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EDITORIAL

We are very pleased to present the new, second volume of the annual journal of our Centre for Medieval Studies. This journal in line with our plans will present the latest research and foster scholarly discussion on the history of medieval Central and Eastern Europe. The present volume focuses in particular, but not exclusively on the transfer of people, skills and ideas and the perception of others. The topography of Central and Eastern Europe facilitated the flow of people, goods, and ideas along east-west and south-north axes. In Late Antiquity and the Early Middle Ages, the region witnessed the great migrations of nomadic peoples from the east, from the vast Black Sea steppes, who moved across the plains of Central and Eastern Europe, breaking through the Roman Empire's *limes* on the Danube and Rhine, creating their own political systems and transforming social and economic structures. Exchanges of people and goods, ideas and skills across central Europe continued throughout the Middle Ages.

The texts collected in this volume explore some of the issues raised above in the context of Central Europe and the continent as a whole. Among the seven texts comprising the first section is an article by Tomasz Pełech, devoted to perceptions of the 'Other'. He analyses chronicles describing the First Crusade to the Holy Land, focusing on the rhetorical devices used to present Muslim armies. Karolina Wyszynska examines the physical translation of relics in the early Piast monarchy, drawing attention to the importance of the cult of saints in shaping the religious attitudes of the Polish political and social elite. Leslie Carr-Riegel's article addresses the interesting issue of trade between Poland and Pera in the waning years of the Byzantine Empire and how migrant merchants

identified themselves and were categorized by others. In his paper David Bourgeois also touches on economic history and examines the importance of migrants in the development of the mining industry in the Vosges region, which bears comparison with German migration in the kingdoms of Bohemia and Hungary. In turn, László Szokola meticulously collected materials showing the recruitment of mercenary infantry from Hungarian cities who served abroad, in order to indicate the military strength of Hungary in the late fifteenth century and the first quarter of the sixteenth century.

This section also includes two articles dedicated to the memory of Professor František Šmahel, a doyen of Czech medievalists and an exceptionally diligent researcher, who passed away in January. They were prepared by his longtime friends, Jean-Claude Schmitt and Rainer Christoph Schwinges. The former devotes his article to the participation of lay people in the liturgy, especially their devotion to the Holy Blood in the period before the Hussite Revolution, analyzing the iconographic representations related to this issue. Rainer Christoph Schwinges, in turn, studies the career of Winand Ort von Steeg (1371–1453), a lawyer, theologian, and Hebraist who was a professor in Würzburg and also served as secretary at the court of the Holy Roman emperor, Sigismund of Luxembourg.

We are pleased to announce the launch of the section entitled ‘Materials’, where we publish short source editions and source studies. In the present volume this section includes three articles addressing various topics. Andrea Pambuku and Arjan Prifiti analyse a rich collection of graffiti inscriptions in the late medieval Holy Trinity Church in Berat, Albania, which suggest connections with traditions from Armenia, Serbia and Cyprus; Wojciech Świeboda proposes a new dating for two trials *in causa fidei* of the Czech astrologer Henry of Prague, which took place in Cracow in the 1420s; and Adam Poznański and Reima Välimäki publish a critical edition of the fifteenth-century treatise *De inquisitione hereticorum*, directed against the Waldensians, the only copy of which survives in the University Library in Wrocław.

This volume also includes six reviews of publications by authors from Germany (Carolin Gluchowski), Poland (Adam Kozak, Adam Krawiec, Marcin Starzyński, Jakub Turek), and Hungary (Gábor Klaniczay). We also introduce for the first time a section with texts *in memoriam*,

which we hope will become a permanent feature in subsequent volumes. In the second volume, Joanna Nastalska-Wiśnicka presents an academic biography of Sr Aleksandra Witkowska OSU, who died in 2024, while Sobiesław Szybkowski and Paweł Kras, respectively, commemorate the lives and achievements of Janusz Bieniak and František Šmahel, who died in 2025.

We would like to thank all the reviewers and collaborators from our International Editorial Board from so many distinguished academic centres across Europe.

We wish you fruitful reading and invite you to collaborate!

Paweł Kras
Stephen C. Rowell

ARTICLES

TOMASZ PEŁECH^{*}

DESCRIBING THE ENEMY IN THE FIRST CRUSADE: THE RHETORIC OF INNUMERABLE HOSTS

Abstract: This article explores the rhetorical and ideological function of the motif of ‘innumerable enemy hosts’ in Latin accounts of the First Crusade. Drawing on the earliest narratives such as the *Gesta Francorum*, Peter Tudebode’s *Historia de Hierosolymitano itinere*, Raymond of Aguilers’ *Historia Francorum qui ceperunt Iherusalem*, and Fulcher of Chartres’ *Historia Hierosolymitana*, the study demonstrates that descriptions of the enemy as overwhelmingly numerous were not factual reports but deliberate literary strategies. These hyperbolic portrayals served to frame the Crusaders’ military efforts as miraculous, divinely sanctioned triumphs of the few against the many. The article traces the biblical roots of this motif, focusing particularly on narratives such as the defeat of the Midianites by Gideon (Judges 7–8) and King Asa’s battle against Zerah the Ethiopian (2 Chronicles 14), and explores its development in medieval Christian exegesis, notably in the works of Gregory the Great and Hrabanus Maurus. The enemy’s multitude is further emphasized through ethnic catalogues, which function to reinforce perceptions of otherness and chaos in contrast to Christian unity and divine favour. The study argues that these narrative patterns reflect a shared *topos* that shaped medieval perceptions of the Crusades, while also contributing to the formation of a mythologized collective memory in Latin Christendom.

Keywords: First Crusade, biblical rhetorical framework, *Gesta Francorum*, Raymond of Aguilers, Peter Tudebode, Fulcher of Chartres

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In the vast corpus of crusading narratives, the enemy is rarely depicted with neutrality. Rather, he is described in vivid, often hyperbolic terms that serve both narrative and ideological purposes. Among the most striking and recurrent motifs in these sources is the portrayal of the enemy as numerically overwhelming – as a mass so large it defies calculation. Hence the Crusaders fought at Ascalon (1099) against an uncountable enemy: *cum innumerabili paganorum multitudine*.¹ This topos of the ‘innumerable hosts’ appears across a wide range of texts: *gesta* and *historia*-type literature, letters, sermons, and epic poetry, and functions on multiple levels – from heightening dramatic tension to justifying the Crusaders’ defeats or amplifying their victories.

This article examines this literary strategy in early narrative accounts of the First Crusade (*Gesta Francorum*, Peter Tudebode’s *Historia de Hierosolymitano itinere*, Raymond of Aguilers’ *Historia Francorum qui ceperunt Iherusalem*, and Fulcher of Chartres’ *Historia Hierosolymitana*²), focusing on the rhetorical and theological functions of the topos of the enemy’s huge or innumerable numbers, these texts form a cohesive – albeit diverse in terms of textual quality, provenance, and authorial motivation – group of first-generation historians and participants of the First Crusade, presenting the earliest visions of the events.³ It argues that this trope is not a simple reflection of battlefield reality, but

¹ *Le ‘Liber’ de Raymond d’Aguilers* (henceforward quoted as: RA), ed. by J. H. Hill, L. L. Hill, Paris 1969, 155. In 2025, the latest critical edition of Raymond of Aguilers’ work was published, but the author has not been able to familiarize himself with it yet. See *The Book of Raymond of Aguilers: Historia Francorum qui ceperunt Iherusalem*, trans. by J. Currie, Abingdon – New York 2025.

² *Le gesta Dei per Franchi e degli altri pellegrini gerosolimitani* (henceforward quoted as: GF (Russo)), ed. and trans. by L. Russo, Alexandria 2003; cf. *Gesta Francorum et aliorum Hierosolimitanorum* (henceforward quoted as: GF (Hagenmeyer)), ed. by H. Hagenmeyer, Heidelberg 1890; Peter Tudebode, *Historia de Hierosolymitano itinere* (henceforward quoted as: PT), ed. by J. H. Hill, L. L. Hill, Paris 1977; Fulcherius Carnotensis, *Historia Hierosolymitana (1095–1127)* (henceforward quoted as: FC), ed. by H. Hagenmeyer, Heidelberg 1913. For Raymond of Aguilers’ *Historia Francorum*’s critical edition see note 1.

³ It should be emphasized, however, that none of the indicated authors was an eyewitness to, or direct participant in, everything they reported. On the status of the source as the work of an eyewitness, see Y. N. Harari, ‘Eyewitnessing in Accounts of the First Crusade: The *Gesta Francorum* and Other Contemporary Narratives’, *Crusades*, 3.1 (2004), 77–99; E. Lapina, ‘*Nec signis nec testibus creditor*. The Problem of Eyewitnesses in the Chronicles of the First Crusade’, *Viator: Medieval and Renaissance Studies*, 38.1 (2007), 117–39; J. Flori, *Chroniqueurs et propagandistes. Introduction critique aux sources de la Première Croisade*, Geneva

a powerful literary and ideological construct rooted in biblical precedent, hagiographic convention, and classical historiography. By depicting the enemy as a countless horde, crusading authors not only emphasize the miraculous nature of Christian victories but also frame the conflict in eschatological and moral terms, casting the Crusaders as a divinely aided minority facing a heathen multitude.⁴ The following argument will explore two major dimensions of this representation: first, the ways in which medieval authors use hyperbolic numerical imagery to describe the enemy; and second, the implications of such depictions for our understanding of crusading ideology, perceptions of “otherness”, and the construction of collective memory in the Latin Christian world.

At the beginning it should be said that the intertextual relationships among *Gesta Francorum*, Peter Tudebode’s *Historia de Hierosolymitano itinere*, Raymond of Aguilers’ *Historia Francorum qui ceperunt Iherusalem*, and Fulcher of Chartres’ *Historia Hierosolymitana* reveal a complex web of textual transmission and adaptation. Scholars such as Jay Rubenstein have posited the existence of ‘a lost source’ as a common source behind both the *Gesta Francorum* and Tudebode’s account, though the direction of dependence between these two remains debated.⁵ Raymond of Agu-

2010; M. G. Bull, *Eyewitness and Crusade Narrative. Perception and Narration in Accounts of the Second, Third and Fourth Crusades*, Woodbridge 2018.

⁴ See T. M. Duggan, ‘Number as a Numerical Reminder, a Signifier, among Other Numerical Forms of Literary Expression – Employed in both Christian and Muslim Accounts of the First Crusade’, *MESOS: Disiplinlerarası Ortaçağ Çalışmaları Dergisi*, 2 (2020), 18–56, where the author examines the symbolic use of numbers in the Bible and invokes the crusading historiography. Duggan discusses how numerical figures were employed not for statistical accuracy but to evoke biblical associations, such as the victories of David, thereby reinforcing the perceived righteousness of the Crusaders’ cause.

⁵ This article does not address the complexity of the intertextual relationships among the four works mentioned in great detail. It should be noted, however, that this issue has been widely discussed in the scholarly literature and is of considerable importance from a source-critical perspective. See J. France, ‘The Anonymous *Gesta Francorum* and the *Historia Francorum qui ceperunt Iherusalem* of Raymond of Aguilers and the *Historia de Hierosolymitano itinere* of Peter Tudebode: An Analysis of the Textual Relationship between Primary Sources for the First Crusade’, in *The Crusades and Their Sources: Essays Presented to Bernard Hamilton*, ed. by J. France, W. G. Zajac, Aldershot 1998, 39–70; J. France, ‘The Use of the Anonymous *Gesta Francorum* in the Early Twelfth-Century Sources for the First Crusade’, in *From Clermont to Jerusalem: The Crusades and Crusader Societies, 1095–1500*, ed. by A. V. Murray, Turnhout 1998, 29–42; J. Rubenstein, ‘Putting History to Use: Three Crusade Chronicles in Context’, *Viator: Medieval and Re-*

ilers drew on the *Gesta Francorum*, reinterpreting the events through a more explicitly theological and eschatological perspective, and yet he maintained a significant degree of independence by reframing the events from a distinct Provençal perspective, shaped by his ideological commitments and regional affiliations.⁶ Fulcher of Chartres, although writing his account independently and with a broader historical scope – because he composed his work over an extended period that went well beyond the immediate success of the First Crusade, documenting the establishment and early evolution of the Latin East and the foundation of the Kingdom of Jerusalem⁷ – likely consulted earlier crusading narratives, including the *Gesta Francorum* and Raymond of Aguilers' *Historia Francorum*, to fill in events he did not witness first-hand. These interconnections illustrate not only shared source material but also evolving ideological and literary strategies in shaping the memory of the First Crusade, revealing a significant degree of independence in each of the works.

Biblical rhetorical framework

To frame the discussion, illustrate its core themes, and properly contextualize the argument within a broader cultural and intellectual tradition, it is worthwhile to recall biblical paradigms – all authors of the First Crusade's accounts were clerics and reached for scriptural

naissance Studies, 35 (2004), 131–68; J. Rubenstein, 'What is the *Gesta Francorum*, and who was Peter Tudebode?', *Revue Mabillon*, 16 (2005), 179–204; M. G. Bull, 'The Relationship Between the *Gesta Francorum* and Peter Tudebode's *Historia de Hierosolymitano itinere*: The Evidence of a Hitherto Unexamined Manuscript (St. Catharine's College, Cambridge, 3)', *Crusades*, 11.1 (2012), 1–17; S. Niskanen, 'The Origins of the *Gesta Francorum* and Two Related Texts: Their Textual and Literary Character', *Sacris Erudiri*, 51.1 (2012), 287–316.

⁶ T. Lecaque, 'Reading Raymond: The Bible of Le Puy, the Cathedral Library and the Literary Background of the *Liber* of Raymond d'Aguilers', in *The Uses of the Bible in Crusader Sources*, ed. by E. Lapina, N. Morton, Leiden – Boston 2017, 105–32; see also: B. Schuster, *Die Stimme des falschen 'pauper'. Der Kreuzzugsbericht des Raimund von Aguilers und die Armenfrage*, in *Armut im Mittelalter*, ed. by O. H. Oexle, Vorträge und Forschungen, 58, Ostfildern 2004, 79–126, which is a comprehensive study of the author himself and his work.

⁷ For a more detailed study of Fulcher of Chartres, see V. Epp, *Fulcher von Chartres: Studien zur Geschichtsschreibung des ersten Kreuzzuges*, Düsseldorf 1990.

patterns.⁸ These paradigms not only offer a shared symbolic language familiar to medieval authors and audiences, but also function as interpretive templates through which historical experience was read and represented. The motif of the enemy's innumerable forces is a recurring rhetorical and narrative figure, often associated in the Bible with stories of miraculous victories won by weaker forces under divine protection. A kind of archetype of struggle and triumph over a countless foe can be found in Judges 7–8, where Gideon – judge and chosen instrument of God – defeats the armies of the Midianites, Amalekites, and other 'sons of the East' with only 300 men at his side. A key element of this account is the hyperbolic portrayal of the enemy's might, which serves to highlight the miraculous nature of the victory and Israel's absolute dependence on divine intervention. Especially striking is Judges 7:12: 'The Midianites, Amalekites, and all the people of the East lay along the valley like locusts in abundance, and their camels were without number, as the sand that is on the seashore in multitude'. This phrase contains a double numerical hyperbole: the comparison of the men to locusts – an image of plague, vastness, and chaos – and the assertion that their camels were 'without number, like the sand on the seashore' – a well-established biblical formula used to express an unimaginably large multitude.⁹

Such a depiction of the enemy not only builds narrative tension, but more importantly prepares the audience for a paradoxical and theologically meaningful resolution: it is not the numerical strength of Israel's army that ensures victory, but rather God's plan and His intervention. Gideon's force, initially numbering 32,000 men, is deliberately reduced to just 300 by divine command, as God declares: 'The people with you are too many for me to give the Midianites into their hand, lest Israel boast over me, saying, "My own hand has saved me"'.¹⁰ The victory is

⁸ The importance of identifying biblical inspirations in Crusader sources – a seemingly self-evident matter that nonetheless reveals the intellectual formation and educational background of individual authors – is demonstrated in: *The Uses of the Bible in Crusader Sources*, ed. by E. Lapina, N. Morton, Leiden – Boston 2017 and K. A. Smith, *The Bible and Crusade Narrative in the Twelfth Century*, Woodbridge 2020 (esp. pp. 49–92); see also P. Alphanéry, 'Les citations bibliques chez les historiens de la Première Croisade', *Revue de l'histoire des religions*, 99 (1929), 139–57.

⁹ See also Judith 2:19–20.

¹⁰ Judges 7:2.

thus accomplished not through military power, but by means of surprise, symbolic acts, and the ensuing panic within the enemy ranks. This is not merely a war narrative, but a profoundly theological lesson: God supports his chosen ones even when they appear to be without hope – provided they place their trust not in their own strength, but in divine powers.

Another example of the enemy's overwhelming might is found in 1 Samuel 13:5: 'And the Philistines gathered to fight with Israel: thirty thousand chariots, six thousand horsemen, and troops like the sand on the seashore in multitude'. In this description of the Philistine preparations for battle at Michmash against the Israelite forces led by King Saul, the enemy's numbers are portrayed as innumerable, employing the formula 'like the sand on the seashore' – one of the most frequent numerical hyperboles in the Bible, famously used in the divine promises of progeny to Abraham.¹¹ This hyperbole and simile serve to demonize the Philistines, casting them as a vast and terrifying threat. The fear and desertions within the Israelite ranks are thus narratively and emotionally legitimized – not as acts of cowardice, but as the reaction of "realists" faced with overwhelming odds.¹² At the same time, the text sets the stage for Saul's later condemnation for his impatient violation of sacrificial law, subtly indicating that the real source of crisis lies not in the numerical superiority of the enemy, but in the king's failure to trust in God.¹³

Another notable example is found in 2 Chronicles 14:9, where 'Zerah the Ethiopian came out against them [the forces of Asa, king of Judah] with an army of a million men and three hundred chariots, and advanced as far as Mareshah'. The author presents a direct threat posed by a powerful, black-skinned enemy from the south, a representative of foreign peoples within the framework of Isaian stereotypes regarding Cushites.¹⁴ It is worth emphasizing that the reported army size, one million troops, belongs among the most extreme numerical hyperboles in the Bible. This precise hyperbole, namely, a million soldiers and 300 chariots, lends the description an almost surreal dimension

¹¹ Genesis 22:17; Genesis 32:13 [32:12]; Exodus 32:13.

¹² 1 Samuel 13:6–7.

¹³ 1 Samuel 13:8–14.

¹⁴ See K. Burrell, *Cushites in the Hebrew Bible: Negotiating Ethnic Identity in the Past and Present*, Biblical Interpretation Series, 181, Boston – Leiden 2020.

and highlights the contrast with the forces of Judah, whose numbers are not explicitly given but are implicitly small and inferior to their adversary. Asa's prayer becomes the theological pivot of the narrative: 'Lord, there is none like You to help between the mighty and the weak. Help us, O Lord our God!'.¹⁵ The victory that follows is attributed solely to divine intervention, making this account a moralizing lesson in trust and obedience. Triumph over a powerful, black-skinned adversary became a rhetorical topos of 'the victory of the righteous', frequently cited in medieval homiletic literature as evidence that numbers do not determine the outcome of battle, but faith does.

A notable example is found in Gregory the Great's *Moralia in Job*, where the story of Asa is employed as a paradigm of spiritual struggle: victory depends not on strength, but on grace and prayer.¹⁶ Zerah, as 'king of Ethiopia', symbolises the darkness of sin or the demonic hosts. Similarly, Hrabanus Maurus, in *De universo*, his encyclopaedic compendium of biblical symbolism, presents King Asa as a figural representation of the Church engaged in combat against pagans and demons.¹⁷ Zerah, consistent with other Carolingian writings, embodies the darkness of unbelief, while Asa models the faithful Christian who prevails not by military might, but through humility and divine grace.

The literary model outlined above, rooted in biblical narratives, directly resonates with crusading accounts, in which the enemy is frequently described as 'an innumerable multitude', and their defeat is attributed solely to divine grace. A small number of righteous combatants confront a mighty foe, and victory (or defeat) depends entirely on fidelity to God. The power of the enemy is further accentuated by their portrayal as "the other", inhabiting the *anecumene*, that is, lands perceived as marginal or uncivilized.¹⁸ This notion is encapsulated in

¹⁵ 2 Chronicles 14:11.

¹⁶ Gregorius Magnus, *Moralium libri sive Expositio in librum B. Job*, in *Patrologiae cursus completus. Series Latina* (henceforward quoted as: PL), ed. by J. -P. Migne, LXXV-LXXVI, Paris 1849-1850, LXXVII, XXIII. 23, col. 112.

¹⁷ Hrabanus Maurus, *De universo*, PL CXI, XX. 1, cols. 515-20.

¹⁸ The perception of Muslim enemies by the crusading chroniclers as "others" has attracted considerable scholarly attention, resulting in a vast body of literature, see P. Sénac, *L'Occident médiéval face à l'Islam. L'image de l'autre*, Paris 2000; K. Skottki, *Christen, Muslime und der Erste Kreuzzug. Die Macht der Beschreibung in der mittelalterlichen und modernen Historiographie*, Münster - New York 2015; K. Skottki, 'Constructing Otherness in the Chronicles of the First Crusade', *Germans and Poles in the Middle Ages. The Perception of the 'Other' and the Presence*

expressions such as *omnesque barbarae nationes* ('and all the barbarous peoples'), used to describe the enemies of the Crusaders.¹⁹ Given the connotations of the term *barbarus*, it must be emphasized that such passages underscore the enemy's "otherness" not only in religious terms, but also in the broader socio-cultural sphere.²⁰ The authors of crusading narratives clearly articulated a binary opposition between the Crusaders and the hostile nations of the Orient, constructing a rhetorical and theological contrast between the faithful Christian West and the other, and often demonized, East.²¹

Gesta Francorum* and Peter Tudebode's *Historia de Hierosolymitano itinere

Beginning with the numbers, which emphasize the immeasurable might of the Crusaders' adversaries; in crusading sources, the power and threat posed by enemy forces is frequently underscored through references to their overwhelming numerical strength.²² According to the *Gesta Francorum*, during the battle against Kilij Arslan, a Seljuk sultan of Rûm (1092–1107), at Nicaea, the size of the enemy army was presented as: 'There were Turks, Persians, Paulicians, Saracens, Angulans, and other pagans, numbering 360,000, not including the Arabs, whose number

of *Mutual Ethnic Stereotypes in Medieval Narrative Sources*, ed. by A. Pleszczyński, G. Vercamer, Boston – Leiden 2021, 17–40; T. Pelech, 'Death on the Altar: the Rhetoric of "Otherness" in Sources from the Early Period of the Crusades', *Journal of the Australian Early Medieval Association*, 17 (2021), 67–89.

¹⁹ GF (Russo), III. 9, 58; cf. GF (Hagenmeyer), IX. 9, 203–04; PT, 54. See S. Luchitskaya, 'Barbarae nationes: les peuples musulmans dans les chroniques de la Première Croisade', in *Autour de la Première Croisade, Actes du Colloque de la Society for the Study of the Crusades and the Latin East (Clermont-Ferrand, 22–25 juin 1995)*, ed. by M. Balard, Paris 1996, 99–107.

²⁰ A. Holt, 'Crusading against Barbarians: Muslim as Barbarians in Crusades Era Sources', in *East Meets West in the Middle Ages and Early Modern Times: Transcultural Experiences in the Premodern World*, ed. by A. Classen, Berlin 2013, 443–56.

²¹ See J. V. Tolan, *Saracens. Islam in the Medieval European Imagination*, New York 2002; Tolan, *Sons of Ishmael. Muslims through European Eyes in the Middle Ages*, Gainesville 2013.

²² C. Sweetenham, 'Crusaders in a Hall of Mirrors: The Portrayal of Saracens in Robert the Monk's *Historia Iherosolimitana*', in *Languages of Love and Hate: Conflict, Communication, and Identity in the Medieval Mediterranean*, ed. by S. Lambert, H. Nicholson, Turnhout 2002, 55.

no man knows, but only God'.²³ Similarly, during the battle of Dorylaeum, Bohemond was attacked by what the author described as 'innumerable Turks' (*innumerabiles Turcos*).²⁴ This rhetorical strategy – emphasizing vast and uncountable enemy numbers – serves to heighten the sense of threat and to magnify the miraculous nature of the Christian victory, achieved not by strength of arms alone, but by divine favour.

The enumeration of enemy nations during the battle of Dorylaeum gained a prominent and recurring character in various sources of the First Crusade. Count Stephen of Blois, in his *Second Letter* to his wife dated 29 March 1098, besides mentioning the Turks, lists 'Saracens, Paulicians, Arabs, Turcopoles, Syrians, Armenians, and other diverse peoples'.²⁵ In the second generation of the First Crusade historiography, descriptions of the battle of Dorylaeum adopt a similar formulation. Guibert of Nogent, Baldric of Dol, and Orderic Vitalis describe the enemy forces as composed of Turks, Arabs, Saracens, and Persians, with all except Guibert including the Angulans.²⁶ The version found in the *Montecassino Chronicle* is nearly identical to the accounts in Peter Tubeode's *Historia de Hierosolymitano itinere* and the *Gesta Francorum*.²⁷

²³ GF (Russo), III. 9, 58: *Erat autem numerus Turcorum, Persarum, Publicanorum, Saracenorum, Angulanorum aliorumque paganorum CCCLX milia extra Arabes, quorum numerum nemo scit nisi solus Deus*; cf. GF (Hagenmeyer), IX. 9, 203–04; PT, 54. For an English translation see *The Deeds of the Franks and Other Jerusalem-Bound Pilgrims. The Earliest Chronicle of the First Crusade* (henceforward quoted as: GF (Dass)), trans. by N. Dass, Lanham – Boulder – New York – Toronto – Plymouth 2011, 43.

²⁴ GF (Russo), III. 9, 54; cf. GF (Hagenmeyer), IX. 3–4, 197–99.

²⁵ *Epistula II Stephani comitis Carnotensis ad Adelam uxorem*, in *Die Kreuzzugsbriefe aus den Jahren 1088–1100. Eine Quellensammlung zur Geschichte des Ersten Kreuzzuges* (henceforward quoted as: *Die Kreuzzugsbriefe*), ed. by H. Hagenmeyer, Innsbruck 1901, No. X, 150: *Saracenis, Publicanis, Arabibus, Turcopolitanis, Syriis, Armenis aliisque gentibus diversis*.

²⁶ Guibert of Nogent, *Dei gesta per Francos*, ed. by R. B. C. Huygens, Turnhout 1996, III. 10, 155; Baldric of Dol, *The Historia Hierosolymitana of Baldric of Bourgueil*, ed. by S. J. Biddlecombe, Woodbridge 2014, II, 32; Orderic Vitalis, *The Ecclesiastical History*, ed. and trans. by M. Chibnall, Oxford 1975, V, IX. 8, 58–61. See also J. Rubenstein, 'Guibert of Nogent, Albert of Aachen and Fulcher of Chartres: Three Crusade Chronicles Intersect', in *Writing the Early Crusades: Text, Transmission and Memory*, ed. by M. G. Bull, D. Kempf, Woodbridge 2014, 24–37.

²⁷ 'Historia Peregrinorum euntium Jerusalem', in *Recueil des historiens des croisades. Historiens occidentaux*, ed. by P. Le Bas, Paris 1866, III, XXVII, 182–83; see L. Russo, 'The Monte Cassino Tradition of the First Crusade', in *Writing the Early Crusades*, 57–58.

A more extensive description appears in Robert the Monk's *Historia Hierosolymitana*, where the author enumerates Persians, Paulicians, Medes, Syrians, Candeï, Saracens, Agulans, Arabs, and Turks, thus demonstrating his erudition by invoking even more peoples than other crusading writers.²⁸

An interesting and atypical example of the catalogue of peoples fighting against the Crusaders can be found in the *Historia Ierosolimitana* of Albert of Aachen.²⁹ The author, a canon of the cathedral chapter in Aachen, composed the first parts of his work, describing the success of the First Crusade, around 1102, relying primarily on oral reports rather than earlier written accounts such as the *Gesta Francorum*. As such, he occupies a distinctive place within Crusade historiography, representing a separate narrative tradition.³⁰ Albert of Aachen does indeed offer a catalogue of hostile forces opposing the Crusaders at Dorylaeum, but he does so in a markedly different manner. According to his account, Kilij Arslan 'had brought together assistance and forces from Antioch, Tarsus, Aleppo, and the other cities of Rum which were occupied here and there by Turks'.³¹ In this case, the identifiers are toponyms; cities rather than ethnic designations, which sets his description apart from more conventional ethnic listings found in contemporary narratives.

According to the *Gesta Francorum* and Peter Tudebode's *Historia de Hierosolymitano itinere*, at the battle of Heraclea a great number of Turks (*Turcorum nimia*) lay in ambush awaiting the Christian army,³² and the strength of army of Kürboğa, atabeg of Mossoul (1096–1102), was emphasized by the support of 'innumerable pagan nations' (*innumeras gentes paganorum*).³³ Thus, the motif of a multitude of pagan peoples recurs in both accounts, but it was also reinforced by appearing in

²⁸ *The Historia Iherosolimitana of Robert the Monk*, ed. by D. Kempf, M. G. Bull, Woodbridge 2013, III, 27.

²⁹ Albert of Aachen, *Historia Ierosolimitana, History of the Journey to Jerusalem* (henceforward quoted as: AA), ed. by S. B. Edgington, Oxford 2007.

³⁰ For more about Albert of Aachen and his work see AA, xxi–xxxvi; S. B. Edgington, 'Albert of Aachen Reappraised', in *From Clermont to Jerusalem: The Crusades and Crusader Societies, 1095–1500*, ed. by A. V. Murray, Turnhout 1998, 55–67; S. B. Edgington, 'Albert of Aachen and the *Chansons de geste*', in *The Crusades and Their Sources*, 23–37.

³¹ AA, II. 39, 130–31: *Auxilium et vires contraxit ab Antiochia, Tharsis, Halapia et ceteris civitatibus Romanie a Turcis sparsim possessis*.

³² GF (Russo), IV. 10, 62; cf. GF (Hagenmeyer), X. 4, 214; PT, 57.

³³ GF (Russo), IX. 21, 92; cf. GF (Hagenmeyer), XXI. 1, 314–5; PT, 89.

the catalogues of hostile nations. Similarly, during the siege of Arqah, chroniclers report that the fortress was filled with innumerable pagan peoples – namely Turks, Saracens, Arabs, and Paulicians – who had admirably fortified the castle and defended themselves bravely.³⁴ The catalogue of enemies is further expanded in later descriptions of the struggle. In the account of the capture of Antioch, resulting from an agreement between Bohemond and a certain Pirrus, the authors mention that the Christians learned of a great army approaching, composed of Turks, Paulicians, Angulans, Azymites,³⁵ and many other pagan nations whom the authors confess they neither know how to name nor number.³⁶ Furthermore, according to Peter Tudebode, after capturing Antioch, the Christian forces were besieged ‘by other pagans and enemies of God and Holy Christianity’³⁷.

Similarly, the city of Ma’arat an-Numan was portrayed as a place inhabited by a great multitude of Saracens, Turks, Arabs, and other pagans,³⁸ and the Fatimid forces encountered at the Battle of Ascalon were described in parallel terms: ‘the multitude of pagans was innumerable, and no one knows their number except God alone’.³⁹ The emphasis lies not only on the sheer number of adversaries; the enumeration of distinct peoples also serves to convey the immense power and overwhelming mass of the enemy forces.

However, against this backdrop of overwhelming enemy strength, great heroic deeds could be accomplished. The rhetorical function

³⁴ GF (Russo), X. 34, 134: *Quod castrum plenum erat innumerabili gente paganorum, videlicet Turcorum, Saracenorum, Arabum, Publicanorum, qui mirabiliter munierant castrum illud et defendebant se fortiter*; cf. GF (Hagenmeyer), XXXIV. 11, 425; PT, 128.

³⁵ The word ‘Azymites’ is rather a technical term used to describe the enemy. Perhaps it derives from a Greek expression employed in 1053 by the Patriarch of Constantinople to refer to the Latins, who used unleavened bread in the Eucharist. In this sense, it could be understood as a reminiscence of the dispute between Latin and Orthodox believers. See GF (Dass), note 5, 136.

³⁶ GF (Hagenmeyer), XX. 3, 297: *Turcorum, Publicanorum, Angulanorum, Azimitarum et aliarum plurimarum nationum gentilium, quas numerare neque nominare nescio*; cf. GF (Russo), VIII. 20, 86; PT, 84.

³⁷ PT, 103: *Ab aliis paganis, inimicis Dei et sanctae Christianitatis*.

³⁸ GF (Russo), X. 33, 128: *In qua maxima multitudo Saracenorum et Turcorum et Arabum aliorumque paganorum est congregata*; cf. GF (Hagenmeyer), XXXIII. 1, 402; PT, 121.

³⁹ GF (Russo), X. 39, 152: *Paganorum multitudo erat innumerabilis, numerorumque eorum nemo scit nisi solus Deus*; cf. GF (Hagenmeyer), XXXIX. 14, 495–96; PT, 146.

of such descriptions is therefore evident: they are intended to evoke admiration for the bravery of the protagonists. During the prolonged siege of Antioch, the Franks were informed of *innumerabilem gentem Turcorum* – ‘an innumerable nation of Turks’ – advancing against the Crusaders.⁴⁰ According to the version preserved in Peter Tudebode’s account, the enemy forces were said to number 25,000 soldiers.⁴¹ In the *Gesta Francorum*, the account of the battle against this Muslim relief force becomes an occasion for the glorification of Bohemond.⁴² He is presented as the principal commander of the contingent prepared to meet the Turkish attack. The enemy troops were arrayed in two lines, while the Christians formed six units, five of which charged the Turks. Bohemond, with his own unit, remained in reserve. The writers describe the battle as so intense that the javelins darkened the sky.⁴³ When the Turks committed their second line to the fight and attacked the Crusaders ferociously (*acriter*) and the Franks began to fall back, Bohemond addressed Robert, son of Gerard, with stirring words: ‘Go forward as quickly as you can, like a brave man, and remember the wisdom of the ancients and the bravery of our forebears. Be fierce in aiding God and the Holy Sepulchre. And know truly that this battle is not of the flesh, but of the spirit. Therefore, be the strongest athlete of Christ. Go in peace, and may the Lord be with you always’.⁴⁴

⁴⁰ GF (Russo), VI. 17, 76; cf. GF (Hagenmeyer), XVII. 1, 265–66; PT, 70.

⁴¹ PT, 70.

⁴² See the topic of the *Gesta Francorum* as Bohemond of Taranto’s propaganda, and the resulting source-critical implications: J. Rubenstein, ‘The Deeds of Bohemond: Reform, Propaganda, and the History of the First Crusade’, *Viator: Medieval and Renaissance Studies*, 47.2 (2016), 113–35. See also K. B. Wolf, ‘Crusade and Narrative: Bohemond and the *Gesta Francorum*’, *Journal of Medieval History*, 17.3 (1991), 207–16 and N. L. Paul, ‘A Warlord’s Wisdom: Literacy and Propaganda at the Time of the First Crusade’, *Speculum*, 85.3 (2010), 534–66.

⁴³ GF (Russo), VI. 17, 78; cf. GF (Hagenmeyer), XVII. 5, 271; PT, 72.

⁴⁴ GF (Russo), VI. 17, 78: *Vade quam citius potes ut vir fortis, et esto acer in adiutorium Dei Sanctique Sepulchri. Et revera scias quia hoc bellum carnale non est sed spirituale. Esto igitur fortissimus athleta Christi. Vade in pace; Dominus sit tecum ubique;* cf. GF (Hagenmeyer), XVII. 5, 271; for translation see GF (Dass), 59; cf. PT, 72; for translation, see Peter Tudebode, *Historia de Hierosolymitano itinere*, trans. by J. H. Hill and L. L. Hill, Philadelphia 1974, 51–52: *Recordare prudentium antiquorum et nostrorum fortium parentum, quales fuerunt et qualia bella fecerunt*. *Ivit itaque ille, undique signo crucis armatus et fortissimus Christi athleta, et sicut sapiens et prudens invasit eos, deferens vexillum Boamundi.* (“Remember the wisdom of antiquity and our brave forefathers – what manner of men they were and what battles they fought”. And so he went forth, armed on all sides with the sign of

The speech placed by the writers in Bohemond's mouth reveals several key aspects of how the conflict with the Turks was perceived, as well as the ideological content intended for the audience of these sources.⁴⁵ In particular, the role of Robert was strongly emphasized. He was a close relative of Bohemond and served as his constable. He was the son of Count Gerard of Buonalbergo, who had given his sister Alberada in marriage to Robert Guiscard. After the First Crusade, Robert returned to southern Italy, where he died around 1119.⁴⁶ In this passage of the *Gesta Francorum*, he is presented as a heroic figure. He appears as the recipient and executor of Bohemond's will, entrusted with the decisive attack on the enemy. The narrative further strengthens his image: under his command, an army bearing the sign of the cross on their shields marched into battle. Robert's assault was so fierce that he was likened to a lion emerging from its cave, famished for three or four days and thirsting for the blood of cattle. This vivid metaphor casts the Turks as helpless prey: while the lion *ruit inter agmina gregum* ('falls upon the flocks with violence'), Robert *agebat inter agmina Turcorum* – he fell upon the ranks of the Turks with such ferocity that the banner he bore was seen flying above the heads of the enemy.⁴⁷

The comparison to a lion evokes a powerful and unstoppable force and underscores Robert's valour as Bohemond's constable. This symbolism resonates with biblical imagery, where the lion often represents might and divine empowerment. In Isaiah, Jeremiah, and Psalms 22 and 104, the lion stands as a metaphor for overwhelming strength.⁴⁸ Judas Maccabeus, too, is described as a young lion roaring as he throws himself upon his prey – an image meant to glorify the hero.⁴⁹ In contrast, the Turks are metaphorically reduced to a flock of sheep, helpless and incapable of resistance against such a fierce leader. The sheep, as a symbol of meekness and vulnerability, is here employed as a rhetorical device to ridicule the enemy. It is noteworthy, however, that this specific metaphor – the lion and the sheep – appears only in the *Gesta*

the cross and as the most valiant athlete of Christ; and, like a wise and prudent man, he launched his attack, bearing the standard of Bohemond').

⁴⁵ Cf. C. Morris, 'Propaganda for War: The Dissemination of the Crusading Ideal in the Twelfth Century', *Studies in Church History*, 20 (1983), 79–101.

⁴⁶ J. Riley-Smith, *The First Crusaders, 1095–1131*, London 1997, 101, 221.

⁴⁷ GF (Russo), VI. 17, 78; cf. GF (Hagenmeyer), XVII. 5, 271.

⁴⁸ Isaiah 31:4; Jeremiah 4:7; Psalms 22:13, 104:21.

⁴⁹ 1 Maccabees 3:4.

Francorum, suggesting a divergent rhetorical aim when compared to Peter Tudebode's account. In the *Gesta Francorum*, the focus on Robert, Bohemond's close kin, is markedly more pronounced, and the praise of his deeds is more explicit.

Returning to the substance of Bohemond's speech, he reminds his constable of their ancestors and their wisdom. This emphasis on *memoria* is crucial in (half-)oral societies. Epic narratives served to transmit stories of valiant forebears, who were held up as exemplars to be imitated, and commemorative practices sought to preserve the memory of their deeds. Such evocation reflects the collective consciousness of knightly lineages.⁵⁰ Moreover, Bohemond exhorts Robert to fight fiercely and invokes the image of God and the Holy Sepulchre. He commands him to be an *athleta Christi*, for the battle is not of the flesh, but of the spirit.⁵¹ The dichotomy between *bellum carnale* and *bellum spirituale* draws on the Pauline antithesis from the Epistle to the Ephesians. It illustrates the writers' view that the war between Christians and Muslims was ultimately a spiritual struggle – one waged for salvation.⁵²

According to the *Gesta Francorum*, Robert's attack proved decisive in securing victory over the Turks. When the other Crusaders saw Bohemond's banner, they immediately ceased their retreat. The entire Christian army then charged the enemy, causing the Turks to flee. The Crusaders pursued them as far as the Iron Bridge, killing many during the chase. The remaining Turks withdrew to their fortress, set it ablaze, and fled. In the aftermath of the battle, local Syrians and Armenians,

⁵⁰ See M. Borgolte, 'Memoria: Bilan intermédiaire d'un projet de recherche sur le Moyen Âge', in *Les tendances actuelles de l'histoire du Moyen Âge*, ed. by J.-C. Schmitt, O. G. Oexle, Paris 2002, 53–70; M. Lauwers, 'Memoria: À propos d'un objet d'histoire en Allemagne', in *Les tendances actuelles de l'histoire du Moyen Âge*, 105–26; N. L. Paul, *To Follow in Their Footsteps: The Crusades and Family Memory in the High Middle Ages*, London 2012, 10–55. See also S. John, 'Historical Truth and the Miraculous Past: The Use of Oral Evidence in Twelfth-Century Latin Historical Writing on the First Crusade', *English Historical Review*, 130 (2015), 263–301.

⁵¹ See J. Gilchrist, 'The Papacy and War against the "Saracens"', *The International History Review*, 10.2 (1988), 174–97, where the author analyses the ideological foundations of the war against Muslims, including the use of the term *athleta Christi* in papal documents; and also J. Riley-Smith, *The First Crusade and the Idea of Crusading*, London – New York 2003, 91–119 and 135–52, who shows how historians of the First Crusade (including Raymond of Aguilers) depicted the participants as *athletae Christi*.

⁵² Ephesians 6:10–20; see P. Buc, *Holy War, Martyrdom, and Terror: Christianity, Violence, and the West*, Pennsylvania 2015, 90.

aware of the Turkish defeat, captured and killed numerous fleeing soldiers. The historians conclude this episode by affirming that the victory was granted by the will of God. Furthermore, the Crusaders later brought one hundred severed heads of Turkish soldiers to the city gate of Antioch. This gruesome display was witnessed by the envoys of the ruler of Egypt, who were present in the Crusader camp, and undoubtedly served as a demonstration of Christian power.⁵³

A further narrative of the enemy's overwhelming numerical superiority appears in epistolary sources. In the spurious letter ascribed to Patriarch Symeon of Jerusalem, and Bishop Adhémar of Le Puy,⁵⁴ the number of Crusaders is estimated at one hundred thousand knights and men-at-arms. However, the authors claim that even this formidable force was small in comparison to the enemy: 'for we are few in comparison with the pagans. But truly and verily God fights for us'.⁵⁵ Likewise, the *Epistola ad occidentales*, ascribed to Patriarch Symeon and other bishops around late January 1098, but in fact composed much later in the West,⁵⁶ employs a rhetorical device to emphasize the enemy's superiority: 'where we have a count, the enemy has forty kings; where we have a squadron, they have a legion; where we have a knight, they have a duke; where we have a foot-soldier, they have a count; where we have a fortress, they have a kingdom'.⁵⁷ The letter further states that 'we do not put our trust in numbers, nor in strength, nor in any arrogance', but in the faith in God, who watches over them.⁵⁸

⁵³ GF (Russo), VI. 17, 78; cf. GF (Hagenmeyer), XVII. 6–7, 272–74; PT, 72–73.

⁵⁴ On the Western provenance of the letter and the fact that it was not written by actual witnesses of the events described see T. W. Smith, *Rewriting the First Crusade: Epistolary Culture in the Middle Ages*, Woodbridge 2024, 101–07.

⁵⁵ *Letters from the East: Crusaders, Pilgrims and Settlers in the 12th–13th Centuries*, trans. by M. Barber, K. Bate, Farnham – Burlington 2010, 18; *Epistula Simeonis patriarchae Hierosolymitani et Hademari de Podio S. Mariae episcopi ad fideles partium Septentrionis*, in *Die Kreuzzugsbriefe*, No. VI, 142: *Pauci enim sumus ad comparisonem paganorum. Verum et vere pro nobis pugnat Deus*.

⁵⁶ Smith, *Rewriting the First Crusade*, 108.

⁵⁷ *Letters from the East*, 21; *Epistula Patriarchae Hierosolymitani et aliorum episcoporum ad occidentales*, in *Die Kreuzzugsbriefe*, No. IX, 147: *Ubi nos habemus comitem, hostes XL reges, ubi nos turmam, hostes legionem, ubi nos militem, ipsi ducem, ubi nos peditem, ipsi comitem, ubi nos castrum, ipsi regnum*.

⁵⁸ *Epistula Patriarchae Hierosolymitani et aliorum episcoporum ad occidentales*, in *Die Kreuzzugsbriefe*, No. IX, 147: *Nos autem non confisi in multitudine nec viribus nec praesumptione aliqua*.

These examples indicate that the motif of the enemy's overwhelming numbers was firmly embedded in the intellectual and rhetorical framework of the First Crusade's historians and their audience. It is therefore unsurprising that nearly all military confrontations in both the *Gesta Francorum* and Peter Tudebode's account are framed in terms of the enemy's immense strength. The frequent use of descriptors such as *innumerabilis*, *nimia*, *multitudinis*, and *numerus* reveals the topos of an enemy whose power can only be overcome with divine aid, referring to the established biblical tradition. On the narrative level, the depiction of the Turks as almost never engaging without vast armies serves to underline the magnitude of the Crusaders' accomplishments. By triumphing over such numerically superior foes, the Crusaders were able to achieve not only victory but also exceptional military glory – an element of clear importance to the audience of these texts.

Raymond of Aguilers' *Historia Francorum qui ceperunt Iherusalem*

In examining whether other crusading authors employed similar rhetorical strategies, it is necessary to turn to writers more distant from the *Gesta Francorum* tradition than Peter Tudebode.⁵⁹ Notably, almost every depiction of the Frankish struggle against their adversaries in Raymond of Aguilers' *Historia Francorum qui ceperunt Iherusalem* includes an emphasis on the immense number of enemy forces. According to his account, during the battle of Dorylaeum the Crusaders were confronted by a Turkish army that Raymond of Aguilers estimated at 150,000 warriors.⁶⁰ While the number fifteen may resist immediate interpretation within a symbolic framework, particularly one linking it to the concept of harmony between the Old and New Testaments, it nonetheless recurs with striking frequency throughout Raymond's narrative.⁶¹ Jean Flori has suggested that such numerical references

⁵⁹ See, e.g., J. Richard, 'Raymond d'Aguilers, historien de la Première Croisade [Le «Liber» de Raymond d'Aguilers, publié par John Hugh et Laurita L. Hill, introduction et notes traduites par Philippe Wolff]', *Journal des savants*, 3 (1971), 206–12.

⁶⁰ RA, 45.

⁶¹ St Jerome, *Commentary on Matthew*, in *The Fathers of The Church*, trans. by T. P. Halton, Washington D.C. 2008, CXVII, 42–43.

might reflect a chronicler's intention to convey realism or factual reliability.⁶² However, alternative interpretations merit consideration. The number fifteen appears repeatedly in *Historia Francorum*, not solely in reference to the Turkish army at Dorylaeum. For example, Isnard (or Isoard) is said to have led 150 men in an assault on enemy forces, while the number of Turkish casualties in the same engagement is likewise placed at 15,000.⁶³ Elsewhere, fifteen Frankish knights are reported to have perished in battle near Antioch.⁶⁴ During the deliberations preceding the siege of Jerusalem, the number of knights in the Crusader army was again estimated at 15,000.⁶⁵ Further instances support this pattern. Bohemond was chosen as the chief commander during the siege of Antioch for a period of fifteen days.⁶⁶ A youthful figure appearing in the vision of Peter Desiderius was described as being around fifteen years of age.⁶⁷ Additionally, the ruler of Tripoli is said to have offered, among other gifts, 15,000 gold coins as tribute to the Crusaders.⁶⁸

This recurring motif suggests that the number fifteen, while not immediately transparent in symbolic meaning, may have held a rhetorical or mnemonic function within Raymond of Aguilers' narrative structure. Its frequency indicates more than incidental usage, implying a deeper narrative or ideological significance that warrants further investigation, suggesting that it may serve an organizing function within the narrative. It is also plausible, however, that its repeated use was intended to convey a more general message to Raymond's audience, namely, that fifteen, in most instances, simply connotes 'plenty' or 'adequately'.

Raymond of Aguilers' emphasis on the large size of enemy forces is also evident in other part of his oeuvre. At the outset of the siege of Antioch, he focuses on the formidable fortifications of the city, which was protected by numerous towers, robust walls, and breastworks, and benefitted from an advantageous natural setting that facilitated defence.⁶⁹ Furthermore, Antioch possessed a well-prepared garrison,

⁶² J. Flori, 'Des chroniques aux chansons de geste: l'usage des nombres comme élément de typologie', *Romania*, 117.467–8 (1999), 396–422, here at 403.

⁶³ RA, 61.

⁶⁴ RA, 51.

⁶⁵ RA, 136.

⁶⁶ RA, 77.

⁶⁷ RA, 133.

⁶⁸ RA, 111, 125.

⁶⁹ RA, 48.

consisting, according to Raymond, of 2,000 *optimi milites*, 4,000 to 5,000 *milites gregarii*, and more than 10,000 *pedites*.⁷⁰ In a certain sense, this classification adheres to the conventional dichotomy between *milites* (mounted warriors) and *pedites* (infantry).⁷¹ Raymond's use of military terms reflects contemporary Western distinctions between elite and common mounted warriors, and infantrymen, shaped by Latin Christian socio-military concepts rather than accurately representing Islamic military organisation.⁷²

Returning to the issue of the enemy's numerical strength, the translation of *Historia Francorum qui ceperunt Iherusalem* by J. H. and L. L. Hill introduces a misleading interpretation through the insertion of the word 'only', thereby implying that the enemy forces were relatively weak.⁷³ In fact, Raymond of Aguilers' original text describes the garrison, and the fortifications of Antioch, as formidable. He notes that more than 17,000 enemy soldiers were stationed within the city, including 2,000 elite knights and a total of 6,000 to 7,000 mounted warriors.⁷⁴ By contrast, Raymond claims that the Frankish forces numbered 100,000, suggesting a ratio of 100:17 between attackers and defenders. Nevertheless, given historians' frequent use of numbers with symbolic or rhetorical function, this information should be treated with caution. Whatever

⁷⁰ RA, 48.

⁷¹ R. C. Smail, *Crusading Warfare 1097–1193*, New York 1956 [repr. 1995], 111; see also M. I. Pérez de Tudela, *Infanzones y caballeros. Su proyección en la esfera nobiliaria castellano-leonesa, s. IX–XIII*, Madrid 1979; C. Astarita, *Del feudalismo al capitalismo. Cambio social y político en Castilla y Europa occidental, 1250–1520*, Valencia 2005, 29–66.

⁷² On the subject of the Islamic warfare see for example A. H. D. Bivar, 'Cavalry Equipment and Tactics on the Euphrates Frontier', *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, 26 (1972), 271–91; *Islamic Arms and Armour*, ed. by R. Elgood, London 1979; *The Armies of the Caliphs: Military and Society in the Early Islamic State*, ed. by H. Kennedy, London – New York 2001; A. Zouache, *Armées et combats en Syrie de 491/1098 à 569/1174. Analyse comparée des chroniques médiévales latines et arabes*, Damascus 2008.

⁷³ Raymond of Aguilers, *Historia Francorum qui ceperunt Iherusalem*, trans. by J. H. Hill, L. L. Hill, Philadelphia 1968, 31: 'Despite the fact there were in the city only two thousand first-rate knights, four or five thousand ordinary knights, and ten thousand or more footmen, Antioch was safe from attack as long as the gates were guarded because a valley and marshes shielded the high walls'; an original Latin in: RA, 48: *Erant pretereā in civitate .ii. milia optimi milites, et .iiii vel v. milia militum gregariorum atque x. milia peditum et amplius. Muri vero ita eminentes et vallo et paludibus muniebantur, ut porte custodirentur, caetera secūra manerent.*

⁷⁴ RA, 48.

the precise figures were, the account emphasizes that the Crusaders stood against a force of considerable strength and endured a siege of exceptional difficulty.

In the account of the battle against the relief forces of Antioch led by Ridwan, emir of Aleppo (1095–1113), Raymond of Aguilers reports that deserters from the enemy's army claimed that the Franks had slain no fewer than 28,000 of their foes. This figure is juxtaposed with Raymond's portrayal of the Crusaders' small initial force.⁷⁵ According to *Historia Francorum*, God miraculously multiplied their number from 700 knights to more than 2,000 – an unmistakable sign of divine intervention on behalf of the Franks.⁷⁶ While the reported number of Turkish casualties does not appear to bear symbolic significance, it remains highly improbable as a literal count. Rather, it should be understood as part of the rhetorical strategy to highlight the miraculous nature of the Christian victory.

In his account of one of the battles against the Antiochene garrison, Raymond reports that the Turks had organized an ambush against the Frankish army. When Robert of Flanders and Bohemond returned from the port of St Symeon with a sizeable force, they were attacked by the enemy and defeated; nearly 300 men were killed, and fleeing Crusaders were massacred.⁷⁷ Witnessing this major success of his troops, Yağısıyan, the ruler of Antioch (1086–1098), ordered a renewed assault on the Franks.⁷⁸ According to Raymond, the Turkish attack was fierce and nearly resulted in the annihilation of the Christians.⁷⁹ At this crucial moment, the writer reminds the audience that his narrative concerns the deeds of heroes. A Provençal knight named Isoard (or Isnard) of Ganges (*Hisnardus miles de Gagia*) called upon divine aid and rallied 150 infantrymen to strike back at the enemy.⁸⁰ He referred to this small

⁷⁵ RA, 57.

⁷⁶ RA, 56–57.

⁷⁷ RA, 59.

⁷⁸ RA, 60; T. Pelech, 'Cassianus, Gracianus, Aoxianus: The Portrayal of Yağısıyan in the Latin Chronicles of the First Crusade (c. mid.-12th Century)', in *Haçlı Seferleri Avrupa'dan Latin Doğu'ya Tarih Yazımı, Tasvirler ve İlişkiler (The Crusades Historiography, Representations and Relations from Europe)*, ed. by S. G. Karaca, İstanbul 2023, 31–66.

⁷⁹ RA, 60; cf. RA (Hill & Hill), 42.

⁸⁰ RA, 60.

contingent as *milites Christi*, and they advanced against the Turks.⁸¹ In Raymond's summary of the episode, the Turks were decisively routed, many perishing in the nearby river. The victory was complete, although due to nightfall, the number of Turkish casualties remained unknown.⁸² Raymond continues by describing events of the following day. As the Franks were working on the construction of a castle near the bridge, they discovered a hill that had served as a burial site for fallen Saracens (*sepultura Saracenorum*).⁸³ The Turks had interred their dead there. However, the *pauperes*, stirred by the sight of potential spoils, desecrated and looted the enemy tombs.⁸⁴ Unlike the *Gesta Francorum* and Peter Tudebode, Raymond does not refer explicitly to the wealth supposedly buried with the Turkish dead, such as coins or armour, but his mention of the tombs being looted implies the presence of valuable items.⁸⁵

Furthermore, the writer underscores the Christian success by estimating the number of enemy dead at fifteen thousand.⁸⁶ However, he notes that this number excludes those buried within Antioch and those who drowned in the river. This figure is highly improbable, even according to Raymond's own earlier statement that the Antiochene garrison numbered just over seventeen thousand.⁸⁷ It is therefore unlikely that such a battle could have resulted in the deaths of nearly the entire enemy force. Thus, this account must be interpreted primarily through the lens of literary representation. The reported number of enemy casualties serves a rhetorical function. It highlights the strength of the enemy – expressed paradoxically through the scale of their losses – and simultaneously exalts the heroism of Isoard (or Isnard), who led only 150 infantrymen. The ratio of fallen Turks to the small Christian force further enhances the image of miraculous Christian

⁸¹ RA, 60.

⁸² RA, 61.

⁸³ RA, 61.

⁸⁴ On the issue of *pauperes* on the First Crusade see C. Auffarth, "Ritter" und "Arme" auf dem Ersten Kreuzzug. Zum Problem Herrschaft und Religion ausgehend von Raymond von Aguilers', *Saeculum*, 40 (1989), 39–55; R. Rogers, 'Peter Bartholomew and the Role of the "Poor" in the First Crusade', in *Warriors and Churchmen in the High Middle Ages: Essays Presented to Karl Leyser*, ed. by T. Reuter, K. J. Leyser, London 1992, 109–22; C. Kostick, *The Social Structure of the First Crusade*, Leiden – Boston 2008, 95–157.

⁸⁵ Cf. GF (Russo), VII. 18, 82–84; cf. GF (Hagenmeyer), XVIII. 10, 287; PT, 77.

⁸⁶ RA, 61.

⁸⁷ RA, 62.

victory, made possible through divine aid and the courage of a few against overwhelming odds.

In a subsequent episode from the struggle for Antioch, Raymond of Aguilers recounts another victory over the Turks. In the newly constructed castle, sixty Crusaders defended themselves against an attacking force of 7,000 Turks.⁸⁸ The writer emphasizes the bravery of the knights who were cut off on a bridge and unable to retreat to the castle. Raymond clearly states that the Frankish knights found themselves in a critical situation, under relentless assault from the enemy. Nevertheless, the Crusaders managed to break into a house where they found temporary refuge. The sounds of the battle alerted nearby Frankish forces, who promptly moved to assist. Upon seeing reinforcements, the Turks panicked and began to flee, but their entire rear guard was destroyed during the retreat. In this depiction, Raymond once again frames the heroic deeds of Frankish knights against the backdrop of the overwhelming numbers of the enemy. He concludes the episode with a characteristic theological reflection: 'Thus it pleases me to note that, although we were fewer in numbers, God's grace made us much stronger than the enemy'.⁸⁹

This interpretative pattern reappears in other episodes of *Historia Francorum qui ceperunt Iherusalem*. For instance, Raymond recounts a relatively small-scale engagement between a group of 150 Turks and a contingent led by Godfrey of Bouillon, who commanded only twelve knights.⁹⁰ Godfrey and his men emerged victorious, killing thirty Turks, capturing another thirty, and driving the rest into the nearby swamps and rivers, where they perished. Upon returning to Antioch, Godfrey

⁸⁸ RA, 63.

⁸⁹ RA, 63–4: *Libet itaque attendere quanto pauciores numero fuimus tanto forciores nos Dei gratia fecit.*

⁹⁰ RA, 92–3; The companions of Godfrey, numbering twelve, are referred to in the *Historia Francorum* as apostles (*XII apostolorum*). From this perspective, the duke of Lorraine and his knights appear as imitators of Christ and the Apostles, which clearly echoes the idea of *imitatio Christi* advocated during the preaching of the expedition to Jerusalem. This was already observed by S. John in *Godfrey of Bouillon: Duke of Lower Lotharingia, Ruler of Latin Jerusalem, c. 1060–1100*, London – New York 2018, 152: 'There is a particular resonance in the description of Godfrey as "God's vicar", and the assertion that his knights numbered the same as the apostles'.

had the prisoners carry the severed heads of their fallen comrades – a symbolic act of humiliation and triumph.⁹¹

Raymond of Aguilers similarly highlights the overwhelming numerical strength of the enemy in visionary and narrative contexts. In a vision of Peter Bartholomew, the army of Kürboğa is described as a *multitudo paganorum*.⁹² Likewise, the Fatimid army at the battle of Ascalon is portrayed as a ‘countless multitude of pagans’.⁹³ On the way to Jerusalem, the Crusaders encountered a strongly fortified site, identified with Ḥoṣn al-Akrād (the location where the renowned Krak des Chevaliers would later rise), which they resolved to capture after the defenders refused to surrender.⁹⁴ According to Raymond, the garrison defending the castle numbered thirty thousand men.⁹⁵ Furthermore, during the siege of Arqah, the writer reports that the Crusaders had heard of *gentes sine numero*, Turkish forces sent by the Caliph of Baghdad to oppose them.⁹⁶ Similarly, in the description of the campaign against Tripoli, Raymond emphasizes the confidence of the Tripolitans, which was based in *multitudine tumultus sui confisi* – ‘in the multitude and uproar of their forces’.⁹⁷

In another episode from Raymond’s *Historia Francorum*, not far from ar-Ramla, Galdemar of Carpenel encountered an enemy force composed of four hundred Arabs and two hundred Turks. In Raymond’s account, these groups appear to represent the Fatimid army, with the Turks possibly acting as mercenaries.⁹⁸ Galdemar commanded only twenty knights and fifty infantrymen.⁹⁹ Despite the disparity in numbers, the Franks launched a successful attack. The enemy succeeded in killing four knights, including Achard of Montmerle – ‘a noble young man and renowned knight’ (*nobilis iuvenis et miles inclitus*) – as well as all the Crusader archers, but suffered heavy casualties in the process.¹⁰⁰

⁹¹ RA, 93.

⁹² RA, 73: *Cum innumerabili paganorum multitudine*.

⁹³ RA, 155.

⁹⁴ See H. Kennedy, *Crusader Castles*, Cambridge 1994, 145–63; *Der Krak des Chevaliers: die Baugeschichte einer Ordensburg der Kreuzfahrerzeit*, ed. by T. Biller, Regensburg 2006.

⁹⁵ RA, 105–06.

⁹⁶ RA, 110–11.

⁹⁷ RA, 124.

⁹⁸ RA, 141.

⁹⁹ RA, 141.

¹⁰⁰ RA, 141; see Riley-Smith, *The First Crusaders*, 63, 67, 112, 117, 197.

As the writer remarks, the losses neither discouraged the Franks nor diminished their strength; on the contrary, they were exalted, described by Raymond as ‘the true knighthood of God’ (*immo Dei militum*).¹⁰¹ As the fighting continued, some Crusaders noticed another Christian force approaching on the horizon. Raymond of Pilet, leading a contingent of fifty knights, charged with such vigour that the enemy believed his forces to be far greater in number.¹⁰² The Muslim troops were routed; two hundred were killed, and the Crusaders seized considerable booty.¹⁰³

Further in the narrative, Raymond describes the Fatimid garrison of Jerusalem as consisting of sixty thousand warriors, excluding women and children, concerning whom there was no number.¹⁰⁴ The writer explicitly states that his purpose is to contrast the immense size of the enemy’s forces with the much smaller Christian army, which, according to him, consisted of no more than 12,000 men – many of them poor or disabled – and no more than 1200 to 1300 knights.¹⁰⁵ This rhetorical device serves to reinforce the central theological message of the work: that endeavours undertaken in God’s name will succeed regardless of earthly odds.¹⁰⁶

Raymond of Aguilers’ emphasis on the size of the enemy forces, consistently juxtaposed with the limited numbers of the Crusaders, reflects a literary topos found in other contemporary sources, such as the *Gesta Francorum*, Peter Tudebode’s *Historia de Hierosolymitano itinere*, and various crusading letters.¹⁰⁷ In nearly every account of confrontations with the Turks, the Fatimids, or other opponents, the numerical

¹⁰¹ RA, 141.

¹⁰² RA, 142; Raymond Pilet, together with Galdemar and Achard of Montmerle, became heroes of later popular and vernacular tales about the First Crusade (such as the *Gran Conquista de Ultramar*); see *The ‘Chanson d’Antioche’: An Old French Account of the First Crusade*, trans. by S. B. Edgington, C. Sweetenham, Crusade Texts in Translation, 22, London – New York 2011, note 15, 3.

¹⁰³ RA, 142.

¹⁰⁴ RA, 147–48: *.lx. milia hominum belligeratorum erant infra civitatem, exceptis parvulis et mulieribus de quibus non erat numerus.*

¹⁰⁵ RA, 148.

¹⁰⁶ RA, 148.

¹⁰⁷ For studies on epistolary sources from the First Crusade, see the recent works of T. W. Smith, ‘Framing the Narrative of the First Crusade: The Letter Given at Laodicea in September 1099’, *Journal of Religious History, Literature and Culture*, 5.2 (2019), 17–34; T. W. Smith, ‘The First Crusade Letter at Laodicea in 1099: Two Previously Unpublished Versions from Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek Clm 23390 and 28195’, *Crusades*, 15 (2016), 1–25.

superiority of the enemy is a key motif. These repeated references to enemy multitudes underscore Raymond's rhetorical strategy: the enemy's numerical superiority is a constant literary motif, one that both magnifies the difficulty of the Crusaders' task and highlights the miraculous nature of their victories through divine assistance. Moreover, it underscores the central idea that divine favour, rather than military might, is the decisive factor in the Crusaders' victories, which is to be understood as pertaining to the biblical tradition.

Fulcher of Chartres' *Historia Hierosolymitana*

The latest chronologically among the first generation of First Crusade historians was Fulcher of Chartres – the author of the *Historia Hierosolymitana*. His status as an eyewitness ought to be considered in light of his presence in the entourage of Baldwin of Boulogne, because Fulcher of Chartres was not a direct witness to such key events as the Siege of Antioch and the Capture of Jerusalem. Consequently, in his account of the most crucial episodes of the First Crusade, from October 1097 to the battle of Ascalon on 12 August 1099, he had to rely on other sources. For instance, Fulcher summarized the fighting between the garrison of Antioch and the Crusaders, from October 1097 to June 1098, which other authors describe in great detail, in just a few words: 'Many times the Turks and the Franks launched attacks and fought each other: they won and were defeated; yet our men triumphed more often than they'.¹⁰⁸ Therefore, the claim is justified that the author confirms the tendencies already established in earlier crusading narratives.

In almost every battle description in Fulcher's account, the Turks appear in overwhelmingly large numbers.¹⁰⁹ For instance, the Turkish army at Dorylaeum is said to number 360,000 warriors – an implausible figure likely derived from the *Gesta Francorum*, where the same number

¹⁰⁸ FC, I. XVI, 8, 229: *Multotiens invasiones et proelia invicem Turci et Franci egerunt: vincebant et vincebantur; nostri tamen saepius quam illi triumphabant.*

¹⁰⁹ See S. Bennett, 'Fear and its Representation in the First Crusade', *Ex Historia*, 4 (2012), 29–54, where the author explores how chroniclers like Fulcher of Chartres depicted the enemy's overwhelming numbers to instil a sense of fear and to underscore the miraculous nature of the Crusaders' victories.

is given.¹¹⁰ This example demonstrates how elements of narrative passed from one source to another, reflecting a shared literary objective: to highlight the immense scale of the enemy forces.

Following the capture of Antioch and the discovery of the Holy Lance, Fulcher briefly notes Kürboğa's failed three-week siege of Edessa, offering no further detail.¹¹¹ His account contributes little to the broader narrative of the siege of Antioch and contains no symbolic interpretation or suggestion of Edessa's strategic or providential role, leaving the reader with a sense of narrative insufficiency – which may be surprising given the writer's ties to Baldwin of Boulogne, his patron and the then count of Edessa (1097–1100). Nevertheless, according to Fulcher, Kürboğa's force constituted an 'immense multitude of Turks'.¹¹² He writes that out of this great host, 60,000 warriors entered Antioch, only to leave shortly thereafter to besiege the city from the outside.¹¹³ Thus, another Crusade historian reports an extraordinarily large enemy force at Antioch. While the figure is evidently exaggerated and difficult to reconcile with logistical realities, it is nevertheless probable that the Turks significantly outnumbered the Frankish troops. Further, in his description of the battle of Ascalon, Fulcher again underscores the scale of the enemy by referring to them as an 'innumerable people'.¹¹⁴ This theme is further strengthened by a striking comparison: the enemy army is likened to a stag extending its antlers in two directions.¹¹⁵ The point of the simile lies not in the image of the deer itself, but in the antlers – branching out in a bifurcated wedge designed to envelop and trap the Crusaders. The metaphor visualizes the Muslim tactic of encirclement, which Fulcher then explains was countered by Godfrey

¹¹⁰ Cf. GF (Russo), III. 9, 58; cf. GF (Hagenmeyer), IX. 9, 204; PT, 54.

¹¹¹ FC, I. XIX, 2, 242.

¹¹² FC, I. XIX, 1, 242: *Multitudo innumera Turcorum*.

¹¹³ FC, I. XIX, 4, 243.

¹¹⁴ FC, I. XXXI, 6, 314: *Populus innumerus*. It is worth noting that in his account of the Battle of Ascalon, Albert of Aachen lists Babylonians, Saracens, Arabs, and other pagans among the enemy forces (see AA, VI. 42, 458), thereby following the pattern established by all the previously cited authors. As *Historia Ierosolimitana* is a source largely independent of the accounts of the First Crusade's participants, it suggests that this rhetorical strategy had assumed the form of a widespread topos.

¹¹⁵ FC, I. XXXI, 6, 314: *Tamquam cervus ramos cornuum praetendens, cuneo suo anteriori facto bifurco*.

of Bouillon, who turned back with his knights to support the Crusaders' rear line.¹¹⁶

Fulcher of Chartres also presents the enemy's vast numbers as a source of pride and overconfidence. According to his account, the Turks rejected the Christians' proposal for a trial by combat, placing their trust in their numerical superiority. The writer refers to the proposed duel – featuring five, ten, twenty, or even one hundred selected warriors from each side – as a possible method to resolve the dispute over Antioch.¹¹⁷ Yet this narrative motif reaches its conclusion in Fulcher's text. In his version of the Battle of Antioch, which largely repeats Raymond of Aguilers' account, the advancing Christian army is spotted by a Turkish nobleman, Amirdalis (referred to as Mirdalim in Raymond of Aguilers's *Historia Francorum qui ceperunt Iherusalem*¹¹⁸), who informs Kürboğa – at the time playing chess – of the Christians' preparations for battle. Kürboğa sends an embassy to propose a duel, but just as the Franks had previously rejected such a suggestion, his own offer is now declined. In this way, the enemy himself acknowledges his impending defeat. The act of desertion by Amirdalis, who abandons Kürboğa's army in anticipation of the Crusaders' victory, emphasizes the image of inevitable triumph on the pages of Fulcher's *Historia Hierosolymitana*.¹¹⁹

It is worth noting that the writer estimates the Kürboğa's army at three hundred thousand knights (*milites*) and infantrymen (*pedites*).¹²⁰ Notably, in the first version of his *Historia Hierosolymitana*, Fulcher cited a total of 666,000 troops.¹²¹ In a subsequent version, he revised this figure – likely recognizing its exaggeration and the overt allusion

¹¹⁶ FC, I. XXXI, 6, 314–15.

¹¹⁷ FC, I. XX, 3, 248. See also T. Pelech, 'Pojedynek pięciu lub dziesięciu? Kształtowanie się przekazu o propozycji rozstrzygnięcia sporu o Antiochię w świetle źródeł do dziejów pierwszej krucjaty (do ok. poł. XII w.)', in *Mundus et litterae. Studia ofiarowane Profesorowi Wojciechowi Mrozowiczowi w sześćdziesiątą piątą rocznicę urodzin*, ed. by M. Goliński, S. Rosik, Wrocław 2023, 165–91.

¹¹⁸ See T. Pelech, 'Ammiralius, Mirdalim, Amirdalis – kreacja muzułmańskich dowódców w czasie walk o Antiochię w źródłach doby pierwszych krucjat (do około połowy XII wieku)', *Gremium. Studia nad Historią, Kulturą i Polityką*, 14 (2020), 69–94.

¹¹⁹ FC, I. XXII, 1–8, 251–54.

¹²⁰ FC, I. XXI, 3, 249.

¹²¹ FC, note 8, 249.

to the apocalyptic symbolism of the number 666 from the Book of Revelation.¹²²

The stereotypical portrayal of the enemy's overwhelming strength is further amplified by Fulcher of Chartres' inclusion of a catalogue of enemy commanders. In the later, more refined version of the text, this list includes the names of three principal leaders: Kürboğa, Maleducat (Duqaq of Damascus), and Amisoliman. However, in the first version of the *Historia Hierosolymitana*, Fulcher enumerated nearly thirty commanders, among them Amir Begibbe, Amir Maranie, Amir Mahummeth, Carajath, Coteloseniar, and Mergalscotelou.¹²³ Although scholars have attempted to identify some of these figures, their precise historical referents remain elusive.¹²⁴ For Fulcher's Frankish audience – particularly readers in the Latin West unfamiliar with the complex political structures of the Islamic world – the symbolic impact of this lengthy, exotic-sounding list was likely more important than its documentary accuracy.¹²⁵

This literary strategy evokes a classical topos: the catalogue of enemies, which appears, for instance, in Virgil's *Aeneid*, a work Fulcher of Chartres likely knew, given his education and the many signs attesting to his classical erudition.¹²⁶ Similar catalogues recur in other eyewitness accounts of the First Crusade, consistently serving to emphasize the power and magnitude of the opposing force. Fulcher's deployment of this device in his narrative of the confrontation with Kürboğa thus

¹²² FC, note 8, 249. See also *Gesta Francorum Iherusalem expugnantium*, in *Recueil des historiens des croisades*, XXI, 504.

¹²³ See FC, note d, 250; cf. *Gesta Francorum Iherusalem expugnantium*, XX, 504.

¹²⁴ Such as *Maleducat*, who is probably Al Malik Duqaq, Emir of Damascus (1095–1104), and the form of his name, with a clear reference to the *chansons de geste's* prefix 'Mal-', suggests that he is misled; see M. Bennett, 'First Crusaders' Images of Muslims: The Influence of Vernacular Poetry?', *Forum for Modern Language Studies*, 22.2 (1986), 101–22; here at 109.

¹²⁵ FC, note 12, 250.

¹²⁶ Virgil, *Aeneid*, in *P. Vergili Maronis Opera*, ed. R. A. B. Mynors, Oxford 1969, VII, v. 647–802; on the classical education and erudition of Fulcher of Chartres, see V. Epp, *Fulcher von Chartres*, 310–76; T. Pelech, 'Un réemploi de Flavius Josèphe par Foucher de Chartres : l'or arraché aux cadavres', *Cahiers de civilisation médiévale*, 259 (2022), 259–74; T. Pelech, 'Kształtowanie wizerunku Baldwina I, króla Jerozolimy. Fulcher z Chartres i partie wierszowane w opisach zdobycia nadmorskich miast Lewantu', in *Balkany – Bizancjum – Bliski Wschód. Studia z dziejów i kultury wieków średnich*, ed. A. Paroń, VI Kongres Mediewistów Polskich, 2, Wrocław 2022, 39–56.

serves a twofold purpose: first, to underscore the vast size of the Turkish army through exaggerated numerical estimates, and second, to reinforce its perceived might through a sweeping list of enemy leaders. This catalogue of enemy commanders is deliberately juxtaposed with a corresponding list of Frankish leaders.¹²⁷ The contrast establishes a clear binary opposition between the Christian and Muslim forces – a structural and ideological division central to Fulcher's representation of the conflict. The symmetry of the opposing lists not only dramatizes the scale of the confrontation but also strengthens the providential narrative in which a divinely supported but numerically inferior Christian army triumphs over an overwhelmingly powerful adversary.

The catalogue of enemy forces also appears in Fulcher's depiction of the Fatimid army during the siege of Jerusalem and the battle of Ascalon. In each instance, the writer emphasizes that the enemy army was composed of at least two distinct components. During the siege of Jerusalem, he notes that both Arabs and Ethiopians (*tam Arabes quam Aethiopes*) fled into the Tower of David after the city was lost.¹²⁸ Later, this same contingent is described as 'Turks, Arabs, and black Ethiopians',¹²⁹ which was repeated in the description of the Fatimid troops in the battle of Ascalon.¹³⁰ This likely reflects the actual ethnic composition of the Fatimid army, which included Turkish and Ethiopian mercenaries alongside forces of Arab origin.¹³¹ However, at the same time, this catalogue serves to underscore the strength and diversity of the Fatimid army. It is also worth adding here, as a context, the catalogue of foreign nations that appears in Peter Tudebode's account of the battle of Ascalon. Tudebode describes the Fatimid army by stating that in the service of the ruler of Egypt were 'the Turks, Saracens, Arabs, Agulans, Kurds, Azoparts, Azymites, and other pagans'.¹³² The people referred to as Azoparts, mentioned here for the first time, derive, according to E. C. Armstrong, from the Old French word *Azopart*, which was used

¹²⁷ FC, I. XXII, 1, 251.

¹²⁸ FC, I. XXVII, 12, 300.

¹²⁹ FC, I. XXX, 3, 308: *Turci et Arabes, nigri quoque Aethiopes*.

¹³⁰ FC, I. XXXI, 1, 311–12: *Turci et Arabes, nigri quoque Aethiopes*.

¹³¹ Y. Lev, 'Army, Regime, and Society in Fatimid Egypt, 358–487/968–1094', *International Journal of Middle East Studies*, 19.3 (1987), 337–65.

¹³² PT, 147: *Turcorum, Sarracenorum et Arabum, Agulanorum et Curtorum, Achupartorum, Azimitorum et aliorum paganorum*.

to denote an Ethiopian, and more broadly, people of black skin.¹³³ In medieval Christian thought, Ethiopians were believed to have black skin as a result of the sins of their souls, an interpretation found, for instance, in Pope Gregory the Great's *Moralia in Job*.¹³⁴ In literary representations, the colour black served as a specific marker of "otherness", distinguishing the enemy as inherently sinful.

Thus, by invoking the image of the Ethiopians, Fulcher of Chartres also engages with the complex system of colour symbolism prevalent in medieval Christian thought – specifically the association of black with sin and evil, as was presented above on the biblical description of the conflict of King Asa against Zerah. Furthermore, in Christian theology, light is diametrically opposed to darkness; drawing on the exegesis of the Gospel of St John, light cannot be overcome by darkness.¹³⁵ Within this biblical framework, darkness embodies evil, while light symbolizes purity. Accordingly, the colour black retained this negative connotation, representing darkness and evil – the adversary of the Church.¹³⁶ Thus, Fulcher's portrayal of the enemy army, through the symbolic reference to black Ethiopians, may have been imbued with a broader cultural and theological meaning, evoking the collective imagery of Christian audiences.

Conclusion

A close examination of the crusading sources presented here reveals not only a striking continuity but also a conscious choice in the use of hyperbolic formulas, stretching from biblical precedent to the Latin

¹³³ E. C. Armstrong, 'Old-French "Açopart, Ethiopian"', *Modern Philology*, 38.3 (1941), 243–50; E. C. Armstrong, 'Yet Again the Açoparts', *Modern Language Notes*, 57.6 (1942), 485–86.

¹³⁴ Gregorius Magnus, *Moralium libri sive Expositio in librum B. Job*, PL LXXV, X. 13, col. 1023–24; PL LXXVI, XVIII. 84, col. 88–89; XX. 77, col. 184–85.

¹³⁵ John 1:5.

¹³⁶ M. Pastoureau, *Black: The History of a Color*, Princeton – Oxford 2008, 40. See also J. B. Friedman, *Monstrous Race in Medieval Art and Thought*, New York 2000; T. G. Hahn, 'Race and Ethnicity in the Middle Ages', *Journal of Medieval and Early Modern Studies*, 31.1 (2001), 1–37; J. J. Cohen, 'On Saracen Enjoyment: The Difference the Middle Ages Makes: Color and Race before the Modern World', *Journal of Medieval and Early Modern Studies*, 31.1 (2001), 113–46.

historiography of the First Crusade. Numerical exaggerations, especially the motif of the enemy's overwhelmingly large and often uncountable forces, serve multiple purposes. They function theologically by affirming the action of divine Providence; narratively by heightening tension and anticipation of deliverance; ideologically by legitimizing the expedition to Jerusalem as righteous warfare; and mnemonically by helping to imprint the notion of an amorphous, threatening enemy mass in the collective imagination. These rhetorical strategies are not incidental embellishments, but rather integral to the construction of crusading discourse.

From early accounts such as the *Gesta Francorum*, Peter Tudebode's *Historia de Hierosolymitano itinere*, and Raymond of Aguilers' *Historia Francorum qui ceperunt Iherusalem* to Fulcher of Chartres' *Historia Hierosolymitana*, writers consistently depict a radical numerical asymmetry between the modest Crusader forces and the vast multitudes of Turks, Arabs, Saracens, etc. The literary topos of the innumerable enemy, often coupled with catalogues of exotic names and ethnic markers, draws heavily on both scriptural tradition and classical epic models. It dramatizes the Christian struggle, underscores the miraculous nature of victory, and symbolically encodes the First Crusade as a sacred conflict between divine order and heathen chaos.

This motif of excessive enemy numbers must be read not as an attempt at historical precision, but as a deliberate ideological and literary device. By inflating the scale of opposition, writers such as Raymond of Aguilers and Fulcher of Chartres magnify both the danger faced by the Crusaders and the magnitude of their triumph. The repeated evocation of foreign-sounding names, multi-ethnic enemies, and dark symbolic imagery, especially the figure of the black Ethiopian, further reinforces a binary opposition between Christian unity and infidel disorder. These rhetorical patterns collectively serve to inscribe the First Crusade within a providential framework, constructing a mythic narrative in which Christian perseverance and divine favour overcome seemingly insurmountable odds. Thus, the persistence and intertextual transmission of this topos across the sources underscore its central role in shaping contemporary perceptions of the crusading enterprise and the construction of the enemy's image within early twelfth-century Latin Christendom, while also contributing to the formation of a durable framework of collective memory through which the First Crusade

was remembered, interpreted, and even mythologized in subsequent generations.

These findings lead to three principal conclusions. First, Crusader authors employed the biblical rhetorical framework not merely as ornamentation, but as a moral foundation for both participants and audiences. Second, an attentive understanding of each author's intention is essential for evaluating the reliability and function of their biblical intertexts. Third, the study of biblical rhetoric in Crusader narratives offers a valuable key to reconstructing medieval intellectual formation of each individual author and the ideological foundations of crusading identity.

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ATTITUDES OF ELITES TOWARDS THE TRANSLATION OF HOLY RELICS UNTIL THE END OF THE TWELFTH CENTURY

Abstract: This paper presents the connections between the early medieval Polish elites and the translations of saint's relics in Poland up to the end of the twelfth century. The groups identified as responsible for these translations are rulers, clergy and nobles. The term 'translation' is understood here as any deliberate transfer of relics. The paper begins with an analysis of the first documented translation – the transfer of the remains of St Adalbert to Gniezno – and concludes with a presentation of the translation of the relics of St Stanislaus and St Florian.

Keywords: translatio, Saints, early Piast monarchy, relics, elites

The translation of saints' relics in early Piast Poland has repeatedly attracted scholarly attention.¹ Numerous studies have researched these events, focusing primarily on their immediate political, religious, or devotional

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¹ R. Michałowski, 'Translacja Pięciu Braci Polskich do Gniezna. Przyczynek do dziejów kultu relikwii w Polsce wczesnośredniowiecznej', in *Peregrinationes. Pielgrzymki w kulturze dawnej Europy*, ed. by H. Manikowska, H. Zaremska, Warsaw 1995, 173–84; M. Starnawska, *Świętych życie po życiu. Relikwie w kulturze religijnej na ziemiach polskich w średniowieczu*, Warsaw 2008; K. Wyszynska, 'Translacja relikwii św. Wojciecha z Gniezna do Pragi', in *Historiografia dobry rozbięcia dzielnicowego w Polsce. Materiały z konferencji, Poznań 31 marca 2022 r.*, ed. by B. Jabłoński, K. Maik et al., Poznań 2023, 159–85; G. Pac, 'Ad propagandum catholicae religionis cultum. Translacje relikwii i chrystianizacja Europy Środkowej do końca XII wieku', in *Christianizace v dlouhém trvání: 10.–15. století v Českém a Polském království*, ed. by K. Bracha, M. Nodl et al., Prague

consequences. However, no work to date has presented all of these translations collectively – not as isolated acts, but as manifestations of the idea of *imitatio regni*² by both senior clergy and lords. Only Krzysztof Skwierczyński, in his study of churches founded by lords, has noted certain analogies with the attitudes adopted by their rulers.³ Yet *imitatio regni* is not limited to foundation activities alone. It also encompasses actions related to other royal prerogatives, among which active participation in practices associated with the cult of relics is one of the most significant.

By examining the initiators of the translation of relics in Poland until the end of the twelfth century, one can discern certain consistent elements not only in the course of these acts themselves, but above all in the unchanging motivations of their initiators. These included rulers, senior clergy, and lords; however, in two cases of particular interest, it is difficult to attribute the initiative for such a transfer of holy remains to representatives of only one of these groups. The primary corpus of sources for investigating this issue consists of hagiographic texts, chronicles, and annals. A distinctive feature of the first category is their didactic function, which tends to dominate, although they also contain biographical and historical information. Often such information is embedded within a literary convention characteristic of the time in which a given work was written.⁴ In accounts describing the translation of relics, the saint is portrayed as an active participant in the event. He could prevent the transfer of his relics by punishing those

2024, 227–64; P. J. Geary, *Furta sacra. Thefts of Relics in the Central Middle Ages*, Princeton 1978; M. Papasidero, *Translatio sanctitatis*, Florence 2019.

² R. Michałowski, *Princeps fundator. Studium z dziejów kultury politycznej w Polsce X–XIII wieku*, Warsaw 1993, 110–12. *Imitatio regni* denotes a range of deliberate actions and performative practices undertaken by the nobility as a means of emulating the royal elite. These manifestations of imitation encompass not only the establishment of ecclesiastical foundations but also various ceremonial and devotional activities, including participation in rites associated with the veneration of relics.

³ K. Skwierczyński, 'Fundacje możnowładcze w Polsce XI i XII wieku. Możliwość ich fundacji jako problem badawczy', in *Animarum cultura. Studia nad kulturą religijną na ziemiach polskich w średniowieczu*, ed. by H. Manikowska, W. Brojer, Warsaw 2008, 63–93.

⁴ M. Michalski, *Kobiety i świętość w żywotach trzynastowiecznych księżnych polskich*, Poznań 2004, 31–33.

who acted against his will.⁵ By recognizing the individual elements of the hagiographic topos and understanding the primary motivations of the author composing such a narrative, we are able to extract from these sources not only valuable information about a saint's life and deeds, but above all to grasp a saint's ideological significance for a given community. Even more importantly, however, we gain access to the symbolic justifications behind the actions of individuals responsible for the translation of relics.

Other narrative sources – particularly chronicles – are also important for this study. Although their primary purpose was not to present the cult of specific saints, they provide substantial information about activities related to the veneration of relics and, importantly, identify the figures who initiated these acts, as well as situate them within a broader historical context. The *Gesta principum Polonorum*⁶ constitutes the oldest extant chronicle of Poland, composed in Latin in the early twelfth century. It offers a detailed account of the deeds of Polish rulers, especially Bolesław III Wrymouth, at whose initiative the work was created. While the chronicle addresses both political and religious matters, its author – whose identity remains uncertain – is generally regarded as a cleric from Western Europe with a profound understanding of Polish affairs. His work not only records historical events but also reflects the ideological and cultural values of early medieval Poland.⁷ Vincentius of Cracow (Wincenty Kadłubek), bishop of Cracow, composed the *Chronica Polonorum* in the early thirteenth century. The work is explicitly didactic and rhetorical, intended for a learned audience. The chronicle combines direct narration with dialogic exchanges, and contains numerous references to the Bible and classical literature. Vincentius not only presents the history of Poland from legendary times up to his own contemporary period, but also emphasizes moral instruction,

⁵ According to the narrative in the Chronicle of the Czechs by Cosmas of Prague, St Adalbert initially refused to allow his relics to be transferred to Gniezno. He then punished the Czechs who had tried to remove the relics by force and had broken the altar. They were immediately paralyzed until prayers were offered and repentance was shown. *Cosmae Pragensis Chronica Bohemorum*. *Cosmas of Prague, The Chronicle of the Czechs*, ed. by J. M. Bak, P. Rychterová, Central European Medieval Texts, 10, Budapest – New York, 2020, 159–69.

⁶ Formerly attributed to the so-called Gallus Anonymous. See footnote below.

⁷ *Gesta Principum Polonorum. The Deeds of the Princes of the Poles*, trans. P. W. Knoll, F. Schaer, Central European Medieval Texts, 3, Budapest – New York 2003.

the virtues of rulers, and the importance of the Piast dynasty within a broader European and universal historical context.⁸

Foreign chronicles also inform us about events in Poland, in particular the *Chronica Bohemorum*,⁹ the *Chronicle of Thietmar*,¹⁰ and the *Chronicle of Ademar of Chabannes*.¹¹ The first of them was written by the Prague canon Cosmas. The *Chronica Bohemorum* was composed between 1110 and 1125, and a substantial part of its second book is devoted to Polish matters. In it, the author describes the course of Duke Břetislav I's invasion of Poland in 1039 and the transfer of St Adalbert's relics to Prague.¹² The *Chronicle of Thietmar*, written by the bishop of Merseburg, provides us with detailed information about the course of the Congress in Gniezno in 1000. It was then that a metropolis dependent on the Pope was established in Poland, and Otto III was presented with the relics of St Adalbert. One source often underestimated by Polish scholars is the *Chronicle of Ademar of Chabannes*,¹³ which mentions the fate of one of the earliest cults in Poland, namely that of St Bruno and his companions. Another group of sources consists of chronicles that, despite typically being sparse in detail, prove valuable as comparative material and often help fill chronological gaps found in other sources. However, in the case of the translation of St Vincent's relics, the entry in the *Magdeburg Chronicle* remains the sole source offering a detailed account of the transfer and reception of these relics.¹⁴

Probably the first Polish duke to recognize the cult of saints as an extremely important instrument for consolidating royal power was Bolesław I the Brave (992–1025). It seems that no subsequent Polish ruler could match him either in the number of acts initiated in connection

⁸ *Writing History in Medieval Poland: Bishop Vincentius of Cracow and the Chronica Polonorum*, ed. by D. von Güttner-Sporzyński, Turnhout 2017.

⁹ See footnote 5.

¹⁰ *Thietmari Merseburgensis episcopi Chronicon*, ed. by R. Holtzmann, Monumenta Germaniae Historica. Scriptores Rerum Germanicarum. Nova Series, Berlin 1935.

¹¹ *Ademari Cabannensis Chronicon*, ed. by P. Bourgain, R. Landes et al., Corpus Christianorum, Continuatio Mediaevalis, 129, Turnhout 1999.

¹² K. Wyszynska, 'Translacja relikwii św. Wojciecha z Gniezna do Pragi', 159–85.

¹³ D. F. Callahan, *Jerusalem and the Cross in the Life and Writings of Ademar of Chabannes*, Studies in the History of Christian Traditions, 181, Leiden – Boston 2016; R. Landes, *Relics, Apocalypse, and the Deceits of History. Ademar of Chabannes, 989–1034*, Harvard Historical Studies, 117, Cambridge MA – London 1995.

¹⁴ *Annales Magdeburgenses*, ed. by G. H. Pertz, Monumenta Germaniae Historica. Scriptores, Hannover 1859, XVI, 187.

with the cult of saints' relics or in the depth of his understanding of the political and religious significance of transferring and collecting holy remains. Bolesław's first activity in this field was, of course, the translation of St Adalbert's relics to Gniezno. The acquisition of the entire body of the missionary, who died preaching the Word of God to the Prussians and was a friend of the emperor, drew the attention of the European elites of the time towards Poland. One only needs to look at how rapidly the cult of St Adalbert (also known as Wojciech) spread at the beginning of the eleventh century in Europe. From the *Dedicatio ecclesiae S. Petri Babenbergensis* of 6 May 1012, it is known that his relics were kept in the right-hand part of the eastern altar of St Peter's Cathedral in Bamberg.¹⁵ Churches dedicated to St Adalbert were built in Liège, Aachen, Reichenau, Pereio (Sant'Alberto, north of Ravenna), Esztergom, and Rome.¹⁶ The foundation of St Adalbert's Church in Rome by Emperor Otto III in 998 or 999 is of particular importance.

The transfer of the relics of St Adalbert to Gniezno prompted Otto III to visit Gniezno in the year 1000. One of the key events of the Congress of Gniezno was the solemn *translatio* of St Adalbert's relics, during which the emperor himself transferred the remains to an altar he had founded. Otto III's actions conformed to a ritual tradition observed earlier not only by the Carolingians but also by later rulers of the empire.¹⁷ Roman Michałowski has drawn an analogy between this ritual and the translation of the remains of St Januarius from Rome to Reichenau by Emperor Lothair I (840–855) in 838. Walafrid Strabo, in his poem describing this translation, notes that the emperor personally carried the martyr's body, having first divested himself of all symbols of secular power.¹⁸ According to the *Chronicle of Thietmar* and the *Gesta principum Polonorum*, Otto III went barefoot to the cathedral, which Michałowski interprets as a voluntary act of self-denial; furthermore, the emperor was said to have been in tears while asking Adalbert for

¹⁵ E. Dąbrowska, 'Pierwotne miejsce przechowywania relikwii św. Wojciecha we wczesnym średniowieczu', in *Tropami Świętego Wojciecha*, ed. by Z. Kurnatowska, Poznań 1999, 152.

¹⁶ T. Dunin-Wąsowicz, 'Ślady kultu świętego Wojciecha w Europie Zachodniej około 1000 roku', in *Tropami świętego Wojciecha*, 221–23.

¹⁷ Starnawska, *Świętych życie po życiu*, 279.

¹⁸ R. Michałowski, *Zjazd gnieźnieński. Religijne przesłanki powstania arcybiskupstwa gnieźnieńskiego*, Wrocław 2005, 136–39.

his intercession.¹⁹ The purpose of these actions was to secure the saint's favour – for himself and his entire realm.²⁰ It is also worth noting that Bolesław the Brave hosted a foreign ruler in his country who became the main celebrant of the act of transferring the relics.²¹ Bolesław then gave the emperor the most precious gift he could offer, an arm of St Adalbert. This relic was especially valuable, as the arm is one of the most important relics of a saint, second only to his head and the entire body. In return, the emperor gave the Polish ruler a copy of St Maurice's lance, a fragment of which included a nail from the Cross. This exchange of gifts was, of course, intended to strengthen their alliance and friendship between them.²²

Ademar of Chabannes is the only chronicler who reports Otto III's return journey to Aachen, in which Bolesław I the Brave is also said to have participated.²³ The credibility and early origin of the relevant interpolation in this chronicle were first supported by Stanisław Kętrzyński;²⁴ however, some Polish historians have not taken Ademar's account into consideration in studies of the earliest history of Poland. The chronicle's narrative depicts Otto III transferring the bones of Charlemagne immediately after his visit to Poland and his meeting with Bolesław in Gniezno.²⁵ The narrative contains several elements characteristic of hagiographic topoi: the initiator of the discovery of the burial place was Charlemagne himself, who revealed the location during a dream vision. The grave was found after three days of fasting, and furthermore, the emperor's body, despite almost 200 years having passed, was said to be remarkably well preserved. According to Ademar, Otto III also

¹⁹ P. Nagy, *Le Don des larmes au Moyen Âge. Un instrument en quête d'institution (V^e–XIII^e siècle)*, Paris 2000.

²⁰ R. Michałowski, 'Depozycja ciała św. Wojciecha w roku 1000. Przyczynek do dziejów zjazdu gnieźnieńskiego', in *Świat pogranicza*, ed. by M. Nagielski, A. Rachuba et al., Warsaw 2003, 54.

²¹ Michałowski, 'Depozycja ciała', 55.

²² Michałowski, 'Przyjaźń i dar w społeczeństwie karolińskim w świetle translacji relikwii. Część druga – analiza i interpretacja', *Studia Źródłoznawcze*, 29 (1985), 9–65.

²³ M. Sosnowski, 'Bolesław Chrobry i Karol Wielki – legitymizacja między kultem a imitacją', *Historia Slavorum Occidentis*, 2.11 (2016), 122–48.

²⁴ D. A. Sikorski, 'Kronika Ademara z Chabannes – odzyskane źródło dla najwcześniejszych dziejów Polski', *Studia Źródłoznawcze. Commentationes*, 40 (2002), 218–19.

²⁵ *Ademari Cabannensis Chronicon*, III, 31, 153.

bestowed upon Bolesław the Brave the throne of Charlemagne. This element should probably be interpreted as an attempt to illustrate the beginnings of the cult of the emperor, who was not yet canonized at the time.

The far-reaching plans of Bolesław the Brave regarding the construction of St Adalbert's sanctuary in Gniezno, which would collect the relics of other martyrs, may be deduced from Thietmar's account. He reports that the bodies of Bruno of Querfurt and his companions, who were killed during a mission to the pagan Prussians, immediately attracted the interest of the Polish prince, who wished to ransom them.²⁶ Ademar, on the other hand, only states that the martyrs' bodies were laid to rest in an unspecified monastery.²⁷

The fate of St Bruno's relics is reported by Peter Damian in his *Vita beati Romualdi*²⁸ and by Wipert, the author of *Historia de predicatione episcopi Brunonis*.²⁹ Wipert was said to be the sole surviving companion of Bruno of Querfurt, who provided an account of the mission to the Prussians. Neither author provides information about the person responsible for the translation of the relics or the exact place of their burial.³⁰ Bolesław the Brave might have intended to establish a centre for keeping the relics of St Adalbert, Radzim Gaudentius, Bruno and his companions, as well as the Five Polish Brother Martyrs. According to the account of the annalist Bruno, the initiator of the translation of the Five Polish Brother Martyrs can be identified as Bishop Unger (d. 1012, a Polish bishop residing in Poznań, independent of Gniezno). Peter Damiani presents a somewhat different version of this matter, which will be discussed below. Unger is said to have gone to the hermitage immediately after the murder of the Polish Brother Martyrs to arrange their solemn burial. The bishop commissioned wooden coffins to be made. It should be noted that burial in a coffin was a considerable

²⁶ *Thietmari Merseburgensis episcopi Chronicon*, ed. by R. Holtzmann, Monumenta Germaniae Historica. Scriptores Rerum Germanicarum. Nova Series, Berlin 1935, IX, 293–94.

²⁷ *Ademari Cabannensis chronicon*, III, 31, 153.

²⁸ *Vita beati Romualdi*, ed. by G. Tabacco, Rome 1957.

²⁹ Sosnowski, 'Anonimowa *Passio s. Adalperti martiris* (BHL 40) oraz Wiperta *Historia de predicatione episcopi Brunonis* (BHL 1471b) – komentarz, edycja, przekład', *Rocznik Biblioteki Narodowej*, 43 (2012), 56–70.

³⁰ Sosnowski, 'Anonimowa *Passio s. Adalperti martiris*', 72; *Vita beati Romualdi*, ed. by G. Tabacco, Rome 1957, 64.

distinction at that time; even abbots were often buried without coffins in the eleventh and twelfth centuries.³¹ He also ordered a large tomb to be dug inside the church.³² In the presence of numerous clergymen, he was to celebrate a solemn Mass and escort the coffins to the church.³³ The arrangement of the martyrs is surprising, as their bodies were to be laid to rest in such a way as to form a cross. The coffins containing the bodies of Benedict and John were placed on an east-west axis, while the remains of Isaac and Matthew were laid to rest on the sides.³⁴ This was justified as follows: the hermits from St Romuald's circle were to be role models for Polish novices; while Christian (Krystyn), who did not show sufficient humility during the attack, was to be buried outside the temple. Bruno of Querfurt claimed that initially Christian was not buried with the other hermits because, in the face of danger, he had defended himself with a piece of wood; the author supported this argument with a passage from the Book of Deuteronomy.³⁵ However, during the reconstruction work on the church,³⁶ Christian's body was found. His body had not decomposed and did not produce a stink of body decomposition. Immediately after the body was found, a down-pour began, which made it impossible to continue working on the monastery grounds. It was a sign from the saint, who wanted everyone to abandon their current tasks and focus on him. Then the monks, who were worthy of touching the relics with their hands,³⁷ carried his body to the church to rest with the other brothers; his remains were placed in the same row where the Italian hermits rested.

³¹ Starnawska, *Świętych życie po życiu*, 196; E. Dąbrowska, 'Średniowieczny ceremonial pogrzebowy wyższego duchowieństwa polskiego. Studium archeologiczno-historyczne', in *Groby, relikwie i insygnia. Studia z dziejów mentalności średniowiecznej*, ed. by E. Dąbrowska, Warsaw 2008, 13–38.

³² *Brunonis vita quinque fratrum*, ed. by R. Kade, Monumenta Germaniae Historica. Scriptores, XV, Hannover 1888, 13, 733.

³³ *Brunonis vita quinque fratrum*, 13, 733.

³⁴ Starnawska, *Świętych życie po życiu*, 196.

³⁵ Deuteronomy 22:10; *Brunonis vita quinque fratrum*, 13, 733: *Non iungas bovem cum asino, hoc est: sapientem cum stulto*.

³⁶ A. Labudda, *Liturgia pogrzebu w Polsce do wydania Rytuału Piotrkowskiego (1631). Studium historyczno-liturgiczne*, Warsaw 2014, 102.

³⁷ *Brunonis vita quinque fratrum*, 13, 733.

In *Vita beati Romualdi* (written in 1041³⁸) Unger's involvement in the efforts to transfer the bodies of the Five Brothers is not mentioned, even though he devoted the entire chapter to the martyrs (No. 28). According to Damiani, Bolesław the Brave quickly learned of the murder of the hermits and ordered a search for their killers. He then ordered the miscreants to be put in chains and taken to the martyrs' grave.³⁹ The holy hermits acted similarly to St Adalbert, who freed a man condemned to death in the presence of the Polish ruler. From the chronicle of Cosmas of Prague, composed between 1110 and 1125, it can be concluded that even before Duke Břetislav I of Bohemia invaded Poland in 1039, the relics of the Five Brothers had been transferred to Gniezno.⁴⁰ When describing the arrival of Adalbert's relics (referred to as *corpus*) in Prague, the chronicler added that the remains of the Polish Brothers Martyrs were also carried (this time Cosmas used the term *reliquiae*).⁴¹ Over the course of several years, Bolesław the Brave not only brought the relics of St Adalbert to the country, but also began promoting two collective cults. Although Cosmas does not say so explicitly, it was certainly Bolesław the Brave who initiated the bringing of the Five Brothers Martyrs to Gniezno, as he wanted to raise the prestige of Gniezno. This would be analogous to the foundation of Otto III in Rome, which was mentioned earlier, when the relics of St Adalbert were placed alongside the remains of other great saints, including St Bartholomew. Bolesław the Brave may have been inspired by the emperor's activities, creating a kind of "sanctuary" in Gniezno, where, as on the Tiber Island, the most important treasure was the body of St Adalbert.⁴² The aforementioned transfer of St Adalbert's relics to Prague in the 1040s took place in the cooperation of the Bohemian Duke Břetislav and Bishop Severus of

³⁸ Skwierczyński, 'Where and When did *The Life of Blessed Romuald* originate?', *Revue Mabillon*, 96 (2024), 225–31.

³⁹ *Vita beati Romualdi*, ed. by G. Tabacco, Rome 1957, 64: *Rex autem quid de eis faceret habita consideratione deliberans, hoc postremo decrevit, ut nequamquam eos, sicut merebantur, occidi preciperet, sed ferreis catenis vinctos ad sepulchra martirum destinaret, quatinus aut ibi usque ab obitum in vinculis miserabiliter viverent aut, si sanctis martiribus aliter videretur, ipsi eos sua misericordia liberarent.*

⁴⁰ *Cosmae Pragensis Chronica Bohemorum*, 169.

⁴¹ Michałowski, 'Translacja Pięciu Braci', 175.

⁴² Michałowski, 'Translacja Pięciu Braci', 183–48; P. Kubín, 'Die Bemühungen Otto III. um die Einsetzung eines Reichskultes für den Prager Bischof Adalbert', in *Böhmen und seine Nachbarn in der Přemyslidenzeit*, ed. by I. Hlaváček, A. Patschowsky, Vorträge und Forschungen, 74, Ostfildern 2011, 317–40.

Prague.⁴³ It was not initiated by Poles, but this transfer triggered further acts related to the cult of St Adalbert's relics, namely the solemn *inventio* of 1127 and the funding by Bolesław the Wrymouth of a silver coffin for Adalbert's relics, which, despite the invasion of the Bohemians, were to remain in the cathedral in Gniezno.⁴⁴

Until the mid-twelfth century, there is no evidence (apart from the actions of Bishop Unger, who performed the solemn burial of the Five Brother Martyrs) of the elite participating in acts related to the cult of saints.⁴⁵ This changed with the activities of the feudal lord Piotr Włostowic. Piotr Włostowic was a prominent Polish noble and palatine under Duke Bolesław III Wrymouth (circa 1080–1153), exercised significant political influence and sponsored several ecclesiastical foundations. He met Conrad III (circa 1093–1152), a German king, in Magdeburg on Christmas Day 1144,⁴⁶ when he was to receive the relics of St Vincent, which arrived in Wrocław in June 1145.⁴⁷

In the *Magdeburg Annals*, we find several motifs present in the description of the liturgical translation. We know where these remains came from and who donated them; the inhabitants of Magdeburg were to express their grief at the loss of the relics of their patron saint,⁴⁸ and their reception in Wrocław was nothing less than a solemn ingress (*adventus*), which fell on 6 June – the feast day of St Vincent of Bevacqua.⁴⁹ This date indicates that the journey must have been carefully planned, and that Włostowic and his entourage must have been familiar with the rite of translation.⁵⁰

⁴³ Wyszynska, *Translacja relikwii św. Wojciecha*, 159–85.

⁴⁴ M. Sitek, 'Retrospekcja i aktualizacja – "manewry" wokół głowy św. Wojciecha u schyłku XV wieku', in *Historyzm, tradycjonalizm, archaizacja. Studia z dziejów świadomości historycznej w średniowieczu i okresie nowożytnym*, ed. by M. Walczak, Cracow 2015, 153–76.

⁴⁵ J. Pysiak, K. Skwierczyński, 'Struggles for Episcopal Legitimation during the Gregorian Reform in Twelfth- and Thirteenth-Century Norway and Poland', in *Legitimation of the Elites in High Medieval Poland and Norway: Comparative Studies*, ed. by W. Jezierski, H. J. Orning et al., Turnhout 2025, 357–84.

⁴⁶ *Annales Magdeburgenses*, 187.

⁴⁷ *Annales Magdeburgenses*, 187.

⁴⁸ Papasidero, *Translatio sanctitatis*, 79–88.

⁴⁹ H. Manikowska, 'Princeps fundator w przedlokacyjnym Wrocławiu. Od Piotra Włostowica do Henryka Brodatego', in *Fundacje i fundatorzy w średniowieczu i epoce nowożytnej*, ed. by E. Opaliński, T. Wiślicz, Warsaw 2000, 46–47.

⁵⁰ Starnawska, *Świętych życie po życiu*, 327–28.

The bringing of the relics had political and propaganda implications; Włostowic welcomed the new patron saint together with the *primates terrae*, and on this occasion he also released prisoners. This was intended to manifest not only the power of the magnate, but also, indirectly, the favour of the saint, who had agreed to the transfer and performed miracles.⁵¹ Maria Starnawska claims that the new patron was also to be the first of the witnesses to see the effects of the powerful feudal lord's (*comes*) independence.⁵² Since Włostowic took some action to demonstrate his power after the ceremonial reception of the relics of St Vincent, in ideological terms, the new patron not only agreed to this action, but also gave the *comes* his support; only special individuals could enjoy such support. It seems that Włostowic resorted to the instruments used so far by rulers and church hierarchs to emphasize his political ambitions, aimed at creating his own dominion.

The actual purpose of Włostowic's visit to Magdeburg has still not been fully explained by historians. Three main theories have emerged: some (K. Maleczyński, J. Wenta) saw it as a diplomatic mission in the interests of Władysław II the Exile (related to Conrad III), while others (K. Myśliński, J. Łowmiański) saw things quite differently. According to these scholars, Włostowic was supposed to have been a representative of the junior lords who were in opposition to the high duke; while Plezia considered Włostowic to be the power behind the throne seeking to ensure internal peace.⁵³ Regardless of which of the above theses is true, it can be said that at a time of internal conflicts and feuds between the princes after the death of Bolesław the Wrymouth, Włostowic still retained an extremely strong position, and everyone took his opinion into account. He managed to use his visit to Magdeburg to strengthen not only his political position, but also his ideological stance.

The acquisition of St Vincent's relics by Włostowic was such an important event that it was cultivated in the memory of the community and treated as a special stage in the functioning of the Benedictine Abbey of St Vincent in Ołbin. This is evidenced, for example, by the development of the cult of St Vincent, manifested in the establishment of an indulgence

⁵¹ Starnawska, *Świętych życie po życiu*, 530.

⁵² Starnawska, *Świętych życie po życiu*, 530.

⁵³ J. Bieniak, 'Polska elita polityczna XII w. (Część III B. Arbitrzy książąt – trudne początki)', in *Spółeczeństwo Polski średniowiecznej. Zbiór studiów*, ed. by S. Kuczyński, Warsaw 1996, VII, 13.

for attendance at the exposition of his relics.⁵⁴ *Carmen Mauri*⁵⁵ written in hexameter verse (currently considered lost, it was written between 1153 and 1163⁵⁶) is a testimony to the memory of the founder, which may also indicate certain ideas of making the founder a saint too.⁵⁷ Apart from the duties that the monks had towards the founder and his family, through prayers for the founder's soul, he received a "guarantee" of salvation, as it were. Piotr Włostowic was convinced of his dignity and the significance of his position, the reasons for which can be found in his origins – he was related to the Rurikids, the ruling dynasty of medieval Rus.⁵⁸ A significant part of the Włostowic family was involved in the foundation's activities; an interesting phenomenon, concerning, it is worth noting, only his family, is the placement of tympana depicting the act of foundation on newly founded churches.⁵⁹

Maria Starnawska, analyzing the above-mentioned activity of Włostowic's attitude after bringing the relics to Wrocław, concluded that Włostowic's goal was to build his own territorial power,⁶⁰ with the relics serving as its foundation. There seems to be no other evidence to suggest that Włostowic had such far-reaching ambitions; his founding activities might better be attributed to the *imitatio regni* trend, and his main goal was most likely to compete with other powerful figures.

In 1162, Piotr Włostowic's son-in-law, Jaksa of Miechów, set off on a pilgrimage to Jerusalem.⁶¹ During his second stay in the Holy Land, he made contact with the patriarch of Jerusalem, Aymar, nicknamed Monachus ('the Monk').⁶² Jaksa then undertook to bring the Order of

⁵⁴ Starnawska, *Świętych życie po życiu*, 539.

⁵⁵ R. Gansiniec, 'Tragedia Petri Comitis', *Pamiętnik Literacki: Czasopismo Kwartalne Poświęcone Historii i Krytyce Literatury Polskiej*, 43.1–2 (1952), 98–139.

⁵⁶ W. Wojtowicz, 'Tzw. *Carmen Mauri*', in *Przeszłość w kulturze średniowiecznej Polski*, ed. by J. Banaszkiewicz, A. Dąbrowka, P. Węcowski, Warsaw 2018, I, 105–25.

⁵⁷ Manikowska, 'Princeps fundator', 49.

⁵⁸ Michałowski, 'Princeps fundator', 111.

⁵⁹ Michałowski, *Princeps fundator*, 112.

⁶⁰ Starnawska, *Świętych życie po życiu*, 529–30.

⁶¹ J. Rajman, 'Pielgrzym i fundator. Fundacje kościelne i pochodzenie księcia Jaksy', *Nasza Przeszłość*, 82 (1994), 6–8; Bieniak, *Polska elita polityczna XII w.*, 67–107; pilgrimage – *Rocznik kapitułny krakowski*, ed. by A. Bielowski, *Monumenta Poloniae Historica*, II, Lviv 1872, 798. *Rocznik miechowski*, ed. by A. Bielowski, *Monumenta Poloniae Historica*, II, Lviv 1872, 882.

⁶² M. Gładysz, *Zapomniani krzyżowcy. Polska wobec ruchu krucjatowego w XII–XIII wieku*, Warsaw 2002, 106–07.

the Holy Sepulchre to Miechów (Lesser Poland) and to found a church and monastery in the village.⁶³ The Order of the Holy Sepulchre was the custodian of the most important Christian relics.⁶⁴ Jaksa was to bring soil from places associated with the life and work of Jesus. One account, written quite late, in the sixteenth century by Samuel Nakielski, a canon of the Order of the Holy Sepulchre who recorded the history of the order, states that Jaksa brought four sacks of soil from Jerusalem.⁶⁵ However, it can be assumed that this account was rather the result of combining a legend about this event with the devotional practices of the time. Jaksa's foundation of the Monastery of the Holy Sepulchre in Miechów was undoubtedly the most important of all, and he made it his mausoleum; he was buried in the crypt of the church together with his wife.⁶⁶ It is worth noting that donations to the monastery from princely authorities were limited, with the primary benefactors being knightly clans: initially, Jaksa's circle, followed by the family of Piotr Włostowic.⁶⁷ Piotr Włostowic, one of the most powerful Polish magnates, did not limit his activities to funding religious buildings. His actions show that he was well aware of his extremely strong position in the state, but the scale of his activities shows that he may have had ambitions to match not only other magnates, but perhaps also to equal members of the ruling dynasty. His mission to Magdeburg ended up with Conrad III giving him the relics of St Vincent of Bevagna, a popular saint. What is more, the *Magdeburg Annals* show that he or his closest associates knew perfectly well how a translation of relics should proceed. The ceremonial arrival of the relics in Wrocław can be seen not only as an "ordinary" ingress, during which a new community has the opportunity to make first contact with its new patron, but also as a deliberate manifestation of the magnate's power. The translation, which was carried out by his son-in-law Jaksa, was rather a purely technical transfer

⁶³ Rajman, *Pielgrzym i fundator*, 6–7.

⁶⁴ S. Nakielski, *Miechovia sive promptuarium antiquitatum Monasterii Miechoviensis*, Cracow 1634, 81.

⁶⁵ Rajman, 'Kościoły bożogrobców w Małopolsce. Z badań nad patrociniami i relikwiami (XII–XVI w.)', *Folia Historica Cracoviensia*, 21 (2015), 48.

⁶⁶ F. Mróz, 'Oddziaływanie religijne i kulturowe sanktuarium bożogrobców w Miechowie w latach 1163–1819', in *Rola klasztorów w procesie kształtowania się państwowości krajów słowiańskich*, ed. by W. Stępnia-Minczewska, Z. Kijas, Cracow 2002, 159.

⁶⁷ Starnawska, *Między Jerozolimą a Łukowem. Zakony krzyżowe na ziemiach polskich w średniowieczu*, Warsaw 1999, 74–75.

of the relics necessary for the consecration of the church. However, these relics contributed to the promotion of the idea of crusades and pilgrimages in Poland at that time, and the foundation in Miechów was also supported by members of the ruling family.

The relics were transferred again thanks to Bishop Werner of Płock.⁶⁸ Bolesław the Curly sent him to Aachen with a message for Frederick Barbarossa.⁶⁹ During his visit, Werner not only managed to defuse the growing conflict, but also to win the favour of the local clergy.⁷⁰ During his mission, he was to be presented with relics by the emperor: *A quo diu repulsus, tandem interventu principum in gratiam est receptus, legationeque ad votum peracta, cum reliquiis sancti Heinrici aliisque donis ab imperatore perceptis rediit* ['For a long time he was rebuffed, but at length, following the princes' intervention, he was received graciously and after the legation was completed as desired, he returned home with relics of St Henry and other gifts he had received from the emperor'].⁷¹ The phrase *aliisque donis* may indicate that Werner received not only the relics of St Henry, but also those of St Sigismund. During his return journey on the border between Poland and the Elbe region, St Henry appeared to the bishop.⁷² The next day brought another intervention by the saint: there was no building material other than wood in that area, but unexpectedly, the bishop found a sufficient amount of stones, which were also shaped in such a way that they could be used to build an altar. Werner dedicated his small wooden church not only to the sainted emperor, but also to St Sigismund.

In the opinion of Czesław Deptuła, Werner's mission related to the transfer of elements of Staufen imperial ideology to the early Piast monarchy, which was to be imposed by introducing a new cult to Polish lands. Perhaps the bishop was simply forced to accept the relics of

⁶⁸ Cz. Deptuła, 'Werner', in *Hagiografia Polska. Słownik bio-bibliograficzny*, ed. by R. Gustaw, Poznań 1972, II, 513–21; Deptuła, 'Niektóre aspekty stosunków Polski z cesarstwem w wieku XII', in *Polska w Europie. Studia historyczne*, ed. by H. Zins, Lublin 1968, 35–92.

⁶⁹ A. Pleszczyński, *Przekazy niemieckie o Polsce i jej mieszkańcach w okresie panowania Piastów*, Lublin 2016, 149.

⁷⁰ Deptuła, 'Werner', 516.

⁷¹ *Ex aliis miraculis S. Heinrici*, ed. by G. H. Pertz, Monumenta Germaniae Historica. Scriptores, IV, Hannover 1841, 815.

⁷² *Ex aliis miraculis S. Heinrici*, 815.

St Henry.⁷³ As we know, the cult of St Henry did not take root in Poland; the only evidence of its presence, apart from the source discussed, is the celebration of Henry's memory in Gniezno, Cracow and Wrocław on 14 July. In Płock, this feast day fell on 26 August, which was probably a commemoration of the day of the translation of the relics.⁷⁴ Perhaps Werner deliberately left all of Henry's relics in a fragile wooden church on the border between the two countries so that he would not have to place them in the cathedral in Płock.

Finally, we shall examine translations of relics where it is difficult to identify a single initiator of the transfer. Two of the three editions of the *Translation of St Florian* recognize Bishop Gedko of Cracow and Duke Casimir the Just as the initiators of the relics' transfer, one of them claiming that both were the founders of the church in honour of St Florian in Cracow's Kleparz district.⁷⁵ In the fifteenth century *Annals* by Jan Długosz Casimir the Just is pointed out as the driving force behind the acquisition of the relics.⁷⁶ The bishop of Cracow's motivation for bringing the new relics seem obvious: it was believed that a saint resting in the centre of the country was able to protect it all, and the possession of important relics also helped to attract pilgrims.⁷⁷

The rivalry between Mieszko III the Old (1173–77 and 1190/91 and 1194) and Casimir II the Just (1177–1194) was not without significance for the events described – the translation of St Florian's relics and the subsequent canonisation of St Stanislaus were intended as a response to the intensified promotion of the cult of St Adalbert by Mieszko and his entourage, which manifested itself, among other things, in the commissioning of the Gniezno Cathedral Doors.⁷⁸ In Casimir II's plans, St Florian was probably to be a saint equal in importance to the Apostle of the Prussians (as evidenced, for example, by the fact that 4 May was to be a *festum fori* – public feast day), and his transfer to Cracow,

⁷³ Deptuła, 'Werner', 516.

⁷⁴ Deptuła, 'Kościół płocki w XII wieku', *Studia Płockie*, 3 (1975), 82–83.

⁷⁵ J. Dobosz, *Działalność fundacyjna Kazimierza Sprawiedliwego*, Poznań 1995, 88.

⁷⁶ Jan Długosz, *Roczniki, czyli kroniki sławnego Królestwa Polskiego*, V–VI: 1140–1240, ed. by Z. Kozłowska-Budkowa, D. Turkowska et al., Warsaw 2009, VI, 170.

⁷⁷ K. Dobrowolski, *Dzieje kultu św. Florjana w Polsce do połowy XVI wieku*, *Rozprawy Historyczne Towarzystwa Naukowego Warszawskiego*, 2.2, Warsaw 1923, 20.

⁷⁸ Skwierczyński, *Recepcja idei gregoriańskich w Polsce do początku XIII wieku*, Wrocław 2005, 241.

and thus the acquisition of his favour and protection, could have been a symbolic act of legitimising Casimir's authority.

The last translation in the period covered by our research is the transfer of the body of St Stanislaus. *Rocznik krótki* is the only one to date it to 1088.⁷⁹ There can be no question of the translation of St Stanislaus just a decade after his murder in 1079, if only because at that time his death was not considered martyrdom – both the anonymous author of the *Deeds of the Princes of the Poles* and the chronicler, Master Wincenty (Wincenty Kadłubek, 1150–1223) pay close attention to the fact that Bolesław II the Generous' departure from Poland in 1079 was caused by many other political mistakes made during his reign (1058–1079).⁸⁰ Some researchers place the translation of St Stanislaus of Szczepanów in the second half of the twelfth century, and confirmation of this thesis can be found in the chronicle of Master Wincenty Kadłubek. As we know, this work is written in the form of a dialogue between Bishop Mateusz of Cracow and Archbishop Jan of Gniezno.⁸¹ In chapter XX of book II, Master Wincenty presented his view of how Stanislaus died, then smoothly moved on to what happened to his body, which had been cut into small pieces:

*E quatuor namque mundi partibus advolare visae sunt aquilae, quae sublimius locum passionis circinando, vultures alisque sanguipetas alites a contactu martyris abigerent.*⁸² [Next he adds:] *Hac vero miraculi alacritate animati ac zelo devotionis quidam patrum accensi, sparsas membrorum minutias colligere gestiunt. Pedetentim accedunt, corpus integerrimum, etiam sine cicatricum notamine reperiunt, tollunt, asportant, apud minorem s. Michaelis basilicam, divis conditum aromatibus recondunt. Unde usque ad translationis diem, cuius causam ipse non ignoras, iugis dictarum splendor lampadum non desiit.*⁸³

⁷⁹ *Rocznik krótki*, ed. by A. Bielowski, Monumenta Poloniae Historica, II, Lviv 1872, 796.

⁸⁰ Starnawska, *Świętych życie po życiu*, 200–14.

⁸¹ M. Plezia, 'Tradycja rękopiśmienna Kroniki Kadłubka', in *Ars Historica. Prace z dziejów powszechnych i Polski*, ed. by W. Wolarski, Poznań 1976, 379–91.

⁸² Mistrz Wincenty Kadłubek, *Kronika polska*, trans. by B. Kürbis, Wrocław 2003, II, 20, 76; *Magistri Vincentii Chronicon Polonorum*, ed. by A. Bielowski, Monumenta Poloniae Historica, II, Lviv 1872, 2, XX, 297.

⁸³ *Magistri Vincentii Chronicon Polonorum*, 297.

(For eagles were seen to fly in from the four parts of the world and, encircling the place of the (bishop's) suffering from a greater height, with their wings these drove off the vultures and bloodthirsty birds from contact with the Martyr [...] Enthused indeed with this joy over the miracle and burning with zealous devotion, certain fathers make gestures to collect up the small dispersed parts of the limbs. Gradually they proceed and find the most complete body without even a trace of its wounds. This they take up and carry to the Lesser Basilica of St Michael and bury it preserved with wondrous spices. Thenceforth until the day of its translation, of the reason for which you will not be unaware, the everlasting brightness of the said torches did not fail.)

The first fragment proves the condition in which the body of the holy bishop was preserved – at that time, people were forced to adjust to the actions of the tyrannical ruler – a tyrant who sentenced St Stanislaus to be dismembered, but when the tomb was opened, it turned out that there were no traces of dismemberment on the remains, so a legend was created about the miraculous healing of the body of the new patron saint. From the next paragraph, we can conclude that one of the interlocutors, or perhaps both, was the “cause” of the transfer of the martyr from the Skalka Church to Cracow Cathedral.⁸⁴

Let us move on to the political and religious circumstances surrounding the transfer of St Stanislaus' body at the end of the twelfth century. Promoting the cult of a bishop who opposed the king and sealed his exile from the country was definitely not in the interest of the dynasty; this would have confirmed that a ruler from the Piast dynasty could pursue inappropriate policies and opened the door for any potential “traitor” to interfere in the government. The situation changed only with the death of Bolesław the Wrymouth and the gradual decline of strong supreme power, accompanied by a simultaneous increase in the independence of the clergy. However, Cracow still remained subordinate to the metropolitan city of Gniezno.⁸⁵ The Polish clergy wanted to turn the decline of strong secular power to their advantage, increasingly asserting their position; this is evidenced, for example,

⁸⁴ Plezia, *Dookoła sprawy świętego Stanisława. Studium źródłoznawcze*, Cracow 2003, 72.

⁸⁵ Skwierczyński, *Recepcja idei gregoriańskich*, 238; M. Walczak, *Alter Christus. Studia nad obrazowaniem świętości w sztuce średniowiecznej na przykładzie św. Tomasza Becketa*, Cracow 2001.

by the excommunication of Senior Duke Władysław II the Exile by the archbishop of Gniezno, Jakub of Żnin in 1146, which caused the duke to flee Poland. Despite the fact that Pope Eugene III sent Cardinal Guido as his legate to lift the excommunication, the Polish clergy continued to support the junior princes. Given such a state of affairs, the translation of the relics of a bishop, who opposed a tyrant and was put to death for it, could symbolise that the legitimate ruler is not always right.⁸⁶

The translation of relics, a strictly religious act expressing a rich ideological programme, was primarily a tool in the hands of political and clerical elites in the Middle Ages. The same attitude towards the transfer of holy bodies was also adopted by the early Piast monarchy at the end of the tenth century. The first translation, which can be traced back to the transfer of the body of St Adalbert-Wojciech, martyred by Prussians during his mission to convert these pagans, became a landmark event for the Piast state. Relics given as gifts were a perfect manifestation of the desire to establish or maintain an alliance with partners. Ademar of Chabannes' account, which mentions Bolesław the Brave's presence at the opening of Charlemagne's tomb in Aachen and the gift of Charlemagne's throne on this occasion, indicates the high respect that the young emperor had for the Polish duke.

The fact that clergy were also aware that the approval of a particular cult could bring far-reaching and decidedly positive consequences is evidenced by Bishop Unger's role in initiating the cult of the Five Polish Brother Martyrs. He arrived at their hermitage a few days after the hermits had been murdered in order to conduct a solemn funeral, which – as described above – clearly laid the groundwork for further steps toward establishing the cult. Likewise, Alexander of Malonne, the bishop of Płock, who was well aware of the potential benefits of promoting a cult, attempted to turn Płock into a pilgrimage centre. This was intended to bring the city not only prestige but also financial gain – which is understandable given the ongoing reconstruction of Płock Cathedral after its devastation by the Pomeranians during the raid of 1126–1127.⁸⁷

⁸⁶ Plezia, *Dookoła sprawy świętego Stanisława*, 73.

⁸⁷ Skwierczyński, 'The Beginnings of the Cult of the Blessed Virgin Mary in Poland in the Light of the Płock Accounts of Miracles from 1148', *Studi Medievali*, 53.1 (2012), 117–62.

To conclude, initially the translation of relics mostly helped rulers to strengthen and manifest their power. This is testified by the attitude of Bolesław the Brave, whose far-reaching plan was to create a “sanctuary” in Gniezno in honour of St Adalbert, parallel to the ones Otto III had established in Rome and Aachen. In most of the translations analysed above, senior clergy played a key role as their main goal was to strengthen their own position. Bishop of Gedko of Cracow, who brought important relics to his diocese, thus challenging the metropolitan See of Gniezno, bears witness to such a strategy. The only Polish lord who before the end of the twelfth century practised *imitatio regni* to full extent, both by means of foundations and the translation of relics was Piotr Włostowic.

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AVANT LES HUSSITES UTRAQUISTES : L'IMAGINAIRE MÉDIÉVAL DU CALICE

À la mémoire de František Šmahel (1934–2025)

Résumé : Dans la suite des travaux de František Šmahel sur l'utraquisme hussite, cet article s'attache à préciser la place croissante à la fin du Moyen Âge de l'imaginaire du calice et du Sang du Christ, afin de mieux comprendre à la fois l'attachement de la hiérarchie catholique au monopole sacerdotal de la communion sous les deux espèces et, par contre-coup, la vigueur de la revendication de certains laïcs, les hussites en premier lieu, d'un accès universel à la communion au Sang du Christ. Le recours aux images, depuis l'époque carolingienne jusque vers 1500, est ici privilégié parce qu'il éclaire la place du calice et du Sang du Christ dans la définition même de l'*Ecclesia* et de la sacralité sans partage du prêtre.

Mots-clés : utraquisme, calice, Sang du Christ, sacerdoce, concomitance

BEFORE THE HUSSITE UTRAQUISTS: THE MEDIEVAL IMAGINATION OF THE CHALICE

Abstract: Following on from František Šmahel's work on Hussite Utraquism, this article seeks to clarify the growing importance of the imagery of the chalice and the Blood of Christ in the late Middle Ages, in order to better understand both the

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Catholic hierarchy's attachment to the priestly monopoly of communion under both kinds and, conversely, the vigor of the demands of certain lay people, primarily the Hussites, for universal access to communion with the Blood of Christ. The use of images, from the Carolingian period until around 1500, is emphasized here because it sheds light on the place of the chalice and the Blood of Christ in the very definition of the *Ecclesia* and the undivided sacredness of the priest.

Keywords: utraquism, chalice, Blood of Christ, priesthood, concomitance

Dans ses remarquables travaux sur l'« anomalie historique » que représenterait au début du XV^e siècle la révolution hussite, František Šmahel a fait une place importante à l'utraquisme, c'est-à-dire à la revendication de la communion eucharistique sous les deux espèces pour tout le peuple chrétien, et pas seulement pour les prêtres. En 1414, dit-il, les théologiens hussites Jacobellus de Stribro (Jakobell de Mies) et Nicolas de Dresde, dans le sillage de Matthias de Janov (mort en 1393), préconisent la communion sous les deux espèces pour tous les fidèles au nom d'un retour à l'Église primitive et de l'abolition de la frontière entre les clercs et les laïcs, en même temps qu'ils veulent promouvoir la langue tchèque dans la liturgie. Ils invoquent l'évangile de Jean (6, 53–58) pour soutenir que le calice est nécessaire au salut des laïcs, puisque Jésus lui-même a déclaré : « En vérité, en vérité je vous le dis, si vous ne mangez pas la chair du Fils de l'Homme et ne buvez son Sang, vous n'aurez pas la vie en vous. Qui mange ma chair et boit mon sang a la vie éternelle et je le ressusciterai au dernier jour [...] ».¹ En 1420, les *Quatre articles hussites* résument les exigences des dissidents, où l'on voit que la question de la communion eucharistique est l'un des arguments de leur ecclésiologie et même de leur représentation de la société globale : ils réclament en effet (1) la libre prédication, (2) la communion universelle sous les deux espèces, (3) la suppression de la puissance temporelle de l'Église, (4) la punition publique des péchés mortels. Ce dernier point signifie que le peuple entier s'érige en juge au nom de Dieu, ce qui confirme, suivant František Šmahel, le caractère révolutionnaire du mouvement hussite. Mais après le concile de

¹ F. Šmahel, *Die hussitische Revolution*, Monumenta Germaniae Historica. Schriften, 43, Hannover 2002, 613 ; H. Kaminsky, *A History of the Hussite Revolution*, Berkeley 1967 (nouv. éd. 2004).

Bâle (1433) et les *Compactata* de 1436 conclus à Iglau (Jihlava) par les représentants du concile et les utraquistes modérés, la dénonciation de cet accord et la condamnation du roi Georges Podebrad par le pape Pie II en 1462 affaiblissent plus encore les prétentions des Hussites. Leur revendication n'en seront pas moins reprises avec succès par les réformateurs protestants du XVI^e siècle.²

Du XIV^e au XVI^e siècle, l'argument utraquiste fut avant tout ecclésiologique et théologique, en mettant en cause la prééminence des clercs dans l'Église et le monopole clérical de la communion sous les deux espèces, symbole éclatant de cette prééminence. Mais par-delà cette dimension, il me semble que la revendication utraquiste doit se comprendre aussi dans un cadre plus général et dans une plus longue durée : elle participe en effet d'un imaginaire du calice et du Sang, précocement explicité par les théologiens et diversement mis en scène par l'iconographie chrétienne dès l'époque carolingienne. C'est le développement historique de cet imaginaire et de ces images que je souhaite évoquer ici.

L'Utraquisme hussite : une « anomalie historique » ?

Les laïcs ont été précocement exclus de l'accès au calice.³ Il existe toutefois des exceptions : par exemple, c'était le privilège du roi de France et de la reine de communier sous les deux espèces lors de la cérémonie du couronnement.⁴ L'exclusion massive des laïcs de l'accès au calice a été parfois compensée par l'*intinctio* consistant à « teinter »

² F. Šmahel, *La révolution hussite : une anomalie historique*, Essais et conférences du Collège de France, 10, Paris 1985, 73.

³ 'Kelch' : 'Kelchkommunion', in *Lexikon des Mittelalters*, éd. C. Bretscher-Gisinger, B. Marquis et al., Munich 2002, V, 1095-96 ; *Lexikon der christlichen Ikonographie*, II: *Allgemeine Ikonographie: Fabelwesen – Kynokephalen*, éd. E. Kirschbaum, G. Bandmann, Rome – Freiburg – Basel – Vienna 1970, 496-97 ; D. Girgensohn, *Peter von Pulkau und die Wiedereinführung des Laienkelches. Leben und Wirken eines Wiener Theologen in der Zeit des grossen Schismus*, Veröffentlichungen des Max-Planck-Instituts für Geschichte, 12, Göttingen 1964.

⁴ J. Le Goff, E. Palazzo, J.-C. Bonne, M.-N. Colette, *Le sacre royal à l'époque de Saint Louis d'après le manuscrit latin 1246 de la BNF*, Paris 2001, 183, 308. Notons cependant que dans ce manuscrit, l'image de la communion du couple royal (Ill. XIV), montre celui-ci recevant l'hostie de la main de l'archevêque de Reims, sans accès au calice.

l'hostie en la trempant dans le calice, mais cette pratique a été réprouvée dès le concile de Braga de 675 ; au XII^e siècle, le Décret de Gratien la juge « superstitieuse » et au siècle suivant Guillaume Durand de Mende l'écarte à son tour.⁵ Il est arrivé aussi que des laïcs de haut rang soient admis à communier au calice au moyen d'une paille.⁶ Au début du XIII^e siècle, quand se fixe définitivement la doctrine de la Présence réelle dans le sacrement de l'eucharistie, s'impose la norme de l'accès partiel des laïcs à la communion : le calice leur est refusé, ils ne reçoivent que l'hostie lors de la communion et du reste ils ne communient en règle générale qu'une seule fois par an, lors de la fête de Pâques. Ces restrictions s'accompagnent de justifications théoriques. Une notion importante s'impose après des siècles de débats : celle de « concomitance », suivant laquelle tout le Corps et le Sang du Christ sont présents dans l'hostie, dès que celle-ci est consacrée, sans attendre la consécration du vin et l'élévation du calice.⁷ Les laïcs bénéficient donc d'une communion complète même s'ils ne reçoivent que l'hostie. La « concomitance » a favorisé leur exclusion de la communion au calice.⁸ Celle-ci est ratifiée par le concile de Constance, moins d'un mois avant l'exécution de Jan Hus (6 juillet 1415). Dès le 15 juin précédent, en réaction aux propositions hussites, fut officiellement interdite la communion des laïcs sous les deux espèces, et dans la foulée il fut décidé que les prêtres qui permettraient aux laïcs de communier avec le calice seraient excommuniés.

Il n'est pas certain cependant que l'exclusion des laïcs de la communion sous les deux espèces ait été perçue systématiquement comme

⁵ Guillelmus Durantus, *Rationale divinatorum officiorum I-IV*, éd. A. Davril, T. M. Thibodeau, Corpus Christianorum. Continuatio Mediaevalis, Turnhout 1995, IV, 7, c. 42 ; *Décret de Gratien*, in *Corpus Iuris Canonici*, éd. E. Friedberg, Leipzig 1879-1881, I, 1318.

⁶ M. Rubin, *Corpus Christi. The Eucharist in Late Medieval Culture*, Cambridge 1991, 72.

⁷ C. W. Bynum, *Wonderful Blood. Theology and Practice in Late Medieval Northern Germany and Beyond*, Philadelphia 2007, 92-95 ; J. Megivern, *Concomitance and Communion. A Study in Eucharistic Doctrine and Practice*, Fribourg 1963 ; J. Braun, *Das christliche Altargerät in seinem Sein und in seiner Entwicklung*, Hildesheim 1973 (reprint de 1932) ; K. Sibert, 'Kelche der ausgehenden Romanik bis zur Spätgotik. Ihre Ikonographie und formale Gestaltung' (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Göttingen, 2015).

⁸ Rubin, *Corpus Christi*, 56, 71-72 ; J.-A. Jungmann, *Missarum sollemnia : explication génétique de la messe romaine*, Paris 1951-1954.

une injustice et un manque. Comme l'a souligné Miri Rubin, il y a en effet une dissymétrie entre les espèces du pain et du vin : l'hostie, solennellement élevée et bénie par le prêtre, est largement visible et par cela même, elle capte l'attention et le désir des fidèles de la voir et de la consommer fréquemment.⁹ Le vin est au contraire invisible à la messe, sauf du prêtre ; sa présence dans le calice est une abstraction pour les fidèles, ce qui fait conclure à l'historienne que : « The elevation of the chalice never captured the imagination as a symbol of the sacrament in the iconography of the mass as the elevation of the host did ».¹⁰

Le calice n'en a pas moins bénéficié d'une puissance symbolique considérable, qui a nourri un imaginaire d'autant plus intense, peut-être, que l'accès à la deuxième partie de la communion était interdit à la grande majorité des chrétiens et que son contenu – le Saint Sang – était invisible. Au cours des siècles, la montée en puissance de cet imaginaire s'observe en particulier dans l'iconographie chrétienne.

Le calice, symbole de l'Église

Le calice contient le vin et l'eau mélangés par le prêtre au cours du Canon de la messe. Mais ce précieux mélange, miraculeusement métamorphosé en Sang du Christ sous l'effet des paroles du prêtre et de la grâce divine, n'est visible que par le célébrant : c'est le calice que les fidèles voient de loin, non le Sang du Christ que le prêtre est seul autorisé à contempler et à consommer. Le calice a une forme reconnaissable entre toutes, qui s'est imposée au cours des siècles, en même temps que sa matière devait obligatoirement être de métal précieux. Il est fait d'argent doré ou d'or et comprend trois parties : la coupe évasée, la tige avec un nœud central et le pied. Il est accompagné par la patène, faite de la même matière : destinée à recevoir l'hostie, elle est posée sur le calice au cours du rituel de la messe.

Parce que la manipulation du calice est le privilège du prêtre, il est devenu un symbole du sacerdoce et plus encore de la dignité épiscopale. Un des dessins de la *Chronique du Concile de Constance* d'Ulrich Richental montre le déroulement des obsèques de l'évêque et cardinal

⁹ E. Dumoutet, *Le désir de voir l'hostie et les origines du Saint Sacrement*, Paris 1927.

¹⁰ Rubin, *Corpus Christi*, 72.

Robert de Salisbury, décédé au cours du concile : sur le cercueil sont déposés le calice et la mitre du défunt ;¹¹ et sur le cadavre revêtu de ses ornements épiscopaux est placé un calice.¹² Le calice est explicitement l'attribut des évêques et secondairement des prêtres, comme le rappelle la présence dans de nombreuses sépultures épiscopales d'un petit calice en laiton ou en bois.¹³ Parfois, les archéologues découvrent dans ces tombes, non des substituts des objets rituels, mais de vrais calices et de vraies patènes, qui avaient été vraisemblablement utilisés par le défunt de son vivant.¹⁴



Fig. 1 : Calice, Trésor d'Oignies. Calice dit de Gilles de Walcourt. Hugo d'Oignies, 1226–1229. Argent repoussé, gravé et doré. Coll. Fondation roi Baudouin, inv. TO 3



Fig. 2 : Le calice et le serpent de Saint Jean l'Evangéliste. Hans Memling, Revers du tableau de *Santa Veronica*, Washington, National Gallery, Samuel H. Kress Coll. 1952. 5. 46a (actif 1465–1494)

¹¹ Ulrich Richental, *Chronik des Konzils zu Konstanz, 1414–1418*, éd. J. Klöckler, Darmstadt 2013, fol. 81^v.

¹² Ulrich Richental, *Chronik des Konzils zu Konstanz*, fol. 82^v.

¹³ E. Dąbrowska, 'Passport pour l'au-delà. Essai sur la mentalité médiévale', *Le Moyen Age*, 111 (2005/2), 313–37.

¹⁴ Voir la fouille à Toulouse du cimetière des Hospitaliers de Saint-Jean-de-Jérusalem. Dans une des nombreuses fouillées, ont été découverts un calice et une patène en étain destinés à la célébration de la messe, et non leurs substituts.

Le calice n'est donc pas qu'un vase sacré, il est aussi un symbole : dans l'hagiographie chrétienne, il est l'attribut de Saint Jean l'Évangéliste ; le saint est représenté en général tenant un calice d'où pointe la tête d'un serpent rappelant la tentative d'empoisonnement dont il a fait l'objet.¹⁵

Le calice peut aussi marquer le lieu de l'autel, identifier le saint des saints du sanctuaire : c'est le cas au tympan sculpté de l'église monastique de Sainte-Foy de Conques où l'on voit la sainte prosternée devant la Main de Dieu, en avant de l'autel, lequel est surmonté du calice.

Il arrive aussi que le calice serve de meuble dans les armoiries ou les sceaux. Le cas le plus notable est celui de la Galice dont les armes, par l'effet d'un jeu de mots (*Galicia / cāliz*), présentent depuis la fin du Moyen Âge un calice d'or surmonté d'une hostie d'argent.

Le calice est surtout le premier attribut de l'*Ecclesia*, telle que son image personnifiée se retrouve dans un nombre considérable de peintures et de sculptures.¹⁶ L'iconographie médiévale la plus commune de l'*Ecclesia*, représente une reine couronnée tenant d'une main le calice à hauteur de sa poitrine et de l'autre la bannière crucifère. Dans bien des cas, cette image de l'Église triomphante s'oppose à la Synagogue vaincue, les yeux bandés en signe de cécité, une main abaissée et tenant l'ancienne Loi, l'autre main sur une lance brisée en signe de défaite.

Comment se fait-il que l'image établisse un lien aussi fort entre l'Église et le calice et à travers lui le Sang du Christ ?

Institut national de recherches archéologiques préventives, Calice et patène en étain <<https://multimedia.inrap.fr/atlas/Grand-Toulouse/decouvertes-toulouse/calice-et-patene-en-etain>> [accessed 20 May 2025].

¹⁵ J. F. Hamburger, *St John the Divine. The Deified Evangelist in Medieval Art and Theology*, Berkeley – Los Angeles – London 2002, plate 2, 12, 26, passim.

¹⁶ Un sondage rapide dans le site en ligne Biblissima permet d'identifier 176 représentations du calice dans les manuscrits médiévaux, dont : Reims, BM, Ms 41, fol. 40 (Initiale O de *Omnis sapientia*) : l'Église personnifiée tient le calice et la croix ; Valenciennes, BM, Ms 209, fol. 2 : initiale A dans Matthieu de Cracovie, *Traité du Saint Sacrement de l'autel* (v. 1480–95) ; Verdun, BM, Ms 70, fol. 45^v : le prêtre présente le calice et l'hostie, Saint Anselme, *Meditationes*, (1120–1130) ; Lyon, BM, Ms 1558, fol. 17^v, deux anges tiennent l'hostie au-dessus d'un calice, avec l'inscription « Ecce panis angelorum », *Heures à l'usage de Rome*, 1466–1513 ; Toulouse, BM, Ms 15, fol. 14^v, un roi recueille le Sang du Christ dans un calice, *Biblia latina* (1300–1349) ; Marseille, BM, Ms 49, fol. 17, Melchisedech offre le pain et le vin à Abraham (1470–1480), etc.

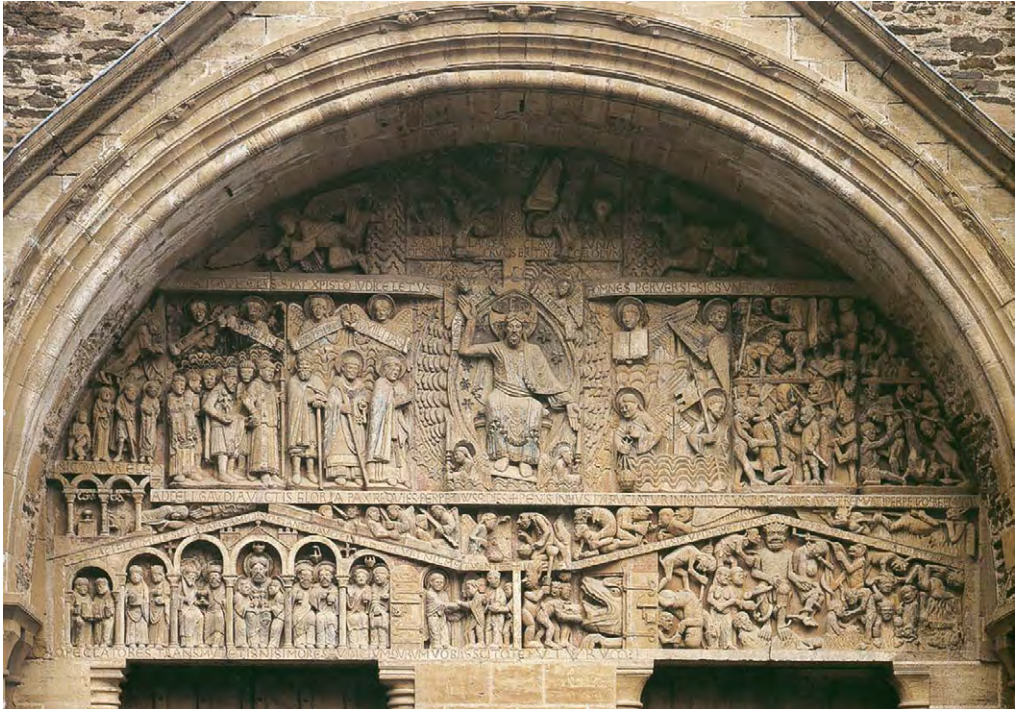


Fig. 3 and 3b : Le calice posé sur l'autel de l'église de Conques, tandis que Sainte Foy se prosterne devant la Main de Dieu. Conques, église abbatiale, début du XII^e siècle.
Tympan de Conques. Vers 1130

Déjà, les Pères de l'Église évoquent l'« édification » de l'*Ecclesia*, c'est-à-dire le mythe de sa naissance : celle-ci coïncide avec la mort rédemptrice du Christ sur la croix ; l'Église est née du Sang du Christ jaillissant de la plaie du côté du Crucifié et recueilli dans le calice. Jean Chrysostome affirme que « le Christ a donné l'eau et le sang de son côté pour former l'Église ».¹⁷ Saint Augustin dresse à la fin de la *Cité de Dieu* (XXII, 17) un parallèle entre la création de la première femme, Ève, tirée par Dieu du flanc d'Adam, et l'« édification » de l'Église à partir du sang et de l'eau qui ont jailli de la plaie du côté du Crucifié : « Il fallait, à l'origine du genre humain, que, d'une côte tirée du flanc de l'homme endormi, la femme fût formée ;

car ce fait devait déjà prophétiser le Christ et l'Église. Ce sommeil de l'homme était la mort du Christ suspendu à la croix, dont le flanc est percé d'une lance ; blessure d'où jaillit le sang et l'eau, ou les sacrements sur lesquels l'Église est « édifiée ». Car l'écriture se sert de cette expression, quand elle dit non que Dieu forme, mais qu'il « édifie » la côte de l'homme « en femme » (Gn 2, 22 ; Ep 4, 12). Aussi l'Apôtre appelle l'Église « l'édifice » du corps du Christ ». La femme est donc, ainsi que l'homme, la créature de Dieu : mais, formée de l'homme, elle figure Jésus-Christ et l'Église ».¹⁸



Fig. 4 : *Ecclesia* tenant le calice, opposée à *Synagoga*. Strasbourg, cathédrale, Musée de l'Oeuvre Notre-Dame, XIII^e siècle

¹⁷ Johannes Chrysostomus, *Huit catéchèses baptismales inédites*, éd. A. Wenger, Sources chrétiennes, 50, Paris 1970, III, 13-19, 174-77.

¹⁸ Augustine of Hippo, *La Cité de Dieu*, trad. L. Moreau, Paris 1994, III, 321.

Cette interprétation typologique de la naissance de l'Église assimilée à la création d'Ève s'est étendue à la figure de Marie, la « nouvelle Ève ». C'est pourquoi Honorius Augustodunensis déclare que « tout ce qui est dit de l'Église peut l'être de la Vierge, épouse et mère de l'époux ».¹⁹

Qu'en est-il des images ? À partir de l'époque carolingienne, plusieurs formules iconographiques se développent en parallèle et se font de plus en plus prégnantes dans les siècles ultérieurs. Elles présentent autant d'usages symboliques du calice en relation avec la figure de l'Église et le rôle sacramentel du prêtre :

- a) soit l'Église recueille dans un calice le sang du Crucifié,
- b) soit l'Église sort avec le calice de la plaie du Christ pour être accueillie par Dieu,
- c) soit le prêtre recueille dans le calice le sang de la plaie du Christ.

a) *L'Église recueille le sang du Crucifié dans le calice*

Cette image est déjà présente dans le sacramentaire réalisé vers 850 pour l'évêque de Metz Drogon (Paris, BnF, Lat. 9428, fol. 43^v). Dans la partie fériale du manuscrit, la scène de la Crucifixion, incluse dans une initiale O, montre l'*Ecclesia* recueillant le sang de la plaie du côté du Christ.



Fig. 5 : Sacramentaire de Drogon
Paris, BnF, Lat. 9454, fol. 43^v. Lettre
O. Crucifixion. L'Église recueille dans
le calice le Sang du Christ

Cette iconographie est bien attestée à l'époque ottonienne sur les plats de reliure en ivoire des manuscrits liturgiques les plus précieux.

À la même époque, vers 1022, le célèbre manuscrit de la Reichenau du *Commentaire du Cantique des cantiques* (Bamberg, Staatsbibliothek Bamberg, Msc. Bibl. 22, fol. 4^v), montre l'Église personnifiée qui, ayant recueilli le Sang du Christ en croix, se tourne vers la Vierge Marie pour lui donner le calice. La Vierge élève le calice à hauteur de sa bouche, comme si elle s'apprêtait à communier au Sang du Christ.

¹⁹ Honorius Augustodunensis, *Expositio in Canticum canticorum*, in *Patrologiae cursus completus. Series latina*, éd. J.-P. Migne, Paris 1852, CLXXII, col. 494 A :

Fig. 6 : Plat de reliure d'Adalbéron, v. 1000.
Metz, Musée de la Cour d'Or

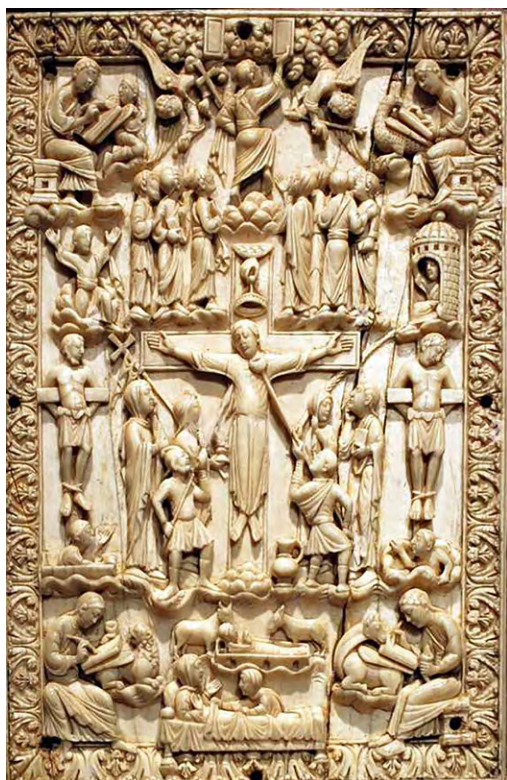


Fig. 7 : Plat de reliure v. 1030-1050.
Bruxelles, Musées royaux



Fig. 8 : *Commentaire du Cantique des cantiques*. Bamberg, Staatsbibliothek Bamberg, Msc. Bibl. 22, fol. 4^v. Reichenau, v. 1020

Un autre exemple célèbre est donné au XII^e siècle par le manuscrit strasbourgeois (détruit en 1870) de *l'Hortus deliciarum* de l'abbesse alsacienne Herrade de Landsberg. L'*Ecclesia* assiste à la Crucifixion. Elle est couronnée comme une reine et tient la bannière crucifère ; elle est assise sur une monture dont les quatre têtes symbolisent les évangélistes, et elle recueille dans un calice le Sang du Christ qui jaillit de la plaie du côté, ouverte par le coup de lance de Longin ; miraculeusement guéri de sa cécité, ce dernier se tient aux côtés de la Vierge et lève la main droite vers le Christ en signe de reconnaissance. De l'autre côté de la croix, la Synagogue se détourne, les yeux bandés, défaite et assise sur un âne.²⁰

« Hic liber ideo legitur de festo S. Mariae, qua ipsa gessit typum Ecclesiae, quae virgo est et mater. Virgo, quia ab omni haeresi incorrupta; mater, quia parit semper spirituales filios ex gratia. Et ideo omnia quae de Ecclesia dicta sunt, possunt etiam de ipsa Virgine, sponsa et matre sponsi intelligi ».

²⁰ Herrad of Hohenbourg, *Hortus deliciarum*, éd. R. Green et al., Studies of the Warburg Institute, 36.1-2, London – Leiden 1979, fol. 225^v : « Haec regina est Ecclesia quae dicitur Virgo Mater ».

Cette iconographie évolue à partir du XIII^e siècle dans le sens d'une dramatisation accrue de la mort du Christ et du don du sang. C'est le cas dans un psautier d'origine germanique montrant les « Quatre vertus crucifiant le Christ ».

La scène de la Crucifixion occupe une page entière. À la droite du Christ, l'Église est identifiée par l'inscription marginale +EC-CLESIA+. Vêtue de bleu, couronnée, nimbée, tenant la bannière crucifère, elle recueille dans un calice doré le sang qui jaillit de la plaie du côté du Crucifié. En vis-à-vis, la Synagogue (SYNAGOGA) a les yeux bandés, la hampe de sa bannière est brisée, les tables de la Loi sont tournées vers le bas. Trois vertus personnifiées clouent le Christ sur la croix : OBEDIENCIA (pour la main droite), MISERICORDIA (pour la main gauche) et HUMILITAS (pour les pieds).

Fig. 10 : L'Église personnifiée recueille dans le calice le Sang du Crucifié. Besançon, Bibliothèques et archives municipales de Besançon, Ms 54, fol. 15^v. Psautier cistercien, vers 1260



Fig. 9 : Ecclesia et Synagoga. Herrade de Landsberg, *Hortus deliciarum*





Fig. 11 : Karlsruhe, Badische Landesbibliothek, Ms Sankt-Peter perg. 139, fol. 8^r, Strasbourg, v. 1260

Une quatrième vertu, CARITAS, est la seule à porter une couronne, signe de sa prééminence. C'est elle qui de sa lance perce le cœur du Christ, faisant jaillir le sang recueilli par l'Église. Le don du sang rédempteur et sacramental est la preuve de l'Amour divin.²¹

Une grande miniature comparable se trouve vers 1260 dans un manuscrit dominicain strasbourgeois.²² Elle présente cependant des différences par rapport au manuscrit précédemment cité : les figures ne sont pas identifiées par des inscriptions ; aux six figures précédentes s'en ajoutent deux autres, celles de la Vierge Marie et de saint Jean Baptiste ; la croix est remplacée par son substitut symbolique :

l'Arbre de vie. Au sommet de l'arbre, le pélican se saigne pour ses petits, à l'instar du Christ pour les hommes. À la base est cité le psaume 73, 13 « TU CONTRIVISTI CAPITA DRACONIS » (Tu as écrasé la tête du dragon ; c'est une citation du psautier hébraïque de Jérôme. Dans le psautier gallican on lit CONTRIBULASTI CAPITA DRACONIS) tandis que le dragon se glisse entre les racines de l'arbre.²³ Retenons surtout

²¹ A. Guerreau-Jalabert, 'Spiritus et caritas. Le baptême dans la société médiévale', in *La parenté spirituelle*, éd. F. Héritier-Augé, E. Copet-Rougier, Paris 1995, 133-203.

²² J. F. Hamburger, 'La bibliothèque d'Unterlinden et l'art de la formation spirituelle', in *Les dominicaines d'Unterlinden*, éd. M. Blondel, J. F. Hamburger et al., Paris 2000, I, 110-59, et III, 35a et b, 156-57.

²³ Cette iconographie est mentionnée aussi dans P. Lethielleux, *Mélanges commémoratifs publiés sous les auspices de la Société parisienne d'histoire et d'archéologie normandes*, Millénaire monastique du Mont Saint-Michel, 1, Paris 1966.

ici que l'Église personnifiée, dédoublée par la Vierge Marie, recueillie dans le calice le Sang rédempteur du Christ.

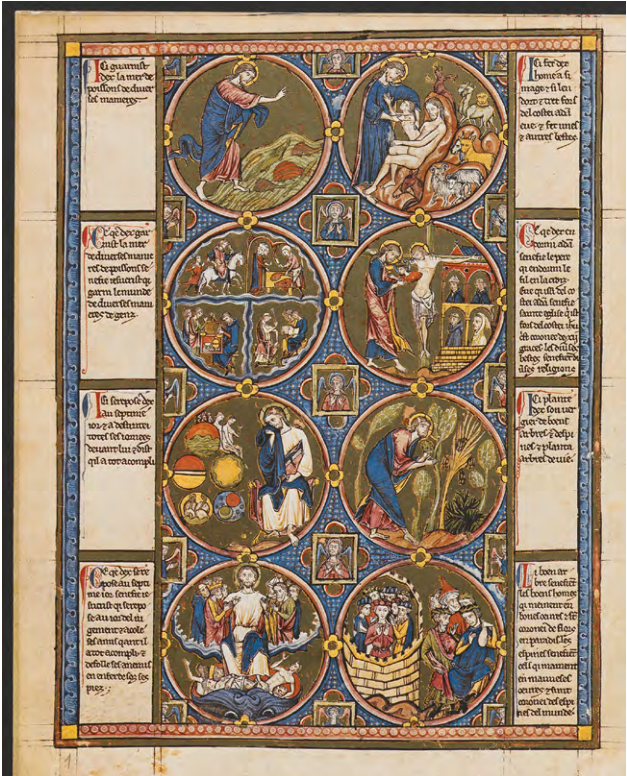
b) *L'Église sort avec le calice de la plaie du Christ et est recueillie par Dieu*
 Cette deuxième formule est surtout attestée à partir du XIII^e siècle dans les divers manuscrits de la *Bible Moralisée*.²⁴ Elle montre Dieu le Père (muni du nimbe cruciforme du Fils), tirant l'Église personnifiée, aux proportions réduites, hors de la plaie du Christ en croix. *L'Ecclesia* est reconnaissable au fait qu'elle est couronnée et qu'elle tient le calice.²⁵ La scène de l'« édification » de l'Église est le pendant typologique de celle de la création d'Ève tirée par Dieu du côté d'Adam endormi. Dans le manuscrit de la *Bible Moralisée* en français de Vienne (Vienna, ÖNB, Cod. 2554, fol. 2^r), la légende explicite le parallèle entre les deux scènes : « Ce qe dex endormi Adam senefie le père q' endormi le fil en la croiz. Eve q' issi del costei Adam senefie sainte eglise qui ist fors del costei Ihesu Crist coronee de XII graces. Les diverses bestes senefient diverses religions ». 

Fig. 12 : Vienna, ÖNB Cod. 2554, fol. 2^r (détail).
 Création d'Ève et établissement de l'Église tirée de la plaie du côté du Christ

²⁴ Lethielleux, *Mélanges commémoratifs publiés*, 90–91. J'ai étudié les variantes de cette image dans les différents manuscrits de la *Bible Moralisée* entre le XIII^e et le XIV^e siècle, dans : J.-C. Schmitt, 'Les noces de sang du Christ et de l'Église. À propos de l'exégèse visuelle dans la Bible Moralisée', in *Mélanges René Wetzlar* (à paraître).

²⁵ G. Schiller, *Ikongraphie der christlichen Kunst*, IV.1: *Die Kirche*, Gütersloh 1976, 89–91 (« Die Geburt und Vermählung der Ecclesia »).

Deux détails nous retiennent ici particulièrement :

- le calice que tient l'Église à l'instant où elle est tirée par Dieu de la plaie du Crucifié : il est son emblème ; il symbolise les sept sacrements, qui trouvent leur origine dans l'effusion du sang et de l'eau ; l'attention se porte plus précisément sur deux sacrements : le baptême, symbolisé par l'eau issue elle aussi de la plaie du Christ, et l'eucharistie, symbolisée par le sang ;
- la signification symbolique donnée aux animaux de la Genèse lors de la création d'Ève ; dans le médaillon inférieur, les « diverses bestes » deviennent les « diverses religions », c'est-à-dire les ordres religieux et les statuts divers du clergé. Sous le bras gauche du Christ en croix, on voit une architecture ecclésiale munie de quatre arches sous lesquelles se tiennent quatre membres du clergé : un évêque, un moine noir et un moine blanc et un autre religieux. L'Église qui est ici représentée est exclusivement cléricale, ni les laïcs, ni les femmes, n'apparaissent dans les quatre niches de « l'église / Église » sous le bras du Christ. Alors que l'Église est en théorie le « corps mystique » du Christ, les concepteurs de la *Bible Moralisée* la pensent d'abord comme une institution cléricale.

c) Le prêtre recueille dans le calice le Sang de la plaie du Christ

Il n'est pas surprenant que l'Église munie du calice soit perçue d'abord comme l'institution des clercs, puisque le calice est le vase sacré dans lequel s'effectue, entre les mains et par les formules de consécration du prêtre, la transformation de l'espèce du vin en Sang du Christ. L'une des plus anciennes images de ce rituel, sinon la plus anciennement attestée, se trouve dans le plat inférieur de la reliure en ivoire du *Sacramentaire de Drogon* déjà cité (Paris, BnF, Lat. 9428, milieu du IX^e siècle). Ce manuscrit et son iconographie, tant dans les miniatures que dans les ivoires de la reliure, pourrait faire écho aux débats théologiques des années 840-850, concernant en particulier le baptême des enfants, la dédicace des églises et la Présence réelle dans l'eucharistie. Si le plat supérieur de la reliure représente des scènes de la vie du Christ et plusieurs sacrements (baptême par immersion des enfants, confirmation, ordination des diacres) ainsi que la bénédiction des fonts baptismaux, la bénédiction du saint chrême et la dédicace de l'église, le plat inférieur est dédié au rituel de la messe et en particulier au canon, durant lequel le pain et le vin deviennent le Corps et le Sang du Christ. Le célébrant tient devant

lui les espèces consacrées sur l'autel, tournant le dos à ses acolytes, avant de se retourner pour leur donner la communion.

On pourrait convoquer bien d'autres images du rituel de la messe, qui toujours montrent le rôle prépondérant et même exclusif du prêtre dans la manipulation rituelle du calice. Ces images ne laissent aucun doute à ce propos, après que le concile de Latran IV de 1215, faisant suite au traité du pape Innocent III sur la messe (*De mysteriis altaris*), a conclu le long débat sur la signification de l'eucharistie. La notion nouvelle de « transsubstantiation » résume la doctrine de l'Église : si les espèces du pain et du vin

demeurent en apparence inchangées durant l'accomplissement par le prêtre du rite eucharistique, leur substance (*res*) s'est miraculeusement transmuée en Corps et Sang du Christ. Seul le prêtre, parce qu'il a reçu préalablement le sacrement de l'ordre, peut accomplir ce rite. Le triomphe universel de la doctrine eucharistique a donc contribué à la sacralisation de la personne et du statut du prêtre, de sa main qui accomplit les gestes sacrés, des objets qu'il manipule rituellement à cette occasion, en premier lieu le calice, mais aussi le corporal dont il le recouvre ou encore la patène sur laquelle il pose les hosties.²⁶ Un bref traité de la messe d'origine anglaise, de petit format (205 × 125 mm), daté du premier quart du XIV^e siècle (Paris, BnF, Fr. 13342, fols



Fig. 13 : *Sacramentaire de Drogon*. Paris, BnF, Lat. 9428, milieu du IX^e siècle. Plat inférieur de la reliure d'ivoire. La messe

²⁶ P.-M. Gy, *La liturgie dans l'histoire*, Paris 1990, 205–10.



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45-48^v) est orné de 13 miniatures représentant les phases successives de la messe, depuis le *Confiteor* jusqu'à la Communion : à peu près toutes les miniatures représentent le prêtre à l'autel, inclinant la tête et joignant les mains pour prier, élevant l'hostie lors de la consécration, s'inclinant devant le calice posé sur l'autel, faisant sur le calice trois signes de croix avec la plus petite parcelle de l'hostie, introduisant celle-ci dans le calice et récitant l'*Agnus Dei*, s'inclinant de nouveau devant le calice avant la communion, essuyant le calice, puis se retournant enfin vers les fidèles, mais pour ne leur donner la communion que sous la forme de l'hostie.

Ces treize images du *Traité de la messe* montrent bien l'enjeu du calice dans le déroulement du rituel et la répartition des rôles entre le desservant et les fidèles :

- le prêtre manipule seul le calice, l'essuie après usage, tout en tournant le dos aux fidèles ;
- les laïcs sont exclus de la communion par le sang et ne reçoivent que l'hostie ;
- le prêtre à l'autel lève l'hostie vers le crucifix, deux groupes de fidèles à genoux regardent l'hostie tandis que la cloche sonne ;
- le prêtre à genoux prie devant le calice posé sur l'autel.

Telle est, dévoilée synthétiquement par l'image, la norme rituelle et sacramentelle de l'exclusion des laïcs de l'accès au calice, que les lollards puis les utraquistes de Bohême ont voulu abolir.

Mais ce qui m'intéresse ici est moins le commentaire théologique et le déroulement du sacrement de l'eucharistie, tel que certaines images en témoignent, que la puissance symbolique et imaginaire du calice, qui s'est formée au fil des siècles et qui a dû jouer un rôle important dans la revendication utraquiste.

Remontons les siècles pour nous arrêter à deux pleines pages enluminées du *Sacramentaire de Minden*, daté de 1022 (Berlin, Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin, Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Ms. theol. lat. fol. 2, fol. 8^v-9^r). Le centre de la page de gauche est occupé par une mandorle entourée dans les quatre directions par les médaillons du Tétramorphe ; dans la mandorle, l'Agneau mystique, double symbolique du Christ de la Passion, se tient dans une cuve baptismale hexagonale ; sa gorge tranchée libère un flot de sang. L'image est entourée par une inscription :

+ ECCE TRIUMPHATOR MORTIS · VITAE REPARATOR +
+ AGNUS MIRIFICI PANDIT SIGNACULA LIBRI +

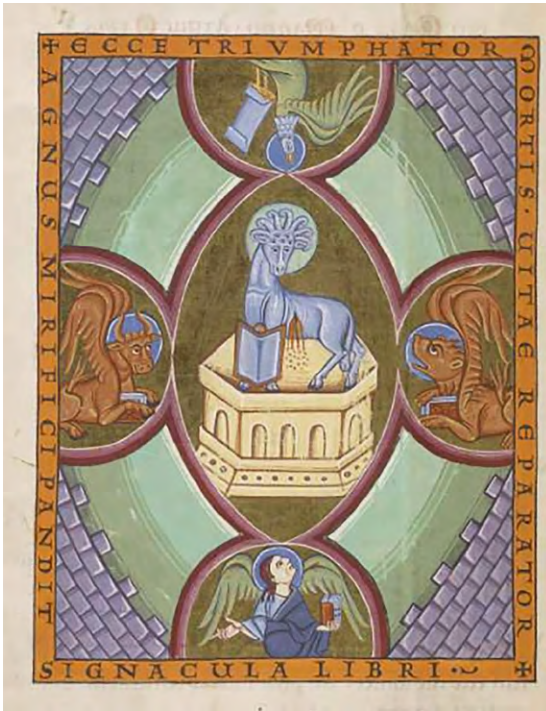


Fig. 15a : *Sacramentaire de Minden*, daté de 1022. Berlin, Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin, Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Ms. theol. lat. fol. 2, fol. 8^v



Fig. 15b : *Sacramentaire de Siegbert de Minden*, Berlin, Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin, Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Ms theol. lat. fol. 2, 1022, fol. 9^r

Le folio 9r en vis-à-vis montre une architecture ecclésiale avec une arche centrale sous laquelle l'Église personnifiée, tenant sa bannière et accompagnée de la Vierge Marie donne au célébrant, l'évêque Sigebert de Minden, aux côtés d'un acolyte, le calice du Sang du Christ. Le prêtre le prend dans ses mains et le bénit. La scène se déroule devant l'autel. Ici encore, une inscription entoure l'image, qui célèbre le rôle de Sigebert et le « charisme de la vie perpétuelle » dont il bénéficie :

+ HAURI PERPETUAE SIGEBERTE CHARISMATA VITAE +
+ HIS TUA CLEMENTER REFICIT TE GRATIA MATER +.²⁷

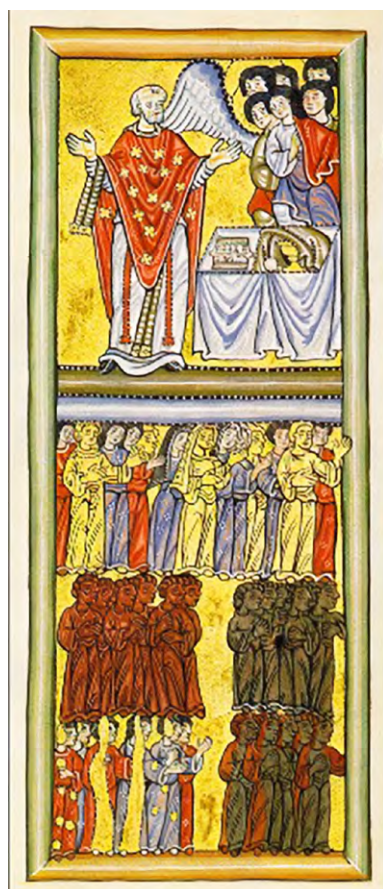


Fig. 16a and 16b : Hildegarde de Bingen, *Liber Scivias*, Vision II, 6, fols 86–86^v

²⁷ Reproduction en ligne : <https://digital.staatsbibliothek-berlin.de/werkansicht?PPN=PPN780464478&PHYSID=PHYS_0027&DMDID=DMDLOG_0002&view=overview-toc> [accessed 20 May 2025].

Au XII^e siècle, dans la vallée du Rhin moyen, une vision de l'abbesse Hildegarde de Bingen, traduite aussitôt en image dans le manuscrit du *Scivias*, montre l'Église personnifiée comme une reine entièrement dorée, qui recueille le sang du Crucifié dans le calice.²⁸ Un flux d'or prolonge la croix dans la partie inférieure de l'image, jusque dans le calice qui se dresse sur l'autel. Devant celui-ci, l'Église est de nouveau présente, cette fois agenouillée et en prière. Au folio suivant, le récit et l'image de la vision établissent le lien entre le geste de l'Église qui recueille le Sang du Christ dans le calice et la célébration de la messe par le prêtre, les bras en croix devant l'autel.

Dans la ligne des images sanglantes que l'on vient de voir, on peut citer enfin, à l'époque même de la revendication utraquiste, le thème iconographique du *Pressoir mystique*, qui rattache dramatiquement l'origine des sacrements à la mort du Fils et à l'écoulement de son sang. Le Christ est assimilé à des grappes de raisin écrasées dans un pressoir,



Fig. 17 : Colmar, *Spiegel des leiden Cristi*, Haguenau, XV^e siècle, Colmar, Bibliothèque municipale, Ms 306, fol. 1

²⁸ L. Saurma-Jeltsch, *Die Miniaturen im "Liber Scivias" der Hildegard von Bingen. Die Wucht der Vision und die Ordnung der Bilder*, Wiesbaden 1998, 112–21.

actionné parfois par Dieu le Père. Le jus de raisin qui s'écoule hors du pressoir est donc le sang divin qui innerve les sept sacrements, symboliquement représentés tout autour du pressoir. Le calice est largement présent dans cette iconographie foisonnante, soit qu'il recueille le sang ou même les hosties à la sortie du pressoir, soit qu'il serve d'attribut au prêtre dans la scène de l'ordination sacerdotale.²⁹

Le calice et le miracle

Dans la démonstration publique du mystère eucharistique, l'hostie qui, à l'inverse du sang, est visible de tous, joue un rôle de premier plan à partir du début du XIII^e siècle : à cet égard, l'institution en 1264 de la fête du Corpus Christi et l'organisation de processions destinées à offrir à tous les fidèles le spectacle de l'hostie dans le dispositif nouveau de la monstration, représente un jalon essentiel.³⁰ L'hostie, bénéficiant de cette mise en scène inédite et spectaculaire, ne risquait-elle pas d'éclipser définitivement le calice et le sang dans l'imaginaire des fidèles ? La doctrine de la « concomitance » – l'hostie consacrée valant pour tout le sacrement –, suffirait-elle à satisfaire la faim eucharistique du peuple chrétien ?

Ce ne fut pas le cas, si l'on en juge par les nombreux miracles eucharistiques qui donnent au sang et au calice une place de premier plan, même dans le cas où l'hostie semble privilégiée. Par exemple, il est fréquent que l'hostie profanée se couvre de gouttes de sang, rappelant que la Présence réelle dans le sacrement eucharistique concerne indissolublement la totalité de la personne du Christ, son Corps et son Sang. Certains miracles relatifs aux images du Christ et de la Vierge Marie mobilisent plus spécifiquement le calice : à la fin du XV^e siècle, dans la paroisse de Re (diocèse de Novara, province de Verbania), un prêtre recueille dans un calice, en présence du peuple, le sang qui s'écoule

²⁹ *Le Pressoir mystique. Actes du colloque de Recloses (27 mai 1989)*, éd. D. Alexandre-Bidon, Paris 1990. Le calice rempli d'hosties à la sortie du pressoir : frontispice (Tableau de l'école de Dürer, Ansbach, église Saint-Gumbert, vers 1511) ; le calice recevant le sang coulant hors du pressoir : Fig. 37 (Ms. allemand, début du XV^e siècle, Rome, Biblioteca Casanatense, Ms 1404, fol. 28) ; le calice attribut du prêtre ordonné : fig. 40 (*Spigel des leiden Cristi*, Haguenau, XV^e siècle, Colmar, BM Ms 306, fol. 1), etc.

³⁰ Rubin, *Corpus Christi*.

d'une célèbre statue de la Vierge, la *Madonna del Sangue* ; ce sang dégage une très bonne odeur, guérit les malades et protège contre de grands malheurs à venir.³¹ Le premier et plus fameux miracle du Volto Santo de Lucques (Lucca) concerne un jongleur qui, trop pauvre pour pouvoir donner une aumône au pied du vénérable crucifix, joue sur sa vielle un morceau de son répertoire en l'honneur du Christ. Enchanté par la musique, le Crucifix se défait au profit du jongleur de son soulier droit. L'évêque exige que le jongleur lui rende le soulier, mais quand il tente de le remettre au pied du Volto Santo, le soulier ne s'adapte pas à lui. C'est le signe que l'évêque a agi contre la volonté du Christ. La seule solution trouvée par l'évêque est de bloquer le soulier en plaçant le ca-

lice sous le pied de la statue.³² Cette légende illustre parfaitement l'opposition entre le monopole sacerdotal et épiscopal de l'administration des sacrements, symbolisé ici par le calice, bien qu'il soit détourné de son usage sacramentel, et le désir des laïcs, représentés ici par le simple jongleur, d'empiéter sur le domaine réservé des clercs.

Il faut aussi rappeler l'immense succès, à la fin du Moyen Âge, du thème de la *Messe de Saint Grégoire* : alors que le pape célèbre la messe, l'*Homo Pietatis* (L'Homme de Douleur) lui apparaît, sortant de son tombeau et exhibant les plaies de la Passion. De sa plaie du côté, son sang jaillit



Fig. 18 : Lucca, Volto Santo : le soulier du Christ soutenu par le calice sur l'autel. La Cité du Vatican, BAV, Pal. lat. 1988 (vers 1410), fol. IV^v

³¹ J.-M. Sansterre, *Les images sacrées en Occident au Moyen Âge. Histoire, attitudes, croyances. Recherches sur le témoignage des textes*, Madrid 2020, 345-49.

³² J.-C. Schmitt, 'Cendrillon crucifiée. À propos du Volto Santo de Lucques' repris dans J.-C. Schmitt, *Les corps des images. Essais sur la culture visuelle au Moyen Âge*, Paris 2002, 217-71.

vers le pape et retombe le plus souvent dans le calice sur l'autel. Cette image très largement diffusée fut utilisée comme un puissant argument en faveur de la Présence réelle et aussi, secondairement, en faveur de l'efficacité des messes pour les morts. Il serait logique de penser que l'apparition sanglante se produise durant le Canon de la messe, au moment exact de la consécration du vin. Pourtant, dans un certain nombre de représentations de la *Messe de Saint Grégoire*, le pape n'est pas en train de bénir le calice ; celui-ci n'est pas posé droit sur la table d'autel et il ne reçoit aucun flot de sang ; il est au contraire posé à plat ou même tête-bêche, comme si le peintre avait voulu dissocier clairement l'évènement de la vision et le moment de la consécration eucharistique. La vision de Grégoire le Grand aurait eu lieu pendant le Graduel, et non pendant le Canon.³³



Fig. 19 : Messe de Saint Grégoire. Maître de l'Autel d'Augsburg. Epitaphe de Heinrich Wolff von Wolffstahl, vers 1500. Nuremberg, Germanisches Nationalmuseum, GM 154

³³ *Das Bild der Erscheinung. Die Gregorsmesse im Mittelalter*, éd. A. Gormans, T. Lentjes, Berlin 2007. Ce livre reproduit plusieurs exemples de cette situation : sur la couverture du livre (Meister des Augsburger Altares, *Epitaph des Heinrich Wolff von Wolffsthal mit Gregormesse*, um 1500, Germanisches Nationalmuseum, Gm 154); 360, Abb. 7 (*Gregormesse*, um 1480, Augsburg, Bayerische Staatsgemäldesammlungen, Inv. No. 4633); 402, Abb. 1 (Hans Seblad Beham, *Beicht- und Gebetbuch des Kardinals Albrecht von Brandenburg*, 1531. Aschaffenburg, Hofbibliothek Aschaffenburg, Ms 8, fol. 63^v); 422, Abb. 10 et 11 (Nikolaus Glockendon, *Missale des Kardinals Albrecht von Brandenburger*, D-Initiale, um 1523/24, Aschaffenburg,

Suzanne Wegmann suggère une autre interprétation, en constatant que certaines des peintures ou gravures concernées étaient destinées à l'archevêque de Mayence, le cardinal Albrecht de Brandenburg (1490–1546). Celui-ci, fervent adversaire de Martin Luther, aurait voulu par cette image se poser en successeur du pape Grégoire le Grand, comme le prélat chargé de transmettre au peuple chrétien l'interprétation catholique authentique de la messe.³⁴ L'apparition de l'Homme de Douleurs ne serait pas un miracle eucharistique qui se serait produit à l'instant de la consécration, mais plutôt le signe de la volonté de l'archevêque de se poser en premier défenseur de l'orthodoxie face à l'hérésie. Cette finalité est renforcée par la présence, tout autour de *l'Homo Pietatis*, de la panoplie complète des *Arma Christi*, qui peuvent faire aussi l'objet d'une représentation autonome (indépendamment de la Messe de Saint Grégoire), et dont le calice est toujours une pièce maîtresse et centrale.³⁵

Ce qui m'intéresse ici est la manipulation du calice, en rupture avec l'image commune de la *Messe de Saint-Grégoire*. Le projet d'Albrecht de Brandebourg est à l'extrême opposé de celui des Luthériens ou, un siècle plus tôt, des Hussites utraquistes. L'archevêque accapare l'image du calice, la manipule à sa guise, pour en faire l'emblème personnel de sa lutte contre les Réformés. Les utraquistes puis les Luthériens exigent au contraire que le calice, étroitement lié à la consécration du pain et du vin, devienne le bien commun du peuple chrétien. On pourrait rapprocher leur revendication de l'attitude du jongleur de Lucques, un simple laïc qui, sur l'ordre du Christ, se serait emparé du soulier du Volto Santo contre la volonté de l'évêque du lieu.

Il y aurait donc lieu de recenser, en dehors même de l'hérésie, tous les témoignages d'une appropriation symbolique et laïque du calice montrant les limites du monopole clérical. Un cas célèbre concerne la

Hofbibliothek Aschaffenburg, Ms 10, fol. 371^r, et Id. *Gebetbuch*, 1512, Vienna, ÖNB, Cod. 2747, fol. 138^r; 423, Abb. 12, Lucas Cranach der Ältere, (Umkreis), *Gregor-messe*, Aschaffenburg, Stiftskirche.

³⁴ *Das Bild der Erscheinung*, 424–25.

³⁵ On se reportera à l'article fondamental de Robert Suckale sur les *Arma Christi* et les « images de dévotion » : R. Suckale, 'Arma Christi: Überlegungen zur Zeichenhaftigkeit mittelalterlicher Andachtsbilder', *Städel-Jahrbuch. Neue Folge*, 6 (1977), 177–208. Voir aussi : T. Noll, 'Zu Begriff, Gestalt und Funktion des Andachtsbildes im späten Mittelalter', *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte* 67.3 (2004), 297–328; D. Wagner, 'Aesthetics of Enumeration: The *Arma Christi* in Medieval Visual Art', in *Forms of List-Making: Epistemic, Literary, and Visual Enumeration*, éd. R. A. Barton, J. Böckling et al., Cham 2022, 249–74.

Pologne au XIII^e siècle : le duc Conrad de Masovie s'est fait représenté avec sa femme Agafia sur une précieuse patène, l'un et l'autre prosternés devant la majesté du Christ, mais élevant le calice dans leurs mains. Leurs noms figurent également à la base du calice lui-même.³⁶ Certes, ils ne prennent pas la place du prêtre qui célèbre le sacrifice, mais en marquant de leur effigie les instruments du rituel eucharistique, ils s'approchent du sang du Christ autant que cela est possible à de puissants laïcs.

Une attitude plus radicale encore est proposée dans un fragment de retable strasbourgeois daté de 1475 et figurant *La prière du riche et du pauvre*. Entre deux constructions verticales qui représentent la demeure du riche, lequel festoie en bonne compagnie devant un groupe de musiciens, le Christ ressuscité apparaît et montre ses plaies sanglantes au donateur et au pauvre vêtu de haillons. Tous deux, agenouillés et priant dévotement, sont inondés par le sang du Sauveur. Sur le côté gauche du tableau, le pauvre est reçu au paradis tandis que le riche est précipité en enfer. Il est remarquable que le pauvre et le donateur, fidèles dévots du Christ, reçoivent directement les bienfaits du sang christique, hors de toute mention de la messe et de toute médiation cléricale. Ce retable figure en somme une *anti-Messe de saint Grégoire* : il n'y est pas question d'église, mais d'une demeure profane ; la messe n'est pas célébrée, il n'y a pas de prêtre et encore moins de calice : seule importe ici la participation immédiate des laïcs aux bienfaits spirituels de la Passion et du Sang du Christ. Pour les Hussites et les Luthériens, les laïcs doivent pouvoir participer à égalité avec les prêtres à la communion eucharistique. Dans le retable de la *Légende du riche et du pauvre*, toute médiation cléricale est effacée, la messe elle-même disparaît, le calice n'a plus sa place.

³⁶ K. Jasiński, 'Kielich płocki wraz z pateną – dar księcia mazowieckiego Konrada I', in *Człowiek w społeczeństwie średniowiecznym*, éd. R. Michałowski, Varsovie 1997, 283–87; A. Krzystek, 'Kielich i patena Konrada Mazowieckiego z XIII wieku – kopia dla archidiecezji szczecińsko-kamieńskiej', *Studia Koszalińsko-Kołobrzeszkie*, 13 (2020), 459–71. Je remercie les éditeurs d'avoir attiré mon attention sur ce cas exceptionnel.

Conclusion

En hommage aux travaux fondamentaux du regretté František Šmahel sur l'utraquisme hussite, cet article propose d'élargir géographiquement et thématiquement la réflexion, en posant la question générale de *l'imaginaire du calice et du Sang du Christ* dans la chrétienté médiévale occidentale. Il nous semble en effet que la revendication de la communion des laïcs sous les deux espèces ne se limite pas à un débat théologique ou un conflit politique et moins encore à une simple norme disciplinaire. Elle mobilise la représentation et les valeurs de l'*Ecclesia* tout entière, que les uns et les autres, en premier lieu les clercs et les laïcs, avaient en partage, mais qui simultanément les distinguaient ou même les opposaient. L'iconographie nous est apparue comme une voie privilégiée pour suivre le développement de cet imaginaire et des lignes de fracture qu'il traçait dans la société médiévale. Les images, en particulier les miniatures de certains manuscrits, mettent en valeur une série d'enjeux étroitement associés : le monopole clérical de la manipulation du calice, objet rituel dont le caractère précieux illustre la sacralité de son contenu divin, et aussi de l'ordre sacerdotal et de la personne même du prêtre ; la valeur insigne du sang rédempteur que le Christ a versé sur la croix, particulièrement hors de la plaie du côté ; le mythe de la naissance de l'*Ecclesia* à partir de ce même flux de sang ; et par suite l'origine des sept sacrements administrés par les prêtres. Ces thèmes forment un système cohérent dont l'évolution historique n'a fait que renforcer la monopolisation sacerdotale du sacré. Parmi d'autres, les images de la naissance de l'Église dans la *Bible Moralisée*, celles du Pressoir Mystique ou de la Messe de Saint Grégoire mettent en scène ces relations symboliques, qui concourent à exalter le privilège qu'ont les prêtres de manipuler le calice et le Sang du Christ. Cependant, des compensations étaient concédées aux laïcs : alors que ces derniers ne pouvaient pas communier au calice, la théorie de la « concomitance » les assurait néanmoins d'une participation complète au sacrement de l'autel ; de plus, le développement de la dévotion de l'hostie, qui culmina en 1264 dans l'instauration de la fête du Corpus Christi, était susceptible d'apaiser leur faim eucharistique. Mais le cas exceptionnel du calice et de la patène du duc Conrad de Masovie, sur lesquels il s'est fait représenter avec son épouse le calice à la main, ou le miracle du jongleur du Volto Santo, dont l'évêque de Lucques

ne put récupérer le soulier offert par le Christ lui-même à ce pauvre laïc, qu'en le bloquant sur l'autel avec le calice, montrent qu'une résistance implicite du monopole clérical du calice a bien existé avant de connaître en Bohême au début du XV^e siècle l'éruption sans précédent de l'utraquisme hussite.

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RAINER CHRISTOPH SCHWINGES^{*}

CHURCHMAN, JURIST, ARTIST: WINAND ORT VON STEEG AND HIS LEARNED COLLEAGUES (AROUND 1426)¹

In memory of František Šmahel (1934–2025)

Abstract: The article introduces a distinguished, yet typical scholarly personality of the fifteenth century: Winand von Steeg, an imaginative jurist, pulpit orator, theologian and Hebraist and, last but not least, a versatile artist. After studying in Italy and Heidelberg and spending time in Rome, which brought him useful contacts and benefices, he became professor of canon law in Würzburg. At the same time, Winand took on advisory functions, which brought him further contacts and prevented a career setback after the closure of his university. As a legal adviser of Nuremberg, he took part in the Council of Constance, which provided a platform for scholars to offer their expertise and engage in networking. Winand was recommended to King Sigismund of Luxembourg, who appointed him his *secretarius* in Hungary, though he disliked court service. He endeavoured to find a place to continue his studies and found one as a priest in Bacharach. Winand became particularly well known through the *Libellum*: a composite manuscript of expert opinions on the duty-free transport of parish wine on the Rhine. This booklet was addressed to his sovereign, the elector palatine in Heidelberg, as a warning against tampering with church property in the period when anticlerical Hussite heresy was flourishing in Bohemia. The elector was thereby subjected to a collective demonstration by contemporary lawyers and theologians. Winand had added pictures of the experts to the seventy texts and had tried to achieve a por-

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¹ For a linguistic revision of this text I thank my colleague Dr Nicole Nyffenegger, Department of English at the University of Bern.

trait-like quality. So the viewer was shown the professional power of interpretation and also the functioning of a network of supporting colleagues.

Keywords: academic prosopography, scholars, councillors, networking, knowledge

The jurist Winand von Steeg was a particularly versatile and distinctive, albeit very typical, representative of his profession. His portrait shows



him looking friendly, and a little thoughtful, in the process of writing an expert report. The situation should have been familiar to him because he had painted it himself (Fig. 1).

Apart from all else, he is interesting to us as a man with a university education, and a doctor of the canon law. This makes him an ideal test case for our digital research project *Repertorium Academicum Germanicum* (RAG), which aims at investigating the university-trained scholars of the Holy Roman Empire from the perspective of prosopography, exploring their lives, their knowledge, their social impact and the specific culture that developed around them, from its beginnings to the middle of the sixteenth century.²

Fig. 1: Winand von Steeg, Self-portrait (1426). Source: Bayerisches Geheimes Hausarchiv, Munich (BayHSTA, GHA), Hs. 12, fol. 15^v, after Schmidt, Heimpel, *Winand von Steeg*, plate 8

² See URL: www.rag-online.org: Winand von Steeg (Ort) [accessed 27 August 2025]. For recent information on the RAG, continued under the umbrella of the Repertorium Academicum (REPAC) see URL: www.repac.ch [accessed 27 August 2025], and K. Gubler, C. Hesse, 'Das Repertorium Academicum Germanicum. Neue Perspektiven im europäischen Verbund', in *Die römischen Repertorien. Neue Perspektiven für die Erforschung von Kirche und Kurie des Spätmittelalters (1378–1484)*, ed. by C. Märkl, I. Fees et al., Bibliothek des Deutschen Historischen Instituts in Rom, 145, Berlin – Boston 2023, 121–34; R. C. Schwinges, 'Das Repertorium Academicum Germanicum (RAG) – Ursprung und Entwicklungen', in *Person und Wissen. Bilanz und Perspektiven*, ed. by K. Gubler, C. Hesse et al., RAG Forschungen, 4, Zurich 2022, 1–17.

Winand Ort von Steeg has received scholarly attention as of the 1950s to 1970s, primarily through research undertaken by Aloys Schmidt and Hermann Heimpel, as well as Enno Bünz in the 1990s.³ His own contemporaries describe Winand as an exceptionally gifted scholar and teacher of rhetoric, highly experienced in religious and secular learning, as for instance the well-known humanist Johannes Trithemius made clear by including him in his fifteenth century *Catalogus illustrium virorum*.⁴ In fact, Winand was highly educated and had a wide range of interests: he preached and spoke exceedingly well, wrote professional and technical prose as well as poetry, sketched and painted on parchment and paper just as well as on the walls of houses and churches. The powerful and lively Leviathan on the right, for example, stems from a manuscript he illuminated (Fig. 2).

Winand usually called himself after the village of Steeg near the town of Bacharach on the Rhine, a fertile wine-growing region to this day, where



Fig. 2: Winand von Steeg, The Leviathan, from *Adamas colluctantium aquilarum* (1419). Source: Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Pal. lat. 412, after A. Schmidt, 'Winand von Steeg, ein unbekannter mittelrheinischer Künstler', p. 370

- ³ A. Schmidt, H. Heimpel, *Winand von Steeg (1371–1453), ein mittelrheinischer Gelehrter und Künstler und die Bilderhandschrift über Zollfreiheit des Bacharacher Pfarrweins auf dem Rhein aus dem Jahr 1426: Handschrift 12 des Bayerischen Geheimen Hausarchivs zu München*, Abhandlungen der Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften. Philosophisch-Historische Klasse, Neue Folge, 81, Munich 1977. For older works of A. Schmidt see Schmidt, Heimpel, *Winand von Steeg (1371–1453)*, 8–9. See further: E. Bünz, 'Winand von Steeg (1371–1453)', in *Rheinische Lebensbilder*, ed. by F.-J. Heyen, Cologne 1995, XV, 43–64; E. Bünz, *Stift Haug in Würzburg*, Veröffentlichungen des Max-Planck-Instituts für Geschichte, 128, Göttingen 1998, 635–39; E. Bünz, 'Winand von Steeg', in *Die deutsche Literatur des Mittelalters. Verfasserlexikon*, ed. by B. Wachinger et al., Berlin – New York 1999, X, 1181–89.
- ⁴ Johannes Trithemius, *Catalogus illustrium virorum*, Frankfurt 1601, 156, quoted in Schmidt, Heimpel, *Winand von Steeg*, 9. See also A. Schmidt, 'Winand von Steeg, ein unbekannter mittelrheinischer Künstler', in *Festschrift für Alois Thomas. Archäologische, kirchen- und kunsthistorische Beiträge*, Trier 1967, 363.

he was born 1 May 1371. His family, named Ort, was probably part of the wealthy bourgeoisie. Whether he, whom a contemporary called ‘maister Wynanden der Stalberger’, had more to do with the Palatine castle of Stahlberg above the village of Steeg than mere geographical proximity is as yet uncertain.⁵ His family coat of arms (see Figures 1, 5, 6) shows a staircase rising to the heraldic left and a head of an animal with its tongue stuck out (hunting dog?) also looking to the left.⁶

Winand probably attended the local parish school in Bacharach. However, as was customary in wealthy and educated families of the time, Winand was sent away early on an educational journey, initially to the Netherlands, where, according to his own statements, he travelled extensively in the large cities of Brabant and Holland as well as in the county of Luxembourg. Here, he may have studied at one of the most prestigious schools of his time, the School of the Brothers of the Common Life in Deventer.⁷ At the time, such a school was absolutely equal in terms of standards, if not superior, to a faculty of arts.⁸ Winand must have realized around this time that his future lay in the scholarly world, ideally in close association with the Roman papal church. Consequently, the next place we find him – now in his early twenties – is in

⁵ Schmidt, Heimpel, *Winand von Steeg*, 20. However, an origin from the lower noble family of the lords of Stege has also been considered, see F. L. Wagner, ‘Steeg’, in *Handbuch der Historischen Stätten Deutschlands*, V: Rheinland-Pfalz und Saarland, ed. by L. Petry, Stuttgart 1988, 364.

⁶ For the coat of arms see Schmidt, Heimpel, *Winand von Steeg*, 9–10, No. 8 and 57. For Winand’s curriculum see above footnote 3 and A. Frenken, ‘Winand Ort von Steeg’, in *Biographisch-bibliographisches Kirchenlexikon*, ed. by T. Bautz, Herzberg 1993, VI, 1287–89; G. Franz, ‘Winand von Steeg (Winand Ort von Steeg)’, in *Lexikon des gesamten Buchwesens*, Leiden 2017 <http://dx.doi.org/10.1163/9789004337862__COM_230449> [accessed 18 July 2025]; T. Haye, *Verlorenes Mittelalter: Ursachen und Muster der Nichtüberlieferung mittellateinischer Literatur*, Mittellateinische Studien und Texte, 49, Leiden 2016, 166–68; R. C. Schwinges, ‘“Doctores so in den püchern lesen”. Lebenswege deutscher Gelehrter des 15. bis 16. Jahrhunderts und das Repertorium Academicum Germanicum (RAG)’, in *Gelehrte Lebenswelten im 15. und 16. Jahrhundert*, ed. by K. Gubler, R. C. Schwinges, RAG Forschungen 2, Zurich 2018, 5–7.

⁷ Schmidt, Heimpel, *Winand von Steeg*, 10, and Bünz, ‘Winand’ (Verfasserlexikon), 1181, question this; however, the unusually advanced age should be taken into account, as Winand was already 23 years old when he began his studies in Heidelberberg.

⁸ See R. C. Schwinges, ‘Admission’, in *A History of the University in Europe*, ed. by W. Rüegg, I: *Universities in the Middle Ages*, ed. by H. de Ridder-Symoens, Cambridge 1992, 174–75.

the centre of Rome in the years 1391–1392. Whether by following good advice or by chance and luck, he managed to join Oddone Colonna, the apostolic protonotary of the Roman Curia, and thus the second most powerful man after the Pope in terms of distributing benefices. Of course, Winand was in Rome for benefices: he still intended to study law. Unlike today, in 1400 one generally had to find a lucrative position in order to pursue higher studies, irrespective of personal or family resources. It was not until around 1500 that this sequence got reversed into the familiar modern sequence of study first and work second.⁹ Colonna, himself a learned lawyer from Pavia and Perugia, examined Winand for his aptitude and was evidently delighted with the young man's ability to transform any given topic into a Latin poem. Decades later, Winand was still proud of his first written piece, which he had penned *pindarico stilo* and called *lapis precisus*.¹⁰

Winand's stay in Rome was doubly successful: on the one hand, he met Colonna, who, importantly for him, was to become pope, and on the other hand, he received benefices in the neighbouring Rhineland: the parish of Weisel near Kaub, several vicariates and altars and other entitlements to one or other canonries. The best thing about this was that he enjoyed the income from the benefices but did not have to fulfil the associated offices and duties at that time. He also did not have to be ordained a priest, as Rome had exempt him from the residency requirement for the duration of his studies. Benefices, today often unjustly seen in a negative light, were one of the most ingenious cultural achievements and inventions of the European Middle Ages. A benefice meant a fixed income in money and in kind which was linked to an ecclesiastical position, but hardly ever to actual ecclesiastical tasks. This meant that there was a sense of dispensability (*Abkömmlichkeit*), decisive and appropriate for an elevated way of living.¹¹ From the very

⁹ Cf. R. C. Schwinges, 'Karrieremuster. Zur sozialen Rolle der Gelehrten im Alten Reich des 14. bis 16. Jahrhunderts', in *Gelehrte im Reich. Zur Sozial- und Wirkungsgeschichte akademischer Eliten des 14. bis 16. Jahrhunderts*, ed. by R. C. Schwinges, *Zeitschrift für Historische Forschung*, 18, Berlin 1996, 20–21.

¹⁰ Schmidt, Heimpel, *Winand von Steeg*, 10–11. The *Lapis de monte precisus* is one of the lost works, cf. Haye, *Verlorenes Mittelalter*, 617–18, 620.

¹¹ See P. Moraw, 'Stiftspründen als Elemente des Bildungswesens im spätmittelalterlichen Reich', in *Studien zum weltlichen Kollegiatstift in Deutschland*, ed. by I. Crusius, *Veröffentlichungen des Max-Planck-Instituts für Geschichte*, 114, Göttingen 1995, 270–97.

beginning of the emergence of European universities in the thirteenth century, the benefice was used in the academic milieu and brought a freedom and a relief from daily concerns without which university studies would not have been possible at that time.

Winand benefited from this and, quite well equipped, he enrolled at the nearby University of Heidelberg as *Winandus Ort de Stega* from the diocese of Trier in the summer of 1394.¹² He reports himself having previously attended the universities of Piacenza and Perugia in Italy, but there is no evidence that he studied there.¹³ In Heidelberg, he received a bachelor's degree from the Faculty of Arts in 1396 and then, without aiming for a master's degree in arts, he switched straight to the Faculty of Law, where he graduated as a Bachelor of Law (*baccalarius iuris*) in January 1401.¹⁴ Winand was a typical 'course-hopper', as students of the law faculties considered themselves equal to the masters of the arts faculties anyway, especially in Heidelberg.¹⁵ Between his degrees, Winand travelled to Rome again in 1397/98 to boost his career as a beneficed student, which he succeeded in doing. He returned to the university with a canonry at the church in Sankt Goar on the Rhine and, among further benefices, the very lucrative pilgrimage altar of the Holy Innocents in Rupertsberg Abbey (the Monastery of Hildegard von Bingen). His teacher and mentor there was the canon and law professor Nikolaus Burgmann von Sankt Goar (Fig. 3).

¹² *Die Matrikel der Universität Heidelberg von 1386 bis 1662*, ed. by G. Toepke, Heidelberg 1884 (reprint 1976), I, 57: *Winandus Ort de Stega Treverensis diocesis*.

¹³ Cf. A. Schmidt, 'Nikolaus von Kues, Sekretär des Kardinals Giordano Orsini?', in *Aus Mittelalter und Neuzeit. Gerhard Kallen zum 70. Geburtstag dargebracht von Kollegen, Freunden und Schülern*, ed. by J. Engel, H. M. Klinkenberg, Bonn 1957, 141.

¹⁴ *Matrikel Heidelberg*, I, 57 (b. art. Juli 1396); *Matrikel Heidelberg*, II, 501: *Winandus Ort de Stega, pastor in Wysyl Treverensis dioc., ao. 1401 feria tertia post epiphaniam domini* [Tuesday, 11 January 1401] *promotus est ad gradum baccalariatus (iur.), facultati satisfecit*.

¹⁵ For the student typology, see R. C. Schwinges, 'Student Education, Student Life', in *A History of the University in Europe*, ed. by W. Rüegg, I: *Universities in the Middle Ages*, ed. by H. de Ridder-Symoens, Cambridge 1992, 196–200. On Heidelberg artists/lawyers see R. C. Schwinges, 'Universität, soziale Netzwerke und Gelehrtentendynastien im deutschen Spätmittelalter', in *Zur Kulturgeschichte der Gelehrten im späten Mittelalter*, ed. by F. Rexroth, Vorträge und Forschungen, 73, Ostfildern 2010, 50–52.

Whether by coincidence or not, Burgmann was one of the most important politicians and court councillors of the palatine counts and prince electors of the Rhine, including Ruprecht III, who became the Roman-German king in 1400.¹⁶ Winand remained in Heidelberg until 1403 and was mainly concerned with the Fourth book of Decretals, the law of marriage. In his lectures as a Bachelor of Laws he dealt with questions of consanguinity and marriage, also in relation to inheritance law, using his own systematic approach. This was obviously much in demand among the dynasties and the great noble and bourgeois houses. Even King Ruprecht took notice of him. Years later, Winand further elaborated on his text, based originally on the *Lectura* on the *Arbor consanguinitatis et affinitatis* by Johannes Andreae of Bologna, one of the great legal and canonical authorities of the time, and he dedicated it to his sovereign Ludwig, Ruprecht's son, under the title *Mons quatuor fluvialium arborum* in 1417.¹⁷



Fig. 3: Winand von Steeg, Portrait of Dr decret. Nikolaus Burgmann of St Goar (1426). Source: Bayerisches Geheimes Hausarchiv, Munich (BayHSTA, GHA), Hs. 12, fol. 6^r. Reprinted with permission

¹⁶ For Burgmann see P. Moraw, 'Beamtentum und Rat König Ruprechts', *Zeitschrift für die Geschichte des Oberrheins*, 116 (1968), 114–15; Schmidt, Heimpel, *Winand von Steeg*, 120–121; D. Willoweit, 'Das juristische Studium in Heidelberg und die Lizentiaten der Juristenfakultät von 1386 bis 1436', in *Semper apertus. Sechshundert Jahre Ruprecht-Karls-Universität Heidelberg 1386–1986*, ed. by W. Doerr, Berlin – Heidelberg 1985, I, 101–02; D. Drüll, *Heidelberger Gelehrtenlexikon 1386–1651*, Berlin – Heidelberg 2002, 413–14; RAG (Nikolaus Burgmann).

¹⁷ See a picture under <https://digi.ub.uni-heidelberg.de/diglit/bav_pal_lat_411> [accessed 18 July 2025]. On text and genre see Schmidt, Heimpel, *Winand von Steeg*, 31–32; S. Teuscher, 'Flesh and Blood in the Treatises on the *Arbor consanguinitatis* (Thirteenth to Sixteenth Centuries)', in *Blood and Kinship. Matter for*

It is clear from these few stations that Winand obviously had a knack for making connections, even networking, which will become even clearer below. One of his older fellow students in Heidelberg was Johann von Egloffstein,¹⁸ from a Franconian knightly family, who became prince-bishop of Würzburg in 1400 and set his ambitions on founding a university in his state in order to recruit suitable personnel for the clergy and administration.¹⁹ The university was opened in 1403, and the bishop seems to have personally appointed Winand to his university. By March 1404, he was awarded a doctorate in canon law there, took up a professorship in canon law and read variously on the *Liber sextus* (four times) and the *Clementines* as well as on the *Decretum Gratiani*. His lecture on the *Liber sextus* is extant today, as is his academic speech from 1407 (one of the first of this genre at German universities) to introduce the new rector to his office, an office he himself had probably held until 1406.²⁰

Winand quickly became a respected man and sought-after expert also beyond his scholarly life: vicar general of the diocese of Würzburg, assessor in the ecclesiastical court, legal adviser to various monasteries and collegiate churches, councillor and envoy, as well as a gifted pulpit orator.²¹ It was a special and unique honour that he was allowed to preach the funeral sermon for King Ruprecht in Würzburg Cathedral on 9 June 1410.²² Further benefices, canonries and parishes secured his livelihood, including a canonry at St John's Church in Haug outside Würzburg as of 1405, where he is documented until 1441 and where he

Metaphor from Ancient Rome to the Present, ed. C. H. Johnson, B. Jussen et al., New York – Oxford 2013, 83–104.

¹⁸ A. Wendehorst, *Das Bistum Würzburg*, II: *Die Bischofsreihe von 1254 bis 1455*, Germania Sacra, Neue Folge, 4.2, Berlin 1969, 127–42; RAG (Johannes von Egloffstein).

¹⁹ With strong reference to Winand see A. Schmidt, 'Zur Geschichte der älteren Universität Würzburg', *Würzburger Diözesangeschichtsblätter*, 11/12 (1949/50), 85–102.

²⁰ Schmidt, 'Ältere Universität Würzburg', 92–94; Schmidt, Heimpel, *Winand von Steeg*, 32–33. In detail see O. Meyer, 'Die Universität von Würzburg von 1402 und ihr Professor Winand von Steeg', in *Varia Franconiae Historica: Aufsätze, Studien, Vorträge zur Geschichte Frankens*, ed. by D. Weber, G. Zimmermann, Mainfränkische Studien, 24.3, Würzburg 1986, III, 1115–27.

²¹ For the extant collection of sermons *Lapis angularis* see Schmidt, 'Ältere Universität Würzburg', 93–94; Schmidt, Heimpel, *Winand von Steeg*, 33–34.

²² Schmidt, 'Leichenpredigt auf König Ruprecht von der Pfalz, gehalten im Dome zu Würzburg am 9. Juni 1410 von Winand von Steeg', *Würzburger Diözesangeschichtsblätter*, 14/15 (1952/53), 337–42. On the uniqueness of such a sermon for a king of the Germans see also Bünz, *Stift Haug*, 636 (No. 238).

is also mentioned as its scholaster from 1420 to 1423.²³ Only the university itself did not prosper due to a lack of sufficient resources. When its patron, Bishop Johann, died in 1411 without having previously equipped and embedded his foundation in the social and economic environment of Würzburg, both the residential city and the prince-bishopric, and when, on top of this, a violent famulus murdered Johann Zantfurt, the rector in office in 1413, the university could no longer be maintained. Most of the academic teachers had by then already left Würzburg, including, in 1411, Winand von Steeg.

One might expect a career setback at this point, but the typical multi-track nature of medieval professors prevented a crash. Winand's extra-academic activities as well as his judicial and advisory functions as a lawyer, had provided him with valuable contacts, and these now came into play: he became a legal councillor to the imperial city of Nuremberg and had thus arrived, as it were, in the secret capital of the Empire, where all the threads of the political players converged. Thanks to merchant networks from all over Europe, Nuremberg was almost always the first to know what was happening or about to happen in the Empire. Winand must have been a skilled and successful negotiator, as 'meister winandus, unser jurist' ('master Winandus, our lawyer') was repeatedly called in for consultations and deployed on Nuremberg's foreign missions to princes and other imperial cities.²⁴ The Council of Constance (1414–1418), where the European world met and where the king, at this stage Sigismund of Luxembourg, repeatedly stayed, was of course one of the most important destinations during these years. Winand was a member of the Nuremberg delegation, less concerned with ecclesiastical matters than with peace, coinage reforms, and military affairs.²⁵

Constance also became a stage for Winand. He was there three times between 1415 and 1418. On the one hand, he was able to socialise with a multitude of scholarly colleagues coming together from all over Europe as representatives of their universities or as councillors of their princes, churches, and cities. The Church Council of Constance was the first to be both a council of churchmen and of scholars and

²³ Bünz, *Stift Haug*, 635–37.

²⁴ Schmidt, Heimpel, *Winand von Steeg*, 15.

²⁵ Schmidt, Heimpel, *Winand von Steeg*, 16.

experts.²⁶ In addition, Winand here reunited with high lords in whose favour he had been for a long time: His Heidelberg Prince Elector Ludwig, who led the trial against Jan Hus, and his former Roman mentor Oddone Colonna, who was elected as Pope Martin V in Constance on 11 November 1417, and whose glamorous appearances he witnessed and enthusiastically described.²⁷

Most pivotal for his career at this moment, however, was the prince-bishop of Passau, Georg von Hohenlohe, formerly a Prague jurist, who had been advising and representing King Sigismund in Constance since 1415, had served as a royal chancellor since September 1417 and as an administrator of the archbishopric of Esztergom (Gran) in Hungary since 1418.²⁸ Winand had already been favoured by Georg since 1412, when he had apparently made an impressive appearance as a pulpit orator in the Passau Cathedral before the bishop, clergy, and people.²⁹ Georg von Hohenlohe now recommended that the king accept Winand into the royal *familia*. As of the winter of 1418/19, Winand described himself as *curialis* and *domesticus familiaris*³⁰ and accompanied the king and the bishop on their journey to Hungary (Fig. 4).

From Passau via Linz, Vienna, Bratislava, Skalica and Székesfehérvár they reached Gran (Esztergom) and finally Buda, where Winand preached the Good Friday sermon in the king's presence on 24 April 1419. The very same day, Sigismund appointed him his secretary.³¹

²⁶ See A. Frenken, 'Gelehrte auf dem Konzil. Fallstudien zur Bedeutung und Wirksamkeit der Universitätsangehörigen auf dem Konstanzer Konzil', in *Die Konzilien von Pisa (1409), Konstanz (1414–1418) und Basel (1431–1449): Institution und Personen*, ed. by H. Müller, J. Helmuth, Vorträge und Forschungen, 67, Ostfildern 2007, 107–47; H. Müller, 'Universitäten und Gelehrte auf den Konzilien von Pisa (1409), Konstanz (1414–1418) und Basel (1431–1449)', in *Universität, Religion und Kirchen*, ed. by R. C. Schwinges, Veröffentlichungen der Gesellschaft für Universitäts- und Wissenschaftsgeschichte, 11, Basel 2011, 109–44.

²⁷ Winand's account of the Council of Constance is given in the introduction to his work *Adamus colluctantium aquilarum*, excerpted in *Acta Concilii Constanciensis*, ed. by H. Finke et al., Münster 1928, IV, 753; cf. Bünz, 'Winand' (Verfasserlexikon), 1185.

²⁸ See G. Schwedler, 'Georg von Hohenlohe (gest. 1423). Bischof von Passau, Reichskanzler und Diplomat', *Passauer Jahrbuch: Beiträge zur Geschichte und Kultur Ostbairerns*, 56 (2014), 29–55; RAG (Georg von Hohenlohe).

²⁹ Schmidt, Heimpel, *Winand von Steeg*, 17.

³⁰ Schmidt, Heimpel, *Winand von Steeg*, 18.

³¹ Schmidt, Heimpel, *Winand von Steeg*, 18.

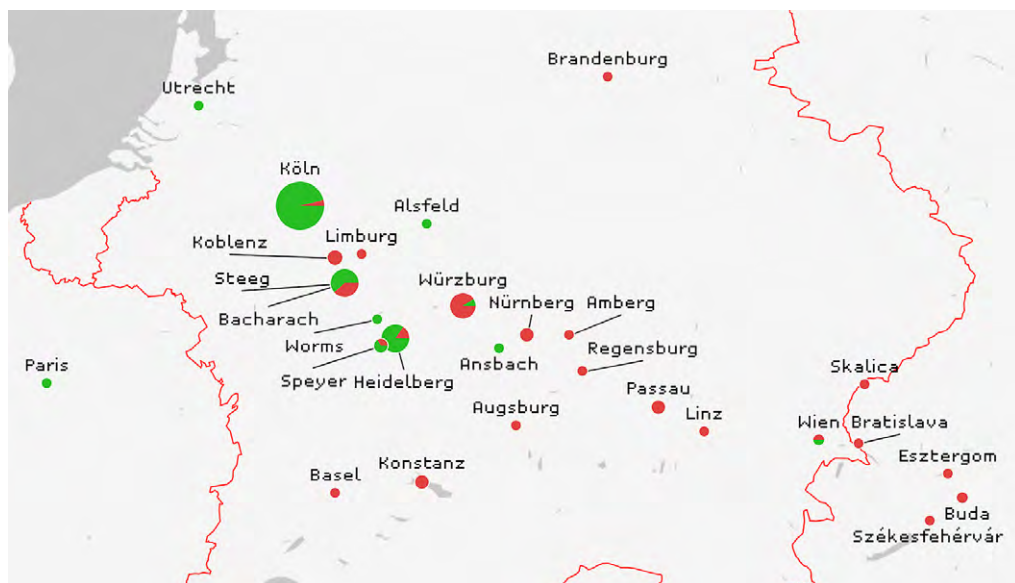


Fig. 4: Winand von Steeg, Life stages (red) and Networking for *libellum* (green).
Source: Repertorium Academicum Germanicum (RAG). Reprinted with permission

If the honours Winand garnered were great, the hardships were greater. The scholar did not like life at the royal court, and even less at this medieval itinerant court. The churches and castles in Hungary were still beautiful to look at from the outside, but not so much from the inside, as he grumbled in his descriptions.³² The bishop's castle of Gran, for example, had only three heated parlours for the entire royal entourage in the middle of winter, and one of these was shamelessly occupied by the royal court jester Antonio Tallenderi, known as the Lord of Borra, and his silly company, while the high lords, counts and knights, the doctors and notaries had to share the other two rooms for sleeping and eating. Having lived in the Rhineland, Winand was used to spacious and beautiful half-timbered houses, light breezes and fresh wines, and he consequently disliked the constant gusting wind in Hungary, the uncomfortable and unclean beds, the coarseness of food and drink and, above all, the wine, the fiery Malvasia. Winand soon had enough and he did not take part in the campaign to Bulgaria and Silesia, took leave from the king and his chancellor and travelled back to Nuremberg, where he arrived already in May 1419. There, he

³² Schmidt, Heimpel, *Winand von Steeg*, 18.

resumed his work as a councillor as ‘meister wynanden, als der unser juristen wider worden ist’ (‘master Winandus, who has returned as our jurist’). Winand remained in the service of Nuremberg until 1422, and provided whatever service ‘gelehrte lüte in den Rechten’ (‘learned lawyers’) were needed to provide.³³

In contrast to these agreeable and lucrative advisory tasks, Winand’s foray into major imperial politics had failed miserably. This is evident in his occasional autobiographical sketches.³⁴ Scholarship and court, science and politics were a poor match, as many scholars experienced time and time again since the early days of the universities. It was not so much the external strains, but the internal ones that tainted the combination. Winand, for instance, missed his scholarly parlour. Despite all his activities, he had never stopped writing since the demise of Würzburg University. Wherever he went, lugging his box of books with him, he sought a place of retreat. However, the authorial scholar met with little understanding at court. Again and again, he complained, he literally had to fight for the space to pursue intellectual work, at times, in Passau, Vienna, Buda, forced to resort to rudeness to be able to find even a quiet corner, if not a scholarly parlour.

Winand’s works from these years have only recently come to light and received titles; most of them are still dormant in the archives and there are but a few editions.³⁵ He kept returning to them over the space of many years. His most extensive work is the *Lapis angularis* (‘The Cornerstone’, i.e., Christ), begun in 1414 and completed in 1443, a collection of his own sermons which he wrote down as models for the clergy.³⁶ His

³³ Schmidt, Heimpel, *Winand von Steeg*, 19–20.

³⁴ Schmidt, Heimpel, *Winand von Steeg*, 18.

³⁵ For lists and descriptions of the surviving prose works and poems, see Schmidt, Heimpel, *Winand von Steeg*, 31–44, also Bünz, ‘Winand’ (Verfasserlexikon), 1183–87; on the lost writings see Schmidt, Heimpel, *Winand von Steeg*, 38–40; Bünz, ‘Winand’ (Verfasserlexikon), 1187–88; Haye, *Verlorene Werke*, 615–23. For some new discoveries (until 2013) see K. Graf, ‘Vaticana-Handschriften Winands von Steeg online’ (published 24 March 2013), in *Archivalia* <<https://doi.org/10.58079/bkbw>> [accessed 17 August 2024]. For the poetry in particular, see W. Schouwink, ‘Die Offiziendichtungen Winands von Steeg in Vat. Pal. lat. 411, 412, 858 und Trier, Stadtbibliothek 1139/65’, in *Palatina-Studien*, ed. by W. Berschin, *Miscellanea Bibliothecae Apostolicae Vaticanae*, 5; *Studi e Testi*, 365, Vatican City 1997, 264–86.

³⁶ Schmidt, Heimpel, *Winand von Steeg*, 33–34; Bünz, ‘Winand’ (Verfasserlexikon), 1183–84.

systematising and rubricating approach is intriguing – it is typical for a jurist – his entries sorted according to Sundays and holidays, feasts of saints and other subject blocks and – astonishing for the time – the two *tabulae*, an alphabetical and a document index, to facilitate the finding of specific topics. In addition to many poems and songs, a total of 18 major works are known to date, of which I will mention only two because they cover Winand's spectrum: First, the allegorical treatise *Adamas colluctantium aquilarum* ('Adamant of the Fighting Eagles'), a post-conciliar reform treatise on the struggle of the Church of Christ against the one of the devil, who is as hard as a diamond, an *Adamas*. At the time, this was understood to mean both the battle of the Ecclesia against the Synagogue and the battle, or crusade, against the Hussites. In addition to his numerous notes on the course of the Council and his service at the royal court, the many illustrations in the manuscript which Winand himself wrote and painted on his journey through Hungary with King Sigismund, and which he completed in the castle of Gran on 26 March 1419 under the adverse conditions described above, are particularly attractive. The manuscript is dedicated to Count Palatine and Elector Ludwig³⁷ (Fig. 5).



Fig. 5: Winand von Steeg dedicates his work *Adamas colluctantium aquilarum* (1419) to Prince Elector Ludwig III of the Palatinate. Source: Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Pal. lat. 412, fol. 2r, according to Heidelberg University Library <https://digi.ub.uni-heidelberg.de/diglit/bav_pal_lat_412/0009/image,info>

³⁷ Besides Schmidt, Heimpel, *Winand von Steeg*, 34–36, see also Schmidt, 'Winand von Steeg, ein unbekannter mittelhochdeutscher Künstler', 369–70 with illustrations, Nos. 66–73. Cf. esp. for the *Adamas*: B. Obrist, 'Das illustrierte *Adamas colluctantium aquilarum* (1418–1419) von Winand von Steeg als Zeitdokument', *Zeitschrift für Schweizerische Archäologie und Kunstgeschichte*, 40 (1983), 136–43; A. Graf,

Second, there is the *Prologus in Hebreorum veteris testamenti libros*, an introduction to the Hebrew Bible and a commentary on the five books of Moses, begun in the turbulent years of the Council of Constance but not completed before the 1430s. It is noteworthy that Winand was one of the very early Hebraists in the German academic world, who followed directly after Heinrich von Langenstein, professor of theology in Vienna, whom he liked to reference. However first, Winand pursued Hebrew language studies with zeal and great care. His instructor was Rabbi Johannes *baptizatus ebreus*.³⁸

In the meantime, Winand also visited Bacharach, not long after his Hungarian adventure in August 1419, drawn there by the vacancy at his home church of St Peter, which was up for reappointment. Everything points to this being his goal in life, to finally find a pleasant and lucrative environment to pursue his studies, which also included the expertise mentioned above. His connections worked very well this time too. When he succeeded, the Nuremberg town council congratulated him and sent him a gratuity in the hope of continued good co-operation.³⁹

Despite the social standing of the Ort family, it took Winand some careful planning to become the parish priest of Bacharach, one of the richest parishes on the Middle Rhine, whose income was primarily based on the yield from numerous vineyards. As a large parish, it employed up to 30 clergy, vicars, and chantry priests for the associated 17 places of worship, branch churches, chapels and chantry altars.⁴⁰ The initial planning lay with Oddone Colonna, now Pope Martin V, who not only confirmed Winand's previous benefices, but also gave him access

'Winand von Steeg: Adamas collectancium aquilarum. Ein Aufruf zum Kreuzzug gegen die Hussiten', *Umění. Časopis ústavu dějin umění Československé Akademie Věd*, 40 (1992), 344–51; A. Graf, 'Hildegard von Bingen bei Winand von Steeg, Adamas collectancium aquilarum (Vat. Pal. Lat. 412). Ecclesia und Synagoge', in *Palatina-Studien*, ed. by W. Berschin, *Miscellanea Bibliothecae Apostolicae Vaticanae*, 5; Studi e Testi, 365, Vatican City 1997, 61–84; E. Marosi, 'Winand von Steeg, Adamas collectancium aquilarum', in *Sigismundus rex et imperator. Kunst und Kultur zur Zeit Sigismunds von Luxemburg 1387–1437*, ed. by I. Takács, Mainz 2006, 463–64 with three coloured illustrations (No. 5.35); D. Buran, 'König Sigismund als Advocatus Ecclesiae: ein Bildkommentar', in *Bonum ut pulchrum: Essays in Art History in Honour of Ernő Marosi on His Seventieth Birthday*, ed. by L. Varga, Budapest 2010, 251–58.

³⁸ Schmidt, Heimpel, *Winand von Steeg*, 36–38. RAG (Heinrich von Langenstein).

³⁹ Schmidt, Heimpel, *Winand von Steeg*, 22.

⁴⁰ Schmidt, Heimpel, *Winand von Steeg*, 22.

to St Andrew's Collegiate Church at Cologne, where Winand's name is attested as of October 1420⁴¹ (Fig. 6).

To our knowledge, Winand had not previously been to Cologne, but he was renowned there for his scholarly work. St Andrew's was one of the Cologne collegiate churches that provided several university benefices for Cologne professors.⁴² More importantly, however, St Andrew's had always held the patronage of St Peter's in Bacharach, and only canons of St Andrew's could be appointed parish priests in Bacharach. However, the church prelates could not do entirely as they pleased. On the second planning level, Prince Elector Ludwig in Heidelberg, who had long been Winand's patron, had a say in the appointment of the parish priest, too. It seems once again to all have worked together in Winand's favour and he was inducted officially as the new pastor on 16 July 1421.⁴³

Over the next few decades, Winand developed an extraordinary activity between the Heidelberg court, his parish in Bacharach, and St Andrew's in Cologne. Notwithstanding his other benefices, the Rhine axis was now the centre of his life, where he had received a canonry (1431) and the deanery (1439) of St Castor's in Koblenz as a kind of stopover.⁴⁴



Fig. 6: Winand von Steeg, The chapter of St Andrew's Church in Cologne and Winand himself as canon (1426). Source: Bayerisches Geheimes Hausarchiv, Munich (BayHSTA, GHA), Hs. 12, fol. 2^r, after Schmidt, Heimpel, *Winand von Steeg*, plate 1

⁴¹ Schmidt, Heimpel, *Winand von Steeg*, 21.

⁴² Cf. E. Meuthen, *Kölner Universitätsgeschichte 1: Die alte Universität, Cologne – Vienna 1988*, 62–64.

⁴³ Schmidt, Heimpel, *Winand von Steeg*, 21.

⁴⁴ Schmidt, Heimpel, *Winand von Steeg*, 28–29.



Fig. 7: The wise virgins. Wall painting by Winand von Steeg in the church of St Maurice's in Oberdiebach near Bacharach. Photo: Gisela Schwinges, Zollikofen CH. Reprinted with permission

He devoted himself to scholarly writing, illuminated his manuscripts and decorated the walls of his churches with his paintings which can still be seen in the church of his birthplace Steeg (St Anne's) and in neighbouring Oberdiebach (St Maurice's)⁴⁵ (Fig. 7).

In particular, however, he took care of the expansion and furnishing of his parsonage, a rather extensive household, with parlours for the auxiliary clergy, a hostel for pilgrims and, last but not least, a quiet study in a residential tower of the complex (known today as 'Posthof'), which he also painted himself⁴⁶ (Fig. 8).

Just how circumspect Winand had gone about this became clear in August 1426 when he welcomed a very important visitor: For three weeks, he hosted the papal legate Cardinal Giordano Orsini and his large entourage in the parsonage. Winand and

the cardinal knew each other either from their time in Rome or from the Council of Constance, and possibly both, and held each other in high mutual regard as collectors and lovers of books.⁴⁷ However, this

⁴⁵ See Schmidt, 'Die Wandmalereien in den Kirchen zu Steeg und Oberdiebach', *Jahrbuch zur Geschichte von Stadt und Landkreis Kaiserslautern*, 12/13 (1974/75), 305–27.

⁴⁶ Schmidt, 'Winand von Steeg, ein unbekannter mittelhheinischer Künstler', 372.

⁴⁷ Schmidt, 'Nikolaus von Kues', 139–42.



Fig. 8: Pilgrim and landlady. Wall painting by Winand von Steeg in the tower of the former vicarage (later 'Posthof') of St Peter's in Bacharach. Photo: Corina Liebi, Bern CH. Reprinted with permission

was more than a mere visit among friends: Winand had managed to persuade Orsini to make a detour to Bacharach while on his visitation tour through Germany. His two requests marginally concerned high politics. The cardinal legate was travelling in *causa fidei*, on the one hand on the Hussite issue, in order to organise the defence against the Bohemian heresy against which King Sigismund had already led crusades, though with varying degrees of success. On the other hand, on the 'Jewish issue' which once again became acute during the smouldering conflicts against the Hussites, because the Jews were likewise fundamentally distrusted due to their alleged *perfidia* in matters of faith. Although Winand eagerly continued his Hebraic studies and found support, among others, from a Magister Martinus (*olim judeus*) and an (unnamed) Cologne theology professor,⁴⁸ this did not stop him – any more than the cardinal and many of his scholarly contemporaries – from

⁴⁸ Schmidt, Heimpel, *Winand von Steeg*, 37–38.

accusing the Jews of anti-Christian activities. In particular, he took at face value accusations of ritual murder of Christian boys at Passover.

This was Winand's first request to the cardinal. The alleged murder of the boy Werner had taken place near Bacharach in 1287 and a cult had subsequently developed, which Winand meant to revive and promote in agreement with his sovereign and in this way generate extra income from pilgrimages to Werner's grave. The German author Heinrich Heine would take up the Werner story in 1824 in his fragmentary text 'The Rabbi of Bacharach'. Winand intended the cardinal's visit to set Werner's canonisation in motion. Orsini did order the canonisation process and had indulgences proclaimed in order to promote the construction of the Werner chapel near the parish church and to encourage pilgrimages that would benefit the country as well as the parish. Winand, as a man of learning, had already gathered all the information concerning the life and murder of the boy, the alleged miracles at the tomb, his veneration among the people, and the construction of the Werner Chapel. Using the eminent scholarly methods of his time, he compiled the *Vita Weneri*: Winand heard numerous witnesses and had their statements authenticated by notaries. One of the copies of his work was intended for the Roman Curia, but there, the matter seems to have been forgotten and came to nothing. However, Winand had achieved his goal since, despite the gloomy background, the ruins of the late Gothic Werner Chapel in Bacharach (begun thirteenth century), which Winand completed and extended, still stand today.⁴⁹

Winand's second request to the cardinal concerned the expert report mentioned at the beginning of this article, in the writing of which Winand portrayed himself. Winand presented his distinguished guest with something seemingly commonplace, almost trivial, and asked him for a decision in a matter one would not expect a cardinal legate and grand penitentiary of the Roman Church to deal with at all. It was about a legal opinion on the duty-free transport of wine on the river Rhine, which eventually was certified on 7 August 1426.⁵⁰ One of Winand's duties as a canon of St Andrew's in Cologne was to supply the church with wine from his Bacharach patronage area. Of course, this was usually done by ship on the Rhine. However, the elector had set

⁴⁹ Schmidt, Heimpel, *Winand von Steeg*, 27–28; Schmidt, 'Zur Baugeschichte der Wernerkapelle in Bacharach', *Rheinische Vierteljahresblätter*, 19 (1954), 69–89.

⁵⁰ Cf. the annotated edition of Schmidt, Heimpel, *Winand von Steeg* (1977).

up a customs office in Bacharach and his customs officers demanded duties on the goods and the transport from Winand's ships, wine duties in this case.⁵¹ However, neither St Peter's in Bacharach nor St Andrew's in Cologne were prepared to pay the duties. This gave rise to a peculiar conflict that was to make Winand particularly famous.

Winand was convinced that the wine he was transporting was parish wine, that is, church property intended for the clerical service of the Cologne collegiate church, and therefore beyond the reach of secular authorities. The prince-electors' officials argued against this, based on the customs regulations of the four Rhenish prince-electors, according to which the wine could also be *negociacio*, namely merchandise, in addition to being altar wine.⁵² The dispute had been smouldering since 1421/22, i.e., for four years, but Winand now raised it to a level where he sought to resolve it once and for all. He drew up a legal opinion, not only by himself but by enlisting the support of a further sixty-nine experts (that is seventy scholars altogether), mostly professors from the universities of Heidelberg and Cologne as well as from his former university of Würzburg, experts in the issues of canon law and theology at stake in the case. The icing on the cake was that Cardinal Orsini (Fig. 9) and his scholarly companions, including sub-legates like the Englishman Richard Fleming, bishop elect of York, or the Italian bishop Jacobus de Urbino, now also added their expert opinions. Doing so, they gave Winand's work a higher sanction, and ultimately they managed to persuade the prince elector to give way.



Fig. 9: Winand von Steeg, Portrait of Cardinal Giordano Orsini (1426). Source: Bayerisches Geheimes Hausarchiv, Munich (BayHSTA, GHA), Hs. 12, fol. 15^v, after Schmidt, Heimpel, *Winand von Steeg*, plate 8

⁵¹ See K.-E. Linz, R. Maus, *775 Jahre Bacharacher Zoll. Der Rheinzoll von 1226–1803*, Bacharach 2001.

⁵² Schmidt, Heimpel, *Winand von Steeg*, 80–87.

However, Winand went even further than that. When he was finally allowed to present the *Libellum* to Elector Ludwig and his wife Mechthild of Savoy (today Manuscript 12 of the Bavarian Privy House Archives in Munich), they were treated to a concentrated demonstration of contemporary scholarship. Winand added portraits of the scholars to all 70 expertise reports, aiming at naturalistic portraiture. The elector was personally familiar with most of the scholars anyway, especially the professors at his Heidelberg University, most of whom, like Winand himself, were also court councillors. Now their pictures came before him, united, demanding, admonishing: Of course, this was not just about the parish wine. This was not why the cardinal legate had come to the Rhine, nor why his colleagues had contributed their opinions. Rather, this was about making it unmistakably clear to the elector that anyone who tampered with church property was no better than a Hussite, and therefore a heretic.⁵³ The message was: ‘You of all people, Ludwig, known for piety and strict ecclesiastical behaviour, who sent Jan Hus and Jerome of Prague to the stake in Constance, who participated in the crusades in Bohemia, and subsequently had many a trial conducted against Hussites, do you of all people want to attack church property like a Hussite?’ In other words, Winand and his colleagues skilfully exploited the anti-Hussitism that was already widespread at the Heidelberg court of Ludwig III and at the university.⁵⁴ The whole idea was therefore to ward off the beginnings, and it was ultimately successful, even if there were in fact scholarly controversies which Winand naturally did not include in his booklet. These were put forward by archiepiscopal lawyers from Trier (Bacharach was located in the Trier diocese), the Koblenz official Simon Matthiae von Boppard and his later successor Helwig von Boppard. Both presented considerable deliberations against

⁵³ For an analysis of the intentions (also with theologically frightening content aimed at the pious prince elector) see H. Heimpel, *Die Vener von Gmünd und Straßburg 1162–1447. Studien und Texte zur Geschichte einer Familie sowie des gelehrten Beamtentums in der Zeit der abendländischen Kirchenspaltung und der Konzilien von Pisa, Konstanz und Basel*, Veröffentlichungen des Max-Planck-Instituts für Geschichte, 52, Göttingen 1982, I, 414–16.

⁵⁴ See now H. Hawicks, ‘Heidelberg and Hussitism. Professors as Envoys, Experts and Inquisitors’, *Acta Universitatis Carolinae – Historia Universitatis Carolinae Pragensis*, 60 (2020), 245–56.

Winand's exemption from customs duties, but they stood no chance against the strong Heidelberg and Cologne circles.⁵⁵

Apart from its content, which demonstrates the impact of scholarly learning and the interpretative power of expertise, the *Libellum* also reveals the excellent and precise functioning of a scholarly network around the nexus of Cologne and Heidelberg. This was not just any network. Nearly everyone who was someone in the academic, ecclesiastical, and courtly world of the Rhine region in the first quarter of the fifteenth century was represented. The map of the RAG shows how this centre of gravity on the Rhine starkly contrasts with the earlier unsettled period of Winand's life (see above Fig. 4). People knew each other personally or from scholarly correspondence, or exchanged and bought codices among themselves, at least to the extent that the acquaintance of an obviously widely esteemed Winand von Steeg could be activated if necessary, even though he had not taught at a university for more than ten years. There were probably influential supporters at both universities; nevertheless, it was a great communicative achievement on Winand's part to bring together such a circle of experts, especially in good time to make his case. The fact that, at the time in question, in 1426, the two universities were involved in a fierce dispute over the different teaching methods of the *via antiqua* (Cologne) and *via moderna* (Heidelberg)⁵⁶ apparently did not affect Winand's plans greatly. The dispute between the arts faculties was probably of no interest to the vast majority of jurists, as can be seen from its later development up to the Heidelberg reform, completed in 1452.⁵⁷

In addition to Cardinal Orsini, Winand's circle of expert friends and acquaintances included such prominent figures as the later Cardinal and Prince-Bishop of Brixen, Nikolaus von Kues, philosopher and humanist, depicted here around 1425 as a young doctor of canon law from Pavia and briefly professor in Cologne (Fig. 10).

⁵⁵ See T. Daniels, 'Der Streit um die Zollfreiheit des Bacharacher Pfarrweins auf dem Rhein. Neue Rechtsgutachten zur Bilderhandschrift Winand von Steegs', *Blätter für deutsche Landesgeschichte*, 150 (2014), 325–56 (with editions). RAG (Simon von Boppard Matthiae), RAG (Helwig von Boppard).

⁵⁶ Heimpel, *Die Vener*, 416–17.

⁵⁷ See G. Ritter, *Die Heidelberger Universität im Mittelalter (1386–1508). Ein Stück deutscher Geschichte*, Heidelberg 1936 (reprint 1986), 384–90.



Fig. 10: Winand von Steeg, Portrait of Dr deocr. Nikolaus von Kues (1426). Source: Bayerisches Geheimes Hausarchiv, Munich (BayHSTA, GHA), Hs. 12, fol. 6^v, after Schmidt, Heimpel, *Winand von Steeg*, plate 4

Winand had set himself instructions for his paintings by noting in the margins for each person how he wanted to depict them, Nikolaus von Kues, for instance, as *iuvenis magnus secularis*, as a tall youth still in the lay state and in secular scholarly costume.⁵⁸ These, like Winand's book illustrations generally, are genuine illustrations, and so much more than mere decorative elements.⁵⁹

The circle also included the *antiquus pigwis magnus doctor*, the old, pudgy, great doctor of canon law Dietmar Treysa von Fritzlar (Fig. 11), professor at Heidelberg and dean of the Cathedral at Worms, an old acquaintance from Winand's student days at Heidelberg;⁶⁰ or Job Vener (Fig. 12), from a noble family in Schwäbisch Gmünd, doctor of laws from Bologna and professor at Heidelberg, one of the most important councillors and diplomats of the Palatine electors, and

probably most involved in bringing together this illustrious group of experts: *calvus magnus nasum longus grossus* ('bald and tall with a long thick nose');⁶¹ or Johannes de Cervo (vom Hirze), from an old knightly family of Cologne (Fig. 13), doctor of civil law and professor at Cologne and for many years first councillor of the city. Winand notes of him that he is *antiquus validus macer secularis* ('an old very lean layman');⁶² or Johannes Vorburch (Fig. 14), *macer macer doctor secularis LXX annorum*

⁵⁸ Schmidt, Heimpel, *Winand von Steeg*, 108, No. 18, 121. RAG (Nikolaus von Kues Cusanus).

⁵⁹ Schmidt, Heimpel, *Winand von Steeg*, 57.

⁶⁰ Schmidt, Heimpel, *Winand von Steeg*, 108, No. 7, 111–12; see also Willoweit, 'Lizentiaten', 104; RAG (Dietmar Treysa).

⁶¹ Schmidt, Heimpel, *Winand von Steeg*, 108, No. 25, 115. RAG (Job Vener). In support of Winand by Vener see Heimpel, *Die Vener*, 417–18.

⁶² Schmidt, Heimpel, *Winand von Steeg*, 108, No. 17, 116. RAG (Johannes de Cervo iunior).



Fig. 11: Winand von Steeg, Portrait of Dietmar Treysa (1426). Source: Bayerisches Geheimes Hausarchiv, Munich (BayHSTA, GHA), Hs. 12, fol. 3^v, after Schmidt, Heimpel, *Winand von Steeg*, plate 2

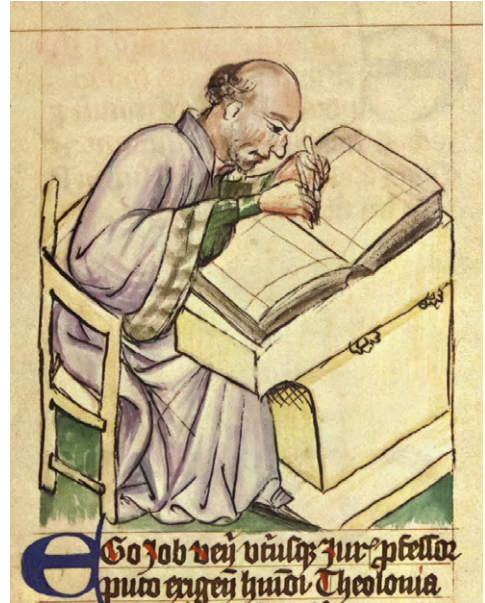


Fig. 12: Winand von Steeg, Portrait of Job Vener (1426). Source: Bayerisches Geheimes Hausarchiv, Munich (BayHSTA, GHA), Hs. 12, fol. 8^r, after Schmidt, Heimpel, *Winand von Steeg*, plate 5

(‘a very, very lean doctor and layman about seventy years old’), professor of canon law at Cologne, councillor to the archbishop-elect of Cologne and official of the cathedral provost;⁶³ or, to give a final example: Johannes Kusch von Kollenbach (Fig. 15), a *secularis iuvenis sine bireto* (‘a youthful layman without a birette’). He is the only one of the seventy experts sitting with his back to the viewer and not showing his face: Winand allowed himself an either friendly or malign joke here as Kusch is still a nobody in the circle of the other academics, being only a recent graduate (March 1426) of canon law from Heidelberg, and still at the very beginning of his career.⁶⁴

⁶³ Schmidt, Heimpel, *Winand von Steeg*, 108, No. 34, 118. RAG (Johannes Vorborg).

⁶⁴ Schmidt, Heimpel, *Winand von Steeg*, 108, No. 26, 116–17; Willoweit, ‘Lizentiaten’, 109. RAG (Johannes Kusch).



Fig. 13: Winand von Steeg, Portrait of Johannes de Cervo (1426). Source: Bayerisches Geheimes Hausarchiv, Munich (BayHSTA, GHA), Hs. 12, fol. 6^v, after Schmidt, Heimpel, *Winand von Steeg*, plate 4



Fig. 14: Winand von Steeg, Portrait of Johannes Vorburch (1426). Source: Bayerisches Geheimes Hausarchiv, Munich (BayHSTA, GHA), Hs. 12, fol. 10^r, after Schmidt, Heimpel, *Winand von Steeg*, plate 6

In conclusion, I hope that I have been able to present one of the most interesting scholarly personalities of the late medieval Rhineland and to convey something of his work: a well-educated, extraordinarily active and resourceful jurist, pulpit orator, speculative theologian and Hebraist, moving skilfully amongst patrons and colleagues and, last but not least, a versatile artist and early naturalist portraitist.⁶⁵ In his manuscripts, he emphasized the connection between text and

⁶⁵ On further images of scholars see R. Haas, 'Acht Professorenbilder aus dem Jahr 1426', *Ruperto-Carola. Heidelberger Universitätshefte*, 20.43/44 (1968), 36–42. On a more recent use and discussion of some images see E. Bünz, 'Ein Leipziger Professor tritt ans Licht. Das unbekannte Porträt des Juristen Albert Varrentrapp von 1426', *Neues Archiv für Sächsische Geschichte*, 80 (2009), 241–48; RAG (Albert Varrentrapp); R. C. Schwinges, 'Soziale Netzwerke', 63–66, on Dr. decr. Johannes

image and eventually the importance of images for scholarly work. In the 1440s, Winand withdrew from the increasingly arduous management of the large parish of St Peter in Bacharach to the Castorstift in Koblenz, continued working on his books and died at a ripe old age of eighty-two, either on 19 January or 9 July 1453 in Koblenz.⁶⁶ This extraordinary man is but one of almost 70,000 medieval scholars with fascinating biographies in the RAG/REPAC research project.



Fig. 15: Winand von Steeg, Portrait of Johannes Kusch (1426). Source: Bayerisches Geheimes Hausarchiv, Munich (BayHSTA, GHA), Hs. 12, fol. 8^r, after Schmidt, Heimpel, *Winand von Steeg*, plate 5

Raboden von der Kemenaden; RAG (Johannes Raboden Caminata); R. C. Schwin- ges, 'Gelehrte von Heidelberg und anderswo. Einblicke in die Datenbank des Repertorium Academicum Germanicum (RAG)', in *Universitätsmatrikeln im deutschen Südwesten. Bestände, Erschließung und digitale Präsentation. Beiträge zur Tagung im Universitätsarchiv Heidelberg am 16. und 17. Mai 2019*, ed. by H. Hawicks, I. Runde, Heidelberg Schriften zur Universitätsgeschichte, 9, Heidelberg 2020, on Prof. theol. Wilhelm Eppenbach, 275–77, 293; RAG (Wilhelm Eppenbach). The first four volumes of the series *Repertorium Academicum Germanicum (RAG) – Forschungen* offer Winand's portraits as covers: Portraits of Dr. decr. Lambertus ten Langenhove von Rees (Vol. 1), of Dr. theol. Henricus Gorinchem (Vol. 2), of Dr. iur. can. Winand von Steeg (Vol. 3) and of Dr. decr. Dytmarus Treisa von Fritzlar (Vol. 4), all online (open access) on www.rag-online.org.

⁶⁶ Schmidt, Heimpel, *Winand von Steeg*, 30; Bünz, 'Winand' (Verfasserlexikon), 1183.

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LESLIE CARR-RIEGEL^{*}

PEPPER AND REPRISALS BETWEEN POLAND AND PERA (1452)

Abstract: This paper takes as a case study a trade dispute that occurred in 1452 between Genoese, Polish, and Wallachian merchants in the Latin enclave of Pera Constantinople. Taking place just a year before the city fell to the Ottomans, this study offers a snapshot into the dying days of the tangled web of relationships and legal processes that underlay the trade route from Lviv to the Bosphorus. The paper explores the unhappy travels of Johannes Simiefal, a burgher of Lviv, who sought to ship a load of black pepper from Bursa. While transiting through Pera, his journey was interrupted by a group of enraged Genoese merchants. These men seized Simiefal's property in an act of reprisal for a load of furry hats which they claimed had been stolen from them by his countrymen. The legal case that then wound up before the consul of Pera revealed a series of misidentifications, interlocking ownership agreements, and illegal seizures. Much is exposed about the way trade was conducted between Eastern Europe and the Black Sea at the time. By reading between the lines of the byplay of interests and accusations, the framework of trade and law, origin and identity navigated by merchants is unveiled.

Keywords: reprisal, Wallachia, trade, law, Genoa, identity, Moldavia

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Introduction

In 1452, a particularly convoluted legal case was written down in detail as part of proceedings in a notarial record. The case involved trade between the Polish Kingdom, the Romanian Principalities of Moldova and Wallachia, the Genoese enclave of Pera in Constantinople, and the Ottoman Empire in the years just before the fall of the Byzantine capital in May of 1453. While the case itself is a fascinating window into pre-modern trade and merchant relations, I have focused on what it says about the use and abuse of legal reprisals and perceptions of origin and identity. All of this occurred within the backdrop of this complex region on the cusp of the great Ottoman advances in the Black Sea.

Reprisals

The topic of marque and reprisal is one that has seen a great deal of scholarship.¹ While more often associated with piracy and assaults on

¹ Particularly in maritime circumstances, reprisals can be confused with the later privateering letter of marque, which became popular during the Early Modern period. While related, these two legal institutions were very different. Medieval reprisals were issued only in times of peace, for a private claim for a specified sum, and only after a full legal case had been mounted and several attempts made to reach a settlement of the claim. Privateering letters of marque on the other hand, were issued in times of war, with an open clause to harass a lord's enemies; and any prize claims or judicial oversight were handled after the fact and usually adjudicated by an admiralty court. Both followed the principal of collective responsibility, but were distinctly different in purpose and execution. For more on this see L. Carr-Riegel, 'Letter of Marque', in *Münster Glossary on Legal Unity and Pluralism: 2nd Edition*, ed. by U. Ludwig, N. Markard et al., Münster 2023, 60–62. While many other studies exist, the following can be considered a good cross-section of the most important studies on the topic: A. del Vecchio, E. Casanova, *Le rappresaglie nei comuni medievali e specialmente in Firenze*, Florence 1894; L. Tanzini, 'Le rappresaglie nei comuni italiani del Trecento: il caso fiorentino a confronto', *Archivio storico Italiano*, 167.2 (620) (2009), 199–252; E. S. Tai, 'Honor among Thieves: Piracy, Restitution, and Reprisal in Genoa, Venice, and the Crown of Catalonia-Aragon, 1339–1417' (unpublished doctoral thesis, Harvard University, 1996); E. Maccioni, 'Reprisals in Medieval Genoa: International Justice, Politics and Diplomacy', in *Resisting and Justifying Changes. How to Make the New Acceptable in the Ancient, Medieval and Early Modern World*, ed. by E. Poddighe, T. Pontillo, Pisa 2021, 491–521; M. Chavarot, 'La pratique des lettres de marque d'après les arrêts du parlement (XIII^e-début

the high seas, it was an equally valid response to claims of robbery or unpaid debts; and was a common form of communal responsibility across Europe during the High Middle Ages. According to the rules of the era, a legal act of reprisal permitted person A to legally sequester the goods of person B, if person C, a compatriot of person B, had stolen from person A, defaulted on a debt, or otherwise injured financially person A, so long as it could be proved that justice had not been served.

The denial of justice claim was the hinge upon which reprisals rotated. In essence, reprisals were an answer, albeit a greatly flawed one, to the lack of an “international” court of appeals. Having been harmed on some venture beyond their place of origin, it was the responsibility of individual A to first attempt to gain legal restitution where the affront had occurred. Only if the local powers that be failed to render justice could he then return, carrying proof of his efforts, and request a reprisal be issued against individual C and all of his compatriots, B, by person A’s own local authorities. The granting of a reprisal was not automatic; indeed, they were interventions of last resort. The perceived injustice had to be mighty and weighed against possible economic and political fallout that would affect the issuing community. They were thus to be wielded only when all other alternatives had first been attempted.

To be considered, of course, were the moral implications of reprisals, which warred on otherwise innocent parties, but also the possibility of sparking tit for tat counter-reprisals. Merchants were naturally those most exposed to reprisals, as they journeyed beyond their home jurisdictions in search of opportunities for trade and profit, and they both complained about and utilized reprisals in equal measure.² Indeed,

XV^e siècle), *Bibliothèque de l’École des chartes*, 149.1 (1991), 51–89; M. R. M. Fabrega, ‘Marques i represàlies a la Corona d’Aragó a l’etapa final del regnat de Pere el Cerimoniós (1373–1386)’, *Butlletí de la Societat Catalana d’Estudis Històrics*, 14 (2003), 179–88; J. M. Vives, ‘La marca de Bernat Mel hac, la Corona catalano-aragonesa i el Languedoc (1327–1336)’, in *XII^e Congrès d’Histoire de la Couronne d’Aragon. Montpellier, 26–29 septembre 1985*, Montpellier 1987, I, 175–88; G. Clark, ‘The English Practice with Regard to Reprisals by Private Person’, *American Journal of International Law*, 27.4 (1933), 694–723; J. Wink, L. Sickling, ‘Reprisal and Diplomacy: Conflict Resolution within the Context of Anglo–Dutch Commercial Relations c. 1300 – c. 1415’, *Comparative Legal History*, 5.1 (2017), 53–71; H. Planitz, *Studien zur Geschichte des deutschen Arrestprozesses. Der Arrest gegen den fugitivus*, Böhl 1913.

² As a general rule, women, soldiers, clerics, students, pilgrims, and ambassadors were excluded from reprisals. G. de Legnano. *Tractatus de bello, de represaliis et de duello*, ed. by T. E. Holland, Oxford 1917, 316–18.

reprisals were offensive to both modern and premodern legal sensibilities – as innocent parties would be negatively impacted by the use of reprisals. Merchants arriving in a town could be stripped of their goods and sent home, simply because they shared a perceived origin with a miscreant, as part of fully legal procedures.³ Yet, the general agreement amongst medieval legal thinkers being that reprisals were a necessary evil, reprehensible and to be avoided wherever possible, but to be accepted as the best of two bad options.

This study, however, focuses neither on any possible legal justification for reprisals, nor their economic impact, but instead on the tricky issue reprisals ran into when it came to questions of origin and identity. As they were utilized, reprisals were a form of sanctions in ‘international’ cases. As the case below will demonstrate, the ‘perception of origin’ was a key and controversial aspect of the process.

The setting

The case which is discussed here is of particular interest because it occurred in a time and place where reprisals have rarely been studied. As the case itself involves a rather complicated affair involving actors from Chios, Constantinople, Genoa, Moldavia, Wallachia, and Poland, it is important to first set the scene.

³ Modern analysis has often focused on the impact of such practices on trade relations and debated ultimate economic outcomes; while medieval jurists were more concerned with reprisals’ moral implications. To name but a few premodern theorists on reprisals who took this approach, see Andreas de Rampinis ab Isernia (circa 1220–1316); *Peregrina lectura*, Albericus de Rosate (circa 1290–1354); *Commentarium de statutis lib. I Qu. LIII*, Bartolus de Sassaferrato (circa 1313–1357); *Tractatus represaliarum*, Giovanni de Legnano (circa 1320–1383); *Tractatus de bello, de represaliis et de duello*, Silvestro Mazzolini di Prierio (Sylvester Prierias) (circa 1456–1523); *Summae Syvestrinae*, Hugo Grotius (circa 1583–1645); *De lure praeda*. For more modern scholars’ takes on the economic viability of reprisals see A. Greif, ‘The Fundamental Problem of Exchange: a Research Agenda in Historical Institutional Analysis’, *European Review of Economic History*, 4.3 (2000), 251–84; L. Boerner, A. Ritschl, ‘Individual Enforcement of Collective Liability in Premodern Europe: Comment’, *Journal of Institutional and Theoretical Economics (JITE) / Zeitschrift für die gesamte Staatswissenschaft*, 158.1 (2002), 205–13; S. Ogilvie, *Institutions and European Trade: Merchant Guilds, 1000–1800*, Cambridge 2011.

In 1452, the year before the fall of Constantinople to the Ottomans, the western shore of the Black Sea was a hot bed of political contestation. It was also a primary avenue for trade that linked both Italy and the wider Mediterranean, together with Poland and Central Eastern Europe, with Silk Road wares via Constantinople. This state of affairs had come about, starting in the thirteenth century, when the Italian city states of Venice and Genoa began setting up trading colonies on the coast of the Black Sea. Soon they would establish other posts; all strategically placed near significant rivers – Tana (Azov) on the Don, Kiliya at the mouth of the Danube, and Moncastro (Bilhorod-Dnistrovskyi) on the Dniester, linking the trade routes of the Eurasian Steppe to the Mediterranean.⁴

While formally subject to the Byzantine Empire, during the thirteenth century, much of the Black Sea region came to be ruled by the Tartar Khanate. The fourteenth century however, would see rising instability and civil strife. During this period, internecine civil wars among the khans led, from the 1360s, to a growing power vacuum in the area of what is now modern Romania. This allowed for the formation of two new states – the Danubian principalities of Moldavia and Wallachia.⁵ Over the next fifty years, trade would shift decidedly to a new trade route called the *Via Walachiensis*, which ran from Lviv through Moldavian territory to the Italian port of Moncastro, with a secondary branch continuing on to Wallachia and the Italian port of Kiliya.⁶

During the fifteenth century, the expanding Ottoman Empire, which won territory at the expense of the failing Byzantines and the fraught and divided Khanate, began to change the balance of power along the Black Sea. This gave impetus to an upsurge in overland traffic through Poland. Where goods had previously gone by sea, Italian merchants were increasingly forced to seek out new routes and markets for their

⁴ L. Rădvan, *At Europe's Borders: Medieval Towns in the Romanian Principalities*, Leiden 2010, 473–84.

⁵ E. Khvalkov, 'The Colonies of Genoa in the Black Sea Region: Evolution and Transformation' (unpublished doctoral thesis, European University Institute, 2015), 98–99; Rădvan, *At Europe's Borders*, 325; D. Deletant, 'Moldavia between Hungary and Poland, 1347–1412', *The Slavonic and East European Review*, 64.2 (1986), 189–211.

⁶ For much greater detail on the development of trade through this region see L. Carr-Riegel, 'Italian Traders in Medieval Poland' (unpublished doctoral thesis, Central European University, 2021), 171–89.

Eastern goods. Polish rulers tracked these changes and sought at every turn to benefit by increasing incentives for trade to pass through their lands. The greatest beneficiary of these changes was the city of Lviv, where numerous Polish, Armenian, Jewish, Ruthenian, Wallachian, Italian, and other traders would meet, mingle, and reside. It was in this region and along the trade routes which wound through it that the reprisal case in question occurred.

The case

In 1449, Johannes Simiefal of Lviv made his way to the prosperous Ottoman city of Bursa where he sold a set of goods in exchange for a load of black pepper. Johannes then conducted this load, almost certainly via ship, from Bursa to the Italian enclave of Pera in Constantinople. From Pera, he likely planned to take the goods on to Wallachia; but while waiting for transit from the city, he was instead unexpectedly set upon by a group of enraged Genoese merchants who stripped him of his cargo. This group of angry Italians, headed by one Angelo di Lecario, seized Johannes's pepper and sold it off, keeping the profits for themselves.

To understand this action, we need to back up for a moment and return to events that took place three years prior. The year is now 1446, and officials in Lviv have just sequestered the goods of three Genoese merchants from Chios.⁷ This was done in response to a claim made by the Lviv burgher, Nicholas Zyndrich, that our friend, the Genoese merchant Angelo Lecario, owed Nicholas 800 Hungarian florins (hufl).⁸ Nicholas was a prominent merchant in Lviv, a member of the city council and closely tied with the local Armenian community.⁹ A year prior,

⁷ J. Heers, *Gênes au XV^e siècle: activité économique et problèmes sociaux*, Paris 1961, 383 footnote 9; *Acte și fragmente cu privire la istoria Românilor adunate din depozitele de manuscrise ale Apusului*, ed. by N. Iorga, Bucharest 1897, III, 23 footnote 1.

⁸ Hufl here stands for the Hungarian golden florin, which was a coin issued by the Hungarian crown starting in the 1320s, and modelled after that of Florence. M. Gyöngyössi, 'Coinage and Financial Administration in Late Medieval Hungary (1387–1526)', in *The Economy of Medieval Hungary*, ed. by J. Laszlovszky, B. Nagy et al., Leiden 2018, 295–306.

⁹ Nicholaus Zyndrich passed away at some point around April 1455 as his widow appears in court seeking restitution of certain funds owed to her now deceased

he had employed Angelo as a factor to deliver 1200 hufl worth of goods to Pera, but Angelo had failed in his mission, leaving behind an alleged 800 hufl debt. However, Angelo disputed the case and, in a series of court battles which played out before the civic authorities in Lviv, he at first appeared to acquiesce, but then later denied these claims. In the interim, he was pressed to hand over the money so that the Chios merchants' goods would be released and could continue their journey.¹⁰ He did so grudgingly, but was then left in significant financial difficulties and, after legal wrangling which lasted over two years, he brought the matter to the attention of the Genoese consul in Pera.

The consul of Pera was sympathetic, and wrote on Angelo's behalf to the Genoese doge, explaining the situation and asking for authorization to process in turn a writ of reprisal. While reprisals were relatively common, they were generally applied with care, as they could lead to obvious problems and retaliatory counter-reprisals, which is just what happened as we shall see in the case. The Genoese doge responded to Angelo's request with lukewarm enthusiasm, writing to the consul of Pera and instructing him to follow the usual protocol for reprisals. This protocol required him to first write to the king of Poland to see if the matter might be resolved peacefully. The consul was to wait and weigh the king's response and only if it arrived in the negative was he to take further action to issue the reprisal to Angelo.¹¹ From the following events, it appears that any overtures made to the Polish king were unsuccessful, and the reprisal was eventually authorized. Thus, when the unlucky Johannes arrived in Pera with his cargo of pepper, he was swiftly divested of it and the pepper was sold to pay back the money allegedly owed to Angelo and his fellows.

However, here the entire enterprise hit an enormous snag, as it turned out that the pepper did not in fact belong to Johannes of Lviv. Instead, it emerged that he was only operating as a shipping agent for the goods on behalf of a certain Peter Mani of Wallachia. This Peter

husband. *Akta grodzkie i ziemskie czasów Rzeczypospolitej Polskiej z Archiwum tak zwanego Bernardyńskiego we Lwowie*, ed. by W. Hejnosz, Lviv 1889, XIV, No. 2732, 3323; *Pomniki dziejowe Lwowa z archiwum miasta*, IV: *Księga ławnicza miejska*, 1441–1448, ed. by A. Czołowski, F. Jaworski, Lviv 1921, No. 1446–1452.

¹⁰ *Księga ławnicza miejska*, 1441–1448, No. 1446–1452.

¹¹ 'Documenti riguardanti la colonia Genovese di Pera. Prima serie di documenti riguardanti la colonia Genovese di Pera', ed. by L. T. Belgrano, *Atti della Società Ligure di Storia Patria*, 13.128 (1877).

was a *habitoris* of Suceava but was working out of Moncastro, the aforementioned important port city on the western Black Sea coast. Moncastro intermittently flipped back and forth between being controlled by the Wallachians and the Genoese, so Peter Mani was thus not a Pole at all. This complicated matters; as Johannes began protesting that Angelo and his crew had had no legal right to sequester the pepper, given that *debebant exequi in rebus et bonis subditorum regis Polonie, et non hominum Vellachorum* ('they were to take goods only belonging to subjects of the king of Poland, not the men of Wallachia').¹² This was a valid argument and one the Genoese consul in Pera was going to be interested to hear. However, as the pepper had already been sold and Johannes had little influence in the city, he was forced to simply inform his employer, Peter Mani, of what had occurred.

Peter Mani was understandably upset at the news that his pepper had been taken, not even as part of a legitimate reprisal proceeding, but as an erroneous illegal sequestration, and so he appealed immediately to the Wallachian voivode, Bogdan II for his own writ of reprisal. Bogdan II obliged him; and when the next load of goods belonging to a merchant from Pera entered his orbit, he immediately distrained them as his own. These goods, worth an estimated 4,000 Moncastrian ducats consisted of *sachi XVIII cotonorum, capelli pilosi centum et sachi duo tefticorum* ('18 sacks of cotton, 100 furry hats, and two sacks of taffeta cloth, belonging to Pietro Gravaigo').

Pietro Gravaigo was an important man in Pera, a prosperous merchant from a respectable Genoese family who was just then serving in the local government as commissioner of provisions for the enclave.¹³ He, as all the others, was outraged by the sequestration of his property, and turned to complain of this loss to the consul of Pera, requesting that he immediately be granted a reprisal against the subjects of Wallachia. The consul of Pera, perhaps trying to neatly side step this tangle, reached deep into his legal mandate and pulled out a Genoese statute from 1413, *De prohibita intromissione iusticie*, which stated that public officials such as *Captains*, the *Anziani*, or in this case the consul of Pera,

¹² *Acte și fragmente*, III, 29.

¹³ A. Roccatagliata, 'Notai genovesi in Oltremare. Atti rogati a Pera (1453)', *Atti della Società Ligure di Storia Patria*, 39.1 (1999), 109.

were not to involve themselves in judicial proceedings.¹⁴ Undeterred, Pietro Gravaigo took his complaints to the top and sent what appears to have been a number of requests to the doge of Genoa, including all important testimony and witness statements, in an effort to secure a reprisal against Wallachia.¹⁵ Somehow convinced by Pietro Gravaigo's claims, the doge of Genoa acquiesced to his request and released a reprisal permitting Petro to *interdici et arrestari faciatis in loco illo tantam rerum et bonorum Velacorum quantitatem* ('to ban and arrest in place all of the goods of Wallachians').¹⁶ The reprisal was renewed in Genoa a year later, in fact just days before the fall of Constantinople to the Ottomans, demonstrating that Pietro had yet to recover his losses. Unfortunately, we do not know the final outcome of this case. Further archival research might someday reveal it, but for now we are left in the dark.

Discussion

Reprisals and counter-reprisals

So, what can we learn from this tangled tale? Firstly, this is an excellent demonstration of the dangers of reprisals and illegal seizures. In this case, we have no less than four separate arrests. We can trace the fault for this debacle to the door of Angelo Lecario. It was his debt of 800 hufl in Lviv that started the ball rolling. It was this unpaid debt which led to the first arrest of the goods belonging to the merchants of Chios, a reprisal action; although it is unclear in how fully it met with rules of proper legal process; given that the two sides disputed the question. This action pushed Angelo to seek his own writ of reprisal, the second being a counter-reprisal in retaliation for the first. This was already leading down a dangerous path; but Angelo bungled the matter further

¹⁴ *Acte și fragmente*, III, 29; V. Piergiovanni, 'Norme, scienza e pratica giuridica tra Genova e l'Occidente medievale e moderno', *Atti della Società Ligure di Storia Patria. Nuova Serie*, 52.126 (2012), fasc. 1, 102.

¹⁵ *Acte și fragmente*, III, 30, 31; 'Prima serie di documenti riguardanti la colonia di Pera adunati dal socio', ed. by L. T. Belgrano, *Atti della Società Ligure di Storia Patria*, 13.145 (1877).

¹⁶ *Acte și fragmente*, III, 30.

by illegally executing his writ against the wrong party when he took the pepper belonging to Peter Mani.

Being the completely innocent, unintended victim of Angelo's counter reprisal, and receiving no justice from the officials in Pera, Peter Mani rather predictably chose the same legal method to seek restitution, requesting his own counter-counter-reprisal, from Voivode Bogdan II. This third writ was then used to take goods from Pietro Gravaigo, bringing the chickens home to roost in Pera. Unexpectedly, given the disputed nature of the case and the general unwillingness to release reprisals for fear of the ramifications to trade (which is exactly what we see happening here), the Genoese doge released our fourth counter-counter-counter-reprisal to Pietro Gravaigo, when he in turn complained to the metropole.¹⁷ This willingness on behalf of the Genoese authorities to support Pietro may be due to his standing within the community of Pera, or possibly political considerations Genoa felt towards the Western Black Sea coast. Their reasoning is difficult to determine. Reprisals were a common tool, resorted to by late medieval governments to ensure justice for their citizens in foreign jurisdictions. As we can see from this example, they could quite quickly get out of hand if not applied correctly or with due consideration.

What makes a Wallachian?

The second point we will consider from this case relates to what has been hinted at from the start of this work, namely how specific individuals' "origins" were perceived and the effects of this perception in legal terms. Recall how Johannes Simiefal made the argument that the pepper he carried could not be distrained under the writ of reprisal issued to Angelo Lecario because it was not Polish but Wallachian goods. This was an argument, which the Genoese at Pera agreed was valid. Let us consider for a moment more closely the provenience of Peter Mani of 'Wallachia'. He was, *Petri Mani Vellachi, habitatoris Ihuihave, qui res eas in Mocastro* ('Peter Mani the Wallachian, a resident of Suceava, whose business affairs were being conducted out of Moncastro'). The two named locations were places which were in fact, not in Wallachia.

¹⁷ For Genoa's general unwillingness to release reprisals without due consideration and their frequent political bent see Maccioni, 'Reprisals in Medieval Genoa', 505.

Rather, they were the capital and major port of the Voivodeship of Moldavia.

So, what do we have here? Was he a man who was perhaps born in the Voivodeship of Wallachia and simply resided in Moldavia? Did the Genoese of Pera know this and deem his birthplace the appropriate reference point for reprisals? Is it simply an error? Were the men in Pera uninformed about local political borderlines? The Romanian principalities were, after all, rather new to the map of Europe. The first reference of a voivode of Wallachia is attested in 1324; while the first documented mention of Moldavia dates only from 1360.¹⁸ Meanwhile, the primary trade route which linked Lviv with the Black Sea coast, upon which all of these events took place, was called the *Via Walachiensis*. It was so named, despite the fact that it ran primarily through the voivodeship of Moldavia. This seemingly lack of awareness of the principality of Moldavia appears to continue throughout the entirety of the Genoese reprisal documents. Looking more closely, we can see that they record the reprisal granted to Peter Mani had been issued by *Bogdani Vaivode, Vellachie domini* that is, Bogdan II who reigned, not as voivode of Wallachia, but rather as voivode of Moldavia from 1449 to 1451.

Yet, this lack of recognition is odd, as the Genoese were very well informed about all the local players in their region, especially given their need for allies in the face of Ottoman advances. Indeed, the Genoese had had direct diplomatic relations with the Moldavian rulers since at least 1387, when two emissaries were sent to the court and continued to be sent in the years to follow.¹⁹ Yet here, interestingly, the Genoese do not appear to have discriminated between the voivodeships of Wallachia and Moldavia. Why?

The answer to this lack of differentiation can be found in the analysis provided by Victor Spinei, which argued that while local actors might understand the political differences between the two principalities, they were viewed as culturally and ethnically identical and frequently

¹⁸ For the development of the principalities and the *Via Walachienses* see Carr-Riegel, 'Italian Traders in Poland (1300–1500)', 173–90.

¹⁹ A. Simon, 'Caffa si Moldova la 1387. Pe marginea unor notite genoveze', *Anuarul Institutului de Istorie "AD Xenopol"*, 60 (2023), 1–14; A. F. Dumitraşcu, 'Relațiile politice ale Moldovei lui Ștefan cel Mare cu genovezii din Crimeea (1457–1469)', *Analele Putnei*, 1 (2015), 121–37.

went undifferentiated.²⁰ This intriguing reprisal case, based as it is primarily on Genoese documents, gives weight to the argument that Wallachian was a common identifier for the region. Yet, simultaneously Polish sources do, at least at times, differentiate between Moldavians and Wallachians; which would seem to undermine Spinei's claims.²¹ What can we make of this?

However, here we may be running into what I term the 'distant identity zoom effect'. As an individual arrived in a new region, the further they were from home the more relative the specificity of their provenance became. This phenomenon occurs bilaterally. When at home, an individual might describe themselves as originating from say, 'the house with the green shield across from St. Mark's church'. When visiting a nearby town, this same individual might describe themselves as 'from the city of X'. When further afield, they would likely claim to be from 'the region of Y'; and when abroad, identify themselves as being from 'the kingdom of Z'. Similarly, the further away an individual's origin from contacts they meet abroad, the more zoomed out their identifiers. Following this logic, it is reasonable that Polish sources would recognize Moldavians while Genoese might not, given that the common identifier for the entire area was "Wallachian".

The positioning of Peter Mani appears to further confirm this reading; as he is labelled first as *Vellachi* – of Wallachian standing as both a general geographic and an ethnic moniker. This is followed by *habitoris Ihuihave* – a resident of Suceava – the capital of the Moldavian Principality, which places Moldavia as his current home, if not perhaps his place of birth, as he is listed as merely resident rather than *civis* ('citizen').²² Yet, he appears to have been conducting his affairs out of

²⁰ V. Spinei, 'The Terminology Reflecting the Ethnic Identity of the Romanian Voivodeships in the Middle Ages and Renaissance', *Revue Roumaine d'Histoire / Romanian Journal of History*, 58.1–4 (2019), 54–178.

²¹ For a few examples of this see *Akta grodzkie i ziemskie*, XIV, Nos 1305, 1362, 1395; *Księga ławnicza miejska 1441–1448*, Nos 198, 486, 841, 847, 1067.

²² It is worth mentioning that he is not noted here as a citizen of Suceava, but merely a *habitor*, a term used to indicate long-term resident status. This was in practice nearly equal to the status of a citizen, except in regards to holding or electing civic offices. For more on this term see: Z. Janečković-Römer, 'Gradation of Differences: Ethnic and Religious Minorities in Medieval Dubrovnik', in *Segregation, Integration, Assimilation: Religious and Ethnic Groups in the Medieval Towns of Central and Eastern Europe*, ed. by D. Keene, B. Nagy et al., Farnham 2009, 116–17.

the port of Moncastro – the former Genoese colony now under Moldavian control. Peter Mani is thus, a Wallachian in the general sense and identified as ‘Moldavian’ only through his urban connections. This emphasizes the importance of local community status as opposed to larger ‘national’ affiliations during this period. However, such labelling immediately becomes problematic in the context of medieval mercantile relations, and reprisals in particular.

While simple on the surface, local, less zoomed out identifiers were of critical importance. So much of medieval legal personhood was based on zealously guarded privileges; which were granted to specific towns or groups by a lord. Due to this, one’s origin mattered deeply; as it underpinned one’s legal rights, both at home and abroad. For this reason, beyond Peter Mani, we see Pietro Gravaigo listed as *burgensis Pere* (‘burgher of Pera’) and Johannes Simiefal introduced as *de Leopoli sive Lamburge, subditus regis Polonie* (‘of Leopoli otherwise known as Lemberg, subject of the king of Poland’). Such labelling ensured that readers of the document understood their place and legal standing in the larger geo-political framework. More importantly, in the context of the specific case in question, burgher citizens of Pera held a special place within the Genoese trade empire; which signalled that Peter was to be noted and respected. Likewise, using both the Latin and German forms for the city of Lviv and further marking Johannes as a subject of the Polish king, ensured that the reader would understand his position in the geo-political and more importantly, customary legal framework.

Yet, in an era before the invention of identity cards, passports, and background checks, how was someone’s identity and place of origin to be ascertained? Unfortunately, the specific case above gives little detail on this crucial part of the proceedings, nor to many other similar such documents. That said, a few clues from medieval documents give hints as to this process. Personal guarantees of identity and probity by an upstanding local were obviously the easiest and most useful route to establishing one’s origin and good reputation. Barring this, however, letters of introduction and safe conduct were popular forms of both identifying and safeguarding oneself legally.²³ Such letters, with their all-important seals, helped identify an individual and offer them some

²³ A. J. Kosto, ‘Ignorance about the Traveler: Documenting Safe Conduct in the European Middle Ages’, in *The Dark Side of Knowledge. Histories of Ignorance, 1400 to 1800*, ed. by C. Zwiernie, Leiden 2016, 269–95.

form of protection in case of legal actions.²⁴ Letters of safe conduct, in particular, often held a specific clause protecting the individual from reprisals, even if a reprisal was directed against his place of origin. Most common however, if a person's identity was questioned, was the simple application of an oath. Considered scared and far more legally binding than is the case today, oaths were used in all types of legal cases.²⁵ That said, the misidentification and thereafter incorrect and illegal sequestration of individuals and their goods under the terms of a reprisal was a perennial issue.

The fate of mixed cargoes

The final point of this paper considers how the central reprisal discussed hinged not only on the identity and origin of the individual who was carrying the goods involved, but on that of their owner. For, while Johannes might have been a Polish subject, the pepper he carried belonged to Peter Mani, a 'Wallachian', and thus should have been immune from sequestration. This issue, of whether goods being found simply in the possession of an individual who was liable for a reprisal, due to their place of origin but not actually belonging to them, was more common than one might imagine. By the fifteenth century, numerous merchants had developed sprawling business empires which saw wares being carried at their direction from place to place across many borders in the hands of 'factors' or associates.

This situation meant that goods too needed to be identified by their place of "origin". The origin of goods could be ascertained through merchant marks – these marks, drawn or carved into a trade good's packaging, marked them as belonging to a particular merchant.²⁶ Unlike

²⁴ At times, systems were even attempted where 'For instance, in the aftermath of the congress and treaty of Arras (1435), rocketing levels of seaborne aggression led the two governments to demand that mariners (whether English or Portuguese) produce written proof of nationality whenever they were approached at sea', T. Viúla de Faria, 'Maritime Conflict among Hundred Years' War Allies', in *Conflict Management in the Mediterranean and the Atlantic, 1000–1800*, ed. by L. Sicking, A. Wijffels, Nijhoff 2020, 207.

²⁵ For much more on the place and importance of oaths in medieval society see H. L. Ho, 'The Legitimacy of Medieval Proof', *Journal of Law and Religion*, 19.2 (2004), 259–98.

²⁶ A wonderful example of such marks can be seen on artifacts collected from the wreck of a fifteenth-century ship carrying copper through the port of Gdańsk. See B. Możejko, W. Ossowski, 'Artefacts from the Late Medieval Copper Wreck

letters, one did not need to be literate to identify the marks; although individuals on both sides of the exchange would need to be able to recognize them for the system to be effective. Shipping logs or cartularies were further used to help prove in questionable cases the origins of specific goods.²⁷ In particular, when one considers the exchange of goods by ship, many merchants might load their goods into a single cargo vessel that was loaded at one end and picked up by an associate somewhere along the ship's route. While surviving records highlight these episodes primarily because it was easy to inspect such cargoes as they landed in dock, similar circumstances would have prevailed for mule trains and wagon loads.

Such mixed cargoes made the execution of reprisals as well as war-time sequestrations complicated; and thus legal remedies were required. Interestingly, while the jurists of the era who interested themselves in reprisals such as Bartolo da Sassoferrato (circa 1313–1357) and Giovanni de Legnano (circa 1320–1383), debated numerous hypothetical reprisal situations, they did not discuss this issue.²⁸ Merchants and shippers however, who dealt with the everyday nitty gritty execution of such issues, did. According to the *Consolat del Mar*, which was a popular compilation of maritime law and custom used by the Genoese and others in the medieval Mediterranean, if such cargos were found to be made up of entirely or even in part of goods of an origin which were under a reprisal, then an agreement was to be reached between the captain or admiral who had captured the ship and the individual whose goods were being impounded.²⁹ If no accord was reached and instead,

the said admiral is not willing to make any arrangement or compact from arrogance or pride which is in him, and accordingly as above said shall carry away with him forcibly the said cargo, in which he has no right,

(Gdańsk, Poland)', in *Ships and Maritime Landscapes: Proceedings of the Thirteenth International Symposium on Boat and Ship Archaeology*, ed. by J. Gawronski, A. van Holk et al., Amsterdam 2012, 122–25.

²⁷ E. S. Tai, 'Marking Water: Piracy and Property in the Premodern West', in *Seascapes: Maritime Histories, Littoral Cultures, and Transoceanic Exchanges*, ed. by J. H. Bentley, R. Bridenthal et al., Honolulu 2007, 212–15.

²⁸ Bartolo da Sassoferrato, *Omnia quae extant opera*, X: *Consilia, quaestiones et tractatus*, Venice 1590, 119–24; De Legnano, *Tractatus de bello*, 209, 307–30.

²⁹ L. Tanzini, 'The Consulate of the Sea and its Fortunes in Late Medieval Mediterranean Countries', in *Courts of Chivalry and Admiralty in Late Medieval Europe*, ed. by A. Musson, N. Ramsay, Cambridge 2018, 179–94.

together with the said merchants, the said merchants are not bound to pay any freight either in whole or in part to the said ship or vessel, nor further to the said admiral; on the contrary the said admiral is bound to make good and restore all the loss which the above said merchants shall sustain from the said force, or expect to sustain for any reason.³⁰

The cases are not strictly analogous, as the load of pepper Johannes Simiefal was carrying for Peter Mani was impounded inside the port of Pera, rather than from a ship still at sea. Nonetheless, the ruling above demonstrates that in other circumstances when such issues arose, a deal should have been made. Instead, the cycle of reprisals continued, inconveniencing many on dubious legal grounds.

Conclusion

The case discussed here offers a glimpse into the way trade was conducted between Poland and the Black Sea region on the eve of the Ottoman conquest of Constantinople. While much more could be gleaned from its particulars, three points have been explored. First, that an individual's perceived "origin" had a huge impact on their legal status abroad, a point rendered particularly acute when confronted with a reprisal. Second, that an individual's "origin" was often assessed through the lens of what is here termed the 'distant identity zoom effect'. This effect being that the farther away an individual had travelled from home, the more generalized their "origin" became. This effect caused a multitude of possible problems in a medieval legal system that relied so heavily on local identifiers to determine one's legal status. This was true to the point that the further away the origin point, the more likely it was that with broad generalizations, more misidentifications and complications would occur. Third, that in cases of mixed cargoes, reprisals were a risky business. Although largely ignored by jurists, under such laws as the *Consolat del Mar*, an accord was supposed to be reached between the shipper of the cargo and the individual distraining them so that goods of "friendly" origin would not be swept up in a reprisal proceeding. The case in question however, demonstrates that such measures were not

³⁰ *The Black Book of the Admiralty: With an Appendix. Appendix, Part III*, ed. by T. Twiss, London 1871, 543–45; Tai, 'Honor among Thieves', 71–90.

always followed and could cause damaging counter-reprisals as a result. Finally, it is hoped that in the future, more cases will be discovered that will shed greater light on the way in which origin and identity were projected, perceived, and wielded in the legal sphere and beyond.

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FOOT MERCENARIES FROM HUNGARIAN TOWNS IN FOREIGN ARMIES – CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE ISSUE OF MERCENARY POTENTIAL IN LATE MEDIEVAL HUNGARY

Abstract: Although interest in Central European mercenary markets has increased in recent years, the potential of mercenaries in late medieval Hungary has not yet been studied. The objectives of this study are to determine the towns or at least the regions of the Kingdom of Hungary from which a significant number of soldiers could be recruited in the late Middle Ages and to examine the role played by mercenaries of urban origin in the Hungarian royal army and in the armies of neighbouring countries. The study of this topic can contribute useful insights into the regional migration of soldiers and help to understand the spread of knowledge carried by mercenaries. Findings suggest the northern part of the Kingdom of Hungary had significant mercenary potential, which can also be seen in the armies of neighbouring countries. The analysis reveals, in the case of the infantry, the Hungarian army was heavily dependent on Czech, Polish, and German mercenaries. The answer to the question of why Hungary's mercenary potential in the Central and Eastern European region was among the least significant, ranging from possible distortions in the sources examined to constant Ottoman pressure, will require further research

Keywords: mercenary market, medieval military history, mercenaries, Hungarian history, East Central Europe

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In recent decades, there has been an increase in the number of studies and books examining the social background of the late medieval and early modern military in East Central Europe.¹ Among these works, there were writings that dealt with the mercenary potential (mercenary market) of certain areas, but the issue of foreign soldiers fighting in various armies also became an important topic.² In the case of the Kingdom of Hungary at the turn of the sixteenth century, although the problem attracted some interest among historians, it has only been researched rather marginally.³

In light of the above, this study has set itself two main goals. Based on research from various countries, urban mercenaries held important positions in the armies of various countries. Therefore, one of the goals is to identify the Hungarian towns (or at least the regions containing these towns) from which a significant number of soldiers could be

¹ R. Baumann, *Landsknechte, Ihre Geschichte und Kultur vom späten Mittelalter bis zum Dreißigjährigen Krieg*, Munich 1994; P. Burschel, *Söldner im Nordwestdeutschland des 16. und 17. Jahrhunderts: Sozialgeschichtliche Studien*, Göttingen 1994; J. W. Hunterbrinker, "Fromme Knechte" und "Garteteufel". *Söldner als soziale Gruppe im 16. und 17. Jahrhundert*, Konstanz 2010, 55–172; T. Grabarczyk, *Piechota zaciężna Królestwa Polskiego w XV wieku*, Łódź 2000, 67–112; A. Bołdyrew, *Piechota zaciężna w Polsce w pierwszej połowie XVI wieku*, Warsaw 2011, 113–94; U. Tresp, *Söldner aus Böhmen. Im Dienst deutscher Fürsten: Kriegsgeschäft und Heeresorganisation im 15. Jahrhundert*, Paderborn – Munich – Vienna – Zürich 2004, 421–44; Gy. Rázsó, 'A zsoldosság gazdasági és társadalmi előfeltételei és típusai Magyarországon a XIV–XV. században', *Hadtörténelmi Közlemények*, 9 (1962), 160–217.

² R. Baumann, 'Süddeutschland als Söldnermarkt', in *Söldnerlandschaften. Frühneuzeitliche Gewaltmärkte im Vergleich*, ed. by P. Rogger, B. Hitz, Berlin 2014, 67–84; A. Bołdyrew, 'Towns as the Recruitment Base to Mercenaries During the Reign of the Last Jagiellons', in *Faces of War, VI: City and War*, ed. by T. Grabarczyk, M. Pogońska-Pol, Łódź 2022, 103–21; U. Tresp, 'Böhmen als Söldnermarkt/"Böhmen" als Söldnertypus im späten Mittelalter', in *Söldnerlandschaften. Frühneuzeitliche Gewaltmärkte im Vergleich*, ed. by P. Rogger, B. Hitz, Berlin 2014, 119–41.

³ Current research focuses on the earlier period, and within that, primarily on Hungarian soldiers fighting in Italy. L. Pósan, 'Hungarian Mercenaries in the Service of the Teutonic Order', in *Mercenaries and Crusaders*, ed. by A. Bárány, Debrecen 2024, 223–42; P. E. Kovács, 'Magyar zsoldosok Sienában', in *Arcana tabularii: Tanulmányok Solymosi László tiszteletére*, ed. by A. Bárány, G. Dreska et al., Budapest – Debrecen 2014, II, 521–42; K. Prajda, 'Subjects of the Kingdom of Hungary, Croatia, and Slavonia as Mercenaries in Fourteenth-Century Italy: Social and Cultural Dimensions', *Annali dell'Istituto storico italo-germanico in Trento*, 49 (2023), 25–48; Á. Novák, T. Ölbei et al., 'Magyar zsoldosok címerei Mantovából = Coats of Arms of Hungarian Mercenaries from Mantua', *Turul*, 96.2 (2023), 73–86.

recruited in the late Middle Ages. However, it is important to note that this research primarily examines the western, northern, and southeastern (Transylvanian) towns of the Kingdom of Hungary, and therefore does not cover the territory of present-day Croatia (medieval Croatia and Slavonia). Furthermore, regarding the time frame examined, the study focuses on the second half of the fifteenth century and the first half of the sixteenth century.

Another aim of this study is to examine the role played by these mercenaries of urban origin in the armies of the Hungarian king and the states neighbouring the Kingdom of Hungary. Regarding the latter objective, it should be stressed that, primarily due to the destruction of the Hungarian royal archives, research on this topic is quite problematic, and therefore only sporadic sources preserved in the archives of various countries can be included in the research. Given the limited availability of sources, the source base of this study cannot be considered complete. However, it is precisely the temporal and spatial fragmentation of sources, as well as the different circumstances of their creation, which allow us to consider the trends emerging from individual source groups but pointing in the same direction as generally valid. The sources are very diverse in terms of genre (narrative sources, court accounts, orders), but most of them are lists compiled for various reasons, from which we can only draw conclusions about the ethnic background and place of origin of the soldiers from their names. To examine the social and ethnic background of mercenaries, researchers have so far primarily relied on the names of soldiers, but opinions are divided on the reliability of this method. For this reason, I would like to present the problem based on data from Hungary.⁴ Since this study does not examine the role of personal names in Central European migration research, I will focus primarily on phenomena that must be taken into account regardless of language when examining the ethnicity and place of origin of mercenaries.

⁴ For more information on social history research based on family names, see L. Sz. Gulyás, 'Names and Society in Medieval Hungarian Villages and Market-towns', in *Els noms en la vida quotidiana: Actes del del XXIV Congrés Internacional d'ICOS sobre Ciències Onomàstiques = Names in Daily Life: Proceedings of the XXIV ICOS International Congress of Onomastic Sciences*, ed. by J. Tort i Donada, M. Montagut i Montagut, Barcelona 2014, 1728–37; M. Slíz, *Personal Names in Medieval Hungary*, Hamburg 2017, 131–60.

The name as a source of information on the origin and ethnicity of the individual

It is worth starting with what at first glance seems to be a less important problem: the language skills of the scribe who recorded the names. In particular, I am thinking of such cases where the scribe needed to transcribe personal names of individuals lacking basic command of the Hungarian language, which resulted in mistakes.⁵ One of the most spectacular examples of this in the case of sources related to medieval Hungary is mentioned in the literature in connection with the Records of Peter's Pence of 1332–1337. At that time, the scribes from Italy, not knowing the Hungarian language or place names, interpreted the first syllable of 'de' in the proper names of 'Debrecen' and 'Derecske' as the Latin preposition 'de', so they wrote down the mentioned municipalities as 'de Brecen' and 'de Rechke' in the list.⁶ Another problem was how the scribe could use the letters at his disposal to reproduce sounds for which they were not suitable. In other cases, the writing system used by the person writing down the text did not mark the sound as common. A good example of the latter can be seen in the names recorded in the town of Sopron in the early fifteenth century, in which the /v/ sound was written with the letter *b* in the Bavarian dialect,⁷ but besides the form of writing (I am thinking here of the letter used to represent the sound), the dialect of the area itself may have influenced the form of the name.⁸ The problem is further complicated by the fact that, in the absence of a centrally prescribed spelling system, the name of the same person could be written differently in the same source.⁹

Moving on to a further issue, there are a number of difficulties in examining ethnicity, both in terms of the form of the name recorded and the surname used to indicate ethnicity. In the former case, a person may have had parallel language names because of the different language communities that named them. In this case, however, the two names

⁵ Uwe Tresp draws attention to the same problem in the case of the German scribes who wrote down the names of Czech mercenaries: Tresp, *Söldner aus Böhmen*, 406.

⁶ M. Slíz, *Személynevek a középkori Magyarországon*, Budapest 2011, 9–10.

⁷ Slíz, *Személynévtörténeti vizsgálatok a középkori Magyarországról*, Budapest 2017, 148–50.

⁸ K. Mollay, 'Sopron a középkor végén', *Soproni Szemle*, 10 (1956), 37–39.

⁹ Slíz, *Személynevek*, 10–11.

were not necessarily loan translations of each other. It is possible that communities named the same person based on the same characteristic. It also happened that the new community was unable to remember the foreign-sounding name, so they gave the person a completely different name. Consequently, the language of the name reflected that of the community that gave it rather than that of the individual.¹⁰ In such cases, of course, the name-bearer may be more likely to use their mother tongue during registration. However, if they are multilingual, they are more likely to use the language of the current context.¹¹ The opposite could also happen, where the scribe, if he knew the language, would translate the name of the person to be registered into his mother tongue or Latin.¹² As a further case, we should not forget surnames that denote ethnicity, such as 'Bohemian' (*Bohemus*) or 'Polish' (*Polonus*). In these cases, especially when the first and surname are in the same language, it is possible that an already assimilated person appears in the source, but it is also possible that the name was given for other reasons, such as a travel or service abroad.¹³ In connection with the study of the ethnicity of a given group, we should mention the characteristic of the various registers that a significant proportion of the registered persons were given only a first name that could not be associated with an ethnicity.¹⁴ It also seems that the way names are written (in the Hungarian order of surname followed by first name, as opposed to the usual European order of first name followed by surname) does not necessarily indicate that a person is of Hungarian origin.¹⁵

¹⁰ Mollay, 'Sopron a középkor végén', 39.

¹¹ Slíz, *Személynévtörténeti*, 141–46. It is also possible that the given person will provide the name form they use themselves, which may not necessarily correspond to the name form required by their native language: R. Szentgyörgyi, 'Név, anyanyelv, identitás összefüggései a középmagyar kor boszorkánypereinek tükrében', *Helynévtörténeti Tanulmányok*, 7 (2012), 133–42.

¹² Slíz, *Személynévtörténeti*, 124–40.

¹³ Slíz, *Személynevek*, 86; J. N. Fodor, *Személynevek rendszere a kései ómagyar korban. A Felső-Tisza-vidék személyneveinek nyelvi elemzése, 1401–1526*, Budapest 2010, 77.

¹⁴ M. Štefánik, 'Sociálny obraz stredovekého mesta. Možnosti a limity interpretácie daňových súpisov na príklade Kremnice v polovici 15. storočia', in *Stredoveké mesto a jeho obyvatelia = Medieval Town and Its Inhabitants*, ed. by M. Štefánik et al., Bratislava 2017, 232. In the case of the military: Tresp, *Söldner aus Böhmen*, 406.

¹⁵ Szentgyörgyi, 'Név, anyanyelv, identitás összefüggései', 134–35. For more on this topic, see also Slíz, *Personal Names*, 35–37.

We are in a slightly better situation when the individual's surname refers to their place of origin. However, in this case, we should also take into account the possibility that the name no longer refers to the person's place of origin, but instead reflects a previously stabilized family name. In the case of non-hereditary surnames, it is also possible that a person's surname no longer refers to their exact place of origin, but to a more famous town or larger area known to communities living further away.¹⁶ For this reason, I do not intend to include the place of origin data listed below on a map in this study, as this would distort the research results in several ways. It is also worth mentioning the various forms of the designation *Hungarian* in other languages here, since these designations (e.g. 'Uher', 'Hungarus', 'Węgier') only refer to the person's country of origin and not their ethnicity.¹⁷ Therefore, they are more appropriately interpreted as a place of origin.

In conclusion, the transition from distinctive names that refer to individual characteristics to hereditary surnames makes identifying the ethnicity and place of origin of individuals uncertain. However, analyzing larger amounts of data makes it possible to determine the main characteristics of a society and the main trends of change.¹⁸ In

¹⁶ L. Sz. Gulyás, 'Újabb adatok a középkori jobbágyi-mezővárosi személynévadás kérdéséhez', *Névtani Értesítő*, 31 (2009), 58. According to Hungarian research, communities located within a radius of up to sixty kilometres, typically twenty to thirty kilometres, from the current place of residence were close enough for residents to be familiar with them. Thus, the name of the community could form the basis of the designation. However, in the case of larger towns, this could be extended, and due to their reputation, they could be used as the basis for the name even if they were located several hundred kilometres away. L. Sz. Gulyás, 'A középkori magyar városfejlődés migráció- és ipartörténeti vonatkozásai a történeti személynévtan tükrében I.: személynévadás és migráció', *Névtani Értesítő*, 36 (2014), 49, 56.

¹⁷ M. Plewczyński, *W służbie polskiego króla. Z zagadnień struktury narodowościowej Armii Koronnej w latach 1500–1574*, Oświęcim 2015, 231, footnote 20; 237, footnote 50. However, in the case of the surname 'Magyar', it was a name that did indeed refer to ethnicity.

¹⁸ For example: J. N. Fodor, 'Családnevek történeti tanulságai Partium késő középkori és újkori névanyaga alapján', in *Helynévtörténeti Tanulmányok VII*, ed. by I. Hoffmann, V. Tóth, Debrecen 2012, 156; Szentgyörgyi, 'Név, anyanyelv, identitás összefüggései', 141. Martin Štefánik criticises the use of percentages to determine the ethnic composition of a social group, but in one of his studies examining the society of Kremnica (Körmöcbánya), he emphasizes the possibility of outlining the main trends: Štefánik, 'Sociálny obraz stredovekého mesta', 233.

the next chapter, we will examine these data sets, or more precisely, the rolls listing the names of mercenaries.

Analysis of mercenary rolls

Considering the rolls, our first source cannot be considered a traditional source, such as the registers discussed below. Based on the letters sent by the mercenaries, Emmerich Zenegg-Scharffenstein compiled a list of the names of a significant number of mercenary leaders who served Frederick III, Holy Roman emperor, in 1459 and 1460.¹⁹ It turned out that the emperor came into conflict with count John II of Gorizia over the inheritance of Ulrich II, count of Celje, and he used Hungarian mercenaries in the fighting, including Jan Vitovec, who was of Czech origin but owned estates in Slavonia.²⁰ However, we are only interested in mercenary leaders whose surnames are connected to places or regions in Hungary. Accordingly, we have to mention a certain Hanss Kremnitzer, who was probably from Kremnica (Körmöcbánya). Besides him, *Stheffan von Offen* from Buda, a certain László Zalay (*Lasla Zalay*) from the county of Zala and two may have come from Sopron.

The next registers of interest to us are various rolls of Hungarian foot soldiers who served in Naples in 1481. It should be noted, however, that these mercenaries arrived in Italy before the Hungarian auxiliary troops that King Matthias had sent to recapture Otranto from the Ottomans.²¹ The first of these documents, dated 5 January, contains the names of twelve people, six of whom are connected to places in Hungary. One person is connected to Buda, one to Gyula, one to Košice (Kassa), and three to Székesfehérvár (*ferurradj*). Based on the names of the other soldiers, they appear to be from the county of Somogy, or are simply listed as Hungarians (*Ungarus*). There may also be an Austrian (Carinthian) among them, named *Griorchet de Villac*. The second document, dated 23 January, contains the names of seven soldiers. However, only

¹⁹ E. Zenegg-Scharffenstein, 'Die Söldnertruppen Kaiser Friedrichs III. in seiner Fehde mit den Grafen von Görz (1459/1460)', *Adler*, 563–64 (1927), 273–81.

²⁰ T. Pálosfalvi, 'Vitovec János: egy zsoldoskarrier a 15. századi Magyarországon', *Századok*, 135 (2001), 453.

²¹ L. Veszprémy, 'Magyar vonatkozású források Otranto ostromáról (1480–81)', *Hadtörténelmi Közlemények*, 103 (1990), 106–07.

one of these can be identified as being from Gorjani (Gara), in Valkó county. The names of two others probably refer to places as well, but their original forms could not be identified: *Albert de Sierbach* and *Franciscus Ungarus de Somcho*. The third list, dated 17 February, contains the names of fifteen people, all of whom are marked with the designation *Ungarus*. Two of these soldiers were given place-based names: one was from Košice, and the other was from a place that cannot be clearly identified (*de Cerdeo*). The fourth and final list, dated 3 March, contained the names of eighteen people. Six of these had names related to their place of origin: two were from Buda, one was from Pest, one was from Belgrade (Nándorfehérvár), one was a soldier from Kassa, and one was probably from Bélavár in Somogy county. However, there are also overlaps among the lists; for example, Bálint from Buda and Péter from Kassa appear on several rolls.²² Furthermore, Péter of Kassa is known to have remained in Otranto, as he is mentioned in a 1484 register. In addition to him, four soldiers from Buda, one from Pécs, one from Turňa nad Bodvou (Torna) and two Polish mercenaries are known to have served in 1484.²³

Another register includes a significant number of mercenaries of Hungarian origin and is connected to the wars fought by king Matthias of Hungary and Frederick III, Holy Roman emperor. This document, from 1482, lists the names of 282 soldiers captured by the emperor's troops from among the Hungarian king's soldiers. Today, it is kept in the Saxon State Archives in Dresden. Looking through the rolls, we find that the names are mainly German, Czech and Polish.²⁴ In many cases, only the soldiers' first names were recorded. From the point of view of the current topic, it is problematic that the majority of people from Hungary are listed in the register only under the name *Unger* (nine people). There may also have been Hungarians among the soldiers with only first names, as some of these names are of Hungarian origin (e.g. *Andrasch* = András, *Estwann* = István). However, their exact places

²² *Magyar diplomáciai emlékek Mátyás király korából*, ed. by I. Nagy, A. B. Nyáry, Budapest 1875–1878, III, 3–5.

²³ *Magyar diplomáciai*, IV, 38. The origin of the other members of the unit has not yet been clearly identified: *Martinus de Febe*, *Embric de Comar*, *Biasius de Borj*, furthermore two *de Demba*.

²⁴ Tresp, 'Böhmen als Söldnermarkt', 122.

of origin cannot be determined.²⁵ One such person is *Janusch Waswari* (= János Vasvári; Vasvár now being a Hungarian town located near the Austrian border) and it is believed that one of the soldiers came from Spiš ('Zybser', based on the German name of the area – 'Zips').²⁶

The next sources, in which we can find mentions of Hungarians, are connected to the Polish royal army and concentrate on the second half of the 1490s, but we can also find scattered references to Hungarian soldiers in the royal army from the first half of the sixteenth century that are relevant to our research. More precise names indicating their place of origin are found primarily in the case of infantrymen in the Polish royal army, among whom two captains (*rothmagister*), Jan Kałusz (as János Kallós?) and Łukasz Luboszwarski (as Lukács Lubosvári?) are generally considered to be of Hungarian origin by Polish literature,²⁷ although this is not necessarily the case.

In the case of Kałusz, the literature considers that he came from Brod in Hungary (*civitate regni Hungariae*), which probably refers to a castle located in the county of Pozsega (the area is located in southern Croatia today). However, we cannot ignore another possibility, namely that this is a misunderstanding and that the expression quoted above refers to Uherský Brod ('Hungarian ford') in Moravia, near the Hungarian border. In this case, the name 'Caluss' is more likely to refer to the Kalous family name, which still exists in the Czech Republic today, which derives from the German word 'Kohlhaas'.²⁸

²⁵ Dresden, Sächsisches Staatsarchiv, Hauptstaatsarchiv (henceforward quoted as: SStA HStAD) Dresden, 10025 Hof- und Zentralverwaltung (Wittenberger Archiv), Loc. 4377/03, fols 300–3, fol. 34^v and 35^v. In this paper, I refer to page numbers based on the new numbering shown in the document.

²⁶ SStA HStAD 10025 Hof- und Zentralverwaltung (Wittenberger Archiv), Loc. 4377/03, fols 300–03, fol. 34^r; fol. 37^r.

²⁷ Grabarczyk, *Piechota zaciężna*, 71–72, 84–87; Plewczyński, *W służbie polskiego króla*, 229–39. Aleksander Bołdyrew only mentions Jan Kałusz as Hungarian: Bołdyrew, *Piechota zaciężna*, 162. However, there are researchers who disagree, such as Vitaliy Mykhaylovskiy, who identified the latter as Czech: V. Mykhaylovskiy, 'Podolian Melting Pot. Formation of Multicultural Community of Nobles on the Eastern Border of Polish Kingdom of the Fifteenth Century Europe', *Український історичний журнал*, 94 (2020), 133.

²⁸ L. Szokola, 'Magyarországi zsoldosok a lengyel király és a litván nagyfejedelem szolgálatában a 16. század első felében', in *Micae Mediaevalis X. Fiatal történészek dolgozatai a középkori Magyarországról és Európáról*, ed. by E. Kovács, V. Rudolf et al., Budapest 2022, 124–25.

The problem with Lubosvári (Luboszwarski) is that the place Lubosvár or Libosvár did not exist within the borders of the Hungarian Kingdom. However, Libosváry did exist in Moravia. Furthermore, a *nobilis Lucas de Lebezwar alias de Staromesta* lived in this settlement at that time, who had connections in Hungary and even served Vladislaus II, but was originally a Moravian nobleman. Therefore, it is much more likely that the two captains serving in the Polish army at the end of the fifteenth and beginning of the sixteenth centuries were of Moravian origin.²⁹

According to Tadeusz Grabarczyk's research, both captains' troops were mainly composed of Poles from Lesser Poland and representatives of the Czech Crown. However, in the case of Jan Kałusz, approximately twenty per cent of the troops were Hungarians in 1496, although this proportion fell to four per cent the following year. In Łukasz Luboszwarski's unit, Hungarians accounted for six per cent (six people) of the total number of soldiers in 1496.³⁰ This low proportion of Hungarians among the troops suggests that they were not originally recruited in Hungarian territory further reinforces the idea that their captains were not Hungarian.

Reviewing sources relating to the Polish infantry between 1496 and 1500 (i.e. not only those relating to the armies of the two captains mentioned above), we find the following names connected to the territory of the Kingdom of Hungary: two from Buda, two from Ploské (Lapispatak), one from Bardejov (Bártfa), one from Trnava (Nagyszombat), two from Košice, one from Túróc county, sixteen from Trenčín (Trencsén), one from Záblatie (Vágszabolcs, today part of Trenčín), one from Čachtice (Csejte), one from Perín (Perény, today part of Perín-Chym) two from Nitra (Nyitra), one from Hlohovec (Galgóc), one from Topolčany (Tapolcsány), four from Skalica (Szokolca), one from Púchov (Puhó), one from Banská Bystrica (Besztercebánya), and one from Liptovský Mikuláš (Liptószentmiklós).³¹ In summary, it can be said that the vast majority

²⁹ Szokola, 'Magyarországi zsoldosok', 125–26. However, a certain *Stephanus Hungarus* served as a captain of infantry in the Polish army in 1521. Boldyrew, *Piechota zaciężna*, 23.

³⁰ Grabarczyk, *Piechota zaciężna*, 70–72.

³¹ Warsaw, Archiwum Główne Akt Dawnych w Warszawie, 85, Rejestry Popisowe Wojska Koronnego, 1474–1758 (henceforward quoted as: AGAD ASK 85), vol. 1–4. See also V. Chaloupecký, *Středověké listy ze Slovenska. Sbirka listů a listin, psaných jazykem národním*, Bratislava 1937, XXVIII.

of soldiers came from the north-western border region, but there were also many from other areas and from major towns.

Aleksander Bołdyrew in a study on the Polish infantry in the first half of the sixteenth century, drew attention to the social and personal composition of soldiers, in the same way as Tadeusz Grabarczyk did. In the case of common soldiers, he examined 12,000 soldiers from between 1522 and 1547. According to his findings, forty-five of the soldiers examined were of Hungarian origin, representing zero point three eight percent of the total.³² However, only a fraction of these people can be linked to a place of origin in Hungary. Fortunately, the military records from 1531 have been published in printed form, unlike records from earlier periods. Among the soldiers appearing in these publications, we find two individuals from Kassa³³ and one from Levoča (Lőcse).³⁴ Furthermore, other military-related Polish royal accounts from this period mention eleven people from Košice, one from Pest, one from Bardejov, and one from Levoča.³⁵

The next record related to the Czechs/Bohemians, in which we find mention of foot soldiers arriving from the territory of the Kingdom of Hungary, is a list of prisoners taken in the battle of Wenzelbach (Germany) on 12 September 1504. The battle was connected to the struggle for the Duchy of Landshut, in which Ruprecht of the Palatinate (son of Philip, Elector Palatine of the Rhine) and his troops faced off against the forces of Albert IV, duke of Bavaria, and his ally Maximilian I, king of the Romans. Around 3,000 Czech infantrymen served in the Palatinate army. Most of them were killed in battle, and a significant number were captured. Although sources provide different numbers of Czech prisoners of war, based on the names listed below, the number of prisoners known by name can be assessed at 630. Among them 563 foot soldiers and sixty-seven 'young men' ('syn' probably armed servants) were taken prisoner.³⁶ The list itself was written in Czech and was most likely compiled by one of the literate soldiers who had

³² Bołdyrew, *Piechota zaciężna*, 137–39.

³³ *Rejestry popisowe wojska koronnego 1531*, ed. by A. Bołdyrew, Warsaw 2023, 247, 268.

³⁴ Z. Spieralski, *Kampania obertyńska 1531 roku*, Warsaw 1962, 263.

³⁵ Archival material related to the persons listed: AGAD ASK 85, vol. 12–42. I would like to thank Aleksander Bołdyrew for providing me with the relevant data.

³⁶ K. Sladkovská, 'Česká účast ve válce o dědictví landshutské roku 1504', *Husitský Tábor: Sborník Husitského Muzea*, 16 (2009), 190–92.

been captured.³⁷ At least ten of the people recorded can be identified as originating from Northern Hungary. One of them may have come from Trnava and served in Jindřich z Gutštejn's³⁸ unit.³⁹ Nine other people identified on the same document fought in the same unit, six of whom were from Trenčín (*z Trenczina*) and the surrounding area, two from the village of Bánovce nad Bebravou (*z Banowiz, Bán*), and one from Banská Štiavnica (Selmechánya). Furthermore, in addition to Kamilla Sladkovská's identifications, it may be possible that Martin Kassparuow came from Banská Bystrica (*z Bystrzize*) and Blaziek Slovak from Košice (*z Kossatize*). Regardless of the place of origin of the last two soldiers, those serving in the army who were presumably connected to the Kingdom of Hungary came primarily from the north-western region of the kingdom, as Polish sources also indicate.

Information obtained from other kind of sources

Data from the various registers can be supplemented with data from other sources. For example, charters refer to royal captains whose surnames indicate their place of origin: Bálint Nagy of Pest,⁴⁰ Bálint Huszti (of Khust, today Ukraine),⁴¹ Kálmán Óbudai (of Old Buda),⁴² István Kovács of Miskolc,⁴³ Péter Szakolócki of Nagyszombat (Trnava).⁴⁴

Further information is provided by the so-called account book of Zsigmond Ernuszt, which contains the royal court's expenditures and

³⁷ Sladkovská, 'Česká účast', 192.

³⁸ Sladkovská, 'Česká účast', 182–84.

³⁹ Sladkovská, 'Česká účast', 215.

⁴⁰ Budapest, Magyar Nemzeti Levéltár Országos Levéltára, Budapest. Mohács előtti gyűjtemény. Diplomatikai Levéltár (henceforward quoted as: MNL OL DL) 75398.

⁴¹ D. Csánki, 'Oklevelek a Hunyadiak korából. (Kassa város levéltárából.) Első közlemény', *Történelmi Tár* 2, 3.3 (1902), 350.

⁴² MNL OL DL 46068. Óbuda is nowadays part of Budapest.

⁴³ For his biography see I. Draskóczy, 'Egy katonatiszt Hunyadi Mátyás korában. Miskolci Kovács István', in *Rex invictissimus. Hadsereg és hadszervezet a Mátyás kori Magyarországon*, ed. by L. Veszprémy, Budapest 2008, 185–93.

⁴⁴ L. Thallóczy, *Jajcza (bánság, vár és város) története 1450–1527*, Budapest 1915, 250–51; Burgher of Trnava, *A Szapolyai család oklevéltára I. Levelek és oklevelek (1458–1526)*, ed. by T. Neumann, Budapest 2012, No. 429.

revenues from the years 1494–1495.⁴⁵ From our point of view, this book of accounts is interesting because it also contains details of royal expenditure on an internal war in Hungary, known as the war against Lőrinc Újlaki.⁴⁶ I would like to highlight that, in addition to entries relating to the payment of captains serving the king, this source also contains information about measures restricting the recruitment of soldiers.

Vladislaus II sent his man Kristóf to Graz (Austria) in Styria to recruit infantrymen.⁴⁷ Vladislaus II had twelve Czech infantry captains in his service.⁴⁸ On another occasion, seven or possibly eight, presumably Czech captains were given forty florins.⁴⁹ On one occasion, Vladislaus II sent a letter to the captain-general of Reinprecht von Reichenburg in Styria, as well as to the captains of Graz and Celje (today Slovenia) in Styria and Laibach (Ljubljana) in Carniola, to prevent Újlaki from recruiting soldiers. In the same way, Vladislaus II tried to hire the dismissed soldiers of the king of the Romans, Maximilian I into his own mercenary service, and to prevent Újlaki from doing so.⁵⁰ Riflemen from Pest and Buda were probably recruited into the army of Vladislaus II.⁵¹ Two of his men were sent by the Hungarian king to recruit mercenaries from Moravia.⁵² Another man was sent to Vienna (Austria) to collect two hundred infantrymen.⁵³

The next data set, which I have mentioned before, comprises a series of regulations that restrict mercenary recruitment. To the best of my knowledge, no such restriction has been imposed on the Kingdom of Hungary as a whole or on any of its towns.⁵⁴ However, in 1458, the city

⁴⁵ *Registrum proventuum regni Hungariae. A Magyar Királyság kincstartójának számadáskönyve (1494–1495)*, ed. by T. Neumann, Budapest 2019.

⁴⁶ Lőrinc Újlaki was the last male heir of one of the largest noble families in Hungary. He became an enemy of the Hungarian king, Vladislaus II. In 1494, the king finally launched a campaign against him. For the campaign, see T. Fedeles, *A király és a lázadó herceg. Az Újlaki Lőrinc és szövetségesei elleni királyi hadjárat (1494–1495)*, Szeged 2012.

⁴⁷ *Registrum proventuum regni Hungariae*, No. 1036.

⁴⁸ *Registrum proventuum regni Hungariae*, No. 878.

⁴⁹ *Registrum proventuum regni Hungariae*, No. 974.

⁵⁰ *Registrum proventuum regni Hungariae*, No. 732–737, 980.

⁵¹ *Registrum proventuum regni Hungariae*, No. 1667.

⁵² *Registrum proventuum regni Hungariae*, No. 1680–1682.

⁵³ *Registrum proventuum regni Hungariae*, No. 1100.

⁵⁴ In the Holy Roman Empire (based on examples from the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries), towns restricted the entry of the local, especially poorer population into military service: Burschel, *Söldner im Nordwestdeutschland*, 64.

of Split in Dalmatia (today Croatia) limited the number of mercenaries it could accept by banning the recruitment of Croatian, German and Hungarian soldiers.⁵⁵ We must also include the efforts of Vladislaus II, mentioned in the previous paragraph, to prevent the recruitment of soldiers in various areas of Styria and Carniola in connection with the clash against Lőrinc Újlaki. Furthermore, in a letter sent to České Budějovice (Czech Republic) in 1506, Vladislaus II forbade the city from allowing Maximilian I or anyone other than the Hungarian-Czech ruler to recruit soldiers.⁵⁶ And in 1527, King Sigismund of Poland restricted the contracting of soldiers from his own country to foreign countries, due to the Tatar threat.⁵⁷ I should of course stress that the considerable military potential of the three regions involved (the Austrian territories, the German territories in a broader sense; the lands of the Czech Crown; the lands of the Polish Crown) has already been noted in the literature. Although the lands of the Czech Crown were in decline, they still had significant mercenary potential, especially compared to other countries in Central and Eastern Europe. Meanwhile, the military potential of the German territories was increasing during the period under discussion.⁵⁸ Moreover, Poland's mercenary potential was at its peak at the end of the fifteenth and beginning of the sixteenth centuries. In this respect, the territories of Lesser Poland bordering the Kingdom of Hungary were of outstanding importance within the provinces of the Polish Crown.⁵⁹ The latter is exemplified by the case of Mikołaj Storcz (Szorc) z Rudnik (Rudnicy), who, in 1522, wrote to the city of Gdańsk (Poland) from his position as captain of Petrovaradin (Pétervárad), informing them of his intention to travel to Cracow to recruit more mercenaries.⁶⁰ Mikołaj is known to have taken part in the war between

⁵⁵ L. Sadovski, 'Protecting a Dalmatian Town: Security Measures in Venetian Split (1480–1550)', *Reti Medievali Rivista*, 24 (2023), 7.

⁵⁶ F. Palacký, *Archiv český, čili, Staré písemné památky české i moravské, z archivův domácích i cizích*, Prague 1872, VI, 338–39.

⁵⁷ *Acta Tomicianae: Epistole, legationes, responsa, actiones, res geste serenissimi principis Sigismundi, eius nominis primi, regis Polonie, magni ducis Lithvanie, Russie, Prussie, Masovie domini [...]*, ed. by S. Górski, Z. Celichowski, Poznań 1852–1999, IX, 229.

⁵⁸ Tresp, 'Böhmen als Söldnermarkt'; Baumann, 'Süddeutschland als Söldnermarkt'.

⁵⁹ Grabarczyk, *Piechota zaciężna*, 68–91; Böldyrew, *Piechota zaciężna*, 113–36; Böldyrew, 'Towns as the Recruitment Base', 111–13.

⁶⁰ Gdańsk, Archiwum Państwowe w Gdańsku, Akta miasta Gdańska – Dokumenty, 17/E, 22. This source has been found and analyzed by Benjámín Borbás. I am grateful to him for sharing it with me.

Poland and the Teutonic Order between 1519 and 1521, and was one of the officers of the Polish auxiliary detachment sent to Hungary against the Ottoman army in 1521.⁶¹

Regarding the narrative sources, we should mention the ‘war plan’ by an anonymous author for Ferdinand I, archduke of Austria and king of Hungary and Bohemia. In this plan, the author praises the excellent infantrymen recruited near the Váh river,⁶² probably due to its proximity to Moravia.⁶³ It was not in vain, that one of his men recruited infantrymen for the Hungarian king in the counties of Trencsén and Nyitra in 1522.⁶⁴ The anonymous author’s information is also confirmed by a source preserved in the archives of Banská Bystrica. According to this, one of king Ferdinand’s captains intended to recruit soldiers in the region surrounding the town, as well as in Moravia and other places in 1535.⁶⁵ Furthermore, earlier sources suggest that the northwestern part of the Kingdom of Hungary was not the only area suitable for recruiting large numbers of mercenaries. During Matthias Corvinus’s reign (1458–1490), the ruler recruited mercenaries from the north-eastern region of the Kingdom of Hungary on several occasions. In a letter dated 18 May 1464, for example, the ruler waived Bardejov tax arrears of four hundred florins in exchange for mercenaries hired for him.⁶⁶

⁶¹ M. Biskup, “Wojna Pruska”, czyli wojna Polski z Zakonem Krzyżackim z lat 1519–1521, Oświęcim 2014, 72, 74, 293, 324, 330, 332, 339, 358, 442, 445, 494–95; *Matricularum Regni Poloniae summaria, excussis codicibus, qui in Chartophylacio Maximo Varsoviensi asservantur*, ed. by T. Wierzbowski, Warsaw 1905–1961, IV.2, No. 12927.

⁶² F. Csapó, P. Kasza, M. Majoros, “Álomszerű” haditerv Szapolyai János ellen’, in *Lymbus – Magyarságtudományi forrásközlemények*, ed. by A. P. Szabó, Budapest 2020, 62.

⁶³ Based on contemporary sources, there was another region suitable for recruiting foot soldiers in the early sixteenth century. István Brodarics, who participated in the battle of Mohács in 1526 and recorded its history, noted that the people living along the Drava River were considered excellent foot archers: Stephanus Brodericus, *De conflictu Hungarorum cum Solymano Turcarum imperatore ad Mohach historia verissima*, ed. by P. Kulcsár, Budapest 1985, 47. However, due to space limitations, I am unable to address the military potential of this area within the scope of this study.

⁶⁴ A. Kubinyi, ‘A Szávaszentdemeter–Nagyolaszi győzelem 1523-ban. Adatok Mohács előzményéhez’, in *Nándorfehérvártól Mohácsig. A Mátyás- és a Jagelló-kor hadtörténete*, ed. by A. Kubinyi, Budapest 2007, 130.

⁶⁵ *Mesto Banská Bystrica. Katalóg administratívnych a súdnych písomností (1020) 1255–1536*, ed. by C. Matulay, Bratislava 1980, I–II, No. 1361.

⁶⁶ Budapest, Magyar Nemzeti Levéltár Országos Levéltára, Budapest. Mohács előtti gyűjtemény. Diplomatikai Fényképgyűjtemény (henceforward quoted as: MNL

In August 1467, he asked the towns of Bardejov, Prešov (Eperjes), and Levoča to allow his man, Mátyás Szántói, to enter their walls in order to recruit soldiers.⁶⁷ In 1481, Bálint Huszti recruited soldiers for the royal army in Košice, which was also announced in the surrounding settlements.⁶⁸ This was a unique move by King Matthias, as there are no records of the Jagiellonian kings (1490–1526) recruiting soldiers in this region during their reign.

A somewhat different picture emerges in the eastern part of the Kingdom of Hungary, more particularly in Transylvania. Here, in certain instances (i.e., not continuously), we have information about the hiring of troops from Wallachia. The presence of these soldiers is mentioned in a letter dated 22 December 1480, from István Bátori, voivode of Transylvania, in which he instructed Braşov (Brassó) to take in 110 horsemen from among the men of the late voivode of Wallachia, paying two florins for each soldier.⁶⁹ However, in a letter dated 9 March 1481, he only mentions the recruitment of Vlachs and does not specifically name the Wallachians,⁷⁰ but it is likely that they are also referred to here, as on 31 March he again ordered the recruitment of three hundred horsemen from among the Wallachians for the town.⁷¹ The mercenary conditions in Transylvania are well illustrated by a letter dated November or December 1476 from Vlad Țepeş, voivode of Wallachia, addressed to Braşov, in which he asks the town to send him Hungarian, Szekler, or Wallachian soldiers despite being unable to pay them, offering only food in return. The letter clearly shows that these ethnic groups were the main source of mercenaries in Transylvania.⁷²

In medieval Western Hungary, our sources regarding the mercenary market in the region are primarily from Bratislava (Pozsony).

OL DF) 214221.

⁶⁷ MNL OL DF 214397.

⁶⁸ MNL OL DF 214956.

⁶⁹ *Urkundenbuch zur Geschichte der Deutschen in Siebenbürgen*, ed. by F. Zimmermann, Hermannstadt – Bucharest 1892–1991, VII, No. 4378.

⁷⁰ *Urkundenbuch zur Geschichte der Deutschen*, VII, No. 4392.

⁷¹ *Urkundenbuch zur Geschichte der Deutschen*, VII, No. 4405.

⁷² *Documente privitoare la relațiile Țării Românești cu Braşovul şi cu Țara Ungurească în sec. XV şi XVI*, I: 1413–1508, ed. by I. Bogdan, Bucharest 1905, 99, No. 77. On the military organization in Wallachia during this period, see A. Gheorghe, 'Understanding the Ottoman Campaign in Wallachia in the Summer of 1462. Numbers, Limits, Manoeuvres and Meanings', in *Vlad der Pfähler – Dracula Tyrann oder Volkstribun?*, ed. by T. Bohn, R. Einax et al., Wiesbaden 2017, 159–88.

Based on the town's detailed and numerous extant account books, in 1443,⁷³ 1448,⁷⁴ and 1457,⁷⁵ the council of Bratislava sent people to Vienna to recruit soldiers. Furthermore, we know of four letters written in Czech, all but one of which are undated, in which various individuals offered their services to the inhabitants of Bratislava. The only dated letter was written on 4 March 1458, in Smolenice (Szomolány). The leader of the group was a certain 'Medved', who came from Slavičín (Czech Republic) in Moravia, and without specifying his troops more precisely, he inquired whether the town needed soldiers.⁷⁶ One of the undated letters was written on behalf of a nobleman named Ján Žampach z Žamberka, presumably from Moravia,⁷⁷ who offered to hire an unknown number of horsemen and foot soldiers to serve the town.⁷⁸ The second undated letter was sent by a certain 'Lorek', who offered his services along with thirty-two companions.⁷⁹ The leader of the last group was a certain 'Janek', who commanded sixteen foot soldiers. In the end, they were probably not employed, or at least we find no mention of this in the town accounts. Yet, based on the same accounts, we learn of a messenger from an unknown mercenary troop in 1439. The town refused to hire these soldiers, but the messenger was rewarded for his efforts.⁸⁰

Conclusions

While this study is incomplete due to the temporal and spatial dispersion of the sources and a detailed overview of the soldiers hired by medieval Hungarian towns has not been provided due to space limitations, the information provided in the above sources are nevertheless suitable for drawing cautious, general conclusions.

⁷³ Bratislava, Archív mesta Bratislavy, Magistrát mesta Bratislavy (henceforward quoted as: AMB, MMB), vol. 5 (1442–1443), 170.

⁷⁴ AMB, MMB, vol. 14 (1448–1449), 285.

⁷⁵ AMB, MMB, vol. 25 (1457), 274.

⁷⁶ Chaloupecký, *Středověké listy ze Slovenska*, 92–93.

⁷⁷ Chaloupecký, *Středověké listy ze Slovenska*, 41.

⁷⁸ For identification of the family, see P. Sedláček, 'Žoldnieri v Bratislave v polovici 15. storočia', *Vojenská História*, 17 (2013), 8, footnote 13.

⁷⁹ Chaloupecký, *Středověké listy ze Slovenska*, 42.

⁸⁰ Sedláček, 'Žoldnieri v Bratislave', 8–9.

One of the most important conclusions drawn from these sources is that Northern Hungary had the greatest potential for mercenary recruitment of the three regions examined. The western territories in general, as well as the two most important towns in the region, Košice and possibly Levoča, had outstanding military potential. Additionally, the central part of the country, comprising Buda and Pest, is noteworthy in terms of the number of mercenaries that can be hired. These areas were frequently used by kings and military commanders to increase the size of their armies. Furthermore, significant but not decisive numbers of soldiers from these areas also appeared in foreign armies. By contrast, mercenaries from Western Hungarian and Transylvanian Saxon towns rarely appeared in armies outside their own towns.

Another important observation is that in the second half of the fifteenth century and at the beginning of the sixteenth century, the army of the Kingdom of Hungary relied heavily on the military potential of the surrounding areas (in the following order): the countries of the Czech Crown, the Austrian and German territories, and the territories of the Polish Crown. This can be true not only of King Matthias's 'black army', but also of the army of the Jagiellonian rulers.⁸¹ It is therefore no surprise that even in the case of an internal conflict, the ruler primarily seeks to cut off his opponent from foreign mercenary markets. Furthermore, in some cases, we are also aware of instructions whereby the rulers of these areas wished to protect their own mercenary potential in connection with certain conflicts. From the Hungarian point of view, no similar explicit prohibition is known from the Kingdom of Hungary during the period I have examined. Furthermore, it seems that foot mercenaries from the Hungarian Kingdom did not appear in decisive numbers in foreign armies. The answer to the question of why Hungary's infantry potential in the Central and Eastern European region was among the least significant, ranging from possible distortions in the sources examined so far to constant Ottoman pressure, may vary. The decision on this issue must therefore be left to further research and consideration.

⁸¹ T. Pálosfalvi, *From Nicopolis to Mohács. A History of Ottoman-Hungarian Warfare, 1389–1526*, Boston 2018, 28–39.

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DAVID BOURGEOIS^{*}

MINING MIGRATIONS IN THE SOUTHERN VOSGES IN THE LATE MIDDLE AGES

Abstract: The mining boom in the southern Vosges at the end of the Middle Ages led to a revitalization of the region. The specific nature of this economic activity required special techniques and substantial financial investment, and migratory phenomena had a profound effect on the areas in which new mining deposits were discovered and then exploited. It made a strong impact on the population in the region. Migration has been economic and financial, but it has also involved the transfer of techniques and know-how. These migrations have been perceived in different ways. For the pre-existing populations, they could be intrusive, threatening demographic, cultural and economic balances. The owners of the deposits welcomed the migrants, as their activities provided them with extra income and boosted economic prosperity and of the region where the competition in mining industry was very strong. A study of mining migrations enables to illustrate the economic growth of the Upper Rhine and to analyze how this region emerged as one of the most dynamic parts of the Holy Roman Empire at the end of the Middle Ages.

Keywords: medieval mining, mining technologies, migrations, Upper Rhine, Basel

The growing demand for silver during the late Middle Ages gave a strong stimulus to the growing number of mining operations in western and central Europe. These were dominated by deposits in Saxony (Meissen, Freiberg),¹

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¹ H. Pforr, *Freiberger Silber und Sachsens Glanz. Lebendige Geschichte und Sehenswürdigkeiten der Berghauptstadt Freiberg*, Leipzig 2001.

Bohemia (Kutna Hora from the 1290s onwards), the Ore Mountains (Erzgebirge) between Bohemia and Saxony (Schneeberg, Annaberg in the fifteenth century),² the Harz (Goslar and the Rammelsberg in the tenth century), the Tyrol and the Alps, and Tyrol and Italy (the metal-bearing mountains of Tuscany, Veneto, Sardinia).³ The extraction of polymetallic ores (mainly silver, copper and lead) spread throughout the medieval Christendom. There were several major deposits in what is now France, notably in the Dauphiné, the Monts du Lyonnais and the Pyrenean mountains.⁴ In some cases, such as the discovery of metal deposits in the Freiberg region in 1168 or those at Schneeberg (1470) and Annaberg-Buchholz (1491–1492), the mining boom led to a peak in activity in the geographical areas concerned, accompanied by significant demographic movements, as in the Ore Mountains, for example. Freiberg (1185), St Joachimsthal (1516) and Marienberg (1521) are just a few examples of settlements founded following the discovery of mining deposits. The mining clamour, known as ‘Berggeschrey’, also points to the nature of the soil in which these deposits were exploited.⁵ The Upper Rhine region was no exception. There were many dynamic mining operations in the central Vosges. Sainte-Marie-aux-Mines and La Croix-aux-Mines on the Lorraine side of the mountain have been leading centres for silver mining since the middle of the Middle Ages, and probably even earlier.⁶ The eastern slopes of the Upper Rhine, in the Black Forest (Schwarzwald), were also the focus of intense mining exploration and the site of technical innovations. The Suggental deposit, north of Freiburg im Breisgau, had been mined since the twelfth

² S. Gerlach, *Sachsen. Eine politische Landeskunde*, Stuttgart – Berlin – Köln 1994.

³ P. Braunstein, ‘Les entreprises minières en Vénétie au XV^e siècle’, *Mélanges d’archéologie et d’histoire*, 77.2 (1965), 529–607; P. Spufford, ‘Le rôle de la monnaie dans la révolution commerciale du XIII^e siècle’, in *Études d’histoire monétaire: XII^e–XIX^e siècles*, ed. by J. Day, Lille – Paris 1984, 355–96.

⁴ M.-C. Bailly-Maître, J. Bruno-Dupraz, *Brandes-en-Oisans. La mine d’argent des Dauphins (XII^e–XIV^e siècles)*, Documents d’archéologie en Rhône-Alpes, 9, Lyon 1994; P. Benoît, *La mine de Pampailly, XV^e–XVIII^e siècles. Brussieu – Rhône*, Lyon 1997; C. Verna, *L’industrie au village. Essai de micro-histoire (Arles-sur-Tech, XIV^e et XV^e siècles)*, Paris 2017; C. Verna, *Le temps des moulins. Fer, technique et société dans les Pyrénées centrales (XIII^e–XVI^e siècles)*, Paris 2002.

⁵ S. Sieber, *Zur Geschichte des erzgebirgischen Bergbaues*, Halle 1954, 135.

⁶ P. Fluck, *Sainte-Marie-aux-Mines. Les mines du rêve. Une monographie des mines d’argent*, Les Editions du Patrimoine Minier, Soultz 2000; M.-C. Bailly-Maître, *L’argent: du minerai au pouvoir dans la France médiévale*, Paris 2002, 163.

century, and its twenty-two-kilometre-long mining canal, built in 1284, was one of the first in Europe.⁷ To the south of Freiburg, the Münstertal and Schauinsland had been mined since the thirteenth century, while the Todtnau (mentioned as early as 1283), Saint-Blaise (first half of the fourteenth century) and Badenweiler (eleventh century) veins were some of the most important in the region.⁸

In addition to demographic upheavals, the exploitation of these deposits was accompanied by transfers of mining skills. New laws which promoted the mobility of people enabled mining specialists to practise their art from one region to another, often to develop new seams.⁹ Such moves often involved miners of German origin. The regions where the art of mining was the earliest, the most accomplished or the most consistent were mostly located in areas within the Holy Roman Empire. The Saxon miners called to the mines in the Spiš region after 1241 were known as Zipser Sachsen. As in other parts of Italy, German miners also made a significant contribution to the growth of mining industry in the Veneto region.¹⁰ As Philippe Braunstein points out for Italy, mining in the Middle Ages was indebted to German technical and human contributions.¹¹

⁷ A. Haasis-Berner, *Wasserkünste, Hangkanäle und Staudämme im Mittelalter. Eine archäologisch-historische Untersuchung zum Wasserbau am Beispiel des Urgrabens am Kandel im mittleren Schwarzwald*, Freiburger Beiträge zur Archäologie und Geschichte des ersten Jahrtausends, 5, Rahden 2001.

⁸ A. Schlageter, *Geschichte des Todtnauer Silberbergbaus im Mittelalter 1250–1565*, Freiburg 1989, 181–212; A. Schlageter, 'Der mittelalterliche Bergbau im Schauinslandrevier', *Schau-ins-Land. Jahresheft des Breisgau-Geschichtsvereins Schauinsland*, 88 (1970), 125–212; A. Schlageter, 'Der mittelalterliche Bergbau im Schauinslandrevier II. Die zweite Blüte des Bergbaus im 16. Jahrhundert und sein Ausgang im 30jährigen Krieg', *Schau-ins-Land. Jahresheft des Breisgau-Geschichtsvereins Schauinsland*, 89 (1971), 95–176; A. Westermann, 'Die Bergbaue im südlichen Schwarzwald und den Vogesen im Hoch- und Spätmittelalter. Zur Problematik der langfristigen wirtschaftlichen Entwicklung', in *Der Tiroler Bergbau und die Depression der europäischen Montanwirtschaft im 14. und 15. Jahrhundert: Akten der internationalen bergbaugeschichtlichen Tagung Steinhaus*, ed. by R. Tasser, E. Westermann, Innsbruck – Vienna – Munich – Bozen 2004, 263–84.

⁹ G. Stöger, 'Die Migration europäischer Bergleute während der Frühen Neuzeit', *Der Anschnitt. Zeitschrift für Kunst und Kultur im Bergbau*, 58.4–5 (2006), 170–86.

¹⁰ G. Marcon, 'The Movements of Mining: German Miners in Renaissance Italy (1450s–1560s)' (unpublished doctoral thesis, European University Institute, 2022).

¹¹ Braunstein, 'Les entreprises minières en Vénétie au XV^e siècle', 530: '[...] the pioneers on terra firma were "Tedeschi", and the entire history of mining in the Venetian Alps bears the mark of Germanic influences'.

The southern Vosges was no exception to this trend. In the Upper Rhine, it was one of the last areas to be mined massively at the end of the Middle Ages. Although mines had already been opened in the tenth century (Steinbach) or the fourteenth century (Doller Valley), there was nothing comparable with those in the central Vosges, the Black Forest and even less so with other regions of Central Europe.¹² The real rise of this sector came after 1450. The mines at Plancher-les-Mines (henceforth called Plancher in this text) in 1458 were the starting point of this revival. This was followed in 1469 by the mines at Mont-de-Vannes, further west within the boundaries of the County of Burgundy but politically part of the Holy Roman Empire. Finally, the Auxelles mills in the neighbouring Rosemont valley, part of the County of Ferrette (Upper Alsace), were mentioned for the first time in 1472.¹³ In a highly competitive regional and international context, the rapid emergence of these mines and the expansion of those that had been in operation for a long time was no easy task. The mid-fifteenth century saw the emergence of mining all over Europe, and those in the Black Forest were in close competition with the Vosges mines. In the north of the Upper Rhine, the Counts Palatine of the Rhine developed an aggressive and deliberate mining policy in their lands in the Palatinate, Baden and Bavaria.¹⁴ These counts even operated a mine in central Alsace, at the foot of Haut Koenigsbourg Castle. In such a context, it was necessary to create favourable opportunities to attract mining professionals who knew the techniques of digging mine galleries, extracting the ore. They were also capable of enriching ore which was offered for sale. Migratory

¹² B. Bohly, 'Steinbach. Mines du Donnerloch', in *Bilan scientifique régional 2002*, Service régional de l'Archéologie, Direction régionale des Affaires culturelles d'Alsace, Strasbourg 2005, 54.

¹³ D. Bourgeois, *La mine, un fait urbain? Traces du capitalisme médiéval dans le Rhin supérieur (XIV^e–XV^e siècles)*, (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Upper Rhine, 2024).

¹⁴ Stuttgart, Landesarchiv Baden-Württemberg (henceforward quoted as: LABW), 67, No. 812, 55. Count Palatine Frederick I authorised seven miners to find ore in the mountains around Stromberg Castle (Palatinate) in 1456. LABW 67, No. 812 to No. 829 and No. 1662 are contemporary cartularies (Kopialbücher) in which, among other things, charters are transcribed that provide valuable information on the development of the Daimbach mines, Rheingrafenstein, Imsbach (Palatinate), Orschwiller (Alsace), Nabburg (Bavaria), Weinheim, Grosserlach (Baden-Württemberg) and others under the authority of the Palatine Counts of the Rhine.

movements enabled these mines in the southern Vosges to be opened, bringing about substantial changes in terms of territorial balance.

The impact of mining migration on local areas and population

In 1658 Archduke Leopold Wilhelm of Austria, administrator of the Abbeys of Murbach (Upper Alsace) and Lure (on the border between Upper Alsace and the County of Burgundy), issued an ordinance based on the oldest regulations drawn up by the Abbey of Lure for the management of its polymetallic mines (silver, lead, copper) at Plancher-les-Mines (now Plancher). He stated there that the Abbey owned the woods right up to the top of the mountains that bounded the valley in which the silver deposits were mined. With this act, Archduke Leopold Wilhelm attempted to end controversies between villages regarding the exploitation of woodland resources in the Vallée du Rahin.¹⁵ These disputes originated from mining operations in this remote area on the southern edge of the Vosges mountains.

In 1458, the abbot of Lure granted a concession to mine the polymetallic veins in the Rahin valley to three Basel citizens: merchant Wernlin Freidigman and the smelters and metallurgists Lienhart Kürsner and Jakob Schenck von Worms.¹⁶ As part of the Holy Roman Empire, the lands of the Lure abbey were traditionally Romance in culture and language. The exploitation of these deposits led to the creation of a new settlement, Plancher-les-Mines, a short distance from the existing village of Plancher-Bas. In the heart of this deep, isolated valley, created by glacial melting, mining led to a rapid population explosion. At the end of March 1488, exactly thirty years after the concession was granted, the archbishop of Besançon, to whom the area belonged, transformed the miners' chapel into a parish church.¹⁷ Thus, in an area where no human settlement had been established, the new parish came into being in just three decades.

¹⁵ Vesoul, Archives départementales de la Haute-Saône (henceforward quoted as: ADHS), H586 (Collection of documents relating to the village of Servance).

¹⁶ ADHS, H599 (Renewal of the Plancher-les-Mines mining concession, 1469).

¹⁷ ADHS, 413E-Dépôt 2 (Plancher-les-Mines et Plancher-Bas parish register (1659)).

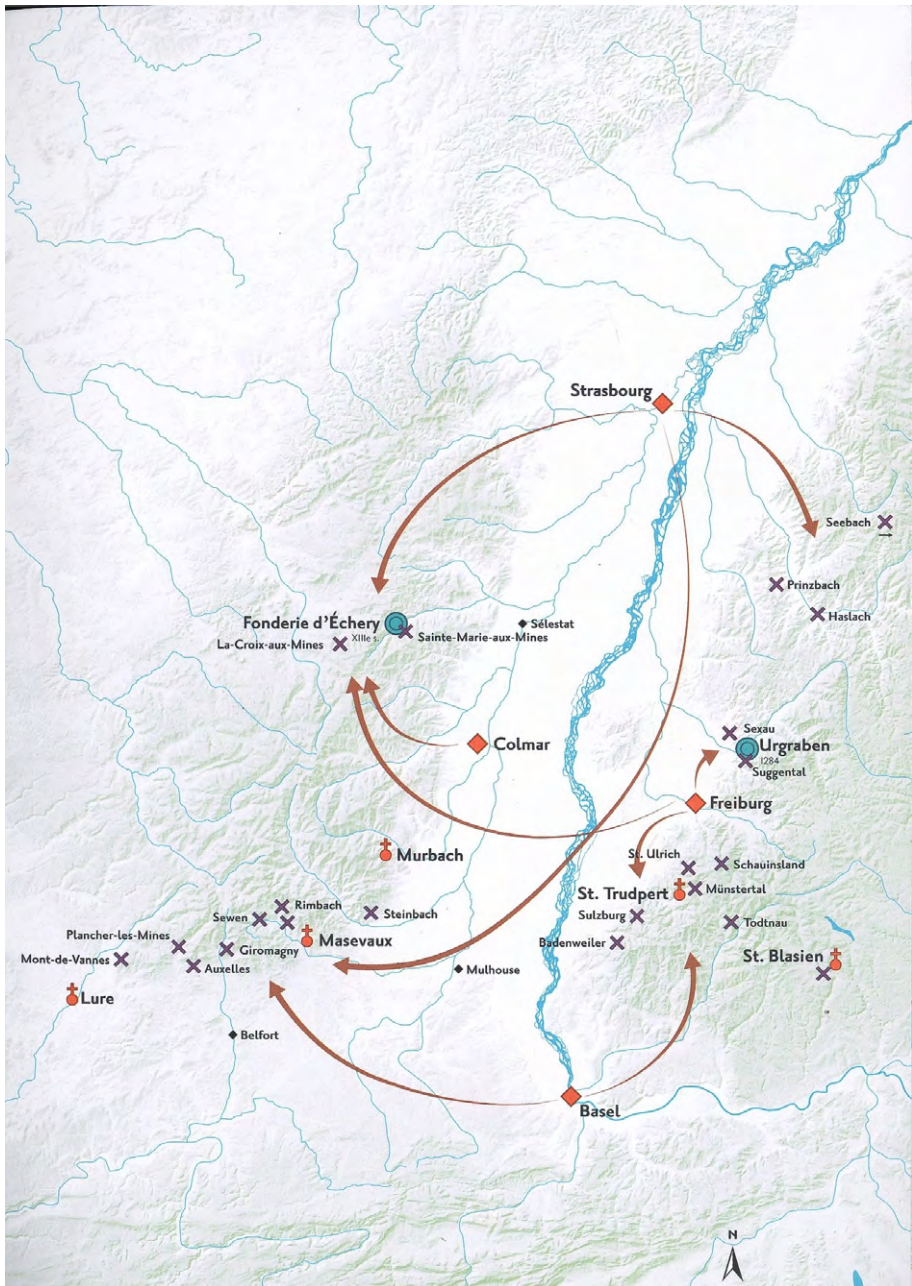


Fig. 1: Silver mines in the Upper Rhine (end of Middle Ages) and transfers of urban capital and the implications of monastic establishments. Author: Joseph Gauthier, David Bourgeois, Benjamin Furst

Without constituting a *Bergstadt* in the true sense of the term, Plancher quickly gained a sizeable population and was endowed with special rights and franchises. Like the *Bergstädte*, the rights of Plancher encouraged the rapid settlement of miners.¹⁸ However, it did not have town rights: there was no seal or coat of arms, and justice was administered by the abbot of Lure. The locality had no institutional independence through its submission to the abbey. This is the major difference between Plancher and the *Bergstädte* of Saxony, Bohemia, Harz or Hungary. The first *Bergstädte* were created in Hungary in the thirteenth century, and Freiberg had special rights as early as 1233 (*ius Fribergensis*). Freiberg was the first *Bergstadt* in Saxony.¹⁹ Although their development went hand in hand with that of the farms to which they were attached, their existence depended very much on sovereign power. In many cases, such as Plancher, the sovereign retained full control over the boundaries of the locality. The regulations in force in Plancher were intended solely to govern the activities and individuals involved. They were in no way intended to govern an autonomous urban institution born of the mines.

The mining regulations on which Leopold Wilhelm based his actions were promulgated at an early stage in the mining history of the southern Vosges. In 1484, the Plancher mines were given a complete set of regulations, which enshrined the fact that the community of miners who had settled in this valley had not only duties but also important rights.²⁰ The geographical limits of the mining estate, its legality, and the miners' privileges were clearly defined. The geographical area defined the perimeter of the mining activity and its ancillary activities, encompassing not only the ore deposits but also the surrounding forests (the mines required large amounts of wood) and the new village, where inhabitants enjoyed a certain number of franchises. The reason for putting such regulations in writing was the competition that reigned on a continental scale to recruit personnel capable of operating

¹⁸ K. H. Kaufhold, W. Reininghaus, *Stadt und Bergbau*, Cologne – Weimar – Vienna 2004.

¹⁹ L. Asrih, 'Das synt gemeyne bergrecht...'. *Inhalte und Anwendung des Freiburger Bergrechts im Mittelalter*, Bochum 2017.

²⁰ Colmar, Archives d'Alsace – Site de Colmar (henceforward quoted as: AA-Colmar), 9G-Comptes 66. This account book from Murbach abbey contains a contemporary copy of the mining regulation for Plancher.

mines. Legislation and grants were the prerequisites for obtaining manpower and know-how technologies. There were many precedents for mining law within the Empire. After the *ius Fribergensis*, Freiberg mining law was transcribed and developed in two main texts around 1300/1306 and 1382. It can be considered one of the main sources of medieval mining law.²¹ In the Upper Rhine region, the rights granted by Landrichter Johann von Üsenberg for the Münstertal mines and those granted by Count Egino III of Freiburg for the Diesselmüt mines (12 km from Freiburg), both in 1372, were the first important texts on the subject in the region.²² The key aspect of the text adopted by Hans Stör, the Abbot of Lure for the Plancher mines was that it was based on the legal provisions of the Golden Bull of 1356 (the sovereign had exclusive sovereignty over the subsoil). As the abbot of Lure was also a prince of the Empire, he legitimately had the right to exploit these mines and to regulate their use. This legal basis was regularly used by sovereigns. The counts palatine of the Rhine mentioned it several times in their deeds.²³ Thanks to the Golden Bull, at the top of the hierarchy of norms, the sovereign could establish specific mining regulations for a given area. This is what the abbot of Lure did when he issued the first mining regulations for the southern Vosges, inspired by the mining laws of the pre-existing Germanic mining districts.

Furthermore, the mining regulations precisely detailed the times during which various types of mining work were carried out. The Plancher mining sector was in almost uninterrupted operation, twenty-four

²¹ *Codex Diplomaticus Saxoniae Regiae*, XIII: *Urkundenbuch der Stadt Freiberg in Sachsen*, ed. by H. Ermisch, Leipzig 1886, II, 267–76 (for *Freiberger Bergrecht A*) and 285–99 (for *Freiberger Bergrecht B*). For further study on the mining laws see: P. Braunstein, 'Les statuts miniers de l'Europe médiévale', *Comptes rendus des séances de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres*, 136.1 (1992), 35–56.

²² For a basic outline of the mining regulations issued by Landrichter Johann von Üsenberg of Breisgau for Upper Münstertal in 1372, see E. Gothein, 'Beiträge zur Geschichte des Bergbaus im Schwarzwald', *Zeitschrift für die Geschichte des Oberrheins, Neue Folge*, 2 (1887), 385–448. For the principles of the mining regulations of Count Egino IV of Freiburg for the Diesselmüt Mines (30 June 1372), see Karlsruhe, Generallandesarchiv Karlsruhe (henceforward quoted as: GLA – Karlsruhe), 229, 106172; Mining regulations issued by Count Egino IV of Freiburg for the mines on the Diesselmüt on 30 June 1372, GLA – Karlsruhe, 229, 106172.

²³ Between 1482 and 1499 Count Palatine Philip referred to the Golden Bull ten times when granting new mining concessions. GLA – Karlsruhe 67 (Kopialbücher, see above).

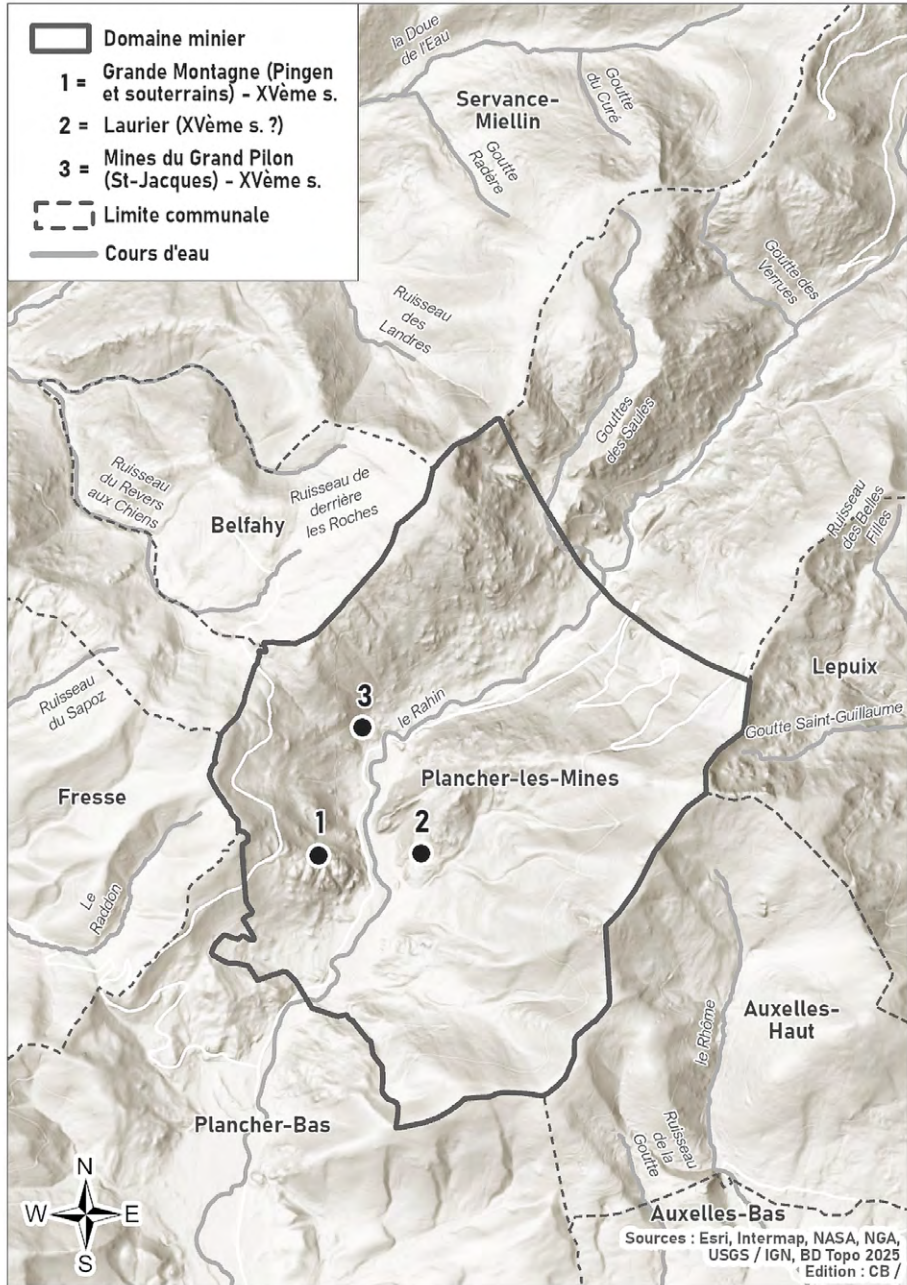


Fig. 2: Mining estate of Plancher. Author: David Bourgeois, Catherine Biellmann

hours a day, six days a week. Work was only halted on Sundays. Mine drilling unfolded in two-day shifts – one team of miners in the morning, another in the afternoon – while the smelters operated primarily at night. Ancillary activities (supplying wood to various work sites, repairing structures, washing and sorting ore) were carried out throughout the day. It must have been quite a shock for previously established neighbouring communities to see their land inverted by the arrival of miners and their families, who often did not speak the local language. As Denis Menjot has pointed out, ‘the ability of former residents to accept the new arrivals is undermined by stereotypes, beliefs or biased opinions’ which, in the case of the miners, were likely to be negative.²⁴ Mining catalysed major changes to the landscape – particularly to forests. The 1484 regulations removed nearly 20 km² of woods, fields, and river from people who had been living in the area for several centuries. Mining also changed people’s perception of the environment: clear-cutting of forests on mountain slopes altered the visual landscape while acoustic pollution was generated by a large, rapidly arriving population of miners. The mining regulations provide an estimate of the population present on site, i.e. around 500 people employed directly by the mine or indirectly associated with mining activities including tavern-keepers, miners’ wives and children, as well as prostitutes.

This demographic explosion in the Vosges (the southern Vosges in particular) was not an isolated case. The Rosemont mining region, a neighbouring valley to the east of the Rahin valley, followed a similar path, albeit slightly later. The mine first opened in 1472 and led to the creation of a new town, Auxelles-Haut.²⁵ This mining village also grew rapidly: in 1582, less than a century after the ore was extracted, the town had 120 houses.²⁶ In the absence of personal data on miners at the end of the Middle Ages, other sources provide clues about migration. On 31 May 1483, the inhabitants of the Rosemont mining valley were questioned about the origins of local judicial institutions. Among them,

²⁴ D. Menjot, ‘Introduction. Les gens venus d’ailleurs dans les villes médiévales: quelques acquis de la recherche’, in *Arriver en ville. Les migrants en milieu urbain au Moyen Âge*, ed. by C. Quertier, R. Chilà, N. Pluchot, Paris 2013, 23. Denis Menjot’s contributions have a historiographical scope that extends far beyond urban boundaries and they may be cited usefully here.

²⁵ Dijon, Archives départementales de la Côte d’Or (henceforward quoted as: ADCO), B11199 (Concession of the Auxelles mines to Jean Pillet, 1472).

²⁶ AA-Colmar, 2E221 (Auxelles-Haut’s description).

some inhabitants of the village of Vescemont, located near the first deposits in this area, had German names alongside those whose names were of local Romance origin. Jean Hennemann, Jean Willehart and Pierre Schmidt could be counted among those of German origin who were involved in running the mines and their annexes. The managerial, technical, administrative and judicial staff were therefore certainly not the only ones to come from German regions.²⁷

Further east, in territory under the direct authority of the Habsburgs, the Doller Valley had experienced population movements linked to the mines to such an extent that one of the valley's central churches, in Kirchberg, was specifically dedicated to these communities.²⁸ The bell of this building offers a brief reminder through an inscription: 'XLI CIVI CUCULI' ('forty-one hooded men, miners').²⁹ The church, situated in the centre of the mining sector of the middle Doller Valley, was in the immediate vicinity of several mining operations. Mining migrations directly influenced the placement of religious buildings.

The negative perception that pre-existing populations might have had of contact with these mining communities was reinforced by the miner's unique reputation. Individuals capable of exploiting metal deposits were highly sought after, due to their specialized technical skills. As a result, they were particularly mobile and were attracted to those who offered them exclusive privileges.

One of these advantages was the specific legal status of miners and the geographical framework of mining areas. In addition to setting out the geographical limits of the mining estate and therefore its legal status, the Plancher regulations were extremely protective against anyone attacking the mines or assaulting their workers. It also enshrined the fact that individuals working in the mines were subject only to the rights of the abbot of Lure, the owner of the premises, and the Provost of the Mines if the action in question took place in the mining estate. Outside the area, they were not subject to the jurisdiction of any other

²⁷ Monaco, Archives princières de Monaco, T1188 (depositions of witnesses in Chaux from 31 May 1483).

²⁸ AA-Colmar, Deposit collection from Sewen's parish, 118J2 (Chronicle of Sewen). One document mentions that this church was built specifically for the use of miners (*a metallis fundata*).

²⁹ L. Uhlich, 'Kirchberg, église des mineurs et Pfennigturm?', *Patrimoine Doller*, 8 (1998), 25–35.

courts, which could lead to a negative perception of these populations due to the legal immunity they enjoyed. This privileged legal status which imposed on miners some rights but also duties, was enshrined in the oath that they had to swear to the abbot of Lure:

Un chacun ouvrant au lieu de ladite mine ou residant en icelle, avant toutes choses, doit prester serment de fidelite au prevost pour lors estant en icelle, pour et au nom de Monseigneur de Lure et autres seigneurs ayant part en icelle, assavoir de procurer leurs honneurs, biens et proffits et de eviter leurs damages ; et aussi de entretenir tous les poincts et articles sus declairees, et ceux que en apres seront escrit, de toute leur puissance et pouvoir.³⁰

(Each person working in the place of the said mine or residing in it, before doing anything else, must take an oath of loyalty to the incumbent provost, for the benefit and in the name of Monseigneur the Abbot of Lure and other lords having a share in it, namely to safeguard their honours, goods and benefits and to avoid causing any damage; and also to maintain all the points and articles above declared, and those which will be written hereafter, with all their power and authority.)

Foreigners working in the mines were granted franchises on oath which, apart from their special legal status, exempted them from mortmain and made their status much more advantageous than that of the existing populations. This special local law, which arose at the end of the Middle Ages with the advent of mining, was perpetuated in the ‘Reconnaissances de la Principauté de Lure’, a compilation of customary and regulatory rights completed in 1572. The mining nature of this migration is clearly established, confirming a situation that had existed for over a century:

Nonobstant que le lieu des Mynes dudit Planchier soit franc pour les ymanans et residans, néanmoins ceux qui sont de condition de mainmorte et y ayants meix ou biens et decedans sans hoirs de leurs corps légitimes, la succession compete et appartient audit Seigneur Reverend.³¹

³⁰ AA-Colmar, 9G – Comptes 66 (Article No 22 Plancher’s mines’ rules, 1484).

³¹ ADHS, H583. ‘Reconnaissances de la Principauté de Lure’ (Written codes of customary law), 1572, two manuscript volumes.

(Notwithstanding that the place of the Mines of the said Plancher is free for the inhabitants and residents thereof, nevertheless in the case of those who are subject to mortmain and have lands or goods there and die without having legitimate heirs of their bodies, succession rights fall and belong to the said Reverend Lord.)

The Plancher miners' statute, while particularly innovative in this part of the Vosges, was inspired by regulations already in force in the mining districts of the German lands: the Black Forest (Schwarzwald), Saxony, and the Harz. It is particularly detailed compared with the only pre-existing example in the region. In 1387, the diploma issued by Archduke Albert III of Austria to the Abbey of Masevaux merely mentioned archducal protection for miners working in the Doller Valley, without any further details.³² The law was therefore structured and adapted to agents and constraints of mining. The Plancher Regulations and German mining law quickly inspired the necessary regulations to accompany the mining boom that was affecting the eastern outskirts of the Vallée du Rahin towards Haute-Alsace. In 1517, Emperor Maximilian I instituted new mining regulations concerning the mining areas of Alsace, Sundgau, Breisgau, and the Black Forest.³³ This regulation was not as effective as the Mining Regulation since it did not outline the precise boundaries of the mining area. However, it was still particularly protective for those whose livelihood depended on mines.

The emergence of mining operations and the arrival of miners enforced the coexistence of people subject to ordinary law and newcomers endowed with privileged status. These rights were not limited solely to the administration of justice, but also dealt with the exploitation of natural resources, permission to build houses and outbuildings, and the right to move freely. This helped create tensions. Conflicts between the village of Servance and the abbot of Lure over the use of the forests on the ridges separating this village from the Vallée du Rahin broke out in the middle of the sixteenth century. They had their origins in logging carried out by the miners. A note in the Abbey of Lure archives lists the documents relevant to the resolution of this dispute. It highlights

³² AA – Colmar, 10G8 (Charter of Albert III of Austria for Masevaux Abbey).

³³ Monaco, Archives princières de Monaco, T1200; F. Liebelin, *Mines et mineurs du Rosemont*, Soultz 2015, 197–201.

the deed of confirmation of the concession of the Plancher mines to the three bourgeois from Basel.³⁴

In many cases, therefore, miners suffered the consequences of migration through conflicts with existing neighbouring populations. This migration upset the social, economic and environmental balance, destroying entire regions. The shocks also affected a region's culture and customs. For example, the Plancher Regulations set out the conditions under which prostitutes could be received by the men of Plancher. This rare mention of rural prostitution is more surprising given that it had come from a charter issued by an abbey. In fact, it was adapted to the social circumstances of the miners, who often did not travel with their families or were not married. Elsewhere, prostitution was not allowed. The mining regulations were therefore bound to accentuate the divisions in and around the mines. Distrust of local population towards miners reached a climax at the end of the Middle Ages with the rise of the Reformation movement. During the Peasants' War of 1525, movements from the mining areas were particularly frowned upon by some of the local population. An anonymous chronicler living in the small town of Villersexel reported on movements described as Lutheran from Val-de-Chaux, Champagny and Plancher, all mining towns:

Et le jour de la fête de la décollation St. J.-B. ils coururent tout le Vaulx de Chaux, Champane, Planchier, parce qu'ils étoient luthériens, et ceux de Lure et de Héricourt étoient avec le sieur de Belfort.³⁵

(And on the feast of the Beheading of St John the Baptist, they ran through the Vaulx de Chaux, Champane and Plancher, because they were Lutherans, and those from Lure and Héricourt were with the Sieur de Belfort.)

³⁴ ADHS, H579 (Trial between the Abbey of Lure and the village community of Servance (1541 and following)).

³⁵ J.-M. Debard, P. Grispoux, 'Une source "perdue" de l'histoire de la Franche-Comté: la *Chronique de Villersexel* (vers 1479-vers 1529)', in *La Franche-Comté à la charnière du Moyen Âge et de la Renaissance*, ed. by P. Delsalle, L. Delobette, Besançon 2003, 45-70. Fragments of this chronicle were collected by Désiré Monnier and Charles Duvernoy, historians from the Franche-Comté region, in the nineteenth century and compiled and studied in the publication referred to above. The passage published here is transcribed by Charles Duvernoy and recorded in Ms Duvernoy 20 (fols 13 et seq.) held by the Besançon municipal library.

The impact of the Peasants' War movements on the German-speaking world led to a break in the migration of miners.³⁶ Certain leaders of these uprisings made demands on miners. Thomas Müntzer addressed a letter to the miners of Freiberg.³⁷ In 1525 Michael Gaismaier led a rebellion in the Tyrol, and his Provincial Order of 1526 provided for the confiscation of the region's mines.³⁸ In Joachimsthal, Egranus fought against the cult of St Anne, prized by the miners,³⁹ while closer to the Upper Rhine, the *bergvogt* (warden) of Todtnau, Ruprecht Schorb, was one of the leaders of the unrest in the central Black Forest.⁴⁰

However much the presence of miners, whether specialists or labourers, may have been frowned upon by the local communities, it was welcomed by the mine operators. Granting them franchises and recording this right in writing demonstrated the desire to attract them to their sites. Indeed, competition to attract this workforce was fierce. There were many mining operations in the Vosges mountains (Sainte-Marie-aux-Mines, La Croix-aux-Mines), in the Black Forest (Münstertal, Todtnau) and throughout the Rhine Valley. In 1487 Count Palatine Philip I of the Rhine published general mining regulations for the area of his

³⁶ Stöger, 'Die Migration', 173.

³⁷ Letter from Müntzer to the inhabitants of Allstedt (Mühlhausen, 25 or 26 April 1525), published in: *Thomas Müntzer (1490–1525). Ecrits théologiques et politiques*, ed. by J. Lefebvre, Lyon 1982, 135–68.

³⁸ O. Vasella, 'Gaismaier, Michael', *Neue Deutsche Biographie*, 6 (1964) (online version) <<https://www.deutsche-biographie.de/pnd118537172.html#ndbcontent>> [accessed 16 July 2025]; L.-M. Berger, *Die Tiroler Landesordnung des Michael Gaismaier von 1526. Inhalt und Bedeutung*, Erfurt 2014. According to him, mines were to be transferred from the hands of princes and merchants to those of the people in an egalitarian state made up of peasants and miners.

³⁹ Johannes Wildenauer, known as Silvius Egranus (circa 1480, Eger – 1553, Böhmisches-Kamnitz). From 1521 to 1523 and in 1533–1534, he preached particularly in the Joachimsthal, where there was a large population of miners. His meeting with Müntzer was decisive in this aspect. See: K. Blaschke, 'Egranus, Johannes Sylvius', *Neue Deutsche Biographie*, 4 (1959) (online version) <<https://www.deutsche-biographie.de/pnd118688146.html#ndbcontent>> [accessed 16 July 2025].

⁴⁰ T. Scott, 'South-West German Towns in the Peasants' War: Alliances between Opportunism and Solidarity', in T. Scott, *Town, Country, and Regions in Reformation Germany*, ed. by A. C. Gow, Studies in Medieval and Reformation Traditions, 106, Leiden – Boston 2005, 149–88; G. Bischoff, 'Mines', in 1525 – *Dictionnaire de la Guerre des Paysans. En Alsace et au-delà*, ed. by G. Bischoff, Strasbourg 2025, 312. A preacher from Mulhouse even headed for the Rosemont mining district to provoke a new uprising in the autumn of 1525: D. Bourgeois, C. Danforth, 'Mulhouse', in 1525 – *Dictionnaire de la Guerre des Paysans*, 330.

Principality, i.e. part of the Duchy of Baden-Württemberg, Hesse and Rhineland-Palatinate which reflected his long-range policy towards the mining industry.⁴¹ He granted numerous gifts to miners who attracted by his privileges settled in his lands, such as the Alsatian Konrad Klotz of Kayzersberg in 1488.⁴² In this competitive environment, the owners of the ore deposits in the southern Vosges had to create the right conditions to attract capital and human resources to take advantage of new deposits, even if this meant jeopardising the demographic balance of areas that had previously been relatively isolated from migratory flows.

Mining and the resulting upheavals could be undesirable for local people. The integration of these populations could present several problems due to the miners' traditional mobility, their cultural differences and the very nature of their activities. Feelings of mistrust around subterranean work, felling of timber, and the use of fire around mine shafts.⁴³ For the surrounding populations, the mine and the miners were invasive. However, while some people were forced to endure these migrations, those who wanted to capitalise on these metal resources welcomed them.

Migration of capital and know-how

While the migration generated by mining development caused upheaval in newly exploited areas, it was also solicited by authorities calling for the development of underground resources. Two types of desired migration overlapped: human migration based on expertise, and a migration based on capital.

To be sufficiently attractive to attract the large workforce needed to extract ore from mines required specific legislation and substantial financial resources. Attracting the know-how needed to ensure the viability of these operations required even greater financial resources. The mining boom at the end of the Middle Ages also created extremely

⁴¹ GLA – Karlsruhe, 67 Nos 1662, 466, fols 448^r–470^r.

⁴² GLA – Karlsruhe, 67 Nos 820, 267, fols 306^v–309^v.

⁴³ C. Lecouteux, 'Les personnages surnaturels du Moyen Âge germanique', in *Fées, Elfes, Dragons & Autres créatures des royaumes de féerie*, ed. by C. Glot, M. Le Bris, Paris 2002, 24–29; B. M. Adelson, *The Lives of Dwarfs: Their Journey from Public Curiosity toward Social Liberation*, New Brunswick – New Jersey – London 2005.

competitive conditions between mines. The demand for master smelters, miners and surveyors was high, and attracting the right people could be a challenge without substantial financial and political resources. Competition was fierce. In the north of the Upper Rhine area, the counts palatine of the Rhine were particularly active in recruiting labour and skills. In 1456, when Count Palatine Frederick I granted prospecting rights around Stromberg Castle, he entrusted the task to a group of seven men, one of whom was a Bohemian miner (Franz Bergmann von Beheim).⁴⁴ In 1476 once again he entrusted the mines at Nussloch and Peterswald (Palatinate) to a master miner from Freiberg (Hans Kluge) and a master digger from Goslar (Vyt Smeltzer von Goslar).⁴⁵ He went even further, calling in specialists for very specific assignments. In January 1466, he brought in a master miner from Savoy (Antoine Febri) to demonstrate his art of alum purification to the miners at Stromberg.⁴⁶ Competition for manpower and skills was therefore fierce in European mines in general, and in the Upper Rhine mines in particular. Not all of them had the political clout or financial scale of the counts palatine of the Rhine. Nevertheless, the towns and mines of the Upper Rhine provided many specialists in the art of mining, some of whom left their native lands to export their own skills. On a continental scale, the market for mining skills was extremely open, rough and decompartmentalized, paving the way for a great deal of mobility.

Hans Brohart, a master smelter from Breisach, was hired in 1455 to work in the Pampailly mines.⁴⁷ Brohart, in turn, was responsible for attracting Claus Smermant, a master grader, who in turn deployed his

⁴⁴ GLA – Karlsruhe, 67, No. 812, 55.

⁴⁵ GLA – Karlsruhe, 67, No. 814, 210.

⁴⁶ GLA – Karlsruhe, 67, No. 813, 246.

⁴⁷ *Les Affaires de Jacques Cœur. Journal du procureur Dauvet, procès-verbaux de séquestre et d'adjudication*, ed. by M. Mollat, Paris 1952–1953. This document, which contains a wealth of information, particularly on the Pampailly mines, was drawn up after the seizure of Jacques Cœur's assets. It is a source used in Benoît, *La mine de Pampailly*, 91. Hans Brohart, 'maistre fondeur et affineur, Jehan Brouhart, du pais d'Allemaigne [...] qui est très noble homme et expert en son mestier et riche et puissant' ('Master smelter and refiner, Jehan Brouhart, from Germany [...] who is a very noble man and expert and rich and powerful'), is a bourgeois of Breisach. He was recruited in Brussieu in March 1455 and appears to have been active there until February 1456. He then left for Lombardy and the Kingdom of France.



skills in Jacques Cœur's former mines.⁴⁸ The diary of Jean Dauvet, Attorney General of the Parliament of Paris, mentions other German names among the workers at the Lyonnais mines, but two specialists stand out for their technical skills and expertise.⁴⁹

The 'German' technicians, whether from Basel or the Rhine Valley in general, possessed long-standing expertise that was rooted in the technical traditions of the

Fig. 3: Miners at work in the Vosges mountains. Gradual of Saint-Dié, Saint-Dié Library, circa 1490

⁴⁸ Claus Smermant had already worked in Pampailly before joining Hans Brohart in 1455. Jean Dauvet clearly mentions his origin: 'We had to send for a man called Maistre Claus Simermant, who is a good master and expert, and who has also worked on other journeys and mines in the said mountain [...] who is a Maistre Claux and lives near Basle [...]'. It seems that Smermant did not live in Basel. He did not appear to own any property there. Perhaps he was then active in the mines of the Vosges or the Black Forest.

⁴⁹ Jean Dauvet was the King of France's ambassador to Rome and the Council of Basel. He was successively First President of the Parliament of Toulouse (1461) and Paris (1465). Having negotiated with the barons on behalf of Louis XI during the War of the Public Good, he died on 22 November 1471. His diary bears witness to his meticulous actions during the liquidation of Jacques Cœur's assets.

Upper Rhine.⁵⁰ They probably worked on the same farms or in the same sectors and were well-acquainted with one another. The confraternity they formed was illustrated when Hans Brohart was poached by Jacques Cœur. Thus, there was real competition in the Upper Rhine in the field of metallurgical and mining techniques and, given the number of veins being worked, there was a relatively large number of established and rising specialists. Basel-based Master Lienhart Kürsner, one of the Plancher licensees, represented this breeding ground of expertise. It is no coincidence that the oldest and most important mine in Plancher bears his name, the 'Meisterlienhardsberg', as he was its creator.⁵¹ It is possible that he crossed paths with Hans Brohart or Claus Smermant. At the very least, the circulation of knowledge in the Upper Rhine, as far as metallurgy and the art of mining are concerned, produced some convincing results. The transmission and application of this knowledge among technicians and craftsmen was mainly by word of mouth and experience. Half a century later, the Bergbüchlein bears witness to this method of transmission, from master to pupil against a backdrop of field experimentation.⁵² By the middle of the fifteenth century, the technical skills of the miners of the southern Upper Rhine had reached a sufficiently high level of maturity to enable them to supervise the exploitation of deposits that had previously remained untouched by any enterprise.

While it is undeniable that many miners and technicians flocked to Plancher, the fact remains that all the authorities owning the deposits did not hesitate to call on Germanic know-how to make the most of their underground riches. In medieval times, this Germanic know-how was virtually unavoidable and, failing to attract master miners, staff who were perhaps less reputed but experienced in mining work

⁵⁰ D. Bourgeois, 'Savoirs et savoir-faire miniers et métallurgiques dans le Rhin supérieur au Moyen Âge', *Revue du Rhin supérieur*, 4 (2022), 25–37.

⁵¹ Staatsarchiv Basel Stadt (henceforward quoted as: StaABs), Kartaus Q12. Hieronymus Zscheckenbürlin's account book names the mine shafts bearing names of the Basel investors. Another deposit at Plancher was named after Hans Götterscher who made investments in the mines there after having worked earlier in the Münstertal mines in the Black Forest (Götterschenberg).

⁵² Calbus von Freyberg, *Bergbüchlein*, Bibliothèque patrimoniale, 8° res. 26, Ecole des Mines de Paris, 1505 <<https://patrimoine.mines-paristech.fr/exhibits/show/bergbuchlein/presentation>> [accessed 30 May 2025]. W. Pieper, *Ulrich Rülein von Calw und sein 'Bergbüchlein'*, Berlin 1955.

could do the job. For example, at Mont-de-Vannes, in the County of Burgundy, west of Plancher-les-Mines, the accounts of the Faucogney Treasury show that the mines were sold to a certain Hans Landolt.⁵³ He was responsible for the operational use of the mines. His name, which sounds Germanic, seems to indicate that, once again, Germanic mining know-how was essential for anyone wishing to ensure the most favourable possible conditions for carrying out mining work. Hans Landol, or Landolt, was a burgher from Freiburg who later moved to Tunsel (a town in the immediate vicinity of Sankt Trudpert Abbey) and who, in 1480, traded goods with the blacksmith Blaise Kraft.⁵⁴ He therefore appeared to be the metalworker he had met in Mont-de-Vannes a few years earlier, who had settled in the Münstertal mining area. He is yet another case of migration based on mining techniques.

The mining expertise at work in the southern Vosges is indicative of Basel's interest in science and technology. Was it not at the press of the very famous Basel printer Froben that the most famous works by the Saxon Georgius Agricola were published, the *Bermannus* and above all the *De re metallica*?⁵⁵ Mining was not just an economic matter for Basel's interests. It was a sector of activity, a strategic one in which knowledge of the techniques involved was of paramount importance. The interest shown by Basel intellectual circles in the earth sciences and how they were used began with the incunabula published by the medieval encyclopaedists, before giving way to purely technical and vernacular knowledge in the first half of the sixteenth century. Even though Sebastian Münster did not depict the mines exploited by the inhabitants of Basel at the time, the spectacular view of the mines in the Sainte-Marie-aux-Mines' valley in his *Cosmographia* bears witness to the particular interest in mining issues.⁵⁶ This specific technical know-how therefore had a desired migratory effect. The example of Lienhart Kürsner, who worked in the Plancher mines, speaks for itself. Although in 1458 he is mentioned as a master foundryman based in Masevaux,

⁵³ ADCO, B4727 (Accounts of the treasury of Faucogney (1475–1476)).

⁵⁴ GLA – Karlsruhe, 22 No. 103. On 10 September 1487, Blaise Kraft's widow donated an annuity to the Oberried monastery from property acquired from Hans Landolt (GLA – Karlsruhe 22 No. 295).

⁵⁵ G. Agricola, *Bermannus, sive de re metallica dialogus*, Basel 1530; G. Agricola, *De re metallica*, Basel 1556.

⁵⁶ S. Münster, *Cosmographia*, Basel 1544.

which was as close as possible to the mines in the Doller valley, he further refined his skills in Plancher.⁵⁷ This experience prompted him to extend his field of action by involving himself in the Lötschental mines in 1474, in the Valais. He was accompanied there by his brother Mathias, also known as the 'Master'.⁵⁸ The know-how of mining technologies developed within small clusters of experts and was highly sought after. This technical and learned migration was chosen.

To implement a coherent mining policy in the southern Vosges, the operators also called on specialist management staff from outside the mining areas. Once again, the Plancher mines illustrate the migratory movements associated with mining development. The jurors responsible for monitoring the financial and technical operation of the mines all came from Basel or the southern Upper Rhine: Jacob Arbeiter, the nobles Conrad and Hans von Assell, Hans Becherer, Hans Fassnower, Ulrich Frisinger, Peter Graff, Fridlin Rimpflin and Hans Schenckel all came from areas far from the mines.⁵⁹ Furthermore, Hans von Assell was the clerk of the mines, responsible for the operation's day-to-day administration and therefore heavily involved in the local community. Thomas Harnscherer, warden or Bergvogt, was responsible for day-to-day order in the mines and was also from the Upper Rhine. The certificate he signed in 1487 indicates that he was a permanent resident of Plancher. The Plancher mining estate was therefore mainly exploited and managed by individuals from far afield, mainly from the Upper Rhine and other Germanic regions.

To exploit these valuable silver deposits, the landowners had to resort to another form of migration, that of capital. To attract this capital, they once again turned their attention to the Upper Rhine, Basel in particular, where the substantial merchant fortunes were best able to finance these costly projects. From the Doller Valley, the financial investment of these merchants was directed towards the virgin deposits of Plancher, before spreading to the neighbouring Rosemont Valley. This financial migration from Basel took place over three generations of merchants at the end of the Middle Ages.

⁵⁷ ADHS, H599.

⁵⁸ L. Carlen, 'Zur Geschichte der Bergwerke in Lötschen', *Blätter aus der Walliser Geschichte*, 17 (1980), 357–58.

⁵⁹ Frankfurt, Bundesarchiv Frankfurt, RKG, A867 (Certificate from the provost of the Plancher mines (21 November 1487)).

In 1494, Johann Bergmann, priest of the church at Sewen in the Doller Valley, gave his parish a book in which to record a chronicle, the anniversary masses and the members of the Confrérie Notre-Dame de Sewen, which had been active since the early fifteenth century.⁶⁰ The priest recorded dozens of names in the *Chronique de Sewen*, including those who had invested knowledge or capital in the mining industries. Some of them were already deceased, and three of them, active in the Doller Valley, were responsible for founding the mines of the Abbey of Lure in Plancher in 1458, namely Wernlin Fridigman, Lienhart Kürsner, and Jacob Schenk von Worms.⁶¹ These three people were the first generation of Basel investors to set up a business in the polymetallic mines south of the Vosges. The first of them, Wernlin Fridigman (circa 1400 – circa 1470), was the son of the cutler who had settled in Basel's Schifflande-port neighbourhood.⁶² A notable wine- and cloth merchant engaged in German- and French-speaking countries, he was close to the Halbysen Gesellschaft in Bern, in which he invested 4,000 *Rheingulden*, and was involved in diplomatic missions in the service of his town in Burgundy. When he obtained the concession for the Plancher mines, it was not the first time he had been involved in mining.⁶³ In fact, his name appears in an investigation by the Dijon Chamber of Accounts into the misappropriations of Jean de Prétin, treasurer of the Salins saltworks, in the exploitation of mines in the Münstertal in Breisgau in the early 1460s.⁶⁴ Freidigman also sought to expand his mining investments in

⁶⁰ AA – Colmar, Archives paroissiales de Sewen, 118J1-2. About Johann Bergmann von Olpe: V. Feller-Vest, 'Johann Bergmann von Olpe', *Dictionnaire historique de la Suisse (DHS)*, 2002 <<https://hls-dhs-dss.ch/fr/articles/021492/2002-07-02/>> [accessed 30 May 2025].

⁶¹ ADHS, H599.

⁶² He was the son of Hans Freidigman, who died in 1419. He shared the family property with his sister Agnès. His growing fortune enabled him to leave Schifflande and move first to Spalenberg, then to a larger property in the Faubourg Saint-Jean. His lifestyle was that of a comfortable and pious burgher; in 1441 he and his wife Wiberta were granted the papal privilege of having an altar in their house (Basel, Staatsarchiv Basel-Stadt St. Urk. 1245b).

⁶³ H. Dubois, 'Marchands d'outre-Jura en Bourgogne à la fin du Moyen Âge (vers 1340–1440)', in *Cinq siècles de relations franco-suisses: hommage à Louis Edouard Roulet*, ed. by G. Dethan, Neuchâtel 1981, 21–30.

⁶⁴ Archives départementales du Doubs, B2055 (Trial of Jean de Prétin, 1460–1464). H. Dubois, 'Un opérateur "international" au XV^e siècle: Jean de Prétin', in *Milieus naturels, espaces sociaux: Études offertes à Robert Delort*, ed. by F. Morenzoni, É. Mornet, Paris 1997, 543–53.

the massif, near Todtnau.⁶⁵ Limited by the competition or in search of untapped deposits, Freidigman focused his attention on the Vosges, close to a Burgundian world that he already knew well from his various businesses. His partners in Plancher were also from Basel. Lienhart Kürsner (died after 1478), a foundryman based in Masevaux, provided the major technical impetus for the development of the Plancher mines. Jakob Schenk von Worms (died around 1476) completed this trio of first-time investors. This first generation of investors in Masevaux and then in Plancher provided the decisive impetus for mining in this part of the Vosges mountain range.

Around 1477, the second generation of Basel investors entered the mines in the southern Vosges. Many members of the *Grosse Handelsgesellschaft*, the city's powerful trading company, invested heavily in the mines and began prospecting on a larger scale. Investment was made gradually in shafts in the Masevaux Valley and Plancher, followed by numerous attempts to open new deposits. First, the Zscheckenbürlin family, the town's wealthiest family, purchased many mining shares from 1477 onwards. They brought with them their allies, whether through marriage, such as the merchant and banker Ludwig Kilchmann, or through business, such as the famous Ulrich Meltinger.⁶⁶ Around them formed a conglomerate of individuals interested in the metal trade, who had already made their presence felt during the resounding Basel Mint Trial in 1475.⁶⁷ These individuals were imbued with a certain business acumen and were aware of the risks involved in mining. If the profits did not match their expectations, they did not hesitate to halt their investments. In 1484, when some of the mines in Plancher were not profitable, Hieronymus Zscheckenbürlin, one of the heirs of this powerful family, wrote at the bottom of one of the pages of his account register 'hab ich uffgeben' ('I gave up').⁶⁸ However, rather than abandoning his investment, he reoriented – these stubborn and determined businessmen never cancelled their investments completely. This same

⁶⁵ GLA – Karlsruhe, VIII.23.

⁶⁶ G. Signori, *Das Schuldbuch des Basler Kaufmanns Ludwig Kilchmann*, Stuttgart 2014; M. Steinbrink, *Ulrich Meltinger. Ein Basler Kaufmann am Ende des 15. Jahrhunderts*, Stuttgart 2007.

⁶⁷ F. Burckhardt, 'Der Basler Münzprozess von 1474/75', *Schweizerische numismatische Rundschau*, 38 (1957), 21–45.

⁶⁸ StaABs, Kartauss Q12 (Account book of Hieronymus Zscheckenbürlin (1484–1487)).

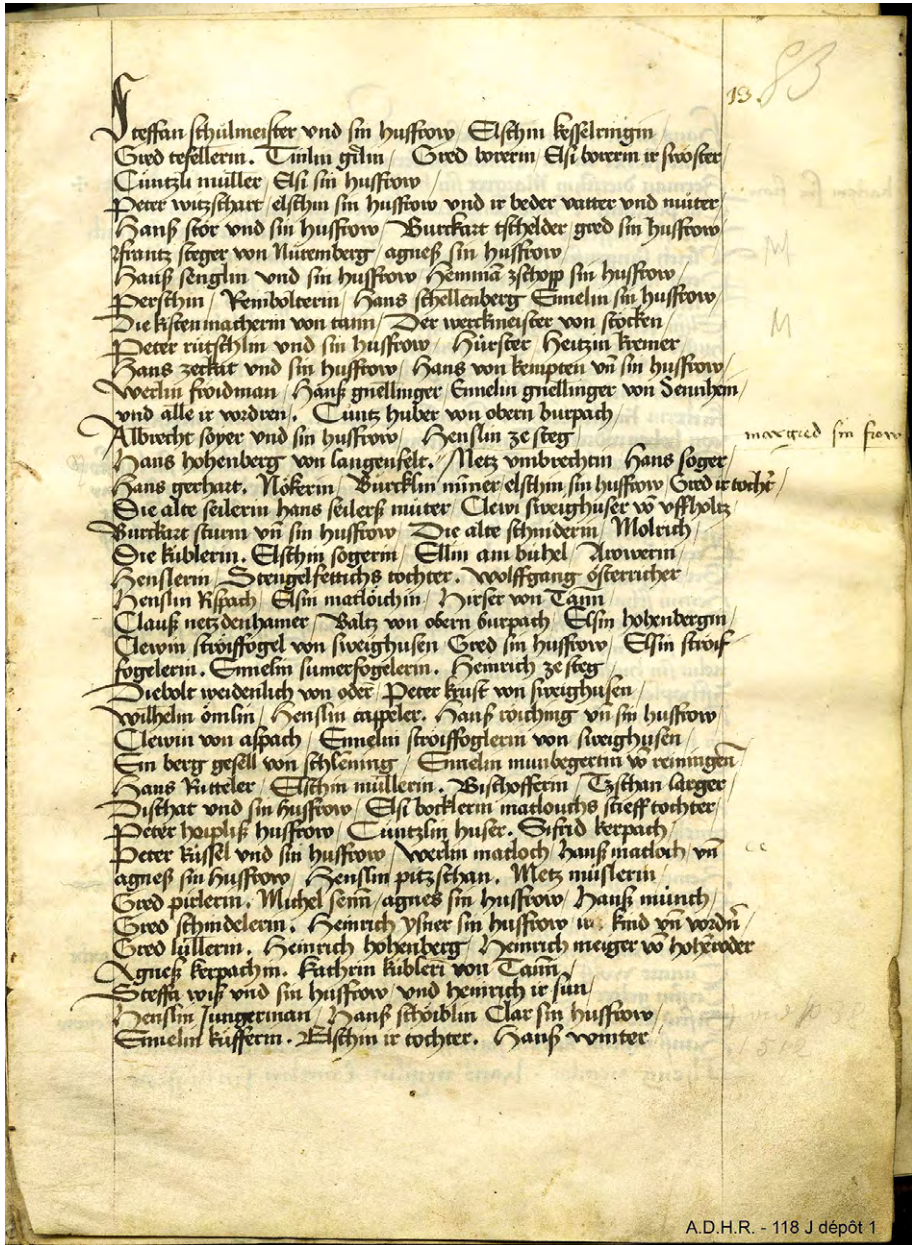


Fig. 4: List of the Virgin's Brotherhood, Sewen, 1494. Several miners and investors are identified. Archives d'Alsace, 118J1

individual, on entering a Carthusian monastery in Basel in May 1487, sold his shares in the mines at Todtnau, Masevaux and Plancher to his half-brothers.⁶⁹ Mining was one of the Zscheckenbürlin family's main interests, as can be seen from their archives. While mining transactions were scattered throughout the account books of Ludwig Kilchmann and Ulrich Meltinger, the Zscheckenbürlin family kept books dedicated to mining. Investing in mining was therefore a strategic, volatile, and long-term investment, with the potential to generate profits despite notable risks. The variable value of shares in mines reflects both the real economic interest of these operations and the desire of these businessmen to develop them. The example of Plancher around 1480, thanks to the Basel account books, speaks for itself. The Lienhartsberg mine on La Grande Montagne was extremely profitable and had a high value. In fact, it was the first and most productive mine (it was named after Lienhart Kürsner, who had opened it twenty years earlier). The other mines had a much lower value because they were very recent projects (and therefore not very profitable, if at all), spurred on by the latest investments of this second generation of Basel-based mining companies. The returns could be both profitable and ruinous. However, Basel interest in mining never waned and was sustained over time.⁷⁰

Economic pressure on Basel trading companies reached its climax in 1495. The city council halted their expansion and restored to the guilds and trades the influence they had lost. A third generation emerged: less wealthy but still dominant, like Gaspard Brand, a goldsmith and Basel middle-class citizen from Rüdesheim (Hesse), who made investments in Plancher and elsewhere in the 1490s.⁷¹ One may wonder whether this sort of enthusiasm made the southern Vosges a Basel hunting ground? Yes and no. Yes, Basel had a strong presence there. No, because the

⁶⁹ StaABs, Kartaus, Urkunden 360 (Transfer of Hieronymus Zscheckenbürlin's mining estate to his half-brothers (28 May 1487)).

⁷⁰ In 1549, the famous Basel jurist and humanist Boniface Amerbach complained that he was unable to enjoy the mining shares he had inherited in Plancher. He was a descendant of the Zscheckenbürlin family. Letter from Claudius Cantinucula to Boniface Amerbach (27 February 1549), in *Die Amerbachkorrespondenz*, VII: (1548–1550), ed. by A. Hartmann, Basel 1973, 205.

⁷¹ *Basler Chroniken*, IV: *Chronikalien der Rathsbücher 1356–1548*. Hans Brüglingers *Chronik 1444–1446*. *Die Chronik Erhards von Appenwiler 1439–1471, mit ihren Fortsetzungen bis 1474*. *Anonyme Zusätze und Fortsetzungen zu Königshofen 1120–1454*, ed. by A. Bernoulli, Basel 1890.

Steinbach mines appear to have been under Habsburg control and partly exploited by the Tyroleans. The burghers of Strasbourg also made a brief incursion into the Doller Valley, exploiting the Saint-Wolfgang mine.⁷² Later, the Plancher mines were taken over by the Abbeyes of Lure and Murbach as part of their union, and the Rosemont mines saw Basel and other investors coexist. The migration of capital from Basel to the mines in the southern Vosges took place over a long period of time. Providing know-how and capital, economic players in Basel and the Upper Rhine in general made a major contribution to the development of the region's proto-industry, contributing to protean migratory flows that sometimes took on a virtual form when it came to contributing to financial currents.

However, the mining companies in the Upper Rhine towns were never as successful as those in other towns in the German-speaking world, such as Augsburg. The constitution of the Basel companies was too fragile. On the one hand, by limiting the companies' room for manoeuvre, the city council prevented substantial combined investment in the mines. Secondly, as mining investments were made using personal funds, the sums available did not allow too many prospecting projects to be launched simultaneously. What the Fugger family could afford to exploit and market Tyrolean silver was beyond the reach of Basel merchants.⁷³ Despite the efforts of these companies, and despite the structuring of the mining regulatory framework, the migration of capital to the deposits was undoubtedly not sufficient to meet the initial ambitions. The quality of the veins and the quantity of ore available must also be questioned. Nevertheless, mining in this area of the Vosges mountains continued and increased until the Thirty Years' War without any major interruption.

⁷² Strasbourg, Archives de la ville et de l'Eurométropole de Strasbourg, III 16/9 (List of Froner (mining shareholders) involved in the Zum grünen Schild mine – Masevaux Valley (1490)).

⁷³ F. Braudel, *Civilisation matérielle, économie et capitalisme, XV^e–XVIII^e siècles*, III: *Le Temps du monde*, Paris 1979, 172; M. Häberlein, *Die Fugger. Geschichte einer Augsburger Familie (1367–1650)*, Stuttgart 2006.

Conclusions

The migratory movements triggered by mining activities caused a strong upheaval in the southern Vosges at the end of the Middle Ages. On the one hand, the geography of settlement was profoundly altered by the arrival of new settlers to these areas. Structurally, the transformation of these areas has had a long-term impact. Some mining operations lasted for centuries, though their dynamics and economic impact varied.⁷⁴ Almost systematically, the mining tradition gave way to an industrial tradition that marked these regions until the end of the twentieth century. On the other hand, medieval mining activity in the southern Vosges highlights the economic importance of Basel and its merchants in the southern Upper Rhine.⁷⁵ The initiative to dig mine galleries was in part taken by these urban economic elites, who worked in the mines as they did in other sectors of the medieval economy. In the Vosges, as elsewhere they did their utmost to attract mining specialists as close as possible to the deposits; all this in an extremely competitive environment for specialist skills.⁷⁶

The mines in the southern Vosges were part of a major economic trend in the West at the end of the medieval period. The thirst for money encouraged economic players to invest, and the Basel merchants, who played a predominant role in the region, logically embarked on this mining epic. They contributed to the European mining boom in an original way. While the first merchants put their networks into action to exploit the Vosges deposits, their successors tried to make their investments last, but the financing system based on individual or family investment was limited. The amount of money that these merchants were prepared to invest was perhaps not enough to develop the mines sufficiently. The importance of Basel economic circles in the mining history of the medieval West is nevertheless remarkable and original.

⁷⁴ The last call for projects to mine polymetallic metals was launched in 1839 for the Plancher and Rosemont valley concessions (Archives départementales de Haute-Saône, 297S26).

⁷⁵ H. Polivka, *Basel und seine Wirtschaft: eine Zeitreise durch 2000 Jahre*, Lenzburg 2016.

⁷⁶ S. R. Epstein, 'Labour Mobility, Journeyman Organisations and Markets in Skilled Labour in Europe, 14th–18th Centuries' in *Le technicien dans la cité en Europe occidentale, 1250–1650*, ed. by P. Arnoux, P. Monnet, Publications de l'École française de Rome, 325, Rome 2004, 255.

Silver from the Doller Valley and Plancher flowed into the mints of Thann, Colmar and Basel. However, this was not enough, as the mints also obtained supplies from the markets in Nuremberg and Frankfurt, while at the same time turning to the Sainte-Marie-aux-Mines mines.⁷⁷ Although modest compared with the districts of Saxony or Bohemia, the southern Vosges nevertheless continued to develop, and only the Thirty Years' War succeeded in putting a serious brake on this development.

As well as generating the migration of technical know-how and capital, the development of the mines in the southern Vosges gave rise to population movements that began in the second half of the fifteenth century and continued until the Thirty Years' War. Although there are no sources of names for the late Middle Ages, it is possible that the communities of miners who passed through the mines of the southern Vosges were not destined to settle there permanently. Hans Landolt, active at Mont-de-Vannes in 1475, had already returned to the right bank of the Rhine in 1480. Medieval societies were not immobile; they were in fact on the move.⁷⁸ The case of mining in the medieval West is a particularly telling example. On a continental scale, the movement of miners was particularly numerous, thanks to the growing development of mining. It should also be noted that the bulk of these flows came from miners of Germanic origin, who were particularly skilled and possessed a know-how that was both ancient and innovative. At the level of our case study, these migrations also saw the settlement of individuals from Germanic areas, some of which were regions with a Romance culture.⁷⁹ The migrants came mainly from the Upper Rhine from the areas economically dominated by major cities like Basel. The history of the mining industry in the southern Vosges in the late Middle Ages and in the early modern period, like that of the southern Black Forest, is strongly influenced by the Upper Rhine towns. They consolidated their areas of economic influence thanks to the mines.

The mines in the southern Vosges provide fragile evidence of their prosperity. A mining regulation shows the supposed number of people involved in mining activities and in providing a livelihood for these communities. These clues suggest the conditions under which certain

⁷⁷ Archives municipales de Colmar et de Thann (sous-séries CC, 'Monnaie'). STAaBS, Münz sub-series, D3.

⁷⁸ Menjot, 'Introduction', 4.

⁷⁹ Braunstein, 'Les entreprises minières de Vénétie', 530.

mining companies got off to a rapid start, and the initial successes that led to other initiatives. In the absence of statistical data for the late Middle Ages and early modern period, these indirect clues give an idea of the extent of migratory movements.⁸⁰ Although the mining areas in the southern Vosges did not play such a significant role in the medieval mining industry as the deposits in Saxony or Bohemia, they did have a major impact on the economic history of the Upper Rhine. They give an insight on the migratory flows of men, women and technologies that left a unique imprint on the migratory history of late medieval Europe.

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⁸⁰ I. Burghardt, C. Hemker, 'Das Archiv-Net Projekt: Bergbau und Mobilität im Erzgebirge im Mittelalter und in der Frühen Neuzeit', *Der Anschnitt. Zeitschrift für Kunst und Kultur im Bergbau*, 72 (2020), 240.

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Fig. 1: Silver mines in the Upper Rhine (end of Middle Ages) and transfers of urban capital and the implications of monastic establishments. Author: Joseph Gauthier, David Bourgeois, Benjamin Furst

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Fig. 4: List of the Virgin's Brotherhood, Sewen, 1494. Several miners and investors are identified. Archives d'Alsace, 118J1

MATERIALS

ANDREA PAMBUKU*, ARJAN PRIFTI**

GRAFFITI FROM THE CHURCH OF THE HOLY TRINITY IN BERAT, ALBANIA: A GLIMPSE INTO MEDIEVAL PROTECTIVE AND PILGRIM CULTURE¹

Abstract: This study provides the first in-depth documentation and analysis of the graffiti inscribed on the columns of the Church of the Holy Trinity in Berat, Albania. While the church itself has been extensively studied, its graffiti have remained largely overlooked in scholarly discourse. The present research aims to address this gap by systematically documenting and categorizing the graffiti, thereby illuminating their historical, social, and religious significance. Despite their limited number, the graffiti offer valuable new data, providing insights into both personal and communal religious practices. Moreover, these inscriptions reflect broader cultural interactions that have shaped the church's history from its construction through the early modern period. The presence of these inscriptions suggests that the church was not only a place of worship but also a focal point for diverse social and spiritual expressions, including pilgrimage activities. By addressing the lack of extant historical records concerning these informal inscriptions, this study enhances our understanding of the multifaceted past of the church. The graffiti reveal how individuals engaged with the sacred space over the centuries, leaving behind traces of devotion, identity, and cul-

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¹ We would like to thank Mr Ioannis Vitaliotis of the Research Centre for Byzantine and Post-Byzantine Art at the Academy of Athens, Greece and Mr Dimitris Liakos of the Ephorate of Antiquities of Chalkidiki and Mount Athos, Hellenic Ministry of Culture and Sports, Greece, for their invaluable assistance in our research.

tural exchange. This research amplifies the voices of individuals often absent from official narratives, offering a more nuanced perspective on the role of graffiti in medieval and early modern religious settings.

Keywords: Byzantine Albania, graffiti documentation, cross graffiti, khachkar, pilgrimage

Introduction

The Church of the Holy Trinity in Berat is one of the most significant examples of late Byzantine architecture in Albania and the Balkans, reflecting the influence of Byzantine architectural traditions combined with

local elements. Situated on a sloping terrain adjacent to the surrounding wall of the Citadel (the second enclosure of Berat Castle) (Fig. 1), this small church embodies the historical, cultural, and religious significance of the region.



Fig. 1: Orthophoto of the Berat Castle (2019)

While the church itself is an important architectural and spiritual landmark, what makes it particularly intriguing are the traces of history left by visitors and residents over the centuries. Among them are the graffiti carved into its columns, which offer a unique lens into the social and cultural lives of those who interacted with this sacred space. These graffiti, which range from texts to complex drawings and symbols, serve as invaluable historical records preserved in their original context.² The presence of such signs is considered to be relatively uncommon in Orthodox churches, or at least it was thought to be so until recently.³ To date, only a limited number of cases have been documented and studied within the territory of Albania (Fig. 2). Observations of ‘similar’ cases have been recorded on the southern façade of the Church of the Monastery of St John Vladimir (Shijon, Elbasan),⁴ in the Monastery of the Forty Saints (Saranda)⁵ and in the Church of the Monastery of St Nicholas (Mesopotam),⁶ among others.⁷

² Graffiti is defined as a form of graphic expression that includes illustrations and texts, carved or displayed on natural or man-made surfaces, which were not originally intended for writing. For more, see M. G. Trentin, ‘Medieval and Early Modern Graffiti in Eastern Mediterranean: A New Methodological Approach’, in *Graffiti Scratched, Scrawled, Sprayed: Towards a Cross-Cultural Understanding*, ed. by O. Škrabal, L. Mascia et al., Berlin – Boston 2023, 403; S. Kalopise-Verte, M. Panayotidi-Kesisoglou, *Multilingual Illustrated Dictionary of Byzantine Architecture and Sculpture Terminology*, Crete 2010, 407, Fig. 835.

³ The phenomenon of graffiti in sacred spaces is not an isolated occurrence; rather, it has been an integral part of Christian practice – and, by extension, wider human culture – for centuries. However, despite their historical importance, little or no attention has been paid to the study of these markings in churches across Albanian territory.

⁴ E. Hobdari, ‘From Early Christian to Modern: The History of Marble Artifacts in the Monastery of St John Vladimir (Elbasan, Albania)’, in *Metamorphoses*, ed. by I. Dosseva, M. Kuyumdzhieva et al., Sofia 2024, 125–40.

⁵ G. Muka, ‘Bazilika që dha emrin Sarandës’, *Monumentet*, 44 (2002), 30.

⁶ G. Giakoumis, G. Karaiskaj, ‘Të dhëna të reja arkitekturore dhe epigrafike për vendndodhjen dhe katolikonin e Manastirit të Shën Nikollës në Mesopotam (Shqipëri e jugut)’, *Monumentet*, 46 (2004), 77–85.

⁷ Other documented sites include the Amphitheatre of Durrës (L. Miraj, ‘Përshtatjet në amfiteatër gjatë shekujve VII–XII’, *Monumentet*, 41–42 (1991), 47–57), the Byzantine Forum (Durrës) (G. Muka, ‘Rotonda e Durrësit’, *Monumentet*, 45 (2003), 7–24), the Karaburun Peninsula (M. Zeqo, ‘Rezultate të kërkimeve arkeologjike në Karaburun e në Rrëzën e Kanalit’, *Monumentet*, 34 (1987), 153–73), the Island of Maligrad (Lake Prespa, Korçë) (Z. Marika, ‘Vizatime në shkëmbin e Maligradit’, *Monumentet*, 49 (2007), 91–95), the village of Dardhë (Korçë) (M. Velo, ‘Punime në gur në fshatin Dardhë të Korçës’, *Monumentet*, 45 (2003), 83–95), and the

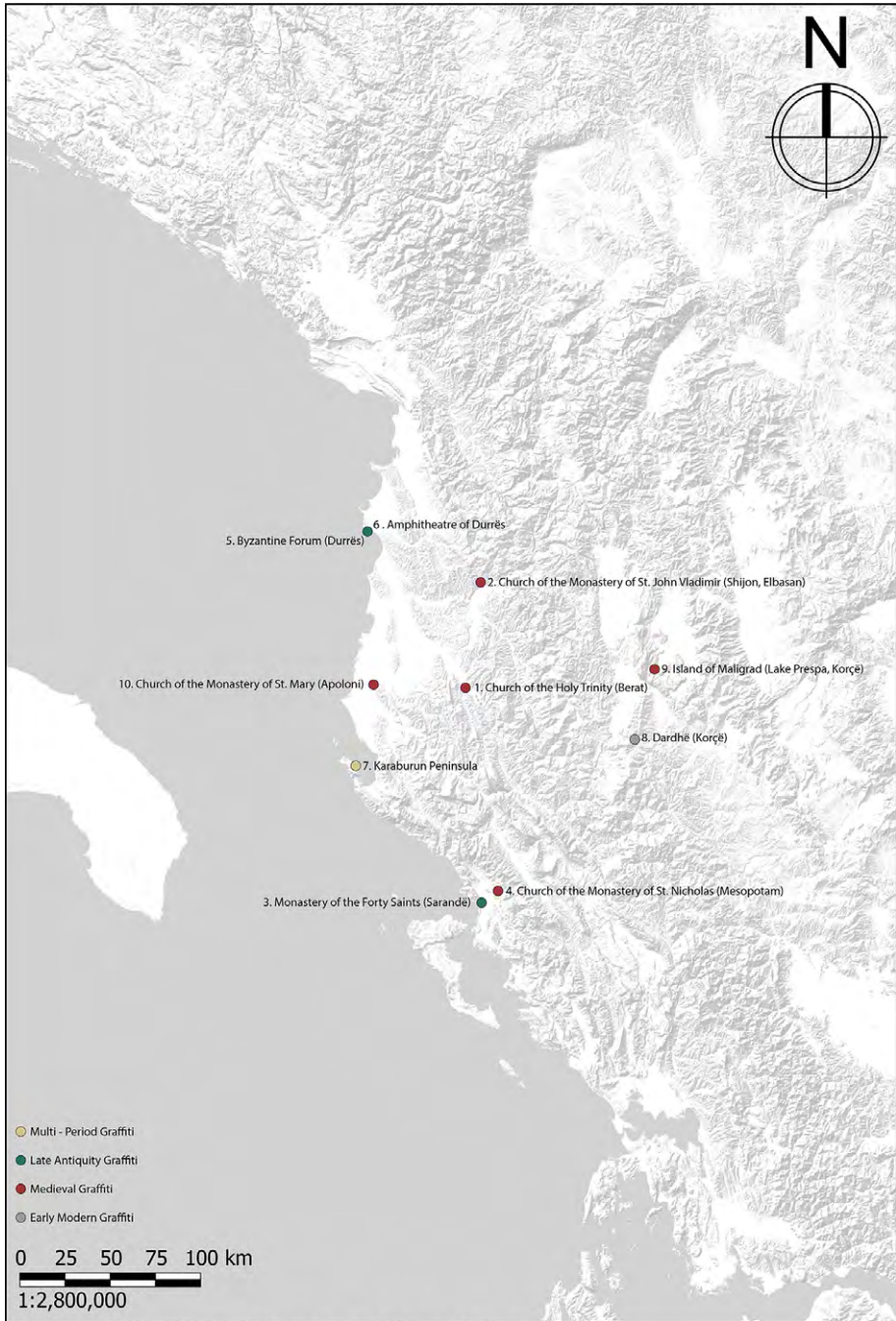


Fig. 2: Map of the graffiti in the territory of Albania

These carvings are more than simple signs; they are testaments to the history of the castle and the church itself, reflecting personal devotion and historical events that shaped the surrounding community. When systematically catalogued and analysed, these graffiti emerge as valuable historical and theological artifacts, offering new perspectives on the past of Berat and the church itself.

This article analyses the graffiti in question, offering insights into their artistic, religious, historical, and cultural significance. Through a thorough examination of these markings, it becomes evident that the Church of the Holy Trinity has functioned not only as a place of worship but also as a living canvas for the articulation of faith, identity, and collective memory over centuries.

Architecture

The construction of the church dates back to the last quarter of the thirteenth century, and its architectural plan is configured as a cross-in-square with two columns.⁸ This represents a provincial variant of the style.⁹ A narthex, covered with a cylindrical vault with an east-west orientation, is attached to the initial planimetry, while the central part is covered at the highest level with a spherical dome. The interior is illuminated by three double windows, one on each façade, and is connected

Monastery of St Mary in Apollonia (H. Nallbani, 'Të dhëna të reja rreth pikturës së kishës së Manastirit të Apolonisë', *Monumentet*, 11 (1976), 103, 104, Fig. 13).

⁸ A feature of the Helladic school, also found in the architecture of the Despotate of Epirus. For a more extensive discussion see A. H. S. Megaw, 'The Chronology of Some Middle-Byzantine Churches', *The Annual of the British School at Athens*, 32 (1931–32), 126–28; P. L. Vocotopoulos, 'Ο ναός της Παναγίας στην Πρεβέντζα της Ακαρνανίας', *Βυζάντιον: Αφιέρωμα Ανδρέα Ν. Στράτο: Ιστορία-τέχνη και αρχαιολογία*, 1 (1986), 274.

⁹ Similar examples of Epirote architecture, besides the Church of the Holy Trinity, include the Church of St Mary of Vlaherna (Berat), St Nicholas of Rodia, the Red Church (or Panagia Vella) of Voulgareli in Arta, St George in Angelokastro, Aetolia, etc. These monuments are contemporary and representative of the same architectural school. For a more extensive discussion of architectural parallels and influences, see P. L. Vocotopoulos, 'Church Architecture in the Despotate of Epirus: The Problem of Influences', *ZOGRAF*, 27 (1998), 80; H. Hallensleben, 'Die Architekturgeschichtliche Stellung der Kirche Sv. Bogorodica Peribleptos (Sv. Kliment) in Ohrid', *Zbronik: Arheologski Muzej na Makedonja*, 6–7 (1975), 304–14; A. K. Orlandos, 'Ο Άγιος Νικόλαος της Ροδιάς', *ABME*, 2 (1936), 131–47.

to the nave through an arched entrance. Initially, this entrance served as the main entrance to the nave, but with the addition of the narthex from the original construction, this scheme changed.

The interior of the nave, which is nearly square in its plan, is supported by four central supports that serve as the foundation for the nave's vaulted and domed roof structure.¹⁰ The square bays, delineated by the arms of the cross, are covered at their lowest levels with spherical caps on the west side and with cylindrical vaults oriented from east to west on the east side. The drum, which houses the dome, is elevated above the square formed by the vaults of the arms of the cross, resting on spherical triangles (*pendentives*). The interior space is illuminated by the four drum windows,¹¹ two double windows (one on each façade), and one located in the apse.

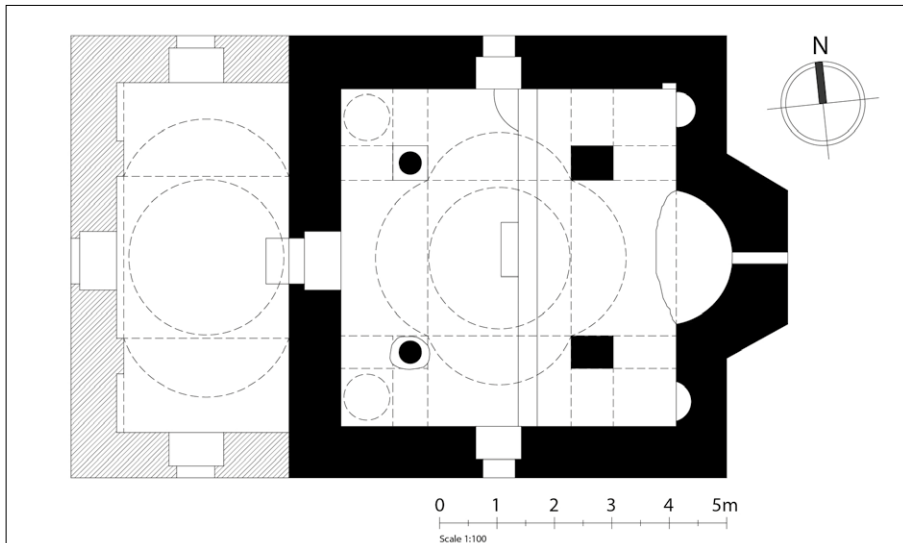


Fig. 3: Floor Plan of the Church of the Holy Trinity

Externally, the arms of the cross and the corresponding ones of the narthex end with elliptical pediments¹² influenced by the metro-

¹⁰ Meksi, *Arkitektura e Kishave të Shqipërisë (shek. VII–XV)*, Tirana 2004, 216–17.

¹¹ Meksi, *Arkitektura e Kishave të Shqipërisë (shek. VII–XV)*, 106.

¹² The pediments have been recomposed in the form of “Byzantine architecture” characterized by a slightly curved line, despite the fact that their original frames were sloping, a trait that is typical of the Epirote school. The only example encountered of elliptical pediments is the Red Church of Voulgareli in Arta, where

politan architecture of Constantinople or Thessaloniki.¹³ The centre of each pediment is articulated by semi-circular brick tympana, slightly recessed into the wall mass. These tympana contain double windows, surrounded by a pair of niches with a quadrant arch supported by a brick window frame.¹⁴ The double window is separated by a stone column with brick capitals on it. The window and the niches on its lateral sides are elevated on two rows of cloisonné masonry, which function as a threshold.

The intersection of the four arms of the cross forms a square base on which the octagonal drum with the dome stands. The drum is adorned with windows on four sides, while the remaining four sides feature niches decorated with a zig-zag pattern of bricks. The corners of the drum have columns of tuff stone,¹⁵ on which capitals also of tuff rest. It is noteworthy that the decorative scheme on all sides of the drum remains consistent, with each niche or window being covered by an arch and surrounded by smaller bricks.¹⁶



Fig. 4: The southern façade of the church

the roof composition represents a later architectural phase. For further information, see M. Zavorina, 'Palaeologan Architecture on the Byzantine Periphery: The Case of Ohrid', *Niš and Byzantium*, 20 (2022), 305–22.

¹³ Vocotopoulos, 'Church Architecture in the Despotate of Epirus', 85.

¹⁴ S. Ćurčić, *Architecture in the Balkans: From Diocletian to Suleyman the Magnificent*, New Haven 2010, 571.

¹⁵ This variety of drum, which is often referred to as the "Athenian" typology, has been identified in Middle (and Late) Byzantine monuments located in central Greece (P. L. Vocotopoulos, 'Η εκκλησιαστική αρχιτεκτονική εις την Δυτικήν Στερεάν Ελλάδα και την Ηπειρον: από του τέλους του 7ου μέχρι του τέλους του 10ου αιώνας', *Βυζαντινά Μνημεία*, 2 (1992), 205).

¹⁶ Meksi, *Arkitektura e Kishave të Shqipërisë (shek. VII–XV)*, 218.

The church's masonry consists of two courses, the same for both the nave and the narthex. The lower level is built of stone and lime mortar, with occasional bricks and pieces of tiles placed one on top of the other between the stones. The upper course, on the other hand, is constructed using the cloisonné technique, entailing the placement of a horizontal row of bricks and two vertical bricks between the stones.

Location and typology

A comprehensive analysis of the church's interior and exterior has revealed that the graffiti are concentrated mainly on the two western columns¹⁷ (Fig. 3, Fig. 5). These graffiti were identified at different heights, ranging from ± 1.12 –2 m. For the sake of clarity and convenience, the southern column is referred to as Column A, while the northern column is referred to as Column B. A notable feature common to both columns is that they are reused architectural elements (*spolia*).¹⁸

The column referred to as Column A (Plate I, 1), is made of white marble with grey veins and a fine crystalline structure (*prokonnesian*). Its dimensions are as follows: a height of 1.90 m and a diameter of 0.33 m. The material properties of this column are particularly conducive to carving. Column B (Plate I, 2) is made of grey marble with white veins (*prokonnesian*), with a smooth texture. However, it exhibits significant damage on its northwest face. Its dimensions are as follows: a height of 2.90 m and a diameter of 0.38 m. For the purpose of documentation and systematic analysis, each instance of the graffiti has been assigned a unique identifier (ID). The designation consists of the column code (A or B) followed by a sequential number ranging from 01 to 10.

An important issue to highlight in this section of our study is the condition of the columns, which hold a considerable number of

¹⁷ Faint traces of graffiti have also been found on the walls near the main entrance to the narthex. However, due to the deterioration of the frescoes over the centuries, it is difficult to confirm their details with certainty.

¹⁸ For more details, see D. Fiorani, 'Aspects of Albania's Architectural Heritage and Proposals for Its Conservation: the Church of St Mary of Vllaherna, the Church of the Holy Trinity and the Red Mosque in Berat', in *Heritage in Albania: Centre for Restoration of Monuments in Tirana*, ed. by D. Fiorani, C. Compostella, Rome 2011, 33; D. Çoku, G. Samimi, *Kishat e kalasë së Beratit: Arkeologji – Histori – Arkitekturë – Restaurim*, Tirana 2019, 142.

documented graffiti already in poor condition. The graffiti visible to-day represent only a fraction of what once existed. This degradation is attributed primarily to numerous structural interventions undertaken within the church over the course of several centuries. The most significant of these interventions involved the application of lime paint to the columns, among other elements, followed by cleaning operations during conservation and restoration campaigns. These interventions, frequently involving the use of harsh tools, have rendered many of the graffiti indistinguishable to the naked eye or when examined under artificial lighting.

In the effort to categorize this graffiti typologically, two methodological questions emerge: What criteria should be used for typological definitions? Should typologies be based solely on two-dimensional forms, or should three-dimensional characteristics, such as the depth of carving, also be included?

To answer the first question, a two-pronged methodological strategy was employed. The primary approach, based on the work of Matthew Champion, functioned as a foundational framework, positing that inscriptions should be considered as a distinct written form, thereby encompassing all of them without exception.¹⁹ Champion's seminal contribution was the

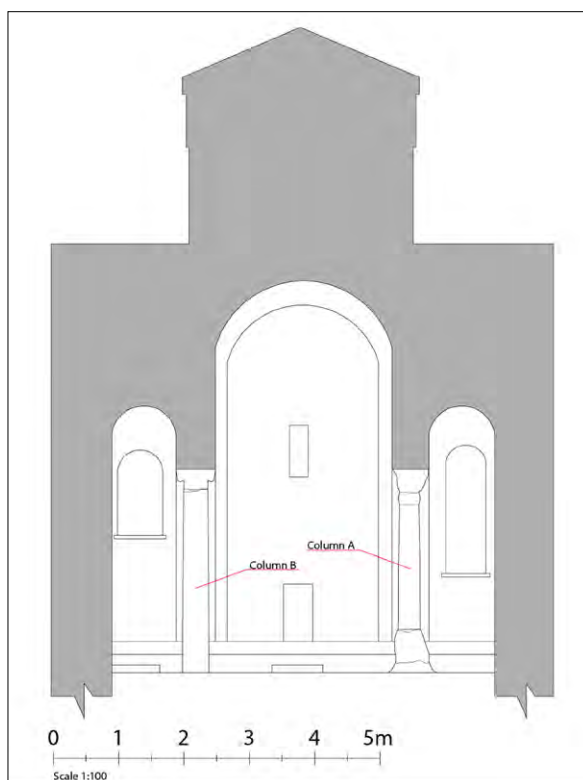


Fig. 5: Cross section of the church

¹⁹ M. Champion, *Medieval Graffiti: The Lost Voices of England's Churches*, London 2015; M. G. Trentin, 'Form, Content, and Space: Methodological Challenges in the Study of Medieval and Early Modern European Graffiti', *Papers from the Institute of Archaeology*, 30.1 (2021), 11, Fig. 1 (a taxonomy of medieval graffiti by Matthew Champion).

implementation of a systematic approach that included the classification of graffiti types according to a standardised nomenclature. This approach stands in contrast to that of scholars who often use inconsistent terminology, thereby expanding the vocabulary of reference rather than promoting a unified lexicon. While Champion's framework provides a solid foundation, it notably lacks a detailed sub-classification for crosses. Consequently, the second approach focused on addressing this gap by categorizing crosses based on their specific characteristics.²⁰

Regarding the second question of dimensionality, the study focused on two-dimensional features. This decision was driven by the absence of sophisticated tools, such as photogrammetry,²¹ laser scanning or RTI (Reflectance Transformation Imaging), which would have facilitated the creation of accurate three-dimensional models.²² As a result, the absence of three-dimensional documentation imposes substantial constraints on the analytical and interpretive potential of the study. Without high-resolution, three-dimensional metric models, it becomes impossible to obtain precise measurements of carving depths, an essential parameter for assessing the force and consistency of incisions, which can help interpret the tools used and the physical effort involved. Furthermore, lacking three-dimensional of tiny tool marks that often go unnoticed in conventional photographs or two-dimensional visual surveys. These subtle marks can provide valuable insights into the types of instruments employed, such as chisels, knives, or pointed tools,²³ and help differentiate between

²⁰ The absence of a defined methodology for the analysis of graffiti results in the emergence of diverse approaches, each corresponding to a distinct cataloguing/descriptive practice. For a more extensive discussion see Trentin, 'Medieval and Early Modern Graffiti in Eastern Mediterranean', 401–2.

²¹ M. Caine, D. Altaratz et al., 'The Riddle of the Crosses: The Crusaders in the Holy Sepulchre', in *Proceedings of the Electronic Visualisation and the Arts (EVA) Conference*, 9–13 July 2018, 135–36.

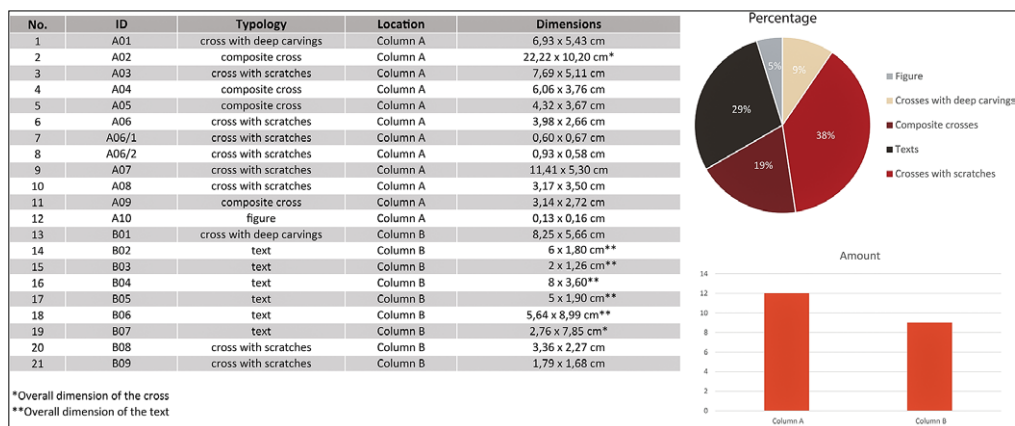
²² For more see R. G. Taylor, M. Callaghan et al., 'Reflectance Transformation Imaging for the Recording of Incised Graffiti: A Case Study from the Maya Site of Holtun, Guatemala', *Advances in Archaeological Practice*, 12.2 (2024), 122–32; Z. Georgieva, N. Prahov et al., 'Advanced Photographic Methods in Studying Ship Graffiti from Medieval Churches in Nessebar', *Interdisciplinary Studies*, 27 (2022), 21–40; M. G. Trentin, D. Altaratz et al., 'Historic Graffiti as a Visual Medium for the Sustainable Development of the Underground Built Heritage', *Sustainability*, 15 (2023), 13–14.

²³ H. Mytum, J. R. Peterson, 'The Application of Reflectance Transformation Imaging (RTI) in Historical Archaeology', *Historical Archaeology*, 52 (2018), 496–98.

artistic carving styles and those made by unskilled individuals. Most importantly, missing stratigraphic depth data inhibits any meaningful attempt to reconstruct the sequence in which overlapping or neighbouring elements were engraved (if present). This information is crucial for determining whether a composition changed over time through multiple interventions or was created as a single act.²⁴ As a consequence, the extent of the available interpretations is restricted to superficial visual observations and comparative analysis. This offers only a preliminary basis for more detailed future studies.

As previously mentioned, only a small fraction of the graffiti that once existed in the churches has been documented. A total of twenty-one graffiti were documented, the majority of which were identified as crosses. The following table presents a classification system for these groups:

1. Crosses, further classified into:
 - a – crosses with deep carvings;
 - b – crosses with scratches;
 - c – composite crosses;
2. Texts;
3. Figure.



Tab. 1: Documented inscriptions from the Church of the Holy Trinity and their classification according to typologies

²⁴ The case of the Wildenstein coat of arms (Fig. 10.) and the unknown coat of arms (Fig. 11.) at the St Helena Chapel in the Holy Sepulchre Basilica in Jerusalem. For more information, see Trentin, Altaratz et al., 'Historic Graffiti as a Visual Medium', 14–15.

Crosses with deep carvings

Two examples of this sub-typology of crosses have been documented, designated AO1 and BO1. These crosses are carved on the eastern faces of Columns A and B, oriented towards the altar. The vertical axis of each cross is carved significantly deeper than the horizontal axis and has a V-shaped cut, indicating a consistent technique. Absent a three-dimensional model, determining the exact depth of the conditions has proven unfeasible. Preliminary assessment indicates that both crosses were likely carved by the same individual.

Given that the columns are spolia, it is possible that the carving of the crosses symbolized their 'baptism' or Christianization, a practice which is well documented throughout the Late Antiquity and the Byzantine period.²⁵ This innovation enabled the reuse of ancient materials, reducing costs while imbuing the objects with new spiritual significance.

Further evidence suggests that the individual responsible for the carvings was presumably employed in either the construction industry or as a church custodian. Despite the fact that graffiti was generally prohibited within ecclesiastical buildings as a form of vandalism, the prominent and symbolically significant location of these specific carvings leads to the supposition that they were not necessarily illicit. Instead, it appears that these practices were tolerated, if not implicitly endorsed, by ecclesiastical authorities. Indeed, arriving at definitive conclusions about whether such graffiti constituted authorised or illicit writings is very difficult in the absence of explicit bans or other documented evidence of disapproval or approval.²⁶

Cross AO1, with overall dimensions of 6.93 × 5.43 cm, is characterized by a relatively simple workmanship with visible irregularities (Fig. 6). The vertical axis is almost straight and tapers to a point at the end, while the horizontal arms are asymmetrical in both width and length, ending in blunt and angular ends. The arms are situated slightly below the midpoint of the vertical beam, with the right arm positioned significantly lower. It is evident that the artist originally intended to carve

²⁵ H. Saradi, 'The Use of Ancient Spolia in Byzantine Monuments: The Archaeological and Literary Evidence', *International Journal of the Classical Tradition*, 3.4 (1997), 395, 403–04, 422.

²⁶ M. P. Ritsema van Eck, 'Graffiti in Medieval and Early Modern Religious Spaces: Illicit or Accepted Practice? The Case of the Sacro Monte at Varallo', *Tijdschrift Voor Geschiedenis*, 131.1 (2018), 54–55.

a 'Greek cross',²⁷ though the execution is deemed to be somewhat flawed. The surface of the cross shows evidence of the use of a pointed chisel.

Cross B01, measuring 8.25×5.66 cm, shows similar pointed chisel work to Cross A01, although it is characterized by a better execution (Fig. 6). The vertical axis maintains a consistent width, while the horizontal arms extend outward with irregular edges, some of which appear chipped or fragmented. These irregularities may have been created during the work or by later damage. Unlike Cross A01, B01 adheres to the 'Latin cross' typology.²⁸

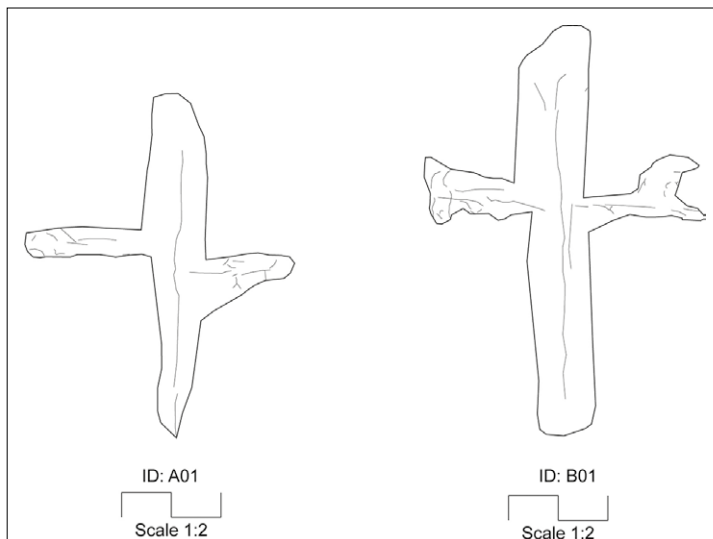


Fig. 6: Crosses with deep carvings

Crosses with scratches

This sub-typology displays the largest number of crosses, eight in total, with the majority (six) present on Column A.

Cross A03 measuring 7.69×5.11 cm, is located on the eastern side of the column, 5 cm below Cross A01. It presents a simple work with

²⁷ The Greek cross is a geometric shape with four equal-length arms that intersect at right angles at their midpoints. This configuration gives it perfect fourfold rotational symmetry and an overall square-like appearance. Based on Fig. 7. A., on the typology of crosses at the Saint Helena Chapel in the Complex of the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem – A. Re'em, M. Caine et al., 'Historical Archaeology of Medieval Pilgrimage: Dating the "Walls of the Crosses" in the Holy Sepulchre Chapel of St Helena', in *New Studies in the Archaeology of Jerusalem and Its Region*, ed. by Y. Gadot, Y. Zelinger et al., Jerusalem 2022, 15.

²⁸ In contradistinction to the Greek cross, which is distinguished by arms of equal length intersecting at the centre, the Latin cross is characterized by a longer vertical arm intersected by a shorter horizontal arm positioned above the midpoint. Based on Fig. 7. B., on the typology of crosses at the Saint Helena Chapel in the Complex of the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem – Re'em, Caine et al., 'Historical Archaeology of Medieval Pilgrimage', 15.

repeated linear scratches and follows the typology of the ‘Greek cross’ (Fig. 7). Preliminary observations suggest that it may represent a preparatory phase for the process of deepening the shafts, as evidenced by Crosses A01 and B01, indicating that all three were likely created simultaneously.

Crosses A06, A06/1 and A06/2, which are carved on the western face of the column 4 cm below Cross A02, together form a single scene (the Crucifixion). However, due to differences in composition and size, they are catalogued separately (Fig. 7). The central cross, A06, is the largest, measuring 3.98×2.66 cm. It is formed by a slightly inclined primary vertical axis and a horizontal axis. Three of its extremities end in dovetails, with two of them including a central line forming the letter ‘A’ or medallions (?). Two smaller crosses, A06/1 and A06/2, are placed a few millimetres above the central cross and at a short distance from each other (about 1.5 cm). Both are relatively simple, with A06/1 measuring 0.60×0.67 cm and A06/2 slightly larger at 0.93×0.58 cm. Their smaller sizes appear to have been a deliberate artistic choice, intended to create a sense of depth and visual complexity.

Comparable parallels with Cross A06 have been identified in architectural elements and sculptures of the early and middle Byzantine period.²⁹ However, these have only been documented in only a limited number of studies and references.³⁰ In contrast, a considerable number of examples found belong to the context of Late Antiquity, including sites such as Sagalassos,³¹ the Dokimeion quarry³² and the GO3C

²⁹ A. K. Orlandos, L. I. Vranousis, *Τα Χαραγγματα του Παρθενώνος: ήτοι, επιγραφαι χαραχθεισαι επί των κίωνων του Παρθενώνος κατά τους παλαιοχριστιανικούς και βυζαντινούς χρόνους*, Athens 1973, 88 (No. 98), 92 (No. 105), 93 (No. 107), 94 (No. 109).

³⁰ P. Nowakowski, D. Wielgosz-Rondolino, ‘The Rock Inscriptions, Graffiti and Crosses from Quarry GO3C at Göktepe, Muğla District (Turkey)’, *Anatolian Studies*, 71 (2021), 112; Re’em, Caine et al., ‘Historical Archaeology of Medieval Pilgrimage’, 15 (variants A6, B6), 26 (Fig. 13.), 31 (Fig. 16).

³¹ L. Lavan, ‘The Agorai of Sagalassos in Late Antiquity: An Interpretive Study’, in *Field Methods and Post-Excavation Techniques in Late Antique Archaeology*, ed. by L. Lavan, M. Mulryan, Leiden 2015, 335 (cross B), 339, 340, Fig. 14a; I. Jacobs, ‘Cross Graffiti as Physical Means to Christianize the Classical City: An Exploration of Their Function, Meaning, Topographical, and Socio-Historical Contexts’, in *Graphic Signs of Identity, Faith, and Power in Late Antiquity and the Early Middle Ages*, ed. by I. H. Garipzanov, C. Goodson et al., *Cursor Mundi*, 27, Turnhout 2017, 202, Fig. 6.7, 203, Fig. 6.8, 204.

³² J. Röder, ‘Marmor Phrygium. Die antiken Marmorbrüche von İscēhisar in Westanatolien’, *Jahrbuch des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts*, 86 (1971), 292 (Abb. 35), 294, 298 (Abb. 27Di).

Göktepe quarry.³³ Within the Albanian territory, the cross type in question is mainly associated with Late Antique bricks.³⁴

Cross A07 has overall dimensions of 11.41 × 5.30 cm and is inscribed on the northern face of the column. It consists of two compositions: the first is a frame in the form of a half-finished rhombus (7.90 × 5.30 cm), accompanied by a smaller rhombus situated at the end. The central element is the cross itself, which divides the space into four squares, each of which contains the two-line formula IH XC NI KA[C] ‘Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς νικά – Jesus Christ Conquers’ (Fig. 7).

The formula’s origins can be traced back to the Byzantine traditions. The initial associations of the cross are believed to originate from Constantine’s vision of the cross, accompanied by the phrase ‘ἐν τούτῳ νικά’ (‘In this [sign], you will conquer’).³⁵ The concept of triumph through the cross gained importance in Byzantine numismatic practices during the reign of Constans II (641–658)³⁶ and eventually evolved into the acronym IC XC NI KA.³⁷ This formula gained particular prominence within liturgical traditions, as evidenced by its inclusion on the *prosphora*, the bread used during the Eucharist.³⁸ The earliest documented connection with liturgical practices dates back to the seventeenth century, as recorded in the Euchologion of Goar.³⁹ However, textual and archaeological evidence suggests that the initials IC XC NI KA were used as a symbol

³³ Nowakowski, Wielgosz-Rondolino, ‘The Rock Inscriptions, Graffiti and Crosses’, 87–128, examples: PG10, PG16, PG17, PG18 and PG21.

³⁴ E. Hobdari, E. Nikolli et al., ‘Raport i punës arkeologjike të vitit 2022 në bazilikën paleokristiane jashtë mureve të Scampis’, *Candavia*, 10 (2024), 166, Fig. 30, SF.192 (MAT 16771), SF. 602, SF. 702, SF. 709 dhe SF. 710; E. Hobdari, Y. Ceroval, ‘Bazilika paleokristiane extra-muros e Scampis (Elbasan) – 2012’, *Iliria*, 37 (2013), 421, 424, Tab. VIII/1; K. Zheku, ‘Zbulime epigrafike në muret rrethuese të kalasë së Durrësit’, *Monumentet*, 3 (1972), 39, Fig. 9.

³⁵ Eusebius Pamphilus, ‘Life of Constantine, Book I, Chapter XXVIII’, in *The Life of the Blessed Emperor Constantine, in Four Books, from 306 to 337 A.D.*, London 1845, 26; C. Morrisson, *Catalogue des monnaies byzantines de la Bibliothèque Nationale*, Paris 1970, 450–51, ref. 4.

³⁶ Morrisson, *Catalogue des monnaies byzantines*, 331.

³⁷ The earliest documented instance of the utilisation of this formula transpired during the reign of Emperor Leo III, wherein he initiated the minting of a silver coin (*miliaresio*) subsequent to the coronation of Constantine IV as co-emperor on 31 March 720. See C. Walter, ‘IC XC NI KA: The Apotropaic Function of the Victorious Cross’, *Revue des études byzantines*, 55 (1997), 195; J. Moorhead, ‘Iconoclasm, the Cross and the Imperial Image’, *Byzantion*, 55.1 (1985), 165–79.

³⁸ F. E. Brightman, *Liturgies Eastern and Western*, Oxford 1894, 393.

³⁹ Walter, ‘IC XC NI KA’, 98.

long before this period, in the seventh century, as evidenced by bread stamps bearing these initials.⁴⁰ Nevertheless, the exclusive use of these initials as a liturgical symbol remains a subject of debate.

This formula also appears in a number of Byzantine (post-iconoclastic) art forms, including manuscripts, architectural inscriptions and funerary texts,⁴¹ often serving a protective (apotropaic) purpose.⁴² For example, Gordana Babic has catalogued twenty-six analogous examples in Raška school churches dating from the late thirteenth century (the Church of St Achilles in Arilje in Serbia, circa 1296) to the late fourteenth century (the Church of the Monastery of Marko, Susica in North Macedonia, circa 1380–1382). Typically these formulas are placed near doors, windows, or entrances, places where evil forces could pass. A total of fourteen of these formulas are located within the church itself or near the sanctuary.⁴³ It can be assumed that the cases documented by Babic, as well as the case of the Holy Trinity, follow the tradition of earlier church examples, including those identified at the Parthenon in Athens,⁴⁴ St Neophytos in Cyprus, Taxiarchis (St Michael Archangel) in Kastoria and St Nicholas Orphanos in Thessaloniki.⁴⁵ In Albania, this formula is evidenced on the

⁴⁰ Walter, 'IC XC NI KA', 199–200.

⁴¹ E. A. Khairedinova, 'Fragmenty keramiki s khristianskimi graffiti iz srednevekoykh pogrebenii Kryma', *Antichnaya drevnost' i srednie veka*, 49 (2021), 193–218; N. Constan, 'Death and Dying in Byzantium', in *Byzantine Christianity*, ed. by D. Krueger, A People's History of Christianity, 3, Philadelphia 2006, 135; N. Poulou-Papadimitriou, 'Pottery of the Middle Byzantine Period and the First Centuries of the Venetian Occupation from Petras, Siteia', in *Petras, Siteia – 25 Years of Excavations and Studies*, ed. by M. Tsipopoulou, Monographs of the Danish Institute at Athens, 16, Athens 2012, 321, Fig. 10; N. Poulou-Papadimitriou, E. Tzavella et al., 'Burial Practices in Byzantine Greece: Archaeological Evidence and Methodological Problems for Its Interpretation', in *Rome, Constantinople and Newly-Converted Europe. Archaeological and Historical Evidence*, ed. by M. Salamon, M. Wołoszyn et al., U Źródeł Europy Środkowo-Wschodniej, 1.1, Cracow – Leipzig – Rzeszów – Warsaw 2012, 377, 407, 413, 415, Fig. 20/3; A. Meksi, D. Komata, 'Kisha e Shën Mërisë e Brrarit', *Iliria*, 17.2 (1987), 221, Fig. 10.

⁴² C. Jolivet-Lévy, *Les églises byzantines de Cappadoce: le programme iconographique de l'abside et de ses abords*, Paris 1991, 7; Champion, *Medieval Graffiti*, 31.

⁴³ Walter, 'IC XC NI KA', 195; Moorhead, 'Iconoclasm, the Cross and the Imperial Image', 211.

⁴⁴ Orlandos, Vranousis, *Τα Χαράγματα του Παρθενώος*, 83 (No. 90), 91 (No. 103), 92 (No. 105), 121 (No. 154).

⁴⁵ Walter, 'IC XC NI KA', 211.

tombstone of Mihal Sguro (in the Church of St Mary in Brrar),⁴⁶ in the Bay of Karaburun⁴⁷ and on the façade of the Church of St Nicholas in Voskopoja⁴⁸ and the Church of the Dormition of the Virgin in the village of Labovë e Kryqit (Gjirokastra).⁴⁹ Moreover, a comparison of the calligraphic style of the inscription with that of the frescoes of the second phase of the Church of St Mary in Sinjë (Berat), dated to 1291/92, highlights obvious textual (temporal) similarities,⁵⁰ placing the formula in the chronological framework of the late thirteenth and fourteenth century.

Cross A08, measuring 3.17×3.50 cm, contains a simple linear cross with a vertical and horizontal axis intersecting in the centre (Fig. 7). The cross is documented on the west side of the column, at a height of 2 m. The horizontal arms extend symmetrically, while the vertical axis is slightly longer, with a break in the line below the intersection.

The cross's unobtrusive execution and positioning imply a private devotional gesture, possibly the act of an individual wishing to reinforce the sanctity of the location through a quiet, personal expression of faith. In this context, the sign fulfils two distinct functions: firstly, as an apotropaic symbol intended to ward off evil, and secondly, as a testament to local devotional practices. Its understated presence may be indicative of the gesture of a pilgrim or worshipper marking their passage or presence in the sacred space, thereby contributing to a layered tradition of inscribed faith.

Cross B08 is part of a complex abstract composition characterized by geometric elements such as triangles, angles, crosses, squares, and straight lines (Fig. 7). It is located on the south side of the column and has overall dimensions of 3.36×2.27 cm. Comparable examples

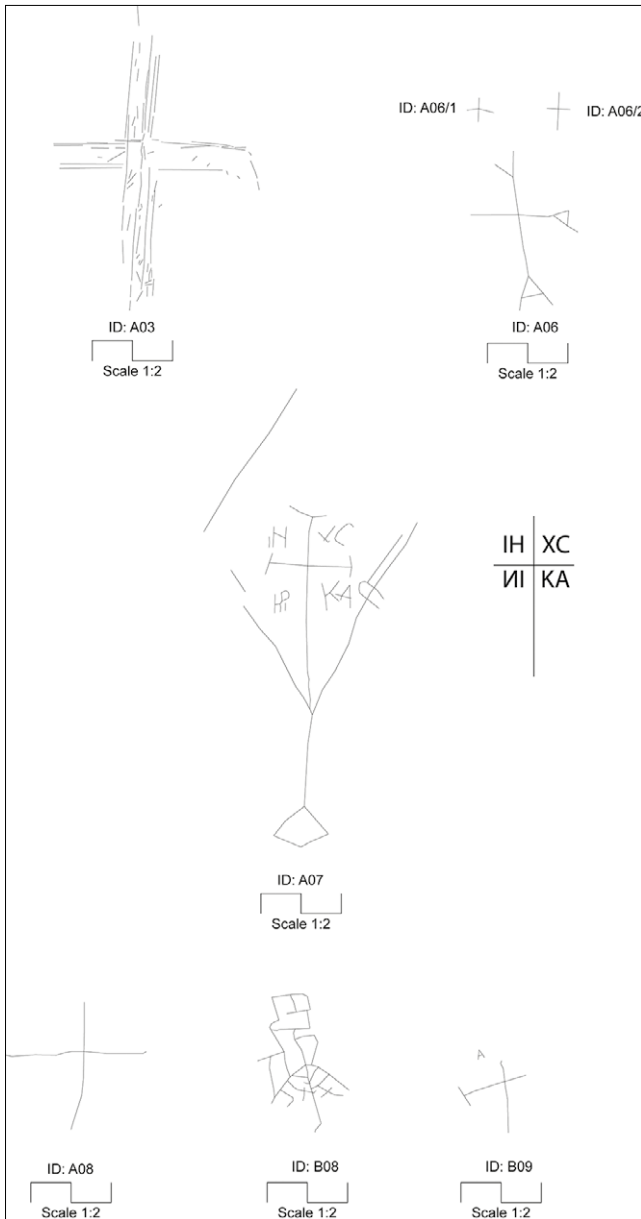
⁴⁶ Meksi, Komata, 'Kisha e Shën Mërisë e Brrarit', 221, Fig. 10.

⁴⁷ Zeqo, 'Rezultate të kërkimeve arkeologjike në Karaburun', 160, 171 (Tab. 2, Fig. 18), 173 (Tab. 4, Fig. 25).

⁴⁸ S. Adhami, 'Tri bazilika të ndërtuara në Voskopojë brenda katër vjetëve', *Monumentet*, 14 (1977), 147–54.

⁴⁹ Th. Popa, *Mbishkrime të kishave në Shqipëri*, Tirana 1998, 246, No. 604.

⁵⁰ Dh. Dhamo, 'Korçë, Berat', *Iliria*, 19.2 (1989), 304, Fig. 15.



have been observed at Reç⁵¹ and in Figures 6, 7 and 8 from the rock art of the ‘Shpellës në Buzë’ (the Buzë Cave) in Mërkurth, Mirdita.⁵²

Cross B09, measuring 1.79×1.68 cm, is a simple linear cross located approximately 5 mm to the right of Cross B08. Its shape consists of crossed lines, with the vertical axis slightly curved and the arms of the cross intersecting beyond the centre of the axes, resulting in an asymmetrical appearance. Of particular note is the presence of a distinct letter ‘A’ in the upper left of the cross, a feature that can be attributed to the author of the cross (Fig. 7).

Fig. 7: Crosses with scratches

⁵¹ M. Korkuti, ‘An Attempt for the Interpretation of the Rock Art in Albania’, *Valcamonica Symposium*, 22 (2007), 255, 257, Fig. 4.

⁵² According to the authors, Figures 6, 7, and 8 are considered Phase II, which is comparable to Rubik, Xibri, Reçi, Bovilë, and Gramata. See R. Ruka, M. L. Galaty et al., ‘Arti shkëmbor i “Shpellës në Buzë” në Mërkurth (Mirditë): reflektim mbi inkuadrimin kronologjik’, *Candavia*, 4 (2014), 269, Fig. 2, 271, 278.

Composite crosses

As indicated by the nomenclature of this sub-typology, the distinguishing characteristic of the crosses is the combination of lines or scratches with deep carvings on the surfaces of the column.

Cross A02 is an exceptionally intricate motif, potentially associated with the coat of arms of a noble family of its time (Fig. 8). Facing towards west, its overall composition, measuring 22.22×10.20 cm, is divided into three distinct sections.

The upper section features a prominent conical-pyramidal floral element, in the shape of a fleur-de-lys with two smaller lateral petals curled downward. At its centre, a cross dominates the design, with its horizontal and upper vertical arms subdivided into three equal segments. Each arm terminates in two pointed peaks, forming a structured geometric pattern adorned with two inscribed concentric circles. The lower portion of the cross transitions fluidly into an elongated floral motif that connects to a stylized depiction of a sword, dagger, or spear beneath it, completing the cohesive structural design.

A close examination of Cross A02 reveals a striking stylistic affinity to the typology of Armenian crosses (*khachkar*),⁵³ known for their elaborate stone-carved designs.⁵⁴ This marks the first documented example of such a cross in Albania, a significant historical and cultural milestone. Similar small mural khachkars have been found outside of Armenia, with the earliest dating to the twelfth century.⁵⁵ This includes eight or nine recorded examples in Cilicia and two hundred 287 in

⁵³ From 'khach' = cross, and 'k'ar' = stone, P. Donabédian, 'Can We Call "Khachkar" the Sudak Cross-Stones?', *Сугдейський збірник* [Collection of Sugdeia], 7.1 (2018), 304.

⁵⁴ H. L. Petrosyan, 'Medieval Armenian Sculpture and the Khachkar (Stone Cross)', in *Armenia: Imprints of a Civilization*, ed. by G. Uluhogian, B. L. Zekiyan et al., Milan 2011, 69–75; K. Harutyunyan, 'The Armenian Monastery of Holy Saviour in Jerusalem and Its Epigraphic Heritage', *Hushardzan' Scientific Journal* [in Armenian], 17.1 (2022), 20 (Fig. 11); M. E. Stone, 'Epigraphica Armeniaca Hierosolymitana', *Revue des Études Arméniennes*, 30 (2005), 444 (Fig. 1), 450 (Fig. 4), 453 (Fig. 5 and Fig. 6), 458 (Fig. 8).

⁵⁵ P. Donabédian, 'Small Mural Khachkars in Medieval Armenian Communities of Crimea, Galicia, Podolia, and Bessarabia', in *On the Borderline between the East and the West. Materials of the International Conference Dedicated to the 90th Anniversary of Yaroslav Dashkevych* (December 13–14, 2016, Lviv) 324 <<https://shs.hal.science/halshs-01933957v1>> [accessed 29 July 2025].

Jerusalem.⁵⁶ Beyond these two main centres, the tradition spread to various Armenian diaspora communities. Notable among these communities are New Julfa in Isfahan (with 382 examples from the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries) and Crimea (with approximately 200 examples dating between the fourteenth and eighteenth centuries). Other significant sites include Aleppo, which had thirty-two examples before its destruction by Islamic extremists in 2015, and Lviv, where 6 examples have been documented.⁵⁷

The author of this graffiti appears to have been consciously influenced by such models, synthesising their distinctive characteristics, particularly the interplay of geometric and symbolic motifs, into the composition's fundamental structure. This influence underscores the dual role of the cross as both an artistic focal point and a cultural symbol, reflecting the creator's aesthetic or cultural preferences.⁵⁸

The final section of the composition portrays a two-dimensional temple, characterized by a four-columned portico, a central pointed dome, and flanking circular towers or smaller domes. While the specific identity of the church remains unknown, its architectural elements align with established Armenian ecclesiastical traditions.⁵⁹ Between the cross and the temple, just above the domes, is an animal head, representing either a bull or a goat.

Beyond the flat part of the graffiti contours framing the graffiti (Fig. 8), four fleurs-de-lys are symmetrically arranged (two on each side), fusing motifs from Armenian and French traditions.⁶⁰ Slightly off to the left,

⁵⁶ The number documented in Jerusalem is based on the article by Donabédian, 'Small Mural Khachkars in Medieval Armenian Communities', 324. However, recent studies suggest that additional crosses of this typology have been identified, although their exact number remains unknown. For further details, see Re'em, Caine et al., 'Historical Archaeology of Medieval Pilgrimage', 7–39.

⁵⁷ Donabédian, 'Small Mural Khachkars in Medieval Armenian Communities', 325.

⁵⁸ H. L. Petrosyan, 'Khachkar', in *Historical and Cultural Heritage of Armenia*, ed. by K. A. Harutyunyan, Yerevan 2022, 57–64.

⁵⁹ H. Sanamyan, 'Construction Art of Medieval Armenia', in *Historical and Cultural Heritage of Armenia*, 47–56.

⁶⁰ Just as coins generally use iconography to convey ideological messages, the fleur-de-lys appearing in Armenian graffiti signifies the union of Western and Eastern influences. This reflects the new Western influences entering Cilician Armenian society through commercial and military interactions with Europeans. The nobility adopted many aspects of Western European life, including chivalry, fashion, French titles and names, and the French language. Furthermore, Cilician society itself shifted from traditional structures towards Western feudalism.

a faint carving contains the letter 'A' and a circular medallion. Within the medallion, a barely discernible figure, which appears to be a knight on horseback holding a cross.⁶¹ However, the shallow engraving renders the detail indistinct.⁶²

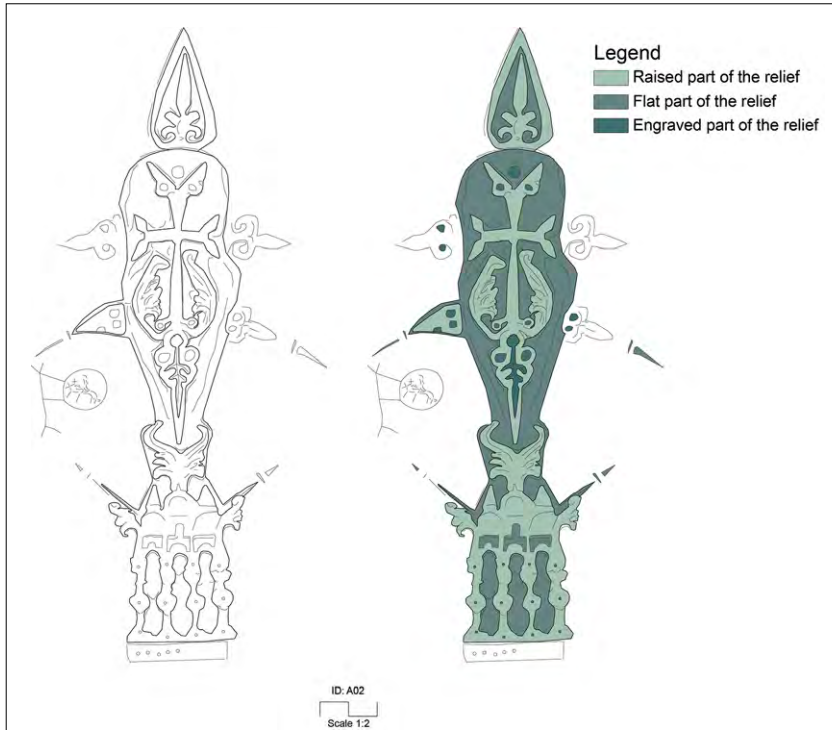


Fig. 8: Composite cross (Armenian Cross-ID: A02)

For more, see A. Atamian Bournoutian, 'Cilician Armenia', in *The Armenian People from Ancient to Modern Times, I: The Dynastic Periods: From Antiquity to the Fourteenth Century*, ed. by R. G. Hovannisian, New York 1997, 280–90; P. Papadopoulou, 'Betwixt Greeks, Saracens and Crusaders. Lusignan Coinage and Its Place in the Eastern Mediterranean (1192–1324)', *Cahiers du Centre d'Etudes Chypriotes*, 43 (2013), 473–92.

⁶¹ A similar example, but of a more qualitative execution, has been identified in one of the khachkars in the Mother See of Holy Etchmiadzin (Armenia). The khachkar dates to the year 1576. For more, see Petrosyan, 'Khachkar', 62, Fig. 10.

⁶² A second example, identified by M. G. Trentin as the act of a crusader, is located in the Church of St Martin in Lucca, Italy. For more details, see M. G. Trentin, 'I graffiti come fonte per la storia delle pratiche religiose medievali' (unpublished doctoral thesis, Ca' Foscari University of Venice, 2010–2011), 177 (ref. 675, example: SMr 58), 493 (example: SMr 58) and 509 (example: SMr 58).

Cross A04, represents a ‘Latin cross’ measuring 6.06×3.76 cm, located on the west side of the column 25 cm beneath Cross A02. It represents a very simple composition of two holes and lines on each side of the arms of the cross, with the exception of the left arm, where no engraved lines were identified (Fig. 9). Based on the analysis of analogous examples from foreign sites, it can be assumed that the cross once had a metallic element attached to it (an *ex-voto*), which was removed.⁶³

Cross A05, has a composition analogous to that of Cross A04, yet it is distinguished by a weaker execution of the lines, often wavy. Of particular note is the intersection of the lines in the centre of the cross, resulting in the formation of a square (Fig. 9). We cannot say with certainty that there was a metal appliqué, as is the case for Cross A04, but it can be hypothesized. It has dimensions of 4.32×3.67 cm, and it is positioned at a height of 1.97 m westwards.

Cross A09, is similar to cross A05 but has smaller dimensions of 3.17×3.50 cm (Fig. 9). It is located on the west side at an approximate height of 2.10 m, making it the only one at that height.

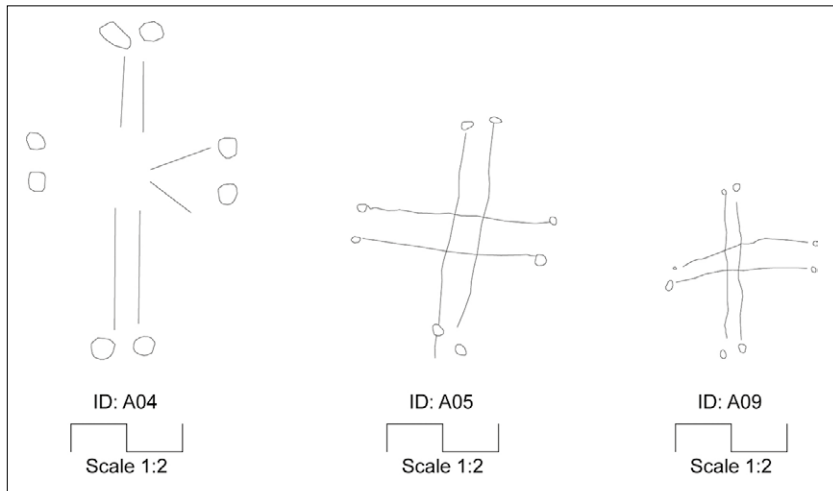


Fig. 9: Composite crosses

⁶³ A parallel example can be found in the Lower City Church at Amorium (Phrygia, Turkey). For more, see *Amorium Reports 5: A Catalogue of Roman and Byzantine Stone Inscriptions from Amorium and Its Territory, Together with Graffiti, Stamps, and Miscellanea*, ed. by C. S. Lightfoot, Istanbul 2017, V, 137 (Cat. No. M22. T733), 208 (Cat. No. M22. T733).

Texts

It is noteworthy that all documented graffiti inscriptions are found on Column B, although a definitive explanation for this concentration remains elusive. The inscriptions, written in the Greek language, present significant challenges to transcription and translation, largely due to their advanced state of deterioration. This degradation hinders the capacity to provide definitive interpretations; nevertheless, the analysis has sought to document the extant evidence as comprehensively as possible. In instances where legibility allows, provisional transcriptions have been put forward. It is also noteworthy that such writings may have been employed for commemorative or devotional purposes, reflecting personal acts of piety or remembrance within the sacred space.⁶⁴

Text B02, for which no additional information has been provided, consists of eight letters (Fig. 10). It is located on the north face of the column at the height of 1.74 m, its dimensions are 6 × 1.80 cm, and it is transcribed as follows: ΘPINTHYP ('Trinity?').

Text B03 measures 2 × 1.26 cm and is located 6.50 cm below Text B02. It consists of two letters, κω, which can be rendered as: K(υρί)ω meaning 'to the Lord' (?) (Fig. 10).

Text B04, measuring 8 × 3.60 cm, is positioned 6.50 cm below Text B03. It features a simple cross, measuring 2 × 0.9 cm, accompanied by three letters. The transcription is recorded as: + Μου T or + Μω T (Fig. 10).

Text B05, measuring 5 × 1.90 cm, is located on the east side of the column. Its composition is analogous to that of Text B04, featuring a simple cross measuring 1.80 × 0.88 cm, followed by an inscription that reads: + (Οἱ)Κων Του Θ(ε)ΟΥ (?) meaning 'House of God' (?) (Fig. 10).

Text B06 is the largest in dimensions (8.99 × 5.64 cm) and faces the east, comprising four lines (Fig. 10). The content of this text is challenging to transcribe, but the final line offers a clear reference to a year. The transcription of the text is as follows:

1. + ΤΑμ Τροαρδο (meaning to write Τριάδα, 'Trinity' ?)
2. οΛΑ τω χλοου
3. θοΠ μιρμς
4. Ιςτους 1755 (εις τούς 1755 (?)) = in the year 1755).

⁶⁴ As demonstrated in the case study by M. G. Trentin. For further details, see Trentin, 'Medieval and Early Modern Graffiti in Eastern Mediterranean', 399.

Text B07 is the second largest in dimensions (7.85×2.76 cm) and faces south towards Column A. It consists of two lines, with only the first line being mostly legible (Fig. 10). The transcription of the text is as follows:

1. $\delta \varsigma \epsilon \iota \kappa \tau \theta \omega$ (δέη(σι)ς Κ(υρίω) τ(ῷ) Θ(ε)ῷ = Supplication (?) to the Lord and God (?)
2. $\Gamma \nu \omega \sigma \lambda$ (?).

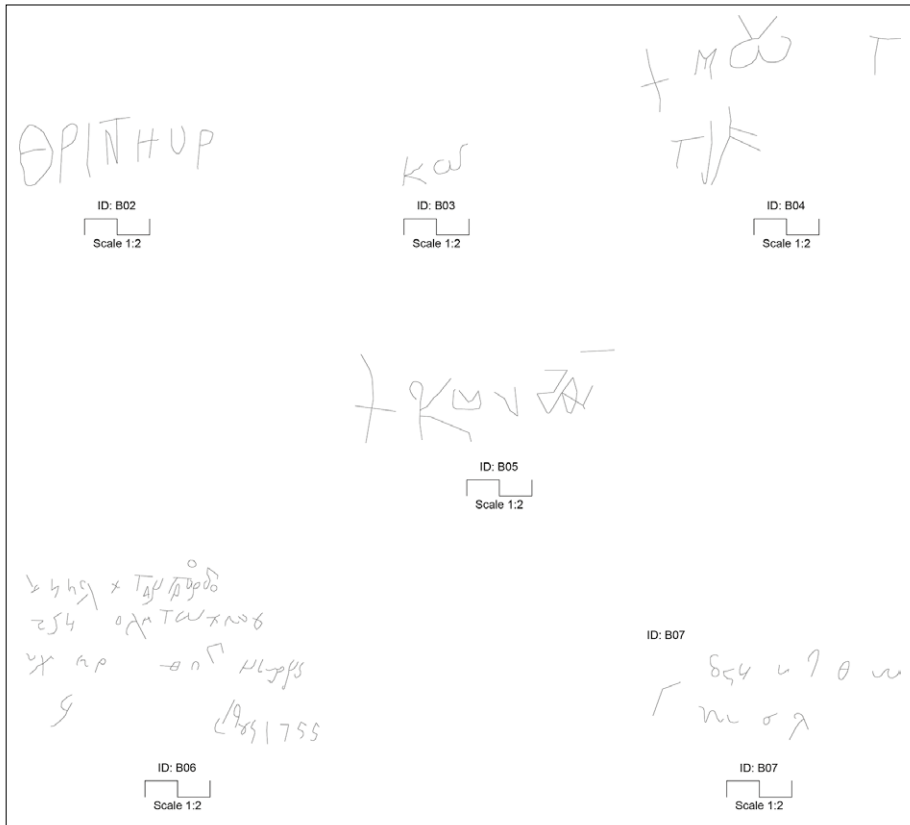


Fig. 10: Texts

Figure

Figure A10, small in size (0.13×0.16 cm) and positioned about 3 cm to the left of Cross A02, depicts a schematic human figure with hands raised in the position known as the *orans* (Fig. 11). The term *orans*

(Latin for ‘he/she who is praying’ or ‘a person who prays’⁶⁵) refers to a posture and motif in Christian art and worship, that usually depicts a figure standing with arms outstretched and palms facing upward, symbolizing prayer.⁶⁶ In the context of early Christian art, the *orans* was often observed in the catacombs and served as a representation of the soul in a state of prayer or intercession. This posture was used to depict saints, martyrs, or anonymous believers, signifying devotion, openness to divine grace, and the act of offering oneself to God.⁶⁷ It is also imbued with the symbolism of resurrection and eternal life. In the context of the liturgy, the *orans* posture has traditionally been as-

sociated with the actions of priests during certain prayers, such as the Eucharistic Prayer. However, it was also adopted by lay Christians in both private and community worship practices. The figure of the *orans*, whether depicted individually or in group scenes, continues to serve as a powerful symbol of faith, prayer, and devotion within the broader Christian traditions (e.g. Our Lady of the Sign (*Platytera*), Christ the Almighty (*Pantocrator*), Christ in Majesty (*Deisis*), and so forth).

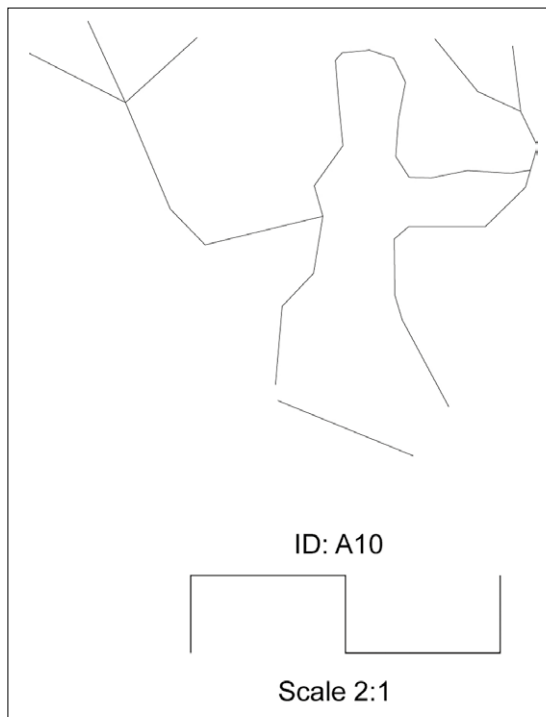


Fig. 11: Figure A10 (*Orans*)

⁶⁵ H. H. Ørberg, *Lingua Latina: Pars II: Latin-English Vocabulary II*, Minnesota 2007, 26.

⁶⁶ The *orans* attitude of prayer has a biblical basis in 1 Timothy 2:8: ‘I will therefore desire that men pray in every place, lifting up pure hands, without anger and contention’.

⁶⁷ G. Foerster, ‘A Painted Christian Tomb near Kibbutz Lohamei Ha Geta’ot’, in *The Antiquities of the Western Galilee*, ed. by M. Yeda’ia, Mate-Asher 1986, 416–29 [in Hebrew]; T. Michaeli, ‘A Painted Tomb in the East Cemetery’, in *The Necropolis of Bet Guvrin: Eleutheropolis*, ed. by G. Avni, U. Dahari et al., Jerusalem 2008, 187–99; E. Klein, B. Zissu et al., ‘Byzantine Graffiti in Underground Water Facilities in the Galilee and Judean Foothills’, *Revue Biblique*, 125.3 (2018), 407–13.

Conclusions

The analysis presented in this paper aimed to uncover hidden aspects of medieval and early modern Berat, particularly with regard to graffiti. Despite the lack of literary sources, it seems to have been a widespread phenomenon in churches, and the Church of the Holy Trinity is no exception. These graffiti should be understood as part of a broader phenomenon often observed in sacred spaces, a topic that has received minimal attention or research in Albania. Graffiti, in principle, possessed the potential to convey complicated and conceptual information; however, the manner in which this is interpreted has undergone changes over time and among viewers.

The presence of these intricately carved graffiti, which are often grouped together, serves as a reflection of the existence of a doctrine, that of the protection (prophylactic or apotropaic). The clearest examples are Crosses A01, B01, A03, and A07.⁶⁸ The initial three cases can be interpreted as instances of ‘baptism’, a widespread phenomenon particularly associated with ancient materials. Documentation of such graffiti has been recorded on a variety of architectural surfaces, including columns, lintels, busts, and portraits.⁶⁹ Conversely, Cross A07 exhibits a more conventional design, frequently observed in ecclesiastical contexts. Its proximity to both the entrance and the church’s central space lends further credence to this interpretation. Dating these examples remains challenging, but it is hypothesized that the ‘baptismal’ graffiti are contemporary with the construction of the church. In contrast, Cross A07 appears to have been carved at a later date, possibly during the period when the Serbian Empire initiated its conquests in the territories surrounding Berat. According to a contemporary note in the Diptych of the Monastery of St George in the Castle of Berat, written in 1356, the Serbs, led by Tsar Simeon Uroš, behaved very cruelly; ‘on the second day, the Serbs and the Wallachians came from [Mount] Tomorr; they even dug up the dead and Skouripekis remained sick for numerous days’.⁷⁰

⁶⁸ Also Cross A08, which is described above.

⁶⁹ Saradi, ‘The Use of Ancient Spolia in Byzantine Monuments’, 395, 403–04, 422.

⁷⁰ P. Batiffol, ‘Les manuscrits grecs de Bérat d’Albanie et le Codex Purpureus Φ’, *Archives des missions scientifiques et littéraires*, 13 (1887), appendix 2, 437–556.

Beyond their defensive function, these graffiti also served commemorative, devotional, or votive purposes, as well as serving as markers of status and identity. The graffiti, which include crosses, texts, and figurative depictions, function as visual anchors for ritual practices, reinforcing acts of devotion and embodying faith. As Nicola Hayward emphasizes, the physical dimension of memory in ritual 'is formed through our sensory experience, for it is through our senses that we negotiate our position within the world'.⁷¹ Her observations highlight the way in which ritual evokes memory, with artifacts serving as tangible indicators of faith and prayer.⁷² In this context, the graffiti inscribed on the church columns functioned not simply as passive records, but as active agents in shaping memory, continually constructing and re-defining spaces of devotion. Repeatedly encountered by worshippers, these graffiti they played a lasting role in reinforcing personal devotion and collective religious identity.

Despite their modest numbers and the challenge of distinguishing between local residents and visitors, including pilgrims and travellers, the impact of these individuals cannot be ignored. Their actions, driven by a desire to immortalize their journey and leave a lasting impression, have left an indelible mark. Though anonymous, such practices were widespread during the medieval period. In these instances, it is believed that pilgrims sought anonymity from both local communities and fellow travellers while ensuring their presence was acknowledged by God. As previously noted, the act of inscribing a text, name or a cross in a sacred space creates a presence that transcends the temporal limitations of a single lifetime and, in a sense, becomes permanent. A particularly noteworthy method employed by these individuals involved the practice of leaving a permanent mark in the form of *ex-voto* offering.⁷³ Although physical traces of these practices may no longer be visible, the marks they left behind endure, as exemplified by Cross A04. Drawing on analogous examples,⁷⁴ this cross likely functioned not as a protective but as a devotional gesture, possibly created by a traveller, whether local

⁷¹ N. Hayward, 'Early Christian Funerary Ritual', in *Early Christian Ritual Life*, ed. by R. DeMaris, J. Lamoreaux et al., London – New York 2018, 114.

⁷² Hayward, 'Early Christian Funerary Ritual', 115.

⁷³ V. Plesch, 'Memory on the Wall: Graffiti on Religious Wall Paintings', *Journal of Medieval and Early Modern Studies*, 32.1 (2002), 169.

⁷⁴ *Amorium Reports*, V, 137 (Cat. No. M22. T733), 208 (Cat. No. M22. T733).

or from afar. This interpretation is corroborated by analogous cases from Cyprus and Jerusalem dating from the twelfth century onwards.⁷⁵

Additional candidates for pilgrimage-related carvings include Crosses A05, A06 (A06/1 and A06/2), A09 and B09. While definitively attributing these carvings to acts of pilgrimage remains challenging, a compelling case can be constructed through comparative analysis and contextual evidence. Crucially, the proximity of Crosses A05 and A09 to Cross A04 strongly suggests they were executed later, potentially after the removal of the metal appliqué, as deliberate stylistic imitations. This context provides significant evidence for interpreting these crosses as a sign of visitor pilgrimage. Further supporting this classification is Cross B09, which aligns with the typical markers found on pilgrimage routes. Although simple, the initial next to it indicates this. However, it is difficult to fully verify this without the stratigraphic data of the carvings. Most significantly, Cross A06 and its associated carvings (A06/1 and A06/2) have been found in close proximity to graffiti at major pilgrimage sites, such as Jerusalem and the Church of St Ambrose in Milan.⁷⁶ The provision of corroborating evidence serves to substantially reinforce the interpretation of these markings as being pilgrimage-related acts.

In contrast, Cross A02 does not appear to be associated with the lay pilgrimage traditions and instead belongs to a distinct context warranting further in-depth study. The combination of Western elements, such as the fleur-de-lys, and the engraving of a cross of Armenian typology (*khachkar*) strongly indicates the work of an individual from the Eastern Mediterranean (Levant), potentially Cilicia or Cyprus, whose journey eventually brought him to Berat. This synthesis of cultural elements, coupled with the depiction of a knight bearing a cross (a motif tied to religious military orders), collectively points to the involvement of trans-Mediterranean pilgrimage or crusading networks. The creation of the graffiti is closely associated with the displacement of communities from the Eastern Mediterranean (primarily from the Armenian Kingdom of Cilicia) after the Mamluks captured Acre in 1291. This pivotal event triggered westward migration.⁷⁷

⁷⁵ Trentin, Altaratz et al. 'Historic Graffiti as a Visual Medium', 14.

⁷⁶ Trentin, 'I graffiti come fonte', 669 (SAM 6), 674 (example: SAM 6).

⁷⁷ J. N. Claster, *Sacred Violence: The European Crusades to the Middle East, 1095–1396*, Toronto 2009, 286.

While we cannot say that the church ceased functioning after the Ottoman conquest, we do note a second phase of graffiti. As far as we can ascertain, Text B06 is the only one that can be definitively dated to 1755; the others present challenges in terms of definitive chronological attribution. However, a comparative analysis of the calligraphy in Text B06 and on Cross A07 suggests that the former is stylistically closer to Text B06, indicating that these texts were probably written around $\pm$ 1755.

Further research into the graffiti from the Church of the Holy Trinity is essential, particularly with regard to the development of a comprehensive typological database. Such a resource would facilitate the long-term preservation of information regarding devotional practices and their evolution within ecclesiastical spaces and beyond. Priority should be given to the application of advanced documentation technologies such as Reflectance Transformation Imaging (RTI), which enhances the visibility of incised details and offers critical insights into inscription techniques, chronological layering and state of preservation. Furthermore, integrating these methods with conservation and restoration strategies will contribute to the sustainable protection of graffiti in monuments. This methodological and interpretative framework will significantly enrich our understanding of medieval religious culture and the material expressions of personal devotion.

Plate I



1. Column A



2. Column B



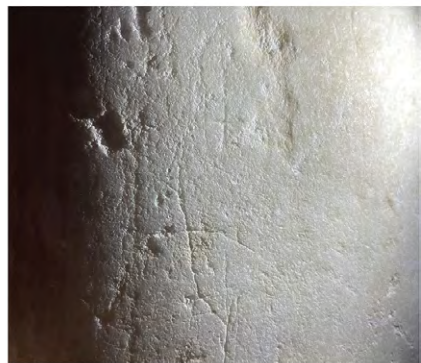
3. Cross with deep carvings (A01)



4. Cross with deep carvings (B01)



5. Cross with scratches (A03)

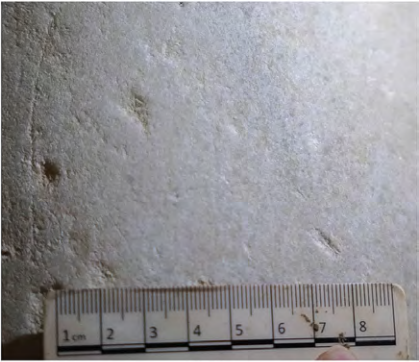


6. Cross with scratches (A06, A06/1, A06/2)

Palte II



7. Cross with scratches (A07)



8. Cross with scratches (A08)



9. Cross with scratches (B08 and B09)



10. Composite cross (A04)



11. Composite cross (A05)



12. Composite cross (A08)

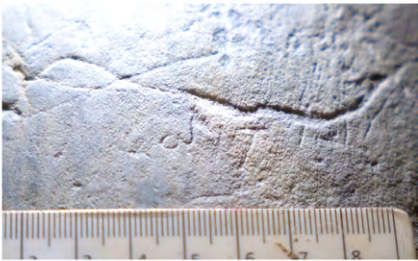


13. Composite cross (A02)

Plate IV



14. Text (B02)



15. Text (B03)



16. Text (B04)



17. Text (B05)



18. Text (B06)



19. Text (B07)



20. Figure A10 (Orans)

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WOJCIECH ŚWIEBODA*

NEW DATING OF THE TRIALS OF ASTROLOGER HENRY BOHEMUS

Abstract: This essay attempts to determine a new dating of the two trials of Henry the Bohemian, an astrologer acting at the court of Queen Zofia Holszańska. The above research project was made possible by putting together people who were mentioned in three main sources about the events in question: the legal opinions written by Stanisław of Skarbimierz, the sermon ending the trial delivered by Andrzej of Kokorzyn, and the verdict announced by Zbigniew Oleśnicki, Bishop of Cracow, and Jan the papal inquisitor. Until now, it has been assumed that the events concerning the court astrologer took place around 1429. However, the inquisitor in charge of both trials, Jan of Poland, and the witness, Magister Monald, both died in 1428. Another witness, the royal treasurer Henryk of Rogów, lost his life to a plague in 1425 or 1426. The vicar-general *in spiritualibus*, whose name is unknown, who took part in the first trial, was no longer in office a year later. Based on the list of known vicars general of the diocese of Cracow from that period, the trials of Henry of Bohemia can only be dated to between 1422 and 1424. The previous accepted chronology is upset by the shift in the dates of the events in question. Probably Henry was first put on trial as a heretic and given a life sentence. Soon after the verdict was pronounced the king released him and he subsequently became court astrologer to Queen Zofia.

Keywords: Henry Bohemus, Zofia Holszańska, medieval Inquisition, trial *in causa fidei*, diocese of Cracow

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Subject of research

Astrologer Henry, called Bohemus (Henricus Bohemus, Henry of Bohemia), was one of the more colourful and controversial figures to have passed through the Jagiellonian royal court. Although numerous independent sources have been preserved that make reference to him, he continues to be an enigmatic figure. The events in which he became the protagonist are replete with ambiguities, insinuations, and threads that the reader must connect. Since the nineteenth century, the Bohemian astrologer has drawn the attention of both artists¹ and scholars.² Aleksander Birkenmajer was the first author to devote an entire work to him.³ Furthermore, this publication served as the starting point for further research, despite the fact that many of its conclusions were later revised. Many biographies of Henry Bohemus have been written,⁴ but the older ones are no longer useful because in the 1970s Maria Kowalczyk found some important sources that allowed the earlier studies to be corrected with regard to the start of Bohemus' court career and what happened to him after he was sentenced.⁵ The most common context for discussing these events was astrological research⁶ or the history

¹ Aleksander Lesser placed him in the foreground of his 1854 oil painting titled 'Henry Bohemus, astrologer, divining the fate of the children of Queen Zofia, wife of Władysław Jagiello'. See W. Wielogłowski, *Sprawozdanie Dyrekcji Towarzystwa Przyjaciół Sztuk Pięknych w Krakowie z czynności w roku 1854/5*, Cracow 1855, 13. In turn, Józef Kraszewski mentioned him in the second volume of his novel entitled *Matka królów* (Mother of Kings) from 1883. See J. I. Kraszewski, *Matka królów*, Warsaw 1959, II, 194. In recent years, his character has appeared in the TVP television series *Korona królów. Jagiellonowie* (The Crown of the Kings: the Jagiellonians), season 5, 2024.

² K. Morawski, *Historia Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego*, I: *Średnie wieki i odrodzenie*, Cracow 1900, 277; A. Karbowiak, *Dzieje wychowania i szkół w Polsce*, II.2: *od 1364 do 1432 roku*, Petersburg 1903, 215–16.

³ A. Birkenmajer, 'Sprawa magistra Henryka Czecha', *Collectanea Theologica*, 17.1–2 (1936), 207–24.

⁴ A. Birkenmajer 'Henryk Czech', in *Polski Słownik Biograficzny*, Cracow 1960, IX, 419–20; L. Hajdukiewicz, 'Henryk Czech', in *Historia Nauki Polskiej*, ed. by B. Suchodolski, Wrocław – Warsaw – Cracow – Gdańsk 1974, VI, 222–23; B. Czwojdrak, *Zofia Holszańska. Studium o dworze i roli królowej w późnośredniowiecznej Polsce*, Warsaw 2012, 127–28.

⁵ M. Kowalczyk, 'Przyczynki do biografii Henryka Czecha i Marcina Króla z Żurawicy', *Biuletyn Biblioteki Jagiellońskiej*, 21 (1971), 87–88.

⁶ M. Markowski, 'Stanowisko średniowiecznych przedstawicieli Uniwersytetu Krakowskiego wobec astrologii', *Biuletyn Biblioteki Jagiellońskiej*, 49 (1999), 95–96;

of black magic in medieval Poland.⁷ Historians have also analysed his trials before the bishop of Cracow and the papal inquisitor.⁸

The most relevant sources concerning Henry Bohemus' activities in Poland are as follows: 1) a note from the 1423 records of the Cracow judicial vicar (*officialis*) concerning his litigation with Marcin, the king's notary;⁹ 2) Jan Długosz's mention of the horoscopes Henry created for the births of King Ladislaus Jagiello's three sons;¹⁰ 3) three legal opinions issued by Stanisław of Skarbimierz during Henry's second trial;¹¹ 4) the verdict of Bishop Zbigniew Oleśnicki and papal inquisitor Jan in the second trial;¹² 5) a sermon by Andrzej of Kokorzyn at the end of the second trial;¹³ 6) two court records of the Cracow episcopal official in June 1440 in which Henry the Astronomer appears as one of the

S. Konarska-Zimnicka, 'Krytyka astrologii w świetle poglądów mistrzów krakowskich z XV wieku', *Almanach Historyczny*, 2 (2000), 29–32; S. C. Rowell, 'The Jagiellonians and the Stars. Dynasty-sponsored Astrology in the Fifteenth Century', *Lithuanian Historical Studies*, 7.1 (2002), 26.

⁷ J. Zathej, 'Per la storia dell'ambiente magico-astrologico a Cracovia nel Quattrocento', in *Magia, astrologia e religione nel Rinascimento. Convegno polacco-italiano (Varsovia, 25–27 settembre 1972)*, ed. by L. Szczucki, Wrocław – Warsaw – Cracow – Gdańsk 1974, 105–06; B. Láng, 'Angels around the Cristal. The Prayer Book of King Wladislas and the Treasure Hunts of Henry the Bohemian', *Aries: Journal for the Study of Western Esotericism*, 5.1 (2005), 1–32; B. Láng, *Unlocked Books. Manuscripts of Learned Magic in the Medieval Libraries of Central Europe*, Philadelphia 2008, 214–19; J. Adamczyk, 'Czary i magia w praktyce sądów kościelnych na ziemiach polskich w późnym średniowieczu (XV–połowa XVI wieku)', in *Karolińscy pokutnicy i polskie średniowieczne czarownice. Konfrontacja doktryny chrześcijańskiej z życiem społeczeństwa średniowiecznego*, ed. by M. Koczerska, Warsaw 2007, 143–44, 179, 197.

⁸ F. Bartoš, 'Proces krakovského husity', *Acta Universitatis Carolinae. Historia Universitatis Carolinae Pragensis*, 12.1–2 (1972), 45–49; S. Wielgus, 'Consilia de Stanislas de Scarbimiria contre l'astrologue Henri Bohemus (édition critique)', *Studia Medievalistyczne*, 25 (1988), 145–72; W. Świeboda, *Universitas contra haeresim. Działalność antyheretycka Stanisława ze Skarbimierza jako przedstawiciela Uniwersytetu Krakowskiego*, Cracow 2021, 158–72.

⁹ Cracow, Archiwum Kurii Metropolitalnej, *Acta Officialia Cracoviensia* 4, fol. 297^r.

¹⁰ Ioannes Długossius, *Annales seu Cronicae incliti Regni Poloniae*, XI: 1413–1430, ed. by K. Baczkowski, S. A. Sroka et al., Warsaw 2000, 229.

¹¹ Wielgus, 'Consilia de Stanislas de Scarbimiria', 153–72.

¹² First edition: 'Formulae ad ius canonicum spectantes, ex actis Petri Wysz, episcopi Cracoviensis (1392–1412), maxima parte depromptae', ed. by B. Ulanowski, *Archiwum Komisji Historycznej*, 5 (1889), 341–42, No. 108; second edition: *Codex epistolaris saeculi decimi quinti*, ed. by A. Lewicki, Cracow 1891, II, 227–28, No. 176.

¹³ Cracow, Biblioteka Jagiellońska, Ms 2014, fols 129^v–141^r and Ms 2513, fols 270^r–278^r.

parties in the litigation;¹⁴ 7) a note by Jan of Dobra about a story heard from Henry Bohemus in 1440.¹⁵ Additionally, the Jagiellonian Library preserves two copies of a horoscope arranged in 1427 on the occasion of the birth of Casimir Jagiellon, later grand duke of Lithuania and king of Poland. According to Ewa Śnieżyńska-Stolot, Henry was probably the author of this birth horoscope.¹⁶ A copy of a horoscope (*generale iudicium*) for the birth of Ladislaus III is also known.¹⁷

Following Anatol Lewicki, the publisher of the document containing the sentence handed down to Henry Bohemus, all subsequent scholars unreservedly accepted the dating of the second trial to around 1429. The editor justified his supposition by identifying two papal inquisitors named Jan in the sources: the first was a Cracow Dominican prior and inquisitor recorded in 1428, and the second was an inquisitor in Wrocław in 1429. For unknown reasons, Lewicki was inclined to identify the inquisitor *Joh. de P.* mentioned in the document with the second of the aforementioned Dominicans,¹⁸ despite the latter's area of activity being the Wrocław diocese and not the diocese of Cracow.

Additional arguments supporting Lewicki's proposal for dating Henry's case to around 1429 were provided by A. Birkenmajer. He assumed that, since according to Jan Długosz, the court astrologer attended the births of all three sons of King Ladislaus Jagiello and Queen Zofia Holszańska (called Sonka), the first trial against him could have taken place only after the birth of the youngest Jagiellonian prince, namely Casimir, on 29 November 1427. It is therefore most likely that the first trial happened in 1428 and the second in 1429,¹⁹ or possibly in 1429 and 1430, and certainly before 9 January 1431, the date of the death of Stanisław of Skarbimierz, who participated in the second trial.²⁰ The proposed time period seemed the most logical for the reconstruction

¹⁴ Cracow, Archiwum Kurii Metropolitalnej, Acta Officialia Cracoviensia 6, fols 16^v, 17^v.

¹⁵ Kowalczyk, 'Przyczynki do biografii Henryka Czecha', 88.

¹⁶ Cracow, Biblioteka Jagiellońska, Ms 3225, pag. 1 and Ms 3227, pag. 1. See E. Śnieżyńska-Stolot, 'Horoskop Kazimierza Jagiellończyka – nowe źródło do treści ideowych wawelskiego nagrobka króla', *Biuletyn Biblioteki Jagiellońskiej*, 60 (2010), 8.

¹⁷ Cracow, Biblioteka Jagiellońska, Ms 1963, fol. 256^v.

¹⁸ *Codex epistolaris saeculi decimi quinti*, II, 227–28, No. 176.

¹⁹ Birkenmajer, 'Sprawa magistra Henryka Czecha', 222.

²⁰ Świeboda, *Universitas contra haeresim*, 159.

of Henry's biography, for whom an unfavourable verdict meant the end of his court career. However, in addition to the Cracovian doctor of law, the sources concerning this case include several other people to whom insufficient attention has been paid so far in attempts to sequence events chronologically. These include, in particular, the aforementioned papal inquisitor Jan, followed by the court treasurer Henryk mentioned by Andrzej of Kokorzyn, Magister Monaldus mentioned by Stanisław of Skarbimierz, and an unnamed Cracow vicar general *in spiritualibus* with the initials S. de K. When the dates of their deaths and the years in which they held the aforementioned functions are considered, it is evident that the dating proposed and established by previous scholars begins to raise serious doubts.

The aim of this paper is to present arguments for dating the trial of Henry of Bohemia to a date a few years earlier. New discoveries necessitate a distinct reinterpretation of the previously known events. The motivation for this research task was in particular the analysis of three opinions of Stanisław of Skarbimierz, which have been already edited and the sermon delivered by Andrzej of Kokorzyn at the end of the trial *in causa fidei*. Despite the fact that the content of the sermon is well-known to researchers,²¹ they have neglected to consider certain facts recalled by the Cracovian scholar, which contain information that is not available from other sources regarding the circumstances of the astrologer's interrogation. The following phases of the Bohemus' activity must be traced in order to gain a better understanding of what actually transpired in Cracow at that time.

The activities of Henry the Bohemian before the trial

The period preceding Henry Bohemus appearance in the Kingdom of Poland is quite mysterious and it seems that even for his contemporaries the facts from his past were not widely known. His place of origin remains unclear. The name of the town appears only in the verdict of Bishop Oleśnicki and inquisitor Jan: *Henricus de Brega vocatus*. Although

²¹ Birkenmajer, 'Sprawa magistra Henryka Czecha', 217–22; M. Markowski, 'Poglądy filozoficzne Andrzeja z Kokorzyna', *Studia Mediewistyczne*, 6 (1964), 77–79; Wielgus, 'Consilia de Stanislas de Scarbimiria', 151–52; Świeboda, *Universitas contra haeresim*, 163–64.

the bishop did not add what nationality Henry was, other sources clearly emphasize that he was a Bohemian. This is what Jan Długosz wrote about him (*magister Henricus genere Bohemus*),²² as well as Jan of Dobra (*Henricus astronomus Bohemus*),²³ Stanisław of Skarbimierz (*quia Bohemus*)²⁴ and the scribe of the acts of the Judicial Vicars (*Officialatus*) of Cracow (*Henricus Bohemus astronomus*).²⁵ It is therefore clear that this *Brega* cannot be identified with any Polish village or town named Brzeg in Silesia. Although Silesia at that time remained part of the Kingdom of Bohemia, no one from that area was called *Bohemus* in Poland. An example is the most famous resident of Brzeg – Franciszek, doctor of theology at the University of Cracow. It was a misunderstanding to try to identify Henry with a master (of arts) of the same name from Kłobuk near Częstochowa. Henry the Bohemian and Henryk from Kłobuck (correctly: from Kłobuk) were mentioned by Jan Fijałek in his work on the Faculty of Theology.²⁶ In no way, however, did he suggest that they could be referring to the same person. It seems that František Bartoš, referring to Fijałek, misunderstood his argument and then, following this line of thought, proposed to identify the village with a couple of villages called Klobouki in Bohemia and Moravia.²⁷ Some researchers have accepted this identification as correct.²⁸ However, Antoni Karbowiak's hypothesis to identify Henry with Henryk Alman, a master of arts from Prague in 1399 and later a bachelor of medicine,²⁹ has not been accepted in the literature. A. Birkenmajer mentioned another astrologer, Henryk Brodaty, recorded in 1441 by the participants of the Council in Basel as a Hussite.³⁰ However, the records do not provide any other information that would allow determining Brodaty's origins;³¹

²² Długossius, *Annales*, XI, 229.

²³ Kowalczyk, 'Przyczynki do biografii Henryka Czecha', 88.

²⁴ Wielgus, 'Consilia de Stanislas de Scarbimiria', 165.

²⁵ Cracow, Archiwum Kurii Metropolitalnej, *Acta Officialia Cracoviensia* 6, fol. 16^v.

²⁶ J. Fijałek, 'Studia do dziejów uniwersytetu krakowskiego i jego wydziału teologicznego w XV wieku', *Rozprawy Akademii Umiejętności. Wydział Filologiczny*, II, 14 (1898), 55–56.

²⁷ Bartoš, 'Proces krakovského husity', 49.

²⁸ Długossius, *Annales*, XI, 401.

²⁹ Karbowiak, *Dzieje wychowania i szkół*, II.2, 215–16.

³⁰ Birkenmajer, *Henryk Czech*, 420.

³¹ *Concilium Basiliense. Studien und Quellen zur Geschichte des Concils von Basel*, VII: *Die Protokolle des Concils 1440–1443*, ed. by H. Herre, Basel 1910, 454.

hence at this stage of research it seems pointless to put forward any hypotheses linking these two people.

Much more supporters have the hypothesis of A. Birkenmajer that the name of the place in the manuscript form³² was spoiled and it was actually Prague (*de Praga*).³³ According to the records of Charles University, in 1404, one *Henricus de Praga* earned a bachelor of Liberal Arts degree under the guidance of Štěpán Pálec.³⁴ This certificate would confirm that Henry studied in Prague and obtained his degree there. Zbigniew Oleśnicki and Jan Długosz described him as a *magister*.³⁵ Stanisław of Skarbimierz, on the other hand, claimed that although Henry considered himself a *magister*, because of the reprehensible errors he preached, it should be doubted whether he actually was one.³⁶ This does not change the fact that he was an educated person and knowledgeable in astronomy and astrology. Moreover, the bishop of Cracow, in his verdict, made it clear that the convict belonged to the secular state.³⁷

According to information disclosed by Andrzej of Kokorzyn, while Henry was still in the Kingdom of Bohemia, he participated in debates at heretical schools in Prague.³⁸ The Cracovian scholar probably considered the University of Prague to be heretical after the Decree of Kutná Hora in 1409, when it was largely in the hands of supporters of the Bohemian Reform movement.³⁹ In later years, the accused maintained correspondence with the Prague Hussites. During the trial, letters addressed to Henry were sent to Cracow, but he did not unseal them. From their contents, it is known that he was in friendly contact with his relatives.⁴⁰ According to the testimonies of witnesses, the Bohemian

³² Włocławek, Biblioteka Seminarium Duchownego im. Księży Chodyńskich, Ms 35, fol. 232^v. See *Biblioteka Kapituły Włocławskiej*, ed. S. Chodyński, S. Librowski, Włocławek 1949, 84.

³³ Birkenmajer, 'Sprawa magistra Henryka Czecha', 223.

³⁴ *Liber decanorum facultatis philosophicae Universitatis Pragensis ab anno Christi 1367 usque ad annum 1585*, I, Prague 1830, 380.

³⁵ *Codex epistolaris saeculi decimi quinti*, II, 227; Ioannes Długossius, *Annales*, XI, 229.

³⁶ Wielgus, 'Consilia de Stanislas de Scarbimiria', 165.

³⁷ *Codex epistolaris saeculi decimi quinti*, II, 227.

³⁸ Cracow, Biblioteka Jagiellońska, Ms 2014, fol. 136^r; Ms 2513, fol. 275^v.

³⁹ For more detailed information about the consequence of the Decree of Kutná Hora see M. Nodl, *Dekret kutnohorský*, Prague 2010.

⁴⁰ *Codex epistolaris saeculi decimi quinti*, II, 227; Wielgus, 'Consilia de Stanislas de Scarbimiria', 163.

astrologer also stayed in Wrocław, where he allegedly made statements contrary to the teaching of the Church. For this reason, he was accused of heterodox faith.⁴¹ He may have left Silesia because he was afraid of being put on trial.

At this point, the timeline does not seem to raise many questions. In Cracow, Henry's fate is entirely distinct. The first confirmed date to refer to him appears in the files of the episcopal official of Cracow. Under the date of 6 March 1423, it was documented that Marcin, a royal notary, appointed proxies in a case he was conducting against the astronomer Henry of Cracow.⁴² It is not clear from this record alone that this is Henry, but since the name *Bohemus*⁴³ was added to other records about the astronomer Henry, it is likely that this is the same person. It is also crucial to note that his arrival in the Kingdom of Poland occurred prior to the issuance of an edict issued by King Władysław Jagiełło in Wieluń on 9 April 1424.⁴⁴ This document required the detention and interrogation of all individuals entering or exiting Bohemia to ascertain their religious beliefs. In 1423 Henry might come to Cracow lawfully without disclosing his pro-Hussite views.

The next piece of information about him comes from Jan Długosz, who *sub anno* 1427 mentioned Magister Henry Bohemus, who composed horoscopes for the birth of three sons of the royal couple. Astronomical events surrounding Casimir IV Jagiellon's birth were supposed to portend numerous misfortunes for the Kingdom of Poland,⁴⁵ but given Jan Długosz's disapproving attitude toward the ruler, it is unlikely that the prophecy actually sounded that dire.⁴⁶ The facts recalled by the Polish historian would allow us to date Henry's activity as a court astrologer to the years 1424–1427. However, even then he must have engaged in

⁴¹ Wielgus, 'Consilia de Stanislas de Scarbimiria', 164.

⁴² Cracow, Archiwum Kurii Metropolitalnej, Acta Officialia Cracoviensia 4, fol. 297^r. Marcin of Goworzyn was a royal notary from 1418, then a secretary of the royal chancellery from 1424, and also a canon of Kielce, Cracow, Przemyśl, Poznań and Gniezno. See M. Czyżak, *Kapituła katedralna w Gnieźnie w świetle metryki z lat 1408–1448*, Poznań 2003, 357–58.

⁴³ Cracow, Archiwum Kurii Metropolitalnej, Acta Officialia Cracoviensia 6, fol. 16^v; Kowalczyk, 'Przyczynki do biografii Henryka Czecha', 88.

⁴⁴ *Codex epistolaris saeculi decimi quinti*, II, 61; P. Kras, 'Edykt wieluński z 1424 roku i udział *brachium saeculare* w walce z husytyzmem w XV-wiecznej Polsce', *Summarium*, 26–27 (1997/1998), 65–66.

⁴⁵ Ioannes Dlugossius, *Annales*, XI, 229.

⁴⁶ Rowell, 'The Jagiellonians and the Stars', 32; Czwojdrak, *Zofia Holszańska*, 32.

magical practices in order to find buried treasures, as well as expressing opinions contrary to the teachings of the Church. According to the current research, his affairs took a drastic turn, and he nearly lost his life at the stake as a hardened heretic.

From accusation to verdict

The procedural records of the astrologer's trial are not known to us. The reconstruction of the course of both trials is possible due to extant sources which are connected with the court, namely the form of the verdict, legal opinions voiced by Stanisław of Skarbimierz, and the *sermo generalis* of Andrzej of Kokorzyn.

It is not certain in what circumstances Henry Bohemus was brought to trial for heresy, but certain formulations in the sources indicate that his statements concerning the truths of faith and practices related to occultism were not a secret. The verdict of Bishop Zbigniew Oleśnicki and inquisitor Jan of Poland refers to common opinion (*fama publica*).⁴⁷ This was enough to initiate the procedure *in causa fidei* aimed at clarifying whether these rumours were true and whether the accused admitted the charges brought against him.⁴⁸ As Urszula Borkowska rightly noted, Henry was brought to trial not because of his involvement in astrology, but primarily because of his attitude and dissemination of views contrary to the teaching of the Church.⁴⁹ This applied equally to summoning demons, undermining Christian tradition, opposing the Church orders and defending the Hussites.

Papal inquisitor Jan and the vicar general *in spiritualibus* were appointed to conduct the proceedings.⁵⁰ Based on the examination of witnesses and the accused himself, a total of eight charges were formulated against Henry. Four of them were listed in the verdict issued

⁴⁷ *Codex epistolaris saeculi decimi quinti*, II, 227.

⁴⁸ Adamczyk, 'Czary i magia w praktyce sądów kościelnych', 143–44.

⁴⁹ U. Borkowska, 'Prodigia i myślenie zrationalizowane w *Rocznikach* Jana Długosza', in *Kultura elitarna a kultura masowa w Polsce późnego średniowiecza*, ed. by B. Gremek, Wrocław – Warsaw – Cracow – Gdańsk 1978, 238.

⁵⁰ *Codex epistolaris saeculi decimi quinti*, II, 227.

in the second trial,⁵¹ and all of them were articulated by Andrzej of Kokorzyn in a sermon. In order, they were:

1. claiming that the Blessed Virgin Mary is not to be worshipped;
2. claiming that the institutional Church was never established;
3. claiming that the Articles of Faith are not twelve and that they were not established by the Twelve Apostles;
4. calling for Holy Communion to be given to the laity under both kinds;
5. taking part several times in disputes in heretical schools in Prague without the authority of the Church;
6. claiming that it is possible to search for buried treasures without any sin by resorting to astrological knowledge, and in particular by divination from the stars;
7. claiming that the Church authorises recourse to divination practices from the stars;
8. possession of cards and contributions with texts containing heresies, errors and descriptions of forbidden astronomical practices.⁵²

The list of errors presented above does not coincide with those listed in the bishop's sentence. The document mentions the first and third charges, and two more were added: the claim that the Hussites had good faith like the Catholics and the possession of letters from the Bohemian Hussites showing that the accused had friendly relations with them.⁵³ The above-mentioned two additional points, according to Andrzej of Kokorzyn, emerged only during the second trial, which seems to be closer to the truth. Stanisław of Skarbimierz, in one of his opinions, wrote that the accused did not manage to open the letters sent from Bohemia because of his imprisonment.⁵⁴ It is evident from the available sources, that this occurred in the subsequent proceedings. Consequently, the account of Andrzej of Kokorzyn should be regarded as more reliable than the general wording of the bishop's document, despite the fact that his work is replete with legal cases, quotations from *auctoritates*, and rhetorical embellishments.

All of the texts' contents make it abundantly evident that the accused acknowledged his errors and stated his desire to have them withdrawn.

⁵¹ *Codex epistolaris saeculi decimi quinti*, II, 227.

⁵² Cracow, Biblioteka Jagiellońska, Ms 2014, fols 132^r–137^v; Ms 2513, fols 272^r–277^r.

⁵³ *Codex epistolaris saeculi decimi quinti*, II, 227.

⁵⁴ Wielgus, 'Consilia de Stanislas de Scarbimiria', 163–64.

The verdict passed in the first trial was suspended due to the various doubts raised by certain people, thanks to which Bohemus could still enjoy his freedom. Interestingly, two other suspects were also tried along with Henry and sentenced to burning at the stake.⁵⁵ According to sources, Henry, probably having the protection of influential people, treated the entire trial in a disrespectful manner and continued to repeat the same errors he had previously denied. In addition, he participated in at least two spiritualistic séances with the necromancer Stanisław – once in Kazimierz, the second time in Zwierzyniec – during which they tried to summon demons together to obtain information from them about the location of buried treasures. When rumours of the above practices reached the bishop's curia, Henry was excommunicated by inquisitor Jan. At the same time, he and the vicar-general *in spiritualibus* proclaimed a general order to report all known heretics, necromancers, sorcerers, astrologers, diviners, soothsayers and holders of heretical books. Soon Bishop Oleśnicki issued a lawsuit and ordered the imprisonment of the astrologer, and then instructed the inquisitor to carry out further procedural steps on the charge of reverting to heresy.⁵⁶

Inquisitor Jan was again appointed to conduct the proceedings, but we have no information about the participation of the vicar-general *in spiritualibus*. An important role was played by the often mentioned Andrzej of Kokorzyn, who participated in the interrogation of the accused, and in the final stage was responsible for delivering the general sermon (*sermo generalis*) on the case.

During the course of the investigation, Henry Bohemus was again charged with eight errors, several of which were identical to those in the first trial.

1. reasserting that superstitious astronomy is a true art and that the Church permits its use; likewise, one can search for buried treasures without sin by appealing to it;

⁵⁵ Cracow, Biblioteka Jagiellońska, Ms 2014, fol. 140^r: *Et propter hec omnia supradicta tu fuisti iudicatus, lapsus et relapsus et ergo cum aliis duobus nuper crematis sentenciatus fuisti, sed quia aliqui habuerunt dubium an fuisses lapsus, ideo pro inquisitione veritatis et ad tollendum omne dubium fuit quo ad te iudicium suspensum.*

⁵⁶ *Codex epistolaris saeculi decimi quinti*, II, 228; Wielgus, 'Consilia de Stanislas de Scarbimiria', 153, 163; Cracow, Biblioteka Jagiellońska, Ms 2014, fols 138^r, 139^v; Ms 2513, fol. 278^r.

2. participating in magical practices consisting of calling upon a demon in order to find buried treasures;
3. claiming that one can search for hidden treasures without sin by calling upon demons;
4. failing to reveal the necromancers he knew personally, as well as failing to hand over books and sheets of paper containing Hussite heresies and spells;
5. arguing that Holy Scripture and ancient custom permit the administration of Holy Communion to lay persons under both kinds, as well as supporting this practice;
6. claiming that the Hussites are not heretics and were wrongly excommunicated, because their faith is as good as that of the Christians;
7. inciting noblemen and other lay people against the clergy in order to gain profit and wealth;
8. failure to respond to accusations of falling into heresy.⁵⁷

Henry must have enjoyed the affection of at least some of the inhabitants of Cracow, since once again some people expressed doubts as to whether summoning demons could be classified as heresy, as well as whether Bohemus could be considered a notorious heretic because he practised magic, despite renouncing his errors. In order to resolve these and other uncertainties, it was determined to consult Stanisław of Skarbimierz, a respected doctor of decrees, to issue a legal opinion in the matter. The jurist prepared three legal answers in which he confirmed that the defendant's guilt was evident and the canon law provides for an unambiguous punishment for returning to heresy. In accordance with standard inquisitorial procedure, if the above charges had been proven, the accused should have been sentenced to death at the stake.⁵⁸ Conversely, if there is a substantial likelihood that the death penalty could incite unrest among Henry's protectors and supporters and subsequently result in riots in the city, it is permissible to forgo its imposition and stipulate a life sentence as an exception.⁵⁹ And this was the final verdict handed down in the trial.

⁵⁷ Cracow, Biblioteka Jagiellońska, Ms 2014, fols 138^r–140^r; Ms 2513, fols 277^r–278^r.

⁵⁸ P. Kras, *Ad abolendam diversarum haeresium pravitatem. System inkwizycyjny w średniowiecznej Europie*, Lublin 2006, 398–401.

⁵⁹ *Codex epistolaris saeculi decimi quinti*, II, 228; Wielgus, 'Consilia de Stanislas de Scarbimiria', 172.

Dating

One significant determination we have is that the second proceedings against Henry were initiated a year after he had renounced his errors, as reported by Andrzej of Kokorzyn.⁶⁰ In order for the person conducting the proceedings to examine the accused and the witnesses, the court procedure had to last anywhere from a few weeks to even a few months. Therefore, while the second trial could have begun approximately a year after the first one ended, the verdict ending the second proceedings could have been issued somewhat later. Since the sources regarding the inquisitorial trials in question do not provide any historical information that would enable the course of events to be more precisely defined chronologically, the persons participating in the trials or listed as having contact with the accused serve as points of reference.

Bishop of Cracow Zbigniew Oleśnicki issued a verdict in the second trial. He received episcopal consecration on 19 December 1423, which is a very significant date, as it is the earliest possible caesura for the end of the second trial. Since we do not know whether this bishop also started the first case, we can consider the possibility of dating the first trial to the rule of Oleśnicki's predecessor in the diocese of Cracow, Wojciech Jastrzębiec, who was later transferred to the archbishopric of Gniezno. Oleśnicki died in 1455, long after the death of other people involved in the events discussed here.⁶¹

At the very end of the second trial, Stanisław of Skarbimierz prepared three legal opinions, which were taken into account by the bishop and the inquisitor when issuing the verdict. The doctor of canon law was a person of great authority in Cracow, he was elected the first rector of University of Cracow in 1400 and second time in 1413. In the past he had also been involved in cases related to heresy. The fact that he died on 9 January 1431 is most pertinent to the current case,⁶² as well as the fact that he held the office of vicar general *in spiritualibus* of

⁶⁰ Cracow, Biblioteka Jagiellońska, Ms 2014, fol. 132^v: *sed post unum annum quasi elapsam ipsam excogitasti iudicio apprehensus.*

⁶¹ M. Koczerska, 'Oleśnicki Zbigniew', in *Polski Słownik Biograficzny*, Cracow 1978, XXIII, 776–84.

⁶² R. M. Zawadzki, 'Stanisław ze Skarbimierza', in *Polski Słownik Biograficzny*, Warsaw – Cracow 2003–2004, XLII, 76–80.

the bishop of Cracow in 1422 and briefly in 1426, replacing the absent vicar at the time.⁶³

Andrzej of Kokorzyn, the author of the sermon concluding the second trial, was a professor at the University of Cracow, elected rector three times – in the semesters of 1408/1409, 1426 and 1429. The exact date when he obtained the degree of doctor of theology is unknown (he is mentioned with this degree in 1426). He earned the degree of bachelor-*sententiarius* in 1413 or 1414, and was mentioned with the degree of bachelor-*formatus* in February 1425. Among the important state and Church offices that he held, it is worth mentioning that of treasurer of Queen Zofia in 1422, and then chancellor of the queen in 1424. From 1428 he worked in the bishop's curia as an archdeacon. He died around 1435.⁶⁴ The content of his sermon shows that the testimonies of the witnesses and the accused himself were well known to him.

The papal inquisitor, recorded in one place as *Joh. de P.*, and in another as *frater Johannes*, was appointed to conduct both trials. He can be easily identified with Jan Grzymała from Poland, prior of the Cracow Dominican priory in 1416, a papal inquisitor mentioned in sources in the years 1422–1427.⁶⁵ In the *Necrographia* of the Dominican Fathers, written in 1615 by Walery Litwiniec, his name is noted together with the information that he died on 20 April 1428.⁶⁶ I previously considered this date to be an author's error, as it contradicts the findings of A. Lewicki and A. Birkenmajer.⁶⁷ In light of additional evidence, it now emerges that the record in question is not necessarily inaccurate.

According to the bishop's verdict, Henry's act of revocation, that is his abjuration of his errors, took place before the inquisitor Jan and *Magister P.*⁶⁸ The latter was probably the same as the *Magister Paulus*, mentioned by Stanisław of Skarbimierz in one of his legal opinions.

⁶³ E. Knappek, *Akta oficjalatu i wikariatu generalnego krakowskiego do połowy XVI wieku*, Cracow 2010, 205.

⁶⁴ M. Markowski, 'Poglądy filozoficzne Andrzeja z Kokorzyna', 68–70; Czwojdrak, *Zofia Holszańska*, 120–21; *Corpus Academicum Cracoviense* (online database) <www.cac.historia.uj.edu.pl> [accessed 13 June 2025].

⁶⁵ M. Zdanek, 'Inkwizytorzy dominikańscy w diecezji krakowskiej w średniowieczu', in *Inkwizycja papieska w Europie Środkowo-Wschodniej*, ed. by P. Kras, Cracow 2010, 230; *Słownik Biograficzny Polskich Mendykantów w Średniowieczu*, I: *Dominikanie*, No. 997 <<https://sop.dominikanie.pl>> (online database) [accessed 10 June 2025].

⁶⁶ Cracow, Archiwum Prowincji oo. Dominikanów, Ms Pp 78, fol. 28^v.

⁶⁷ Świeboda, *Universitas contra haeresim*, 162.

⁶⁸ *Codex epistolaris saeculi decimi quinti*, II, 227–28.

Henry was to admit to him that his revocation was a ruse to gain an advantage and did not accurately reflect his true thoughts.⁶⁹ Since Paweł had been appointed to participate in a very important stage of the trial, he must have been a person closely associated with the bishop of Cracow. It would appear that this pertains to Paweł of Zator,⁷⁰ who in the 1420s participated in the work of the bishop's curia; before 1419 he taught at the cathedral school, of which he later became rector, and from 1423 he served as preacher at Wawel Cathedral church. He became a master at the University of Cracow in 1415 and studied canon law in the 1420s.⁷¹ The other facts of his life already relate to later years. His participation in the trials may have resulted from his teaching and preaching ministry at Wawel Cathedral church.

In his sermon, Andrzej of Kokorzyn mentioned a royal treasurer named Henryk, whom Bohemus is purported to have informed that the clergy would be persecuted in the current year due to tithes. It can be assumed that this occurred after the first trial.⁷² The treasurer can be identified as Henryk of Rogów, who was first recorded in the above-mentioned office on 4 July 1419 and last on 4 November 1424.⁷³ According to the findings of Bożena Czwojdrak, he died in 1425 or at the beginning of 1426 as a result of a plague.⁷⁴

The necromancer mentioned in the sermon, Stanisław, together with Henry, was supposed to have summoned demons in Kazimierz and Zwierzyniec. He used the youth as a medium between the world of spirits and the temporal world, and also used a crystal to strengthen the power of spells.⁷⁵ Jerzy Zathey tried to identify him with Stanisław,

⁶⁹ Wielgus, 'Consilia de Stanislas de Scarbimiria', 162.

⁷⁰ Świeboda, *Universitas contra haeresim*, 161–62.

⁷¹ J. Wolny, 'Paweł z Zatora', in *Polski Słownik Biograficzny*, Wrocław 1980, XXV, 401–03; K. Ożóg, 'Paweł z Zatora – kaznodzieja i profesor Uniwersytetu Krakowskiego', in *Osiem wieków historii i kultury miasta Zatora i regionu*, ed. by T. Gąsowski, P. Stanko, Cracow 2006, 7–25.

⁷² Cracow, Biblioteka Jagiellońska, Ms 2014, fol. 140^r. In the manuscript 2513 this passage is missing.

⁷³ *Urzędnicy centralni i nadworni Polski XIV–XVIII wieku*, ed. by A. Gąsiorowski, K. Chłapowski, Kórnik 1992, 122, No. 733.

⁷⁴ Czwojdrak, *Rogowscy herbu Działosza, podskarbiowie królewscy. Studium z dziejów możnowładztwa w drugiej połowie XIV i w XV wieku*, Katowice 2002, 194.

⁷⁵ Cracow, Biblioteka Jagiellońska, Ms 2014, fol. 138^r.

the son of Jan of Kazimierz, a student at the University of Cracow in 1408. However, he did not support his hypothesis with any evidence.⁷⁶

Members of the household of Master Mikołaj Hinczowic were among the witnesses at the trial.⁷⁷ This scholar, who came from a wealthy bourgeois family from Kazimierz, was a well-known figure in Cracow circles. In 1412, he was elected rector of the University of Cracow, and in 1422 he received a doctorate in canon law. In the years 1411–1427, he served first as custodian of the royal treasury, and in the years 1429–1430 as crown treasurer. From 1413, he sat on the Cracow cathedral chapter. He was trusted by both Zbigniew Oleśnicki and Bishop Wojciech Jastrzębiec. Although some researchers claim that he was fascinated by magic or connected to Henry Bohemus, there is no evidence to confirm this thesis.⁷⁸

In addition to Mikołaj Hinczowic's household, Master Monaldus was also a witness in the case. This undoubtedly refers to Monaldus of Lucca, an Italian scholar who was listed among the professors of medicine at the University of Cracow.⁷⁹ He was the author of several medical treatises preserved in the Jagiellonian Library. Traces of his activity in Cracow are noted in sources in the years 1411–1422, and he was mentioned as deceased on 20 February 1428. Although historians identify him with Monaldus, a master of the royal mint from the late fourteenth century, expelled from Cracow in 1398,⁸⁰ there is no evidence, apart from a rare name, to connect these people.

According to the knowledge of Stanisław of Skarbimierz, Henry possessed the spells of a certain necromancer named Maciej.⁸¹ J. Zathey associated him with an astrologer of the same name, who was a servant of Bishop Oleśnicki in 1449 and who made astronomical drawings for

⁷⁶ Zathey, 'Per la storia dell'ambiente magico-astrologico', 106.

⁷⁷ Wielgus, 'Consilia de Stanislas de Scarbimiria', 166.

⁷⁸ *Urzędnicy centralni i nadworni Polski*, 122, No. 734; D. Wójcik-Zega, 'Mikołaj syn Hinczy (Hinczowic) z Kazimierza', in *Profesorowie Wydziału Prawa Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego*, I: 1364–1780, ed. by W. Uruszczak, Cracow 2015, 286–88.

⁷⁹ M. Markowski, 'Les manuscrits des listes de docteurs en médecine a l'Université de Cracovie entre 1400 et 1611', *Mediaevalia Philosophica Polonorum*, 20 (1974), 137.

⁸⁰ M. Kowalczyk, 'Pomniejsze średniowieczne teksty *De peste* z kręgu Uniwersytetu Krakowskiego', *Biuletyn Biblioteki Jagiellońskiej*, 30 (1980), 7; Láng, 'Angels around the Cristal', 25.

⁸¹ Wielgus, 'Consilia de Stanislas de Scarbimiria', 154.

his patron.⁸² The above hypothesis should be firmly rejected. The mere fact of his being involved in astronomy cannot constitute a basis for identifying the bishop's servant with an author of heretical spells from over two decades earlier.

Of the above-mentioned individuals, three died before 1429: the Dominican Jan Grzymała from Poland on 20 April 1428, Master Monald of Lucca before 20 February 1428, and the royal treasurer, Henryk, in 1425 or 1426. These facts alone require the unequivocal rejection of the dating of the trials accepted in historiography. Analysis of further source data allows for even more precise determinations.

It is not known which of the vicars general *in spiritualibus* of the bishop of Cracow is hiding behind the initials *S. de K.* They do not match any known officials performing this function in the fifteenth century; hence it was commonly assumed that the initials in the verdict form were copied incorrectly. It was usually indicated that it could have been Stanisław of Skarbimierz.⁸³ In my recent monography I questioned this hypothesis, pointing out that in the second trial this scholar could not have conducted the proceedings together with the papal inquisitor, because he acted as an independent expert issuing legal opinions on issues that were difficult to resolve.⁸⁴ Additionally, it is uncertain whether this pertains to Andrzej of Kokorzyn,⁸⁵ as he was only the archdeacon of Cracow from 1428, and never served as vicar general *in spiritualibus*. An inconspicuous entry in the bishop's judgment may provide some clue. In that document, when writing about the vicar-general, the adverb *tunc* was added, which means 'at that time'. This would mean that this person held the indicated function only during the first trial, but not the second. Moreover, during the second inquisitory proceedings, none of the sources mention the presence of this official. The most recent of his actions was a declaration to report all known heretical books during or soon after the first trial. In the 1420s, the following dignitaries are known to hold this position: 12 May 1420 – Kielcza of Książ and Suchodół; 29 August 1421 – Jakub of Zaborów; from 6 February to

⁸² Zathey, 'Per la storia dell'ambiente magico-astrologico', 105; Láng, 'Angels around the Cristal', 26.

⁸³ Wielgus, 'Consilia de Stanislas de Scarbimiria', 146; Zawadzki, 'Stanisław ze Skarbimierza', 78.

⁸⁴ Świeboda, *Universitas contra haeresim*, 160–61.

⁸⁵ Świeboda, *Universitas contra haeresim*, 161.

19 June 1422 – Stanisław of Skarbimierz (and once again on 12 August 1426, replacing the absent vicar); and from 11 February 1424 to 18 June 1430 – Andrzej Myszka of Nieprzeźnia.⁸⁶

It is worth summarizing the most important findings. Firstly, more or less a year passed between the two trials, secondly, the vicar general *in spiritualibus* conducting the first proceedings ceased to perform the aforementioned function, and thirdly, the final verdict was issued by Bishop Oleśnicki. Taking these three circumstances into account, Kielcza of Książ and Suchodoł and Jakub of Zaborów should be excluded from the group of vicars general (because Wojciech Jastrzębiec was still bishop one year after the end of their offices), as well as Andrzej Myszka (because he had remained vicar general continuously from 1424). This leaves only Stanisław of Skarbimierz, attested in 1422. In fact, he could not participate in the second trial as a prosecutor, because he appears as a legal expert who advises the tribunal what kind of sentence should be passed. However, this does not exclude his participation in the first trial as a general-vicar who conducts the process. No vicar general is listed under 1423, which can be explained in four ways: 1) Stanisław of Skarbimierz was still vicar general, but no sources are known to attest to this; 2) Andrzej Myszka was already vicar, and the reason is the same as above; 3) there was a vacancy in the position of vicar general at that time; it is possible, considering the fact that it was the time of the Bishop Jastrzębiec was transferring to the archdiocese of Gniezno and the Oleśnicki's was expected of being installed as bishop of Cracow; 4) the vicar was someone else, possibly the aforementioned *S. de K.*, but he is not listed in the sources and therefore his name remains unknown to us. Regardless of the final resolution of this conundrum, it may be noted that the only possible time frame for Henry Bohemus' first trial is between circa 1422 and 1423, and for the second trial between circa 1423 and 1424.

It is still necessary to cite Jan Długosz's report that the astrologer created horoscopes for the three sons born to the royal couple. The oldest of them, Ladislaus III, was born on 31 October 1424, and the youngest, Casimir IV Jagiellon, on 29 November 1427. Although it is impossible to accuse the historian of fabricating this information, it is possible that there was an error, for instance in assigning one horoscope

⁸⁶ Knappek, *Akta oficjalatu i wikariatu generalnego krakowskiego*, 205.

to three individuals. It is known that Długosz's accounts of past events are often retrospective and frequently tendentious. Since we cannot confirm the accuracy of this information, we should treat the events described as though they really had already happened. Therefore, on the day of the birth of Prince Ladislaus on 31 October 1424, Henry Bohemus must have been free.

Reconstruction of events

Given the analysis of the sources presented regarding the two trials of Henry Bohemus, Queen Zofia's court astrologer, it is absolutely necessary to modify the previously approximate dating of the events described from the year around 1429 to the years 1422–1424. The initial objective was to determine the time of death of numerous individuals mentioned in the sources related to the case. It was equally crucial to emphasize the role of the vicar general *in spiritualibus*, who had only participated in the initial trial and was absent from the subsequent one, which occurred one year later. From Jan Długosz's chronicle we know that Bohemus was present when Queen Zofia gave birth to her first son on 31 October 1424 and if not, then definitely on 29 November 1427. The change of the date of Bohemus' trials simultaneously entails a new interpretation of events. Namely, it appears that the Bohemian astrologer first became an object of interest to the Inquisition and only later became active at the royal court. Additionally, the chronology of the events indicates that Queen Zofia utilised Henry's astrological expertise to ascertain the fate of her first-born son shortly after the astrologer was found guilty and sentenced to life imprisonment or at the latest in 1427.

The scandal concerning Bohemus must have commenced during the tenure of Wojciech Jastrzębiec as bishop of Cracow, regardless of the precise date we identify as its inception (1422 or 1423). When the head of the diocese learned of the astrologer's dubious claims and actions, he appointed the vicar general *in spiritualibus* and inquisitor Jan of Poland to start the investigation *in causa fidei*. It is possible that this vicar was Stanisław of Skarbimierz or his successor, whose identity is unknown. During the interrogation of the accused and witnesses, Henry was shown to have pro-Hussite beliefs and occult fascinations.

His guilt was evident to the Inquisition; however, due to the fact that this was his first offence against the Catholic Faith and he consented to revise his errors and submit to the Church, he was granted a relatively lenient sentence. He probably submitted his abjuration to Master Paweł of Zator, then a preacher and rector of the cathedral school. However, the sentence was suspended under pressure from certain influential people. It is likely that after these events Henry came into conflict with the royal notary Marcin. We find information about this in the files of the Cracow judicial vicar (*officialis*) under the date of 6 March 1423.⁸⁷

Approximately a year later, it was discovered that Henry, who had been found guilty of heresy, had not only abandoned his Hussite beliefs, but had also persisted in using magic, claiming that the Church approved of it. He had participated in demon-summoning rituals at least twice in order to find buried treasures. He also admitted that his renunciation of his errors was insincere, which in the eyes of the court made him a perjurer and a recidivist heretic. Bohemus was captured and imprisoned by the bishop. In order to prevent outrage, despite the fact that such crimes were punishable by death according to Canon law, Bishop Oleśnicki and inquisitor Jan issued a sentence of life imprisonment, which was required to be executed no earlier than 19 December 1423 (the date of Oleśnicki's ingress). Stanisław of Skarbimierz, to the extent that he potentially participated in the initial trial as vicar general *in spiritualibus*, now served as an independent legal expert. Andrzej of Kokorzyn also played an important role presumably as the queen's chancellor. He participated in interrogating the accused and preached the sermon at the end of the trial.

Another fact from Henry's life is quite surprising. Unexpectedly, he is mentioned as being present at the birth of the king's first son on October 31, 1424. Even if Jan Długosz confused the king's offspring, the fact that he was released remains indisputable. It means that he did not spend much time in captivity. We do not know how the convict was released from prison. It is not possible that this happened without the king's intervention. Queen Zofia's involvement is also very likely, since in the following years she used the astrologer's knowledge and skills for her service. From that moment forward, the royal couple became patrons of astrological practices, which were to be used to advance the

⁸⁷ Cracow, Archiwum Kurii Metropolitalnej, Acta Officialia Cracoviensia 4, fol. 297^r.

interests of the state.⁸⁸ In this light, it becomes more understandable why the case of the royal astrologer did not cause any high-profile scandal, which Jan Długosz, who was hostile towards Queen Zofia, would certainly not have failed to ignore. Since Henry insinuated himself into the favour of the ruling family, he no longer gave any more cause for public disgrace, and Ladislaus Jagiello, not for the first time, showed himself to be a merciful ruler who preferred to give another chance even to a notorious sinner. There are no sources which would explain how the royal decision to reprieve a convicted heretic affected the king's relationship with the Church authorities. These events could also have been the reason for Andrzej of Kokorzyn leaving the royal court, since after 1424 he no longer appears in any role at the queen's side. The case of Henry Bohemus, in turn, would be the first documented investigation carried out by Bishop Oleśnicki acting in defence of the Faith against heresy.

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⁸⁸ For more on this problem see Rowell, 'The Jagiellonians and the Stars', 23–42.

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ADAM POZNAŃSKI*, REIMA VÄLIMÄKI**

A FIFTEENTH-CENTURY WARNING AGAINST THE WALDENSIAINS: AN ANONYMOUS TREATISE FROM THE GÖRLITZ MANUSCRIPT MIL. II 52

Abstract: Among the manuscripts formerly held in the library of Görlitz Grammar School (*Gymnasium*) – known as the Milich Library and now housed at the University Library in Wrocław – there is a codex bearing the shelfmark Mil. II 52. In addition to sermons, *quaestiones disputatae*, and theological treatises, it contains a short anonymous text directed against the Waldensians, which, as far as current research suggests, survives only in this single copy. Although the work may have been composed somewhat earlier, the manuscript as a whole was copied in the 1460s or 1470s. This suggests that, at that time, someone still perceived the Waldensians as a tangible threat. The treatise draws in part on *De inquisitione hereticorum*, a work attributed to Pseudo-David of Augsburg, but also includes original passages. Our article contains the first edition of this text, accompanied by an introduction and a concise description of the manuscript.

Keywords: Waldensians, manuscripts, Görlitz, inquisitor's manuals, polemical treatises

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Introduction

When examining homiletic or theological manuscripts produced in the second half of the fifteenth century in Lusatia or Silesia, one does not generally expect to encounter an original treatise against the Waldensians. It appears that by that time – at least for the past fifty years – this particular threat to the Catholic Church in those regions had been neutralized, and there was no pressing need to compose texts of this kind. Even so, the manuscript bearing the shelfmark Mil. II 52, originating from Görlitz, now held at the Wrocław University Library, proved to be a surprise. It contains an anonymous and previously unknown treatise, to which the authors of the catalogue have assigned the title *De secta Waldensium*.

The library of the Grammar School (*Gymnasium*) in Görlitz, known as the Milich Library, was transferred to Wrocław after the Second World War. The origins of the collection go back to Johann Gottlieb Milich (1678–1726), a native of Świdnica, who bequeathed his valuable book collection, the core of which had already been assembled by his father, to the Grammar School library in Görlitz for reasons that remain unknown. In 1785, the library was merged with that of the local Franciscan monastery. In the following decades, it was further enriched with books from the municipal archives, as well as private collections donated by, among others, Johann Gottlob Zobel, Theodor Neumann, and Johann Christian Jancke. The Latin medieval manuscripts, however, originate primarily from the former Franciscan library, which also included the holdings of the Church of Saints Peter and Paul – largely assembled through the bequest of Johann Goschitz vel Goschick – as well as the private library of Paul Schwoffheim, Doctor of Theology, professor, and rector of the University of Leipzig.¹ The short anti-Waldensian treatise *De secta Waldensium* is an example of the fifteenth-century engagement with heresy through the reception of earlier heresiological literature. Karl Ubl has noted that the inquisition led by Petrus Zwicker in Upper Austria in the 1390s sparked general interest in heresy in Austria. Before that, the circulation of thirteenth-century anti-heretical literature,

¹ See the introduction to the catalogue of medieval manuscripts in folio format from the Milich collection: S. Kądzielski, W. Mrozowicz, *Catalogus codicum medii aevi manuscriptorum qui in Bibliotheca Universitatis Wratislaviensis asservantur signa 6055–6124 comprehendens* (Codices Milichiani, vol. 1), Wrocław 1998.

such as the compilation of the Anonymous of Passau, was relatively modest.² Another event that might have raised the clergy's awareness of Waldensianism was Zwicker's inquisition against the Waldensians in Brandenburg and Pomerania, recently redated to November 1393 – March 1394,³ which was geographically closer to Silesia than the Austrian trials. There is some evidence of anti-Waldensian literature circulating in Silesia already in the 1390s. Two manuscripts at the Wrocław University Library, Mil. II 58 and I F 230, have almost identical anti-heretical texts: most importantly the thirteenth-century antiheretical treatise by Benedict of Alignan, excerpts from the thirteenth-century compilation against heretics, Jews, infidels and Antichrist by the Anonymous of Passau, parts of Zwicker's inquisitor's manual, and a copy of the short anti-Waldensian tract *Attendite a falsis prophetis*, written before 1391.⁴ Both manuscripts have, however, an uncertain provenance before the second half of the fifteenth century. Mil. II 58 is first attested at the

² K. Ubl, 'Die Verbrennung Johannes Griessers am 9. September 1411: zur Entstehung eines Klimas der Verfolgung im spätmittelalterlichen Österreich', *Mitteilungen des Instituts für Österreichische Geschichtsforschung*, 119 (2011), 60–90 (71–73). Zwicker's inquisition in Upper Austria has been recently re-dated to 1395–1398, see R. Välimäki, *Heresy in Late Medieval Germany: The Inquisitor Petrus Zwicker and the Waldensians*, Heresy and Inquisition in the Middle Ages, 6, Woodbridge 2019, 150–64.

³ R. Välimäki, 'Stettin Revised: Redating a Major Medieval Inquisition of Heresy', *Church History*, 94.1 (2025), 21–60. On the inquisition in Stettin, see esp. W. Wattenbach, 'Über die Inquisition gegen die Waldenser in Pommern und der Mark Brandenburg', *Abhandlungen der Königlich Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin, Phil.-hist. Classe*, 3 (1886), 1–102; D. Kurze, 'Zur Ketzergeschichte der Mark Brandenburg und Pommerns vornehmlich im 14. Jahrhundert: Luziferianer, Putzkeller und Waldenser', *Jahrbuch für die Geschichte Mittel- und Ostdeutschlands*, 16/17 (1968), 50–94; E. Cameron, *Waldenses: Rejections of Holy Church in Medieval Europe*, Oxford 2000, 125–44. There is a summary edition of the depositions in *Quellen zur Ketzergeschichte Brandenburgs und Pommerns*, ed. by D. Kurze, Veröffentlichungen der Historischen Kommission zu Berlin, 45.6, Berlin 1975, 77–261.

⁴ Biblioteka Uniwersytecka we Wrocławiu, Ms Mil. II 58; Ms I F 230 fols 215^{va}–234^{vb}; see Kądzielski, Mrozowicz, *Catalogus codicum*, 193–95; J. Szymański, "Articuli secte Waldensium" na tle antyheretyckich zbiorów rękopiśmiennych Biblioteki Uniwersytetu Wrocławskiego', *Studia Źródłoznawcze*, 42 (2004), 90, 93; Välimäki, *Heresy in Late Medieval Germany*, 119. On the popular but unedited and relatively poorly known treatise by Benedict of Alignan, see J. H. Arnold, 'Benedict of Alignan's *Tractatus fidei contra diversos errores*: A Neglected Anti-Heresy Treatise', *Journal of Medieval History*, 45.1 (2019), 20–54 <<https://doi.org/10.1080/03044181.2018.1553204>> [accessed 22 September 2025].

Franciscan library in Görlitz ca 1475,⁵ and I F 230's first known owner was Andreas Rüdiger of Görlitz, a professor at the University of Leipzig in 1458, and there has even been speculation about a Czech origin of the manuscript.⁶ Whether or not these manuscripts were at Görlitz from the late fourteenth century, they were not known to the author of the *De secta Waldensium*, as he was not influenced by any of the texts in these manuscripts. *De secta Waldensium* thus represents a late medieval Silesian transmission of the thirteenth-to-fourteenth-century anti-Waldensian literature that was parallel to rather than influenced by manuscripts Mil. II 58 and I F 230. In the fifteenth century, the threat of Hussitism kept interest in earlier heresies alive: much of the anti-Waldensian literature, both written in the 1390s, but also in the preceding centuries, was transmitted together with anti-Hussite treatises.⁷ The reception and refitting of anti-Waldensian literature into the fifteenth-century context took place in the intellectual circles around the universities of Prague and Vienna, and especially in the latter after the Council of Constance. Waldensians were perceived as the precursor, sometimes allies of the Hussites. The reception of Waldensianism in the framework of Hussitism by fifteenth-century clergy requires a comprehensive study,⁸ but a concrete example of this train of thought is yet another manuscript at the Wrocław University Library, Ms I F 707. The manuscript was compiled in two stages, in 1420 and 1433, by a Bohemian Bachelor of Theology and parish priest, Jiří z Těchnic (Gregorius de Tyechnicz). The antiheretical compilation (fols 122^{ra}–199^{va}) is by Jiří's own hand, and the owner's mark in the rear paste-down states that the volume was bought and partially collected by Jiří in 1420, 'as well as [works] against heresiarchs at Constance,

⁵ Kądzielski, Mrozowicz, *Catalogus codicum*, 195.

⁶ Szymański, "Articuli secte Waldensium", 90.

⁷ R. Välimäki, 'Old Errors, New Sects: The Waldensians, Wyclif and Hus in Fifteenth-Century Manuscripts', in *Golden Leaves and Burned Books. Religious Reform and Conflict in the Long European Reformation*, ed. T. Immonen, G. Müller-Oberhäuser, Turku 2020, 155–86.

⁸ C. Traxler discusses in passing the references to Waldensianism in the anti-Hussite writings of the members of the University of Vienna, but does not trace the sources these authors used, see C. Traxler, *Firmiter velitis resistere: die Auseinandersetzung der Wiener Universität mit dem Hussitismus vom Konstanzer Konzil (1414–1418) bis zum Beginn des Basler Konzils (1431–1449)*, Schriften des Archivs der Universität Wien, 27, Göttingen 2019, 121–24, 203–04, 426, 441, 446.

collected by many doctors, where I took part in their compilation'.⁹ The compilation, however, not only contains early anti-Hussite treatises by Mařík Rvačka and Jean Gerson, but also opens with the above-mentioned Petrus Zwicker's *Cum dormirent homines* and ends with Jiří's own list of Waldensian articles of faith. Jiří's own introductory note to the *Cum dormirent homines* links Waldensians to the Wycliffites and Hussites, but also to the Copts, Nicolaitans, Arians and Muslims, among others.¹⁰ At some point, Ms I F 707 ended up to the library of Augustinian Canons of Žagaň, representing the movement of antiheretical compilations of Bohemian origin to Silesia. The *De secta Waldensium* appears to have been born out of this interest in heresy among the fifteenth-century clergy. Unfortunately, and unlike in the case of Jiří z Těchne and his compilation, the author of the *De secta Waldensium* does not refer to any particular events that would inform us of the work's context or the identity of its author. *De secta Waldensium* is a very generic treatise, devoid of any historical specifics: it transmits parts from a two-century-old inquisitorial text against the Waldensians, complemented with patristic quotes. The primary source of the *De secta Waldensium* is an anonymous inquisitor's manual to deal with Waldensians, known as the *De inquisitione hereticorum*. The manual was written in the second half of the thirteenth century and exists in at least two redactions. The so-called short redaction was published in the eighteenth century by Edmond Martène and Ursin Durand,¹¹ and the long redaction by Wilhelm Preger in 1879.¹² In the Munich manuscript that Preger used, the text ends with *Explicit tractatus fratris David de inquisitione hereticorum*, and a Stuttgart manuscript of the same redaction has *David de Ordine Minorum* as the author. These attributions, together with the fact that the Munich and Stuttgart manuscripts contain other texts by David of

⁹ Biblioteka Uniwersytecka we Wrocławiu, Ms I F 707, rear paste-down: [...] *Anno domini M^oCCCC^o XX^o eciam collecta contra heresiarchas Constancienses per multos doctores ubi interfui compilationibus.*

¹⁰ Biblioteka Uniwersytecka we Wrocławiu, Ms I F 707, fol. 122^r, see Välimäki, *Heresy in Late Medieval Germany*, 269–70 for the description of the anti-heretical compilation in the manuscript.

¹¹ *Thesaurus novus anecdotorum*, ed. by E. Martène, D. Ursin, Paris 1717, V, 1777–94. In the critical apparatus: DIH, short.

¹² 'Der Tractat des David von Augsburg über die Waldesier', ed. by W. Preger, *Abhandlungen der historischen Classe der königlich bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften*, 14 (1879), 203–35. In the critical apparatus: DIH.

Augsburg, led Preger to assume the German Franciscan was the author of the inquisitor's manual.¹³

Scholars have since challenged Preger's attribution. Mario Esposito and Antoine Dondaine both regarded the short redaction published by E. Martène and U. Durand as an earlier one, possibly of French origin.¹⁴ The long redaction incorporates the entire short redaction, with the exception of the final three chapters,¹⁵ which Dondaine regarded as later additions.¹⁶ The current scholarly consensus is that at least the long redaction was composed in Germany in the second half of the thirteenth century by an inquisitor or someone collaborating with inquisitors, possibly from the circle of the Franciscans David of Augsburg and Berthold of Regensburg.¹⁷

There is no comprehensive study on the transmission history of the *De inquisitione hereticorum*. Dondaine listed eight manuscripts for the short redaction and eleven for the long redaction. The manuscripts of the short redaction are older, including thirteenth and fourteenth-century inquisitorial compilation manuscripts. Of the long redaction's manuscripts known to Dondaine, eight out of eleven are either in Wrocław (3 manuscripts) or in Prague (5 manuscripts),¹⁸ indicating a Bohemian-Silesian reception of the work. To this reception we add the *De secta Waldensium* in Mil. II 52, although we have not yet recognized any of the preserved manuscripts as its direct source. There is, however, a section that indicates that the author used neither the short redaction edited by Martène and Durand nor the version of the long redaction edited by Preger. In a manuscript in the Würzburg University Library, there is a copy, unknown to Dondaine, containing a version of the long redaction

¹³ Preger, 'Der Tractat des David von Augsburg', 183–84, 187–88, 235.

¹⁴ M. Esposito, 'Sur quelques écrits concernant les hérésies et les hérétiques aux XII^e et XIII^e siècles', *Revue d'histoire ecclésiastique*, 36 (1940), 143–62; A. Dondaine, 'Le Manuel de l'inquisiteur (1230–1330)', *Archivum Fratrum Praedicatorum*, 17 (1947), 85–194 (181–82).

¹⁵ L. J. Sackville, *Heresy and Heretics in the Thirteenth Century: The Textual Representations*, Heresy and Inquisition in the Middle Ages, 1, Woodbridge 2011, 139.

¹⁶ Dondaine, 'Le Manuel de l'inquisiteur (1230–1330)', 181.

¹⁷ Sackville, *Heresy and Heretics*, 139; P. Kras, *The System of the Inquisition in Medieval Europe*, Berlin 2020, 282–83.

¹⁸ Dondaine, 'Le Manuel de l'inquisiteur (1230–1330)', 181–83. The Wrocław manuscripts are in Biblioteka Uniwersytecka we Wrocławiu, Mss I F 117; I F 259; I F 758. The Prague manuscripts are: Knihovna Metropolitní kapituly, Mss D LIV; D LVII; E LXX; E LXXVI, and Národní knihovna České republiky, Ms I E 39.

of the *De inquisitione hereticorum*. Unlike the version edited by Preger, it concludes with a brief chapter on the distinction between heretics and schismatics.¹⁹ Also in the *De secta Waldensium*, there is a relatively long exposition on the difference between schismatics and heretics, quoting Augustine, Bede, and Gratian's *Decretum* (449^{rb-va}). The section is not based on the Würzburg manuscript, but it might be inspired by a similar version containing discussion on the schism and schismatics.

Although the author of the *De secta Waldensium* adopted the description of Waldensian beliefs and practices from the *De inquisitione hereticorum*, the text in Mil. II 52 should be regarded as an independent work, not a late redaction of the thirteenth-century inquisitor's manual. There are both significant additions and omissions. In many passages, the author of the *De secta Waldensium* significantly paraphrases the earlier work, preserving the meaning if not the wording, and changing the order of presentation.

The most prominent additions are the extensive quotations, both explicit and implicit, of patristic and early medieval theologians: Augustine, Gregory the Great and Bede the Venerable, the latter apparently quoted through homilies of Haymo of Halberstadt (d. 853). These are absent from the *De inquisitione hereticorum*, which is a very practical text on Waldensian beliefs and how to interrogate those suspected of Waldensianism, without resorting to any *auctoritates* except for papal bulls regulating inquisitions of heresy. It appears that the author of the *De secta Waldensium* sought to enhance the intellectual quality of the work, adding references to relevant authorities when he found them lacking. Also the omissions point towards learned rather than practical reception of the *De inquisitione hereticorum*. The extensive guidelines for the interrogation of heretics,²⁰ an essential part of an inquisitor's manual, are omitted from the *De secta Waldensium*. The result is a textual chimæra, a treatise jumping from a listing of heretics' errors to exegetics, but without a polemical treatise's disposition that would aim to refute the errors in question systematically. The text has little value for the history of heresy. By the fifteenth century, the description of Waldensians in the *De inquisitione hereticorum* was outdated even by the standards of its own times, surpassed by the comprehensive and well-informed *Cum dormirent*

¹⁹ Würzburg Universitätsbibliothek, Ms M. ch. fol. 51, fols 17^r–21^r.

²⁰ Preger, 'Der Tractat des David von Augsburg', 219–44 (cap. 28–44).

homines (1395) by Petrus Zwicker.²¹ However, *De secta Waldensium* is an important witness to the continuing reception of the *De inquisitione hereticorum* in Central Europe, and to the fifteenth-century engagement with earlier antiheretical literature. Due to its idiosyncratic passages, such as the one on schismatics and heretics, the treatise contains essential information about the transmission history of the *De inquisitione hereticorum*, a study of which remains a *Forschungsdesiderat*.

The manuscript

W = Wrocław, Biblioteka Uniwersytecka we Wrocławiu, Mil. II 52
31,5 × 22 cm. Paper. 454 fols. Second half of the fifteenth century. Two columns.

Contents:

(fols 1^{ra}–331^{va}) Thesaurus novus. Sermones de tempore et de sanctis.

fols 332^v–334^v blank.

(fols 335^{ra}–357^{vb}) Ioannes de Capistrano: De Passione Christi.

fols 358^r–^v blank.

(fols 359^{ra}–381^{ra}) Materies sermonum.

(fol. 381^{ra}–^b) *Ad virgines interrogaciones*.

(fols 381^{rb}–382^{rb}) Quaestiones de nocturna pollutione.

fol. 382 blank.

(fols 383^{ra}–406^{ra}) Ulricus de Lilienfeld OCist: Concordantia caritatis.

fols 406^v–407^v blank.

(fols 408^{ra}–443^{va}) Ps.-Albertus Magnus: Sermones XXXII de corpore Christi.

(fols 443^{va}–447^{rb}) Sermones duo de sanguine Christi.

(fols 445^{va}–447^{rb}) *De decem gradibus amoris*.

(fols 447^{va}–450^{ra}) De secta Waldensium.

(fols 450^{rb}–452^{rb}) Iacobus de Paradiso: Tractatus de indulgentia.

(fol. 452^{rb}) *Constitutio festi corporis Christi cum suis indulgentiis*.

(fols 452^{va}–453^{ra}) Martinus V papa: Bulla de festo Corporis Christi.

(fol. 453^{ra}–^b) Sermo de s. Barbara.

fols 453^v–454^v blank.

²¹ On Zwicker's polemical treatises, see Välimäki, *Heresy in Late Medieval Germany*, 38–103.

Watermarks:

The paper of the corresponding gathering (fols 443–454) can be dated to circa 1457–61 (Piccard, II, XI, 366).

Provenance:

The former grammar school library in Görlitz, known as the Milich Library.

Script:

Eleven scribal bookhands:

M1 (fols 1^{ra}–106^{va}): Urbanus Borchardi, 1461²²; Hybrida Currens.

M2 (fols 107^{va}–191^{rb}, 335^{ra}–357^{vb}): Cursiva Libraria.

M3 (fols 191^{va}–331^{vb}): Paulus Gelhor, 1461²³; Semihybrida Libraria.

M4 (359^{ra}–381^{ra}): Cursiva Libraria.

M5 (fols 381^{ra}–382^{rb}): Hybrida Libraria.

M6 (fols 383^{ra}–406^{ra}): Cursiva Formata.

M7 (fols 408^{ra}–450^{ra}): Cursiva Formata (written space 22 × 14 cm).

M8 (fols 450^{rb}–452^{rb}): Cursiva Libraria.

M9 (fol. 452^{rb}): Semihybrida Currens.

M10 (fols 452^{va}–453^{ra}): Semihybrida Libraria.

M11 (fol. 453^{ra-b}): Hybrida Currens.

Decoration:

Rubrication and plain initials in red.

Binding:

Original; leather covers over wooden boards with blind-tooling; fitted with two clasps; metal corner fittings and five bosses on both

²² According to colophon on fol. 106^{va}: *Et sic est finis huius partis, scilicet adventualis, per me Urbanum Borchardi sub anno Domini M° CCCC° LXI° feria quarta ante Pentecosten* [20 May 1461]. *Sit laus Deo.*

²³ According to colophon on fol. 331^{vb}: *Et sic est finis huius libri, scilicet partis yemalis. Et finitus per Paulum Gelhor, feria 5ta post festum Annunciationis gloriosissime virginis Marie quasi hora 5ta sub anno Domini 146 primo* [26 March 1461] etc. *Sit laus...* Gelhor is probably identical with Paulus Gelhor, a vicar at the Wrocław Cathedral, mentioned in 1463 in the constitution for the confraternity of the vicars, edited in J. Heyne, *Dokumentirte Geschichte des Bisthums und Hochstiftes Breslau*, Wrocław 1860, 681–83.

covers (on the rear cover only three extant); title label on the front cover; both the front and rear boards are detached; damaged spine.

Remarks:

Only a fragment of the first leaf, which contains the beginning of the first text in the codex, has been preserved (now fol. I). Both title label which reads: *Sermones de tempore et de sanctis per hyemem...* and the word *yemale* that can be seen on the upper and lower edges of the book block suggest that this volume originally formed part of a larger set, including a summer part. The rear pastedown contains an astronomical table spanning the years 1476–1506, with an added annotation: *Anno Domini 1476 scriptum est.*

Full catalogue description:

Kądzielski, Mrozowicz, *Catalogus*, 169–74.

The origin of the text

We are unable to determine how this manuscript came into the possession of the Milich Library. It is highly probable that it once belonged to the Franciscans in Görlitz; however, it bears no provenance notes or former shelfmarks linking it to that monastery. The only possible clue to its origin is the fact that one of the scribes, Paulus Gelhor, was a priest at the cathedral in Wrocław, which may suggest that the codex originated in Silesia. The manuscript was copied by several scribes, but we have not been able to identify the one responsible for the transcription of *De secta Waldensium*. Notably, the same scribe also copied other works contained in the volume: Ps.-Albertus Magnus: *Sermones XXXII de corpore Christi*; *Sermones duo de sanguine Christi*; *De decem gradibus amoris*. The date of the copy may be indicated by the dating of the paper: ca 1460. Since the treatise contains numerous evident errors in Latin, it is likely that the scribe was not its author, but rather copied it from a source unknown to us.

Editorial principles

Since the text survives in only one manuscript and contains certain minor errors, we decided to make some corrections, which are recorded in the critical apparatus. The quotations have been rendered in italics, while references to the *De inquisitione hereticorum* are marked with guillemets « ». Proper nouns and nomina sacra are capitalized. Punctuation and paragraph division is editorial. The orthography of the manuscripts has mostly been retained, except in the following cases:

- 1) ci/ti before vowels is transcribed as ci;
- 2) u and v (U and V) as in Classical Latin;
- 3) the long j is transcribed as i.

Abbreviations

Aug., In evang. Ioh. = Augustinus Hipponensis, *In Iohannis evangelium tractatus CXXIV*, ed. by R. Willems, Corpus Christianorum Series Latina, 36, Turnhout 1954.

Aug., In Math. 16 = Augustinus Hipponensis, *Quaestiones XVI in Matthaeum*, ed. by A. Mutzenbecher, Corpus Christianorum Series Latina, 44B, Turnhout 1980.

CIC = *Corpus iuris canonici*, ed. by A. Friedberg, I–II, Leipzig 1879–1881.

DIH = ‘Der Tractat des David von Augsburg über die Waldesier’, ed. by W. Preger, *Abhandlungen der historischen Classe der königlich bayrischen Akademie der Wissenschaften*, 14 (1879), 203–35.

DIH, short = *Thesaurus novus anecdotorum*, ed. by E. Martène, D. Ursin, V, Paris 1717, 1777–94.

Greg. M., Moral. = Gregorius Magnus, *Moralia in Iob, libri I–XXXV*, ed. by M. Adriaen, Corpus Christianorum Series Latina, 143, 143A, 143B, Turnhout 1985.

Haymo Halb., Hom. = Haymo Halberstatensis, *Homilia CXX. Dominica nona post Pentecosten*, ed. by J. P. Migne, *Patrologiae Latinae Cursus Completus*, 118, 640D–646C, Paris 1852.

W – Biblioteka Uniwersytecka we Wrocławiu, Ms. Mil. II 52, fols 447^{va}–450^{ra}

<De secta Waldensium>

Primo ergo secte heretice pravitatis, que hodie multum vigent et nocent in Dei ecclesia, dicuntur pauperes de Lugdimo,²⁴ que in multas sectas dividuntur, que quamvis sibi dividantur et sibi contrarientur, tamen concordant semper contra Christi fideles et ecclesiam catholicam, sicut dicit Gregorius III^o Moraliū: *Condicunt²⁵ sibi heretici, quam prava quedam contra ecclesiam concorditer sentiunt, et a quibus in veritate discrepant, in falsitate concordant.*²⁶ «Ortus istorum hereticorum, qui pauperes de Lugdimo vocantur, sic fertur fuisse: Quod apud dictam civitatem Lugdonum erant quidam simplices layci, qui quodam spiritu inflammati super alias de se presumentes iactabant se omnino secundum²⁷ ewangelium velle vivere et ad litteram observare et hanc formam vivendi percierunt sibi a papa Innocencio confirmari. Confirmacione autem accepta, videntes nonnullos christianos ewangelium ad litteram non servare, iactabant²⁸ et dicebant se solos esse discipulos et apostolorum imitatores et successores, et officium predicacionis sibi iactanter assumpserunt.²⁹ Cumque ecclesia eos videret sensu proprio verba ewangelii interpretari et officium predicacionis sibi usurpare, cum essent layci et ydeote, eos a talibus, ut debuit, prohibuit; que cum obedire noluerunt, eos excommunicavit. Illi autem in hoc claves et auctoritatem apostolicam contempnentes dixerant hoc eis fieri ob invidiam, quia eos ex hoc meliores viderent esse et perfecciores in Christi doctrina et maiorem habere propter favorem, allegantes pro se, quod pro bono opere et perfecto, sicut predicare Christi ewangelium, nullus possit excommunicari, et bonum prohibenti nullus teneatur obedire, et sic illam excommunicacionem [fol. 447vb] reputabant eternam

²⁴ The use of the form *Lugdimo* instead of *Lugduno* indicates that the scribe had limited knowledge of the history of the Waldensians and, while copying this text, misinterpreted the minims.

²⁵ condicunt] concidunt *W*

²⁶ Cf. Greg. M., Moral., Lib. III, c. XXIII, 46 (CCSL 143, p. 144, v. 2–5).

²⁷ secundum] *praecedat* super a scriba del.

²⁸ iactabant] iactabunt *W*

²⁹ assumpserunt] assupserunt *W*

benediccione[m], dicentes sibi fieri, sicut fiebat apostolis a scribis et pharizeis, qui propter Christi doctrinam sunt persecuti et extra sinagogam eieci.»³⁰ In hac tamen errabant, quia ewangelium docet nullum debere predicare, nisi mittatur, et nullus officium dignitatis sibi debet assumere, nisi sit vocatus a Deo tamquam Aaron. Sic et ewangelica perfeccio magis docet superioribus et rectoribus humiliter obedire quam in singularitate proprii sensus pertinaciter permanere. «Prima ergo heresis eorum est heresis contemptus ecclesiastice potestatis. Et ex hoc traditi sunt sathane et angelis eius et inciderunt in multos errores antiquorum hereticorum et suorum vanarum invencionum, quia se solos et eorum sequaces dicunt esse successores apostolorum et habere claves et auctoritatem homines ligandi et solvendi.»³¹ «Romanam vero ecclesiam, papam et episcopos cum suo clero dicunt possidere divicias seculi nec imitari nec sequi vestigia apostolorum, non esse gubernatores ecclesie, nec talibus dignatur Christus committere dilectam et immaculatam suam sponsam ecclesiam, quam sibi disposavit proprio sanguine, qui eam malis operibus et exemplis prostituunt³² et corrumpunt³³, nec eam virginem Deo castam exhibent, nec in ea puritate, qua³⁴ eam acceperunt, custodiunt. Dicunt eciam, quod inmundus non potest alium mundare nec ligare nec absolvere, nec reus potest reo iudicio reatum placare, nec qui in via perdicionis ambulat, potest alteri ducatum ad celum prebere. Dicunt eciam, quod clerici per astuciam et potenciam tenent laycos sibi subditos, ut dent eis decimas et oblaciones, que pro sua tantum utilitate statuunt et eam lucra sui omnia ecclesiastica ordinaverunt instituta; et hoc non solum dicunt de clero, sed de omnibus eis adherentibus **[fol. 448ra]** et obedientibus iuxta illud: *Si cecus ceco prestat ducatum, ambo in foveam cadunt.*»³⁵ «Dicunt eciam omnes sanctos Christi fideles a tempore beati Silvestri pape esse dampnatos. Nulla miracula dicunt esse vera, que fiunt vel facta sunt vel ecclesia approbat, ymmo nunquam aliqua fuisse facta, nam statuta ecclesie post Christi ascensionem non esse servanda predicant nec

³⁰ Ortus istorum hereticorum [--] extra sinagogam eieci: cf. DIH, 205–06.

³¹ Prima ergo heresis [--] ligandi et solvendi: cf. DIH, 206.

³² prostituunt] prestuunt W

³³ corrumpunt] corrumspunt W

³⁴ qua] quam W

³⁵ Romanam vero ecclesiam, papam et episcopos [--] foveam cadunt: cf. DIH, 214–15; Mat. 15:14.

alicuius esse valoris. Festa, feriarum ieiunia, ordines, benedicciones, officia ecclesie, consecraciones earum omnino respuunt et blasphemant, et dicunt hec a clericis instituta racione lucri vel avaricie, ut ea ad usum et quesitum suum reducant,³⁶ et hac occasione, ut a subditis sibi oblationes et peccunias exquirant. Dicunt tunc hominem vere baptizatum, cum eorum sectam acceperit. Quidam eorum dicunt parvulis baptismum non valere, quia actualiter credere non possunt. Sacramentum confirmationis derident, sed eorum magistri manus inponunt loco illius sacramenti. Episcopos, clericos et religiosos ecclesie dicunt esse scribarum et pharizeorum imitatores et apostolorum persecutores. Corpus Christi dicunt non esse in altari vere, sed esse panem benedictum tantum, et ibi esse in figura et quadam similitudine, sicut Christus dicitur leo, petra, ovis, agnus.³⁷ Dicunt, quod peccator sacerdos non potest aliquem solvere aut ligare, cum ipse sit ligatus peccato, et quod quilibet bonus laycus et sciens possit alium absolvere et penitentiam inponere. Extremam unccionem non recipiunt. Oleum vel crisma non plus valere quam aliud oleum. Omnes ordines ecclesie dicunt potius esse maledicciones quam sacramenta. Matrimonium dicunt esse fornicacionem iuratum³⁸ et omnem coitum cum legitima esse peccatum mortale, nisi fiat spe prolis, et sic separant virum ab uxore et **[fol. 448rb]** uxorem a viro altero contradicente, si velit intrare sectam eorum. «Quaslibet alias inmundicias luxurie magis esse licitas dicunt quam copulam coniugalem. Continencias laudant, sed urentem libidine concedunt eis satis fieri, quocumque modo turpi allegantes pro se illud Apostoli: *Melius est nubere quam uri*,³⁹ quod exponunt, quod melius est quemlibet actum turpi libidini satisfacere quam intus corde temptari, sed hoc tenent valde occultum, ne per hanc turpitudinem eorum secta vilescat. Omne iuramentum dicunt esse illicitum, dispensant, cum <iurat quis> pro evadenda morte vel ne alius de secta eorum prodatur vel secretum eorum revelet.⁴⁰ Dicunt esse peccatum in Spiritum sanctum prodere eorum sectam vel secretum. Dicunt latrones suspendere et occidere per sententiam, quod sit peccatum mortale. Dicunt etiam animalia bruta non licere occidere, sed cum volunt talia manducare,

³⁶ reducant] reducat *W*

³⁷ Cf. Aug., In evang. Ioh., Tractatus LXXX, c. 2 (CCSL 36, p. 528, v. 10–13).

³⁸ Dicunt etiam omnes sanctos [–] fornicacionem iuratum: cf. DIH, 206–07.

³⁹ 1 Cor. 7:10.

⁴⁰ revelet] revelat *W*

suspendunt super fumum⁴¹ ignis,⁴² donec per se moriantur. Vestes cum inmundiciis excutiunt contra ignem vel intingunt in aquam callidam et sic dicunt ea⁴³ esse per se mortua et non per eos occisa. Et sic in aliis eorum observanciis falsis et fictis conscienciis se et suos sequaces illudunt. Dicunt post mortem duas vias tantum esse: vel ad penitentiam vel ad infernum, et sic purgatorium negant nec suffragia defunctis prodesse concedunt.»⁴⁴ «Sanctos in celo dicunt nostras oraciones non percipere, quia eorum corpora semiplena et mortua sunt. Spiritus vero tam remote a nobis distant, ut nos nec visu nec auditu percipere possint, ideo superfluum et vacuum est suffragia sanctorum inpetrare. Ideo suffragia sanctorum non inplorant nec eorum ymagines venerantur nec [fol. 448va] dies festos celebrant nec ieiunia servant et omni tempore comedunt, quod eis apponitur, et carnes in quadragesima, quando non timent a fidelibus deprehendi. Peregrinationes negant dicentes, quod Deus non delectatur in afflictione suorum amicorum, cum sine hiis potens sit eos salvare. Quidam tamen eorum multum se affligunt ieiuniis, vigiliis et peregrinationibus, ut nomen sanctitatis apud simplices sibi possint⁴⁵ acquirere. Dicunt, quod malus sacerdos non possit conficere baptisma et secundum eos in mortali peccato non valet, et si qui in mortali baptizati fuerunt, iterato debent ab eorum sacerdotibus baptizari. Dicunt, quod tam virgines, quam coniugate possunt predicare; vetus testamentum non recipiunt, dicentes ewangelio novo superveniente cetera transferunt, tamen excipiunt ex veteri testamento et novo et auctoritates sanctorum, que videntur pro eorum secta prodesse, ut per ea nos inpugnent et se defendant et simplices facilius seducant, pulchris sanctorum auctoritatibus suam sacrilegam sectam tolerantes. Illas vero sentencias, que videntur destruere eorum sectas et errores, tacite pretermittunt.»⁴⁶ Unde Beda in sermone: *Ut heretici simplicium fratrum corda facilius decipere possint, quasi ovium vestimentis se induunt, dum catholicorum sentencias sue doctrine interserunt, quia si mala semper dicerent, cicius cogniti rei deprehenderentur. Et ideo*

⁴¹ super fumum] superfumant[?] W

⁴² super fumum ignis] recte super ignem et fumum

⁴³ ea] scilicet animalia (cf. ut supra)

⁴⁴ Quaslibet alias [-] prodesse concedunt: cf. DIH, 207–08.

⁴⁵ possint] possunt W

⁴⁶ Sanctos in celo [-] tacite pretermittunt: cf. DIH, 208–09. The contents are essentially the same, but the wording differs at times significantly.

*mala bonis miscent, ut dum libenter auditur, quod verum est, falsum inmixtum non facile discernatur.*⁴⁷ «Quanto ergo maius irrationalia et detestabilia faciunt et producunt, tantum eorum error et vilitas detegitur et agnoscitur, agnita vero facilius cavetur.»⁴⁸ Unde Salvator dicit: *A fructibus [fol. 448vb] eorum cognoscetis eos.*⁴⁹ Ubi dicit Beda: *Sicut non laudatur arbor ex pulchritudine foliorum vel florum, sed ex habundancia fructuum, sic hereticus non est simulacione et ypocrisi laudandus, sed ex fructu bone operacionis.*⁵⁰ «Et ideo pauperum secta de Lugdimo aliis periculosior est christianis, quia ratione simulate sanctitatis primorum sanctorum apostolorum successores se dicunt propter quedam exteriorum operum⁵¹ apostolorum imitationem, scilicet quia apostoli pro pauperibus collectas in ecclesia colligebant et in domibus fidelium, antequam essent ecclesie, docebant vel sacra misteria celebra<ba>nt et discipulos per diversas provincias ad predicandum destinabant. Sic isti heretici diversa fingant sibi nomina; non enim se dicunt hereticos, sed veros christianos, amicos Dei et pauperes sectatores apostolorum,»⁵² et ob hoc in magnam superbiam extolluntur, quia preferunt se omnibus prelatis ecclesie in dignitate et auctoritate. Preferunt se eciam sanctis in celo, beate Virgini in hoc, quod dicunt Deo dilectos⁵³ ita, quod quidquid pecierunt a Deo, exaudiantur. Ita, quod reccior⁵⁴ eorum oracione nulla penitus est nec in ecclesia militante nec triumphante, quod tamen falsum videmus ad sensum, quod nulli dubium est, quin petant, quando examinantur: ut vincant, ut nos ad eorum errorem trahant,⁵⁵ se et suas ne comburantur, exoptant, quod tamen non obtinent. «Ex eadem simulacione miscent se religiosis et clericis, ut se contegant in tempore inquisitionis, eis testimonium reddant, frequentant ecclesias et predicationes, in omnibus se religiosissime gerunt,⁵⁶ mores compositos, verba precisa et quasi limata et cauta libenter locuntur de Deo, [fol. 449ra] de sanctis et de virtutibus et de viciis cavendis et bona

⁴⁷ Cf. Haymo Halb., Hom. (PL 118, 641A–B).

⁴⁸ Quanto ergo maius [–] facilius cavetur: cf. DIH, 211.

⁴⁹ Matthew 7:16.

⁵⁰ Cf. Haymo Halb., Hom. (PL 118, 642C–D).

⁵¹ exteriorum operum] exteriora opera W

⁵² Et ideo pauperum secta [–] sectatores apostolorum: cf. DIH, 211.

⁵³ dilectionis[?] W

⁵⁴ recta W

⁵⁵ trahant] trahunt W

⁵⁶ regunt] gerunt W

agenda persuadent, ut sic cum libenter audiantur, virus sue perfidie inde facilius valeant infundere.»⁵⁷ «Intersunt eciam nobiscum divinis, offerunt ad altare, percipiunt sacramenta, confitentur sacerdotibus, ieiunia ecclesie colunt, festa et benedicciones inclinato capite a sacerdote suscipiunt. Cum tamen hec et similia irrideant et dampnosa eis indigent et prophana,»⁵⁸ de quibus dicit Beda in sermone: *Bonos se ostendunt, ut simplicium animas ad suam heresim rapere possint.*⁵⁹ «Omnino eorum studio adhibent, ut multas ad suos errores deducant puellas, parvulos docent ewangelium et epistolas a puericia, ut eorum asuescant erroribus, et iubent alios socios et socias eadem docere.»⁶⁰ Cavere iubent a religiosis et clericis et eorum familiaribus et fidei zelatoribus, ne deprehendantur et prodantur; postea tradunt et docent aliquas, quas sciunt, oraciones de beata Virgine et de sancta Katherina, in quibus suadent castitatem, virtuose vivere, vicia cavere, vestigia Christi et apostolorum imitari. «Fingunt eciam quosdam ritmos, quos vocant “tres gradus sancti Augustini”, in quibus docent supradicta. Post hec blandis eas agrediuntur verbis, cum viderint dociles, et eos sequi et auscultare dicendo: “Primo ad veram lucem venisti et aurum pro cupro vere doctrine invenisti.” Et tunc inmiscent calide ibi suos ritus et hereses, ut melius alliciant eos ad adiscenda et forcius inprimant memorie, sicut et nos primo proponimus laycis symbolum et dominicam oracionem [fol. 449rb] etc.»⁶¹ De hiis dicit Beda in sermone: *Noli in heretico attendere verborum folia, verba pulchra, sed fidei pravitatem; noli attendere in christiano solummodo famam bone operationis, sed fructum inquire perfecte sanctificationis; noli adtendere ad ligwam, sed ad manum.*⁶² Sic enim populus christianus et scismaticus est scandalum et infeccio fidelium sicut hereticus, quorum doctrinam dat beatus Augustinus in omelia dicens, quod *inter hereticos et malos catolicos et scismaticos hec interest differentia, quod heretici male credunt,*⁶³ illi vero vera credentes non vivunt ita, ut credunt; *scismaticos vero fides diversa non facit, sed commixtionis disrupta societas.*⁶⁴ Et hii tres a Salvatore nomine zizanie,

⁵⁷ Ex eadem simulacione [-] valeant infundere: cf. DIH, 217.

⁵⁸ Intersunt eciam nobiscum [-] indigent et prophana, cf. DIH, 212.

⁵⁹ Cf. Haymo Halb., Hom. (PL 118, 641C).

⁶⁰ Omnino eorum studio adhibent [-] eadem docere: cf. DIH, 213.

⁶¹ Fingunt eciam quosdam [-] et dominicam oracionem: cf. DIH, 215.

⁶² Cf. Haymo Halb., Hom. (PL 118, 641C).

⁶³ Cf. Aug., In Math. 16, q. 11 (CCSL 44B, p. 125, v. 21-23).

⁶⁴ Cf. ut supra (v. 25-26).

palee et ariste designantur. Unde beatus Augustinus in eadem omelia dicit: *Nomine zizania intelliguntur heretici, qui non unius ecclesie societate vel unius fidei, sed societate nominis unius christiani in hoc mundo bonis permiscuntur. Illi vero, qui in eadem fide mali sunt, palea potius, que fundamentum habet cum frumento radicemque communem,*⁶⁵ *quam zizaniam nuncupant. Scismatici vero magis videntur spicis corruptis esse similiores*⁶⁶ *vel paleis aristarum fractis vel scissis et de segete ereptis.*⁶⁷ Item nota differentiam inter scisma et heresim secundum Ieronimum et habetur transsumptively in canone XXIII^o questione III: *Inter scisma et heresim hoc interesse arbitror, quod heresis perversum docma habet, scisma per rationalem discessionem ab ecclesia pariter separatur.*⁶⁸ Idem ibidem: *Quicumque scripturam aliter intelligit* [fol. 449va] *quam sensus Spiritus sancti flagitat, a quo scriptura est, licet ab ecclesia non recessit, tamen hereticus appellari potest.* Requiritur sibi etiam sibi [!] heretici hii amicos vicinorum militum et baronum prout possunt, ut eos foveant, protegant et in eorum terris dilatare permittunt, et sic cum de eis predicatur vel inquiretur, concitant dominos vel dominas, cives vel rusticos et pro hiis et pro eorum magistris et doctoribus inponunt collectas, sicut pro pauperibus fecerunt apostoli, et ex hac protectione heretici multum contra clerum animantur et nocent eos infamando, ipsis detrahendo iura ecclesiastica, vilipendendo ita, quod in talibus in spirituali non potest procedere. Sed tunc caucius est et «pro fide modus utilior proponere aliquid de fide et dicat <predicator>: “Ista est veritas fidei et ita credit sancta mater ecclesia.”»⁶⁹ Et si quis contra hanc veritatem prediceret occulte et manifeste, hereticus et infidelis, et ipsum protegentem et foventem esse excommunicatum et fautorem hereticorum. In principio huius heresis et secte omnes nominabantur pauperes de Lugdimo, sed tempore succedente ex⁷⁰ ambicione pro primatu erroris contententes divisi sunt inter se in diversas hereses et opinionum altercationes. Unde quidam dicunt baptizatos ab ecclesia ab eorum sacerdotibus rebaptizari, quidam vero simpliciter negant baptismum; quidam vero corpus Christi confici tantum ab eorum magistris, quidam

⁶⁵ Cf. ut supra (v. 13–17).

⁶⁶ similiores] seclisiores[?] W

⁶⁷ Cf. ut supra (v. 27–29).

⁶⁸ Cf. CIC, Decretum Gratiani, p. 2, c. 24, q. 3, c. 26 (ed. Friedberg, II, col. 997).

⁶⁹ Pro fide [-] ecclesia. cf. DIH, 218.

⁷⁰ ex] praecedat ab a scriba del.

simplicem panem benedictum esse in altari; et unaqueque secta denominatur ab eorum [fol. 449vb] auctoribus suarum opinionum. «Unde quidam dicuntur Ordibarii, quidam Arnoltiste, quidam Runcarii, quidam Waldenses, quidam Malibratii. Hii omnes, et si qui alii sunt quodam alio nomine, vocantur pauperes de Lugdimo. Hii sunt sectatores diversarum heresum et se mutuo agnoscunt et se mutuo detestantur et condemnant et suos complices a consorcio alterius secte custodiunt, ne ab eis seducantur, nec unus prodit alium de sua heresi, ne forte vicissim se prodant. In hoc tamen omnes concordant, quod exosam habent ecclesiam catholicam, que eis semper adversatur eos convertendo et eorum errores per doctrine veritatem ipsosque condemnando iudicio seculari tradendo per acceptam a Deo potestatem.»⁷¹ De divisione et diversitate heresum dicit beatus Gregorius III Moraliū: *Heretici proprium hoc habent, quod in eo gradu, in quo de ecclesia exeunt, diu stare non possunt, sed ad deteriora ruunt et sciendo peiiora in multis partibus se scindunt atque a semetipsis plerum longius confusionis sue altercacione dividunt.*⁷² Et subdit ibidem: *Ruptis autem et eorum, qui eorum erroribus inwlvuntur, corpus ostenditur, quia sepe scisset sequacibus malicia eorum cognicionis apponitur, ut discordia dolos patefaciat,*⁷³ quos gravis culpa concordie prius clauderat;⁷⁴ et isto modo manifeste apparet eos esse falsos et simulatores Christi, et apostolorum imitatores. «Cum ei dicunt non debere occidere et explicata erronea-[fol. 450ra]-que consciencia animalia, bruta et eciam pulicem non occidant, cum tamen

⁷¹ Unde quidam dicuntur [--] a Deo potestatem, cf. DIH, 216. The version edited by Preger has the following heretical sects: 'Pouer Leun', 'Ortidiebarii', 'Arnontuste', 'Runcharii' and 'Waltenses', but not 'Malibrarii', who are found e.g. at Národní knihovna České republiky, Ms XI. D. 5, fol. 12^r, *De sectis haeticorum: Secte hereticorum sunt septuaginta due, quarum in Bohemia sunt quattuor: Waldenses, malibrarii, runctani (?), Manichei*. The text in Ms XI. D. 5 is a version of the notice on more than seventy sects of heretics from the treatise of the Anonymous of Passau, cf. A. Patschovsky, *Der Passauer Anonymus: ein Sammelwerk über Ketzer, Juden, Antichrist aus der Mitte des 13. Jahrhunderts*, Stuttgart 1968, 25. The 'Malibrarii' are not, however, a common name of a heretical sect in the transmission of the Anonymous of Passau's treatise. The author of the *De inquisitione hereticorum* regards these as separate heretical sects, not identical to Pauperes de Lugduno. It is possible that 'Pouer Leun' refers to French Waldensians and 'Waltenses' the Lombard Waldensians.

⁷² Cf. Greg. M., Moral., Lib. III, c. XXV, 48 (CCSL 143, p. 145, v. 6–10).

⁷³ patefaciat] patefaceat W

⁷⁴ Cf. Greg. M., Moral., Lib. III, c. XXV, 48 (CCSL 143, p. 145, v. 13–16).

ewangelium dicat *principem non sine causa ferre gladium*⁷⁵, et ipsi suis complicitibus dant intelligere obsequium Deo et sibi prestare, si occidant eos, per quos timent se et suam sectam exterminare, ut plures inquisitores christianorum ab eis sunt occisi.»⁷⁶ Falsitas autem omnium ditorum suorum et posicionum patebit, cum solventur posiciones et motiva antiquorum hereticorum contra unumquemque articulorum sacre fidei, qui secundum aliquos XV, secundum aliquos XIII et in simbolo apostolorum ponuntur, quorum princeps apostolorum primum ponit dicens: *Credo in Deum Patrem omnipotentem* etc. Explicit.

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⁷⁵ Rm 13:4.

⁷⁶ Cum ei dicunt non debere occidere [--] ab eis sunt occisi: cf. DIH, p. 217. Instead of *plures inquisitores christianorum*, DIH refers to the martyrdom of Peter of Verona (1252): *Et sic fuit occisus sanctus Petrus de ordine predicatorum, et quidam alii*. The canonization of Peter in 1253 is thus the definite *terminus post quem* for DIH. See Sackville, *Heresy and Heretics*, 139.

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REVIEWS

GÁBOR KLANICZAY*

[REVIEW]: *MARXISM AND MEDIEVAL STUDIES. MARXIST HISTORIOGRAPHY IN EAST-CENTRAL EUROPE*, ED. BY M. NODL, P. WĘCOWSKI, D. ZUPKA, EAST CENTRAL AND EASTERN EUROPE IN THE MIDDLE AGES, 450–1450, 93, BRILL, LEIDEN – BOSTON 2024, PP. 391.

Coming to terms with the scholarly impact of Marxism in the medievalist historiographies of Central European countries is an important task, the complexity of which goes beyond the evaluation of research methodologies and academic achievements. The historiographer must deal here with historians living for four decades in a political system, state socialism, which tried to impose Marxism as a philosophically articulated and ideologically biased framework of their scholarly production. Some embraced this ideology with genuine conviction, others came under its spell for a while and then got disillusioned from it, still others seemingly accepted its domination as a strategy of survival and added the necessary (Marx, Lenin, Stalin) quotations (the ‘red tail’ as it was contemptuously called in Hungary) to works of neutral, specialized scholarship. Those who entirely refused to obey the pressure were pushed to the periphery of academic life, excluded from academies, universities and research institutes. But among them some were lucky to be supported by the solidarity of colleagues and could remain active despite the unfavourable conditions. The work of ‘socialist historians’ often received privileged political attention, new academic research institutes were founded to support their self-conscious striving to rectify the “erroneous” interpretations of ‘bourgeois historical science’. At the same time, looking back to that period, one must recognize that

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academic scholarship – and within it medieval studies – has produced also significant results during the four decades dominated by Marxism in these countries. Costly archaeological excavations, ambitious source editions, extensive synthetic overviews were funded, and some grand historians could use these resources without letting them distort their achievements.

The initiative of organizing a comparative assessment how medieval studies fared in Central Europe during the domination of Marxism is very welcome and highly timely. More than three decades have passed since the change of the system; there appeared several historiographic overviews of the recent past in the individual countries of Central Europe, but these remained confined in their national sphere, no effort has been made so far to compare the varieties of this experience. In addition, a comparative overview could help to dissolve the *damnatio memoriae* that stigmatized the entire scholarship of this period in the eyes of recent generations.

The core of the studies in the present book stems from a workshop organized in Prague in 2019 confronting the Czech and the Polish milieu. The discussions there proposed the enlargement of the circle and include in the resulting volume further historiographic essays on Hungarian, Romanian, Slovak and Yugoslav medieval studies. East Germany was more or less excluded from this group, because of the special agenda of Marxist medieval studies there, immersed in permanent polemics with West German colleagues. The volume contains seventeen essays discussing the influence of Marxism on historical, archaeological and art historical studies related to the Middle Ages: seven on Polish, four on Czech, two on Hungarian, and one on Slovak, Romanian, Yugoslav and Russian medieval studies. The editors, Martin Nodl, Piotr Węcowski and Dušan Zupka stress in their introduction and conclusion that a synthetic overview could not be attempted here. This volume proposes rather case studies with a multiplicity of possible approaches to the problem.

Rafał Stobiecki's essay introduces the series with a *longue durée* overview of Polish historiography after 1945. The initial attractiveness of the Marxist vision of history resided in its attention to economic and social history instead of political history and the elites. The impact of Stalinization between 1948 and 1956 compromised the inspirations of this methodology by making it more or less obligatory. After October

1956, however, several varieties emerged in the use of Marxism: among them an “orthodox”, Poznań-based group (Jerzy Topolski, Adam Schaff) and a Warsaw School of “revisionist” historians and philosophers (Leszek Kołakowski, Bronisław Baczko) who emigrated after 1968. An increased dialogue started with the French *Annales* circle (Fernand Braudel, Jacques Le Goff) who integrated Polish – once Marxist – medievalists in their methodological debates on ‘nouvelle histoire’ (Krzysztof Pomian, Bronisław Geremek). There were theoretically minded economic historians in whose work Marxism was just a remote background (Witold Kula), and the ideological-theoretical ‘historiosophical’ aspect disappeared from the bulk of historical research, returning to a closer exploration of the sources. Though Stobiecki excuses himself for providing only a ‘bird’s-eye view’, this differentiated Polish panorama provides an excellent framework for the studies included in the volume.

The two studies by Tadeusz Paweł Rutkowski and Piotr Węcowski complete this image by describing in detail the new academic institutions emerging in the post-war years: the reorganization of the universities, the Institute of History of the Soviet-style academy, and the large Department for Studies on the Origins of the Polish State (DSOPS). They point out, that despite the increasing pressure of the Communist takeover and notwithstanding the influence of some enthusiastically Marxist historians (such as Stanisław Arnold and Ewa Maleczyńska), the directors of these new institutions, Aleksander Gieysztor for the DSOPS and Tadeusz Manteuffel for the Institute of History at the Polish Academy of Sciences managed to promote true historical scholarship, and skilfully navigate their institutions without yielding to official ideological demands. The special investment into the archaeology and the history of the origins of the Polish state had certainly its own function: justifying the new geographical extensions of Poland after the Second World War, providing ample data that Silesia belonged to the original Polish state. Although this issue had little to do with the Marxist vision of history, the medieval history of Silesia became an ideologically privileged subject. David Radek described how the evaluation of Silesian princes oscillated ‘between nationalism and Marxism’ and Przemysław Wiszewski analyzed the work of Ewa Maleczyńska, who directed attention to Silesian Hussites, prominent representatives of medieval class struggles, dear to the Marxist historians. Two more Polish contributions also handled issues where the research themes aligned with the Marxist

vision of social history: Andrzej Marzec wrote on medieval knight clans and Piotr Guzowski on how the changes of the peasant rent types could be put in relation with the German colonisation.

Compared with the systematic presentation of the Polish scene, the Czech contributions bring only four case studies. Martin Nodl wrote a very detailed, excellent overview of the most central theme of Marxist interpretation of medieval Czech history: Hussitism. The Czech philosopher and historian of ideas, Robert Kalivoda provoked long-lasting debates by his thesis qualifying the Hussite movement as an 'early bourgeois revolution', boldly revising the thesis of Engels on the German Peasants' War, getting into conflict with Josef Macek, the principal Marxist expert of the Hussites at home and several Soviet and East German medievalists abroad.

A second case study is offered by Martin Wihoda who described the biographically founded intellectual trajectory of František Graus, one of the zealous protagonists of Marxist historiography in Czechoslovakia in the early 1950s, writing influential studies on the late medieval 'crisis of feudalism', but in the 1960s abandoning Marxism and as a 1968 émigré, becoming a respected medievalist in Germany and Switzerland. Wihoda analyses how the concepts of Graus evolved on the responsibilities of historians towards the 'living past', but to me this portrait seems incomplete without the mention of his pathbreaking, non-Marxist monograph on rulership (*Volk, Herrscher und Heiliger im Reich der Merowinger*, 1965) still written in Czechoslovakia, or all his books written in exile.

The archaeologist Jiří Macháček offers a concise and witty typology of the various ways principal archaeologists adhered to Marxism in the different periods of the four decades under consideration: confused or naïve pseudo-Marxists, conformist pseudo-Marxists, isolated authentic Marxists and neo-Marxists. This is paired with the detailed discussion of one case: the heated debate between Jaroslav Böhm, ranged by Macháček to the first group, and Graus on the problem whether one can call Great Moravia a 'feudal state'. Two Czech art historians also contributed to the volume: Tereza Johanidesová on the Prague school of 'Marxist iconology' and Jitka Komendová on the concept of Russian Pre-Renaissance.

As mentioned at the beginning of this review, the studies resulting from the Polish-Czech workshop were complemented by several

additional overviews. The two Hungarian essays, by Attila Pók and Gábor Thoroczkay took the invitation seriously: they provided a balanced panorama of all the principal Marxist representatives of Hungarian medieval studies during the four decades of state socialism, characterizing their different and changing relationship with this ideological framework, and their close exchanges with the *Annales* circle. They also dwelt with the principal theoretical discussions they started on the Central European varieties of feudalism (Zsigmond Pál Pach, László Makkai), on nationalism versus class struggles (Erik Molnár, Jenő Szűcs), and the “belated” socio-economic development related to the problem of historical regions (also Jenő Szűcs). They also added to this panorama, how badly fared in the 1950s the prime Hungarian representative of sociological history, István Hajnal, who did not adhere to Marxism.

The Marxist period of the Slovak, Romanian and Yugoslavian medieval studies is illustrated by several examples from archaeology. Adam Hudek wrote on the Marxist evaluation of the excavations related to Great Moravia. Iure Stamati provides a detailed history of the changing archaeological views in Romania in the 1950s and 1960s, from enthusiastic followers of the Stalinist linguist Marr (later disavowed), and from the initial Soviet-inspired focus upon the remains of Slavic elements to the concentration of research on Daco-Roman archaeology – interpreted with historical categories of Marxism.

The most comprehensive essay on archaeology was written by Florin Curta, who juxtaposed the academic career of four female archaeologists in the period: Ludmila Kraskovská (Czech of Lithuanian origin), Mirjana Ćorović-Ljubinković and Paola Korosec (Yugoslav), and Tatiana Stefanovičová (Slovak). His detailed biographical and professional portraits, showing how three of these four leading female archaeologists could retain their position with very little tribute to Marxism, give an illustration of the need of closer in-depth examination of this period with its contradictory but valuable academic legacy.

Concluding this review, one might say that the assembly of these case studies on the relation of medieval studies and Marxism in six East-Central European studies is very inspiring. With the variety of its approaches paves the way for a systematic, comparative overview of this domain. Let me mention here a few of the associations that emerged from its reading. Obviously, a similar detailed overview of the historiography of the whole period, as provided by Rafał Stobiecki for

Poland and Attila Pók for Hungary, would be desirable for Czechoslovakia (and Romania, and Yugoslavia) as well. On the whole, while the Stalinist period received more attention in the volume, the long period between 1956 and 1990, with the representatives of a more consolidated, theoretically and scholarly more elaborated Marxist historiography would merit more detailed evaluation.

The complexity of the adherence or the resistance to the impact of Marxism in this four-decades-long historical period is best illustrated by the detailed intellectual biographies of important protagonists, as provided in the volume of Ewa Maleczyńska, František Graus, István Hajnal or the four Czechoslovak and Yugoslav female archaeologists. This raises the desire to complement these portraits by several others: those of the partially presented Aleksander Gieysztor, Josef Macek, Jenő Szűcs or those barely mentioned such as Bronisław Geremek and František Šmahel – just to name a few.

Further inspiring ideas emerging from the volume could be enumerated here: the fruitful pairing of the two disciplines of history and archaeology and the two isolated examples from art history indicate that the study of the influence of Marxism has to be paired with an interdisciplinary vision of medieval studies, where further disciplines, such as literary studies, philosophy or economic history would be also welcome. The insights of the detailed presentation of the debates on Hussitism by Czech, Soviet, Polish, and East German historians (where I would add the Hungarian György Székely as well) prompts the desire to further examine the polemics on other important medieval subjects between the Marxist historians of these countries, promoted regularly by two-sided ‘mixed commissions’, joint workshops, anniversary conferences. All these suggestions are inspired by the merits and the usefulness of this collection of studies.

ADAM KOZAK*

[REVIEW]: *IURA VICARIORUM. KOPIARIUSZ KOLEGIUM WIKARIUSZY KATEDRY POZNAŃSKIEJ*, ED. BY T. JUREK, FOLIA JAGIELLONICA. FONTES, 18, POLSKIE TOWARZYSTWO HISTORYCZNE, POZNAŃSKIE TOWARZYSTWO PRZYJACIÓŁ NAUK, POZNAŃ 2023, PP. XLVIII + 816.

The late medieval cartulary of the College of Perpetual Vicars at Poznań Cathedral, traditionally referred to as the *Iura vicariorum*, has an incredibly complex and fascinating history that could even inspire a thriller. Founded around 1420, likely in the wake of the chancery reforms initiated in Poznań by Andrzej Łaskarzyc (1414–1426), the learned bishop and eager advocate of conciliary reforms, it remained in continuous use for over 250 years. During this time, it was supplemented with charters, primarily concerning the bequests of redeemable annuities for vicars and altars at Poznań Cathedral, but their subsequent redemptions were also carefully recorded. An index was even added to the book in the early sixteenth century, facilitating the quick retrieval of inscribed documents. By the late eighteenth century, when the manuscript had fallen out of everyday use, it had become the subject of the first scholarly studies. In 1784, an abbreviated summary of the manuscript was produced by Canon Mateusz Zymchanowski of Poznań (d. 1824).¹ The manuscript was later examined, albeit rather cursorily, by Stanisław Smolka (d. 1924)² and Adolf Warschauer (d. 1930).³ Surprisingly,

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¹ Poznań, Archiwum Archidiecezjalne, Ms CP 14, 600–47.

² S. Smolka, 'Archiwa w W. X. Poznańskim i w Prusiech Wschodnich i Zachodnich. Sprawozdanie z podróży odbytej z polecenia komisji historycznej w lecie 1874 r.', *Rozprawy Akademii Umiejętności. Wydział Historyczno-Filozoficzny*, 4 (1875), 191.

³ A. Warschauer, *Stadtbuch von Posen*, Poznań 1892, 3.

documents from the cartulary were not included by the publishers of the *Kodeks dyplomatyczny Wielkopolski*: Ignacy Zakrzewski (d. 1889) and his successor Franciszek Piekosiński (d. 1906).⁴ In 1925, the manuscript came under the care of the newly established Archdiocesan Archives in Poznań. The first director of this institution, Father Edmund Majkowski (d. 1951), even undertook to make copies of the oldest documents from the cartulary (issued before 1385). However, the work he prepared was never published.⁵ During World War II, the manuscript was initially hidden in the Capuchin friary in Lubartów near Lublin (400 km east of Poznań). However, it was quickly stolen by Nazi troops (autumn 1939) and taken to Berlin, where it disappeared without a trace. All attempts to determine its fate were unsuccessful, and the cartulary was therefore considered irretrievably lost, forcing researchers to rely on imprecise *regesta* by M. Zymchanowski and sparse copies by E. Majkowski. Meanwhile, in 2004, more than 60 years after the theft, the cartulary was discovered among Hebrew manuscripts in the Jewish Museum in Prague (identification by Olga Sixtová and Zdeňka Hledíková).⁶ However, the circumstances under which the manuscript came to Prague could not be determined. In 2007, the cartulary returned to Poznań, and two years later, its thorough conservation was completed. Now, fortunately, the time has come for its publication. Tomasz Jurek, a distinguished Poznań medievalist and experienced source publisher,⁷ undertook the difficult task of preparing an edition of the cartulary.

The *Iura vicariorum* cartulary consists of 557 *in quarto* paper folios (dimensions approximately 20 × 26 cm), arranged in 49 quires.⁸ The manuscript, which posed a significant challenge for the publisher,

⁴ *Kodeks dyplomatyczny Wielkopolski*, ed. by I. Zakrzewski, I–IV, Poznań 1877–1881; *Kodeks dyplomatyczny Wielkopolski*, ed. by F. Piekosiński, V, Poznań 1908.

⁵ The copies produced by E. Majkowski are preserved in his papers, see Cracow, Biblioteka Naukowa PAN i PAU, Ms 3519.

⁶ Z. Hledíková, 'Rukopis kolegia poznaňských vikářů nalezen v Praze', *Roczniki Historyczne*, 71 (2005), 201–16.

⁷ To mention here just a few of his editorial works: *Księga ziemiska kaliska 1400–1409*, ed. by T. Jurek, Poznań 1991; *Kodeks dyplomatyczny Wielkopolski*, ed. A. Gąsiorowski, T. Jasiński et al., XI, Poznań 1999; *Landbuch księstw świdnickiego i jaworskiego*, ed. by T. Jurek, I–III, Poznań 2000–2007; *Metryka Uniwersytetu Krakowskiego z lat 1400–1508. Biblioteka Jagiellońska rkp. 258*, ed. by A. Gąsiorowski, T. Jurek et al., I–II, Cracow 2004; *Najstarsza księga promocji Wydziału Sztuk Uniwersytetu Krakowskiego z lat 1402–1541*, ed. by A. Gąsiorowski, T. Jurek et al., Warsaw 2011.

⁸ Poznań, Archiwum Archidiecezjalne, Ms CP 10.

has survived to this day with serious defects – the original binding has disappeared, the ink has faded on some of the folios (fortunately, the writing is still visible under UV light), and many (fols 270–365) have gaps caused by crumbling paper (now filled with paper pulp). Over 650 documents (and much less frequently, summaries) were entered onto the cartulary folios in several stages (circa 1420, circa 1490, 1520–1579, as well as irregular later additions). The documents date from 1284–1675, with three of the oldest dating back to the thirteenth century, sixty-eight to the fourteenth century, 403 to the fifteenth century, and the rest from the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Almost all of the documents were written in Latin, with the exception of three privileges in German. As mentioned earlier, they primarily concern bequests of annuities redeemable for the College of Perpetual Vicars (certified by the starosts general of Greater Poland, the municipal authorities of Poznań, and Poznań vicars general *in spiritualibus*). The cartulary also contains judgments of ecclesiastical courts and the erection of altars in Poznań Cathedral (often served by cathedral vicars). The manuscript's content is therefore largely repetitive, but it also allows for a detailed reconstruction of the functioning of the Poznań College, which is important not only for regional research but also from a comparative perspective.

The publication, prepared by Tomasz Jurek, opens with a lengthy introduction (pp. VII–XLV). It discusses, among other things, the history of the Poznań College of Perpetual Vicars and the history of its archives (in 1218, more than a dozen vicars were already mentioned; in 1300, posts of perpetual vicar were established as separate prebends; the first records of an organized college date from 1360 and 1387). The publisher then moves on to present the cartulary itself (the history of the manuscript and its research, a detailed codicological description, its method of growth, and a discussion of numerous marginal glosses, as well as an index of documents added in the early sixteenth century). This section is supplemented by fifteen illustrations, which perfectly complement the study. Considerable space is also devoted to the characteristics of the documents included in the manuscript (chronological and geographical scope, issuers, and content). At the end of the introduction, Tomasz Jurek outlined the editing principles: the publishing instructions adopted in Volume VI of the *Kodeks dyplomatyczny Wielkopolski* were

applied;⁹ the manuscript was published in its entirety, in its original layout and wording (the subject of the edition was the cartulary himself, not the privileges entered into him); no abbreviations were made in the documents, ultimately facilitating research into their form. In the case of the index, various fonts were also used to distinguish between notes entered at different times. The introduction to the edition of the *Iura vicariorum* cartulary should be considered exemplary, as it goes far beyond the abbreviated descriptions found in many other source publications. However, not only the extensive research questionnaire but also the meticulousness of Tomasz Jurek's analyses deserve praise. Ultimately, the reader receives a complete monograph of the precious manuscript, which is a breathless read.

On pages 1–687 of the edition an index as well as 660 documents and summaries entered into the cartulary are published. Each document is provided with a serial number, date, a summary in Polish, information about any subsequent additions, and textual footnotes. These footnotes note, among other things, differences in the wording of a given document's text in the cartulary compared to the original or other surviving copies. The source text is generally accurate, although a relatively large number of minor errors and omissions are surprising, likely resulting from haste and insufficiently careful collation of the readings.¹⁰ It should be emphasized that none of these affect the understanding of the source. It is also worth appreciating that the publisher has tackled a difficult text, which has survived to this day with numerous defects (faded

⁹ *Kodeks dyplomatyczny Wielkopolski*, ed. by A. Gąsiorowski, H. Kowalewicz, VI, Poznań 1982, XIII–XVIII.

¹⁰ To demonstrate the problems with the accuracy of published editions I collated a few documents selected at random. For example in document No. 52 the transcription is as follows: *Mey civis; ad festum beati Michaelis archangelis; subicientes*; though the correct reading is: *Mey civium; ad festum beati Michaelis archangelis* and *subicientesque*; in No. 92 it runs: *Santhocensis; Bloczesschewo; quibus dictis vicariis providus vir; singulis annis exigendas et recipiendas; et officiales Poznanienses; non alio*, though the correct reading should run: *Santhociensis; Bliczesszewo; quibus dictis dominis vicariis providus vir; singulis annis exigendas et repetendas; et officiales pro tempore Poznanienses and non alias*; in No. 377 it runs: *in honorem; grossorum; Kelczewo; Kelczew; tres missas, prima* though the correct readings should run: *in honore [sic!], grossorum grossorum [sic!], Kelczowo, Kelczow and tres missas, primam*; in No. 624: it runs *ratifficavimus; nobilis Laurencio Prziborowsky etc.* instead of *rafiffica<vi>mus* and *nobilibus [sic!] Laurencio Prziborowsky etc.* While collating document No. 213 no errors or omissions were found.

handwriting) and omissions, which have been meticulously reconstructed in the edition. The only questionable aspect is the publisher's decision to publish the documents of cathedral vicars *in extenso*, as their content is highly repetitive and often stereotypical. From the perspective of the publisher's workload versus potential benefits, it would perhaps have been better to publish only excerpts or summaries of documents from the cartulary. It is also worth noting that the scribes of the vicars' college themselves were sometimes content (most often at the turn of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries) with entering only short summaries of documents into the cartulary, clearly recognizing that entering them in full was unnecessary and too time-consuming. Important additions to the edition include a chronological concordance (pp. 689–97) and a detailed index of persons and place names (pp. 699–809). Importantly, the latter successfully replaces the footnotes providing explanatory notes on all the individuals and places mentioned in the documents.

Tomasz Jurek's edition undoubtedly has a far-reaching significance. The *Iura vicariorum* cartulary is a rare example of such a comprehensively preserved collection of documentation relating to the college of the lower clergy, which is undoubtedly valuable for comparative research. It also allows for the reconstruction of religious life and the liturgical order in the cathedral. The publication itself can be considered almost exemplary, primarily thanks to its extensive introduction and excellent indexes. There is a small disappointment resulting from the insufficiently accurate collation of the published documents with the cartulary's manuscript. It is gratifying that the edition is available online in an open access format on the Polish National Library's website (polona.pl¹¹).

¹¹ Direct link: <<https://polona.pl/preview/e2fb2034-1b4c-4ee2-8fed-be9f217ecdfe>> [accessed 8 October 2025].

CAROLIN GLUCHOWSKI*

[REVIEW]: *THE LADIES ON THE HILL: THE FEMALE MONASTIC COMMUNITIES AT THE ARISTOCRATIC MONASTERIES OF KLOSTERNEUBURG AND ST. GEORGE'S IN PRAGUE*, ED. BY J. F. HAMBURGER, E. SCHLOTHEUBER, BÖHLAU, WIEN 2024, PP. 372.

The recent volume *The Ladies on the Hill: the Female Monastic Communities at the Aristocratic Monasteries of Klosterneuburg and St. George's in Prague*, edited by Jeffrey F. Hamburger and Eva Schlotheuber, offers a significant and timely contribution to the expanding field of late medieval monastic studies, with a particular emphasis on women's religious communities. At the heart of the volume are two prominent aristocratic female monastic communities: the Augustinian Abbey of Klosterneuburg in Lower Austria and the Benedictine Convent of St George at Prague Castle in Bohemia. Reflecting a broader scholarly shift away from earlier frameworks that viewed female convents primarily as *Versorgungsanstalten* – institutions designed chiefly to provide care or containment for noble daughters – this collection advances the understanding of women's houses as dynamic centres of spiritual, intellectual, and cultural agency. It achieves this by focusing on the inner-conventual production of meaning, as expressed through devotional literature, liturgy, art, music, and administrative documents.

Originating from two international workshops held in 2021, the volume brings together fourteen essays by scholars from diverse disciplines. Written in both English and German, it spans over 370 pages and is richly illustrated with more than 100 images, alongside numerous charts and tables. A comprehensive index further enhances the volume's accessibility and ease of navigation. The essays are loosely organized around themes that

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explore the institutional frameworks, manuscript cultures, liturgical practices, and devotional life characterizing Klosterneuburg and St George's from the twelfth to the early sixteenth centuries.

Prefacing the volume is a clear and programmatic introduction, co-authored by the editors J. F. Hamburger and E. Schlotheuber. In this opening essay, they set out the rationale for their comparative study, situating the surviving material culture – manuscripts, financial records, liturgical books, and artefacts – within wider historical, and devotional frameworks. They demonstrate how, despite being governed by distinct monastic rules (Augustinian and Benedictine), both communities occupied pivotal roles within the political, religious, and cultural networks of their regions. Crucially, the volume challenges the prevailing biographical exceptionalism often reserved for a select few highly educated nuns, instead aiming to turn attention to the broader manuscript traditions, liturgical practices, and institutional cultures that shaped the everyday lived experience of these communities. The editors' comparative methodology is both innovative and compelling, providing fresh insights into the cultural productions and liturgical life of these two elite female monastic institutions.

The volume opens with J. F. Hamburger's richly illustrated essay on the visual and textual representations of the rule in (female) monastic communities. As the essential framework for monastic life, every religious house required at least one copy of the rule specific to its order. While images accompanying these rules were rare, Hamburger demonstrates that they were not as uncommon as generally assumed. Such illuminations offered communities the opportunity to depict themselves in ways that served both as a mirror of their present identity and as a model of their spiritual ideals. Locating these images, however, requires looking beyond standalone copies of the rule to manuscripts from other genres – most notably chapter office books – that were regularly consulted for guidance on the rule's observance. Using the nine surviving examples of rules from Klosterneuburg as a starting point, Hamburger explores the rich iconographic traditions associated with Benedictine, Augustinian, and female monastic rules. A detailed appendix listing seventy-eight decorated copies of monastic rules – often embedded in composite manuscripts – provides an invaluable resource for future research.

Karel Pacovský contributes two essays that illuminate the institutional and ceremonial entanglements of St George's Convent with the ecclesiastical and political life of medieval Bohemia. His first essay turns to the role of the abbesses in the coronations of Bohemian queens, drawing on the Coronation Ordo of Emperor Charles IV (1316–1378) to chart the evolution of their involvement from a largely attendant role to one of greater ceremonial prominence. Pacovský's careful disentangling of the evidence dispels earlier claims of extraordinary privileges granted by Charles IV, instead situating the abbesses' participation within the convent's enduring proximity to, and integration with, the royal court's ritual and political sphere. In his study of the canons attached to St George's, he reconstructs the functions of this male clerical body – established by the thirteenth century to enhance the liturgical life of both the abbey church and the convent's own chapel – and traces its gradual marginalisation following Archbishop Arnošt of Pardubice's (circa 1300–1364) mid-fourteenth-century reforms and the losses sustained during the Hussite wars, culminating in its disappearance by the late fifteenth century.

Sarah Deichstetter and Sabine Miesgang deliver an indispensable overview of the institutional history and economic organization of the Augustinian canonesses at Klosterneuburg, tracing developments from 1445 to 1533. Their essay offers a comprehensive assessment of the convent's evolving structures by synthesizing administrative practices with broader economic contexts. One of the major contributions of their essay is the detailed survey of the surviving account books, including a meticulous analysis of their contents, which will undoubtedly serve as a catalyst for future research. In close methodological conversation, Maria Magdalena Rückert and Annette Kehnel provide a nuanced, data-driven reconstruction of fifteenth-century financial administration by examining a continuous series of Klosterneuburg's account books. Their analysis foregrounds the practical agency exercised by the nuns in managing daily expenses – food, clothing, medical care, and household items – while delineating the persisting authority retained by male canons over large-scale financial decisions. Taken together, these essays significantly deepen our understanding of gendered economic responsibility within late medieval double monasteries and highlight how female religious communities navigated institutional autonomy through meticulous fiscal stewardship.

Renata Modráková supplies a richly textured exploration of the manuscript culture at St George's under the leadership of Abbess Kunigunde of Kolowrat (circa 1350–1401). She demonstrates how the convent's library – possibly the largest surviving medieval female monastic collection in the Czech lands – was shaped by Kunigunde's devotional preferences, particularly her reverence for the Virgin Mary and the cult of St Ludmila. Through careful codicological and liturgical analysis, Modráková situates these manuscripts within both familial dynastic frameworks and broader Bohemian devotional sensibilities, illuminating the ways in which Kunigunde deployed book production as a means to assert liturgical identity and institutional cohesion.

Anna Lukas offers a compelling, if brief, intervention into the vernacular devotional practices of Klosterneuburg through her analysis of a unique parchment fragment once forming part of a larger roll. This piece, containing prayers for healing female ailments and likely functioning as a *Schutzbrief*, sheds rare light on the embodied devotional strategies pursued by women in vernacular rather than Latin contexts. Lukas's insights open promising new lines of inquiry into the porous boundaries between textual genres and the physical forms of gendered spiritual authorship within female monastic settings.

Both Gionata Brusa and Anna Záková offer illuminating studies of the *liber ordinarius* – those critical liturgical guides – through which the two featured convents articulated their spiritual and institutional identities. Brusa's comparison of three fourteenth-century *libri ordinarii* from Klosterneuburg, alongside a circa-1506 version, reveals the dynamics of liturgical continuity and change over time. His analysis highlights structural revisions, rubric enhancements, and linguistic clarifications, as well as the integration of musical influences from regional centres such as Passau and Salzburg, particularly reflected in Holy Week responsories – underscoring Klosterneuburg's synthesis of local tradition and external currents. In parallel, Anna Záková's examination of the mid-fourteenth-century *liber ordinarius* of St George's situates the manuscript within the broader liturgical reforms sweeping through Bohemia, notably the Hirsau movement. She deftly argues that this manuscript, with its distinctive sanctorale and musical cues, may have been crafted either to assert the convent's liturgical autonomy amid tensions with episcopal authority or to codify its complex rites for ecclesiastical inspection. Záková's readings suggest a specifically

female liturgical perspective embedded in its structure, offering poignant insight into how nuns themselves shaped their communal prayer life. Taken together, these chapters make a compelling case for the *liber ordinarius* as a dynamic locus for both liturgical innovation and monastic self-definition across these two royal convents.

Margot Fassler turns our attention to the Office of St Mary Magdalene at St George's, deploying the concept of 'liturgical imagination' to decipher how nuns themselves actively shaped devotional content and enactment. Fassler reveals how the office not only reflects the burgeoning cult of the Magdalene but also served as a spiritual mirror for both abbess and sisters, particularly in the Easter season. Her synthesis connecting the office to the abbey's Passional, Easter dramas, and ritual enactments such as the Maundy Thursday Mandatum underscores the depth at which liturgy served as a dynamic medium for female spiritual subjectivity and institutional self-fashioning.

Lucie Podroužková, Samuel Skoviera, and David Eben contribute a comparative study of three antiphoners used in St George's during the autumn portion of the sanctorale – spanning Pentecost to year's end. Their analysis draws attention to subtle shifts in liturgical repertoire, revealing the fluidity of manuscript production as a means of adapting communal tradition. These shifts indicate both internal development and external influence – most notably from South German centres like Regensburg – thus positioning St George's as a node in a wide devotional network marked by the reforms of Hirsau. The study stands as a testament to the convent's engagement with – and adaptation within – a vibrant European liturgical culture.

Maria Theisen offers a compelling art-historical and institutional portrait of Abbess Kunigunde through her analysis of three illuminated codices – a pair of breviaries and a psalter – from St George's. Situated against the backdrop of Kunigunde's contentious election in 1386, Theisen argues that these richly illuminated manuscripts serve not merely as devotional objects but as instruments of political affirmation and identity formation. At a moment marked by internal factional strife and shifting power dynamics within the convent, these codices emerge as visual assertions of abbess-led authority and institutional continuity. Theisen's study thus demonstrates how material culture and visual patronage intersected with ecclesiastical governance and familial patronage during a volatile period.

In her analysis of the *Passional* associated with Abbess Kunigunde, Jennifer Vlček Schurr explores the manuscript's dual role as a personal devotional book and an expression of institutional identity. Through detailed examination of its compilation and thematic design, she demonstrates that the *Passional* was consciously crafted to reflect Kunigunde's spiritual commitments while simultaneously articulating her leadership and vision for the convent. Schurr's work thus highlights the interplay of manuscript form and function in articulating female monastic authority and devotional practice.

The *Ladies on the Hill* makes a significant contribution to the study of late medieval female monasticism by providing a detailed and well-documented examination of the Augustinian Abbey of Klosterneuburg and the Benedictine Convent of St George in Prague. The volume's comparative approach is a notable strength, offering valuable insights into the institutional cultures of two important Central European convents. The interdisciplinary methodology – combining codicology, liturgy, art history, and economic history – effectively highlights the complexity of monastic life. Some technical improvements would enhance usability, such as a consolidated list of images with consistent credits and more uniform formatting of tables and charts. Additionally, a concluding synthesis drawing together the volume's key findings would have further strengthened the overall coherence and provided clearer direction for future research.

Overall, *The Ladies on the Hill* is an important and valuable resource for scholars interested in medieval female monasticism, manuscript culture, liturgy, and monastic economy. It fills important gaps in the field and will serve as a useful reference for future studies.

ADAM KRAWIEC^{*}

[REVIEW]: MAGDALENA BINIAŚ-SZKOPEK, *Marriage in Medieval Poland. A Study of Evidence from the Poznań Consistory Court, 1404–1428*, EAST CENTRAL AND EASTERN EUROPE IN THE MIDDLE AGES, 450–1450, 94, BRILL, LEIDEN – BOSTON 2024, PP. IX + 293.

Marriage has been one of the most important social institutions in different civilizations and cultures through history. Therefore, it is not surprising that it has long aroused the interest of historians, including medievalists, although it has never been a particularly fashionable topic of study. This also applies to Polish medieval studies. Many issues related to medieval marriage are still poorly researched, and Polish sources and the results of research conducted on them are usually overlooked by Western historiography. It is good, therefore, that the new work of Magdalena Biniaś-Szkopek, a Poznań historian, fills one of the gaps in our knowledge on the subject under discussion, and at the same time gives a chance to “break through” with this knowledge to wider circles of researchers from other countries.

M. Biniaś-Szkopek analyzes matrimonial cases pending before the Poznań consistory court in the first three decades of the fifteenth century. The starting point for the monograph in question was her habilitation dissertation published in 2018. The current version is not a simple translation, although it uses a number of elements of the earlier book. The Author expanded some parts of the book and adapted it to the needs of readers less familiar with Polish realities. The book structure has been reorganized: instead of three parts divided into subsections, it now consists of nine

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independent chapters, preceded by an introduction and ending with a brief conclusion.

The monograph begins with a general introduction, including an overview of historiography and a characterization of the scope of the work, as well as an explanation of some issues related to the spelling and pronunciation of Polish names and proper names, which is important for foreign readers. The Author then discusses approaches to marriage in, as she puts it, 'selected Church documents', which in practice means mainly pre-Tridentine Canon law. The next two chapters deal with the establishment and functioning of consistory courts in Poland, while the remaining six are devoted to selected marriage-related issues: the validity of the marital vow, sexual abuse, impediments to creating a valid marriage, marital violence, extramarital sexual relations and the role of children in matrimonial cases.

The earliest surviving records of the Poznań Consistory Court from the years 1404–1411 and 1417–1428 (records from 1412–1416 have not survived) form the source basis. The choice of end date is completely arbitrary and was not justified by the Author. Nevertheless, the collected material proved to be sufficient to the Author to demonstrate both certain constant features and the dynamics of the changes taking place in the issues under study. Medieval ecclesiastical court records constitute a valuable category of sources, because since the High Middle Ages the principle was established that all matrimonial cases (with the exception of property matters) were subject to ecclesiastical jurisdiction, regardless of the estate affiliation of the litigants. This makes them useful for the study of Canon law and its application in practice, the role of the Church in society, daily life, mentality and imaginations, sexuality, and so on. Moreover, they provide a unique insight into the life of members of the lower strata of medieval society, including not only men, but also women and children too. The work of M. Biniś-Szkopek is a good example of using the potential of the discussed category of sources in this regard. The Author addressed all the issues mentioned above. Given that the monograph is devoted to the practical functioning of ecclesiastical law, the lack of greater concentration on how this law was applied in specific cases is somewhat disappointing. It would have been interesting and relevant to our understanding of the matter, if the Author had tried to link the judgments, issued by officials in individual cases, with specific provisions

of general and particular Canon law, discussed in the initial part of the study.

One of the main advantages this study has over previous historical research, is the Author's use of the acts of the Poznań consistory court in the original. Poor accessibility is a key problem faced by historians wishing to study medieval Church court records. For the most part, they have not yet been published or even digitized. The Author's predecessors almost always used the editions of Bolesław Ulanowski, who at the beginning of the twentieth century published selected records from fifteenth-century Poznań books. However, he made a subjective choice, not based on substantive criteria, covering only 900 of the approximately 48,000 records, or less than one percent of the total, and, in addition, he did not always include all records pertaining to a given case. The Author is to be highly commended for the effort she has made to read the sometimes poorly legible, voluminous books of the Consistory Court in Poznań, which have probably already discouraged many a researcher. The quality of the readings cannot be verified without repeating the entirety of her scrupulous work, and all that remains here is to trust the Author.

From the period selected by the Author, only the *acta causarum* (also not always complete) have survived from the Poznań Consistory court. They describe mainly the subsequent legal actions, while some of the witness testimonies are missing, and we do not always know the final verdict in the case. As a result, the collected source material often makes it impossible to get a complete picture of cases. The author is aware of these limitations, which, by the way, she could have avoided if she had analyzed later records from periods for which a complete set of volumes with witness testimonies and verdicts had survived. However, since she chose the incomplete earliest books, she rightly abandoned attempts at a quantitative approach and instead adopted a method of discussing and analyzing individual cases, divided into categories relating to the main types of question. This seems to be the most adequate approach in this situation, which allows us to obtain as much knowledge as possible, without succumbing to the temptation of overinterpretation and unwarranted generalizations. It is worth noting in this context that the diagrams included in the work, showing the distribution of the number of cases per year, mislead the reader because they give the impression of quantitative leaps in some years, while in

fact this is the result of incomplete preservation of the records. Minor inaccuracies and errors also occur in the tables.

In conclusion, it should be said that M. Biniaś-Szkopek's monograph is one of the more important achievements of contemporary Polish medieval studies. It is valuable from the point of view of many areas of research: the history of ecclesiastical institutions, the history of ecclesiastical law, the history of Christianization understood as the assimilation of Church teaching by society, social history, the history of everyday life, the history of women, and so forth. In some instances, it brings new findings, while in others the Author's conclusions confirm the research results of earlier medievalists. The study under discussion is certainly not the definitive voice in the study of the functioning of marriage law in late-medieval Poland, but it significantly expands our knowledge on the subject. It should also inspire further analysis, concerning both the activities of the Poznań Consistory court and comparisons with similar court cases from other dioceses. Providing comparative material for further research, it is also significant from the point of view of general medieval history, although it refers specifically to the regional history of Greater Poland. It is good, therefore, that the book was published in English. Besides, which is equally important, the book is not boring. It should be an interesting and inspiring read for both professional researchers and a wide range of persons interested in history alike.

JAKUB TUREK*

[REVIEW]: JAN BISKUPIEC, *TRACTATUS CONTRA SACRA CONCILIA*, ED. BY W. ZEGA, M. ZDANEK, TRANS. BY S. SNEDDON, *FOLIA JAGIELLONICA. FONTES*, 26, SOCIETAS VISTULANA, CRACOW 2024, PP. LII + 118.

Late medieval disputes over power in the Church between the papacy and the conciliar movement continue to attract the interest of medievalists. This is illustrated, for example, by recent publications such as companions to the councils of Constance and Basel as well as the latest works by the French historian Joëlle Rollo-Koster. In this context, the publication of a primary source, previously known only through a few summaries, deserves particular recognition. It sheds new light on Poland's stance towards papal supremacy.

Volume 26 of the *Folia Jagiellonica. Fontes* series features a critical edition of a treatise by the Dominican bishop of Chełm, Jan Biskupiec of Opatowiec (d. 1452), concerning the deposition of Pope Eugene IV by the Council of Basel. The edition, long awaited by scholars, was prepared by two Cracow medievalists, Włodzimierz Zega and Maciej Zdaneek. Their scholarly credentials guarantee the high-quality editorial standards of the publication. Zega specializes in fifteenth-century philosophy and theology and has also conducted research on and edited Latin medieval manuscripts. Zdaneek, however, is a historian whose research has focused on the intellectual milieu of the Dominican priory of the Holy Trinity in Cracow, where Jan Biskupiec lived for many years.

The book is divided into three main sections. The first is the introduction, which, drawing on the most recent research papers, presents Poland's

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stance towards the Council of Basel, a biography of Jan Biskupiec, the title and dating of the edited work, a summary of its contents, and a description of the manuscript in which the treatise has been preserved (pp. V–LII). The second section comprises a critical edition of the treatise. The Latin text is aligned with a parallel Polish translation (pp. 1–57). The final section contains an English translation of the treatise, prepared by Shelagh Sneddon, an experienced medieval Latin translator (pp. 59–83). The volume is supplemented by a list of abbreviations, a comprehensive bibliography, and indexes of cited works and names, both personal and geographical, all of which offer a helpful research tool (pp. 85–115).

The only known copy of Jan Biskupiec's treatise is preserved in a book that belonged to the Castilian theologian Juan de Segovia (d. 1458), who played a prominent role at the Council of Basel. The manuscript is currently held in the Library of the University of Salamanca under the reference number Ms 2504. It is worth emphasizing that the manuscript has been made available through the Digital Library of the GREDOS system (Gestión del Repositorio Documental de la Universidad de Salamanca – gredos.usal.es), which provides open online access to the collections of the University of Salamanca. Researchers are now in the favourable position of being able to consult the original source directly and compare it with the critical edition.

The editors have retained the title of 'treatise' which was only written by the medieval scribe in the copy: *A Treatise Against the Holy Councils*. On the one hand, such a title probably does not come from Jan Biskupiec himself and does not accurately reflect the content of his work, as it suggests a general condemnation of councils, whereas the author focused entirely on the Basel Schism. In his work, Jan Biskupiec emerged as a papal apologist whose aim was primarily to defend Pope Eugene IV. He concentrated on refuting the accusations brought against the pope by conciliarists, including issues related to the transfer of the council, the alleged misappropriation of Church property, simony, and rivalry over union with the Greeks. On the other hand, there are compelling reasons to preserve the title as found in the copy: it is the only title known from the time the treatise was composed, and it has already been accepted in historiography. The editors' decision should therefore be viewed positively. A similarly favourable assessment can be given to the editorial choice to divide the text into titled sections. The

original treatise contains no such structural divisions. This intervention helps bring order to Jan Biskupiec's rather inaccessible exposition, which combines doctrinal argumentation with personal and almost emotional commentary.

Contrary to earlier scholarly opinions – and even the doubts expressed by the scribe himself – the editors have concluded that the treatise is complete. However, it seems premature to settle this question definitively, as it is difficult to dispel the impression that the text breaks off abruptly. The absence of clear and comprehensive conclusions raises doubts as to whether the ending expresses what Jan Biskupiec intended.

The parallel presentation of the Latin text alongside its Polish translation allows Polish-speaking scholars to understand more complex passages of the original better, and, more importantly, to follow how the editors themselves interpreted the text. It is, however, regrettable that the English translation is placed in a separate section, particularly as this choice has resulted in the omission of both philological and contextual annotations in that part of the volume. The editors might have considered the model provided by Ludwik Ehrlich's edition of the works of another Polish intellectual, Paulus Vladimiri (Pol. Paweł Włodkowic). In that book, the Latin text was printed on the verso page, with parallel Polish and English translations presented in two columns on the facing recto. While this method can admittedly complicate navigation of the text – requiring readers to constantly align corresponding sections of the original and two translations – it would have been a solution worth considering for the sake of editorial consistency and scholarly utility. However, the decision to include an English translation of the treatise in the publication should be regarded as a highly commendable editorial choice. It significantly enhances the accessibility of this important source for medieval ecclesiology. Providing an English translation of the introduction would have offered a similar benefit.

Despite a commendable effort involving detailed analysis of internal textual clues, the editors were unable to determine the precise date of the treatise's composition. They propose a timeframe between spring (April–May) 1440 and early summer (May–June, before August) 1441, though they suggest the earlier date is more likely. As a result, they interpret Jan Biskupiec's treatise as a contribution to the contemporary debate in Poland concerning the choice of ecclesiastical obedience. Two synods held in Łęczyca, in April 1440 and May 1441, are identified

as key moments in this context. During the same period, between the summer–autumn of 1440 and the spring of 1441, five professors of the University of Cracow composed treatises intended to provide theoretical justification for the decisions made by the Polish political and ecclesiastical elites. All of these works share a common feature: a marked sympathy for conciliar doctrine. Jan Biskupiec’s work may thus be understood as a *votum separatum* expressed by the ageing bishop of Chełm, who, however, was widely known as a former royal confessor of King Władysław II Jagiełło (1386–1434). One should add that Jan Biskupiec returned to the royal court during King Władysław III’s efforts to obtain the Hungarian crown in the spring of 1440. Around this time, he also met twice with the papal legate, Cardinal Isidore of Kiev, likely hosting him in Chełm in July 1440. In turn, between August 1440 and May 1441 he convened a synod of his diocese, at which he issued a small treatise against the Hussite practices of receiving Holy Communion, which, as is known, was the subject of an agreement between the Hussites and the Council of Basel in 1433. All these events may have emboldened Jan Biskupiec to voice dissent against the prevailing sentiments within the Cracow intellectual milieu, which had supporters among the Polish episcopate. Although this information does not allow us to determine the date of the treatise with greater precision, it does suggest that it may well have been composed in 1440. More importantly, it offers valuable insight into the context in which the Dominican undertook the writing of his work.

The critical edition of Jan Biskupiec’s treatise, prepared with great care by W. Zega and M. Zdanek, has made an important source available for the study of the fifteenth-century ecclesiology. The text of the treatise offers insight into the distinctive personality and views of its author, shaped by multiple formative influences: his career as a member of the Order of Preachers; pastoral work in a diocese inhabited mainly by Orthodox Ruthenians; political experience at the court; and a personal inclination toward documenting the events of his time. There is no doubt that this important witness to the influence of late medieval thought on the Church will attract scholarly attention and become the subject of further analysis and in-depth study. This book has been awaited by scholars researching the history of the Dominicans in the Middle Ages, as well as by historians focused on the intellectual milieu of the early Jagiellonian realm and the history of the Council of Basel.

MARCIN STARZYŃSKI*

[REVIEW]: EBERHARD ABLAUFF DE RHENO, *CRONICA DE NOVELLA PLANTATIONE PROVINCE AUSTRIE, BOHEMIE ET POLONIE QUOAD FRATRES MINORES DE OBSERVANTIA*, ED. BY A. KALOUS, J. SVOBODOVÁ, *FRANCISCANS AND EUROPE: HISTORY, IDENTITY, MEMORY*, 1, VIELLA, ROME 2024, PP. 190.

Monastic historiography – particularly in the Polish context – remains a relatively underexplored field of research. The reviewed edition confirms this observation, as it not only inaugurates a new publication series but also presents to readers the first tangible results of a project conducted at Palacký University in Olomouc, aimed at publishing narrative sources related to the history of the Czech Vicariate (later Province) of the Observant Franciscans. The edition is the fruit of collaboration between Antonín Kalous and Jana Svobodová.

In the extensive introduction, Kalous (who had already drawn on the chronicle in question in his earlier research outlines the origins of the Czech Vicariate¹), which – despite the fact that, from the Italian perspective, Bohemia lay beyond the Alps – became part of the Cismontane family of the Order (pp. 9–11). This development was closely connected to the mission carried out in Central Europe by John of Capistrano. The new friaries founded at the time in Austria, Bohemia, and Poland, together with those that joined the Observant movement (ten in total), initially formed a common vicariate, whose first chapter took place in Vienna in 1452. However, due to growing tensions – including ethnic and linguistic conflicts – separate

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¹ 'Bohemia Chronicles of Eberhard Ablauff and Michael of Carinthia on the "Capitula generalissima" (1450–1526)', *Archivum Franciscanum Historicum*, 116 (2023), 97–142.

vicariates were established in 1467 for Austria and Poland, followed by the Czech Vicariate in 1469, which encompassed Bohemia, Moravia, Silesia, and Lusatia. The Czech Vicariate developed successfully: by the early sixteenth century, twenty-seven friaries had been founded in its territory. However, following the wave of the Reformation, only five remained – three in Bohemia (Plzeň, Jindřichův Hradec, Bechyně) and two in Moravia.

Very little is actually known about the author of the chronicle being published – beyond what he chose to reveal about himself (a stylistic feature of the era?). In the available literature, only Petr Hlaváček has so far provided a more detailed account of him (*Die böhmischen Franziskaner im ausgehenden Mittelalter. Studien zur Kirchen- und Kulturgeschichte Ostmitteleuropas*, Stuttgart 2011). He originated from an unspecified locality in the Rhineland, as indicated by his self-designation *de Rheno* (pp. 11–16).

He first appears in the surviving source material in 1482 (in the colophon of one of the texts copied in a manuscript he owned) as a theology student in Leipzig. Subsequent signatures which he placed at the end of the texts he transcribed, along with autobiographical notes inserted into the chronicle itself, allow for a fairly precise reconstruction of his itinerary (after all, the Franciscans were not bound by *stabilitas loci*, as A. Kalous rightly reminds us).

Seven volumes containing manuscripts and early printed books that belonged to Ablauff have survived to this day – two in the National Library (Národní knihovna) in Prague, three in the Strahov Library (Strahovská knihovna), and one each in Strängnäs, Sweden (Domkyrkobiblioteket), and in the Library of the Metropolitan Chapter of St Vitus (Metropolitní kapitula u sv. Víta) in Prague.

He was probably present in Meissen (1484?), certainly in Torgau (1489), and later in Wrocław (1497–1501), where he served in the convent of St James as *lector secundarius*. He was then in Olomouc (1505), Głubczyce (1505–1506), Kadaň (1507–1508 and again in 1527), and possibly in Kamenz in Lusatia (1512–1519?). He most likely died in 1528, perhaps in Brno.

The codex containing the text of the published chronicle – according to a provenance note – originally belonged to the library of the Franciscan convent located outside the city walls in Brno (pp. 16–20). After the convent's destruction in 1530, it survived for over a century, but in

1643 it was burned by decision of the city authorities. The manuscript in question therefore must have left Brno before that date. From there (though whether directly is unclear), it found its way to the provincial archive of the Observant Franciscans in Prague, and later (after the Second World War) to the convent in Cheb, from where in 2008 it was returned to Prague and incorporated into the holdings of the National Library (Cheb Ms 157).

As A. Kalous has noted, the codex – intended for personal use – is composed of two (or rather, three) main parts. The first consists of the incunable *Privilegia et indulgentiae fratrum mendicantium* (printed in Leipzig in 1498), along with other minor texts, including a fragment of a sermon by the Italian humanist Antonio Cortesi Urceo, known as Cordus. The core of this bound volume (comprising as many as 337 folios) includes, among other works, the *Ordo visitationis*, copied by Ablauß in Głubczyce in 1505; the *Expositio literalis Regule evangelice fratrum Minorum* (a summary of *Liber conformitatum* by Bartholomew of Pisa); the *Apologia et defensorium fratrum Minorum de observantia* by Ludovico della Torre, vicar general of the Cismontane Observant family from 1498 to 1501; and the *Liber penhicus seu lugubris de statu et ruina ordinis monastici* by Johannes Trithemius, dating from 1493.

Finally, the entire final portion of this codex (the third part) is filled by Ablauß's chronicle, which is the subject of this edition (pp. 21–25).

The chronicle, written in Gothic Bastarda script, covers the period from the arrival of John of Capistrano in Vienna in 1451 to the so-called Bern Disputation of 1528. According to the editors, the work on the chronicle likely began in 1505, which is when the copying of Trithemius's aforementioned *Liber penhicus* was completed. Around the same time – 1505 or 1506 – the earliest section of the chronicle was written, and it was gradually expanded in subsequent years.

At this point, it is also worth raising the issue of similarities between Ablauß's account and the chronicle of Michael of Carinthia, provincial minister of the Czech province in 1526–1528 and again in 1531–1534, who began his own chronicle around 1510/1511 and continued it until 1521. This is particularly noticeable in the section covering the first half-century of the Observant branch's existence. Both authors must have drawn on some common source – either an annalistic-type record preserved in the library of the Olomouc convent or a now-lost chronicle by Bernardinus of Ingolstadt, written between 1451 and 1467.

The remainder of Ablauß's chronicle (from 1506 onward) significantly diverges from Michael's account and, in this later portion, is undoubtedly more valuable, detailed, and personal. It provides an excellent witness to the history of his religious order at the time. In this section, Ablauß also included various news items from the wider world, information likely gathered either from printed pamphlets or oral reports. When comparing his extra-ecclesiastical information to that found in other contemporary historiographical works – such as those by the Polish Observant chronicler Jan of Komorowo – Ablauß clearly emerges as a representative author of his time. Nonetheless, it must be remembered that it was Michael of Carinthia's chronicle that was recognized officially as the provincial chronicle.

The Latin text edition (pp. 29–141), accompanied by commentary and an index (pp. 175–89), was prepared with great care, based on Ablauß's autograph manuscript. The editors have also rightly decided to include the other historical texts found in the Cheb Ms 157 codex – either copied or written by Ablauß – in a series of numbered appendices (pp. 142–54).

To summarize: the rediscovered work of Eberhard Ablauß de Rheno is undoubtedly another important contribution to the understanding of Observant Franciscan historiography at the turn of the Middle Ages and the early modern period. It deserves to be used in future research, including scholars in Poland.

IN MEMORIAM

SOBIESŁAW SZYBKOWSKI*

JANUSZ BIENIAK (1927–2025)

On Monday 28 July 2025 the Nestor of Polish Medieval Studies, Professor dr hab. Janusz Bieniak died at the age of 96. Professor Bieniak was born in Warsaw on 1 October 1927. After finishing school, he studied History at the Mikołaj Kopernik University of Toruń between 1946 and 1951. His supervisor was Professor Bronisław Włodarski, a representative of the academic world of Lwów (Lviv) who specialized in medieval history, especially relations between Poland and Bohemia and Poland and Rus', and the auxiliary historical disciplines. Włodarski shaped Bieniak's research interests. However, Bieniak did not have the chance to work in his alma mater immediately after completing his history studies; he would gain a post in Toruń only in 1958. There under the supervision of Professor Włodarski he completed his dissertation on the State of Miećław, for which he obtained his doctorate in 1960. This opus devoted to the crisis in eleventh-century Piast Poland, for which the source evidence is particularly sparse, appeared in book form in 1963 as *Państwo Miećława. Studium analityczne* ['The State of Miećław. An Analytical Study'], with a second edition in 2010.

In this monograph the Toruń historian employed his superior analytical capabilities, thanks to which he managed to create his own convincing vision of the question which he worked to answer. Many of the

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hypotheses he proposed there still retain their relevance today. Janusz Bieniak's dissertation written to gain his higher doctorate (*Habilitacja*), *Wielkopolska, Kujawy, ziemie łęczycka i sieradzka wobec problemu zjednoczenia państwowego w latach 1300–1306* ['Greater Poland, Kuyavia and the Lands of Łęczyca and Sieradz with Reference to the Question of the Reunification of the Kingdom, 1300–1306'] (1969, with a second edition in 2011) also introduced much that was new to Polish medieval studies. In this work the author departed from the Marxist paradigm of the reconstruction of the political and social history of Poland in the last stages of reunification in which the main causative factors were anonymous social groups, in favour of a reconstruction of actual political parties that existed at the time, which included specific units belonging to the knightly elite. Janusz Bieniak formed his personal vision of the parties of that age, making virtuoso use of the genealogical method, at the same time as illustrating a very broad panorama of the social elite of Greater Poland and the central Polish lands. His study also gave a great impulse to a renaissance of critical and source-based genealogical research (primarily relating to late-medieval knights and gentry) in Polish medieval studies, in addition to prosopographical and archontological investigations connected with the topic. As a result of this research, the Toruń historian was a proponent of the application of the retrogressive method which led to the necessity of reliance on unpublished late-medieval sources such as the records of land courts and territorial courts of viceroys.

The author of this text believes that Bieniak then became one of the few promoters of a particular breakthrough in research of the history of the late Middle Ages in Poland, thanks to which new generations of scholars have opened up – namely that category of sources which are of basic and capital significance not only for genealogical studies but also more widely for research on the social history of late-medieval Poland. Janusz Bieniak put into effect his proposition to 'liquidate the anonymity of medieval society and replace nebulous society with a version of a concrete society' through much research on the genealogy of Polish families and knightly and gentry clans but without removing space for theoretical reflections'. The research premises he set forth became the basis of many so-called 'clan' monographs or works dealing with only certain branches of knightly/gentry clans or the only significant higher noble families. Another great achievement of the Toruń scholar was

the gathering around himself of a scholarly milieu which gave rise to the Toruń school of genealogy, which spread to other centres of medieval studies. He was also the *spiritus movens* of a general Polish group of researchers, which concentrated on this area of research. On this basis seven conferences were organized between 1980 and 2001, during which new methods of research were developed in genealogical studies.

Bieniak accomplished his research interests mainly via very assiduous studies devoted to various specific problems referring to the genealogy of particular blood-related groups, issues of methodology in genealogical research (the most incisive of these studies were published in two collections: *Polskie rycerstwo średniowieczne* ['Medieval Polish Knights'], 2002 and *Polskie rycerstwo średniowieczne. Suplement* ['Medieval Polish Knights. A Supplement'], 2005). He also published work on the twelfth-century Polish political elite (a cycle of articles published in various volumes of the journal *Spółeczeństwo Polski Średniowiecznej* ['Medieval Polish Society']). The short biographies he wrote of representatives of the knightly and gentry class are also particularly important. He published 100 entries in *Polski Słownik Biograficzny*. He was also co-author of two regional catalogues of officials which appeared in the series *Urzędnicy dawnej Rzeczypospolitej XII–XVIII wieku (Urzędnicy łączyccy, sieradzcy i wieluńscy XIII–XV wieku. Spisy* ['Lists of Officials from the Lands of Łęczyca, Sieradz and Wieluń in the XIII–XV Centuries'], 1985 – together with Alicja Szymczakowa; *Urzędnicy kujawscy i dobrzyńscy XII–XV wieku. Spisy* ['Lists of Officials from the Lands of Kuyavia and Dobrzyń in the XII–XIV Centuries'], 2014 – jointly with Sobiesław Szybkowski). However, he did not shirk from source-critical investigations, of which the 2007 monograph *Najstarsze kujawskie księgi ziemskie (1397–1408): kolejność i chronologia kart* ['The Oldest Land Records of Kuyavia (1397–1408): the Order and Chronology of Foliation'] is a prime example.

In his last monograph from 2018, *Zarębowie i Nałęcz i królobójstwo w Rogoźnie* ['The House of Zaręba and Nałęcz and the Rogoźno Regicide'], Janusz Bieniak returned to the topic of the reunification of the Kingdom between the XII and XIV centuries. Let us give the last word here to the deceased's fellow worker and reviewer, Professor dr hab. Jan Tęgowski who wrote in *Zapiski Historyczne* 84.4 (2019), p. 256 that the book 'is characterized by its masterly school of scholarship and is an excellent model of source-critical analysis with its use of written sources

acknowledged to be forgeries and also its investigations in the realm of prosopography. Thanks to this publication the genealogy of two high-ranking Greater-Polish families from the period of the twelfth – fourteenth centuries has been put in order and reconstructed’.

The achievements discussed briefly here lead us to believe that the deceased was undoubtedly an extraordinarily important individual in modern Polish historical writing. Thanks to his research and organizational work, there has been a renaissance in Polish medieval studies, marked by a shift towards new principles which continues to this day and will continue into the future.

PAWEŁ KRAS*

FRANTIŠEK ŠMAHEL (1934–2025)

On 5 January 2025, at the age of 90, Professor František Šmahel, the doyen and *paterfamilias* of Czech medievalists, a renowned scholar and leading expert of Hussitism died. František Šmahel held key positions in the Czech academy, serving as director of the Institute of History of the Academy of Sciences of Czechoslovakia (after 1993 Czech Republic), and founder and first director of the Centre for Medieval Studies in Prague. In recent decades, he was widely considered a leading representative and ambassador of Czech medieval studies. As Martin Nodl aptly wrote in his recollections on his mentor, František Šmahel's death 'ended an entire era in Czech historiography, which began in the 1960s'. František Šmahel belonged to a generation of Czech scholars who began their academic careers during the political thaw that followed Stalin's death. The erosion of dogmatic canons imposed by Communist Party-controlled Marxist historiography and freer access to the world of Western European scholarship enabled Šmahel and his generation of Czechoslovak historians to boldly tackle difficult research topics and employ modern methods.

History, which became František Šmahel's passion from a young age and in which he reached the heights of scholarly mastery, repeatedly painfully tested him and his loved ones. Becoming a historian not only by

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passion but also by profession required a long journey, facing adversity, political turmoil, and human envy. His life demonstrates that he never doubted the value of practising history, and even as a miner, conscript, and tram driver, he was able to pursue his interest in the past. He was born on 17 August 1934, in Trhová Kamenice, a small town in the Chrudim District, nestled at the foot of the Iron Mountains (*Železné Hory*). His father owned a grocery shop, which provided the family with a decent living. In their rather spacious and well-equipped apartment in the building above their shop, his parents had a library, which young František eagerly explored, immersing himself in classic Czech and world literature. He also acquired a love of classical music from his family home. The communist takeover in Czechoslovakia in 1948 worsened the Šmahel family's situation. His father lost his shop, and his grandfather, who ran a prosperous farmstead, was branded a kulak. Further problems arose from the activities of his uncle, a Czechoslovak army officer before World War II, who was arrested by the communists for his questionable views.

Despite excellent results at the Chrudim Grammar School, František Šmahel was unable to embark immediately on university studies at Charles University in Prague. Before being allowed to study, he had to work for a year as a miner at the Jan Šverma Mine in Ostrava. In 1954, he was permitted to matriculate at the Faculty of Arts of Charles University in Prague. Initially, he studied art history, but ultimately completed a degree in history and archival studies. His historical interests were shaped by the influence of distinguished professors, who quickly recognized his talents. His MA thesis, later published, focused on humanism in Bohemia under King George of Poděbrady. His supervisor was Josef Polišenský, a historian of modern history and a scholar with extensive international contacts. Thanks to his support, Šmahel made his first trips abroad to Paris, Budapest, and Warsaw. During his university studies, Šmahel's interests were greatly influenced by František Graus and Josef Macek, leading medievalists working at the Institute of History of the Czechoslovak Academy of Sciences, whose extensive syntheses of the former on the history of peasants in medieval Bohemia and the latter on the Hussite Revolution became a source of methodological inspiration for him.

Despite excellent grades, Šmahel was prevented from pursuing a university career. This was due to his close ties to Polišenský, whose

contacts with the Western world aroused the suspicions of the communist authorities. After completing his compulsory military service, Šmahel took a job as director of the Regional Museum in Litvínov. The political thaw in Czechoslovakia in the early 1960s opened up opportunities for Šmahel to work at the Institute of History of the Czechoslovak Academy of Sciences, which began accepting applicants without a Communist Party card. Alongside Šmahel, later leaders of Czech medieval studies, such as Dušan Třestík, Jaroslav Mezník, and Jaroslav Marek, also found employment at the Institute around the same time. The Institute of History located at Hradčany Castle was then an elite research unit, where the previously mentioned Graus and Macek worked, and where Jaroslav Eršil and Jiří Spěvaček, both highly educated in the classical art of editing, prepared subsequent volumes of editions of medieval sources.

In his early career, Šmahel focused on Czech humanism and the history of Charles University, culminating in his doctoral dissertation on the students of Charles University before the Hussite Revolution, published in 1967 (*Pražské univerzitní studentstvo v předrevolučním období, 1399–1419*). This work showcased Šmahel's analytical skills and comprehensive source erudition. At the same time, however, Šmahel was interested in historical biography, and his passion resulted in the works on Jerome of Prague, an intellectual nonconformist and eager promotor of John Wyclif's doctrine, and Jan Žižka of Trocnov, a famous Hussite hetman and leader of the radical Taborites. He also became interested in Jan Hus, and in his popularizing work *Hranice pravdy*, published in 1969, he presented a crime-style dramatization of the life of the leader of the Bohemian Reformation. Šmahel's most innovative and groundbreaking work published during his employment at the Institute of History was a study on the development of national and religious consciousness in Hussite Bohemia (*Idea národa v husitských Čechách*, 1971). Drawing on extensive and diverse source material, he presented the emergence of a national identity that became a catalyst for revolutionary socio-religious transformations in late medieval Bohemia.

The brilliant rise of Šmahel's academic career was interrupted during the so-called normalization period following the crushing of the Prague Spring by the invasion of Warsaw Pact forces. While Šmahel himself did not personally participate in the crucial events that quelled the rebellion in Prague, due to his close relationship with Josef Macek

and his position at the Institute of History, he was deemed by the new leadership of the Institute to be suspicious and ideologically unstable. In 1970, he was stripped of his membership of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia and was unable to find permanent employment at the purged Institute of History. Until 1973, his contracts were renewed for several months, allowing him to complete his research and publication projects, but his new responsibilities became more and more limited. His final term at the Institute ended in December 1973. Branded as an ideologically suspect scholar, he was unable to find employment not only within university or academic institutions, but also in schools. Despite the opportunity to leave Czechoslovakia and an offer to work at Columbia University in New York, Šmahel decided to remain in the country. To provide his family with a decent living, in 1974 he took a job as a tram driver in Prague. As he himself recalled, working as a tram driver provided him with a decent salary and a sense of independence, while also allowing him to pursue his research. Driving the tram near Prague's research libraries, he was able to exchange books, and while on duty at the loops, he had time to devote himself to reading. With his unique sense of humour, Šmahel enjoyed telling his friends and students various anecdotes related to his work as a tram driver. One of my favourite stories is about his meeting with Miloslav Vlk, later cardinal and archbishop of Prague, who, barred from priesthood by the communists in the 1970s, made his living washing windows. Father Vlk, whom Šmahel knew from their shared studies at Charles University, asked him to bring back colourful posters of John Paul II from his visit to Poland. Šmahel complied, and the transfer of the smuggled posters took place at one of the tram stops.

During this difficult period, Polish medievalists came to Šmahel's aid. At the invitation of Bronisław Geremek, Jerzy Kłoczowski, Jerzy B. Korolec, and Mieczysław Markowski, Šmahel traveled to Poland, participated in academic conferences, and published his works in Poland. In December 1975 he attended the conference entitled 'Elite Culture and Mass Culture in Late Medieval Poland', organized by Bronisław Geremek in Kazimierz Dolny, where he met leading Polish medievalists with whom he would later collaborate. He recalled that attending this conference made him realize how far Czech historiography lagged behind Polish historiography, which had been developing for many years under the stimulating influence of innovative trends in Western

European historiography, primarily the French *Annales* School. In Poland, Šmahel obtained Polish editions of the latest international publications in medieval studies, which were unavailable in Czechoslovakia, and for this reason Poland was for him – as he often emphasized – ‘a promised land’.

His work as a tram driver did not hinder his intensive research into Hussitism, although he was only able to publish his findings abroad to a limited extent. His meticulously collected and systematically processed source materials allowed him to prepare new monographs and articles, which he began publishing extensively in the 1980s. After five years as a tram driver, Šmahel returned to a research position in 1980, finding employment at the Museum of the Hussite Movement in Tábor. During this time, he prepared the two-volume *Dejiny Tábora* (1989–1990), which served as a precursor to the publication of his *opus vitae*, the four-volume *Husitská revoluce* in 1993. After the Velvet Revolution in 1989, which led to the fall of communist rule in Czechoslovakia, Šmahel’s career skyrocketed. In 1990, he received his doctorate and became director of the Institute of History of the Czechoslovak Academy of Sciences, a position he held for two terms until 1998. In 1991, he completed his habilitation (higher degree), and two years later became a professor at the Faculty of Arts, Charles University in Prague. For the next five years, for the first time in his career, he had the opportunity to teach at his *alma mater*. As participants in his classes recall, Šmahel’s arrival at the university was like a breath of spring. His seminars exposed students to modern methods of international medieval studies, developed analytical skills, and encouraged independence in tackling difficult and neglected research problems. The culmination of Šmahel’s organizational work was the establishment of the Centre for Medieval Studies in Prague (Centrum medievistických studií) in 1998, of which he became the first director. Operating within the Institute of Philosophy of the Czech Academy of Sciences, the Centre has become a prestigious research unit that has achieved a significant place in global medieval studies. Šmahel founded the Prague Centre as a platform for integrating Czech medieval studies, open to collaboration with foreign institutions, implementing fundamental research and publication projects, and educating young Czech researchers.

His new organizational and teaching responsibilities in 1990s were accompanied by an explosion of his publishing activity. Over

the years, the studies he had accumulated finally found opportunities for publication. Almost every year, alongside his monographs, dozens of scholarly articles appeared in Czech and international journals, as well as in numerous collective works – often as a result of international conferences he organized. It is impossible even to list all of these initiatives in such a short text, but the collective volumes he edited on medieval eschatology, religious tolerance, and medieval rituals are worth mentioning. His tireless energy also fuelled the preparation of critical editions of sources on the history of the Czech Reformation. Thanks to his efforts, work on Jan Hus's *Opera omnia* was resumed, and began to be published by Brepols. In collaboration with Gabriel Silagi, he prepared the edition of Jerome of Prague's academic writings and correspondence (*Magistri Hieronymi de Praga quaestiones, polemica, epistulae*, 2010), and, in collaboration with Zuzanna Silagiová, an edition of the oldest catalogues of books of the University of Prague (*Catalogi librorum vetustissimi Universitatis Pragensis*, 2015), both published in the *Corpus Christianorum. Continuatio Mediaevalis* series. He also prepared a Latin-Czech edition of Aeneas Silvius Piccolomini's chronicle *Historia Bohemica* (1998), one of the most valuable historiographical sources on the history of Hussite Bohemia, whose popularity had a profound impact on the perception of Bohemia in late medieval and early modern Europe. It is worth mentioning that, in addition to works on Hussitism, Šmahel also published studies on the history of the University of Prague in the Middle Ages (*Die Prager Universität im Mittelalter. Gesammelte Aufsätze / The Charles University in the Middle Ages. Selected Studies*, 2007), the history of medieval Bohemia (*Husitské Čechy. Structures, processes, ideas*, 2001; *Uprostřed Evropy*, 2022), as well as medieval imagery (*Diví lidé v imaginaci pozdního středověku*, 2012) and verbal and iconographic communication (*Nahlédnutí do středověku. Mluva písma a četba obrazů*, 2017). A special place in his legacy is occupied by the richly illustrated study of Emperor Charles IV of Luxembourg's journey to France in 1377 (*Cesta Karla IV. do Francie 1377–1378*, 2006), which is an excellent example of Šmahel's mastery in microhistory.

František Šmahel's enormous body of work, which comprises 60 books, over 300 articles, and over 500 reviews, is a remarkable achievement. Despite the vast range of his research interests, František Šmahel was, is, and will long be perceived primarily as one of the most distinguished scholars of Hussitism. It is not without reason that his British

friend, Anne Hudson, who died in 2021, called him ‘the king of Hussite studies’. His extensive, four-volume synthesis of the Hussite revolution, which alongside three Czech editions was also published in German and Polish, will long remain a fundamental study and a treasure trove of information on Hussitism. The Centre for Medieval Studies in Prague, now run by his successors, holds a special place in Šmahel’s legacy as the living embodiment of his passion and dreams. František Šmahel’s friends aptly say that he had a beautiful and fulfilling life.

For anyone interested in František Šmahel’s life and achievements, it is recommended to read the extensive interview with him conducted by Pavlína Rychterová, published in 2019 in English (*Times of Upheaval. Four Medievalists in Twentieth-Century Central Europe* [Budapest – New York, Central European University Press]) and later in Czech (*Časy otřesů. Čtyři medievisté a dvacáté století ve střední Evropě* [Prague, Academia, 2024]).

JOANNA NASTALSKA-WIŚNICKA*

ALEKSANDRA WITKOWSKA OSU (1930–2024)

Aleksandra Witkowska was born in Poznań on 10 December 1930 and died on 20 February 2024 in Lublin. Until 1968 as a nun she went by the religious name of Maria Helena. For almost seven decades she was connected with the historical community of the Catholic University of Lublin.

She was one of the four daughters of Stanisław Witkowski and his wife Zofia, née Wawrzyniak. Her childhood was interrupted by the outbreak of the Second World War. In January 1940, together with her family, she survived displacement. First she was sent to the Poznań-Główna transit camp, where she spent two months, and later deported to the General Government spent the Nazi occupation in Dębica. In 1944 she returned to her native Poznań, where, after finishing the Grammar School and General Education Lyceum of the Ursulines in Poznań, in 1950 she entered the novitiate of the Order of Ursulines of the Roman Union in Częstochowa. In 1956 she took her final vows, taking the religious name of Maria Helena of the Holy Trinity.

In 1955 she began studying History at the Catholic University of Lublin, but had to cut short her studies after two years in order to carry out her duties as a teacher in her old Lyceum. However, she did not give up on

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her scholarly development and took part in seminars led by Professor Brygida Kürbis and Professor Gerard Labuda, which allowed her to deepen her knowledge of Medieval History and Source Studies. After a year of work in Poznań she returned to Lublin where in 1960 she graduated as Master of Arts on the basis of her work on the *Vita sanctae Kyngae ducissae Cracoviensis*, written under the supervision of Dr Marzena Pollakówna (the thesis was published in *Roczniki Humanistyczne*, 10.2 (1961), 41–166). This topic was the beginning of her research on hagiography.

After completing her studies Sr Witkowska returned briefly to Poznań, but thanks to the efforts of the rector of KUL, Professor Marian Rechowicz and Professor Marzena Pollakówna she began work as a research assistant in the Department of Medieval History run by Professor Jerzy Kłoczowski in 1962. She completed her doctoral dissertation supervised by Professor Aleksander Gieysztor which she defended in Warsaw University in 1967. Her study, *Miracula małopolskie XIII i XIV w. Studium źródłoznawcze* ['Miracles in Lesser Poland in the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Centuries. A Study of Sources'], was published in *Roczniki Humanistyczne*, 19.2 (1971), 29–161.

In 1978 she proceeded to her higher doctorate (*Habilitacja*) in the Institute of History of the Polish Academy of Sciences on the basis of her study *Kulty pątnicze piętnastowiecznego Krakowa. Z badań nad religijnością ludową* ['Pilgrim Cults in Fifteenth-century Cracow. A Study of Popular Religion'] (Lublin 1984). In the following years her academic career developed dynamically; in 1984 she became an assistant professor and in 1987 she received the title of supernumerary professor before becoming a full professor five years later in 1992. For more than 20 years (1983–2004) she headed the Department of General Medieval History and between 1985 and 1988 she carried out the function of head of the History Section (now the Institute of History) at the Catholic University of Lublin. Between 1979 and 1982 she sat on the Senate Scientific Commission and during the 1980s she was a member of the Senate Library Commission.

In her research Witkowska concentrated on topics connected with sacral geography during the Middle Ages and Early Modern Period as well as on the socio-religious function of the cult of saints, and the models and patterns of behaviour and expressions of mass religion. A special place in her research was taken by cult centres – their origins,

development and their role in the religious life of communities, in addition to the forms and motivation of pilgrimage movements. She analyzed historical sources which until then had not been studied in detail, especially hagiographical ones such as the lives of saints, collections of miracles and inventories of votive offerings, showing the significance of these for research on the history of socio-religious culture. In her work she highlighted the richness of the contents of this type of evidence, combining methods of classical source criticism with an interdisciplinary approach involving elements of cultural anthropology, art history, historical geography and religious psychology. Her pioneering studies of hagiographic sources brought new analytical tools to Polish medieval studies, allowing us to understand better both the functioning of pilgrim traditions and also the dynamics of the Marian cult in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth. She also took up topics connected with transformations of the cult of saints in the modern period, leading to special consideration of their historical, political and religious context. Together with Jerzy Kłoczowski, Urszula Borkowska OSU, Zygmunt Sułowski and Eugeniusz Wiśniowski she belonged to a group of scholars researching the history of Christianity in Poland.

She was co-principal investigator in a grant supervised by Professor Antoni Jackowski (Jagiellonian University): *Przestrzeń i sacrum. Geografia kultury religijnej w Polsce i jej przemiany w okresie od XVII do XX w. na przykładzie ośrodków kultu i migracji pielgrzymkowych* ['Space and the Sacred. The Geography of Religious Culture in Poland and Its Transformations from the Seventeenth to the Twentieth Century from Examples of Cult Centres and Pilgrimage Movements']. Next, she herself supervised several ministerial grants, namely: *Patrocinia polskich diecezji. Tradycje kultu patronów Kościoła polskiego jako element chrześcijańskiego dziedzictwa kulturowego* ['Patrocinia of Polish Dioceses. Traditions of the Cult of the Patrons of the Polish Church as an Element of Christian Cultural Heritage'] (1995–1997); *Adalbertiana. Międzynarodowa bibliografia św. Wojciecha* ['Adalbertiana. An International Bibliography of St Wojciech-Adalbert'] (1999–2001); *Źródłoznawstwo hagiograficzne. Typy i funkcje źródeł hagiograficznych w polskiej kulturze późnego średniowiecza i baroku* ['Hagiographical Source Criticism. The Types and Functions of Hagiographical Sources in Late-medieval and Baroque Polish Culture'] (2002–2005); *Staropolski Atlas Marianus. Antropologia miejsca świętego* ['An Old Polish Marian Atlas. An Anthropology of Sacred Places'] (2010–2012).

Sr A. Witkowska's contribution to scholarship includes several monographs and more than 200 articles. Among the most important of her books one might mention: *Przestrzeń i sacrum. Geografia kultury religijnej w Polsce i jej przemiany w okresie od XVII do XX w. na przykładzie ośrodków kultu i migracji pielgrzymkowych* ['Space and the Sacred. The Geography of Religious Culture in Poland and Its Transformations from the Seventeenth to the Twentieth Century from Examples of Cult Centres and Pilgrimage Movements'] (jointly with A. Jackowski, Z. S. Jabłoński, I. Soljan and E. Bilska, Cracow 1996); *Święty Wojciech – życie i kult. Bibliografia do roku 1999* ['St Wojciech, His Life and Cult. A Bibliography up to the Year 1999'] (written together with J. Nastalska, Lublin 2002); *Titulus ecclesiae. Wezwania współczesnych kościołów katedralnych w Polsce* ['Titulus ecclesiae. The Dedications of Contemporary Polish Cathedrals'] (Warsaw 1999); *Polskie niebo. Ikonografia hagiograficzna u progu XVII wieku* ['Polish Heaven. Hagiographic Iconography at the Beginning of the Seventeenth Century'] (with Fr. R. Knapiński, Pelplin 2007); *Staropolskie piśmiennictwo hagiograficzne, I–II* ['Old Polish Hagiographical Writings'] (with J. Nastalska, Lublin 2007); *Ku ozdobie i obronie Rzeczypospolitej. Maryjne miejsca święte w drukach staropolskich* ['For the Adornment and Defence of the Commonwealth. Marian Holy Sites in Old Polish Publications'] (jointly with J. Nastalska-Wiśnicka, Lublin 2013). Her collection of previously published essays, *Sancti, miracula, peregrinationes* (Lublin 2009), represents a summary of her scholarly career. In addition, she was the author of the general introduction to, and a biography of St Kinga in *Hagiografia polska. Słownik bio-bibliograficzny, I–II* ['Polish Hagiography. A Bio-bibliographical Dictionary'], ed. R. Gustaw (Poznań 1971–1972), and in the 1990s she worked on an expanded version of this work called *Nasi święci. Polski słownik hagiograficzny* ['Our Saints. A Dictionary of Polish Hagiography'] (Poznań 1995; 1998). She took part in international research projects, including *Marienlexikon* and *Dictionnaire d'Histoire et de Géographie Ecclésiastique*. She worked with the editors of *Encyklopedia Katolicka*, and was also a member of the editorial boards of several journals, including *Przegląd Historyczny*, *Kwartalnik Historyczny* and *Studia Claromontana*.

She played an active part in many medieval congresses, colloquia and symposia both in Poland and abroad. She obtained grants to carry out academic research for several months at a time at universities in France, Belgium, West Germany and Italy. She looked for source

material in archives and libraries in Austria, Great Britain, Czechoslovakia, France and the USSR.

An important part of her professional activities involved teaching. The lectures she delivered are remembered by her students as an example of the art of masterly teaching. Her M.A. and doctoral seminars stood out for the high demands she made on students. As a supervisor she looked for quality and not quantity, and she inspired those whom she selected both intellectually and in long-lasting ways. She remained in contact with many until the end of her life.

She devoted much attention to her mother Order of Ursulines of the Roman Union. She took part in work drafting and editing the text of its new constitutions and was involved in documenting the Lublin community, supervising its archive among other work. She worked on its inventory and subsequently drafted the *Katalog uczennic Szkoły Podstawowej oraz Gimnazjum i Liceum Sióstr Urszulanek w Lublinie 1917–1955* [‘Catalogue of Pupils of the Girls’ Primary School, and Grammar School and Lyceum of the Ursulines in Lublin, 1917–1955’]. Her last book, which came out posthumously, *Urszulańskie gawędy* [‘Ursuline Tales’] (Lublin 2024), is a personal testament to her devotion to the Order’s history, spirituality and traditions.

We should also bear in mind her engagement in social initiatives. Among other things, she worked with the Lublin Home for Single Mothers and saved the lives of children threatened with abortion (she played a key role in arranging five adoptions).

Sr Witkowska died on 20 February 2024 in Lublin and is buried in the Roman Catholic Cemetery on Lipowa Street, in the tomb of the Ursulines, where she lies next to Sr Urszula Borkowska, with whom she shared a common vocation and academic career for many years.

Translated by Stephen Rowell

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