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A N T E M U R A L E



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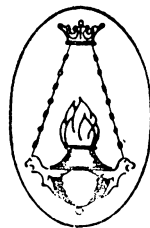
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**INSTITUTUM
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ROMAE**

XXV

A N T E M U R A L E



NON EXSTINGUETUR

**ROMAE
1981**

SUMPTIBUS
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FONTES

STANISŁAW KIRKOR

[NEW YORK]

UN NOUVEAU SUPPLEMENT À LA CORRESPONDANCE

DE NAPOLÉON 1^{er}

PIÈCES INÉDITES CONCERNANT LA POLOGNE

1808-1815

[Troisième partie]

Comme suite à mes publications, parues dans les volumes XXIII et XXIV d' "Antemurale", je tiens à publier les documents suivants:

I

*DECRET CONCERNANT LA DONATION DES DOMAINES
D'OPINOGORA
AU COLONEL VINCENT KRASINSKI*

Au Palais de Rambouillet le 20 mai 1811.
Napoléon, Empereur des Français,
Roi d'Italie, Protecteur de la Confédération du
Rhin, Médiateur de la Confédération Suisse
Sur le rapport de notre ministre d'Etat intendant
général de notre domaine extraordinaire,
Nous avons décrété et décrétons ce qui suit:

Article premier

Nous accordons au Colonel Krasinski, Commandant les
cheveu[x]-légers de notre garde impériale, avec le titre de
Comte de notre empire, les domaines et revenus composant
la ci devant Starostie d'Opinogora en Pologne, tel qu'en a
joui le Prince de Ponte Corvo dans la dotation duquel cette
[ces] domaines et revenus étaient entrés, et qui depuis ont fait
retour à notre couronne avec les autres biens constituant la

dotation de ce Prince actuellement Prince héréditaire de Suède.

Art[icle] 2

Tous les biens accordés par le présent décret demeurent assujétis quant à la possession et à la transmission, à tous les statuts et règlements qui régissent les majorats.

Art[icle] 3

Le Colonel Krasinski entrera en jouissance à compter du premier janvier de cette année.

Art[icle] 4

Notre cousin le Prince Archi-chancelier et notre Ministre d'Etat, intendant général du domaine extraordinaire, sont chargés, chacun en ce qui le concerne, de l'exécution du présent décret.

Nap[oléon]

Expédié le 22 mai
à l'Intend[an]t g[énéral] du Dom[ain]e
extraord[inai]re [avec les pièces]
et le 27 dud[it] [mois] au Prince
archi-chancelier avec une
lettre.

[Archives Nationales, cote AF IV 555]

Le Rapport suivant, établi par l'Intendant général du Domaine extraordinaire, précède le Décret dont on vient de parler.

Dom[ain]e Extraord[inai]re

RAPPORT À SA MAJESTE L'EMPEREUR ET ROI

On propose à S[a] M[ajesté]
la transmission en faveur
du Colonel Krasinski,
command[an]t les cheveu-légers
de la G[ar]de Imp[éri]ale des
Domaines d'Opinogora
en Pologne qui faisaient
partie de la dotat[i]on
du P[rin]ce de Ponte-Corvo.

SIRE,

M[onsieu]r le Colonel Krasinsky a eu l'honneur d'exposer à

Votre Majesté que la République de Pologne avait, sous le Règne du Roi Jean Casimir, donné pour neuf *advitalite* à un de ses ancêtres la Starostie d'Opinogora en récompense de ses services. Il en jouissait personnellement à l'époque où le Roi de Prusse, sous la domination de qui une partie de la Pologne était passée, la réunit à sa couronne.

Depuis l'entrée de Votre Majesté dans ce Royaume, les biens dépendant de cette Starostie ont été compris dans la dot[at]ion du Prince de Ponte Corvo et se trouvent aujourd'hui faire partie des Domaines dont Votre Majesté peut disposer.

Par sa requête, M[onsieu]r le Colonel Krasinsky vous supplie, Sire, de vouloir bien en former en sa faveur un majorat avec le titre de Comte, en me la renvoyant, Votre Majesté m'enjoint de me procurer des renseignements propres à faire juger quels pouvaient être les droits de M[onsieu]r le Colonel Krasinsky sur les biens désignés par lui au moment où la Prusse s'en est emparé.

Pour les établir il a rapporté deux Certificats délivrés, l'un par le Ministre de l'Intérieur du Grand Duché de Varsovie, l'autre par le Conseiller d'Etat, D[irect]eur général des Domaines et forêts nationales dud[it] Duché.

De ces deux Certificats, il résulte bien, comme l'avance M[onsieu]r Krasinsky, que les Domaines compos[an]t la Starostie d'Opinogora étaient occupés par sa famille au moment où le Gouv[ernemen]t de Prusse s'est mis en possession; et qu'il lui fut constitué à lui même par ce Gouv[ernemen]t une pension de 6,908 florins de Pologne, en Ind[emni]té du revenu qu'il perdait qui, suiv[an]t le Certificat du Ministre de l'Intérieur du Grand Duché de Varsovie continue de le payer.

Je crois devoir observer à Votre Majesté que les Dom[ai]nes d'Opinogora paraissent être entrés pour un revenu de 45000 f. dans la dotation du Prince de Ponte Corvo.

Cependant comme il ne peut exister de doute sur le fait de la jouissance dont le S[ieu]r Krasinsky était en possession, à l'époque où une partie de la Pologne fut réunie à la Prusse, j'ai l'honneur de proposer à Votre Majesté d'accueillir sa demande; et pour récompense de son dévouem[en]t à Votre auguste personne, de lui accorder comme majorat, avec le titre de Comte de l'Empire, la portion de biens provenant de cette Starostie qui faisait partie de la dotation du Prince de Ponte Corvo.

En conséquence, j'ai l'honneur de proposer à Votre Majesté le projet de décret ci-joint.

Je suis avec respect,
Sire,

de Votre Majesté Impériale et
Royale,
le très soumis et fidèle sujet.
L'Intendant général de Votre
Domaine extraordinaire
[signature]

[Archives Nationales, cote AF IV 555]

Commentaire: Le traité de paix du 30 mai 1814 a annulé les donations napoléoniennes des biens en dehors des nouvelles frontières de la France. Toutefois, le souverain du Royaume de Pologne a laissé les Domaines d'Opinogora en la possession du comte Vincent Krasinski.

II

DECRET CONCERNANT LES PENSIONS POUR LES MILITAIRES ÉTRANGERS BLESSÉS AU SERVICE DE LA FRANCE

A Amsterdam, le 23 8^{bre}[octobre] 1811

Napoléon, Empereur des Français,
Roi d'Italie et Protecteur de la
Confédération du Rhin, Médiateur de
la Confédération Suisse,

sur le rapport de notre Ministre de la guerre,
Nous avons décrété et décrétons ce qui suit:

Art[ic]le 1er

Les trente trois Militaires étrangers dont les noms suivent,
blessés au service de la France, dans les Troupes auxiliaires
employées à l'Armée d'Espagne, jouiront, à titre de
récompense sur Notre Trésor Impérial de France, des
pensions déterminées ci-après,
[à] savoir:

Nos d'ordre	Noms et prénoms	Grade et Corps	Genre de blessure	Pension
	Troupes du Grand Duché de Bade (14 noms)			1.195
	Duché de Nassau (7 noms)			545
	Maison de Reuss-Schleiz (3 noms)			235
	Grand Duché de Varsovie			
25	Siennicky, Nicolas	Voltigeur au 4e Reg ^t du Grand Duché de Varsovie	coup de feu	75
26	Reklis, Adam	fusilier	"	"
27	Lobanda, Frédéric	"	"	"
28	Balczonaylis, Simon	"	"	"
29	Mielczareck, Casimir	Voltigeur	"	675
30	Lesniak, Jean	"	"	"
31	Bochynski, Laurent	"	"	"
32	Wosniak, Stanislas	"	"	"
33	Scaszewski, Mathieu	Grenadier au 9e Reg ^t du Grand Duché de Varsovie	"	"
Total: Deux mille six cent cinquante francs				2.650

Art[ic]le 2

Ces pensions courent du jour que les militaires désignés en l'article précédent, seront rentrés dans leurs foyers, par suite de la Revue de l'Inspecteur général qui les a réformés et remis à la disposition de leur Gouvernement.

Art[ic]le 3

Elles seront payées par Trimestre, de la même manière que les Soldes de retraite des Militaires français, mais sans retenue en nonobstant les autres pensions ou traitements que les titulaires sont dans le cas d'obtenir de leurs Souverains respectifs.

Art[ic]le 4

Notre intention est que ces récompenses soient considérées seulement comme l'effet d'une bienveillance spéciale, méritée par des circonstances particulières, sans qu'elles puissent tirer à conséquence, comme l'établissement d'un usage.

Art[ic]le 5

Nos Ministres de la Guerre, du Trésor Impérial et des Relations extérieures sont chargés, chacun en ce qui le concerne, de l'exécution du présent décret.

N[apoléon]

Exp[édi]é le 29 8^{br}[octobre]
au M[inis]tre de la Guerre
et le 8 9^{br} [novembre]
aux Ministres
du Trésor
et des relat[ions] ext[é]rieur[es]
[Archives Nationales, cote AF IV 594]

[NOTE: Je considère qu'il n'est pas nécessaire de reproduire les noms autres que les noms polonais.]

Le Rapport suivant, établi par le Ministre de la Guerre, précède le décret dont on vient de parler.

MINISTÈRE DE
LA GUERRE

--
Bureau
des Pensions

--
On propose à Sa Majesté
d'accorder des pensions de
récompense à 33 militaires
étrangers blessés au service
de la France.

RAPPORT À SA MAJESTÉ L'EMPEREUR ET ROI.
Du 15 Août 1811
Militaires étrangers
blessés au service de France.
[Troupes Auxiliaires]

Désignation des Troupe	Nombre des hommes	
	amputés	blessés
Bade	1	13
Nassau		7
Reuss-Schleiz		3
Varsovie		9
Total	1	32
	33	

En exécution de la décision de l'Empereur en date du 15 juin 1810, concernant les militaires étrangers blessés au service de France,

J'ai l'honneur de soumettre à l'approbation de Sa Majesté un projet de Décret pour accorder des pensions de récompense à 33 sous-officiers et soldats appartenant aux Troupes Auxiliaires

désignées ci-contre et qui ont été réformés et remis à la disposition de leurs Souverains, par M. l'Inspecteur Général Pille, par suite de blessures reçues à l'armée d'Espagne.

Les pensions que je propose ont été réglées comme il suit:
[à] savoir :

à chaque amputé, la moitié du maximum de la Solde de retraite affectée au grade par la loi du 28 fructidor an 7.

le quart, à tous les autres.

Conformément aux intentions de Sa Majesté ce projet de Décret a été rédigé de manière qu'il n'en puisse résulter l'établissement d'un usage.

Le Ministre de la Guerre

Duc de Feltre

[Archives Nationales, cote AF IV 594]

Commentaire: Ces documents sont intéressants par leur rareté puisque seulement dans des cas exceptionnels des pensions étaient accordées aux soldats étrangers. Les soldats du 4ème Régiment du Grand Duché de Varsovie, mentionnés dans ce Décret, ont certainement été blessés le 15 octobre 1810, alors qu'ils défendaient le Fort de Fuengirola, près de Malaga, alors assiégé par les troupes anglaises. La garnison de ce fort fut secourue par les autres détachements de leur régiment et 20 dragons français; elle fit une sortie et, après un violent combat, força les troupes anglaises à s'embarquer, après avoir fait plusieurs prisonniers parmi lesquels leur commandant en chef, général Lord Blayney. Le grenadier du 9ème Régiment fut probablement blessé le 4 juin 1811, près de Ronda où le 1er bataillon de ce régiment dut forcer son passage à travers les troupes espagnoles, beaucoup plus nombreuses, qui lui barraient la route, et subit des pertes considérables parmi lesquelles celle de son propre chef.

STUDIA

LEOPOLD SOBEL
(Sheffield)

RULER AND SOCIETY IN EARLY MEDIEVAL
WESTERN POMERANIA

The present study originally formed a part of my doctoral thesis entitled *Early Princely Authority in Sweden, Pomerania and Novgorod: A Comparative Study*, submitted in 1977 to the School of History, University of Leeds, UK. Since it was not possible to publish the whole thesis, this study concentrates on the beginnings of the state and the social institutions in Western Pomerania during the so-called Viking Age, which in the case of southern Baltic can be extended until the middle of the twelfth century. However, in order not to lose sight of the comparative angle I felt that the general introduction and the conclusions should include specifically the assumptions and results of my thesis as a whole. It is clear that throughout the examination of the points made in the conclusions in many instances consultation with the whole text would be of use, therefore I decided to include the crossreferences to the chapters dealing with Sweden and Novgorod in the thesis, in case the reader would like to consult it.

The study of early medieval princely authority in the lands under discussion serves a number of purposes. First of all, these lands in many respects enjoyed similar conditions. Numerous studies have established the influx of silver, both from the Orient and from the west European sources (England, Germany), as a common feature in all these lands. Likewise the development of trade, seafaring, towns and town institutions had many common characteristics as comparative studies of the last decades show.¹ However, there seems to exist a gap in the historical writing concerning the impact of the Viking age on the political and social structure in the Baltic area. One of the means to achieve an overall view is to study the most significant institutions in each of the most important Baltic lands, i.e. to examine the institution

¹ A.R. Lewis, *The Northern Seas. Shipping and Commerce in Northern Europe AD 300-1100*; H. Jankuhn, *Typen und Funktionen vor- und frühgeschichtlicher Handelsplätze im Ostseegebiet*; L. Leciejewicz, *Początki nadmorskich miast na Pomorzu Zachodnim*; D. Ellmers, *Frühmittelalterliche Handelsschiffahrt in Mittel- und Nordeuropa* (Offa Bücher 28); K. Zernack, 'Der europäische Norden als Städtelandschaft der Frühzeit', in *Beiträge zur Stadt- und Regionalgeschichte Ost- und Nordeuropas. H. Ludat zum 60. Geburtstag*; N.L. Rasmusson, 'Münz- und Geldgeschichte des Ostseeraums vom Ende des 10. bis zum Anfang des 14. Jahrhunderts', in *Die Zeit der Stadtgründung im Ostseeraum. Acta Visbyensia*, I.

of the ruler and its relations with other groups or institutions in society.

Another problem which is dealt with in my study is the examination of one of the issues discussed in the comparative studies of European history. The distinctive character of the Slavs and the Germans was a question that caused many arguments among historians. One of the most interesting attempts to show the basic similarities that existed between the early Slavonic "states" and their German counterparts was made by F. Graus.² His views were opposed by another Czech scholar V. Procházka, who embraced the traditional approach to the problem and regarded the early Slavs not only as one entity in the ethnical sense but also as distinct in its legal and constitutional institutions from the Germans. In my study I have attempted to point out the similarities as well as the differences in the development and structure of the socio-political institutions in areas of similar geographical character but of different ethnic groups.

The problem of kingship is of great importance in this study. It is well known that the early kingship in Scandinavia was 'sacral' in character whereas in the Slavonic lands the personal rulership is considered to be a secondary development from the military leadership, which was preceded by the institution of the popular assembly of the tribe. It has to be emphasized that the problem of ruler's authority, *sensu stricto*, has never been satisfactorily discussed in relation to any of the areas under discussion in the Early Middle Ages. In some way therefore this study is aimed to fill this gap.

Some other issues of secondary importance for the present study are also dealt with. One of them is the problem of the Scandinavian influence on the allegedly less developed Slavonic tribes, especially in the sphere of political organization. It is also my aim to throw some light on the background of the Hanseatic Baltic towns and their further development.

As in every historical study the satisfactory solutions to the problems discussed depend on the quality and the quantity of the sources available. It is common knowledge that the study of the Early Middle Ages in areas where native historiography emerged rather late is extremely difficult. It often happens that discussions among scholars have their origins in guess-work which takes the place of facts derived from the sources. However, it was proved more than once that rejection of accepted ideas and return to the sources can be helpful in advancing new historical views and conceptions.

The sources available for the present study, especially the written

² Graus, 'Deutsche und Slavische Verfassungsgeschichte', *HZ*, CXC VII (1963) pp. 265-317; F. Graus, 'Slavs and Germans' in *Eastern and Western Europe in the Middle Ages*, edited by G. Barraclough, p. 15 ff.; V. Procházka, 'The Problem of Slavonic Law', *Vznik a počátky Slavů*, 6 (1966) p. 53 ff.

ones, are not abundant. During the Early Middle Ages the Baltic lands were 'culturally underdeveloped' from the point of view of Christian culture, i.e. the Latin authors did not write extensively about these lands. A detailed discussion of this problem will be provided in the relevant chapters, here, however, it has to be pointed out that, though West European sources from the Carolingian period and later, and Byzantine and Arabic sources from approximately the same time mention the Baltic affairs, the remoteness of these lands geographically and otherwise for the authors of the sources makes their study even more difficult and risky. It also accounts for the strict critical analysis of the sources, especially in such cases where a single phrase from the source is the basis of a well known and generally accepted view. Usually these sources were written by churchmen and the fact that their point of view was rather onesided and limited is also taken into account. Only contemporary and relatively well informed sources are referred to. It has been demonstrated more than once that this approach, so often labelled 'hypercritical', helped to avoid serious mistakes in our view of the past. Information derived from epigraphic sources as well as from numismatics, linguistics including onomastics, and archaeology, with the necessary caution, will be used as much as possible.

Thus using the comparative method for the study of three lands enjoying similar geographical position on the shores of the Baltic, similar economic conditions (the 'Silver Age' left a marked imprint on all the areas under consideration), as well as undergoing similar social developments connected with commercial and military-piratical activities, it is possible to establish other similarities that developed in different spheres of life.

It is suggested that in all the lands studied, as the earliest evidence shows (ninth — eleventh century), the ruler was the leader of the people in military affairs, as well as in foreign relations and was recognized as such by the outside world. In the sphere of internal relations the ruler was the leader of the people and the assembly. He influenced the decisions and the general conduct of the latter by religious and other means. Although he enjoyed a superior position due to the quite well developed institutionalization of his family, the aristocracy, including the priests, shared with the ruler the power to direct the people.

The historical process in all the lands under discussion during the so-called Viking Age (which in the Baltic lasted longer than in the West, i.e. well into the twelfth century) was influenced by certain specific local conditions which resulted in certain differences in the position of the ruler in each of these lands. For example the characteristic development of Sweden consisted of a non-monarchical military leadership, the popularity of serving abroad, the emergence of

enriched *bönder* and ideological-religious crisis. In Novgorod it resulted in the instability of the princely line; Novgorod was a 'State-Town' with an enormous hinterland and the social and political developments that took place there were the result of this situation. In Pomerania a specific political situation developed in which considerable outside pressure, Polish and Saxon, was brought upon it and the prince was engaged in constant bargaining with the powerful urban and rural aristocracy and pagan priests on the one hand and with foreign rulers and the representatives of Christianity on the other. However, in spite of the difficulties they were faced with and the considerable power of the aristocracy or other groups in the community that emerged during the period under discussion, the rulers succeeded in maintaining their position in a modified form: in Sweden and Pomerania as the 'over-rulers' of the communities and in Novgorod as rulers of the *civitas*.

It is possible to claim that the present study has established that in spite of their different political history on the one hand and different types of sources for each area on the other, the socio-economic conditions prevalent during the Baltic Viking Age stimulated the development of certain characteristics of ruler's authority, which were shaped by the growing strength of enterprising merchants-pirates and wealthy landowners.

Finally, because a number of years had passed since the thesis was completed, it was necessary to mention several important works that were published in later years on Pomerania and the North-Western Slavs. The most important is the monograph of L. Leciejewicz, *Słowiańszczyzna Zachodnia*, (Wrocław etc., 1976), which covers most of the topics discussed here. The special edition of *Ausgrabungen und Funde* (Bd. 21, 1976) is devoted to the 25th anniversary of archaeology in GDR and includes many interesting articles devoted to the North-Western Slavs. Further studies of settlements and tribal groups in Pomerania were published in *Rocznik Koszaliński* (XII, 1976), while E. Rymar devoted two studies to the problem of West Pomeranian princely family in *Zapiski Historyczne* (vol. 41, 1976 and vol. 42, 1977). An interesting discussion has developed concerning the Slavien — Slupsk principality in Pomerania between G. Labuda and J. Spors in *Zapiski Historyczne* (42, 1977). Most relevant is the article of L. Leciejewicz. 'Niektóre problemy początków państw u Słowian zachodnich i w Skandynawii w świetle archeologii', in *Prace i Materiały Muzeum Archeologicznego i Etnograficznego w Łodzi. Seria Archeologiczna* (25, 1978) for my comparative interest. General discussion of the origins of political organization in North-Western Slavonic lands was continued by A.N. Salivon, 'K voprosu ob obrazovanii narodnosti Obodritov', *Sovetskoe Slavyanovedenie* (1979/3) and J. Źak, 'Kulturverhältnisse am Anfang des Frühmittelalters in Pommern', in

Archaeologia Baltica. Symposium primum Archeologorum Balticorum (s.d. et l.). K. Slaski devoted a study to the rural settlement in Western Pomerania in *Kwartalnik Historii Kultury Materialnej* (26:3, 1978) and a study of commercial buildings in a collection of papers *Häuser und Höfe der Handeltreibenden Bevölkerung im Ostseegebiet und im Norden vor 1500. Acta Visbyensia V*. Urban history and urban institutions in Western Pomerania were once again examined by L. Leciejewicz in an article 'Sporne problemy genezy niezależności politycznej miast przy ujściu Odry we wczesnym średniowieczu', in *Ars Historica. Prace z dziejów powszechnych i Polski*.³

I hope that in spite of the impossibility to include these works, and others mentioned in Additional Bibliography, in my present study, it will be of some interest to those who are interested in Slavonic, Viking or generally, in Early Medieval studies.

I would like to use this occasion to express my gratitude to my academic supervisor Professor P. H. Sawyer (University of Leeds) whose encouragement, help and guidance were invaluable. Also my examiner Professor D. Bullough of St. Andrews University was very helpful in many respects. Other scholars and friends helped me greatly with their advice and encouragement, and sent me valuable books and articles. Among these I would like to thank Dr. N. Lund of Copenhagen, Prof. E. Lönnroth of Gothenburg, Dr. V. Vilibakhov of Leningrad, late Dr. K. Dąbrowski and Dr. D. Grinberg of Warsaw. I would like to thank also the following institutions for allowing the use of their facilities: The Brotherton Library at Leeds University, The British Library, The Library of the School of Slavonic and East European Studies, Bibliothèque Nationale (Paris), The Royal Library (Stockholm), The Royal Library (Copenhagen) and the Historical Museum in Stockholm.

Very special gratitude is expressed to the late Prof. H. Paszkiewicz, who first expressed interest in publishing this study in *Antemurale* and late Dr. L. Koczy who for more than a year patiently encouraged me and helped in making this publication possible.

Finally I would like to dedicate this very modest study to my wife Dr. Ruth Sobel and my son Alexander.

³ For full details see Additional Bibliography.

CHAPTER ONE

SOURCES AND HISTORICAL WRITING ON EARLY POMERANIA

Western Pomerania, a region on the southern coast of the Baltic is today a part of Poland, however, once it was an independent state (until the middle of the seventeenth century); it was one of the typical geo-political units which had emerged in this area in the Early Middle Ages. Like Rügen and Mecklenberg it was a Slavonic principality which had been subject to German influence and as a result changed in many respects. The written and archaeological sources from tenth-eleventh century make possible the study of the principality's political, economic, social and cultural life at the time when it still possessed its Slavonic character. It is also necessary to mention that the source material on this period is not too abundant and as a result those historians, who have attempted to reconstruct the original civilization of the Baltic Slavs, differ considerably in their views.

The civilization of North Western Slavs possesses several marked characteristics. The conversion to Christianity in Pomerania took place later than in other areas of Europe due to the region's geographical position and political relations as well as a developed pagan religion which the Baltic Slavs upheld. The sources seem to indicate that the political institutions of the Baltic Slavs were quite different from those in other lands. It seems that the Lutitian Union and to some extent parts of Pomerania, especially the big town centres, were a kind of 'republic', i.e. princely or royal authority was either non-existent or very 'underdeveloped' and the priests together with the popular assembly, *wiec*, held the power in their hands. This state of affairs, when compared by scholars with situations existing in other lands, especially Poland, led to the assumption that the state in Pomerania was underdeveloped.¹

The existence of well-developed town-centres and the strong

¹ K. Tymieniecki, 'Polska za Bolesławców', *RH*, 3 (1927), p. 27; M. Szaniecki, 'Główne linie rozwoju feudalnego państwa Zachodnio-Pomorskiego', *Czasopismo Prawno-Historyczne*, VII/1 (1955), p. 55 ff; V. Procházka, 'La Tribu, la principauté primitive et l'état féodal chez les Slaves d'entre l'Elbe et la Baltique', in *L'Europe aux IXe — XIe*, p. 371. He presents an overall picture of the slow development of feudalism in the Lutitian Union and Pomerania, mentioning even a return to tribal conditions.

participation of Pomerania in the economic and political life of the Baltic area has led some scholars to believe that Pomerania was not at all a 'backward' country but one with different types of political institutions.² These scholars pointed out the 'republican' form of government which existed in the developed trade-centres and compared it with the form of government found in other towns in the Baltic area as well as elsewhere in Europe.³

Other scholars have argued that the princely power in the North Western Slavonic lands became suppressed, and ceased to exist altogether in the Lutitian lands, as well as elsewhere (Rügen, Pomerania); therefore it emerged there later than in places such as Poland and Bohemia.

The establishment of the institution of the prince has been almost always considered the result of a long historical process of evolution. The traditional view is that at the beginning of this process the government was in the hands of the assembly, i.e. that it was a tribal democracy. Later on when the petty rulers became more powerful they began to play an important rôle in the assembly. In the next stage the importance of the assembly declined steadily and a relatively strong princely authority came into being.⁴

This view on the evolution of authority is deeply rooted in the older historiography as well as in the works of Marxist historians. It is only rarely that the validity of this 'model', constructed on the basis of fragmentary evidence, which was put together in accordance with the ideas of late nineteenth century, is questioned.⁵ The terms 'democratic' and 'monarchical' in relation to government were often considered to be opposed to each other.

In my study, the institution of the prince, its relations to other political institutions, the development of Pomerania and its relations with other lands and the problem of foreign influence will be discussed on the basis of strict source analysis. However, since Pomerania constituted an organic part of the whole of North Western Slavonic area the discussion of its history cannot be considered complete without a close scrutiny of the historical material concerning the Lutitian Union, at the time when this union was a powerful factor in the area (eighth-eleventh century). Rügen and the Obodritian lands will also be referred to when necessary.

² J. Dowiat, 'Ewolucja państwa wczesnofeudalnego na Pomorzu Zachodnim', *PH*, XLVII/3 (1956), p. 464.

³ L. Leciejewicz, *Początki nadmorskich miast na Pomorzu Zachodnim*, p. 252 ff.

⁴ H. Łowmiański, *Początki Polski*, IV, p. 15 ff., especially pp. 226-9. It contains the most recent discussion of state development and an extensive bibliography.

⁵ See pp. 36-37.

1. Source material on early Pomerania.

The sources used for the study of Pomeranian history (except material sources) represent almost always a foreign point of view due to the absence of native sources for the period under discussion (ninth-early twelfth century). It is clear therefore that our knowledge about the North Western Slavs is, to a large extent, derived from what the conquerors, the missionaries and the foreign settlers had written down about their enemies or allies among the Slavs. Until the end of the eleventh century the North Western Slavonic lands were but of marginal interest to the people of Western and Central Europe, where the historical sources were being written. This situation is reflected in the amount of attention devoted to these lands by Christian and Arab writers.

The data about these lands are fragmentary, composed of bits and pieces derived from Carolingian or Saxon sources and occasionally sources written in more remote areas. I will attempt to discuss all the important groups of sources where the North Western Slavonic affairs are mentioned; the discussion is necessarily selective and concerns only those sources which are either explicit about this area or have influenced the opinions of historians in some way or other. Some of the sources used later in the study are left out; these are mainly of minor importance or sufficiently known, like those relating to England: Ordericus Vitalis and others.

The first information about the North Western Slavs is found in the sources from the Carolingian period. The most important as well as the fullest source is *Annales regni Francorum* also called *Annales Laurissenses maiores*.⁶ According to modern research they were written at the royal and imperial court and they represent the official history of the Carolingian Empire.⁷ As a result they are well informed about the events which took place in various places, the policy of the emperors and the developments at court. It is clear, however, that they reflect the Frankish point of view. The *ARF* include the events of the years 741-829; from 777 the *Annales* became independent and from 788 they are written contemporarily with the events described, year after year or in portions including several years. The problem of authorship or the relation between the so-called annals (*Ann. q.d. Einhardi*, *Ann. Mettenses priores*) is still an unresolved question. It is clear that *ARF* were among the sources of the so-called small annals.

Among the other sources the most interesting are *Ann. q.d.*

⁶ *Annales Laurissenses maiores*, *SRG*, edited by F. Kurze.

⁷ W. Wattenbach, W. Levison, H. Löwe, *Deutschlands Geschichtsquellen im Mittelalter*, 2, p. 247 ff., and passim; H. Hoffmann, *Untersuchungen zur karolingischen Annalistik*.

Einhardi, written at the court in Aachen between 801-833, which include the years from 741 to 801.⁸ They differ from *ARF* in their style and language, also some facts seem to be presented there more correctly than in *ARF*; they also contain some details missing from *ARF*. It is possible that *Ann. q.d. Einhardi*, *ARF* and *Annales Mettenses priores*⁹ are three different versions of an earlier version of *Annales regni Francorum*, which were lost.

Among the annals written in Carolingian monasteries the most interesting are the continuations of *ARF*, especially *Annales Fuldenses*,¹⁰ which, like *Annales Bertiniani*¹¹ in the West Frankish lands, played the rôle of the 'official' historical work; this fact accounts for the annalists' possibility of access to rich information sources.

Among other monastic annals, those connected with Murbach (*Ann. Alamannici*, *Ann. Nazariani*, *Ann. Guelferbytani*)¹² and Lorsch¹³ (*Ann. Laureshammenses*, *Ann. Mosellani*, *Fragmentum Chesnianum*) as well as *Ann. Petaviani*¹⁴ and *Chronicon Moissiacense*,¹⁵ contain quite a lot of information about the Slavs.

The evaluation of the Carolingian annals for the earliest history of North Western Slavs is quite complicated. As was mentioned, *ARF* as well as other related annals, are based on a good knowledge of the events, the same relates to *Ann. Bertiniani* and *Ann. Fuldenses*, in the later period. However, the reality in the Slavonic territories was very remote from that known to the annalists. The problem of the reliability of the annals in relation to the Slavonic social and political system is discussed later.¹⁶

A list of fifty-five Slavonic tribes is found in another source, the so-called *Bavarian Geographer*.¹⁷ In this source are found, among others, the names of two Pomeranian tribes: Prissani and Uelunzani (nos. 36 and 37 on the list); this is the first written information about

⁸ See n. 6.

⁹ *Annales Mettenses priores*, *SRG*, edited by B. de Simson.

¹⁰ *Annales Fuldenses*, *SRG*, edited by F. Kurze; H. Hoffmann, *Untersuchungen*, p. 73, p. 91 ff.

¹¹ *Annales Bertiniani*, *SRG*, edited by G. Waitz.

¹² *Annales Alamannici*, *MGH SS*, I, pp. 22-31, p. 40, p. 48; *Annales Nazariani*, *MGH SS*, I, p. 22 ff., p. 40 ff; *Annales Guelferbytani*, *MGH SS*, p. 22 ff., p. 40 ff.

¹³ *Annales Laureshammenses*, *MGH SS*, I, p. 22 ff; *Annales Mosellani*, *MGH SS*, XVI, p. 494 ff; *Fragmentum Annalium Chesnii*, *MGH SS*, I, p. 34.

¹⁴ *Annales Petaviani*, *MGH SS*, I, p. 7 ff., p. 16 ff.

¹⁵ *Chronicon Moissiacense*, *MGH SS*, I, p. 282 ff.

¹⁶ M. Hellmann, 'Bemerkungen zum Aussagewert der Fuldaer Annalen und anderer Quellen über slavische Verfassungszustände', in *Festschrift für W. Schlesinger*, I, p. 61.

¹⁷ S. Zakrzewski, *Opis grodów i terytoriów z północnej strony Dunaju cz. t. zw. Geograf Bawarski*; W. Fritze, 'Die Datierung des Geographus Bavarus und die Stammesverfassung der Abodriten', *ZsP*, XXI (1952), *passim*. H. Łowmiański, 'O pochodzeniu Geografa Bawarskiego', *RH*, XX (1951-2), p. 16 ff. See also his article 'O identyfikacji nazw Geografa Bawarskiego', *Studia Źródłoznawcze*, III (1958), p. 1 ff.

Pomerania. According to the critical studies this list was composed in two parts: the first part around 944 in Fulda, probably by Rudolf (ca. 865), was connected with the military plans of the Franks, the second part (tribes nos. 14-55) was written shortly after the first in the monastery of St. Emmeram in Regensburg, probably on the basis of information received from merchants and Slavonic visitors to this important centre.

This list contains mainly names of tribes and a note on the number of *civitates* in each tribe. The first part of the list (thirteen tribes) includes tribes who border on the Frankish Empire, and is very valuable. The rest of the names on the list are not always easily identifiable and, therefore, are less valuable for historical research.

After an interval in the political activity on the north eastern border of the Empire, which is marked by a silence in the sources, the authors in mid-tenth century and later once again become interested in Slavonic affairs. The political initiative passed into the hands of the Saxons and they also wrote most of the sources concerning North Western Slavs.

The major sources are the chronicles of Widukind of Corvey and Thietmar of Merseburg. The German annals from Hersfeld (*Annales Hersfeldenses*), now lost, and from Hildesheim¹⁸ (*Annales Hildesheimenses*), the Bavarian annals from Nieder Altaich (*Annales Altahenses*),¹⁹ in which the lost text of *Ann. Hersfeldenses* was preserved are also important. However, the main source for the late tenth, early eleventh century, which deals with the Slavonic affairs, is *Annales Quedlinburgenses*.²⁰

Widukind,²¹ mentioned earlier, was probably a Saxon aristocrat and a member of a learned monastic community of New Corvey. He wrote his *Rerum gestarum Saxonicarum libri III* in the late sixties of the tenth century; in 973 he edited it for the last time. His knowledge of the Saxon affairs as well as of those of the neighbouring countries, especially during the reign of Otto I, is highly valued. His attitude towards the Slavonic tribes varies according to their relationship with the Saxons or the emperor. While he is quite friendly towards the newly converted Poles, the pagan North Western Slavs fare less well, nevertheless he points out the atrocities committed by the lords of the marches on the Slavonic border.

¹⁸ *Annales Hildesheimenses*, SRG, edited by G. Waitz; W. Wattenbach, R. Holzmann, F. Schmale, *Deutschlands Geschichtsquellen im Mittelalter. Die Zeit der Sachser und Saler*, p. 40 ff.

¹⁹ *Annales Altahenses*, MGH SS XX, p. 772 ff.

²⁰ *Annales Quedlinburgenses*, MGH SS, III, p. 22 ff.

²¹ *Widukindi Corbeiensis Rerum Gestarum Saxonicarum libri III*, edited by P. Hirsch, fifth edition.

Another Saxon chronicler, Thietmar, was also a member of an aristocratic Saxon family and since 1009 was appointed bishop of Merseburg.²² He wrote his chronicle in the years 1012-1018. Unlike Widukind he does not concentrate mainly on Saxon history but provides a description of the reigns of the German kings from Henry I to Henry II, until 1018. His work contains a wide range of information about local and international, secular and ecclesiastical affairs. As an eager supporter of Henry II he is openly hostile to the Poles, and as a bishop he does not hide his enmity towards the temporary allies of the Germans, the pagan Lutitians. His description of the internal affairs of the Slavonic tribes, their religion and social and political structure, is one of the few sources available for the historian. It is necessary to treat his chronicle with utmost caution, especially his description of the pagan religion and its place in Slavonic institutions. One can suspect that his information is strongly tinged with *interpretatio Christiana* on the one hand and on the other is presented in accordance with his own outlook, which had been formed in a world different from that of the North Western Slavs.

Sources of different origin concerning the history of Poland and its neighbours in the period under discussion (second half of the tenth century) should be mentioned as well. One of them is a short report by a Jewish traveller from Spain, Ibrahim ibn Jakub,²³ who visited the German court in 965-6. Unfortunately his work was preserved only in later compilations (from the thirteenth century) and his knowledge of the Slavonic affairs to be rather incomplete and cannot therefore be regarded as a fully reliable source, especially in relation to geographical details.²⁴

Another source, called *Dagome iudex*,²⁵ is the act of donation of the early Piasts' realm to the Holy See. It is a very valuable source, but it is problematic in relation to the identification of several place-names which probably were distorted by the copyists of the *Collectio canonum* of Cardinal Deusdedit. The problems of source criticism relating to these two items will be mentioned further.

Mid-eleventh century is marked by abated political activity on the north western Slavonic-Polish border. The annals continue to record small scale military operations or interference of the emperors in Slavonic affairs. The previously mentioned *Ann. Altahenses*, independently from other sources for the years 1032-73, are most

²² Thietmari Merseburgensis episcopi *Chronicon*, edited by R. Holtzmann.

²³ *Relatio Ibrahim ibn Ja'kub de itinero Slavico, quae tradiur apud Al-Bekri*, MPH SN, I, edited by T. Kowalski.

²⁴ J. Dąbrowski, *Dawne dziejopisarstwo polskie*, p. 13 ff.

²⁵ B. Kürbisówna, 'Dagome iudex. Studium krytyczne', in *PPP*, I, p. 363 ff.

important, because they mention for the first time a Pomeranian prince on the international arena.

The most important source for the history of North Western Slavs in the later part of the eleventh century is the *Gesta*, written by Adam of Bremen. The relevant source-criticism is discussed elsewhere and only a few remarks on its value for Slavonic history are made here.²⁶

Adam's main contribution was the recording of some facts concerning the political geography of the Lutitian lands and a description of the important trade-centre, Wolin. Adam's *Gesta* also contains important information about the historical events in the Lutitian lands in the second half of the eleventh century. His informers were Saxons, who went to the Slavonic territories as warriors or merchants; they had personal knowledge of these lands. Some of his information, like the description of Jumne (Wolin) as 'maxima omnium, quas Europa claudit, civitatum' (L.II, c.22), is exaggerated. The geographical location of some places is correct, for example the position of Demmin.²⁷ It shows clearly that Adam had no first hand knowledge of the area; the details of his statements should be therefore carefully checked. However, his *Gesta* still remains a valuable source for the study of this area in the eleventh century.

Additional and extremely important facts concerning the German-Lutitian wars and their relations in general are recorded by contemporary or somewhat later German sources, mostly Saxon or dealing with Saxon history, like *Annalista Saxo*.²⁸ This source was compiled in mid-twelfth century on the basis of sources, part of which are now lost, *Annales Lamberti Hersfeldensis* among others.²⁹

At the end of the eleventh century and the beginning of the twelfth the new ideas that came in the wake of the Crusades penetrated into this part of Europe.³⁰ The advent of these ideas coincided with the rebirth of power of the Polish state under Boleslaw III and with the Saxon, and later Danish, initiative which brought the drive towards the pagan Slavonic territories; as a result new *gestae* and new *vitae* of princes and apostles were written.

The *gesta*-type literary work is represented by the anonymous chronicle of the so-called Gall, who described the deeds of the Polish Prince Boleslaw III.³¹ It was written in 1112-16 by an unknown

²⁶ See pp. 41-92 of the *Thesis*.

²⁷ H. Krabbo, 'Nordeuropa in der Vorstellung Adams von Bremen', *Hansische Geschichtblätter* (1909), p. 37 ff.

²⁸ *Annalista Saxo*, MGH SS, VI, p. 553.

²⁹ *Annales Lamberti Hersfeldensis*, SRG, edited by O. Holder-Egger.

³⁰ H. Beumann, 'Kreuzzugsgedenke und Ostpolitik im hohen Mittelalter', *HJ*, 72 (1953), p. 112 ff.; J. Dąbrowski, *Dawne dziejopisarstwo polskie*, pp. 40-1.

³¹ *Anonima tzw. Galla Kronika czyli Dzieje książąt i władców polskich*, MPH SN, II, edited by K. Maleczyński.

historian, probably of French origin. His knowledge of contemporary events seems to be very good due to his close connexions with leading Polish churchmen and laymen. The written sources he knew were few: *Life of St. Adalbert*, the first saint connected with the plans of Otton III and Boleslaw I of Poland to bring Christianity to pagan lands; he also made use of some unknown Polish annals. The use of some form of written evidence is confirmed in the text by a number of events which are dated on the day of occurrence. These are mainly found in books II and III and concern a period preceding the writing of the *Gesta* by thirty years.

With this in mind one should treat the beginning of the source (book I), describing the legendary beginnings of the Piast dynasty and the times of the first Christian monarchs in Poland, until the eighties of the eleventh century, rather as the court tradition of early twelfth century about the first Polish rulers than as a reliable source for that period. Books II and III, describing among others the wars of Boleslaw III in Pomerania, are a very valuable historical source. These wars were also recorded in the Polish annals and some hagiographical works of the period.³²

Successful military operations of the Polish ruler in Pomerania brought about the beginning of conversion in that part of the North Western Slavonic lands. The missions of St. Otto of Bamberg in Pomerania were probably the greatest missionary adventure of the twelfth century in Europe. The deeds of St. Otto gained popularity almost at once. Shortly after his death three *vitae* of Otto were written. The study of Pomerania relies heavily on these *vitae* and therefore they merit a more detailed discussion.

The first *Vita S. Ottonis*³³ was written in the monastery of Prüfening, which was founded by Otto in 1109, near Regensburg. According to A. Hofmeister and K. Liman this *Vita* was written by the learned librarian of the monastery, Wolfger, between 1140 and 1146. Its author did not take part in the mission and the bulk of his information

³² See n. 36.

³³ *Die Prüfeningener Vita des Bischofs Otto von Bamberg*, edited by A. Hofmeister, Denkmaler d. Pommerschen Geschichte, I;

S. Ottonis episcopi Babenbergensis Vita Prieflingensis, MPH SN, VII/1, edited by J. Wikariak and K. Liman; K. Liman, 'Stan badań nad żywotami Św. Ottona z Bambergu', *Studia Źródłoznawcze*, III (1958), p. 23 ff.

In spite of the recent attempt by Demm to prove that *Vita Prieflingensis* and *Ebonis Vita* were written at the same time and rewritten later (see his *Reformmonchum und Slavenmission im 12 Jahrhundert*, p. 11 ff.) and the theory of D. Andernacht (*Die Biographien Bischof Ottos von Bamberg*, an unpublished Ph.D. thesis, Frankfurt/Main, (1950), who claimed that *VP* is dependent on *Ebonis Vita*, it seems that the opinion of J. Pethersohn ('Probleme der Otto Viten und ihrer Interpretation. Bemerkung im Anschluss an eine Neuerscheinung', *Deutsches Archiv für Erforschung des Mittelalters*, 27(1971), p. 330 ff.) supporting the theories of Hofmeister, is correct.

is based on the missionaries' stories. One of them was most probably the future bishop of Pomerania, Adalbert, who took part in the first mission (1124). He also maintained contacts with Otto during the second mission (1127-8) and served as Otto's interpreter; it is possible that he was a Pole who knew the conditions in Pomerania well. In addition to the oral information the author of the *Vita* used a few written sources dealing with the pastoral and administrative activity of Otto in Bamberg: *Relation de piis operibus Ottonis, Libellus memorialis de fundatione, de institutis, de prediis seu aliis bonis aeclesiae S. Georgii Martyris*. He also used some sources dealing with the mission to Pomerania, such as papal letters and a report on the mission, written after the first mission and quoted also by Ekkehard of Aura.³⁴

Several inaccuracies can be noted in this *Vita*. In one passage the Polish prince Wladyslaw Herman is taken for his son Boleslaw III; in another passage the see of Halberstadt is mixed up with the Bremen see. The dates of Otto's departure for Pomerania are also wrong. The miracles that already happened during Otto's mission, are presented as facts, in the accepted hagiographic manner. The character of Otto is presented in a favourable light while his opponents, especially the pagan priests in Pomerania, are presented from a negative point of view. The description of Pomeranian conditions and the events that occurred there is very brief; they serve mainly as the background for the deeds of St. Otto.

However, the proper evaluation of this *Vita* is not complete without a further discussion of the other two *vitae*. Another *Vita* of Otto was written by Ebo (or Ebbon)³⁵ from the Monastery of St. Michael in Bamberg, between 1151-59, but probably nearer to 1151. This monastery was closely connected with the person of Otto and probably many stories about him were known to the monks, perhaps from Otto himself or his collaborators. Two of Otto's collaborators are mentioned by Ebo as his informers: Udalric, who took part in the second missionary voyage, and Sefrid, who probably was a member of the first mission. It is not certain whether Ebo made use of the Prüflingen *Vita* as the order of the events presented is different in the two *vitae*, which shows an independent approach on the part of their writers.

Some factual mistakes are found in Ebo's *Vita* as well as in the first one; partly they are identical with those of the Prüflingen *Vita* and partly different. There are no major differences between Ebo's and Wolfger's presentation of facts. Some facts found in Wolfger's *Vita*,

³⁴ Ekkehardi *Chronicon*, MGH SS, VI, p. 263 (a. 1125).

³⁵ Ebonis *Vita S. Ottonis episcopi Babenbergensis*, MPH SN, VII/2, edited by J. Wikariak and K. Liman.

Ebo omitted and some he added. In spite of the relatively richer contents of Ebo's *Vita* it can still be a fairly reliable source.

The third *Vita* of Otto was written by Herbord.³⁶ It is quite different from the two earlier *vitae*. Its author was more erudite than Wolfger and Ebo and was also a better writer. His *Vita* is presented in a form of a dialogue between two monks of the Monastery of St. Michael and the author. Herbord's *Vita* was written some time after 1159. He himself was a newcomer to this monastery having come there in 1145. As the source for his *Vita* Herbord used mainly two previous ones.

It is very difficult to determine whether he had access to any additional sources of information, unknown to Wolfger and Ebo. Some examples corroborating this assumption can be cited. However, many passages show clearly that Herbord borrowed various details from one of the two *vitae* and then amplified them substantially. Thus the numbers of soldiers are higher, the titles of rulers are greater, the atrocities committed by the pagans are more horrible; all these aim at producing stronger effect as well as emphasising the greatness of Otto, the importance of his supporters and the difficulties of missionary work. Since many details of political life in Pomerania are known only from Herbord one can assume that many of those were the products of Herbord's imagination.

In the study of the political and social life in Pomerania the comparison of the three *vitae* is of utmost importance. The facts, known from Herbord only, cannot be easily accepted without an attempt to place them in a wider context of what is known about this area from various other sources.

Two additional sources which are relevant to this study and provide data on lands bordering with Pomerania, namely the lands of the Obodritians and the Rugians, are: *Chronicle of the Slavs*, written by Helmold of Bosau and *Gesta Danorum*, written by Saxo Grammaticus.

Helmold's *Chronicle*³⁷ presents the history of the missionary effort of the German church and the German secular authority to bring the Obodritian lands under their influence. Helmold completed his work around 1117; he was deeply involved in the missionary effort in Vagria. He provides quite a considerable amount of original and interesting information which became known to him during his involvement in missionary work, from the stories of fellow-missionaries or teachers. Although his *Chronicle* deals with the history

³⁶ *Herbordi Dialogus de Vita S. Ottonis episcopi Babenbergensis*, MPH, SN, VII/3, edited by J. Wikariak and K. Liman; P. David, *La Pologne et l'évangélisation de la Poméranie aux XIe siècle*, p. 45.

³⁷ *Helmoldi prosb. Bosoviensis Chronica Slavorum*, third edition, edited by B. Schmeidler.

of 'Slavia' since Charlemagne, the part that is of real value, is the description of contemporary events.

Gesta Danorum by Saxo³⁸ was the result of the growing importance of Denmark in the Baltic politics of the second half of the twelfth century. Saxo was the *clericus* of the Archbishop Absalon and he produced a book which presents the ideology of the Danish royal house.³⁹ For my purpose the discussion of the earlier parts of Saxo's *Gesta* is irrelevant (before book XIII).

The events of the twelfth century, including the numerous wars Denmark waged against Pomerania and its neighbours, are described on the basis of *Roskilde Chronicle*, *Necrologium Lundense*, *Vita Kanuti Regis*, *Vita Kanuti Ducis*, *Historia Regum Daniae*, Saxo also made use of sources which have since been lost, like, for example, the source which according to C. Weibull,³⁹ served as the basis for the description of the Slavonic wars as well as other events; these sources could have served the same purpose for *Knytlingasaga*, written in 1260-70.

However, certain scholars have suggested (the so-called Paludan-Müller theory) that the part of Saxo's work⁴⁰ under discussion was written in 1185-95, when Saxo was closely connected with Absalon, who participated in the Danish wars with the Slavs. Saxo's knowledge of Slavonic affairs could have been based on the stories of his contemporaries as well as his own experience. Of particular interest for the present study are those parts of the *Gesta* which contain descriptions of the political and religious life on the island of Rugen, a territory well known to the Danes and especially to Absalon.

The works discussed above are the main annalistic and narrative sources for the present study. In addition there exist a number of diplomas, directly or indirectly connected with Pomeranian history. The early diplomas are the ones connected with the expansion of the German church into the northern Slavonic lands and the charters for the bishoprics created at the end of the tenth century.

The Pomeranian charters, mainly donations to the Pomeranian church, begin with the Bulla of Innocent II for Bishop Adalbert, appointing him to the Pomeranian see (14 October, 1140). All the early Pomeranian and other related diplomas were edited a new by K. Conrad in *Pommersches Urkundenbuch*.

³⁸ *Saxonis Gesta Danorum*, edited by J. Olrik and H. Raeder, see especially, pp. XI-XXIII.

³⁹ I. Skovgaard-Petersen, 'Saxo Historian of the *Patria*', *Medieval Scandinavia*, 2 (1969), p. 54 ff.

⁴⁰ L. Weibull, 'Saxo kritiska undersökningar i Danmarks historia från Sven Estridsons död till Knut VI', *Historisk Tidskrift för Skåneland* (1915); E. Assmann, 'Die Schauplätze der danischwendischen Kämpfe in den Gewässern von Rugen', *Baltische Studien*, NF, 43 (1955), p. 22 ff.

Pomeranian archeology, numismatics and settlement were also extensively studied. The most important achievement of Pomeranian archaeology are the studies devoted to the urban settlements: Szczecin, Wolin, Kamien and Kolobrzeg, brought together by L. Leciejewicz.⁴¹ Studies devoted to smaller settlements as well as groups of settlements, which were the tribal centres, are very interesting and provide valuable information on the conditions of life, economy and tribal geography of Pomerania.⁴² The question of trade and contacts with other lands have also been well researched. Historians have dealt with the volume of foreign influence, especially the Scandinavian, studying the objects exported to Pomerania as well as types of construction. The anthropologists have studied the racial features of the skulls found in early-medieval cemeteries. The current approach is, that although Pomerania and especially the big trade-centres maintained frequent contacts with Scandinavia as well as Poland, Germany, the Baltic lands and Russia, there is no sign of a predominant influence of foreign elements in the development of the Pomerania towns, their political organisation, economy etc.⁴³

In the field of numismatic study Pomerania appears to be one of the typical Baltic lands, where the Cufic and Western (German and English) coins were found in the treasure-troves. The treasure-troves' contents were systematically studied and edited by T. and R. Kiersnowski.⁴⁴

The place-names of Pomerania have been studied, but they are more significant for the later period, the so-called German colonization period. The place-names' research of the Slavonic settlement in the early period, though it developed into a major discussion among scholars, failed to produce reliable results. The basic collection of Pomeranian place-names is that of R. Halsten.⁴⁵ The index for the atlas was compiled by St. Kozierowski.⁴⁶ Place-names in Western Pomerania were collected also by R. Trautmann.⁴⁷

⁴¹ L. Leciejewicz, *Początki nadmorskich miast na Pomorzu Zachodnim*; L. Leciejewicz, 'Die Entstehung der Küstenstädte zwischen Oder und Weichsel im Lichte der letzten Forschung', in *Die Zeit der Stadtgründung im Ostseeraum, Acta Visbyensia*, I, p. 47 ff.

⁴² W. Łęga, *Kultura Pomorza we wczesnym średniowieczu na podstawie wykopalisk*: it is the most comprehensive study in this field, though somewhat old. See also next section.

⁴³ J. Żak, *Importy skandynawskie na ziemiach Zachodnio-Słowiańskich od IX do XI wieku*, 3 vols.

J. Żak, 'Die Beziehungen zwischen Skandynaviern und den slawischen Stämmen westlich der Oder im Lichte der Bodenfunde des 9-11 Jahrhunderts', *Zeitschrift für Archaeologie*, I (1967), p. 305 ff.

⁴⁴ T. and R. Kiersnowscy, *Wczesnośredniowieczne skarby srebrne z Pomorza. Materiały*.

⁴⁵ R. Holsten, *Die Pommersche Flurnamen-Sammlung*.

⁴⁶ S. Kozierowski, *Atlas nazw geograficznych Słowiańszczyzny Zachodniej*, I, second edition.

⁴⁷ R. Trautmann, *Die Elb und Ostseeslawischen Ortsnamen*, 3 vols.

2. *The historical writing on Pomerania.*

In the introduction to this chapter some of the main themes of historical research are mentioned. Since some of these themes, like the question of the Viking fortress of Jomsborg⁴⁸ or the earliest Polish conquest of Pomerania,⁴⁹ are discussed at length later they are not dealt with here.

The problems of political and social history, historical geography, early settlement, trade, foreign relations and history of religion have been studied extensively in Pomeranian context and their discussion must be perforce selective.⁵⁰ In the field of political and social history of early Pomerania the main question to be dealt with is the relationship between the Pomeranian prince and the big town centres of Pomerania. Since the publication of K. Wachowski's book⁵¹ the historians have been under the influence of the theory of the 'primeval' democratic constitution of the North Western Slavs.

The oldest and the originally Slavonic institution was, according to Wachowski, the people's assembly. The monarchy, in certain places, emerged in later times. In relation to the Pomeranian material Wachowski stresses the mixed character of the 'Pomeranian state', where the towns were republics ruled by oligarchy and the prince had little or no influence.

O. Balzer,⁵² another student of the Western Slavonic states, upholds the view that these states emerged as a result of the union of the small territorial units and that from the very beginning of political organization the *wojewoda*, literally the leader of the warriors or an early type of ruler, was probably as typical for the Slavs as the assembly. Balzer sees the basis of the princely power in military leadership and dismisses the theory that its basis might have been sacral or connected with priesthood. He rejects the theory of the purely democratic character of Slavonic political life. He agrees with the assumption that the popular assembly played an extremely important role in the country's political life and sees the power of the prince as a function delegated to him by the people.

The tendency to emphasize the role of the assembly in the big centres as well as in some smaller ones is linked, in almost all the studies, with the assumption that Pomerania was a kind of federation

⁴⁸ See chapter 2.

⁴⁹ See chapter 2.

⁵⁰ *Historia Pomorza*, 1/1, p. 219 ff., 1/2, p. 7 ff; K. Lepszy, T. Mantuffel, K. Piwarski, 'Polish Historical Literature on Baltic and Pomeranian Problems' (1945-1959), in *Poland at the XIth International Congress of Historical Sciences in Stockholm*, p. 5 ff.

⁵¹ K. Wachowski, *Słowiańszczyzna Zachodnia*, second edition, p. 207 ff., and *passim*.

⁵² O. Balzer, *O kształtach państw pierwotnej Słowiańszczyzny Zachodniej*, in *Pisma pośmiertne*, 3, p. 43 ff.

of small units of tribal character, some 'republican', were the princely authority of the ruler of Pomerania was minimal or non-existent, and some where there was a local ruler, who was subjugated by the ruler of Pomerania.⁵³ Scholars seem to agree that the power of Warcislaw (the ruler of Pomerania during the twenties and thirties of the twelfth century) was greater in Kamien and the former Lutitian territories on the left bank of the Oder. The thesis of J. Dowiat, supported, to a certain extent, by the recent study of O. Kossmann,⁵⁴ that the ruling family came from the territory of Uzedom, has been rejected by scholars like L. Leciejewicz and R. Kiersnowski,⁵⁵ who advance the theory that this family came from the land of Kolobrzeg.

The study of K. Zernack has challenged the view that sees the assembly as the primeval institution of government. Although he does not make a study of the princely power, he tries to show that the town-assembly developed relatively late and was typical for Pomerania, as well as elsewhere in the Slavonic territories.⁵⁶

One of the problems connected with early rulership in North Western Slavonic lands is the question of the titles used by the rulers. Little or next to nothing is known about the actual power of the Slavonic ruler; the title used by the foreign authors, Danish or German (in Latin) was considered in older literature (Wachowski for example) as a reliable indication of the ruler's position. The studies of M. Gumowski,⁵⁷ G. Labuda⁵⁸ and H. D. Kahl⁵⁹ discuss the title of *rex* used for the North Western Slavonic rulers in eleventh and twelfth century. M. Hellmann discusses the title *dux* used by the Carolingian

⁵³ This is the opinion of K. Wachowski in his book cited in n. 51. In recent studies his thesis is upheld, with some reservations, by J. Dowiat, 'Ewolucja państwa wczesnofeudalnego na Pomorzu Zachodnim', *PH*, 47 (1956), p. 49 ff.; V. Průcházka, 'Politické zřízení Polabske-Pobaltských Slovanů v závěrečném období rodové společnosti', *SO*, 22 (1962), p. 238.

⁵⁴ J. Dowiat, 'Pochodzenie dynastii zachodniopomorskiej i ukształtowanie się terytorium księstwa zachodniopomorskiego' *PH*, 45 (1954), p. 237 ff.; O. Kossmann, 'Das unbekannte Ostseeland Selencia und die Anfänge Pommerns', *Zeitschrift für Ostforschung*, XX/4 (1971), p. 641.

⁵⁵ R. Kiersnowski, 'W sprawie początków organizacji państwowej na Pomorzu Zachodnim', *KH*, 61 (1954), 160 ff.; L. Leciejewicz, 'Kilka uwag o najstarszych ośrodkach państwa zachodniopomorskiego', *Studia i materiały do dziejów Wielkopolski i Pomorza*, V/1 (1959), p. 5 ff.

⁵⁶ K. Zernack, *Die burgstädtischen Volkversammlungen bei den Ost- und Westslaven. Studien zur verfassungsgeschichtlichen Bedeutung des Veče*, p. 198 ff.

⁵⁷ M. Gumowski, 'Królowie Słowiańscy', *Zapiski TNT*, 14 (1948), p. 29 ff.

⁵⁸ G. Labuda, 'Rozprzestrzenienie się tytułu "króla" wśród Słowian' in *Wiek Średnie Medium Aevum*, p. 73 ff.; G. Labuda, 'Wykształcenie się władzy królewskiej u Słowian we wczesnym średniowieczu', in *Z polskich studiów slawistycznych. II. Historia*, p. 61 ff.

⁵⁹ H.F. Kahl, 'Europäische Wortschatzbewegungen im Bereich der Verfassungsgeschichte. Ein Versuch am Beispiel germanischer und slavischer Herrschernamen, mit Antrag: Zum Ursprung von germ. König', *Zeitschrift für Savigny-Stiftung für Rechtsgeschichte. Germ. Abt.*, 77 (1960), p. 154 ff.

chroniclers.⁶⁰ The majority of these studies maintain that the use of Latin titles is of little relevance, only Gumowski, following the older literature, admits that the title *rex* could clearly signify the internal importance of the ruler. Much more important indications of the ruler's position are the titles used in the Pomeranian diplomatic documents from the later part of the twelfth century onwards, studied by P. Czaplewski.⁶¹

The history of the ruling dynasty in Pomerania has also been a theme for discussion. Older historians supposed that it was of Polish origin or closely related to the Polish ruling family.⁶² The recent studies of K. Mysliński⁶³ and G. Labuda⁶⁴ show that no tangible proofs of such connexions exist. The attempt of L. Koczy⁶⁵ to provide a long list of Pomeranian rulers before the twelfth century is not successful, because it was based on materials which are partly legendary.

The studies of the social history of Early Medieval Pomerania were inaugurated by two works of K. Tymieniecki,⁶⁶ who has shown that in pre-colonization period the social groups of rural and urban *potentates* or aristocrats had already been developed, also many social and economic phenomena, considered as having been introduced by the German colonists, had existed earlier. Other studies, including those of poorer groups of population (craftsmen and fishermen) were carried out, deriving much of the data from archaeology. The most adequate survey of these problems is found in the relevant chapters of the *History of Pomerania*,⁶⁷ in which considerable attention is devoted to social and economic history.

The economic history of Pomerania, due to the extensive archaeological research is quite well studied. I have mentioned the studies of foreign trade.⁶⁸ Problems of craftsmanship,⁶⁹ the commercial

⁶⁰ See n. 16.

⁶¹ P. Czaplewski, 'Tytułatura książąt pomorskich do początku XIV wieku', *Zapiski TN* 15 (1946), p. 9 ff.

⁶² O. Balzer, *Genealogia Piastów*, p. 59 ff.

⁶³ K. Mysliński, *Bogusław I Książę Pomorza Zachodniego*, p. 53 ff.

⁶⁴ G. Labuda, 'Czy książęta zachodniopomorscy wywodzili się z Piastów?', *Studia i Materiały do dziejów Wielkopolski i Pomorza*, IV/1 (1958), p. 33 ff.

⁶⁵ L. Koczy, 'Kilka uwag o najstarszych dziejach Pomorza', *RH*, 8 (1932), p. 144 ff.

⁶⁶ K. Tymieniecki, 'Ludność wiejska w krajach połabskich i pomorskich w wiekach średnich', *SO*, 1 (1921) p. 1 ff.; K. Tymieniecki, 'Podgrodzia w północnozachodniej Słowiańszczyźnie i pierwsze lokacje na prawie niemieckim' *SO*, 2 (1922), p. 55 ff.

⁶⁷ *Historia Pomorza*.

⁶⁸ M. Małowist, 'Z problematyki dziejów gospodarczych strefy bałtyckiej we wczesnym średniowieczu', *Roczniki dziejów społecznych i gospodarczych*, 10 (1948), p. 81 ff.

⁶⁹ E. Cnotliwy, *Rzemiosło rogownicze na Pomorzu wczesnośredniowiecznym; Historia Pomorza*, 1/1, p. 235 ff., 1/2 p. 29 ff.; L. Leciejewicz, *Początki nadmorskich...*, p. 117 ff.

routes,⁷⁰ the local market⁷¹ and economic geography (the extent of forest in Pomerania)⁷² have also been studied. Valuable research of the big landed estates⁷³ has been undertaken for the later periods; their author admits the possibility that such estates existed long before the documents, confirming their existence, came into being. There are valuable though controversial studies of J. Walachowicz⁷⁴ on the earliest organisation of the princely control of the economic resources of the land, in the form of monopolies and *regalia*. The earliest coin-minting is discussed by A. Suhle⁷⁵ and R. Kiersnowski.⁷⁶

The history of the settlement in Pomerania is one of the favourite subjects for the historians and the archaeologists. Besides the synthetic works, like those of L. Leciejewicz⁷⁷ and H. Bollnow,⁷⁸ there are valuable studies devoted to various centres⁷⁹ and tribal groups. W. Filipowiak has produced some of the most valuable works on this subject.⁸⁰ On the basis of a detailed list of archaeological, onomastic and historical data from the territories around Wolin he has succeeded in determining the territorial extent of the 'tribal state of Wolinians' and producing a map of the settlement on its territory. The study of W. Łosiński deals with the defence-settlements in the vicinity of Kołobrzeg.⁸¹ Other groups of settlements in Pomerania have been studied recently only generally, for example Pyrzyce-land.⁸²

The political geography, i.e. the borders of Pomerania, the history of its name and its internal divisions are on the whole studied but the results are not always satisfactory. The name itself, Pomerania, i.e. a

⁷⁰ K. Ślaski, 'Pomorskie szlaki handlowe w XII i XIII wieku', *PZ*, 4/1 (1948), p. 285 ff.; Ch. Warnke, *Die Anfänge des Fernhandels in Polen*.

⁷¹ See n. 3, p. 163 ff.; *Historia Pomorza*, 1/2, p. 49 ff.

⁷² K. Ślaski, 'Zasięg lasów Pomorza w ostatnim tysiącleciu', *PZ*, 7/2 (1951), p. 207 ff.

⁷³ H. Chłopocka, *Powstanie i rozwój wielkiej własności ziemskiej w Kołbaczu; Historia Pomorza*, 1/2, p. 38 ff.

⁷⁴ J. Walachowicz, *Monopole książęce w skarbowości wczesnofeudalnej Pomorza Zachodniego*.

⁷⁵ A. Suhle, 'Beiträge zur Geschichte des Münzwesens in Pommern im Mittelalter', *Baltische Studien, NF*, 39 (1937), p. 119 ff.

⁷⁶ R. Kiersnowski, 'Denary zachodniopomorskie z drugiej połowy XII wieku', *Wiadomości Numizmatyczne*, 4 (1960), p. 209 ff.; R. Kiersnowski, 'Mennice i mincerze na Pomorzu Zachodnim w drugiej połowie XII w.', *Materiały Zachodniopomorskie*, 6 (1960) p. 315 ff.

⁷⁷ See n. 3.

⁷⁸ H. Bollnow, 'Burg und Stadt in Pommern bis zum Beginn des Kolonisationszeit', *Baltische Studien, NF*, 38 (1936), p. 48 ff.

⁷⁹ L. Leciejewicz, W. Łosiński, E. Tabaczyńska, *Kołobrzeg we wczesnym średniowieczu*.

⁸⁰ W. Filipowiak, *Wolinianie. Studium osadnicze. Materiały*, I; W. Filipowiak, 'Wolin — największe miasto Słowiańszczyzny Zachodniej' in *Pomorze Średniowieczne*, p. 36 ff.

⁸¹ W. Łosiński, *Początki wczesnośredniowiecznego osadnictwa grodowego w dorzeczu dolnej Parsęty*.

⁸² R. Wołagowicz, 'Osadnictwo Ziemi Pyrzyckiej we wczesnym średniowieczu', *Zeszyty Pyrzyckie*, 3 (1970), p. 37 ff.

land by the sea-shore, has often been discussed by scholars, J. Dowiat⁸³ suggests that it was a geographical name given by the Poles in the eleventh century. H. Łowmiański,⁸⁴ on the other hand, maintains that it was rather a tribal and ethnical name.

The issue of Pomerania's border with Poland is discussed by L. Leciejewicz,⁸⁵ K. Ślaski⁸⁶ and others. The more complicated issue is that of the western border of Pomerania, or as it sometimes was considered, of Poland in tenth-eleventh century. Some scholars maintain that the Polish conquest of Pomerania at the end of the tenth century established the border between Poland or Pomerania, a province of Poland, and the Lutitian lands, on the same line more or less as the post war border between Poland and Germany.⁸⁷ Historians, like Dowiat and Kossmann, point out the extremely complicated nature of this border (if one can speak about any fixed border at all); they maintain that some of the territories on the right bank of the Oder and the islands of the Oder-estuary constituted a political body either within the framework of the Lutitian Union or in close association with it.⁸⁸

The internal divisions of Pomerania in the twelfth and thirteenth century are studied by K. Ślaski.⁸⁹ In his study he relates the later administrative units to the earlier small territorial units — *opole*.

In the field of maritime history Polish historians have proved that the Slavs were not inferior as sailors to their Scandinavian contemporaries.⁹⁰ The character of the trade centres on the sea-shore is discussed in the work by Leciejewicz, mentioned earlier. The maritime military campaigns of the Baltic Slavs have been studied by K. Pieradzka.⁹¹

⁸³ J. Dowiat, see n. 54. See also A. Piskozub, 'Pomorz jako pojęcie geograficzno-historyczne', *Przegląd Zachodniopomorski*, 4 (1963), p. 21 ff.

⁸⁴ H. Łowmiański, *Początki Polski*, III, p. 170; G. Renn, *Die Bedeutung des Namens Pommern und die Bezeichnung für das heutige Pommern in der Geschichte*.

⁸⁵ L. Leciejewicz, 'Z badań nad kształtowaniem się ośrodków grodowych na pograniczu Pomorsko-Wielkopolskim we wczesnym średniowieczu', *SA*, 7 (1960), p. 307 ff.

⁸⁶ K. Ślaski, 'Granica Wielkopolsko-Pomorska w okresie wczesnego feudalizmu', *PZ*, 11 (1954), p. 91 ff.

⁸⁷ Z. Sułowski, 'Najstarsza granica północna Polski', *PZ*, VII/3/4 (1954), p. 313 ff.; K. Maleczyński 'Najstarsza granica zachodnia Polski na podstawie źródeł X w.', in *PPP*, I, p. 213 ff.; A. Gieysztor, 'Aspects territoriaux du premier état polonais IX-XI., *Revue Historique*, 85/4 (1961), p. 357 ff.

⁸⁸ See n. 54.

⁸⁹ K. Ślaski, *Podziały terytorialne Pomorza w XII-XIII wieku*; F. Curschmann, 'Die Landescinteilung Pommerns im Mittelalter und die Verwaltungscinteilung der Neuzeit', *Pommersche Jahrbücher*, XII (1911), p. 159 ff.

⁹⁰ W. Kowalenko, 'Najdawniejsze związki Prastłowian i Słowian z Bałtykiem', *PZ*, VII/1 (1951), p. 5 ff.

⁹¹ K. Pieradzka, *Walki Słowian na Bałtyku w X-XII wieku*.

According to the maritime archaeologists, the ships or boats of Slavs, were capable of distant seafaring.⁹² The boats discovered in Charbrów were over 13 metres long and over 3.75 metres wide. They were propelled by means of sails and oars.

The Slavonic sea-ports are discussed by various historians and archaeologists (W. Kowalenko, W. Filipowiak and B. Wachowiak).⁹³ K. Ślaski has produced a general study of the early maritime history of the North Western Slavs.⁹⁴

Much attention has been devoted to the religious life and the conversion of Pomerania. General works on the pagan religion of the Slavs have numerous references to Pomerania. The short, but very important article of R. Jakobson,⁹⁵ contains an extensive bibliography and is an excellent introduction to this subject. A study of West Slavonic religion is needed since the work of E. Wienecke⁹⁶ does not come up to the standard required of a modern study of pagan religion. Polish studies are either very old (J. Legowski-Nadmorski)⁹⁷ or deal only partly with West Slavonic religion.⁹⁸ The book of T. Palme is interesting but rather onesided on the problem of foreign influences on the Slavonic religion.⁹⁹ V. Průcházka attempts to show the importance of the religious institutions in the political life of the North Western Slavs.¹⁰⁰ The process of conversion of the Pomeranians and the building up of the church-organization, are very popular subjects. German,¹⁰¹ Polish,¹⁰² French¹⁰³ and English¹⁰⁴ historians have dealt with this subject in monographs or otherwise. The most recent study by

⁹² M. Prosnak, 'Zachodniosłowiańska sztuka korabnicza wczesnego średniowiecza', *Materiały Zachodniopomorskie*, 9 (1963), p. 241 ff.

⁹³ W. Kowalenko, 'Starosłowiańskie grody portowe na Bałtyku', *PZ*, XI (1955), p. 164 ff.

⁹⁴ K. Ślaski, *Słowianie Zachodni na Bałtyku*; K. Ślaski, 'La Navigation des Slaves Occidentaux sur la mer Baltique', *Acta Poloniae Historica*, XXIII (1971), p. 11 ff.; L. Leciejewicz, 'Sea-problems in Research into Early Medieval Poland', *Acta Poloniae Historica*, XXIII (1971), p. 132 ff.

⁹⁵ R. Jakobson, 'Slavic Mythology', in *Funk and Wagnall's Standard Dictionary of Folklore, Mythology and Legend*, p. 1025 ff.

⁹⁶ E. Wienecke, *Untersuchungen zur Religion der Westslaven*.

⁹⁷ J. Łęgowski-Nadmorski, *Bóstwa i wierzenia Słowian Lechickich*.

⁹⁸ A. Brückner, *Mitologia Słowiańska*; S. Urbańczyk, *Religia pogańskich Słowian*.

⁹⁹ T. Palm, *Wendische Kultstätten*.

¹⁰⁰ V. Průcházka, 'Organizace kultu a kmenove zriženi Polabsko-Pobaltských Slovanu, *Vznik a počátky Slovanu*, 2 (1959), p. 145 ff.

¹⁰¹ H. Heyden, *Kirchengeschichte Pommerns*, second edition; W. Wiesner, *Die Geschichte der christlichen Kirche in Pommern zur Wendenzeit*; M. Wehrmann, 'Lehr- und Predigtätigkeit des Bischofs Otto von Bamberg', *Baltische Studien*, NF, 26 (1924), p. 154 ff.

¹⁰² This subject was extensively treated by Polish historians. References can be found in the article quoted in n. 105. See also chapter 3.

¹⁰³ P. David, see n. 38.

¹⁰⁴ K.S. Latourette, *A History of the Expansion of Christianity*; A.P. Vlasto, *The Entry of the Slavs into Christendom*.

B. Zientara, which attempts to link contemporary events with the mission of St. Otto of Bamberg and the establishment of the Pomeranian church, is most interesting.¹⁰⁵

V. Procházka devotes a series of studies to the legal history of North Western Slavs in which he discusses the court organization and the procedure,¹⁰⁶ the legal and the political aspects of the early taxation system¹⁰⁷ and the question of land ownership.¹⁰⁸

Recently an excellent text-book on the history of Pomerania, *Historia Pomorza*, has been published as well as a lexicon of *Slavonic Antiquities* (Słownik Starożytności Słowiańskich). The lexicon, published since 1961, covers a wide range of topics concerning Pomeranian history and provides an extensive bibliography on each of the topics discussed there.

¹⁰⁵ B. Zientara, 'Polityczne i kościelne związki Pomorza Zachodniego z Polską za Bolesława Krzywoustego', *PH*, LXI/1 (1970), p. 192 ff.

¹⁰⁶ V. Procházka, 'Šnemovnictví a soudnictví Polabsko-Pobaltských Slovanu', *Vznik a počátky Slovanu*, 3 (1960).

¹⁰⁷ V. Procházka, 'Danova a jina břemena u Polabsko-Pobaltských Slovanu', *Pravnohist. Studie*, I (1955), p. 157 ff.

¹⁰⁸ V. Procházka, 'Vlastnictví půdy u Polabsko-Pobaltských Slovanu', *Vznik a počátky Slovanu*, 4 (1963), 5 (1967).

CHAPTER TWO

SURVEY OF THE EARLIEST POLITICAL AND SOCIAL HISTORY OF POMERANIA

1. *The Carolingian Age.*

The lands situated among the Baltic-Oder-Vistula-Noteć and Warta rivers were part of the Slavonic-Baltic political world and therefore a short discussion of the events in this area seems necessary.

The Carolingian politics in north-eastern border territories which might have influenced Pomeranian Lands and certainly influenced the Wioletians (Lutitians), the direct neighbours of Pomerania, are of interest here.¹ Contacts between the Frankish lands and the North Western Slavonic lands began earlier than is recorded in the written sources. The Carolingian *capitularia*, restricting the trade between the Frankish lands and the Slavonic *barbaricum*, mention several directions of Carolingian trade: a) through Bardowik and Saxony towards the Slavonic lands; b) through Schesel, near Celle; c) Magdeburg; d) Erfurt; e) Halstadt; f) Forcheim; g) Braimberg; h) Regensburg; i) Lorch.² These places were border-stations controlling the trade of the Carolingian subjects with the Slavonic lands, and there is little doubt that before the application of the above mentioned restrictions, free trade was conducted along several trade-routes. One of the best instances illustrating the trade-enterprises of the Franks in the Slavonic lands in the seventh century, is the example of Samo, the Frankish merchant, who became one of the builders of what was probably the first Slavonic state.³

Another indication of the possible contacts between these two areas in the pre-Carolingian period, is the rapid adoption of the Slavs into the political system of the Frankish empire, in the north, on the Saxon-Slavonic-Danish border. As early as 747-8 there are indications of military cooperation between the Franks and the Slavs. This

¹ V. Procházka, *Politické zřízení Polabsko-Pobaltských Slovanu v závěrečném udobi rodové společnosti*., *SO*, 22 (1962) p. 197 ff. He maintains that all the Polabian Baltic Slavs were one unit from ethnical and cultural point of view.

² *Capitularis of Diefenhofen*, in *Capitularia Regum Francorum*, edited by A. Boretus, *MGH Legum*, sectio II, I, no. 44, p. 123.

³ G. Labuda, *Pierwsze państwo słowiańskie — państwo Samona*.

cooperation was directed against the Saxons and it seems that the latter helped the Franks, due to an antagonism that existed between the Slavs and the Saxons. It can be deduced from later events that these Slavs were Obodritians. More can be learnt about the Frankish West Slavonic relations during the reign of Charlemagne. In 789 Charlemagne organized a great army, which included Franks, Saxons, Frisians, Obodritians and Sorbs. He personally led this army against the Slavs called Wilzi, i.e. Wioletians.⁴ What was the reason for such an enormous campaign under the personal leadership of Charlemagne?

The sources give only one reason: the attacks of the Wioletians on Obodritians, who were the allies of the Franks. It seems that the Obodritians were very valuable allies and they drew the attention of Charlemagne as the possible representatives of the Frankish empire on the farthest north-eastern outposts of the Empire. It is interesting to note that the Obodritians were not subjugated to the Frankish state, and *Vita Caroli* as well as *ARF* state that they were allies.

Charlemagne, by organising a great expedition in 789, wanted to achieve a certain stabilization in this area and accorded the Obodritians the role of a buffer-state, able, with reasonable Frankish help, to control the north-Saxon lands, the Danish border and especially the Slavonic tribes on the north-eastern Frankish border. The political events of 808⁵ demonstrated that this plan could not have been carried out because the powers of the Obodritian ruler Thrasco were not sufficient to deal with the probably coordinated actions of the Danes and the Wioletians, while the tribes subordinated by the Obodritians willingly supported his enemies. The Carolingian rulers did not fully trust Slavs, Obodritians included. This can be seen from the fact that an embargo on arms was imposed in 805, applying also to the Obodritians.

Besides the military support given to Thrasco in 808, Charlemagne attempted to secure the north-eastern border of the Frankish empire by his own means; he started a Frankish settlement in the northern Saxon lands and built a fortress to protect the settlers.⁶ Yet another fortress, Hohbuoki, was intended to provide a check against tribes of Glinians and the Wioletians, on the right bank of the Elbe. Thus in the first two decades of the ninth century, the Frankish empire was still much involved in the Slavonic area.

The discussion of the political order in the Slavonic lands during the Carolingian age inevitably leads to an attempt to explain the terms used in the Carolingian sources for any of the Slavonic rulers: the

⁴ *ARF*, a. 789, *Annales Laureshammenses*, p. 34; *Annales Guelferbytni*, p. 45.

⁵ *ARF*, a. 808; H. Jankuhn 'Karl der Grosse und die Norden', in *Karl der Grosse*, edited by W. Braunsfels, I, p. 699 ff.

⁶ *ARF*, a. 808, a. 810, a. 811.

Latin *regules*, *dux*, *primores*, *rex*. These attempts have caused many controversies among scholars. Even quite detailed studies do not make an attempt to define fully all the terms used in the Carolingian sources and it is clear how pointless the discussion is.⁷

A good example is the title of the Obodritian Wilczan, who is called *princeps*, *dux* and *rex* by the different annals.⁸ The aim is to discover why the Carolingian annalists were so confused in the usage of titles? Clues to the solution of this problem can be found in the same sources, when they deal with other nations and their political structures.

In *ARF* there is an interesting indication on the titles of the Avars. The source relates that among them there were titles such as *khagan*, *capcan*, *tudun*, *canizanci* and *jagur*.⁹ It is enough to emphasize the fact that the Carolingian annalists were well acquainted with the titles and even with the political hierarchy of the Avars, who lived quite far from the Frankish centres, where these annals were written. Thus the Avarian parallel suggests that the annalists, instead of using or translating the Slavonic titles, used the Latin titles they knew. If there were any Slavonic titles for the Carolingian *regules*, *primores*, etc., the only one linguists are ready to accept is the title *kniadz*, which is most probably derived from proto-Germanic *kuningas* and appeared at a very early stage of linguistic interchange in Europe (third century BC — second century AD).¹⁰

G. Labuda in his discussion of the linguistic problem from a historian's point of view, stresses the fact that in this period appeared among the Proto-Slavs the social stratum of *potentes* and chieftains, which needed such a title as a symbol of status.¹¹ This hypothesis is acceptable but the next stage in his discussion needs to be criticized. He claims that in the sources the Slavonic *kniadz*, is expressed by the word *dux*, which corresponds to the German *herizogo*, a person, who in the political hierarchy, stands between *rex* and *comes*. He argues that in the seventh and eighth century the power of the Slavonic *kniadz* became linked with a territory and it advanced to the highest position and was translated as *regulus* (he stresses the fact that the title *rex* for

⁷ The main controversy among the scholars is whether these rulers were like the grand princes of the tribal federations, as it was presented in the older literature, for example K. Wachowski and more recently by H. Bulin 'Počátky státu Obodrytskeho', *Pravne-historické studie*, IV (1958), p. 38 ff., or petty rulers of tribes, as maintained by G. Labuda, *PPP*, I, p. 43 ff.

⁸ *ARF*, a. 789; a. 795; *Annales Laureshammenses*, a. 795, p. 39; *Annales Fuldenses*, a. 795, p. 351.

⁹ *ARF*, a. 795, a. 805, a. 811; A. Kollautz, 'Die Avaren. Die Schichtung in einer Nomadenherrschaft', *Saeculum*, V (1954), p. 131 ff.

¹⁰ A. Stender-Petersen, *Slavisch-germanische Lehnwortkunde*, p. 181; V. Kiparsky, *Die gemeinlavischen Lehnwörter aus dem Germanischen*, p. 202 ff.

¹¹ G. Labuda, 'Rozprzestrzenienie się tytułu „króla” wśród Słowian', in *Wieki Średnie*, p. 58 ff.

the Slavonic rulers is exceptional) by the sources to distinguish the Slavonic *kniadz* from the Frankish ruler with a similar sounding title.

The nobles are named by the sources *potentes, primores, praesentires* etc. This process: from the general title to the particular for one ruler is questioned by Labuda in the light of a very controversial passage from *Vita altera Kanutis Ducis*. 'Regis usurpati nominis reus non teneor; Sclavia enim nec regem habuit, nec michi commisa me regem vocavit. Usuali quidem locucione causa dignitatis vel reverencie "Knese" quemlibet vocare consuet, hoc est dominus'.¹² Here the title *knese*, as explained by Knut Lavart, is not a particular name for a ruler but used for every member of the upper class or even in a wider sense.

The discussion of the Carolingian times has to be restricted to the contemporary sources because the twelfth century *Vita altera Kanutis Ducis* reflects the situation 400 years later. In relation to the views presented by Labuda, one point made by him can be dismissed. ARF, which are regarded by the scholars as the official records of the Carolingian state, used sometimes the title *rex* for Obodritian rulers (a. 795, a. 823); if one compares the titles attached to particular Slavonic rulers one finds that the titles *rex, regulus* and sometimes also *dux* are used for them interchangeably.¹³ Thus it is not possible to conclude that any special title was reserved for a Slavonic ruler or the Slavonic *potentes, primores, reguli* etc., for that matter, in the Carolingian annals. Only one Bavarian document of this period, connected with Southern Slavs, preserved the Slavonic title *zupan*, probably chieftain of a small territorial unit. Similar titles in the territories under discussion will not appear in the sources until twelfth century.¹⁴

In the studies dealing with political institutions one finds a discussion of the position of the princes and other groups of *potentes*. This problem is very important and it will be discussed here in detail because, up to the end of the tenth century — beginning of the eleventh century for the Obodritian-Wieletian lands, and up to the twelfth century in Pomerania, one does not find much information on the political institutions of the North-Western Slavs. However, before the discussion of the political institutions one question has to be answered, namely: whether the knowledge of the political relations in the Obodritian-Wieletian lands can be applied to Pomerania? Here one is practically groping in the dark because there are no direct indications of Pomeranian political institutions in the sources. The only method to use in comparing the two would be to examine the archaeological

¹² *Vita Canutis Ducis, MGH SS, XXIX, p. 14.*

¹³ See n. 16, chapter 1.

¹⁴ Charter of Tassilo for the Monastery of Kremmünster in 777, in *Urkundebuch des Landes ob der Enns*, II, nr. 11, p. 3. See also n. 87 chapter 3.

information concerning the respective territories and their historical conditions. One has to emphasize the fact that the Obodritians as well as southern tribes of the Wieleitian group, during the period under discussion, had certain contacts with the Franks, however, the only information about Frankish influence across the Oder is mentioned in Einhard's *Vita Caroli* (c. 15), it is probably exaggerated and it is not mentioned in other sources.

From the archaeological data¹⁵ one learns that the biggest economic centre; which developed in Pomerania before the eighth century was Kolobrzeg, the beginning of Wolin came at the end of the ninth century. Other important centres developed somewhat later. In the Obodritian territory the written sources mention one important centre, called by the Danes Reric, which was not destroyed by them in 808 and continued to prosper as a local economic centre called Stargard-Oldenburg.¹⁶ The beginning of Stargard is dated eighth-ninth century. Other centres such as old Lubeck, Wismar, Rostock, Stralsund, Wolgost and Usdom developed in later ninth-tenth century.¹⁷ The development of economic centres along the sea-coast as well as the distribution of early treasures in the North-Western Slavonic lands proves that the Baltic trade-route had decisive importance for the development of North-Western Slavonic economic centres. A more or less equal economic development along the whole Slavonic coast is evident, but there are certain indications that the territory around Kolobrzeg was better developed due to excellent conditions prevailing there.

One can draw certain conclusions from this discussion: the economic development of the commercial centres, which are a *sui generis* indication of the internal social and economic development provided favourable conditions for wider Pomeranian and Obodritian contacts overseas. There were no striking differences in the economic development, and probably none in the socio-political structure between the lands that are situated between the Elbe and the Oder on the one hand and those across the Oder on the other, before the beginnings of Frankish influence in this area. But from the eighth century, and especially in the first half of the ninth century, the Carolingian state became the dominant factor in the political life of the Obodritians and of the Wieleitians, while the Scandinavians had loose contacts with the

¹⁵ W. Hensel, 'Les Origines des villes slaves occidentales et orientales', *SA*, 10 (1963), p. 131 ff.; H. Jankuhn, 'Die frühmittelalterlichen Seehandelsplätze im Nord- und Ostseeraum', in *Vorträge und Forschungen*, 4 (1958), p. 487 ff.; L. Leciejewicz, 'Kształtowanie się pierwszych miast u Słowian Nadbałtyckich', *SA*, 17 (1970), p. 93 ff.

¹⁶ K. Huche, *Tonwerc und Siedlung des Slaven in Wagrien*, p. 28 ff.

¹⁷ L. Leciejewicz, 'Najstarsze osady miejskie Słowian Zachodnich nad Bałtykiem', in *Z. polskich studiów slawianistycznych*, II, *Historia*, p. 46.

southern coast of the Baltic and there is no proof of any political influence of Scandinavia, which was also on a similar level of social and political development as the Slavonic lands.¹⁸

The first detailed information on the political relations is that on the Slavonic group of Wieleitians. The Frankish army crossed the Elbe and attacked the Wieleitians in 789. The important point is the direction of this attack. It started from the river Elbe and most probably not in that part of the river where the Obodritians and their dependant tribes lived, because they were the allies of Charlemagne; it is probable that the attack was more to the south of the Obodritian lands, between Hohbouki and Magdeburg. It can be assumed that the route of the Carolingian army led through the southern part of the Wieleitian group but it is unknown whether the *civitas* was Brenna or another burg somewhere in this area.¹⁹

It is clear from the sources that Drogovit was one of the prominent people among the Wieleitians (*Annales Petaviani*, MGH SS I, p. 17). In the annals there is a direct indication that the other *primores ac reguli* were somehow dependent on Drogovit in the political act of surrender to Charlemagne. *ARF* expresses it as follows 'The other magnates and chieftains followed suit and submitted to the authority of the king (Charlemagne) and also he (Drogovit) stood above the other nobles of the Wieleitians in age and lineage'. Hence it can be assumed that Drogovit was in the eyes of the annalist the highest political authority, the one with whom Charlemagne could negotiate and the example of his surrender was followed without further military acts by the *primores ac reguli*. His rights for negotiations, conclusion of peace and surrender in the name of other Wieleitians were only partial, because the others had to participate in these acts as well, but opposition in this case was rather out of question since the country faced the whole army of Charlemagne. Thus the nature of Drogovit's political power was that of a leader among other rulers or nobles.

This point is also made clear in the sources, where he is called Drogovit the 'King of Kings' (*Cron. Moissiac*, MGH SS I p. 298; and *Ann. Lauresham*, MGH SS I p. 45). One point is very interesting, though not very well confirmed by the source material, namely *Annales Mettenses* mention that when Drogovit had appeared before Charlemagne he stated that he had once been appointed ruler by the invincible Charles.²⁰ The only problem is which Charles he had in mind: Charles Martel or Charlemagne. Since there is no positive proof

¹⁸ J. Źak, *Importy skandynawskie na Ziemiach Zachodnio-Słowiańskich*, III, p. 138.

¹⁹ *Chronicon Moissiacense*, MGH SS, I, p. 298; *Annales Laureshamenses*, MGH SS, I, p. 45.

²⁰ *Annales Mettenses*, a. 789.

that it was not Charlemagne, it is more likely that his appointment took place in the earlier days of Charlemagne.

Other information on political life in the Slavonic lands comes from Obodritian territory. In 808-9 a Danish attack on the Obodritians was followed by the Wioletian, Smolinian and Linian attacks. *ARF* relate two facts which are connected with this discussion. After the attack of Godofrid, Thrasco was expelled because he did not trust the loyalty of his countrymen. From the learned expression of the annalist it can be deduced that the structure of political power in the Obodritian lands was similar to that of the Wioletian lands in 789 and the classical expression, *popularium fidei diffisus*, denotes the lack of unanimous support for Thrasco during the Danish attack.²¹

The antagonism which is only hinted at by the source could have developed from the different interests that existed between Thrasco, who remained loyal to the Franks because his power was supported by them (this is also evident from the fact that they helped him to regain his position), and the *potentes*, whose possible interest in commerce and piracy oriented them towards a pro-Danish position.

The other fact mentioned in *ARF* is that the Danes hanged another ruler of the Obodritians, Godeleib (Boguslav in Slavonic). In this case it is difficult to decide whether he was a kind of co-ruler of Thrasco or one of the subordinate rulers, who was hostile to the Danes; the annalist records his name as an example of a Frankish supporter. The vague statement in the source concerning the position of Godeleib implies that it was by no means easy for the Carolingian annalist, whose mind was operating in a structure of clearly defined political titles, to determine the position of such a Godeleib.

The years 817-826 bring forth new information on the political structure in the above mentioned lands. The Carolingian sources stress the struggle for political power among the Slavs and the Frankish intervention on behalf of this or that dependent. Such a situation was of course favourable for preservation of peace on the borders. At this time the Frankish empire was not interested in further territorial or political expansion, its most important task was to ensure peace on the borders. The imperial policy towards the troublesome Danish neighbours was to back one of the sides in the internal struggle in Denmark. The imperial policy in the Obodritian lands was similar, namely to support the rulers friendly to the Franks and to tie them to the Empire. The examples of this policy constitute important data for the study of the internal political relations in the Slavonic lands.

²¹ *ARF*, a. 808; 'Nam licet Drasconem ducem Abodritorum popularium fidei diffidentem loco tepulisset'. Tacitus, *Annales*, II; c. 1. 'Fidei popularium diffisus'. The use of a classical phrase does not help in understanding who was the *populus* of the *ARF*.

ARF relate that in 817 the Obodritians and Sclaomir revolted. The source explains the causes of their revolt as follows ‘Causa defectionis erat, quod regem potentatem, quam Sclaomir eatenus post mortem Trasconis solus super Abodritos tenebat cum Ceadrago filio Trasconis partiri iubebatur’. Sclaomir, who was not the son of the preceding Obodritian ruler, ruled in the Obodritian lands from 809 till 817 without any objections from the Franks, and probably with their approval. In the meantime the son of Thrasco spent part of this time as a Danish hostage. His father had given him as a hostage to the Danes in 808 and he was probably released some time later and went back to his lands or to the court of the Frankish emperor, but this is merely a guess. The most probable time for his release seems 811, when, after the death of Godofrid,²² the Franks and the Danes concluded peace and confirmed it by oaths. It is possible that Chedrog (Ceadragus) the son of Thrasco, who was strongly anti-Danish due to the circumstances of his father’s death and his alliance with Franks, seemed a more acceptable Obodritian ruler for the Franks. Another important tactical device in the Frankish policy was to divide the power of Sclaomir and to ensure Obodritian dependence on the Franks, in political matters.

There is no proof of pro-Danish sympathies on the part of Sclaomir, because in 815 the Obodritians attacked Denmark together with the Saxons.²³ In the existing political situation on the Frankish-Danish-Slavonic border the reaction of Sclaomir was a quick break-off with the Franks and an alliance with the Danes. A joint military action of the Danes and the Obodritians followed soon afterwards and it was only in 819²⁴ that Sclaomir was captured by the commanders on the Saxon border. The progress of events related by *ARF* was as follows: in relation to Sclaomir’s capture the source mentions that the army which captured him was sent to take revenge for his treachery in the same year (819). As a result of these events the *primores populi* came to Aachen and charged him with many crimes. Hence, the military action was not a sufficient factor in changing rulers, neither did these changes follow it automatically.

The emperor held some kind of court where Sclaomir had the right to defend himself and where the Obodritian *primores* were the accusers. Such handling of the affairs was very unusual and demands an explanation. The action of Louis in 817 was aimed at dividing the power between Sclaomir and the son of Thrasco: it cannot be claimed with certainty where Chedrog had been prior to this date, possibly he was not in the Obodritian lands but at the court of the emperor.

The reaction of Sclaomir to this interference was not only military,

²² *ARF*, a. 811.

²³ *ARF*, a. 815.

²⁴ *ARF*, a. 819.

he also declared that he would not cross the Elbe and come to the palace of the emperor. This declaration, together with the fact of **Obodritian military assistance in the Danish war in 815 as well as other information, proves that Sclaomir was previously dependent on the Franks.** It is not certain what his duties towards the emperor were, except for those mentioned by the source, namely military assistance, appearance in the court and the obvious duty of loyalty. It is impossible to speak in this context of the ties of vassalage as they were understood by the Carolingians; however, Sclaomir's alliance with the Danes could be regarded as treachery. Regardless of all this, the trial of Sclaomir was based on the accusations of his own countrymen and not the Franks. This procedure was more practical from Louis's point of view since his candidate, Chedrog, was appointed in the presence of the nobles and probably with their approval.

In 826 Louis interfered again in the internal affairs of the Obodritians. In this case the problem of political power in Obodritian lands appeared not as a matter between the emperor and the Slavonic ruler, and the Obodritian nobility, *primores*, emerged as a real force. Five years earlier in 821 *ARF* mentions that Chedrog went over to Godofrid's sons and Sclaomir was sent to take his place but he died on the way and before his death he was baptized.²⁵

Two interesting questions arise from this event: a) why did Louis bring Sclaomir, although once he was disloyal to him, to replace Chedrog? b) why was Chedrog not exiled afterwards by the same Louis when he appeared twice in the Frankish royal court in 823 and in 826? The answer to these questions is the fact that there is no other mention of the links between Chedrog and Godofrid's sons except in 821. In 823 it was mentioned that Chedrog did not appear for a long time in the court. In 826 the Obodritian nobles accused him but the nature of the accusations is unknown, treachery was not mentioned. It seems that these accusations did not have a real basis since there is good reason to believe that the Danish border was quiet and the internal struggle in Denmark also ceased.

The baptism of Sclaomir seems rather interesting. There are grounds for believing that his return to Obodritian lands was linked with hopes for some missionary action and his conversion to Christianity. During the two years that he spent in the Frankish lands he was taught the Christian faith and probably his return to power was connected with his pro-Christian attitude, thus the meaning of his baptism becomes clear. This attempt to change rulers in the Obodritian lands influenced further political relations between the Franks and the Obodritians.

²⁵ *ARF*, a. 826. On the previous appearance of Chedrog in the imperial court see *ARF*, a. 823.

In 822 the general assembly in Frankfurt received an Obodritian embassy but already in 823 Chedrog was accused of not appearing before the emperor for a long time. Apparently this Obodritian embassy was not connected with Chedrog and it probably represented an attitude hostile towards him. At the end of 823 Chedrog came to Compiègne and cleared himself of the accusations (which remain unknown). Due to the merits of his ancestor he was sent back without having to pay tribute and with gifts. The last appearance of Chedrog at the imperial court is recorded in 826. During the June assembly the Obodritian nobles accused him again; it is not known what the accusations were. During the assembly of October, held in Ingelheim, Chedrog was detained by Louis, while the Obodritian nobles together with the Frankish envoys, were sent back. The results of the mission are as follows: 'Cumque legati, quos ad Abodritis miserat, reversi nuntiassent, variam gentis illius super rege suo recipiendo sententiam, meliores tamen ac praestentiores quosque de illius receptione concordare, acceptis ab, eo, quos imperiavit, obsidiibus in regnum suum eum fecit restitui'. Here the role of the nobles is clearly evident and their opinion was considered decisive by the emperor.

A very similar pattern is reflected in the case which was brought before the emperor by the Wioletians. In 823 two Wioletian kings came to the May assembly in Frankfurt and asked the emperor to decide in a rather difficult case. They were the sons of King Liub who reigned together with his brothers, but it was clear that he was the 'superior' king.²⁶ After his death his eldest son Milogost was made king by the people, probably the 'superior' king in his father's place. His conduct, however, did not please the people²⁷ and they deposed him and his younger brother was made king instead. The emperor acted in accordance with the people's will and Calodróg remained the Wioletian king. From this date on the Carolingian sources are less informative on the Slavonic lands. In the later years of the ninth century only two significant developments on the Slavonic borders are mentioned. In 844 Louis the German attacked the Obodritians and killed *rex* Gostomyśl; in 862 they were once more attacked by Louis.²⁸

The general discussion of the information found in the sources provides a picture of internal and external relations in the North-Western-Slavonic lands. It appears that the Carolingian age was not a

²⁶ *ARF*, a. 823, 'Erat idem filli Liubi regis Wilzorum qui licet cum fratribus suis regnum divisum tenerat, tamenim propter quod maioru natu erat, ad cum totius regni summa pertinebat'.

²⁷ *ARF*, a. 823.

²⁸ W. Fritze, 'Probleme der abodritischen Stammes- und Reichsverfassung und ihrer Entwicklung vom Stammesstaat zum Herrschaftsstaat', in *Siedlung und Verfassung der Slaven zwischen Elbe, Saale und Oder*, p. 148 ff.

very important period from the economic point of view for the Slavs.²⁹ On the other hand the social and political relations in this period are clearly depicted in the sources. The Obodritians as well as the Wioletians were not one tribe. It is generally accepted that the Obodritians constituted a union of tribes which consisted of the Obodritians, who lived around what is today Mecklenburg; Wagrians, who lived near the river Trave, Polabians and probably Warnians to the east of Schwerin.

The composition of the Wioletian union is a matter for a long discussion. The nucleus contained four tribes: Rederians, Dolenzians, Chrezenians and Chizians. The discussion about whether these were the four regions mentioned by the Bavarian Geographer or whether only one was a region and the other three were groups of Wioletians, as was proposed by G. Labuda,³⁰ is very important. In the meantime I shall accept the hypothesis of Fritze.³¹ Fritze writes that the Wioletian Union, that existed up to the ninth century, was based on the union of all the small tribes between Elbe, Spree, the Obodritian border and the Oder and included the following tribes: Starodians, Spreviens, Doshans, Bzezans, Mozechans, Wkranians and Zechans with the four tribes mentioned before. The links among those tribes were not fixed and, as in the case of Smolinians and Linians in 808, there was the possibility of change and fluctuation in the composition of the unions.

There is no sufficient historical evidence to determine whether the organization of the union was based on an agreement between the tribes to unite in case of war, to attack and to defend themselves or whether it was created by way of conquest of the stronger over the weaker tribes. The sources are too scattered in time and lack of continuity seems here the basic problem of the historian who wishes to discuss the political organization of the unions. The only evidence on the relations among the tribes in the Carolingian age comes from 808-9, when the tribes of Smolinians and Linians most probably revolted against the Obodritian ruler and were forced to submit. In the case of the Obodritian Union the name of the union was also the name of one of its tribes, a fact which may point to the supremacy of the tribe; lack of political equilibrium inside the union during the years 808-9 and particularly during the years 817-26 shows that the political structure was not based on an agreement between the tribes and the *dux* or *rex*.

The situation in the Wioletian Union was probably very similar to

²⁹ The great prosperity of this territory is connected with the Oriental trade, to which the treasures bear witness later in ninth century, P.H. Sawyer, *The Age of the Vikings*, first edition, p. 96 ff.

³⁰ G. Labuda, *PPP*, I, p. 61 ff.

³¹ W. Fritze, 'Beobachtungen zu Entstehung und Wesen des Lutizenbundes; *Jahrbuch für die Geschichte Mittel- und Ost-Deutschlands*, 7 (1958), p. 1 ff.

the one in the Obodritian Union. The Carolingian sources that mention this union concentrate probably on the southern regions of the Wioletians and not on the tribes who lived on the Peene river. The 'king of the kings' Drogovit was evidently in the same situation as the Obodritian rulers, his position as the highest ruler is obvious. This explanation is also backed by the fact that the king 'nam is ceteris Wiltzororum regulis at nobilitate generis et auctoritate senectutis longe praeminebat'.³² The position of Liub, the Wioletian ruler preceding Milogost, was similar; he held the supremacy over all the Wioletian lands but shared his power with his brothers, and the highest authority belonged to him because he was the eldest.

The question of the origin of the highest authority among the Wioletian and Obodritian rulers is a matter for a long discussion. There are several approaches to this problem: a) the Carolingians were interested in one Slavonic ruler, who would serve their interests, and from the times of Charles Martel they appointed the ruler who was also a Carolingian 'vassal'.³³ b) The development of ruler's authority was the result of a long process of internal development. The super-tribal organization and its ruler developed as the result of a historical evolution from kin and basic territorial unit called probably *opole* to the super-tribal organization, sometimes called the 'great tribes', and together with it grew the ruler's authority.

Each of the views has its advantages and disadvantages. The best way to elucidate these origins is to examine the sources taking into account the great importance of the nobles in establishing a ruler and in personal changes. The Carolingians were always interested in the 'public opinion of the nobles', who were given in the sources the names of *primores* etc., or sometimes were referred to as *populus*.

Liub was a ruler who shared his power with his brothers, which means that one family succeeded in taking the power over several Wioletian tribes and each brother ruled one tribe, while the eldest, as the head of the family, stood above them. My suggestion is to distinguish men of rank in the following way: a) a group of super-tribal leaders (of a great tribe) called by their names and the title *rex*, *dux* or *princeps*; b) the *opole* leaders, usually mentioned in the plural with some reservations, *reges* or *regules*; these may have meant also the leaders of small tribes (in Slavonic called probably *zupan*).³⁴ It is impossible to deduce whether in the period between 789 and the reign of Liub there was a change in the political situation or if the mentioned

³² *ARF*, a. 789.

³³ W. Fritze, 'Die Datierung des Geographus Bavarus und die Stammesverfassung der Abodriten', *ZsP*, 21 (1952), p. 333 ff.

³⁴ See n. 14.

regules of Dragovit were from the same family as Liub and his brothers; it is too haphazard to suggest that the *regules* of the small tribes were changed by one family because it is not known who they were and whether they ruled the same territory as Liub and his brothers. In the Obodritian lands the dual appearance of *duces* in 808 suggests that possibly Godeleib was the *dux* of a small tribe whereas Thrasco was a super-tribal leader.

The rôle of the Carolingians could not be that of 'builders' of the Slavonic rulers. They only approved the ruler chosen by the Slavonic nobles and their diplomacy was not based on relations with the super-tribal leader only. The Obodritian envoys came to the imperial court to accuse the ruler or they had decided, not without Louis's suggestions, who was the better ruler for them. The imperial court was the highest court for the Slavs and they willingly accepted the judgement of the emperor who could enforce it or at least created such an impression. This special relationship might have created favourable conditions for accepting the Slavonic version of Charlemagne's name as a title corresponding in the Slavonic languages to the Germanic king or the Latin *rex* in the form of *król* or *kral* etc.³⁵ For the Carolingians this north-eastern border was of secondary importance. Their lack of interest is especially evident in the fact that there was no missionary action to this part of the world, except that of Slaomir.

The problem of participation of the whole or the majority of the population in the decision and policy making can be tackled in two ways: the source material contains no direct indications that the popular assembly took part in political actions such as, for example, the election of a ruler, decisions on war and peace, agreements, or change of the ruler. Two events provide evidence on the 'will of the people' in direct form: a) The Wioletian *populus Wiltzorun* decided that Milogost should be replaced by his brother Calodróg; b) The *vulgus* of the Obodritians was not unanimous whether Chedróg should remain their ruler. In the second case the opinion of the *meliores ac praestentiores* affected the judgement of Louis.

What is meant in the sources by the expression *populus* or *vulgus* is rather difficult to decide. The expression *populus* is based on classical tradition and, for example, the phrase of ARF 'popularium fidei diffidentem' is taken from Tacitus. If the assembly was of all the Wioletians or Obodritians or only part of them was represented (i.e. the nobles), or this was an assembly of the central tribe, is impossible to decide.

There are many controversies regarding this problem in

³⁵ G. Labuda, 'Rozprzestrzenienie się tytułu „króla” wśród Słowian', in *Wieki Średnie*, p. 57 ff.

historiography (it is a problem of history and historiography as well) and one can only suggest a number of reservations on the thesis that this was a general assembly of all the free men in the Wieleitian or Obodritian lands.³⁶ Very often the sources point out the special importance of the nobility, probably the chiefs of *opole* or small tribal units. On the other hand the territorial extent where the population of Obodritians or Wieleitians lived was such that it made impossible for every free man to take part in the assembly. Thus in the assembly probably participated *meliores*, *primores* and the *opole* chiefs from the whole territory and the free population which lived not far from the assembly place, probably in the territory of the central tribe. This situation produced occasions for disagreement, such as, when the interests of the central tribe and other tribes, or those of the people and the nobility, clashed. All these considerations are hypothetical but no less hypothetical are the theories of Slavonic democracy in the Early Middle Ages or on the other hand the theories on the purely aristocratic character of the Slavonic political order.

It is impossible to deny the existence of a popular assembly in the early Slavonic society but it seems that its political significance was minimal in the eighth-ninth century, and the noble became the real political power, which, in turn, influenced the position of the rulers and the Frankish policy.

Another question to be tackled is that of the position of the ruler, which can also be a summing up of the entire discussion of the Carolingian age and its impact on the life of the North-Western Slavs. It seems that the rulers were super-tribal, but their power was based probably on the central tribe (in the case of Obodritians the tribe with the same name). In the case of the Wieleitians it is impossible to decide with absolute certainty which tribe, especially among those known in later times, was central in early ninth century; it was suggested that during the period examined it was the tribe of Hobolians.

From his first appearance in the sources the ruler is always surrounded by nobility; their relations seem rather complex, and this points to the rather unstable position of this or that ruler but the existence of the ruler's authority is unquestionable in the Slavonic society.

2. *The tenth and early eleventh century.*

The restoration of power in Germany under Henry I and the growing Hungarian danger (there were possibilities of Hungaro-Slavonic cooperation) led to the renewal of German interest in the

³⁶ H. Łowmiański, *PP*, IV, p. 87 ff.

Slavs in a much more active manner than at the time of the Carolingians.³⁷ The initiative on the Slavonic border now passed into the hands of the Saxons.

The first step, aimed to secure the Slavonic border and peace from the Slavs, who cooperated with the Hungarians, was taken in 926 when it was decided to cut off the northern Slavs from those in the south and to rule out any possibility of military cooperation among the Bohemians, the Serbians and the North-Western Slavs. This was the motive behind the first attack directed against the Stodorians (Hobolians) in 928-9.³⁸

After the submission of the Stodorians Henry I attacked the Polabian tribes and then the Bohemian lands in 929.³⁹ This action provoked an almost immediate reaction on the part of the Slavs.⁴⁰ The Wioletian tribe of the Rederians attacked Walslaben. In September 929 they were defeated by the border *legati* Bernhard and Thietmar. The failure of the Slavonic attack in 929 was followed by an imposition of a tribute and political dependence on Henry I.

A relatively easy victory, the possibilities of a tribute combined with the drive to control the neighbouring lands, pushed the Saxons towards further penetration into the Slavonic area.⁴¹ In 931 the Obodritians and the Danes were converted to Christianity, as a result of a military action.⁴² After the Hungarian invasion of 933 Henry I had attacked the tribe of Wkranians (934) and subjugated them.⁴³

This action brought an end to Henry's expansion and extended the influence of the German state up to the Oder. The Slavs were controlled by two systems which depended on their geographical position and the interests of the Germans. The Serbian tribes, who lived on the border, were controlled by a German garrison stationed in a fortress in the Serbian lands.

Legates, as for example, Bernard and Thietmar, were responsible for the eastern borders of the German state; up to 929 the sources tell about Bernard 'cui ipsa Rederiorum provincia erat sublegata'.⁴⁴ The author, Widukind, transfers a situation which emerged after the submission of the Rederians into an earlier period. The legation was a

³⁷ H. Gebhard, *Handbuch der deutschen Geschichte*, eighth edition, I, p. 155 ff.; G. Labuda, *Fragmety dziejów Słowiańszczyzny Zachodniej*, I, p. 148 ff.

³⁸ *Widukind*, L.I, c. 35, L.II, c. 21.

³⁹ *Widukind*, L.I, c. 36.

⁴⁰ *Annales Corbienses*, MGH SS, III, p. 4, a. 929.

⁴¹ F. Dvornik, 'The First Wave of the "Drang nach Osten"', *Cambridge Historical Journal*, 7 (1943), p. 129 ff.

⁴² *Annales Augienses*, MGH SS, I, p. 69, a. 931.

⁴³ *Reginonis abb. Prum. Chronicon cum continuatione Treverensis*, edited by F. Kurze, p. 159.

⁴⁴ See n. 39.

method of military control and the legates probably collected the tribute.

Christianity made very little progress in the Slavonic lands; conversion was proposed only to the Obodritian ruler and possibly to Tugumir, the ruler of the Stodorians.⁴⁵ The smaller tribes and those who lived far from the border were not under any pressure of this kind.

The death of Henry I and the increased Hungarian activity brought further unrest to the Slavonic border. The succession of Otto I and the appointment of *Comes* Gero to the Slavonic border-march resulted in German counter-attacks on the Slavs.⁴⁶ For the first time military action in this area resulted in missionary activity.⁴⁷ In the first instance two bishoprics, one in Havelberg and the other in Brandenburg, were founded in 948. However in 954, after a long period of peace, the Slavs had probably ceased to pay the tribute and Gero attacked the land of the Wkranians.

In 955 the Germans won an important victory over the Hungarians and after the battle of Lechfeld Otto moved to the Slavonic border. The situation there was uncertain, especially in the northern part of the border, which had been relatively quiet, until the rebellion of two Saxon nobles Wichman and Ekbert against their uncle Herman Billung.⁴⁸ The rebels concluded an alliance with the Obodritian rulers Nakon and Stojniev and used the hostility of the Slavs towards the Saxons to further their own ends. The Obodritians attacked the Billung march at the beginning of 955; Stojniev took part in the struggle on the border of Gero's march later in the year. Simultaneously with the Obodritian attack and prior to the battle with the Hungarians, the Wioletians had undertaken steps against the German overlordship.

The Slavs destroyed one of the Saxon armies under the leadership of Thiedric but after the appearance of Otto on the border the Obodritians and Wioletians were attacked by the Saxons, the Rugians (the Slavonic inhabitants of the island Rügen) and the Bohemians, who were Otto's allies. The Slavs had to ask for peace and independence, offering to pay a tribute; Otto, however, refused to accept their offer.⁴⁹

The following years brought three attacks by Otto but after 960 this part of the Slavonic border became pacified.⁵⁰ One of the results of Otto's actions was that the Bohemians, who had been previously

⁴⁵ *Widukind*, L. II, c. 21.

⁴⁶ *Widukind*, L. II, c. 200.

⁴⁷ A.P. Vlasto, *The Entry of the Slavs into Christendom*, p. 143 ff.

⁴⁸ W. Brüske, *Untersuchungen zur Geschichte des Lutizenbundes*, p. 23 ff.

⁴⁹ *Widukind*, L. III, c. 53.

⁵⁰ *Continuatio Reginionis*, p. 169-170; *Widukind*, L. III, c. 59; *Les Annales de Flodoard*, edited by Ph. Lauer, p. 146.

closely connected with the North-Western Slavs, loosened these ties.⁵¹ Otto's victories over the Hungarians and the Bohemians in the south gave him an opportunity to extend the German control over the whole of the Slavonic territory, probably up to the Oder, except the Baltic coast. Very soon the German control over the Slavonic lands became complete.⁵² The German presence on the left bank of the Oder was rather formal and not very much felt; there were probably expeditions from the main points such as Brenna and Havelberg and collection of the tribute aimed to demonstrate the German power in those parts.

In 962 significant developments took place in the north-western Slavonic lands. The rebel Wichman had broken his oath to Otto and began war preparations against his uncle;⁵³ he asked the Danish ruler Harald for help, then he turned to Gero, who, although he was not too keen on associating with a rebel, organized the Slavs, probably, Redarians, as a basis of his power. Wichman's position is not so certain but he could be regarded as a kind of military leader of the Redarians: with their help he attacked the Polish ruler Mieshko.

The first mention of Mieshko comes from Widukind.⁵⁴ 'Misaca regem cuius potestatis erant Sclavis qui dicuntur Licicaviki'. Wichman's attack on Mieshko was successful and according to Widukind 'duabus vicibus superavit (Misacam) fratrumque ipsius interfecit, predam magnam ab eo extorsit'. Thus the German world came into contact with Mieshko in the person of the rebel Wichman.

Undoubtedly Wichman's attack affected Mieshko and was a warning to him. Whom did Mieshko consider as his enemies, the Wioletians or Wichman? It was often stated in Polish historiography that the Germans had attacked Mieshko. It is, however, a mistake; from the beginnings one can see the pro-German and anti-Wioletian orientation of Mieshko, later corroborated by his action. The first appearance of the Polish state in the historical sources is connected with a specific Pomeranian problem, the so-called first Piast conquest of Pomerania. It is necessary therefore to examine briefly the historiography on this problem, otherwise its discussion will be less clear.

The first important works on Pomerania date the conquest as having taken place during the first years of Boleslaw's reign.⁵⁶ The discovery of the Arab source of Al-Bekri, which contained the *Relati* of Ibrahim ibn Jakub and more exact source studies, brought about a change in

⁵¹ *Widukind*, L. II, c. 40.

⁵² *Widukind*, L. III, c. 67.

⁵³ *Widukind*, L. III, c. 64.

⁵⁴ *Widukind*, L. III, c. 66.

⁵⁵ The name 'Licicaviki' is difficult to identify; G. Labuda, 'Licicaviki', in *SSS*, III, p. 56; he claims that this name was the Western name for Polish tribes.

⁵⁶ L. Giesebrecht, *Wendische Geschichte*, I, p. 231; M. Wehrmann, *Geschichte von Pommern*, I, p. 50.

the scholars' opinions; already in the twenties of this century the common opinion was that Mieshko and not Boleslaw conquered Pomerania.⁵⁷ The concept of the Polish conquest was connected with the Polish-Scandinavian relations and quite often Polish historians have associated this conquest with the existence of a Viking fortress in Jómsborg, which in various periods belonged to different political configurations. The classical scheme of the Polish conquest of Pomerania and Jómsborg is given by Zakrzewski and Wachowski and it has influenced later Polish historiography.⁵⁸

Zakrzewski and Wachowski have used saga-material in the same way as any other historical evidence and as the basis for further speculations. The model is based on two main principles: a) the beginning of Polish history is connected with Baltic politics: the Polish-Danish struggle or the Polish-Swedish alliance; b) the conquest of Pomerania was completed in twenty five years. The starting point is the foundation of Jómsborg by Harald Gormsson, at the beginning of Mieshko's rule or around 960; the Vikings were hostile to the Poles, who controlled Pomerania or the coastal part of Pomerania. Zakrzewski is quite certain that Jómsborg was only one of the many Viking fortresses on the Pomeranian coast. He also connects the actions of Wichman in 963 and in 967 (see above) with the Jómsborg Vikings, his allies; Wichman's visit to Denmark, prior to the war with Mieshko, is a proof of this alliance. Wachowski connects only the 967 action of Wichman with the Jómsborg alliance. The changes in the political situation in Scandinavia, namely the conquest of Denmark by the Swedish Erik, who was the ally of Mieshko, enabled the latter to control Jómsborg and the Pomeranian coast.

This model was criticized by Widajewicz,⁵⁹ who proposed a different model; he claims that Mieshko had conquered the whole of Pomerania around 960 but already in 963 a combined Wieleitian-Wolinian action, backed by German 'secret diplomacy', after the military action of Wichman, brought about the loss of Pomerania or at least its north-western part. The failure of the Wolinians, in 967 during their war with Mieshko, caused their second submission and their dependence was strengthened in 972 after Mieshko's victory over the marcher Hodo. Around 980, Styrbjörn, after his adventures in Rus', challenged the Polish domination in Wolin; he represented the Danish interest (this attack is connected with the Russian attack on the Polish dominions in the south, on the so-called Grody Czerwieńskie). Styrbjörn had

⁵⁷ See pp.29-30.

⁵⁸ K. Wachowski, *Jómsborg*; K. Wachowski, 'Norwegowie na Pomorzu za Mieszka I', *KH*, XLV (1931) p. 181 ff; S. Zakrzewski, *Bolesław Chrobry Wielki*, p. 150 ff.

⁵⁹ J. Widajewicz, 'Najdawniejszy piastowski podbój Pomorza', *SO*, 10 (1931), p. 13 ff.

founded the Jómsborg organization and Mieshko. in order to counteract him. linked himself with Otto III and renewed the payments of tribute from Pomerania. (Mieshko stopped paying this tribute, which was imposed by Otto I, after the latter's death). Mieshko married his daughter to Erik, king of Sweden, to guarantee a political alliance directed against Denmark.⁶⁰

His third ally was Palnatoki, who after Styrbjörn's death, in the struggle with Erik, succeeded him as the jarl of Jómsborg. As a result of the Polish domination over the island of Wolin, after the death of Styrbjörn, a tribute was paid to Denmark from those lands in the years 983-987 or 988. After this dates, and following the capture of Sven Haraldsson, Mieshko released himself from Danish overlordship in Pomerania. Widajewicz introduced one important change in comparison with the previous theory; according to him the conquest of Pomerania came about as a result of Polish action against Wolinian-Wieletian resistance and the Scandinavians appeared at a much later date.

A different point of view is presented by L. Koczy. He is not certain whether the conquest of Pomerania took place at all. He accepted the saga story about the marriage of Búrisleifr's daughter to Sigvaldi, which in the previous conception was an act of Mieshko (who by a strange combination of Widajewicz became identical to Búrisleifr) enabling him to restore his overlordship in Pomerania. Koczy claims that Búrisleifr was a Pomeranian ruler and that Mieshko's policy towards Pomerania had nothing to do with his conflict with Denmark, which did not exist at all.⁶¹

A similar outlook, developed by Labuda, represents the most critical view of the Polish conquest of Pomerania.⁶² It is important to note that his theory is accepted by Polish historians as well as by Western scholars. Labuda rejects the possibility of Scandinavian political influence in Pomerania. He considers three possible factors in the Polish conquest of Pomerania: a) Poles and Bohemians: b) Wolinians and Wieletians: c) Germans, who tried to promote their own interests. The first attack of the Polish state came along the Vistula river, and, after breaking down the defence of the local political centres, Eastern Pomerania became incorporated into the Polish state (around 955-60). Polish positions were strengthened by the building of the powerful fortress of Gdansk. The next stage — an attack in the north-west, brought about the Polish conquest of the Lubuska land and the building of the Santok fortress, as a Polish centre of influence.

⁶⁰ See pp. 43-4 of the thesis.

⁶¹ L. Koczy, 'Kilka uwag o najdawniejszych dziejach Pomorza', *RH*, 8 (1932), p. 2 ff. p. 120 ff; L. Koczy, 'Jómsborg', *KH*, XLVI (1932), p. 277 ff.

⁶² G. Labuda, *Studia nad początkami państwa polskiego*, p. 80 ff.

The West Pomeranian tribes, the Pырzyczans and the Wolinians, could not get help from other North Western tribes, which at that time were busy defending themselves against Gero. The attack of the Saxon rebel Wichman on Mieshko and the information derived from Ibrahim ibn Jakub confirm that, according to this scheme, the Wolinians, the allies of the Wielecians, were not subjugated by Mieshko around 966. After Mieshko's conversion to Christianity in 966, he had overcome the Wolinians, who were helped by Wichman (967), and started the conquest of the whole of Western Pomerania and the especially important Oder estuary. Gero's successor, Hodo, wanted to remove the Poles from Pomerania and attacked them in 977, but his failure only strengthened the Polish position in Pomerania. The Polish conquest was accomplished after 972.

The Polish-German conflict in the times of Otto II was tempered by the great Wielecian rebellion against the Germans, which also seemed dangerous to the Polish rule: it brought the two states closer in 984-5 and with German help the Poles were able to conquer Southern Poland, Little Poland and Silesia, as well as to ensure Polish rule in Pomerania.

In addition to these facts the description of Polish borders in the document called *Dagome Iudex* and the foundation of bishop's see in Kolobrzeg in the year 1000 are basic proof of the Pomeranian-Polish unity in tenth and early eleventh century. The archaeologists provided new proofs, such as the wall constructed by the Poles in Kolobrzeg.⁶³ This is the generally accepted theory, as has been mentioned. There are other theories on Pomerania as a part of Poland, for example, the theory that the Pomeranian ruling family constituted a branch of the Piast family,⁶⁴ or that Polish national conscience developed in Pomerania.⁶⁵ The view of dominant Polish influence in Pomerania was accepted by the majority of historians, only very few scholars rejected the theory that the Polish state conquered the whole of Pomerania.⁶⁶

However, in Polish historiography as well as in Western studies,⁶⁷ there seems to be lacking a critical approach to the sources, which would determine the exact nature of the Polish conquest in Pomerania and its influence on historical development. The analytical answer to this problem is complex and to facilitate its presentation it will be divided in two: a) source analysis of the events in the Polish-Wielecian-

⁶³ L. Leciejewicz, *Początki nadmorskich miast na Pomorzu Zachodnim*, pp. 263-4.

⁶⁴ See pp. 38-39.

⁶⁵ G. Labuda, 'Walka o zjednoczenie Pomorza z Polską w X-XIV wieku', in *Pomorze Średniowieczne*, pp. 216-7.

⁶⁶ S. Trawkowski, 'Monarchia Mieszka I i Bolesława Chrobrego', in *Konfrontacje historyczne*, I, p. 130.

⁶⁷ *Historia Pomorza*, I/1, p. 307 ff; *Cambridge History of Poland*, I, p. 19; A.P. Vlasto, *The Entry of the Slavs into Christendom*, p. 130.

German environment in the tenth and particularly in the early eleventh century; b) the discussion of the term Pomerania at that time, as well as the problem of political and economic influences on Pomeranian lands. In this way I hope to answer my questions and to present a new picture of the political relations in Pomerania on the eve of the twelfth century.

The next event related by Widukind⁶⁸ took place around 967, when Mieshko had already established some relations with Otto and the Christian world.⁶⁹ The rebel Wichman exploited the antagonism that existed among the Obodritian *subreguli*. One of them, Zelibor, the ruler of the Wagrians, was obliged to pay Mscislav, the ruler of the Obodritians, a fine of fifteen talents or marks of silver, at the court of Hermann Billung. As a result of this Zelibor revolted against Hermann and Wichman, profiting from this occasion, allied with Zelibor. The forces of the two were, however, too weak for defence and Wichman went to Denmark to ask for help. In the meantime the town of Zelibor was sacked and the pagan idols demolished. Widukind tells that after this event Wichman 'Audiens autem Wichmannus urbem captam sociosque oppressos, ad orientem versus iterum se paganis inmersit, egitque cum slavici qui dicuntur Vuloini (Wlonii), quomodo Misacam, amicum imperatoris, bello lacerarent; quod cum minime latuit'. Mieshko had received help from Boleslav the Bohemian defeating Wichman and his allies; after the battle Wichman was killed. So much for the story in the source.⁷⁰

In this story Widukind is mainly interested in the person of Wichman, other details, so important for this study serve as a background for his story, which is moralistic and panegyric in tone. Both rebellions of Wichman followed a similar pattern: a rebellion against Herman and Otto, departure to Denmark to ask for help, afterwards an alliance with the Slavs and an attack on Mieshko. The hopes for Danish help, nursed by Wichman, gave the scholars a good reason to believe that he acted in both cases against Mieshko; only in the second case he had the support of the Jómsvikings.⁷¹ But since there is no reason to believe that Jómsvikings existed at all (see later) and in 963 Wichman was almost arrested by Harald, the hypothesis of Wichman's Danish anti-Polish action cannot be accepted. Why Wichman asked the Danes for help in 967 is difficult to answer. Since there is no mention in Widukind (L. III, c.68) that he asked King Harald for help (as was mentioned in L. III, c.64) it can be assumed

⁶⁸ Widukind, L. III, c. 68.

⁶⁹ A.P. Vlasto, *The Entry of the Slavs into Christendom*, p. 115.

⁷⁰ Widukind, L. III, c. 69.

⁷¹ K. Wachowski, *Jómshorg*, p. 26.

that he asked the petty military leaders for help or recruited mercenaries.

The land of the Wagrians was separated from the Danish border by the Saxons and it is possible that Wichman went by sea to the nearest Danes living on the off-shore islands. Harald, who had just been converted to Christianity, and after his probable failure in war with Otto was not ready to complicate his political situation by giving support to Wichman.⁷² In relation to the double anti-Polish action of Wichman one has to make a distinction between the attacks. The first attack was probably the result of Gero's advice or plan to tie up Mieshko on the Wieletian front so as to enable him to defeat the Lutitians without any Polish interference or at least to weaken the Polish influence in those lands. Even more probable is the hypothesis that Wichman played among the Wieletians an independent rôle as he was well known there before. His act was probably not only political but also, as the source confirms, an act of robbery, the usual method of gathering wealth in these times, especially in the Baltic area. It is quite far fetched to regard this action as an elaborate political plan on the part of Gero or the Wieletians, intended to check the Polish pressure on Pomerania or to free it from the Polish overlordship, since there is no proof that the Poles were actually present in the lands beyond Warta and Noteć.

In the second case, relating to Wichman, Widukind write that he went from Wagria eastward and came to the Slavs called Vuloini. In his plight Wichman tried the last resort and approached the strong Wolinian tribe, where his rôle was rather unclear. One can ask whether Wichman brought about the attack or whether he was a new player, who joined in the midst of a long political game. The source (Widukind) moralistically presents the story of Wichman's downfall: together with the Slavs he oppressed the emperor's friend Mieshko by means of war ('bello lacerent') and his punishment for such an action ('quod cum minime latuit') against the emperor is death. From this story, schematized by Widukind, one can deduce that Wichman brought about the Wolinian action. However, Widukind is mainly interested in the person of Wichman, the Wolinians are in the background and one should be cautious in dealing with the source. The rest of the story elucidates who started the war: Wichman or the Wolinians?

It is mentioned that Mieshko was not at all surprised by the attack, he had asked his father in law to help him, and when help arrived in time he overcame Wichman and the Wolinians. From this two facts

⁷² Adam, *Gesta*, L. II, c. 3; S. Bolin, 'Danmark och Tyskland under Harald Gormsson', *Scandia*, IV (1931), p. 202 ff.

become evident: a) Mieshko was aware of the possible danger, but it is unknown whether the arrival of Wichman was a warning for him or whether the northern border of the Polanians was always ready for an attack; b) this attack was really dangerous for Mieshko since he was helped by two Czech 'acies equitum'. Probably the Polish forces were not sufficient or strong enough to face Wichman and the Wolinians. In the source, however, it is made clear that Wichman organized this military adventure. Widukind writes 'A sociis igitur arguitur sceleris, quia, ipse eos ad pugnam instigaverit, fidensque equo, cum necesse fuerit, fugam facile inierit'.

The rôle of Wichman seems clear but probably it was easy to persuade the Wolinians to attack Poland. The result of this battle was a Polish victory and the flight of Wichman. He was caught and accepted the possibility of surrendering to Mieshko personally. The Polish *optimates* went to Mieshko but in the meantime the mob attacked Wichman and killed him.

Historians have often attacked Widukind's chronology and his order of presenting the events whenever other sources could be checked for the same data. The source that supplements the account of Widukind in this case is the fragment of Al-Bekri's work called *Relatio Ibrahim ibn Jakub*. Critical problems concerned with this text have been discussed earlier. The relevant passage is 'In occidentem ab hac civitate gens quaedam Slavica (habitat), populus Weltaba (Veletae) appellata. Haec (habitat) in silvis, quae regionibus Meskonis adnumerantur (sive: in silvis a regionibus Meskonis), (ex hac parte sitis), quae est occidenti proxima et parti septentrionis... Hi cum Meskone pugnant atque eorum vis armata magna est'.⁷³

There are two possible translations of this text. The Arabists are not certain what does the preposition *phi* mean. In the accepted Arabic usage it means 'belonging' but in the Al-Bekri text this is used differently and possibly means 'from'.⁷⁴ The editors and translators of this text based their translations on historical considerations. The Russian Kunik and the German Spuler⁷⁵ translate *phi* as 'belonging to'; the linguists de Goje, Westberg and Jakob found that the word *phi*, in the same text in a different sentence, means 'from'⁷⁶; on this basis they translated *phi* as 'from'. This second possibility is confirmed by Widukind, who clearly states that Vuloini were not a part of Mieshko's territory. Both texts relate contemporary events.

⁷³ *Relatio Ibrahim ibn Jakub*, p. 147.

⁷⁴ See n. 73, p. 148 'Constantinopolis (sita est) a Bulkarin versus Kiblam' (Kibla-direction to Mecca).

⁷⁵ A. Kunik, V. Rozen, *Izvestiya Al-Bekri i drugikh avtorov o Rusi i Slavyanakh*, p. 51; B. Spuler, 'Ibrahim ibn Ja'kub', *Jahrbücher für Geschichte Osteuropas*, III/1 (1938), p. 8.

⁷⁶ F. Westberg, *Ibrahim's ibn Ja'kub's Reisebericht*, p. 1 and p. 33.

The date of Ibrahim's visit to the imperial court is established as 355H, i.e. the period between 28 XII 965 and 16 XII 966. Widukind's chronology is not easy to establish but it can be assumed that Wichman came to the Wolinians when they had already accomplished several raids and attacks against Mieshko, as Ibrahim puts it, not one war, but a continuous struggle. From these two descriptions of Ibrahim and Widukind one can put forward a hypothesis that the events described by Widukind occurred a year after those described by Ibrahim.⁷⁷

Both sources confirm that the Wolinians were a powerful enemy of Mieshko. The theories postulating that Ibrahim possibly wrote about the Wolinian struggle for freedom or about Mieshko's attempts to conquer the Oder estuary contradict the sources, where it is clearly stated that the Wolinians attacked and Mieshko defended himself. In Widukind's account there are four elements which can be taken at their face value: a) the hostility of the Wolinians towards Mieshko; b) another attack on Mieshko under Wichman's leadership; this does not seem improbable; c) the Polish-Bohemian alliance; d) the death of Wichman after the battle with Mieshko.

There is no possibility of arguing on the basis of the historical evidence that in 967, or shortly afterwards, Mieshko conquered the Oder estuary. Moreover, the military position of the Wolinians and Mieshko's request for help from his father in law confirm the fact that a single battle could not be decisive in the conquest of a land so well developed economically and so well defended,⁷⁸ even if one can assume that after his victory Mieshko went into Pomerania and took a tribute from the Wolinians, it does not necessarily mean a conquest or an incorporation of Western Pomerania into the Polish state. The prolonged wars between the German marchers and the Starodians are a good example of the difficulty that a real conquest presented in those days.

The next item of information provided by Widukind is that Otto, after the reception of Wichman's sword, wrote a letter to the marchers Hermann and Theodoric and ordered them to attack the Redarians.⁷⁹ Brüske rejects the possibility of connexion between this event and the war of Mieshko.⁸⁰ The thesis, generally accepted by the Polish historians, is that the Redarians were in contact with the Wolinians or helped them or Wichman, who had become their leader only a few years earlier.⁸¹ This thesis is acceptable, but there is no proof that Mieshko conquered the Wolinian lands. There is ample evidence that the mar-

⁷⁷ See n. 62, p. 60 ff.

⁷⁸ L. Leciejewicz, *Początki nadmorskich miast na Pomorzu Zachodnim*, p. 55 ff.

⁷⁹ *Widukind*, L. III, c. 70.

⁸⁰ W. Brüske, *Untersuchungen zur Geschichte des Letizenbundes*, p. 33.

⁸¹ See n. 62, p. 108 ff.

chers defeated the Redarians according to the command of Otto and this is further proof that the Wolinian failure did not alter the existing military balance in the area. The probable confirmation of the Redarian-Wolinian contact or alliance is very significant. Another important result is the Polish-German cooperation, directed against the Slavs who lived across the Oder. The letter of Otto is one of the first harbingers of the later Polish-German action against the Lutitians, which was rather unsuccessful.⁸²

In 971 the peace on the eastern border of the German state was upset by an event of great importance. Thietmar writes: 'Interea Hodo, venerabilis marchio, Miseconem inperatori fidelem tributumque usque in Vurta fluvium solventem exercitu petivit collecto. Ad cuius auxilium pater meus comes Sigifridus, tunc iuvenis necdumque coniugali sociatus amori, venit solum cum suis et in die sancti Johannis baptistae adversus eum pugnantes primoque vincentes a fratre eiusdem Cideburo, exeptis tantum comitibus prefatis, omnes optimi milites interfecti oppecierunt in loco, qui vocatur Cidini. Hac de fama miserabili inperator turbatus de Italia nuncios misit precipientes Hodoni atque Miseconi, si gratiam suimet habere voluissent, usque dum ipse veniens causam discuteret, in pace permanerent'.⁸³ Only at first glance the situation seems clear. Two points are mainly discussed in relation to this passage: a) what was the reason for Hodo's attack; b) what do the words 'tributum usque in Vurta fluvium' mean?⁸⁴

The literature on this passage presents four main views: a) the attack of Hodo was his private venture; b) Hodo acted according to the emperor's wishes, who wanted to prevent Polish emancipation from the German overlordship; c) the marcher, as the person responsible for collecting the tribute from Mieshko, took a legal action, according to his obligations and rights; d) this action was undertaken under the supervision of the marcher Theodoric, who helped Hodo by sending his count, Siegfried, as an auxiliary force. The action was directed against the Polish conquest of Western Pomerania, which was contrary to the German interests in the area. The problem is that each of the four views is not very strongly based on the source. The conception that the attack was the result of the imperial wish or command is undermined by Otto's reaction as well as by the statement that Mieshko fulfilled his obligations as a tributary. Thus propositions b) and c) are not very plausible. Proposition d) is very tempting for all the partisans of the Polish conquest of Pomerania after the battle with Wichman. The theory of Labuda is based on the consideration that Siegfried, Thietmar's father, was sent by the supervisor over the whole border, Theodoric, and was

⁸² *Die Slaven in Deutschland*, edited by J. Hermann, p. 263 ff.

⁸³ *Thietmar*, L. II, c. 29.

⁸⁴ M. Jedlicki, *Kronika Thietmara*, p. 88 ff.

likewise directed by him, since he was responsible for the German policy in the east.⁸⁵ The text, however, seems to imply that Siegfried was acting on his own 'Sigifridus venit solum cum suis'.⁸⁶ Any other trace of cooperation between Siegfried and Hodo cannot be presented.

The geography of the border is also against this suggestion. Hodo was the marcher of the eastern march (i.e. the most eastern part of the previous march of Gero) based in the Lusitian lands. Except for the conquered Lusitian lands, the most natural area he would have been interested in is the border of his march with the Silesian and maybe the Lubusian lands. The Pomeranian lands were outside his sphere of interest; they were in the gestion of Theodoric, the marcher of the northern march, which included the Slavic tribe of Wkranians, who lived on the left bank of the Oder, opposite Stettin. Thus the hypothesis of Labuda is not corroborated by the earlier or by the later events.

The judgement on the conflict was delivered by Otto later (March, 973), and the sources⁸⁷ mention that Mieshko's son Boleslaw was given to the emperor as a hostage. It is possible that this Polish victory was too dangerous for the imperial policy in the East, where it wished only to preserve peace in order to be free to deal with Italy. The hostage was supposed probably to help preserve the balance of power. Thus the question presented by Hodo's attack may be solved in two ways: a) his private venture; b) its cause is unknown because there is no data.

The problem what the words 'tributum usque in Vurta fluvium' mean, though often discussed, remains largely a puzzle. Its solution depends on the hypothesis of the Polish conquest of Pomerania. The tribute that Mieshko paid was territorial. One of the borders of the tributary territory was the river Warta, which was also the border between Pomerania and the Polish lands. The partisans of the early Polish conquest of Pomerania and Polish domination there, are ready to accept that Mieshko paid his tribute for Pomerania or for a part of Pomerania only,⁸⁸ and not for the lands situated on the left bank of Warta, i.e. the basic lands of the Polanians. But an examination of the map as well as the direction from which Thietmar saw the Slavonic lands (west to east) suggests at least the possibility that the tributary territory was on the left bank of Warta and not only in its lower stream but also in its middle stream, around Poznan. There are no grounds for the claim that Mieshko paid tribute for his possessions in Pomerania.

It is not known where the battle between Mieshko and Hodo took

⁸⁵ See n. 62, p. 111.

⁸⁶ *Thietmar*, L. II, c. 29.

⁸⁷ *Annales Altahenses maiores*, a. 973.

⁸⁸ M. Jedlicki, *Stosunek prawny Polski do Cesarstwa do roku 1000*, p. 354.

place. After the victory he probably continued on his way and in unknown circumstances was defeated by Chcibór, the brother of Mieshko, in a place called Cedynia (Zehden), on the right bank of the Oder. This place was situated in what can be described as Pomerania in the second half of the eleventh century, but this is not proof of the Polish conquest of the whole of Pomerania and especially the Oder estuary. The information derived from the sources, on the Polish presence in the lands across Warta, is the Polish resistance in Cedynia. Military historians suggest that Hodo crossed the Oder near Cedynia and the first defeat of Mieshko was a mere manoeuvre, the second manoeuvre resulted in Chcibór's victory.⁸⁹ This reconstruction is, of course, hypothetical because Thietmar, in this passage quoted above, did not provide any details, thus it is not known whether these were two separate battles or two stages in the same battle. It seems, however, that the first was a separate battle, if one takes into consideration that Hodo came from the direction of Magdeburg, or even from a certain point more to the south of Magdeburg, and that the first ford for the convenient crossing of the Oder is to the south of the Warta-Oder marshes.

The entrance of Hodo into the domains of Mieshko was probably made at the nearest point to the main Polish centre Poznan. The first battle with Mieshko probably took place in the Lubuska land. Afterwards Hodo and his army went to the fort near Cedynia, where he was attacked by Chcibór, who probably followed the invader. When Hodo's troops, heavy with booty, prepared to cross the Oder, Chcibór availed himself of this opportunity and overcame the marchers. In the period between the battles Hodo was probably busy looting the Polish border territories. Even the Polish possession of Cedynia is not certain in the light of Thietmar's passage, but one can detect in this burg traces of Polish influence.⁹⁰ The passage of Thietmar does not lend itself to the adoption of any further hypothesis and especially not the hypothesis that there was Polish pressure on Pomerania. On the contrary, the letter of Otto, mentioned above, containing the command to attack the Redarians, suggests that the Wioletian tribes were still a danger to the eastern borders of the Empire and since it is not known whether the four tribes were under the German rule in the years 967-972 the Polish attack against the Wolinians can be treated as military aid from the point of view of the marchers.

The period after the death of Otto I (973) was characterised by a prolonged struggle among the pretenders to the imperial throne and their supporters, in which the Slavonic countries took part as well. On

⁸⁹ W. Filipowiak, 'Bitwa pod Cedynią (24.6.972)', *Szczecin*, 9 (1958), p. 7 ff.

⁹⁰ W. Filipowiak, 'Cedynia w czasach Mieszka I, *passim*.

the whole, when Mieshko had married the daughter of the marcher from the north, Dietrich, Poland came into close relations with the Empire. This situation remained unchanged after the death of Otto II (983) in spite of the support Mieshko had given to the enemies of Otto III; this support was, however, short-lived.⁹¹

The close Polish-German alliance was directed against the Wioletians, who, after the war of 983 against the rulers of the German marches, succeeded in breaking up the political and church organization of the western German border. Around the year 990 a new political situation was already evident: the Polish-German alliance against the North-Western Slavs and the Bohemians. On the Bohemian frontier the initiative probably was in Polish hands and perhaps around 990 Poland conquered Silesia and Little Poland, previously in the Bohemian sphere of influence.

Some historians link the first Polish document *Dagome iudex* precisely with this development. This donation to the papal *curia* contains the description of the Polish borders and is also one of the most frequently used sources of evidence of the Polish conquest of Pomerania and the Oder estuary.

The text of this document is as follows:⁹² 'Item in alio tomo sub Johanne XV papa Dagome (scil. Dagone) iudex et Ote senatrix e filli eorum Misica et Lambertus leguntur beato Petro contulisse unam civitatem in integro (scil. in integrum) que vocatur Schignesne (scil. Schinesne) cum omnibus suis pertinentiis infra hos affines sicuti incipit a primo latere longum mare fine Pruzze usque in locum qui dicitur Russe et fine Russe extendente usque in Craccoa et ab ipsa Craccoa usque ad flumen Oddere recte in locum qui dicitur Alemure et ab ipsa Alemura usque in terram Milze et a fine Milze recte intra Oddera et exinde ducente iuxta flumen Oddera usque in predictam civitatem Schignesne (scil. Schinesne)'.

It is not my aim to explain the purpose and the political significance of this document as it confirms the Polish borders under papal supervision. The document has to clarify what was the northern border of Poland. The geography in the document is confused, already in the first geographical name 'civitas qui vocatur Schignesne' (scil. Schinesne). This name is repeated at the end, as the closing point in the linear border that passed along the Oder to this *civitas*.

There are two possible ways of translating *civitas*: a) town, burg; b) state. The partisans of the first possibility have very good examples of the Latin usage of *civitas* as town and *ducatu*s or *regnum* as state. This possibility is also confirmed by the whole sentence 'civitas Schignesne

⁹¹ R. Holtzmann, *Geschichte der Sächsischen Kaiserzeit*, p. 250 ff.

⁹² B. Kürbisówna, 'Dagoms iudex. Studium krytyczne' in *PPP*, I, p. 395.

cum omnibus suis pertinentiis infra hos affines' which could mean that the concept of 'state' of the Polish ruler, or his Western adviser (maybe the missionary bishop Unger), was the main town-burg and the territories belonging to it, which in practice is very close to the second translation of the word *civitas* as state. In this case the first *civitas* in the text would be translated as state, the second as town-burg, since it is mentioned as a point on the map.

The next problem presented by the text is the name Schignesne. In the manuscripts one encounters the following variations: Schinesghe, Schignesne, Schinesne, Schinesgne. The critical remarks of B. Kürbisówna⁹³ prove that the Deusededit's original might have had Schignesne or Schimesne,⁹⁴ in the better copies.

The main problem remains, however, what is Schignesne? There are two different approaches to this problem: one represents the partisans of Stettin, the second the partisans of Gniezno. The first approach, represented also by Dvornik,⁹⁵ has a very great disadvantage, namely the whole donation is based on Stettin, as the centre of the Dagome, i.e. Mieshko's land.

The identification of Schignesne with Gniezno is the most plausible because of the central position of this town in Mieshko domains. The only serious objection to this interpretation is the last passage of the document, where it is suggested that the border ran along the Oder up to Gniezno, which is not situated on this river. Other objections, pointed out by Wojciechowski, namely, that Poznań was the centre of the Polish lands and not Gniezno, are of minor significance and can be overcome.⁹⁶

There are two other interpretations, which from the purely logical point of view, seem plausible: a) Widajewicz and Maleczyński suggest that the first Schignesne in the document is Gniezno and the whole state, but the second is Stettin as the terminal point of Mieshko's lands.⁹⁷ They attempt to reconstruct the way in which this donation was corrupted by Deusededit: Their thesis is based mainly on very hypothetical and often attacked assumption, which maintain that Deusededit, while preparing his compilation on the Polish donation thought this *civitas* to be Sardinia and not the Polish lands.⁹⁸

Some of the most zealous partisans of the Polish conquest of Pomerania (G. Labuda) have been critical enough to reject the fan-

⁹³ See n. 92, p. 393 ff.

⁹⁴ Ms Cambrai 554 f 121v; Vatic. Ottob. 3057, f. 131; Vatic. 8486, Cencii, f 93-94.

⁹⁵ F. Dvornik, *The Making of Central and Eastern Europe*, p. 315 ff.

⁹⁶ K. Żurowski, 'Gniezno — stołeczny gród pierwszych Piastów w świetle źródeł archeologicznych', in *PPP*, II, p. 61 ff.

⁹⁷ *Codex Diplomaticus Silesiae*, edited by K. Maleczyński, I, p. 7, n. 18.

⁹⁸ K. Buczek, 'Zagadnienie wiarygodności przekazu *Dagome iudex*', *Studia Źródłoznawcze*, X (1965), p. 125 ff.

tastic conceptions of Z. Wojciechowski or F. Dvornik that Stettin was either the best known place in Mieshko's domain or was its centre. The suggestion to interpret Schinesgne as Gniezno encounters a difficulty explained above, but this can be accounted for by Deusededit's mistakes⁹⁹ (later deformations are of minor importance) or by the assumption that the document is not an exact geographical description. Buczek has suggested that the last sentence 'usque in predictam civitatem Schignesne' is Deusededit's addition, without any connexion with the original text.¹⁰⁰

The method of text-correction has its advantages, but it may be misused. Some of the most critical historians have not seen good reason to change the text. Therefore, if one tries to read the text as it is and to interpret the name Schignesne as Gniezno, which seems to be the only right one, one should not regard the geographical description as being accurate.

The description of the borders in this document is very schematic and only occasional topographic points contain indications on the borders; these are: Cracow, Oder, Alamura (Olomuniec), Milze (Milsko). Other borders are described linearly and not by border points and are of relative geographical value. Those relative borders, which were known to the contemporaries are: *fine Pruzze*, *fine Russe* or even the problematic *longum mare*. For these are the border lines which can be only hypothetically reconstructed. The Polish-Prussian border is relatively better known from later written sources, onomastic, linguistic, and from archaeological data.¹⁰¹ But the Polish-Russian border in this description already lacks clarity and precision and without additional data from the Russian chronicles, one could argue, for example, that in 990-92 the Russian lands were very near Cracow, according to the following phrase in the document 'et fine Russe extendente in Craccoa', while the border between Little Poland and Rus' was along the river Bug, or somewhat more to the west, after the conquest of Przemyśl and Czerwień by Prince Vladimir.¹⁰²

The scheme of the north-western border is from Cracow to the Oder or rather to Olomuniec, not far from its source in Moravia and from Olomuniec to Milsko, a region bordering on the river Nysa. These areas were not included in Mieshko's (Dagome) lands and the discussion whether Alamura is Olomuniec, the name of a central point

⁹⁹ J. Otrębski, 'Miscellanées onomastiques', *Lingua Poznaniensis*, 2 (1950), p. 70 ff. He corrects this name to Chinezdno.

¹⁰⁰ See n. 98.

¹⁰¹ J. Antonowicz, 'Prusowie we Wczesnym Średniowieczu i zarys ich kultury materialnej', in *Pomorze Średniowieczne*, p. 136 ff; *Historia Pomorza*, I/1, p. 289 and p. 421 ff.

¹⁰² J. Skrzypek *Studia nad pierwotnym pograniczem polsko-ruskim w rejonie Wołynia i Grodów Czerwińskich*, p. 51 ff.

on the Moravian-Polish border or Moravia proper is not very important. It is easy to notice that the central western axis of the border described is the Oder. This river is the only river mentioned in the whole description and the most convenient topographical item in it. Thus the inexact expression 'exinde ducente iuxta flumen Oddera usque in predictam civitatem Schignesne' does not indicate that the border ran along the Oder up to the Baltic sea, but that, at a certain point, most probably in the valley of the Warta-Noteć or along the Moraine of Pomerania, the border turned towards Gniezno.

Another expression of the *Dagome iudex* used by historians to prove the Polish conquest of the whole of Pomerania is 'a primo latere longum mare'. Here the words *longum mare* are of vital importance.¹⁰³ What do they signify? There are four basic interpretations of this phrase: a) *longum mare* is the Baltic; b) it is the Latin translation of the name Pomerania; c) it is the Warta-Noteć valley, which was the Polish-Pomeranian border; d) the whole expression quoted above can be translated as: on the first coast along the sea; i.e. *longum* not as an adjective but as an adverb along (= *in longum*).

Explanations a. and d. are identical as forms of solutions. They have also the advantage of not being founded on additional hypothetical combinations. Explanation c. is highly unlikely because to ascribe to some wasteland (marshes, river etc. no settlement) the name of sea is not too logical. Explanation b. contains some realistic elements, if Pomerania in Slavonic means the lands along the sea-coast. But here additional data is needed, namely that the name Pomerania existed already at the end of the tenth century, as suggests Dowiat.¹⁰⁴ Of course the natural and obvious interpretation of *longum mare* is the Baltic sea. The description of the border as running along the sea is excellent proof of the Polish conquest of Pomerania for many Polish historians. But the doubts in this matter are largely based on the suspicion that 'along the Baltic', as the description of the border, is not a very exact expression and only additional sources can help in determining whether the Polish state ruled the whole of the Baltic coast from the Oder up to the Vistula estuary.

The *Dagome iudex* description might well mean only a part of this coast, that part opposite Gniezno, which was in Polish hands. On the basis of the data given by this document one can only assume that Poland conquered some parts of the Slavonic Baltic coast but there is no sufficient proof that all the lands named Pomerania in the middle of the eleventh century, were in Polish hands in 990-92.

Different historical data on the Polish-Pomeranian relations are going to be analysed now, therefore it is necessary to leave the

¹⁰³ H. Łowmiański, 'Longum Mare', *RH*, XXII (1957) p. 65 ff.

¹⁰⁴ See n. 83 and n. 84 in chapter one.

chronological description, because from the beginning of Boleslaw's I reign the international situation of Poland becomes very complicated. I will attempt to tackle certain problems concerning the Polish-Pomeranian-Wieletian relations. The first well based indications of the Polish presence on the Baltic coast are found in the hagiographical and historical material connected with the two chief personalities connected with Otto's III plan to build a new Holy Empire: St. Adalbert and Bruno of Querfurt. Part of St. Adalbert's missionary actions were carried out in Gdansk (Danzig), the first coastal town in Polish hands. Afterwards St. Adalbert became a martyr and suffered death from the Prussians.

Vitae Adalberti are very well discussed from the point of view of source criticism by J. Karwasińska;¹⁰⁵ she claims that in the first draft of the *Vita*, prepared in 998, the authors, who lacked sufficient knowledge of the Slavonic lands, used the name Gnesdon, at that time the central city of Poland, which was also the centre of St. Adalbert's cult, as a name of a town on the sea coast, the last where St. Adalbert stayed before his Prussian mission. After this first version was written, (it is preserved in the second group of the south-Italian manuscripts), the *Vita* was re-edited according to the instructions of Otto III and the saintly Gaudentius, the name of this coastal town was corrected to Gyddanyzc and this form was preserved in the north-German manuscripts.

The most plausible development of events was perhaps the following: Adalbert, with a guard of thirty men, went from the centre of Boleslaw's lands to the very remote parts of these lands i.e. to Gdańsk, and there he baptized a great number of people.¹⁰⁶ One cannot discuss the problem why Adalbert did not go on a mission to the Wieletians but went instead to Prussians. The text clearly implies that the Prussians were nearer, not in the sense of distance, but of interests and also that they were better known to Boleslaw.¹⁰⁷ This passage indicates that here one is faced with Polish political interest in action; Boleslaw probably thought that he would benefit more from baptizing the Prussians rather than the Wieletians.

The frequent Polish military actions against the Wieletians, carried out together with the Germans (in 986, 987, 991, 992, 993 and 995) were always directed from the eastern German border and from the western Polish border towards the immediate border lands and not towards the Wieletian centres. The rebellion of the Slavs in 988 created probably strong block of Polabian tribes which could not be destroyed by those two powerful states.

¹⁰⁵ J. Karwasińska, *Les trois redactions de "Vita I" de St. Adalbert.*

¹⁰⁶ S. Milczarski, *Misja pruska Św. Wojciecha, passim.*

¹⁰⁷ *MPH*, I, p. 180.

In 1000 A.D. the Polish archbishopric was established as part of Otto III plans to build a Christian empire. One of the bishops of this new archbishopric was Reinbern-*Salsae Cholbergensis aecclesiae episcopus*.¹⁰⁸ Thus the new church organization of Poland was not only in the proper Polanian lands, Little Poland and Silesia (Bishop's sees outside great Poland were in Breslau (Wrocław) and Cracow but also in Pomerania. The place of the new see was the ancient town of Colberg (Kołobrzeg), which from the point of view of its economic importance, was equal to Wolin or even more developed, due to its salt-springs. Hence the sources of late tenth and early eleventh century confirm the Polish influence in Gdańsk and Kołobrzeg.

Lack of evidence on the territorial extent of the Pomeranian diocese opened a wide field for conjecture. In general, historians ascribe to the Pomeranian see all of the 'Pomeranian lands', i.e. in the sense of 'Pomerania', as it is known in late eleventh, early twelfth century sources. It is important to mention that the see was established in Kołobrzeg, undoubtedly a very central point for the Pomeranian lands and an important economic centre. The omission of Gdańsk, also an important centre linked with St. Adalbert's missionary action, is rather surprising. Only quite weighty political reasons could explain the choice of Kołobrzeg and one can ask whether this was German influence, the German pattern being: creation of bishoprics on the borderlands of lands already submitted and half-tributary and often those of independent Slavonic tribes (e.g. Havelberg see).¹⁰⁹

The lands that the Kołobrzeg see undoubtedly had under its supervision were: the Great Gdańsk-Casubian group, Sławińska-group, Kołobrzeg-Białogard group and probably the settlements of the cultural groups living in the lands to the east from Parsęta—Gwda line. These are the lands of the early Medieval Pomerania, where Polish connections are proved by the sources and the military administrative and church overlordship of Poland is certain.

The main questions to be answered are: a) How long did this state of affairs exist? b) What were the western borders of the Kołobrzeg see? The *Chronicle of Thietmar* has enough data to answer them. It is important to mention that after Otto's death (24.I.1002) the situation in the North Western Slavonic lands changed completely. The new German emperor, Henry II, saw very soon that the growing power of Bolesław I of Poland and especially his territorial expansion towards the west and the south were a danger to the German or Saxon interests.¹¹⁰ Already in 1004 the Germans, together with Jaromir, the Bohemian pretendent to the throne, attacked Bolesław. These wars are

¹⁰⁸ *Thietmar*, L. IV, c. 45.

¹⁰⁹ *SSS*, III, p. 529.

¹¹⁰ See n. 91, p. 400 ff.

not very important for this survey; it is interesting to note, however, the German cooperation with their recent enemies — the Wioletians. The examination of the development of this alliance between Henry and the Wioletians explains the rôle of Poland in the territory in the Oder estuary, i.e. the supposed border of the Polish influence and the border of the Kołobrzeg see.

The first indication of the new attitude on the part of the German ruler towards the troublesome Slavonic tribes is found in Thietmar's description of the events that occurred at the end of 1002 — the first year of Henry's rule. During this year of internal struggle, the Polish ruler succeeded in acquiring dominion over Luzhyce and Mielsko. After the unsuccessful attempt to kill him in Merseburg the hostilities against Henry began. The unknown legations which attended Henry's court in Frankfurt might have been the representatives of the Wioletians, who were aware of the fact that Polish-German hostilities were favourable for them, especially when Bolesław's presence on their southern flank was a real danger to them.¹¹¹ Direct evidence of the Wioletian-German alliance comes from the beginning of next year. Thietmar writes about the legates of the Lutitians (i.e. Wioletians and Redarians, 'et horum qui Liutici dicuntur'), this is an indication that among them were certainly other tribes, the so-called basic Lutitian tribes along with the Redarians and probably other Slavonic allies, which were at that time members of the union.¹¹²

The main difficulty in relation to this union is the need to ascertain whether the small tribes were also at that time united with the Wioletians or whether some of them were, as for example the Hobolians, a separate political unit.¹¹³ The results of this alliance were felt in the Polish-German war of 1005, when the Lutitians actively supported Henry together with Jaromir.¹¹⁴ The war was over in the same year and the results were probably of a temporary character. The following year 1006, Henry spent in war and diplomacy in the western part of his Empire. In the meantime the Polish ruler lost no time and used diplomatic means in order to destroy the German-Bohemian-Wioletian alliance. His efforts were centred in Bohemia, where a growing dissatisfaction with the German protégé Jaromir was felt.

In 1007 the legates of the allies came to Regensburg. The story is very important 'regi pascha Ratisbone celebranti de Luticis et ab hiis, qui a civitate magna Livilni dicta missi fuerant, et a Jaremiro duce, Bolizlavum multa sibi contraria molyri cupientem, asserebant seque ad haec perficienda verbis ac pecunia ab eodom introduci affirmabant.

¹¹¹ *Thietmar*, L. V, c. 27.

¹¹² *Thietmar*, L. V, c. 31.

¹¹³ *Sec n.* 48, p. 60 ff.

¹¹⁴ *Thietmar*, L. VI, c. 22.

Intimabant quoque ei, si hunc amplius in pace et gratia suimet haberet ut servitutem eorum firmiter non teneret'.¹¹⁵

This passage, if carefully analysed, can provide the answer to the previous question about the territorial extent of Polish military, administrative and church domination in Pomerania. The 'civitas magna Livilni' is identified with Wolin. It is interesting to note that the Wolinians, the representatives of *magna civitas* came with Jaromir and the Lutitians, as equal partners in the discussion with Henry. The accusations seemed so serious that Henry decided to break the peace of Poznań (1005). The reaction of Bolesław was an attack on the estates of the archbishop of Magdeburg. Undoubtedly, the well informed Thietmar is mainly telling the truth here; he omitted probably certain facts which were not too convenient, and as the chief reason for the renewal of war gave the accusations of the legates, but the military power of Bolesław and his immediate attack prove that he was looking only for a *casus belli* and that war was inevitable.

The appearance of the Wolinians at the court together with Jaromir and the Lutitians is often explained by their recent rebellion against Bolesław.¹¹⁶ This hypothesis is based on the assumption that the Wolinians were part of the Polish state or a dependent tribe but this is not borne out by the sources. Also the military situation of Bolesław from the year 1000 on was very good (also later on, in the war of 1007 A.D.)¹¹⁷ and the supposed rebellion in these conditions does not seem probable. If Wolin was, up to 1005, in Polish hands, Bolesław was strong enough to keep it and to defend it against the Wioletians while preparing for a war with the anti-Polish coalition. The diplomatic action and the use of bribery in the case of all the legates are an indication of Wolinian independence from the Polish rule and direct influence. One can also ask what was the position of Wolin among the legates?

The first Lutitian legation in 1003 was described by Thietmar as the legation of Redarians 'Nuncios Redereriorum et horum, qui Liutici dicuntur',¹¹⁸ in 1007 the legation had Lutitians and the representatives of Wolin.

The position of the Redarians in the union is clear from Thietmar's description of Radogost, the cult centre, and probably this fact implies that Redarians were the leading tribe and old allies of the Wolinians in the wars of 963 and 967.¹¹⁹ The distinguished position of the

¹¹⁵ Thietmar, L. VI, c. 33.

¹¹⁶ See n. 91, p. 410.

¹¹⁷ Thietmar, L. VI, c. 34.

¹¹⁸ Thietmar, L. V, c. 31.

¹¹⁹ Thietmar, L. VI, c. 23; Procházka, 'Organizace kultu a kmenove zřízení Polabsko-Pobaltských Slovanu', *Vznik a počátky*.

Redarians explains why Thietmar emphasized their presence in 1003. The same explanation can be applied for the appearance of Wolinians in the legation of 1007. It is possible that the use of names in the chronicle is partly for reasons of style, but the distinguished position of the Wolinians among the Lutitians, the characteristic emphasis on the urban-commercial character of Wolin is evident in the source, and one can argue that they played, alongside the Redarians, a leading rôle, probably economic, in the union.

It is also interesting to check whether in 1007 the Wolinians came for the first time in contact with the union or became a part of its framework? The parallel of the Redarians is again quite helpful; one can argue that the Wolinians were not members of the union in 1003, only if one assumes that in 1007 the Redarians were not in it. The most probable answer is that the Wolinians acted in the general framework of the Lutitian Union in 1003 as in 1007 and in the 1060's and were its important members. The silence of the sources about their activity is not a proof; the sources also do not mention that the Chrespienians or Dolezhans were part of the union but no one doubts that they were active in it. Other geographical, linguistic as well as historical proofs indicate that Wolinians were a *civitas*, i.e. not a big but a very well developed region with a strong commercial centre in the Oder estuary, linked with the Lutitian Union.¹²⁰

The Wolinians lived on the island of Wolin, on the right bank of Dzivna river, and in the lands around Stettin, which at the end of the tenth, beginning of the eleventh century, was a minor centre, though connected with Wolin, as in the twelfth century. In other words the whole of the Oder estuary was at the time of the first Piasts independent from Polish rule and an active *avant-garde* of the Wioletian Union.¹²¹ Thus it seems that the Kołobrzeg (Colberg) see probably did not include the Wolinian lands. How long did the Kołobrzeg see exist? According to Thietmar's relation on the Polish-Rus' relations one of Bolesław's daughter was married to Svyatopolk, son of Vladimir, and Reinbern, the bishop of Kołobrzeg, was sent as her chaplain.¹²² This fact is proof that sometime between 1000 and 1005-1012 Reinbern was driven out of his bishopric. The historiography, taking into account the pagan reaction and the revolt of the Wolinians in 1007, fixed the date of the destruction of the Kołobrzeg see as 1007. However, in the middle of 1004,¹²³ during the Polish-German war, a chaplain of Reinbern was present in the army or at the

¹²⁰ See n. 54, chapter one.

¹²¹ See n. 80, chapter one.

¹²² *Thietmar*, L. VII, c. 72. Their marriage took place between the years 1005-12; A.F. Grabski, *Bolesław Chrobry*, p. 250.

¹²³ *Thietmar*, L. VI, c. 10.

court. It is possible that it was somewhere in Bohemia and probably Reinbern himself was present as well. Thus the reaction against the bishop's presence on the Lutitian border was evident already before 1004 and probably started at the same time as the Lutitian-German anti-Polish alliance was concluded, namely at the beginning of 1003. During the years 1000-1003-4 the actions of Reinbern in his bishopric were sufficient cause for a strong pagan reaction and the vicinity of a strong pagan organization was undoubtedly an encouragement for the destruction of the Pomeranian see.¹²⁴

In 990-2, as was stated in *Dagome iudex*, the maritime border of Mieshko's state could pass from Rega and Parsęta rivers up to Gdańsk (Danzig) where the Polish-Prussian border ran. In the discussion of the political history of the Polish conquest of Pomerania several important problems were omitted. One of them is the possible Scandinavian presence in the Oder estuary — the legendary Jómshorg military settlement. This settlement, which in the sagas is connected with Wolin, could provide an explanation why the Polish ruler was unable to incorporate the Oder estuary, so vital for economic reasons, into the Polish state. The problem of this Viking settlement is not clear to many historians especially those who based their studies on older German and Scandinavian literature.¹²⁵ Modern Polish historiography and archaeology follow almost unanimously the thesis of the non-existence of Jómshorg or any other Viking settlement in the Oder estuary, and generally assume that Poland ruled in Wolin since at least 979. The problem of the Jómshorgings has also a more universal importance, not only for Polish and Pomeranian history, but also for Norwegian, Danish, Swedish and English history.

The assumption that the Jómshorgings were a part of the Viking fleet which invaded England at the end of the tenth beginning of the eleventh century is still accepted in English historical writing, not only by older historians represented by F.M. Stenton, but also by P.H. Blair¹²⁶ and in a number of other works.¹²⁷ Following the source-

¹²⁴ 'Lana idolorum destruens incendit et, mare demonibus cultum inmissis quatuor lapidibus sacro crismate perunctis et aqua purgans benedicta, novam Domino omnipotenti propaginem in infructuosa arbore, id est in populo nimis insulso sanctae predicacionis plantacionem, eduxit', *Thietmar*, L. VII. c. 72.

¹²⁵ L. Weibull, *Kritiska undersökningar i Nordens historia omkring år 1000*, p. 110. See his *Historisk-Kritisk metod och Nordisk medeltidsforskning*, p. 70 ff. However, many historians followed F. Jonsson 'Jomsvikingerne', *dHT*, VII (1911-2), p. 263 ff. See also the recent discussion of L. Weibull's method in *Medieval Scandinavia*, V (1972) p. 96 ff.

¹²⁶ F.M. Stenton, *Anglo-Saxon England*, second edition, p. 369; P.H. Blair, *An Introduction to Anglo-Saxon England*, p. 93.

¹²⁷ S.H. Cross, 'Scandinavian-Polish Relations in the Late Tenth Century', in *Studies in Honour of H. Collez*, p. 114 ff.; G.F. Ward, 'Jómshorg Brethren in England', *Scandinavian Studies*, 28 (1956), p. 135 ff., *The Saga of Jomsvikings*, see N.F. Blake's introduction to this saga, p. VII ff. The extensive literature on this problem in German is discussed by J. Gąsiorowski, 'The Conquest Theory of the Genesis of the Polish State', *Speculum*, XXX (1955), p. 555 ff.

studies of the sagas, as opposed to other historical sources studied by G. Labuda,¹²⁸ it seems that the only certain information about the Wolinian-Scandinavian relations are those provided by Adam (L, II, c. 27-8) and by the *Encomium Emmae*¹²⁹ on the death of Harald, king of Denmark, in Wolin around 986 and on the attack of Magnus on Wolin in 1043.¹³⁰ These events served probably partly as the basis for the sagas written in twelfth-thirteenth century, where the events of tenth-eleventh century were mixed up together.

The archaeologists, especially after the discovery of the Trelleborg type camps,¹³¹ have begun to defend the reliability of the sagas and the studies and excavations followed two directions: a) to discover the Viking settlement in Wolin proper; b) to connect the Trelleborg type camps with the sagas and especially with the type of organization described in them.

The problem of Wolin's Viking origins was studied before World War II by the German archaeologists O. Kunkiel and K.A. Wilde and after the war by the Polish archaeologists. The German archaeologists seem certain that there were parallels in house-construction of Wolin, of the Silberberg burg walls, and the Scandinavian construction of Hedeby houses and the Viking camps.¹³² The Polish archaeologists prove that the beginnings of Wolin were much earlier than O. Kunkiel suggests and they do not agree with the building and wall typology proposed by the Germans.¹³³ The great number of Scandinavian objects in Wolin and around it does not constitute a decisive proof of the Viking origins of Wolin.¹³⁴

Much more probable, but still quite risky, are the suggestions that link the Trelleborg camps with the Jomsborg legend. The silence of the sources in regard to these camps may be a good indication that they were erected for a specific purpose and used for a short time only. It is also possible that those who used the camps preferred to keep quiet

¹²⁸ G. Labuda, 'Legenda Jomsborga', *Sprawozdania PTPN*, 34 (1946), p. 38. See his 'Saga o Styrbjörnie, Jarlu Jomsborga', *SA*, 4 (1954), p. 283 ff., and 'Slavs in the Early Medieval Pomerania and their Relations in 9th and 10th century', in *Poland at the XIth International Congress of Historical Sciences in Stockholm* p. 61 ff.

¹²⁹ *Encomium Emmae Reginae*, p. 8.

¹³⁰ Arnórr Jarlaskald, *Magnussdrapa*, in E.A. Kock, *Den norsk-islandska skaldedigtingen*, I, pp. 156-7, 159.

¹³¹ P.H. Blair, *An Introduction to Anglo-Saxon England*, p. 93 ff; P. Foote and D.M. Wilson, *The Viking Achievement*, p. 267.

¹³² O. Kunkiel, K.A. Wilde, *Jumne 'Vineta', Jomsburg, Julin-Wollin. 5 Jahre Grabungen auf den Boden der Vikerzeitlichen Grossiedlung am Dievenowstrom 1934-39/1940*.

¹³³ W. Filipowiak, 'Aus dem Forschungen über Vineta-Wollin'. *Beiträge des Naturkundemuseums Stralsund*, 1 (1962), p. 115 ff; W. Filipowiak, 'Die Entwicklung der Stadt Wollin vom 9 bis zum 12 Jahrhundert', in *Vor und Frühformen der europäischen Stadt im Mittelalter*, edited by H. Jankuhn, p. 190 ff.

¹³⁴ See n. 43, chapter one.

about their existence and position. Probably this mysterious silence was the reason why people in twelfth century began to tell stories about these camps and the Icelandic writers used them as one of the elements of the Jónsborg legend, changing their place, and adding one more camp in Wolin.

No such camp was discovered in Wolin or on the Slavonic coast and the historical proofs of Labuda are confirmed by the archaeological materials, both negative and positive. The positive data on Wolin in the tenth-eleventh century are of value here. It is known that Wolin was the central town of a well defended tribal group, which during the above period, played a major role as the commercial centre of the Southern Baltic coast. The positive information on the political and social organization of Wolin is derived solely from *The Lives of Otto*, when Wolin had already lost its leading position in economy and was undergoing important political changes. Earlier data are based on several lines from Adam, on indirect indications in the written sources on the Slavonic commercial and political enterprises and on archaeological findings.

Other types of evidence are presented in the sources illustrating the political and the social organization of the Wieleitians. In the discussion of the Carolingian sources I have mentioned the political and social order among the Wieleitians and the Obodritians. The tenth century sources confirm that a similar state of affairs was prevalent in the Obodritians lands, however, the historiography emphasizes the drastic changes that took place in the political affairs of the Wieleitians, namely the disappearance of 'monarchical' forms in political life and the creation of 'republican' forms; this is explained by a regression to archaic forms of political life as a reaction against the new form of state represented by the Germans.¹³⁵ The sources are in general not interested in the internal order of the Slavonic tribes; on the whole during tenth-eleventh century the Slavs are referred to by their tribal name Hobolians, Starodians etc., or by a collective name for the entire group: Wieleitians, Lutitians or even Slavs. Very seldom does one find proper names, as that of the early tenth century Hobolian ruler Tegomir.

After the great Slavonic rebellion in 982-3 a German rebel Kizo took power in Brenna,¹³⁶ followed by his Slavonic companion Bolelut. Except for these instances of personal authority, there is no certain information on the tribal rulers of the Wieleitians. But one should bear in mind that the Carolingian sources mention the Hobolian rulers as *reges* of the Wieleitians. The arguments that other tribes of the union

¹³⁵ See p. 96 and n. 1, chapter one.

¹³⁶ *Thietmar*, L. IV, c. 22.

did not possess such rulers are arguments *ex silentio*. One can assume that either the German chroniclers and annalists had little knowledge about the more distantly located Slavonic tribes and hence could not provide information on their tribal rulers, who were not distinct from other nobles, as was the case in the well formed hierarchical society in Germany, or even in Poland and Bohemia; besides they probably did not know that Redarians, Wkranians or other tribes were at all different from the Hobolians. Of course, the first possibility is much more plausible and in this way one can avoid the dangerous hypothesis that there was a revolutionary change in the tribal organization, as was mentioned above.

A different picture, opposed to the conclusion reached earlier, is presented by Thietmar, who describes the political and religious institutions of the Lutitians around the years 1005-1015. In this description one sentence is of particular importance.¹³⁷ 'Hiis autem omnibus, qui communitur Liutici vocantur, dominus specialiter non presidet ullus'. As the chief political institution he mentions the *placitum*,¹³⁸ another important institution is the pagan cult, where the central rôle was played by the priests of the Radogoshch (Rethra) temple.¹³⁹ The earlier historiography went the way indicated by Thietmar. Absence of one ruler over 'omnibus qui communitur Liutici vocantur' was taken as a proof of the 'republican' way of life and also as the image of early Slavonic political life.¹⁴⁰ The basic question is what actually was the so-called Wieleitian-Lutitian Union? Besides the problem of membership no satisfactory answer was given. I will therefore attempt to provide a hypothetical answer.

The Wieleitians (Lutitians) are different in their organization from the other Slavonic group in the area — the Obodritians (tenth-eleventh century) because their political organization was not based on the political supremacy of one tribal ruler over others, (however, also in Obodritian lands the ruler of the Obodritian tribe was not always the supreme ruler, sometimes the diversity among rulers was evident). This was due probably to the destruction of the Hobolian ruling family.¹⁴¹

The unifying powers of the Wieleitian-Lutitian Union were: a) the pagan cult, which in a process of complex evolution and borrowing from Christianity, became semi-hierarchical and the leading cult place was in Radogoshch (Rethra), which became important after or during

¹³⁷ Thietmar, L. VI, c. 25.

¹³⁸ 'Unanimi consilio ad placitum suimet necessaria discutientes, in rebus efficiendis omnes concordant'; Thietmar, L. VI, c. 25.

¹³⁹ Thietmar, L. VI, c. 23-25.

¹⁴⁰ F. Graus, 'Slavs and Germans', in *Eastern and Western Europe in the Middle Ages*, edited by G. Barraclough, p. 27 ff.

¹⁴¹ Widukind, L. II, c. 20-21 and c. 30.

the great rebellion of 982,¹⁴² b) common political aims, especially cooperation against enemies.

The tribes of the Union, which was rather a loose confederation were ruled by tribal rulers, who had not, as yet, developed fully their position and acted as military leaders. Their position as rulers was greatly limited by other powerful nobles among whom one group based its power on the control of the cult, another on their wealth, which came from piracy or looting in war. The decentralization of the means of power is the most characteristic trait of the Wioletian political order but the sources indicate three 'main factors of state existence: army leadership, organized religious cult and a more or less organized financial apparatus.¹⁴³

The rôle of the pagan cult seems to be a major factor which was in competition with the ruler-military leader. The political power of the assembly or the popular assembly is, according to the description of Thietmar or the Carolingian historians, very limited. The political decisions of the stronger men (the *meliores* in Carolingian sources) were accepted by the assembly, sometimes, however, force was used.¹⁴⁴ The use of magic also played a very important rôle. The assembly was rather an institutional frame which accepted the decisions of the tribal rulers and priests rather than a democratically active political power.

This type of political relationship probably existed also in Wolin. However, Wolin's conditions, different from those prevailing among the continentally minded Wioletians, brought about, already at the early stages of the town's history, a different political and social order. The character of Wolin and the territories connected with this centre (Szczecin developed later but in a similar manner) was the result of its geographical position (on the sea-shore). It was a great trade emporium, a place where craftsmen were concentrated; it was also a pirates' station. Wolin's urban character is indicated by the sources and corroborated by the archaeological excavations as early as the second half of the tenth century and the beginning of the eleventh. There is proof that already in the eleventh century Wolin was an important town as far as trade, craftsmen and fishing are concerned, and that it was surrounded by walls.¹⁴⁵

¹⁴² W. Brüske, *Untersuchungen zur Geschichte des Lutizenbundes*, p. 39 ff. The Slavonic deity worshipped in Rethra can be considered as the ruler of the Union. J. Dowiat 'Pogański obraz świata a przyczyny chrystianizacji Słowian', in *Wiek Średni*, p. 83.

¹⁴³ See n. 107, chapter one.

¹⁴⁴ 'Si quis vero ex comprovincialibus in placito hiis contradicit, fustibus verberatur et, si forinsecus palam resistit, aut omnis incendio et continua depredatione perdit aut in eorum presentia pro qualitate sua pecuniae persolvit quantitatem debitae'. *Thietmar*, l. VI, c. 25.

¹⁴⁵ L. Leciejewicz, *Początki nadmorskich miast na Pomorzu Zachodnim*, p. 216 ff.

The dwelling place of the ruler indicated by the written twelfth century sources has not been discovered.¹⁴⁶ It is probable that such a place did not develop as a fortified location in the tenth-eleventh century. More probable is the existence of a pagan sanctuary, younger than the whole settlement.¹⁴⁷

The upper classes devoted their time to trade and piratical enterprises.¹⁴⁸ This highly profitable activity opened more opportunities for greater numbers of people and this is probably the first and the quantitative difference between Wolin and other Wieleitian tribes; here the nobility was wealthier and more numerous. Wolin, mostly Slavonic in its ethnical composition, due to trade and piracy, was according to Adam, a place of international character, with Saxon, Russian and Baltic inhabitants, probably Scandinavians were also present (mentioned by Adam *as barbari*) and this is strongly evident in the archaeological data.¹⁴⁹

The military leadership was most probably in the hands of distinguished men, great merchants and owners of pirate fleets. In case of major wars one leader was elected, as was Wichman, for example.

Another centre, Kołobrzeg, developed similarly to Wolin. Probably it was not so directly linked with the Wieleitians but more with the Poles. This direction of influence probably enabled a certain evolution towards monarchy in the eleventh century (see later) but the positive data come only from twelfth century and confirm that such development indeed took place. The concentration of power in the hands of one family or even a single man was here easier since the economic development of the town was based on salt-springs, which were more easily controlled than trade or piracy by somebody who would wish to develop political power. Besides salt-springs, trade was another factor in its economic life in the times of Otto, here lies its similarity to Wolin.

In this chapter certain points concerning Pomerania were made clear although there is not much direct information about the lands, later called Pomerania. It seems most probable, that, as in other lands discussed earlier, (Obodritian and Wieleitian) the political and social organization was based on tribal rulership. However, there was no tribe which played the central role like the tribe of the Obodritians (or the tribe of the Polanians in Poland); neither was there in existence a unifying cult or a military organization (Wieleitian-Lutitian).

During the period under discussion Pomerania was not a political entity but a territory with easily identifiable natural borders, inhabited

¹⁴⁶ *VP*, L. II, c. 5.

¹⁴⁷ See n. 145, pp. 312—3.

¹⁴⁸ See n. 130.

¹⁴⁹ *Adam*, L. II, c. 22.

by several tribes.¹⁵⁰ This territory was divided into three spheres of influence: a) the Oder estuary, it was under the Wieletian influences; b) the eastern and southern lands were under Polish influence; c) the central area with Kołobrzeg was influenced from several directions, and provided this area with rare opportunities for development, boosted by favourable local conditions.

¹⁵⁰ W. Łęga on the basis of archaeological studies distinguished six cultural tribe groups in Pomerania. See n. 42, chapter one.

CHAPTER THREE

POMERANIA AND ITS RULERS IN ELEVENTH AND EARLY TWELFTH CENTURY

1. The political history of Pomerania in the eleventh and at the beginning of the twelfth century

After the discussion of the political history of Pomerania before the eleventh century and the socio-political order in this area I shall concentrate on its political history in the eleventh century. In order to present the external relations of Pomerania as well as its internal affairs it will be necessary to deal, from time to time, with other matters relating to its history and especially the history of the Lutitian Union, which disintegrated at the beginning of the twelfth century.

The German-Lutitian-Wolinian cooperation at the very beginning of the eleventh century probably interfered with Polish rule over some parts of Pomerania. The breakdown of the power of the Polish state in the thirties of the eleventh century and the subsequent attacks of its neighbours, social and certain religious disorders, created for Pomerania a convenient opportunity to shake off the Polish rule and to become more militarily active against Poland.¹

The Pomeranians, possibly those of eastern parts only, cooperated, during this period, with the ruler of a separate principality Mazovia, Mieclaw, who opposed the centralistic policy of Casimir, the Piast ruler.² This cooperation served probably as the basis for the meeting arranged by Henry III of Germany, who supported Casimir, between the Piast prince and the princes of Bohemia and Pomerania. It took place in Merseburg in June, 1046. The cooperation included the Czech-Mazovian alliance. The *Annales Altahenses maiores*, under the year 1046 (a year before the Mazovian principality was again incorporated into the Piast state) describe the meeting of the three eastern princes, the Polish Casimir, the Bohemian Bretyslav and the Pomeranian Siemysl, whose reconciliation was brought about by the emperor.³

¹ *Gall Anonimus*, L. I. c. 19; S. Kętrzyński, 'Kazimierz Odnowiciel', *RAU*, XXXVIII (1899).

² J. Beniak, *Państwo Mieclawa*.

³ *Annales Altahenses maiores*, p. 47, 'Illuc etiam Bratizlad dux Boemurum, Kazimir Polaniorum, Zemuzil Bomeraniorum advenerunt... Inde discendes apostolorum Petri et Pauli festa in Mihsina celebravit, ubi etiam conventionem secundo habens duces prefatos inter se pacificavit'.

The 'apple of discord' among the three could have been some territories: earlier the Czechs occupied south-western parts of the Piast state, Silesia or parts of it; the Pomeranians possibly had some territorial disagreements with Casimir, who had tried to recapture those lands which had been ruled by Poland at the beginning of the century. The details of the overall agreement are unknown. It is possible that the agreement was directed against the Pomeranian-Mazovian (with a possible Czech connection) alliance, before the last struggle of the Polish-Russian forces against the separatistic Mazovian ruler took place. It is doubtful whether the agreement was a success because already in 1047 the Pomeranians helped Miecław and were defeated by the Poles.⁴

The appearance of the Pomeranian prince at the imperial court is very significant. It is not known whether he ruled over the whole area between the Vistula and the Oder and what power he had. The annalist presents him as the equal of both the Polish and the Bohemian ruler; this means that he was quite strong from the military point of view and it also shows his ability to represent external Pomeranian policy on equal terms with the other two, as such he was also recognized by his co-partner Casimir and by the emperor.

It is impossible to be certain what part of Pomerania was under his rule, but probably both the eastern and the central part (around Kołobrzeg) are the most likely areas to be found under his control. As was pointed out earlier the lands in the Oder estuary were probably connected with the Lutitians. The western parts of Pomerania, especially the centre in Wolin were very active in piracy and commerce at the time.

The *Magnusdrápa* (c.a. 1044) describes a contemporary attack of the Norwegian King Magnus on Jóm, i.e. Wolin, the centre of piracy.⁵ Scholion nr. 56, probably interpolated into Adam's text in Denmark, describes the same event.⁶ The events relating to Magnus's war against Sven Estridsson suggest that he undertook the expedition against Wolin not only because Wolin was the centre of piracy but also because it supported Sven and the Obodritians, who in turn supported Sven.⁷

The links between Denmark and Wolin, which go back to the times of Harald Bluetooth, could provide an indication of Wolin's interests. It seems that these were quite different from the interests of the Pomeranian Prince Siemysł; also Wolin was still an independent centre

⁴ See n. 2, p. 190 ff; *Gall Anonimus*, L. I, c. 21.

⁵ See n. 130, chapter two.

⁶ *Adam*, L. II, c. 79. This scholion is known from Mss B^{1a} and C.

⁷ G. Labuda, *Fragmety dziejów Słowiańszczyzny Zachodniej*, II, p. 143 ff.

at the time. The developments on the German-Lutitian border were of marginal importance either to Pomerania or to Wolin.

However, after 1028, when the Lutitians, for the last time, cooperated with the Germans against Poland the strife on the border began. The Lutitians preserved their great power, accumulated after the rebellion of 983 and during the reign of Henry II, until the late fifties.⁸

In the second half of the eleventh century a totally different international situation developed for the Pomeranian and the Lutitian lands. After its victory over the Mazovian separatists and especially during the early years of Bolesław's II reign (son of Casimir), from 1058 the Piast's state once again became a significant factor in the international politics of this area.⁹ After the civil war in the late fifties and the German-Danish-Obodritian interference the Lutitians succeeded in reviving their power in the mid-sixties, though only for a short while before the union of these tribes finally lost its political importance and disintegrated at the beginning of the twelfth century.¹⁰

In these conditions Pomerania gradually became the target of various international pressures especially from Poland. Several rather vague indications of the wars that took place on the Polish border during the reign of Bolesław II are found in the *Gesta* of the Polish princes written by Gall Anonim. He mentions briefly that during the war with Bohemia (probably in 1060) Bolesław lost his rule over Pomerania.¹¹ Since nothing is known about the conquest of Pomerania prior to that date some scholars tend to see in it an indication of the Polish conquest of eastern Pomerania that took place during the later years of Casimir's reign.¹² How much of Pomerania was conquered is not known; it is possible that it was only a small part of the border territories or that there was some form of legal dependence of Pomerania. It seems also that some form of this dependence was regained by Poland later on. An allusion to such a development can be perhaps seen in Gall's chronicle when he portrays how Bolesław corrected what had been previously done wrongly.¹³ Ordericus Vitalis mentions that in 1069 the Danish army, then preparing for an attack on England was aided, among others, by the Poles and the Lutitians.¹⁴

It is possible that this aid was given by Bolesław, who had some connexions with Denmark, perhaps based on mutual anti-German

⁸ W. Brüske, *Untersuchungen zur Geschichte des Lutizenbundes*, p. 74 ff.

⁹ T. Grudziński, *Boleslaw Szczodry*, I.

¹⁰ See n. 8.

¹¹ *Gall Anonimus*, L. I, c. 22.

¹² T. Grudziński, 'Z problematyki kształtowania się stosunku prawnego Pomorza do polskiej monarchii wczesnofeudalnej', *ZH*, XXV/4 (1961), p. 29 ff.

¹³ *Gall Anonimus*, L. II, c. 22 and c. 25.

¹⁴ *Ordericus Vitalis, Historia ecclesiastica*, L. IV, p. 226.

interests of the Polish prince and Sven Estridsson.¹⁵ In order to offer this aid Poland had to have a free sea-route to Denmark, which passed, most probably, through the Vistula estuary. A more plausible explanation is that Ordericus Vitalis, not well-versed in the East European affairs, called the Pomeranians, Poles (possible Danish-Pomeranian contacts through Wolin are mentioned earlier) when they recognised their legal dependence on Poland. The charter given by Bolesław in 1065 (known only in transcripts) to the monastery in Mogilno, which grants the monks certain rights in Eastern Pomerania, cannot be regarded as a positive proof of direct Polish domination in the Vistula estuary; the reasons are: a) it is strongly interpolated; b) these rights could not have been granted before the twenties of the twelfth century, when, probably the charter was given to the monastery by the conqueror of Eastern Pomerania, Bolesław III.¹⁶

From the sixties until the nineties of the eleventh century the sources keep silent about Pomeranian affairs. It seems that the wars of the nineties represent a new Polish offensive against Pomerania, which regained its total independence during the earlier period, i.e. from the sixties until the nineties.

In the Lutitian and Obodritian lands significant developments took place which were of great importance for Pomerania. After a period of border strife (1035-45) between the Saxons and the Lutitians the latter showed, for the first time in the eleventh century, signs of weakness, in 1056-7. According to the information found in Adam's *Gesta*¹⁷ (1056-7) a civil war broke out among the tribes of the Lutitians and the Circipani (Chrespienians) won a victory over the three other members of the union. Especially important is the fact, also stressed by Adam, that the central tribe of the union, the Redarians, on whose territory was found the religious centre of the union, was vanquished. As the result of this victory Duke Bernard II of Saxony, King Sven of Denmark and the Obodritian Prince Gottschalk were invited by the Redarians to attack the rebellious Circipani (Chrespienians) tribe and together they achieved the breakdown of its power.

The breakdown of the Lutitian tribal union and foreign intervention as well as the Saxon pressure on the borderlands during the civil strife that took place in the union caused a steady decline of its power.¹⁸ However, in 1066 the Lutitians reacted strongly against the Obodritian ruler Gottschalk, who was regarded as the supporter of Christianity. In this latter rôle he was their ideological rival as well as a dangerous ruler because he introduced new political measures in internal affairs

¹⁵ See n. 7, p. 161.

¹⁶ B. Kürbisówna, 'Najstarsze dokumenty opactwa Benedyktynów w Mogilnic', *Studia źródłoznawcze*, XIII (1968), p. 27 ff.

¹⁷ Adam, L. III, c. 22.

¹⁸ See n. 8.

which were a menace to the Lutitian Union, linked by a pagan cult. The Obodritian rebellion, which gained support from the Lutitian Union, was their last great victory both in a military and in an ideological sense. Already in 1067/8 Burhard, the bishop of Halberstadt, had organised an expedition against their religious centre Rethra, captured the well-defended temple and held it for some time.¹⁹

The outbreak of internal strife in Germany and especially the struggle of Henry IV against the Saxons made it possible for the Slavs to continue to be independent. However, already at the beginning of the twelfth century the German, Polish, Obodritian and Pomeranian rulers became once more interested in the Lutitian lands while the Union, in the sense of cooperation in military affairs of the tribes united by the temple in Rethra, ceased to exist. The religious centre moved gradually from Rethra to the Rügen temple in Arkona. This move was caused not only by the decline of the Lutitian Union but also by the increased Slavonic interest in piracy and commerce in the Baltic region in the eleventh-twelfth century.²⁰ This process probably coincided with a process of decentralization of the Lutitian Union on the mainland and the strengthening of small units governed by petty rulers. The eleventh century sources mention quite a few Lutitian (Wieleitian) princes, who grew in importance when the prestige of the priests of the Rethra temple declined.²¹ The situation of the Lutitian Union could have influenced that of Pomerania. On the one hand the Pomeranians (Wolinians included) could not rely upon their western neighbours any more while the Polish pressure increased, on the other hand the process of power-atomization following the decline of Rethra enabled the Pomeranian rulers to strengthen their power in the territories that were already under their control and to extend their own territories further to the west.

The renewal of the Polish-Pomeranian wars came after a period of internal tension in Poland. In 1078 Bolesław II was forced to leave the country²² and his brother Władysław Herman was either too weak or too busy, as this was the beginning of this reign, to take the initiative

¹⁹ *Annales Augustiniani MGH SS*, III, p. 128, a. 1068; *Annales Bertholdi, MGH SS*, V, p. 274, a. 1069.

²⁰ W. Petzsch, 'Die neuen Ausgrabungen in der Tempelburg Swantewits auf Arkona', *Pommersche Blätter*, 45 (1931), p. 50.

²¹ Already the eleventh century Ordericus Vitalis (sec n. 14) mentions a *rex Leuticiae*; Adam in scholion 121 mentions a 'king of Rügen': 'Reune insula est Runerum, vicina Jumne civitati, qui soli habent regem', Adam seems to indicate that Rugians had their own king rather than 'only in Rügen there was a king'. This latter interpretation was used by scholars as a proof that the mainland Slavonic tribes had no king, this does not, however, follow from the text.

²² T. Wojciechowski, *Szkice historyczne XI wieku*, p. 226 ff.

against the Pomeranians into his own hands. The Pomeranians, it seems, succeeded once again in achieving political independence and strengthened their defence on the border of the Warta-Noteć—Vistula line. The operations against the Pomeranian border lands in the east were undertaken by Sieciech, a leading figure in the Polish court.

In the summer of 1090 the Polish army captured a stronghold on the border and penetrated further north, reaching the sea.²³ Again it is not known which part (and whether only a part) of Pomerania was conquered, due to the vague terminology of Gall Anonimus. Further developments in this area suggest, however, that only a part of Pomerania was conquered, namely its eastern lands, situated along the Vistula, not far from the capital of Władysław Herman, Płock.

Tough measures aimed at incorporating this territory into the Piast's state followed the conquest. In the strongholds and towns found along the sea and further inside the mainland Polish counts and lieutenants were stationed. Other strongholds, apparently those which seemed useless to the Poles, but could become centres for the petty local rulers, ready to oppose the conqueror, were burnt down. The Polish rule over this area proved, however, very shortlived. Probably already by the winter of 1090-1 the Polish lieutenants had been partly expelled and partly murdered.

The retaliatory measures began in 1091. In spring, the Poles, supported by some Czech troops, attacked Nakło; this attack suggests that the measures were directed against Eastern Pomerania. All these efforts, however, were not sufficient to recapture Eastern Pomerania for the Piast state.

After 1091 the instability of the Piast state caused by internal disputes among Sieciech, Władysław and his two sons, Bolesław and Zbigniew, put an end to further Polish attacks on Pomerania and moreover enabled the Pomeranians to advance as far as Międzyrzecz and to strengthen their defences opposite the Polish stronghold in Santok.

Władysław died in the summer of 1102 and his two sons divided the realm. The rivalry between them as well as a possible difference in attitudes towards Pomerania brought to nought any attempt to launch a full-scale offensive against Pomerania. Bolesław seemed to have been in favour of a military action; his panegyrist Gall describes his valiant attacks on Pomerania praising his Christian zeal. His brother Zbigniew is not so well presented by the chronicler; he was the rival of Gall's ideal, Bolesław, and is described as the friend of the Pomeranians and the Czechs.²⁵ It seems that rivalry prompted Bolesław to

²³ *Gall Anonimus*, L. II, c. 1-3.

²⁴ *Gall Anonimus*, L. II, c. 14 and c. 17.

²⁵ *Gall Anonimus*, L. II, c. 24.

take action against Pomerania and in this way to weaken Zbigniew's resistance.

In autumn of 1102 he attacked a centre called by the source Alba (probably Białogard i.e., a White Town or Burg). This was an important centre which Gall calls 'urbs regia et egregia'.²⁶ It was situated in the centre of Pomerania. This attack opens the first stage of Bolesław II wars with Pomerania, which lasted for about twenty years.

The first stages of this war consist of several swift attacks directed at the centre of Pomerania. In 1103 Kołobrzeg was successfully attacked, later on Bytów and in 1107 again Białogard and Kołobrzeg.²⁷ Afterwards Bolesław changed his strategy and he concentrated on sieges of border burgs, thus probably intending to gain control over the border either through the occupation of these burgs or by forcing their rulers to convert and to swear allegiance to the Polish prince.²⁸

The later stage of this war (1109-1112/3) with the attacks on Nakło and Wyszogród brought the south-eastern part of Pomerania under Polish control and prepared the way for the conquest of Eastern Pomerania later on. The wars that took place after 1113 are not well known since Gall's chronicle ends in 1113. Our knowledge of Bolesław's later campaigns is based on fragmentary sources which mention rather briefly the Polish victories in Pomerania.

The main source for these later wars is the *Old Annals of the Monastery of St. Cross (Rocznik Świętokrzyski dawny)*,²⁹ it was written probably contemporarily with these wars and contains information on three (possibly four) Pomeranian campaigns of Bolesław. According to this source in 1116 Bolesław subjected Pomerania and took two castles (*castra*). In 1119 he killed one Pomeranian duke (*dux*) and expelled another. Finally under the year 1122 the annalist reports the death of Świętopętk, called *Dux Odrensis*. Under the year 1123, a series of Polish annals report that Bolesław crossed the sea and conquered some castles.³⁰ The Provençal source, *Miracula Sancti Aegidii*, mentions briefly Bolesław's attack on Szczecin, which took place probably in 1120-21.³¹ All these campaigns seem to be confirmed by one of the authors of the *Lives of Otto*, Herbord³² and it is plausible that by 1122 Pomerania was, to some extent at least, dependent on Poland. Its eastern part could have been under direct Polish rule. The mission of St. Otto was sent to its western part as the result of the Polish military successes in this area.

²⁶ *Gall Anonimus*, L. II, c. 22.

²⁷ *Gall Anonimus*, L. II, c. 28, c. 30-31, c. 39.

²⁸ *Gall Anonimus*, L. II, c. 44, c. 47-8, L. III, c. 1, c. 26.

²⁹ *MPH*, II, p. 773; J. Dąbrowski, *Dawne dziejopisarstwo polskie*, pp. 55-6.

³⁰ *MPH*, II, p. 832 and p. 874, III, pp. 152-3.

³¹ *MGH SS*, XII, p. 320.

³² *Herbord*, L. II, c. 5, c. 38.

The later stage of the Polish conquest of Pomerania seems to have been accompanied by constant German pressure on the Lutitian border.³³ The pressure on Lutitian lands had been building up steadily since the turn of the eleventh-twelfth century, with the establishment of Henry as the Obodritian ruler and from the time when Saxon attacks were stepped up by Udo, the marcher of Nordmark, especially after Lothar became the duke of Saxony (1106). The sources cease to mention that the Slavonic tribes were united in their resistance, on the contrary, some tribes supported the Saxons in their military campaigns against other ex-Lutitian tribes.

Since there is no need to analyse in detail the sources dealing with these wars, suffice to mention that in 1110 and in 1114, Lothar advanced well into the Slavonic territory and won a victory over a certain Prince Demar.³⁴ In 1121 another prince, Świętopelk (Zwentubald), was defeated and some of his territories were handed over to the Obodritian Prince Henry, an ally of the Saxons.³⁵

Thus by the early twenties of the twelfth century most of the Pomeranian and the Lutitian territories were controlled by one of their Christian neighbours. About that time the conquerors started to argue about the division of the pagan territories, which until then had remained independent. Denmark was also partner in these discussions, since it had interests in the island of Rügen and some coastal areas.³⁶

The victors saw the need to bring these newly acquired lands into contact with the political systems of their own states and to strengthen the dependence of these territories. The realization of these aims took the form of a mission. The biographies of Otto of Bamberg thus serve as the main source for the study of the internal relations of Western Pomerania.

2. *The internal situation of Pomerania in the twenties of the twelfth century and the mission of St. Otto.*

The Pomeranian-Polish wars in the twenties of the twelfth century and the advance of the Saxon Duke Lothar and his allies into the

³³ It is possible that at first there was a certain cooperation on the Pomeranian and the Lutitian fronts between Bolesław and Lothar or Henry the Obodritian. K. Maleczyński, *Bolesław III Krzywousty*, p. 154 ff; B. Zientara, 'Polityczne i kościelne związki Pomorza Zachodniego z Polską za Bolesława Krzywoustego', *PH*, LXI/1 (1970), p. 203 ff.

³⁴ *Annalista Saxo*, *MGH SS*, VI, p. 448 (a. 1110), pp. 750-1 (a. 1114), p. 756 (a. 1121).

³⁵ *Helmold*, L. I, c. 36.

³⁶ Already at the beginning of the twelfth century the Danes attacked Rügen and possibly some coastal regions on the mainland. Markus Skeggjason wrote verses on King Erik's wars. E.A. Kock, *Den norsk-islandska skaldedätningen*, I, p. 266. This information is confirmed by Saxo, who mentions that Absalom's grandfather Skjaln Hvide was appointed by Erik to be Jarl of Zealand and Rügen. *Saxo*, L. XII, c. 4.

Lutitian territory form the background of the complex international position of Pomerania in this period. In this section a description of the events will be presented combined with a discussion of the foreign policy of the Pomeranian ruler and his international position.

The peace-agreement of 1122 put an end, at least for the time being, to hostilities between Poland and Pomerania. Pomerania had to pay a tribute to Poland, to provide military aid and the agreement included, most probably, a pledge to convert to Christianity on the part of the Pomeranians.³⁷ This agreement was significant not only as a moral and religious victory for the Polish prince; it also possessed practical political value, since converted Pomerania would be part of the Polish ecclesiastical province (with its see in Gniezno) and its ties with Poland would become even closer.

The first attempt to convert the Pomeranians was made by a certain bishop Bernard, a Spaniard, probably sent directly from Rome as a result of Poland's request for a missionary,³⁸ he came with the Pope's approval.³⁹ This action was undertaken, as far as is known, without consulting the emperor, who, after all, had some say in such matters as the creation of bishoprics in newly converted territories of Eastern Europe.

The mission of Bernard probably took place in 1122. It was, however, unsuccessful as no conversions were made in Wolin, where Bernard made his missionary attempts. The *Vitae* of Otto, which do not abound in information on Bernard's attempt, explain the failure of his mission. According to the *Vitae* he was a hermit, who came barefoot and poorly dressed to the rich city of Wolin. This was the right approach according to the church ideology of the time, but it had failed to impress the rich Wolinians.

After Bernard's failure Bolesław III turned to his old acquaintance Otto, the Bishop of Bamberg, who used to reside in the court of Bolesław's father⁴⁰ and had many links with Poland. Otto could appear before the Pomeranians as a non-involved party; the future Christians from Pomerania probably would not have liked to be taught Christian

³⁷ The conditions of this peace agreement can be deduced from *VP*, L. II, c. 10, *Herbord*, L. II, c. 30 as well as from the fact that the emperor demanded from Poland a tribute for Pomerania (500 marks of silver). *Herbord*, L. III, c. 10; the author mentions as one of the causes for the 1128 attack the rebuilding of Pomeranian strongholds. B. Zientara, 'Polityczne i kościelne związki Pomorza Zachodniego z Polską za Bolesława Krzywoustego', *PH*, LXI/1 (1970), p. 202.

³⁸ *Ebo*, L. II, c. 1 and c. 2.

³⁹ The question of the mission sponsored by Poland and helped by the pope, in Pomerania, as well as the question of the future church organization was discussed by the Poles with a legate from the Curia, cardinal Gilon de Toucy. He came to Poland in 1123-4. P. David 'Gilon de Toucy Cardinal-Evêque de Tusculum et sa légation en Pologne', in *Studia historyczne ku czci S. Kutrzeby*, II, p. 123 ff.

⁴⁰ *Ebo*, L. I, c. 1-2. *Herbord*, L. II, c. 6, L. III, c. 3.

doctrine by the Poles, who only recently had brought death and destruction to their country.

The mission had begun its journey in May, (1124)⁴¹ and after paying visits to Prague and several Polish towns, crossed the Pomeranian border. During his journey Otto was escorted by Polish troops under the command of Count Paul of the border fortress Santok. Otto's party included some monks and priests, who served as interpreters and some who became priests in the Pomeranian churches. The party consisted of Germans as well as Poles. Among various presents for the Pomeranians the mission carried a bishop's throne; it is clear that there was a plan to establish a bishopric in Pomerania.⁴²

The mission was met by the Pomeranian prince Varcislav, who was accompanied by his retinue and after a difficult passage through the deserted border land territory they probably reached Stargard, where Otto presented his mandate from the pope. From there Otto continued to Pyrzyce (Pyritz). In this town Otto converted many people and consecrated a church. He left a priest to continue the labour of conversion. The next town was Kamień (Cammin), a coastal town on the Oder estuary, which was one of the princely residences. The stay in Kamień lasted for three months. Otto's next attempt at conversion, which took place in Wolin, was a failure. He was forced to go to Szczecin (Stettin), which was a commercial as well as a pagan religious centre. There conversion took place only after the inhabitants had secured various political advantages from the Polish prince. In Szczecin Otto consecrated two churches. From Szczecin Otto travelled to the lesser strongholds in the region, Gardziec (Garz) and Lubin (Lebbin) where he continued his attempts at conversion.

At the end of 1124 Otto had returned to Wolin and baptized its inhabitants.⁴³ After a second visit to Kamień Otto went to the eastern regions of Western Pomerania and converted people in Kładona/Kładno (Cloden), Kołobrzeg and Białogard (Belgrad). In February 1125, Otto was forced to leave Pomerania because of various developments in his home town Bamberg.⁴⁴ His journey took him through Poland.

It is important to note that although numerous churches were consecrated during Otto's mission the problem of establishing a bishopric remained unresolved. Otto consecrated a church in Wolin

⁴¹ The chronology and the itinerary of Otto's first mission is based here on A. Hofmeister, 'Zur Chronologie und Topographie der 1 Pommerfahrt des Bishofs Otto von Bamberg', *Pommersche Jahrbücher*, XXII (1924), p. 3 ff.

⁴² *Ebo*, L. II, c. 4.

⁴³ According to a short contemporary report found in Ekkehard *Chronicon*, *MGH SS*, VI, p. 263 and *Ebo*, L. II, c. 2, Otto continued from Wolin to *Leutiia* and returned to Wolin again.

⁴⁴ *Ebo*, L. II, c. 16.

(St. Adalbert's church) which was intended as the future cathedral.⁴⁵ However, the problem of the bishopric was discussed with Bolesław only during Otto's return journey. According to Herbord Bolesław appointed one of the senior members of the mission, Adalbert,⁴⁶ (possibly a Pole) to the bishopric of Pomerania. It is not certain whether Adalbert could take up his office at once.

The cause of the delay was the rapid change in the international relations and the internal situation in Pomerania. In 1125 Lothar was elected as the king of Germany and Norbert became the archbishop of Magdeburg. These two leaders were more interested in East European affairs than their predecessors and they were not pleased with the increase of Polish influence in Pomerania and probably in the old Lutitian territories,⁴⁷ nor with the independent management of church affairs in the territories, which could be regarded as part of Magdeburg ecclesiastical province.⁴⁸

It seems probable that during an epidemic which ravaged Szczecin and Wolin (1126) the pagan cult was revived and continued to exist alongside Christianity (the churches remained intact).⁴⁹ This fact as well as possible contacts between Varcislav and Lothar at the time of the latter's attack on the ex-Lutitian territory (1127)⁵⁰ opened the way for Otto's second mission.

During Otto's first mission none of the centres on the left bank of the Oder, except the territory of Szczecin and Wolin,⁵¹ were visited. The aim of the second mission was to convert those territories which still remained pagan as well as to strengthen Christianity in those centres where it had been undermined.

Of great importance is the political situation at the time of the second mission. Some historians regard it as an independent move of Varcislav in the sphere of foreign policy.⁵² Varcislav desired to act independently of the Polish ruler and perhaps even made advances to the German emperor, as an alternative great power in the area.

The sources make it clear that it was Varcislav who had asked Otto

⁴⁵ *VP*, L. II, c. 19.

⁴⁶ *Herbord*, L. II, c. 42.

⁴⁷ Bolesław's attacks in 1121-2, according to *Ebo*, L. III, c. 4, reached as far as the Land of Meriz. W. Brüske, *Untersuchungen zur Geschichte des Lutizenbundes*, pp. 191-2.

⁴⁸ W. Abraham, 'Gniezno i Magdeburg', in *Organizacja kościoła w Polsce*, p. 277, K. Hampe, *Germany under Salian and Hohenstaufen Emperors*, pp. 34-5.

⁴⁹ *Ebo*, L. III, c. 1.

⁵⁰ *Ebo*, L. III, c. 5.

⁵¹ In spite of Ekkehard and Ebo's assertion that Otto went to the Lutitian territory during the first mission (see n. 43) the itinerary of the second mission seems to contradict the above assertion.

⁵² B. Zientara, 'Polityczne i kościelne związki Pomorza Zachodniego z Polską za Bolesława Krzywoustego', *PH*, LXI/1 (1970) p. 216.

to undertake a second mission. His mandate for the mission came not only from the pope but also from Lothar. Otto had discussed the mission with both Lothar and Norbert.⁵³ Otto provided the finances for the mission from the resources of his own bishopric, not wishing to rely on the help of the Polish prince.

For the itinerary of the second mission Otto had chosen a more difficult route passing through dangerous territories, formally dependent on the German king and under the jurisdiction of the Magdeburg see, but in reality pagan and independent. The mission started probably in late spring, in 1128.⁵⁴ The first place they visited in Pomerania was Demmin, where Varcislaw met Otto. The missionary effort, however, did not produce the expected results. From Demmin Otto and Varcislaw went to Usedom where a *colloquium* of all the men of importance took place, to consider the question of conversion (10.6.1128). During this *colloquium* Varcislaw referred in his speech to the Roman emperor as the power behind Christianity.⁵⁵ After the *colloquium*, when the Pomeranian men of importance had agreed in principle to conversion, missionaries visited the localities near Volgost and Gützkow, where they destroyed the pagan temples, and conversion took place.⁵⁶

While Otto was struggling with the pagan priests and their supporters, Pomerania's neighbours took great interest in the developments there. Otto was visited by the messenger of the marcher of the Lutitian march (later called Brandenburg), Adalbert⁵⁷ (Albrecht the Bear), who maintained a keen interest in some of the territories under Varcislaw's control, where Otto had been converting the population to Christianity.

Later sources indicate that Adalbert, who in 1134 received the Northern march, was at least *de jure* the ruler of several lands on the left bank of the Oder, which *de facto* were under the control of the Pomeranian ruler. It is not known what the messengers were after; it can be taken as an indication of how closely the German princes watched the developments in Pomerania.

Boleslaw had undertaken a more definite action.⁵⁸ Bearing in mind that the church organization controlled by Poland was facing a strong pagan opposition on the one hand and the mission to Pomerania, sponsored by this rivals, as well as Varcislaw attempts at independence on the other, he organized or rather threatened Pomerania with

⁵³ *Ebo*, L. III, c. 3—4.

⁵⁴ *Ebo*, L. III, c. 4 (*MPH* edition, p. 101, n. 109), c. 6 (*MPH* edition, p. 104, n. 142).

⁵⁵ *Ebo*, L. III, c. 6. His speech was most probably invented by Ebo but it could have reflected the political reality of the time.

⁵⁶ *Ebo*, L. III, c. 7-9, c. 12.

⁵⁷ *Ebo*, L. III, c. 10; W. Brüske, *Untersuchungen*, p. 105.

⁵⁸ *Ebo*, L. III, c. 13.

a military action. The best way of preventing a war with Poland was to ask Otto for mediation. Otto reminded Bolesław about Lothar's protection of his mission.⁵⁹ This mediation was successful and a military action on the part of Poland was prevented.

As an act of good will and as a token of his repentance for the alleged crimes of the Pomeranians against Christianity Varcislaw went to Gniezno and brought a tribute to the altar of St. Adalbert. This symbolic act was meant probably not only as a confirmation of his loyalty to the Polish prince but also as implying the subordination of the Pomeranian church to the Polish ecclesiastical province and on the political plane it meant the acknowledgement of Polish overlordship.

After this incident the mission launched an attack on paganism in the apostate towns of Szczecin and Wolin. This action marked the formal completion of Pomerania's conversion; Otto could at last return to Bamberg, via Poland.⁶⁰

The mission did not end political discussion on the organization of the Pomeranian see and the dependence of Pomerania and its church on Poland. The involvement of Norbert in the affairs of the Polish Church in the thirties of the twelfth century postponed the final organization of the Pomeranian see as one of the suffragan churches of the Polish ecclesiastical province until the late thirties.⁶¹

During the lifetime of Varcislaw and Bolesław (both died around 1136) the former tried again to reduce his dependence on Poland but joint Polish-Danish forces forced him to submit to Bolesław.⁶² However, after Poland's influence in the area had begun to decline, Pomerania became the partner of other parties in the area in the struggle for the remains of the ex-Lutitian territories. In turn, Pomerania became the object of Danish and Saxon aggression, which, though not aiming to destroy the Pomeranian realm, tried to bring it under their control.

3. *Pomeranian rulers (beginning of the twelfth century).*

The Pomeranian princes are mentioned by the sources, from the first half of the eleventh century. The sources which deal with Polish

⁵⁹ Otto to Bolesław: 'At ille, dei protectione et Romani principis respectu ac defensione Wortizlai ducis se munitum protestatus' *Ebo*, L. III, c. 13.

⁶⁰ The return of Otto was prompted by Lothar who was probably displeased with increasing Polish domination in Pomerania as well as with the way Otto handled the affairs in this area. *Ebo*, L. III, c. 26.

⁶¹ See the *Confirmation bull PUB*, I, 30; there were plans to establish two bishoprics in Pomerania under the control of Magdeburg (*PUB*, I, 23, 4th June 1133), but the political agreement between Poland and the Empire in 1135 re-established the independence of the Polish church from Magdeburg and its rights over the Pomeranian church. T. Grudziński, 'Pertraktacje Merseburskie z 1135', *KH*, LXXXV (1968), p. 273 ff.

⁶² Saxo, *Gesta Danorum*, L. XIII, c. 5 (a. 1128).

attacks on Pomerania mention some rulers, referred to either by the general title of princes or *duces* of Pomerania. The sources which deal with the Saxon-Lutitian wars and mainly *Lives of Otto of Bamberg* present a similar picture.

The first *dux* of Pomerania mentioned by the sources, after a long silence (since 1046) is one whose name has remained unknown. He escaped from Kołobrzeg during the Polish attack on this town in the autumn of 1103.⁶³ His importance can be deduced only on the basis of what is known about Kołobrzeg and its geographical position.⁶⁴ As was mentioned previously this town had developed quite early and became a large trading centre which was also important as a salt producing centre. Its importance is further indicated by the fact that the first see of a Pomeranian bishop had been set up there, though it proved shortlived. Settlement studies point to Kołobrzeg as the centre of a large group of settlements.⁶⁵

Another nearby centre Białogard, called 'urbs regia et egregia', was situated in the centre of the area.⁶⁶ The link between these two centres is made clear by the next attack of Bolesław on Białogard and Kołobrzeg in 1107, when, after his victory in the former centre he made straight for the latter, where he received the submission of the *dux*, who was either the same person or a member of the same family as the ruler who had fled from Kołobrzeg in 1103. It seems that Bolesław's attacks were directed against the two main centres of Pomerania because he had hoped to break the resistance of the Pomeranians by attacking their centres.

One may suggest, as a tentative conclusion, that the ruler of Kołobrzeg was either a very powerful and important prince in Pomerania or an over-prince, who had under his control not only the area around Kołobrzeg and Białogard but also other areas in Pomerania.

This assumption seems to be confirmed by indications found in Gall's chronicle on the Pomeranian princes. During a military action in the area of Czarnków, in 1108, Bolesław had dealings with two Pomeranians vested with authority, one was the ruler of the fortress and the other is referred to as 'the prince of the pagans'.⁶⁷ The former, called Gniewomir, was baptized after the surrender of the fortress, with Bolesław acting as his god-father⁶⁸ this was followed by an act of surrender of the 'prince of the pagans'. This incident seems to establish

⁶³ *Gall Anonimus*, L. II, c. 28.

⁶⁴ See n. 55, chapter one; K. Ślaski, *Dzieje Ziemi Kołobrzesckiej do czasów jej germanizacji, passim*.

⁶⁵ W. Łosiński, *Początki wczesnośredniowiecznego osadnictwa grodowego w dorzeczu dolnej Parsęty*, p. 302.

⁶⁶ *Gall Anonimus*, L. II, c. 39.

⁶⁷ *Gall Anonimus*, L. II, c. 44.

⁶⁸ *Gall Anonimus*, L. II, c. 47.

a clear connexion between Gniewomir and the 'prince of the pagans', who, I would like to suggest, was the 'over-prince' of Pomerania.

An additional indication of the plurality of power that existed in Pomerania is found in the description of the Polish victory at Nakło in 1109.⁶⁹ The besieged Pomeranians sent for help to their princes, which can be interpreted as meaning the local princes and the 'over-prince'. After the victory at Nakło Bolesław gave this town to a certain Świętopełk, who was to act as Bolesław's man in this area, i.e. to keep the strongholds open for the Polish forces and to serve the Polish prince.⁷⁰

This arrangement seems to be quite significant. Nakło was an important stronghold, which controlled the approaches to the eastern part of Pomerania. From the sources it seems that Świętopełk was ruling in the western part of Pomerania. Bolesław's policy was to deal with one authority over the territory, who would be responsible for it before the Polish ruler. This 'over-rulership' was exercised by the Pomeranian ruler over some eastern parts of Pomerania as far as Nakło, Wyszogród and later probably other territories became incorporated into the Polish state. Polish annals under 1116-1119 record Bolesław's victory over two burgs (*castra*) and under 1119 his victory over two princes is mentioned.⁷¹

The name of Świętopełk does not disappear from the sources. He is mentioned twice in the sources concerned with the Polish and Saxon attacks on North-Western Slavonic lands in the early twenties. The problem is whether the Slavonic ruler Zwentubaldus, who was attacked by Lothar in 1121, and Zuetopolc, whose death is recorded in the Polish annals under 1122,⁷² can be considered the same person. This question can be answered in the affirmative as it is known that Lothar attacked the Slavonic lands as far as the sea; the Polish annals call Świętopełk *Dux Odrensis*, i.e. the ruler of the Oder region. Taking into consideration the information on Varcislav's domains (he ruled at the time of Otto's mission) it becomes obvious that these domains included territories on both banks of the Oder; it does not seem plausible that Varcislav, who ruled only a few years after Świętopełk, had under his control a territory different from that of his predecessor.

A different problem is whether the Świętopełk mentioned in Gall's chronicle (a. 1109 and a. 1112-3) is the same Świętopełk referred to in the early twenties of the twelfth century. This problem is more com-

⁶⁹ *Gall Anonimus*, L. III, c. 1.

⁷⁰ *Gall Anonimus*, L. III, c. 26.

⁷¹ See n. 70; *MPH*, II, p. 774.

⁷² See n. 71; *Annalista Saxo*, *MGH*, VI, p. 756 (a. 1121); K. Maleczyński, *Bolesław III Krzywousty*, p. 149 ff.

plex since the area dealt with by Gall is the most eastern part of Pomerania and there is no reliable information about any West Pomeranian princes in this territory at any time. However, bearing in mind that Nakło was given as a kind of fief to Świętopełk, who had to serve Bolesław, it seems possible that he was indeed the same ruler of Western Pomerania the sources refer to during all this time (approximately from the beginning of the twelfth century until the twenties). It is also probable that the previously mentioned prince of Kołobrzeg-Białogard area, whose name is unknown, was also Świętopełk or his predecessor.

Gall writes that Świętopełk was a relation of Bolesław. Another blood relation of the Polish prince, Świętobór,⁷³ was also a Pomeranian prince but, for reasons unknown today, was imprisoned by the Pomeranians (c.a. 1105-6). It is also unknown in what way these two, were related to Bolesław; Gall, however, remarks in relation to these two that their kin was always unfaithful to the Poles.

It is possible perhaps to trace a family of Pomeranian princes, whose headquarters were in the central region of Pomerania (Kołobrzeg, Białogard) and who had exercised their authority, if only partly, over an extended territory; this territory could have been not only what was later known as Western Pomerania proper, but for a short period it could have also reached as far as Eastern Pomeranian lands, along the Polish border. They could have been the 'over-princes' of Pomerania.

It is not known whether Świętopełk or his predecessors had controlled the rest of the territory of Eastern Pomerania. Some ex-Lutitian territories on the left bank of the Oder were controlled by the same princes and further expansion of the Pomeranian princes towards those territories was under way in the later part of the twelfth century; however, they had to compete there with the Obodritian, German and later, also the Danish rulers.⁷⁴

The territorial extent of the domains of the West Pomeranian princes as well as their position of 'over-princes' is mentioned in the three lives of Otto. Varcislav was undoubtedly the 'over-prince' of Pomerania. His domains stretched from the old Polish-Pomeranian border on the Warta-Noteć line. It seems, however, that the wilderness, mentioned in the *Vitae*, which had been crossed by the bishop in the company of the Polish Count Paul and Varcislav constituted the borderland which actually divided Pomerania from

⁷³ Gall *Anonimus*, L. II, c. 29; *Historia Pomorza*, I/1, p. 324.

⁷⁴ J. Dowiat, 'Ekspansja Pomorza Zachodniego na Ziemie Wielecko-Obodrzyckie w drugiej połowie XII wieku' *PH*, L. (1959), p. 698 ff.

Poland.⁷⁵ The eastern border is difficult to establish since there is no strictly contemporary data.⁷⁶ The *Vitae* mention that the farthest point to the east visited by Otto was Białogard, which in later times was actually not far from the border between Western Pomerania and the principality of Sławno.⁷⁷

The borders that existed in the twenties of the twelfth century on the left bank of the Oder can be described only very generally since it seems that the struggle between the Pomeranian prince and other powers in this area did not result in the stabilization of clear border lines. The *Vitae* mention a number of important centres which were controlled by the Pomeranian prince. On the basis of this evidence it is possible to maintain that his domains included Wolgost, Demmin, Usedom and Gützkow.⁷⁸ According to the sources, during Otto's second mission (1127) Varcislav was fighting the Lutitians near Demmin;⁷⁹ this could mean that Demmin was the farthest western outpost of Varcislav's domains. It is not clear whether the territories to the west of Szczecin, along the coast of Szczecin bay, the so called Ückermark, were also controlled by Varcislav, since the missionaries had planned to convert the inhabitants of this area, but their plan failed due to the savagery of the inhabitants. They threatened to kill the missionaries if the latter attempted to cross their border. This threat can be taken as an indication of their independent status.⁸⁰

The prince of Western Pomerania, Varcislav, does not appear in the sources as the only ruler in the above mentioned territory. The authors of the *Vitae* mention at least one more person who could be considered as the local prince, inferior to Varcislav. He was probably dependent on the 'over-prince' of Pomerania. He is referred to in the sources as Mizlaus (i.e. Mscislav) and ruler in Gützkow (Chosegowa—Choćków).⁸¹ Ebo calls him *princeps*, Herbord refers to him as *princeps civitatis*. Mizlaus, together with other *principes* attended the *colloquium* organized by Varcislav in Usedom (June, 1128).⁸² The names of the other princes are not mentioned and it is not known

⁷⁵ The Polish-Pomeranian border ran along the rivers Warta and Noteć still in the early twenties of the twelfth century. L. Leciejewicz, 'Z badań nad kształtowaniem się ośrodków grodowych na pograniczu Pomorsko-Wielkopolskim we wczesnym średniowieczu', *SA*, 6 (1959), pp. 136-7. This border moved later to the north of the above mentioned rivers.

⁷⁶ The eastern border of Pomerania is defined in the papal bull for the Pomeranian see, as running along the river Łeba. *PUB*, I, nr 30, 14, 10. 1140. This territory included later Western Pomerania and the principality of Sławno.

⁷⁷ K. Ślaski, *Dzieje Ziemi Kołobrzeskiej*, p. 12 ff.

⁷⁸ K. Ślaski, *Podziały terytorialne Pomorza w XII-XIII wieku*, p. 31 ff., p. 68 ff., p. 75 ff.

⁷⁹ *Ebo*, L. III, c. 5.

⁸⁰ *Ebo*, L. III, c. 14; See n. 78, p. 79 ff.

⁸¹ *Ebo*, L. III, c. 12; *Herbord*, L. III, c. 19.

⁸² This *colloquium* is described by Ebo (L. III, c. 6) as *generale principum colloquium*.

whether they were leading aristocrats or some sort of established princes who managed to preserve some authority in their fortified centres and in the neighbourhood under the 'over-rulership' of Varcislav.⁸³ The sources mention prominent people in Szczecin, Wolin, Demmin, and Wolgost, referred to in Latin as *praefectus*, *major natu*, *primor* etc., which are far from clear. A similar difficulty is raised by the Carolingian sources;⁸⁴ it is perhaps worthwhile to consider whether the nomenclature of the *Vita* can solve the problem of who was a ruler and who was not.

I shall not discuss the problem of the authors of the *Vita* and their remoteness from the territories, where, the events described by them, actually took place. The answer, classical in this case, is found in *Vita altera Kanutis Ducis* where Knut Levard tells King Niels of Denmark that the Slavonic title *knese* does not mean king (*rex*) but is more generally used as *dominus*.⁸⁵ It is quite possible that the title *knese* was applied in relation to Varcislav as well as to other important people. This is only the precise information about local affairs, which the authors of the *Vitae* lacked, that could be an indication that, for example, somebody called *princeps* in Gützkow was a ruler while somebody else, called *princeps* in Szczecin, was not.

Even more difficult is the problem of what criteria are to be adopted in determining who, among the people mentioned by the *Vitae*, was a local ruler, who was an aristocrat and who was a representative of the 'over-prince' Varcislav in the various centres. In order to determine the exact status of the various prominent people it is necessary to begin with the 'over-prince' of Pomerania.

The clearest indication of his position is his appearance in the whole of the territory described above and the fact that he was dealing with matters concerning foreign relations⁸⁶ and with Otto whom he had met on the Polish border. He is mentioned as appearing in the west, in places like Demmin, Usedom and others; the whole territory is described as his *regnum*.⁸⁷ He is described first of all as a military leader commanding a force of three hundred men, when he had met Otto for the first time. Later on, during the fighting in Demmin, he also led a considerable force against the Lütitians.⁸⁸ His main capital

⁸³ According to the archaeological evidence many burgs or strongholds in Pomerania were centres where the local rulers lived. L. Leciejewicz, 'U źródeł bogactwa i potęgi Pomorza Zachodniego w średniowieczu', in *Pomorze średniowieczne*, p. 13; W. Łosiński, *Początki wczesnośredniowiecznego osadnictwa grodowego w dorzeczu dolnej Parsęty*, p. 301.

⁸⁴ See chapter two.

⁸⁵ *MGH SS, XXIX*, p. 14.

⁸⁶ See p. 170 ff.

⁸⁷ *Ebo*, L. III, c. 6.

⁸⁸ *VP*, L. II, c. 2; *Ebo*, L. III, c. 5.

and his court were in Kamień;⁸⁹ he had residences also in other centres, among which his *arx* in Szczecin and Wolin are mentioned in the *Vitae*.⁹⁰

The *Vitae* do not offer any information about whether Varcislaw used any specific title or insignia. Saxo Grammaticus is more helpful; he calls Varcislaw *rex*.⁹¹ This title, when compared with the titles of other Slavonic rulers from the North-Western Slavonic lands, seems to indicate that, at least in the eyes of the Scandinavians, he was a ruler equal to the *konungr* (corresponds to *knese*). Prior to the time when the titles of the Pomeranian rulers were standardized and adopted into the European feudal system of titles, the Pomeranian princes as well as other Slavonic rulers of Rügen or the mainland had used royal titles or were referred to by these titles by foreigners.⁹²

As regards the insignia of these rulers it is important to note that there is no direct and positive evidence on their use by the Pomeranian rulers. One of the Slavonic rulers, Knut Levard, mentioned earlier, and the last Slavonic ruler of Brenna, Henry, used a crown and other insignia. The Lutitian rulers may have used insignia such as a crown, rings and other objects made of gold, which have been found in a treasure in Hohenleipisch, in 1883.⁹³

Thus despite the fact that no specific title, except that of *dux*, differentiating Varcislaw from other petty rulers in the area,⁹⁴ can be found in the sources it is quite possible that his position was indicated by some insignia and that in the eyes of foreigners, especially Scandinavians, his position was similar to that of a *konungr*.

Among various people mentioned by the *Vitae*, Mizlaus, the ruler of Gützkow, is best known.⁹⁵ In Ebo's *Vitae* he is called *princeps*. Herbord refers to him as *princeps civitatis*. He was a military leader in his territory and commanded a retinue. It is probable that he was engaged in piratical expeditions against Denmark as the sources mention that he had many Danish slaves, among them was a son of a Danish *princeps*, who was kept as a hostage by Mizlaus. On the basis of the above information as well as the fact of his participation in the Usedom *colloquium* it can be concluded that he was a man who possessed some influence in the area of Gützkow, as a petty or a local ruler.

⁸⁹ *VP*, L. II, c. 4; *Ebo*, L. II, c. 5. In *Herbord* (L. II, c. 19-22) his wife is mentioned as well as other information, not confirmed by other *Vitae*.

⁹⁰ *Ebo*, L. II, c. 8, L. III, c. 16.

⁹¹ *Saxonis Gesta Danorum*, L. XIII, c. 5, par. 2.

⁹² See n. 57 and n. 59, chapter one.

⁹³ K. Pieradzka, 'Zagadnienie grodów i wczesnośredniowiecznej organizacji grodowej u Słowian Północno-Zachodnich', *Pamiętnik Słowiański*, IV (1955), p. 281-2, n. 42.

⁹⁴ Except perhaps the title *zupan*, see n. 141.

⁹⁵ *VP*, L. II, c. 9; *Ebo*, L. II, c. 9; *Herbord*, L. II, c. 27.

Another man who exercised considerable power was a certain Domaslav of Szczecin. From Ebo's description it seems that he exercised considerable power in Szczecin; this fact is confirmed by the other two *Vitae*, where his part in the conversion of Szczecin population is emphasised. According to Ebo, his influence was due to his wealth and the nobility of his kin. Varcislav did not undertake any action, public or private, without first consulting Domaslav. His family as well as his dependents occupied considerable parts of the town and they also lived in the neighbourhood of Szczecin in large numbers; according to Ebo their numbers amounted to five hundred (*VP* L. II, c. 9, *Ebo* L. II, c. 9).

However, since the *Vitae* refer to him as one of the aristocrats 'unus de primoribus civitatis' and since political decisions were made by a larger body of aristocrats it is possible to consider Domaslav not as a town ruler but as the leader of the influential aristocracy. The difference between his position and that of Mizlaus of Gützkow is not very clear; although both had considerable power and influence, their relations with Varcislav were of a similar nature and they both came from families of petty rulers. The conditions in a large trading and commercial centre like Szczecin made Domaslav's position different from that of Mizlaus, who resided in a smaller centre.

Another aristocrat from Szczecin mentioned in *Vita Prieflingensis* is Wirtsca, i.e. Vyshak.⁹⁶ He played a similar rôle to that of Domaslav during the second conversion of Szczecin and he supported the cause of Christianity. His leading position among the Szczecin aristocracy is stressed by the title *princeps*, given to him by Ebo. He is also described by the sources as an important pirate who attacked the Danish coasts. Surrounded by his supporters he attended a meeting of aristocrats and pagan priests. Vyshak, Domaslav and other *principes* represent perhaps the group of ex-petty rulers in the territory around Szczecin. However, the conditions in a large trading centre such as Szczecin brought a change in their status; they had been rulers of small communities who became aristocrats in a commercial centre.

In Wolin only one man of certain importance is mentioned by name. He is Nedamir referred to as *vir illustris*.⁹⁷ He had been baptized in Saxony and felt a great sympathy for the missionaries' cause. He possessed a number of ships and helped Otto to travel from Wolin to Szczecin. He does not appear to have had a great influence in Wolin.

The last person, who possessed considerable power, was, according to the sources, the *praefectus* of Wolgost.⁹⁸ Herbord also mentions a *praefectus* in Demmin but one cannot be sure about the credibility of

⁹⁶ *VP*, L. III, c. 10; *Ebo*, L. II, c. 2. and c. 16; *Herbord*, L. III, c. 15 and c. 20.

⁹⁷ *Ebo*, L. II, c. 8; *Herbord*, L. II, c. 26.

⁹⁸ *Ebo*, L. III, c. 7.

his account.⁹⁹ On the other hand the story about the adventures of the two Christian priests in Wolgost, included in Ebo's *Vita*, seems to be accurate, since, one of the priests, Udalric, was the main informer of Ebo. According to the account in Ebo the *praefectus urbis* was probably among the *principes* who had taken part in the Usedom *colloquium*. However, contrary to what had been agreed in Usedom, the inhabitants of Wolgost did not feel inclined to accept Christianity. Actually nothing is said about the *praefectus* as the main character in this story is his wife, who sheltered the priests in her house. The people wished to kill the priests but she saved their lives until Varcislav delivered them from peril.

From the above narrative little can be learnt about the authority exercised by the *praefectus urbis* except that in the delicate matter of conversion he did not act at all. It is also possible that Uldaric's story, being an adventure tale, fails to provide the right terminology and thus produces a wrong impression on the reader.

It is worthwhile checking some later sources in order to verify the theory of the historians that *praefectus urbis* was a representative or an official of the 'over-prince' Varcislav.¹⁰⁰ In Saxo's *Gesta Danorum* a *praefectus urbis* is mentioned in Szczecin. His name is Varcislav.¹⁰¹ He defended the town against the Danish attack in 1173. He was not only an official but also the relative of prince Varcislav's sons Casimir and Boguslav. In the charters his name is also mentioned: in the charter from 1168 he is called *castellanus de Stettin*; in the charter of 1187 he is called *vicedominus terre*, since he acted as the guardian of the young sons of Boguslav.¹⁰²

His political importance as well as his independence in decision making can be seen in his dealings with the Danes in 1173. He surrendered Szczecin without consulting the princes; he had acknowledged Valdemar as his 'over-lord' and received Szczecin as a fief from the Danish king. He also possessed estates in the fertile area around Pyrzyce (Pyritz).¹⁰³ It is also known that the *praefectus urbis* of Wolgost possessed estates near the town.¹⁰⁴

Thus it seems that the *praefectus urbis* was not only the princely representative or official but also a powerful man who could, like Varcislav in Szczecin, make important political decisions. It is

⁹⁹ *Herbord*, L. III, c. 2.

¹⁰⁰ J. Dowiat, 'Pochodzenie dynastii Zachodnio-Pomorskiej i ukształtowanie się terytorium księstwa Zachodnio-Pomorskiego', *PH*, XLV (1954), p. 246.

¹⁰¹ *Saxonis Gesta Danorum*, L. XIV, c. 43, par. 3.

¹⁰² *PUB*, I, n. 51a and p. 108.

¹⁰³ H. Chłopocka, *Powstanie i rozwój wielkiej własności ziemskiej opactwa cystersów w Kolbaczu*, p. 24 ff.

¹⁰⁴ *Ebo*, L. III, c. 7. 'Ego ministros meos cum exuviis vestris atque caballis ad remocios villas meas dirigam'.

therefore possible to consider the *praefectus urbis* in Wolgost as a person whose power was of transitional character, between petty ruler and princely official. The mixed character of his power could have been the result of the removal of the local ruler by the Pomeranian 'over-prince' and the appointment of someone new, connected with the 'over-prince' in some way or other, but it is only a conjecture.

Although the sources dealing with the period up to the twenties of the twelfth century have only a few indications on the petty or local rulers¹⁰⁵ and there is no data which would help to determine exactly the extent of their power and their relationship with the 'over-prince', it is clear that the 'over-prince' Varcislav, and probably his predecessors, based their power over some of the places in Pomerania (on both banks of the Oder) on personal ties with some local rulers or with men who wielded power, like the leading aristocrats in a big town. In some cases these people can be described as the predecessors of the princely representative, the *castellanus*, who emerged in the second half of the twelfth century.

4. *The place of the pagan religion and the priests in the political life of Pomerania.*

The sources describing the process of conversion present usually a typical confrontation between the princely power, supporting the mission, and the pagan priests, naturally opposing it. The tension which had developed on religious grounds, creates an impression that some of the territories or centres did not recognize fully the authority of the Pomeranian prince. This impression created by the sources gave rise to a conclusion, commonly found in literature, that the urban centres were 'republics' where the prince had little or no influence at all.¹⁰⁶

The structure of power in the communities (towns or other centres of political and social life) was quite complex. According to the *Lives of Otto* as well as other sources dealing with the neighbouring Slavonic areas the people able to influence the decisions made by the leaders, as well as by the people, were the pagan priests.

Already in late tenth and early eleventh century the evidence concerning the importance of priests in Rethra shows that part of the prerogatives which usually belonged to the ruler were in the hands of

¹⁰⁵ The petty rulers did not disappear in the second half of the twelfth century. Saxo mentions the local ruler in Wolgost in 1177. (L. XIV, c. 27, par. 1, L. XIV, c. 58, par. 6).

¹⁰⁶ M. Szczaniecki, 'Główne linie rozwoju feudalnego państwa Zachodniopomorskiego', *Czasopismo prawnohistoryczne*, VII/1 (1955), p. 53 ff; L. Leciejewicz *Początki nadmorskich miast na Pomorzu Zachodnim*, p. 260 ff.

the priests.¹⁰⁷ The description of Thietmar concerning the Lutitian state cult gives important clues on the political organization of the 'Union of Tribes'.¹⁰⁸ He writes 'Quot regiones sunt in his partibus, tot templa habentur et simulacra demonum singula ab infidelibus coluntur, inter quae civitas suppramemorata (Riedegost, i.e. Rethra) principalem tenet monarchiam'.

The regional cults survived the fall of Rethra but the *Vitae* no longer mention the religious links that existed among the regions. This link in the Pomeranian state was provided by the princely power.

The centre of religious life in every region was the temple. The temples were impressive buildings, a fact which is admitted by the Christian writers. In almost every centre in Pomerania there was at least one temple, in Szczecin a few temples are mentioned.¹⁰⁹ The new temple in Gützkow was especially impressive.

The cult was based not only on worship in the temple; big trees as well as idols placed in the open were objects of veneration.¹¹⁰ It is known that the temples played an important rôle as meeting-places for the town aristocracy and even as a sort of town treasury.¹¹¹ The first function is suggested by Herbord; he had no other sources of information but the two *Vitae*. Therefore it is important to check up on this source.

Herbord writes (L. II, c. 32) that the men of importance used the temple in Szczecin as a sort of corporation-house where they used to meet. It was very beautiful and richly decorated. The temple was given one tenth of the booty. The other three temples were not as important as the main one but probably the less important people had their meetings and feasts there. This information about the temple as a place for political meetings is of great interest since it could indicate that there was in Szczecin some sort of organization of the leading people in the town as well as one of those less influential; these organizations were centred around a cult or a temple, very much like guilds or other medieval corporations which were concentrated around a church or a cult of a specific saint.¹¹² In this context it has to be mentioned that Szczecin was an important centre of commerce and piracy.

The earliest of the *Vitae*, *Vita Prieflingensis*, mentions two temples

¹⁰⁷ E. Benveniste, *Indo-European Language and Society*, p. 30 ff. He discusses the process of the split that occurred between the functions of the king and of the priests in Indo-European society.

¹⁰⁸ *Thietmar*, L. VI, c. 23-25.

¹⁰⁹ *VP*, L. II, c. 11-21; *Herbord*, L. II, c. 31 ff. for Szczecin; *VP*, L. II, c. 16 for the temple in Wolin; *Ebo*, L. III, c. 8, for the temple in Wolgost; *Ebo*, L. III, c. 9-10 for the temple in Gützkow.

¹¹⁰ *Ebo*, L. II, c. 1, c. 13, L. III, c. 1, c. 18.

¹¹¹ L. Leciejewicz, *Początki nadmorskich miast na Pomorzu Zachodnim*, p. 274.

¹¹² See n. 107, p. 57 ff.

in Szczecin, Herbord probably doubled the number to create a better effect on the reader. The wealth of the temple is stressed by the author of *Vita Prieflingensis* and Ebo. Ebo writes also about the rich presents brought as offerings to the temple. However, in L. II, c. 11 of the above *Vita*, which served as a basis for Herbord's description of Szczecin (L. II, c. 30-33), there is no mention of such gatherings in the temples. An indication of such a gathering could have been found by Herbord in the story of the conference of the priests and aristocrats of Szczecin during the second visit to this town recorded by Ebo.¹¹³

From this story one learns that the central hill of the town was devoted to the Slavonic god Trigelawus (Trzyglów). The princely residence was also built on that hill as well as a big house, where, according to Ebo, the conference of the priests and aristocrats took place. The problem of the temple as a place of gathering, of what can be called a primitive town corporation, seems clear.

The big house where the conference was held was probably treated by Herbord as the temple because it was situated on the sacred hill, it is quite possible that his interpretation is partly correct. It seems that the meetings of the aristocracy were held in places which were significant for the pagan religion and such places were connected with the princely residence. Other sources confirm that gatherings of public character were held in the sacred wood, on sacred land.¹¹⁴

In the *Lives of Otto*, which confirm other sources, there is an indication of the political rôle of the pagan priests. Their major task, by means of which they could exercise political influence over the population, was the augury.¹¹⁵ Thus it seems, that the priests could have exercised considerable political influence, however, the main political rôle in early medieval society, that of leadership in war, was in Pomerania in the hands of the prince.

A considerable obstacle for the priests in maintaining control over the ideological 'make-up' of Pomerania was the pressure of the powerful neighbours of Pomerania — the Christian states, especially Poland; the influence of Christianity which had begun to gain ground in the court circles and also among the aristocracy and petty local rulers was yet another obstacle in holding ideological sway over the people.¹¹⁶ The attraction of Christianity as a religion which could open

¹¹³ *Ebo*, L. III, c. 16.

¹¹⁴ *Helmold*, L. I, c. 84 (F. J. Tschan's translation p. 218) 'Among very old trees we saw the sacred oaks which had been consecrated to the god of the land, Prove. There was a courtyard about them and a fence very carefully constructed of wood and having two gates... On the second weekday the people of the land were wont to assemble there for holding court with their ruler and with the flamen'.

¹¹⁵ *VP*, L. II, c. 11; *Herbord*, L. II, c. 32. Similar customs are noted among the Lutitians. *Thietmar*, L. VI, c. 25; also in Arkona (Rügen), *Saxo*, L. XIV, c. 39, par. 10.

¹¹⁶ People of importance like Domaslaw, Nicdomir and prince Varcislav were already converted before the Ottonian mission. *Ebo*, L. II, c. 8, c. 9, L. III, c. 6.

the doors of other ruling and aristocratic houses for the Pomeranians was by no means unimportant in the acceptance of the Christian influences.

The situation created by the mission of Otto, where in each centre and land the aristocracy and the priests had to decide whether to convert to Christianity or not, became a veritable test of power between the priests and those members of the aristocracy who supported Christianity. Despite the superficial success of converting the inhabitants of Szczecin and the construction of churches the priests had not given up their position and returned to power, having taken advantage of an epidemic, which spread in Szczecin.¹¹⁷ The same thing had happened in Wolin, where, according to the *Vitae*, the people abided by the decisions taken in Szczecin, in this case as well as in other matters of importance concerned with religion.

The situation which had developed as a result of Otto's second mission in Szczecin, where the aristocracy of the town had to face the displeasure of prince Varcislav,¹¹⁸ was probably due to the revival of paganism and was ripe for confrontation. The pagan priests were clearly at a disadvantage and they were compelled to leave the town. Their efforts to maintain their position,¹¹⁹ probably with the help from the religious centre of Arkona,¹²⁰ could not hinder the advance of the mission, which proved successful.

From the information found in the sources about the pagan priests in Szczecin it seems clear that, although they played a significant role there, the growing importance of the Pomeranian ruler and the 'secular' aristocracy, who both were interested in links with neighbouring countries, was powerful enough to suppress the influence of the priests and to ban the cult from the main towns to the countryside. The events in Wolgost typify this process.

The two Christian priests, who had arrived in this town after the Usedom conference, were faced with strong opposition (even threats of death) to the new religion from the *magistrates civiti* and the people amongst whom the pagan priests probably had considerable influence, the two priests had to abide by this decision. The arrival of Varcislav's military force, accompanied by the bishop, brought a change in the situation and conversion was promptly carried out.¹²¹

The pagan priests, or the pagan religion in general, had considerable influence not only on the conference of the aristocracy but also on the meetings of wide strata of population. The people seem to have been

¹¹⁷ *VP*, L. III, x. 5; *Ebo*, L. III, c. 1.

¹¹⁸ See p. 117.

¹¹⁹ The temple was defended by priests and the people. *Ebo*, L. III, c. 23.

¹²⁰ The conversion of Szczecin was the cause of a war with Rügen. *Ebo*, L. III, c. 23.

¹²¹ *Ebo*, L. III, c. 8.

easily convinced by the priests and they gave support to the anti-Christian movement.¹²² The sources indicate that there were also some aristocrats who opposed Christianity.

The mission of the Spaniard Bernard in Wolin was rejected by the aristocracy and the pagan priests of Wolin, in the period preceding Otto's visit to Pomerania.¹²³ One of the very important landowners in the region of Kamień, a widow of a prominent aristocrat had also shown reluctance in accepting Christianity (this is indicated in the sources rather naively, i.e. she objected to the observance of the Sunday rest and was punished by God).¹²⁴

Another problem which has to be tackled here, is the relationship between the pagan priests and their religion on the one hand and the prince on the other. In the *Vitae* of Otto there is one remarkable feature: the prince, except for one occasion, does not interfere directly in this religious disputes and although he is described as sympathetic towards the mission, his personal influence in the matter of conversion in places like Szczecin, Wolin, Pyrzyce, Kołobrzeg and lesser settlements is not indicated. This behaviour of prince Varcislav served as the basis of a theory claiming that his influence in the big and wealthy towns was minimal or non-existent and the towns were 'republics' out of the reach of monarchical power. This assumption seems somewhat too farfetched.

It is possible to regard this non-interference as the result of his special position within the framework of religion; it could have derived from the fact that open support for Christianity and condemnation of the pagan Slavonic religion were acts undermining the very basis of his own power.

The location of the princely residence in centres like Szczecin and Wolin could throw an interesting light on the above assumption. His residence in Szczecin was built near the idol of Trzyglów on the sacred hill, close to a house or temple where political consultations as well as social and religious functions were probably held. The residence or a citadel (*arx*) enjoyed the right of asylum; it probably was a right, strengthened by the pagan religion, to seek refuge from vengeance in case of a serious crime and the offender could ask there for the juridic services of the prince.

The close connexion between the process of justice, the prince and the religious cult is also indicated in Helmold's work.¹²⁵ The religious basis for the immunity of the princely residence can be seen in Ebo's

¹²² *Ebo*, L. III, c. 1, on the apostasy.

¹²³ *Ebo*, L. II, c. 1.

¹²⁴ *Ebo*, L. II, c. 6.

¹²⁵ The same right of asylum had the sacral wood in the Wagrian land. *Helmold*, L. I, c. 84.

explanation why the people failed to respect this immunity when Otto took abode in the princely residence of Wolin ‘Nam urbani calice furoris Dei misere debriati, audito servorum Dei adventu, sequenti die primo diluculo super eos armata manu irruerunt, et fustibus ac lapidibus impetentes expellere nitebantur, dicentes in vanum eos ducis mansionem irrepsisse, quasi illic pacem habituri essent, cum subversores patrie ac legum antiquarum extranei ab hac pacis condicione deorum suorum edicto censerentur’.¹²⁶

Thus it seems that the conflict between the pagan religion, which created the basis for the political order and the intruders, representing another religion, caused considerable confusion. In order to defend their religion the people had to enter into conflict with the religious taboos and to break the ‘peace’ appertaining to the princely residence.¹²⁷ It is therefore quite possible that Varcislaw preferred not to take sides in the conflict between Christianity and paganism so as not to be caught in an uneasy situation as the supporter of Christianity by those social and religious forces which previously had created part of the foundations for his power.

It seems that the authors of *Vitae* of Otto adopted a sympathetic attitude towards the Pomeranian prince and stressed his friendliness and help for the mission as well as his earlier conversion, which was not very effective, only because of his concubines.¹²⁸ Therefore there are no further indications concerning the relationship between the prince and pagan religion. An earlier source, that of Gall Anonim. does not add much to what is known about this problem, except to stress the idolatry of the Pomeranian rulers. Later sources, which describe the neighbours of Pomerania, Obodritian lands and especially Rügen can be of interest. Helmold and Saxo seem to have had a clear opinion on the relationship between the prince and the priest in the Slavonic lands.

Helmold writes ‘Rex apud eos (i.e. the Rügians) modicae estimacionis est comparacione flaminis’.¹²⁹ Saxo expresses a similar opinion; he mentions, among others, that in Rügen ‘exigui panni (one of the religious symbols) auctoritas regiae potestatis vires transscenderet’.¹³⁰ The opinion held by the learned clerics of the twelfth century, who provided very suggestive examples to corroborate this view, is also very popular among some modern scholars, who seem to agree that in the Slavonic lands princely power was totally suppressed by the priests. The opinion of the medieval chroniclers seems to be

¹²⁶ *Ebo*, L. II, c. 7.

¹²⁷ It is possible that it had princely “peace” (mir). *SSS*, III, p. 261.

¹²⁸ *Herbord*, L. II, c. 21, c. 22.

¹²⁹ *Helmold*, L. II, c. 12.

¹³⁰ *Saxo*, L. XIV, c. 39, par. 15.

exaggerated and is based on their biased attitude towards pagan religion, this is made especially clear when their favourable opinion of the princely converts is brought to the readers' attention.¹³¹

The description of the structure of the Slavonic political system presented by Saxo or other churchmen, who had lived in another type of society, shows their lack of understanding of a system different from their own. This lack of understanding can sometimes mislead the modern reader. It is of course true that the Slavonic pagan priests played a very important political rôle in their society. Rügen, in effect, seems to have been a 'theocratic' state where finances, military organization and other important spheres of life were directed by religion, but the ruler of Rügen was a part of this system and as long as foreign powers did not force conversion the ruler took part in the religious life of his people. It has to be emphasized that his central residence Karentia (Charenc) was also the centre of a religious cult.¹³²

Three deities were worshipped in this burg (which seems to have been a place of refuge where possibly the prince kept his retinue). These were: Rugevitus, Porevitus and Porenutus. Saxo writes 'Iis tantum paene venerationis privatorum deorum dignitas concilliaverant, quantum apud Arkonensis publici numinis auctoritates possidebat'.¹³³ The private cult in the centre of the princely power can point to a cult connected with his power. The names of the deities are also interesting; Rugevit's name indicates some form of rulership over Rügen, since the element *vit* means *potens* or *dominus*.¹³⁴ The name Porenetus, i.e. Porenut could be the name of the Slavonic god Perun, in Saxo's rendering. Perun was the dynastic god of the Russian ruling family.

The indications concerning the sacral character of the princely power on the island of Rügen seem indeed weak and inconclusive, but it can still be argued that it is possible that princely authority drew considerable power from pagan religion. The view on the correlation of power between the priests of Arkona and the prince, as it is known today, is partly formed by the religiously biased sources, but partly, also by the specific development of religious institutions in the Lutitian Union, which enabled the conservation of many of the rulers prerogatives in the hands of the priests. In Pomerania the character of princely power was quite different from that of Rügen. In Pomerania, in contrast to Arkona, power was concentrated in the hands of the prince and not in the hands of the priests.

The cult in Pomerania was local and although Szczecin is called the

¹³¹ See n. 129.

¹³² *Saxo*, L. XIV, c. 39, par. 37-41.

¹³³ See n. 132, par. 38.

¹³⁴ *SSS*, II, p. 324.

main town in the land, 'que principatum omnium Pomeranie civitatum obtinens',¹³⁵ the only centre which abided by the decisions taken in Szczecin was Wolin. Other centres like Kołobrzeg, Białogard, Pyrzyce do not seem to have been linked with Szczecin as the political or religious centre of the land. Therefore it is possible to claim that in Pomerania unlike in other pagan Slavonic lands (Rügen for example) the prince and not the priests created the unity of the realm and that in the various centres or lands the prince possessed prerogatives, which had their source in the religious ideas of the people, and in his authority based on military power and his relations with the petty rulers and the aristocracy. It seems therefore, that cooperation as well as a certain amount of competition with the pagan priests was inevitable.

It is in a way unfortunate that the sources available were written not by the pagan priests or the prince's chronicler but by the representatives of Christianity, who soon enough severely restricted the power of the prince in Pomerania; it seems that on the question of the relations between the prince and the priests in the local centres very little is known.

5. *The aristocracy.*

In discussing the ruler's position I have pointed out the difficulty in drawing the line between the term 'petty ruler' and the aristocracy. The position of the petty ruler in some cases can be regarded as that of the leader of the aristocracy. The remarks on the nature of authority wielded by the petty rulers or individual aristocrats, made in section 3, can be of help in the discussion of the power wielded by these people as a group.

The Latin terms used for those who are described here as aristocracy are: *primates, nobiles ac potentes, maiores natu ac sapientiores*. Although one might suspect that this Latin nomenclature is not always exact; for example, the authors of the *Vitae* of Otto were more exact in relation to the differences between the aristocracy as a whole and the people; there are also enough archaeological sources to corroborate their statements. In the sources the aristocracy as a group is not only differentiated from the people but the use of the imprecise term *populus*, the chroniclers used also the terms *mediocres* and *pauperes*,¹³⁶ indicates the inferior economic status of the rest of the population.

The economic, social and professional differentiation of the population is confirmed by the archaeologists who studied the Pomeranian centres.¹³⁷ It can be learnt from the written sources that

¹³⁵ *Ebo*, L. II, c. 9; H. Łowmiański, *PP*, III, pp. 77-9.

¹³⁶ *VP*, L. II, c. 13.

¹³⁷ L. Leciejewicz, *Początki nadmorskich*, p. 106.

the aristocracy possessed boats which were used for piracy and trade. This fact is made clear in the sources dealing with Wolin, Kołobrzeg and Kłodno (Clodin).¹³⁸

The distribution, chronology and countries of origin of the silver treasures in Pomerania show that the important centres participated in the economic activities of the Baltic region.¹³⁹ The objects, whose origin was foreign, like arms, pottery, ornaments, products made of antler, especially combs, and amber found in Pomerania,¹⁴⁰ or Pomeranian products found in the other countries, provide ample evidence of the trade and the craftsmanship of the Pomeranians. It is obvious that the trade enriched mainly the petty rulers and other prominent men.

The written sources point out the link between the aristocracy in the urban centres and the big landowners mentioned earlier. It seems that the aristocrats who permanently resided in the coastal trading centres owned also many estates in the country. Perhaps not all the aristocrats owned country estates, but the richest and those with most influence in politics, quite probably did.

Those mentioned above were the petty rulers, who later became the officials of the prince, called in the charters *supane* (*zupan*);¹⁴¹ those in central localities were called *castellans*.¹⁴² The differentiation between the influential aristocracy and *populus* is illustrated also in the distribution of organic remains; it has been suggested that the diet of the people who lived inside Wolin near the ford on the river Dziwna was much better and more diversified than the diet of those who lived in the southern suburb.¹⁴³

Economic power gave the aristocracy in the urban centres also very considerable political influence. Since the *Vitae* of Otto contain detailed information only about a number of places like Szczecin and Wolin (others are mentioned only briefly), the political influence of the aristocracy in the main centres has to be examined first.

The official political business of the centre and its surrounding area was discussed by the aristocracy which was organized in a kind of institutional body mentioned earlier. The council of the people of importance, as well as other institutions, was partly sacral in character.

¹³⁸ In Wolin some people could not be converted because they were 'pro negociacione sua trans mare'. *Ebo*, L. II, c. 15, L. II, c. 18; *Herbord* L. II, c. 39.

¹³⁹ See n. 44, chapter one.

¹⁴⁰ See notes 41, 42 and 69, chapter one.

¹⁴¹ *PUB*, I, no. 109 (dated 1187-91). In this charter the *zupans* are mentioned. *Zupan* was the title used in the Southern Slavonic lands for petty ruler and in the North-Western Slavonic lands for the lesser officials of the princes. H. Łowmiański, *PP*; IV, p. 47 ff.; V. Procházka, 'Zupa a Zupan', *SA*, 15 (1968), p. 1 ff.

¹⁴² Schmid, 'Die Burgbezirkverfassung bei den slavischen Völkern', *Jahrbücher für Kultur und Geschichte der Slaven* NF, 2 (1926), p. 97 ff.

¹⁴³ See n. 137.

It met on a sacred mount, possibly in a temple or a building connected with it, in the presence of the priests.

The political decisions of great importance, such as conversion, were discussed by this body. The first example of this influence and the eminent position of the aristocracy in Wolin is the expulsion of the Spanish Bishop Bernard, which was accomplished after the *seniores plebis* had discussed the matter.¹⁴⁴ A similar discussion, though with a different outcome for the Christian mission, had taken place in the case of Otto's second mission in Szczecin, at the council of aristocrats and priests, and when the priests had left the council, Christianity was accepted.

The importance of the aristocracy in political decisions is also proved by the events in Pyrzyce and Kołobrzeg. According to Ebo, on arrival at Pyrzyce the missionaries were told that conversion was out of the question 'seque novam hanc legem sine primatum et maiorum suorum consilio aggredi non posse testantibus'.¹⁴⁵ In Kołobrzeg conversion was resisted on similar grounds, since, as the bishop was told, part of the *cives* were abroad, trading. This information, even though the story is known only from Herbord,¹⁴⁶ confirms other information, found in other *Vitae*; it is known that the rich merchants were the town's aristocracy and had to be consulted, as occurred in Pyrzyce and Szczecin.

Decision making in such a body as the council of aristocrats could hardly be a matter for voting. The influence of one distinguished member of the aristocracy usually could compel the others to accept his opinion, suppress the opposition and finally achieve a unanimous decision; this was done by means of a speech given by the most influential member. It is known how things were decided in cases which were far out of the ordinary, but examples from the Lutitian lands as well as from Novgorod seem to illustrate the lack of tolerance in dealings with the weaker party.¹⁴⁷

The council of aristocrats seem to have been a body which served as a link between the town or the community and the prince. During Otto's second visit to Szczecin the aristocrats seem to have been more easily persuaded to convert as a result of their desire to bring about a reconciliation with the prince.¹⁴⁸ The conflict that had arisen between the town and the prince is described in one place as *discordia*, in another, namely, in the speech of Varcislav as *rapinis et latrocinis*,

¹⁴⁴ *Ebo*, L. II, c. 1.

¹⁴⁵ *Ebo*, L. II, c. 5.

¹⁴⁶ *Herbord*, L. II, c. 39.

¹⁴⁷ *Thietmar*, L. VI, c. 25; *NPL*, p. 23 (a. 6642=1134). The sources mention the whipping or even killing of political opponents.

¹⁴⁸ *Ebo*, L. III, c. 20, c. 23.

committed against his *regnum*.¹⁴⁹ This last point is sometimes regarded as an indication that Szczecin (as well as Wolin) were separate political bodies, 'town republics', with 'mixed' aristocratic-republican constitution. Although the towns in Pomerania were already well developed economic and political centres, and enjoyed, to some extent, a status similar to that of the big urban communities elsewhere, by no means were they separate political units.

As was mentioned already the prince probably did not wish to intervene personally in the controversial issue of religious nature and therefore refrained from accompanying Otto to the big centres. Nevertheless the presence of princely power made itself felt.

In the first document concerning the rights granted to the Pomeranian bishop in different towns of Pomerania the presence of princely power is clearly indicated in these towns. The document of the 14th of October 1140 clearly shows that it was the prince who had granted the bishop rights to the income from the markets and taverns of Szczecin, Wolin and other urban settlements in Pomerania.¹⁵⁰ It seems highly unlikely that these fiscal rights were acquired by the prince during the thirteen years that passed between the visit of the mission and the composition of the above document. In addition to these fiscal rights the presence of the princely power is indicated by the citadel (*arx*) in Wolin.

The conflicts that existed between the powerful aristocracy and the prince are not unusual for this period and seem to prove that princely power was an important factor in the overall picture of the Pomeranian politics. As long as the conflict, which probably was the result of the restoration of the pagan cult in Szczecin, was not resolved the aristocracy seemed ill at ease and was eager to regain the prince's favour with the help of Otto.

The participation of the aristocracy in government in other places is indicated in the presence of the urban *primores* from Demmin as well as from other towns in the *colloquium* at Usedom, together with the petty or local rulers.¹⁵¹

While keeping in mind the impact of princely power on the political life of the towns as well as other communities in Pomerania and its key rôle in Western Pomerania as a whole, one should be aware of the limitations imposed on that power by the aristocracy, the petty rulers and the pagan priests. One of the examples of such limitations and

¹⁴⁹ The argument is that by attacking Varcislaw's *regnum* the people of Szczecin acted as if they were an enemy state. K. Wachowski, *Słowiańszczyzna Zachodnia*, p. 252.

¹⁵⁰ *PUB*, I, no. 30; J. Wałachowicz, *Monopole książęce*, p. 89 ff. *Taberna* was not only an institution similar to an inn but also an establishment for princely fiscal control and the collection of taxes.

¹⁵¹ *Ebo*, L. III, c. 6.

restrictions is Ebo's view concerning Domaslav's position. Ebo claims that without the latter's advice and consent Varcislav could not undertake any action, most probably this was relevant for matters concerning Szczecin and its dependent territories. The fact of consultation with petty rulers and the aristocracy, i.e. the form of collective decision making, was likewise demonstrated in the Usedom *colloquium*.

It seems that when a particularly important decision had to be made Varcislav consulted the petty rulers and aristocracy of each locality. Otto had to do the same when he had to persuade the local aristocrats to make a decision favourable to the mission. Possibly the major factor contributing towards this constitutional structure was the great economic power of the aristocracy in the bigger as well as smaller coastal communities. This power was based on commerce and the great estates on the one hand and military power concentrated in the hands of the same people who possessed ships with crews and retinues, on the other.

This body of aristocrats was not an institutionalized princely council, its composition, numbers and power wielded by it probably varied on different occasions and in different places. The sources mention this 'body' at work, only sporadically, and only on two occasions is its political influence made apparent. One such occasion was the Usedom *colloquium*, when, for the second time, conversion was debated; the other occasion was the international crisis in 1127, when the Pomeranians were threatened by a Polish attack. On this occasion the *primates natuque maiores* asked Otto to intercede on behalf of Pomerania and their prince, with the Polish ruler.¹⁵²

The political talks on behalf of the Pomeranians were conducted by Varcislav, who was clearly the major figure in foreign affairs in Pomerania.¹⁵³ The question why the aristocrats and not Varcislav had approached Otto for mediation can be answered simply in that they, as the delegates of the prince and the council, asked Otto for reconciliation in a delicate matter of politics.

The aristocracy in Pomerania appears to have been an important political factor, whose influence was based on their movable personal property as well as on their land. Their status was high and they actively influenced the political life of the land, cooperating with the ruler or sometimes in opposition to him.

¹⁵² *Ebo*, L. III, c. 13.

¹⁵³ The Polish ruler wanted to deal only with Varcislav: 'Si, inquit, humiliatus Pomeranorum dux per semet ipsum occurrere et veniam deprecari volueret'. *Ebo*, L. III, c. 13.

6. *The people of Pomerania and their political organization.*

The overall picture of the political relations in Pomerania cannot be considered complete without an analysis of the part played by the people in the affairs of the land. By people I mean those who inhabited the big towns or lived in the country but did not belong to the previously discussed category, i.e. the ruling class.

The *Vitae* of Otto as well as advanced archaeological studies of the big towns and the smaller centres provide considerable information about these people. In the big cities like Szczecin, Wolin, Kołobrzeg, Kamień and probably in other larger centres situated on the coast the population was mainly engaged in fishing and various handicrafts.¹⁵⁴ They were probably also partly engaged in agriculture, horticulture etc. In Kołobrzeg they were employed in salt production.

According to the written sources as well as judging by the data provided by the archaeologists, the economic status of the people varied; some are described as *mediocres* while others as *pauperes*. The latter group was undoubtedly more numerous than the former. This division, however, does not seem to have had any effect on politics, all are referred to as people (*populus*). It can be nevertheless argued that the *mediocres*, i.e. probably the owners of workshops or fishing boats, may have played a more active part and may have had more influence in political and social life.

The rural areas and the smaller centres (burgs) have been less well studied from the point of view of their political and economic structure; the sources have little to say about them as well. Some studies concerned either with groups of settlements or with a specific kind of production suggest that some smaller centres probably produced iron or antler goods.¹⁵⁵ However, the bulk of manufactured goods was produced in the big towns and sold at the town market, frequented by country people.¹⁵⁶ The rural settlements have not been studied closely by the archaeologists; this would explain the lack of satisfactory information on the Pomeranian village. In relation to the country the written sources are often more helpful.

The impression created by the *Vitae* of Otto as well as later ones, is, that the big estate and its labour force composed of slaves as well as the free population (in some way probably dependent on the big estate) was a widespread phenomenon in the rural economy.¹⁵⁷ Very little or next to nothing is known about the small but independent farms and their economic relations with the political power, i.e.

¹⁵⁴ L. Leciejewicz, *Początki nadmorskich*, p. 93 ff.

¹⁵⁵ See n. 81, chapter one, pp. 238-9; E. Cnotliwy, *Rzemiosło rogownicze* p. 281.

¹⁵⁶ For instance in Demmin. *Ebo*, L. III, c. 15. Other markets are discussed by J. Walachowicz, *Monopole książęce*, p. 77 ff.

¹⁵⁷ See note 108, chapter one.

payments of duties, performance of services etc., at the time of the mission. In the second half of the twelfth century the charters provide information on the various duties and services due from the ruled population, which were granted together with landed property, monopolies and *regalia* to the various church institutions by the princes.

It is unlikely that the above mentioned rights due to the prince were created in a relatively short time, the period between the time of Otto's mission and the second half of the twelfth century, i.e. during twenty five to fifty years. It is probable that many rights like *exactio*, *servitium*, *expeditio*, *edificatio* or *munitio*, *edificatio pontium*, *vectio* (*gostitva*) as well as other rights, in the twenties of the twelfth century were only partly in the hands of the central princely authority and partly in the hands of the local and petty rulers or the pagan priests, some specific rights like *edificatio* were performed within the framework of the community.¹⁵⁸

One of the problems to be dealt with is how those who lived outside the big towns took part in political life. The *Vitae* throw light on this; during the first mission of Otto, as is shown in *Vita Prieflingensis*, the conversion of Szczecin was linked with a political agreement with the Polish prince. In order to announce the result of the political and religious parley the *pagani de rure ac de villis*¹⁵⁹ were summoned to Szczecin ostensibly to hear about it, but in reality to accept the new agreement. Thus it seems that in matters of utmost importance the population was summoned to the major centres to be informed of the decisions of the aristocrats, who were probably in a position of power in relation to parts of the rural population, as owners of landed estates (*villae*) or rulers of small territorial units (*opole*).

On another occasion the chronicler tells that Otto addressed the people in the market place.¹⁶⁰ It is clear that the rural population frequented the town markets and when a suitable occasion presented itself they participated in the political life of the town.

From the sources it seems that the urban and suburban population played a more active political rôle due to the fact that they lived near those places where political decisions were made. During the stormy period of the two missions of Otto time and again the people (referred to as *populus*, *cives*, *vulgus* or just *pagani*) proclaimed their political or religious sympathies or antipathies in a rather violent form. On several

¹⁵⁸ K. Buczek, 'Ustrój Pomorza Zachodniego w XII i XIII wieku', *KH*, LXXII (1965), p. 374 ff.; see n. 107. chapter one.

¹⁵⁹ *VP*, L. III, c. 10.

¹⁶⁰ In Demmin (*Ebo*, L. II, c. 5) and probably in Szczecin (*VP*, L. II, c. 8 and L. III c. 7; *Herbord*, L. III, c. 17). *Ebo*, (L. III, c. 15) mentions that the gathering took place near the gate outside the town; *VP* and *Herbord* mention a gathering in the centre of the town.

occasions the sources mention that the people had an organized political body which can be called a popular assembly.

The discussion of the political gatherings of the people and their actions is crucial in deciding to what extent the people could indeed influence political life in Pomerania; it is also important to ascertain whether the popular assembly was the central organ of political life in the big towns of Pomerania, which were sometimes considered as republics by certain scholars.¹⁶¹

The first occasion when the sources mention an action of the people in connexion with the conversion of Pomerania is during the first attempt at conversion made by the Spanish Bishop Bernard. He was almost killed by the people (referred to as *pagani* or *plebs*) and was rescued by the pagan priests.¹⁶² Here the people are described as a mob, controlled by the priests.

Other instances of 'moblike' behaviour are mentioned time and again by the sources.¹⁶³ The authors write about such instances with repulsion at the people's ignorance. The pattern presented by the chroniclers seems clear: the people, because of their ignorance of the true God or due to the malevolent influence of the pagan priests, openly attack or refuse to abide by the decisions of the aristocracy.¹⁶⁴

These acts of violence were probably the result of tension. The hagiographers like to stress the dangers which threatened Otto during his mission in order to show his merits. It is clear that no action of the people, unless it was supported by some members of the upper classes, could be successful. Even the relapse into paganism was clearly the idea of the pagan priests, who, nevertheless could count on popular support as well as on the support of a part of the aristocracy, when they used the epidemic in Szczecin as an opportunity.

Apart from these violent acts in Szczecin and Wolin the chroniclers mention more or less well organized assemblies of the population where discussions concerning conversion took place. The sources refer to the assembly by the Latin term *conventio*, *colloquium* or *contio*. It is not always clear whether such an assembly was convened *ad hoc* or used to meet regularly and was an institutionalized political body.

The first important indication that an assembly was an institution is the existence of a special edifice in town or an elevated place, where the speeches were delivered.¹⁶⁵ The description of an assembly in

¹⁶¹ See chapter one.

¹⁶² *Ebo*, L. II, c. 1.

¹⁶³ *Ebo*, L. II, c. 7 and 9, L. III c. 8, 16 and 18.

¹⁶⁴ *Ebo*, L. II c. 18. He mentions the active resistance of the supporters of paganism following the decision of the aristocracy to accept Christianity and the destruction of the temple by Udalric.

¹⁶⁵ *VP*, L. III, c. 7; *Ebo*, L. III, c. 15; he mentions 'piramides magne et in altrum more paganico murate', *Herbord*, L. III, c. 17 mentions 'gradus lignei'.

Demmin seems to suggest that it was the usual and accepted form of political meeting. The assembly in Demmin was not called to discuss the conversion and it was a coincidence that Otto had arrived in town when 'cives Timinenses ante portam conventus forense agebant'.¹⁶⁶ It is not quite clear whether it was just a market day or, more likely, some sort of a social and political meeting on the occasion of the market day, when people gathered in town.

All the other popular assemblies described in the *Vitae* were called to debate the question of conversion or relations with the neighbouring Christian countries. These assemblies fall into two categories: a) those that took place alongside the gatherings of the aristocrats, their importance was minimal;¹⁶⁷ b) those to which people came to hear the speeches either of the bishop or of their leaders, the 'direct' type assembly. The assembly of the second type can be considered as the one where the people showed their political power.

The most interesting, though inadequately described, is the assembly that had taken place two weeks before the council of the aristocrats, during the second visit of Otto. The violent reaction of the mob, incited by the priest, despite the biased phraseology used by the chronicler in this description, shows that hostility towards Christianity was felt strongly among the people. For this reason the matter of conversion was postponed until the council of aristocrats was to meet to deal with this question.

Another assembly of the direct type took place in Szczecin, also during Otto's first visit to the town. According to *Vita Prieflingensis* people came to the assembly not only from the town but from the country as well. They were informed by various speakers among them these representing the Polish side, about the new terms of peace with Poland, which included several political concessions, provided the Pomeranians would convert.¹⁶⁸ The task of this assembly was to see to the fulfillment of the terms of the peace treaty.

In places like Wolin there is no indication that an organized assembly able to make decisions ever existed. Although the chronicler mentions that people were one of the factors backing the decision to kill the missionaries in Wolgost it is difficult to determine whether this decision was made by the popular assembly or rather by the *magistrati*, mentioned earlier, and backed by the people. It also does not seem

¹⁶⁶ *Ebo*, L. III, c. 15.

¹⁶⁷ Such assembly had to take place in Szczecin 'generale colloquium post quatuordecim dies, in quo certa diffinitione sacerdotes cum plebe iugum Christi aut susciperent', *Ebo*, L. III, c. 16. In reality the people did not play any role in this 'generale colloquium' but only the priests and aristocrats. *VP*, L. III, c. 10: 'principes civitatis cum reliqua multitudine consedentes'.

¹⁶⁸ *VP*, L. II, c. 10; *Herbord*, L. II c. 30. There are more details in *Herbord* on the agreement with Poland, see n. 37.

likely that there was a need to organize an assembly of the whole town or territory, a group of people ready to support the leaders seems to have been enough.¹⁶⁹

From the above descriptions it seems obvious that the *Vitae*, as a biased source with clearly formed ideas on what should be written about the pagan people, supporters of the pagan priests, fail to convince that the popular assembly as an institution had considerable impact on political life. The source rather shows that the dissatisfied people together with the priests and some members of the aristocracy were unable to defend their temples and the old institutions from foreign pressure and those powerful aristocrats who had decided to accept Christianity.

One assembly, which took place in Szczecin in 1124 is described in more detail. This was an assembly of the townspeople and those from the country called in order to communicate the orders of those who wielded power and made decisions to those who had to obey the orders. It was not a decision-making body.

The discussion of the part the people played in the political life of the towns complements the discussion on the structure of power in the urban settlements. The Pomeranian towns were fairly big settlements. They show a resemblance to other towns in the Baltic area as well as in the West.

The town was fortified and surrounded by suburban settlements and hinterland, which was mainly agricultural. The food supply came from the hinterland as well as raw materials for commerce and the production of handicrafts. The main occupations of the inhabitants were: commerce, handicrafts, fishing and where it was possible, salt production. These point to the leading position of the town in Pomeranian economy as well as its political significance, which derived from its wealth.

The town was also well populated. Herbord mentions 900 heads of families in Szczecin (he probably did not have exact figures). Considering the size of Szczecin's area, (ca. 40000m²) it meant probably 800 dwellings (two dwellings per 100m²), i.e. about 4000 people. Wolin, according to the archaeologists, was of the same size.¹⁷⁰

The towns were governed by the aristocracy helped by pagan priests, who can be regarded as the 'ideological arm' of the town rulers. The 'people' were those who were ruled, but generally they were informed about the political decisions during an assembly. The political initiative of the people, i.e. the anti-Christian riots or attempts at violence cannot be considered as an indication that they were politically independent.

¹⁶⁹ *Ebo*, L. III, c. 7.

¹⁷⁰ L. Leciejewicz, *Początki nadmorskich*, p. 246 ff.

The urban community was part of the Pomeranian realm and the ruler of Pomerania had a significant part to play in the towns. His actions do not tell much about his part but the presence of various institutions indicates that this power was nevertheless real.

The *Vitae* do not give direct indications on the nature of the relations between the prince and the people neither in urban nor in rural settlements. There are no direct indications on the position of the prince versus the popular assembly. According to the sources the prince was accompanied by his retinue. He dealt with the petty rulers and the aristocracy; this fact seems to indicate that by the beginning of the twelfth century the power of the 'over-prince' of Pomerania had undergone considerable evolution from the power of the 'tribal king', the leader of his people, who dealt with the people directly.¹⁷¹ It is quite possible that, as the documents from the second half of the twelfth century show, the prince acted *coram populo*¹⁷² on special occasions. The people seem to have been the witnesses of various decisions, rather than participating actively in decision-making and directing the policy.

The population of the landed estates were either dependent on the owners of these estates or were slaves.¹⁷³ The free population in the villages saw in the town or the stronghold the political and social centre where they used to gather for market and assembly.

The social and economic differentiation existing in Pomeranian society, the existence of the big trade and production centres were the main reasons why the people, as a political force and their organization, the assembly, became a secondary political power.

¹⁷¹ In smaller political units the prince took part in the assembly. *Ebo*, L. III, c. 3: he reports on the ruler of Havelberg 'stans in edito ante portam civitatis, omni populo coadunato verbum salutis predicabat'.

¹⁷² *PUB*, I, nr. 108 (a. 1187 'coram nobis et multo populo').

¹⁷³ See n. 108, chapter one, part two. In the *Vitae* of Otto there are several examples of slaves (*Ebo*, L. III, c. 12) and dependent people in general sense (*familia*) (*Ebo*, L. II, c. 8, c. 9, *VP*, L. II, c. 10).

CONCLUSIONS

A COMPARISON OF RULER'S AUTHORITY IN SWEDEN, POMERANIA AND NOVGOROD

The material presented in this study inevitably calls for further evaluation and, as it has been mentioned in the Introduction, for comparison. However, such a comparison (as it appears from many points made in the text) is not a simple matter. The basic difficulty seems to be rooted in the character of the source material. The period studied in the three respective lands is not covered by the sources in equal measure and there are differences in the character of the sources.

Swedish history is quite well depicted in the written sources from the ninth and the eleventh century, with a gap of about a century in between (tenth century). Pomeranian history before the eleventh century can be discussed only on the basis of indirect or fragmentary sources; this is also the case for Novgorod. Here, however, fuller information is available from the beginning of the eleventh century.

The character of the written sources for Swedish and Pomeranian history is basically similar, i.e. they are foreign accounts concerning these two lands. They are marked, however, by shortcomings derived from a lack of first-hand knowledge of the lands described since they were mainly produced by ecclesiastical writers. It has been shown in the thesis that in the case of Sweden, Pomerania and other North-Western Slavonic lands the sources are favourably inclined towards the ruler and present a distorted picture of political and social relations, particularly in the domain of ruler-people relations. The Novgorodian and all Russian sources were written by native authors (with the exception of the early period) and are far better informed of the factual side than sources for the previously mentioned lands, but this does not mean that they present no difficulties for the historian. For example, the brevity characterising the basically annalistic materials on the one hand and the sponsorship, given to the authors by various groups, on the other, resulted in partial and onesided accounts of events.

The so-called 'auxiliary sources', which in the study of early Middle Ages often turned out to be the main ones, are of great importance for all the areas under discussion. Numerous conclusions arrived at in archaeological studies have been accepted here as facts, however, the

interpretation of some of them, like, for instance, the link between the so-called royal burials and the tradition of the Ynglinga kings in Sweden is questioned.

The study of institutions in the three Baltic lands is inevitably influenced by the vast literature. Some of the views found in the historical literature are accepted here, others, which seem to be lacking a basis are disputed.

The main differences in the modern research of the three lands are clear. The historical writing dealing with Swedish institutions shows deep interest in the sacral character of the kingship as well as in other institutions whereas this problem hardly exists in the historical writing devoted to the Slavonic lands under discussion. Swedish historians place the beginnings of Swedish 'statehood' in a period, preceding by several centuries the time when the emergence of a Russian state is discussed in the historical writing; as for Pomerania, it is accepted by historians that the state emerged there even later than in Russia.

The existing picture of the historical development in the three lands under discussion can be presented in the following manner: early developed and well-institutionalised ruler's power, together with other institutions in Sweden is, contrasted with the lack of central authority of the ruler in the North-Western Slavonic lands until the eleventh century. The rulers in Russia are either considered to be 'imported' from Sweden and opposed to the native democratic institutions or, in more recent works of Soviet historians, these problems are overshadowed by the discussion of the socio-economic origins of the Russian Kievan state.

However, these scholars, who have studied the Later Middle Ages in Sweden could not but notice the weakness of the royal power in late eleventh-twelfth century. The same phenomenon, in a much clearer form, has been pointed out by the majority of scholars of Novgorodian history, who have even dwelt on the establishment of a republic in the 30-s of the twelfth century.

Twelfth century Pomerania, in the majority of historical works, is presented also as partly republican (especially the main urban centres) and the power of the prince is considered to be rather weak. One of the difficulties in the proper understanding of the trends prevalent in historical writing devoted to the lands under discussion is the great differences of opinion concerning the notion of state. Soviet as well as other historians, who tend to build the model of socio-political development in the Early Middle Ages on the basis of Marxist theory, have created different concepts and terms than those adhered to in Western or non-Marxist works.

The main difference lies in the use of the term 'feudal'. According to

leading Marxist scholars, the medieval state proper was a 'feudal state', i.e. a state where the great landowners (including the ruler) used to exploit the peasants. Other political formations, where the exploitation of peasants has not been clearly demonstrated are called 'proto-feudal state' 'early feudal state' or 'tribal state'. The position of the ruler is assessed accordingly. The non-Marxist works, especially the more recent ones, are perhaps influenced by some of the terminology used by Marxist scholars, but the meaning of the terms in the majority of cases differs widely and is often based on a pragmatic or common sense approach.

At the outset of the examination of the historical evidence the most general grounds for comparison of the three lands have to be considered. As has been indicated throughout the thesis all three lands participated actively in the Baltic Viking Age in more than one sense. All of them benefited from the 'silver boom' of Arabic as well as West European stream of coins, as has been clearly demonstrated by the archaeologists and numismats.

However, the participation, both direct and indirect, of the North Western Slavs as well as the Swedes and the Russians in the expeditions of the Vikings or in expeditions whose purpose was piracy and conquest during the Viking Age (as this period is defined in historiography) and later (in the Slavonic countries it continued into the twelfth century) has been already indicated. Likewise, all the lands under discussion exhibit the existence of trade and commercial centres of urban character; the presence of various groups engaged in commerce, either professionally or on a part-time basis is also well indicated.

The political situations of all three lands was far from similar. It seems that all three lands had become distinctive political units during the period under discussion, but the forces at work and the circumstances were different in each one.

The Swedish kingdom, the only one to survive until today, had been created as a result of an 'uneasy' union of two political units Svealand and Götaland (which had often been rivals) at the end of the tenth century. This was preceded by a long process of unification of smaller units which had existed as early as the middle of the ninth century.

While Sweden was undergoing unification it was not subjected directly to any serious pressure on the part of her neighbours. Moreover, it can be maintained that while this process of unification was under way the Swedish kings held a position of power in the Baltic affairs.

The emergence of Western Pomerania in the twelfth century came as a result of the unification of several tribal groups, that inhabited both

banks of the Oder. The political developments that took place in the territories on the left bank of the Oder and around its estuary (the Lutitian or the Wieletian Union) are better known from historical sources dating from the end of the eighth century. Very little, however, is known about the tribes who had inhabited the right bank of the Oder (except if one takes into account the conclusions arrived at on the basis of eighth-late tenth century source, *per analogiam*). Mid-eleventh century sources present Pomerania (and its rulers) as a force to be reckoned with.

The geographical position of Pomerania was the reason why her territories, unlike those of Sweden, were subjected to two-frontal or three-frontal pressure at different periods. To wit, during the second half of the tenth century Polish expansion was directed against Pomerania; this expansion, however, as has been pointed out, failed to incorporate into the Piasts' state all the area, which was to become Western Pomerania.

After a period of Poland's weakness when Polish and Scandinavian pressure on Pomerania were of minor importance, i.e. during the greater part of the eleventh century, Pomerania became subject to very heavy pressure on the part of Poland and Saxony, that had combined their forces in this enterprise. In addition, Pomerania was suffering from Danish intervention, though less serious from the end of the eleventh century until the 30-s of the twelfth century.

It has to be emphasised that the above period was also the time when Pomeranian was going through the process of adaptation into the European Christian community of states or as it has been sometimes called 'the period of conversion'.

The origins of Novgorod as a separate political unit are both complex and controversial. The separate status of Novgorod in relation to other Russian lands is clearly attested in mid-tenth century, however, Novgorod had many links, mainly dynastic, with Kiev. These links became particularly obvious when members of the same branch of the ruling family occupied the throne both in Kiev and Novgorod, and, moreover, in some cases the same person ruled both Kiev and Novgorod at the same time, for example, St. Vladimir and Yaroslav.

It seems that the political developments in the Novgorodian principality in the eleventh and twelfth century were the result of two processes: a) the struggle of the Novgorodians for independence from the Kievan rulers; b) the process that initiated the incorporation of the other centres such as Pskov, Ladoga etc., into the political framework of Novgorod on the one hand and the conquest of extensive territories, inhabited by the Baltic and Finnish peoples, on the other.

As in the case of Sweden and Pomerania, the origins of Novgorod as

an urban centre, a political unit (territorially) as well as the origins of its rulers are shrouded in darkness. It seems that some local political 'organism' (possibly a petty ruler) had erected fortifications in a place which was commercially important at the end of the ninth beginning of the tenth century. This settlement had attracted merchants as well as some political power which took over and made Novgorod into a leading centre in the north of Russia within a relatively short period. This development was possible due to an extremely favourable economic situation (the 'boom' of Oriental silver in the tenth century) and the convenient position of Novgorod in an area which was but scantily populated and possessed very few urban type centres.

The analysis of the sources conducted in this work, has shown that there can be no doubt that in all three lands there existed a ruler, who ruled over the population, from the very beginning of their recorded history. The existence of the kings of Birka, or rather the presence of kings or princes of the Wioletians and the Obodritians, as well as that of the *chacans* or *kagans* of Rus' are well evident in the sources from the eighth-ninth century onward.

The break in the continuity of rulership noted in the sources dealing with the Wioletian tribes (tenth-eleventh century) could be explained, although this is of course merely a hypothesis, as the result of the extinction of the ruling dynasty of the Hobolians and of the fact that the priests of Rethra had stepped into the ruler's shoes; most probably they had taken over the ruler's priestly functions.

The relationship between the above developments and the discussion of rulership in Pomerania is a difficult question. Since the emergence of Pomerania as a political unit before the eleventh century is hardly possible, it seems that the tribes which were eventually united into Pomerania had been previously living under similar constitution to those which had formed the Wioletian Union and some of them had been members of that union. The sources are not very clear on this point, but it can be assumed that tribal rulership had existed; however, in the sources its existence became overshadowed and nearly suppressed by the impression that priestly leadership had made on the ecclesiastical writers, who were the authors of the chronicles.

This is related to the problem of the elements which composed princely power, and in particular the most controversial issue of the sacral position of the ruler. As has been pointed out there is little doubt that the Swedish rulers, both in the ninth and in the eleventh century, played an important rôle in the pagan cult.

As it is shown in *Vita Anskarii* a cult of royal predecessors existed in Sweden and the ruling king undoubtedly played the central rôle in this cult; most probably this cult constituted an important element in the

machinery of rulership. Equally important was the element of augury which, by means of skilful manipulation, became a powerful tool in the hands of those who exercised political power.

Similar sacral elements are found in the eleventh century *Gesta* of Adam; the chronicler mentions the royal participation during the sacrifices in Uppsala. The Uppsala rites played a crucial rôle in creating the 'national unity' and served as one of the links between the king and the communities, even after the conversion.

The problem of sacral rulership among the Slavs is less clear in the sources. However, there is little doubt that the pagan religion held an important place in the 'make-up' of the Russian rulership. It cannot be maintained that it was imported to Russia by the Varangians from Sweden since there are certain indications in the Arabic sources relating to this matter; likewise, the deities which probably were the media in the sacral relationship between the people and the ruler were of Slavonic origin.

The sacral position of the ruler in Pomerania or in the North Western Slavonic lands had been overshadowed by the specific conditions as well as by the extremely complex situation which prevailed there during the period of conversion (twelfth century). However, the rôle of pagan religion and augury, though both were controlled by the priests, is clearly indicated. Moreover, there are indications in the sources that the Pomeranian rulers derived some elements of their power from the then existing system of beliefs, although the authors of the sources (similarly to the authors of the sources on Sweden) have tried to gloss over the idolatry of the rulers.

Other factors which played an important part in rulership were military leadership and the conduct of foreign affairs. The sources leave no doubt that these functions of the rulers had undergone a considerable evolution, most notably in Sweden and Novgorod.

While in the ninth century the ruler commanded the army in time of war or was expected to direct the military affairs and the relations with foreign powers, the eleventh century sources point out the relative non-participation of the ruler in military affairs in which the Swedish people were largely involved during the late Viking Age. This abstention can perhaps explain the fact that certain military institutions, namely the royal retinue, are not emphasised in the sources.

Concerning Pomerania and Novgorod, military activities under the command of the ruler and the presence of the retinue are clearly indicated in the sources. However, in Novgorod military and foreign affairs had partly passed into the hands of the community, towards the end of the period under discussion. These differences can be explained by the different geo-political conditions discussed elsewhere.

At this point one has to turn to the main problem tackled in the thesis, namely, the problem of the relationship between the ruler and the ruled, or rather those who were his partners. It has to be pointed out that from the very beginning of the investigation, the sources emphasise the prominent rôle played by the nobility or the aristocracy in political, social and various other affairs.

The very notion of nobility or aristocracy is extremely complex, as is the phenomenon itself. The terminology used in the sources which is largely alien to the phenomena described, makes it even more difficult to determine the question of the origins or the exact position of the nobility or aristocracy.

It has been suggested that wealth and prosperity, whose source lay in specific conditions prevalent in the Baltic region, greatly strengthened the people (who had already been in positions of power), both numerically and in the exercise of power. It is clear that the means of control over the population varied considerably between Sweden and the Slavonic lands. This difference was rooted in the structure of communal organization.

In Sweden, as in other Scandinavian countries,¹ the urban settlements emerged mainly as trading centres; such centres were relatively small as well as few and far between. In such conditions political life tended to develop in rural centres, around the regional thanes, where the local magnates of either aristocratic origin (ex-rulers) or enriched *bönder* were the leaders and organized people for defence or overseas expeditions.

The Pomeranian towns, on the contrary, were major centres of political life and it seems that in the big towns the pluralistic aristocratic element and the singular 'local rulers' of small urban centres played the main rôle in politics as the partners of the 'over-ruler' in policy making.

The case of Novgorod is slightly different. The urban settlements of northern Russia were relatively few in numbers, but great in size. The concentration of aristocracy in Novgorod, which, as a community had achieved its recognition from the ruler made this group even more powerful and better organized than elsewhere.

The part played by the aristocracy in political life is most clearly manifested in two kinds of activity; they were members of the council of distinguished men, who decided on various matters, either with the ruler or separately. Such councils had the power to influence the rest of the community to carry out their decisions.

1) A. E. Herteig, 'Archaeological Contributions to the History of Urban Communities. The Continent and Scandinavia' in *Archaeological Contributions to the Early History of Urban Communities in Norway*, p. 9 ff.

The existence of councils or collective-decision making of the aristocracy is noted in the ninth-century Sweden, in the Carolingian sources dealing with North Western Slavonic lands and in the *Lives of Otto*. It is most prominent probably in Novgorod, where the political leadership of the aristocracy had possessed the best forms of organization from the beginning of the eleventh century and was strengthened later on.

Another form of activity was a direct political dealing between individual aristocrats and groups from the population; this was probably best developed in eleventh century Sweden, where, as was mentioned, political life was rather scattered all over the land.

Both forms of activity were detrimental to the ruler's power in many ways; it seems, however, that the atomization of political power made the imposition of the ruler's decisions more difficult. Undoubtedly strong and centralized aristocratic power became an active factor in any confrontation between the aristocracy and the ruler. Pomerania, in which the sources note the existence of both forms of activity was perhaps the most governable realm from this point of view.

The broader question of the relationship between the ruler and the community as a whole is connected with the previous question concerning the aristocracy. It seems clear that in all the lands under discussion the leadership in the community was either in the hands of the ruler or of the aristocracy. Clear examples of the ruler's direct and immediate authority displayed in the popular assembly are presented by the sources in the case of the Swedish township Birka, in the ninth century. There the concentration of population enabled face to face discussion between the ruler and the ruled.

A similar state of affairs can be indicated in Novgorod in the eleventh century. Yaroslav could easily persuade the assembled Novgorodians to support him even though they had been displeased with his actions. However, in later years in Novgorod as well as in Pomerania clear indications are found that leadership in the assembly passed into the hands of *ad hoc* leaders. It also seems evident that the assembly as such had little power and either adhered to the decisions of the ruler or the aristocracy or its actions failed.

In many cases both in Novgorod and in Pomerania when direct political action, i.e. mutiny or riot is mentioned and it is clear that these were headed either by the aristocracy or more specifically by priests, when religion was involved.

The question of the indirect exercise of ruler's authority in bigger realms (as was the case in the eleventh and the twelfth century) entails a comparison of the royal or princely administration in the lands under discussion.

It seems that in Sweden and Pomerania, during the period under discussion, royal or princely administration was equally 'underdeveloped'. Both these lands were ruled by an 'over-ruler' who maintained his control by different means, such as religion and his personal links with local petty rulers or groups of aristocracy. In his capacity as a ruler travelling with his retinue and visiting various parts of his realm he could claim control over it.

There is little evidence of any existence of an extensive network of administration. There are some indications, however, that this form of exercising political power was in the process of formation (e.g. for Sweden).

There are clear indications that due to the peculiar political situation of Novgorod, princely representation had existed there from the end of the tenth century. However, in the second half of the eleventh century the *posadnik* had already become a 'town-official', partly a substitute for the princely power and partly representing the interests of this or that group of aristocracy. The existence of princely administration judicial, fiscal and economic, is evident in late eleventh-twelfth century Novgorod, but it was of no great importance.

It has to be mentioned that in all the areas under discussion there existed guilds or organizations of traders and people engaged in commerce, which probably played an important rôle in the urban centres and carried a certain amount of weight in politics.

Possibly the most difficult question concerns the relationship between the ruler and the religious institutions. It is possible that initially the rulers themselves had formed part of the religious establishment, but the changes that took place during the period under discussion in the world of beliefs of the people in these three lands, namely the conversion, altered also the ruler's position. The main difference among the three lands was probably the fact that Russia and Novgorod converted comparatively early and the initiative to convert came largely from the ruler, who had used coercion in order to introduce Christianity. The different attitude towards the ruler that has existed in the Orthodox and in the Western European churches constitutes an additional dissimilarity.

It is important to emphasise the fact that in Sweden the process of conversion was rather lengthy; this was mainly due to the conflicting interests of the ruler, who had been probably inclined to preserve, at least partly, the old pagan rites on the one hand and on the other wished to benefit from the advantages that conversion to Christianity could have given him in his dealings with Christians in Sweden and abroad.

An additional factor, which contributed to the prolongation of the

process of conversion was the struggle between the trend to establish an independent Swedish church and the 'colonial' tendencies of the Hamburg-Bremen see, which had been still further complicated by the rivalry between the northern and the southern provinces for the supremacy in the realm.

The religious changes in Pomerania started only in the 20-s of the twelfth century; they were mostly carried out under foreign pressure. It is clear that these changes were not unanimously supported by the upper classes or by the ruler, who did not take an active part in converting the people.

The question whether the conversion benefited the ruler needs to be considered as well. The conversion had undoubtedly improved the international position of the rulers. Their personal conversion and that of their respective countries made them part of the Christian family of rulers. Gradually they were gaining recognition and received their proper place in Christian Europe.

In terms of internal relations, only in the case of Russia and Novgorod are there clear indications that close relationship had developed between the ruler and the Orthodox church; the teachings of the church placed considerable importance on the glorification of the ruler.

The ideas current at that period in the Catholic church, which were crucial in the introduction of Christianity into Sweden and Pomerania bore little similarity to those of the Orthodox church; they had probably deepened the gulf between the ruler and the ruled; this is most clearly evident in the case of Sweden. It has been indicated that eventually also in Novgorod, due to the peculiar position of the ruler, the church finally arrived at an independent position, as a leader, in the community.

The final question to be tackled before passing on to the problem of influence is: how did the Viking Age influence the position of the ruler in the three lands under discussion or, in simpler terms, had the rulers profited from the Viking Age activities.

It seems clear that one cannot maintain the assumption that the rulers authority had become stronger in Sweden and Novgorod. In both these lands the growth of wealth in the community and the society changes that came as a result of this development were not on a par with the evolution of princely institutions, which would have enabled the ruler to impose control on the changing community. There were only a few attempts to change this situation, for example, the move on the part of the Swedish kings in the first half of the eleventh century, to control the production of the means of payment and possibly also economic activity in general. But in Sweden as in Russia this process was not continued.

The inability on the one hand to organize expeditions, which would

offer glory and wealth to the Swedes and the diminishing importance of the Novgorodian ruler in military affairs together with his loss of control over political and military decisions on the other, meant the loss of the most powerful means of influence over the people.

The situation of the Pomeranian rulers, who remained active in the sphere of military affairs and who almost incessantly were engaged in defensive wars against Poland and Saxony as well as in extending their domains, not shrinking even from piratical expeditions to Scandinavia, was most probably different.

However, the case of Pomerania notwithstanding, there is little evidence that the Viking Age brought in its wake growing power of the ruler in the three lands under discussion. It can be perhaps suggested that the power that particular developments placed in the hands of the aristocracy, various organizations of merchants and pirates and the community in general gradually exceeded the authority of the ruler, who had lost part of his power as a result of the radical changes in the sphere of religion.

The final issue that remains to be dealt with is the question of influences among the three lands under discussion and those originating from other lands and their general impact on the institution of the ruler. Influence is not something which reveals itself in one concrete way, it has to be sought in many different phenomena, in other words, it cannot be measured quantitatively.

A connexion between influence and its source exists, semantically, by virtue of the fact that both terms relate to the flow of liquid, the source being the origin of the flow and the influence, or the influx — its goal, i.e. the point at which the movement ceases.

Such an approach to influence shows that, in general, influence among the three lands in question are more than a possibility. Archaeological studies note transferred forms of various objects, borrowed styles and methods of production; these, however, are beyond the scope of the present study. Concerning political institutions or ideas, the contacts and the influences that followed among the three areas, and especially between Sweden and Novgorod, are evident in the sources.

However, to determine the direction of the influences at play (i.e. their source, emitter and receiver or the influenced part) is far from simple, particularly when taking into account the possibility that one of the peoples discussed could have played the rôle of the transmitter (intermediary) of the influences originating from a third source, for example, Byzantium. Byzantine influence could have reached Sweden through the mediation of Russia.

The most crucial question of the Baltic Viking Age, the question of

the decisive Scandinavian influence on the establishment of ruler's authority in the Slavonic lands can be partly resolved by the facts discussed in the body of the work. It has been clearly shown that no Viking settlement had been established in the Oder estuary and that the political order, which existed in the North Western Slavonic lands had been first influenced by the Carolingians and later by the Saxons, but most notably by the Poles. There is, however, no proof of any other foreign influence, except that of Christianity, which brought in its wake, through the transplantation of foreign institutions, changes in the existing political order, which, in turn, was undergoing various modifications, as a result of complex processes.

Scandinavian influences were more evidently at work in Russia and in Novgorod; this fact is attested by the origin of the ruling family, which was most probably Scandinavian. However, the very existence of the institution of the ruler, as a Slavonic institution is clearly indicated in the sources. Similarly, the titles used by the Russian rulers until the eleventh century, namely *khagan* or *chagan*,² point to an influence originating in a country other than Scandinavia.

It is also possible to maintain that the whole issue of influences seems onesided without a discussion of the receiver's potential to accommodate influences. It seems that in an area where the possibilities for dynamic development were greater (like in Russia, and particularly in the North, i.e. in Novgorod), more foreign ideas and methods were needed than in places where the potential for development was relatively small. This is possibly the reason why the Novgorodian land seems, according to my analysis, much more developed from the point of view of socio-political institutions than the other two areas under discussion.

2). A.S. L'vov. *Leksika 'Povesti vremennykh let'*, p. 197 ff.

ABBREVIATIONS

<i>ARF</i>	<i>Annales regni Francorum = Annales Laurissenses maiores</i>
<i>CMH</i>	<i>Cambridge Medieval History</i>
<i>EHR</i>	<i>English Historical Review</i>
<i>Germ. Abt.</i>	<i>Germanische Abteilung</i>
<i>HJ</i>	<i>Historisches Jahrbuch</i>
<i>HZ</i>	<i>Historische Zeitschrift</i>
<i>KH</i>	<i>Kwartalnik Historyczny</i>
Łowmiański.H. <i>PP</i>	Łowmiański.H. <i>Początki Polski</i> , 5 vols. (Warsaw 1963-1973)
<i>MGH</i>	<i>Monumenta Germaniae Historica</i>
<i>MPH</i>	<i>Monumenta Poloniae Historica</i>
<i>NF (nf)</i>	<i>Neue Folge</i>
<i>NPL</i>	<i>Novgorodskaya Pervaya Letopis'</i> , edited by A.N. Nasonov (Moscow 1950)
<i>PH</i>	<i>Przegląd Historyczny</i>
<i>PPP</i>	<i>Początki Państwa Polskiego</i> , 2 vols. (Poznań 1962)
<i>PSRL</i>	<i>Polnoe Sobranie Russkikh Letopisey</i> (St. Petersburg 1843-)
<i>PVL</i>	<i>Povest' Vremennykh Let</i> , edited by D.A. Likhachev, 2 vols. (Moscow 1950)
<i>PUB</i>	<i>Pommersches Urkundenbuch</i>
<i>PZ</i>	<i>Przegląd Zachodni</i>
<i>RAU</i>	<i>Rozprawy Akademii Umiejętności</i>
<i>RH</i>	<i>Roczniki Historyczne</i>
<i>SA</i>	<i>Slavia Antiqua</i>
<i>SN</i>	<i>Series Nova</i>
<i>SO</i>	<i>Slavia Occidentalis</i>
<i>SRG</i>	<i>Scriptores rerum Germanicarum</i>
<i>SS</i>	<i>Scriptores</i>
<i>SSS</i>	<i>Słownik Starożytności Słowiańskich</i> (Wrocław 1961 —)
<i>VP</i>	<i>Vita Prieflingensis</i> (see <i>S. Ottonis episcopi Babenbergensis Vita Prieflingensis</i>)
<i>Zapiski TNT</i>	<i>Zapiski Towarzystwa Naukowego w Toruniu</i>
<i>ZH</i>	<i>Zapiski Historyczne</i>
<i>ZsP</i>	<i>Zeitschrift für slavische Philologie</i>

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BERNARD SHAW IN POLAND: PLAYS AND PLAYERS*

Bernard Shaw's name was known in Poland as early as 1900, as a result of his "discovery" by A.M. Jasiński, the London correspondent of Cracow newspapers.¹ Jasiński made his "discovery" several months before Trebitsch, later Shaw's "authorised" translator into German. Georg Brandes (1903) in an essay published in Cracow suggested that Shaw's plays should be produced on the Continent, as the most representative examples of "modernist" drama. Also in 1903 accounts reached Cracow and Lwów of a production in Vienna of *The Devil's Disciple*.

The first Polish production of this play followed the same year in Lwów, at the Teatr Miejski, which had been under the direction of Tadeusz Pawlikowski since 1900. He had already turned the Lwów Municipal Theatre into an institution remarkable for its time and place.² The production of *The Devil's Disciple* took place on November 27, 1903. Apparently, however, Pawlikowski was obliged to work from a pirated German version, without stage-directions, and the Lwów company treated Shaw's "melodrama" as a farce. Yet the company was the finest in Poland at the time, and several of the

* I am indebted to Professor David Welsh (University of Michigan) for assistance and advice in compiling this essay. The opportunity for research was made possible by a grant from the Faculty of Arts, University of Jos (Nigeria).

¹ Stanisława Kumor, *Polskie debiuty Bernarda Shaw* (Warsaw, 1971), 40-43. See also on Shaw in Poland: Tymon Terlecki, "Shaw w Polsce", *Kultura* X (1951), 127-36, Bronisława Balutowa, *Dramat Bernarda Shaw* (Łódź, 1957), and Archibald Henderson, *George Bernard Shaw: Man of the Century* (New York, 1956), 909-12.

² Franciszek Pajęczkowski, *Teatr lwowski pod dyktando Tadeusza Pawlikowskiego 1900-1906* (Cracow, 1961), and Irena Solska, "Jaki był Pawlikowski?" *Teatr* 17: 3 (1962), 12-13. Pawlikowski (1861-1915) studied music in Germany and the theatre in Paris (Antoine's Théâtre Libre). He spent the previous six years in Cracow as director of the Municipal Theatre, and was welcomed to Lwów as a "reformer of the Polish theatre." He introduced a modern repertoire, including plays by Oscar Wilde, D'Annunzio, Ibsen and Synge. However, he had hostile critics who called his work "decadent." Lwów at this time was the capital of Galicia (Austro-Hungary), the most impoverished province of Poland, though only marginally worse than Warsaw and Eastern Poland under the Tsarist administration. Lwów nevertheless had a university and Technical College, and eight newspapers (some for the "ethnic" minorities, etc.). Unemployment was rife, accompanied by numerous demonstrations and strikes. The Municipal Theatre was supported by the Town Council (Rada Miejska). Although the first Polish production of a Shaw play was given in Lwów, only four more productions were given in the next decade, with two performances each (*Candida*, *Arms and the Man*, *Mrs Warren's Profession*, and *The Doctor's Dilemma*). See Antoni Dębicki and Ryszard Górski, "Bernard Shaw na scenach polskich: okres pierwszy 1903-1913", *Pamiętnik Teatralny*, VI: 2 (1957), 227-42.

players later became leading “stars” or stage directors: Ludwik Solski played Anderson, but did not please, because he treated the role as a “pious clergyman” rather than the “cheerful, energetic and aggressive” individual called for in the text.³ Władysław Roman, a great favourite of Lwów audience, was Titus (his premature death in 1905 was a great loss to the Polish theatre). Jan Nowacki, who specialised in “drawing-room scoundrel” parts, was Dick: he later played Dubedat in *The Doctor's Dilemma* (Lwów, 1911) and Bobby in *Fanny's First Play* (Cracow, 1913).⁴ Anna Gostyńska as Mrs Dudgeon was now at the height of her popularity as a character actress.⁵ But the play was withdrawn after three performances, of which the last was matinee at reduced prices, though one perceptive critic described the play as “unusual and original . . . with well-drawn characters, and well constructed.”⁶

Another production was given in December 1903 at the Teatr Polski in Poznań, but it too closed after three performances, although the cast included Adam Wiślański as Dick, the part he also played at the Teatr Polski (Wilno) in 1906. Kazimierz Kamiński (1865-1926) played Dick at the Teatr Wielki (Warsaw) production in January, 1912, where it had fourteen performances. Then, after four performances in Cracow (1914), *The Devil's Disciple* disappeared from the Polish repertoire until the 1923 production in Łódź.

Arms and the Man ran for two nights in Cracow (October, 1904), under the direction of Józef Kotarbiński (Pawlikowski's brother-in-law), with Stanisława Wysocka as Raina⁷ and Aleksander Zelwerowicz.⁸ Both were to become leading figures in the Polish theatre after World War I. But again, the Polish audiences in 1904 were as yet unable to grasp the finer points of Shaw's wit and paradox, and the critics were hostile. However, *Arms and the Man* did better in Warsaw at the Rozmaitości in 1907 (10 nights), though in Lwów (January, 1908) and Poznań (October, 1908) it only lasted two nights. The Strauss operetta ran 50 nights in Warsaw, with Lucyna Messal (1909)!

Shaw's first considerable success in Poland was the production of

³ Pajączkowski, *op. cit.*, 206. See also M.M. Morgan, *The Shawian Playground* (London, 1972), p. 240.

⁴ Adam Grzymała-Siedlecki, *Świat aktorski moich czasów* (Warsaw, 1973), 117-9.

⁵ Pajączkowski, *op. cit.*, 150.

⁶ Grzymała-Siedlecki, *op. cit.*, 441-3.

⁷ Z. Wilski, *Stanisława Wysocka* (Warsaw, 1965), *passim*, and his “Środki autorskie Stanisławy Wysockiej”, *Pamiętnik Teatralny XIX:3* (1970), 336-50.

⁸ Leon Schiller, *Na progu nowego teatru* (Warsaw, 1978), 14-17, 387-90, 396-98. See also Henryk Szletyński, “O twórczości Aleksandra Zelwerowicza,” *Teatr* 13: 1 (1958), 23-5, on Zelwerowicz as director and manager, responsible for giving “modern, original ideas” to the Polish theatre, and his “Wielki Zelwer” *Teatr* 35: 13 (1980), 20-22, on Zelwerowicz in Łódź (1909-11), and in the twenties. See also Szletyński, “Zelwerowicz w 25-lecie śmierci,” *Życie Literackie* no. 1482 (1980), 5.

Candida (March, 1906) at the Rozmaitości in Warsaw, with Maria Przybyłko-Potocka as *Candida*.⁹ To be sure, the times were not propitious: the 1905 Revolution was followed by numerous arrests, deportations and general alarms. But *Candida* ran for 17 nights, was favourably reviewed, and aroused much interest. It was revived in 1908, and subsequently. However, the production in Lwów (September, 1906, after the departure of Pawlikowski) only lasted for two performances, and a critic sneered at “the legions of Shaw’s admirers.” Wysocka and Zelwerowicz appeared as *Candida* and Burgess in Cracow (1907), but the production only lasted two nights, as did productions in Poznań (March, 1907), Kalisz (1908), and Wilno (1913).

Zelwerowicz appeared as Walter Bohun Q.C. in *You Never Can Tell* at the Cracow Miejski (Municipal) Theatre in September, 1908 (eight performances), and it had five performances in Poznań the same year. The play reached Warsaw for the 1907/8 season at the Rozmaitości, with Mieczysław Frenkiel as the Waiter. Five performances were given in Cracow at the Słowacki Theatre (1915).

The year 1907 also marked the first production in Poland of *Mrs Warren’s Profession* at the Mały Theatre (Warsaw, August). Reviews were favourable, and critics pointed out with some satisfaction that the play was still banned for public performance in England. Wysocka and Zelwerowicz appeared in the play in Cracow (Miejski, October, 1907) with five performances. In December 1909, it was produced in Lwów, with Amalia Rotterowa who had been specially engaged by Pawlikowski during his six-year period as director, and remained in Lwów after his departure, as she was a particular favourite of audiences.¹⁰ Later, Rotterowa appeared as the Empress Catherine in *Great Catherine* (Lwów, 1915). But in conservative Lwów, *Mrs Warren’s Profession* caused a right-wing uproar, though the demonstrators were protesting against Shaw himself as a self-proclaimed “socialist”, rather than against the play.¹¹ It closed after two performances.

The Philanderer (known in Polish as “The Ibsen Club”) opened in Warsaw at the Mały (1907), with three performances, and another production in Poznań followed, also in Cracow (Miejski, 1908): a production in Łódź followed (1909/10 season). *Widowers’ Houses* had seven performances in Cracow (1908/9) and six in Warsaw (1909/10). The theme of exorbitant rents and extortion was particularly relevant in Poland at this time. The first production of *The Doctor’s Dilemma*

⁹ Leon Schiller, *op. cit.*, 280-2, Grzymała-Siedlecki, *op. cit.*, 207-12.

¹⁰ Pajączkowski, *op. cit.*, 155 (with portrait).

¹¹ Stanisława Kumor, *op. cit.*, 132. See also her “Epizod polski w twórczości Bernarda Shaw,” *Kwartalnik Neofilologiczny* X (1963), 375-86 on Shaw’s reply to a questionnaire sent to him by the Cracow monthly *Krytyka* in 1906 regarding the Polish question.

was again in Warsaw (Mały, March, 1909), followed by a production in Łódź (1909/10 season): it reached Lwów (April) and Cracow (October), with two performances in Poznań (November, 1911) and a production in Wilno the same year.

The Man of Destiny was produced (Warsaw, Mały, 1909) with six performances, and in Cracow (January, 1910) with Irena Solska as the Strange Lady. It was produced again in Warsaw (1916, Współczesny), then in Lwów (May, 1918). Wysocka appeared as Major Barbara (6 performances) in Cracow (1910), and the Warsaw production at the Mały was in 1913. By 1911, Polish players, directors and audiences had become accustomed to Shaw's techniques, and *Fanny's First Play* was produced with some success in Warsaw (Mały, 1911), Płock (1911), Cracow (1913, with nine performances), Sosnowiec (1912/3), and *Misalliance* had six performances in Cracow (1912), and 14 in Warsaw (Rozmaitości, 1914). The character of "Lina Szczepanowska" in the latter play was regarded by Polish audiences as "the personification of Polish Romanticism", though her name apparently derives from a friend of Shaw, Stanisław Szczepanowski, whom he regarded "with amusement" as a "political and economist romanticist".¹²

Candida had been a critical and fashionable success, but *Pygmalion* was Shaw's first popular success in Poland in 1914, when it was produced in quick succession in Cracow (with Irena Solska and Leonard Bończa), Lwów (February), and Warsaw at the Teatr Polski under the direction of Arnold Szyfman.¹³ This production which ran for 31 nights had Maria Przybyłko-Potocka as Eliza and Zelwerowicz as Higgins, with Wiślański as Pickering, and Węgrzyn as Doolittle. The translation was by Florian Sobieniowski, who became Shaw's "authorised" translator thereafter.¹⁴ The production was revived in March, 1916 (8 performances) and April, 1920 (41 performances, with Jaracz as Doolittle). Other productions were given in Przemyśl (July, 1914), Cracow, (March, 1915, with 16 performances), Tarnów (1917), and Lwów (Miejski) in July, 1918, with Irena Solska.

II

In the Autumn of 1918, Szyfman returned from exile in Russia¹⁵ to resume his post as director of the Teatr Polski in Warsaw. He enrolled many of Poland's finest players and producers, and initiated an

¹² Stanisława Kumor, *op. cit.*, 145.

¹³ Leon Schiller, "Teatr Polski w Warszawie 1913-1923," in his *Na progu nowego teatru*, *op. cit.*, 382-425, and Jan Lorentowicz, *Teatr Polski w Warszawie 1913-1938* (Warsaw, 1938), *passim*.

¹⁴ Bohdan Korzeniewski, "Shaw dzisiaj u nas," *Pamiętnik Teatralny* V: 2 (1956), 247-59. See also Bronisława Bałutowa, *op. cit.*, *passim*.

¹⁵ Jan Lorentowicz, *Teatry w stolicy i inne artykuły* (Warsaw, 1969), 160-2.

extended connection with Shaw, which lasted until 1939. In addition to *Pygmalion*, there had been productions at the Teatr Polski of *Great Catherine* (1916, with 12 performances) and *How He Lied to Her Husband* (4): *Fanny's First Play* with Zelwerowicz as Juggins (1918) with twelve performances, and *Major Barbara* (26). Then *Arms and the Man* was produced (1921: 20 performances), *You Never Can Tell* (1923: 31), *Saint Joan* (1924: 32), *Man and Superman* (1928, with 38 performances, directed by Leon Schiller with Karol Adwentowicz (1871-1958) as John Tanner.¹⁶ In 1929, *The Apple Cart* had its world premiere at the Teatr Polski, with 39 performances, and 11 more during the revival in December that year. When *The Doctor's Dilemma* was produced in 1931 (25 nights), the critic Karol Irzykowski wrote "To balance the budget, stage a Shaw play... He has the significance of Shakespeare in the repertoire,"¹⁷ though at the same time he complained that satire on doctors was already out-of-date and exaggerated." In 1932, *Too True to be Good* had 32 performances, and *On The Rocks* (1933) had 30: In 1935 *The Simpleton of the Unexpected Isles* disappointed the first-night audience "which expected jokes, but got humour."¹⁸ It ran for 27 nights, and in 1936 was followed by *The Millionairess*, in which Modzelewska appeared as Epiphania (37 nights). *Mrs Warren's Profession*, by now a staple of the repertoire in Poland, was revived in 1936, and *Widowers' Houses* (1937), with Nina Andryczówna (as she then was called) who, however, "did not please or convince the audience." Kreczmar played Trench.

When Wilam Horzyca was director of the Lwów theatres (1932-7), he included the following Shaw plays in the repertoire: *The Dark Lady of the Sonnets* (1932, with 18 performances), *Misalliance* (1932: 16), *Too true to be Good* (1932: 22), *Caesar and Cleopatra* (1933: 11), *Candida* (1934: 12), *Man and Superman* (1934: 13), *Fanny's First Play* (1935: 13), *Major Barbara* (1936: 13), *Pygmalion* (1936: 23), *The Dark Lady of the Sonnets* (revival, 1937: 4), and *Mrs Warren's Profession* (1937: 13).¹⁹

¹⁶ Grzymała-Siedlecki, *op. cit.*, 146-60. See also Karol Irzykowski, *Recenzje teatralne* (Warsaw, 1965), 228 (originally published in 1928).

¹⁷ Karol Irzykowski, *op. cit.*, 388.

¹⁸ *ibid.* 340.

¹⁹ On Horzyca's activities see Franciszek Pajęczkowski, "Lwowska dyrekcja Horzycy," *Teatr* 14: 12 (1959), 4-5, and Stanisław Hebanowski, "Horzyca w Poznaniu," *Teatr* 14: 12 (1959), 8-9, also Edward Krasieński, "Repertuar teatrów lwowskich za dyrekcji Wilama Horzycy (1932-37)," *Pamiętnik Teatralny* IX: 1 (1960), 12-38. Horzyca was Director of the Teatr Narodowy (Warsaw) from 1957 to his death in 1959.

III

After World War II, Shaw's plays were, for the most part, ideologically acceptable in Poland (along with the plays of Shakespeare and Molière in the foreign "classical" repertoire), although the necessity of paying royalties in dollars was taken into consideration when a Shaw play was produced.

In 1945, *Pygmalion* was produced three times: Cracow, Łódź, and Toruń. In 1946, *Candida* was given in Cracow and Bydgoszcz, *Major Barbara* in Łódź and Toruń, *Getting Married* (Cracow at the Kameralny), *Pygmalion* again in Częstochowa, Jarosław and Kielce, *The Devil's Disciple* in Częstochowa, Łódź and Warsaw. In 1947/8, *Androcles and the Lion* was given at the Teatr Akademicki (Warsaw) — the only production at this theatre, which then disappeared, or became known as something else. *The Man of Destiny* was produced in Katowice, *Mrs Warren's Profession* in Łódź (the Powszechny), *Pygmalion* in Poznań (Nowy), Warsaw (Powszechny, where it ran for 100 nights), and Wrocław. *The Devil's Disciple* appeared yet again in Wrocław, Częstochowa, Poznań, Bydgoszcz and Inowrocław: *Arms and the Man* in Łódź (Kameralny) and Warsaw (Komedia on Szwedzka). The 1949/50 season included productions of *Candida* (Świdnica, Poznań), *Major Barbara* (Poznań at the Teatr Polski), *The Man of Destiny* (Warsaw), *Pygmalion* (Gdańsk), *Widowers' Houses* (Gdańsk, Katowice, Kielce, Łódź and Warsaw), *Arms and the Man* (Cracow, Lublin and Siedlce), also *Caesar and Cleopatra* (Toruń, with Wilam Horzyca as director).

For the next few years, the same Shaw plays were produced all over Poland: *Widowers' Houses*, *Mrs Warren's Profession*, *Pygmalion* and *Candida*, also *The Devil's Disciple*. Of these, Eichlerówna as Mrs Warren (Warsaw, 1952) was perhaps the most successful. In 1956, other Shaw plays began to enter the repertoire: *The Dark Lady of the Sonnets* at the Teatr Polski (Warsaw), *Heartbreak House* (Białystok), *Saint Joan* (Teatr Polski, Warsaw, and Cracow) in addition to the standard repertoire *Androcles and The Lion* was revived in the 1957/8 season at Sosnowiec and Wrocław (the Student Dramatic Theatre), *In Good King Charles's Golden Days* (Teatr Narodowy, Warsaw). In the 1958/9 season, *The Shewing-Up of Blanco Posnet* was produced on Polish TV, and *The Apple Cart* revived in Warsaw (Kameralny), with a TV production also of *Captain Brassbound's Conversion*. *You Never Can Tell* was again produced (Teatr Narodowy, Warsaw). Otherwise, the same old war-horses were produced, nor were there any novelties in the 1960/61 season: *The Devil's Disciple* (Warsaw, Komedia, 17 performances), *Mrs Warren's Profession* (Katowice: 10), *Pygmalion*

(Częstochowa: 39 performances, with 30 more on tour), and Wrocław (46). *Arms and the Man* was produced in Łódź (47).

Caesar and Cleopatra was produced in Katowice in the 1963/4 season, and a 55-minute version of *Man and Superman* on Polish TV. By this time, theatrical notices by critics even in local newspapers became scarce: there were, for instance, no reviews of a production in Grudziądz of *Mrs Warren's Profession* (1966) nor of *Arms and the Man* in Wałbrzych (1966). In 1969, three plays by Shaw were produced in Poland *Arms and the Man* (Białystok), *You Never Can Tell* (Poznań), (with 46 performances), and *Fanny's First Play* at the Kameralny in Warsaw. They were performed a total of 133 times, and had a total of 54,281 spectators.²⁰ In 1970/71 a total of 253 performances was given of five plays (seven productions), with 88,267 spectators. Shaw's plays came third in frequency (first was Montgomery's *Anne of Green Gables* with 323 performances). In 1971/72 Shaw's plays were fifth, with 295 performances of six plays, and 125,767 spectators. In 1973/74 Shaw was eighth (eight productions of the usual six plays, with 79 performances of *The Devil's Disciple* at the Teatr Polski in Warsaw. In 1975/76 six productions of *Mrs Warren's Profession* were given: Bydgoszcz (7), Częstochowa (20), Kielce (8), Łódź (21, with a revival in July, 1976 which had 56 performances), Rzeszów (41), and Wrocław (25). The only Shaw "novelties" the season were *A Village Wooing* (Białystok, with 21 performances, and 36 more on tour), and *Too True to be Good* in Gdańsk and Sopot (13).

Yet another production of *Mrs Warren's Profession* appeared in Warsaw (Teatr Polski) in 1979.

²⁰ Figures from *Almanach sceny polskiej* 1 (Warsaw, 1961) and 18 (Warsaw, 1978), *passim*.

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POLONISMS IN CONRAD'S ENGLISH — *SUSPENSE*

Any discussion of the element of Polishness (*polskość*) in Conrad's writing must needs take as its point of departure the famous statement, which he made in his interview for Marian Dąbrowski:

'The English critics — and indeed I am an English writer — when speaking of me always add that there is in my work something incomprehensible, unfathomable, elusive. Only you can grasp this elusiveness, understand the incomprehensible. It is Polishness'.¹

The teasing mystification in this statement is aggravated if it is juxtaposed with that other celebrated statement in which the author speaks as it were *ex cathedra* about his own linguistic bent:

'The truth of the matter is that my faculty to write in English is as natural as any other aptitude with which I might have been born. I have a strange and overpowering feeling that it had always been an inherent part of myself. English was for me neither a matter of choice nor adoption. The merest idea of choice had never entered my head. And as to adoption — well, yes, there was adoption; but it was I who was adopted by the genius of the language, which directly I came out of the stammering stage made me its own so completely that its very idioms I truly believe had a direct action on my temperament and fashioned my still plastic character.

It was a very intimate action and for that very reason it is too mysterious to explain. ...'²

During the period up to the Second World War, neither the small but distinguished band of "Conradists" in Poland (comprising both critics, such as Józef Ujejski, and creative writers, notably Maria Dąbrowska), nor readers and critics of Conrad in the Anglo-Saxon world — with two exceptions (to be mentioned presently) — paid any serious attention to or attempted to analyse Polish linguistic and stylistic features in Conrad's writing. The uncritical attitude to Conrad's seemingly almost total grasp of English is typified by the following comment by his friend and biographer Richard Curle:

'Conrad's mastery of English was, indeed, one of his most

¹ *Rozmowa z J. Conradem* in "Tygodnik Ilustrowany", 1914, nr 16; the translation quoted here is from Z. Najder (ed.) *Conrad's Polish Background*, London 1964, p. 28.

² J. Conrad, Author's Note to *A Personal Record*, London 1946, pp. v-vi.

incredible achievements. When he first landed in England he knew only a few scattered words. But in his earliest book he already enriched our literature by a new, soaring note of eloquence. He is one of the great magicians of the English tongue, exotic in places, I admit, but in his latest works, at least, idiomatic and concise as few writers have ever been. Indeed, Conrad had, in certain respects, an appreciation of the niceties of English which it is rare to find among the English themselves'.³

The two exceptions referred to above were Gustav Morf and A.P. Coleman. The former, in his *The Polish Heritage of Joseph Conrad* (London, 1930), identifies, in a selective, amateurish fashion, the Polish origin of certain un-English proverbs, sayings and idioms in Conrad but arrives at a superficial general judgement:

'At the age when the formation of artistic judgement and the sense of style takes place, Conrad had no Polish models. There are, of course, Polish influences in his style, but these are of spoken, not written Polish'.⁴

The latter, in his succinct article on "Polonisms in the English of Conrad's *Chance*",⁵ concerned himself more systematically with analysing the influence on Conrad of certain specific features in which Polish differs markedly from English — for example, the absence of the article and the fact of inflection — detecting polonisms through errors in Conrad's English grammar and syntax.

Since the Second World War — and, most strikingly, in the last two decades — Conrad studies have become "internationalised"; and one important consequence has been the comprehensive investigation, through biographies and more specialised critical studies alike, of Conrad's Polish literary and cultural background as a whole and of its influence of his writing. Pre-eminent among these studies are, of works published in Poland, those of R. Jabłkowska, B. Kocówna, Z. Najder and S. Zabierowski; of works published elsewhere, those of A. Busza and A. Gillon.⁶ However, almost nothing has been done to repair the omission, noted by Najder in the Introduction to his selection of

³ *The Last Twelve Years of Joseph Conrad*, (reprinted) New York 1968, pp. 171-172.

⁴ *op. cit.*, p. 206. Cf. also Morf's later work *The Polish Shades and Ghosts of Joseph Conrad* (New York 1976), ch. XII (pp. 271-298).

⁵ in *Modern Language Notes*, vol. 46 (1931), pp. 463-468.

⁶ R. Jabłkowska, *Joseph Conrad 1857-1924*, Wrocław 1961;

B. Kocówna, *Polskość Conrada*, Warsaw 1967;

Z. Najder, *Nad Conradem*, Warsaw 1965; *Conrad's Polish Background: Letters To and From Polish Friends*, London 1964, pp. 1-31;

S. Zabierowski, *Conrad w Polsce*, Gdańsk 1971; *Conrad w perspektywie odbioru. Szkice*, Gdańsk 1979.

A. Busza, *Conrad's Polish Literary Background and Some Illustrations of the Influence of Polish Literature on his Work in Antemurale*, X (1966), pp. 109-255;

A. Gillon, *The Eternal Solitary: A Study of Joseph Conrad*, New York 1960; *Polish and Russian Literary Elements in Joseph Conrad in Proceedings of the Vth Congress of the International Comparative Literature Association, Belgrade 1967*, Amsterdam 1969, pp. 685-694; "Conrad's Reception in Poland for the Last

Conrad's letters,⁷ of serious study of the specifically linguistic features of Conrad's Polish heritage.⁸ Mention should be made of Irmina P. Pulc's brilliantly original paper *The Imprint of Polish on Conrad's Prose*;⁹ this however is primarily an exercise in stylistic, not linguistic analysis (although it contains also a professional updating of Morf's observations on the Polish sayings, idioms and metaphors to be found in Conrad).

The above is a summary of the history of this topic. The Appendix which follows is an attempt to apply A.P. Coleman's technique to another single work *Suspense*. Why is this work selected? First — and most important — precisely because it is Conrad's last novel (although conceived many years before his death), whence it follows that observations concerning polonisms found in it may be crucially important. If it turns out — as appears to be the case — that these impinge in approximately the same degree as in the earlier works, a valid generalisation about Conrad's English may result. Second, *Suspense* is one of the least studied of Conrad's works¹⁰ (perhaps because potential readers have been mesmerised by its status as "unfinished", although a more dramatic climax than that which actually terminates this "unfinished" work could scarcely be conceived). Third, it is an admirable sample of Conrad's writing for purposes of analysis: it is largely set in linguistically "neutral" territory (Italy); it is not a "sea" story but involves boats, offshore happenings and nautical terms;¹¹ it includes both English and non-English characters; having as background an episode in French history — the sojourn of Napoleon in Elba — it tests the theory¹² which seeks to explain idiosyncrasies in Conrad's writing as gallicisms rather than polonisms; and it has a superb plot, finely-drawn characters, convincing dialogue, a minimum of the "padding-out" which disfigures some of Conrad's longer works, and some of the most dazzling descriptive writing to be found anywhere in the Conrad corpus.¹³

Sixty Years" in *Joseph Conrad: A Commemoration*, ed. N. Sherry, London 1976, pp. 206-218.

Polish literary echoes in Conrad's writing are also discussed by Catriona Anderson-Betley, *Some Polish Influences on Joseph Conrad in Antemurale*, XXII (1978), pp. 149-178.

⁷ *op. cit.*, p. 29.

⁸ The present writer has made a brief study of *Polonisms in Conrad's 'Lord Jim'* in *Journal of the Joseph Conrad Society (U.K.)*, Vol. 2, nr 3 (1976), pp. 6-8.

⁹ in *Joseph Conrad: Theory and World Fiction*, eds. W.T. Zyla and W.M. Aycock, Texas Tech University 1974, pp. 117-140.

¹⁰ e.g., Pulc (*op. cit.*, p. 132) has only one reference to this novel.

¹¹ for example, the unfamiliar phrases 'near the rose' (p. 193) and 'under the run' (p. 204) appear to have no origin in Polish but to be derived from special nautical uses of the English words 'rose' and 'run' to mean, respectively, 'the card of a mariner's compass' and 'that part of a ship's bottom which rises from the keel, and bilge' (*Shorter Oxford English Dictionary*, s.vv.).

¹² This is discussed by Najder, *op. cit.*, pp. 28-29.

¹³ The critical view of the novel expressed by Dr Jabłkowska in her Afterword to *Oczekiwanie* — PIW, Warszawa 1960, p. 292 — appears to me unwarranted.

APPENDIX: Linguistic Commentary to *Suspense*

Note: Page references are to the text of the novel as published (1954) in the “Collected Edition of the Works of Joseph Conrad” (J.M. Dent & Sons Ltd., London, 1946-54). All references to Conrad’s works in this article are to that edition.

Excerpts in Polish are from the translation of the novel by Jerzy Bohdan Rychliński, published under the title *Oczekiwanie* by PIW, Warszawa 1960.¹⁴

I. Error or confusion in Conrad’s use or omission of the *definite* and *indefinite* article in English. Since the article is not found in Polish, this, the commonest error in Conrad’s English, is the one most easily attributable to the influence of his native language (moreover, it could not be traceable to the hypothetical influence upon him of French).

Examples from *Suspense*: —

(i) Definite article introduced into a sentence or phrase where it is superfluous:

‘It seemed to them an abominable apostasy from *the* faith in a triumphal return of the old order of things in a month or two’.

(p. 34)

(*Note:* words illustrating the linguistic errors discussed here and in the following quotations from the English text are italicised by me — MW).

‘Cosmo had *the* time to notice all this ...’ (p. 89)

(ii) Definite article omitted where the meaning of a sentence or phrase renders its introduction essential:

‘And Sir Charles approved of them both; because the thoughts were sober and absolutely free from absurd illusions common to all exiles ...’ (p. 23)

‘*the*’ is required here before ‘absurd’.

‘He had called first in company of a very fine English gentleman ...’ (p. 28)

‘*the*’ is required before ‘company’.

‘...whom as a boy he remembered walking with sir Charles amongst deep shrubberies or writing busily at one end of the long table in the library of Latham Hall ...’ (p. 98)

‘*the*’ is required before ‘deep’.

‘Cantelucci connected his niece’s irruption with some trouble that men might have got into’. (p. 199)

¹⁴ Both this translation and the rendering of the title were sharply criticised by Maria Dąbrowska (in article *Pisane z przykrością* in “Życie Literackie”, 1961, nr 10); and, in consequence, the more appropriate rendering *W zawieszaniu* has been adopted for the latest Polish edition of Conrad’s works (see Z. Najder in Joseph Conrad, *Dziela*, t. 1, Warszawa 1972, p. 23).

'the' is required before 'men'.

'But Cosmo ... began to feel under thwarts for a spare oar'. (p. 283)

'the' is required before 'thwarts'.

(iii) *Definite* article used where meaning requires the use of the *indefinite* article:

'Cosmo had *the* recollection of the vast expanse of flagstones ...' (p. 65).

'He had *the* view of the guest's backs as they moved slowly out'. (p. 118).

(iv) *Indefinite* article used where meaning requires the use of the *definite* article:

'Cosmo made out *a* dim shape of the elderly lieutenant sitting all alone ...' (p. 198).

II. Confusion in the use of *tenses of verbs*. In general, Polish and other Slavonic languages convey a rich range of tense nuances through the system of aspects; but, in the case of any particular verb, the complexity of the modern English tense system presents especial difficulty to a native speaker of Polish, Russian, etc., manifested above all in uncertainty about the usage of English past tenses — thus, Polish, 'przyjechałem' may mean (a) 'I came', (b) 'I have come'; or (c) 'I had come'. Only the context can determine the correctness of the choice. It may be noted, in relation to Conrad's use of tenses, that the system of past tenses in French corresponds largely to that of English, whereas in another "problem area" — that of the so-called "present continuous" tense — the French idiom resembles the Polish rather than the English [contrast: 'Je demeure ici deux ans' and 'Mieszkam tu dwa lata' with 'I have been living here for two years' and see the second example quoted under (ii) below].

Examples of erroneous or questionable usage in *Suspense*: —

(i) *Usage of past tenses*:

' "But the fearlessness of our seamen *has ceased* to astonish the world long ago" '. (p. 4).

'ceased' would be preferable to 'has ceased'.

'Count Helion, who *went* away very young from his native country and *wandered* in many lands, had amassed a large personal fortune ...' (p. 32).

The sequence requires here 'had gone' and 'had wandered'.

' "I couldn't think what *became* of you, Sir" ' (p. 46).

'had become' is required.

(Scene of first meeting of Cosmo and Adèle in Genoa)

(A) ' "Don't you recognise me? ...

(C) "I *have never known* you", he said with a tone of the

profoundest conviction' (p. 85).

(A) — Nie *poznaje* mnie pan? ...

(C) — Nigdy pani *nie znałem* — wypowiedział tonem najgłębszego przekonania. (Polish tr., p. 94).

The Polish rendering is adduced here, because, in an important and highly dramatic scene, Cosmo's unexpected reply to Adèle's question is seriously weakened by Conrad's choice of 'have never known' in place of 'never knew' (the still more emphatic 'never did know' would have been quite in place).

' "But he knows you *have been* here this morning" ' (p. 116). 'were' is required.

' "the Prince?" repeated Cosmo ... "you *have said* the Prince, *haven't* you?" ' (p. 181).

the sequence required is 'did say', 'didn't'.

In two interesting passages, Conrad's error is not one of idiom but could confuse a reference to past time with one to the present or future:

a) "The young English signore had not been much more than forty-eight hours in Genoa. He *had no time* to make many acquaintances." (p. 198).

'He had no time' should read 'He had had no time' or 'He had not had time' if the sentence is to refer clearly to the past (delimited by Cosmo's disappearance). There is no similar ambiguity in the Polish rendering:

"Nie miał czasu na poznanie się z wielu osobami". (p. 209).

b) (Cosmo asks Attilio where he is taking his boat) ' "In the direction of Livorno," said the other, and checked himself. "But perhaps *I had better not tell* you, for should you happen to be interrogated by all those magistrates, ... you would of course want to speak the truth as becomes a gentleman ... unless you manage to forget what I have already told you ..." (p. 267).

Conrad, in using 'I had better not tell' in place of 'I should not have told' or 'it would have been better if I had not told', makes a serious error here. Except in archaistic English, 'I, etc., had better not ...' refers to the *future*, but it is certain from the context that Attilio refers to the *past* ('unless you manage to forget what *I have already told* you ...'). Interestingly, Rychliński mechanically repeats Conrad's mistake:

— W kierunku Livorno — odrzekł Attilio i ugryził się w język.

— Ale chyba *nie powiem* tego panu, gdyż na wypadek badania go przez wszystkich tych urzędników, ... chciałbyś mówić prawdę, jak godzi się dżentelmenowi ... chyba, że potrafiłbyś zapomnieć, co już powiedziałem ... (p. 278).

The sense requires 'nie powinienem był powiedzieć'.

(ii) *Usage of other tenses:*

‘“I wonder what thoughts *pass* through your head”, he went on in a quiet detached tone.’ (pp. 4-5).

The context requires ‘are passing’.

‘“This is the third or fourth time that *I hear* that sort of allusion from you” ’. (p. 193).

‘I hear’ instead of the correct English ‘I have heard’ could be the result of either Polish or French influence. Rychliński translates:

— To trzeci czy czwarty raz *słyszę* z pańskich ust taką aluzję. (p. 203).

III. In addition to use of tenses, two types of verbal phrases in which polonism may be detected may be mentioned:

(i) In the sentence

‘There was a fellow there who somehow *became* suspected of picking pockets’ (p. 70).

the use of ‘became’, for which ‘came to be’ would be more natural, may reflect the dual function in Polish of *zostać*, which both means in an absolute sense ‘to become’ and plays an auxiliary role in the formation of the past tense of the passive voice (*cf.* the use of *werden* in German).

(ii) In a number of sentences, the use by Conrad of the infinitive, after such phrases as ‘to have the honour, the pleasure, *etc.*’, rather than a participle, appears to correspond to Polish idiom.

Examples:

‘“I am glad I had the idea *to come out* here to behold your town glowing in the sunset ...” ’ (p. 3).

The infinitive ‘to come out’ is unnatural — ‘of coming out’ would be expected in English — but the Polish translation employs an infinitive without difficulty: ‘Rad jestem, że przyszło mi do głowy przejść się tutaj ... (pp. 11-12).

“Cosmo set himself the task *to daunt* her by a steady gaze’. (p. 116).

For ‘to daunt’ one would expect ‘of daunting’. *Cf.* also: ‘“... I had the privilege *to know* ...” ’ (p. 125). ‘“Let me have the honour *to see you out.*” ’ (p. 154).

IV. *Prepositional usage* — some examples of unidiomatic use are: —

‘“I am dying *from* curiosity” ’. (p. 11).

The normal English idiom is ‘of’, but Polish has ‘umieram z ciekawości’. (p. 20).

‘There she was, a prey *of* some sort of illness’. (p. 167).

The English idiom is ‘a prey *to* ... when ‘prey’ is used metaphorically, but Conrad’s choice may be explained by comparism with Rychliński’s translation:

‘Leżała tu przed nim, ofiara jakiejś choroby: (p. 180).

‘But *on the peace* that clientèle had disappeared’ ... (p. 199). In this case the preposition ‘on’ is itself correct, but the phrase as a whole is not possible without the addition of some form of words (e.g. ‘conclusion of’) which would give the sense of ‘po zawarciu pokoju’. (It may be noted that the phrase used here by Rychliński — ‘w czasie pokoju’ — is inexact).

‘The doctor was startled at the profound change *of* his own feelings’. (p. 204). ‘In’ would be expected, but ‘of’ reflects the simple genitive case ending, rendering a preposition unnecessary, in the Polish, as in the translation;

‘Doktor dziwił się odmianie swego nastawienia’. (p. 215).

V. *Vocabulary*: the possible influence of Polish — in the form of deliberate or unconscious calque — on Conrad’s choice of vocabulary is a fascinating topic for speculation, but also a dangerous one, in view not only of the richness of the English at his command but also of the streak of perversity which so frequently led him to select the least commonly-used of two or more synonyms. Nevertheless, in the following examples, the English words underlined are very stilted in their context and suggest literal translation of a Polish idiom:

‘He found it impossible *to represent* her *to himself* grown up, married for years ...’ (p. 75).

cf. wyobrazić sobie.

‘She *made* a few steps and stopped’. (p. 89).

The English idiom is ‘to take’, not ‘to make’.

‘Cosmo *collected* the pages ...’ (of his letter to his sister) (p. 189).

Here ‘collected’ is a literal translation of the Polish *zebrał* — which indeed is used by Rychliński (p. 199) — but is not quite appropriate, since ‘collected (e.g. in ‘...the eggs from the farm’, ‘...the children from school’) means rather *dostał, poszedł po* ...

VI. *Miscellaneous errors*, for which parallels may readily be found in other works by Conrad, include: —

(i) the misuse of ‘so’ for ‘as’:

‘“Especially as the place is *so* public as you say it is” ’. (p. 51).

Cf. ‘A zwłaszcza, jeżeli to pomieszczenie jest *tak* dostępne dla wszystkich, jak powiadacie’. (Rychliński tr., p. 60).

(ii) the confusion of the demonstrative pronouns ‘this’ and ‘that’:

‘“I am now the padrone of *that* felucca, ...” ’

(Attilio speaking in reference to the vessel on which he is actually standing). (p. 273).

Concluding note

The extent and significance of polonisms in this or any other of Conrad’s works should not be exaggerated. As indicated above, not all

his errors (in terms of English grammar) or his un-English idiom and phraseology are to be traced to Polish. Thus, Pulc gives a salutary **warning against the naive polonophilia of those who fail to distinguish** ‘between exclusively Polish expressions and those that are [the] common property of several European languages, including English’.¹⁵

Conversely, Conrad constantly staggers us by his ability not only to compose long passages of the most complex yet elegant English prose undefiled by any of the ‘alien’ features to which attention has been drawn but also to employ unerringly such English idiomatic phrases as the following from *Suspense*:

‘ “You could *have heard a pin drop*” ’ (p. 51).

‘ “...everybody seems *to be doing Elba*” ’ (p. 106).

‘In royal France he would not *have had the ghost of a chance*’ (p. 124)

It is hoped however that this paper may have shown that, to the end of his life, Conrad never freed himself from the influence, conscious or unconscious, of his native tongue.

¹⁵ *op. cit.*, p. 118. An example in the novel under consideration is the saying ‘ “Different men, different wisdoms” ’ (pp. 5,6), which would seem to share with the Polish version — *Różni ludzie, różne mądrości*’ — a common origin in the Latin *Quot homines, tot sententiae*.

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