of historical narrative by combining historical and natural sources.

Katarzyna Bogdańska
https://orcid.org/0000-0002-8348-2126

Michał Kara, *Archeologia o kulturze i mentalności społeczeństw wczesnośredniowiecznych tzw. barbarzyńskiej Europy X wieku. Studium przypadku: grzebień ze Stroszek koło Giecza* (Archaeology on the Subject of the Culture and Mentality of the Early Medieval Societies of the so-called Barbaric Europe of the 10th Century. A Case Study of a Comb Find from Stroszki near Giecz), Wydawnictwo Chronicon, Wrocław 2021, 196 pp., paperback.

The book is a continuation of the author's many years of research on the early medieval period in the Polish lands. His more important works include *Najstarsze państwo Piastów – rezultat przełomu czy kontynuacji? Studium archeologiczne* (2009) [*The Oldest State of the Piasts – the result of a breakthrough or continuation? Archaeological study*] and *Przemiany osadnictwa i środowiska przyrodniczego Poznania i okolice od schyłku starożytności do lokacji miasta* (2016) [*Changes in the settlement and natural environment of Poznan and its surroundings from the end of antiquity to the foundation of the city*]. In the monograph discussed here, an artefact from the Stroszki archaeological excavations near Giecz – a deer antler comb – became a contribution to a case study covering the issue of multifaceted cultural and religious links in the zone of the so-called barbarians in central and northern Europe, the development of the craft, the symbolism of ornamental motifs on its products and, in this context, customs and magic related to hair care.

The work is divided into five chapters and five appendices; it contains more than 20 illustrations and an extensive bibliography. The chapters deal firstly in turn with: the development of the craft of comb-making in the North and Baltic Sea basins and the representation of the Stroszki comb itself, dating it to the 10ᵗʰ century and – based on an analysis of the symbolism of the motifs engraved on it against a broad comparative background – linking its origin to the Scandinavian cultural circle. In the third chapter, the author develops his analysis of the iconography of the comb in relation to the symbolism of the fish both in the context of Germanic beliefs and Christianity. The next chapter discusses the act of combing and other hair treatments in the dimension of magical-religious practices. The fifth chapter places the finding of the comb in the socio-cultural environment of the settlement in the core of the statehood of the first Piasts in the Warta basin.

The appendices relate more closely to the Scandinavian circle within the then Barbaricum, and more specifically to such issues as the trade in deer antlers with emphasis on its extension to centres in the Oder basin, then to the symbolism of construction and barrows among the Germans in the early Middle Ages, then to the magical-religious significance of hair and its care in the culture of these peoples. The fourth appendix refers to the magical qualities attributed to deer antlers, and the final appendix is a consideration of the reasons for keeping these artefacts (using finds from cemeteries in Sweden as an example). This arrangement of the content of the work in question corresponds closely to its methodology, which assumes a multiple contextualisation of archaeological artefacts so as to show their utilitarian and symbolic significance in the broad comparative context of social life and cultural and magico-religious phenomena.

Paweł Szatkowski
https://orcid.org/0009-0003-0712-1446

Legacies of the Crusades. Proceedings of the Ninth Conference of the Society for the Study of the Crusades and the Latin East, Odense, 27 June – 1 July 2016, vol. 1, ed. Torben Kjersgaard Nielsen, Kurt Villads Jensen, Studies in the Crusades and the Latin East, 11, Brepols, Turnhout 2021, 304 pp., list of editors and contributors, hardback.

The presented volume is an effect of the Ninth Quadrennial Conference of the Society for the Study of the Crusades and the Latin East (SSCLE), held at the University of Southern Denmark in Odense on 27 June–1 July 2016, and

whose main theme was *Diversity of Crusading*. This volume is the first of two to be published under the editorship of Torben Kjersgaard Nielsen and Kurt Villads Jensen and is entitled *Legacies of the Crusades*. The volume begins with an introduction by the volume's editors. This is followed by thirteen articles by scholars from Denmark, Sweden, Britain, the U.S.A, Cyprus, Croatia, Israel, Estonia, Latvia, and Germany, grouped into four thematic sections: (1) *The Diversity of Crusading*; (2) *Crusades to the Holy Land*; (3) *Societies in the Eastern Mediterranean*; (4) *New Polities and Societies in the Baltic Region*. Section 1 contains a chapter in which A.V. Murray provides a comprehensive overview of the Crusades, extending from Jerusalem to Mexico and from the 11th to the 17th centuries, in order to highlight the diversity of the Crusades, broadly defined, in terms of the objectives of the expeditions undertaken and in terms of the participation of different groups of people. Section 2 contains four chapters. A.M. Sheir describes the impact on the Crusader-Muslim conflict that the *Legend of Prester John* had, demonstrating its vitality, influencing, *i.a.*, decisions of a political nature during the Fifth Crusade. B. Binysh shows how three different Muslim authors ('Imad al-Din al-Isfahani, Baha' al-Din Ibn Shaddad, Ibn al-Athir) portrayed Saladin's reasons for concluding the 1192 Treaty of Jaffa, showing that the description was a kind of contribution to drawing a picture of the ideal ruler and that the end of the Crusade was something other than the end of the war. T. Karlović, on the other hand, analyses the reception of Roman law on the soil of the Kingdom of Jerusalem in the 12th and 13th centuries by analysing *periculum est emptoris* (a legal rule of economic risk allocation) using a paragraph from the work *Kitab al-I'tibar* of Usama ibn Munqidh as an example. J. Burgtorf examines, through the application of the categories of contemporary psychology, the recites about the civilian refugees in narrative sources of the conflicts in Syria and Palestine between 1168 and 1192, and indicates to which various stress reactions they were exposed. Section 3 consists of four articles. A. Simmons describes the Crusaders' relations with the Nubian Christians of the Dotawo Kingdom (inhabiting the region between the first cataract of the Nile and the junction of the Blue and White Nile branches), between the 12th and 15th centuries. S. Lotan shows the presence and activities of the Teutonic Order in the Kingdom of Jerusalem between 1228 and 1229 (the Crusade of Frederick II) and between 1229 and 1241, arguing for the important role of the Order in the persistence of the Latins in the Holy Land during these years. N. Coureas describes the formation and evolution of the class of Burgesses in the Kingdom of Cyprus (1192-1474), arguing that as a social group they embodied the multi-ethnic and multi-religious nature of the Lusignan kingdom and its cultural diversity. N. McDermott analyses the slave system of the Hospitallers, highlighting that they owned and sold slaves from a variety of cultures, social or religious groups (Jews, Moors, and Turks), but also Eastern Christians such as Russians. Section 4 opens with an article by M. Mäesalu showing that the shaping of Livonian society in the 13th

century was influenced not only by armed conquest and missionary work, but also by the results of agreements and negotiations between Crusaders and pagans, who retained a degree of autonomy for their elites despite the adoption of Christianity. A. Selart argues that as a result of the Baltic Crusades, a multi-ethnic society was born, in which social and legal divisions prevailed, but, contrary to appearances, not ethnic ones. Marriages between the newcomers from the West and the local elite bear witness to this, as these marriages, of Crusaders with indigenous women of sufficiently high status, were an important political tool, cementing, for example, property rights or social status. R. Simsons examines the phenomenon of the incorporation of indigenous West Baltic peoples into the land administration in Prussia and Curonia within the structures of the Teutonic Order in the 13th and 14th centuries, arguing on this basis that the question of Crusader cooperation with indigenous peoples requires a different research paradigm than the all too easy distinctions between conquerors and conquered or locals and newcomers. In the final article of the entire collection, G. Leighton illustrates how the Levantine heritage of the Teutonic Order influenced the formation of the ideological basis for its expansion and presence in the Baltic lands, according to which Prussia was a new Jerusalem.

Tomasz Pełech
https://orcid.org/0000-0002-3722-568X

> *Miejsce które rodziło władzę. Gród z początków wczesnego średniowiecza w Pasymiu na Pojezierzu Mazurskim* (A place that gave birth to power. A castle from the early Middle Ages in Pasym, in the Masurian Lake District), ed. Sławomir Wadyl, Wydział Archeologii Uniwersytetu Warszawskiego, Warszawa 2022, 489 pp., bibliography, summary in English, list of illustrations, hardback.

Nearly 150 years after the first research on archaeological sites in Pasym, the fortified settlement (AZP 26-64/42, site no. 1) known as the 'round mountain' (Runder Berg, Koragla Góra) and the sub-fortified settlement (AZP 26-64/45, site no. 2), a monograph on this settlement complex has been published. The publication summarises the results to date and concludes the final stage of the research.

The work consists of a preface, an introduction, 13 chapters presenting various aspects of the functioning of the stronghold and settlement at Pasym, including the results of specialist analyses. In the first chapter, Sławomir Wadyl defines the subject and scope of the work, discusses the his-

tory of the research of both archaeological sites (pp. 13-19). The geological and geomorphological conditions of the settlement are discussed in the second chapter. As demonstrated by Piotr Kittel, they are extremely important for reconstructing the nature of the human-environment relationship, and thus for learning the motives for choosing this particular site for the construction of the castle (pp. 21-23). The results of the pollen analysis are presented by Agnieszka Wacnik in chapter three (25-34). An extensive chapter by Wadyl (pp. 37-66) is devoted to the course of the survey and cultural stratigraphy (the greatest amount of data was obtained as a result of the 2016-2018 and 2021 surveys). The issue of the spatial organisation and development of the fortified settlement and the settlement was completed by Wadyl in the next chapter. Here, in addition to, *inter alia*, an analysis of the defensive fortifications, the author attempted to reconstruct the buildings and layout of the castle interior (pp. 69-76). Archaeological sources, both prehistoric materials and those from the early Middle Ages, divided into ceramics and isolated monuments, were discussed by the researchers (Dagmara H. Werra – monuments from the Stone Age, Anna Rembisz-Lubiejewska – early Iron Age) in the sixth chapter (pp. 79-151). Among the latter, dated to the end of the period of migration of peoples and the early Middle Ages, Wadyl characterised the following utilitarian categories: household equipment, including earthenware and wooden vessels, nails and rivets, stone pestles, honing stones, objects connected with processing: iron and non-ferrous metals, antlers, and bones, spinning and weaving (spinning wheels, needles), multifunctional tools (*e.g.*, knives, awls, needles, *etc.*), and tools of the highest quality. Only a fragment of a coin (exactly 1/3 of a coin), a Sassanid drachma of the type of Khosroes II (a Persian ruler of the Sassanid dynasty, reigned 561-628), was found at the settlement. In the seventh chapter, the editor of the publication and Rembisz-Lubiejewska addressed the chronology and functioning of the Pasym settlement complex (pp. 153-161). A meticulous analysis of the stratigraphy, source materials, and radiocarbon analyses identified two main phases of settlement: the Early Iron Age (archaeological barrow culture of the Western Baltic) and the Early Middle Ages (late 7th to mid-10th c.). Chapter eight (pp. 165-244) is devoted entirely to specialised analyses. Piotr Gunia presented the results of chemical composition of pottery and petrographic studies of ceramics and stone monuments. Jakub Karczewski and Wadyl discussed the results of the elemental composition of the monuments. In turn, Piotr Bajdek, Błażej Błażejowski and the editor of the publication presented the results of coprolite studies. Chapter nine by Anna Gręzak and Urszula Iwaszczuk deals with the study of archaeozoological sources (247-287). Monika Badura and Aldona Mueller-Bieniek wrote about seeds, fruits, and imprints of useful plants found at archaeological sites in Pasym in the tenth chapter (pp. 289-304). The results of anthropologi-

cal studies of human remains, discovered in the dwellings and stratifications of the settlement, are presented in a separate study by Elżbieta Jaskulska (pp. 307-315). The last two chapters act as a summary. Rembisz-Lubiejewska attempted in the twelfth chapter to show the defensive settlement at Pasym against the background of the settlement of the West Baltic barrow culture community (pp. 317-320). Wadyl, on the other hand, in the thirteenth chapter (pp. 323-327), attempted to define the functions of the investigated settlement complex and its role in the context of cultural changes that took place in the Mazurian Lake District in the early Middle Ages.

The publication contains a number of diagrams, photographs, tables, and lists. The whole is complemented by a comprehensive summary in English, a bibliography, and 125 tables, with plans and profiles of sites, and drawings of monuments. All captions under the illustrative materials are provided in Polish and English.

Alicja Dobrosielska
https://orcid.org/0000-0002-6867-8550

Nicholas Morton, *The Mongol Storm: Making and Breaking Empires in the Medieval Near East*, Basic Books, New York 2022, 432 pp., maps, bibliography, hardcover.

Nicholas Morton's book presents the history of the Mongol invasions of the Middle East and covers the period from 1218 to the mid-14th century. The Author has drawn on a vast body of factual material, using a variety of Arabic, Hebrew, Persian, Greek, Armenian, Syrian, Latin, Old French, and Mongol sources, and based on these he has skilfully depicted the various Middle Eastern communities and societies that were complicit in shaping events in the region. The Author extensively analysed the conflicts and alliances between the Mongols, Crusaders, Byzantines, and Muslim powers, thus providing the reader with a comprehensive picture of events from a Central Asian perspective.

The book consists of an introduction, twelve chapters, an epilogue, and a bibliography. The first chapter presents the events of the 5th Crusade and the first invasion of the Mongol army, which caused widespread destruction in the Khorezmian Empire, the Caucasus, and territories inhabited by numerous steppe peoples. These events are continued in the next chapter, which discusses: (1) the development of the powers of the Middle East region between 1222 and 1230, clearly focusing on cultural and economic aspects; (2) the collapse of the Khorezmian Empire during the reign of Jalal

ad-Din. In turn, the Author later describes in detail the internal and external policies of the Sultanate of Rûm, whose survival was guaranteed by the alliance formed with the Mongols. The fourth chapter describes the new reality to which the Latin Empire, the Nicene Empire, and Cilician Armenia had to adapt. The fifth chapter illustrates the difficult situation that played out in the south in the Crusader states and the Ayyubid Empire. In the next chapter the Author shows the functioning of various religious communities under the Mongol rule. Then, N. Morton provides information on the events in Syria in the 1350s, to which the Author links the events of the 6th Crusade, the rivalry between the Mamelukes and Ayyubids, and the Mameluke victory over the Mongol army. The historian goes on to characterize the policy of the Nicaean Empire during the period of rivalry between the Ilkhan state and the Golden Horde in a new chapter. Chapter nine describes the rise of the Mameluke Empire, its wars fought against the Mongols and the Crusader states in the 1360s. It then discusses the economic evolution in the Middle East region by means of open Mongol policy and Western interest. The penultimate chapter presents the escalation of the Mameluke-Ilkhanid conflict and the fate of the war in the 1370s and 1380s. The final chapter focuses on several aspects: (1) the change in the religious orientation of the Mongols and the continuation of the conflict with the Mameluke Empire at the end of the 13th century; (2) the Byzantine Empire's conflict with the West and the threat from the Turkoman side, which would become the next political force in the region. The work concludes with an epilogue, in which the Author presents the influence of the Mongols on the spread of Asian technologies and cultures in the Middle East, at the same time summarizing the events of the 13th century and briefly outlining the new stage that would follow in the 14th century.

This book is a valuable item for those interested in the study of Middle Eastern history, as it presents the period of the Mongol invasion and the changes that followed, and it represents an outstanding scientific position that deserves special attention.

Mariam Kolbaia
https://orcid.org/0009-0005-7034-7266

Piotr Oliński, *Pogoda i klimat regionów południowobałtyckich od końca XIV do początków XVI w. w źródłach narracyjnych* (Weather and climate of the South Baltic regions from the end of the 14th until the beginning of the 16th century in narrative sources), Wydawnictwo Naukowe Uniwersytetu Mikołaja Kopernika,

Toruń 2022, 300 pp., list of abbreviations, acknowledgements, summary, list of figures, list of maps, list of tables, bibliography, index of personal names, index of geographical names, paperback.

The subject of the research presented in the monograph by Piotr Oliński is the weather conditions of the southern Baltic Sea region, stretching from the Danish straits and Mecklenburg to the area of the Teutonic state, in the period from the early 1460s to the first decade of the 16th century. The Author used narrative sources primarily from city chronicles - mainly of the Hanseatic area, in which, due to the impact of natural phenomena on economic and economic development, weather-related information was a regular part of the descriptions. The publication consists of ten chapters. The first presents and analyses two climate reconstructions developed by M. Polaczkówna and M. Sadowski on the basis of historical sources for the area of 15th century Poland. According to the Author, in both cases, there was an over interpretation of a lot of source data, resulting in an erroneous assessment of conditions for some years, which in the work of the researcher was mainly due to the use of the *Chronicle* of Jan Długosz and an unfounded attempt to demonstrate the existence of a repetitive cycle of climate change and the ordering of sources according to a pattern. Despite apparent inaccuracies, the correctness of some of the conclusions proposed by both researchers was confirmed in later literature. The Author also mentioned five climate reconstructions for different areas of the Baltic coast made by geographers. The second chapter also reports on climate reconstructions for the area of mainly northern Poland in the 15th century, but developed on the basis of dendrochronological data, which, due to the determination of tree growth by temperature and moisture, allowed cooler periods to be indicated. The results presented by the two teams, analysing different indicators – Scots pine and oak – are slightly different. The Author also cited the results obtained through model reconstruction and the study of organic remains (chrysophytes from Lake Żabińskie). In the first case, they were inconsistent with the historical data and those obtained by one of the teams of dendrochronologists. In the second, on the other hand, the matching of the results was better. Starting with the next chapter, the author reconstructs the weathering conditions for the southern Baltic Sea region at a specific time. In the case of the third, consisting of three subchapters, this is the second half of the 14th century. It begins with an attempt to date the harsh winter, which could have been either 1363/64 or 1364/65. It goes on to include descriptions of mentions of rains, storms, floods, droughts,

and mild winters, which were common at the time. The fourth chapter presents weather conditions from the first half of the 15th century. Due to the successive occurrences of various natural phenomena at this time, the author grouped them according to full decades or their end dates. On the other hand, the fifth chapter, containing analyses of references from the 1550s, shows that severe winters were the most common phenomenon at that time, occurring in as many as six seasons. The situation was different in the 1560s described in chapter six, characterised by weather variability. Prominent phenomena were the storm of 16/17 November 1465, the flood of 2 February 1465 or 1466 and the flood of April 1466 in Żuławy, which are described in separate subchapters. The 1570s (chapter seven) were mainly periods of drought dominating the first half of the decade in question and harsh winters in the second. The 80s of the 15th century, presented in chapter eight, according to the records, were dominated by moderate weather with the exception of a cool spring in 1481 and a stormy summer in 1482. The final caesura of the monograph is described in chapter nine. In particular, the 1590s were characterised by natural phenomena during winters, both warming and significant cooling. In the last chapter, the author reconstructed the thermal and precipitation conditions for the entire time range studied. The results presented in the monograph are a part of research carried out within the framework of historical climatology, already separated as a separate scientific discipline at the turn of the 19th and 20th centuries, whose main aim is to reconstruct climatic conditions in the past.

Katarzyna Bogdańska
https://orcid.org/0000-0002-8348-2126

Oryginalność czy wtórność. Studia poświęcone polskiej kulturze politycznej I religijnej (X–XIII wiek), (Original or Secondary? Studies on Polish Political and Religious Culture (10th-13th Centuries), ed. Roman Michałowski, Grzegorz Pac, Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Warszawskiego, Warszawa 2020, bibliography, indexes, 1039 pp., hardback.

This extensive volume is an effect of several years' work by a team, led by Roman Michałowski, as part of a research project whose aim was to take a fresh look at selected aspects of the religious and political culture of early and high medieval Poland. The starting point was an attempt to grasp what is original and what is derivation to the cultural centres of Latin Europe in the culture thus understood, through a broad comparative analysis. There-

fore, the contributors to the volume tried to place the phenomena described in a broad geographical and temporal context in order to be able to indicate what borrowings from the West could be found in the religious and political culture of medieval Poland, to determine how certain patterns penetrated the Polish lands and to what extent their adoption depended on local conditions, but also to point out that which distinguished medieval Poland from other countries of Latin Europe.

The collection consists of an Introduction by R. Michałowski and G. Pac (pp. 7-25), as well as thirteen detailed studies by authors affiliated to Poland, the Czech Republic, and Sweden. Each study contains an abstract in English. The volume opens with a chapter by R. Kotecki (pp. 27-75), who uses a passage from the *Chronica Polonorum* by Wincenty Kadłubek on the criticism of the rule of Mieszko III the Old as the axis for discussion, and presents the institution of the ducal peace as an adaptation in Poland of pan-European (Carolingian or Ottonian) models of "protective power", which can be observed in the attitude of Piast rulers towards Jews, church institutions, and the clergy. M.R. Pauk analyses the political culture of the Piast monarchy, looking for analogies of the phenomena taking place among the families of territorial rulers in Germany in the 12th-13th centuries (pp. 76-163). The Author notes that the Polish princes did not in fact seek to unify the kingdom, and their policies were guided by the principles of the hereditary throne, that all are free and equal, and honour – a value they all strived for and sought to have respected by other political players – as well as appealing to the papacy in internecine conflicts. The Author argues that the uniqueness compared to other political entities in the 13th century was especially characterised by the dynastic policy of the Piasts, who willingly and in large numbers entered into marriages with members of their own family, developed the institution of adoption of one prince by another and willingly entered into the bond known as compaternitas, becoming a godfather to the son of another member of the dynasty. A peculiar dynastic consciousness was also born, expressed in the names of rulers, using the stock of names of the first historical rulers (Mieszko or Bolesław), "antiquarian" names (such as Lestek, Siemowit, and Siemomysł), *i.e.,* invented by local chroniclers (Anonymus and Wincenty Kadłubek), and the Silesian line, thanks to its contacts, more often reached for German names (Henryk, Konrad). Then, M. Bogucki analyses the Piast minting in the 10th-12th centuries against a broad comparative background, stating that its secondary character can be observed, and significant foreign influences can be detected, visible *e.g.,* in copying West European denars or adopting iconographic patterns, signalling at the same time that minting for local authorities was of a marginal nature, which is striking when comparing it with Czech or German lands (pp. 164-232). The Author argues that the Polish minting also had some original features (here the example

of the bracteates of Bolesław III Wrymouth is striking), and that in the analysed period it should be considered rather as an attempt to adapt to local needs, serving, above all, to satisfy the needs of the ruler. Based on the assumption of mutual influence and rivalry between the Piasts and the Přemyslids, L. Reitinger analyses the issue of intercultural relations (pp. 233-290). In particular, the Author considers the impact of the coronation of Bolesław I the Brave on the Czech rulers in the 11th and 12th centuries, for whom it was an inspiration for their coronation aspirations, as well as the aspect of Czech political culture, where the Přemyslids belief that they deserved supremacy over Poland played an important role. The Czech rulers were strengthened in this conviction by the policy of the emperors, who confirmed this status if only by legal acts, and it took real shape in the coronation and gaining of power in Poland by Wenceslas II. M. Sas analyses the cult of St. Peter the Apostle in the early Piast monarchy against the Central European background, noting its unique role for the first Piasts, *i.e.*, Mieszko I, Bolesław I the Brave, and Mieszko II (pp. 291-377). The Author states that the most prominent role among the saints fell to St Peter in the Piast dynasty, which can be associated with a kind of 'Peter's ideology', being the ideological foundation of the policy of the first rulers, who appealed to the papacy to achieve their own goals (the most important was the establishment of an independent church organisation), trusting at the same time that St Peter was the main addressee of their requests. Hence, a number of devotional, political, and symbolic acts addressed to St Peter and the papacy, including even such a momentous act as Mieszko I's handing over of his *Civitas Schinesghe* known from *Dagome iudex*. G. Pac, analysing the case of the papal canonisation of the Five Brothers Martyrs, drew attention to the issue of the penetration into Polish lands and adoption by the local dynasty and elites of the models of religious culture, as well as the participation of clergy from Polish lands in shaping the spiritual life of Latin Europe (pp. 378-446). The Author proposes the thesis that the early Piast monarchy was, through contacts with the hermits of the circle of St Romuald, from where the Five Brothers originated, and the influence of the German clergy on Polish lands, in the forefront of promoting canonisation as a kind of papal monopoly. Then, W. Jezierski examines how cults associated with episcopal capitals were promoted and shaped (pp. 447-490). The Author focuses on the figure of St Adalbert, and finds analogies of the analysed phenomena in Scandinavia, in the cults of St Siegfried and St Henry. The conclusions from the analysis show that the cult of St Adalbert in Gniezno underwent a process of secondary mythologisation in the 12 and 13th centuries, just like its Scandinavian counterparts. This consisted in depicting the saint in a role defined by the Author as a "substitute Apostle on the periphery", *i.e.*, initially as a missionary in Prussia, but soon also in Pomerania, which played its part in the face of the impossibility

of demonstrating such a tradition as in the West, where the view of the apostolic origin of important episcopal capitals played a major role. Moreover, St Adalbert grew, quite uniquely, into a kind of expression of the enduring bond between the patron and his people, becoming the patron of the Archbishopric of Gniezno, the dynasty, and the whole state, which served to adapt to new ideological needs and challenges. M. Sosnowski examines selected problems of Polish hagiography up to the end of the 13th century. (pp. 491-582). He concludes that in the Polish lands the hagiographic writing was very poor in comparing to the areas of the West, *e.g.*, the diocese of Liège, not differing or distinguishing itself from Hungary and Sweden. Moreover, strictly on Polish lands, hagiographic writing began to emerge relatively late, the first symptoms in the second half of the 12th century, in fact as late as the mid-13th. Therefore, in view of the growing political or historical awareness, the Author points out as a distinguishing element of hagiography from Polish lands its saturation with political themes, noting at the same time that local elites became from that time not only passive recipients of international content, but also began to actively use hagiography. M. Matla analyses the participation of the Piasts' wives, both being descended from the Přemyslid dynasty, in transplanting new cultural patterns to the Polish lands, paying particular attention to the activities of Helen of Znojmo and Anne of Bohemia (pp. 583-653). Thus, the study shows the reception of certain patterns, which, however, made it possible to create thoroughly original works. Particularly noteworthy are the figural representations depicting members of the Piast dynasty on the Wiślica floor, in a sacred space whose direct inspiration should be sought in the chapel in Znojmo, where Helen came from. Anne's foundation policy in Wrocław, on the other hand, was a form of imitation of her sister St Agnes, the promoter of the Poor Clares. Also new to the Polish lands was Helena's minting of her own coinage. A.A. Dryblak analyses the reception of the pattern of Franciscan poverty on Polish lands through the foundations of the Poor Clares in the 13th century, taking into account the cases of Wrocław, Skała, and Sącz (pp. 654-724). She points out that the model of voluntary poverty encountered obstacles that were difficult to overcome, and thus the monastery in Sącz, founded by Duchess Kinga, was from the very beginning a large landowner, the monastery in Skała, initially established in Zawichost by Salomea and her brother Duke Bolesław V the Chaste, received endowments in the manner of Benedictine or Cistercian monasteries, and in Wrocław the nuns from Duchess Anna's foundation personally begged on the streets. P. Figurski explores the links between liturgy and the formation of political identity in the Polish lands in the 10th and 11th centuries. (pp. 725-796). He notes that the closest analogy to analyse the political culture of the early Piast monarchy is that of the Ottonians, who were to rule by means of rituals and symbolic communication. In this context, it becomes significant to see the lit-

urgy as a keystone of the political community, since even the oldest transmission of the name *Polonia* is preserved in the liturgical text. The Author notes the originality of the liturgy from the Polish lands in the prayers of a political character and its local pronunciation, such as the mentioning of the names of native rulers during the celebration of the liturgy and the pioneering role of the liturgy in establishing the name *Polonia*. J. Morawiec raised the issue of the perception of the "other" in Scandinavian and Polish historiography in the 10th to the 12th centuries. (pp. 797-833). He notes similarities in the drawing of the image of the "other", pointing to the existence of both positive and negative representatives, while distinguishing a particular emphasis on the negative representation of pagans in both cultural circles, which was associated with a similar moral and intellectual context from which the authors originated and in which they wrote. In the final chapter of the volume, R. Michałowski considers the attitude of rulers and the church towards relics of paganism (pp. 834-886). The Author distinguishes three main attitudes; firstly, an active fight against paganism; secondly, a certain degree of tolerance, which in turn manifests itself in the belief that the fight against paganism is not as important as the introduction of God's law; thirdly, acceptance, visible especially in the use of motifs from the mythical past, which play their part in shaping the ideological basis and compactness of the community. Looking for originality in Poland, the Author concludes that it is evident in the lack of attention paid by local chroniclers to traditional cults and beliefs, which is why so few sources on paganism in the Polish lands remain. The volume is closed with the abbreviations (pp. 887-888), an extensive bibliography (pp. 889-1006), and the indexes (1007-1037).

Tomasz Pełech
https://orcid.org/0000-0002-3722-568X

> *Polska i jej sąsiedzi w dobie średniowiecza. Kultura umysłowa, życie społeczne, polityka* (Poland and its neighbours in the Middle Ages. Intellectual culture, social life, politics), VI Kongres Mediewistów Polskich, 5, ed. W. Iwańczak, S. Rosik, P. Urbańczyk, Chronicon, Wrocław 2022, 172 pp., ill., list of authors, paperback.

The present volume presents articles based on papers given during the 6th Congress of Polish Medievalists with the main theme *Media aetas – historia viva/The Middle Ages – living history*, which was held in Wrocław on 20–22 IX 2018. This volume consists of an introduction and three parts, the first of which contains six chapters, while the next two are the transcripts

of two panel discussions devoted to (1) the events and aftermath of 1018; (2) the condition of Polish medieval studies and its prospects.

In the opening chapter of the volume, T. Jasiński analyses the prose and poetry of Gallus Anonymus in the light of computer-statistical analyses. J. Kaliszuk, on the basis of source queries in, *i.a.*, the Archives of the Polish Academy of Sciences in Warsaw and the State Archives in Szczecin, refutes the theses about Cistercian Chrystian, the missionary bishop of the Prussians in the mid-13th century, that he was the abbot of the monastery at Ląd, and about his cult in the Cistercian circle. Then A. Pleszczyński raises the issue of archetypal femininity and masculinity as a fundamental element of the mutual imaginary perception of Poles and Germans in the Middle Ages, showing that in Poland of the medieval era a narrative ascribing the country and its inhabitants into the feminine-natural world was accentuated, and that this acceptance proved to be long-lasting. In his chapter, M. Cetwiński presents that the idea of the unification of the lands once belonging to the Piast monarchy by Władysław Elbow-high was an undoubted historiographical success, being the result of a "invented tradition" by chroniclers and modern historians glorifying the unifying ruler. However, the impact of this idea on the political reality of the early 14th century is uncertain. W. Kowalski analyses the earliest accounts, dating from the 10th to the 15th century, of the appearance of Croats in Dalmatia, noting that all accounts may have constituted a certain narrative whole, linked to several important events from the perspective of local Dalmatian historiography. M. Voloshchuk examines Ruthenian-Polish contacts, noting the presence of Ruthenians, especially merchants, in Silesian cities in the 12th to the 14th centuries as indicated by the terms *Ruthenus*, *de Russia*, *Rutenus*, *etc.*

The first panel discussion was organised on the occasion of the millennium of 1018, a date of great significance in the history of the early medieval Piast monarchy due to two events, *i.e.,* the settlement of the Peace of Budziszyn by Bolesław the Brave with Emperor Henry II and the capture of Kiev by Bolesław. Speakers in the debate were: P. Urbańczyk, Ch. Lübke, O. Tolochko, and S. Rosik.

The second panel discussion brought together five speakers, namely W. Iwańczak, J. Strzelczyk, M. Mejor, M. Cetwiński, and W. Duczko. The topic of Polish medieval studies covered such issues as new research paths, the state of research and perspectives of archaeology and literary medieval studies in Poland, medieval studies, and the needs of society. The discussion presented officially closed the proceedings of the 6th Congress of Polish Medievalists.

Tomasz Pełech
https://orcid.org/0000-0002-3722-568X

Hilary Rhodes, *The Crown and the Cross. Burgundy, France, and the Crusades (1095–1223)*, Outremer Studies in the Crusades and the Latin east, 9, Brepols, Turnhout 2020, maps, appendix, bibliography, index, 263 pp., hardback.

The presented book is part of a current methodological trend, one that has been gaining popularity for the last decade or so, of portraying the phenomenon of the crusading movement in its many regional variations. Studies of this kind reveal geographical, political, or even lineage differences in involvement in the Crusade idea, but also often based on less or little-known sources or offering insights into the social, political, or spiritual character of the region in question. The Author has made the Duchy of Burgundy during the reign of the House of Burgundy, which was a cadet branch of the Capetian dynasty (descending from Robert I, a younger son of Robert the Strong), the object of her consideration, which, as the H. Rhodes rightly points out, has so far not received a monograph dedicated to Burgundian involvement in the Crusades. The Author argues that the strongest motives for the involvement of the people of the Duchy of Burgundy in the crusading movement centred around family traditions, by no means only of the ducal family, to which the Author devotes a great amount of space, but also of numerous local feudals (*e.g.,* the regional lordships of Donzy, Montréal, and Toucy, the Champlitte family, *etc.*), and complex political connections.

The work consists of a comprehensive Introduction, six internally developed chapters and a conclusion. Chapter 1, entitled *Burgundy at the Dawn of the Crusades: Familial, Political, and Religious Histories*, consists of four subchapters: I. *Geography, territory, and politics: from Carolingians to Capetians, 843-1032*; II. *Politics, family, and power in Burgundy, 1032-95*; III. *Cluny and the prehistory of the crusades: 910-c. 1050*; IV. *Battling the Muslims and Cluniac Reform: Burgundians in Iberia, 1063-87*. This chapter provides a broad introduction to the Duchy of Burgundy, including its geography, lineage and political structures, and influencing ideas. Chapter 2, entitled *Considering Contrasts: Burgundian Participation on the First Crusade, 1095-1101*, also contains four subchapters: I. *France and the First Crusade: Clermont, recruitment, and resistance*; II. *Doing Christian duty: Burgundian first crusaders, 1096-99*; III. *Making amends: Burgundy goes on Crusade, 1101*; IV. *Cluny and the crown of France: Odo of Burgundy and the Crusade*. The Author outlines in it the participation of Burgundian representatives in the First Crusade, noting at best a moderate response to the crusading call in 1096, which is notable especially when compared to the extensive involvement in the Crusade of 1101. Chapter 3, *Transforming Traditions: the Burgundian Second Cru-*

sade, 1102-49, is divided into three subsections: I. *Dukes, counts, and kings: political change and context, 1102-45*; II. *Canon law and crusader-kings: creating a new political paradigm*; III. *The folly of Christendom? Participation and penance in the Second Crusade*. Rhodes drew attention to the particular importance of Burgundy in promoting the Second Crusade, arguing that its representatives played an important role in phenomena such as the formation of the image of the crusader-king, the development of canon law (thanks, among other things, to Pope Calixtus II, who came from Burgundy) and the idea of intercultural dialogue with Muslims and Jews in the context of the Crusades (*e.g.*, represented by the activity of Abbot of Cluny, Peter the Venerable). Chapter 4, *Between King and Emperor: the Evolving Burgundies, 1143-87*, is divided into three subchapters: I. *Power struggles and dynastic development: the dukes, 1143-65*; II. *Burgundy and the Holy Land: marriages and expeditions, 1162-79*; III. *Challenges to the crown: France and Burgundy, 1180-87*. In it, the Author describes the politics of the Burgundian rulers at the end of the 12th century and their links with the King of France and the Roman Emperor, who participated with the duke in the Third Crusade. Chapter 5, entitled *Intimate Enemies: Burgundy on the Third Crusade, 1187-92*, contains three subchapters: I. *The fall of Jerusalem and initial response, 1185-88*; II. *Burgundy prepares for the crusade, 1188-90*; III. *The Third Crusade, 1190-92*. This chapter puts the Third Crusade in a Burgundian perspective, showing the complexity of the politics of the Burgundian rulers, who should not be reduced to merely being a supporter of the King of France or an opponent of the King of England. The last, Chapter 6 entitled *The Early Thirteenth Century: Burgundy, France, and Rome, 1193-1223*, consists of four subchapters: I. *Marriages, politics, and papal reprisals, 1193-1200*; II. *The Fourth Crusade: from Cîteaux to Constantinople, 1200-04*; III. *The crown of France, the Cistercians, and the Albigensian Crusade, 1203-09*; IV. *Aftermath: nation building and crusading memory*. The Author primarily covers topics in political history relating to the relationship of the Duchy of Burgundy with the Kingdom of France, the Papacy under Innocent III, involvement in the Fourth Crusade and against the Albigenses. The argument is illustrated with maps and an *Appendix* containing a *Catalogue of Burgundian Crusaders from 1096-1223*, in which well over a hundred identified figures appear who took part in the Crusades.

Tomasz Pełech

https://orcid.org/0000-0002-3722-568X

> *Ruś wikingów i Waregów. Europa Wschodnia we wczesnym średniowieczu* (Viking and Varangian Rus. Eastern Europe in the Early Middle Ages), VI Kongres Mediewistów Polskich, 4, ed. W. Duczko, Chronicon, Wrocław 2022, 124 pp., ill., list of authors, paperback.

This is the fourth volume of the series of publications, which presents articles based on papers given during the 6th Congress of Polish Medievalists with the main theme *Media aetas – historia viva*/*The Middle Ages – living history*, which was held in Wrocław on 20-22 IX 2018. The leading theme of the presented volume is the impact of the Vikings and Varangians on the formation of early medieval statehood in the regions of Eastern Europe.

The book consists of an introduction and six chapters. The first, by W. Duczko, deals with the Eastern European culture of the Scandinavian warriors and their women, where the phenomenon of maintaining old customs on the one hand, but at the same time adopting foreign influences is confirmed, as evidenced by the ensembles of women's ornaments, which include, *i.a.*, types of ornaments of Great Moravian traditions. Subsequently, P. Lindbom presents a reassessment of the material obtained from the research carried out at the elite cemetery at Birka, specifically the case of grave no. Bj. 581, which contained skeletal remains with warriors' equipment and two horses, interpreted as the burial of a female warrior, showing the deficiencies in the documentation, the careless approach to the investigated site, and the negative impact of media publicity on the scientific debate, and arguing for a re-examination of the grave. Then, K. Kollinger and W. Duczko describe the Gniozdovo site (the Gniozdovo complex is, according to the Authors, the oldest in Smolensk), which, although it was the largest Scandinavian agglomeration in Eastern Europe, consisting of two strongholds and characterised by a huge number of barrow graves (over 4000), is absent in the written Old Russian sources. In the next chapter, K. Polek analyses the relationship between the Khazar Khaganate and the Scandinavians, noting that although in the last two decades historiography has drawn attention to the greater influence of the Khazars on the inhabitants of Eastern Europe than previously thought, as evidenced by the reception of the title of *kaganus* in Rus, many fields of research, such as mutual economic relations, still await elaboration. M. Lubik, meanwhile, presented the activities of Harald Hardrada at the court of Yaroslav the Wise. The Kiev ruler made the future king of Norway one of his main commanders during the war with Mieszko II, which ended in the defeat of the Polish king and to which Harald contributed greatly by taking part in the victorious battle

in Kuyavia/Mazovia. In the concluding chapter of the volume, P. Żmudzki made some comments on the descriptions of the Piast *druzhina* in the source texts, arguing that it was a tool used by Mieszko I to maintain control over the slave trade, strongholds and local communities, and it is possible that the members of *druzhina* and their families were initially Mieszko I's only subjects. The volume ends with a list of authors.

Tomasz Pełech
https://orcid.org/0000-0002-3722-568X

Słowianie Połabscy. Studia z zakresu archeologii, historii i językoznawstwa (The Polabian Slavs. Studies in archaeology, history and linguistics), ed. Łukasz Kaczmarek, Paweł Szczepanik, Wydawnictwo Naukowe Uniwersytetu Mikołaja Kopernika, Toruń 2021, 250 pp, paperback.

The book is a collection of nine articles devoted to the history of culture, customs and religion of the early medieval Slavic tribes inhabiting areas in the Elbe, Havel and Oder basins. The texts are elaborated versions of the papers delivered during the conference on the Elbslavs at the Museum of the Origins of the Polish State in Gniezno (2019). The publication opens with two papers on the history of historiography: in the first Paweł Migdalski discusses the syntheses of the history of the northwestern Slavs created in the 19th century, and in the second Paweł Babij presents the development of research on their military history in the Polish scholarly tradition. The next article, by Tadeusz Lewaszkiewicz, presents the current state and prospects of research on the language of the Polabian Slavs. The fourth article is an archaeological study in which Felix Biermann presented the problem of wood tar production in the Elbslavs region in the early Middle Ages. In the fifth text Bartosz Tietz dealt with the functions of islands on lakes as part of the settlement of old Slavs. In the next article, Łukasz Kaczmarek, based on archaeological research on ceramics, highlighted the connections between the land of Gniezno and the Polabian Slavs. The next study, by Leszek Gardeła and Kamil Kajkowski, was devoted to anthropomorphic images decorating equestrian equipment in Western Slavs. In the second-to-last article, Stanisław Rosik took a closer look at the images functioning in medieval historiography and hagiography on the community of beliefs and cults of pagan peoples along the Baltic Sea. The volume as a whole closes with a presentation of Pawel Szczepanik's research on the settlement complex at Groß Raden, with a particular emphasis on the reinterpretation of the meaning and hypothetical shape of the building considered to be a slavic temple (known

today especially through its famous reconstruction). The book as a whole, therefore, contributes to the systematization and development of the scholarly discussion of the Elbslavs in all the major directions of the research conducted on them.

Paweł Szatkowski
https://orcid.org/0009-0003-0712-1446

The Crusades: History and Memory. Proceedings of the Ninth Conference of the Society for the Study of the Crusades and the Latin East, Odense, 27 June – 1 July 2016, vol. 2, ed. Torben Kjersgaard Nielsen, Kurt Villads Jensen, Studies in the Crusades and the Latin East, 12, Brepols, Turnhout 2021, authors' presentation, 224 pp., hardback.

The presented volume is an effect of the Ninth Quadrennial Conference of the Society for the Study of the Crusades and the Latin East (SSCLE), which was held at the University of Southern Denmark in Odense on 27 June–1 July 2016, and whose main theme was *Diversity of Crusading*. This volume is the second to be published under the editorship of Torben Kjersgaard Nielsen and Kurt Villads Jensen and is entitled *The Crusades: History and Memory*. The work begins with an introduction by the volume's editors and is followed by ten chapters by scholars from Denmark, Sweden, Britain, France, Switzerland, Germany, and Italy. The first is a chapter by C. Maier, who illustrates that it was not until the 17th century that French historians were the first to use the word "Crusade" in the same sense as accepted by contemporary historiography. J. Phillips then addresses the question of the memory of Saladin and the Crusades in the Middle East from the 15th to the late 19th century. The realm of memory of the events of the Crusades is also addressed by C. Sweetenham, analysing accounts of miracles, *i.e.*, the discovery of the Holy Spear and the intervention of white warriors at the Battle of Antioch in the sources for the First Crusade. K.V. Jensen presents the case for the release from prison of the Danish king, Valdemar II (previously imprisoned by one of his vassals, Count Henry of Schwerin), one of whose major arguments for his eventual release was the royal participation in the Frederick II's planned Crusade. M. Gaggero takes up the issue of the little-known Old French adaptation of the *Eracle*s by Galeotto del Carretto, showing that it was intended to confirm the political ambitions of the House of Montferrat, which in the late 15th and early 16th centuries was still trying to refer to its crusading past. M. Horswell traces the trans-

formation of the term "Crusades" in the *Encyclopaedia Britannica* (1771-2018). A. Papayianni analyses the impact of the Crusades on Greek folk poetry, demonstrating this through the functioning of the *Legend of the Emperor Henry of Constantinople* in it. A. Knobler proposes the categorization of modern crusading imagery according to such paradigms as (1) Direct medieval models; (2) Modern crusading kings; (3) Modern secular warfare declared as holy crusade; (4) Specifically anti-Muslim holy war; (5) Imperialism as Crusade/Holy War; (6) Muslim uses of western crusading imagery. E. Siberry shows the use of crusade-related symbolic resources on British monuments from the First World War. B. Weber, in the last chapter in the collection, argues that the emergence of the term "Crusade" was initially a linguistic consequence of the diversity of armed expeditions of a similar nature: a new mental category was needed to understand these many wars as one whole, since the appearance in use of a new term must reflect a new social reality.

Tomasz Pełech
https://orcid.org/0000-0002-3722-568X

Rebecca Thomas, *History and Identity in Early Medieval Wales*, Studies in Celtic History, 44, Boydell & Brewer, Cambridge, 2022, 2 maps, 218 pp., hardcover.

Rebecca Thomas' monograph is devoted to three 9th and 10th century texts, *i.e.*, *Historia Brittonum* (829–830), Asser's *Life of King Alfred* (893), and *Armes Prydein Vawr* (10th century). The author begins by defining and discussing such concepts as identity and national identity, and its use for the Middle Ages. Quite cleverly, she argues that much of the debate is 'a matter of semantics' (p. 9), but ultimately, medieval authors divided the world into separate *gentes*; hence we can discuss what this word means.

In the chapter 1, *Names, Territories and Kingdoms*, R. Thomas stresses the main issue regarding Welsh identity: it was not linked to a specific *regnum* or a dynasty. Both *Historia Britonum* and *Armes Prydein Vawr* depicts the Bretons - *i.e.*, the Welsh - 'as a single *gens* who once inhabited the island of Britain from sea to sea' (p. 31). The narrower sense - *Britannia* as a specific region - appears in Asser's work, still, however, also used with a larger meaning. It's only in the 12th century that *Wallia* and *Wallenses* appear in the sources to designate a specific *gens*.

The second chapter is concerned with the issue of language. Language as an element of a *gens* identity is a debated issue: the Vienna school, with Walter Pohl as a key figure, considers it a negligible factor in defining medieval

ethnicity whereas scholars studying Welsh medieval identity came to a quite opposite conclusion. In later medieval Welsh texts, the use of the words *iaith* ('language') and *anghyfiaith* ('not of the same language') shows clearly that language was becoming important for defining a community. *Iaith* could also mean 'people', like the Latin *lingua* or the Old English *theod*. However, in the early medieval sources, it is difficult to detect a theoretical thought on the importance of language. The analysis of Asser's and Nennius' use of vernacular terms shows that the authors perceived a radical distinction between Brittonic languages and English, but not so much between Brittonic speakers, who might be speaking a very close and related language.

The third chapter deals with the origin legend of the Britons, in *Historia Brittonum*. What's interesting is that the common ancestor of the Britons in this work, Britto, is not the ancestor of the dynasty but of the '*gens* as a whole' (p. 95). This myth of Trojan origins of the Brittons, closely associating them with the Romans through Aeneas, could be explained as a way to put them on the same level as the Romans, or as the superiority of the Brittons over other *gents* in Britain. An examination of Nennius's narration, as well as his written and oral sources shows that *Histora Brittonum* creates in fact a clear separation between the Brittons and the Romans, 'who have no right to the island of Britain' (p. 117). Ultimately, Nennius could present Britons and Franks as equals, and superiors to the English.

The fourth chapter delves into the migration stories of the origin legends. The first one is that of the Irish and Picts in the *Historia Brittonum* and the *Armes Prydein Vawr*. Before the migration of the Britons, the Irish and Picts were first present, making them legitimate inhabitants of the island. However, Nennius describes them as *barbari* and enemies of the Britons, plundering and fighting them, in the first part of the work. In the second part, as well as in the *Armes Prydein Vawr*, they are no longer foes, and all those *gentes* could march against a common enemy: the English. The oppression by the English of the Welsh, through a demand for an unjust tax, is well rooted in the past, in 'the origin legend of the English, which outlines their deceitful seizure of land from the island's original inhabitants' (pp. 139-140). Through various accounts of conversion, the Britons also appear as the heralds of Christianity in Britain, as opposed to the Saxons.

The last chapter is entirely dedicated to Asser's *Life of King Alfred*, portraying this king as a champion of Christianity against the pagans, as well as the *omnium Brittanniae insulae Christianorum rector*. Asser opposes the *christiani* against the *pagani*, a category consistently used in his work. The opposition between *pagani* and *Christiani* is also a political one: *pagani* are characterised by their chaotic behaviour, while *Christiani* obey legitimate authority. Ultimately, being Welsh for Asser is not important: being part of a Christian community is.

In the conclusion, the author finishes with a strong statement that 'perhaps more than anyone else, it was Asser who invented Wales' (p. 177). The monograph ends with a bibliography and an index.

MARCIN KURDYKA
HTTPS://ORCID.ORG/0000-0003-3975-9834

W kręgu sztuki, literatury i zabawy. Średniowiecze i mediewalizm (*In the Circle of Art, Literature, and Play. The Middle Ages and Medievalism*), VI Kongres Mediewistów Polskich, 3, ed. M. Dowlaszewicz, A. Patała, W. Wojtowicz, Chronicon, Wrocław 2022, 140 pp., ill., list of authors, paperback.

The present volume is the third in the series of publications, which presents articles based on papers given during the 6th Congress of Polish Medievalists with the main theme *Media aetas – historia viva/The Middle Ages – living history*, which was held in Wrocław on 20-22 IX 2018. The leading theme of the volume is medievalism. The individual authors have undertaken a critical reflection on the ways in which the Middle Ages has been perceived in the methods of creating works of literature, architecture, and the visual arts in recent centuries.

The volume consists of an introduction and three thematic sections: (1) Art; (2) Literature, theatre, and film; (3) Play and game: *homo ludens*. The first section contains three chapters. The volume opens with a text by R. Kaczmarek, which addresses the question of iconographic-compositional links intended to connect the tympanum of the western portal of the Joannite church in Strzegom with the tympanum of the Singing Gate in Vienna. The Strzegom work has been identified as an example of the reception of the *ars nova* style from the time of Charles IV of Luxembourg in Habsburg costume. J. Sobiesiak then analyses the pronunciation of Karel Svoboda's painting *The Humiliation of the Milanese before Emperor Frederick Barbarossa and his ally King Vladislav II of Bohemia*, pointing out that the positive overtones of the depiction of the Bohemian monarch are linked to efforts to revive Czech national consciousness in the 19th century. through references to the glorious past. Then, A. Patała shows how important the opening of the Old German Painting and Sculpture section at the Silesian Museum of Fine Arts in Breslau (1927-1944) was for activities of an ideological nature during the Weimar Republic and the Third Reich, fostering the search for and exhibition of works of 'Germanic' humanism, and thus attempts to shape German national identity in the interwar period.

The next section consists of four chapters. W. Wojtowicz analyses the significance of a bestseller entitled *Fortunatus* (published in Polish between 1565 and 1573) for the shaping of ideas about chivalric culture. He notes that in the work, the world of the old ideals of the noble stratum was confronted with the realities of the modern economy based on the circulation of money and, consequently, significant changes in the perception of the world, to which, for example, the religious motivation of human actions is not necessarily compatible. D. Vincůrková discusses the question of the continuation of the preaching copy tradition in Henryk Rzewuski's 1851 short story, *Ja gorę*, demonstrating the continuity of medieval religious imagery. Subsequently, M. Králová examines the presence of fantastic and supernatural motifs in the Icelandic sagas in order to demonstrate how Walter Scott, as a novelist, invented narrative strategies that allowed him to reflect the presence of supernatural powers in the sagas. M. Dowlaszewicz analyses medievalism in early 20th century theatre and film, taking particular account of the work of Max Reinhardt, based on medieval tales such as *Jedermann* and *The Miracle/Das Mirakel*, and pointing to its reception in Polish culture.

The final section includes two chapters. D. Żołądź-Strzelczyk presents a study of medieval toys, addressing issues such as the state of research, the main problems associated with the study of children's toys, which includes the problem of defining a doll, miniature dishes, a rattle, or a toy in general. She concludes that toys are, on the one hand, a manifestation of the conservatism of the children's world, but on the other hand, a reflection of change and changing reality. A. Wojewoda reports on a workshop on medieval games and toys, medieval costume, and customs, held as part of the Congress of Polish Medievalists for students of Wrocław primary schools. The volume ends with a list of contributors.

TOMASZ PEŁECH

HTTPS://ORCID.ORG/0000-0002-3722-568X

Björn Weiler, *Paths to Kingship in Medieval Latin Europe, c. 950–1200*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge-New York 2021, maps, timeline, select reading, index, 475 + xvi pp., hardcover.

The book presented here is a comparative history of Medieval kingship, and is part of a series of works by B. Weiler addressing the question of political culture and the formation of ideas and practices of royal power. The geographical scope of the work covers Medieval Latin Europe in the period c. 950-1200. It is noteworthy that the Author examines Medieval kingship

as a trans-European phenomenon, analysing not only material from the territories of the Reich, England, and France, but also Scandinavia, Poland, and Hungary, *etc*.

The book is divided into an extensive Introduction and five parts, each with two chapters. Part 1, entitled *Foundations*, consists of chapters about *Politics and Power in High Medieval Europe, c. 1000-1200* and *Foundational Texts*, which provide an introduction to how kingship was perceived, understood, and practised and what the ideological basis for this was. Then, *Creating Kingship* is the main topic of Part 2. It consists of two chapters, *Becoming King,* and *Conferring Kingship*, which take into account the issues of how royal status is achieved, what distinguishes it from other rulers, such as princes and earls, and what the paths were for the royal title to be universally recognised, as well as maintained and possibly passed on in the next generation, which provides an introduction to the next, Part 3, entitled *Succession*. The chapters on *Duties, Norms, and Process* and *Designating an Heir* take up the problems of royal succession, especially the moral norms by which rulers and their successors should be characterised, which was a difficult game of reconciling the world of values with practical needs, from which complications for the stability of kingdoms could arise. Part 4 deals with *Election* and consists of the following chapters; *Unanimity and Probity* and *Choosing a King*. In these chapters, the Author takes a closer look at not only the methods of electing a king, whose power was usually born through negotiation with elites, and any succession involved an election, but also the processes, such as adherence to certain legal or social norms, used to legitimise the kingship achieved. The final part, Part 5, *Inauguration*, through the chapters *Enthroning the King* and *Beyond Enthronement*, shows that enthronement was not limited to the act of coronation itself, but encompassed a whole range of acts through which the new king asserted his right to the throne, and the elites of the kingdom could seek to steer the exercising of power in directions they considered appropriate and necessary. The work closes with a conclusion in which the Author, justifying his methodological approach, concludes that there were overwhelming structural similarities in the perception, understanding, and practice of kingship in Medieval Latin Europe, and that this was influenced by the intellectual community of political elites basing their actions, norms, *etc*. on a converging set of fundamental texts. As B. Weiler notes, going slightly beyond c. 1200, the growth of educational opportunities, the spread of texts in the vernacular languages, and the increasing codification of legal customs from the 13th century onwards reduced the common intellectual basis of Latin Europe, and through this, the idea of kingship began to diversify from area to area. The presented book ends by a Select Reading and an Index.

Tomasz Pełech

https://orcid.org/0000-0002-3722-568X

Władztwo Władysława Łokietka. 700–lecie koronacji królewskiej (The rule of Władysław the Elbow-high. 700th anniversary of the royal coronation), Zamek Królewski w Warszawie – Muzeum. Studia i Materiały, 12, ed. Wojciech Fałkowski, Paweł Tyszka, Zamek Królewski w Warszawie – Muzeum, Warszawa 2022, 455 pp., list of abbreviations, bibliography, index of persons, list of illustrations, paperback.

The presented volume here is the result of a conference held on 20-21 January 2020 at the Royal Castle in Warsaw to mark the round anniversary of the royal coronation of the King of Poland, Władysław I (1320-1333), known as 'the Elbow-high' or 'the Short' (Łokietek). The volume responds to the demand of Polish medieval studies for a problematic biography of the ruler whose reign ushered in a period of renewed monarchy. Hence, it raises numerous research inquiries into such topics as the modernising economic processes in the Polish lands, both urban and rural, the idea of monarchy, and the symbolism of power, foreign policy, court rituals, etc.

The material in the volume, which consists of short introduction and sixteen articles, is divided into three thematic sections: (1) Prince, Lord and Heir, King; (2) Foreign Policy; (3) Symbols of Power.

The first section consists of six articles. A. Marzec presents the actions of Władysław the Elbow-high in the years 1305-1320 as not only an effort to break the division split by coronation, but also a time of building and finally consolidating the royal system and dignity. J. Grabowski reveals the political aspirations of the Mazovian Piasts for the Cracow throne, showing that the Mazovian dukes had no concept of the unification of Polish lands, and treated the struggle for the capital Cracow as a rivalry with other Piasts. J. Nikodem analyses the methods of legitimizing power in Poland by Wacław II and Władysław the Elbow-high, showing that an important role was played by the collection of legal titles to individual lands, elections by the inhabitants of individual districts, and armed demonstrations. M. Starzyński writes about the bourgeois background of Władysław the Elbow-high in Lesser Poland. T. Jurek, in turn, presents the period of Władysław the Elbow-high's life, during which the desire to obtain the royal crown arose, as well as the significance of the act of coronation in 1320. M. Piber-Zbieranowska considers the political significance of Jadwiga, the wife of Władysław the Elbow-high, proposing a contribution to her biography and the role of Piast women in the 13th and 14th centuries.

The next section collects seven articles on the foreign policy of both Władysław the Elbow-high and its closest and most interested neigh-

bours in Poland. M. Bláhová presents the reactions to the royal coronation of Władysław the Elbow-high in the Czech lands. M. Nodl addresses the issue of the Polish crown as an instrument in the political game played by John of Luxembourg, especially in the context of Silesia. P. Bar considers the attitudes of the Piast princes of Silesia towards the conflict between John of Luxembourg and Władysław the Elbow-high, noting that in the local balance of power, the monarchs' interventions were a threat, a challenge, but also an opportunity to guarantee themselves an appropriate political position. T. Zawadzki presents the relations between Władysław the Elbow-high and the Piasts of the Świdnica-Jawor line, who, thanks to their alliance with Cracow, gained an important ally, thanks to which they remained independent rulers for the longest time. R. Grzesik presents the connections of Władysław the Elbow-high with the Kingdom of Hungary, ultimately the strongest ally of the King of Poland, placing them in the framework of centuries of cooperation and conflict between the Piast principalities, Bohemia, and Hungary. S.A. Sroka highlights the issue of the marriage of Elizabeth, the daughter of Władysław the Elbow-high, with the Hungarian king Charles Robert, showing that this alliance also had an aspect that thanks to this marriage the brilliant career of the Silesian Piasts at the Hungarian court became possible. A. Jusupović considers the Ruthenian policy of Władysław the Elbow-high in the light of Cyrillic sources, illustrating that the centres in Vladimir and Halych were very interested in what was happening in Poland.

The last section consists of three articles. P. Stróżyk analyses the issue of the coexistence of the coat of arms of the Kingdom of Poland and the royal helmet with the crest from the coronation of Przemysł II (1295) to the end of the reign of Władysław the Elbow-high (1333). Z. Piech presents the seal of Queen Jadwiga, wife of The Elbow-high, using the title 'regina totius regni Polonie', which remained in use on her seals until the end of her life, despite some modifications, recalling the complicated beginnings of the reign, when the adjective 'totius' had to emphasize the scope of royal power. In the last article of the volume, P. Pajor presents the architectural foundations of Władysław the Elbow-high, assessing that they are a phenomenon with poor sources, which can be seen by the lack of traces of activity in the field of castle construction. The volume is concluded with a list of abbreviations, an extensive bibliography, an index of persons, and a list of illustrations.

Tomasz Pełech
https://orcid.org/0000-0002-3722-568X

Tomasz Związek, *Krajobrazy szesnastowiecznej Polski: las – ziemia – woda – ruda darniowa. Powiat kaliski i Wielkopolska w tle* (Landscapes of Sixteenth-Century Poland: Forest – Earth – Water – Bog Ore. The Poviat of Kalisz and Greater Poland in the Background), Instytut Historii PAN, Warszawa 2022, 282 pp., source appendix, acknowledgements, summary in English, bibliography, list of illustrations, tables, maps and figures, index of geographical names, paperback.

In the monograph, T. Związek attempts to discuss the relationship between human and nature, from the perspective of mutual interaction and interpenetration, by characterizing the four elements of the pre-industrial landscape - forest, earth, water, and bog ore, which, according to the Author, constituted the basic raw material and energy resource that ensured the development of society. The forest was a source of food as well as building and energy materials, the earth was used to grow grain and raise animals, water not only enabled transport but also provided energy, and bog ore was used to make all kinds of tools. Regarding the choice of area, the author focuses on the poviat of Kalisz, as he worked on the Greater Poland volume of the Atlas of Historical Poland between 2011 and 2017, as well as due to the area's location in the centre of the Polish state and its well-developed economy and settlement network. In the publication, one chapter corresponds to each of the elements discussed. The first is dedicated to forests. T. Związek attempts to show the fate of the forest from the perspective of the settlements, the development of which until modern times hardly affected this element of the landscape. This state of affairs changed only at the turn of the 15th and 16th centuries, which can be confirmed, including by changes in pine and birch pollen. The second chapter concerns the earth. The Author focuses primarily on exploitation issues, such as sowing structure, fertilisation, and the use of draught animals, through which he shows the need to develop techniques for managing the limited amount of manure. This was particularly relevant as manure was applied not only to wheat and barley crops, but mainly to horticulture. The third chapter refers to the issue of water. Due to the limited source material, the author analyses issues related to milling and fish farming, which were characteristic of the area. The last chapter deals with the bog ores and primarily, their spatial location and degree of exploitation. This was made possible by the use of archaeological (the primary source being materials from the Archaeological Picture of Poland programme) and written materials. The Author also touches upon issues related to indus-

trial settlements, which, although short-lived, had a significant impact on the environment. In the publication, T. Związek shows that in researching the relationship between man and nature in the past, it is necessary to use sources from other scientific disciplines.

Katarzyna Bogdańska
https://orcid.org/0000-0002-8348-2126