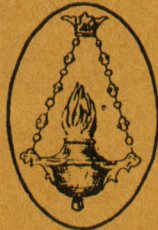


INSTITUTUM HISTORICUM POLONICUM ROMAE

II

ANTEMURALE

DISSERTATIONES
IN X INTERNATIONALI CONGRESSU
SCIENTIARUM HISTORICARUM
ROMAE A. MCMLV
A SOCIIS SOCIETATIS HISTORICAE
POLONORUM IN EXTERIS
PRAESENTATAE



NON EXTINGUETUR

ROMAE 1955

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INDEX RERUM

OSKAR HALECKI	5
Nota biobibliographica	7
<i>Rome and the Eastern Europe after the Council of Trent</i>	8
JOZEF JASNOWSKI	37
Nota biobibliographica	39
<i>Problems of the Frontier with the Steppes of the North Black Sea</i>	40
LEON KOCZY	47
Nota biobibliographica	49
<i>The Holy Roman Empire and Poland</i>	50
MARIAN KUKIEL	67
Nota biobibliographica	69
<i>Problèmes des guerres d'insurrection au XIX siècle</i>	70
HENRYK PASZKIEWICZ	83
Nota biobibliographica	85
KOCZY L. <i>Compte-rendu of H. Paszkiewicz «The Origin of Russia»</i>	86
WALERIAN MEYSZTOWICZ	97
Nota biobibliographica	99
<i>(Conclusion de la communication)</i>	100
<i>Manuscriptum Gertrudae Filiae Mesconis II Regis Poloniae</i> cura VALERIANI MEYSZTOWICZ editum	103
Introductio Editoris	105
Textus manuscripti	117
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<i>Ex actis Instituti Historici Polonici Romae anno ac.1954-55</i>	159
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OSKAR HALECKI

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Ph. D., Univ. of Cracow (1913); honorary degrees: Univ. of Lyons (1934), Univ. of Montreal (1943), De Paul Univ. (Chicago, 1945). Pre-war member of the Polish Academy in Cracow and of the Learned Societies of Warsaw and Lwów; foreign correspondent of the « Institut de France » (Paris) and of the Royal Historical Society (London). Delegate of the Polish Historical Society to the International Congresses in Brussels (1923), Oslo (1928), Warsaw (1933), and Zurich (1938); former Member of the International Committee of Historical Sciences (1938). — Lecturer in Polish History, Univ. of Cracow (1916-1918); Professor of Eastern European History, Univ. of Warsaw (1918-1939) (also Dean of Faculty of Letters 1920-21, 1930-31); Professor of International Relations, Warsaw School of Political Sciences (1931-39); President, Polish University in Exile (Paris 1939-40); Visiting Professor of European History, Vassar College (1940-41); Visiting Professor Slavic History, University of Montreal (1944-1951); Professor of Eastern European History, Fordham University, Graduate School (1944 to present); Governor and Visiting Professor College of Europe, Bruges (1950 to present); Visiting Prof. of History, Columbia Un. (1955-6) Director (1942-1952) and President (1952 to present), Polish Institute of Arts and Sciences in America.

Knight Commander (1928) with Star (1945) of St. Gregory; Commander of Polonia Restituta (1935); Privy Papal Chamberlain with Cape and Sword (1953); Master's Knight « iure sanguinis » (1953), Knight Grand-Cross (1955), Order of Malta.

Principal Works: *Zgoda Sandomierska 1570 r.* (1915); *Przyłączenie Podlasia Wołynia i Kijowszczyzny do Korony* (1915); *Ostatnie lata Swidrygiello* (1915); *Litwa, Rus i Zmudz jako części składowe W. Ks. Litewskiego* (1916); *Dzieje Unii Jagiellonskiej* (2 vol., 1919-1920); *Liga Narodów* (1920); *Kazimierz Wielki, Dwaj ostatni Jagiellonowie* (1921, 1923 in: *Encyklopedia Polskiej Akademii Umiejętności*); *Polska w Epoce Jagiellonów* (1930, in: *Polska, jej dzieje i kultura*); *Un Empereur de Byzance à Rome* (1930); *La Pologne de 963 à 1914* (1933); *Rome et Byzance au temps du Grand Schisme d'Occident* (1937); *Schyłek Sredniowiecza* (1939) in: *Wielka Historia powszechna*); *The History of Poland* (1942, American editions 1943, 1955, Canadian and Spanish editions 1945); *The Crusade of Varna* (1943); *The Limits and Divisions of European History* (1950); *Eugenio Pacelli - Pope of Peace* (1952, new ed. 1954); *Borderlands of Western Civilization* (1952). Co-editor of and Contributor to, *Cambridge History of Poland* (2 vol., 1941, 1951); etc.

OSKAR HALECKI

ROME AND EASTERN EUROPE AFTER THE COUNCIL OF TRENT

The great Polish historian Bronislaw Dembiński who before representing independent Poland in the International Committee of Historical Sciences came from a partitioned Poland to the International Historical Congress held in Rome in 1903, was already then very well known thanks to his earlier monograph on Rome and Europe before the third period of the Council of Trent (1). It therefore seems appropriate that today, when the historians of the whole world are meeting again in Rome, exiled Polish historiography, faithful to Dembinski's tradition, should try to make a contribution to the continued study of the same problem. Now, since the history of the Council of Trent itself is so much better known than it was at the turn of the last century (2), it is time to consider the relations between Rome and Europe after that Council, limiting, however, such a preliminary investigation to the eastern part of the continent.

Such an approach does certainly not mean that on this occasion nor on any other Eastern Europe should be separated from, or as a whole opposed to, Western Europe (3). But it is evident that the religious crisis of the sixteenth century had in the regions east of the Holy Roman Empire at least two specific aspects which immediately after the conclusion of the Council of Trent, in December 1563, became particularly conspicuous.

The defense of Christendom against the Ottoman onslaught which after starting in the fourteenth century had then, at the end of the reign of Suleyman the Magnificent, reached its climax, was indeed a general European problem. But precisely in the years after 1563, when the Papacy, having achieved the internal reform of the Church, could give again more attention to the project of an anti-Ottoman league, it became apparent that the chances of common defense were much better in western than in eastern Europe. In September 1565, the

Turks had to give up the siege of Malta where the heroic Knights of St. John received at least some last minute Spanish assistance (4). Almost exactly one year later, one of the last strongholds of Christendom in partitioned Hungary, the castle of Sziget, was taken by these same Turks who had conquered before some of the last Christian possessions in the Aegean Sea, and in neither case did the papal appeals for help receive any attention (5).

Furthermore in Eastern Europe the only Catholic power which still preserved its integrity and close association with the West, the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, had to face not only the Muslim danger, and that in a twofold, Turkish and Tartar form, but also the aggressive imperialism of Moscow. The Tsardom of Ivan the Terrible was, of course, a Christian power which Rome had hoped to see represented at Trent and wanted to be informed of the Council's decisions (6), but in its character it had much in common with the Empire of Suleyman II (7), and from the religious point of view, the Third Rome (8) was irreducibly opposed to the First, more than the Second had ever been even before the Ottoman conquest. Ivan was indeed equally hostile to Protestantism which he never permitted to penetrate into Muscovy (9) and which he fought in the Livonian war as ruthlessly as he fought Catholicism. The minister of the Czech Brethren, Jan Rokyta, failed to convert the Orthodox Tsar (10) long before the Jesuit Antonio Possevino had a similar disappointment, and even before the Patriarch of Constantinople, Jeremiah II, rejected the proposals of cooperation made by the Protestant theologians from Wittenberg and Tübingen (11). These were, however, merely indications that the religious crisis which in the West was a bilateral struggle between the Catholic Church and Protestantism in its various denominations, was in the East a three-cornered conflict with the participation of the Greek Orthodox Church. In that respect, too, the end of the Council of Trent was an important turning point. For having to realize now that the division of Western Christendom was final, the Papacy, looking for compensations in the East, returned to its age-long efforts to heal the Cerularian schism through religious reunion.

Catholic Venice always had Orthodox subjects in her Levantine possessions just as there were Orthodox minorities in the Kingdom of Hungary, and even under Ottoman rule Catholic minorities survived

in the predominantly Orthodox Balkan countries including Constantinople (12). But nowhere had the Western and the Eastern Church coexisted on such a large scale for centuries than in Poland and Lithuania which both included large Ruthenian lands (13). And nowhere did the new religious trends coming from the West add a greater variety of creeds, while old Armenian settlements, a numerous Jewish population and even Muslim communities contributed to the complexity of the religious situation.

This variety was, however, only one more reason why that situation had alarmed Rome particularly from the beginning of the reign of King Sigismund II Augustus on whose religious policies the Holy See received from its nuncios rather conflicting reports. In spite of all the limitations of royal power in Poland and even in Lithuania where thanks to an already long tradition of political union and cultural intercourse with the Poles all Western trends found a quick reception (14), it was easy to foresee how much the attitude of the last Jagellonian would influence the final decision for or against Rome. And in view of the very position of the country between already Protestant Eastern Germany and Orthodox Muscovy, that decision was to be of crucial importance for the religious future of the whole eastern half of Europe and even for the balance of religious forces in Europe in general. After the Council of Trent time was ripe for that decision.

In the various controversial issues before and during the third and final period of the Council Sigismund Augustus had made to Pius IV much less difficulties (15) than the other Catholic rulers including even Philip II of Spain whose loyalty and devotion to the Roman Church was beyond doubt. Furthermore the Polish Cardinal Stanislaus Hosius had played a decisive part at the Council as one of the Papal representatives appointed on March 10, 1561 (16). But Hosius, full of zeal himself, was usually one of the first to blame his King whose tolerance of all dissenters was considered equally alarming by Calvinist Geneva (17). It was the more significant that two days after the last session of the Council, on December 6th, 1563, the representative of the King of Poland along with those of the Emperor, the King of Portugal, the most important Italian States and the Catholic Cantons of Switzerland, but without those of Spain and France, signed the Council's decrees (18). Yet even this was not the final test. Ferdinand I soon created new difficulties by requesting for Germany the

permission of communion under both species, and when he died in July 1564, his son and successor Maximilian II continued the campaign against the celibacy of the clergy, practically refused the publication of the decrees of Trent and even hindered their acceptance in Hungary (19).

Sigismund Augustus who in earlier years, before the Council's final decisions, had himself supported and submitted to the Holy See similar requests which were rather popular in Poland, now took an entirely different attitude. Not before June 30, 1564, was the papal bull sanctioning the decrees of the Council published in Rome, and already on August 7th, took place in the Polish town of Parczów a memorable event which the new Nuncio Giovanni Commendone rightly described in his report as an almost unexpected and surprising success. Not only in private audience with the King but also before the Polish Senate could he recommend at length the work accomplished at Trent, and on the King's own initiative the official acceptance of the decrees of the Council was decided at once and without any reservations (20).

It is true that the royal edicts which were issued the same day, only in a small part fulfilled the formal promise that these decrees would be put in force throughout the whole Kingdom. They banished only foreign refugees who were spreading in Poland anti-Catholic doctrines and were more particularly directed against the most radical Antitrinitarians (21). And it took no less than thirteen years before even the Catholic hierarchy of Poland accepted the decrees of Trent not without requesting some dispensations (23). But the last Jagellonian, always opposed to any violence and governmental interference with religious matters, was well aware that such methods of coercion would not have served at all the Catholic cause among the freedom loving Poles. The persuasive example which he gave to the nation at the Diet of Parczów was much more efficient: it sufficed to make that date the turning point in the history of the Reformation in Poland.

There was moreover a special reason why the King's patient policy was in the complex Polish situation the wisest one and proved eventually in the well understood interest of Catholicism. In the very years when it was realized that the Council of Trent had succeeded in basing the unity of the Roman Church on a clearly defined doctrine,

the divisions and controversies among the partisans of the new religious ideas which all could be freely discussed in the « happy » conditions of Sigismund's II reign (23), reached a climax: by 1565 the break between the Protestants and the so called « Minor Church » of the Antitrinitarians was complete (24), and there was not even any unity on either side. Such a unity was obviously impossible among the individualistic and rationalistic radicals who even in their most important center at Raków developed conditions of religious and social chaos (25). But also the long planned union between the Lutherans and the Swiss Reformed Church supported by the Czech Brethren ended in failure. When these three groups excluding the Antitrinitarians, finally met at the Synod of Sandomierz, in April 1570, they could only agree to disagree (26) and their Polish version of the Helvetic Confession which without being approved by the Lutherans was dedicated and presented to the King as a « Polish » confession, was never recognized as such nor formally accepted by him (27). The « Consensus Sandomiriensis » reduced the oecumenical trends of the Protestant Reformation in Poland to a strictly limited pledge of cooperation against both Catholics and Antitrinitarians, and Rome's alarm that Sigismund Augustus had tolerated such a meeting (28), did not disturb his intimate personal relations with Pius V (29) to whom he had sent a mission of obedience soon after the new Pope's election (30).

Why, then, was the Holy See disappointed with the King's policies in the last years of both Sigismund Augustus and Pius V? In spite of persistent rumors, there was no reason for any such disappointment as far as the King's private life and in particular his tragic matrimonial problem was concerned. On the contrary, in spite of striking analogies with the earlier case of Henry VIII in England, a situation which seemed to offer a last chance to the remaining anti-Catholic trends in Poland, gave to Sigismund Augustus an opportunity for sending to Pius V a most moving profession of lasting loyalty to the faith of his ancestors: in his long letter of October 23, 1571 he sincerely admitted that he wished his marriage with Catherine of Austria to be annulled, but solemnly declared at the same time that he would never usurp any private authority in that matter, leaving the decision to those to whom God had entrusted it (31).

It was, therefore, hardly necessary for Commendone, now Car-

dinal and Papal Legate, who was then on his way for his second mission to Poland, to admonish the King in that matter soon after arriving in Warsaw. And when he reported to Rome on these discussions (32), the Queen had already died four days before in distant Linz. There were, however, entirely different questions, political rather than religious, in which the able diplomat proved no more successful than Nuncio Vincenzo de Portico, sometimes considered too weak and pliable. As a matter of fact, Portico, who was in Poland from 1568 and gained the King's full confidence (33), had also acquired a better understanding of an involved situation which made it impossible for Sigismund Augustus fully to share some views of the Holy See regarding Eastern Europe.

It certainly was fully understandable that Pius V who from the very beginning of his pontificate and particularly under the painful impression of the fall of Sziget, was decided to resume his predecessor's plan of an anti-Ottoman league, considered it an excellent opportunity for realizing that project when in March 1570 a Turkish ultimatum practically forced the Venetians to enter again the struggle in defense of Christendom. Threatened by the loss of Cyprus, that same Republic of Venice which usually was so careful not to get involved in the conflicts of other powers with the Ottoman Empire, now was desperately looking for allies in the war imposed upon her and no less than the Pope himself anxious to promote such a league. The first efforts made by Pius V in order to get assistance for Venice were directed towards the West, but his appeals addressed to France were quite hopeless, and in view of the deep-rooted rivalry and distrust between Venice and Spain it was to take papal diplomacy more than one year before a « Holy League » including at least these two powers could be signed (34). Anticipating the difficulties of their cooperation and knowing by a long experience that it was indispensable to supplement the most urgent naval action by the cooperation of land powers, the Venetians were, of course, very interested in a suggestion made to their envoy by Maximilian II that the planned league should and could « easily » include not only the Empire, but also Poland, Moscow, and even Persia (35). Both the Emperor and the Venetians themselves based their hopes of Muscovite and Persian action against the Turks on reports received from Constantinople that the actual struggle between Moscow and the Ottoman Empire had

already started in connection with the Turkish expedition in the direction of Astrakan. (36)

There seemed to be no time for waiting until the result of that expedition would be known. Already on March 27th, 1570, the very day when the Turkish ultimatum was rejected, the Venetian Senate, recalling the Emperor's discussion with Juan Michiel, resident in Vienna, instructed Giacomo Soranzo who was sent as Ambassador to Maximilian II, to assure him that he would gain « immortal glory » by organizing such a league including the immediate neighbors of the Ottoman Empire (37). And in their distress the Venetians attached so much importance to these prospects that on May 13th the Senate wrote to the Ambassador in Spain about the expected action against the Turks not only of the Emperor in Hungary, but also of the King of Poland, Moscow, and perhaps even Persia (38). There was, however, hardly any reliable information about the latter country, and it soon became apparent that Maximilian II himself whom Venice asked in vain not to send an ambassador to Constantinople nor to « cool the minds » of Turkey's other neighbors (39), had no intention to break the truce concluded with the new Sultan, Selim II, in 1568. There remained, therefore, only Poland and Moscow as possible allies. So the Venetians decided, first, to appoint an Ambassador to Sigismund Augustus in the person of Antonio Tiepolo « because — as the Senate stressed in its decrees of May 27th (40) — the King of Poland in view of the greatness and strength of his Kingdom and in view of his neighborhood with the states of the Turk will be able greatly to help our cause in the present war ». And they instructed a few days later, on June 3rd, their Ambassador in Vienna to notify that decision to the Emperor with reference to his own suggestion (41).

It is particularly interesting to note that the Republic of Venice which on so many occasions disregarded the appeals of the Holy See to participate in a joint against the Ottoman Empire, this time was anxiously looking for the support of papal diplomacy in order to gain the badly needed allies in Central and Eastern Europe. Informing the Ambassador in Rome on Venice's own efforts in that matter, the Senate requested that the Pope should not only persuade the Emperor to break with the Turks in order to regain Hungary, but also use any convenient means in order to obtain a similar decision from the King of Poland and from « the Muscovite ». With regard to Ivan the Ter-

rible, Pius V was to be reminded that there would be «little difficulty» in making him move against the Turks in view of the troubles he had with them (42).

The optimistic views of the Venetians regarding the possibility of obtaining also the support of Moscow (43) appealed particularly to the papal Nuncio in Venice, Giovanni Antonio Facchinetti who on August 2nd wrote to Cardinal Rusticucci, acting Secretary of State of Pius V, that in order to gain Ivan the Terrible, « enemy of the Turks and naturally ambitious », Papal, Spanish and Venetian ambassador's should be sent to Moscow. He realized, it is true, that the King of Poland to whom similar embassies ought to be sent, would « dislike the intercourse between the other princes and the Muscovite », but he hoped that the negotiations between Poland and Moscow would lead to an armistice of several years and that Sigismund Augustus in view of the prospect that both powers could profit from the conquest of respective parts of the Ottoman Empire, would grant to the western ambassadors free and secure passage to Moscow.

Three weeks later, however, that same nuncio had to forward to Rome rather discouraging news received from Constantinople (45). An ambassador from Moscow had arrived there at the end of June, and in reply to his questions was told by the Turks that the last Tartar raids had taken place without the consent of the Sultan who was ready to live in peace with Ivan and to permit free trade relations. Apparently the Muscovite envoy was treated with some suspicion and even placed under custody before his departure. On the other hand, ambassadors of the King of Poland and of his nephew, the Prince of Transylvania John Sigismund Zápolya, had also been in Constantinople about the same time and left « very well satisfied ».

The implications were clear: neither of the two East European powers which were to be invited to join the anti-Ottoman league, was prepared to do so, but they were both anxious to live in peace with the Turks at least for the time being, and there was a similar desire on the Turkish side. This was, however, not the full picture of a rather involved situation which resulted from momentous events of the preceding year. And these events — the military and diplomatic background of another three-cornered conflict — were insufficiently known in Western Europe, since even Venice, usually so well informed on the whole Eastern question, had at the given moment the

greatest difficulties in getting direct reports from Constantinople because of the break with the Ottoman Empire which had been preceded by a growing tension in Venetian-Turkish relations.

Strange enough, the most detailed information from the Levant was now received in Venice, obviously not without long delays, via Poland, and therefore it proved very fortunate that postal relations between the two countries, administered by the Italian Sebastiano Montelupi, had been improved in 1569 at the request of the King himself (46). The Venetians were, therefore, in a position to use no less than three sources of information. First, according to an agreement made in the summer of 1570, the reports of the Venetian representative (Bailo) in Constantinople, Antonio Barbaro, were forwarded through the intermediary of the Polish Ambassador Andrew Taranowski who even after returning to Poland assured the Doge that he could arrange such an exchange of correspondence at least six times a year (47). Furthermore, a rather obscure Venetian agent in Poland, Giovanni Vancimuglio, not only was occasionally received by Sigismund Augustus who discussed with him the war in the Levant, but organized a counter-espionage service which was badly needed, since the main enemy of Venice, the Portuguese Jew Joseph Miquez, now Duke of Naxos, who had instigated the Turkish attack against Cyprus, used a group of Polish Jews as spies who through Poland and Austria were supposed to penetrate as far as Italy (48). Last not least, and not without connection with Vancimuglio's activities, valuable information on all eastern problems was collected for the Doge and the Council of Ten by the papal nuncio to Poland, Portico, who in turn used his relations with the Venetian diplomatic service for being fully informed himself (49).

However, in spite of that surprising network of communications which seems to have worked very well in 1570, it was not easy to realize in Venice nor in Rome the importance of the developments of 1569, truly a crucial year in the rivalry between Poland, Moscow and Turkey (50). In Poland, the negotiations with the Ottoman Empire were not only strictly secret but also overshadowed by the greatest achievement of the year, the final conclusion of the Polish-Lithuanian Union at the Diet of Lublin whose long deliberations absorbed the interest of all foreign diplomats and observers (51). They absorbed even more the King himself who more than anybody else contributed

to their success but nevertheless found the necessary time to watch most carefully an unusual war going on in the distant Don-Volga region which since the fall of the Golden Horde, in 1502, was even for Poland outside her field of interest and never attracted the interest of Western Europe. Yet, from the point of view of universal history, that first clash between the Ottoman Empire and Moscow, the only one which took the form of a Turkish invasion deep into the territory of a future rival, was of decisive significance. Even today it is interesting to consider (52) what would have happened if the Turks had succeeded in retaking for the Muslim world Astrakhan and Kazan, encircling Persia, and establishing contact with Siberia before Moscow started her amazing expansion in that direction. And at the given moment Sigismund Augustus was placed before a difficult decision when through a Polish renegade sent as Turkish envoy to Lublin in May 1569, one of the two aggressive imperialistic powers in Eastern Europe asked for cooperation against the other one and at least for free passage of Turkish forces through the Polish Ukraine (53).

The King was still in war with Ivan the Terrible, a war which had become unavoidable when after the conquest of Kazan and Astrakhan the Tsar decided not to continue the struggle against the Tartars by moving against the Crimean Khanate — the most troublesome neighbor of both Muscovy and the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth — but rather to turn against Livonia threatening to encircle Lithuania from the north. The necessity of full Polish support in the defense of Lithuania and even of Livonia which had placed herself under the joint protection of both Jagellonian states, was one of the main reasons why the King worked so hard for the Union of Lublin, why most of the Lithuanians were in favor of it, and why the Ukraine was transferred from the Grand Duchy to the Kingdom of Poland. Yet, it would have been quite another matter for the defender of the Western World to join with, or support the enemy of all Christendom in an aggression against a power which though hostile to the West, still was a Christian country. Therefore, without going beyond the peace treaty concluded with Turkey in 1568, simultaneously with Austria, Sigismund Augustus rejected the Turkish proposal immediately: in his letters to the Sultan and the Grand Vizir (54) he did not hesitate to declare that he was reluctant « to shed Christian blood »

fighting against a ruler whom « other Christian rulers » had recommended him. And though he exaggerated saying that Moscow was asking him for peace, he himself soon announced to Ivan the sending of a peace mission, hoping that since it was a joined Polish-Lithuanian embassy it would have better chances of success than the earlier negotiations by the Lithuanians alone (55). With regard to the Turkish campaign against Moscow, the King limited himself to attaching to the Ottoman forces a Polish observer, that same Taranowski (56) who a little later was to help also Venice to get information about Eastern Europe.

There can be no doubt that Polands' strict neutrality contributed to the failure of the Turkish expedition which thus could advance only through the territory of the Crimean Tartars. Their Khan, a Turkish vassal since the fall of Kaffa in 1475 but always anxious to avoid any interference of the Ottoman Empire north of the Black Sea, proved a doubtful assistance. It was in vain that in August 1569 the Turks started building the long planned Don-Volga canal, and though no large scale battles were fought at the strategic place of old Saray — the Tsaritsyn-Stalingrad of the future — the forced retreat of the invaders toward the end of September was a real turning point. It was symbolic that in the fall of 1569 the Turkish supply center at Azov was destroyed by a fire (57) soon after the equally enigmatic burning of the arsenal of Venice (58): the Ottoman Empire which under Selim II was no longer what it had been under Suleyman the Magnificent and avoided fighting on two fronts at a time, gave up the ambitious north-eastern project of Grand-Vizir Mehmed Sokolli and followed the suggestion of the Duke of Naxos — « Nassi » as Miquez was called by the Turks — to turn against the Venetians in order to conquer Cyprus.

This explains why in 1570 Ivan's ambassador Novosiltsov obtained promises of peace from the Turks on quite favorable conditions (59). But it also explains why Ivan who a year before would have probably welcomed some kind of cooperation with the western opponents of the Ottoman Empire, had no longer any reason for doing so and provoking again the Sultan's anger. On the other hand, the King of Poland, facing two equally dangerous neighbors, continued his cautious policy of not provoking either of them: he neither sanctioned the private interference of a few Polish lords with the recurrent

troubles in Moldavia nor joined the Tartar raid against Moscow in 1571 (60), more than the Turkish expedition of 1569. Realizing, however, that Ivan had no longer anything to fear from the Ottoman Empire, he was alarmed to be for several months without any news from the ambassadors he had sent to Moscow: it seemed doubtful whether they would succeed in concluding any peace or even truce and in avoiding a final break (61). That under such conditions Poland could not participate in an anti-Ottoman league of the Western powers is entirely obvious.

However, even the realistic Venetians who gradually received the necessary information on all these matters, hesitated to give up their hopes of both Polish and Muscovite cooperation against the Turks. Still on August 5, 1570, the Senate, writing to the Venetian Ambassador in Rome about their determination to promote the anti-Ottoman league, confirmed that in addition to the ambassador sent to the Emperor, another one had been elected to go to Poland and to Moscow, while a mission to Persia was considered also (62). And it was not before January 4th of the following year that Senate decided almost unanimously that Antonio Tiepolo, instead of going as far as Moscow, should be recalled from his way to Poland (63) where his arrival was considered imminent (64), and sent instead — to the King of Spain (65).

It is not difficult to explain that change in Venice's diplomatic action which, in general, was not free from hesitations and fluctuations throughout these critical months (66), but now gave up the projects related to Eastern Europe and concentrated on the cooperation with the Western powers. Even the optimistic interpretations of the Venetian agent who reported from Warsaw on June 6, 1570, on his conversation with Sigismund Augustus (67), stressing the King's friendship for the Republic and the favorable prospects for the Venetian mission to Poland, could not conceal the fact that the King of Poland, before taking any action against the Turks, wanted to see how the war in the Levant would develop: he expressed the hope that Venice would be victorious but openly admitted that only after such a victory « the other Christian potentates » would be in a position to move in other areas against the common enemy and cease to appease him. In other words, Poland could not afford the risk of being involved in a distant conflict the issue of which still was doubtful, while

she had hardly avoided troubles at her own border and was directly threatened by Moscow. In that connection it was equally instructive for the Venetian authorities to hear in the following weeks from their friend, the papal Nuncio in Warsaw (68), that in view of the tension between Poland and Moscow, the mobilization of armed forces along their frontier and the strict control of all passages, it was impossible to send to Ivan the Terrible even the letters addressed to him without the knowledge and permission of the King. And that permission was hardly obtainable before the return of the Polish-Lithuanian embassy from Moscow.

Strange enough, in spite of all these difficulties and warnings, the Venetians, after concluding at last, in May 20, 1571, the final agreement with the Holy See and Spain, not only invited the Emperor to join that league, but reminded him once more that he would gain immortal glory, if he would secure the cooperation of the other neighbors of the Ottoman Empire, viz. of Poland, and also of Moscow and Persia (69). And while it is difficult to find out how seriously Venice, now seconded by far away Spain (70), took these suggestions, there is ample evidence that independently of the varying diplomatic moves of the secular powers, the Holy See persisted in its efforts to reconcile Sigismund Augustus and Ivan the Terrible, and to persuade them to turn their forces along with the other Christian princes against the infidels. Such were the instructions which Nuncio Portico had received in that matter from the outset of his mission (71) which he started in July 1568 and which was expected to lead him in person from Poland to Moscow.

It is not easy to determine to what an extent the rather favorable opinions about Ivan the Terrible which continued to prevail in Rome, had been determined by earlier reports on conditions in Moscow, particularly the memorandum by one of the Tiepolo's which was written soon after Ivan's spectacular victories over the Tartars and before the atrocities of the later part of his reign, a sympathetic analysis which seems to have produced a strong impression not only in Venice but all over Italy (72). But in any case, even the entirely different recent information which Portico was able to collect and forwarded to Rome, did not dispel at once these earlier impressions which can be traced back to the preceding pontificates: it rather contributed to the belief that the Nuncio had come too much under Polish influence.

And it was to his predecessor Giulio Ruggieri, then Apostolic Prototary, that Pius V turned for a comprehensive statement regarding the part which Poland and her neighbors could play in the league against the Turks (74).

That memorandum which must have been submitted toward the end of 1570 or at the beginning of the following year, begins with a long historical introduction. Going back to the crusade of Varna in 1444, but without repeating the usual legends in that matter, Ruggieri tried to show that the Kings of Poland as well as the Sultans to whom the Polish cavalry was « formidable » had always been anxious to avoid armed conflicts. Even more than his predecessors, Sigismund Augustus was opposed to any wars which he conducted only in case of necessity and rather unsuccessfully. Recalling the peace concluded with Selim II in 1568 and writing soon after the precarious three years' truce which at last had been signed in Moscow, Ruggieri very well explained why the King was opposed to any war, even « for the glory of God », because of the strained relations with practically all neighbors. Moscow whose « barbaria » was combined with an inveterate hostility, remained dangerous even during the armistice, and so were the Tartars and the Wallachians. The Emperor resented the unhappy marriage of his sister and had never given up the imperial claims to Polish Prussia. And the disputes over the heritage of the King's mother in Southern Italy were creating a tension even in the relations with Philip II of Spain, one of the chief associates in the anti-Ottoman league, while on the contrary, Poland had no territory to claim from the Turks, as had the Habsburgs and Venice.

Nevertheless, Ruggieri recommended not to give up the efforts to overcome all those obstacles to Polish participation in the league. The first suggestions which he made in this respect, were sound indeed. The Emperor should be persuaded to join the league himself; the King of Spain should grant Bari to Sigismund Augustus, already well over fifty, at least for his lifetime; stipends should be offered to the Polish forces; and even the idea of making the King of Poland a general commander of the league — a role once offered to his father by Leo X — could be considered again by the present Pope. But turning to the most delicate and controversial issues, the former Nuncio did not hesitate to stress as particularly important the inclusion in the league of Poland's most dangerous neighbors: the Tartars who

after all were indifferent in matters of religion and had occasionally cooperated with the Poles in the past; the Wallachians who otherwise would be a source of trouble as they had been on earlier occasions; and first of all Moscow, a Christian nation anxious to fight the Turks. And Ruggieri who otherwise showed an unusual knowledge of Eastern European problems, outlined simply fantastic prospects of Muscovite contributions to the planned war: mobilizing no less than 150.000 horsemen, Ivan the Terrible would launch an attack from Podolia — a Polish province — and after crossing the Dniester and the Danube, reach in eight more days Constantinople, march at the same time through the Crimea against Kaffa, and cooperate with the Persians according to the Venetian projects! Most paradoxical, however, was the final conclusion: such an inclusion in the league of Muscovites, Wallachians, and Tartars would best persuade the King of Poland to join the expedition « with public profit », and both « to the Wallachian as well as to the Muscovite » the Holy See ought to promise a royal crown, if only they would abandon their schismatic errors and recognize the spiritual supremacy of the Pope.

With such a condition attached, added Ruggieri, the papal promise could not « reasonably irritate » Sigismund Augustus; but he failed to take into consideration a long and rather disappointing experience which Rome already had in this matter. On the one hand, nothing could more definitely alienate the King of Poland than the offer of a royal crown to the ruler of Moscow, increasing the prestige of an already too ambitious neighbour and raising his hopes for western support against an encircled Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth. On the other hand, such a condition of reunion had never had any chance of being accepted by Moscow which had definitely and immediately rejected the Union of Florence and considered any revival of that union even within the limits of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth a real *casus belli*. Furthermore, at the given moment there was even less chance of Moscow's recognizing papal authority than in the past. Ivan the Terrible who quite recently, at the end of 1569, had put to death the Orthodox Metropolitan of Moscow because he did not prove subservient enough (75), could not be expected to place himself under the supremacy of the Pope; and he could not be expected either, after the failure of the Turkish invasion in the preceding year and the following re-establishment of friendly relations with the Otto-

man Empire, to pay such a high price for a cooperation with other Christian powers which he no longer needed, and especially with Poland to which in spite of another truce he remained so strongly opposed. Last not least, in view of the division of Western Christendom which after the Council of Trent appeared final, Orthodox Moscow, though opposed to all Western heresies, had no reason for siding with Catholicism against Protestantism, since her conception of the Church as a community under large lay influence, under strict State control, and without any supranational leadership, had much in common with that of Rome's opponents.

Nevertheless, the Holy See seems to have shared to a large extent Ruggieri's views. Not only was the Nuncio to Poland, in September 1570, instructed to proceed to Moscow with a formal invitation to join the anti-Ottoman league, but an appendix in cipher was added to his instructions (76) with clear reference to the « privileges and graces » which Ivan was supposed to desire from the Holy See and which in addition to the royal title allegedly included the sending to Moscow of « some priests who would instruct his people in the Roman ceremonies », as if the Tsar had been ready to give up even the Eastern rite. And when Portico himself did not seem too enthusiastic in that matter and was waiting for news from preliminary emissaries who obviously were not able to reach Ivan (77), the sending of another papal representative to Moscow was seriously considered and the King of Poland requested to grant him free passage through the Commonwealth.

In that extremely delicate situation, Sigismund Augustus without waiting for the arrival of Cardinal Commandone who already on May 25, five days after the conclusion of the Holy League with Spain and Venice had been designated as Legate to the Emperor and to Poland to persuade them to join the alliance (78), wrote to Pius V on September 3, 1571, a letter (79) in which he clarified his position regarding additional negotiations with Moscow. And he did it with the same sincerity and with the same loyalty to the Holy See which was to appear a few weeks later in the letter regarding the personal problem of his marriage (80).

He started recalling that « moved by his special devotion to the Catholic religion » he had promised to Nuncio Portico that « should there appear any serious hope to lead the Prince of Moscow to the

Catholic religion », he would in order to please the Pope, gladly grant free passage through his dominions to Moscow, either to Portico or, if the Nuncio would not or could not go himself, to another person who next to Portico would seem most reliable. And he emphasized that he still remained willing to do so. For, while in general there was no gain that he would not wholeheartedly wish to Catholicism, he particularly desired that very gain, viz. the conversion of Moscow, « if only it could be certain », for reasons of both the propagation of the Catholic faith and the tranquillity of the Christian Republic. He admitted, however, that he did not want his permission to receive any publicity. And he admitted, too, that when requested to grant a similar permission to a papal nuncio who would go to Moscow to persuade her to join the anti-Ottoman league, he had refused, and this for four reasons; first, because a political alliance and a conversion to the Catholic religion were different matters; secondly, because even as far as the religious matter was concerned, he still did not have the slightest evidence that the Muscovite ruler was inclined to Catholicism, and this he considered the decisive issue; thirdly, because neither Portico nor any other acceptable person was mentioned, but only in general « a nuncio ». And finally, because he wanted his permission to be known to the Pope alone.

That last point which Sigismund Augustus stressed more than once in earlier conversations with Portico, is quite easy to understand; the King wanted his possible support of the planned negotiations to remain secret, because even if really limited to the religious issue, they were to raise the suspicion of the Turks, who well remembered that two years ago Poland had refused them any cooperation against Ivan. The King could not afford to provoke such suspicions by openly favoring an action which he rightly considered hopeless anyway. He cannot be blamed, either for having openly manifested to the Pope his cautious scepticism regarding Ivan's readiness to accept the Catholic faith (81). For Pius V arrived to exactly the same negative conclusion after studying the whole material which Portico had sent him about « the habits and cruel rule of the Muscovite tyrant », the « wrongs and injuries » which the Polish envoys had suffered from him, and last not least, his recent negotiations with the Sultan « for perpetual peace ». Even before receiving the letter of Sigismund Augustus, the Pope wrote to his nuncio that in view of the facts he had lear-

ned about Ivan the Terrible he ought to give up the idea of going to Moscow even if the King of Poland would approve and favor that project, because the Holy See did not want to enter into relations with a nation « so cruel and barbarian ». And a little later he assured Sigismund Augustus that he had given up the whole matter because of the information received about Ivan's life (82).

It was, therefore, not at all Poland's opposition which prevented the conversion of Muscovy, and as to her equally doubtful cooperation against the Turks, that assistance had in the meantime proved much less indispensable than it had seemed before, thanks to the great victory of the Christian navy in the famous battle of Lepanto, on October 7th of the same year.

On the other hand, it could seem that such a spectacular success would be the strongest possible argument to persuade at least the Catholic nations of Central and Eastern Europe to join now the struggle against the enemy of Christendom whose power had proved to be not invincible: on the sea that power was broken indeed, and therefore in the West the opinion prevailed that the time was ripe for a simultaneous action on both sea and land. That opinion was shared not only by the Pope and the Venetians (83) but also by Spain and by Italian states besides Venice, for instance the Duke of Urbino who recommended an offensive in the direction of the Straits. But in that same memorandum (84) he rightly warned Pius V that little was to be expected from the Emperor whose answer to the papal suggestions was quite evasive, and nothing at all from the German princes, especially the Protestants. There remained, therefore, among the Catholic rulers only the King of Poland who did not fail to express his pleasure and his congratulations when informed about the victory of Lepanto by both Venice and the Holy See.

Particularly warm and cordial was the letter which he sent in December 11 to Doge Mocenigo (85) but already four weeks earlier he thanked for these welcome news Cardinal Commendone (86) who after his visit to the imperial court was on his way to Poland, this time as papal legate. That second mission to Sigismund August which the outstanding diplomat had to perform, was not at all limited to religious matters, nor even to the problem of the King's marriage. Still more than this delicate personal affair, purely political assignments made Commendone's task this time much more difficult, although the

religious situation had greatly improved since his first sojourn in Poland as papal nuncio. Now, in cooperation with Nuncio Portico though not always in harmonious agreement with him, he had openly to renew the endeavors to make Poland join the anti-Ottoman league and secretly to support the candidate to the Polish throne who seemed most desirable to the Holy See in case of the imminent childless death of the last Jagellonian.

In spite of all the disappointments which Maximilian II caused to Rome, particularly in the matter of anti-Ottoman action but even with regard to religious conditions in Germany, papal diplomacy definitely favored the election of a Habsburg candidate, being convinced that this would be the best guarantee of the progress of Catholic restoration in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth. Since, however, Sigismund Augustus in agreement with the great majority of the nation was no less definitely opposed to such an Austrian successor (87), Commendone's interference with that problem could only increase the opposition against his official proposals in the matter of the Holy League. Not only was the King of Poland well aware that even between Venice and Spain disagreements had started again immediately after Lepanto making the efficient continuation of the common action rather doubtful, but he could also point out to Commendone that since the Emperor was not prepared to move, Poland could not oppose the Turks in dangerous isolation (88). A notice in Nuncio Portico's papers (89) concerning a possible alliance between the King of Poland and the King of Spain who seemed most determined to fight the Turks, significantly referred to disappointing experiences of earlier anti-Ottoman leagues, in particular the crusade of Varna and the recent league with Venice, though it was not yet anticipated that the Republic would make a separate peace with the Sultan as early as in March 1573.

It was hardly less significant that in 1572, when the Venetians still were looking for Eastern allies against the Ottoman Empire, the Doge sent a mission to far away Persia (90) which only passed through Poland, obviously without any difficulties. As to Ivan the Terrible, he did not even permit the envoy of the Doge to return through Muscovy, because he did not want anybody to travel through his country in the direction of Poland. That Venetian agent, Vincenzo di Alessandri came back to Cracow through Moldavia but when he sent

his report to the Doge from the Polish capital, King Sigismund Augustus had already died, on July 7, (91) little more than two months after Pius V.

Among the many contradictory reports which had been sent to Rome about the last Jagellonian there was a memorandum on the tasks of a Nuncio to Poland (92) which gave perhaps the best characteristics of his personality and of his attitude toward religion: « The King is naturally benevolent and altogether kind, he is inclined to the good, fears God and obviously leads a Catholic life »; and again: « At the head of the realm is an excellent Catholic King of splendid intellect; he only sins through too much goodness ». That memorandum was certainly not unknown to Nuncio Portico who followed the advice not to discourage the Poles and their ruler by too much severity and shared the view that Poland was a « bulwark » against both infidels and schismatics though many peoples of different creeds were living in the Commonwealth. In his own « considerations » about Poland which he submitted to the Holy See after working in that country for five years and eight months (93), and which he wanted to be used as suggestions for his successor, Portico returned to the idea of a permanent peace and reconciliation between Poland and Moscow which would permit new King-elect to think of some « most glorious enterprise », and he also tried to interpret once more the religious policies of the late Sigismund Augustus.

As to the first of these problems, the King-elect, Henry of Valois, whose choice had been secretly prepared for several years by Sigismund Augustus himself, he was certainly no less Catholic than the Austrian Archduke favored by Commendone. The election of the brother of Charles IX, which coming so soon after St. Barthelemy's night alarmed the Polish Calvinists (94), was the best evidence that thanks to his predecessor the Catholic restoration in Poland was already an accomplished fact. Unfortunately however, Henry was not thinking of any « glorious enterprise » and least of all of an anti-Ottoman league, but only of returning to France which he did immediately after his brother's death. It was only the next King of Poland Stefan Batory, again elected in opposition to the Habsburg candidate but again a good Catholic loyal to the Holy See, who proved ready to discuss with Rome the project of Eastern Europe's participation in the struggle against the Ottoman Empire, though not in alliance with

Moscow but after defeating her first (95). And it was only under Batory's successor, Sigismund III of Sweden, once more a candidate of the anti-Austrian party, but particularly strong in his Catholic convictions and soon inclined to cooperate with the Habsburgs, that more religious unity was achieved in Poland, not through any persecution of those who were decided to remain either Protestant or Orthodox, but through a voluntary, spontaneous reunion with Rome of the great majority of the Ruthenian hierarchy.

When Portico welcomed the desire for religious unity which Sigismund Augustus expressed in an eloquent speech at the end of the Diet of Lublin after achieving the political union of Poland and Lithuanian (96) and when the nuncio interpreted even the passage of the King's will which recommended that union to the federated nations as an appeal for religious accord also (97), he was chiefly, if not exclusively, thinking of the return of the Protestants to Catholicism. Such a return, though not through any coercion as he pointed out in his speech was certainly desired by the last Jagellonian as it was by his successors. But there is good reason to believe that the King was thinking also of his much more numerous Greek Orthodox subjects whose equal rights had been recognized in connection with the Lublin negotiations (98). That problem which throughout the reign of Sigismund Augustus was at least occasionally stressed by those who were interested in Poland's religious unity (99), did not escape the attention of the Holy See. In the instructions of Portico himself, as in those of his predecessor Ruggieri, the Ruthenians of eastern rite under Greek bishops who used to be confirmed by the Patriarchs of Constantinople, were at least briefly mentioned (100). But as the famous Jesuit Antonio Possevino, after his own disappointing experience with Ivan the Terrible, was to point out later with some regret, the hopeless efforts towards religious union with Moscow diverted that attention throughout several pontificates (101) until at last Clement VIII lived to see that reunion of the Ruthenians in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth which was the only real compensation for the losses of the Catholic Church in Western Europe.

When in 1596 the Metropolitan of Kiev and five of the seven other dioceses under his authority accepted the decisions of both Florence and Trent, that effective regional reunion was accompanied again by unsuccessful efforts to gain Moscow not only for a similar union but particularly for an anti-Ottoman league in alliance with

Poland and the Emperor. Therefore a study of the situation immediately after the Council of Trent contributes to a better understanding of the background of the Union of Brest. This is even more true, because the opposition against that Union must be explained to a large extent by a strong Protestant influence which seconded that of Constantinople and Moscow. And at least on that occasion Sigismund III, otherwise so different from Sigismund Augustus, proved faithful to the tradition of his much greater uncle (102).

OSKAR HALECKI

NOTES.

1. B. DEMBIŃSKI, *Rzym i Europa przed rozpoczęciem trzeciego okresu Soboru Trydenckiego*, Kraków 1891.
2. H. JEDIN, « *Nouvelles données sur l'histoire des conciles généraux* »; *Cahiers d'histoire mondiale*, I (1953), n. 1, 166-167.
3. *The present writer hopes to reply on some other occasion to the objections against his interpretation of Europe's historical unity which have been raised by Arnold P. Toynbee, A Study of History*, VIII (Oxford 1954), 726-727.
4. L. v. PASTOR, *Geschichte der Päpste seit dem Ausgang des Mittelalters*, VII (Freiburg i.B. 1928), 551-553.
5. *Ibidem*, VIII, 540-542.
6. P. PIERLING, *La Russie et le Saint Siège*, I (Paris 1896), 362-372, 378-379; see also his earlier work: *Rome et Moscou 1547-1579* (Paris 1883), append. II, III.
7. G. VERNADSKY, « *On Some Parallel Trends in Russian and Turkish History* », *Transactions of the Connecticut Academy of Arts and Sciences*, XXXVI, (1945), 25-36.
8. C. TOUMANOFF, « *Moscow, the Third Rome: Genesis and Significance of a Politico-Religious Idea* », *The Catholic Historical Review*, XL (1955), 411-447.
9. A. M. AMMANN, *Abriss der ostslawischen Kirchengeschichte* (Wien 1950), 225 f., where, however, the comparison with Sigismund Augustus is hardly fair to the latter.
10. The sources are quoted by P. PIERLING, *op. cit.*, 394 n. 1, see also append. V to his *Rome et Moscou 1547-1579*, and A. M. AMMANN, *op. cit.*, 226 n. 62.
11. H. CICHOWSKI, *Ks. Stanisław Sokołowski a Kościół Wschodni*, Lwów 1929, 26 ff.; E. BENZ, *Die Ostkirche im Licht der protestantischen Geschichtsschreibung*, München 1952, 24-29.
12. L. v. PASTOR, *op. cit.*, IX, 734-740.
13. K. CHODYNICKI, *Kościół prawosławny a Rzeczpospolita Polska do r. 1632*, Warszawa 1934.
14. O. HALECKI, « *Reformacja czy Unia?* », *Wiadomości* n. 438, (London, Aug. 22, 1954) containing a critical reinterpretation of the problem discussed by S. KOT, *La réforme dans le Grand-Duché de Lithuanie, facteur d'occidentalisation culturelle*.
15. B. DEMBIŃSKI, *op. cit.*, 186 f., 232; quoted by L. v. PASTOR, *op. cit.*, VII, 387, who remains, however, through his work extremely critical of Sigismund Augustus.
16. L. v. PASTOR, *op. cit.*, VII, 190.
17. TH. WOTSCHKE, *Der Briefwechsel der Schweizer mit den Polen*, Leipzig 1908, *passim*.
18. L. v. PASTOR, *op. cit.*, VII, 361.
19. *Ibidem*, VII, 377, 385-386.
20. *Ibidem*, VII, 392, n. 2, where the sources are quoted.
21. E. M. WILBUR, *A History of Unitarianism*, Cambridge (Mass) 1945, 320 n. 54.
22. J. UMINSKI, « *The Counter-Reformation in Poland* », *Cambridge History of Poland to 1696*, Cambridge 1950, 404.
23. *Poloneutychia* is the significant title of a contemporary description of religious conditions in Poland by the Antitrinitarian Andreas Lubieniecki; see E. M. WILBUR, *op. cit.*, 358 n. 8, 443 n. 3.
24. *Ibidem*, 322-325; K. E. J. JOERGENSEN, *Oekumenische Bestrebungen unter*

- den polnischen Protestanten bis zum Jahre 1645*, Koebenhan, 1942, 228-229.
25. E. M. WILBUR, *op. cit.*, 358.
 26. This clearly results from the juxtaposition of the two conflicting interpretations of the Eucharist (see: O. HALECKI, *Zgoda sandomierska 1570 r.*, Warszawa 1915, 272-281), and is admitted from the Protestant point of view, by JOERGENSEN, *op. cit.*, 268, 271.
 27. O. HALECKI, *op. cit.*, 334; K. E. J. JOERGENSEN, *op. cit.*, 278, who calls the Kings attitude « ganz unverständlich », though there is no contradiction between his denial of any official recognition or approval of the Confession and the claims of the Protestants that it was submitted to him.
 28. In addition to Portico's reports, partly published by A. THEINER, *Vetera Monumenta Poloniae et Lithuaniae*, II (Romae 1861), see in the same Ms. of the Vatican Archives (*Nunziatura di Polonia*, vol. I, fol. 80 v. and 134) the letters sent to him from Rome by Cardinal Rusticucci on May 13, and Nov. Sandomiriense») and also (*Misc. Arm.* II vol. 69, fol. 59-60, 112-113, 146-149, 160-169, 212-214) the rich material on the Synod filed in Portico's papers, along with the information about Ivan the Terrible which will be discussed 11, 1570 (with reference to the « dedicatione distruttiva della Confessione in the later part of this paper.
 29. Typical in that respect is the long autographed letter (in Italian) written by the King to the Pope on March 13, 1570. (Vatican Archives, *Principi*, vol. 31 fol. 384-385), regarding his mother's heritage.
 30. *Ibidem*, fol. 359-360, March 10, 1566 (orig).
 31. *Ibidem*, fol. 392; (orig.: the copy in the Polish State Archives is published in *Akta Podkanclerskie Fr. Krasieńskiego* v. III, n. 179 Wars., 1871) see particularly the passages where he declares that he is not so forgetful of his place among the Catholic Kings, « ut eiusmodi aliquid privato consilio et auctoritate usurpare, et non potius ab iis quorum arbitrio haec divinitus concredita esse sentio, postulare debeam ».
 32. L. v. PASTOR, *op. cit.*, VIII, 509 n. 2. Contrary to the usual interpretation, there seem to have been serious reasons for a papal annulment of the king's third marriage with Catherine of Austria, a sister of his first wife and daughter of his cousin, while the rumors regarding his private life were obvious misinterpretations of his desperate, truly tragic desire to have an heir of his kingdom.
 33. Already after Portico's first visit, on October 27, 1568, the King wrote to Pius V (*Principi*, vol. 31, fol. 375-376) expressing his satisfaction with the new nunzio.
 34. L. v. PASTOR, *op. cit.*, VIII, 539-579.
 35. In addition to the published reports of the Venetian envoys at the Imperial Court quoted by PASTOR (*op. cit.*, VIII, 556), see in the *Annali* of the State Archives in Venice (*Bibl. dell'Archivio Generale Miscel. Codici* n. 100) fol. 30 (Feb. 11 1570).
 36. The passage of the *Annali* quoted in the preceding note refers specifically to the « impresa di Asdragan » and to the reports of the bailo in Constantinople. But these reports were of April 30 and July 14, 1564 (*ibidem*, fol. 23, 23 v.) and it was not yet known in Venice nor in Vienna that the situation had completely changed since.
 37. State Archives in Venice, *Deliberazioni (Secreta) Senato*, vol. 76 fol. 68.
 38. *Ibidem*, fol. 95.
 39. In the instruction quoted above, note 37.
 40. *Annali* (as quoted above, note 35), fol. 71 (added at the bottom of the page).
 41. *Deliberazioni Senato*, vol. 76, fol. 100; the same information was communi-

- cated to the Venetian Ambassador in Spain, fol. 101v.
42. *Annali*, fol. 39 v.-40.
 43. It must be noted, however, that in some reports of the Venetian diplomats only the hopes for imperial and Polish support are mentioned (see f. i., *ibidem*, fol. 47, 48 v.).
 44. Vatican Archives, *Nunziatura di Venezia*, vol. 10, fol. 63-64; see L. v. PASTOR, *op. cit.*, VII, 557, note 2.
 45. *Ibidem*, fol. 80v.-81, August 23, 1570.
 46. State Archives in Venice, *Lettere (Principi) Polonia*, n. 16, fol. 3 (Sigismundus Augustus to Doge Loredano, Lublin, June 22, 1569, orig.).
 47. *Ibidem*, fol. 9-10 (Orig.; contemporary Italian translation in fol. 7-8, Taranowski to Doge Mocenigo, Warsaw. Feb. 17, 1571). See fol. 11-18 for evidence that Taranowski was acting in contact with the papal Nuncio to Poland.
 48. Two most interesting reports of Vancimuglio (autographs) sent to Paolo Tiepolo from Warsaw on June 6 and 21, 1570, are preserved in the Venetian Archives, *Capi del Consiglio dei Dieci*, Busta n. 19, fol. 211-213. That this file which received the title *Lettere di Ambasciatori a Napoli 1585-1790*, contains also a package of reports and letters from Poland 1501-1600 was brought to my attention by Dr. Franca Maria Tiepolo, one of the archivists to whom I am greatly obliged for her kind advice and assistance.
 49. *Ibidem*, fol. 214-216, autographed letters of Nuncio Portico to the Doge and to the Council of Ten, Warsaw, June 14 and 20, 1950.
 50. HALIL INALCIK, *The Origin of the Ottoman-Russian Rivalry and the Don-Volga Canal (1569)*, Ankara 1947, (reprint from *Annales de l'Université d'Ankara*), adds much new information from Turkish sources, but does not know the Polish material which has been collected by JANUSZ PAJEWSKI. «*Projekt przymierza polsko-tureckiego za Zygmunta Augusta*» in: *Księga ku czci O. Haleckiego*, Warszawa 1935, 185-202.
 51. O. HALECKI, *Dzieje Unii Jagiellońskiej*. II (Kraków 1920), 248-349.
 52. As did ARNOLD J. TOYNBEE, *A Study of History*, VIII (Oxford 1954), 225-226.
 53. The most recent study of that problem by W. KIRCHNER *The Rise of the Baltic Question* (Un. of Delaware Press, 1954) which tries to justify the aggression of Ivan (p. 91-92), is rather unfair to Sigismund Augustus (p. 200-201).
 54. These unpublished letters are summarized by Pajewski who quotes the *Libri Legationum*, of the Polish Chancery (*op. cit.*), 198, n. 3; see also his new information about the mission to Constantinople, in 1568, of the Polish Ambassador Peter Zborowski who already then noted, not without alarm, the preparations for the Astrakhan expedition (*ibidem*, 189-191).
 55. O. HALECKI, *op. cit.*, II, 348; see also my biography of Andrew Chalecki, who after being one of the Lithuanian representatives at the Diet of Lublin was sent with that announcement to Ivan the Terrible (*Polski Słownik Biograficzny*, III, 270).
 56. Taranowski's most interesting report was published by J. I. KRASZEWSKI, *Podróże i poselstwa polskie do Turcji*, Kraków, 1860, pp. 41-63.
 57. HALIL INALCIK, *op. cit.*, p. 83-84.
 58. According to R. CESSI, *Storia della Repubblica di Venezia*, II (Milano 1946), 116, that fire «*certamente non doloso*», did not influence the war preparations of the Turks.
 59. HALIL INALCIK, *op. cit.*, p. 87-90.
 60. *Ibidem*, p. 90, note 176, where the complaint of the Khan to the King of Poland is quoted.

61. See Portico's letter of June 20, 1570, quoted above in note 49.
62. State Archives of Venice, *Annali*, fol. 97.
63. *Deliberazioni Senato*, vol. 77, fol. 40. See also the comments on his recall «mentre era in viaggio», noted on the genealogical tree, (XVIII Century) of Tiepolo's in n. 114 of their family archives.
64. *Lettere Polonia* n. 16, fol. 23-24, letter of Nicholas Tarlo, royal secretary, to Antonio Tiepolo, August 19, 1570, dated «nella Rocca mia hereditaria di Lyaski».
65. *Deliberazioni Senato*, vol. 77, fol. 99v.-101, instruction of June 2, 1571.
66. R. CESSI, *op. cit.*, II, 118.
67. See the first of the reports quoted above in note 48 (f. 211).
68. See the two letters of Portico quoted above in note 49.
69. *Deliberazioni Senato*, vol. 77, fol. 97, instructions for Z. Correr, Ambassador to the Emperor of June 2, 1571.
70. B. CHUDOBA, *Spain and the Empire*, Chicago 1952, p. 93, and the sources quoted on p. 270.
71. Vatican Archives, *Misc Arm*, II, col. 34, fol. 40 («*Instruttione per Polonia a Mons. Portico*»).
72. This most interesting report, a copy of which is in the Vatican Library (Urb. lat. 854, was first published by P. ROMANIN, *Sotria Documentata di Venezia 1853-1861*, VI (Reprinted Venice 1914) 505-521 from a Ms. of the Marciana Library, and again in 1877 in a special pamphlet issued by AURELIO MAGRINI, *Nozze Cuchetti Rosada* pp. 11-33, from Ms. of the Municipal Library of Ferrara. The first of these editions gives the date 1557, the other one 1560 but both attribute it to a Francesco Tiepolo who proved, however, difficult to identify (see Magrini's note 2 on p. 35-36 and also FR. ANTONIBON *Le relazioni a stampa di Ambasciatori Veneti*, Padova 1939, p. 108). In the Archives of the Tiepolo family, now deposited at the Museo Correr in Venice, there are two copies of the report (n. 112, 113) entitled «*Relazione di Moscovia del Segretario Giovanni Tiepolo*». In any case, it results from the concluding remarks of the memorandum that its author had never been in Moscow himself.
73. «Mieux noté à Varsovie qu'à Rome», calls him P. PIERLING, *La Russie et le Saint Siège* I, 391; see *ibidem* I, 397, on the similar illusions of both Pius IV and Pius V with regard to Ivan the Terrible.
74. «Discorso di Mons. Giulio Ruggieri, Protonotario Apostolico intorno alli aiuti di Polonia a favore della sanctissima Lega contro il Turco», Vatican Library, *Urb. Lat.* 855, fol. 326-348 v. L. v. PASTOR, *op. cit.*, VIII, 502, note 4 quotes without using it, a copy of that memorandum in the National Library, Paris. In the Vatican Ms. that undated text is preceded by another memorandum regarding the League, dated Naples, December 17, 1570, and followed by others, one of which has the date October 7, 1571.
75. See the latest interpretation of that crime by WILLIAM K. MEDLIN, *Moscow and East Rome*, Genève 1952, p. 122.
76. Published by P. PIERLING, *Rome et Moscow 1547-1597*, App. V, pp. 140-144: see also his *La Russie et le Saint Siège*, I, 384, and L. v. PASTOR, *op. cit.*, VIII, 557, particular notes 2 and 4.
77. The sources are quoted by P. PIERLING, *La Russie et le Saint Siège*, I, 393, note 1, but A. THEINER has not published the whole material which can be found in Portico's reports (Vatican Archives, *Nunziatura di Polonia*, vol. 1 and 6, also *Misc. Arm.*, II, vol. 68).
78. P. TACCHI VENTURI, *Diario consistoriale di G. A. Sartori, Cardinale di S. Severina*, Roma 1903, p. 40, 47.

79. See the original of this important letter which is so severely interpreted by P. PIERLING, I, 391-398, (followed by L. v. PASTOR, VIII, 558) in the Vatican Archives, *Principi*, vol. 31, fol. 389-390.
80. See above, note 31.

P. PIERLING, *loc. cit.*, speaks of the King's « prudence de serpent », of his « déclaration équivoque » and of his « secret dévoilé » in a letter to Cardinal Hosius. But that letter of May 23, 1571 *Akta Podkanclerskie Fr. Krasińskiego* III, nr. 38 does not really contain any secret, different from what the King later wrote to the Pope: it only expressed in stronger terms the conviction that Ivan could not be converted and that papal negotiations with him, harmful to Poland, would be of no advantage to the Holy See.
82. All sources are quoted by PIERLING, *op. cit.*, I, 394, note 1. The Ms. of the Vatican Archives: *Politicorum Varia* vol. 68, which he calls « le dossier de Portico », is now *Misc. Arm.* II, vol. 69 (see particularly fol. 8-13, 17-39, 46-47, 59, 140-142; also the comments on some of these papers and their partial editions, in PIERLING, *Rome et Moscow*, app. VII, VIII).
83. *Deliberazioni Senato*, vol. 78, fol. 21v-22 (the Venetian Ambassador at the Imperial Court is instructed, October 19, 1571, to approach also the Ambassador of the King of Poland, to whom the Senate is going to write directly in order to encourage him « a moveri contra il Turco ».)
84. Summarized by L. v. PASTOR, *op. cit.*, VIII, 602.
85. State Archives of Venice, *Lettere Polonia*, Nr. 16, f. 32 (orig., Italian translation on fol. 29), Dec. 11, 1571.
86. Vatican Archives, *Principi*, vol. 26, fol. 65 (orig.) Nov. 13, 1571.
87. Only in that purely political matter the King was not fully sincere with the Holy See; thus for instance, sending to Pius V an autographed letter on October 17, 1570, he remained rather vague referring as usually to the Nuncio's report; in that report Portico writes that the King in private conversation seemed to be inclined to transmit his throne to a Catholic of the House of Austria and to cooperate with that house against the Turks. Correct was only the Nuncio's general conclusion, that the King wanted to have a Catholic successor. See Vatican Archives, *Nunziatura di Polonia*, vol. 1, (formerly 3) fol. 99 (the king's letter published by A. THEINER, *Vetera Monumenta Poloniae*, II, nr. 801) and 100 (unpublished report of Portico).
88. L. v. PASTOR, *op. cit.*, VII, 510 note 1. See *Akta Podkanclerskie* III, n. 358.
90. State Archives of Venice, *Relazioni* F. 25, fol. 1-5 (description of Persia) and fol. 7-16v (letters from Cracow, July 24-25, 1572). See also Alessandri's undated report « delle cose da lui osservate nel Regno di Persia » in Ms. 6032 (formerly 64 cl. VI. Ital.) of the Marciana Library.
91. See Portico's report of July 9. « che il Ser.mo Re alli 7 di luglio a mezzo giorno essendosi confessato et comunicato la Domenica passò a meglior vita » (*Nunziatura di Polonia*, vol. 6, fol. 118).
92. Vatican Archives, *Arm.* 64, vol. 29, fol. 44 (« Raccordi per Polonia »).
93. *Ibidem*, fol. 98v (« Pro Regno Poloniae consideranda A.D. 1574 », fol. 92-100).
94. W. SOBIESKI, *Polska a Hugonoci po nocy sw. Bartłomieja*, Kraków 1910.
95. L. BORATYNSKI, *Stefan Batory i plan ligi przeciw Turkom*, Kraków 1903.
96. *Nunziatura di Polonia*, vol. 6, fol. 31v.
97. *Arm.* 64, vol. 29, f. 97v.
98. The connection between the Union of Lublin and the legal status of the Orthodox is well explained by K. CHODYNICKI. *Kościół prawosławny a Rzeczpospolita Polska*, Warszawa, 1934, p. 88-92, 102.
99. See, for instance, A. FRICII MODREVII. *Commentariorum de Republica Emendanda*, Libri V (ed. C. Kumaniecki) Varsoviae 1953, p. 302. The first

edition which included the « Liber de Ecclesia » with the passage on the Eastern Church was published in Basle 1554.

100. Vatican Archives, *Misc. Arm.* II, vol. 34, fol. 40-40v (Instructions for Portico 1568), vol. 82, fol. 218v (instructions for Ruggieri 1566); see also *Nunziatura di Polonia*, vol. I, fol. 135 (reference to the decisions of Alexander VI about « il modo del battesimo de Rutheni », Nov. 5. 1570), vol. 5 B fol. 56-58 (remarks about the Ruthenians and Armenians in a description of Poland in 1572).
101. A. POSSEVINI S.J., *Moscovia*, Vilna 1589, *Alter Commentarius*, fol. 18v.
102. This will be shown in my forthcoming book *From Florence to Brest*. Most of the material used in the present article was collected when in preparation for that book I studied in Italy under a Fulbright scholarship granted to me in 1952-1953.

JÒZEF JASNOWSKI

JOZEF JASNOWSKI

Born on 12 March 1906 in Poland. Studied at the University of Warsaw (Ph. D. in History, 1934). Travelled abroad for historical studies in archives at Königsberg, Riga, Vienna, Stockholm and Budapest, 1935-1939. Served as a volunteer in the Polish Army (1940-1943) and then worked for various Polish educational bodies in London. A member of the Polish Society of Arts and Sciences Abroad and secretary of the Humanistic Section. Lecturer at the Polish University Abroad. Lives in London since 1943 and continues there his historical researches.

More important works:

1. « *Działalność antytrynitarzy włoskich w Polsce za Zygmunta Augusta* » (« *Księga Pamiątkowa ku czci Prof. O. Haleckiego* ») Warszawa, 1934.
 2. « *Piotr z Goniądza. Studium z dziejów ruchu religijnego w Polsce w 16. stuleciu* » (*Przegląd Historyczny*) Warszawa, 1934.
 3. « *Aleksander Hilary Połubiński. Działalność wojskowa w latach 1650-1665* » (*Przegląd Historyczno-Wojskowy Tom X*) Warszawa, 1938.
 4. « *Korespondencja ks. Albrechta i Albrechta Fryderyka z Polakami w latach 1548-1572* » *Miesięcznik Heraldyczny*. 1936, nr. 5-8.
 5. « *Mikołaj Czarny Radziwiłł 1515-1565. Kanclerz i marszałek ziemski Wielkiego Księstwa litewskiego* » Warszawa 1939. Polskie Towarzystwo Naukowe.
 6. *Poland and England in the 16 and 17 Centuries* (« *Polish Science and Learning* » VII) London, 1947.
 7. « *Casimire Sarbiewski, the Polish Horace in England* » (*Folia*, vol. III, nr. 3) N. York, 1949.
- and others

PROBLEMS OF THE FRONTIER WITH THE STEPPE OF THE NORTH BLACK SEA

If we look at a detailed contemporary map of the great plain, which stretches in a wide zone along the northern shores of the Black and Azov seas, from the Danube estuary to the Western confines of Asia, we find it thickly dotted with villages and towns, and intersected with lines indicating roads and railways. But a map of this area in the XVIth century (or even in the two following centuries) would have shown quite a different aspect of these plains, a very large part of which would be free of dots marking human settlements or lines marking fixed roads. In other words — this large area was then nothing but steppe, an apex of the great steppes which, till to-day, cover a large part of Asia.

There would probably be no frontier problems for the countries neighbouring on the steppes, were this an uninhabited no-mans' land. However the steppes had their own peculiar dwellers, the nomad Tartar tribes who, since their arrival had acquired the habit of making incursions into the territories of their northern and western neighbours for the purposes of plunder and robbery. These inroads were the first problem of the countries bordering on the steppes. The next was the question of how far westwards the steppes extended. Unlike the sea or even the desert, the steppes had no natural frontier; their area either advanced or receded according to climatic variations and the direct influence of human settlements which, bit by bit, converted the grassy plains into arable land or abandoned it under political or economic pressure.

The story of how and when the steppes were converted into arable land and colonized and what happened to their original nomad inhabitants is beyond the scope of this lecture (and also my essay of which this lecture is the first summary). I ought only to mention here that the general clearing of nomadic tribes from the European steppes took place in the XVIII and the first half of the XIX century, whereas my essay is limited to the two preceding centuries. (XVIth and XVIIth).

Besides the two above mentioned problems, I am mainly concerned, first with the climatic condition of the steppes and its fauna and flora, on which nomad life so much depended, and secondly, with the actual life of these nomads especially their social structure and economic conditions, as these explain the cause of their predatory incursions into neighbouring countries in the West. In my essay, particular attention will also be paid to the rudiments of the steppes which remained west of the 30th meridian and as far as the river Bug (between the Carpathian mountains and the Pripet Marshes). In these areas, human settlements existed from prehistoric times alongside the tracts of steppe which lingered till the second half of the XIX century. Sometimes, when political conditions diminished the density of population these tracts grew larger.

This occurred several times during the Middle Ages when great masses of nomads, pushing westwards over the steppes, crossed the line of the Dnieper. The Mongol invasion was one of these mass migrations and may serve as an example of a political factor which decreased the number of border settlements, with the result that the area of the steppes remained unchanged or was even enlarged. The same process was continued for centuries, until the Tartars settled for good in the Black Sea and Azov Steppes.

Another factor appeared later on during the second half of the XVI century when, in some parts of the Ukraine, landowners both great and small, gave up the cultivation of corn and turned to cattle and sheep farming. This meant the reconversion of arable land into pasture, on which the flora particular to the steppes reappeared and tracts of steppes spread.

When studying conditions of life on the steppes, one question inevitably occurs: why the Tartar nomads did not introduce agriculture. They had a fertile soil and many opportunities to learn about tillage from the surrounding peoples. Yet they relied almost completely on cattle and horse breeding and sheep farming. The reasons were various, the first and foremost being political: the constant wandering of the nomads deep in the Asiatic steppes and their pressure on the inhabitants of the Western (European) steppes. This pressure did not favour a settled way of life, so necessary for corn growing. For obvious reasons unrest in the European steppes was constantly encouraged by Turkey since Tartars went under her « protection »: unsettled, impoverished tribes were an asset in keeping Poland, Muscovy and Hungary away from the northern shores of the Black Sea, so essential for

Turkey's safety. Tradition also played not a small role in the preservation of the nomadic life among the Tartars tribes. True, in the southern parts of the Crimea, some of them adapted a settled way of life, but there is no steppe. But tradition and political conditions did not explain everything. The conversion of the steppe pastures into arable land was also impeded by various factors of lesser importance. Periodic heat waves scorched not only corn and such vegetables as were cultivated, but also the grass, resulting in the mass extinction of cattle and sheep. The frequent appearances of huge swarms of locusts, devouring every green thing in their path, changed large tracts of steppe into barren desert.

If agriculture and farming had been properly organized, some of these disadvantages could have been diminished as the steppes-settlers of the later centuries (from XVIII onwards) proved with success. However, Tartar indolence and wandering way of life kept thousands of acres of fertile land from being put to agricultural use. If this had been limited only to the steppes — it may have been less deplorable. But unfortunately, frequent inroads of the Tartars into the South-Eastern regions of Poland constantly impeded their colonization, thus causing large tracts of the steppes to remain uncultivated for centuries. The colonization of this sparsely inhabited area had the character of both agricultural settlement and military defence system against the Tartars. This very complicated task was accomplished by creating large estates, leased to the senatorial families. The holder of such an estate was responsible for its management, the upkeep of local fortresses and even the standing militia. Neither the management nor the defence were satisfactory. The first was the source of constant conflicts with the local population and the second was either indolent or not strong enough permanently to withstand the Tartar inroads.

The only way to secure peace in those parts was to eliminate the Turkish suzerainty over the Crimea and the Black-Sea steppes, gain control of the native Tartar inhabitants and induce them to lead a settled life. The achievement of this policy, or any part of it, always meant a long military conflict with Turkey, which Poland could probably have risked, were her other frontiers secured. In reality the contrary was the case. The Teutonic Knights, Muscovy and Sweden, each in turn prevented any final settlement of the Tartar problem.

Even the one defensive system which Poland was able to organize, having relinquished the XVth century idea of the reconquest of the Black-Sea shores, proved to be an enormous military burden. The area, which was under constant menace from Tartars, consisted of

about 32% of the whole territory of the Commonwealth of Poland (including also the Grand Duchy of Lithuania) and represented about 25% of her whole frontier line.

Owing to the Tartar invasions and the had management of Kings demesnes, the incomes of the royal and state treasury from this area were insignificant, while the expenses for its defence were enormous. This disproportion was the main but not the only cause of the inadequate defence against the Tartars. Another cause was the lack of cooperation between the authorities and the local population, which was deeply affected by the influence of the steppes and its nomad inhabitants. Life was insecure and instable because of the frequent Tartar incursions. Each such incursion meant that hundreds of people of all ages, irrespective of sex, were either killed or led off as captives, to be sold in the slave markets of Turkey or deported to her remote provinces. Thousands of cattle, sheep and horses were taken away to supplement Tartar economy. Robbery and capture were followed by arson. There were villages and towns which not once in a generation were raised from the ashes. For centuries the gloomy shadow of Tartar invasions hung over area neighbouring on the steppes. No wonder that in these conditions all normal development of social and economic life was impeded and that anarchy was rife.

Out of this situation sprang and developed a new class of people: the cossacks. Their first aim was self defence and security against the Tartar invasions. They chose places on the confines of the steppes, defensive by nature, which they fortified and then settled there as a community of free people. In many respects they followed the Tartar way of life. In time, when sufficiently numerous, they went over to the attack and started incursions on their own account, first in the steppes, on the Tartar encampments and studs of horses and later, in XVII century, ranging as far as the northern shores of Asia Minor. Since Poland wanted to preserve good relations with Turkey these invasions were contrary to her foreign policy as they provoked retaliatory expeditions on the part of Turks.

However their number grew by absorption of the agricultural population, which sought refuge in their camps and fortifications. Reasons for this were twofold: tartar danger and social oppression, both of which made life in the villages and small towns unbearable. In the first half of the XVII century the cossacks become a military

and political power, which dared a series of open conflicts with local administration and big landlords. Out of the ideology and tradition of these conflicts sprang the general insurrection of 1648 against Poland. This time the Tartars joined in support of the resurgents. After five years of war, exhausting for both sides, the leaders of the insurrection surrendered to Russia 1654.

I mention these purely political facts, as they are directly or indirectly related to the steppes, and the final fate of its neighbourhood. The Polish-Russian war, which followed after 1654, devastated the Ukraine mainly because the Tartars were all too frequent visitors, always pillaging and looting, whether they came as allies or enemies.

I am taking the end of this war and the concluding truce of Andruszów in 1667 as the date marking the end of an epoch in the history of the steppes, an epoch which began after the fall of the Golden Horde at the end of the XVth century. The beginning of this epoch coincides also with the appearance of sources relating to the steppes in such quantity that they enable a serious study of the life there in the past. If we know anything about it during the Middle Ages, it is only when events occurred there which had some influence on the neighbouring countries. With the eve of the XVI century, documentary evidence began to appear, illustrating the growth of settlements on the confines of the steppes, their density and character and various aspects of the life of their inhabitants. From this evidence we also find certain factual details about the life of the nomad Tartars and what might be called « indirect » descriptions portraying the appearance of the steppes as noted by travellers. Contrary to the terse entries of medieval wayfarers — these sources are as a rule very rich in detail and enable us not only to register the frequency of the Tartar invasions but sometimes even to estimate the damages they had caused. Thus their impact on their neighbours could be illustrated in figures.

Extant sources do not cease after 1667, but even as late as the XIX century bear also some relation to the past of the steppes. Their number and quality increase again in the XVII and XVIII centuries. Cartographic evidence appears, supplemented by vivid and detailed descriptions of the steppes written by western travellers. This is followed by a great mass of documents, the description and classification of which would occupy too much time in this short review.

In concluding this brief outline I would like to emphasise the

following points, essential to the study of that part of the steppes with which I am concerned and its impact on neighbouring countries.

1) Ebb and flow of the frontier line of the steppes — in other words: the eastward trend of human settlements and westwards trend of the steppes.

2) Causes which brought about these changes (in my opinion, of a political nature only).

3) Particular conditions of two partly inhabited regions of the steppe in the Ukraine and Rumania.

4) The influence of the great Asiatic Steppes on their western apex: the Black-Sea Steppes.

5) Political, social and economic influence of Tartar nomads on the western and northern agricultural regions bordering on the steppes in the Ukraine and Rumania.

6) The way of life of the Tartars.

LEON KOCZY

LEON KOCZY

Born 25-III-1900, Strumien, Poland. College Poznań 1924. Ph. Dr., University of Poznań, 1929, for the Study: *Handel Poznania do połowy XVI w. (Commerce of Poznan till the middle of XVI century)* Poznań 1930. Associated Professor of the University of Poznań 1934, for the Study: *Polska a Skandynawia za pierwszych Piastów (Poland and Scandinavia in the epoch of the earlier Piast)* Poznań 1934. 1929-1939 Assistant Professor at the Historical Seminary of the University of Poznań. 1939 Polish Army lieutenant, 1940-4 comanded to historical studies in Jerusalem. (Ms. *Origin of the Crusades and History of the Blessed Virgin Order in Prussia* lost at war.). Director of the Archives of the Polish Army in the East; Historical Institute of Gen. Sikorski.

Other works: a chapter in the Monography of the City or Toruń 1933; *Dągame ludex Schinesghe Awbaba* 1934; *Księga Theudenkusa* 1937; *Polityka Bałtycka Zakonu Krzyżackiego* 1935.

Speciality: polish-german relation, especially the history of the Teutonic knights and Scandinavian affairs.

LEON KOCZY

THE HOLY ROMAN EMPIRE AND POLAND

It would be futile to try an adequate description of the history of Poland's relations with the Holy Empire within such a short time. It is necessary therefore to limit the object of this talk to the discussion of some controversial issues as they are presented by the opposing Polish and German historians.

Most of them appear to be concerned with the period between 963 AD when Poland as such first appeared on the historical stage and the year 1002, the year of the death of Otto III. The period in question is the beginning of the new Europe, an imperial Europe in which Germans were the leading nation, when national states were born, and religious missions were flourishing in the North and South of the Christendom. A mighty state on the river Dniepr constituted for Poland an additional factor; it was a state depending on Byzance religiously and connected with it politically. While discussing the relations between Poland and the Empire we have to keep in mind the character of the latter, created in 800 AD by Charles the Great, which was taken over by Otto III in 983.

Quite recently much work has been devoted to the understanding of the historical meaning of the Empire. In this work the old ideal of the « Holy Empire » was left aside. In particular C. Erdmann directed attention to the conception of the « Imperium » — independent in its meaning from the Roman « Imperium ». More important for us here is the statement by G. Barraclough opposing all ideals of this « Imperium » as a continuous institution. « It is fatally easy to see the whole history of the Holy Roman Empire down to 1806, unfolding itself in Charles the Great coronation in Rome in the year 800. In reality the story of the Empire, later the Holy Roman Empire, is a story of discontinuity. It meant different things to different men at the same time, and different things to men at different times; indeed it was different things at different times ».

These words appear true in reference not only to the long periods of history but also to such short interludes as the « Ottonian » era. In this relatively short time which covers the years between 963 AD and 1024 AD there were for certain four different policies at least adopted towards the East in general and to Poland in particular. What is more apparent — during the reign of Otto I there were two eastern policies and in the short reign Otto III two if not three dif-

ferent conceptions of the Empire were elaborated.

The difference between the imperial policy in the South as opposed to that in the East and in the North of Europe is the second point to be kept in mind. I do not mean here the internal controversy of the German science of history. Many German historians took part in it since H. v. Sybl and J. Ficker until A. Brackmann, F. Kern and G. v. Below — the different opinions on the subject of Italian policy of the Empire and its influence on the internal affairs of Germany as well as on their « Drang nach Osten ». I have different things in mind altogether.

In the post-Carolinian world, the Germans were culturally dependent on Italy and politically they had to implement the idea of the Empire. There was no possibility of any colonisation or expansion opened to them at that time; in the South the Germans could govern and rule but not occupy the country. The German rule of the South was possible because of the existence of the Empire, but it prevented the German church and the German territorial control to exert any influence on the German policy in the South. The ties between the Empire and the Holy See gave a special character to the Germano-Italian relations. Nothing like that existed in the East.

The whole of the East was regarded by the Germans of the IX and X the century exactly in the same way as Germany herself was regarded by the West prior to Boniface and Charles the Great, i.e. as a pagan country.

Such ideas lead directly to the necessity of converting these pagans and this aim was quite naturally taken up by the German Church. It was doing its work in the IX century even before the Empire was established as well as in XIV century when the Empire of the Ottonian days was becoming only a thing of a legendary past. For these reasons the history of the mission of the German church in the East is part and parcel of the whole political history of Germany of this period. Whatever were the changes of the internal organisation of the German State — the only constant factor of its policy was the policy of the German church.

These preliminary considerations lead us to the problem of mutual relationship between the conversion of the pagans and the idea of the Empire. This problem is being tackled by the German Historians since 1928. In this research very important use was made of liturgical sources investigated by K. Heldmann, H. Hirsch, C. Ermann, G. Tellenbach and Percy E. Schramm. We have reflections in these sources of all what the Church leaders thought of the Emperor's conceptions on the conversion of the pagans. The investigators have not reached an agreement. The result of these researches is however of interest to us since it shows what position and power displayed the Empire in the organisation of Christendom in the Slavonic countries.

Besides the Church and the Empire there was also a third factor involved in the formation of the Imperial policy in the East; this factor was represented by the Eastern Marches. They were only theoretically subject to the authority of the King and also of the Emperor; practically they followed their own policy which frequently was opposed to that of the Empire or of the Church. It was a policy of subjugation; sometimes it followed closely the converting missions, sometimes it preceeded them, sometimes it was carried on with the approval of the Empire, sometimes without it — always its activities benefited the German expansion. The German Marches in Polabie, the Elbe country, were offered the best opportunities. Nothing in the West or South could compare with them. Nothing comparable existed in Hungary or in Danemark, where everything was directly under the Emperor's authority and where the Church was very active. This is the second point of difference between the German policy in the South and their policy in the East.

Quite different was the movement of the German element into Polabie during the XIII and XIV century. The « Bauernkolonisation » — the settling of the peasants — was carried out by the Church and by the Marches, but since it took place about two centuries after the Ottonian period, we shall not discuss it here.

It can be safely said that there were three factors and three policies in the relations between Germany and the East — the Empire, the Church and the Marches. It is necessary to underline the independence of these three factors since the Western historians do not appreciate the difference existing between the southern policy of the Empire and the attitude of the Germans towards the East. The Germans were the disciples and "poor relations" of the West which had no political ambitions towards Germany, never dreamt of any subjugation of Germany. In the East the Germans appeared as representatives and distributors of the Western culture — they elaborated this role further, the subjugation of the converted peoples was their corollary aim. In the East the mission of the Church tantamounted the mission of Germany, "Christianisierung" equalled "Germanisierung". The German policy in the South was concerned mainly with the relations between the Emperor and the Pope. The frontiers of Germany to the West was the Rhine and the Alps — there were no such natural frontiers in the East. At least so it seemed to the Germans. Even in 1130 AD. Magdeburg tried to reassert its rights as a Metropolitan See of Poland, while even in the XIII century Frederick II thought himself a ruler of the countries on the shore of the Baltic Sea as if they were some "no mans land". We must always keep in mind that the racially German lands were the seat of the dynasty of the Emperors only for a short time and that the two Emperors who wanted to rule the Empire from the South became "out-

landish" rulers to the Germans. Hence, since XII century the focal point of the Empire was shifting over to the Slavonic territory and here by the Danube, Weltawa or Spree the capital cities of the Empire would develop and last till the end of the Empire.

Let us go back to the Ottos. This period is not very difficult to study since in the Eastern politics it is limited to the relations between the Empire and the Piast dynasty, accompanied by inimical and disapproving attitude of the Church and by an almost total absence of all activity of the Marches. It would be superfluous to discuss the infiltration of the German elements into Poland as well as the alleged German origin of the Piast dynasty, a malicious historical myth. The period in question shows some variations on the German side while the Polish side is compact and stable. In 966 AD. Poland became a Christian country; there was a reaction of paganism in 1034-1038 AD.; in 963 AD. Poland lost her independence to the Germans, regained it in 1000 AD. and became a kingdom in 1024 AD.; obtained ecclesiastical independence in 966 AD. and a metropolitan See in 1000 AD. — then lost it, and in 1038 AD. had to start the whole organisation of the Church all over again.

The sources for this period are very rich; only in the XV century they become as abundant again. In view of such a large number of sources it is surprising that there should be such a divergence of opinions on this period and that but few facts concerning it are generally accepted. This refers both to the political and ecclesiastical problems since both are linked up very closely.

Let us begin with the presentation of the positions of the German historians.

They all accept the fact that in political sense Poland was subjugated in 963 AD. and become dependent on the Empire, paying a "tribute" for the lands stretching as far as the river Warta. This state of affairs persisted till 1000 AD. when Poland was freed from paying tribute but remained vassal of the Germans. The coronation of Boleslaw in 1024 AD. as a King of Poland gave her independence but the vassal status was imposed again in 1038 AD. Therefore Poland was subject to the Empire during the whole period and was just another vassal of the Empire. We must however concede that quite recently this point of view was seriously challenged by a new theory of the institution of imperial patriciat.

In ecclesiastical affairs the German historians stress the same dependence of Poland on the German church. The baptism of Mieszko I in 966 AD. resulted from the course of events in 963 AD. and from the German pressure on him. Jordan, the first bishop of Poland was probably a German and in any case, whether he was a missionary bishop or a member of established hierarchy, he depended on the Magdeburg metropolitan See. Since its frontiers to the East

were not defined the whole of Poland was presumed to fall within it. This state of affairs changed when a new metropolitan See in Gniezno was founded, but even so the bishop of Poznan' remained in obedience to Magdeburg. The part played by the German priests was so important that without them the Christianisation of Poland would have been impossible.

The main idea of this German thesis is the continuous dependence of Poland upon Germany in matters ecclesiastical and political until the year 1000 AD.

From then onwards there is no unanimity among the German historians. The best presentation of the whole of the German viewpoint can be found in many papers by A. Brackmann, published now in a large book entitled "Gesammelte Aufsätze", it can be also found in a synthetic work on German history by R. Holtzmann in "Geschichte der sächsischen Kaiserzeit". Both of these works were challenged on the Polish side by K. Tymieniecki.

Let us now consider the Polish point of view.

The Polish historians never denied that from 963 AD. Poland was in some dependence on Germany and that Mieszko did pay the tribute to the Emperor. But the character of the dependence and the area for which the tribute was paid were quite different from the interpretation given to them by the German historians. It is true that not all the Polish historians hold the same view but the majority of them reject the expression of Thietmar, that, "Gero... Misedonem quoque cum sibi subiectis imperiali subdidit dicioni... » (II, 14) as being based on an erroneous interpretation of Widukind, who himself not only has not heard about any war between Mieszko and Gero, but on the contrary calls Mieszko "amicum imperatoris". The use of this expression precludes the existence of relations between sovereign and vassal, because in such a case Mieszko would have been called "miles"; while it enables us to describe the Mieszko-Otto relations as an alliance but not contracted on the basis of equality, as something similar to the Roman "foedus iniquum" (M.Z. Jedlicki). If such is the case than this form of dependence is comparable to the "Roman Federation". This institution was also known to Rome, to Byzance and to the Empire of Charles the Great (K. Tymieniecki).

Concerning the tribute, which according to Thietmar Mieszko was paying to the Emperor "usque in Vurta fluvium" — the opinions are divided. It has been generally accepted that the Polish Prince did pay the tribute; the question is on behalf of which territory. Among the few possible theories on the subject the one most accepted even before the war was that the tribute was paid on the land stretching not on the *left* bank of the river but on the *right* one, i.e. comprising the territory of the Western Pomorze which comes as a wedge

between the rivers Warta and Odra (J. Widajewicz). It is evident that since 963 AD. Poland remained a federated State or friend of the Empire — the tribute being paid only on the part of the West Pomorze. This form of relationship was broken by Margraf Hodon in 972 AD. Attacked but victorious Mieszko agreed to accept the Emperor as mediator but was humiliated by him. Therefore taking advantage of the change on the throne and of the internal difficulties in Germany after 973 AD., Mieszko loosened first the bonds of federation and after the victory over Otto II broke them altogether (979 AD.).

This development was as much a surprise for the Germans, as R. Holtzmann's interpretation of them was for a Polish historian (K. Tymieniecki).

Anybody reading even Thietmar's chronicle will be convinced that it was the German side who desired the peace, which was signed and confirmed by the marriage of Mieszko with Oda (979 AD. or 980 AD.). Since that time Polish alliance was needed by the Germans and during the insurrection in the Polabie against them, it was imperative for the Germans to be on friendly terms with Poland (983 AD.). In this situation the Germans had to agree to Poland's gain of more independence and had to consider her as an equal politically. In this way began the alliance between Poland and Germany, an alliance in which there was of course no place for payment of any tribute. Such is the latest and extreme interpretation of the Polish historians. A more moderate interpretation maintains that Poland did pay the tribute till 1000 AD. Since 983 AD. there ere ample opportunities for the formation of a "Slavonic kingdom" opposed so strongly by Otto I. However it could be reconciled with the idea of the Empire held by Otto III. It is clear that this sort of political dependence of Poland upon the Empire has lead to differences between the German and the Polish historians about the position of the Church. The ecclesiastical situation was of interest to the Empire, to Rome, to Poland herself and to the German Church. Hence the whole problem is very confused.

The baptism of Mieszko I, the spread of Christianity and its organisation, the origin of bishop Jordan, his relationship with Magdeburg — these are the most important, but by no means the only points of controversy concerning the Church in Poland before the Gniezno meeting in 1000 AD. Polish historians unanimously accept that the baptism of Mieszko was carried out without any political pressure from Germany, and that a very important role in it was played by the Czechs, that the first Polish bishop was not a German, and did not depend on Magdeburg. This in particular has been established largely owing to P. Kehr, a German historian who succeeded

in proving that all claims of Magdeburg to the authority over the Church in Poland were based on a document forged between 1000 AD. and 1012 AD. and that this very document was the source of both Thietmars knowledge and his mistakes.

Of all the controversial issues this one should really disappear and it is necessary for the German historians either to keep silent about it or to cease giving support to A. Brackmann's contention.

It is clear from the above summary that the German and the Polish points of view on the relations between the Empire and Poland in 963-1000 AD. are irreconcilable and mutually exclusive. Thus it is not to be expected that any explanation of the Gniezno conference will be generally accepted since this meeting was a crowning of all the previous developments. Truly, there was much misunderstanding about the meaning of the two chapters of Thietmar (IV 45 & V 10), about drawing of a comprehensive picture from his innuendos, and about possible concordance of his writings with other sources and particularly with the chronicle of anonymous author called Gallus Anonymus.

As in the previous period so at the time of the Gniezno meeting, we have to distinguish between the political and religious aspects. The religious side seems to be quite clear. The emperor founded the metropolitan See at Gniezno which meant that the organisation of the Church in Poland did depend directly on the Holy See. This was a calamity for the see of Magdeburg, a great and irreparable calamity. Thietmar had to concede that the formation of new see was carried out "legitime". Why then complicate a straightforward story by holding that Thietmar's meaning should be taken in a negative sense i.e. that the whole action of Otto was considered illegal by Thietmar (M. Z. Jedlicki), or by interpreting Thietmar's doubts as referring to the "*aetas ferrea*" during which Otto III reigned and a "*Verstümmelung eines Bistums*" was accomplished (Menno ter Braak). Thietmar could deprecate the results of Gniezno meeting, but he could say nothing against the establishment of the see from the juridical point of view. We do not expect any difference of opinion among those interested in the erection of the see. In 999 AD. an "archiepiscopus s. Adalberti" was in Rome, while the highest dignitaries of the Holy See were visiting Gniezno in the company of the Emperor. The decision was made in Rome by the Pope and the Emperor. The information from one of the German annals that Otto established the See "*causa petitionis Boleslavonis*" is quite clear when we take into account the offering (donation) of Poland to Rome in the year 990-991 AD. The establishment of the See of Gniezno rendered the question of bishop Unger quite unimportant — while the discussion about his dependence upon Magdeburg must be re-

garded as concluded. Shortly afterwards, the Gniezno meeting resulted in a complete independence of the Church in Poland from the Empire. We all realize that "die staatliche Umgestaltung Polens" (A. Brackmann's own words) was the direct result of the Gniezno meeting and that the Polish-German relations were restated thus on a new basis.

How far went the changes?

The problem would not have been difficult if we had only Thietmar's chronicle as the source. In spite of his own prejudice against the Gniezno meeting and its political implications, he had to put on record that Otto II made Boleslaw an independent master of his own affairs ("tributarium faciens dominum") out of a tribute payer. This term is quite clear at least in its first part — the Polish prince was released from paying the tribute which had to be paid till that time "usque ad Vurta fluvium". One can wonder how this clear statement can be interpreted as meaning that the Polish prince became thus a vassal instead of tribute payer (Menno ter Braak, A. Brackmann and C. Erdmann), or which is even more difficult to understand — as meaning that Boleslaw had to continue with the paying of the tribute (J. Kirchberg). This artificial interpretation would mean that Poland having built up her own powerful state, the strongest beyond the river Laba, having cooperated with the Germans against the Polabians, and having obtained a metropolitan See, reverted to the state of dependence of 963 AD. — and all this with the consent of Boleslaw and this amidst the luxury and the extravagance displayed by him. This sort of interpretation can not be based on any historical source nor on the evaluation of the political position of Poland in the year 1000 AD.

The majority of the historians would gladly accept Thietmar's expression that Boleslaw became "dominus" in 1000 AD. i.e. a sovereign ruler of Poland if it were not for a passage found in the chronicle of Gallus. Although this was written some hundred yaers after the Gniezno meeting, it is considered even by the worst enemies of the traditional sources (K. Tymieniecki) as a reliable relation of the Gniezno meeting (Plezia). Gallus described how Otto III seeing the wonderful reception at Gniezno said: « Non est dignum tantum ac virum talem sicut unum de principibus ducem aut comitem nominari, sed in regale solium glorianter redimitum diademate sublimari. Et accipiens imperiale diadema capitis sui, capiti Bolezlauri in amicitie fedus imposuit et pro vexillo triumphali clavem ei de cruce Domini cum lancea sancti Mauritii dono dedit, pro quibus illi Bolezlaurus sancti Adalberti brachium redonavit » (I, 6). This report of Gallus being in agreement with Thietmar's statement goes still further and bears on four points: 1) lawful coronation, 2) lay coronation which was to be followed by the "sacra" (liturgical coronation), 3) "symbolic"

agreement of Otto to Boleslaw's endeavours to obtain a crown. Of these three contentions held by the Polish historians to be true only the last one seems to be artificial. It can not claim analogy with the action of Henry IV towards the Czech prince Wratyslaw (1085 AD.), as a supporting evidence, since the circumstances of the two acts were quite different. The second has no sense because the "sacra" or religious ceremony of crowning could have been quite easily performed by the archbishop or the papal Legates who were present at the meeting; the third is simply untrue since Boleslaw made the first steps to obtain the crown after the year 1000 AD.; he was crowned in 1024 AD. It is conceivable that the whole incident between Otto III and Boleslaw was not prepared beforehand and happened spontaneously. If the creation of the Metropolitan See was carefully planned in Rome, the scene with the imperial diadems seems to have been unrehearsed. The problem of the "Polish Kingdom" was not discussed in Rome and this point should not be raised seriously by the historians.

In order to establish what was decided in Gniezno we have to accept that politically Otto III was the initiator — that at Gniezno ecclesiastical problems were more important than the political ones, that everything which happened there was due to personal action and decision of Otto himself without any cooperation of the German advisers accompanying him. Therefore the first condition of an understanding of the results of the Gniezno meeting is the knowledge of the Empire of Otto III against its historical background, of the Empire of Otto I and even of Charles the Great. By this we shall project the Gniezno meeting from its narrow frame of Germano-Polish relations to the wider plane of the history of the Empire, where it rightly belongs.

During the last 25 years a "renaissance" in the research on the Empire has taken place. Some authors still seek to return to the discussions which were fashionable at the time of Syble and Ficker — but generally the German historians are in search of new and different problems. It does not mean that the same amount of work is devoted to all phases of the history of the Empire. Charles the Great is still an objet of very many studies although his Empire is so far the best known of all (K. Heldmann, H. Fichtenau, R. Köster, François J. Ganshof, L. Halphen). Somewhat less known is the period of Otto I although there are many sources available for its study (R. Holtzmann, H. Günther, M. Lintzel, E. E. Stengel, E. Pfeil, Th. E. Momsen, E. Müller-Mertens and many others). The times of Otto III are least known; Percy E. Schramm writes on this subject: « Es gibt wohl kein Abschnitt der mittelalterlichen Geschichte, dessen Verständniss in gleicher Weise wie Zeit Otto III durch Irrtümer, Miss-

verständnisse, falsche Auslegung und die Benutzung zu Unrecht herangezogener Quellen verbaut ist ».

Under these circumstances it is at present difficult to form a consistent opinion about the Gniezno meeting or about the plans of the Emperor Otto III. Generally it is accepted that during the first years of his reign, Otto III remained true to the Carolingian tradition and did not leave the lines of development designed by his grandfather. Later on, influenced by Gerbert, he wanted to rebuild the Western Empire (*renovatio Imperii Romanorum*). Such plans were of course at variance with the plans of Otto I and of Charles the Great. The title of "servus apostolorum et secundum voluntatem Dei salvatoris Romanorum Imperator Augustus" assumed by him in 1001 AD. could bring about a controversy with the Holy See, but the emperor died "magnum quiddam et impossibile cogitans" before such an eventuality could take place.

This latest idea of the Empire would have led to better juridical relationship between Poland and the Empire — much better than in the times of Otto I when it simply meant the relations between Poland and Germany. On the strength of it Poland might have entered the Roman Empire as a pair of Germany herself. — The abandonment of previous close relations with the German "regnum" could have led her to become "ein unabhängiges Glied des Romanum Imperium" (E. E. Stengel).

The Gniezno meeting was carried out in the new Imperial spirit; it was, so to speak, the first confrontation of the Roman idea of Otto with stark reality. We must accept that everything Otto wanted to do, was done in harmony or at least was related to the principle of the *renovation*. What can we find about it in the historical sources?

Gallus describing the above mentioned scene wrote: « imperator eum (Boleslaum) fratrem et cooperatorem imperii constituit, et populi Romani amicum at socium appellavit » (I, 6). The sense of this information seems to be in perfect agreement with the idea of the renovated Empire; it defines the relationship between Poland and "imperium" and "populum Romanum" in a legal sense — exactly the same as that between Germania or Gallia and the new "Romanum imperium". Even Thietmar can not deny that Boleslaw could enter the Empire only as "dominus" and not as "miles" or "tributarius", since he treated with it directly.

Indirect confirmation of this interpretation can be found in a different passage of Gallus so far not widely known. In 1009 AD. Emperor Henry V planned an invasion of Poland. Before doing so he has sent a message to prince Boleslaw III demanding Zbigniew to be accepted and a payment of 300 marks yearly. Gall, who was a contemporary to all this, if not a direct witness, quoted the answer

of Boleslaw: « Quodsi bonitate, non ferocitate pecuniam vel milites in *auxilium Romane ecclesiae* postulasses, non minus auxilii vel consilii forsitan apud nos, quam tui antecessores apud nostros impetrares ». This answer can not be interpreted as a "resignation of individual ecclesiastical policy of Boleslaw" during the controversy between the Empire and Holy See (E. Maleczyński) in view of the help for the Roman "Ecclesia". It is more probable that it refers to the cooperation with Henry V but only as far as the secular obligation to the Empire. It is clear that in Poland the traditions of the year 1000 AD. were very vivid. Otherwise the answer of Boleslaw would have been meaningless. Though the « kingdom » was not remembered the memory survived of the relations between Poland and the Empire as defined by Gallus calling Boleslaw Chrobry "cooperator imperii".

Another piece of evidence of direct dependence of Poland on the Roman Empire can be found in the form of an Evangeliarium of Otto III. There is no unanimity concerning its meaning. According to some authorities one of the symbolic figures standing before the Imperial throne is Scлавinia which represents the country of Slavs on the right bank of the river Laba, subjugated in 997 AD., while Gallia corresponds to Germany on both sides of the river Rhine. The figures around the throne represent different states which formed the basis and support of Otto III reign (P. E. Schramm). If this explanation is true then the Evangeliarium dates from about 998 AD.

The following explanation appears to be better founded and more convincing: Roma, Gallia, Germania and Scлавinia are the symbols of the countries which Otto had joined in one political unit; therefore Gallia represents France- and Scлавinia-Poland. This explanation is confirmed by the text of a diploma of Otto III "Actum in Scлавinia in civitate Gnesni...". The figures probably represent the great chancellors of Italy and Germany, Robert II, the son of Hugo Capet and finally Boleslaw Chrobry. Further evidence in support of this explanation may be derived from the fact that the figure of Boleslaw is represented holding a lance which is probably the one given by Otto to the Polish prince in Gniezno (Msgr. Meysztowicz). The Evangeliarium, the date of which should be placed after and not before the Gniezno meeting, is to be taken as representing the political order in the sense of the "renovatio Romani Imperii". This kind of relationship between the Empire and Poland is in agreement with the most recent interpretation of the institution of patriciat.

This theory of patriciat was put forward 100 years ago by H. Zeissberg for the first time; it gained many supporters and antagonists both on the Polish (Z. Wojciechowski, R. Ganszyniec, M. Z. Jedlicki, G. Labuda and K. Tymieniecki), and on the German side (A. Brackmann, C. Erdmann, 1939 and 1951, E. E. Stengel, M. Uhlirz, H. Appelt and H.

Hirsch). A great step forward in understanding its principles its the work of Erdmann (1951) who describes the patriciat as "den bedeutendsten Ausfluss des römischen Reichsgedankens Ottos III" and "ebenso wie das Kaisertum einer Würde des römischen Imperiums nicht der Stadt Rom ». It is corroborated by the fact that Otto III gave Mathilda the dignity of "matriciat" together with "Reichsverweserschaft" not for Saxony alone but for the whole of Germany.

In such a form the proposition of Erdmann agrees with a much earlier theory of Z. Wojciechowski about patriciat. Wojciechowski writes: « Just as Ziazo for Italy, Mathilda for Germany — Boleslaw became "patricus" in Poland (Slavonic territory) in 1000 AD. ». But the agreement goes thus far only. While Erdmann reached conclusion that « die Verweserschaft (Boleslavs) konnte im wesentlichen nur dem Titel nach bestehen... dass Boleslaw im Unterschied zu Ziazo und Mathilde eine Stellvertretung des Kaisers mehr nominell als wirklich ausgeübt hat, also in der Hauptsache Titular-Patrizius war », — Wojciechowski gives a great importance to the patriciat of Boleslaw in the politics of the renovated Empire, Otto III had to strengthen his reign in Italy in order to carry on with his renovation, and in order to do that he had to secure the Empire in North East and to form there favourable conditions for the work of the missions.

This new interpretation of the patriciat should be kept on record. It excludes all variations concerning coronation and can be borne out by the chronicle of Gallus, anyhow it does not contradict it. But a suggestion by Erdmann 1939 — abandoned by him in 1951 — that Otto wanted to give Boleslaw "Statthalterschaft für Deutschland" after Mathilda, or another suggestion that there was a "succession pact" signed there by which Otto left the succession of the Empire to "digniori se" (St. Kętrzyński, Z. Wojciechowski, Msgr. Meysztowicz) must remain in the sphere of speculation; only K. Tymieniecki and Fr. Dvornik considered the period in question (X cent.) as a time of making of Europe, while H. Paszkiewicz has placed in it the birth of Eastern Europe as a political entity. These works set out the highlights of this momentous epoch, while Rome and Byzance met on an hitherto unknown territory, the epoch of the birth of the states, when missions were started and the historical division of Europe into two different civilisations, the Eastern and the Western, became a fact. It is to be desired that historical research paid more attention to this period; new factors are to be discovered which will make some hitherto uncontestable "facts" to disappear; while many others up till now indifferently known, will become understandable.

These new forces were coming from Rome and from Byzance; their fountainhead as to be found in the same mighty idea which

drove St. Paul across the Empire, St. Gregory the Great towards England, Boniface to Germany, St. Adalbert into Prussia. The Church was its nurse and the Empire was its tool. The aim was always the same — the oecumenic ideal, an eternal mission among the nations including the youngest branch of the Indo Europeans — the Slavonic tribe. These were the basic forces of the epoch, this was its background.

Let us leave the East and turn again towards the West, where these forces found themselves in the hands of an Empire renovated in 962 AD. Several questions arise at once: Were the victories of Otto I over the Hungarians and the Slavs in 955 AD. in any way related to the rebirth of the idea of the Empire? Did Rome hope for better and more numerous conversions of pagans through the formation of the Empire? What were the relations between "der christliche Imperialismus" (M. Bünding) of Otto I and the « Drang nach Osten », "Ostkrieg" and "Ostmission"? It is true that the research of the last generation of historians have separated the German historical trend from the well worn paths of Albert Hauck for whom the history of the European Christendom was simply "Kirchengeschichte Deutschlands" — but still it remains true that the history of the missions among the Slavs is unknown to the western historian. It is enough to peruse the latest books on the history of the Church, of the Papacy, of the missions (J. Th. Addison, J. Schmidlin, K. S. Latourette, C. H. Robinson or Moreau) to see how incomplete, one sided and frequently false and confused in the presentation and description of the progress of Christianity in Eastern Europe in the X and the XI centuries.

Whether independently or in concert — Empire and Christendom pressed on in the X century towards the East. Otto I conceived a great ecclesiastical plan and had obtained the Papal support for it. This event took place in 962 AD. It seemed that following the victories of 955 AD. the "Ostland" was politically dead and ripe for the missions. It was an error, since the forces which were able to oppose the march of the Empire and of the missions were not known well enough. These were: the Slavonic paganism and the statesmanship of the Piast dynasty. The four factors: the Empire and the missions on one side — the paganism and the Piasts on the other had to clash; their reciprocal reactions form the main theme of this momentous epoch.

The year 1000 AD. closed it; furthermore it saw the first experiment since 962 AD. in ordering the North Eastern Europe. It was the work of the Emperor and Rome for the benefit of Poland: the Germans and the pagans took no part in it. This non-participation was the root of the tragical failure of the ideal of the year 1000 AD.

The death of Otto III the prime mover of the Gniezno meeting, was connected with a sudden reappearance of a force which since will be a constant factor in the history of this part of Europe. From now on there would be no more relations between Poland and the empire: only their substitute in a sense, relations between Poland and Germany will endure.

The Gniezno meeting was then a tragic misunderstanding — but it threw a shadow on a whole following millennium. The Germans have not forgiven Otto for all he had done at the grave of his spiritual brother — although they do not consider him dangerous any longer. For the Poles he lived in tradition almost as a legendary Emperor who gave a crown, a "privileged" crown which had to be used later for coronation of the Polish monarchs.

How did this error come about?

Rome fascinated the barbarians, it drew pilgrims, it created a peculiar sort of nostalgia among civilised peoples. For about the last hundred years the historians search for an answer to the question how did the medieval Roman Empire come to exist, whatever its name. It could not have begun without an active participation of Rome herself in its formation. According to R. Folz the medieval Carolingian legend was probably an expression of such a nostalgia for the "Holy Empire"; to this legend succumbed many politicians and many writers of the XIX century — Metternich, F. Gentz, F. Schlegel, J. Goerres (A. Garreau). The present generation does not share this nostalgia for the Empire and is very critical in her approach to the whole romantic structure built during the last century by Bryce and Giesebrecht. A detailed research was started particularly in Germany and it was concerned mainly with the three Otto's. The First Otto found his minstrel in A. Brackmann, the Third got even a novel written about himself (Benrath).

Both Polish and German historians spend much time in elucidation of the relations between Poland and the Empire in 963-1000 AD. One can say that this was unnecessary, that the controversy was purely academic since all what Germans have done in the East was not achieved by the Empire, but by the Church, the dukes, the townsmen and the peasants. This is not so. An exact knowledge of the relations between the Empire and Poland will bring forth an understanding of the nature of the Empire as an institution — and this is a very important problem. The differences and the controversies between the Polish and the German historians concerning the period in question require few remarks. First of all we must realize that it is a matter of factual evidence and not of interpretation. Both camps stand opposing each other as if they were on the Antipodes. How can we explain this?

Personally I think that one of the reasons is the insufficient knowledge of the sources, and in particular of Thietmar's chronicle. Thietmar was a great writer. But his chronicle has to be studied critically. His brother in Christ, Widukind was in a much better position because his "aetas" was the "*aetas aurea*". He witnessed the birth of the Empire — he did not see much in it anyhow — and he has seen the growth of the Saxon might and power, and was very much fascinated by it. Under the influence of such good fortunes of his own tribe he dreamed that the victories over Lech and Rekiennica will open a new period, a Saxon period, and a new "*aetas aurea*", will supervene; he believed that there is a new world open before the Germans into which one has only to walk in order to conquer it.

Thietmar was not so lucky. His "aetas" was the "*aetas ferrea*", which could not be compared without pain with the olden days. In 983 AD. the Germans were thrown out of the Polabie, the German arms suffered only calamities. The Lusatians were up in arms against the Empire and the Germans had to placate them. The worst was, that in place of the good Mieszko the frightful Boleslaw had appeared; the emperor himself made him a "dominus", gave him a metropolitan See and held him in higher esteem than he held many Germans. All this was certainly too much for an embittered prelate and a Saxon. Hence his anger and innuendos and at the same time the peculiar picture of those without whose participation the East was being organised in Gniezno. These neglected personalities were more numerous than the ones who have espoused the ideals of Otto III.

Thietmar has to be studied to be understood. There are excellent German (R. Holtzmann) and Polish editions (M. Z. Jedlicki) — the subject itself is exceedingly interesting. Knowing Thietmar means knowing the North-Eastern Europe in one of its most important formative periods.

As to the year 1000 AD. — the whole thing looks much better although Thietmar leaves us in doubt as to the many ecclesiastical matters in Poland. It looks as though during the Gniezno meeting only the Western part of Poland was organised, the eastern being left in vacuum. This was much discussed among the historians who wanted to fill this vacuum with remarks of Gallus about the metropolitan See of Gniezno and the other See somewhere in the East. In the recent papers many historians are returning to the somewhat forgotten theory about the existence of a Slavonic rite on the Polish soil and particularly in the eastern part of Poland. This rite had its own organisation and a metropolitan See in Sandomierz or Krakow (H. Paszkiewicz, K. Lanckorońska, J. Umiński). There is no trace of all this in Thietmar's chronicle and this omission is used as an

evidence not so much against the existence of such a rite but rather against its alleged importance in Poland during the X and the XI centuries. The problem is worth a detailed study because if such rite existed in Poland it must have exerted an influence on the baptism of Mieszko and on ecclesiastical decrees of the year 1000 AD. This rite was supported by the Greek Church and the Eastern Empire, both well known antagonists of the Imperial Rome and of the German Church.

The political aspect of the Gniezno meeting was not as hopeless as the prevailing trend of the period 963-1000 AD. The relations between Poland and the Empire were established on a juridical basis and this should be first understood and elucidated. It is therefore not quite accidental that the best explanation of the Gniezno meeting in Polish historical literature was given by the lawyers — Z. Wojciechowski and M. Z. Jedlicki. The latter was responsible for directing the attention to the study of legal side of relations between Poland and the Empire. The knowledge of the law in the West of Europe and of the sources on both sides gave him a great advantage over his German adversary, A. Brackmann, and over many Polish historians. They will profit enormously by his edition of Thietmar's chronicle. The other one, Z. Wojciechowski, has advanced an interpretation of the *patriciat*. It would have been the best study on the problem of the year 1000 AD. if it were not vitiated by the alleged "succession pact" between Otto and Boleslaw. On the German side the works of Schramm and Erdmann are outstanding. Their study is indispensable for any understanding of the Empire — and particularly of the Empire of Otto III. Both these authors rightly transferred the research and study of this period into the "Ideenwelt", the period of conflict of great conceptions of the Empire.

Through all the cloudy and stormy days of this part of Europe — through the flood of papers and literature about this time and period, the eyes rest peacefully on its three outstanding men: Otto, Adalbert and Brun of Querfurt. These were splendid men. They were bound together by the same ideal not understood by their contemporaries — since neither the Czechs understood Adalbert, nor the Germans — Brun, or the Romans Otto. These men brought their common ideal with them from Rome — and Rome was their inspiration, eternal Rome — "caput orbis, splendor, spes, aurea Roma" and so they perished as lonely, last knights of the "Imperium Christianum".

LEON KOCZY

MARIAN KUKIEL

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Né en 1885, historien et soldat, Dr. Phil. Lwów 1909, agrégé à l'Université de Cracovie pour l'histoire militaire et contemporaine 1927, Directeur du Musée Czartoryski 1930, membre actif de l'Académie Polonaise des Sciences et des Lettres de Cracovie 1937, actuellement professeur de l'Université Polonaise à l'Etranger, président de la Société Historique Polonaise en Grande Bretagne.

Servit dans les organisations militaires secrètes depuis 1908, dans les légions polonaises depuis 1914, dans l'arme polonaise depuis 1918, dans les campagnes de 1920 et 1939, ministre de la Défense Nationale pendant la seconde guerre mondiale depuis 1942.

Oeuvres: *Próby powstańcze po trzecim rozbiórce* (Premières tentatives d'insurrection après le troisième partage), 1795-1797 (Varsovie 1912); *Dzieje oręża polskiego w epoce napoleońskiej* (Histoire des troupes polonaises de l'époque napoléonienne) 1797-1815 (Poznań 1912 et Varsovie 1918-20, 2 vol.); *Zarys historii wojskowości w Polsce* (Précis de l'histoire militaire de la Pologne) (Varsovie 1922, 5e édition, Londres 1949); *Maciejowice* (Cracovie 1929); *Wojna 1812 roku* (Guerre de 1812) (Cracovie 1937, 2 vol.); *Czartoryski and European Unity* (Princeton 1955).

Nombreuses études publiées depuis 1909 dans les revues: *Biblioteka Warszawska*, *Bellona*, *Kwartalnik Historyczny*, *Przegląd Współczesny*, *Revue des Études Napoléoniennes*, *Teki Historyczne*, *Revue Internationale d'Histoire Militaire*, *Revue Internationale d'Histoire Politique et Constitutionnelle*. Deux chapitres de *Cambridge History of Poland*, vol. II, etc.

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PROBLÈMES DES GUERRES D'INSURRECTION AU XIX SIÈCLE

Le XIX siècle était l'âge de guerres d'insurrection en Europe; leurs problèmes et l'expérience des solutions tentées lui étaient cependant légués par le siècle précédant. C'est la guerre d'indépendance américaine qui a révélé la puissance potentielle d'un peuple une fois soulevé tout entier contre un régime imposé et qu'il ressent comme oppressif; elle a révélé la faculté d'une insurrection d'improviser des armées ainsi que leur faculté d'affronter des armées régulières d'une grande puissance, de survivre aux échecs, de se régénérer, de prolonger la lutte jusqu'à l'épuisement des forces adverses et la victoire finale. La décade suivante révélait en France des phénomènes d'une portée immense: « la réquisition » et la « levée en masse » pour la défense de la « patrie en danger » — préludes de la guerre moderne des masses et de la guerre totale de nos jours. D'autre part, ce fut la guerre insurrectionnelle de la Vendée et la guérilla de la Chouannerie qui frappaient les imaginations non seulement par leur acharnement, mais aussi par leur persistance opiniâtre et leur renaissance réitérée. Enfin, en 1794, c'était l'insurrection en Pologne, où une « Force Armée Nationale » plus ou moins improvisée disputait pendant huit mois la victoire aux armées de deux grandes puissances copartageantes, commandées par le roi de Prusse en personne.

Ce fut Kościuszko lui même, soldat de la révolution américaine, témoin des événements de Quatre-Vingt-Treize en France, Chef Suprême de l'insurrection en Pologne, qui fut le premier à recueillir les enseignements de ces trois guerres, en exposant sa doctrine dans un opuscule anonyme, dicté en 1800 à son secrétaire, J. Pawlikowski: *Les Polonais peuvent-ils reconquérir leur indépendance.*

Universaliste dans ses idées, avec une foi inébranlable dans la puissance de l'appel d'un peuple à la liberté, il donnait une réponse affirmative à sa question, non seulement pour les Polonais, mais pour tous les autres peuples asservis. Il invoquait les exemples des Suisses, des Hollandais, des Américains. Tout en acceptant pour base de son

raisonnement la situation de la Pologne en 1800 : partagée, privée d'existence politique, sans armée, occupée par des forces importantes des trois monarchies copartageantes, il répudiait et bafouait toute idée de faire dépendre la libération de l'aide de l'étranger. Il s'efforçait de convaincre ses compatriotes qu'il ne s'agit que de vouloir être libre pour se mettre en mesure d'affronter ces puissances et de vaincre par les seules forces du peuple polonais, déclanchées par la promulgation de son émancipation sociale, de la liberté de l'individu, et de l'égalité. « Le zèle permettra d'atteindre ce but et la persévérance achevera la victoire ».

Le problème de la mobilisation morale dominait dans sa pensée tous les autres. Il confrontait les forces adverses avec les forces potentielles de la révolution. Par un calcul assez réaliste des armées que les trois puissances pourraient mettre en campagne en Pologne, il arrivait au chiffre imposant de 450.000. Il lui opposait un autre : 16 millions habitants de la Pologne — dans les limites de 1771 — dont il supposait un cinquième bon pour porter les armes. Déduction faite d'une moitié pour les aléas de la mobilisation en pays occupé par l'ennemi, il obtenait seize cents mille ; une supériorité numérique accablante à opposer à l'envahisseur et il concluait : « Qui oserait donc douter de la victoire en présence de ce calcul » ?

Le calcul était erroné. Il mettait en relation numérique des valeurs d'ordre différent et non commensurables : des troupes organisées, armées, entraînées et disciplinées d'un côté — et une portion de la population d'un pays assujéti, sans organisation militaire préalable et sans armes. Ce fut cependant ce calcul qui après la guerre nationale de 1830-1831 devint un dogme pour les révolutionnaires polonais, et cette brochure anonyme un Évangile. Des écrivains éminents, Jełowicki (1834), Stolzman (1844), Henri Kamiński (1845), Mierosławski (1842-1845), l'acceptèrent comme base de départ de leurs traités de plus en plus volumineux de la guerre d'insurrection (2).

Ils n'étaient pas seuls à se laisser suggestionner par ce calcul. Ceci fut aussi le cas de Giuseppe Mazzini dans son traité *Della Guerra d'Insurrezione conveniente all'Italia* (1833) (3). En suivant (parfois textuellement) l'ordre d'idées de Kościuszko, il insiste sur ce point et il refait le calcul pour l'Italie : vingt millions, dont quatre millions mobilisables, contre 200 milles Autrichiens. Il se rend compte, il est vrai, de l'insuffisance d'un calcul purement numérique, mais c'est

pour faire valoir (en accord avec Kościuszko) la puissance de l'enthousiasme libérateur, l'effet de la surprise déconcertant l'adversaire, le caractère particulier d'une guerre d'insurrection. Or, ce traité de Mazzini a inspiré à son tour plusieurs écrivains polonais : Jełowicki et Stolzman surtout. Ce dernier, artilleur très instruit, représentant la « Jeune Pologne » au Comité Central de la « Jeune Europe », collaborateur intime de Mazzini, paraît avoir été son expert en matières militaires. Dans son livre sur *La guerre de partisans comme la plus convenable à une nation insurgée* il emprunta le texte de Mazzini pour en faire une préface, avec le calcul des forces — vingt millions habitants dont quatre millions combattants comme applicable à la Pologne.

Dans son insurrection de 1794 Kościuszko avait disposé de tout ce qui restait de l'armée polonaise, il l'avait augmenté et en fait le meilleur emploi possible, tout en mettant sur pied des masses formidables de milice populaire, ainsi que faisant jouer des insurrections comme celles de Varsovie et de Wilno qui surprirent l'ennemi au centre même de ses dispositifs, et d'autres éclatant sur les arrières des armées d'invasion, comme celle de la Posnanie. Il suppléait à l'insuffisance de l'armement par l'emploi de la faux reconnue « arme terrible » par les adversaires; et il sut faire (ingénieur et artilleur) un emploi admirable de ses fortifications et ses canons. Mais dans son traité de 1800, qu'il dictait quand il n'y avait plus d'armée polonaise sur le sol national, il minimisait sciemment le rôle du matériel et prêchait la confiance illimitée dans la puissance victorieuse de milices improvisées, armées de faux, de fusils de chasse et de piques, dont la masse numérique devait suppléer à l'infériorité de l'organisation et de l'armement et déblayer par surprise le territoire national. Il insistait pour tout ce qu'il y a d'imprévu dans les révolutions. Il prévoyait un rôle important d'insurrections locales et d'opérations de partisans et il insistait sur le risque de mettre le sort de la révolution en jeu dans une bataille rangée contre des forces supérieures, mais en somme c'était une guerre comme l'avaient fait les Américains dont il évoquait la vision (4).

Or, l'histoire des insurrections des trois premières décades du XIXe siècle ne semblait ni avoir confirmé ni démenti ses prévisions. Quant à la Pologne, les insurrections contre les Prussiens en 1806, contre les Autrichiens en 1809, n'eurent qu'à seconder des opérations

des armées françaises ou polonaises. En 1812 l'avance rapide de la Grande Armée en Lithuanie réduisit le rôle du mouvement national. En 1830, une fois la capitale du petit Royaume délivrée par une révolte militaire secondée par la population de Varsovie, et la belle armée polonaise ainsi que tout le pays se trouvant désormais sous l'autorité nationale, le reste devint une guerre régulière, conduite avec des forces augmentées par un effort formidable et secondée par des insurrections éclatant en Lithuanie et dans les provinces ruthènes sur les arrières des armées d'invasion.

Ce fut cependant surtout en Espagne 1808-1814 qu'une insurrection nationale alimentée par une haine farouche contre les occupants français, produisit des phénomènes rapprochés de sa vision. La résistance des provinces de l'Aragon, de Valence, de Murcie, de Grenade et une guerilla acharnée dans tout le pays absorbèrent les forces de l'invasion et le désastre du corps de Dupont à Baylen, accablé par des corps improvisées de troupes et de milices espagnoles, eut un effet moral et politique énorme. Il est vrai que les armées espagnoles se sont laissées écraser après par Napoléon et ses maréchaux et ce qui en restait fut réduit au rôle plutôt secondaire sous le commandement suprême britannique, mais c'étaient des troupes et des milices espagnoles qui pendant des années défendaient des villes insurgées et offraient une résistance souvent efficace, toujours opiniâtre, suivant l'exemple donnée deux fois, en 1808-1809 par Saragosse, « Siempre Eroica », la ville martyre (on est tenté d'associer à ce nom glorieux celui de Vénise en 1848-49; notre siècle y ajoutera celui de Varsovie en 1944). De toute cette lutte nationale le plus frappant les imaginations, puisque continué et omniprésent, c'était la guerilla, qui sans rien décider en apparence rongait les forces d'invasion et en augmentait l'usure (5).

C'est ce phénomène dernier qui a surtout retenu l'attention de Mazzini: il y croyait voir cette forme la plus convenante aux insurrections italiennes, tandis qu'il minimisait le rôle des troupes régulières au service des révolutions, en Espagne comme ailleurs. L'expérience des révolutions italiennes de 1820-1821 ainsi que celle de l'Espagne en 1823 paraissait justifier son opinion que les troupes régulières ne s'adaptent pas facilement à une guerre de révolution et qu'une armée improvisée n'est pas capable de tenir tête à une armée régulière, puissamment outillée et disciplinée. On se demande s'il a recueilli

des renseignements sur l'insurrection grecque. Son traité n'en fait pas mention, mais il y aurait retrouvé des traits analogues à ceux de l'Espagne : après les premiers succès que des forces improvisées obtinrent par la surprise d'un adversaire déconcerté, il y eut des défaites, des défences acharnées de localités et une guerilla irréductible, résultant en certains cas à l'usure totale de corps turques. En y ajoutant les corsaires et les brûlots de Miaulis et Canaris (une guerre de partisans sur mer) on serait porté d'en déduire la thèse de Mazzini, que ce n'est que la guerre de partisans, « la guerra di bande » qui convient aux insurrections. Cependant il ne faut pas oublier, que la Grèce était sur le point de succomber à l'invasion turco-égyptienne et la nation même était menacée d'extinction au moment où les canons de Navarin décidèrent de sa délivrance.

Quant à l'insurrection polonaise de 1830-31, une guerre régulière surtout, longue et dramatique, avec des succès éclatants malgré que éphémères, la catastrophe finale semblait aux yeux des révolutionnaires polonais justifier des critiques amères du système de guerre qu'on avait suivi et le faisait répudier pour l'avenir. On était enclin, depuis 1832, à considérer la guerre de partisans à la mode espagnole comme panacée. Ainsi le traité de Mazzini ne faisait que confirmer ce que dans les milieux des carbonari polonais (et de la jeune Pologne ensuite) était regardé comme axiome. Son raisonnement paraissait irréfutable. Il rappelait (comme le fit ensuite Stolzman dans son livre) les treize cents canons qui ont joué à Borodino, pour constater l'impossibilité de risquer le sort d'une révolution dans une bataille rangée. Donc pas de guerres régulières, pas d'armées, petite guerre où le canon ne trouve pas de cible, des coups de feu d'embuscade, faire jouer le couteau et même le poison. Le livre de Stolzman, ce brillant officier de carrière, s'emparait de ces idées et y ajoutait une doctrine tactique complète, un manuel de partisan franc-tireur. Dans un autre livre, sur « La guerre du peuple », Henri Kamiński, un philosophe, insistait surtout sur la spontanéité du mouvement populaire dans une révolution, Mazzini ayant signalé les dangers d'une dictature militaire pour une révolution et sa répugnance d'avoir à faire à des généraux, Kamiński en tirait des conséquences ultimes : point de préparation préalable d'une insurrection, point d'organisation militaire secrète. Rien que des « apôtres » (cfr. les « apostoli » de

la Jeune Europe) pour proclamer « la révolution sociale » et dégager les énergies populaires accumulées; une fois se voyant appelé à la lutte pour sa propre délivrance, le peuple trouvera lui même des chefs et ses masses augmentant et coordonnant leurs efforts deviendront un jour des corps et des armées.

De telles tendances devaient provoquer une opposition dans les milieux révolutionnaires polonais. Dès 1837 un officier éminent, un « Carbonaro », le colonel Nieszokoć attaquait dans un traité « Du système de guerre de partisans proposé à l'Emigration », insistant sur le fait évident qu'on ne gagne pas de guerre sans attaquer l'ennemi et livrer des batailles, ainsi que sur l'aptitude surprenante du peuple polonais pour le service militaire et sur le don exceptionnel des Polonais d'improviser des troupes et des armées. Il postulait en somme une guerre nationale à grande envergure, une stratégie offensive et vigoureuse, ne prévoyant qu'un rôle subsidiaire des opérations de partisans. C'est dans le même sens qu'allait abonder Louis Mierosławski dans ses cours de stratégie et ses instructions pour l'insurrection à venir. Il avait fait son apprentissage de jeune sous-lieutenant dans la guerre de 1831, pour en devenir après un critique impitoyable. Carbonaro, adepte de Mazzini (« ardentissimo nostro »), un des organisateurs de « La Jeune France », il subit ensuite l'influence de Philippe Buonarroti, il s'éprit des tendances babouvistes et des traditions de quatre-vingt-treize. Il fit en attendant une guerre impitoyable aux « doctrines stratégiques de bohémiens » et de tendances « hérostratigues ». Ce qu'il recommandait, c'était un pouvoir dictatorial préparé d'avance, une organisation préalable et centralisée, une « magie révolutionnaire, transformant des provinces inertes en bataillons », des forces surgissant partout et se concentrant en marche offensive, une guerre de masses organisées et dirigées, unité d'action, rôle secondaire de la petite guerre sur des théâtres secondaires et les arrières des armées adverses. Malgré ses études approfondies des campagnes de la Révolution et de l'Empire, il ne se souciait pas suffisamment de l'armement de ses masses d'insurgés; il s'obstinait à recommencer la tentative de Kościuszko et à décider des victoires par des attaques de « phalanges de faucheurs » (6).

Son imagination fouguese enflammait les jeunes et la logique puissante de ses raisonnements lui fit des admirateurs parmi des offi-

ciers supérieurs de divers pays, le général prussien Willisen compris. un théoricien de l'art de guerre et critique lui aussi de la campagne de 1831. Cette doctrine fut officiellement acceptée par le parti démocratique polonais, dont les mouvements révolutionnaires polonais de 1846, 1848, 1863 seront l'oeuvre; et les oeuvres de Mierosławski l'élevèrent directement au grade de généralissime désigné.

Les campagnes de Mierosławski en 1848 et 1849 en Posnanie, en Sicile, en Badois, lui valurent des succès éphémères, sans lendemain; au lieu d'accabler l'ennemi par des masses d'insurgés il dut combattre des forces supérieures en nombre, et affronter des feux bien plus nourris et plus efficaces que ceux de la fin du XVIII^e siècle.

La doctrine de Mazzini elle aussi n'allait pas s'avérer au cours des événements. Après les « cinq giornate » de Milan et l'insurrection de Venise ce qui s'ensuivit ne pouvait être autre chose qu'une guerre régulière; et Mazzini lui même une fois au pouvoir à Rome était condamné par la nature des choses à faire la guerre régulière qu'il avait répudié, avec des troupes plus ou moins régulières; la campagne de Garibaldi en 1849, comme toutes ses campagnes postérieures, même si elles débutaient par des coups de main, étaient conçues néanmoins comme opérations offensives pour aborder l'adversaire et le vaincre (7).

Parmis les guerres d'insurrection de 1848 et 1849 celle des Hongrois a eu bien de traits communs avec la guerre d'insurrection de 1830-1831 en Pologne. Avant d'être attaqués, les Hongrois eurent comme les Polonais en 1830 le minimum de temps nécessaire pour organiser la défense nationale et pour rallier les troupes existantes à l'insurrection; et ce qui s'ensuivit devint une guerre régulière à grande envergure non sans brillants succès. Il fallut un effort formidable des armées autrichiennes et russes pour les écraser. Des opérations de partisans n'y jouèrent qu'un rôle secondaire.

En résumant ses observations sur les insurrections de 1848 et 1849 Karl Marx en tirait la conclusion: « L'insurrection est un art comme la guerre et d'autres arts: il y a ainsi des règles dont elle ne peut s'écarter sans risquer le désastre... *Primo*, de ne pas faire jeu avec une insurrection tant qu'on n'est pas entièrement préparé à faire face aux conséquences de ce jeu... On aura à faire des calculs à grandeurs indéfinies, à valeurs variables d'un jour à l'autre. C'est l'adversaire qui aura pour lui la préparation, la discipline et l'au-

torité du pouvoir invétéré. A moins qu'on ait des forces puissantes à lui opposer, on risque d'être battu et perdu. *Secondo*, une fois l'insurrection aura pris son cours, il faut agir avec le maximum de vitesse et attaquer. La défensive c'est la mort de tout soulèvement armé... Il faut surprendre l'adversaire tant que ses forces sont dispersées... et maintenir l'ascendant moral gagné par le succès initial de l'insurrection ».

Ceci ne différait pas trop des conceptions de *Microslawski*; il faut noter cependant les réservations sérieuses que faisait Marx quant à la préparation préalable, quant au calcul des forces, et qu'il insistait sur les risques terribles d'une insurrection. C'était plutôt rappeler les responsabilités des chefs et inspirateurs, que les encourager à faire des insurrections à tout prix (8).

Abstraction faite des mouvements révolutionnaires italiens et de la campagne de Garibaldi en 1860 et des soulèvements de Crète, de Bosnie, de Bulgarie, il n'y eut depuis en Europe qu'une seule guerre nationale d'insurrection à grande envergure, celle de 1863 en Pologne. Notons, que cette fois des forces morales importantes mises en action du côté polonais, dans la capitale même au premier lieu, se montrèrent incapables de compenser l'absence de toute organisation militaire et des armes. Des plans antérieurs se basaient sur la supposition que ce sera l'organisation secrète de l'armée russe qui, en livrant aux conjurés la citadelle de Varsovie ainsi que la forteresse de Modlin, assurera une base militaire à l'insurrection avec les moyens nécessaires pour combattre. Sans celà la capitale de Pologne, malgré l'ardeur combative de la population, n'était pas en mesure d'opérer un soulèvement contre les forces puissantes de l'armée d'occupation. La conspiration militaire russe se trouvant paralysée par des arrestations et incapable de disposer d'aucun corps de troupes, on improvisa un plan alternatif: comme base stratégique on voulut substituer à la capitale Plock avec sa région dont il fallait s'emparer par des opérations de troupes improvisées, presque dépourvues d'armes à feu. En conséquence de l'échec inévitable de cette opération ainsi que d'autres coups de main tentés un peu partout, l'insurrection se trouva privée d'autres bases que des localités momentanément occupées et des campements dans les forêts; elle dépendait de plus en plus des bases subsidiaires: la Galicie et la Pologne Prussienne d'où hommes, armes et troupes organisées pénétraient en Pologne russe. Tout en poursuivant ses efforts de former des corps de troupes et de reprendre l'offen-

sive, la guerre d'insurrection devint par la force des choses une guerre de corps francs, de partisans, et c'est à cette réalité qu'allait se heurter Mierosławski, encore une fois dictateur, quand il se présenta à la frontière pour y trouver quelques centaines de faucheurs découragés et affronter immédiatement des attaques vigoureuses de colonnes russes. La « magie révolutionnaire » n'y pu rien.

La guerre qu'on faisait était plutôt conforme aux prévisions de Mazzini et de Stolzman; incapable de vaincre par elle même, elle n'était faite que pour prolonger la lutte, conformément à l'avis de Napoléon III: « Durez » (9).

Les faits sus-mentionnés paraissent autoriser quelques suggestions:

1. — Parmi les guerres d'insurrection au XIXe siècle en Europe aucune ne fut couronnée de succès sans une intervention effective d'une ou plusieurs puissances (Espagne, Grèce, Belgique, Italie).

2. — La puissance de l'action insurrectionnelle dépendait sans doute des énergies déclanchées par des facteurs d'ordre moral, mais la transformation des énergies latentes en effets capables de faire la guerre exigeait comme condition préalable la conquête et le maintien d'une base stratégique, d'une partie au moins du territoire national (pour l'importance de la capitale voir Varsovie 1794, 1830-1831, 1863; Milan, Vénise, Rome 1848-1849).

3. — Pour s'emparer de bases stratégiques et pour les défendre les insurrections eurent à livrer des batailles; leur succès dépendait de la surprise de l'adversaire, de ses défaillances (1830 en France, en Belgique, en Pologne, 1848 à Paris, Vienne, Berlin, Milan, Vénise), de la valeur de l'effort militaire de l'insurrection (voir le rôle des troupes nationales régulières en Espagne, en Pologne, en Italie, en Hongrie et en Allemagne du Sud, des gardes nationales en France et en Autriche).

4. — Une fois l'insurrection s'étant trouvée en disposition d'une base et d'une armée, une guerre régulière s'ensuit, de nouvelles insurrections dans le pays encore occupé et des opérations de partisans gardant une influence, décisive parfois, sur son cours.

5. — Une insurrection ne se trouvant plus en mesure d'entreprendre des offensives pour s'emparer du pays a recours à la défense

des centres dont elle s'était emparée (voir l'Espagne, Grèce, la Pologne, Venise, Vienne, Rome, Paris en 1871), et à la petite guerre (Espagne, Pologne, Grèce), deux formes de « durer ».

6. — Dans les insurrections le rôle des grandes villes, accumulateurs des énergies nationales, des forces spirituelles, politiques et sociales et des moyens matériels est évident dès le XVIII^e siècle (Paris 1789-1792, Varsovie 1794); il s'accroît avec les progrès d'industrialisation et de l'agglomération des jeunesses étudiantes et des classes ouvrières (1830-1848), pour aboutir à la tragédie de la Commune de Paris.

Dans ces luttes se déroulant dans les rues des grandes villes les chances des insurgés augmentent démesurément, les troupes régulières combattant souvent avec récalcitrance bientôt découragés et leurs chefs préférant souvent les retirer, pour soumettre la ville rebelle par une action d'ensemble de l'armée (Radetzky et Windischgraetz en 1848, Thiers en 1871) (10).

7. — Depuis 1871, la puissance des armées régulières modernes paraît interdire toute tentative insurrectionnelle. C'est aux attentats terroristes, aux bombes et revolvers que les révolutionnaires ont recours. À l'Ouest et en Allemagne, les écrivains socialistes, s'ils abordent les problèmes des révolutions à venir, ils reculent devant l'éventualité d'une guerre d'insurrection, en y substituant des grèves générales et escomptant des révoltes probables des troupes. C'était Engels qui constatait en 1895 que l'âge des barricades et des combats de rues était passé (11). Ce n'est que vers la fin du XIX^e siècle qu'avec les progrès des armes automatiques portatives et de la puissance des explosifs des chances nouvelles semblaient se prêter aux insurrections. Leurs problèmes reparaissent alors les mêmes à peu près que ceux que Kościuszko ou Mazzini avaient jadis tâché de résoudre.

MARIAN KUKIEL

NOTES.

1. *Czy Polacy mogą się wybić na niepodległość, W Prykopiu nad Donem, 1800* (Paris, 1800). Depuis 1830 l'opuscule tiré de l'oubli par les conjurés avant l'insurrection de novembre fut reimprimé maintes fois et attribué à tort au général Charles Kniaziewicz; il figure sous ce nom dans les bibliographies et catalogues. Cf. W. TOKARZ, *Ostatnie lata Kollataja* (Crac. 1905), I, 95; SZ. ASKENAZY, *Napoleon i Polska* (Vars. 1918 III, 206-214; M. HANDELSMAN, *Rozwój narodowości nowoczesnej* (Vars. 1925) I, 186-189.
2. La genèse et les grandes lignes de la doctrine de KOSCIUSZKO ont été présentés dans notre étude « Les origines de la stratégie et de la tactique des insurrections polonaises », *Revue Internationale d'Histoire Militaire*, No. 12 (1952). Voir aussi *Teki Historyczne*, 1948, no. 3, 1949, no. 1-2.
3. Le traité de Giuseppe MAZZINI parut en 1833 dans *La Giovine Italia*, Partie 3; voir aussi *Scritti*, Ed. Naz., III, 195-241. La réception incontestable des thèses du traité polonais par Mazzini demande des recherches ultérieures. On se demande s'il comprenait la langue polonaise suffisamment pour lire cet opuscule; cependant il traduisit en italien le poème de Mickiewicz « A la mère Polonaise »; et il voulait traduire ses *Livres de Pellerin*. Pour ses contacts personnels avec les Polonais voir la lettre à la Centralisation de la Société Démocratique Polonaise, Londres 29 novembre 1853: « Notre alliance date des années. Ce fut en 1831, dans la première année de notre exil; nos mains se serrèrent mutuellement sur la terre française et le serment de fraternité fut prononcé entre l'Italie et la Pologne » (A. LEWAK, *Giuseppe Mazzini e l'Emigrazione Polacca*. Estratto da *Il Risorgimento Italiano*, vol. XVII, 1924. Casale 1925).
Ainsi il paraît probable, que ce fut vers la fin de 1831 qu'il a eu l'occasion de discuter la guerre d'insurrection avec des Polonais arrivant en France. Dans son traité il ne cite pas son précurseur polonais; il ne fait mention que d'un opuscule italien, *Della Guerra nazionale d'insurrezione per bande*, publié en France, 1830. Il serait intéressant de confronter ce document avec les deux traités, celui de Kosciuszko et le sien.
4. Pour ce qui concerne les faux et les piques il faut tenir compte du fait que l'emploi tactique de colonnes d'attaque par les armées françaises de la Révolution fit revivre les conceptions analogues de Folard et du Maréchal de Saxe et paraissait justifier non seulement une confiance absolue dans la bayonnette, mais aussi un recours aux piques de fantassins comme expédient; l'emploi tactique de colonnes de piqueurs était prévu dans les règlements de la garde nationale française dont s'inspirait en 1794 l'instruction pour les faucheurs polonais. Du côté russe Souvorov prêchait à ses soldats la supériorité de la bayonnette — « un brave » — sur la balle « une folle ». En 1809 les faucheurs allaient réparaître dans la garde nationale du Duché de Varsovie, et en 1812 les milices russes armées de piques vont « meubler les champs de bataille » à Borodino et à Polock.
5. Pour les expériences des insurrections en Espagne voir l'oeuvre très instructive (malheureusement inachevée comme tant d'autres publications de la Section Historique de l'Etat Major Général de l'Armée Française): E. GRASSET, *La guerre d'Espagne, 1807-1813* (Paris, 1914 sq.), 3 vol.
6. Voir A. JELOWICKI, *O powstaniu i wojnie partyzanckiej* (Paris 1835); K. B. STOLTZMAN, *Partyzantka, czyli wojna dla ludów powstajacych najwłascimsza* (Paris 1944); FILARET PRAWDOWSKI (Henri Kamiński), *O prawdach żywotnych narodu polskiego* (Bruxelles 1844); W. NIESZOKOC, *O systemie wojny partyzanckiej, wzniesionym wśród emigracji* (Paris 1835); L. MIEROSLAWSKI, *Rozbiór krytyczny kampanii 1831 roku i wywnioskowane z niej prawidła dla wojny narodowej* (Paris 1845, 2 vol.).

Les travaux des généraux W. CHRZANOWSKI et J. BEM et du col. L. BY-

STRZONOWSKI envisageaient le rôle de la guerre de partisan comme auxiliaire précieux, dont ils font ressortir l'importance. On trouvera une discussion de ces théories dans *Teki Historyczne*, 1948, nr. 3.

7. Pour les conceptions stratégiques de Mazzini une fois confrontées avec les réalités des événements de 1848, voir ses lettres à Mieroslawski, Marseille, 16 et 26 janvier 1849, LEWAK, o. c., 66-71.
8. K. MARX, *Revolution und Kontre-Revolution in Deutschland 1848-1849* (Stuttgart 1896), 117-118. Pour ses idées sur l'art de guerre et celles de Fr. Engels, voir S. NEUMANN, « *Engels and Marx: Military Concepts of the Social Revolutionaries* » in E. M. EARLE's, *Makers on Modern Strategy* (Princeton 1944).
9. Pour 1863 voir une discussion des problèmes essentiels dans les conférences de JOSEPH PILSUDSKI, 1912, *Pisma - Mowy - Rozkazy* (Vars. 1930) t. III.
10. Voir A. THIERS, *Notes et souvenirs 1870-1873* (Paris 1904), 137-143.
11. Voir la préface à la réédition anglaise de KARL MARX, *Class Struggles in France 1848-1850* (London 1895).

HENRYK PASZKIEWICZ

HENRYK PASZKIEWICZ

In view of the absence of Prof. H. Paszkiewicz (born in 1897, Ph. D., Member of the Polish Academy of Sciences and Letters) the Editors regret to be able to publish here only his bibliography of his most important works, and a Compendium of his last book.

A. BOOKS

- 1) *Dzieje Polski*. Tom. I. Czasy Piastowskie (960-1386). Biblioteka Polska. Warszawa, 1924, str. 426.
(*History of Poland*. Vol. I. Period of the Piasts (960-1386). Polish Library, Warsaw 1924, 426 pages.)
- 2) *Dzieje Polski*. Tom. II. Czasy Jagiellonów (1386-1572). Biblioteka Polska, Warszawa, 1925, str. 450.
(*History of Poland*. Vol. II. Period of the Jagiellonians (1386-1572). Polish Library. Warsaw, 1925, 450 pages.)
- 3) *Polityka ruska Kazimierza Wielkiego*. Rozprawy Historyczne Warszawskiego Towarzystwa Nauk. Warszawa, 1925, str. 285.
(*The Rus' policy of Casimir the Great*.)
- 4) *Regesta Lithuaniae ab origine usque ad Magni Ducatus cum Regno Poloniae unionem*. Studia Seminarii Historiae Europae Orientalis Universitatis Varsoviensis. 1930, p. 183.
- 5) *Jagiellonowie a Moskwa*. Tom. I. Fundusz Kultury Narodowej. Warszawa, 1933, str. 454.
(*The Jagiellonians and Moscow*. Vol. I).
(The manuscript of Vol. II was burned during the insurrection of Warsaw in 1944.)
- 6) *O Genezie i wartości Krewa*. Gebethner i Wolff. Warszawa, 1938, str. 343.
(*The origin and value of the union of Krewa*.)

B. TREATISES

- 7) *W sprawie szołdowania Mazowsza przez Kazimierza Wielkiego*. Przegląd Historyczny 1924.
(*About the allegiance of Masovia to Casimir the Great*.)
- 8) *Z dziejów rywalizacji Polsko - Węgierskiej na terenie Rusi halickiej w XIV w.* (3 traktaty z lat 1350-1352). Kwartalnik Historyczny 1924.
(*On Polish - Hungarian rivalry concerning Halicz in the XIV century*. (Three treaties 1350-1352). Historical Quarterly 1924.)
- 9) *Ze studiów nad polityką Kazimierza Wielkiego*. Przegląd Historyczny 1925.
(*On the policy of Casimir the Great towards the Teutonic Order*.)
- 10) *Z dziejów Podlasia w XIV wieku*. Kwartalnik Historyczny 1928.
(*On the history of Podlasie in the XIV Century*.)
- 11) *U podstaw potęgi Moskiewskiej*. Ateneum Wilenskie 1928.
(*The foundations of Moscow's power*.)
- 12) *Litwa przed Mendogiem*. Pamiętnik V Zjazdu Historyków Polskich 1930.
(*Lithuania before Mendog*.)
- 13) *Z zagadnień ustrojowych Litwy przedchrześcijańskiej*. Kwartalnik Historyczny 1930.
(*The constitution of pre-Christian Lithuania*.)
- 14) *Litwini i Prusacy w XIII w.* Pamiętnik V Zjazdu Historyków Polskich 1930.
(*The Lithuanians and the Prussians in the 13th Century*.)
- 15) *Z dziejów Mazowsza w XIII wieku*. Księga Uczniów ku czci prof. O. Haleckiego. Warszawa 1935.
(*On the History of Masovia in the XIII Cent.*.)
- 16) *W sprawie roli politycznej Koriatowiczów na Wołyniu i Podolu*. Ateneum Wilenskie, 1938.
(*The political role of the Koriat's sons in Wolhynia and Podolia*.)
- 17) *Rus' (Russia) from the 9th to the 14th century. Some considerations on Modes and Methods of Research*, Teki Historyczne, London, 1950.

PASZKIEWICZ, H.

THE ORIGIN OF RUSSIA

(p. 556 + XII) London 1954

COMPTE - RENDU

by

LEON KOCZY

The origin of a state is one of the subjects which scholars took up early in the 19th century. It was due to the romanticists, who turned towards the sources ridiculed and neglected by the rationalists, and discovered a new and hitherto little known world. As far as historical research was concerned, romanticism was attracted by the Middle Ages, and it might be said that, just as the humanists discovered the antique world, the romanticists discovered the former. Though it was during that time that Grote and Niebuhr explained the origins of Hellas and Rome, the real gainers were not the ancient states, but the nations whose genesis was rooted in the Middle Ages, such as the Scandinavian nations, partly other Germanic nations, but first and foremost—the Slavs. In Bohemia this effort will remain for ever linked with the names of P. Safarik and F. Palacky, in the Ukraine with that of M. Hrushevsky. The genesis of the Polish State was the subject of studies by many Polish historians of the 19th and 20th centuries.

Researches on the origin of Russia preceded the era of romanticism and owe nothing to its inspiration. Early in the 18th century Russian scholars undertook an inquiry into the descent of the Rurikides, which by its very nature involved the elucidation of the beginnings of the Russian State.

Historians who have dealt with the origin of Russia are usually regarded as « Normanists » or « Anti-Normanists ». The first believe in the Norse origin of the Rus'; they consider the Scandinavians as the chief organizers of political life on the banks of Lake Ilmen and the shores of the Dnieper. The great majority of the Anti-Normanists look upon the Rus' as Slav and attribute to this Slavonic element a decisive role in the history of Eastern Europe of that period, especially in the rise and growth of the State of Kiev. In Soviet-Russia the Anti-Normanist thesis holds the field, while outside Soviet-Russia the majority of scholars adopt the opposite view.

One of the outstanding Russian historians, Boris Grekov writes: « All these problems of the economic, social, and political development of the East-European nations, and of the Eastern Slavs in the first place, are complex and difficult. It is quite natural that they should always have attracted the attention of those who were interested in the history of our country, and now they face us with greater acuteness than ever. Their importance for the present time is obvious: without the solution of these problems no adequate picture can be drawn of Russia's historical development as a whole... Although all these questions relate to such distant times, their significance is far from being purely academic, which is why they have given rise to such a sharp controversy, reflecting the national and political outlook of those who have taken part in it. In consequence, the approach to the facts, the selection of the facts, and the manner of their treatment were very diverse ».

Professor Paszkiewicz's work « The origin of Russia » is not concerned with such motives. It carries no lessons for today and makes no forecasts for the future. It is a work of scholarship in the best sense of the word, a work of erudition prompted by the quest of truth. From the very outset the author was well prepared to take up the subject, for he had already published numerous books and papers on the history of Eastern and Central Europe (*The Rus' Policy of Casimir the Great*, 1925; *Studies on the Policy of Casimir the Great towards the Teutonic Order*, 1925; *Podlasie in the 14th century*, 1928; *Regesta Lithuaniae ab origine usque ad Magni Ducatus cum Regno Poloniae unionem*, I., 1930; *The Jagellonians and Moscow I.*, 1933, *The Political Life of Masovia during the 13th century*, 1935; *The Genesis and Significance of the Union of Krevo*, 1938, etc.) while working on « *The origin of Russia* » he devoted seven years to the studies of sources and literature of the subject and to adjustment and blending of analysis and synthesis, in which historians often fail and disappoint their readers.

It is obvious from the book under discussion that there were three forces which raised Rus' (about which the author warns us not to identify it with Russia): 1) the Eastern Church, or a religious force, 2) the Rurikides, or a political force, and 3) the Slavonic language, or an ethnic and cultural force.

The success of the author in discovering these forces was due to his method of an extraordinary subtle and precise interpretation of the sources, especially of the renowned Chronicle of Nestor. We are particularly concerned with two concepts: « Rus' » and « the Rus' *yazyk* (language) ». The majority of historians regard the *yazyk* of the Rus' — since speech denotes national distinctiveness — as evidence of the existence at that time of a Rus' nation between the Arctic and the Black Sea and between the Carpathians and the Volga. As

a result of his analysis of numerous sources, the author proved that during the 9th-12th centuries the *yazyk* of the Rus' never signified the language of the Slavs.

The question arises how the author replaced the hitherto accepted views? As may be seen from his exposition, the term « Rus' » underwent extraordinary transformations and that was the reason why Nestor repeatedly dealt with this problem in his Chronicle. In the earliest phase the word « Rus' » denoted the Norse Varangians. Later, during the period 988-1237 (approximately), further meanings were added:

1) « Rus' » signified the State organized in the 10th century by the Varangians on the Middle Dnieper, over a territory inhabited by two tribes, the Polyanians and the Severians. Thereby, « Rus' » became a geographical (and political) concept, embracing the lands of Kiev, Chernihov, and Pereyaslav. « Rus' » never included, and was, moreover, opposed, by such lands as Halich, Polotsk, Smolensk, Rязan, Rostov, Suzdal, Great Novgorod, etc.

2) apart from its geographical meaning, the term « Rus' » had a religious one and denoted the believers of the Eastern Church, who were subordinated to the Metropolitan See of Kiev. In this sense the term « Rus' » vastly exceeded its geographical meaning and was applied to both Slavs and non-Slavs, and contrasted to others faiths and rites. Obviously, the term « Rus' » acquired this religious meaning after the Rurikides accepted Christianity, ie. after the year 988. The two differing meanings of « Rus' » — the geographical and religious one — existed side by side during the period under discussion. This led to many erroneous interpretations of the sources and to misunderstandings in historical literature.

« The Origin of Russia » offers also an elucidation of the word: Language-*yazyk*. Besides its colloquial sense, it had another meaning, that of religious faith. This emerges with particular clarity in those sources in which the Rus' *yazyk* is contrasted with the Latin *yazyk*, or, in fact, with the Latin rite of the Roman Church. According to Nestor the Slavonic (*yazyk*) is both the speech of the Slavs and the Slavonic rite of Cyril and Methodius, while the Rus' *yazyk* is the Rus' faith represented by the Metropolitans of Kiev.

Thus, « Rus' » and the « Rus' *yazyk* », have, in addition to all their other meanings, the meaning of faith, which so far, no one ascribed to it. The very simplicity of this interpretation not only dazzles but at first sight arouses certain doubts. Nevertheless, it is rooted firmly in the sources and has its important analogy in the term « Roma ». This word, so common in mediaeval sources and encountered in all kinds of monuments, has at least three meanings: the Rome of the Ceasars, of the Popes, and of the Roman people. An erroneous interpretation of the word « Rus' » may be as fatal as an

error in the interpretation of the word « Roma ». Would it not lead to the most absurd conclusions, were we to interpret the word « Latini » as denoting only the inhabitants of Latium or the people originating from that country, disregarding the fact that this term was also applied to the believers of the Latin faith.

The author's most original interpretation of the word « Rus' » shows that the future of Mediaevalist studies, in which no important discoveries of sources can be expected, depends on the method of work adopted by individual historians.

Let us return to the term « Rus' ». If we accept the author's interpretation, we shall be obliged in many cases in which scholars mentioned « the Russian language » and « the Russian nation » to speak of the Rus' faith as a part of Eastern Christianity.

The spread of the word « Rus' » signified the spread of the Eastern Church. In this sense, the new interpretation forces us to reexamine the history of the missions of the Kievan Metropolitan See and to compare its activities with those of the great Metropolitan centres in the West.

Even if we accept the fact that Olga was baptized about the year 959 not in Constantinople but in Kiev, it is impossible to speak of Rus' Christianity before the conversion of Vladimir the Great. The Rus' faith was originally confined to the land of the Polyanians, since it was only there that the Rurikides were firmly established. By the year 1018 there were already more than 400 churches in Kiev, by the middle of the 11th century seven Slavonic tribes had been converted, and during Nestor's time, at the beginning of the 12th century, only the Vyatichians still remained to be christianized.

The new faith must have exerted a tremendous force to have been able to overcome so rapidly the paganism of the Eastern Slavs, and the new Metropolitan See must have been animated by a powerful spirit if it was able, at such distance from the « new Jerusalem », to overcome so many obstacles. Byzance was obliged to recognize this missionary achievement of Kiev and, while at the times of Vladimir the Greeks regarded the Eastern Slavs as barbarians of the North, two hundred years later they described these Slavs as the most Christian people.

Let us consider the situation in the West. All the Roman Metropolitan Sees were established amidst pagans and carried on their missionary tasks: Reims and Cologne, Canterbury and York, Salzburg and Mainz, Bremen and Lund, Magdeburg and Gniezno. None of them was faced by such immense and barren field as the limitless Sarmatian plain, and none transformed it so rapidly into our Lord's vinyard as the Metropolitan See of Kiev. If a chronicler from distant Hamburg was able, around the year 1080, to describe Kiev as « aemula sceptri Constantinopolitani », it could only mean a comparison of the Kiev

Metropolitan See with the Patriarchate of Constantinople and it was indeed not an exaggeration.

The political power of the Rus' Metropolitan See is proved by the fact that all those who attempted to establish their rule over Eastern Europe — especially, at a later period, Lithuania and Moscow — made great efforts to secure possession of it.

While emphasizing the importance of the religious factor in the genesis of ancient Rus', it is also necessary to observe that « Rus' » as a religious faith would have never developed the way it did without the participation of other forces as well, in the first instance of the Rurikides.

The mediaeval States rested on dynasties while the dynasties rested on individuals, and the histories of the mediaeval States were necessarily those of their rulers.

Historians were always interested in discovering how it came about that within a short period of time and from a relatively small area of Scandinavia, so many dynasts had arisen to found so many princely lines and realms. Suffice to point to Olaf Trygvasson, Canute the Great, and Rollo to realize the vigour of the Northern dynasties and to mention England, Normandy, and Sicily in order to appreciate their achievements.

We know the achievements of the Norsemen, but we know neither the genesis nor the aim of their diffusion. It is certain, however, that after the period of their predatory expeditions, they proceeded to settle down and were forced to choose new motherlands. They settled on the shores of the seas for the sea was their element, and they followed the rivers, ever attracted by Constantinople, with riches tempted the greediest Vikings and was accessible from the sea on two sides.

When during the first Crusade Bohemond of Tarent was dreaming of the conquest of Constantinople, he was dreaming the dream of other Vikings, who attempted to conquer it from another direction, through the waterways of Eastern Europe, linking up the Baltic with the Black and Caspian seas and serving as a gigantic bridge between the West and Scandinavia on the one hand and Byzance and the further East on the other. In this area, amply watered by rivers and lakes, as nowhere else in Europe, there always existed undefined political opportunities, while economic advantages continued to lure even after the West, owing to the Crusades, established direct relations with the East. It is obvious that such opportunities must have tempted the Varengians and that is how the Rurikides built up their power. Their territorial conquests in Eastern Europe exceeded by far those of their kinsmen in the West.

It is understandable, therefore, that the author devoted as many as three chapters to the Norse problem. It is this part of the book which may be regarded as controversial by Soviet historians. If we

might reproach the author that, with advantage to the conciseness and construction of the work but to the disadvantage of its narrative, he refrained from presenting the Rurikides against their Norse background, we must recognize that, at last, he found the path leading from « Rus' » as a religious faith to « Rus' » as a political force.

The Varengians did not bring the name « Rus' » from their country and it has never been ascertained whence they received it. Known in different parts of Eastern Europe, it finally applied to Kiev only. This would seem to indicate that it was not the Rurikides who propagated the name « Rus' », but that this was done by another factor, and none other than the Eastern Church.

When, in 988, Vladimir accepted Christianity, a new era began in the history of Eastern Europe. Byzance realized that an immense new and barren field opened before the Greek Church and was determined to act. That is why it agreed so readily to found a Metropolitan See in Kiev and admitted the Slavonic language in liturgy.

At the same time Constantinople realized that the sole supra-tribal factor throughout these immense areas and the sole political power was the dynasty of Rurik and that was the reason why the Greeks determined to take advantage of this political force for missionary purposes. In this way the Rurikides became an instrument of the Greek Church, just as the latter was an instrument of the Greek Empire. The Church propagated the idea of unity, « one Rus' », which was utterly alien to the Slavs. In this way the acceptance of the idea of one State under one ruler involved the recognition of one dynasty and one capital city.

Henceforth the history of Rus' became the history of the Eastern Church and the history of the Church that of the Rurikides. The political consequences of this religious revolution soon made themselves apparent. While as late as 970, Swyatoslav was thinking of abandoning his realm on the Dnieper and moving to Pereyaslavets, on the Danube, since 988 the Rurikides became settled and Kiev remained their capital. It was only then, at the turn of the 10th and 11th centuries, that their State emerged as a definite and stabilized organization. Vladimir the Great and his successors proceeded to build cities, fortify the frontiers and organize a unified administration.

As rulers « by the Grace of God » the Rurikides took over certain obligations towards the Church and discharged the missionary tasks expected of them. From 988 onwards, the Rurikides offered their services to the Church and put the whole power of their State to its disposal.

Before being harnessed to the Byzantine chariot, the Rurikides remained typical Verengians and, as such, they became notorious during the early period as organizers of predatory expeditions to the most distant lands, while the Byzantine Empire, the Caspian Sea and

the Caucasus. Even when planning the conquest of a country, they were thinking first and foremost of plunder.

Lust for power was another of their characteristics. One of the Sicilian Normans said of the Vikings that, once they arrived it was difficult to get rid of them. To the inhabitants of Bardh'ah on the Caspian Sea, the Varengians announced simply: « The only thing we are after is power. It is our duty to treat you well, it is your duty to obey ». Homer could not have made his heroes speak more proudly and Thucydides made the Athenians express similar sentiments when they subjugated the innocent people of Melos.

Such were the Varengians and the Rurikides, to whom the author pays tribute as to a powerful political force in Eastern Europe. In this they resembled the Vikings though they differed from them in other respects.

To begin with, the Varengians were not rapidly absorbed by the vanquished population as were the Normans in the West, and did not shed so easily their native characteristics. Moreover, while the Vikings were in their time a menace to Christianity, the Varangians readily supported missionary work and the history of Christianity in Eastern Europe will always remain linked with them.

The real bard of the greatness of the Rurikides as apostles of the Rus' faith was the Metropolitan of Kiev, Hilarion (1051-54). The author has gathered a great deal of information and showed that he was neither a Slav or a Greek, but a Varengian. Though Hilarion recognized the « New Jerusalem », or Constantinople, he required that Rus' should be regarded the equal of Byzance, being next to the Empire a chosen missionary instrument. Hilarion said that the glory and greatness of the Rus' and of the Rurikides rests on warlike achievements and the spread of Christianity; and it is another merit of Professor Paszkiewicz's work that he shows the Varengians in this true light.

Of the two forces already mentioned, to whom Rus' owed its rise and development, one came from Scandinavia, the other from Byzance and both were alien.

The question arises if the native Slavonic element took any part in the formation of Rus'?

The author emphasizes that the Eastern Slavs showed little political sense; owing to their dispersion over the immense spaces of Eastern Europe, they neither produced a nation nor a state exceeding the tribal limits. But though politically feeble and governed by aliens (the Khazars, the Norse Varengians, the Lithuanians, Tartars etc.), the Eastern Slavs represented a certain force, which was operating over a long period of time and proved to be a threat to the conquerors, whom it might have overcome and absorbed.

During the second half of the 9th century, while the Varengians

were starting on their career in the East of Europe, another important event was taking place elsewhere. Two Greek monks, Cyril and Methodius, journeying from Byzance arrived in Moravia to take up missionary work. Their mission was of an exceptional significance in that they introduced into liturgy, instead of the Greek language, the Slavonic tongue, for which purpose they formed a new alphabet. This measure, which was entirely unknown to Rome and only rarely applied by Byzance, proved to have been epoch-making in its consequences for the religious and political history of Eastern Europe and of the whole of Christendom.

The Slavonic rite had a short life in Moravia, for in 886, it was proscribed by Prince Svatopluk, who dispersed the disciples of Methodius. It nevertheless survived in Bohemia, whence it spread to Poland. What the author — and lately Dr. Karolina Lanckoronska in Vol. I., of *Antemurale* — had to say about the Slavonic rite in Poland is almost « revolutionary » in its sweep, and requires a chapter of its own to do it justice. Here it will suffice to say that this rite spread to the lands on the Upper and Middle Vistula, on the Bug and on the Upper Dniester and that it had its own Metropolitan organization in Poland. Through the lands of the Croats, at the foot of the Eastern Carpathians, and of the Buzhians, on the Bug, whose settlements reached as far as the Styr, in short, through the old trade route leading from the West through Prague, Cracow, Sandomir to the Black Sea, the Slavonic rite reached Kiev. It spread on the Dnieper several decades prior to the baptism of Olga and Vladimir and, at the time of their conversion, was being observed by a considerable part of the Polyanian tribe. According to the author, both rulers were baptized according to the Cyrilian rite in their own capital and not in Byzance. This fact was of considerable importance to Vladimir, for it obviated the influence of the Empire and permitted him to maintain relations with the West, more especially with the Slavonic language of liturgy, as it had already taken strong roots among the Polyanians. It was due to that language, which appealed directly to the people that Christianity made such rapid progress in the East of Europe. Nestor, having the Slavonic language in mind, as preserved in liturgy, was able to say that the Slavonic *yazyk*, i.e. the rite of Cyril and Methodius, and the Rus' *yazyk*, represented by the Metropolitans of Kiev, were one and the same.

The Slavonic tongue used for ecclesiastical and other purposes became, in time, the main written language in the territories of Eastern Europe. It was adopted also by non-Slavonic elements, the Varegians, the Lithuanians, Moldavians and Wallachians, the Finnish tribe of the Merya, on whose territory Moscow arose, etc. The author of « The Origin of Russia » shows that the Slavonic tongue became

the international language of the East in the same way as Latin was in the West.

The Rurikides could feel the compelling force of the Slavonic element, its number and the influence of its language; they realized that they were becoming rooted in the alien soil and were losing their identity. In fact, during the 12th century, they all succumbed to this process and became finally slavicized. George Dolgoruky alone escaped this process by founding on the non-Slavonic, Finnish territory, his own Suzdal-Vladimir State, which in the course of time gave birth to Moscow. It aimed at the supremacy of the Slavs, against Kiev, which George's son devastated so grievously in 1169.

The author draws a wide parallel between the early expansion of the Norse Varengians in the European East and the subsequent expansion of the Lithuanians. The descendants of Gedymin (as those of Rurik before them) sensed the same menace of Eastern Slavdom and sought to protect themselves by closer relations with the West (Union with Poland). The acceptance of Roman Christianity saved them from absorption by the Eastern Slavs at the price of a religious and cultural dualism, which undermined the political cohesion of their State.

While moving northwards and proceeding to organize a new political centre on the Volga, Dolgoruky and his successors based their State on the same elements and forces to which old Rus' owed its rise and progress. The ambitious plans of these Rurikides were taken over by Moscow only to be transformed into an acquisitive oecumenism, aiming at the domination of the world; Christianity was adopted only as an instrument of policy, and the Slavonic language was made a tool of conquest and denationalization.

« The Origin of Russia » offers evidence that it was Moscow's tragedy that her development shaped not under the civilizing influence of Kiev, Rome or Byzance, but under that of the Tartars. The Tartars forged Moscow's links with Asia and it was from them that Moscow adopted something, which the author defined on the last page of his work, « the worship of the ruler, his unlimited power, his domination through fear, a servile attitude of the people, who, deprived of their language and their ethnical name, came to be known only as the « Great Rus' » and were nourished in a faith which had become an instrument of State policy ».

Professor Paszkiewicz's book compels the reader to think and to reflect. The first and foremost impression is that of a gulf separating East and West, by which already Herodote was struck. Another impression, which never leaves the reader, is the disparity in the development of Eastern and Western Europe.

Both came into being under the influence of the same force, originating from the same evangelistic source, for without Christianity

there would have been no Europe as we know it. How then, did it happen that after many centuries, these forces produced two different Churches, two cultures, two worlds? The question is not easily answered. It seems, however, that the cause of the difference lies in a differing relation of forces, to whom the two parts of Europe owed their development, the force of political power and the force of religion.

In any case, the growth of civilization in the West was marked by the progress of Christianity, or the progress of missionary activities. In this way the Church was fulfilling her apostolate, striving by all available means to achieve her purpose. Amongst these means, the exploitation of political forces was the supreme principle. Three times during the Middle Ages, in 496, 754 and 962, the Church, for seemingly other reasons, sensed the force of the ascendance of three dynasties and in each case staked her fortunes on them. These were memorable events, for without the Franks, without Charlemagne and the Ottos it would be difficult to imagine the history of Mediaeval Europe.

The baptism of Vladimir, in 988, was equally epoch making. Maybe, it would have advanced by other paths, if it had not had the support of the Eastern Church and of the Eastern Empire. Like Rome in the West, Byzantium sensed the force inherent in the Norse Varengians and staked its fortunes on them. If it had been a deliberate choice, it would offer proof that in the « New Rome », there still dwelled the wisdom, which Constantine the Great transferred thereto. And here, the analogy ends.

In the West, the Church, as a spiritual force, preserved her independence from the political factor, after the centuries-long struggle between the Empire and the Papacy. The moral force ingrained in the Church never surrendered to the political power, to physical force, though it acknowledged its rights. That is why the Church became the source of spiritual forces in the State, without ever becoming its tool. In the East, the Church at first harnessed the State into the service of the missionary work, but when the task was accomplished, it became a tool of the State.

A study of Professor Paszkiewicz's work and a comparison of the results of his inquiry into the origins of Rus' with the development of Western Europe, offers a significant historical lesson.

« The Origin of Russia » exceeds by far the scope indicated by its title, which does not suggest that the work touches upon the history of the most memorable, though little known missions, that it elucidates the genesis of Rus' and sheds so much new light on the origins of Lithuania and Poland. While distinctly original in its method, the work produces a synthesis of vast dimensions, it impresses by its scholarly erudition and by the force of its exposition. There

cannot be any doubt that it is one of the most important recent contributions to the general history of the Middle Ages.

LEON KOCZY

WALERIAN MEYSZTOWICZ

WALERIAN MEYSZTOWICZ

Né 24.VI.1893, à Pojoscie (Pologne). Lycée Impérial Alexandre à S. Petersburg. 1913.

Ordonné Prêtre: Wilno, 1924.

Pont. Ist. U.J., Rome, Dr.J.Can. 1926; Université Bathoréenne de Wilno, Dr. S. Theol. 1928; agrégé 1935; Professeur de Droit Canon, 1936. Conseiller Canoniste de l'Ambassade de Pologne 1932. Président de l'Institut Historique Polonais à Rome 1946. Prélat Domestique de Sa Sainteté.

Publications:

- 1) *Domicilium et q-Domicilium in Codice Juris Canonici*, Roma 1926.
- 2) *De conditione iuridica Ecclesiae in Polonia*, Roma 1931.
- 3) *Dobra Koscielne W W. X. Litewskim*, Wilno 1935.
- 4) *La religion dans les constitutions des états modernes*, Roma 1138.
- 5) *Natalinus, Grand Empereur de toute la Russie*, Roma 1941.
- 6) *Elisabeth de Pologne, Reine de Hongrie*, Roma 1943.
- 7) *Repertorium bibliographicum pro rebus polonicis Archivi Secreti Vaticani*, Vaticano, 1943.
- 8) *L'Eglise Catholique en Pologne entre les deux guerres*, Vaticano 1944.
- 9) *De Archivio Nuntiaturae Varsaviensis*, Vaticani 1944.
- 10) *Poselstwo Mieszka I do Abderamana III*, Paryz 1950.
- 11) *Un monumento polacco di lingua ed arte*, Firenze 1951.
- 12) *Wspolczesny wizerunek Boleslawy Chrobrego*, Londyn 1952. — etc.

WALERIAN MEYSZTOWICZ

Un extrait de la communication de Mgr Meysztowicz au Xme Congrès de Sciences Historiques à Rome sera publié dans les actes du Congrès, sous le titre: « Les Duchesses de Turów et l'Union de l'Eglise Ruthène avec Rome au XI s. ».

Le texte complet de la communication paraîtra dans le prochain cahier des *Studi Gregoriani* à Rome, sous le titre « L'Union de Kiev avec Rome sous Gregoire VII ».

Nous nous bornons ici à publier le « Manuscrit de Gertrude », (v. p. 103) qui est une source importante et inédite pour le problème, et la conclusion par laquelle Mgr Meysztowicz termine sa communication au Congrès:

L'Unité de l'Eglise, l'union avec Rome des chrétiens de rite slave, qui avaient leur centre à Kiev, est un problème aussi ancien que le schisme lui-même: puisque le premier acte d'union a été fait à Rome par les princes, qui commencèrent leur règne à Kiev en cette même année 1054, quand éclata la rupture officielle entre Rome et Byzance. La lutte pour l'unité se déroule entre Rome et un centre anti-romain qui se trouve en dehors de Kiev lui-même; ce fut d'abord Byzance, et plus tard, Moscou. L'union que Grégoire VII avait conclue à Rome en 1075, et qui tomba dans l'oubli, fut renouvelée par Innocent IV en 1246, avec ceux des Rurikides qui après l'invasion tartare conservaient leur indépendance: Daniel de Halicz devenait roi reconnu par Rome. Les recherches récentes nous montrent la part qu'eut dans cette union le duc Conrad de Masovie (v. SZCZESNIAK, B. *Benoît le Polonais, Antemurale* I 39, Roma 1954). L'invasion mongole créera, depuis la moitié du XIII siècle, une barrière qui separera de Byzance les terres des Rurikides soumis à la horde, et formera un nouveau centre antiromain à Moscou. Quand un Empererur d'Orient viendra de Constantinople à Florence pour mettre fin au schisme, en 1439. (v. HALECKI, O. *Un Empereur de Byzance à Rome*, 1930) cet acte sera combattu par Moscou; l'épisode du Cardinal Isidore, qui précède de peu la fin de l'Empire Oriental, marque la migration du centre anti-romain de la capitale des successeurs d'Auguste à Moscou, où siègent des princes qui sont, il est vrais, de la dynastie de Rurik, mais qui tiennent leur pouvoir des Khans de la Horde Dorée. La partie de l'Eglise slave qui reste dans les terres de l'Etat Polono-Lithuanien, se rapproche de Rome, et Clément VIII conclut l'Union de Brest, en 1596. (v. HALECKI, O. *Unia Brzeska w swietle wspólczesnych swiadectw greckich in Sacrum Poloniae Millenium*, Roma, 1954).

La croissance de l'Etat Moscovite, sa transformation au XVIII en un Empire, ses conquêtes en Europe Centro-Orientale, sa profession, depuis 1918, de l'athéisme militant, sont autant d'éléments nouveaux pour l'Union.

En remontant aux sources des problèmes actuels, nous y trouvons l'union de Rome de 1075. Il semble qu'aux grandes dates de

l'histoire de la lutte pour l'unité de l'Église, à savoir celles de 1246, 1439, 1596 on peut ajouter celle de 1075 qui marque le premier succès formel dans l'oeuvre de l'Union; et mettre, à la tête des noms des Pontifes Romains qui en furent les auteurs, le nom de Grégoire VII.

***MANUSCRIPTUM GERTRUDAE
FILIAE MESCONIS II REGIS POLONIAE***

Cura VALERIANI MEYSZTOWICZ editum

INTRODUCTIO EDITORIS

A. « *Manuscriptum Gertrudianum* », *cujus textus integer nunc primum typis editur, est pars « Codicis Gertrudiani », qui aliquando etiam sub nomine « Psalterii Egberti » describitur.* (1)

Codex studiosis nunquam ignotus erat, ut notae in marginibus, saeculo XVIII anteriores, probant. Multi sunt qui de eo, saeculo elapso et currenti, scribebant. (2) *Maxima tamen ex parte auctores de picturis miniatis, quibus Codex ornatur, tractant. « Manuscriptum Gertrudianum » minorem attrahebat attentionem. Excerpta aliqua ex manuscripto Gertrudae edita sunt apud Sauerland; alia apud Severianov leguntur (quod passim a nobis notatur).*

B. *Codicis compositio. « Codex Gertrudianus », in quo « Manuscriptum Gertrudae » invenitur, constat e diversis fasciculis membraneis, variis temporibus a diversis auctoribus et scriptoribus factis. Fasciculi illi diversis sexternis, quaternis, binis et singulis foliis constantes, quorum aliqua maiorem, alia minorem foliorum numerum habent, sunt quinque.*

Primus fasciculus, quem « Gertrudianum » vocamus, 15 folia continet (f. 1-15), quorum primum album relinquitur, sequentia (f. 2, 3, 4) Kalendarium continent, caetera vero preces, (quibus inserta est quoque brevis tractatio astrologica). Fasciculus picturis « stylo byzantino » depictis, ornatur: quattuor horum in foliis 5, 9, 10 (R. et v.) inveniuntur. Notatu dignum est quintam eiusdem styli picturam in sequenti fasciculo, f. 41 depictam esse. (3)

Folia fasciculi Gertrudiani, foliis sequentis fasciculi comparata, longiora in sensu verticali, sed breviora in sensu horizontali erant: quod clarissime apparet ex utrorum abscissione, a ligatore qui eos in unum volumen ligabat, facta.

Secundus fasciculus est omnibus maior: 193 enim foliis (f. 15-208) constat, in quibus totum « Psalterium Egberti » pulcherrima scriptura carolina conscriptum et optimis picturis ornatum est. Est hic fasciculus « corpus operis », cui folia praecedentia et sequentia nonnisi quoddam additamentum constituunt; haec est ratio ob quam etiam totus Codex a nonnullis « Egbertianus » vocatur. (4)

Historia huius psalterii optime iam est descripta (v. Sauerland et Severianov). Ex dedicatione, quae in f. 16 v. et 17 R. legitur, Psalterium est donum Ruodprehti, « quod praesul suscipit Egbrecht ». EGBRECHT, aliter Egbert, etiam Ecbert vocatus, Archiepiscopus fuit Augustae Trevirorum ab a. 977, et obiit a. 993. (5) De fati hujus fasciculi, antequam partem Codicis Gertrudiani facere venit, haud aliqua certe sunt nota (6). In marginibus Psalterii saepius leguntur litterae « G R H », vario ordine disposita (7); litterae hae in aliis Codicis partibus non inveniuntur; ex quo factum, et etiam ex abscissionibus, inferre licet eas in Psalterio ante ejus in Codicem insertionem factas fuisse. Haud aliquid certi ex his litteris quoad fata Psalterii inferre licet. (8)

Tertius fasciculus solis quinque foliis constat (f. 209-213), in quibus litaniae Sanctorum inscriptae sunt. Manus, quae litanias scripsit, clare differt a manibus aliorum Codicis scriptorum. Litaniae tamen stricte cum Psalterio connexae sunt: repetuntur enim in eis nomina episcoporum Augustae Trevirorum, quorum imagines Psalterium Egbertianum ornant. Nexum inter litanias et Psalterium constituit quoque inscriptio in Psalterio Egbertiano f. 182 R. quae certe a manu scriptoris litaniarum facta est. Quae manus clarissime a manu Gertrudae differt, a qua etiam et orthographia distinguitur: scripsit enim constanter scriptor litaniarum dyphntonga in forma duplici « ae » uti scriptor Egbertiani Psalterii, nunquam vero « e caudatum » (quod hic per « é » transcribimus), ut semper scribebat Gertruda. Differentia manus Gertrudae et scriptoris litaniarum patet in folio 213 v., in quo Gertruda, in calce litaniarum, preces addidit (v. 87). (9)

Quartus fasciculus — quem « Confessori anonimo » attribuimus — in 15 foliis (ff. 214-228) praesertim formulas confessionum peccatorum continet. Scriptura huius fasciculi etiam clare eum ab aliis fasciculis distinguit; cum alii in versibus, qui per totam paginam currunt, scripserunt, « Confessor » in duabus scribebat columnis. A scriptura Gertrudae differt orthographia, qui nunquam « é » adoperat; saepius in prima persona singulari scripsit, semper in genere masculino. Caligra-

phia Confessoris a manus Gertrudae distinguitur sine ullo dubio in foliis 223 v. et 224 R., in quibus tam « Confessor », quam post eum Gertruda scripserunt; quod luce clarior apparet in folio 228 R., ubi scriptum Confessoris abrasum, et suo loco oratio Gertrudae inscripta est.

Quisnam fuerit Confessor, nescitur; ex aliquibus verbis inferre forsitan liceret eum sacerdotem fuisse: loquitur enim de « populo sibi commisso » (f. 214 R.), de « vasis sacris » (215 R.), de castitate servanda, de elemosynis susceptis; haud tamen certa esset conclusio, quia « confessio », in qua elementa supradicta inveniuntur, non est personalis, sed uti manuductio ad examen conscientiae faciendum scripta videtur.

Quantum fasciculum constituunt 4 folia (ff. 229-232). Primum folium ab aliquo ignoto manuscripto provenire videtur; inscriptum est scriptura ab omnibus caeteris foliis nostri Codicis diversa; incipit in mediis verbis, « Laudibus in Sede Romana », et in verso continuatur a verbis « debet peccata ». Continet relationem de « Gloria » et de « Alleluia » Romae, iussu Summi Pontificis, cantatis. Folia 229 et 230 aliquas inscriptiones incertas habent: sed iam in f. 230 incipit, et per folia 231 et 232 extenditur oratio Gertrudiana. Folium 233 R. inscriptionem, anno 1557 factam, de conversione cuiusdam Pasculinae, hebraeae, habet. Folium hoc in verso album manet.

Duo sunt elementa, Codicis Gertrudiani unitatem constituentes. Primum est elementum materiale, i.e. omnium fasciculorum in unum ligatura; secundum est maioris momenti: est ipse Manuscriptum Gertrudianum, quod in primis Codicis foliis incipit, per omnes Codicis fasciculos currit, in ultimis foliis eiusdem terminatur. (10) Sat certitudini propinqua esset suppositio ligaturam materialem Codicis ab eo auctore curatam fuisse, qui primas et ultimas paginas conscripsit, et propria scriptura suisque picturis medias codicis partes adornavit.

C. Unitas « Manuscripti Gertrudiani », quamquam eum non in uno fasciculo, sed in diversis foliis unius Codicis invenimus, diversis argumentis comprobatur.

Unica est manus qua manuscriptum Gertrudianum scriptum est; constans est modus singulas litteras scribendi: ab initio usque ad finem nullum notatur signum aliquod verbum ab alia manu scriptum fuisse; etsi Sevierianov contrarium sensit, attribuendum est hoc errori, ob quem ille scripta Litanistae et Confessoris a scriptis Gertrudianis non sat distinguebat. Si aliqua in caligraphia adsint differentiae, minimae sunt, et diversitati circumstantiarum, in quibus singulae inscriptiones fiebant, et praesertim temporis, attribuendae sunt.

Unica est Manuscripti Gertrudiani orthographia: diphthongi semper per « e caudatum » (quod in textu per é figuratur) signantur; quae caudula aliquando omittitur: nunquam tamen « ae » vel « oe » scriptum invenitur, uti scribebant omnes alii huius Codices scriptores — copista Egbertianus Psalmorum, Litanista et Confessor. Abbreviationes communes (e.g. « cum », « orum ») constanter in eadem forma fiunt, (quod non est tamen dicendum de abbreviationibus singularibus et maioribus, ubi e.g. tota doxologia unico signo exprimitur).

Unitas apparet quoque in defectibus: ab initio usque ad finem sat frequenter notantur quae mentem distractam denotant.

Unica est quoque latinitas. Praeter orationes, quae ab aliis compositae et ab auctore manuscripti non nisi abscriptae sunt, in caeteris apparet latinitatis paupertas. Apparent quoque slavismi: notamus slavonicam formam nominis Gertrudae, cuius originalis forma germanica Gertrud aut Gertrude, latina autem Gertrudis esset, et quae in Manuscripto Gertrudiano semper in forma slavonica, « Gertruda », apparet. Notetur insuper constans usus infinitivum, etiam modus activi, non in « e », sed in « i » terminare: quod linguarum slavonicarum proprium est.

Unicus et constans est usus primae personae singularis in forma feminina. (11) In toto manuscripto unus est casus, quod facile per errorem explicatur, ubi auctor hanc regulam transgressus est.

Unicus est stylus orationum, in quibus saepe recurrunt identicae locutiones: ad Deum preces mittens rogat Gertruda ut exaudiatur « sicut scis et sicut vis »; « ego indigna », « ego peccatrix » sunt alia verba saepe recurrentia.

Unicus quoque apparet sensus religiosus, in profunda humilitate fundatus, saepe recurrunt signa devotionis erga SS. mam Trinitatem, SS. mum Sacramentum, Misericordiam Divinam, Beatissimam Mariam, Crucem Christi, Angelos, item erga S. Petrum; assidue orat auctor pro filio Petro; quae omnia, ab initio usque ad finem manuscripti, unicum pietatis formam distincte denotant.

Unitatem quoque manuscripti denotant maiusculae initiales, et picturae. (12)

Ex argumentis ergo caligraphicis, orthographicis, linguisticis, stylisticis, ex constanti usu formae femininae in prima persona, ex unica pietatis forma — unitas « Manuscripti Gertrudiani », per diversa loca in « Codice Gertrudiano » inscripti, certe probata apparet.

Ad faciliorem materiae comprehensionem, totum textum in 93 dividimus numeros, quorum aliqua proprias inscriptiones habebant, alia a nobis inscripta sunt. In hac divisione pro posse naturalem divisionem, in Manuscripto apparentem, secuti sumus.

D. Auctor Manuscripti Gertrudiani.

Vix aliquis dubitare potest manuscriptum Gertrudianum, ac eius picturas, saeculo XI, et quidem in secunda eius mediate factas fuisse. (13)

Orationes in prima persona generis feminini factae clare indicant auctorem feminam fuisse. (v. sup. II)

Quae femina seipsam nominat nomine « Gertruda ». (14)

Ex « proskenesi » quae in pictura folii 5 v. (N. 3) figuratur, patet eam « Matrem IAROPOLK » esse: qui IAROPOLK in iisdem picturis sub nomine Petri apparet (f. 10, N. 25). Gertruda, mater Iaropolk, qui in toto suo Manuscripto pro Petro orat. (15) eundem Petrum filium suum esse asserit. (16)

Petrus - Iaropolk saeculo XI unus notus est: ante a. 1050 natus, filius Iziaslavi ducis Turoviensis et postea principis et Regis Kiioviensis (1025-1078), m. a. 1078. Cuius mater Mesconis II, regis Poloniae, filia fuit, et est eadem Gertruda, (17) nostri codicis auctor, cuius breve curriculum vitae inferius proponimus.

E. De scriptore « Manuscripti Gertrudiani » quasi otiosum videtur quaerere; exemplaria enim scripturae Gertrudae nulla manent, nec scire possumus utrum habuerit ducissa Turoviae et Kiioviae secretarios, an manu propria scripserit. Haud tamen improbabile nobis apparet Gertrudam nostrum manuscriptum propria manu scripsisse. Si ita esset, antiquissimum exemplar chirographi dynastiae Piastorum nunc in Museo Foreiulensi esset.

Pro hypothese Gertrudam Manuscriptum suum propria manu scripsisse sequentes adducere possunt rationes:

Scriptura denotat personam in arte scribendi sat expertam, quae tamen non pollet illa excellentia caligraphica quae a secretario postulatur; ipsa Gertruda sic scribere potuit, vix tamen insufficientem scripturae elegantiam apud secretarium toleraret.

Adsunt in manuscripto abbreviationes et contractiones, quae vix ab aliquo, nisi qui sibi soli scribat, factae esse possunt: potius signa mnemonica, quam scriptura, esse videntur; nullus secretarius eis uti permittitur.

Unica manus unicum secretarium Gertrudae fuisse indicat; nunquam ab alio aliquo inscriptiones factae sunt; quae constantia non est communis; facilius admittitur Gertrudam semper manu propria scripsisse, quam nunquam secretarium mutasse.

Preces aliquae tam sunt personales, tam multa peccata sua, filiique sui Gertruda confitetur, ut vix sine pudore transcriptio illarum confessionum secretario committeretur.

Scimus aliunde Gertrudam e familia principum, qui litteras colebant, ortam esse; pater suus linguas latinam et graecam novit, nec Gertruda, linguae latinae gnara, artem scribendi ignorare potuit.

Ita manuscriptum, donec contrarium probetur, pro autographo habere licet. Quod tamen certe ad picturas non extenditur: eo maius, quod in picturis inscriptiones non latine, sed graece sunt factae.

F. Fontes ad Gertrudae historiam.

- 1) *Sofistskaia piervaia lietopis'*, in *Polnoje Sobranie russkich lietopisiej V*, SPbg. 1848 V. V 138, sub anno 1043.
- 2) *Voskresienskaia lietopis'*, *ibid.*, VI SPbg., 1856 VI 331, sub anno 1038-1044.
- 3) *Lietopisnyj Sbornik (Nikonowsk. liet.) ibid.* IX, SPbg., 1862 IX 83, sub anno 1039-1043.
- 4) *Supraslskij Spisok ibid.* XVI, SPbg. 1889 XVI, 15, sub anno 6549 (1041). (quae 4 fontes non sunt nisi diversae unius fontis relationes).
- 5) *Ipatievskaia Lietopis*, vol. II, SPbg. 1854; 2 ed. 1903.
- 6) « *NESTOR* » seu recte:
Poviest Vremennyh let (improprie Chronicon Nestori dictum). Textum v. Iatopis Nestora in Monumenta Poloniae Historica I, Leopoli 1864, I 521-863. Anglicam criticam novissimam versionem vide CROSS et SHEBROWITZ-WETZOR, The Russian Primary Chronicle, Cambridge, Mass. (1953).
Quae fons a nobis semper secundum editionem in lingua slavonica citatur, quae cum versione anglica comparata a nobis est.
- 7) *Vita Moisi Hungari seu Polikarpa Mnicha Kijowskich Pieczar Zywot Mojzesza Wegrzyna ed. KALUZNIACKI, E. in Monumenta Poloniae Historica, IV Leopoli 1884, IV 797-817. v. 816-817.*
- 8) *Galli Anonimi Chronicon ed. BIELOWSKI, A., Galla Kronika in Monumenta Poloniae Historica I, Leopoli 1864 I 379-485. v. (sub anno 1068), I 419.*
- 8) *Gregorii VII Registrum Lib. I-IV ed. CASPAR, E. in Epistolae Selectae ad usum scholarum, Berolini 1920, v. II, 73 (p. 233) et II 74 (p. 23).*

G. Gertrudae curriculum vitae.

- a. 1014 (+ n?) nascitur.
- 1025 moritur avus Boleslaus Magnus, pater Mescio II fit rex Poloniae.
 - 1034 moritur pater Mescio II, frater Boleslaus Oblitus fit rex Poloniae.
 - 1036 mater Regina Richeza exiliatur.
 - 1038 moritur frater Boleslaus Oblitus, Polonia a Bohemis invasa.
 - 1039 regnare coepit frater Casimirus I Renovator. Gertruda Iziaslavo duci Turoniensi desponsatur.
 - 1040 (+ n?) nascitur filius Mstislavus.
 - 1044 mariti soror, Anastasia, Andreae Regi Hungariae desponsatur.
 - 1049 socru, Ingrid, Regis Svetiae Olavi filia, moritur.
 - 1050 natus est filius, Iaropolk Petrus.
 - 1051 mariti soror, Anna, Henrico I regi Galliae desponsatur.
 - 1054 socer, Iaroslavus I, moritur; maritus Iziaslavus regnare coepit Kiioviae.
 - 1058 frater, Casimirus Rex Poloniae, obiit, regnare coepit fratris filius, Boleslaus Audax.
 - 1063 Mater, Richeza Regina Poloniae, obiit.
 - 1068 bellum super flumen Alta, prima fuga in Polonia, cum Iziaslavo marito
 - 1070 Boleslao Audaci iuvante redeunt Kijoviam.
 - 1071 filius Mstislavus obiit.
 - 1073 Secunda fuga in Polonia, cum Iziaslavo marito et Iaropolko filio.
 - 1075 per legationes et epistolas cum Gregorio VII commercium.
 - 1077 iterum Polonis iuvantibus redeunt Kiioviam.
 - 1078 Iziaslavus, maritus, occisus ad Nezatina Niva; regnare coepit Kiioviae Vsevólod.
 - 1079 S. Stanislaus Cracoviae occiditur, Boleslaus Audax in Polonia regnare cessat.
 - 1085 Iaropolk fugit Poloniam, matrem in Luck relinquit.
 - 1086 Iaropolk revertitur,
 - 1087 et occisus est.

- 1088 « Eudoxia », filia, Mesconi filio Boleslai Audacis desponsatur.
1089 moriuntur filia et gener.
1093 Vsevolod, mariti frater, princeps Kiioviae, obiit, regnare coepit Gertrudae filius Swiatopolk II.
1094 Swiatopolk II filius uxorem ducit filiam Tugur Kan.
1103 Swiatopolk II filius uxorem ducit Barbaram Comnenam.
1108, 4 I (1107 secundum chronistarum Russorum computationem annorum a 1 Martio) Gertruda obiit.

H. Quo tempore scribebat Gertruda? Licitum est tenere eam non uno afflatu totum manuscriptum confecisse, sed potius, per multos annos, novas preces Psalterio addidisse: ut et nostris temporibus piae mulieres facere solent.

Quando Gertruda scribere coepit? Haud admitti potest puellam, etsi regalis stirpis, Psalterium praetiosissimum in sua proprietate habuisse, illudque picturis adornasse et novis precibus auxisse; haud etiam, antequam desponsata esset, potuit Gertruda pictorem graeco-ruthenum habere: qui potius Kiioviae, vel saltem Turoviae venire potuit, quam in Poloniam vel Germaniam ubi Gertruda ante matrimonium vixit. Certe non ante annum 1039 manuscriptum Gertrudianum incoeptum esse videtur; non careret argumentis qui hanc datam usque ad annum 1054 trasferre vellet, a quo Gertruda Kioviam venit; consonum hoc esset cum opinione historicorum artis, qui picturas Gertrudianas ad secundam saeculi XI medietatem referunt. Imo ex facto, quod iam in primis Manuscripti Gertrudiani paginis de Iaropolko - Petro sit sermo uti de adulto; quod idem Iaropolko in picturis, codicem ornantibus, cum uxore apparet; cumque ille non potuit ante a. 1040 nasci; Manuscriptum Gertrudianum vix ante a. 1060 incoeptum esse putamus, solum « Kalendarium » excipiendo, quod forse etiam prius conscriptum esse potuit.

Ex eo, quod Pascha in calendario Gertrudiano die 27 Martii notatur, nihil omnino deducere de tempore quo scribebatur licet (cf. notam ad 27 Martii, in Kalendario).

Nec aliquid deducitur ex facto, quod nulla est mentio Iziaslavi in Manuscripto: etiam eo vivente potuit Gertruda preces filio, non marito dedicare; et insuper saltem allusiones ad Iziaslaum in precibus inveniuntur (N. 21 et 90).

Festum Sancti Stephani, Regis Hungariae, qui anno 1083 in album sanctorum relatus est, non potuit Gertrudam latere; attamen hoc festum in prima Kalendarii Gertrudiani forma non notatur, et nonnisi posterius in Kalendarium inscriptum est. Unde liquet Manuscriptum ante annum 1083 inceptum esse. Itaque post annum 1039, vet potius post a. 1060, et certe ante annum 1083, Gertruda scribere coepit.

Quando opus suum persolvit? Ex modo, quo Gertruda etiam in ultimis Manuscripti sui partibus pro Petro-Iaropolko, filio suo, orat, eum inter vivos adesse apparet (cfr. notas II, ad N. 91). Cum ipse tamen die 22.XI.1087 occisus sit, nihil post hanc diem a Gertruda in Manuscripto illatum esse credimus.

I. Interpolationes. Manuscriptum Gertrudianum, saltem pro ea parte, quae in foliis Egbertianis, Litaniarum et Confessoris inscriptum est, pro « interpolatione » haberi potest. Non desunt tamen in eo inscriptiones, quae interpolationes sunt respectu ad ipsum Manuscriptum Gertrudianum. Quarum interpolationum quinque distinguimus species.

1) Sunt in Kalendario interpolationes, signo [.] a nobis notatae: una, sub die 22 VIII, de Sancto Stephano, Hungariae rege, quae videtur mox post suam canonizationem anno 1083 facta; quam probabiliter ipsa Gertruda fecit; altera, semiabrasa, de Demetrio infante, 16.IX quae forsitam eidem Gertrudae attribuenda est, cuius maritus Iziaslaus-Demetrius vocabatur.

2) Quae signo [] notantur interpolationes « Necrologistae Salomeano » adscribimus; in eis enim Salomeae, filiae Comitis de Berg, secundae uxoris Boleslai Curvi, ducis Poloniae (18), parentela nominatur (19). Non est tamen Salomea earum interpolationum auctor: quia et sui obitus memoria inter eas inscripta

est; (20) *Necrologista Salomeanus* est ipsius *Salomeae filia*, « *Gertut ducissa* », *monialis Zwiefaltensis* (21), cuius nomen in *Additamento ad Necrologium Zwifaltensium* invenitur (22); quasi omnia enim nomina, a *Necrologista Salomeano* inscripta, quae ad *parentelam Salomeae* et *Gertrut* non spectant, in *Necrologio Zwifaltensi* inveniuntur, et *coevos Gertrut* indicant (23). Non invenitur inter *moniales Zwifaltenses* nulla *Ludmila*, cuius nomen a *Gertrut* sub die 12.XI. notatur; sed hoc est nomen *Sanctae Ducissae Bohemiae*, quae anus *Gertrut*, ex parte *proaviae Dubrovae*, fuit. Nec aliquo modo vocem « *Humiburc* », sub 24.XII. a *Necrologista Salomeano* additam, elucidare possumus.

3) Signo [[]] distinguimus *semiabrasam interpolationem medioevalem*, quae in f. 8 (N. 22) invenitur, quaeque notat *donationem nostri Codicis a S. Elisabeth a. 1229 Capitulo Foreiulensi factam*. Jam ante a. 1702 haec *inscriptio abrasa* fuit.

4) Signum [[[]]] « *Glossatorem modernum* » indicat cuius est nota in eodem folio 8 v. (N. 22). *Glossator textum elisabetianum legere non valuit*; quem *Philippus de Turris, episcopus Adriensis*, in sequenti pagina transcripsit: unde liquet eum ante *Philippum de Turris*, i.e. ante annum 1702, scripsisse; quod etiam *scriptura confirmare videtur*. « *Glossatori moderno* », ob similitudinem modi quo penam ducebat, attribuímus *crucis et manus quibus indigitantur nomina Gertrudae et Petri*, et *abrasiones in textu*; quae omnes eandem voluntatem *historiam Codicis elucidandi demonstrant, ac iram erga abrasorem*.

5) Signo [[[[]]]] *praetiosam interpolationem* (v. 22) *Philippi a Turris, Episcopi Adriensis*, notamus; signavit *notam suam litteris: « Ph. a T. » et título « episcopus adriensis »* unde patet *notam non ante 6.II.1702 factam fuisse*. *Brevem historiam Codicis narrat, haud erroribus liberam*. Obiit *Philippus a Turris* die 25.II.1717.

K. *Abrasiones*. *Aliquas abrasiones in Manuscripto Gertrudiano jam « Glossator Modernus » ante an. 1702 notavit: abrasa sunt, in aliquibus locis, nomina eorum, in cuius proprietate codex olim fuerat: ita, pluries abrasa sunt nomina Gertrudae et Petri, et tota descriptio donationis Codicis Capitulo Foreiulensi.*

Etiā in aliis locis abrasiones inveniuntur. Non tamen omnia nomina delere valuit manus, quam « Glossator » « sceleratam » vocat: defectus attentionis nomina, in manuscripto saepe repetita, ab abrasione salvavit.

Quo tempore factae sunt abrasiones? Certe non ante annum 1229, cui posterior est abrasio notae Elisabethianae; nec post a. 1702, quo « Glossator Modernus » abrasiones jam factas deplorat; nisi admittatur non unum, sed plures « abrasores » in Codice nostro nefandam actionem commisisse, quod haud possibile apparet. Quae esset « sceleris » ratio, nescitur.

I. « *Codicis Gertrudiani* » fata.

Ut iam notavimus, « Codicem Gertrudianum » tunc ortum esse quando eadem Gertruda, quae est « Manuscripti Gertrudiani » auctor et scriptor, eum e diversis fasciculis consutum esse iussit: ergo ante annum 1108, quo Gertruda e vita cessit.

Certum est postea Codicem in manu « Gertrut Ducissae », Monialis Zwifaltensis fuisse (1123-1160). Via, qua Codex ad Gertrut monialem venit, ex eo percipitur, quod Gertruda Miecislai filia neptim e filio Swiatopoleo habuit, nomine Zbyslavam (ob. 1113), Boleslavi Curvi (1086-1138) primam uxorem (v. tabulas Genealogicas); praesumitur hanc Zbyslavam latinum codicem aviae accepisse, cum latino principi desponsabatur. Post Zbyslavae obitum codex, Boleslao relictus, ab eo filiae suae Gertrut, ex novo matrimonio natae, transire potuit.

Obiit Gertrut Monialis anno 1160; nescimus quo facto Codex noster ex Monasterio Zwifaltensi ad S. Elisabeth (1207-1231) transit. Notare tamen possumus matrem S. Elisabeth, Gertrudem Reginam Hungariae, ex domo Comitum de Andechs esse, quae aliquid jus in Monasterio Zwifaltensi habuisse videtur.

Ex inscriptione abrasa, quae tamen adhuc legitur, in f. 8 (N. 22), scimus Codicem a. 1229 Capitulo Foreiulensi a S. Elisabeth datum esse. Hucusque in Foro Julii, iam non apud Capitulum sed in Musaeo Civili custoditur.

NOTAE AD INTRUDUCTIONEM

(1) Sub nomine « Psalterium » in « Museo Archeologico Nazionale », Foris Iulii (Clivale in Friuli) uti pars « Archivi ex-Capitularis » custoditur.

Cfr. ZORZI, Alvise, in MEZZANTINI, *Inventari dei manoscritti delle biblioteche d'Italia*. Forlì 1893 III 164 N. 4 Segn CXXXVI, (sub nomine « Liber precum Gertrudis »).

(2) Bibliographiam optime collexit MUZZIOLI, *Mostra Storica della Miniatura, Catalogo*, Firenze 1953.

Inter opera maioris momenti notentur:

SAUERLAND u. HASELOFF, *Der Psalter des Erzbischof Egbert v. Trier*, Trier, 1901.
SEVERIANOV, S., *Coder Gertrudianus*, in *Sbornik Ateielena russkago jazyka i slovesnosti Rossijskoi Ahademii Nauk*. Petrograd 1922.

ZORZI, Alvise, in MEZZANTINI, *Inventari dei Manoscritti delle biblioteche d'Italia*, Forlì 1893, III 164.

(3) Picturarum reproductiones v. SAUERLAND Tab. 42, 43, 44, 45, 46.

Picturam f. 5 reproduxit GEROLA G., *Le fonti italiane per la iconografia dei reali di Polonia*, Firenze, Olschi, 1935.

(4) Ita SAUERLAND: « *Der Psalter Erzbischof Egberts* ».

(5) v. GAMS, 318, vide etiam KAMMER, K. *Egbert*, in *Lex. f. Theol.*, in *Kirche III* 544-5; CHEVALIER, I 1287 (sous Egbert de Hollande) ubi bibliographia citatur.

(6) SAUERLAND fecit aliquas suppositiones de via per quam Psalterium ad Gertrudam pervenire potuit. Nulla probata est, quamvis nec ulla evclusa videatur.

(7) Litterae « GRH » tres, vel aliquando una aliave earum abscissa vel ommissa, leguntur in marginibus « Psalterii Egbertiani » in foliis sequentibus:

23 v., 24 v., 26 R., 27 v., 32 R., 33 v., 34 R.v., 37 R., 38 v., 48 R., 49 R., 51 v., 52 R., 55 v., 56 v., 57 v., 61 v., 65 v., 68 R., 69 R., 70 R.v., 72 R., 73 R.v., 74 R.v., 75 R., 76 R., 80 R.v., 81 R., 82 R., 83 R.v., 85 R., 86 R., 88 v., 89 R., 90 R.v., 91 R.v., 93 v., 94 R., 95 v., 97 R., 98 R., 100 v., 101 R.v., 102 Rv., 103 v., 104 v., 105 v., 106 Rv., 107 Rv., 108 Rv., 109 Rv., 110Rv., 111v., 116 v., 117 R.v., 119 R., 120 v., 121 R., 123 Rv., 124 v., 125 R., 126 Rv., 130 R., 131 Rv., 132 v., 133 R.v., 135 R., 137 R.v., 138 R., 139 R.v., 141R.v., 142 R.v., 143 v., 144 R.v., 149 v., 150 v., 152 v., 153 R.v., 154 v., 155 R., 156 R., 158 R., 159 v., 160 R., 162 R.v., 165 R.v., 166 R., 167 R.v., 168 R., 169 v., 170 R., 172 v., 173 R., 174 v., 175 v., 176 R.v., 177 v., 178 v., 179 R.v., 180 R., 181 R.v., 184 R., 185 R.v., 186 R.v., 187 R., 188 v., 189 v., 191 R., 193 R., 196 R.v., 200 R.

Neque in foliis Gertrudianis, quae « Psalterium Egberti » praecedunt, nec in fasciculis subsequentis « Litaniarum » « Confessoris » vel « Incertis » signa GRH. inveniuntur: unde presumitur ea ante Codicis in unum compositionem facta fuisse. Videtur facta esse a manu quae differt a quaecumque alia quae in Codice inveniuntur; a scriptura Gertrudiana clare distinguitur; videntur earum priorem esse.

(8) Viam quaerentes qua hoc psalterium e manibus Archiepiscopi Egberti ad manus Gertrudae filiae Regis Poloniae pervenerit, litteras GRH explicare possumus uti monogramma Geisae, Regis Hungariae, 972-997, qui a S. Adalberto Pragensi baptizatus fuit: (bibliographiam v. GREINZ, *Geisa*, in *Lex. f. Theod. und Kirche*, IV 392); cuius Geisae uxor, Adelaide, Bela Knehini dicta, e stirpe erat regum Poloniae (v. BALZER, *Gen. Piast*, I 6). — « GRH » possunt quoque monogramma esse Giselae, Reginae Hungariae, S. Stephani uxoris, quae nata a. 985. Henrici II imperatoris soror, usque ad an. 1095 vixisse fertur. (Bibliographiam v. CHEVALIER, Dep. I 1081). Amorum tamen coniecturarum est certitudo minima.

(9) Litanias typis editas vide SAUERLAND. 191.2.

(10) Manuscriptum Gertrudianum currit per omnes quinque Codicis partes

in fasciculo I, Gertrudiano, in foliis 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15;
in fasciculo II, Ecbertiano, in foliis 16, 17, 18, 19, 20; 29, 30; 35; 40, 41; 51, 52; 65, 66;
86; 99; 115; 150, 151; 157; 159, 160; 168; 172, 173; 182; 187; 194; 205, 206, 207, 208;

in fasciculo III, Litaniarum: f. 213;

in fasciculo IV, Confessoris: f. 223, 224; 227, 228;

in fasciculo V, incerto: 230, 231, 232.

(11) Cf. orationes, in prima persona gen. feminini: N. 4, 5, 6, 7, 9, 10, 14, 15, 18, 27, 30, 31, 35, 47, 48, 52, 53, 54, 58, 59, 60, 62, 66, 70, 71, 72, 73, 74, 79, 81, 86, 89, 90, 91, 92, 93.

(12) Amplissimam de his picturis notam scripsit Arthur Hasseloff (v. SAUERLAND, 173-190), ubi etiam, in tab. 42, 3, 4, 5, 6 phographicae harum picturarum reproductiones inveniuntur.

(13) Cfr. SAUERLAND.

(14) Ego Gertruda:

18, pro me famula tua Gertruda;
1, 91 me miseram famulam tuam Gertrudam;
2, 92 mihi indignae famulae tuae Gertrudae.

(15) Orationes « pro Petro » vide: N. 15, 18, 25, 32, 63, 84, 86, 87, 91. Cfr. etiam picturam 25, et nota 1, 2 25.

(16) Gertruda erat mater Petri Iaropolk

pro unico filio meo Petro 1 86;

unici filii mei Petri 86;

Petrum unicum filium meum 86;

Petri unici filii mei 14 86.

(notetur hic « unicus » non numerum - alios autem filios habuit Gertruda — sed

affectum indicare: cf. DU CANGE).

(17) De matre Jaropolci, uxore Iziaslavi, v. BALZER, *Gen. Piast* II 13; et BAUM GARTEN, *Gen. et Mar.* I 23, qui etiam suam cum Gertruda, auctorem codicis identitatem, notat.

Aliter tenuit L. BETTMANN qui asserebat manuscriptum Gertrudianum ab anonima matre Petri, regis Hungariae, qui a. 1046 obiit, scriptum fuisse; errorem secutus est quoque ZORZI, III 164: correxit errorem SAUERLAND, 22. ZIEGLER *Gregor VII*, in *Studia Gregoriana* I, Romae 1947, quaestionem non solutam relinquit, indicans recte Manuscriptum Gertrudianum a matre principis qui non modo Petrus, sed etiam Jaropolk vocabatur, provenire, ut ex proskenesi in f. 5 (N. 3) patet. Addendum est quoque anonymam matrem Petri regis Hungariae, ducis Venetiae Ottonis Orseoli (n. 995, el. 1009, depositus obiit c. 1026) uxorem, non ex Slavonica, sed ex hungarica stirpe ortam fuisse: cui slavismi qui in latinitate Manuscripti Gertrudiani notantur nullo modo proprii essent. Insuper, illam anonimam Ducissam Venetiae haud vixisse usque ad secundam medietatem saeculi XI, ad quam tam scriptura Manuscripti, quam picturae se referunt.

(18) Nata ante 1101, a. 1113 Boleslao desponsata, obiit 27.VIII.1144. Cf. BALZER, *Gen. Piast.*, III, 2.

(19) 3.I Judinda (Salomeae socrus, vel filia);

24.II Henricus, frater;

18.III Lwigard, fratris uxor;

9.IV Diepoldus Marchio, fratris filius;

26.VI Sophia Comitissa, soror;

29.VI Bertholdus, sororis filius;

11.VII Beppo Comes, avus;

20.VII Adilheit, filia;

7.VIII Diepoldus, frater;

6.IX Sophia, soror;

24.IX Henricus, Comes et Monachus, pater;

27.IX Richinza, soror;

28.X Boleslaus dux, maritus;

1.XII Adilheit Comitissa, mater;

13.XII Boppo Comes, sororis filius.

(20) Cf. *Kalendarium 27.VII*: VI Kal. Aug. (Salome ducissa obiit).

(21) Nata 1123-4, in monasterio a 1139, obiit die 7 mail 1160. BALZER, *Gen. Piast* III 13.

(22) *Necrologium Zwifaltense*, in *MGH., Necrologia Germanica* I, 240-268 (Berolini 1886).

(23) 26.II Hiltirin (v. Hiltirut)

19.III Lwigart

21.III Odalricus

12.X Bertha

24.XI Mahtilt

in eodem elencho, ubi « Gertrud, ducissa » notatur. inscripta sunt; in eodem Necrologio inveniuntur nomina:

15.VII Arnoldus, L (NZw. 267)

2.VIII Adilbertus Abbas (266)

30.XI Margareta (244).

Speciali mentione dignus est Gernot Monachus, cujus nomen Necrologista Salomeanus notavit, 17.XII, qui scitur post mortem patris Gertrudae monialis sibi reliquias ad Zwifalten attulisse scitur: v. *Orthlieb Zwifaltensis Chronicon*, in *M.G.H. Scriptores* X. 91.

1. GERTRUDAE MAIORES

MESCO I Dux Poloniae (922 ?) - 992	BOLESLAUS MAGNUS	
DOBRAVA, Ducis Bohemiae filia (-) - 977	Rex Poloniae 967 - 1025	
DOBROMIRUS Dux Slavorum	EMNILDA	MESCO II Rex Poloniae 990 - 1034
N. N.	1017	
HERMAN, Palatinus Lotaringiae	HERENFRIED EZZO	GERTRUDA (1015?) - 1108
HELVIC	Palatinus Lotaringiae	
OTTO II Imperator 955 - 983		RICHESA (989?) - 1063
THEOPHANU Imperatoris Byz. filia 958 - 990	MATHILDE	

2. GERTRUDAE EX AVO PATERNO PARENTELA (multis omissis)

BOLESLAUS MAGNUS REX POLONIAE 967 - 1025

UXOR: EMNILDA. OB. 1017.

NN FILIA ob post 1018.

Maritus: SWIATOPOLK I

"Maledictus. ob. 1019

MESCO II Rex Poloniae, 990 - 1034

Uxor: Richeza de Lotaringia (989?) - 1063

BOLESLAUS OBLITUS

Rex Poloniae, ob. 1038

CASIMIRUS I Rex Poloniae

1016 - 1058

Uxor DOBRONEGA,
Wlodimiri Kiioviensis Filia

NN FILIA

Maritus: BELA I R. Hung.

GERTRUDA

(1015?) - 1108

Maritus
Iziaslavus
Princ. Kioviae

BOLESLAUS AUDAX

Rex Poloniae

1058 - 1081

UXOR NN

WLADISLAUS I HERMANUS

Dux Poloniae 1040 - 1102

I Uxor: JUDITA,

Bohemiae Reg Filia
ob. 1086

II Uxor: JUDITA MARIA

Henrici III Imp. Filia
ob. p 1092

MESCO

Dux Poloniae ob. 1089

Uxor "EUDOXIA,,

Gertrudae Filia
ob. 1089

BOLESLAUS CURVUS

Dux Poloniae

1086 - 1138

I Uxor;

ZBYSLAVA

Gertrudae ex
Filio Swiatopolke
Neptis
ob. 1109? 1113?

II Uxor

SALOMEA

Comitis de Berg Filia
ob. 1144

NN FILIA 1088 - 112

Maritus;

Iaroslauus Dux Kiiouiae
ob. 1123

GERTRUDUCISSA

Monialis in Zwi alten

1123 (4?) 1160

(of BALZER Gen. Piast)

3 GERTRUDAE EX PARTE MARITI IZIASLAVI AFFINITATES
ET POSTERITAS (*multis omissis*)

VLADIMIRUS "SANCTUS,, ob. 1115, dux Kiiuviensis.

(tilius adoptivus)

SWIATOPOLK I, maledictus, 997 - 1019
Uxor: NN. Boleslai Magni Regis Pol. filia

IAROSLAVUS I, ob. 1054
uxor INGRID, reg. Svetiae F. ob. 1050

BORIS
ob. 1015

HLEB
ob. 1015

IZIASLAUS
Princ. Kioviae
Uxor GERTRUDA
Mesconia II Filia
(1015) - 1108

ANASTASIA
Maritus: Andreas
Rex Hungariae

SWIATOSLAUS
Uxor: NN.
De Dietrichstein

WSIEWOLOD

ELISABETH
Maritus I:
Haraldus
Rex Norvegiae
Maritus II
Swen, Rex Daniae

ANNA
Maritus I:
Henricus I Rex
Galliae
Maritus II:
Raul De Valois

IAROPOLK PETRUS
(1050?) - 1087
Uxor I: Irene
Uxor II: Cunecunda

MSTISLAUS
ob 1069

SWIATOPOLK II Michael 1050 - 1113
Uxor: BARBARA Comnena

"EUDOXIA,,
ob. 1089
Maritus:
Mesco ob. 1089

IAROSLAUS, ob. 1123
I Uxor: NN. Ladislai Regis Hung. Filia
II Uxor: NN. Vladislai Ducis Pol. Filia

ZBYSLAVA, ob. 1113
Maritus:
Boleslaus Curvus Dux Poloniae 1085 - 1138

cuius post 1113 uxor:
Salomea De Berg
1101 - 1144

Inde Principes De Turow
De Pinsk, De Owruicz, De Smolensk, de Czetwertnia
ET C.

Gertrut Dacissa
Monialis Zwifaltensis
1123 (4) - 1160

(A. BAUMGARTEN *Gen et. Mar.*)

SCHEMATICA CODICIS HISTORIA

II PSALTERIUM EGBERTI

Scriptum A. 977 - 993

? ante 997 est apud Geisam Regem Hungariae ?

? ante 1095 est apud Gisellam Reginam Hungariae ?

I FOLIA GERTRUDAE

1039 - 1087 scriptae

III LITANIAE

Ante A. 1039

scriptae

IV CONFESIONES

Ante A. 1039

scriptae

V FOLIA INCERTA

1039 - 1087

In unum Codicem ligantur a Gertruda 1039-1087

Ante a 1113 est in manus Zbyslavae, Gertrudae neptis

Ante a 1160 est apud Gertrut Ducissam, monialem Zwifaltensem

*A 1229 a Sancta Elizabeth capitulo Foreiulensi datur ubique apud
Musaeum Archeologicum custoditur*

1.

(Kalendarium)

(F. 2 Rv, 3 Rv, 4 Rv.)

(Typ. ed: SAUERLAND, 37-43; ALTANUS, F., *De Calendariis*, Ven. 1763)

Januarius Habet d. XXX I. XXX	1	Februarius h. d. XXVIII I XXV (c)	
A. KL Circumcisio Domini	1	D. kl. Brigidé vr.	1
B. III Non. Octava S. Stephani	2	E. III n. Purificato S. Marie]	2
C. III n. Octava S. Johannis evan- gelistae [o Judinda] (al)	3	F. III n. Blasii epi et mr.	3
D. II n. Octava sco. Innocentium	4	G. II n. Fileé epi et conf.	4
E. nonis Symeonis monachi	5	A. non. Agathé v.	5
F. VIII id. Epiphania Domini]	6	B. VIII id. Vedasti et Amandi epi- scoporum	6
G. VII id. Ysidori epi et cf.	7	C. VII id. Auguli epi.	7
A. VI id. Luciani et Messiani mr.	8	D. VI id. Dionisii et Sebastiani mr.	8
B. V id. Iuliani cum multis mr.	9	E. V id. Apollonie virg.	9
C. III id. Pauli primi heremité	10	F. III id. Scollastice v.	10
D. III id. Brictive vir.	11	G. III id. Sanctorum LXXXVIII mr.	11
E. II id. Archadii mr.	12	A. II id. Eustasie et Eulalie v.	12
F. idus Octava Epiphania Dni]	13	B. idus Stephani conf.	13
G. XVIII k. Feb. Sci Felicis conf. (2)	14	C. XVI k. mar. Valentini mr.	14
A. XVIII k. Licerii Cornelii et Ce- lesti mr.	15	D. XV k. Faustini et Iovite	15
B. XVII k. Marcelli pp.	16	E. XIV k. Iuliane v.	16
C. XVI k. Antonii Monachi	17	F. XIII k. Polochromii epi et mr.	17
D. XV k. Rome catedra S. Petri et Prisce	18	G. XII k. Pantaleonis mr.	18
E. XIII k. Pontiani mr.	19	A. XI k. Sabini mr.	19
F. XIII k. Sanctorum mar. Fabiani et Sebast.	20	B. X k. Euchari epi et conf.	20
G. XII k. Agnetis v.]	21	C. VIII k. Fortunati mr.	21
A. XI k. Vincenti diac. et mr.	22	D. VIII k. Cathedra S. Petri in An- tiochia	22
B. X k. Emerentiani (b) et Macharii	23	E. VII k. Policarpi Presbyteri	23
C. VIII k. Timothei et Babillé et Sabine	24	F. VI k. Natalis s. Matié apli]	24
D. VIII k. Conversio S. Pauli]	25	[Henric... mes] (d4)	24
E. VII k. Policarpi epi. et conf. (3)	26	G. V k. Victorini et Victoris mr.	25
F. VI k. Iohannis epi.	27	A. III] k. Alexandrini epi. et conf.	26
G. V k. Octava S. Agnetis v.	28	[Hiltirut] (e5)	26
A. III k. Valeri, episcopi	29	B. III k. Juliani mr.	27
B. III k. Aldegundé vr.	30	C. II k. Romani conf. (6)	28
C. II k. Concordii	31		

[Verba quae hoc signum precedunt, in MS Gertrudiano ornatioribus litteris scripta sunt.

a) *Additum* a «Necrologista Salomeano»; b) *Recte esset* «Emeretiane»; c) *Hutus versiculi ultimae litterae absesse sunt*; d) *Additum* a «Necrologista Salomeano»; e) *Additum* a «Necrologista Salomeano»; *lectio incerta: forse* «Hiltirin».

1) «Necrologista Salomeanus» scripsit «Richinza» pro «Richeza»; ergo «Judinda» aliunde ignota, eadem est «Judita». Hic fors. Judita, Wratislai, ducis Bohemiae filia, Wladislai Hermani ducis Poloniae uxor, quae obiit 24-25 XII 1086; Salomeae socrus; BALER *Gen. Plast.*, 11, 15, 1, vel: Judita Maria, a Dlugossio «Sophia» dicta, Henrici III Imperatoris filia, Wladislai duci Poloniae uxor, ob. 14. III. 1092, Salomeae socrus BALZER *Gen. Plast.*, II, 15.2, vel: Judita, Geizae regi Hung. desponsata, postea Ottonis I March. Brand. uxor; obiit 28. VII. 1170 - Salomeae filia. BALZER - *Gen. Plast.*, III, 20. Fors. 3 est dies depositionis? 2) *Brev. Rom.* 14.1. Felix Nolanus, Presbyter, Martyr; 3) *Brev. Rom.* 26.I. S. Polycarpi, Episcopi et Martyris, ex libro s. Hieronimi De Scripturis Ecclesiasticis. Cap.17: Polycarpus, Joanni Apostoli discipulus, et ab eo Smyrnae episcopus ordinatus... regnante Marco Antonino et Lucio Aurelio Commodo, quarta post Nerone persecutione, Smyrnae, sedente proconsule, et universo populo in amphitheatro adversus eum personante, igni traditus est; 4) SAUERLAND. 34 - *Henricus II von Berg, Bruder des*

Grafen Diepold von Berg - April 19 und der Herzoginnen Salome von Polen, Richenza von Bohmen und Sophie von Mahren. - *Mon.Germ.I Necrol.Zwiefaltensia* pp. 245,252; 5) Hiltrud, Monialis Zwiefaltensis, de qua BALZER - *Gen.Piast.*, III,15. *Notae Zwifalt.* *Mon.Germ.Necrol.*, 1,268. *SS.XXIV.830*: «Hec sunt nomina sororum nostrarum: Adhelheit com., Hiltrud, Gertrud ducissa, Richenza». *Hiltrud hic inter moniales regalis proveniente nominatur*; 6) *Notandus est defectus diei «bis sextae» Kal.Martii et diei 29 Febr., quod calendarium ad annum non bissextilem referre permittit.*

Martius h. d. XXXI, l. XXX	III	April h. d. XXX. l. XXVIII	IV
D. KL. M. Donati mr. et epi.	1	G. KAL a. Quintili Agapiti m.	1
E. VI n. Semplicii pp	2	A. IIII n. Nericus epi. et conf.	2
F. V n. Theodori mr	3	B. III n. Theodosie v.	3
G. IIII n. Trans. s. Wencezl. mr. (a1)	4	C. II n. Ambrosii epi. conf.	4
A. III n. Focé, mr.	5	D. non. Martiane Nicanoris m.	5
B. II n. Victoris et Victorini mr.	6	E. VIII id. Xixti pp. mr.	6
C. non. Perpetué et Felicitatis	7	F. VII id. Fresippi viri Sanctissimi (4)	7
D. VIII id. Filemonis mr.	8	G. VI id. Perpetui epi.	8
E. VII id. XL mr.	9	A. V scarum VII virginum [Diepoldus marchio o] (6)	9
F. VI id. Alexandri et Gai mr.	10	B. IIII id. Antonii m.	10
G. V id. In Armoenia (b) XL mr.	11	C. III id. Leonis pp.	11
A. IIII id. s. Gregorii pp]	12	D. II id.	12
B. III id. Macedonii conf.	13	E. idus. Eufemie v.	13
C. II id. Leonis pp.	14	F. XVIII k. mai	14
D. idus. Luci epi.	15	G. XVII k. Tiburti. Valerii (e) Maximi m.	15
E. XVII k. aprl. Cyriaci m. Eugen	16	A. XVI k. Victoris m.	16
F. XVI k. Gertrudis vir. (2)	17	B. XV k. Carisii cum allis VII	17
G. XV k. Alexandri epi [Lwigart o.] (3)	18	C. XIII k. Petri diac.	18
A. XIII k. Quintini et Quintilli	19	D. XIII k. Eleterii mr.	19
B. XIII k. Guthberti abb.	20	E. XII k. Vincentii mr.	20
C. XII k. Benedicti abb.] [Odalricus o] (4)	21	F. XI k. Genesii mr.	21
D. XI k. Saturnini mr.	22	G. X k. Symeonis epi.	22
E. X k. Albini mr.	23	A. VIII k. Gai pp. et m.	23
F. VIII k. Pignemii epi (c)	24	B. VIII k.	24
G. VIII k. Adnunciacio s. Marié]	25	C. VII k. Alexandri mr.	25
A. VII k. Liuthgerii conf.	26	D. VI k.	26
B. VI k. Resurrectio Dni] (5)	27	E. V k. Marcelli pp. et mr.	27
C. V k. Prisci Malchi	28	F. IIII k. Anastasii pp. et mr. (f)	28
D. IIII k. Eustasii conf.	29	G. III k. Vitalis mr.	29
E. III k. Quirini m.	30	A. II k. Agapiti Secundini Germani episcoporum Quintini epi. et conf.	30
F. II k. Reguli ep. et conf.	31		

a) *Notetur graphia slavonica*; b) SAUERLAND,38, legit «Arnochia» false; c) SAUERLAND,38 habet «mr» false; d) SAUERLAND,38, «corr: Hegeppii?»; e) recte esset: Valeriani; f) hic versus a SAUERLAND omissus est, duo sequentes non recte depositi.
 1) S.Wenzeslaus mr. dux Bohemiae; 2) S.Gertrudis de Nivelles, n.626. ob.17.III, 659; 3) jorsitan Luitgard de Zohringen SAUERLAND, 38, n.1 Dietpoldi, Salomeae fratris, uxor vel: Dobronega-Ludgarda (Lucardis) «soror Mesconis ducis Poloniae» (n. circa 1128; annus obitus ignotus; BALZER (*Gen. Piast.III.19*) infert post 1147, quod dubium manet); Salomeae filia; 5) Pascha occurit die 27.III.VI Kal.Apr., Gertrude vivente annis 1065 et 1076; sed a 1076 est bissextilis, et ideo non est annus confectionis Kalendarii praesentis (v.supra notam ad Febr.28) ergo 1065 Kalendarium confectionis esse videretur; sed cum dies 6 Kal.Aprilis sit dies Paschae Anni Post Chr.N.1, haec dies pro die «communi» Paschae habebatur, et aliquando in Kalendaris qui scribebantur aliis quibuslibet annis pro die paschali notabatur; 6) Fors. Diepoldus II, Marchio, +8 Apr.1146, (SAUERLAND,38) Diepoldi I, Salomeae fratris filius.

Maius h. d. xxxi l. xxx (a)	V	Iunius h. d. xxx l. xxvllll	VI
B. Kl mai Philippi et Iacobi]	1	E. kl. iunii. Nicomedis mr.	1
C. VI n. Atanasii epi. et conf.	2	F. IIII n. Marcellini et Petri	2
D. V n. Inventio s. Crucis]	3	G. III n. Peregrini et Laurentini	3
E. IIII n. Floriani mr.	4	mr. (b)	3
F. III n. Ascensio Dni. (1) Friné, v.]	5	A. II n. Zoticii, Euticii et Quirini	4
G. II n. Iohannis apli ante portam		epi.	4
latinam	6	B. non Bonifatii epi.] (2c)	5
A. non. Iuvenalis mr.	7	C. VIII id. Vincentii et Benigni m.	6
B. VIII id. Victoris mr.	8	D. VII id. Célesti mr.	7
C. VII id. Gregorii epi. et conf.	9	E. VI id. Medardi conf.	8
D. VI id. Gordiani et Epimachi	10	F. V id. Primi et Feliciani mr.	9
E. V id. Mamertiani epi. et conf.	11	G. IIII id. Tropidis Basilidis	10
F. IIII id. Nerei et Achillei atq.		A. III id. Barnabe apli.]	11
Pancracii	12	B. II id. Basilidis, Cyrini, Naboris	12
G. III id. Gangolfi mr.	13	et Nazari (4)	12
A. II id. Romé s. Bonifacii m.	14	C. idus Feliculé, v.	13
B. idus Ysidori mr.	15	D. XVIII k. iul. Valerii et Rufini m.	14
C. XVII k. iunii Vincenti peregrini		E. XVII k. Viti, Modesti et Cre-	15
m.	16	scentié]	15
D. XVI k. Torpetis m.	17	F. XVI k. Aurei epi. et Iustini m.	16
E. XV k. Marci pp.	18	G. XV k. Rome scorum CCLXXII m.	17
F. XIII k. Potentiané, v.	19	A. XIII (e) k. Marci et Marcellia-	18
G. XIII k. Eustasii mr.	20	ni m.	18
A. XII k. Elené, matris Constantini		B. XIII k. Gervasii et Protasii mr.	19
imperatoris	21	C. XII k. Reginé v.	20
B. XI k. Faustini conf.	22	D. XI k. Albani mr.	21
C. X k. Sulpini et Serviliani mr.	23	E. X k. Iacobi Alfei fratris Dni	22
D. VIII k. Donatiani et Rogatiani		F. VIII k. Vigilia s. Ioannis bapt.	23
mr.	24	G. VIII k. Nat. s. Iohannis bapt.]	24
E. VIII k. Urbani pp. et m.	25	A. VII k. Calleani mr. (3f)	25
F. VII k. Augustini epi.	26	B. VI k. Ioannis et Pauli [Sophia	26
G. VI k. Iulii epi.	27	Comit] (g4)	26
A. V k. Germani epi.	28	C. V k. Crescentis mr.	27
B. IIII k. Maximii epi.	29	D. IIII k. Leonis pp. vigilia aposto-	28
C. III k. Felicis pp. et mr.	30	lorum	28
D. II k. Petronelle v.]	31	E. III k. s. Petri et Pauli [Berh-	29
		tolt c.] (5h)	29
		F. II k. s. Pauli	30

a) SAUERLAND,39, «1.XXV1111» false; b) SAUERLAND,39, legit «Laurentii»; c) in ms. scriptura ornata; d) «Nazari» - SAUERLAND,39, omittit hoc nomen; e) in ms. omissum est; f) SAUERLAND,39, legit «Calliani»; g) add. a Necrol. Salom. «SA» in ms. abscissae sunt. h) add. a Necrol. Salom. SAUERLAND,39, legit «Berthold». In ms. ultimae litterae «omes» abscissae sunt.

1) Ad ann. 1065 se refert conf. Februius, nota «6», et Martius nota «5»; 2) S. Bonifatius (Wintrith) n. 672 AD, ob. 5.VI.754 AD, fest. 5.VI.; 3) Non est Calganus, Ó.Cist. cuius festum 22.VI est, quia 1181 ob. cf. SALES DOYE - Heilige und Selige, I, 417; 4) Sophia Grafyn von Berg, Necrol. Zwifalt, pp. 255, SAUERLAND,39, Salomeae Soror; 5) Berthold II von Andechs, stifter von Diessen und eben begraben, +1151 Juni 27, Mon. Germ. Script. XVII notae Diessenses, pp. 324 - SAUERLAND. Salomeae sororis filius.

	VII	Augustus	VIII
Iulii h. d. xxxl l. xxx			
G. KL. Iulii Gai epi.	1	C. kl. aug. Ad vincula s. Petri]	1
A. VI n. Processi et Martiniani m.	2	D. IIII n. Stephani pp. mr. [Adilbertus abb.] (h6) [VII fratrum] (g)	2
B. V n. Translatio S. Thome apli	3	E. III n. Inventio s. Stephani protomart.	3
C. IIII n. Translatio s. Martini epi.	4	F. II n. Iusti presbyteri et conf.	4
D. III n. Domicii mr.	5	G. non. Transfiguratio Dni]. Sixti pp.	5
E. II n. Octava apostolorum] Goari conf.	6	A. VIII id. (7)	6
F. non. Villibaldi epi.	7	B. VII id. Affré. s. Donati mr. [Diepoldus] (i8)	7
G. VIII id. Killiani epi. sociorumque	8	C. VI id. Cyriaci mr. cum sociis suis	8
A. VII id. Anatolié, v.	9	D. V id. Vigilia s. Laurentii mr.	9
B. VI id. Romé VII fratrum	10	E. IIII id. Natalis s. Laurentii]	10
C. V id. Translatio s. Benedicti abb. [Boppo Comes o.] (a1)	11	F. III id. Tiburtii mr.	11
D. IIII id. Hermogere v.	12	G. II id. Eupli diac.	12
E. III id. Margate v.] (b)	13	A. idus. Yppoliti mr.	13
F. II id. Foce epi. et mr.	14	B. XVIII k. sept. Eusebii epi. et conf. (j) Vigilia s. Marié	14
G. idus Reinsuinde (c2) [Arnoldus 1] (d3)	15	C. XVIII k. Assumptio s. Marié]	15
A. XVII k. aug. Hilari m.	16	D. XVII k. Ursacii conf.	16
B. XVI k. Alexii conf.	17	E. XVI k. Octaba (k) s. Laurentii	17
C. XV k. Arnulfi epi et conf.	18	F. XV k. Agapiti mr.	18
D. XIII k. Arseni conf.	19	G. XIII k. Magni mr. [in Pannonia Stephani regis et conf.] (19)	19
E. XIII k. Sabini et Maximii mr. [Adilheit m.] (c4)	20	A. XIII k. Porfirii conf.	20
F. XII k. Praxedis vir.	21	B. XII k. Privati epi. et conf.	21
G. XI k. Marié Magdalene	22	C. XI k. Timothei et Simphoriani m. [o. Zvi] (m10)	22
A. X k. Apollinaris m.	23	D. X k. Timothei et Apollinaris m. Vigilia Apostoli	23
B. VIII k. Christiné c. Vigilia Apli	24	E. VIII k. s. Bartholomei apli.]	24
C. VIII k. Iacobi apostol.]	25	F. VIII k. Senesii (n) mr.	25
D. VII k. Iacincti mr.	26	G. VII k. Herenei et Habundi mr.	26
E. VI k. Acontii et Emeritii mr. [Salome ducissa o] (f5)	27	A. VI k. Rufi mr. cum sociis suis	27
F. V k. Pantaleonis mr.	28	B. V k. Decollatio s. Ioannis bapt.	28
G. IIII k. Felicis sociorumque eius	29	C. IIII k.	29
A. III k. Abdon et Sennes	30	D. III k. Felicis et Adaucti mr. (o11)	30
B. II k. Fabii mar.	31	E. II k. Paulini epi.	31

a) *add. a Necrol. Salomeano*; b) *pro « Margaritae » (?)*; c) SAUERLAND,40, *habet errorem « Reinsunde »*; d) *add. a Necrol. Salomeano*; e) *add. a Necrol. Salomeano*; f) *add. a Necrol. Salomeano*; g) *add. a Necrol. Salomeano, SAUERLAND, habet « XII fratrum », false*; h) *add. a Necrol. Salomeano, SAUERLAND,40: « Adilbert », false*; i) *add. a Necrol. Salomeano*; j) SAUERLAND,40, *omissit « et conf. »*; k) *pro « octava » graecismus (?)*; l) *add. a Necrol. Salomeano, vel forsitan prius; non est exclusum hanc additionem etiam a primo scriptore factam fuisse*; m) O:Zvi *add. a Necrol. Salomeano, SAUERLAND,40, legit « Zvl »*; n) SAUERLAND, , *habet « senecii »*; o) *Felicis et Adaucti, in ms.error: « Audacti », SAUERLAND,40; recte corrigi.*

1) Graf Poppo von Berg, + vor 1074. Vater des Grafen Heinrich I von Berg, begraben in Zwifalten. Necrol.Zwifalt, pg.255,261, SAUERLAND,40, n.1, Salomeae avus: 2) *notetur slavica forma « Rein - svinda » - « swieta »*; 3) SAUERLAND *nihil de eo*; 4) SAUERLAND, *nihil de ea*, BALZER (*Gen.Piast.*) 111.2.2 et 111.9 - Adelaida, filia comitis de Mochental, Salomeae mater; 111.9 Adelaida (Adelheidis) uxor Albrecht II Pii marchionis Austriae n.1114, m. ante 25.111.1132, Salomeae filia; 5) n. 1100, Henrici, comitis de Berg filia; 1113 Boleslai Curvi ducis Poloniae uxor; ob. 27.VII.1144. Cfr. BALZER (*Gen.Piast.*) 111.2, SAUERLAND,42; 6) « Abt Adilbert von Wessobrun + 1110, oder von s. Ulrich + 1065. SAUERLAND, 40, n. 1; 7) VIII id. Aug. notanda est absentia cuiusvis festi in hac die. Nunc 6.VIII colitur Transfiguratio, in nostro calendario die 5.VIII signata: festum romanum B.M.V. ad Nives nostro Calendario ignotum manet;

8) « Graf Diepold von Vohrburg-Giengen, + 1076 in der Schlacht bei Melrichstadt, Vater Diepolds II; SAUERLAND,40, Salomeae frater; 9) Stephanus Rex Hungariae canonizatus est A.1083. Cum haec nota addita est Calendario originali, patet originale textum Calendarii ante A.1083 scriptum esse; 10) fors. Zbyslawa, prima Boleslai Curui uxor (ante Salomeam) BALZER (Gen.Piast.) II,2,1; 11) mentio istorum sanctorum quorum corpora in castro Cracoviensi erant nexum Gertrudae cum Polonia confirmat.

September, h. d. xxx, l. xxx			
F. KAL. sep. Prisci mr.	1X	October h. d. xxx, l. xxvIII	X
G. IIII n. Iustini epi et conf.	2	(j) kal. oct. Remigii epi. Vedasti ep.	1
A. III n. Antonii mr. (a)	3	B. VI n. Leudegarii mr.	2
B. II n. Marcelli et Iusti mr.	4	C. V n. Marci et Lini	3
C. non. Victorini Felioli epi.	5	D. IIII Meinolfi diac. et conf.	
D. VIII id. Magni mr. [Sophia o] (b1)	6	[Bertha o] (k6)	4
E. VII id. Aureliani Furven epi. (c)	7	E. III n. Placidi. Eutici mr.	5
F. VI id. Nativitas Marie] Adria-		F. II Capsii et Fidei mr.	6
ni mr.	8	G. non. Sergii et Bachi mr.	7
G. V id. Gorgonii mr.	9	A. VIII id. Demetrii mr. (1)	8
A. IIII id. Salvii epi. et conf.	10	B. VII id. Dionisii Rustici et Eleu-	
B. III id. Proti et Iacinti mr.	11	terii	9
C. II id. Syri conf.	12	C. VI id. Gereonis sociorumque eius	10
D. idus. Philippi epi.	13	D. V id. Tharati mr.	11
E. XVIII k. Octobris Exaltatio s.		E. IIII id. Maximiliani conf.	12
crucis]	14	F. III id. Lupentii presb. et conf.	13
F. XVII k. Nioodemis mr.	15	G. II id. Calisti pp. cum sociis	14
G. XVI k. Eufemié v. [. [o. Deme-		A. idus Fortunati mr.	15
trius inf.].] (2d)	16	B. XVII k. nov. Galli conf.]	16
A. XV k. Luitberti epi. et mr. (e)	17	C. XVI k. Crecentii et Florentii ep.	
B. XIII k. Florentii mr.	18	et conf.	17
C. XIII k. Januarii epi. ac m.	19	D. XV k. Luce ewangel.]	18
D. XII k. Fauste v. Vigilia apostoli	20	E. XIII k. Januarii epi. cum sociis	19
E. XI k. Mathei apostoli]	21	F. XIII Caprasii mr.	20
F. X k. Mauricii cum sociis]	22	G. XII k. in Colonia sanctarum	
G. VIII k. Lini pp.	23	virg. XI milia	21
A. VIII k. Conceptio s. Iohannis		A. XI k. Severi mr.	22
bapt. [o. Henricus comes et mo-		B. X k. Severini conf.	23
nachus] (f3)	24	C. VIII k. Columbani conf.	24
B. VII k. Firmini mr.	25	D. VIII Crispini et Crispiniani	25
C. VI k. Cypriani mr.	26	E. VII Vedasti et Amandii Deme-	
D. V k. Cosme et Damiani mr. [o.		trii mr. (1)	26
Richinza] (g4)	27	F. VI Crisanti Mauri et Darié, vig.	
E. IIII k. Wenceslavi mr.] (h)	28	apl.	27
F. III k. dedicatio Michaelis arch.]	29	G. V k. Nat. apostolorum Simonis	
G. II k. Hieronimi presbyteri. [De-		et Iude [Boliz... dux o] (7m)	28
dicatio accliesie sancti Wenceslavi		A. IIII k. Narcissi epi. et conf.	29
mar.] (i5)	30	B. III k. Sanctorum mr. CCXX	
		s. Marcelli epi.	30
		C. II k. Quinquaginta mr. Vigilia	
		omnium sanctorum (n)	31

a) SAUERLAND,41, legit «Amonii»; b) Add. a Necrol. Salomeano; c) SAUERLAND,41, legit «Furocii»; d) haec verba, nunc semi abrasa videntur a ducissa Gertruda adscripta fuisse; e) SAUERLAND,41, legit «Lantberti» false; f) Add. a Necrol. Salomeano; g) Add. a Necrol. Salomeano; h) notetur graphia slavica VV.Z; i) DEDICATIO ACCLIESIE S.WENCESLAVI MAR. an additum sit a Necrol. Salomeano dubium manet; j) omissa est littera «A»; k) Add. a Necrol. Salomeano; l) SAUERLAND, habet false «Demitrit»; m) add. a Necrol. Salomeano; n) Fac-simile h.paginae v.SAUERLAND, taf.48.

1) SAUERLAND,41, Sophia (+ nach 1132) Tochter des Markgrafen Bodo II von Istrien und erste Gemahlin des Grafen Berthold II von Andechs. 2) BROCKHAUS et EPHRON, XXIV,896 (ed. Linguae Russae) «Iziaslav» Iziaslaus, dux Turoviae et Kiouviae, Gertrudis ducissae consors, nomen Christianum «Demetrius» habebat. Forsitan agitur

hic de aliquo Gertrudis filio, qui nomen patris habuit, aliunde ignoto; 3) SAUERLAND,41: Graf Heinrich v.Berg, Sohn Poppo u.Vater des Grafen Diedbold und Heinrich II, und der Herzoginnen Salome, Richinza und Sophia, begraben in Zwifalten. Necrol. Zwifalt,253,261, Salomeae pater; 4) SAUERLAND,41: Richinza, Tochter des Grafen Heinrich v.Berg, und Gemahlin des Herzogs Wladislaw I von Bohmen. Necrol. Zwifalt pg.216,245,249,252. Mon.Germ.SS., IX,129, Salomeae soror; 5) SAUERLAND,41: 1143. Eodem anno venerabilis dedicatio monasterii s.Viti Wencezlai, atque Adalberti, 2 Kal. Oct. - Monachi Savatien. continuatio Cosmae.Mon. Germ.SS., IX,159; 6) Nihil de ea notat SAUERLAND,41; 7) SAUERLAND,41, Herzog Boleslaw Krzywousty von Polen + 1138 oct.28 Salomeae consors.

November h. d. xxx. l. xxx	XI	December h. d. xxxI, l. xxvIII	XII
D. KAL. nov. festivitas omnium sanctorum]	1	F. Kal. dec: Candidi mr. [Adilheit Comitissa] (e5)	1
E. IIII non. Victorini mr. Eustachii soc. eius	2	G. IIII non. Juviani et Faustini mr.	2
F. III non. Erimini mr. Germani epi. (a)	3	A. III n. Lucii conf.	3
G. II non. Valentini conf. Nerii prb.	4	B. II n. Barbare et Iuliane v.	4
A. non. Felicis presbyteri et Eusebii monachi	5	C. non. Sabe monachi	5
B. VIII id. Willibrordi epi. et conf.	7	D. VIII id. Octava sci. Andree apli.	6
C. VII id. Eustachii et sociorum ejus	7	E. VII id. Octava sci. Andree apli (f)	7
D. VI id. Rome sanctorum IIII coronatorum	8	F. VI id. Zenonis conf.	8
E. V id. Teodori mr.	9	G. V id. Leocadié, vr.	9
F. IIII id. s. Benedicti, Ysac, Iohannis. Math. ac Christiani (1)	10	A. IIII Eulalié, vr.	10
G. III id. Martini conf. et s. Menne m.]	11	B. III id. Damasii pp. Victorici m. [Boppo comes. o.] (g6)	11
A. II id. Archidii sociorumque eius [Ludmile Virg.] (b2)	12	C. II id. Ermogenis Donati m	12
B. idus Brictii epi. et conf.	13	D. idus Lucié, v.]	13
C. XVIII k. dec. Clementini, Teodori, Filimini m.	14	E. XVIII kal. ian. Nicasii ep. et soc.	14
D. XVII k. Secundini mr.	15	F. XVIII Valeriani epi. et conf.	15
E. XVI k. Othmari abb.	16	G. XVII Ananié, Azarié, Misaelis	16
F. XV k. Augustini. s. Teclae v.	17	A. XVI k. Ignatii ep. et m. [Geranon m. o.] (h7)	17
G. XIII k. Romani mr.	18	B. XV k. Willibaldi conf.	18
A. XIII k. Simplicii epi.	19	C. XIII k. Nemesii mr.	19
B. XII k. Potentiani mr.	20	D. XIII k. Vigilia Thome apostoli	20
C. XI k. Basilei, Saturnini, Rufi, Mauri	21	E. XII k. Thome apostoli]	21
D. X k. Cecilie vr.]	22	F. XI k. S. xxx m.	22
E. VIII k. Clementis mr.]	23	G. X k. Victorié et Eugenié, v.	23
F. VIII k. Chrisogoni [Mahthilt] (c3)	24	A. VIII k. Vigilia Nativitatis Domini [Humiburg], (i8)	24
G. VII Petri mr.	25	B. VIII k. Nativitas Dni nostri]	25
A. VI k. Lini pp. et m.	26	C. VII k. Stephani protormartyris]	26
B. V k. Vitalis et Agricole mr.	27	D. VI k. Iohannis apostoli et evangel.]	27
C. IIII k. Rufi mr.	28	E. V k. s. Innocentium]	28
D. III k. Saturnini mr. Vigilia apostoli	29	F. IIII k. Throphini ep. et conf.	29
E. II k. Andree apli. [o. Margarete] (d4)	30	G. III Sabini ep. et conf.	30
		A. II k. Silvestri] pp. Columbe v.	31

(*)

a) SAUERLAND,42, legit « Pirmini », false. Fors. « Primini ». Sola prima littera est incertae lectionis; b) add. a Necrol. Salomeano; c) add. a Necrol. Salomeano; d) add. a Necrol. Salomeano. SAUERLAND,42, invertit ordinem « Margarete o »; e) add. a Necrol. Salomeano; f) bis notatur, VIII e VII id.dec.; g) add. a Necrol. Salomeano; h) add. a Necrol. Salomeano; i) add. a Necrol. Salomeano. SAUERLAND,42, legit « Nuttaburg ».

1) *Fratres Poloni, quorum vitam a S. Brunone-Bonifacio conscriptam v.MPH*; 2) SAUERLAND nil de ea; 3) SAUERLAND nil de ea; 4) SAUERLAND nil de ea; 5) SAUERLAND, 42. *Grafin Adilheit v.Mochenthal, Gemahlin des Grafen Heinrich I von Berg. Necrol. Zwifalt. pg.266. Salomeae mater*; 6) SAUERLAND, 42: *Graf Poppo I v.Andechs (+ 1148 in Konstantinopel) Sohn des Grafen Berchtold II von Andechs und dessen ersten Gemahlin Sophia und Bruder Berchtold III Grafen v.Andechs u.Markgrafen v.Istrien (+ 1188 dec. 14) Salomeae sororis filius*; 7) SAUERLAND, 42: *Monch Gernon ist höchstwahrscheinlich identisch mit dem Zwifaltener Monche Gernot, der nach dem Tode des Polenherzogs Boleslaw (1138) zu dessen Witwe Salome reiste und von ihr geschenkte Reliquien nach Zwifalten zuruckbrachte. Mon.Germ.SS. X.91. Salomeae missus*; 8) SAUERLAND, nihil de eo.

*) *Columnae numerorum cursivorum, in quibus menses et dies secundum computationem modernam signantur, editor ad commoditatem lectoris addidit. — Verba: Kalendariae, Nonae, Idus, abbreviantur hic per «k, n, i», litteris, praeter usum, minusculis.*

2.

(F. 5 v.)

Ad Sanctum Petrum.

Deus qui beatum Petrum, apostolum tuum, pietatis tuæ respexisti intuitu, ut negationis trinè peccatum amarissimis dilueret lacrimis; per infusionem Sancti Spiritus pro peccatorum nostrorum venia lacrimas nobis elide pénitentié, ut amare defleamus quae inique gessimus, quatenus fructuosus in conspectum (a) tué pietatis nostré petitionis perveniat affectus, atque per eum nobis remissionem sperare liceat, qui traditus est pro delictis nostris ut nos redimeret sanguine suo, Ihesus Christus Dominus noster. Qui vivis.

a) in Ms: conspectu.

3.



(F. 5 v.)

S. Petrus, stans, cum tribus clavibus, cum aureola aurea, rotunda, cum inscriptione graeca: ΟΨΑΙΤΙΟϢ ΠΕΤΡΟϢ.

A dextris figura minor, virilis, in vestitu regali, cum inscriptione: ΟΔΙΚΙΟϢ (a) ΙΑΡΟΠΗΟΑΚ (b1), et figura feminea, etiam in vestitu regali, utraque manibus ad orationem extensis (2).

Ad pedes s. Petri provoluta est tertia figura, ("proskenesis"), etiam in vestitu regali, sat iniuria temporis decolorata, in qua leguntur verba ΜΡ ΙΑΡΟΠΗΟΑΚ (3) Aliae ejusdem facturae picturae, v. N. 23, 24, 25, 67. Cf. SAUERLAND, T. 12

- (a) Sauerland, 24 legit ΟΔΙΚΙΟϢ
- (b) Notetur graphia cirillica: « IER » pro O.
- (1) Iaropolk-Petrus, Iziaslavi et Gertrudae filius.
- (2) Iaropolci uxor, Irene; cfr. Sauerland 23.
- (3) Mater Iaropolk, Gertruda.

4.

(F. 5 v.)

Sancte Petre, princeps apostolorum, qui tenes claves regni celorum; per illum amorem quo tu Dominum amasti et amas, et per suavissimam misericordiam suam (a) qua te Deus pro trina negatione (b) amare flentem misericorditer respexit (F. 6 r.) in me indignam famulam (1) Christi clementer respice; (c) cunctorum scelerum et criminum vincula meorum solve; et impetra mihi a pio et benigno Ihesu veram humilitatem, caritatem Dei et proximi, infictam benignitatem, mansuetudinem, bonos mores et honestos, castitatem, et animae corporis suavitatem, et bonum finem, et gratiam sancte Trinitatis sine fine. Amen.

- (a) Sauerland legit « tuam ».
- (b) In ms: trina negatione.
- (c) Sauerland nonnisi hucusque transcripsit.
- (1) Fem. gen.

5.

(F. 6 r.)

Ad introitum.

Ad portas ecclesie tue confugio, ad pignora sanctorum tuorum prostrata (1) indulgentiam peto; precor et supplico dulcissimam pietatem tuam, veneranda Trinitas: ut (a) per intercessionem sancte Marię et sancti Michaelis, atque omnium sanctorum tuorum, ac propter immensam pietatem tuam, mihi indignę (b2) concedere digneris in die exitus mei de hac presenti vita, et in illa hora quando anima egressa erit a corpore/meo, rectum sensum, rectam fidem, rectam intentionem (c) ut cum sanctis et electis tuis tecum gaudere merear sine fine; misericordissime Domine, qui visis et dominaris in secula.

- (a) in ms. et. lapsus calami.
- (b) in ms indigne.
- (c) in ms inte vel m te ; lectio incerta; forsitan « mentem »
- (1) Fem. gen.
- (2) Fem. gen..

6.

(F. 6 r.)

Ad Sanctum Mihaelem.

Obsecro te sanctissime archangele Christi Michael (a): intercedere digneris pro me peccatrice (1) ad Dominum, et pro cunctis debitoribus meis vivis et defuntis: ut remissionem peccatorum in hac vita/valeamus recipere, et bonum finem de hac adhuc vita fragilissima; et nec dies nostros ante finiri sinas quam (Deus) peccata dimittat (b) et animas famulorum famularumque tuarum et omnium fidelium

defunctorum qui de hoc seculo migraverunt, pro vita eterna donet eius luminis claritatem, et requiem sempiternam. Princeps noster sancte Michael archangele, esto mihi miseré (2) propitius omni tempore vitæ meæ, per illum qui cum gloria et potestate degit (c) in celo ed in terra; et cum Dominus animam meam migrare hinc iusserit, tu clemens aperi portam paradysi: ne incidat (F. 6 v.) in manus diaboli, quia in inferno nemo est qui confiteatur Dominum nec mors laudabit eum (d). Omnes angeli et archangeli, vobis supplico ego indigna et peccatrix ancilla (3) Christi ut sitis mihi in adiutorium anime et corporis; conservate queso sive stantem, sive sedentem, sive iacentem, sive ambulantem, sive vigilantem, sive dormientem, sive quiescentem, sive operantem, sive quacunque via directa fuero; et in vestram protectionem et clementiam atque custodiam commendo animam meam et corpus meum, et (e) sensus meos, et omnia interiora et exteriora mea, et omnes miseras meas, et omnes angustias animæ et corporis mei, et omnes debitores meos vivos et defunctos; Sancte Mihael, Sancte Gabriel, Sancte Raphael, et milia milium et decies centena milia qui adstatis Deo iugiter cum agminibus angelorum defendite me propter nomen Domini nostri Ihesu Christi; ne diabolica malignitas et (f) humana adversitas prevaleant (g) adversus me. Sic fit super me vestra benedictio et pia protectio me preveniat ac subsequatur; et Dei gratia, propter vestra merita, post exitum/ad vestrum perducat me consortium. Ad omnes angelos. (4)

- (a) in ms. extra locum.
- (b) [Deus] non est in ms.
- (c) Hic aliquid abrasum apparet.
- (d) Lectio incerta.
- (e) In ms sequitur littera v. cancellata.
- (f) In ms ut; lapsus calami.
- (g) I. ms prevaleat — sing., lapsus calami.
- (1) Fem. gen.
- (2) Fem. gen.
- (3) Fem. gen.
- (4) Haec verba ad orationem 6, non ad sequentem, 7, referuntur.

7.

(F. 6 v.)

Omnes sancti apostoli et evangelistæ et discipuli Christi, propter amorem Domini nostri Ihesu Christi venite in adiutorium IIIIIIIII (a) mihi. In manus potentiæ vestræ immensæ clementiæ, et pietatis fidei et benignitatis vestræ commendo me miseram (1), et precor vos ut sitis mihi adiutores in cunctis tribulationibus meis, defensores contra omnes inimicos meos visibiles et invisibiles, interventores apud iudicem iustum, salvatorem mundi, qui vivit et regnat.

[[[carent hic paginae]]] (b).

- (b) In Ms. « et » lapsus calami.
- (a) In Ms. « et » omisum est.
- (b) Add. a « Glossatore moderno ».

8.

(F. 7 r.)

(Initium huius orationis fuisse videtur in pagina cuius absentiam notavit Glossator modernus.)

Averte cor regis ab odio ab indignatione et ira, et converte eum ad clementiam, et pacem, et bonitatem: ut Deus et misericors et propitius fiat famulo tuo N. (1) Domine Ihesu Christe defende eum tuo adiutorio, ut nec hostis antiquus, nec malus homo, nec inimici eius prevaleant adversus eum: da illi, Domine, veram humilitatem et veram karitatem; confirma in eo divinam veritatem ut incolumis et salvus omnium inimicorum suorum possit superare nequitias; ne permittas eum Domine in manus inimicorum eius, sed fac eum fortem et stabilem contra omnes inimicos eius, visibiles et invisibiles; ut tua protectione munitus mereat tibi famulare (a) salvatus.

Omnipotens Pater, ut regem et cunctum principatum servo tuo IIIIIII IIIII. (2) [[[++ Nota hic nomen a maligna manu deletum quod Deus illi parcat]]] (b) mitem ac misericordem et mansuetum facere digneris, te rogo audi me.

Ut eorum iram et indignationem servo tuo in mansuetudinem convertere digneris; te rogo.

Ut omnium inimicorum eius nequitiam et invidiam comprimere digneris, te rogo audi me.

Ut omnes qui eum adversari cupiunt dextera tué potentié comprimere digneris te rogo.

Ut quodquod inimici fraudulenta conspiratione adversus eum machinant ad nichilum redigere digneris, te rogo audi me.

Ut famulum tuum ab omni tibi contrario avertere digneris, te rogo audi me.

Ut veram et fraternam karitatem et bonam concordiam in eo confirmare digneris, te rogo audi me.

Ut eum ab omnibus insidiis inimicorum suorum visibilium et invisibilium clementer liberare digneris.

Ut ei gratiam tuam et bonum finem et gaudium eternum habere concedere digneris te rogo audi (me) (c).

Mitte Domine sanctum angelum tuum cum eo, qui custodiat et defendat, ab omni periculo anime et corporis tueatur, et pedes eius in viam pacis et salutis semper dirigat, ut cum gaudio et pace nobiscum sit, et quoquam (d) profectus felix fiat ei ad nos reversionis aditus. (3) Deus Abraham esto ei arma virtutis. Deus Ysaac esto ei galea virtutis. Deus Iacob esto ei scutum inexpugnabile contra omnes inimicos eius visibiles et invisibiles.

(a) *In ms. Famulari. Lapsus calami; slavismus.*

(b) *Add. a «Glossatore moderno».*

(c) *In ms. [me] ommissum est.*

(d) *In ms. quaa — lectio incerta.*

(1) *Iaropolk-Petrus?*

(2) *In spatio abraso, circa 16 vel 18 litterarum praesumo fuisse «Iaropolkum Petrum».*

(3) *Scriptum videtur tempore alicuius expeditionis vel legationis Petri. Forsitan tempore legationis ad Gregorium VII (1075)?*

9.

(F. 7 r.)

Deus qui sedes super thronos et iudicas in equitate, esto refugium mihi peccatrici, (1) aspice de sede sancta tua et cogita de me, inclina Deus/meus aures tuas et audi, aperi oculos tuos et vide tribulationem meam, sanctus, sanctus, sanctus, fortis sanctus et immortalis (2) qui tollis peccata mundi, miserere mei, Domine qui vivis et regnas IIIII (a).

(a) *Vix legitur.*

(1) *Fem. gen.*

(2) *E liturgia byzantina?*

10.

(F. 7 r.)

Domine Ihesu Christe qui pulcherrima tua facie omnia conspicias, aspice in me miseram (1) in die afflictionis mee, et libera me ab omnibus angustiis meis, sicut vis et sicut scis mihi/necessarium esse; Domine qui vivis... (a).

(a) *In ms. litterae mt. ysqq koret quorum sensus fugit.*

(1) *Fem. gen.*

11.

(F. 7 r.)

Domine Ihesu Christe qui celorum contines thronos et montes ponderas, terram palma concludis, exaudi me Domine ad te vociferantem et libera me de

omnibus angustiis meis sicut vis. (F. 7 v.) et sicut scis mihi necessarium esse. Domine qui... (a)

(a) *Sequitur doxologia contracta, illegibilis.*

12.

(F. 7 v.)

Domine Ihesu Christe qui propter me et propter christianos dignatus es pati in manus tué clementi/sanctificentur, dignare me liberare de omnibus angustiis meis, sicut vis et scis michi/necessarium esse. Domine, quod... (a)

(a) *Doxologia contracta, illegibilis.*

13.

(F. 7 v.)

Quesumus, Deus noster, ut per auxilium sancté crucis Filii tui ad coniurandas adversariorum nostrorum insidias/nos in tué protectionis securitate (a) constituas. Dne q.../ (b) Domine Ihesu Christe, qui super aspidem et basiliscum ambulabis et conculcabis leonem et draconem/, dignare eos conculcare qui iniquo hodie (c) habent me, et libera me ab insidiis inimi/corum meorum, et de omnibus tribulationibus et angustiis meis, sicut vis et sicut scis mihi necessarium/.

(a) *In ms. securitas, lapsus calami.*

(b) *Doxologia contracta, illegibilis.*

(c) *Pro « odio ».*

14.

(F. 7 v.)

Deus qui tribulatos corde sanas, et mestificatos actu laeticas/ad hanc orationem propitius dignanter adtende, et quia totius mundi voluisti relaxa/re delicta, pro tribulatione mea clementer assume: cunctaque nostra discrimina solve, tribulationes a me (et) (a) miserias pelle, angustias et pressuras amove, ut (b) exuta (1) ab omnibus malis, semper delecter exultare.

(a) *In Ms. « et » omisum est.*

(b) *In Ms. « et » lapsus calami.*

(1) *Fem. gen.*

15.

(F. 7 v.)

Domine Ihesu Christe fili Dei vivi, qui es via, veritas, omnisque creature fons et clausu/la, exaudi me miseram (1) pro Petro] (a2) ad te clamantem, et per dilectionem illam quam/ad hominem habuisti, cum formam eius induisti te, et propter eius amorem crucis mortem su/bisti, et vulnera manibus et pedibus latereque propter eum percepisti; nec non per merita sancti/Quiriaci martyris tui et per illam gratiam quam mirabiliter et misericorditer super eum/ostendisti cum ante baptismum eius cor Spiritus Sancti gratia (b) illuminasti, et eius orationi lignum preciosissimum per tempora multa sanctos et electos plurimos latens (c) decla/rasti, ab eoque inveniri concessisti, atque sub eius manibus mortuum suscitando et/vivificando virtutem crucis publicare voluisti, baptizatoque claves (d4) sanctos per/illum reperire (5) voluisti; et per intercessionem Sancté Marié, genitricis tué, et sancte Helene; et istorum et omnium sanctorum tuorum; et per tuam sanctam ac venerabilem crucem;/libera Petrum (6) famulum tuum ab insidiis diaboli, et ab omnibus inimicis suis visibilibus et invisibilibus, ab omni que seculari et carnali adversitate. suaque tempora adau/ge clementer, longamque vitam et incolumem super terra sibi tribue, diesque super dies/, annos super annos, cum pace et prosperitate sibi appone; sicque exterius interiusque custo/di ut vivus securus aeclesiam tuam sanctam ingrediturus tibi idoneus existat; in/omnibus viis tuis dirige et custodi. Qui vivis et regnas, etc./

- (a) *In Ms. doq.*
- (b) *In margine a « Glossatore moderno » depicta est manus hanc lineam indigitans.*
- (c) *Semiabrasum. Sauerland 17 non potuit legere.*
- (d) *A manu ignota sublineatum. In margine. a « Glossatore moderno » depicta est manus hanc lineam indigitans.*
- (e) *Semiabrasum. Sauerland 17 non potuit legere.*
- (f) *Item fors. « insidias ».*
- (1) *Manuscripti auctor.*
- (2) *Petrus - Iaropok.*

19.

(F. 8 r.)

Domine Ihesu Christe Fili Dei vivi, sub umbra alarum tuarum protege me a facie inimicorum qui me/affixerunt propter peccata mea; defende me Domine ab omnibus illis; ne tradideris me in/animas me persequendum, ut non prevaleant inimici de interitu meo letare (1), sed per/vexillum sancte crucis tue ab omnibus hostibus meis, visibilibus et invisibilibus, me defendas/hic et in futuro; Esto mihi turris fortitudinis a facie inimicorum meorum quorum omnium/nomina tu scis; Extende Domine dexteram tue potentie et sub umbra alarum tuarum protege me ab omnibus insidiis et malis consiliis omnium qui me affixerunt (a) et lederunt;/supplicio Domine, per virtutem sancte crucis tue, ut digneris eos implere cum (2) sancto tue gratie/pneumate: ut mihi nocere non possint; Eripe me Domine a homine malo.

- (a) *In Ms. affixerit.*
- (1) *In Ms. letari slavismus.*
- (2) *Barbarismus.*

20.

(F. 8 r.)

Domine Ihesu Christe qui pulcherrima facie tua conspicias cuncta, respice propitius ad preces meas/, quas lacrimando tibi coram sacratissima cruce tua fundo; et, qui te capud (a) asserebas acclésié, membra tua baptismo regenerata, per immensam clementiam tuam (b), quia amaricati (c) cordi dirumpis catheria (1), angusti meé moles disrue immensas.

- (a) *Pro « caput ».*
- (b) *In Ms. tui.*
- (c) *Infm. lat: factus amarus cf. DU CANGE.*
- (1) *Catheria — sic. in Ms.*

21.

(F. 8 v.)

Creator celi et terre, qui misericordia motus super perituram urbem lacrimas fudisti,/attende gemitum cordis mei, vultumque actenus *severum* (a), virtute tua/मितem fac et mansuetum; ne hostis antiquus inde (b) gaudeat letus, sed angeli pacis me (c) consolatam gratulentur in celis. Qui. Domine clamavi./

Scrutator renum, in cuius mitissimo vultu corde nullus umquam natus est dolus,/per eandem pietatem qua cunctos mortales, antiqui erroris (d) calliditate seductos, ad/terram descenderas redempturus, et propter merita sancte ac immaculate virginis/Marie; cor famulé tue N. (1) fac mitem, eiusque sevitiam in maximam converte (e) mititiem. (f) Voce mea./

O bone Ihesu, qui virtute tua callidi draconis calcasti colia, quique hora tertia/in littore maris ambulasti, planta, dirige pedes meos in viam pacis, quatenus ad famulum tuum (2) ingressa (3), amota asperitate, propitium sentiam fore. A. Domine exaudi./

Salvator mundi qui Petro mergenti et in profundo maris dextera tua existi pavitantem; tu me dignare pie de presenti tribulatione/eripere, et qui eadem dextera tacta fugasti demonia, fuga a corde famulé tue (4) quaeque inmoliat (g) adversi, meque velociter eripe, ad laudem et gloriam nominis tui (h), Domine

d) *Idem. Nec «Glossator modernus», nec Philippus a Turris legerunt.*
(e) *Hanc inscriptionem saeculo XV-XVI factam (ita SAUERLAND 29) iam temporibus «Glossatoris moderni» et Philippi a Turribus abrasam, Philippus pro posse in pagina sequenti transcripsit.*

(f) *Hanc notam «Glossator modernus» in margine scripsit; ultima verba huius notae abrasa sunt. Nota scripta est antequam Philippus a Turris lectionem in pagina sequenti adnotavit.*

(g) *Haec pagina tota scripta est manu «Ph. a T. Epi Adrien» i.e. Philippi a Turribus, Episcopi Adrien. ob. 25.II.1717. «Glossator modernus» inscriptionem hanc ignorabat.*

(1) *S. Elisabeth. 1207 - 17.II.1231, filia Andree II Regis Hungariae et Gertrudis, Berchtoldi IV de Andechs filiae, 1221 uxor Ludovici Landgravii Thuringiae.*

(2) *Ludovicus, 12.x.1200 - 11.ix.1227, ab a. 1217 landgravius Thuringiae.*

(3) *Bertoldus de Meran, Patriarcha Aquileiae 10.II.1218 - 23.V.1251. S. Hedvigis, Ducissae Poloniae frater. Cf. EUBEL I 99. Item PASCHINI, Bertoldo de Merania, in Memorie storiche Forogiuliansi, 1920.*

(4) *Forum Iulii, nunc Cividale in Friuli.*

(5) *Non potuit haec scribere nisi homo cui nota Philippi a Turribus ignota erat.*

(6) *Loco «vel» Ph. a Turribus scripsit «O»: italianismus.*

(7) *«Exercitus» est idem ac «druzyna» quam principes Rurikides secum etiam in pace ducebant; quae etiam «sequitus» significat.*

(8) *Barbarismus.*

(9) *Italianismus.*

(10) *In Ms. Ph. a T. eps Adrien. Filippo della Torre, Episcopus Adriensis a 6.II.1702, ob. 25.II.1717. Natus in Foro Iulii (Cividale). Cfr. RITZLER-SEFRIN, (continuatio EUBEL,) 69.*

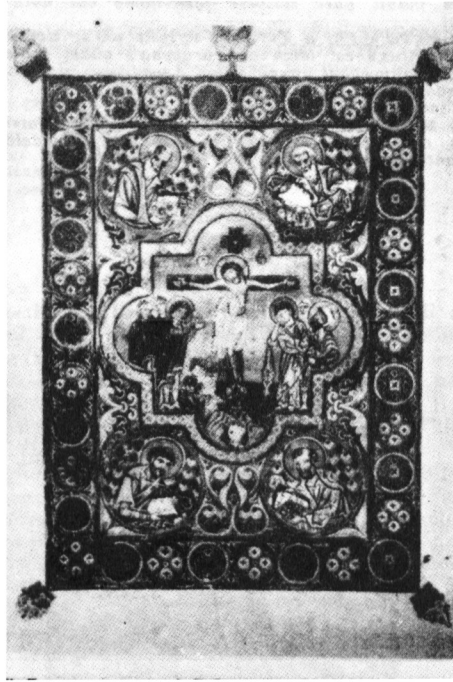
23.



(F. 9 v.)

Depictum est, orientali seu byzantino modo, templum cum tribus turribus, quorum laterales, minores, crucibus gemmatis, (*croix entaillée et bourdonnée*) terminantur, media autem turris sine cruce manet: (quae probabiliter abscissa est quando «folia Gertrudiana» (1-15) una cum «foliis ecbertianis», brevioribus in unum volumen ligabantur; sub turribus depicta sunt tecta templi, quorum medium in forma fornacis, laterales autem pinaculis terminantur. Inferius, in medio ipsius templi, depicta est nativitas Domini. Duo leones apparent a dextris et sinistris templi. Nulla habetur in hac pagina inscriptio.

24.



(F. 10 r.)

Pictura quadrangularis ornatur in angulis quattuor floribus; quintus flos, in medio quadranguli, abscissus est (vide pag. praecedentem). In medio picturae Crucifixus apparet, cui adstant sex figurae maiores, quorum tres cum aureolis (B.M.V., S. Johannes, S. Longinus) nec non binae figurae sine aureolis, in coronis praeciosis. In angulis cruciformis ornamentis in quo haec imago continetur, in quatuor circulis depicti sunt Evangelistae cum voluminibus, in quibus eorum nomina graece scripta erant; haec praeter nomen «MAPKOC», jam vix leguntur. A lateribus crucifixi legitur inscriptio ЦТАВ-РОСС.

25.



(F. 10 v.)

Dominus depictus est noster Iesus Christus in trono sedens, quem simbola evangelistarum (leo, angelus, aquila, bos, omnes aureolati) supervolant. Ad caput Christi « IC. XC. » scriptum apparet. Throno adstant a dexteris S. Petrus, a sinistris S. Irene, quorum aureolata capita inscriptiones habent graecas: « 'Α ΠΕΤΡΟΣ » (1) et « 'Α ΙΡΕΝΕ » (2) inferius binae figurae sine aureolis, in vestitu regali, stant: quibus Christus coronas imponit.

Tota imago quadrangularis, quinque floribus ornata, quorum unus in summitate per medium abscissus est.

(1) S. Petrus hic uti patronus Petri-Iaropolci figuratus est.

(2) TOMASIVSKIJ Vstup do istorii cerkvi na Ukraïni (in *Analecta Ordinis S. Basilii t. IV* a. 1931, fasc. 1-2, p. 128) dicit Iarapolk cum uxore Irene Romae coronatos fuisse. De Irena v. SAUERLAND 25. Cf. etiam BAUMGARTEN. *Gen. mar.*, II 1, qui aliam uxorem Petro tribuit.

26.

(*Speculum astrologicum*)

(F. 11 r.)

Luna tota die bona est — I Quidquid in somno videris gaudium.

Luna non est bona — II Nullos malos effectos in corde ponas ut bonos sive maledictos.

Luna a hora IIII bona est — III.

Luna bona est — IIII Spera in Domino et fac bonum, nihil nocebit.
Luna non est bona — V. Secundum quod videris fiat peccatorum consilium.
Luna non est bona — VI. Nec consilium.
Luna tota die bona est — VII. Quidquid videris multum tempus permanet (a).
Luna de nona bona est — VIII. Cito vides sedem (6).
Luna non est bona — VIII. Quodquod somniaveris.
Luna tota die bona est — X. Quodquod vides in somno nihil nocebit.
Luna non est bona — XI. Fiat somnum tuum sine periculo.
Luna non est bona — XII. Cum omni gaudio somnium tuum invenies.
Luna ab hora nona bona — XIII. Infaustus (c) dies non somnium tuum invenies.
Luna bona est — XIII. Effectum bonum habet.
Luna non est bona — XV.
Luna non est bona — XVI. Post multum tempus invenies.
Luna tota die bona est — XVII. Ynde superius (a).
Luna non est bona — XVIII. Infaustus dies XX erit. Somnus tuus IIII (e).
Luna bona est — XVIII.
Luna tota die bona est — XX. Negatio negotiantis bonus somnus.
(F. 11 v.)
Luna a matutina bona est — XXI. Homini illi nihil nocet.
Luna a hora VII bona est — XXII. Quidquid videris ad omne gaudium pervenit (f).
Luna bona est a hora VI — XXIII. Rixabiles (g) contentiones sine ulla discretione.
Luna bona est — XXIII. Aliquid de se salvum permanet. (h)
Luna non est bona — XXV. Metum futurum significat infra VIII id.
Luna non est bona — XXVI.
Luna tota die bona est — XXVII. Omne gaudium significat.
Luna bona est — XXVIII.
Luna bona est — XXVIII. Omnes angustias laboris perimit (i).
Luna non est bona — XXX (j) IIII (k) duobus diebus invenies sine... (l)
Kalendae Januarii si fuerint dominica die bonus erit hiemps, et ver vir/tuosus, et estas sicca, et vindemia bona erit, et oves multiplicabuntur, et mel habundat et pax erit./
Si fuerint II feria, hiemps mixta erit et ver bonus erit et estas ventosa, et tempestas, et vindemia, nociva erit et valetudo hominum.
Si fuerint III feria hiemps ymbrosus, ver ventuosus, et estas/pluvialis, et tempestas et mulieres plurimé morientur, et naves periclitabuntur et reges peribunt.
Si fuerint IIII feria hiemps durus erit, et ver malus, estasque/bona et vindemia laboriosa et nugaci (m) laboriosus erit. (F. 12 r.) Si fuerit V feria, hiemps bona erit, ver ventuosus et estas/bona erit, et habundantia bona et pax erit./
Si fuerit VI feria hiemps mutabilis erit, et ver bonus, et estas bona/et copia magna erit.
Si fuerit sabbato hiems turbida et ver ventuosus, et omnis fructus laboriosus et oves peribunt, et homines veterani morientur et auguria (n), et domi periculum paci erit./

- (a) *Lectio incerta.*
- (b) ?
- (c) *Lectio incerta.*
- (d) ?
- (e) *Verbum illegibile.*
- (f) *Lectio incerta.*
- (g) *Ad rixas prompti?*
- (h) *Lectio incerta.*
- (i) *Idem.*
- (j) *in Ms. XX lapsus calami.*
- (k) *in Ms. Vif ?*
- (l) *In Ms. P... oe.*
- (m) *Ita in Ms. ?*
- (n) *Ita in Ms.*

27.

(F. 12 r.)

Orent pro te omnes sancti et electi Dei: Spiritus sanctus sit in corde et ore tuo, accipiatque de manibus/tuis sacrificium pro nostra et pro totius populi christiani [*salute*] (a) et pro requie animarum omnium fidelium defunctorum; exaudiat te Deus, Spiritus Sanctus supervenjat in te et virtus altissimi obumbrabit tibi; omnes sancti seraphin et seraphin (b), troni quoque dominationesque, principatus, potestates, virtutes/omnes angeli et archangeli, patriarché, prophete., apostoli et martyres, confessores, virgines,/isti et omnes electi Dei, intercedite pro me peccatrice (1) et pro cuncta christiana plebe (2) apud/Dei misericordiam; (3) ut det nobis indulgentiam delictorum nostrorum, et faciat nos suis obedire manda/tis, quatenus vestris orationibus intervenientibus, supplicia, qué nobis iuste debentur, mereamur evadere: et ad vestrum consortium pervenire. Prestante Domino nostro Ihesu Christo qui cum Patre et Spiritu Sancto vivit et regnat Deus per omnia secula seculorum.

(a) *Haec vel similis vox in Ms. ommissa est.*

(b) *Ita in Ms., loco « cherubim ».*

(1) *Fem. gen.*

(2) *Oratio principis.*

(3) *Devotio erga Misericordiam Dei.*

28.

(F. 12 r.)

Domine, non secundum peccata nostra facias nobis, neque secundum iniquitatem; Domine ne memineris iniquita/tum nostrarum; adiuva nos;/Deus, qui es super thronos, et iudicas equitatem; esto refugium mihi peccatrici; (a) Aspice Domine de sede/sancta tua et cogita de me; inclina Deus meus aurem tuam et audi, aperi oculos tuos et vide tri/bulationem meam: sanctus Deus, sanctus Fortis, sanctus Immortalis, (1) qui tollis peccata mundi miserere nobis.

(a) *Fem. gen.*

(1) *Ex graeca liturgia.*

29.

(F. 12 r.)

Domine Deus omnipotens, rex angelorum et rex regum, pater omnium pupillorum,/memor sit omnis sacrificii tui; (1) Ymmola Deo sacrificium laudis; Exaudi de Dominus orantem pro nobis. Amen./Sit Dominus Deus in corde tuo et in ore tuo/et suscipiat sacrificium sibi acceptum de manibus tuis/pro nostrum omnium salute.

(1) *Oratio pro sacerdote.*

30.

(F. 12 v.)

Ego indigna famula tua (1) obsecro te per amorem tui sancti corporis quod a presbitero nunc/benedicitur (2), et per sancté crucis amorem, in qua ipse passus es; ut mihi indigné famulé tué (3)/dimittere digneris omnia peccata mea, que comisi ab ineunte etate vité meé/, usque in presentem diem. Pater noster.

O bone Ihesu Christe, Fili Dei vivi, ego peccatrix (4) obsecro te/per amorem tui sancti corporis, quod nunc benedicitur a presbitero, et sancté crucis qué requiescit/in Iherusalem (a5), in qua passus es, et per intercessionem istorum et omnium sanctorum tuorum: ut me liberares/de peccatis meis, et angustiis, et de omnibus inimicis meis, visibilibus et invisibilibus, et de omni/periculo anime et corporis mei. Pater noster.

(a) *In Ms. in iherlm.*

(1) *Fem. gen.*

(2) *Devotio erga SSmum Sacramentum.*

- (3) *Fem. gen.*
- (4) *Idem.*
- (5) *Devotio erga S. Crucem.*

31.

(F. 12 v.)

Ad Sanctum Spiritum. (a)

Spiritus Sanctus Paraclytus, sancta et individua Trinitas, obsecro te per amorem sancté crucis que in Iherusalem requiescit (1) in qua Ihesus Christus Dominus noster martyrium pertulit, et per amorem sancti corporis/sui quod hic a presbitero benedicitur, (2) ut me liberares a peccatis meis et ab ira et offensione/Domini salutaris mei, et ab inimicis visibilibus et invisibilibus, et omnibus angustiiis et meis necessitatibus. Pater noster.

Te sancta crux per Christum qui in te pro salute humani generis martyrium pertulit ego indigna (3) obsecro propter quinque vulnera (4) et mortem amarissimam quam Filius Dei vere (b)/passus est, quando nos peccatores redemit, ut liberares (me) (c) ab omnibus inimicis meis,/et peccatis, et necessitatibus, et angustiiis quibus oppressa et constricta sum, presentibus et futuris/, et sis mihi adiutrix contra diabolum, et contra omnes inimicos meos, visibiles et invisibiles. Amen.

- (a) *Litterae ornatiores, forsitan etiam posteriores.*
- (b) *Lectio incerta.*
- (c) *In Ms. omissum.*
- (1) *Devotio erga S. Crucem.*
- (2) *Devotio erga SS. Sacramentum.*
- (3) *Fem. gen.*
- (4) *Devotio ergo vulnera Christi.*

32.

(F. 12 v.)

Domine sancte Pater omnipotens, eterne Deus, propiciare digneris supplicationibus nostris; et mitte angelum/tuum sanctum cum Petro et exercitu eius (a), qui eos ab omni adversitatibus protegat, et in servitio/sancti nominis tui ubique custodiat: ut nullus eum, et suos, in itinere inimicus, decipiat/; sed mereantur ab hoste omne triumphum, et tué semper miserationis subsidium; quatenus tua iussa complens sospes cum suis ad te redeat.

- (a) *In margine manus a « Glossatore moderno » depicta hanc lineam indigitat.*
- (1) *Petrus Iaropolk. « Exercitus » slavonice « družyna » etiam « sequitus » interpretari potest.*

33.

(F. 12 v.)

Ad Sanctam Mariam.

Ave sancta et gloriosa Dei genitrix Maria, gratia plena, Dominus tecum; benedicta tu inter mulieribus (F. 13 r.) et benedictus fructus ventris tui. Maria virgo semper letare, qué meruisti Christum portare/, céli et terré editorem quia de tuo llllll (a) utero protulisti mundi salvatorem. Gaude sancta Maria/Dei genitrix virgo, gaude qué gaudium ab angelo suscepisti, quando regem regum in tuo/utero concepisti, gaude qué gaudium mundo protulisti. Ave spes nostra salus et Domina, qué meruisti portare regem celorum et dominum, et omni laude digna et omnibus hominibus merito adoranda ut/mater Domini./Exaudiat te Dominus. Domine refugium Qui habitat. Salvum fac servum tuum. Desiderium cordis. Vitam petiit. Oculi domini super iustos. Fiat misericordia. Exsurge Domine. Domine exaudi orationem./Gaudeat Dominus super famulos lllllllllllllllllll (b) tribuisti operationem, presta benigne effectum. Per.

- (a) *Verbum abrasum.*
- (b) *Linea illegibilis propter maculas.*

34.

(F. 13 r.)

Precibus nostris quesumus Domine aures tué pietatis accomoda, et oraciones supplicum tuorum occultorum co/gnitor benignus, exaudi: ut te largiente ad vitam perveniant éternam. Per.

35.

(F. 13 r.)

Alia.

Christe summa Dei virtus una et indiscreta maiestas, orationis meé tota substantia invoco nomen/sanctum tuum: exaudi me, meo mecum corde luctantem, agnoscentem peccata, facinora, et cogitationum/crimina confitentem; frange Domine artem diaboli: fingit enim labijs aliud suggerendo ipsamque captivat/orationem. Respice Domine mei supplicis lacrimas, et cum lacrimé non sint, indulgentiam (a) tué pietatis in/funde; custodj in me immaculatam fidem meque cum proximis semper in pace reconcilia (b), fructos tuos panis/et vini propria largitate tribue; tibi inclino cervicem, tibi genua flecto, te Dominum Deum, cum sis unus/in sancta Trinitate, confiteor; frange Domine contra me inimicorum potestates, erue me de periculis, tuere me de omnibus causis et in criminacione defende égram et iacentem (1), et ea qué explere non possum quasj sint expleta concede. Per.

(a) In Ms. indulgentié; *lapsus calami.*

(b) In Ms. rec-lia.

(1) Fem. gen.

36.

(F. 13 v.)

Gloria in excelsis Deo, et in terra pax hominibus boné voluntatis. Laudamus te, benedicimus te,/adoramus te, glorificamus te, ymnum dicimus tibi, gratias agimus ob (a) gloriam/tuam magnam. Domine Deus, rex célestis, Deus Pater omnipotens; Domine Fili unigenite Ihesu/Christe altissime; Domine Deus, agnus Dei, Filius Patris, qui tollis peccata mundi miserere nobis; qui tollis peccata mundi, suscipe deprecationem nostram; qui sedes/ad dexteram Patris, miserere nobis. Quoniam tu solus sanctus, tu solus Dominus, tu solus Al/tissimus Ihesu Christe, cum Sancto spiritu in gloria Dei Patris. Amen./

(a) In Ms. *vir visibilis.*

37.

(F. 13 v.)

Credo in unum Deum, Patrem omnipotentem, factorem céli et terré, visibilium/omnium et invisibilium. Et in unum Dominum Ihesum Christum. Filium Dei unigenitum./et ex Patre natum ante omnia secula, Deum de Deo, lumen de lumine, Deum verum de Deo (*vero*) (a) genitum non factum, consubstantialem Patri, per quem omnia facta sunt. Qui propter nos homines/et propter nostram salutem descendit de celis. Et incarnatus est de Spiritu Sancto ex Maria Virgine, et homo factus est. Crucifixus etiam pro nobis sub Pontio Pilato, passus et sepultus est, et/resurrexit tertia die secundum scripturas, ascendit in célum, sedet ad dexteram Patris et inde (b)/venturus est cum gloria iudicare vivos et mortuos; cuius regni non erit finis. Et in Spiritum Sanctum/(*Dominum*) (c) et vivificantem qui ex Patre Filioque (1) procedit, qui cum Patre et Filio simul adoratur et con/glorificatur, qui locutus est per prophetas, Et unam sanctam catholicam et apostolicam Acclesiam. Confiteor/unum baptisma in remissionem peccatorum, et expecto resurrectionem mortuorum et vitam futuri seculi. Amen. (2)

(a) *Omissum in Ms.*

(b) *Vir legitur.*

(c) *Omissum in Ms.*

(1) *Latinitas et catholicitas Gertrudae hoc verbo confirmatur.*

(2) «Credo» hic a Gertruda transcriptum differt a Symbolo Apostolorum in Psalterio Ecberti inscripto (F. 203 r.) ubi non legitur « filioque ».

38.

(F. 13 v.)

Deus qui apostolis tuis sanctum dedisti spiritum/et potestatem. ligandi atque solvendi genus humanum in cœlo et in terra: concede propitius./ut per illorum merita orationem nostram clementer exaudias. Per.

39.

(F. 14 r.)

Domine labia mea aperies, et os meum annuntiabit laudem tuam. Deus in adiutorium/meum intende, Domine ad adiuvandam. Ter, cum gloria Patri et Filio et Spiritui sancto./Domine Ihesu Christe. Filij Dei vivi in nomine tuo levabo manus meas./Mane cum surrexero intende ad me. Domine, et gubernata actus meos/, et verba mea, et cogitationes meas. ut totum diem transcam/in tua voluntate. Ad te levavi oculos meos. Gloria/[.Perfice (a) gressus meos in semitis tuis. ne moveantur vestigia mea. Custodi me Domine ut (pupillam) (a) oculi. sub umbra (alarum) tuarum (c) protege me. Fiat Domine cor meum immaculatum.].] In nomine tuo Domine levabo manus meas. Exsurge Domine./adiuva nos. et libera nos propter nomen sanctum tuum. Lucerna pedibus./Exsurgat Deus et dissipentur inimici eius, et fugiant qui oderunt.

- (a) *Manu Gertrudiana hic passus in margine inscriptus est.*
- (b) *Verbum abscissum.*
- (c) *Idem.*
- (d) *Idem. Abscissiones probant folia Gertrudiana iam conscripta esse cum in unum volumen cum aliis insuta sint.*

40.

(F. 14 r.)

Oratio dum de lectulo surrexeris]. (a)

- (a) *Sequebatur oratio brevissima, nunc ob maculas omnino illegibiles.*

41.

(F. 14 r.)

Sequitur oratio]. Domine Ihesu Christe, qui te pro nostra redemptione ad mortem in misericordiam tuam/sanctam (....) (a) commendo spiritum meum et cogitationes meas, sensus, sermones et opera, et omnia secundum tuam voluntatem, ut me digneris dirigere/atque perficere, meque ab insidiis diaboli liberare, pius dominator; qui vivis, etc.

- (a) *Scriptor hanc paginam evidenter distractus scribebat (cf. omissionem in n. 39). Praesentem orationem non terminatam et vix intelligibilem reliquit.*

42.

(F. 14 r.)

Gratias tibi ago omnipotens Deus qui(a) me dignatus es in hac nocte custodire; deprecor clementiam tuam, potentissime Domine, ut concedas mihi diem venturum sic/peragere in tuo sancto servicio, cum humilitate et discrezione, qualiter tibi/complaceant servitia mea et opera mea, hodie cum summa patientia tibi grato/exhibere (b) servitute. Inmitte Domine queso sanctum angelum tuum in circuito meo, et eripe me ab impiis qui in circuito ambulat: ut viam/mandatorum absque omni errore et scandalo inoffeso pede curre/-.[.primo mane.].] (c) (F. 14 v.) re valeam. Per.

- (a) *In Ms. qui qui — lapsus calami.*
- (b) *Constructio grammatica irregularis.*
- (c) *In margine, manu Gertrudiana.*

43.

(F. 14 v.)

Cum exiis ad Acclesiam] v. P./ (a).

Signa, Deus capud meum, sicut signavit Dominus oculos eorum qui in evangelio leguntur; signa Deus omnia verba mea ut ab illis expelletur diabolus qui ledit omnem carnem; signa me Pater omnipotens qui me creasti; signa me Fili Dei vivi qui pro me passus es; signa me Spiritus Sanctus (b) qui in me effusus es; signa me fides mea que me liberabis/ab omni iniquitate. Ostende Domine faciem tuam et miserere mei./Convertat Dominus vultum suum super me et det mihi pacem ut habeam vitam eternam. Mundus Deus. munda me; sanctus Deus, sanctifica me; immortalis Deus. Deprecor etiam te, Domine ut omnibus qui benefecerunt llllll (c) reddas illis/mercedem in vitam eternam: nam si qui mihi male volunt aut faciunt;/des illis indulgentiam in perpetuam. Obsecro Domine Ihesu cunctas me portas iusticie (patere) (d) facias, ut ingressus (meus) (e) in eas confitear nomini tuo, tueque/maiestati cum ministris celestibus; eam. crebrius (llllll) occurrat seu occupat salus, mu/ros illius et portas eius laudacio. (f) Flectens genua, capite in terra deposito dicitur:/Domine labia mea aperies. Cycla (g) incipiat psalmos. Domine quid multiplicati./Ad te Domine levavi Domine ne in furore. Miserere mei Deus secundum. Miserere mei Deus miserere mei. Inclina Domine. Domine Deus salutis. Venite exultemus/Domine exaudi orationem. Benedic anima mea et omnia. Post singulos psalmos dans gratias Deo,/genua flectendo, et capite devoluto in terra, percutiens pectus, in corde dices:/Peccavi Domine peccavi, miserere mei, et quia pondera peccatorum me gra/vant, non valeo surgere, nisi tu iuveris. Exsurge Domine adiuva me, et libera me. (h)

In margine habentur verba: Exsurgens incipiat et inferius Kyrie Eleison ter.

(a) *Non intelliguntur hae litterae.*

(b) *Nominativus pro vocativo.*

(c) *Nomen abrasum: potest esse Petro.*

(d) *In Ms. omissum.*

(e) *Verbum inutile, lapsus calami.*

(f) *Tota oratio vix intelligibilis ob errores, et omisiones.*

(g) *Ita in Ms. ?*

(h) *Aliquis defectus hic apparet; nec terminata videtur oratio. Nec in folio sequenti continuatur.*

44.

(F. 15 r.)

... et (a) quorum anniversarius obitus vel tricesimus hodierna/die celebratur, et quorum memoria in hoc seculo oblita est, et animabus omnium fidelium defunctorum. (1) Libera eos ab/omni ira. et indignatione tua, ab eterna dampnatione, et de principibus tenebrarum, ac locis penarum, et perduc/eas ad gaudia paradisi: Domine Deus noster.

(a) *in mediis verbis incipit oratio: deficit folium praecedens in codice.*

(1) *Relationes cum Monasterio Cluniacensi quas Regina Richesa Gertrudae mater, habebat facile orationes pro animas purgatorii ad S. Odillonem Abbatem Cluniacensem referre sinent.*

45.

(F. 15 r.)

Alia.

Ad te, Domine, misera et peccatrix confugio, et tibi pie flec/to genua mea pro animabus famulorum famularumque tuarum,/et pro universis fidelibus defunctis: atque ego supplex exoro pro anima famuli tui N. cuius diem octavum, trigesimum./atque anniversarium commemoramus; ut universa peccata/, et negligentias, ei dimittere digneris; quj proprium, sanctumque/tuum sanguinem pro eo in cruce fudisti, eum iubeas liberare/de penalibus locis, atque collocare (a) inter pausantium (b) spiritum agmina./

Ut animas famulorum famularumque tuarum ab omnibus pecca/tis absolvere digneris. Ter./

Ut eas a vinculis inferni et a principibus tenebrarum absolvere digneris te rogamus, audi nos./

Ut delicta iuventutis et ignorantias eorum ne reminiscaris (c) te rogamus audi nos.

Ut omnia peccata que carnis fragilitate et delectacione contraxerunt indulgere digneris, (F. 15 v.)

Ut eis vultum tuum desiderabilem pium ac placabilem dignanter (*ostendas*) (d).

Sancta Maria perpetua virgo intercede pro animabus omnium fidelium defunctorum ad Dominum Deum nostrum.

(a) *In Ms. Collocari. Slavismus.*

(b) *Ita in Ms.*

(c) *Latinitas deficiens.*

(d) *In Ms omissum.*

46.

(F. 15 v.)

Domine Deus, qui sedes super thronos cherubim et respicis abyssos et facis (a) terram tremere; qui pluis super iustos et iniustos; qui deducis ad portas mortis et reducis; te Domine deprecamus pro animabus omnium illorum, quorum hodie memoriam celebramus, ut absolvas eas de vinculis quibus alligati sunt et perducas eos in requiem eternam. Per Christum Dominum nostrum./

Ut animé famuli tui N. propiciare digneris te rogamus./

Ut eum tormenta mortis et flammam inferni attingere non permittas, te precamur audi nos./

Ut ei requiem eternam et vitam perpetuam donare digneris, te rogamus./

Ut animas famulorum famularumque in pacis ac lucis regione constitute digneris, te precamur./

Ut remissionem peccatorum quam semper optaverunt te largiente mereantur percipere, te precamur./

Ut eis partem et societatem in regno tuo cum sanctis et electis tuis donare digneris, te precamur.

Ut eis cum fidelibus et sanctis tuis beati muneris portionem donare digneris, te rogo audi me. Ut eas inter agmina sanctorum tuorum collocare digneris, te rogamus. Ut animabus famulorum tuorum prospiciare digneris; ut omnia delicta illorum propitius auferre digneris.

(a) *In ms. facies, lapsus calami.*

47.

(F. 16 r.)

Oratio pro peccatoribus]./

O ineffabilis misericordia et immensa clementia pietatis tué, Deus! Cum omnis mundus conclusus esset in peccatis, tu creator universitatis, Filius Dei et verbum in principio qui celum cum Patre et cooperante Spiritu Sancto extendisti, et magna diffudisti; qui semper et ubique es, et omnia reple, humilis in mundum venire dignatus es, et principia peccantium ad te vocasti, ut nullus per modum desperaret salutem; impios et publicanos, immundas meretrices, homicidas, latrones, negantes atque blasphemantes te, sola ineffabili misericordia inscios et nolentes ad te misericorditer convertisti; qui omni tranquillitate plenus es, ac omni tempestate carens; ego misera, ulceribus plena, vulneribus referta, malibus circumdata (1), tota mente ad te confugio, tué pietati semper gratias agens et laudes dicens, qui peccatores et penitentes converti (a) gaudebis. Tu misericors, qui omnibus ad te confugientibus miserere digneris, (b) miserere mei, Deus: non peto secundum meritum meum, sive iusticiam meam, seu opera mea quibus ego peccatrix (2) in omnibus deviavi a te; non secundum malefacta te contra me agere depono, sed secundum pietatem tuam et secundum multitudinem (*miserericordiae*); (c)

Perii enim peccatis, miserabiliter lapsa (3) sum, omnem iuventutem meam

confudj, omnem vitam/meam perdidj, fruebar semper presentis vité voluptatibus, duxi cor meum (*in*) (d) inanem létitiam et/in vanam gloriam. Quia carnalibus desiderijs consentiebam.

Nunquae fac me assueta mala dere/linquere et tibi placita opera agere, quatenus, te adiuvante, diabolicas possim persuasiones/devitare, et in tuo sancto famulatu firmiter atque constanter in perpetuum valeam perseverare. Amplius lava./Novi peccata mea maxima; tu pie Deus (ut) (e) parvam penitentiam ac confessionem concede mihi, ante/diem mortis meé, da oculis meis cordis veré compunctionis lacrimas, ut per singulos/dies plangere possim terribilia peccata mea, quorum multitudinem numerare (f) non possum./Quoniam iniquitates.

(a) *Lectio incerta.*

(b) *In Ms. misereri dignari lapsus calami.*

(c) *Hoc vel simile verbum in ms. deficit.*

(d) *In ms. omissum.*

(e) *« Ut » in ms. per errorem inscriptum esse videtur.*

(f) *In Ms. « numerari » slavismus.*

(1) *Fem. gen.*

(2) *Idem.*

(3) *Idem.*

48.

(F. 16 r.)

Benigne medice, adhibe mihi, miseré, (1) curaciones tuas; seca vulnera animé,/aufer putredinem peccatorum meorum, compone misericordié medicamentum, scilicet confessionis re/medium, quia quod homines horrescunt audire, tu solus vis portare; quoniam tibi soli data est (F. 17 v. *notetur saltus duarum paginarum*) potestas a Patre iudicare nos, qui es simul iudex et intercessor ac defensor noster apud Pa/trem; ad te confugio, quia tu pius es, miserere mei. Tibi soli peccavi. Considera, quatenus misericors Deus, substantiam infirmitatis et (a) paupertatis meé, et ostende super me magnitudinem pietatis tué, quia nemo bonus nisi tu solus Deus. In immensum pelagus misericordié tué/me miseram (2) adtolle, et tua benigna clementia omnia mea peccata dele, que mihi ex originali contagione inhéserunt, aut ex meis postea pravitatibus supervenerunt: ex his me, Domine, omnibus clementer emunda, et omnibus meis parentibus concede gaudia sine fine mansura./Ecce enim. Ne reminiscaris, Domine, delicta mea et (b) parentum meorum, neque vindictam sumas de peccatis meis.

(a) *In ms. « ut » — lapsus calami.*

(b) *Idem.*

(1) *Fem. gen.*

(2) *Idem.*

49.

(F. 17 v.)

O Domine Ihesu Christe, Deus bone et benigne, qui ob hoc homo fieri di/gnatus es ut miseré humané naturé noticiam tué misericordié aperies: inseri pectori meo vo/luntatis tué veram karitatem, ut nunquam te obliviscar sed tuorum preceptorum omni tempore/reminjscar. Ecce enim in peccatis adhuc languida involvar, tu tamen Domine, qui omnia/potes, si vis vales me mundare. Ecce enim veritatem.

50.

(F. 17 v.)

Memoriam peccatorum meorum, Domine/, igne vere penitentié accende, ut semper ante oculos habeam diem iudicii, et paradisi delicias, quas sanctis preparasti, et ita hanc presentem in tua voluntate fac/perducere vitam, ut penas inferni valeam evadere, et éterné beatitudinis partem, te/largiente, sine fine merear possidere. Asperges me.

51.

(F. 17 v.)

Doce me, Domine, semper recordare/ (a) peccatorum meorum, ut tu eorum in perpetuum obliviscaris. Doce me recordare (a) semper magnitudinis tué, beneficentié Deus, et studium quod usque nunc in peccatis exercui in tua me/fac voluntate deinceps exercere, ut tibi nunc famulare (b) libenter incipiam, et in tua ser/vitute te adiuvante constanter permanere prevaleam, et sic me usque audire permiseris: venite benedjcti Patris mei, percipite regnum quod vobis paratum est ab origine mundi./Auditui meo.

Dico enim iniquitates meas, ut larga clementia tua iustifices me; exacerbavi quidem te, Domine, per multa opera mala qué ab infantia mea usque nunc perpetrare consueveram, et adhuc agere non cesso. Sed tu, Domine, presta mihi desiderabilem fontem lacrimarum, ne presumptionis desperatione peream sed flebili confessione et honorum operum/exhibicione fructuosa et tibi placita digne possim agere penitentiam. Iube pecca- (F. 18 r.) tum meum ante diem iudicii transferre (c) a me, ut te merear feliciter sine fine lau/dare. Averte faciem.

(a) In ms. recordari *slavismus*.

(b) In ms. famulari — *idem*.

(c) In ms. transferri — *idem*.

52.

(F. 18 r.)

Emunda cor meum, Deus, per quod valde elongor a te, ut fias mihi ad/propians, et non Deus a longe, ut Spiritus tui fervore accensa (1) semper percogitare pervaleam; quia cum ab/ducta fuero de hoc seculo, etiam si penitebit me, nulla erit utilitas penitentie, qualisvis sit stridor dentium, licet ululatus et fletus, licet effundam preces et innumeris obsecrationibus/proclamem, nullus audiet, nullus subveniet. Ideo, bone Domine, hic fructum in corde meo/prepara penitentie ut auxilium misericordie tué illic valeam invenire. Dele a me in isto seculo/peccata mea ut in futuro salvari merear clementia tua; fac me puro corde in tuo/famulatu permanere ut in aliquo beatorum sorte in tuo merear auxilio sine fine gaudere./Cor mundum.

(1) *Fem. fen.*

53.

(F. 18 r.)

Domine Ihesu Christe, et qui filius hominis propter humilitatem, et Filius Dei, in maiestate, homo inter homines conversatus (es) (a), tibi ab insidiatoribus cognomen impositum et nostré miserie val/de necessarium (accepisti) (b), peccatorum et publicanorum amicus: quia multos per suavitatem mansueti spiritus tui ab errore suo, ad te, mitissimum Dominum, convertisti; respice me miseram et pecca/tricem (1), et illumina cor meum Sancti Spiritus tui illustratione; ut tibi recte servientium, per tuam/clementiam, particeps fieri merear. Ne despicias me.

Consolatorem Spiritum Sanctum tuum fac/mollire et letificare (c) lapideum cor meum, ut spiritus malignus ullum inhabitet in me locum,/sed Spiritus pacis et pietatis, qui est totius largitor bonitatis, suo me gratissimo lumine accen/dat, et ab omnibus me malis clementer defendat in isto seculo et in futuro. Redde mihi letitiam./

(a) In ms. omissum.

(b) In ms. hoc vel simile verbum omissum est.

(c) In ms. letificari — *slavismus*.

(1) *Fem. gen.*

54.

(F. 18 r.)

Curro ego Gerutruda (a) ad commune peccantium portum, ad tuam scilicet

Domine Ihesu misericordiam, quam ha/buisti in utero virginali homo dignanter effieri, ut miseram humanam naturam tué bo/nitati coniungeres, de qua ego misera et peccatrix (1) longe me separavi, quia multa mala perpetravi; propter carnalia enim desideria tua sanctissima transgressa sum precepta; quia/ab infantia mea usque nunc semper fui avara, superba, inobediens, adultera, fur, hypo/crita, simulatrix, publicana, homicida, invidiosa, iracunda, contumax, odiosa, maliciosa, nequicia plena, iniqua, immunda, sanguine polluta, (2) substantiam meam/luxuriose dissipans, persequens et evellens tuos fideles malis exemplis meis; nunc ego Gertruda (b), Domine mi, ad te confugio, qui de converso peccatore gaudium esse in celo dixisti; converte/me Domine ad te et omnem consuetudinem malam repelle a me; fac ut mala mea odiam (F. 19 v. *Notetur saltus duarum paginarum*) et bona tua diligam; concede mihi, ut velim et possim vivere recte, bonumque aliis exemplum/prebere, ut omnes bonitatem tuam in me cognoscentes, meam autem conversionem et libera/tionem videntes, glorificent nomen tuum sanctum quod benedictum est in secula. Docebo iniquos./

Abieci enim, Domine suave iugum tuum et duras ac ferreas catenas peccatorum cervicibus meis/imposui; abieci onus tuum leve et pro eo molam asinariam infelici collo meo suspendi: sed tu, mitissime Deus, usque in profundum inferni non me paciariis dimergi, sed libera me de omnibus/inimicis meis, priusquam suam furiosam super me exercere prevaleant potestatem. Libera me.

- (a) *In ms.*: O G.
- (b) *in ms.*: Ne G.
- (1) *Fem. gen.*
- (2) *Idem.*

55.

(F. 19 v.)

Solve me, Domine, de vinculis peccatorum meorum; porrige manum tuam, ut me/prostratam (1) erigas et ad tuam quandoque misericordiam perducas; ut confidenter cum latrone dicere/possim: memento mei dum veneris ad regnum tuum. Domine labia mea.

- (1) *Fem. gen.*

56.

(F. 19 v.)

Recordare, mise/ricors Deus paupertatis et miserié meé, et inenarrabilis clementié tué, et qui solummodo/sacrificium boné voluntatis desideras, propter magnam misericordiam tuam presta; ut in memoria/mea semper habeam exacerbationes multas, quibus te sepissime exacerbavi, et ad iracundiam multipliciter provocavi; tu autem, Domine clementissime, actenus me perdere penitus no/luisti, sed ad penitentiam misericorditer reservasti: idcirco te laudo, et glorifico, et in/tuam me deinceps custodiam commendo; tu in me quod tibi placitum sit operare et meipsam (1) tibi acceptum sacrificium aptare dignare Quoniam si voluisses.

- (1) *In ms.*: meipsum . *Unicus est hic in toto ms. gertrudiano lapsus calami Gertrudae, in quo de seipsa non in femineo genere scripsit; forsitan quia pronomen cum sequenti substantivo: « sacrificium » concordare voluit. In eodem folio de seipsa loquitur in genere femineo: supra: prostratam; et infra: misera.*

57.

(F. 19 v.)

Deprecor immensam pietatem tuam, Domine Deus omnipotens, ut in me misera (1) aliquid tibi gratum preparare digneris sacrificium; ne nomen/christianitatis inaniter teneam, sed digna huic nomini opera tuo iuvamine agere prevaleam./ illius tenendo nomen karismatis quod mihi in fonte concessisti baptismatis; presti/tisti enim mihi in baptismo templum corporis tui fieri; sed omnes

spiritus maligni violant illud secundum suam voluntatem; speculum vitę sancte(a) et celestem visionem tuę fidei demon/strasti mihi, ne des potestatem diabolo super me, ut bona largitionis tuę caligine tenebrarum a me auferre prevaleat; sed tua benigna pietas omnes sensus meos sanctissimi tui luminis ardore accendat, et tua voluntate perseverabiles faciat; (*F. 20 r.*) non me spiritus superbię extollat, sed vera humilitas semper et ubique mecum permaneat: ut in tuo con/spectu cor habeam contritum et humiliatum, quod tibi acceptum probatumque esse valeat sacrificium: sicut scriptum est: Sacrificium Domino spiritus.

- (a) *In ms.*: Sancti.
(1) *Fem. gen.*

58.

(*F. 20 r.*)

Magna fiducia et maxima spes salutis nostrę, quod/misericordię tuę visceribus infirmitati nostrę tam benigne compati soles, ut tibi sacrificium sit con/tritio et humilitas cordis nostri, et quamvis in peccatis conversantes simus, tibi soli propter confessionem tui/nominis et propter compassionem misericordię audemus dicere, quod homines horrescunt audire; propter/hoc suscipe me miseram et peccatricem (1) cum corde contrito et humiliato ad te confugientem/, piissime Domine Deus noster. Benigne fac.

- (1) *Fem. gen.*

59.

(*F. 20 r.*)

Ostende super me fragilem (a) benignitatem bonę volun/tatis tuę; visita cor meum durum et mollifica illud; inmite ei, ex habundantia pie/tatis tuę, tibi placentes perfectę penitentię lacrimas: ut multa peccata mea quę ab in/fantia mea usque nunc perpetravi multipliciter, acerrime et amarissime ab hac ora, uti/semper, detestare pervaleam; fac me Domine immensum pondus peccatorum meorum de collo meo excutere, et iugum importabile diabolicę deceptionis procul a me deicere; ut corde et/corpore tibi subiecta tuoque iugę subdita (1), precepta tua valeam adimplere, et in tuo sancto/famulatu sine fine merear possidere (b). Tunc acceptabis.

- (a) *Ita in ms.*
(b) *Ita in ms.*: proprius videtur « permanere ».
(1) *Fem. gen.*

60.

(*F. 20 r.*)

Tu qui temetipsum singulare/sacrificium in ara crucis Deo Patri optulisti ad exhaurienda multorum peccata, concede/mihi, indignę et peccatrici (1), ad tuam misericordiam confugienti: ut, mortificatis viciis et volup/tatibus et desideriis carnis, discam pie, caste, sobrie, sincere et humiliter vivere sub levi/iugo tuę pacatissimę et quietissimę servitutis; ut, per innocentiam et rectitudinem tuę/actio-nis bonę, merear hostia viva fieri, in altare fidei concremanda in odorem suavi-tatis, ad gloriam et laudem Dei Patris et Filii et Spiritus Sancti. Gloria Patri.

- (1) *Fem. gen.*

61.

(*F. 20 r.*)

Gloria Patri qui fecit nos,/gloria Filio qui salvavit nos, gloria Spiritui Sancto qui renovavit nos; gloria Patri ingenito qui proprio/Filio suo non pepercit tradens eum pro nobis peccatoribus et Filio eius unigenito, qui erat obediens/Patri usque ad mortem; et Spiritui Sancto qui in linguis igneis in homines venit totum humanus genus illustrare et ad veram lucem convertere. Deo gratias.

Gloria et iubilatio laus et gratiarum actio, honor et imperium nunquam sempiternum; (a) Sanctae Trinitati et individuae unitati, Deo magno et immenso, eterno et excelso; qui est omnipotens et mirabilis, gloriosus atque laudabilis, bonus ac benignus et omni gloria dignus. Sicut erat in principio.

Gloria tibi Trinitas, equalis una Deitas, ante omnia secula et nunc et in perpetuum. Amen].

(a) *Ita in ms., licet rectius esset: « periturum ».*

62.

(F. 29 v.)

Miserere mihi, Domine, indigné famulé tué (1): et dirige actus meos cotidie in bono, et omnia peccata mea dimitte; et inmitte in (a) cor meum talem intellectum, ut (b) ex toto corde et anima mea tibi fideliter serviam, et tibi placere possim, omnique tempore in tuo servicio permaneam. Per.

(a) *Supra lineam additum.*

(b) *Idem.*

(1) *Fem. gen.*

63.

(F. 30 r.)

Ad sanctum Petrum pro Petro (1).

Queso te pro Petro, apostole Domini nostri Ihesu, qui ab eo sortitus es nomen Petrus, quia super fundamentum eius edificasti Ecclesiam Domini, et effectus es pastor animarum, et tibi semper cura est de omnibus animabus et prelubent egredi (a) ad Christum; tibi confitetur Petrus (2) omnia peccata sua, preter quae in baptismo credit esse dimissa; preterea multa capitalia comisit crimina, acide suadente hoste antiquo; voraginibus gulé atque luxurié, per superbiam et iactantiam, per detractionem et avariciam atque cenodaciam (3), per impacientiam et mendacium ac homicidium et falsum testimonium, per furta et periuria, et per alias culpas plurimas, tam casu quam voluntarie deliquit reum se esse fatetur quia peccavit nimium, et scelera sua multiplicata sunt super terram, et propter multitudinem iniquitatum suarum factus est in derisum omni tempore. Iterum precor te, pastor bone, ut sibi peccatori et publicano parcere et indulgere digneris: et quia a Domino data est tibi potestas ligandi atque solvendj in celo et in terra, absolvas vincula peccatorum suorum, et desuper memorans viciis eum per hac (c) se abstinere facias; miserere sui, Summe Pontifex (4), et da veniam peccatis suis, ut mereatur per te habere indulgentiam usque quo in presens (d) vixerit, et sanctum Domini Dei preceptum trini et uni (e) semper in eternum esse confitetur.

(a) *Ita in ms. lapsus calami? slavismus?*

(b) *In ms. dimissas, lapsus calami.*

(c) *Ita in ms. — ?*

(d) *Ita in ms.*

(e) *In ms. trinus et unus. lapsus calami?*

(1) *Petrus-Iaropolk, Gertrudae filius.*

(2) *Ut supra. In margine hic depicta est cruz, et manus hanc lineam indigitans, voxque Petrus posteriori manu sublineata est.*

(3) *V. DU CANGE: Coenodoxus, vanae gloriae cupidus.*

(4) *Notetur per hoc attributum nexum factum esse inter B. Petrum et suis Romanis successoribus.*

64.

(F. 30 r.)

Domine, si iratus fueris adversus me, quem adiutorem petam aut quis miseretur infirmitatibus meis; quoniam et publicanum ad penitentiam vocasti, et Petrum lacrimantem suscepisti, tu suscipere dignare oracionem meam, et ne permittas ut peream cum iniquitatibus meis, sed dic angelo percutienti: cesset manus tua; ac presta ut locum pénitentiae te adiuvante percipere merear. Libera, Domine, animam meam de omnibus malis et pravis cogitationibus, repelle concupiscentiam

carnalem; libera me, Domine, ab omni impedimento Saitune (a) ac ministrorum eius, visibilium et invisibilium, ne queant invadere animam meam. Per.

(a) Ita in ms.

65.

(F. 35 r.)

Pro peccatis (a).

(a) *Sequntur 4 lineae acuratissime abrasae, illegibiles. In margine depicta est cruz.*

66.

(F. 40 r.)

Pater de celis, aspice in me peccatricem, multorum criminum luto involutam (1): ut omni perturbatione submota libero te mente supplicare possim; et esto mihi indigné famulé IIIIIIIII tué, (a2) [[+ * Hic ab iniqua et sacrilega manu associata animo perdendi eum, abrasum est nomen precipuum ut in hoc libro videtur inscriptum Gertrudé]], in te ubique confidenti, [permane] (b) meé accionis via, dux et comes esse dignare; ut in adversitate nihil noceat et cuncta mihi sint prospera, et sub ope dexteré tué quidquid iusto postulaverim desiderio, omnium sanctorum tuorum intervenientibus meritis, celeri consequar effectu.

Domine dirige me in via veritatis et quando me iusseris exire de isto corpore vivificet (c), et defendat ab omnibus hostibus meis visibilibus et invisibilibus.

Domine dirige me in via ceritatis et quando me iusseris exire de isto corpore non occurrat mihi tempestas tenebrarum (F. 41 r.) nec possit mihi nocere in via tua sancta, nec a dextris nec a sinistris; sed presta me (d) venire ad te, salvator mundi, qui vivis.

(a) *Abrasum nomen, legitur tamen non sine dubio, G... rude.*

(b) *Lectio dubia: vox inutilis videtur, lapsus calami?*

(c) *Lectio incerta.*

(d) *In ms. pra me.*

(1) *Fem. gen.*

(2) *Idem.*

67



(F. 41 r.)

Est una ex quinque picturis Gertrudianis hujus codicis (cf. N. 3. 23, 24, 25) et unica quidem, quae non in «foliis Gertrudianis» sed in «folio Ecbertiano» depicta est, eodem ac procedentes modo «byzantino». B. Mariam virginem in throno sedentem presentat, D. N. Iesum Christum infantem in gremio tenentem. Littere graecae in ea leguntur MP.ΘΥ. Notatur similitudo ornamentorum quae in praesenti et in N. 23 inveniuntur.

68.

(F. 51 r.)

Domine Ihesu Christe. redemptor bone, eam confessionem mihi concede in hora exitus mei, quam latroni. tibi confidenti, concessisti: et presta, piissime Domine, ut in hora exitus mei ultio divina super me non veniat, potestas tenebrarum non occurrat mihi, nec noceat, sed talem me dies examinationis reddat qualem fons regenerationis ex (F. 52 r.) hibuit; rogo Domine ut mihi non deneges in hora exitus mei sacratissimum corporis et sanguinis tui communionem, sed cum vera fide et certa spe et sincera caritate illam mihi concede percipere, et ad gaudia sempiterna pervenire. Per.

69.

(F. 65 v.)

Omnipotens sempiternae Deus, te humiliter deprecor: ut non me perire permittas propter peccata mea, quia tua creatura sum; concede mihi veniam delictorum meorum, et spatium vivendi; ut ante diem exitus mei, per veram penitentiam et puram confessionem, tibi, Omnipotenti Deo placere merear. Per.

70.

(F. 66 r.)

Qui es humilium consolator, et fidelium adiutor, aures tuae pietatis precibus mei indignae peccatricis (1) aperi: ut hinc psalmodiarum cantus proficiat corpori (a) et animae; qui salvos facis sperantes in te; et presta, piissime, ut in hoc seculo valeam vivere, atque ad sanctam tuam (b) maiestatem feliciter pervenire. Per.

(a) *In ms. corporis, lapsus calami.*

(b) *In ms. maculae impediunt lectionem.*

(1) *Fem. gen.*

71.

(F. 86 r.)

Miserere mei, Domine Ihesu Christe, et resuscita me a peccatis meis; et da mihi veram penitentiam omnium peccatorum meorum, et veram humilitatem in corde meo, et sensum rectum, spem firmam, et finem bonum, et mansuetudinem in regno eterno cum electis tuis; o Domine, extende brachium tuum, et libera me ab omni malo, hic et in perpetuum, et propitius esto mihi peccatrici (1) usque in sempiternum. Per.

(1) *Fem. gen.*

72.

(F. 98 v.)

Domine Ihesu Christe, multa et magna sunt peccata mea et innumerabilia delicta mea, super harenam maris; sed tamen ego cognosco quod maior est misericordia tua omnibus rebus quae sunt super terram; propter hoc deprecor te Christe Ihesu, ut me digneris exaudire, indignam famulam tuam (1), et adiuvare in angustiis et in necessitatibus meis ultra merita mea; queso te Domine, quia tu es spes mea et fortitudo mea, unica misericordia mea, quam habeo undique; nihil amplius quero. nec bona nec mala, nec viva nec mortua, sed sicut tu vis sic fiat (F. 99 r.) de me; quia non potero resistere meis virtutibus; fac mecum, Domine, misericordiam tuam sicut misericors es, et sit tua voluntas in omnibus qui pertinent ad me. Domine, exaudi orationem meam et clamor meus ad te veniat, quia non spernis, Deus, preces pauperum; ne derelinquas me, Domine Pater et dominator vitæ meæ, ut non corruam in conspectu adversariorum meorum, nec gaudeant de me inimici mei, sed propitius esto mihi peccatrici. Qui vivis.

(1) *Fem. gen.*

(2) *Idem.*

73.

(F. 115 r.)

Pro peccatis.

Exaudi Domine supplicum preces, et confitentium tibi parce; ut pariter nobis indulgentiam tribuas benignus et pacem. Per Dominum.

Parce Domine, parce peccatis nostris, et quamquam incessabiliter delinquentibus continua pena debeatur, presta quesumus: ut quod ad perpetuum meremur exitium, transeat ad correctionis auxilium. Per Dominum nostrum Ihesum Christum.

Omnipotens sempiternae Deus qui vivorum dominaris simul et mortuorum, omninque misereris quos tuos fide et [opere] (a) futuros esse prenoscis: te supplices exoramus [pro quibus] (b) effundere preces decrevimus, quosque vel presens seculum adhuc in carne retinet, vel futurum iam exutos corpore suscepit, pietatis tuæ clementia delictorum suorum omnium veniam consequantur. Per.

Precor te, Domine, ut intercedentibus istis et omnibus sanctis tuis (c) pro me indigna famula tua (1), indulgentiam mihi tribuas omnium delictorum meorum opusque meum in bonum perficias, indulgentiam (d) et gratiam tuam mihi concedas; fide, spe karitate me repleas; mentem meam ad cælestia desideria dirigas: ut ab omni adversitate me defendas, et ad bonam perseverantiam perducas. Per Dominum.

Quæso, omnipotens Deus, da mihi compunctionem cordis et lacrimas oculis meis, ut defleam diebus ac noctibus omnes dies negligentiam meam, cum humilitate ac puritate cordis et karitate; appropinquet oratio mea in conspectu tuo Domine. Si iratus fueris adversus me, quem adiutorem queram, aut quis miserebitur infirmitatibus meis; memento, Domine, quod Cananeam et publicanum vocasti ad penitentiam, et Petrum lacrimantem suscepisti; sic et preces meas suscipe, misericors Domine, et dimitte omnia peccata mea antequam vitam istam finiam. Salvator.

(a) *Ob maculas vix legitur.*

(b) *Item.*

(c) *In ms. bis scriptum, cancellatum.*

(d) *In ms. inã lectio incerta.*

(1) *Fem. gen.*

74.

(F. 150 v.)

Deus propitius esto mihi peccatrici (1), quia nescio quo fugiam in omnibus tribulationibus et angustiis atque necessitatibus meis, nisi ad te, Deus meus. Quia tu es vita vivorum et resurrectio mortuorum; qui vivis (F. 151 r.) Domine, qui

plasmasti me, miserere mei; et quomodo tu vis et tu scis mihi necessarium esse, sic fit de me, non secundum merita mea, sed secundum misericordiam tuam, et mirabile nomen tuum, Christe; ut indulgentiam omnium peccatorum meorum, interveniente Sancta Maria cum istis et omnibus sanctis atque electis tuis, tribuas mihi; et miserere mei, creator meus, qui vivis et regnas.

(1) *Gen. fem.*

75.

(*F. 157 r.*)

... Deus... concede... cum lacrimis... (a).

[[+ Nota hic. Oratio à quella (1) manu abrasa]].

(a) *Il circa linæ orationis Gertrudianæ iam ante «Glossatorem modernum» abrasæ sunt, in quibus vix quattuor verba leguntur.*

(1) «*A quella*» italianismus.

76.

(*F. 159 v.*)

Cognosco, Domine Ihesu Christe, quia peccata mea innumerabilia (a) sint valde; ideo veniam peto, quam non mereor; sed tu manum misericordiæ tuæ mihi porrige, qui lapsus latroni confitenti, Mariæ flenti, Petro lacrimanti, publicano (b) paradysi ianuam aperuisti; Domine Deus, rex omnipotens, libera me de omnibus angustiis, pius pater; et da mihi locum penitentiæ; multa sunt, Domine, peccata mea et innumerabilia valde: in verbis, in factis, in cogi- (*F. 160 r.*) tatione, in locutione, in actione, in fornicatione, in pollutione, in libidine, in falso testimonio, in blasphemia, in superbia, in vana gloria, in consensu et omnibus operibus malis; Domine Deus, propitius esto peccatis meis propter nomen tuum sanctum.

(a) *In ms. innumerabilia lapsus calami.*

(b) *Publicano in ms. omissum videtur adiectivum.*

77.

(*F. 160 r.*)

Domine Ihesu Christe qui (*me*) (a) dignatus fuisti ad imaginem tuam creare et tuo sanguine sancto redimere, et ad istius mundi vitæ lucem perducere; precor immensam clementiam tuam, ut me tuo celesti lumine digneris illuminare, et vias paradysi mihi ostendas, et ad portum salutis æternæ perducas. Per.

(a) *omissum in ms.*

78.

(*F. 168 v.*)

Pro peccatis, pro inimicis.

Ad te regem omnium regum et Dominum (a) dominantium infelix ego omnium fugio, quia tu solus es refugium meum, solus es liberator in tribulatione et angustia; erue me, oro pie Pater, a circumdantibus et insidiantibus me; ne derelinquas me Domine, Pater et dominator vitæ meæ, ut non corruar in conspectu adversariorum meorum: ne, gaudeant de me inimici mei visibiles et invisibiles; sed fac mecum, Domine, signum in bono ut videant qui me oderunt et confundantur; quia tu pius adiuvasi me et consolatus es me; apprehende arma, Domine, et scutum in cuius nutu omnia consistunt, et exurge in adiutorium mihi, quoniam peccavi nimis; ne pondera peccatorum meorum me pregravant, confiteor. sancte, tibi magis scelera mea, quam (*merita*), ut veniam merear. (c)

(a) *In ms. dominus; lapsus calami.*

(b) «*Merita*» vel aliud verbum in ms. omissum videtur.

(c) *Doxologia omissa est.*

79.

(F. 172 v.)

Dignare me, Domine, indignam famulam tuam (1) ad te clamantem exaudire, ut in isto seculo sanitatem absque augmento delictorum, et remissionem omnium peccatorum, atque gratiam tuam mihi concedere digneris; ut post istam corruptibilem vitam cétui electorum tuorum adiungere me digneris; Domine Deus meus, conserva me; propitius sis mihi omni die, hic et in futuro. Amen.

(1) *Fem. gen.*

80.

(F. 173 r.)

Concede nobis misericors Deus: ut sicut in nomine Patris et Filii divini generis intelligimus veritatem, sic in Spiritu Sancto totius (1) cognoscamus substantiam. Qui vivis.

(1) *Sic in ms. Sensus orationis non omnino clarus.*

81.

(F. 182 r.)

Pro vivis ac defunctis.

O sempiternae redemptor mundi qui pro salute humani generis in hoc mundo venire dignatus es peccatores redimere preciosissimo tuo sanguine, exaudi orationem, quam ego, indigna et peccatrix (1), suppliciter deprecor, ut psalmi, quos ad laudem et gloriam nominis tui decantavi, digne intercedant apud te pro peccatis meis; creator mundi, cunctipotens Deus, spes credentibus, gloria resurgentibus; suppliciter clementiam tuam imploro per hos psalmos, quos pro salute vivorum ac mortuorum percantavi, ut nos a perpetuis tormentis eripias, et premium éterné beatitudinis omnibus recte credentibus concedas. Per.

(1) *Fem. gen.*

82.

(F. 187 v.)

Ego obsecro te, Domine Deus omnipotens, ut in me colloques amorem tuum et timorem tuum; suscita in me penitentiam et fletum peccatorum meorum, pro nomine tuo; da mihi memoriam mandatorum tuorum, et adiuva me, Domine Deus meus, et dele iniquitatem meam a conspectu tuo; et ne avertas faciem tuam ab oratione mea; ne proicias me a facie tua; ne derelinquas me Domine Pater Deus meus; ne discesseris a me; confirma me in tua voluntate; doce me quid debeam facere, aut quid boni loqui, quid tacere; defende me, Domine Deus meus, contra iacula diaboli; et contra angelum (a) (F. 194 v. *Notetur saltus 12 paginarum*) tarthari, suggerentem et docentem multa mala, defende me, Domine Deus meus; contra omnes inimicos meos visibiles et invisibiles ne deseras me, Domine Deus meus; ne derelinquas me, miseram famulam tuam; (1) sed adiuva me Domine Deus meus et perface in me doctrinam tuam; doce me facere voluntatem tuam; quia tu es Deus meus et doctor meus. Qui vivis etc.

[[[Nota hic duo versiculi maligne abrasa]]]. (b)

(a) *In ms. Angeli, lapsus calami.*

(b) *Interpolator modernus; revera duo vel etiam tres versiculi sequebantur, qui totaliter abrasa sunt, ita ut solae 5 litterae ma pie legibiles appareant.*

(1) *Fem. gen.*

83.

(F. 205 v.)

Pro tribulatione.

Omnia qué fecisti mihi, Domine, in vero iudicio fecisti; quia peccavi, et mandatis tuis non obedivi; sed da gloriam nomini tuo, et fac mecum secundum

multitudinem misericordié tué. Libera me in tempore tribulationis et angustie meé. Iniquitates meé, Domine, multiplicaté sunt super caput meum, delicta mea creverunt usque ad celos; parce, Domine, et inclina super me misericordiam tuam, Domine. Per.

84.

(F. 206 r.)

Oratio ad sanctam Mariam pro amico et seipsa.

Gloriosa Dei genitrix, virgo semper, Maria purissima, domina mea, unica spes mea, sola dulcedo mea, sancta solacio mea tota; post Deum in tua karitate maximam fiduciam habeo, quia nullus meis delictis valet succurre, sicut tu, que ipsum doctorem misericordié immaculata portasti; ideo ad te confugio, et tibi tota devocione Petrum (a 1) comendo, ut sit servus tuus et filii tu, Ihesu Christi; licet enim indignus sit, nullisque operibus promeruisset, tamen condicione, quia ab ipso creatus est, et eius precioso sanguine redemptus; iam pré cunctis mortalibus eum peccatorem cognosco; ideo ad tuam misericordiam confugio, eum commendo tibi ut per te glorificatus et purificatus ad gratiam tui pervenire valeat dulcissimi Filii. Domina, ne eum despicias neque abiicias, sed (tu) (b) in quam fides tutissima, eum miserum suscipe, que spes es omnium miserorum, et ad te confugientes benignissime suspicis. Amen.

(a) *In marg. depicta est crux, et manus hanc lineam indigitans.*

(b) *In ms. omissum.*

(1) *Petrus - Iaropolk.*

85.

(F. 206 r.)

Item alia.

Ave Maria gratia plena Dominus tecum; que es sola pulcherrima super solem, que cuius speciem rex céli et terré concupivit; ave ab angelo salutata; ave obumbrata a Spiritu Sancto; ave pregnans Deum ave que Filium Dei ex tuis visceribus meruisti (F. 206 v.) generare; ave que Filium Dei in cunabulis circumvixisti (a); ave que Filium Dei in balneum misisti; ave que Filium Dei in presepium declinasti; ave que Filium Dei in templum presentasti; ave que Filium Dei genuisti secundum carnem; ave que Filium Dei audisti predicantem nostram salutem; ave gloriosa et nimis gloriosa; ave que Filium Dei vidisti in cruce pro nostra redemptione suspensum; ave que Filium Dei vidisti resurgentem a mortuis propter gloriam Patris; ave que Dominum vidisti ad célos ascendentem cum illa carne quam a te sancta et immaculata virgine suscepit; ave Domina angelorum; ave Regina célorum; ave laus omnium sanctorum; ave exultatio iustorum; ave recuperatio perditorum; ave spes nostra; ave salus nostra; ave gloriosa Mater Domini, sancta Maria, laude dignissima, et a cunctis veneranda. Amen.

(a) *In ms.: cir in xti — lectio dubia.*

86.

(F. 206 v.)

Sancta Maria virgo perpetua; per dilectionem Filii Dei, qui te dilexit ut te exaltaret super choros angelorum, exaudi me et ora pro unico filio meo Petro (a 1).

Sancta Maria adiuva eum et intercede pro eo: ut liberet eum et custodiat eum Deus ab omni malo et ab omni perculo, et ab omnibus angustis et tribulationibus.

Sancta Maria virgo virginum adiuva eum (F. 207 r.).

Sancta Maria, Domina et Regina totius orbis, adiuva.

Sancta Maria, spes miserorum, ora pro eo et adiuva eum nimis merentem et anxiantem.

Sancta Maria, benignissima consolatio ad te confugientium adiuva eum et ora pro peccatis et neglegentiis suis.

Sancta Maria exaudi queso me miseram (2) ad te confugientem ut unicus filius

meus sentiat tuum levamen qui ad tuum confugit auxilium.

Sancta et gloriosa, omniumque feminarum Deo dilectissima.

Te laudant omnes spiritus angelici quorum regem ex tuo puellari utero genuisti;

Te laudat Christi precursor cum omnibus patriarchis et prophetis, et innocentibus martiribus, ceterisque iustis quos Filius tuus in inferno visitavit et sué potentia divinitatis inde liberavit;

Tibi gratias agunt omnes sancti qui per gloriosam mortem Filii tui a perpetua morte erepti iam perfruunt felicitatem éterne célestis patrié;

Te glorificat omnis creatura, qué Dei gratia preveniente et tua castitate promerente sola inter omnes et pro omnibus digna inventa es ut Deus ante secula natus a Deo Patre ex te ad redemptionem mundi nasceret in tempo, et Panis Angelorum tuo lacte pasceret, et quem totus non capit orbis tuo gremio collocaretur, et qui mundum continet tuis contineatur (*visceribus*) (b), et dominator céli et terré, per triginta spacium annorum ut Filii matri obedienter subderetur;

Omnipotentissima et oratrix excelsa (*F. 207 v.*) nobilissima regina angelorum; dignum est enim ut ab omnibus lauderis qui tantis honoribus non solum pré mulieribus sed etiam pré omnibus angelis es sublimata; sicut angelicis pariter ac humanis laudibus magnificeris, meam exiguam (c) devotionem in tua laude ne abhomineris; quia preter communem, quam omnis Filii tui creatura tibi debet, venerationem singularem tué sanctitati servitutem gratiarumque referro actionem pro pietate singulari quam me indignam (3) semper solebas consolare (*d*) Quas tamen laudes tué dignitatj convenientes, quod obsequium, quas gratiarum actiones tibi valeo persolvere qué angelicas ipsas laudes premines dignitate? (e) scilicet nullatenus valeam digne, gratias tibi ago devote; qué dum sim sordida, polluta, varisque vicis maculata (4), in omnibus necessitatibus et angustiis meis ad te clamentem tam pie, tam benigne dignata es adesse, ut non solum quod desiderabam tué divine contrarium videretur voluntati, sed etiam a Filio tuo tales consolationes mihi frequenter inpe-trasti, quales nec cogitare potui, (*nec*) desiderare presumpsi; et quis de tua pietate potest desperare, et de tua bonitate diffidere, cum omnium chisticolarum, indignissimé (f 5) tantam pietatis dulcedinem dignata es ostendere? (g) Inde confugio sub tuam protectionem et commendo in tuam fidem animam et corpus unici filii mei Petri (h 6), et omnes necessitates animé et corporis, et omnes dolores et angustias (*F. 208 r.*) tias cordi unici filii mei Petri (hh 7) et omnem vitam suam et finem vite sué, nec non quod sibi agendum aut cogitandum aut loquendum est, ut pie dirigatur secundum Filii tui voluntatem et peto te, summum efficac solatium omnium te querentium: ut solitam tué pietatis gratiam inter presentis vité casus, percipue in hora exitus sui ex vita, adesse concedas; o virgo perhennis, o pulcherrima et intacta sponsa éterni regis, o mater innupta creatoris, o mulier inter omnes benedicta, sola mente et corpore inviolata: obsecro te per tuam felicitatem, quam ut decet Dei matrem pre omnibus sanctis in célo possides, ut tuum famulum Petrum (hhh, i, 8), mente et corpore tibi subiectum, digneris tuo filio comendare: qui tibi nihil vult negare, quatenus ipse (k) tuam laudabilem virginitatem in tantum dilexit ut te pré omnibus sibi in matrem eligeret, et illibaté decus virginitatis non violaret, quando de casto cubili ventris processit; pro tui honore et dilectione concedat sibi placidam humilitatem et veram equitatem, et dignetur eum tueri ab insidiis et temptacionibus diaboli et omnium inimicorum visibilium et invisibilium, et ab omni inquinamento mentis et corporis, ab omni consensu et delectatione perpetrandi sceleris; et faciat Petrum, unicum filium meum (hhhh, 9) in extremo agmine his associari, qui in castitate per- (*F. 208 v.*) manentes meruerunt in tuo obsequio éternaliter lé-tare (*l*). Scio, mi Domina (*m*), eum nimium indignum fecisse consortio qui famulantur in eterna patria; sed tamen non diffido; omne, quod vis, a filio tuo, potes impetrare, qui ideo carnem ex te sumpsit ut peccatores salvos faceret et vita éterna donaret; ideo rogo te ut Petro (n, 10) prestetur tui causa venia quam et sua hexigunt merita, o parens nostri redemptoris, o spes et solatium humani generis, in cuius partu angeli pacem omnibus predicabant, quos prius indignando despiciebant (11), intercede pro pace et unitate ecclesié Sancté (12), et pro populo christiano, et pro omni exercitu (13) Petri unici filii mei (14), et pro

omni familia sua, et pro ipso famulo tuo, pro universarum incolunitate sanctarum reliquiarum, nec non pro omnibus ofensionibus et negligentis meis et Petri (15), et omnibus necessitatibus et periculis exercitus sui (16), atque pro omni populo christiano; quatenus ad eternam vitam pervenire (*possint*) (o) tuo interventu pro omnibus vivis atque defunctis, quos sacro sanguine Filii tui redemptos esse cognoscis; et fac ut omnes lavamen sentiant qui se tuis precibus et meritis adiuvari desiderant. Per Dominum.

- (a) *In margine cruz et manus hanc lineam indigitans.*
- (b) *Deest hoc verbum in ms.*
- (c) *In ms. mee exigue: lapsus calami?*
- (d) *In ms. consolari.*
- (e) *? signum interrog., non est in ms.*
- (f) *In ms. indignissima — i.e. indignissimam, accusativus pro dativo: indignissimae, vel indignissime; lapsus calami.*
- (g) *? signum interrogativum non est in ms.*
- (h) *Hic in margine cruz et manus hanc lineam indigitans; (quattor vices repetitur.)*
- (i) *In ms. Petrum ornatiore modo scriptum. Non excludo hoc verbum aliquando abrasum, a posteriori lectore (forte a glossatore moderno?) novo incausto renovatum fuisse.*
- (k) *In ms. ipse a tuam sed « a » hic per errorem insertum fuisse videtur.*
- (l) *In ms. laetari.*
- (m) *Ita in ms.*
- (n) *In ms. Petrus, Hic. uti semel in pagina praecedenti, verbum « Petrus » restauratum apparet, et quidem cum errore declinationis.*
- In marg. cruz et manus hanc lineam indigitans.*
- (o) *Deest in ms.*
- (1) *Petrus Iaropolk.*
- (2) *Fem. gen.*
- (3) *Idem.*
- (4) *Idem.*
- (5) *Idem.*
- (6) *Ut supra, nota 1.*
- (7) *Idem.*
- (8) *Idem.*
- (9) *Idem.*
- (10) *Idem.*
- (11) *Despectus angelorum erga homines vix a theologis admittitur.*
- (12) *Denotat aspiraciones Gertrudae.*
- (13) *Non probat hoc tempore belli fuisse: solebant enim principes Poloni et Ruteni - vareghi etiam tempore pacis « exercitus » qui « druzyna » vocabatur secum ducere.*
- (14) *Petro unici filii mei; ut supra.*
- (15) *Ut supra.*
- (16) *Ut supra.*

87.

(F. 213 v.)

Ego dixi Domine misere mei. Sana (a).
Convertere Domine usquequo. Et deprecabilis.
Fiat misericordia tua Domine super nos. Quem admodum.
Sacerdotes tui induantur. Et sancti.
Salvum fac servum tuum Petrum (1). Deus meus.
Fiat pax in virtute tua. Et habundantia.
Pro infirmis et captivis. Exclama.
Pro fidelibus defunctis. Requiem.
Pro fratribus et sororibus nostris. Salvos fac.
Ostende nobis Domine misericordiam tuam. Et salutare.
Domine Deus virtutum converte nos. Et ostende.
Domine exaudi orationem meam. Et clamor.
[[[Hic ablati sunt folii duo vel tres ut videtur et tanquam a diabolicis vere manibus.]]] (b).

(a) *Preces, quae post litanias recitantur a scriptore litaniarum omissae, manu Gertrudiana additae sunt.*

(b) *Nota manu « glossatoris moderni » facta est.*
(1) *Petrus-Iaropolk.*

88.

(F. 223 v.)

Domine Deus meus, converte me ad te, ut te merear timere et amare; et presta mihi Domine, ut per puram confessionem, et per veram penitentiam, et per compunctionem cordis, et per fontem lacrimarum et per indulgentiam inimicorum, et per elemosinam rectam, ut per abstinentiam omnia mala possim dimittere, et cum bonis operibus merear ad remissionem peccatorum meorum pervenire.

Redemptor vitæ, tibi comendo animam meam, corpus et sensum meum, consilium meum et vitam meam; creator meus tibi comendo me semper in omni tempore, ut omne consilium meum et vita mea in te permaneant; (a) Domine Deus da mihi finem ut merear habere vitam æternam, et perface omnes dies meos in tua voluntate perseverare. Miserere mei Domine et exaudi orationem meam. (F. 224 r.) Exaudi Domine orationem, et ne despexeris deprecationem meam intende in me et exaudi me; Domine exaudi orationem meam et clamor (*meus ad te veniat.*) (b); fiat misericordia tua magna super me quemadmodum spero et confido in te; ecce crux tua Ihesu sit signum salutis mee; sancta crux Christi Ihesu sis mihi salus et gubernatio et protectio ac defensio; (1) clamavi in toto corde meo ad te, Deus meus, ne derelinquas me, ne discedas a me; sed sicut tu vis et scis (2) miserere mei; et per tuam magnam misericordiam atque pietatem et per merita sanctæ crucis, et per tuam sanctam resurrectionem, et per merita sanctæ Mariæ et omnium sanctorum tuorum digneris mihi (*esse*) (c) adiutor, et consolator. et gubernator in omni tempore; et fiat voluntas tua semper Deus meus. Qui vivis.

(a) *In ms. permaneat.*

(b) *Non sunt hæc verba in ms.*

(c) *Non est in ms.*

(1) *Devotionem Gertrudæ erga S. Crucem vide supra.*

(2) *Hæc formula a Gertruda scripta est iam prius.*

89.

(F. 227 v.)

Oratio ad sanctam Mariam.] (*Magdalenam*) (a)

Sancta Maria Magdalena, quæ Spiritus Sancti succensa gratia, ad fontem vivi (F. 228 r.) Verbi venisti ut eius muneris gratia mundaveris ab sorde criminum: adesto mihi peccatrici (1) ad te confugiendi, et obtine tuis precibus; ut ille, qui tibi tantam gratiam contulit ut ex inimica in amicam verteris, atque per amaritudinem penitentiæ ad æternam dulcedinem pervenire meruisses; mihi indignè (2) compunctionem cordis ac rivos lacrimarum concedere dignetur; scio enim, Christi dulcissima amica, me non mereri quod tu meruisti: Christi presentiam; sed quamvis nunc eum non videam carnalibus oculis, tamen desidero et spero me beatificari cum his qui eum viderunt et in illum crediderunt; sed propter illius amorem quem mortuum in monumento quesiti, et vivum videre meruisti, adiuva me tuis precibus ut indulgentiam delictorum optinere merear in æterna beatitudine tecum letificari. Qui vivis.

(a) *Non est hoc verbum in ms.*

(1) *Fem. gen.*

(2) *Idem.*

90.

(F. 230 v.)

(*Oratio pro Papa.*) (a)

Domine labia mea aperies. Et os.

Sanctus Deus, sanctus fortis, sanctus immortalis.

Pro Papa nostro, (1) et pro principe nostro, (2) et pro imperatore (3) nostro,

et pro episcopis nostris, et pro abbatibus nostris, et pro fratribus nostris, et pro omnibus amicis nostris, et pro omnibus congregationibus ecclesie catholice, et pro omni populo christiano.

Christe qui es verus largitor et inductor lucis eterne, dignare me indignam famulam tuam (4) exaudire clamantem ad te per hos psalmos et orationes pro peccatis meis minimis ac maximis, et pro salute animarum nostrarum, et pro incolumitate corporum nostrarum, seu etiam pro longevitate vite nostre, et ademptione quietis eterne, et gaudii indeficientis quod preparasti diligentibus nomen tuum; exaudi me, Domine, per hos psalmos, peccatricem famulam tuam, (5) pro parentela mea. et pro fratribus (6) et sororibus (7) meis et specialiter pro salute sororum mearum N.; nec non et fidei unica mea N. (8) et pro (F. 231 r.) cunctis vivis ac defunctis qui se indignis precibus meis comendaverunt, ac famularum suarum partibus sustentaverunt. (9) sive pro his qui consanguinitate ut compassionis affectu mihi propinqui sunt, et qui mihi familiaritate aut alicuius generis subectione cogniti sunt: in primis pro rege nostro (10), et pro episcopis et abbatibus et abbatissis, et pro omnibus congregationibus sanctorum, nec non pro his omnibus, Domine piissime. quibus aut opere, aut petitione eorum, aut permissione aut voluntate mea debens existo seu universaliter (b) pro cunctis fidelibus vivis ac defunctis; presta illis omnibus viventibus, Domine, qui boni sunt ut in bono perseverent, et qui negligentes sunt (ut) (c) per tuam virtutem mereant reverti ad veram penitentiam, ne pereant; et qui de hoc mundo discesserunt, tribue illis per tuam clementiam refrigerium sempiternum; tu Domine, clementissime Pater, dignare cognoscere nomina eorum omnium; Domine magne, pie, exaudibilis mei indigni famule tue (11), una cum his omnibus sicut tu vis et sicut scis necessarium mihi esse hic et in futuro memorare digneris. Qui cum Patre et Spiritu Sancto vivis et regnas in secula seculorum. Amen.

(a) *Haec oratio nullam in ms. habet inscriptionem.*

(b) *In ms. universalib.; lapsus calami.*

(c) *Non est in ms.*

(1) *Fides Romana Gertrudae in oratione pro Pontifice apparet. Ex longa serie Romanorum Pontificum quorum temporibus Gertruda vixit, Gregorius VII (1073-1085) ille est, cum quo ipsa relationes epistolares habuisse constat.*

(2) *Iziaslaus?*

(3) *Imperatores Romani huius temporis fuerunt Henricus III (1039-1054), Henricus IV (1056-1106), Henricus V (1106-1125).*

(4) *Fem. gen.*

(5) *Idem.*

(6) *Fratres Gertrudae: Reges Poloniae Boleslaus Oblitus (ob. 1038) et Casimirus Renovator (ob. 1058). BALZER Gen. Piast. II 10, 11.*

(7) *Non numeratur apud BALZER Gen. Piast. II, 12 nisi una Gertrudae soror carnalis, Belae I Regi Hungariae a circ. 1039-42 desponsata, quae p. a. 1052 obiit.*

(8) *Forte filia quam « Eudoziam » vocat DLUGOSZ I 396-7, quae anno 1083 Duci Mesconi, qui Boleslai Audacis filius fuit, est desponsata, quaeque ob. a. 1089 BAUMGARTEN Gen. et Mar. II 4; BALZER Gen. Piast II 19. GALLUS Chr. I 423.*

(9) *In ms. non intelligo.*

(10) *Pro Casimiro fratre? vel pro Boleslao fratris filio?*

(11) *Fem. gen.*

91.

(F. 231 v.)

(Rogationes) (a)

Ut me miseram famulam tuam Gertrudam (1) custodire digneris, Domine Ihesu te rogo audi me.

Ut iram et indignationem tuam a me misera amoveas, Domine Ihesu te rogo audi me.

Ut omnia delicta mea propitiacius auferre digneris, Domine Ihesu te rogo audi me.

Ut peccata quibus te ad iracuundiam provocavi obliviscere digneris, Domine Ihesu te rogo audi me.

Ut me a multis criminibus ream (2) absolvere digneris, te rogo audi me.

Ut indulgentiam omnium delictorum meorum mihi donare digneris, te rogo audi me.

Ut me ab omni periculo defendere digneris, te rogo audi me.

Ut vita mea te adiuvante usque in finem tibi conplaceat, Domine Ihesu te rogo audi me.

Ut mihi fructualem spiritualem et fructuosam penitentiam donare digneris; ut fontem lacrimarum ex tuo affectu mihi miseré (3) donare digneris;

ut per te ipsum, piissime Deus, in cunctis necessitatibus et in die exitus animé meé misericorditer et clementer succure et adiuvere digneris, deprecamur.

Ut me ab omni inmundorum malignis machinationibus liberare digneris, deprecor.

Ut veram pénitentiam misero famulo tuo Petro (4) donare digneris. (F. 232 r.)

Ut omnium inimicorum eius (5) visibilia et invisibilia malicia compescere digneris.

Ut illorum invidiam nusquam ei (6) nocere permittas, Domine Ihesu te rogo, audi me.

Ut inimicos eius (7) qui in aliquo adversari cupiunt dextera potentié tué comprimere digneris te rogo audi me.

Ut ei (8) spem firmam, et fidem rectam, et sensum rectum caritatemque perfectam ad te creatorem meum concedere digneris;

Ut miserum famulum tuum Petrum (b 9) vivicare et consolare digneris;

ut ei victoriam (10) donare digneris;

ut omnes laqueos adversariorum te adiuvante illesus mereatur evadere, Domine Ihesu te rogo audi me.

Ut qui eum maligne adversari querunt tua dextera perimantur, Domine Ihesu te rogo.

Ut eis omne locum ei nocendi obstituere et aditum quodlibet in eum impediendi concludere digneris, te precor.

Ut eum ob omnibus adversitatibus liberare digneris, te precor. Deus.

Ut eum in vindictam inimicorum eius incidere non permittas, Domine Ihesu te precor.

Ut inimici eius de eius ruina letari amplius non valeant, Domine Ihesu;

Ut eum sub umbra alarum tuarum pie digneris protegere, Domine Ihesu te precor; Sancte Pater audi me.

Ut salutem et sanitatem animé et corporis ei concedere digneris, Domine Ihesu te precor audi me.

Ut iram et indignationem tuam ab eo avertere digneris, te precor audi me. (F. 232 v.)

Ut muro tuo inexpugnabili eum (11) circumcingere et armis tué potentié protegere digneris, Domine Ihesu te precor, audi me.

Ut eum (11) in omnibus et ubique protegere digneris;

Ut ei (11) clemens clementer subvenire digneris;

Ut ei (11) misericors succurrere et adiuvere misericorditer digneris;

Ut corda pro eo (11) tristitia letificare digneris, te rogo.

Ut animo promerentia consolare digneris

Ut eum (11) miserum et indignum et peccatorem ac negligentem [...] (c)

(pro) (d) famulo tuo Petro] (12) et pro sanitate animé et corporis eius te precor, audi me.

(a) Non est in ms.

(b) In margine crux, et manus hanc lineam indigitans, depictae a « Glosatore Moderno ».

(c) Aliqua verba hic ommissa videntur.

(d) In ms. omissum.

(e) In margine crux, et manus hanc lineam indigitans, depictae a « Glosatore Moderno ».

(1) Linea cruce in margine signatur.

(2) Fem. Gen.

(3) Idem.

(4) Petrus-Iaropolk.

- (5) *I. E. Petri.*
- (6) *Idem.*
- (7) *Idem.*
- (8) *Idem.*
- (9) *Petrus-Iaropolk.*
- (10) *Rogationes videntur tempore belli scriptae.*
- (11) *Oratio est pro Petro.*
- (12) *Petrus Iaropolk.*

92.

(*F. 232 v.*)

Oratio ad sanctum Michaellem pro fidelibus defunctis

Sancte Michael et omnes sancti Dei intercedite pro animabus omnium fidelium defunctorum, et me peccatricem (1) pro eis orantem exaudire digneritis.

- (1) *Fem. gen.*

93.

(*F. 232 v.*)

Alia.

Christe Fili Dei miserere animé famuli tui Adé et animé famulé tué Evé, et animabus famulorum famularumque tuarum, et nostré congregationis (1) fratres et sorores, et omnium parentum nostrorum, omniumque hic et ubique in Christo quiescentium et mihi indigné famulé tué Gertrudé (a2) et qui bona mihi fecerint propter nomen tuum, et pro quibus iussa aut debita sum, sive ipsa decrevi orare. (3)

(a) *In margine cruz, et manus hanc lineam indigitans a « Glossatore Moderno » depictae.*

(1) *Nescitur de qua congregatione haec verba sint: de universa Ecclesia, de Regno, de sequitu et familia; vel forsitan oratio secundum modum orandi monialium scripta sit.*

(2) *Designatur auctor.*

(3) *Hic est ms. Gertrudiani finis.*

*EX ACTIS INSTITUTI
HISTORICI POLONICI ROMAE
ANNO AC. 1954-5*

SESSIONES
INSTITUTI HISTORICI POLONICI ROMAE
ANNUS INSTITUTI IX (1954-5)

*(Excerpta ex folis "Relationes Instituti Historici Polonici
Romae., a 1954-5, N. 9 - 17.)*

ANNO ACADEMICO 1954-5, QUI EST ANNUS NOSTRI
INSTITUTI NONUS, NOVEM SESSIONES INSTITUTI
CELEBRATAE SUNT.

SESSIO PRIMA - 21-10-1954

Coram 42 sociis hospitibusque, inter quibus Ex.mi D.ni Lozoraitis, Lithuaniae Legatus et Min. Janikowski atque Cl.mi D.ni Iwinskis et Maver, nec non R.mus D.nus Kirschke ex parte Radiophoniae Monachiensis.

R.mus P. Joseph Warszawski, vices gessit absentis Praesidis.

Ill.mus Comes Emericus CZAPSKI relationem rapidam fecit eorum, quae in Archivio Mantuano reppererat.

Magnificum illud archivium centena documenta polonica ex saec. XVI-XVIII continet, quae ad 4 genera reducuntur:

- a) litterae ad regias personas familiasve
- b) litterae ad nobiliores seu dignitates
- c) relationes emissariorum Mantuanorum in Polonia, puta de electionibus regni
- d) theca denique secretarum nobiliarum aenigmatibus nondum explicata.

Doletur lacuna annorum 1537-1550.

Ad a) Ex posteribus documentis recensitae sunt 11 litterae Bonae reginae cum characteristicis sigillis stemmatibusque, 2 litterae Sigismundi I regis, 5 litterae Sigismundi Augusti, 6 Stephani Batory (praesertim una epistola de Possevino), frequentiores litterae reginae Ludovicae Mariae Gonzagae, egregiae uxoris Ladislai IV et (successive) Joannis Casimiri regum, optime illustrantes v.gr. sua itineraria ac etiam curiosam conventionem praenuptialem, quaedam denique litterae Joannis III Sobieski, ex quibus speciminis causae fuit perlectus concisus nuntius victoriae ad flumen Zbrucz ex Turcis reportatae. Ac generatim conexiones cum Italia incipiunt negotiis prorsus personalibus Bonae, crescunt ex periculo communi Turcarum, intricantur maxime occasione liberae electionis regum;

Ad b) Pluries centenae litterae nobilium Polonorum tam clericorum, quam laicorum ad principem Mantuae directae, circa res

privatas sive publicas. Quae litterae varios eventus in Polonia enarrant ac vividas relationes inter Mantuam regnumque Poloniae denuntiant (inter alia citantur nomina: Radziwill, Zamojski, Maciejowski, Myszkowski, Lew Sapieha ecc.).

Ad c) Pariter multum important emissarii Mantuani ex Polonia. Inveniuntur hic v.gr. descriptiones comitiarum regionalium a. 1585-1587, conventio cum Magistro Ordinis Equitum Livoniae, cum Islamo, reimpressa « pacta conventa » ante electionem Henrici Valesii, considerationes studiosae utrum sit melius pacisci cum Austria an Gallia, ac tandem curiosissimae litterae trium Judaeorum Polonorum, qui Principem certiozem reddunt ab ipsis in futura electione Regni Poloniae promotum iri.

Numerosissima adsunt documenta, quae Ludovicam Mariam Gonzagam respiciunt, quamobrem ab unoquoque biographo attendi merentur. Propterea Clarissimus Relator proponit accuratiorum investigationem contentorum in archivio documentorum, quin etiam typis vel luce reimpressionem, quo possint olim facilius in Poloniam transportari.

SESSIO SECUNDA - 18.11.1954

R. P. Joseph Warszawski munere fungens Praesidis, cum gaudio salutavit praesentes hospites sociosque Instituti (25), nominatim vero R. P. Georgium Langman, praelecturum, tam bene de arte in Polonia colenda meritum sibique praesertim notum ex resistentia clandestina. Speciales grates rependit Rev. P. Ludovico Semkowski, Rectori Pont. Collegii Polonorum in cuius splendidis aedibus ista sessio cum expositionis visitatione inaugurari permittitur.

R. D. Georgius LANGMAN de nisu artis sacrae in Polonia ultimis 50 anni emphatice disseruit. Positivistico saeculo XIX in XX vergente perdurum erat iusmeritumque artis religiosae ac praesertim ecclesiasticae coram publico novitate scandalizato propugnare.

Atqui hoc praecise Joannes Matejko, pictorum Polonorum Nestor, perfecit, in limine s. XX polychromaticam decorationem praeclarae Ecclesiae BMV Cracoviae inchoando. Hoc eo difficilius apparuit, quod pridie nonnisi duas imagines (SS. Cyrilli et Methodii atque B. Cunegondis) depinxerat, solis generatim scaenis historicis occupatus, ubi characteristicas. internasque affectiones plurium personarum exprimere optime scivit. Nunc vero his omnibus spretis, solam litaniam Angelorum depixit, qui choro iubilante versus altare maius Viti Stwosii nos trahunt et supra, ubi B. Virgo nuper vita defuncta caelo assumitur et coronatur. Summae auctoritati, quam apud suos iam pollebat, nec non animi pietati ac iuniorum sociorum auxilio inter quos Wyspianski, Mehoffer, unice adscribi potuit, quod res prospere evenit.

Exempla secutae sunt aliae ecclesiae cathedrales (Varsaviae, Cra-

coviae, Plociae, Premysliae) opus renovationis templi genuinis artistis committendo.

Ulterius progressus est Stanislaus Wyspianski qui obiectivismo naturalistico omnino valedixit ac in coenobio franciscano Cracoviensi ingeniosissimi animi sui ideas internas impressit parietibus ac vitris. Fenestrae cuius oculos omnium arripiunt, atque imprimis Lucis Creator Optimus nonnisi cum Michelangelico Deo Patre Adamum creante comparari valet et antesignanus dici longe nobilissimus hodiernae polychromicae artis per suos colores planos decisis lineis obvolutos.

Denique Dunikowski, sculptor ad decorandam faciem frontalem ecclesiae SS. Cordis Jesu, a Soc. Jesu conductus, iam ad audacissimos quosque conatus paratus apparuit. Subsequentes Mehoffer, Frycz, alii-que viam stratam iam securius ac tutius ingredi potuere.

Item post devastationes I et II belli mundialis etiam in Polonia aetatis nostrae multa pie restaurantur, alia de novo eriguntur, uti potissimum libere ac fructuose.

Tota quaestio in eo reponitur, ut et ipsi artistae elevatam vitam religiosam agentes meditata sui spiritus in materiam inflare cupiant et constructores templorum alia ex parte saepius solos maiores genii artistas conducant iisque libertatem in exprimendo reservent.

Quandoquidem historia non est modus praeteritorum, sed et praesentium et futurorum, iuvat et expositions procurare, quibus haec idearum communicatio fovetur; ipsique artistae hodie in exilio admodum inopes, spem recuperant, se suis tandem aliisque rati prefuturos. Ita hic est institui expositionem artis Mariae polonicae, ex 160 circiter operibus 60 artistarum Polonorum in extraneis degentium, quam ipse Card. Pizzardo, die 29.X.54, solemniter adaperuit, plurimique extranei summo cum entusiasmo visitaverunt. Simul Parisiis Card. Feltin aliam expositionem 30 artistarum Poloniorum aperuit, quod est signum evidens incessantis foecunditatis artis nostrae.

In discussione partem habuerunt R. P. Warszawski et Exc. Min. Janikowski, qui uberio-rem ideam evolvit mentis religiosae, quae in artistis nostris resplendet. Iam exeunte saec. XIX inventus est hic Romae piissimus pictor Krudowski, cuius Addolorata, Crucifixi etc., insigniti fuerunt vero affectu interno. Et praesertim Wyspianski non obstante brevissima sua vita tam luculenta dedit pietatis suae documenta (ut iam a litteraturam praescindamus), quibus facile alium artistam, Matisse, superare vix non potuisset, qui et ipse post longae-ram aetatem versus religionem sese direxit.

Et generatim — ita concluditur — ars hodierna meram speculationem intellectualem formae iam derelinquere videtur ab intus vertitur: non solum lucere sed et calefacere intendens.

SESSIO TERTIA - 16.12.1954

« *De Polonicis in Archivio Collegii Caerimoniariorum Papa-*

lium » informationem nobis protulit Exc.us D.nus CASIMIRUS PAAPEE, Poloniae apud S. Sedem Legatus. Qui res gestas istius Legationis descripturus difficillime occasionem nactus est et Archivum Caerimoniarum conspicere, inde primo fata illius generice narravit, deinde quaedam particularia enucleavit.

Archivum olim in domo privata R.mi Dini omni iacturae expositum asservabatur, deinde in Quirinali ac tandem in Vaticani Palatii condignatione prima. Iam in Quirinali anno 1803 R.mus. Fornici ex 653 tomis indicem confecit (10 tomorum), ac insuper extractum in uno fasciculo, nomine « Ristretto ». Post 1803 a. utique novi usque tomi accessere, quorum omnium nunc index generalis praeparatur a Primicero Collegii Rev.mo D.no Enrico Dante. Illi 653 tomi — pars Archivi longe principalis — 303 tomos speciales continent, quibus diaria, annalia Magistrorum Caerimoniarum (1294-1803), descriptiones ingressuum, ordinationum episcopalium, creationum cardinalium, coronationum papalium, insuper relationes nuntiorum, collectiones Pontificalium aliorumque memorabilium liturgicorum inveniuntur. Ibi quoque pretiosa monumenta reperies quae Poloniam spectant. Nam hocce Archivum — ait Matthias Loret — inexhaustibilis fodina est studioso historiae culturae polonicae. Documenta istius Archivi aestimabiles conservant observationes vitae culturalis et oeconomicae ipsius Poloniae una cum imagine eventuum politicorum aetatis. Ita v.gr. tomo 28 curiosa data invenies de obitu vel electione regum Poloniae; tomo 32 de comeatu regum vel principum Polonorum in Urbe; tomis 34 et 35 de receptione ipsorum Romae, i.a. Ladislai et Alexandri, filiorum Sigismundi III; t. 35 commoratio reginae Mariae Casimirae, viduae regis Joannis III Sobieski narratur eiusdemque admissio ad colloquium publicum cum Papa Clemente XI nec non huius re-visitatio reginae mense Maio 1701.

In aliis tomis referuntur mūnera et acta legatorum, Cardinalium Polonorum in Italia. Maximi momenti videntur relationes Nuntiorum (Durini Garampi, Saluzzo et a.) minus generatim aliunde notae.

1. In parte expositionis secunda accuratius depixit Relator solennitates ratione electionum. Ita e.gr. post defunctum Sigismundum Augustum Gregorius XIII publicas preces ac processiones ad intentionem novae electionis mandavit (1572). Timebant enim iuste Summi Pastores, ne loco « regis orthodoxi » (uti reges Poloniae nominabantur) catholicus eligeretur. Post electum Henricum Valesium iterum gratiarum actio ac Missa a Cardinali Hosio celebrabatur coram Summo Pontifice, qui etiam speciale Consistorium indixit, ut nova electio omnibus certior fieret.

2. Pariter ante electionem Michaelis Wisniowiecki Clemens IX Papa functionibus sacris in ecclesia S. Stanislai particeps fit indeque ad basilicam S. Marci procedit, ubi Cardinalis Ottoboni SS. Missae

sacrificium celebravit. Post electionem peractam « Te Deum » decantari iubetur, cum sonitu campanarum ac satellitum papalium explosionibus, magnifice illuminatis domibus cardinalium, episcoporum ac patriciorum Poloniae quoquo modo colligatorum.

3. Peculiari cura et studio describitur ingressus legati Joannis III regis Poloniae a. 1680 post suam electionem ad Papam Innocentium XI. Legatus ille Michael Casimirus Radziwill praeter solitum homagium et causas religiosas, ut beatificatio Joannis Cantii, etiam foedus antiturcicum, quin etiam subsidia necessaria procurare debuit. Ter enim Romam ingressus est: 1° - statim post adventum totaliter privatim; 2° - semepublice mense Julio; et tandem; 3° - cum pleno splendore ac pompa die 4 Augusti 1680. Conductus cohortibus aperiebatur vigilum papalium helveticorum, hos sequebantur camerarii domestici Suae Sanctitatis et protonotarii apostolici equis vel mulis sedentes. Ulterius tibicines progrediebantur, muli cum muneribus, jeniczari ac sipahii Legati Reipublicae, tres ornatissimi cameli, pedites more indianorum decorati, vacua raeda honorifica, due praefecti adlaterales cum fasciis et gladio, due husarii — equites — totaliter armati alisque albarum aquilae pennarum a tergo decorati, altera raeda sex equorum, Magister Palatinus cum caeremoniariis et camerariis ac tandem Legatus ipse equo supersedens, cui equo frena et un gulae fuerunt auro ornatae; Legati vero vestitus lapidibus praetiosis ornatus erat. Totus conductus de « Vinea Papae Iulii », ubi hodie Musivum Etruscorum est, ad Aream Populi processit ac per plateas Urbis circumiens ad Aream usque Columnae pertigit, ubi Legatum Papalem Legatus Poloniae in suum domicilium invitavit (Palatium Marchionis del Bufalo). Quattuor diebus post Legatus fuit admissus ad colloquium cum Papa in Quirinali, deinde in Consistorio publico solemniter introductus sub integro caerimoniali (osculum plantae pedis, anuli Papae, specialis amplexus), quibus completis Legatus eruditissimam orationem latinam habuit (« dotta, elegante, erudita orazione »). Postea a Summo Pontifice ad coenam invitatus. ad mensam adiacentem sedebat iuxta caerimoniarum statuta.

SESSIO QUARTA - 27.1.1955

Coram 33 sociis hospitibusque Rev.mus D.nus Dr. JOANNES MANTHEY, S.S. Cubicularius In.us die 27 Januarii 1955 relationem « De dalmatica Ottonis III uti reliquia S. Adalberti E.M. » habuit.

In thesauro Basilicae S. Petri continetur s.d. « dalmatica imperialis » alias vocata « dalmatica Leonis III » vel, etiam « Caroli Magni » (ne dicam Constantini).

Viri historiae artis gnari autumant hoc monumentum, summo artificio a Bizantynis factum, X-XV s. provenire. Materia, intextio, symboli certo byzantinam originem portendunt. Difficultas in tuto certum tempus statuendi ex similium exemplarium penuria aboritur

(Grabar, Volbach), nec non ex saepius renata ipsa arte byzantina (Krumbach). Securius est ad scripta documenta historica confugere, qualia sunt, v.gr., « Miracula S. Alexii » ac « Ordo coronationis Cencius II », ex quibus iam accuratior aetas confectionis istius dalmaticae designari queat. Opinio quae Carolo Magno (resp. Leone III) dalmaticam addicit inter fabulas ablegenda est; ipsum adiectivum « imperialis » non tam proprietarium, quam potius datorem denotat. Ipsa dalmatica manifesta vestigia transformationis suppeditat.

Imperator privilegio gaudebat paramenta episcopalia deferendi i.e. dalmaticam planam, manicisque angustis atque oblongis. Memoratus « Ordo coronationis Cencius II » (Othonum aetate) praeter ornatum episcopalem, etiam genuinum imperialem describit: « cum autem praefatio incipit, Imperator extrahit pluviale et induitur *manto proprio* », quae caerimonia « immantatio » dicta, prope ritum investiturae papalis imitabatur (Liber Diurnus, Formulare 57). Forsan a more Romano origo ducta est pallium humeris electi imponendi in signum capessendae potestatis. Post coronationem peractam Imperatores pallia ad altaria Sanctorum deponere solebant. Ita Adelaida Othonis II pallium S. Martino Turonensi dono dedit; Henricus II S. Petro Bambergensi; et in « Miraculis S. Alexii » legitur Othonem III pallium suum ad altare S. Alexii obtulisse, « in quo omnis Apocalypsis erat auro insignita ». Quod si Apocalypsis sensu latiore prout « revelatio gloriae Christi » sumatur, facile concludi potest praesentem dalmaticam nil aliud esse quam adaptatum pallium coronationis Othonis III. Byzantinum illud pallium « mantum imperiale », ad manus Othonis III probabiliter uti donum Venetiae pervenit (vide documentum Othonis III ex a. 998, quo iam Veneti a munere ipsi aliud quodvis pallium praebendi deobligantur).

Saeculo XIII Gregorius IX proprietatem bonorum ecclesiae S. Alexii tuetur; a. 1396 Bonifatius IX coenobium in curam commendat Cardinalis Maronis, qui a nepote Nicolai de Rienzo thesauros monasterii resumit, inter quos etiam « unus camissus ornatus » i.e. dalmatica graeca inveniebatur. In Vita Nicolai de Rienzo (cap. 21) hicce narratur « dalmatica imperiali » indutus processisse. Coniicere licet in utroque casu de eadem nostra dalmatica sermonem fuisse. A. 1398 ecclesia S. Alexii definitive patrimonium S. Petri efficitur. Inventarium thesauri S. Petri ex 1489 dalmaticam enumerat, illam certe, quam olim Otho III a Venetis dono receperat, et S. Alexio dedit.

« Miracula S. Alexii » notant S. Adalbertum dalmaticam in sua possessione habuisse. Scimus aliunde eum anno coronationis Othonis III ad S. Alexium fuisse; scimus etiam qua amicitia Othoni III iungebatur; et ita apparet nexus inter S. Adalbertum et dalmaticam, quae in thesauro S. Petri servatur.

SESSIO QUINTA - 24.2.1955

Coram 52 sociis et hospitibus, inter quos Exc.mus D.nus Sigmundus Zawadowski, Poloniae in Libano Legatus, Ex.mus D.us Stanislaus Janikowski, Cl.us D.us Joannes Maver, necnon Rev. D.ni Michael Lacko, Stephanus Nahalka, Stephanus Smrsik, Antonius Botek nationis Slovacae, Rev. D.us Gregorius Petrowicz Armenus, notantur, Cl.ma Doctor Carolina LANCKORONSKA, Universitatis Leopoliensis Joannis Casimiri Aggregata, « De altero Archiepiscopatu Poloniae saec. XI » narravit.

« Polonia — temporibus Boleslai Magni (m. 1025) — duos metropolitanos cum suis suffraganeis continebat » scripsit primus Poloniae chronista Gallus Anonymus s. XII ineunte. Itidem elapso centennio Magister Vincentius comprobavit. Joannes Longinus (Dlugosz), maximus inter antiquos rerum Polonarum scriptor, alteram quoque praeter Gnesnensem Poloniae metropolitanam sedem Cracoviae conditam esse dicit. Quam opinionem Longinus e Catalogis episcoporum Cracoviensium eruit, in quibus praesules Gracovienses usque ad Aaron (m. 1059) inclusive archiepiscopi vocantur. Scriptores recentissimi (St. Ketrzynski, H. Paszkiewicz) censent alteram metropolitanam sedem Sandomiriae existisse. Paszkiewicz hanc sedem ritus romano-slavici fuisse asserit, ac doctissime probat. Abraham putat primos episcopos, quorum nomina in catalogis Cracoviensibus inveniuntur, antistites Moraviae fuisse, qui — Ecclesia Moravo-Pannoniensi a Hungaris destructa — Cracoviam profugi venerunt. Sola fragmenta fontium habentes, nonnisi per hypothesim ad veritatem accedere possumus. Cum non sit dubium alteram metropolitanam sedem in Polonia saec. XI ineunte existitisse, eamque sine dubio ritus romano-slavici fuisse, verisimilis apparet propositio hanc metropolim non uti provinciam ecclesiasticam polonicam a Polonis creatam esse, sed in exordio historiae nostrae extra Poloniam ortam, nonnisi ex parte terras Polonas comprehendisse. Hoc territorium videtur olim fuisse pars metropoleos Methodii, quae ultra montes Carpathos posita ab invasione Hungarica libera remansit. Metropolita Moraviensis, qui a. 898 ordinatus fuit cum suis suffraganeis (contra cuius ordinationem vehementer protestabant episcopi Bavariae a. 900) potuit in terris, quae nunc Polonia Minor appellantur, refugium quaerere.

« Annales Cracovienses vetustissimi » notant sub a. 1027: « Ypolitus archiepiscopus obiit. Bossuta succedit ». Bossuta autem, secundum scripta Dlungossi et Paprocki, origine Moraviensis erat. Boleslaus Magnus, qui Slavos sub suo sceptro unire proponebat, metropolim romano-slavicam sibi utilissimam in rebus etiam politicis fore censebat; quae res procul dubio accepta erat tam Ottoni III quam Silvestro II. Exstant aliqua vestigia sedis suffraganae quae saec. X in Smorzew fuit (Annales Silesiae atque sepulchrum episcopi), necnon

episcopatus Sandomiriae, aliunde ignoti, ubi a. 1030 obiit « Episcopus Sandomiriensis », probabiliter Romanus nomine.

Ultimus Archiepiscoporum in Catalogo Cracoviensi est Aaron Coloniensis OSB., qui ritum latinum in Archiabbatia Tinecensi promovebat. Authenticitatem « Brevis » Benedicti IX, quo Aaron Archiepiscopus nominatur et quo sibi « omnes omnium episcopatum parochiae, quae in tito Regno sunt Slavonicae » subiiciuntur, nonnulli in dubio ponebant. Nunc huius documenti authenticitatem Relatrix validis defendit argumentis; censet quoque Aaroni commissam fuisse latinizationem illarum omnium parochiarum quae in tota Polonia Slavicae adhuc manebant.

Ad comprobandum sententiam Relitricis circa authenticitatem et genuinum sensum Brevis Benedicti IX multum scire iuvat Casimirum Restauratorem, qui Aaronem ad sedem Cracoviensem promovit, ritui Romano-Slavico adversum fuisse.

SESSIO SEXTA - 24.3.1955

Coram 35 sociis et hospitibus, inter quos Ex.mus D.nus Stanislaus Janikowski, Cl.us D.nus Zenonas Ivinskis, Lithuanus natione, Rev. D.nus L. Ivancic OFB, Croata natione, Rev. D.ni Michael Lacko S.J., Stephanus Nahalka, Stephanus Smrzik S.J.; Hieronymus Havlovic C.C., Josephus Zlatnansky, Antonius Babiak et D.nus J. Michalec, Slovaci natione notantur — Cl.mi D.ni Carolina Lanckronska et Ladislaus Kujawski de Defunctis Historiae Poloniae Studiosis Josepho Uminski et Josepho Widajewicz commemorationem fecerunt.

Deinde R. P. MICHAEL LACKO S.J. Slovacus natione, in Pontificio Instituto Orientali Romae professor, collationem latine habuit cui titulus:

« Aliqui aspectus cooperationis Polonicae in restauratione catholica in Slovacchia saeculo XVII ».

Initio animadvertit relator, se uti nomen geographicum « Slovacchia » sensu hodierno, nam in documentis saeculi XVII territorium istud nuncupatur communiter — « Hungaria Superior ». Itemque animadvertit, se non velle exponere totam synthesim cooperationis catholicae inter Poloniam et Slovacchiam, sed tantum « aliquos aspectus », quibus ex professo studuit, et de quibus novos fontes in archivis Romanis invenit.

Post brevem synthesim de conditionibus religiosis in Hungaria saeculo XVII ineunte, relator in tribus partibus exposuit tres aspectus cooperationis Polonicae in restauratione catholica in Slovacchia.

I. Cooperatio praestita activitati Comitum Georgii Drugeth de Humenne (1583-1620) domini feudalis in comitatibus Ung et Zemplin, et possessionis Laski in Polonia. Juvénis Georgius Drugeth anno 1605 ex protestante fit catholicus et qua talis fit promotor restorationis catholicae in suis dominiis, promotor Unionis Ruthenorum

schismaticorum, dux partis Imperialis catholicae, et competitor ducis Transylvaniae Gabrielis Bethlen coryphaei protestantium. Ad promovendam restaurationem catholicam in suis dominiis, Georgius Drugeth expetivit et obtinuit aliquos Patres Soc. Jesu ex Cracovia, et ad Unionem promovendam obtinuit ope episcopi latini Praemyliensis Stanislai Siecinski adventum in Hungariam Athanasii Krupeckyj, episcopi Praemyliensis Ruthenorum. Relator ex Litteris annuis S.J. illustravit activitatem supradictorum. Magis generalis momenti est adiutorium militare quod Georgius Drugeth sortitus est in Polonia anno 1619 coadunando ibidem 8.000 militum mercenariorum, cum quibus irrupit in Hungariam proprie in momento decisivo pro causa catholica in tota Europa centrali, quando Gabriel Bethlen obsidebat Viennam. Ad vocem victoriae Georgii Drugeth in partibus orientalibus Hungariae, Gabriel Bethlen coactus fuit ab obsidione desistere et cum Imperatore de pace tractare.

II. Alius aspectus cooperationes est adiutorium missionariorum ex Polonia, ut substituent Italos, qui linguae slavicae ignari, inutiles in territorio hodiernae Slovacchia inventi sunt. Relator citavit interventum archiepiscopi Strigoniensis Emerici Losi ex anno 1640 et Fratrum Minorum, qui desiderabant missionarios adiutores vel ex Illyria (hodierna Croatia-Dalmatia), vel ex Polonia. Ad hos ultimos se referens, relator citavit aliqua documenta, quae probant praesentiam missionariorum Polonorum in Slovacchia, praesertim Fratrum minorum Conventualium in Stropkow et alibi. Innuit etiam de adiutorio, quod praestitit princeps Lubomirski, fundando et extruendo novum collegium Patribus Piaristis in Podolinec.

III. Ut tertium aspectum adduxit relator adiutorium ex antiqua Polonia praestitum in Unione redintegrandam inter Ruthenos Slovacchia Orientalis et Ucrainae Carpaticae. Praeter iam commemoratum episcopum Athanasium Krupeckyj, etiam primus episcopus unitus in Mukacevo Basilius Tarasovic probabilissime ortus est in Polonia, et exinde venerunt etiam alii promotores Unionis, ex. gr. Patres Basiliiani Gabriel Kosovicki et Pachomius Baronovic. Cum Sophia Bâthoryvidua Râkoczy anno 1662 desiderabat habere in Mukacevo episcopum proprium ex Ruthenis antiquae Poloniae, eius confessarius in isto negotio per Patres Soc. Jesu Cracovienses et Leopolienses venit in relationem cum episcopo Chelmensi Jacobo Susza, qui deinde negotium Romae promovit. De facto anno 1670 venit e Polonia episcopus Joannes Malachowski, sed non confirmatus ab Imperatore, mox in patriam suam rediit.

In fine relator extulit clarum exemplum cooperationis catholicae, qui est Beatus Martyr Cassoviensis (Kosice) Melchior Grodecki seu Grodziecki S.J. qui Polonus ortu, in Slovacchia ad restaurandam fidem catholicam laboravit, et hic anno 1619 martyrii palmam obtinuit.

Huic Beato martyri relator catholicam fidem, ab atheis infestatam in utraque patria, commendavit.

SESSIO SEPTIMA - 14.5.1955

Huic Sessioni Exc.mi Domini Casimirus Papée, Poloniae ad Sanctam Sedem Legatus, Minister Stanislaus Janikowski, ac 34 Socii et Hospites adfuerunt.

Admodum Reverendus Pater Innocentius M. BOCHENSKI, O.P. in Universitate Friburgensi Helvetiorum Professor, Internationalis Unionis Philosophorum Scientiae et Logicorum Praeses, « Aliquas observationes de historia logicae » polonice exposuit.

Materiam suam dixit relator non esse inter eas quae in Institutis Historicis saepius pertractari solent; non esse eam tamen a scientiis historicis alienam, quia non est eis aliena quaestio de evolutione doctrinarum. Quosdam aspectus legum evolutionis clarius apparent in historia logicae, quam in aliis disciplinis historicis.

Usque ad saeculum XX stupendae circa logicam tenebantur opinionones: dixit enim Immanuel Kant eam totam ab Aristotele fuisse factam neque ullum progressum post eum habuisse; quam miram opinionem ingenti labore et non minori ingenuitate Carolus Prantl probare voluit.

Prantl asserit tum Megaricos, tum Stoicos, tum praesertim Scholasticos, nullum circa logicam meritum habuere. Haec opinio omnino universalis tunc evadit.

Cum operibus C. S. Peirce (circa 1880) nova logicae historiographia exorta est. In qua post Vailati (1908) et Ruestow (1910), maxime J. Lukasiewicz ab anno 1910 meritus est; huius viri docti commentum « Zur Geschichte der Aussagenlogik », a. 1935 editum, qua initium novae aerae in re nostra considerari potest.

Post Lukasiewicz autem plures in historia logicae adlaboraverunt, ex schola Polona (Salamucha, Kunst, Schayer, K. Michalski, Koricik, Ussowicz), Germanica (H. Scholz A. Becker) et Americana (Moody, Mates, Stalelum, Ingalls). Quo facto hodie duo opera majora iam de historia logicae apud typographos inveniuntur: unum, series articulorum pro Encyclopaedia Britannica, A. Church dirigente; alterum « Problemgeschichte der Logik » ipsius Relatoris.

Ex omnibus his operibus sequens generalis nostrae materiae consideratio resultare videtur:

1. Non est hodie dubium logicam formalem historiam proprie dictam habuisse; ipsa non tota ab Aristotele facta est quia Megarici, Stoici, Scholastici et Mathematici Logici plura magni momenti, immo omnino nova invenerunt. Immo, Ionica Logica formalis, nunc melius nota, ab Aristotele omnino independens esse videtur, momento autem speculativo minime caret.

2. Evolutio Logicae tamen non est continua, sed longioribus

periodis collapsus interrumpitur. In Europa periodi collapsus logicae binae sunt: una, inter saeculum VI et XI, altera a saeculo XVI usque ad finem fere saeculi XIX.

Quae ultima periodus aevum proprie « medium », atque in logica vere barbarum nunc a peritis habetur.

Etiam in Indiis similis interruptio inter VIII et XII saeculum p. Chr. notatur.

3. Post periodus collapsus non restituitur antiqua logicae forma, sed forma omnino nova apparet: hoc maxime in logica Scholastica patet; ea enim, contra vulgo creditam assertionem, a logica aristotelica radicaliter differt, eo maxime, quod speculatio semiotica et propositionalis (tractatus de suppositionibus, ampliationibus, appellationibus, significatione et veritate, de consequentiis et insolubilibus) eam ex maxima parte constituunt. Idem tamen tum in Logica Mathematica atque Navya-Nyaya (logica indica ss. XII ss.) evidenter apparet.

4. Quo non obstante, quamvis forma et methodus procedendi varietur, non de pluribus logicis sed de una eademque logica formali agitur, in quae eadem leges et regulae iterum iterumque, post oblivionem, inveniuntur.

Quibus statutis relator quaestionem progressus logicae formalis movit. Non esse dubitandum in singulis periodis logicae progressum inveniri; utrum tamen de aliquo generali progressu sermo esse possit, dubitare licet. Exempli gratia, dubium est utrum in quibusdam partibus semioticae vel theoriae propositionum logica mathematica quoad essentialia logicae s. XIV superior sit, quamvis modus procedendi technicus, ut aiunt, certe utilior iam habetur. Item dubitare licet, utrum doctrina de negatione umquam apud Europaeos eam subtilitatem obtinuit, quae, in operibus Gangesa (s. XIII), maxime vero Mathuranatae (s. XVII), in India admiratur.

Concludit relator has considerationes minime optimisticae opinioni, quae in Historiographia s. XIX vigeat, favere. E contra data, nuper per historicos logicae maximo labore in minutis obtenta, optime cum nova historiae humanae visione, a hodiernis sociologis, uti Sorokin vel Toynbee, proposita, concordare videntur.

SESSIO OCTAVA - 12:5.1955

Coram 33 sociis et hospitibus, inter quos Ex.mus Poloniae ad S. Sedem Legatus, Dr. Casimirus Papée et D.us Sigismundus Wieliczka ex Brasilia notantur, Rev. Pater Lucianus LUSZCZKI O.F.M. « De rebus gestis S. Joannis Capistrani in Polonia » lectionem habuit.

S. Joannes a Capistrano in Aprutio di 24 Junii 1386 natus, post susceptam in sua familia educationem per 10 circiter annos studio utriusque iuris vacavit. Perusiae anno 1415 S. Francisci habitum intra Observantium familiam induit. Anno 1417 sacerdotio insignitus est. Fere universam Italiam et Europam perlustravit assequens famam

magni praedicatoris, apostoli, reformatoris, fungens officiis inquisitoris et nuntii papalis. Anno 1451 a Friderico III invitatus, et a Nicolao V Germaniam missus, per sex annos Germaniam, Austriam, Bohemiam, Hungariam etc., sua praedicatione illustrat. Permaximum eius meritum pro defendenda Ecclesia et Europa est victoria apud Belgradum super Turchas anno 1456 reportata.

Non neglexit Capistranus Poloniam quae, isto tempore potens florensque regnum, fortunam magnam nacta est recipiendi Capistranum tamquam hospitem Cracoviae necnon fructum ex eius activitate capiendi.

I. Auctor demonstrat regem Casimirum et Cardinalem Sbigneum Olesnicki per suas epistulas *invitavisse* Capistranum in Poloniam. Cardinalis prae mente habuit suam dioecesim Cracoviensem defendere contra Hussitorum haeresim; Rex vero exhibuit intentionem Ruthenos, qui versus partem orientalem Poloniae habitabant, convertendi.

Auctor ostendit etiam alias epistulas quibus Capistranus invitatus erat dum iam Wratislaviae commorabatur anno 1453. Hoc eodem anno nuntii a rege Wratislaviam missi sunt, qui etiam condiciones instituerent pro futuro matrimonio inter regem et Elizabeth austriacam. In haec caeromonia Capistranus sermonem facit, cuius thema erat: « Haec est dies quam fecit Dominus »; post paucos vero dies cum iisdem nuntiis in Poloniam profectus est.

II. Auctor describit introitum Capistrani in Cracoviam, ubi iam subsequenti die i.e. 29 Augusti 1453 Capistranus praedicationem incoepit in foro ante ecclesiam S. Adalberti. Capistranus in civitate per octo menses commoratus est, praedicans quotidie in foro; hieme appropinquante in ecclesia S. Mariae Virginis sermones fecit. Chronistae testificantur zelum magnum populi quo praedicatorem attendebant. Refertur numerum auditorum ad circa viginti millia hominum reduci, inter quos etiam ipsa aula regia, necnon studentes et professores Universitatis aderant; aderant tamen et oppidani, saepius linguae latinae ignari. Quos non tam verbis, quam exemplo attrahebat.

Quoad missionem apud Ruthenos nullus felix exitus commemoratur; Capistranus nunquam Cracoviam reliquit neque animatus est ullo desiderio Orientem adeundi, cum magis prae oculis habuerit Hussitarum problema necnon Turcharum qui iam isto anno (1453) Constanfinopolim ceperunt, imminueruntque toti Europae. Tamquam effectus permanens commorationis Capistrani Cracoviae exhibetur fundatio conventus Observantium, ad quos ipse pertinebat. Auctor minute describit collaborationem Capistrani cum Cardinali Olesnicki et rege in praedicto conventu fundando, ad quem Capistranus per istos octo menses 130 novitios, praecipue ex studentibus et professoribus Universitatis, admiserat.

Auctor magnum facit valorem istius aliorumque conventuum postea in Polonia fundatorum sub nomine provinciae « Bernardinorum » pro historia ecclesiae nationisque in Polonia.

Chronistae quoque referunt in quaestione judaica Capistranum regi opposuisse et in sua epistula privilegia Judaeorum revocare postulasse. Auctor conatur describere relationem Capistrani ad quaestionem belli quod rex gerebat cum ordine Teutonico in Prussia, fretus epistulis Capistrani.

III. Refert auctor modo chronologico epistulas Capistrani connexionem habentes cum Polonia; speciatim illas quas ad Capistranum miserunt Cardinalis, eius Secretarius Dlugossius necnon alterae personae. Praedictae epistulae haud parvi momenti efferuntur, nam ex. gr. prae aliis magni faciunt quaestionem Turcharum. Memorantur etiam epistulae e Polonia Romam missae in quibus poscitur ipsamet canonizatio Joannis Capistrani.

SESSIO NONA 14-VI-1955

In hac sessione, quae commemorationi centenarii a morte Adami Mickiewicz elapsi dedicata est, coram 50 sociis et hospitibus, Rev. P. Josepho Warszawski Praesidente, Clarissimus et Rev. D. Professor Valerianus Meysztowicz, Instituti Praeses, sequens « Commentarium in opus Mickiewicz « Manes » (« Dziady ») » proposuit.

« Poetae romantici ab illa claritate expositionis, quae scriptorum Graecorum et Latinorum propria est, in multis recesserunt. Iam Dantis « Divina Comoedia » interpretum est simul crux et paradus. Item Goethianum opus, « Faust » dictum, varie a multis explicatur. Pariter Adam Mickiewicz, qui inter magnos admiratores Goethe numeratur, opus suum « Dziady », scilicet mysterium latine « Manes » interpretatum, scripsit modo a hellenica claritate alieno.

Opus hoc constat e variis fragmentis: inter eos sunt, qui formam actionis dramaticae a diversis personis recitandae habent; alia sunt in forma poematum epicorum. Etsi obvius sit sensus singulorum elementorum, sensus intimus totius operis commentatoribus sat difficilis apparet. Dicere solent commentatores auctorem opus suum, quoad vixerit, non ad terminum adduxisse: nec sensum totius operis ab eo ipso clare perceptum unquam fuisse; ergo — ita illi — neque nos amplius hunc sensum, totius operis argumentum, conoscere posse.

Visum est tamen nonnullis modernis poetae nostri cultoribus — inter quos Jan Lechon, poeta eximius et ipse, ac Leon Orłowski notentur — sensum genuinum « Manum » sat clare ex eis, quae Mickiewicz iam publici iuris fecit, deducendum esse. Quae igitur ex discussione cum his illustribus viris eruimus, hic breviter exponere liceat.

In prologo et epilogo operis descripta est ab auctore catena quam vinctus homo agit; haec imago fit velut quoddam signum in initio,

et in fine operis positum; ideam suggerit libertatis ad quam homines catenis vinctus, aspirat; ad quam recuperandam tendit; pro qua militat. Intulimus inde totum opus « Manes » pro argumento nil aliud habere, quam hominum certamen ad libertatem consequendam. Nova et pluries reiterata operis Mickiewicz lectio hanc intuitionem confirmavit.

Ad libertatem consequendam dimicandum est homini adversus Satanam et spiritus malignos; illi enim Veritati, quae nos liberabit, obsistunt. Totum opus « Manes » in quo multa fragmenta autobiographica inveniuntur, nil aliud esse videtur quam romantica descriptio colluctationis generalis contra daemones, libertatis humanae adversarios. Tres sunt daemones de quibus Mickiewicz hic scripsit.

Primus est daemon luxuriae, « Venator Niger » ab auctore dictus. Huius daemonii opera amor Gustavi — sub quo nomine ipse auctor latet — erga puellam, Maryla dictam, ultra licitum progreditur: hic amor inordinatus Gustavum ad amentiam et fere ad suicidium propulit. Oratione simplicis sacerdotis, Beata Virgine invocata, Gustavus a malo liberatur; suoque maerore excusso, pro suis proximis abinde operari statuit et nomine mutato vocatur Conradus.

Secundus daemon est « Leviatan Superbiae ». Conradus pro proximis et pro patria dimicans in superbiam incidit. Fragmentum operis, ubi illustratur transitus a pia ad Deum oratione ad superbiam, et dein, daemonibus suggerentibus, usque ad vesanam blasphemiam, est unum e perfectissimis simul ac horrendissimis studiis quae umquam de peccato superbiae facta fuerint. A morte in actuali peccato liberatur Conradus, iterum Beata Virgine auxiliante, oratione simplicis puellae; manet tamen Conradus in diabolica obsessione, donec per exorcismum pii sacerdotis Petri etiam ab illa obsessione liberatur. Idem daemon superbiae obsidet etiam alium peccatorem, qui est satrapa Imperatoris Russiae in civitate Vilnensi, Novosilcov nomine, Conradi persecutor.

Tertius daemon a Mickiewicz sub nomine « Antiqui inimici Dei » describitur. Apparet primum sub figura « Corvi nigri », qui est symbolum heraldicum Imperii Russici. Est ille daemon qui in serie poematum de Russia, in ultima parte nostri operis insertorum, depingitur; ille qui in sua potestate tenet tyrannum; ille qui totam Russiam in servitutem redigit. Ad plenitudinem harmonicae constructionis obtinendam deficit hic descriptio victoriae, quae Beata Virgine iuvante, super hoc daemonium certo obtinebitur. Et ratio huius carentiae forsitan in eo est, quod ipse auctor talem victoriam nondum prospexit. Mortuus est enim anno 1855, Constantinopoli, quo ad partem capiendam in bello crimensi tunc contra Russiam inaugurato, profectus est.

Epilogum operis constituit carmen ad « Amicos Moscovitas » ubi iam auctor se excusare videtur de acutis verbis quibus denunciavit dia-

bolicam tyrannidem, quae suos amicos Moscovitos opprimebat, ac de amicitia erga Russos, de fidelitate in bello communi contra tyrannum protestatur.

Ex tribus a Mickiewicz descriptis inimicis libertatis humanae, daemon luxuriae — Venator Niger — prototypum in alienis operibus poeticis habere videtur: satis est Goethianum Mephistofelem numerare. Nescio an alibi descriptus sit « Leviatan Superbiae ». Daemonium, quod apud Mickiewicz sub nomine « Antiqui Hostis Dei » venit, quod suis temporibus Imperatorem Russiae tenere videbatur, quod nunc totum populum, qui legem, sapientiam et ipsum Deum negat, opprimere videtur: hoc daemonium a nemine adhuc descriptum fuit; nisi forte solo Dostoievskij, qui illud multis post Mickiewicz annis, intueri paret.

Non solum daemonologia Mickiewicziana in opere « Manes » doctrinae catholicae conformis esse videtur; sua quoque erga Beatam Virginem devotio altum sensum catholicum denotat. Scimus quidem in aliis operibus eiusdem Auctoris adesse errores, a quibus tamen, uti dicilis filius Ecclesiae, opportune recessit. Credimus proinde eum inter primarios poetas catholicos numerare licitum esse. Atque ita a temporibus altissimi poetae Florentini vix est inventus inter poetas ecclesiae fidelibus qui illi superior dici possit ».

IAM PRIDEM RŌMAE PRODIERUNT HAEC VOLUMINA

(continuatio *Studia Teologiczne* — Wilno, vol. 10):

- XI. MEYSZTOWICZ V. *Repertorium bibliographicum pro rebus polonicis Archivi Secreti Vaticani*. Vaticani, 1943.
- XII. MEYSZTOWICZ V. *De Archivo Nuntiaturae Varsaviensis quod nunc in Archivo Secreto Vaticano servatur*. Vaticani, 1944.
- XIII. SAVIO P. *De Actis Nuntiaturae Poloniae quae partem Archivi Secretariatus Status constituunt*. Romae, 1947.
- XIV. MEYSZTOWICZ V. *Prospectica descriptio Archivi Secreti Vaticani*. Sub praelo.

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