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Front cover: a renovated frieze of arms, Sandomierz Cathedral (by Ks. Andrzej Rusak)


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STUDIES

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The Heraldic Frieze Discovered in Sandomierz Cathedral

Introduction: the discovery of the frieze

The 2008 renovation work in the presbytery of Our Lady of Sandomierz Nativity Cathedral, on top of revealing some previously unknown fragments of Byzantine–style polychromy, yielded a significant discovery in heraldry, too.¹ On transferring a northern wall stall, nine heraldic shields, placed side by side, were revealed, which were previously covered by stall back support. Their upper parts were concealed under a coat of paint. These form an unknown part of a Byzantine painting composition funded by king Władysław II Jagiełło (Jogaila). As we know, the king realised his artistic tastes elsewhere, as well. The sites have a rich history and a considerable literature, which has not exhausted the topic, though. The Sandomierz frescoes have a history related to the tragic events in the town’s past. They could have been damaged by a blast of thunder way back in 1448, which was mentioned by the chronicler Jan Długosz, and they were not spared by a fire at the time of the Second Northern War.² The chapter was aware of a need to restore the “ancient paintings:” this is testified to by the files that were surveyed and cited by the first researcher of the frescoes, Rev. Józef Rokoszny.³ Renovation did not come about though, and stalls were erected in the presbytery of the collegiate church in 1640s, followed by the main altar; paintings were hung, which covered some parts of the frescoes and changed the dominant characteristic of the

¹ The authors wish to thank Rev. B. Piekut, Rev. A. Rusak and Mr U. Stępień, M.A. Initial findings were ascertained by B. Żbikowska–Sobieraj, “Odsłonięcie malowideł bizantyńskich spod przemalowań XX–wiecznej restauracji Juliusza Makarewicza w Bazylice Katedralnej w Sandomierzu — odkrycia konserwatorskie,” [paper on the Sandomierz discovery of Byzantine paintings] *Zeszyty Sandomierskie. Biuletyn Towarzystwa Naukowego Sandomierskiego* 27, (2009): 7–8 [newsletter of Sandomierz Scholarly Society].

² For more on the painting of the interior following the events, see Ks. M. Buliński, *Monografia miasta Sandomierza* [on the town of Sandomierz], (Warsaw, 1879), 202.

³ Ks. J. Rokoszny, *Średniowieczne freski w katedrze sandomierskiej* [on Sandomierz frescoes], (offprint from *Sprawozdania Komisji dla Badania Historii Sztuki w Polsce* 9) (Krakow, 1914), col. 22–23.

interior.⁴ The current discovery allows us to say that the high stall support concealed half of the heraldic frieze horizontally across its length. Following this, instead of a costly and difficult renovation, the walls were subjected to whitewashing as far as the brush could reach behind the stall support, which meant that the coats of arms were covered with dye to mid-height.

In 1887, a painting fell down, along with the whitewash, which hung on the northern wall of the presbytery in its Eastern bay, and revealed frescoes that had decorated the walls of the cathedral since 1818. The whole bay (above the entry to the vestry) had been exposed by 1914. In 1932–1934 the other bays were exposed, including the scene of St Mary having just deceased, underneath of which a series of paintings featuring Holy Women was placed — one that topped the frieze discussed here. Rev. Andrzej Wyrzykowski wrote in 1934 that there were paintings placed “so low that they are partially hidden behind the stalls” and their contents cannot be established for the time being.⁵ Most probably in the period between WWI and WWII the stalls were not moved, so — in order not to leave a band of whitewash above those and between the scene of Mary’s Demise and the stalls — this part of the wall was painted green up to about a third of their height and not too deep behind the back support. This was most likely done by Juliusz Markiewicz when completing the renovation in 1934. At this stage the principle guiding the work was this: “it was decided that the places where the painting was damaged irreversibly be painted in such a way that the new painting should not suppress the ancient one but, rather, form a backdrop and frame to it.”⁶ The cause of those actions was reported by Rev. W. Markiewicz (referring to oral information passed to him by Rev. Edward Górski, the supervisor of the restoration work on behalf of the Church authorities): “The decisions were made above all on account of the adaptation of the paintings for liturgy. Despite those recommendations, the conservator left some surfaces empty, which he marked with an evenly placed dye in the flawed spaces.”⁷ The devastated and protruding coats of arms would definitely not be used in liturgy, and therefore it was decided to create such a “backdrop.” Even if the arms were noticed at that point, a situation where half of the frieze should feature on top of the stalls was avoided. The effect of this is reflected in a photo by Stanisław Kolowca, probably taken from an elevated point on completion of the conservation work by J. Makarewicz (fig. 1). One can see in it a narrow band of polychromy that has not been covered with paint and a very vague contour of a heraldic frieze (between the lower edge of the painting and the stalls).⁸ This detail was invisible from the perspective of the presbytery. Today, upon a relocation of the stall, the cathedral revealed its long-hidden secret. A frieze made up of nine coats of arms has come to light, covered in its upper part with green dye and whitewashed in the middle. Its lower part was never covered with paint — it was hidden

⁴ A. Różycka-Bryzek, “Malowidła ‘greckie’ fundacji Jagielly w kolegiacie sandomierskiej — dzieje i stan badań,” [on the ‘Greek’ paintings of Jogaila’s foundation in Sandomierz Collegiate Church] in *Prace Komisji Wschodnioeuropejskiej Polskiej Akademii Umiejętności* 4, (1997): 11 [publications of the East European Commission of the Polish Academy of Arts]; U. Stępień, “Odnaleziony kontrakt na wykonanie stali w kolegiacie sandomierskiej,” *Zeszyty Sandomierskie. Biuletyn Towarzystwa Naukowego Sandomierskiego* 28, (2009): 65–66.

⁵ Ks. A. Wyrzykowski, “Zabytkowe freski w prezbiterium katedry sandomierskiej” [on the frescoes in Sandomierz cathedral presbytery], in *Kronika Diecezji Sandomierskiej*, vol. 28, (1934), 285 [diocese chronicle].

⁶ *Ibid.*, 281.

⁷ Ks. S. W. Makarewicz, “Fundacja i założenia programowe polichromii bizantyńskiej z bazyliki katedralnej w Sandomierzu,” [on the foundation and agenda of the Sandomierz Byzantine polychromy] *Studia Theologica Varsoviensia* 13, fascicle 2, (1975): 130, footnote 93.

⁸ Ks. S. W. Makarewicz, “Bizantyńsko-ruska polichromia katedry sandomierskiej (studium ikonograficzne),” [an iconographic study of the polychromy] (typescripted doctoral dissertation in the library of WSD Seminary in Sandomierz, [Warsaw, 1972]), table 46.



Fig. 1. Death of Virgin Mary, as in 1934, photo by Stanisław Kolowca

behind the back of the stall. The restoration team managed to remove the whitewash and the coats left by J. Makarewicz rather easily. The frieze, placed at 3.65 metres above the presbytery floor, spans over 6.7 metres. The height of the coats of arms ranged from 75 to 81 cm, with their widths between 66 and 70 cm. The frieze takes up the whole span of the first bay (from the nave) of the presbytery between the formerets of the northern wall. According to conservators, it was meant and painted as a component part of the composition, made in the same technique and at the same time as the rest of the polychromy. The whole space allotted to the frieze was laid out perfectly. The coats of arms unfold optimally — freely and without squeeze; there are no unnecessary margins either (fig. 1).

Because of no analogies in Poland, it is hard to assess the artistic features of the frieze, but apparently in comparison to the frieze of Łądek and others of the sort, preserved in rudimentary fashion, its stylisation has a relatively high compositional, communicative and formal value. A contour engraving markedly defines the shields of the arms, which have rare shapes. Its laterals narrow down towards the base, without bulges but also without pointed arcs or invected bases. Thus their shapes most closely resemble the Anjou coat of arms included in the *Florian Psalter*.⁹ This might result from a similar date of origin — the foundations of the two sites were separated by a dozen years or so — but more probably on account of the elitist patterns serving as models for the two sorts of craftsmanship.

Identification of arms

After the surface of the frieze was cleaned, it turned out that the arms were those of kingdoms, dynasties and lands from the Jagiellon period, as indicated by their charges. Still, a number of differences could be seen between their appearances and representations or blazons of the respective arms from the late Middle Ages; in order to arrive at a precise identification it was necessary to compare them with other heraldic relics of the period. Above all it was essential to make representative lists of national and territorial armorial bearings, especially from and before the Jagiellon period. These definitely include the heraldic content on Władysław II Jagiełło's and his successors' seals and tombstones. Obviously, in this sort of representations we can only recognise the charges of the armorial devices of interest, as is the case on architectural reliefs found on parts of edifices, such as keystones erected in the 14th and 15th centuries.¹⁰ The charges and tinctures of these coats of arms were listed by Jan Długosz in *Annales* as occasioned by his presentation of the units and banners that took part in the Battle of Grunwald/Tannenberg of 1410;¹¹ their images were also described in a separate volume *Insignia seu clenodia Regni Poloniae*, also attributed to Jan Długosz.¹² Highly valuable supplements to 15th–century heraldic accounts from Polish lands

⁹ P. Mrozowski, "O sztuce i stylizacji heraldycznej w Polsce XIV–XV wieku," [on heraldic art in 14th to 15th c. Poland] *Rocznik Polskiego Towarzystwa Heraldycznego* 1, (1993): 108, table XI [Polish Heraldry Society Yearbook].

¹⁰ On more relics of the sort cf. M. Walczak, *Rzeźba architektoniczna w Małopolsce z czasów Kazimierza Wielkiego* [on architectural sculpture in Lesser Poland under king Casimir the Great] (Krakow, 2006).

¹¹ Joannis Długossi *Annales seu Cronicae incliti Regni Poloniae* (hereafter referred to as *Annales*) 10–11: 1406–1412 (Varsaviae, 1997), 88–93;

¹² *Jana Długosza kanonika katedr. Krak. Banderia Prutenorum tudzież Insignia seu clenodia Regni Poloniae*, (Krakow: J. Muczowski, 1851); a more recent edition: *Klejnoty Długoszowe* (hereinafter: *Insignia*), redaction and publication by M. Friedberg (Krakow, 1931), imprint in *Rocznik Towarzystwa Heraldycznego* 10: 1930–1931 [Heraldry Society Yearbook]; on the work itself cf. P. Dymmel, "Pierwsza redakcja najstarszego herbarza polskiego," in *Ludzie i herby w dawnej Polsce*, ed. P. Dymmel (Lublin, 1995), 89–107, in previous bibliography.

are armorials created those days in Western Europe; three of those are of particular prominence: *The Armorial Lyncenich*, *Codex Bergshammar* and *Armorial de la Toisson d'Or*.¹³ Later date relics are also useful comparative materials to study medieval coats of arms. These include listings of kingdom and land arms made on a wood engraving in an old print that contains *Łaski's Statutes*¹⁴ or a 16th century manuscript *Stemmata Polonica*, preserved in the Library of the Arsenal, Paris¹⁵ “while works of Bartosz Paprocki can duly be regarded as true crown masterpieces of Polish heraldic output of that century.”¹⁶

As mentioned before, all the coats of arms that were perpetuated in the Sandomierz Cathedral frieze were painted at one time period, with their shields identical in size and shape. The tinctures of their fields come in similar shades and the common charges have a like sketch of details. Looking at them from straight ahead, starting from the left-hand side, they could be blazoned like this:

The first of those is per pale; I Azure, barry with 3 bars Gules; II Azure with five six-pointed Stars two, two and one; parted by a thin red line (fig. IV). The coat of arms can most likely be identified with the emblem of the Land (possibly the Province) of Sandomierz. In its well-established form in the modern times, it featured three white bars and three red ones on the right, with three rows of three stars each on a blue field.¹⁷ As we can see, the coat of arms from the cathedral differs from the description just quoted in the tincture of the dexter field and the number of stars in the sinister.

In heraldic literature we read that the representations of the Province of Sandomierz coats of arms might vary across 14th to 18th centuries in a number of details¹⁸. In the Jagiellon period, this involved both the right and the left field parted per pale. The dexter usually featured — as mentioned before — three white bars in a red field, but 15th century sources provide differing data on this. According to Długosz's *Annales*, in the dexter part of the land of Sandomierz banner there were “*tres barre seu tractus glauci in campo rubeo;*” in the *Insignia* the emblem had “*tres barras glaucas et rubeas.*”¹⁹ So, the first description mentions three bars while the other one — six, three of same tincture each, certainly positioned in an alternating manner. The colours of the

¹³ A. Heymowski, “Herby polskie w sztokholmskim *Codex Bergshammar*” *Studia Źródłoznawcze* 12 (1967): 73–113; *idem*, “Herby polskie w brukselskim Armorial Gymnich, recte Lyncenich” *Studia Źródłoznawcze* 29 (1985): 95–124; their source value for Polish heraldry was briefly discussed by J. Szymański, *Herbarz średniowiecznego rycerstwa polskiego* [armorial of the medieval Polish knights] (Warsaw, 1993), 15–16, whereas the information on our territorial heraldry it contains are presented by S. K. Kuczyński, *Polskie herby ziemskie. Geneza, treści, funkcje* (Warsaw, 1993), 55–56.

¹⁴ *Commune incliti Polonie Regni priuilegium constitutionum et indultuum publicitus decretorum, approbatorumque cum nonnullis iuribus tam diuinis quam humanis per serenissimum principem et dominum dominum Alexandrum, Dei gratia Regem Poloniae, magnum ducem Lithwanie, Russie, Prussieque dominum et haeredem etc.* (Krakow, 1506). The contents of the engraving were analysed by B. Miodońska, “Przedstawienie państwa polskiego w Statucie Łaskiego z r. 1506,” *Folia Historiae Artium* 5, (1968): 19–69.

¹⁵ “*Stemmata Polonica*. Rękopis nr 1114 Klejnotów Długosza w Bibliotece Arsenалу w Paryżu,” in *Prace Sekcji Historii Sztuki i Kultury Towarzystwa Naukowego we Lwowie*, vol. 1, (Lwów: H. Polackówna, 1929), 161–250.

¹⁶ Coats of arms of politics and lands were presented by B. Paprocki in *Herby rycerstwa polskiego. Na pięcioro xiąg rozdzielone* [on Polish coats of arms] (Krakow, 1584).

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, 706.

¹⁸ S. K. Kuczyński, “Herb ziemi sandomierskiej” [the land of Sandomierz coat of arms] *Zeszyty Sandomierskie. Biuletyn Towarzystwa Naukowego Sandomierskiego*, fasc. 6 (1997): 11–14; J. Michta, *Heraldyka samorządowa województwa świętokrzyskiego i jej symbolika*, (Kielce, 2000), 17 [on land and provincial heraldry of the Świętokrzyskie Voivodship of Kielce and its symbolism].

¹⁹ *Annales* 10–11 (Varsaviae, 1997), 89; *Insignia*, 53.

bars were rendered with the terms ‘*glaucus*’ or ‘*glaucus*’ and ‘*rubeus*.’ While the other can surely be identified with red, the first could be translated as either deep blue or yellow (which ought to be identified with the heraldic Or — gold).²⁰ In the 16th century manuscript armorial *Stemmata Polonica* the charge features three red and three gold bars,²¹ whereas in the their privy seals of the first Jagiellons (Władysław II Jagiełło and sons) there are the total of eight bars, possibly meaning there were four white or yellow bars and four red ones; in other words there were four white or yellow bars in a red field.²² Notably, the same number of bars can be seen in the 14th century representations of this coat of arms preserved on carved keystones in the house at 17 Rynek Główny [main market square], Krakow, as the crest on the helm, and also in Sandomierz cathedral²³ as well as in a colourful image in the *Armorial Lycenich*, where it has “dexter pale eightfold, Argent and Gules.”²⁴

Likewise, the appearance of the left field of this heraldic symbol presented itself variously in different accounts and iconographic representations, where a differing number of stars was shown on the blue filed. Długosz reports seven of these in the above-cited description of the Sandomierz banner (*septem stelle in campo celestino*), while *Insignia* speaks of twelve (*triplicem ordinem stellarum, et in quolibet ordine quatuor stellas in campo celestino portat*), and a similar number is mentioned in the blazoning of the coat of arms in *Stemmata Polonica*.²⁵ Apparently though, both of the latter accounts speak of a different positioning of the armorial devices in the shield — *Insignia* seems to imply that there were three rows of four stars in each whereas *Stemmata* speaks of four rows of three. On the other hand, the privy seals of the three Jagiellons show the Sandomierz coat of arms as having as many as twenty stars in all (six rows of three and the last one made up of two).²⁶ Reckoning with some earlier, 14th century representations of this symbol in architectural carvings, it is worthy of note that the keystone of the Krakow house in the market square features seven stars while in Sandomierz cathedral there are nine of them in the arrangement of 2:2:2:2:1. A variety in the number of stars can be encountered in the 16th century representations of the coat of arms. In an old wood engraving demonstrating the Polish parliament, included in the *Łaski’s Statutes* of 1506, the engraver left a blank space for those to be later on filled by painters, who would put tinctures onto this representation. In copies thus decorated there are seven or nine stars.²⁷ So, the five-star image of the coat of arms, re-discovered in

²⁰ In K. Mecherzyński’s translation {*Jana Długosza kanonika krakowskiego Dziejów Polskich ksiąg dwanaście*, books 11–12, vol. IV (Krakow: publ. by A. Przeździecki, 1869) “three blue beams or borders in a red field,” but as translated by J. Mrukówna {*Roczniki*, books 10–11, (Warsaw, 1982): 103} it reads “three yellow brims or beams in a red field.” [retranslation by Lesław Kawalec] *Słownik kościelny łacińsko-polski*, ed. A. Jougan, 3rd edition (Poznań 1958), 284, the word ‘*glaucus*’ has two meanings 1. ‘blue-grey, blue, bluish, greenish, dark green’, 2. ‘shiny, glittery.’

²¹ *Stemmata Polonica*, 190.

²² M. Gumowski, *Pieczęcie królów polskich* (Krakow, 1910): tables IX, X, XI.

²³ M. Walczak, *op. cit.*, fig. 220, 291.

²⁴ As described by S. K. Kuczyński, *Polskie herby ziemskie*, 56.

²⁵ *Annales* 10–11 (Varsaviae, 1997), 89; *Insignia*, 53.

²⁶ M. Gumowski (*op. cit.*, 16) held that Władysław III’s seal, where the ten-year-old owner was portrayed as an adult man, was made in imitation of his predecessor’s seal, but “was not an exact copy or an apparent alteration of an older seal.” Z. Piech {*Monety, pieczęcie i herby w systemie symboli władzy Jagiellonów* (Warsaw, 2003), 57} expresses a conviction that the seal, made in 1438 for a 14-year-old monarch, was impressed with a figure of an adult ruler, so the appearance of its details (also the coats of arms) would not have been a result of a mere copying of Jogaila’s seal. Similar conclusions can be drawn about the privy seal of Casimir IV Jagiellon, created at the earliest in 1454, as testified to by the coat of arms of Prussia it shows. So, it is thinkable that the image of the Land of Sandomierz which one can see in it did reflect a version of its appearance that was around for quite some time then.

²⁷ A colourful copy of the wood engraving where the Sandomierz coat of arms has in its dexter four golden bars in a red field and seven stars laid out 2:2:2:1 in the sinister blue field (copy no BN XVI F 88–89) is included in *Orzeł*

Sandomierz cathedral is no unique development, as compared to the differences in their number between different accounts although it finds few analogies in the armorial material known to us.²⁸ Five stars in this emblem can only be seen in the base of the reliquary crucifix bequeathed by king Władysław II Jagiełło to the then Collegiate Church of Sandomierz following the Grunwald/Tannenberg victory, with the base itself made later — at the turn of the 15th century.²⁹

While placing only five stars on the image discussed might have resulted from a prolonged situation where their number and arrangement were not yet established (at least until the latter half of the 16th century), this cannot explain the red bars in the blue field in the dexter of the shield.³⁰ Even though this could be confirmed in the translation of the relevant *Annales* record by Mechrzyński, this arrangement of tinctures is incongruous with the alternation principle of heraldry, which only allows laying paint onto metal or metal onto paint rather than placing tincture side by side.³¹ In line with this principle, bars could only appear in a white field (white corresponding to silver here) or gold (which in practical solutions could be represented by yellow) or adjacent to white or gold bars.

Another shield, covered with red tincture, has as a charge a Lion of Gold, with its tail split in two, ascending on hind paws towards the right (fig. 2). In the lists of Polish heraldic devices, it looks most similar to the coat of arms of Rus (the Ruthenian Province, est. 1425), which in Paprocki's blazoning featured a "Lion on a gold Harrow in a blue field."³² An image of the emblem that goes together with the blazoning reveals a crowned Lion to sinister, ascending a rock. The coat of arms looks similar in the wood engraving in *Łaski's Statutes*, where there is no Harrow, however, and the very Lion is either silver with golden crown on the head or golden in its totality. Its former representations look very different from the 16th century's. In architectural sculptural

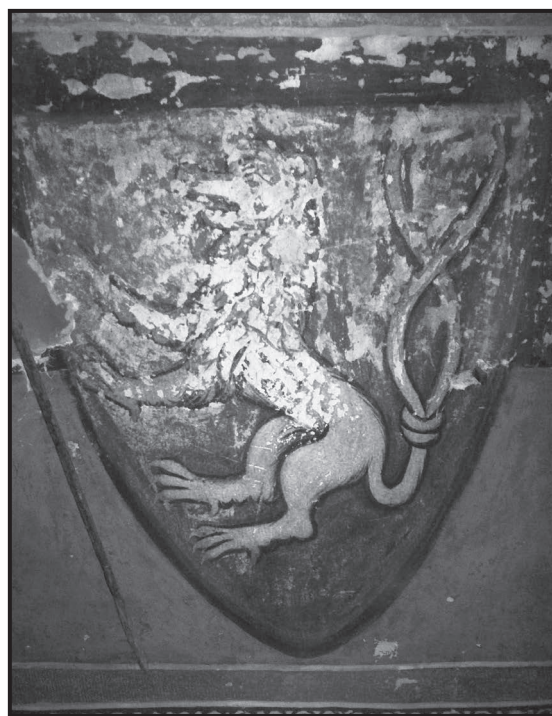


Fig. 2. The Land of Ruthenia

Biały — 700 lat herbu polskiego (Warsaw, 1995), 103. A reproduction of the wood engraving from another copy (BN XVI F 337), where the same coat of arms has three alternating red and white bars and nine stars arranged three by three, was included in the endpapers of S. K. Kuczyński, *Polskie herby ziemskie* (see also: *ibid.*, 176, note 56 and in J. Michta, *op. cit.*, 19.)

²⁸ It is possible that the fluctuating number of stars shown in the coat of arms in the 15th century may originate from the fact that its sinister was 'studded' with stars, as presented in Western armorials (*Armorial Lyncenich* and *Codex Bergshammur*) — S. K. Kuczyński, *Polskie herby ziemskie*, 56. This supposition can be supported by a hypothesis, found in heraldic writings, which held that the coat of arms of the Land of Sandomierz was inspired by the armorial devices of the Hungarian Anjou, whose Azure sinister was studded with golden lilies, *cf. idem, Herb ziemi sandomierskiej*, 12.

²⁹ See: S. K. Kuczyński, *Polskie herby ziemskie*, 40, photo 39; Piech, *Monety, pieczęcie i herby*, 253.

³⁰ It needs to be added that on the red bars there is some residue of white paint superimposed on it — possibly the remainder of modern whitewash.

³¹ J. Szymański, *Nauki pomocnicze historii* (Warsaw, 2001), 657.

³² B. Paprocki, *op. cit.*, 609 (erroneously: it should read '709').

relics from the day of king Casimir III the Great, the Lion has a crown on its head³³ but in the subsequent representations it features none. In the 15th century blazons available — in Długosz's *Annales* — “*leonem ceruleum per mediam petram conscendentem in campo celestino*³⁴” and, in *Insignia*, “*leonem glaucum incoronatum, in modum petram ascendentem, in campo rubeo*.”³⁵ It implies that only the latter of the sources quoted mentions a crown on the Lion's head, but it does not appear in Długosz or in images coming from that century. It can be seen on Władysław II Jagiełło's tombstone, on privy seals used by this ruler and his sons and also in the 15th–century foreign armorials (*Armorial Lynce nich*, *Codex Bergshammar*, *Armorial de la Toisson d'Or*), where the common charge is always placed in a sky–blue field. In the aforementioned Polish descriptions, the field was either blue or red. Back in early 16th century, the appearance of the coat of arms was not yet uniform. This is testified to by an image on a multiple–field shield with kingdom and land emblems presented in miniature in the *Missal of the Bright Mountain* [*Mszal Jasnogórski*] of approx. 1506, where the gold Lion in a blue field with no crown on its head is in its dexter.³⁶



Fig. 3. Double Cross

Gold Cross in a blue field³⁷ (fig. 3). It is identified with the Jagiellonian emblem, and its origin tends to be explained in a number of ways. It dates back to the turn of the 14th century³⁸ and appeared in one of the Grunwald/Tannenberg banners described by Długosz — the chase banner, mentioned just second to the grand banner of Krakow: “*Secundum vexillum Goncza, cuius*

As mentioned above, in the *Easki's Statutes'* wood engraving, coming from the same period, the coat of arms differs in numerous particulars.

In this situation, its representation on the Sandomierz fresco falls within an accepted margin of variety that occurred in the Jagiellon times in the depictions of the coat of arms. The situation of the Lion in a red field and the lack of a crown on its head, find a number of analogies in the sources referred to before. However, it is worth noting the unusual appearance of its tail, which is split in two, like in the coat of arms of the Czech Kingdom. In all the aforementioned representations there is a single tail, even if quite elaborately branched out in some depictions. Likewise, the rock the heraldic beast is ascending was not very marked either; a dark tierce along the dexter edge might be there to stand in for the rock.

The third of the coats of arms shows a Double

³³ S. K. Kuczyński, *Polskie herby ziemskie*, 14; M. Walczak, *op. cit.*, 267.

³⁴ *Annales* 10–11 (Varsaviae, 1997), 90.

³⁵ *Insignia*, pp. 53–54; in some manuscripts of the work there are varying formulations of this passage: “*in campo blaneo*,” “*in campo caelestino*,” “*in campo blaveo*,” which possibly meant sky–blue tincture.

³⁶ A colour image of the miniature can be found in *Orzeł Biały*, 101; its blazon *ibid.*, 233.

³⁷ Blue appears in a very dark shade in the coats of arms discussed here, at times resembling black. Most probably, though, it can be identified with the heraldic Azure rather than Sable.

³⁸ As a self–standing emblem it appeared on Krakow's denarius, most probably issued just upon the crowning in 1386, and on Lithuanian denarius of approx. 1390 — see R. Kiersnowski, “Godła jagiellońskie,” in *idem*, *Historia — pieniądz — herb. Opera selecta* (Warsaw, 2008), 462 {first edition: *Wiadomości Numizmatyczne* 32, fasc. 1–2 (1988): 1–28}. Also *cf.* S. K. Kuczyński, *Polskie herby ziemskie*, 63, note 118.

*due cruces cerulee in campo celestino erat insigne.*³⁹ The banner gathered the knights of the king's lifeguard⁴⁰, and therefore in its fabric a common charge of the coat of arms was placed that could have acted as the king's personal identification. Another mention in Długosz that refers to the same object pertains to the events taking place in and around Tuchola, where a royal banner was spotted "*geminatam crucem ceruleam in campo celestino habente pro insigni.*"⁴¹ In the Battle of Koronowo, Polish warriors possessed a military emblem "*geminatam crucem puniceam in alba sindone insutam.*" In this case we have to do with completely different tinctures than in the earlier descriptions.⁴²

Among the many relics coming from the Jagiellon era, where the emblem (used after the death of Władysław II by members of his dynasty) made its way, those are noteworthy which have preserved its tinctures. The oldest representations of that sort surely include a unique colourful image of Double Cross from Jogaila's times, seen in the shield placed on the keystone in the Holy Trinity Castle Chapel in Lublin. The common charge of this coat of arms is gold and the shield's field — red. The arms of the cross slightly expand towards its tips, with the upper arm twice longer than the lower one.⁴³ The image of the coat of arms with a like charge can be encountered in the foreign armorials (*Lycenich, Bergshammar and Armorial de la Toisson d'Or*) where a Double Cross stands in a blue field. The same metal and tincture occur in the images of Double Cross from the early 16th century in *Missal from the Bright Mountain* and in engraving from *Łaski's Statutes*; in the latter it has been placed on a green hill.

Another important issue as regards the blazoning of this coat of arms is the shape of the charge. Notably, the upper arms of the cross tend to be shorter than the lower ones or equal to those. The first possibility is typical for the early period of the arms' occurrence, as crosses with a shorter upper arm are more numerous in the symbol's representations⁴⁴. The other option seems to be a rule in later periods, as of Casimir IV Jagiellon's rule. In the coat of arms featuring on this monarch's tombstone of 1492, the arm lengths of the cross are identical, as is the case in its early-16th century images — the *Missal* and *Łaski's Statutes*. This must have been the cross meant by Jan Długosz, who wrote about it in the latter half of the 15th c. in the texts cited before and called it '*crux geminata*'.⁴⁵ In the Sandomierz frieze, the charge has the shape of a cross with two pairs of arms, the upper ones being twice longer than the lower ones, with both pairs unevenly laid out on a vertical beam. All the arm endings slightly expand in their extremities. It can thus be inferred that the version of the charge is an early variety, identified with a 'patriarchal' rather than a 'twin' cross.

³⁹ *Annales*, vol. 10–11 (Varsaviae, 1997), 89.

⁴⁰ A. Nadolski, *Grunwald. Wybrane problemy* (Olsztyn, 1990), 66.

⁴¹ *Annales* vol. 10–11 (Varsaviae, 1997), 161.

⁴² *Annales* vol. 10–11 (Varsaviae, 1997), 155. It cannot be ascertained whether the royal armies had two banners with the same charge but of different tinctures or whether possibly Długosz made a mistake in blazoning the Chase banner [Goncza — the chase banner of the court; not to be confused with Pogon — the Lithuanian Chase charge: translation note by L.K.] see also: Z. Piech, *Monety, pieczęcie i herby*, 248–249.

⁴³ Z. Piech, *Monety, pieczęcie i herby*, 246.

⁴⁴ Perhaps this is the variant of the charge referred to as „*crux bina*” present in a minting charter that Władysław II granted to Wschowa, cf. R. Kiersnowski, *Wstęp do numizmatyki polskiej wieków średnich* (Warsaw, 1964), 109.

⁴⁵ R. Kiersnowski (*Godła jagiellońskie*, 463–464) notes that Jagiellon Cross was called '*crux geminata*' in the subsequent redaction of *Insignia*. It indicates the form of the charge, which is almost always a “cross of two horizontal beams of equal length, placed symmetrically on a vertical beam at the same distance from its tips, thus being identical from both ends with no base or chief, whereas the 'patriarchal' double cross has its upper arm shorter than the lower one, and it is placed asymmetrically in the upper part of the vertical beam.”

The fourth arm in a row is an image that reveals a crowned White Eagle in the red field of a shield that is most certainly identical with the emblem of the Kingdom of Poland (fig. 4). It dates back to 1295, and it has constantly featured in places and on objects related to the functioning of the Polish polity.⁴⁶ In the battle of Grunwald/Tannenberg it appeared on the ‘grand’ banner — a military emblem of the Land of Krakow, top of Długosz’s list: “*Primum vexillum magnum Cracoviensis terre, cuius alba aquila coronata extensis alis in campo rubeo erat.*”⁴⁷ The image was blazoned in more detail in *Insignia*: “*Aquila alba, in capite gestans coronam auream, alis*



Fig. 4. White Eagle

extensis in longum per lineam auream ordinatis, in campo rubeo.”⁴⁸ There is a mention of a old scroll (*linea aurea*) on the wings. This band, frequently ending with trefoils on both wings, appears on most representations of the White Eagle of the day.⁴⁹ However, the common charge featuring in the frieze does not demonstrate one; only in the wingtips can some residue of gold paint be seen, which points to a possible earlier occurrence of trefoil roses there. Notably, the Eagle placed in the base of the previously mentioned reliquary cross of Sandomierz Collegiate Church looks alike: it shows roses formed by three partly overlapping circles in the wingtips, but there is no scroll.⁵⁰ Speaking of other details in the appearance of the charge, some single long feathers protruding from the neck and the upper part of the wings merit attention; these are characteristic of some of its representations of the day and can be noticed in the image of the coat of arms on the base of a 15th century monstrance that comes

from the Corpus Christi Church, Poznań, and which was founded by king Władysław II in early 15th century.⁵¹ The other characteristic features of the Eagle include its gold claws and a massive beak, demonstrating some residue of gold and a small tail, shaped like a rugged fan.

The next coat of arms shows the Lithuanian Pogon [the Chase] (fig. V), whose name only surfaces in Polish sources in the 16th century, and which was from its beginning connected with the Grand Duchy of Lithuania; it was also used in the Polish heraldic system.⁵² It appeared engraved on Władysław II’s privy seals, where there is the additional element in the form of a winged

⁴⁶ *Orzeł Biały — 700 lat herbu państwa polskiego* contains a rich set of images of the White Eagle; its history was presented by A. Jaworska, *Orzeł Biały herb państwa polskiego* (Warsaw, 2003), with previous bibliography there.

⁴⁷ *Annales* vol. 10–11 (Varsaviae, 1997), 88.

⁴⁸ *Insignia*, 52.

⁴⁹ P. Mrozowski, ‘Formy i stylizacje Orła Białego w średniowieczu,’ in *Orzeł Biały herb państwa polskiego. Materiały sesji naukowej w dniach 27–28 czerwca 1995 roku na Zamku Królewskim w Warszawie* [on White Eagle, seminar materials], ed. S. K. Kuczyński (Warsaw, 1996), 63–64.

⁵⁰ See *Orzeł Biały — 700 lat*, 95, fig. 31, and blazon, 232.

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, 91, fig. 25; description on p. 232.

⁵² According to R. Kiersnowski (*Godła jagiellońskie*, 456) a full heraldisation of Pogon only took place in the latter half of the 15th century; an opposing view is held by Z. Piech (*Monety, pieczęcie i herby*, 228), linking the moment of the final establishment of the coat of arms with an earlier period of the beginnings of Jogaila’s rule as Władysław II.

dragon placed beneath a horse, but there are representations without the dragon, as in the chancellery seals, where, in a quarterly shield, it is second to the Eagle and comes before the coats of arms of the Land of Kalisz, and Cuyiavia⁵³. It also made its way to the monarch's tombstone.⁵⁴ In all these places it has as a charge a horseman clad in armour, with a helm and a shield featuring the aforementioned Double Cross. The horseman, mounted on a galloping horse, is raising a vertically positioned, unsheathed sword, held in the right hand.

Blazons and iconography reveal the tinctures of this coat of arms. Długosz described those by telling us about the royal court banner at Grunwald/Tannenberg: "*Tercium [vexillum — J. P.] cubiculariorum, cuius vir armatus equo candido insidens gladium quoque manu vibrans in campo rubeo erat insigne.*"⁵⁵ We find out about its further details in *Insignia*: "*Racione autem ducatus magni Lythwanie rex Polonie defert armatum virum manum extensam cum gladio vibtaro tenentem, geminatam crucem in brachio gestantem, albo equo insidentem.*"⁵⁶ In the Western armorials (*Armorial Lynce nich* and *Codex Bergshammars*) Pogon appears as a Lithuanian coat of arms; we can infer this from the presence of the Colonnas rather than Double Crosses on the horsemen's shields. Both knights and horses are white (heraldic Argent) whereas the shield fields are red (Gules).⁵⁷

In the light of these findings, the coat of arms from the Sandomierz frieze under consideration seems a typical representation of Pogon, even if it differs in some details from its late medieval representations preserved in other images or blazons. Gules, a horse to dexter Argent, mounted by an armed horseman, who has an open conical helm with a high-arching pointed skull. The horseman is holding the sword diagonally rather than horizontally. On the shield, whose lower part only has been preserved, one can see part of a charge — shaped like a White Cross. The horsemen's silhouette is in a dark tincture, the same as the saddle and the visible parts of the harness. The presence of a Pogon on this frieze just as in the other sets of arms mentioned, originated from its role as the personal coat of arms of Jogaila or the emblem of his dynasty.⁵⁸

The sixth in a row on the fresco is a coat of arms featuring a Crowned Bearded Head with long hair and barely visible facial features (fig. 5). This must be the coat of arms of the Land of Dobrzyń, very well known in the Polish heraldry. It surfaced in the times of Casimir III the Great and — in popular opinion — its charge represents the head of the monarch.⁵⁹ A crown placed on it is normally enriched in horns, which we can see in elements of architectural sculpture, preserved from the 14th century in places such as Krakow, Wiślica and Sandomierz.⁶⁰ In 15th century descriptions of the coat of arms one finds additional details referring to its charge and tincture. According to Długosz, the banner of the Land of Dobrzyń he describes, being fifteenth among the Polish military insignia at Grunwald, had this inscribed on its fabric: "*faciem humanam senilem ad femur se protendentem capite diademate adornato cornibus quoque exasperato in campo ceruleo.*"⁶¹ In *Insignia* it read: "*Dobrzinensis terra, que in campo rubeo caput hominis canum cum*

⁵³ M. Gumowski, *op. cit.*, 13–14; table VIII: 14, 15; table IX: 13.

⁵⁴ S. K. Kuczyński, *Polskie herby ziemskie*, 30–31.

⁵⁵ *Annales* vol.10 –11 (Varsaviae, 1997), 89; Długosz says there (pp. 92–93), that Pogon also featured on the standard of Duke Sigismund Korybutowicz's troops that stood in the Polish ranks, while in the Lithuanian army it appeared on thirty banners whose fabric was red and the charges only differed in the equine coat colour; see: R. Kiersnowski, *Godła jagiellońskie*, 456–457 [on Jagiellons' emblems].

⁵⁶ *Insignia*, 53.

⁵⁷ S. K. Kuczyński, *Polskie herby ziemskie*, 55.

⁵⁸ R. Kiersnowski, *Godła jagiellońskie*, 457.

⁵⁹ For scholarly opinion of the arms' origin and content, see M. Walczak, *op. cit.*, 242–243, 322–328.

⁶⁰ S. K. Kuczyński, *Polskie herby ziemskie*, 16–18.

⁶¹ *Annales* vol.10 –11 (Varsaviae, 1997), 90.

*barba etiam cana, usque ad umbilicum corpus humanum habens protensum, et caput coronatum; ex corona et capite duo cornua contra se prominent; extremitas vero umbilici corona decorata est cerulea.*⁶² In both of the inscriptions quoted, the same charge appears but in fields of a different tincture: in the former it is yellow (possibly same as the heraldic Or); in the latter it is red. Notably, in 15th century Western armorials a Crowned Head with horns growing out of it is usually placed in the heraldic Sable, ie. a black field.⁶³ In the subsequent representations the tincture of the shield of the arms is Gules/red, such as in *Laski's Statutes*. Describing the charge we must not overlook



Fig. 5. The Land of Dobrzyń

its base, ie. a decorative collar under the figure's neck, frequently shown as an inverted crown.

The image of the coat of arms in Sandomierz Cathedral, like the others in the set, betrays numerous departures from its familiar representations from the Late Middle Ages. The field of the shield is very dark here: dark blue turning black. Under the neck one can see a collar shaped like gold girdle with appendages going to base rather than a crown. You see no horns in the charge, either, but this could be a result of low legibility of detail in the upper part of the shield.

The seventh coat of arms shows a Red Half-Lion to sinister and White Half-Eagle to dexter, merged (fig 6.). The oldest representations of a charge like this, occurring as early as in the day of the last Piasts, are identified as the coat of arms of Cuiyavia, direct inheritance of king Władysław I the Elbow-High and his successor.⁶⁴ It went on to become one of the few most important coats of arms that stood for the political-territorial dominion of the Jagiellons.

In the Polish land heraldry, several coats of arms came to be used that featured charges in the shape of Half-Lion and Half-Eagle. Beside these arms of Cuiyavia (and the two voivodships lying within the land: those of Brzeg-Cuiyavia and Inowrocław), the charges were seen in the armorial shields of the provinces of Łęczyca and Sieradz. These differed in the tinctures of charges and shields, with the tinctures changeable in the Jagiellon period.⁶⁵ After the 15th century sources cited here, these are said to have looked like this: on the Cuiyavia banner at Grunwald “per pale Or and Gules, Half-Eagle Sable, Half-Lion crowned Argent.”⁶⁶ *Insignia* speaks of per pale Or and Gules, Half-Eagle crowned Gules, Half-Lion crowned Sable.⁶⁷ The banner of the Land of Sieradz featured “per pale Gules and Argent, Half-Eagle Argent, Half-Lion Or.”⁶⁸ and in *Insignia*: per pale Or and Gules, Half-Eagle crowned Sable, Half-Lion crowned Argent.⁶⁹ The

⁶² *Insignia*, 55.

⁶³ S. K. Kuczyński, *Polskie herby ziemskie*, 56.

⁶⁴ Z. Piech, “Uwagi o genezie i symbolice herbu książąt kujawskich” *Studia Historyczne* 30, fasc. 3 (1985): 183.

⁶⁵ Those who claim so include S. K. Kuczyński (*Polskie herby ziemskie*, 115).

⁶⁶ *Roczniki* 10–11 (Warsaw, 1982), 103. [Annals by Długosz, another edition]

⁶⁷ *Insignia*, 55.

⁶⁸ *Roczniki* vol.10–11 (Warsaw, 1982), 103.

⁶⁹ *Insignia*, 54.

banner of the Land of Łęczyca was Or, Half–Eagle Sable, Half–Lion Argent, both with crowns,⁷⁰ and the arms in *Insignia* showed per pale Argent and Gules, Half–Lion crowned Gules, Half–Eagle Argent.⁷¹ So, even in two works, attributed to the same author — Długosz — significant differences occur in the tinctures of the three coats of arms discussed here.⁷² Notably, a Half–Eagle is the first one to be mentioned at times but on other occasions a Half–Lion comes first, which might be important to establish which of the figures appears in the dexter of the shield (this one should come first in the blazon), and which in the sinister. However, this might turn out to be immaterial since in these armorial images a Half–Lion is always in the dexter and a Half–Eagle in the sinister of the shield.

The discrepancies in the armorial appearances, and especially in their tinctures, fall short of representing all versions of their appearances. Western armorials represent the hybrid in the images of the Cuiyavian coat of arms: on a shield parted per pale Sable and Or, there are a Half–Lion, Argent, and a Half–Eagle, Gules (*Armorial Lynce nich* and *Codex Bergshammar*) or per pale Gules and Argent, there are a Half–Lion Or, and Half–Eagle Sable (*Armorial de la Toison d’Or*); these have no crowns.⁷³ In *Missal from the Bright Mountain* from early 16th century, the arms feature a White Half–Lion in a red field and a Black Half–Eagle in a golden field — identical as the one described by Długosz in *Annales*. In a version of the colour wood engraving from *Łaski’s Statutes* there are three armorial shields with the charge, certainly referring to Cuiyavia and the provinces of Sieradz and Łęczyca. In one of those there is a Black Half–Lion in a golden field and a Black Half–Eagle in a red field; in another a Black Half–Lion and a White Half–Eagle in a golden field; in the third one, there is a Red Half–Lion in a white field and a White Half–Eagle in a red field.⁷⁴

Considering the aforementioned features and appearance variants of the Cuiyavia coat of arms it should be stated that the Sandomierz frieze representation discussed here betrays a number of differences. In the contents of the charge there is a vital detail — a presence of a crown only on the head of the Half–Eagle whereas the Half–Lion has none, but in almost all known appearances of the arms, the heads of both are topped with a common crown. Another problem is the tinctures of the charge and the armorial field. It features a Red Half–Lion and a White Half–Ea-



Fig. 6. Cuiyavia

⁷⁰ *Roczniki*, vol.10–11 (Warsaw 1982), 103.

⁷¹ *Insignia*, 54.

⁷² P. Dymmel in the paper “Problem autorstwa *Klejnotów* przypisywanych Janowi Długoszowi,” [on problems of the authorship of *Annals*, ascribed to Jan Długosz] *Rocznik Polskiego Towarzystwa Heraldycznego* 1, (1993): 68, explains the discrepancies occurring in the appearance of the arms in *Annales* and *Insignia* by Długosz reckoning with the changes that occurred from the time of the battle of Grunwald/Tannenberg to his own day.

⁷³ S. K. Kuczyński, *Polskie herby ziemskie*, 55.

⁷⁴ *ibidem*, colour copies are in the end–sheets of covers.

gle, which is never mentioned in the Cuiyavian armorial representations discussed above. These tinctures can only be found in the blazon of the coat of arms of the Land of Sieradz in *Annales*, that of the Land of Łęczyca in *Insignia*, and also in *Łaski's Statutes*. Less typical still is the armorial field as perpetuated in the frieze: it is dark blue, almost navy blue, throughout the shield. Like in the formerly discussed arms of the Land of Sandomierz, placing a red charge against a blue (Azure) field is at odds with the principle of the alteration of tinctures.

The penultimate of the series of arms reveals this: chequered, Argent and Sable, a Horned Beast, with a crown Or and in nostrils a ring Or (fig. 7). In line with 15th century blazons, this is what the arms of the Land of Kalisz looked like. Jan Długosz described its appearance on a Grunwald banner: “[vexillum — J. P.] *Calisiense caput bubali in scacorū tabula diademate regio ornatum, ex cuius naribus circulus rotundus pendeat, habens pro insigni.*”⁷⁵ *Insignia* mentions the tincture of the shield's chequered field: *Calisiensis terra [...] que caput zambronis coronatum, circulo e naribus pendente, in tabula scakali portat, in campo partim albo, partim rubeo.*⁷⁶ The white-and-red chequer, against which was placed a black Buffalo Head in a golden crown, also appears in the 15th century Western armorials cited, where it was associated with Greater Poland.⁷⁷ It was used as early as 14th century, as seen in its imagery on edifices in Sandomierz, Wiślica and Krakow, and its chequered field was known since queen Jadwiga and Jogaila.⁷⁸ Lack of a crown on a tombstone of the ruler can be considered a departure from the generally accepted appearance of the arms. In the image, being part of the frieze, the coat of arms has a charge similar to the aforementioned ones, but the beast's head's tincture looks as if it is golden. Placing the charge in a chequered white-black field, rather than a white-red, makes the arms distinct from its typical representations.

The many coats of arms conclude with a quarterly shield, Azure and Gules, featuring three Golden Stars in the first and fourth fields (two and one) with two bars Argent each in the remaining fields (fig. 8). This one does not belong to our domestic heraldic inventory, but has been preserved in Poland on several relics coming from the 15th century, which will be discussed further on in the paper. It belonged to the family of the counts of Cilli/Celje, which Anna (called Cillian in Poland) — Władysław II's wife in 1403–1416⁷⁹ — and her cousin, count Herman, came from (he played a key role in diplomatic relations with emperor Sigismund Luxembourg). Numerous images of the arms have been preserved from the Late Middle Ages, thanks to which we can say that the representation discussed was very accurately made both in terms of content

⁷⁵ *Annales* 10–11 (Varsaviae, 1997), 89.

⁷⁶ *Insignia*, 53.

⁷⁷ S. K. Kuczyński, *Polskie herby ziemskie*, 55: *Armorial Lyncenich*: “hertoghedom van groet polen;” *Codex Bergshammar*: “out polen;” *Armorial de la Toisson d'Or*: “la grande polaine.” In this scholar's opinion, the Buffalo Head on a chequer was since the 14th century a heraldic symbol of the whole Greater Poland, only to become the coat of arms of the Land of Kalisz in mid–15th century (*idem*, 15). R. Marciniak thinks otherwise {“O rzekomym herbie Wielkopolski XIV i XV wieku,” *Roczniki Historyczne* 65 (1999): 53 and next} and, in his opinion, from the very beginning it was the coat of arms of the Land of Kalisz only, whereas the other part of Greater Poland — the Land of Poznań — had always had an Eagle without a crown in its coat of arms.

⁷⁸ S. K. Kuczyński, *Polskie herby ziemskie*, 14. The representations of this coat of arms with a chequered field can be found on Władysław II's privy seal and on the oldest sceptre of the Jagiellon University of Krakow from early 15th c.; see S. K. Kuczyński, “Jeszcze o najstarszym berle Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego,” *Wiadomości Numizmatyczne* 13, fasc. 4 (1969): 200.

⁷⁹ K. Pieradzka, “Anna Cyllejska,” in *Polski słownik biograficzny*, vol. 1 {[Polish biographical dictionary] hereinafter: *PSB*} (Krakow, 1935), 121; J. Tęgowski, *Pierwsze pokolenia Giedyminowiczów* [on the early generations of Duke Gedymin's offspring] (Poznań–Wrocław, 1999), 127–128.



Fig. 7. The Land of Kalisz



Fig. 8. The Cillian coat of arms

and tincture.⁸⁰ Unlike most in the frieze, the coat of arms represents a personal armorial device rather than that of a dominion or land. We will come back to it as it is essential for the sake of identification of the relic.

Now onto the issue of differences between the appearance of the coats of arms on the frieze and those found in historical sources, especially the field tinctures occurring in the arms of the lands of Sandomierz (blue rather than white/silver or yellow/golden), Dobrzyń and Cuiyavia (blue shield fields) or Greater Poland (Kalisz; with a white–black chequer rather than white–red). It is rather hard to explain why there was such a departure here from commonly applied tinctures by the painters of the symbols, even if there was still a considerable latitude in this matter at the time. One may question whether the heraldic alteration principles were commonly used in Poland or wonder whether it was just the the Sandomierz painter who disregarded those. If that was the same painter who painted the frescoes, a question arises whether the departure was possibly caused by his Eastern origin and his allegiance to Byzantine art, which could provide some rationale for his lack of proper care for the observation of the heraldic rules; it could also be linked to their sheer ignorance of those rules.

Another possibility is that the tinctures were originally different from the ones we can see now: these could have been repainted or may have changed appearance due to adverse condi-

⁸⁰ The Cillian coat of arms is presented twice as colour wood engravings in the Constance Council chronicle by Ulrich von Richental {*Concilium zu Konstanz* (Augsburg, 1483), available online in the resources of Bayerische Staatsbibliothek: <http://inkunabeln.digital-sammlungen.de/JPG100_r_178_185.jpg>}: card CLXXv. — the coat of arms of Barbara of Cilli, wife of Sigismund Luksembourg, and LXXXVI — the coat of arms of count Herman of Cilli and his son Frederic; it also appears in Hartmann Schedl, *Das Buch der Croniken und Geschichten* (Augsburg, 1500), card CCVII. The seal of Barbara of Cilli was published by O. Posse, *Die Siegel der Deutschen Kaiser und Könige von 751 bis 1806*, fig. II (Dresden, 1910), table 18. Several iconographic sources showing the coat of arms of Cilli have been reproduced in O. Neubecker, *Heraldry. Sources, symbols and meaning* (London, 1997), 146, 188.

tions outside. One could point at an analogy in the Lublin Castle Chapel, related to the tincture of the Double Cross found there. The charge is now golden although it was identified as white before the conservation work began. A hint at the original colour could have been the residue of some other dye found on it.⁸¹ It cannot be ruled out that there had been some major loss of dye on the coats in the cathedral, too (one should think it was mostly gold and white), and what was left was the blue undercoat for the dye proper. This calls for further research that makes reference to medieval painting techniques and the properties of the materials used at that time. Such processes could account for the disappearance of the horns on the Head of the Land of Dobrzyń armorial charge.

Another major departure — the placement of the crown on the head of the Half-Eagle only appears to have been an original invention of the armorial painter. Such could have been the reason for the splitting of the lion's tail in the Ruthenian coat of arms, as well.

Another issue worth consideration is the contents of the armorial set and the sequence of the coats of arms. As mentioned before, there are nine of those altogether, with one statehood emblem (White Eagle), one of polity or dynasty (Pogon), two related to a royal couple (Jagiellonian and Cillian) and five representing lands (Sandomierz, Rus/Ruthenia, Dobrzyń, Cuiyavia, Greater Poland/Kalisz). It goes without saying that the selection was far from random; this can be concluded from its comparison with the other heraldic sets of the Late Middle Ages. Under Casimir III the Great, a set of six coats of arms was established as a representation of the Kingdom and its major territories. On top of the White Eagle, the set included the coats of arms of Cuiyavia, Red Ruthenia, Greater Poland (Buffalo Head) and also the lands of Sandomierz and Dobrzyń.⁸² Their representations have been preserved in some lay and sacral edifices discussed before, as elements of decorative sculpture.

The set of royal and territorial coats of arms creating a ring around the enthroned monarch is part of the privy seal of Władysław II that he used as of late 14th century. There were seven of those altogether featuring on the seal, since a Pogon was present, too; it was the coat of arms of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania and it also could have been treated by Polish heraldry as a Jagiellonian emblem alongside a Double Cross. This is why it was placed on two Polish banners at Grunwald (the court standard and that of Sigismund Korybutowicz). The same armorial devices found their way to the seal of Władysław III, with his successor's seal — that of Casimir IV Jagiellon — enriched in the coat of arms of Royal Prussia. The tombstone of Jogaila (probably made in the monarch's lifetime, possibly in 1421) features two coats of arms, each with the Polish Eagle and a Pogon, and also the emblem of Greater Poland (Kalisz), Land of Dobrzyń and Ruthenia; a novel coat of arms was the one of the Land of Wieluń.⁸³ Casimir IV Jagiellon's tombstone, built in 1492, beside a White Eagle appearing twice, presents a Pogon and the heraldic identification of the land of Dobrzyń, Cuiyavia, the Jagiellonian Double Cross and an Austrian heraldic symbol. What it means is that the Sandomierz armorial set makes up a composition typical for Władysław II Jagiełło and betrays a particular convergence with the armorial ring appearing on his privy seal, supplemented by two more: Jagiellonian and Cillian. The armorial content of the frieze discussed was thus precisely established and reflected a clear heraldic agenda; this will be discussed further on in this paper.

⁸¹ Z. Piech, *Monety, pieczęcie i herby* [on seals, coins and coats of arms], 246.

⁸² S. K. Kuczyński, *Polskie herby ziemskie*, 13.

⁸³ Placing the coat of arms of the Land of Wieluń was supposed to refer to its reconquest by the monarch in 1396, cf. *ibid.*, 29.

One should also reflect on whether the layout of the coats of arms was free or determined by their hierarchy. In a linear arrangement, the rule was that the most distinguished ones were central and the less honoured — peripheral. In this frieze, the most dignified ones were the Eagle and the Pogon, and these were the fourth and the fifth ones from the left. The others should have been alternatingly positioned behind them. So, perhaps this was the arrangement: a White Eagle, a Pogon, a Double Cross, and then the lands of Dobrzyń, Ruthenia, Cuiyavia, Sandomierz, Kalisz (Greater Poland) and the Cillian dynasty. This departs, as we can see, from the arrangement occurring on Władysław II's privy seal, where the coats of arms surrounding the monarch are ordered alternatingly, starting from the heraldic top right-hand side. This is how this looks: a White Eagle, a Pogon, the armorial identification of Greater Poland (Land of Kalisz), the Land of Sandomierz, Cuiyavia, the Land of Dobrzyń and Ruthenia.⁸⁴ Reckoning with the order as formal at that time, it ought to be said that this was not the order we see in the frieze. What was purposeful, though, was the central position of a White Eagle and a Pogon, which — along heraldic principles — determines the coats of arms as the most important.

In trying to assess the value of the frieze for heraldic purposes, it needs to be stressed that what we are dealing with here is one of the few medieval sets preserved showing Polish political-territorial coats of arms made in a technique of painting with the use of colour. In anticipation of the findings the paper presents concerning the chronology of the paintings, it can already be said that this is probably the oldest relic of the sort found in Poland. Unlike the 14th-century heraldic representations carved or impressed in a plastic mass, which are only instrumental in the establishment of the shapes of the charges alone, their painted images allow one to determine their colours and the metals occurring in the armorial charges and fields. Moreover, the conflicting data regarding the details of appearance that can be noticed when comparing the Sandomierz armorial set and the counterparts found in other sources, unless affected by subsequent repainting or damage, can provide a starting point for research on the development of Polish heraldry at territorial and central levels in Late Middle Ages since even at this stage of investigation the finding discussed confirms its researchers' conviction that in the 15th century land coats of arms were far from being established.⁸⁵

The state of research on the chronology of the paintings

The Cillian coat of arms involves the issue of the paintings' endowment dating. In older literature, the chronology is generally identified with the late 14th century,⁸⁶ or the reign of Władysław II or Casimir IV Jagiellon.⁸⁷ Attempts at more exact dating revolve around 1420, this being the date of the last royal invoices preserved, in absence of any mentions of the financing of Sandomierz painters.⁸⁸ Still, this is an *ex silentio* argument. Another moment indicated as the time of the ap-

⁸⁴ See also Z. Piech, *Monety, pieczęcie i herby*, 45.

⁸⁵ S. K. Kuczyński, "Herby w twórczości historycznej Jana Długosza," in *Sztuka i ideologia XV wieku. Materiały sympozjum Komitetu Nauk o Sztuce Polskiej Akademii Nauk, Warszawa, 1–4 grudnia 1976 r.* [on coats of arms in Jan Dugosz's writings, seminar materials] (Warsaw, 1978), 222.

⁸⁶ A. Marsówna, "Freski ruskie w katedrze w Sandomierzu," in *Prace Komisji Historii Sztuki*, vol. 5, 1930–1934, XXII.

⁸⁷ W. Łuszczkiewicz, "O odkrytych freskach z XV w. w katedrze sandomierskiej," in *Sprawozdania Komisji do Badań Historii Sztuki w Polsce*, vol. IV (1891): col. XLIV–XLV.

⁸⁸ *Rachunki dworu króla Władysława Jagielly i królowej Jadwigi (1388–1420)* [on bills and invoices of the royal court] (Krakow: F. Piekosiński, 1896).

pearance of the frescoes is linked with the date Zbigniew Oleśnicki assumed the Krakow bishopric on account of the reconstruction of the apse of the Sandomierz Collegiate Church presbytery, which was attributed to him, and whose walls are also covered by paintings.⁸⁹ The hypothesis is based on Kromer's late mention of Oleśnicki's construction activity in Sandomierz; this is not taken seriously by contemporary scholars⁹⁰. The third attempt at delimiting the endowment's chronology was presented by Tadeusz M. Trajdos, who considers the time period of 1417–1426 as representative for the “supreme personal ties between the court and the collegiate church.” He linked the former date to the “biggest charter granted to Sandomierz Collegiate Church,” but fell short of specifying the source⁹¹.

Another fixed date is that of 1426, when Władysław II issued a document for the sake of the royal painter and a Ruthenian clergyman Hail with which the king remunerated him for painting churches in the Land of Sandomierz⁹². However, because the donation was rather small, Anna Różycka–Bryzek claimed that the merits of Hail were rather limited — possibly to advising the king. The scholar has recently linked the paintings to the birth of Jogaila's sons (1424, 1426 and 1427) and recognised those to be a form of thanksgiving for the gift of offspring; she also questioned the king's alleged frequent arrivals in Sandomierz in 1424⁹³.

Establishing the endowment time after the Cillian coat of arms

All the previously proposed dating, based on indirect inferences of arguments not based on sources, must come second to the chronological information that can be concluded from the frieze discovered and the inclusion of the Cilli coat of arms in the set. This links the endowment for the frescoes to the reign of queen Anna and possibly the years following her death. The heraldic frieze and the rest of the Sandomierz paintings are not the only relics whose chronology is determined by the Cillian coat of arms. Previously, scholars considered the rare occurrence of this coat of arms and the rare instances when it was used in the dating of the Gosławice church and the rector's sceptre of the Jagiellonian University. The first of these, founded by Andrzej Łaskarz around 1418–1426 and consecrated in 1441, is decorated by a set of armorial sculpture including a White Eagle, a Jagiellonian Cross, the coat of arms of pope Martin V and numerous Polish nobility coats of arms among whom — in the presbytery — we find a heraldic symbol attributed to Anna of Celje. It is worth making a reference to Andrzej Grzybowski who, in assuming indirect ties between the founder and the queen, wrote: “identification of the Cillian counts' coat of arms with queen Anna (who died in 1416) is not tantamount to saying that the date must consti-

⁸⁹ Ks. J. Rokoszyński, *op. cit.*, col. 20; ks. S. Makarewicz, “Bizantyjskie freski bazyliki sandomierskiej w publicystyce ks. Józefa Rokoszyńskiego,” in *Ks. Józef Rokoszyński (1870–1931). Życie i dzieło. Materiały z sesji. Sandomierz, 19 października 2001 r.*, [symposium materials] ed. K. Burek (Sandomierz, 2003), 88.

⁹⁰ F. Kiryk, “Związki Zbigniewa Oleśnickiego z Sandomierzem i ziemią sandomierską,” in *Zbigniew Oleśnicki. Książę Kościoła i mąż stanu. Materiały z Konferencji. Sandomierz 20–21 maja 2005 roku* [symposium materials], ed. F. Kiryk, Z. Noga, 271–280.

⁹¹ T. M. Trajdos, “Treści ideowe i kręgi stylistyczne polichromii bizantyjskich w Polsce za panowania Władysława II Jagiełły (1386–1434),” [on the contents and style of the Polish Byzantine wall-paintings under Jogaila], *Zeszyty Naukowe Wydziału Humanistycznego Uniwersytetu Gdańskiego. Slawistyka* 3 (1982): 168.

⁹² B. Wyrozumska, “Dokument Władysława Jagiełły z 1426 r. dla popa Haila,” in *Prace Komisji Wschodnioeuropejskiej Polskiej Akademii Umiejętności* vol. 4, (1997), 19–23.

⁹³ A. Różycka–Bryzek, “Cykl maryjny we freskach *graco opere* fundacji Władysława Jagiełły w katedrze sandomierskiej,” *Modus. Prace z Historii Sztuki* VII (2006): 49–52.

tute the upper limit of the construction time. The coat of arms could have been commemorative and illustrated either the memories of the queen's participation in the idea of the endowment or Andrzej Łaskarz's political views.⁹⁴ Jerzy Łojko explained the presence of this armorial representation with Andrzej Łaskarz having been directly involved in the queen's political activity that had a bearing on Polish–Hungarian rapprochement.⁹⁵ The subsequent discussion yielded a suggestion that the time when the idea of establishing the endowment arose was the year of the Grunwald victory, and the implementation of the presbytery occurred in 1411–1416.⁹⁶

Another relic is the oldest rector sceptre of the Jagiellonian University of Krakow — the so-called queen Jadwiga's sceptre, an endowment by king Władysław II. There are ten coats of arms in a disrupted hierarchical order (fig. 9). The coat of arms of Anna of Celje appears after statehood's and chivalric arms, such as a White Eagle, a Pogon and the Anjou coat of arms. The beneficiary is of interest; according to Stefan K. Kuczyński it was Mikołaj of Pyzdry, rector in 1405–1406, as indicated by the coat of arms of the Land of Kalisz, where the rector came from, and which was inserted at the top of the sceptre.⁹⁷ Notably, the close collaborator of Andrzej Łaskarz had close ties with the Sandomierz Collegiate Church. From 1404 to his death he was its archdeacon, bequeathed rights to land interest on Sandomierz missionaries and donated his library to the prelates.⁹⁸ As occasioned by this interpretation, S. K. Kuczyński also passed the information of two seals with the Cillian coat of arms as being in the repository of AGAD national archive of old documents.⁹⁹ The Cillian coat of arms from the sceptre is explained as an expression of reverence for the queen, considerations of courtesy or donations for the University.¹⁰⁰

Another relic decorated with a Cillian coat of arms is a baptistery from the medieval Church of St. Stephen, Krakow, found today in a new church under the same calling. There is no interpretation of the composition of the coats of arms found there, but the date of the endowment (1425) and the coats of arms of Władysław II's first two wives point to its retrospective character¹⁰¹ (fig. 12). It was funded by its vicar Stanisław Roja, who was also canon of Krakow, Sandomierz and Gniezno.¹⁰²

The composition can be supplemented by a Cillian coat of arms formed on a tile of an armorial stove from Janków in Greater Poland. It was discovered in 1990 among a number of interest-

⁹⁴ A. Grzybowski, "Kościół w Gosławicach. Zagadnienie genezy," [on the origin of the Gosławice church] *Kwartalnik Architektury i Urbanistyki* 16, fasc. 4 (1971): 301–303.

⁹⁵ J. Łojko, "Idea fundacji kościoła w Gosławicach a dyplomacja polska na początku XV wieku," *Rocznik Koniński* 6 (1976): 14–17; *idem*, *Średniowieczne herby polskie* (Poznań, 1985), 124–130.

⁹⁶ B. Rogalski, "Jeszcze o wystroju heraldycznym kościoła św. Andrzeja Apostoła w Gosławicach," *Rocznik Polskiego Towarzystwa Heraldycznego* new series 4 (1999): 203–217; A. Grzybowski, *Dyskusja nad Gosławicami*, *ibidem*, 238–240.

⁹⁷ S. K. Kuczyński, *Jeszcze o najstarszym berle*, 197, 201–202. In *Polskie herby ziemskie*, 40, the author backed off from identifying the coat of arms with Mikołaj of Pyzdry. Earlier A. Bochnak in *Les insignes de l'Université Jagiellonne* (Cracovie, 1962) incorrectly identified the coat of arms of Cillian counts as 'Armoiries de la Terre de Sandomierz.' (11–14).

⁹⁸ M. Kowalczyk, "Mikołaj z Pyzdr," in *PSB*, vol. 21 (Kraków, 1976), 135–136; L. Poniewozik, *Pralaci i kanonicy sandomierscy w okresie średniowiecza* (Toruń, 2004), 261–263.

⁹⁹ S. K. Kuczyński, *Jeszcze o najstarszym berle*, 196–199.

¹⁰⁰ *Ibid.*, 200, 206; J. Łojko, *Idea fundacji kościoła*, 15.

¹⁰¹ M. S. Cerchowie, F. Kopera, *Pomniki Krakowa*, vol. 1 (Kraków–Warsaw, 1904), 154; J. Łojko, *Idea fundacji kościoła*, 23, note 46.

¹⁰² M. Michalewiczowa, "Roj (Roy) Stanisław," in *PSB*, vol. 31 (Wrocław, 1988–89), 503–504; L. Poniewozik, *op. cit.*, 300–302.

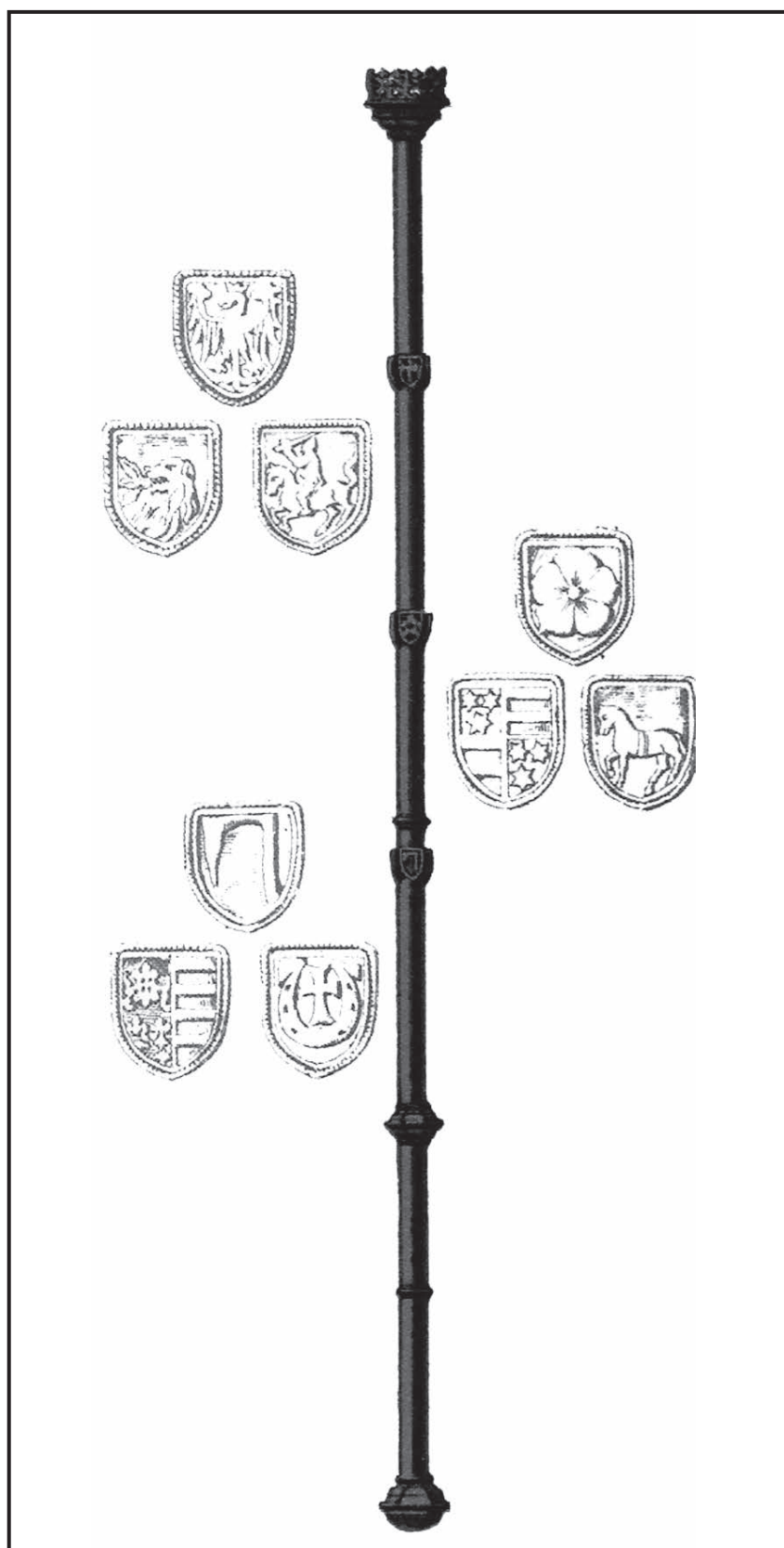


Fig. 9. Jagiellonian University sceptre. *Wzory sztuki średniowiecznej i z epoki odrodzenia po koniec wieku XVII w dawnej Polsce*, p. II, (Warsaw: published by A. Przedziecki and E. Rastawiecki, 1855–1858)

ing heraldic tiles having no heraldic interpretation by the time. It came from a landed estate of Dobiesław, deputy land judge (in this capacity 1419–1430), or his sons.¹⁰³

These relics of the Cillian coat of arms — surely not the only ones preserved — give proof of a wide range of the coat of arms' usage by Władysław II's second wife.¹⁰⁴ They testify both to its good reception by the general public and the acceptance of the person it represented. It was influenced by the idea of returning to the Piast roots, represented by the queen.¹⁰⁵ The dating of some relics extends the possibility of using the Cillian coat of arms to the years after the queen's death and it symbolizes the continuation of the dynastic–political agenda. Until 1424 the only heir to the Kingdom was Jadwiga, the only daughter of Władysław and Anna, deceased in 1431.¹⁰⁶

The origin of the frieze

The reasons why Byzantine paintings found their way to Polish churches was sought by A. Różycka–Bryzek in the private tastes of Władysław II, derived from the Orthodox culture.¹⁰⁷ T.M. Trajdos reconstructed different reasons for those endowments and claimed that the perpetuation of contents whose purpose was a private and public personality cult of the king allowed him to “identify with the type of piety that obtained in a Catholic community.”¹⁰⁸ Czesław Deptuła saw in it an artistic manifestation of the unity of Christendom.¹⁰⁹ The reason why the paintings appeared was understood in a like manner by Przemysław Mrozowski, while Wojciech Drelicharz said that in introducing Eastern themes the king meant to say “who he was and where he came from.”¹¹⁰

¹⁰³ *Urzednicy dawnej Rzeczypospolitej XII–XVIII wieku. Spisy*, [lists of civil servants] ed. A. Gąsiorowski, vol. 1: *Wielkopolska*, fasc. 1; *Urzednicy wielkopolscy XII–XV wieku* [12–15th c. Greater Poland's civil servants], ed. M. Bielińska, A. Gąsiorowski, J. Łojko (Wrocław, 1985), 119, no 164; C. Strzyżewski, “Gotyckie i renesansowe kafle z Jankowa Dolnego [on Gothic and Renaissance tiles],” in *Kafle gotyckie i renesansowe na ziemiach polskich* (Gniezno, 1993), 38; “Katalog kafli,” in *ibidem*, 130; T. Janiak, *Kafle gotyckie w zbiorach Muzeum Początków Państwa Polskiego w Gnieźnie*, (Gniezno, 2003), 19, 58; *Monarchia Jagiellonów: 1399–1586*, ed. M. Derwich (Warsaw–Wrocław, 2003), photo, 6.

¹⁰⁴ In 15th–c. Poland the Cillian coat of arms was used by another wife of a Polish monarch, Anna's cousin Barbara, wife of Cieszyn's ruler Władysław (deceased in 1480) and her tombstone with the family coat of arms is situated in the Collegiate Church of Głogów (fig. 10–11); she also used a seal with this emblem. See M. Kaganiec, *Heraldyka Piastów śląskich: 1146–1707* (Katowice, 1992), 142, 154; B. Czechowicz, *Nagrobki późnogytyckie na Śląsku* (Wrocław, 2003), 119–121 and fig. 34–35.

¹⁰⁵ F. Sikora, “W sprawie małżeństwa Władysława Jagiełły z Anną Cylejską,” in *Personae. Colligationes. Facta*, (Toruń, 1991), 93–103.

¹⁰⁶ G. Małaczyńska, “Jadwiga, (1408–1431), królowna polska,” in *PSB*, vol. 10 (Wrocław, 1962–1964), 301–304; J. Tęgowski, *Pierwsze pokolenia*, 132–136.

¹⁰⁷ A. Różycka–Bryzek, “Bizantyjsko–ruskie malowidła ściennie w kaplicy Świętokrzyskiej na Wawelu,” in *Studia do Dziejów Wawelu*, vol. 3, (Kraków, 1968), 176; *idem*, *Malowidła “greckie”* 7.

¹⁰⁸ T. M. Trajdos, *op. cit.*, 168.

¹⁰⁹ Cz. Deptuła, “Z zagadnień relacji pomiędzy sztuką, polityką i programami unii kościelnej w państwie polsko–litewskim XV wieku,” [on the relationship between art, politics and agendas of church union in 15th c. Polish–Lithuanian Commonwealth] *Summarum* 24/25 (1995/1996): 138.

¹¹⁰ P. Mrozowski, “Sztuka jako narzędzie władzy królewskiej w Polsce,” in *Dzieło sztuki: źródło ikonograficzne, czy coś więcej? Materiały sympozjum XVII Powszechnego Zjazdu Historyków w Krakowie. 15–18 września 2004*, [art as a royal tool in Poland] ed. M. Fabiański (Warsaw, 2005), 74; W. Drelicharz, “Kolegiata wiślicka jako miejsce wizualnego dialogu monarchy ze społeczeństwem w XIV–XV wieku,” in *Przeszłość jest czasem narodzin: z dziejów Wiślicy i jej związków z Krakowem. Materiały z sympozjum historycznego zorganizowanego w Wiślicy 23 października 2005 roku*, [on ties between Wiślica and Krakow. Symposium materials] ed. A. Waśko, J. Smołucha (Kraków, 2006), 56.



Fig. 10. Tombstone of Duchess Małgorzata (deceased 1480), wife of Władysław the Duke of Cieszyn, Collegiate Church of Głogów



Fig. 11. Cillian coat of arms on the tombstone of Duchess Małgorzata from the Collegiate Church of Głogów

The origins and functions of the Sandomierz paintings can be elucidated if one tries to point to the role a heraldic frieze fulfilled. The reasons why the Double Cross of Jogaila was included in it seem clear. The personal coat of arms of the king that appears twice in the Lublin series of frescoes was treated as a theme related to endowment¹¹¹. Did it have a similar significance in Sandomierz? The presence of the Cillian arms of the queen appears to reinforce this hypothesis and indicate an expansion of the frieze's ideas. To shed more light on it, one should note that these were placed in an edifice which at the time of the endowment was granted keystones decorated with a full set of land coats of arms. These are well-researched and the discussion implies that the land emblems through the *pars pro toto* principle propagate social, military or judicial establishments¹¹². One should also bear in mind that these insignia functioned on the king's privy

¹¹¹ A. Różycka-Bryzek, *Bizantyjsko-ruskie malowidła w kaplicy zamku lubelskiego*, [on Byzantine paintings in Lublin royal chapel] (Warsaw, 1983), 122; Z. Piech, *Monety, pieczęcie i herby*, 246.

¹¹² Fundamental literature: J. Gądomski, "Funkcja kościołów fundacji Kazimierza Wielkiego w świetle heraldycznej rzeźby architektonicznej," in *Funkcja dzieła sztuki* (Warsaw, 1972), 103–117; *idem*, "Sale gotyckie w domu przy Rynku Głównym 17 w Krakowie i ich dekoracja rzeźbiarska," in *Sztuka i ideologia XIV wieku*, ed. P. Skubiszewski

seal. In the rich literature of the subject, only Zenon Piech suggested a link between the complex representation on the seal and the armorial sets from keystones coming from king Casimir III's endowments¹¹³. The Sandomierz frieze falls within this relationship, but at the same time it creates a unique situation since by overlaying a map of the Byzantine–Ruthenian frescoes endowments onto the topography of the keystones we see that these relics accumulate in the Collegiate Churches of Sandomierz and Wiślica only, with the latter having preserved but a fraction of the frescoes. In the remaining centres, the paintings ordered by Jogaila appeared without any neighbouring land heraldry. It was not so in Sandomierz; scholars recognised the local keystones as “decoration into which Jogaila inserted new polychromy.”¹¹⁴ The fact of decoration with a frieze means that its author was inspired with the keystones — a means of medieval communication — and it is a much more tangible connection than is the case with the relationship with a sigillographic representation; all the more so, that we also see the interrelation in the same selection and number of land coats of arms (on the keystone of the cathedral, the Cuiyavian coat of arms is represented twice), plus the armorial representations of the royal couple and the coat of arms of Lithuania.¹¹⁵ There is also a reference to the symbols of the rule of the last Piast, which was interwoven with new signs that speak of the changes on the Polish throne (the Double Cross) and in the Kingdom (the Pogon). The inherent carrier of this content is the coat of arms of the second royal wife: Jogaila's spouse Anna was none other than a descendant of king Casimir III the Great, and her marriage was supposed to legitimise King Władysław's rule. Thus, an official set of the contents of the idea of the statehood was demonstrated in a monumental manner in the period when the ruler had overcome a dynastic crisis. The discussion of the crisis was not yet over, but scholars are in agreement about the weakening of Jogaila's position upon the demise of queen Jadwiga, if by these “smart policies” he sought to reinforce his power, with the dynasty of the Cillian counts serving as a “genealogical stabiliser.”¹¹⁶ Bear in mind that the coats of arms collated on edifices funded by king Casimir III were also supposed to speak of such matters as overcoming a crisis in the kingdom, even if the events were of a different order of significance.

In the Sandomierz frieze the coats of arms of the royal couple were included into a broader symbolism, as was the case in Goślawice, Janków Dolny or the Cracovian Church of St. Stephen. It speaks of an equal treatment of the spouse and her close collaboration with her husband. This is also how Anna's rank as well as her dignified ancestry are expressed. True, we know of no separate composition of these two coats of arms that could provide an analogy to the set of two

(Warsaw, 1975), 101–117; S. K. Kuczyński, *Polskie herby ziemskie*, 13–22; Z. Piech, *Monety, pieczęcie i herby*, 288, 292; M. Walczak, *op. cit.*, 288–405.

¹¹³ Z. Piech, *Monety, pieczęcie i herby*, 292.

¹¹⁴ T. M. Trajdos, *op. cit.*, 168.

¹¹⁵ The representation found on the central keystone was identified with the sign of the Kingdom (or the Land of Krakow). There is, however, a two-headed crowned Eagle in it, which is regarded as the coat of arms of the Land of Przemyśl by both Z. Piech — in his review of the book by S. K. Kuczyński, *Polskie herby ziemskie*, published in *Kwartalnik Historyczny* 102, no 1(1995): 100 — and M. Walczak, *op. cit.*, 342 and fig. 290. This does not alter the conception since the creator of the frieze, inspired by the heraldic decoration of the keystones and deprived of trained perception, could have thought the representation to be the White Eagle.

¹¹⁶ J. Nikodem, “Problem legitymizacji władzy Władysława Jagiełły w 1399 roku,” *Nihil superfluum esse. Studia z dziejów średniowiecza ofiarowane Profesor Jadwidze Krzyżaniakowej*, [papers in Middle Ages] ed. J. Strzelczyk, J. Dobosz, Z. Górczak, P. Pokora, K. Ratajczak, M. Zwierzykowski (Poznań, 2000), 400; J. Kurtyka, “Jeszcze o kryzysie legitymizacyjnym i pozycji namiestniczej kasztelana oraz starosty krakowskiego Jana z Tęczyna w latach 1399–1402,” [on Jogaila's legitimation crisis and the palatine Jan of Tęczyn's influence] in *Średniowiecze polskie i powszechne*, vol 4, ed. I. Panic, J. Sperka (Katowice, 2007), 217.

keystones with the coat of arms of king Władysław II and his previous wife Jadwiga of Anjou from the so-called chamber of Jadwiga and Jogaila on the ground floor of the Cracovian Royal Castle of Wawel.¹¹⁷ It ought to be noted though that a heraldic emphasis of joint endowments was appropriate and — for a number of considerations — possible only with the first two royal spouses of the king. Apparently then, the fact of including the heraldic frieze in the frescoes reinforces the royal political agenda of the endowment for the whole painting composition, which was expressed with the means belonging to the world of *profanum*. The Cillian coat of arms links it to Anna's ancestor, King Casimir III the Great — the founder of the collegiate church. This concept, rather than being ruled out, is reinforced by the connection with *sacrum* in the great themes, skilfully rendered by the Ruthenian masters. This proposition is yet to be confirmed by a possible occurrence of Jogaila's portraits on the Sandomierz frescoes. Further research ought to verify the hypothesis but it is legitimate on account of such identification in the Holy Trinity Chapel of Lublin.¹¹⁸ This attempt has its continuation in the scene of the *Allegiance of the Three Kings* in the diptychon of *Our Lady Dolorosa* in the Wawel Cathedral, funded about 1480 by Elisabeth of Austria.¹¹⁹

Gathered together, the conclusions of these considerations point to a semantic chain that links certain persons: the collegiate church and keystones (Casimir) — the frescoes and the frieze (Władysław and Anna). The bond which obtains here can be seen at three planes: those of the endowment, heraldry and genealogy. This communication was clear for the medieval man, and it is still very legible — it gave information about dynastic continuity.

In search of the functions of the heraldic frieze for which it was placed on the wall of the presbytery on the side of the Gospel, one should consider whether it possibly points to the seat the monarch took when visiting the church. As mentioned before, a number of scholars (on the basis of Jogaila's itinerary by A. Gąsiorowski) identified the emergence of paintings with the periods of king's repeated visits. However, the itinerary and its significant supplements imply the king's regular arrivals in Sandomierz throughout his reign.¹²⁰ Their number is vast — as compared with his visits elsewhere — and approaches 70. The king's 25-time presence at St Mary's Nativity celebrations in Sandomierz is phenomenal.¹²¹ Despite the rich data, the sources most likely fall short of giving a full account of the king's participation in this holiday. His visits to the collegiate church can also be presumed whenever sources mention his sojourns in Koprzywnica or Opatów as stopovers on the way to Sandomierz.¹²² Given the unprecedented number of the monarch's visits in this town and its major church, a conjecture of there being a permanent place of the king's

¹¹⁷ Z. Piech, *Monety, pieczęcie i herby*, 245.

¹¹⁸ T. M. Trajdos, *op. cit.*, 159–162; A. Różycka-Bryzek, *Bizantyńsko-ruskie malowidła w kaplicy*, 117–122.

¹¹⁹ M. Walicki, *Gotyk, renesans, wczesny manieryzm* (Warsaw, 1961), 312, fig. 81. It has recently been reproduced on the cover of J. Tęgowski, *Pierwsze pokolenia*.

¹²⁰ A. Gąsiorowski, *Itinerarium króla Władysława Jagiełły 1386–1434*, (Warsaw, 1972) *passim*; K. Jasiński, "Uwagi o itinerarium króla Władysława Jagiełły," *Studia Źródłoznawcze* 20, (1976): 227–231; A. Gąsiorowski, I. Skierska, "Średniowieczna monarchia objazdowa. Władca w centralnych ośrodkach państwa," in *Sedes regni principales. Materiały z konferencji, Sandomierz 20–21 października 1997 r.*, ed. B. Trelińska, (Sandomierz, 1999), 78–80; P. Węcowski, *Działalność publiczna możnowładztwa małopolskiego w późnym średniowieczu. Itineraria kasztelanów i wojewodów krakowskich w czasach panowania Władysława Jagiełły (1386–1434)*, [on political activity of gentry; governors itineraries] (Warsaw, 1998), 80–185; J. Tęgowski, "Kilka uzupełnień do itinerarium króla Władysława Jagiełły," *Studia Źródłoznawcze* 41 (2003): 77–85.

¹²¹ A. Gąsiorowski, "Święta Pańskie w praktyce objazdów króla Władysława Jagiełły," in *Europa Środkowa i Wschodnia w polityce Piastów*, ed. K. Zielińska-Melkowska, (Toruń, 1997), 294.

¹²² K. Jasiński, *op. cit.*, 373/ item 36, listed the distance Opatów–Sandomierz among "typical touring routes."

worship rises in probability. Sure enough, the king's sojourn was not limited to celebrating. His lay activity is exemplified by writing documents in Sandomierz, such as the charter, benefiting this town, of 13 Feb., 1410, which exempted Sandomierz from transportation duties.¹²³

An observation of the itineraries allows us to identify the king's stays in each year of his marriage to Anna of Celje. Over the 14 years of Anna's reign, Jogaila was in Sandomierz 20 times. On six occasions he was there twice. This resulted from the itinerary of the king's tours of Poland: the first trip was made some time around the first days of Lent, upon his return from Lithuania, right after the visit to Jedlnia. These were periods in February and March; the terms were rotating since these were related to the Paschal cycle of movable feasts.¹²⁴ The second sojourn fell some time during his journey through Lesser Poland (upon arrival from Opatów), and the monarch tried to participate in St Mary's Nativity feast. War years were exceptional, as those disrupted this regularity, but they overlapped with the second marriage of the ruler.

Sources give no account of Anna of Celje visiting Sandomierz during the feast of the collegiate church patron, but it can be guessed she did visit the town on other occasions, which can be reconstructed on the basis of the cycles of royal tours.¹²⁵ After the Christmas stay in Lithuania, the monarch would return via Jedlnia. There he would meet the queen who used to spend the holiday in Krakow. It sometimes happened that she would "set out to meet him" when he had departed from Jedlnia, with the encounter occurring in Opatów, following which they would have arrived in Sandomierz, but the sources recorded the king's sojourns only. They could also have met in Sandomierz itself.

Not only did the heraldic frieze decorate and indicate the seats the royal couple were occupying; be reminded that the land- and state-level heraldic set was also a symbolic representation of the territories under the king's control, which could have been exercised at various occasions. Considering this function of the frieze, canvass featuring Eagles spread behind the throne in Władysław II's privy seal comes to mind as its distant analogy. Because the frieze spans the presbytery at the height of 3.65 metres above the floor, it constitutes the upper *ornamentum* of this space and introduces the theme of power to the religious narration of the paintings it was part of. The place of the frieze — above the canonical choir stall — was far from accidental: Urszula Borkowska writes about the Jagiellons' religious ceremonial that "only the king was allowed to sit in the stalls during the sermon."¹²⁶ The Polish ruler was a patron of Sandomierz Collegiate Church.

Contemplating this special situation of the frieze, note that after Jogaila regaining the coronation insignia in 1412, these were placed *in stallis (supra locum Sue stacionis in stallis publice iussit exponi pro populi leticia et admiratione)*.¹²⁷ Recently a literal translation for the term was arrived at by the publishers of *Annales*, but another is worth mentioning: "King Władysław, ordered that

¹²³ *Kodeks dyplomatyczny Małopolski*, vol. 4, no 1117 (Krakow: F. Piekosiński, 1905), 121–122; W. Fałkowski, "Seria przywilejów miejskich Władysława Jagiełły z 1409 r., [on town charters granted by Jogaila]" in *Czas, przestrzeń, praca w dawnych miastach: studia ofiarowane Henrykowi Samsonowiczowi w sześćdziesiątą rocznicę urodzin*, ed. A. Wyrobisz, M. Tymowski, (Warsaw, 1991), 335.

¹²⁴ A. Gąsiorowski, *Święta Pańskie* [on Church holidays], 295.

¹²⁵ G. Rutkowska, "Itineraria żon króla Władysława Jagiełły," *Roczniki Historyczne* LXIV (1998): 59–73, 84–102.

¹²⁶ U. Borkowska, "Codzienny i odświętny ceremonial religijny na dworze Jagiellonów," in *Theatrum ceremoniale na dworze książąt i królów polskich. Materiały konferencji naukowej zorganizowanej przez Zamek Królewski na Wawelu i Instytut Historii Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego w dniach 23–25 marca 1998*, ed. M. Markiewicz, R. Skowron, (Krakow, 1999), 73.

¹²⁷ F. Sikora, "Sprawa insygnialna 1370–1412 a genealogia Rożnów," *Rocznik Polskiego Towarzystwa Heraldycznego* 1, (1993): 39–58; *Annales* vol. 10–11, (Varsaviae, 1997), 208.

the crown, sword, orb and sceptre be placed above the seat where he sat in the stalls during a mass in the Krakow Parish Church of St Mary.¹²⁸ [retranslated from Karol Mecherzyński by L.K.] The insignia were to be elevated if they were supposed to be seen.

Later, but none the less informative, are Długosz's mentions of Jogaila performing major ceremonies in the collegiate church or nearby. After the death of queen Anna but still during the life of the king's little daughter Jadwiga, Jogaila received in it Photius, Metropolitan of Moscow who, according to T. M. Trajdos, "had a chance to have a closer look at the paintings.¹²⁹" During the same royal visit to Sandomierz, Mazovian dukes "*Wladislao regi et Regno Polonie in corona et ornamentis regis in thalamo circa turrim castris Sandomiriensis preparato cum omnibus suis terris et vasallis fecerunt publicum fidelitatis et subbieccionis omagium*¹³⁰. According to the latter translation this took place in "a chamber decorated with a crown and royal emblems near the tower," and, in keeping with Mecherzyński, the Mazovian dukes paid their homage to "Władysław, king of Poland, sitting in a crown and royal decorations in his majesty at the tower of the Sandomierz Castle.¹³¹"

An older event still, probably after the frieze was finished, took place in 1433. After the mid-day mass of the second Sunday of Lent, Jogaila was hosting the envoys of the Council of Basel in the collegiate church.¹³² We can be sure that the heraldic frieze now discovered was at that time part of royal majesty ornamentation.

Another example could be called upon from another period. In the 'parliamentary wood engraving' of 1506, the enthroned king and the convening classes of society are surrounded by a ring of heraldic symbols of the kingdom, dynasties and lands. While Barbara Miodońska only recognised the arms decorating the back of the throne as ones really existing, with the others suspended in an (ideal) abstract space, she did provide arguments for the proposition that "decorating the throne, the fabrics covering it and the canopy with coats of arms was a generally accepted practice.¹³³"

An analysis of the Sandomierz frieze can be facilitated by the decoration of Sandomierz Collegiate Church. To quote T. Lalik, a prominent researcher of Middle Ages, "the national theme became intertwined with that of worship in ways that were rare in the ecclesiastic architecture of the time. The whole created some sort of a perfect setting for the celebrations of the Apostolic Commission,¹³⁴" which was held on each anniversary of the Battle of Grunwald. He based his dissertations of written sources only, but we see the sending out of the apostles (*Apostolic Commission*) among the scenes of the paintings Jogaila commissioned (fig. II). The scene did not belong to the Marian themes that spread around, so it was designed in connection with a peculiar

¹²⁸ *Roczniki* vol. 10–11, (Warsaw, 1982), 237; *Jana Długosza kanonika krakowskiego Dziejów Polskich ksiąg dwanaście*, 11/12, vol. IV (Kraków: A. Przeździecki, 1869), 135.

¹²⁹ T. M. Trajdos, *op. cit.*, 168.

¹³⁰ *Annales* vol. 11, (Varsaviae, 2000), 240. More on the meaning of the word 'thalamus' in M. Rokosz, "Ceremonia hołdu pokoronacyjnego na rynku krakowskim," [on the coronation allegiance ceremony] in *Historia vero testis temporum. Księga jubileuszowa poświęcona Profesorowi Krzysztofowi Baczkowskiemu w 70. rocznicę urodzin*, ed. J. Smołucho, A. Waśko, T. Graff, P. F. Nowakowski, (Kraków, 2008), 545, note 33.

¹³¹ *Roczniki* vol. 11, (Warsaw, 1985), 253; *Jana Długosza kanonika krakowskiego Dziejów Polskich ksiąg dwanaście* 11/12, vol. IV, (Kraków, 1869), 331. See Z. Dalewski, "Ceremoniał hołdu lennego w Polsce późnego średniowiecza," *Theatrum ceremoniale*, 36, where the erroneous date of the event, given by Długosz, has been corrected.

¹³² *Annales* 11–12, (Varsaviae, 2001), 79.

¹³³ B. Miodońska, *op. cit.*, 22, 33, 37.

¹³⁴ T. Lalik, "O patriotycznym święcie Rozesłania Apostołów w Małopolsce XV wieku," *Studia Źródłoznawcze* 26 (1981): 29.

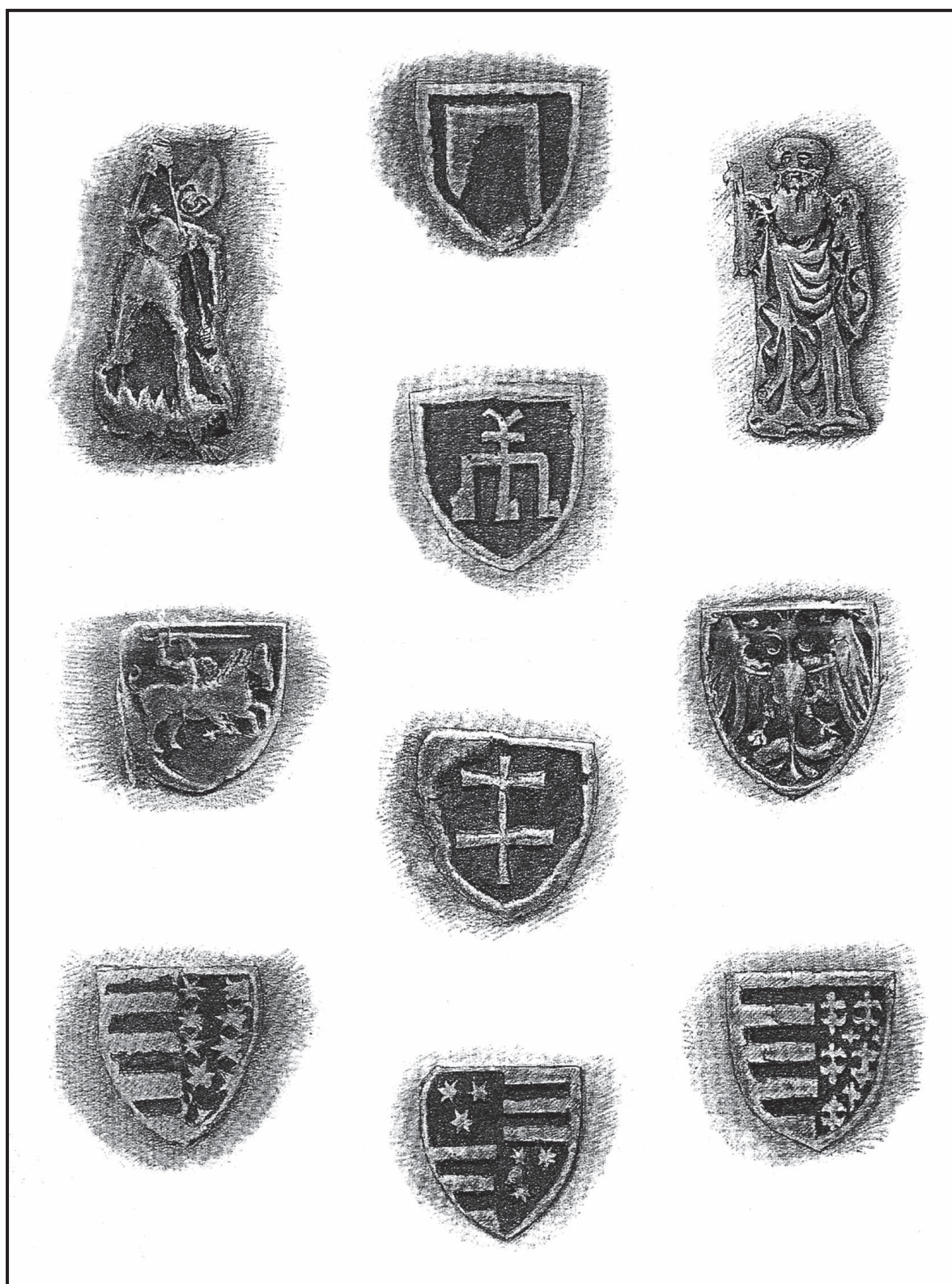


Fig. 12. M. S. Cerchowie, F. Kopera, *Pomniki Krakowa*, [on Krakow memorabilia] vol. 1 (Krakow–Warsaw, 1904), chart 18

political, patriotic and religious demand.¹³⁵ It marks the *terminus post quem* of the formation of the paintings and corresponds to the reign of queen Anna.

Sandomierz Collegiate Church, beside the calling of the Holy Virgin Mary, has since 1382 also had the Twelve Apostles *patrocinium*.¹³⁶ It can be hypothesised then that, on this count, the church was particularly predestined to host celebrations of the anniversary of victory over the biggest enemy of the Kingdom. The scene of the *Commission* could have been a reference to both the calling of the church and the battle. It was positioned on the southern wall of the presbytery, right opposite the frieze and the possible place where the monarch was seated.¹³⁷ This fact is iconographic evidence for the truthfulness of the scholar's argumentation, and the position of the scene speaks of a propagation of national substance and reminds one of the glory of the victorious ruler for the sake of strengthening the royal majesty present. The "providential–grace–for–the–Polish–Kingdom agenda," proposed before on the basis of the *Commission* motif, becomes real and literal in the wake of the discovery of the frieze.¹³⁸ The positioning of the frieze in the whole set of paintings and in the interior of the church, their form, size and substance mean that what was discovered is part of a royal ceremonial space (one that was badly under–elaborated on in Polish medieval sources). There was a reason then why the frieze was placed at the foot of the scene that dominates the presbytery, thus linking it to the idea of *regnum*.

The issue arises why Anna of Celje was present in the frieze. The family symbol of the royal spouse was not among the coats of arms found in the official heraldic set on the privy seal. Neither is it there on the keystones of royal buildings or the king's tombstone. The instances of using the queen's coat of arms tend to testify to some personal ties with people or the places (symbols) of their exposure, chiefly those privately funded. The inclusion of the Cillian frieze might indicate that queen Anna, as co–founder of the frescoes, functioned in some milieu. This proposition could be corroborated by pointing at some specific people who had ties with the queen and like ideas on domestic and foreign relations, and who might have inspired the painters of the frieze (unless the royal couple did). A number of people mentioned in this paper did have connections with the royal chancellery, where seals with a similar set of symbols were used, except the queen's coat of arms, though; this is not an easy task — suffice to remind ourselves of the Andrzej Łaskarz's connections with the people bearing arms of Cillian counts (Queen Anna, Herman of Celje). The Cillian arms placed in Gosławice can be explained by the queen's participation in grand international affairs. Her presence on the sceptre — considerations of courtesy (S. K. Kuczyński) or donations for the university (J. Łojko). Such identifications are permitted by the contexts of the sources.

As long as the semiotic landscape of Sandomierz Cathedral was correctly recognised, the frieze gives us the church–state context that emerges from the official character of this composition. When considering the role played by the coats of arms of the royal couple in the frieze, it needs to be emphasised that they did appear there with the owners' consent and under their supervi-

¹³⁵ Other instances of depicting the cult of the Apostolic Commission in Polish medieval art have been given by L. Wojciechowski, "Treści ideowe święta Rozesłania Apostołów w Polsce średniowiecznej. Zarys problematyki," in *Symbol Apostolski w nauczaniu i sztuce Kościoła do Soboru Trydenckiego*, ed. R. Knapieński, (Lublin, 1997), 322–323, 327.

¹³⁶ "E Codicibus Sandomiriensibus," *MPH* 5, (Lvov: publ. by W. Kętrzyński, 1888), 1003; this mention has been acknowledged by A. Witkowska, *Titulus ecclesiae. Wezwania współczesnych kościołów katedralnych w Polsce*, (Warsaw, 1999), 99.

¹³⁷ An endowment inscription was made in Lublin Chapel opposite the mounted portrait of Jogaila.

¹³⁸ The scene was linked to the political situation by T. M. Trajdos, *op. cit.*, 168.

sion. Some presume that Jogaila, as the commissioner of the paintings, advised the executors on the iconographic agenda.¹³⁹ It appears he must have been all the more interested in the heraldic agenda that represented him, his spouse and the kingdom.

Precise dating of the frieze and its functions

Following the settlement of the *post quem* frieze formation time (Battle of Grunwald) and aware of the possibility of linking the Cillian symbol with the royal daughter Jadwiga, it makes sense to try and delimit the general dating framework to the years for which Władysław and Anna's ties with Sandomierz become tangible. Making this chronology more precise and pointing to events the royal couple participated in at that time might also indicate some more functions the frieze could have served.

According to the current conservators' knowledge, the frieze was made as part of a bigger whole. It was implemented alongside the whole composition, so it did not emerge prompted by a specific occasion and was not added later. It cannot be ruled out, though, that the time of the frescoes' completion coincided with some major events that post–Grunwald years abounded in. We know of no reasons why the makers of the frescoes should have abandoned a portrayal of the lower parts of the *Holy Women* for the sake of the heraldic frieze: the juxtaposed row of *Latin Bishops* was presented as whole figures. Could this asymmetrical concept have arisen during the paint–works? These must have taken several years.¹⁴⁰ There were at least several major events after 1410, for which the collegiate presbytery could have been an appropriate setting. “Those who had access to the presbytery were limited to the chapter, auxiliary bishops, the visiting bishop, the king and the guests invited,” as remarked T. M. Trajdos.¹⁴¹

Notably, the Sandomierz coat of arms was situated in a peripheral position, closest to the nave. In this way it was best seen by the congregation gathering in the church hall, better than the other symbols. It afforded an identification with the land where those people held offices, which they inhabited and defended. They gathered there not only to participate in a mass, but also as the public of ceremonies for which the frieze was a due decoration.

The framework of the royal presence in Sandomierz and its collegiate church has been sketched before. How about the post–Grunwald period? The first meeting of the couple after the battle took place in Opatów on 27 Dec., 1410 (which was not recorded by A. Gąsiorowski).¹⁴² This exemplifies a postponement of the visitation of Lesser Poland on account of warfare. We know nothing on whether the royal couple arrived in Sandomierz at that time. What we know is that they did two months after: *Sandomiriam adveniens dies Carnisprivii cum consorte sua Regina Anna, que accersita illuc venerat, Sandomirie exegit*, ie. on 24 February and presumably stayed there until 2 March, 1411.¹⁴³ This is the only certain sojourn of the royal couple known by the author of the itineraries.

¹³⁹ A. Różycka–Bryzek, *Cykl maryjny*, 51.

¹⁴⁰ The creation time of the paintings in Lublin Chapel is estimated to have taken two to three years, see A. Różycka–Bryzek, “Uwagi o referacie T. M. Trajdosa pt. Treści ideowe wizerunków Jagiełły w kaplicy św. Trójcy na zamku lubelskim, [on the images of Jogaila in Lublin Castle Chapel]” *Biuletyn Historii Sztuki* 42, no 3–4 (1980): 438.

¹⁴¹ T. M. Trajdos, *op. cit.*, 168.

¹⁴² In the study *Polska Jana Długosza*, ed. H. Samsonowicz (Warsaw, 1984), 276, ‘Opatowiec’ was erroneously written instead of ‘Opatów’, cf. *Annales* vol. 10–11 (Varsaviae, 1997), 175.

¹⁴³ *ibidem*, 181; A. Gąsiorowski, *Itinerarium króla*, 57.

The same year saw a legation to the pope, which was successful in securing a papal bull that confirmed the indulgences of the collegiate church. It was headed by Andrzej Łaskarz, which can be significant for the interpretation of the relic — it was him who “placed” the Cillian coat of arms on the keystone of the Gosławice church he funded following the many diplomatic trips he had made. Accompanying him was Zbigniew Oleśnicki, who was making his first public appearances in handling the bull issue in *Curia Romana*.¹⁴⁴ Długosz’s description of this foreign legation must be based on his accounts. In Dec., 1411 the presence of the royal couple in Sandomierz can be presumed, if the king’s presence was confirmed in Opatów on 2 December. Whereas the queen’s — before 5 December.¹⁴⁵ The envoys returned from Rome only for Christmas.¹⁴⁶

The examples of joint or separate presence of the king and the queen in Sandomierz cannot be automatically linked to the creation of the frieze. Some special events could have served as an opportunity for their inclusion into the religious scenes (the whole composition) while those were under construction. Such was certainly the proclamation of the papal bull which renewed the privileges of the collegiate church. It is uncertain whether this was the case still in 1411 or the in following year. Another opportunity could have been afforded by giving the church the wooden sculptures from Dzierżgoń and a reliquary from Brodnica, booty taken away from the Teutonic Knights¹⁴⁷ and the related participation in a thanksgiving mass. Długosz provides no details on when this happened. Both of these events could have taken place during the three royal encounters (factual or presumed) in Sandomierz, the more so that they must have occurred at short time intervals after the Grunwald victory. The gift of the Holy Cross reliquary is significant for the collegiate church since it was part of the immediate post-war propaganda campaign.¹⁴⁸ Associating these facts with the symbolism of the *Apostolic Commission* scene presents an unambiguous ideological message. If the “isolated placement of the scene of the *Apostolic Commission* beyond any chronological sequence¹⁴⁹” also indicates an *ad hoc* activity, one can presume this being a setting for some events in Sandomierz (not mentioned by sources), counterpart for the Krakow celebrations held upon the king’s return from the war.

This message reflects Anna of Celje’s anti-Teutonic attitude, which the Order was also convinced of. The characteristics can be corroborated by a number of proof-texts coming from Polish sources: a letter to the queen written by Jogaila the day after the victory or the passage from Długosz describing the queen hauling Teutonic POWs to Opatów. We do not know if the “high number of captives” did reach Sandomierz since the king disbanded the party and appointed a new date of presentation, but the chronicler notes that a number of selected captives from Grunwald were placed in the Sandomierz Castle. The queen’s supportive activities do not conclude with the Great War. Well-known is her letter to the Council of Constance, in which

¹⁴⁴ While working in the royal chancellery, Zbigniew was appointed the Sandomierz Land notary in 1413; for recent discussion see L. Poniewozik, *op. cit.*, 338.

¹⁴⁵ G. Rutkowska, *op. cit.*, 69 with remarks on Anna’s stay in Opatów in 1411.

¹⁴⁶ *Annales* vol. 10–11 (Varsaviae, 1997), 183–184; *Rozbiór krytyczny Annalium Poloniae Jana Długosza* [critical interpretation of *Annales*], vol. 1: 1385–1444, ed. S. Gawęda, K. Sieradzka, J. Radziszewska, K. Stachowska, chief editor J. Dąbrowski (Wrocław, 1961), 136.

¹⁴⁷ *Annales* 10–11 (Varsaviae, 1997), 130; A. Bochnak, J. Pagaczewski, “Relikwiarz Krzyża Świętego w katedrze sandomierskiej,” [on the reliquary of the Holy Rood in Sandomierz cathedral] in *Prace Komisji Historii Sztuki* 7 (1937–1938), 1–19.

¹⁴⁸ E. Potkowski, “Monarsze dary książkowe w polskim średniowieczu — pogrunwaldzkie dary Jagiełły,” [royal book gifts in medieval Poland] in *Ojczyzna bliższa i dalsza. Studia historyczne ofiarowane Feliksowi Kirykowi w sześćdziesiątą rocznicę urodzin*, [on homeland; historical studies] ed. J. Chrobaczyński, A. Jureczko, M. Śliwa (Krakow, 1993), 371.

¹⁴⁹ from T. M. Trajdos, *op. cit.*, 168.

she defended Jogaila against Teutonic accusations.¹⁵⁰ If, then, the frieze is some sort of left-over from victory celebrations, the queen's coat of arms all the more subscribes to the message of the composition.

In the quest for some dynastic events that may have left their mark in the form of the frieze, the Jedlnia convention of 1413 ought to be considered. Anna's daughter was recognised as the heiress to the throne there.¹⁵¹ If the couple traversed the distance via Sandomierz, which was customary (in 1413 the route to Nowy Korczyn appears to have been unknown, judging from sources), the frieze could have been an opportunity to commemorate the most important moment for Anna throughout her reign. Thus, the Cillian coat of arms could have represented both Mother and Daughter.

Władysław's and Anna's itineraries imply several other alternatives of their joint journey via Sandomierz, eg. following the meeting in Opatów on 3 Nov., 1414, or the one in Parczew on 4 Feb., 1415.¹⁵² Each visit by the king or queen, and by both in particular, must have been a major event in a centre such as Sandomierz, and it could have been marked by visual means, too. Coats of arms certainly belonged to the category of royal ornamentation symbolising monarchic power, as well as social and political order in the kingdom, also in the territorial aspect.¹⁵³

Other hypotheses concerning the frieze

Upon Anna's demise, the subsequent marriage of the king did not carry good prospects of producing offspring. The births of Jogaila's sons in the 1420s did alter the dynastic constellation, which may have affected the symbolic sphere but was far from sufficient a reason to remove the Cillian armorial representations from places such as a frieze, particularly that Jadwiga was still an heiress to crown in the event of Władysław III's death, which was solemnly acknowledged on the princely baptismal ceremony in 1425. The first oath of allegiance in this respect was made by the city of Krakow, and the last of the 28 others was Lwów, in the October of 1425.¹⁵⁴ However, we know of no account of Sandomierz's recognition of the queen-to-be. The acts of paying homage took place in open space,¹⁵⁵ but with an accompanying mass in the main temple. Of course, if an event like that had taken place in Sandomierz, it would not have constituted an obvious reason for including a Cillian coat of arms in the frieze (if we assume its late emergence), but through a reference to Anna it would have served as a reminder of her daughter's rights since Jadwiga was considered an heiress to the throne in the eventuality described before.

Other important aspects of Władysław and Anna's only daughter's life need to be remembered. If she had lived longer and her step-brothers had not been born, she would have become

¹⁵⁰ Source documentation presented by G. Rutkowska, *op. cit.*, 86, 99, 100, 102.

¹⁵¹ *ibidem*, 70–71; J. Tęgowski, *Pierwsze pokolenia*, 133; J. Sperka, "Osobiste akty hołdownicze panów polskich z okresu panowania Władysława Jagiełły [personal homage of Polish lords in the times of Jogaila]," in *Spółeczeństwo Polski średniowiecznej. Zbiór studiów* [studies on medieval Poland's society], vol. 9, ed. S. K. Kuczyński (Warsaw, 2001), 235.

¹⁵² G. Rutkowska, *op. cit.*, 72.

¹⁵³ A. Gieysztor, "Ornamenta regia w Polsce XV wieku," in *Sztuka i ideologia XV wieku* [on 15th century ideology and art], 160.

¹⁵⁴ B. Nowak, "Postawa miast Korony wobec planów sukcesyjnych Władysława Jagiełły [on Polish cities' stance of Jogaila's succession]," *Annales Universitatis Mariae Curie-Skłodowska, Sectio F Historia* 50 (1995): 77–85; J. Sperka, *op. cit.*, 236; G. Rutkowska, *op. cit.*, 79–80; M. Rokosz, *op. cit.*, 544.

¹⁵⁵ Z. Dalewski, *op. cit.*, 36.

the queen, and Frederic Hohenzolern, betrothed to her and raised in Poland for nine years by Master Elias, would have ruled Poland. Notably, from 1411 to his death, the guardian was dean of the Sandomierz Chapter.¹⁵⁶ As proposed by Oskar Halecki, on account of Jadwiga's Piast ancestry, the princess and her offspring would have been more entitled to rule in Poland than the king's sons from Sophia Olszańska.¹⁵⁷

Linking the Cillian coat of arms on the frieze in Sandomierz to such far-reaching dynastic and political undertakings seems too far-fetched. In trying to reconstruct the moments from Anna's and Jadwiga's lives which could have influenced the inclusion of the Cillian symbol into the frieze, we encounter an evident shortage of information in diplomatic and historiographical sources, even in Długosz. Still, he did describe the death of Jadwiga in a rather elaborate manner, including in his work a lengthy epitaph by Adam Świnka dedicated to the royal daughter.¹⁵⁸ This was far from typical of the chronicler even though deaths were quite commonplace even in the royal family. The only surviving twin composition was the one occasioned by the death of the knight Zawisza the Black of Grabów.¹⁵⁹ This demonstrates the esteem in which princess Jadwiga was held and how badly her death hurt her contemporaries.

Continuing our guesses related to displaying the Cillian coat of arms in Sandomierz, the activities of Herman II of Celje, Anna's paternal uncle and guardian, ought to be recollected. His political activity cannot be underestimated: he was father-in-law to Emperor Sigismund Luxembourg.¹⁶⁰ This is not to abandon a link between the Cillian heraldic symbol and Anna; rather, a possibility can be indicated of reinforcing the emblem's significance, particularly that Herman paid several visits to Poland in those days; these included Sandomierz. Długosz gives an account of the king and the queen partying in Jedlnia on the last night before the Lent of 1410, where Herman came as envoy of the Hungarian king. To duly celebrate his arrival, Jogaila ordered a big rally with tournaments and courtly games, after which they both set out on a journey to Sandomierz via Iłża and Opatów. There, in mid-February, Herman was presented with gifts and bidden farewell. It was also then that the town was granted the privilege exempting it from obligatory transportation service for the Kingdom, which was not the only activity by the king.¹⁶¹ What we are dealing with here is a particular coincidence of events and some people related to the Cillian coat of arms. Alas, this took place before the Battle of Grunwald, so there is hardly a link to the *Apostolic Commission*¹⁶². Herman was also active after the 1410 Jogaila's victory in organising and attending Polish-Hungarian conventions.¹⁶³

These are not the only options to explain the Cillian symbol's presence in the Sandomierz frieze: Anna's cousin Barbara, emperor John Luxembourg's wife also came from the Cillian family, as Herman II of Celje's daughter. As recounted by Długosz, being in conflict with her daugh-

¹⁵⁶ *Annales* 11 (Varsaviae, 2000), 164; H. Barycz, "Eliasz z Wąwelnicy," in *PSB*, vol. 6 (Krakow, 1948), 232; G. Małaczyńska, *op. cit.*, 302; J. Tęgowski, *Pierwsze pokolenia*, 135; L. Poniewozik, *op. cit.*, 166–167.

¹⁵⁷ O. Halecki, *Jadwiga Andegaweńska i kształtowanie się Europy Środkowowschodniej* [Jadwiga of Anjou and the formation of Central-Eastern Europe] (Krakow, 2000), 290.

¹⁵⁸ "Adami Porcarii *Epitaphium Zavissii Nigri et Hedvigis Wladislaw Jagellonis filiae*," ed. Ch. Weyssenhoff, (Varsaviae, 1959); *Annales* vol. 11–12 (Varsaviae, 2001), 50–52.

¹⁵⁹ *Annales* vol. 11 (Varsaviae, 2000), 237–239; *Rozbiór krytyczny...*, 262–263.

¹⁶⁰ G. Rutkowska, *op. cit.*, 64, 69, 91.

¹⁶¹ See above, note 123; *Annales* vol. 10–11, (Varsaviae, 1997), 49; *Rozbiór krytyczny*, 88; A. Gąsiorowski, *Itinerarium króla*, 53.

¹⁶² Inferences will be made possible upon the publication of conservation work findings on the formation time of the whole composition.

¹⁶³ *Annales* vol. 10–11 (Varsaviae, 1997), 194; J. Łojko, *Idea fundacji*, 16.

ter and son-in-law Albrecht, she sought refuge in Poland in 1438, which King Władysław IV granted her *castrum, civitatem et terram Sandomiriensem cum omnibus regalibus introitibus sibi donat et assignat, ubi quoad voluit, in omni rerum abundantia demorata est*.¹⁶⁴ There is no detailed information on Barbara's stay in Sandomierz.¹⁶⁵ However, it could have been somehow associated with the activities undertaken then by the Polish foreign policy headed by cardinal Zbigniew Oleśnicki, who was making a bid for securing a Jagiellon as heir to the Luxembourgs. This explains why there was such a warm reception of a person who could be an asset in the intricate demarche undertaken towards the Hapsburgs, as well as the Czech and Hungarian political elites in that period. The association of the Cillian symbol on the frieze with the two latter Cillians is the least likely, though. The Cillian dynasty did not always serve the Polish cause. They are known to have been quite active in the camp of the opponents of Władysław IV's rule in Hungary.¹⁶⁶

The circumstances that could have fostered the emergence of the frieze in the Sandomierz Collegiate Church have not been — as they could not have been — listed in a conclusive manner. The rare Cillian coat of arms could be the key to its systematic analysis, delimiting in time and space the conclusions drawn from the interpretation of the frieze. Surely, further investigation into the whole, consisting of the many frescoes, may shed more light and expose the aspect of this “monarch's virtual dialogue with society” that was the most important.¹⁶⁷ Władysław III, or actually the people in charge of building his ideological base, implemented this dialogue project with the means they understood and had at their disposal. If, by placing royal symbols in temples the royal power underwent sacralisation,¹⁶⁸ the dialogue turned into a powerful and unambiguous communication.

An analysis of the co-existence of a product of the Western culture, as illustrated by an armorial frieze, and an instance of a great implementation of Byzantine–Ruthenian art require other competencies. It is a doubtless a novelty in art, though in a singular manifestation such a phenomenon is, in fact, known from the Lublin Castle Chapel, where — as presumed by A. Różycka–Bryzek — the Śreniawa coat of arms was a product of “a Western painter doing odd jobs,¹⁶⁹” however. In Sandomierz Collegiate Church the co-operation must have been part of a larger framework, which directs our attention towards a herald of arms in Jogaila's court.¹⁷⁰ A number of aspects of the relic just discovered merit further research — also to be done abroad for the sake of comparison and in search of similar compositional solutions. The possible follow-

¹⁶⁴ *Annales* vol. 11–12 (Varsaviae, 2001), 190.

¹⁶⁵ *Rozbiór krytyczny*, 301; R. Heck, *Tabor a kandydatura jagiellońska w Czechach (1438–1444)* (Wrocław, 1964), 67, 118–119.

¹⁶⁶ *Annales* vol. 11–12 (Varsaviae, 2000), 215, 228–229, 232–233; *Rozbiór krytyczny*, 316, as confronted with the text *Kroniki hrabiów cylejskich*.

¹⁶⁷ from W. Drelicharz, *op. cit.*

¹⁶⁸ P. Mrozowski, ‘Sztuka jako narzędzie władzy — patronat artystyczny Kazimierza Wielkiego [on art as a tool of power],’ in *Sztuka i władza. Materiały z Konferencji zorganizowanej przez Instytutu Sztuki PAN w dniach 30 XI – 2 XII 1998 roku*, ed. D. Konstantynow, R. Pasieczny, P. Paszkiewicz (Warsaw, 2001), 9.

¹⁶⁹ A. Różycka–Bryzek, ‘Bizantyńsko–ruskie malowidła w Polsce wczesnojagiellońskiej. Problem przystosowań na gruncie kultury łaćnińskiej. Polska — Ukraina. 1000 lat sąsiedztwa [on Ruthenian paintings in Jagiellonian Poland, and the issue of adaptations in a Latin–Byzantine cultural frontier],’ vol. 2, in *Studia z dziejów chrześcijaństwa na pograniczu kulturowym i etnicznym* [studies on cultural and ethnic frontier of Christendom], ed. S. Stepien (Przemyśl, 1994), 318.

¹⁷⁰ On the Herald of Arms in Polish sources: S. K. Kuczyński, ‘Heroldowie króla polskiego,’ in *Venerabiles, nobiles et honesti. Studia z dziejów społeczeństwa Polski średniowiecznej. Prace ofiarowane profesorowi Januszowi Bieniakowi w siedemdziesiątą rocznicę urodzin i czterdziestopięciolecie pracy naukowej* [on the society of medieval Poland], ed. A. Radziwiński, A. Supruniuk i J. Wrzonszewski (Toruń, 1997), 329–339.

ers, drawing upon the example from the Sandomierz frieze, both in terms of form and substance, include funders of the relics mentioned: the base of the Holy Rood reliquary in Sandomierz Cathedral, or the creators of *Łaski's Statutes'* ornamentation. Also included in that number can be the initiators of the frieze which featured bishops with coats of arms in the Franciscan cloisters in Krakow.¹⁷¹

This text does not aspire to solving all issues related to the frieze, but it was meant to present its initial recognition as a source in heraldic culture, as well as political ideology and culture.

¹⁷¹ H. Małkiewiczówna, „Średniowieczne wizerunki biskupów krakowskich w krużgankach franciszkańskich w Krakowie [on medieval images of bishops in Krakow's Franciscan cloisters],” in *Sprawozdania z posiedzeń Komisji Naukowych oddziału PAN w Krakowie* 21 [minutes of Polish Academy of Sciences disciplinary commissions sessions] (1977), 85–87.



Fig. I. Northern wall of the presbytery upon conservation. A photo by Rev. Andrzej Rusak



Fig. II. The Scene *Apostolic Commission*. A photo by Barbara Redzińska



Fig. III. The heraldic frieze after conservation. A photo by Rev. Andrzej Rusak



Fig. IV. The Land of Sandomierz.
A photo by Rev. Andrzej Rusak



Fig. V. Pahonia. A photo by Rev. Andrzej Rusak

Bogdan Wojciech Brzustowicz
(*Krzęcin–Choszczno*)

An Early 15th Century Letter by Nicholas Villart, the Anjou and Touraine King of Arms, and its Polish References*

A letter by the Anjou and Touraine King of Arms provides a captivating tip that indicates a familiarity with the functioning and organisation of the office of King of Arms in late-medieval Poland. It is older than the other like works authored by heralds of arms, including the well-known treatise by the Sicilian King of Arms (†1437).¹ It is an attempt at codification of the rights and duties of heralds of arms based on the writer's own experiences and the information passed on to him by other heralds. It is easy to notice that his contribution was meant to defend the stance of heralds towards the end of the Middle Ages, when the significance of this office was falling into decline owing to the changes occurring in the feudal society.²

* The text published below is a *sui generis* continuation of the paper on the office of the King of Arms at the early Jagiellons' courts, included in the previous volume of the Yearbook, in a supplement to which graphics were added showing attempts at the reconstruction of the official uniform of the heralds of arms of the King of Poland and the Grand Duke of Lithuania.

¹ "Parties inédites de l'oeuvre de Sicile, héraut d'Alphonse V roi d'Aragon, maréchal d'armes du pays de Hainaut, auteur du blason des couleurs," ed. v. F. Roland (hereinafter: F. Roland), *Société des Bibliophiles Belges* 22 (Mons, 1867) {the item is also available online at: <<http://books.google.pl>>}.
² For heralds and their functions in Late Middle Ages, see: *The Herald in Late Medieval Europe*, ed. K. Stevenson (Woodbridge, 2009); P. v. Moos, "Der Herald: ein Kommunikationsexperte zwischen den Zeiten," *Rhetorik Kommunikation und Medialität. Gesammelte Studien zum Mittelalter*, ed. Melville, fig. 2 (Berlin, 2006), 153–172; "Le héraut, figure européenne (XIV^e–XVI^e siècle). Actes du Colloque tenu au musée des Beaux-Arts de Lille, les 15, 16 et 17 septembre 2005," Textes réunis par B. Schnerb, *Revue du Nord* 88, no 366–367 (Juillet–Décembre 2006); H. Kruse, "Herolde," in *Höfe und Residenzen im spätmittelalterlichen Reich. Bilder und Begriffe*, ed. W. Paravicini, co-ed. J. Hirschiegel, J. Wettlaufer, Ostfildern (2005), 311–318; G. Melville, "Un bel office. Zum Heroldswesen in der spätmittelalterlichen Welt des Adels, der Höfe und Fürsten," in *Deutschen Königshof, Hoftag und Reichstag im späteren Mittelalter*, ed. P. Moraw (Stuttgart, 2002), 291–322; V. Vok Filip, "Einführung in die Heraldik," in *Historische Grundwissenschaften in Einzeldarstellungen* 3 (Stuttgart, 2000), 32–47; M. Keen, "Chivalry, Herald and History," in *Nobles, Knights and Men-at-Arms in the Middle Ages* (London, 1996), 63–81; *idem*, "Heraldry and Herald," in *Chivalry* (New Haven–London, 1984), 125–142; P. Contamine, "Office d'armes et noblesse dans la France de la fin du Moyen Age," in *Bulletin de la Société nationale des Antiquaires de France* (1994), 310–322; W. Paravicini, "Die ritterlich-höfische Kultur des Mittelalters," in *Enzyklopädie deutscher Geschichte*, fig. 32, (Munich, 1994), 16–17, 77–85; R. Dennys, *Heraldry and the Herald* (London, 1982); M. Pastoureau, *Traité d'héraldique* (Paris, 1979), 59–65; W. Leonhard, *Das grosse Buch der Wappenkunst: Entwicklung, Elemente, Bildmotive, Gestaltung*, 2nd edition (Munich,

The treatise was written in approx. 1400 in the form of a letter, which was addressed to an anonymous reader, and whose original copy has not survived or been found. We know its contents from 15th-century copies differing from one another slightly. One of those, kept in the Bodleian Library, Oxford, was analysed by Anthony R. Wagner, who dated its origin at early or mid-15th century.³ Recently these findings have been updated and verified by Gert Melville, who proves the the manuscript is not a text in its own right but, rather, is part of a bigger set of manuscripts of French origin (Ms. Rawl. C. 399), made by copyists on parchment with Gothic script as late as end-15th century, and comprising 104 pages bound in brown leather in the 18th century.⁴ The scholar also noted two other copies kept in *Bibliothèque nationale de France*, which also were part of larger compilations (Ms. franç. No 1983 and No 5241), and which he thoroughly compared to the Oxford copy.⁵ The texts of the Parisian copies, with almost identical contents, lack a passage from the final part of the letter, which for us is of extreme significance and which is found in the Oxford copy. One can also see some intervention in names and some expressions.

We have rather scant information about the author. We do know — he says this about himself — that he was the King of Arms of Anjou and Touraine; he reports having been conferred the office on 1 May, 1389, during a ceremony held in Saint-Denis, when Louis II of Anjou (†1417), titular king of Naples and Sicily (whom he served as herald) as well as his brother Price of Tarent, both of whom he called *mes tresdoubtés seigneurs et maistress*, were knighted.⁶ By that time he must long have been a herald of arms, if still under Charles V (though we do not know exactly when that was) he was present at the coronation ceremony of the King of Arms of France (*roy d'armes des Francois*), who was officially called 'Montjoye.' The herald being crowned was *Charlot nommé Monioye*, who had acted in the capacity of the kings of arms of Cyprus and Artois.⁷

Wagner and Melville identify the author of the treatise as Nicholas Villart, a herald who was officially called 'Calabre' (from Italian *Calabria*), which was a reference to the Anjou princes' claims to the Kingdom of Sicily.⁸ He surfaces as *Nicolas Villart dit Calabre, roy d'Anjou* in charter documents of the board of French heralds, including the foundation charter of 9 Jan., 1407, establishing the headquarters of the corporation in Saint-Antoine-le-Petit Chapel, Paris.⁹ Un-

1978), 18–20; O. Neubecker, *op. cit.*, 14–18; A. R. Wagner, *Heralds of England* (London, 1967); *idem*, *Heralds and heraldry in the Middle Ages. An Inquiry into the Growth of the Armorial Function of Heraldry* (London, 1939); P. Adam Even, "Les fonctions militaires des héralds d'armes. Leur influence sur le développement de l'héraldique," in *Archives héraldiques suisses* 71, 1957; E. v. Berchem, "Die Herolde und ihre Beziehungen zum Wappenwesen," in *Beiträge zur Geschichte der Herladik* (Berlin, 1939), 117–219.

³ Oxford, Bodleian Library, Ms. Rawl. C. 399, fol. 76r–80r {G. D. Macray, *Catalogus codicum manuscriptorum bibliothecae Bodleianae*, pars. V, fasc. 2 (Oxford, 1878), 183–185; O. Pächt & J. J. G. Alexander, *Illuminated manuscripts in the Bodleian Library Oxford*, vol. I: *German, Dutch, Flemish, French and Spanish schools* (Oxford, 1966), 62, no 792; A. R. Wagner, *Heralds and Heraldry in the Middle Ages. An Inquiry into the Growth of the Armorial Function of Heraldry* (London, 1939), 41–45.

⁴ G. Melville, "Der Brief des Wappenkönigs Calabre. Sieben Auskünfte über Amt, Aufgaben und Selbstverständnis spätmittelalterlicher Herolde (mit Edition des Textes)," *Majestas* 3 (1995): 78–80.

⁵ Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Ms. franç. 1983, fol. 99r–104r {*Catalogue des manuscrits français. Ancien Fonds*, vol. I, (Paris, 1895), 632; Ms. franç. 5241, fol. 74r–78v {*ibidem*, vol. IV, (Paris, 1868), 343}; G. Melville, *Der Brief...*, 80–82.

⁶ G. Melville, *Der Brief...*, 75–76 and 110: verses 306–311.

⁷ *ibidem*, 75, see also: 109–112: verse 263 n. and 340 n.; A. R. Wagner, *op. cit.*, 43.

⁸ A. R. Wagner, *op. cit.*, 41; P. Adam Even, *op. cit.*, 4; M. Keen, *Heraldry and Heraldry*, 137; G. Melville, *Der Brief...*, 75, note 18. On heralds at the royal court of the French Anjou in Late Middle Ages, see Ch. de Mérindol, "Rois d'armes et poursuivants a la cour d'Anjou Au temps du roi René," in *Le héraut, figure européenne...*, 617–630.

⁹ F. Roland (see note 1), 99–105; G. Melville, *Der Brief...*, 76, note 25.

armes de leurs pmes vestues. Et a ceulx sur la vie n'estoit riens
 meffait. Et po^r pl^u seurement aller entre les princes amys ou
 ennemis estoit seelle que tell' gens seroient iuez de iamais ne
 reueller embuche assemblee cheuauchie ne aultre exerceite dar
 mes des vngs contre les aultres et amys fut fait. Leq^l encore
 no^s gardons ou deuons garder sur nos semens et honneurs
 auccqs grosses pmes amys que fist le bon herault tancarville
 comme autreffoiz auex oy parler de puis ledit temps et aucaie
 aultre grant espace de temps me semble que le liure disoit q^u
 quant me^s tres sainte fo^y de ihu crist par les apoustrs vnt q^u
 les premiers p^rinces ordonnerent de le^r tres vaillans preudoms
 anciens chris et escuiers nommez heraults comme dist est usqs
 au nombre de .xii. et ce po^r le nombre des .xii. apoustrs. Car
 come les .xii. apoustrs fut le comancement de nostre^s t^res sainte
 fo^y par tout exaulce aussy p^les .xii. preudomes. homme^s et vaill
 lance des armes estoit accue et maintenue apres p^l aultre
 espace de temps. les p^rinces de ces .xii. preudomes en esleuerent
 vng par eslection de conseil q^l estoit et eschoit necesserment po^r
 les charges qu'on luy donneroit come celluy qui pouoit aller
 par tout. Et icelluy le p^rince souuerain vult couronner a vng
 come vng des preudomes vaillant et souffisant de soⁿ roy.
 Et tres grant homme^s le fist et ordonna q^l fust tout le premier
 assis en hault bout de leur table et que de luy ou pl^u proudai
 eust le p^rice d'un homme assis entre deux et serui de son escuer.
 et sil n'estoit ch^r p^l la dignite de la couronne le faisoit la maine
 de couronner. et les ceremonies pas bien ne me souuent
 mais est bien accou^e que tres noble chose estoit. Et de ce que
 ien esayz lay amemoire par les deuise^mens que faire plus
 foiz auons fait mont roy le roy d'artois bourbon le herault z
 plus aultres anciens heraults et moy. Et encores p^rntement
 en memoire ne vient que iay oy recorder a ou greffoz le he
 rault que po^r la dignite de la couronne. le p^rince preuilegoit
 icelluy roy. q^l peult porter ses armes couronnees s'abie durat
 et me semble d'une couronne dor borde d'argent. ou d'argent
 borde d'or sans pierres. Et d'aultre chose pl^u ne me souuer
 fors que encore du temps que i'estoie poursuivant me souuer
 que ie oy a vng de poullame qui auoit liure en son pays de
 toutes ses ordonnances clerelement et que des greues de le
 reueur au roy de son gre^s vng gaige de bataille fust entrepris

A page from the manuscript containing the letter by Nicholas Villart of 1407, at the bottom of which there is a passage about an encounter with a Pole (Polish herald?), a 15th century copy from Oxford, Bodleian Library, Ms. Rawl., C. 399, fol. 79v

der its statutory provisions he was to act in lieu of the President of the Board, i.e. King of Arms 'Montjoye' in his absence¹⁰. Calabre's authorship is evidenced by notes appearing in both of the Parisian copies: *feu Calabre roy d'armes i feu bonne memoire Calabre*.¹¹ The term 'feu' used by a herald suggests that the copies kept in Paris came into being after the author's death. This would also provide a hint that the Oxford copy was written in herald Calabre's lifetime. In 1408 the same Calabre co-authored a supplication to the French king and princes, defending heralds' rights.¹² The letter under scrutiny was thus not the only literary activity by Nicholas Villart, who must have been inspired by a mission of salvaging the importance of the office of herald. Considering the convergence of some parts of the letter with passages from the petition of 1408, it appears quite likely to have been written in a similar period, i.e. in the early 1400s.¹³ Moreover, some reflections by the author, included in the letter, may indicate that he was an aged man of poor health at the time.¹⁴

The text is composed of seven questions and answers regarding heralds. The answers, which reveal a detailed image of the herald of arms' profession in Late Middle Ages, are given by an anonymous interlocutor, who is addressed in this peculiar manner "*noble et tres-honneuré et mon tres-redoubté seigneur et tres-cher amy*." It can be inferred from the context that he had extensive knowledge of heralds' role and their jobs and was held in high esteem.¹⁵ To begin with, he addresses the issues related to kings and heralds of arms' responsibility for murder or armed robbery {which God forbid (*que ia ne dieu ne plaise!*)}, pointing to the relevant courts in that respect (constable or his subordinates: marshal, admiral, commander of archers and local judges).¹⁶ In the second response, he explains that if a king of arms or another herald defamed a nobleman, which the author had never heard of, he would have to retract his statement before the witnesses and the king, and then he would be publicly degraded by being taken away his coat of arms and tunic. A deposition from office for perjury was permanent and resulted in imprisonment.¹⁷ The subsequent part of the letter was devoted to the worsening plight of pursuivants of arms,¹⁸ who are alleged to have commonly become spies and traitors revealing their lords' war plans while performing their duties as messengers or envoys. Such behaviour is thought of by the author as being at variance with honour, reason and the law concerning armorial servant.¹⁹ He is indignant at the current situation that each commander, even of a minor garrison, had his own pursuivant who would parade with his coat of arms at the royal court. Within his next answer, set in the context of courtly love, Calabre touches upon an ethical issue — discretion; heralds of arms also acted as messengers delivering love letters and confidants of the secrets of the followers.²⁰ In the fifth answer focusing on the customary procedures connected with the initiation with pursuivants, who were required to be able to speak and write, the author dwells upon whether they indeed ought

¹⁰ F. Roland, *op. cit.*, 105–107; G. Melville, *Der Brief...*, 76, note 27.

¹¹ G. Melville, *Der Brief...*, 75, note 18; pp. 80, 100: verse 18.

¹² F. Roland, *op. cit.*, 107–115.

¹³ G. Melville, *Der Brief...*, 78, dates the creation of the letter to 1407 r.

¹⁴ *ibidem*, 77, see also: p. 100: verse 13 and 17.

¹⁵ *ibidem*, 77–78.

¹⁶ *ibidem*, 82–83, see also: p. 100–102: verses 8–12, 26–55; A. R. Wagner, *op. cit.*, 42.

¹⁷ G. Melville, *Der Brief...*, 83–85, see also: p. 102–103: verses 56–77; A. R. Wagner, *op. cit.*, 42.

¹⁸ By Late Middle Ages a herald hierarchy of several levels had been formed; bottom up it was made up of pursuivants, heralds of arms, marshals and kings of arms; H. Kruse, *op. cit.*, 313; V. Vok Filip, *op. cit.*, 38–41; W. Paravicini, *op. cit.*, 83; M. Pastoureaux, *op. cit.*, 61.

¹⁹ G. Melville, *Der Brief...*, 85–87, see also: p. 103–104: verse 78–117.

²⁰ *ibidem*, 87–88, see also p. 104–105: verse 118–143.

to be required to make an oath.²¹ It is revealed to us that some baptized them with water, against which he staunchly protested with the king; to no avail, though. The lord whose coat of arms the pursuivant carried on a gold or silver shield and wore on his chest, was also free to chose the pursuivant's name. The last two answers, which were also the most elaborate ones, were basically about the heralds and kings of arms. The sixth one informs us about the procedure and phrasing of the solemn appointment of heralds, who made an oath (*le serment*) that followed a formula which specified their workload (cited by the author of the letter). The great courtly ceremony had its climax in passing the coat of arms of the lord to the herald. A habit was reported of the newcomers to the profession being baptised by wine poured from a gold or silver chalice.²² Even more solemn and elevated — as depicted in the last part of the letter — was the rite of appointing the kings of arms.²³ Their crowning was performed by the king; that was also the case with Charlot, whose ceremony was the most glamorous Calabre had ever seen. Kings of arms made an oath almost identical with the one recited by heralds; its text was only supplemented with a passage speaking of a duty to account for the gifts and remuneration obtained in connection with the exercise of the office. The treatise concludes with an argument on the origin of herald's profession, allegedly taken from an ancient book which was reported to have been lost.²⁴ Alexander the Great and Julius Caesar were said to be the first to appoint heralds; they treated heralds with great respect, as a token of which they seated their armorial officers in front of themselves at the table. In Christian times, the first princes, inspired with faith by the twelve apostles, chose twelve heralds from among the noblest knights and squires, six each. One of those went on to become the king of arms.²⁵

In this part of the letter we come across a passage with a Polish reference, which has not yet been subject to in-depth analysis.²⁶ It appears in the Oxford manuscript only; in the other two copies the final text on the rite of herald appointment was omitted: *Et d'aultre chose plus ne me souuient, fors que encore du temps que i'estoie poursuiuant, me souuient que ie oy a vng de Poulaine qu'il auoit liure en son pays de toutes ses ordonnances clerement et que des guerres de l'empereur au roy de Hongrie vng gaige de bateille fust entrepris deuant l'empereur, lequel seigneur y commist pour*

²¹ *ibidem*, 88–89, see also p. 105–106: verse 144–178; A. R. Wagner, *op. cit.*, 42–43.

²² G. Melville, *Der Brief...*, 91–93, see also p. 106–109: verse 179–255; A. R. Wagner, *op. cit.*, 43.

²³ G. Melville, *Der Brief...*, 93–98, see also p. 109–116: verse 256–472; A. R. Wagner, *op. cit.*, 43–44.

²⁴ This is not the only example of mythologising the office of heralds in Late Middle Ages. In one of his letters Enea Sylvio Piccolomini mentions a trip to England in 1435, when, in the sacristy of St. Paul's in London, he had an opportunity to see a 9th century manuscript — a Latin translation of the Greek historian Thucydides' work that was allegedly related to heralds. *Der Briefwechsel des Eneas Silvius Piccolomini*, ed. R. Wolkan, vol. 3.1 (Wien, 1918), 11 (Ep. 5): *heraldi sunt, qui apud majores nostros heroes vocitabantur, quos majores hominibus, diis minores fuisse tradunt*. So far the manuscript has not been found or identified: *Catalogus translationum et commentariorum: Mediaeval and Renaissance Latin translations and commentaries*, vol. VIII, ed. V. Brown, P. O. Kristeller, J. Hankins, R. A. Kaster (Washington, 2003), 112; W. Paravicini, *op. cit.*, 84.

²⁵ G. Melville, *Un bel office*, 319, note 124.

²⁶ Recent voices on that include: B. W. Brzustowicz, "O urządzie herolda na dworze pierwszych Jagiellonów, czyli głos w dyskusji nad jego organizacją i znaczeniem w późnośredniowiecznej Polsce, [on the office of herald with early Jagiellons]" *Rocznik Polskiego Towarzystwa Heraldycznego* new series IX (XX) (2010): 34–35; B. W. Brzustowicz, K. Stevenson, "Tournaments, Heraldry and Herald's in the Kingdom of Poland in the Late Middle Ages," *The Herald in Late Medieval Europe*, ed. K. Stevenson (Woodbridge, 2009), 155, and J. Szymczak, *Pojedyunki i harce, turnieje i gonitwy. Walki o życie, cześć, sławę i pieniądze w Polsce Piastów i Jagiellonów* [on tournament contests] (Warsaw, 2008), 157–158, and D. Piwowarczyk, "Herold Mikołaj Chrzastowski," *Rocznik Polskiego Towarzystwa Heraldycznego* new series VI (2003): 20; *idem*, *Obyczaj rycerski w Polsce późnośredniowiecznej (XIV–XV wiek)* [on chivalric code in late medieval Poland] (Warsaw, 1998), 27, which cites the manuscript after A. R. Wagner, *op. cit.*, 44.



Fig. 1. Laurent Polanlant. An attempt at the reconstruction of the official uniform (by G. J. Brzustowicz)



Fig. 2. Jan Litherland. An attempt at the reconstruction of the official uniform (by G. J. Brzustowicz)

*luy son roy d'armes d'icelluy temps, que a l'entrée du champs fist vng des champions cheualier, dont ce peut veoir que, en icelluy temps, l'office d'iceulx roys d'armes estoit honnorable chose vraiment depuis tout ce.*²⁷

Calabre mentions that, still as a pursuivant, he had heard from a certain Pole (*de Poulaine*), that he had at home some sort of book of ordinances (*ordonnances*), where it was described how during a war against a Hungarian monarch (*roy de Hongrie*) the emperor (*empereur*), in his acceptance of the offer of battle, solemnly appointed his herald the king of arms (*roy d'armes*) to demonstrate the significance of the office, then setting out for battle he dubbed one of the most valiant fighters a knight (*des champions cheualier*). This way of appointing the king of arms, right before a battlefield confrontation, could not have been a commonplace practice if it attracted enough of the author's interest to record it in his treatise.

It was not the form of king of arms' initiation, however, that arouses out greatest interest; it is the account of an encounter with a Pole. Not only do we know nothing on who the Polish informer was, but neither do we know where or in what circumstances they met; it remains

²⁷ Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS. Rawl. C. 399, fols. 79v–80r. (cited after: G. Melville, *Der Brief...*, 115–116: verse 459–467; A. R. Wagner, *op. cit.*, 44).

a mystery what sort of conflict between the emperor and the king of Hungary we are dealing with as this is an event reported from some distant memory and therefore he provides no details of the names of the monarchs or the time and place of the battle. Sadly, we are unable to find satisfactory responses to these questions.

The precise time of the Frenchman's encounter with the Pole is of utmost significance. The information that Calabre was still a pursuivant at that time is a sort of indication, so the encounter must have taken place at a time when he was still a young heraldic hopeful. This allows us to put the date of the encounter to a time preceding Nicholas Villart's appointment to the king of arms, ie. earlier than 1389.²⁸ This could be put even further back — several years before 1380 since Calabre mentions witnessing the coronation of Charlot to the King of Arms Montjoye, which was performed in Paris by Charles V, who — as we know — died in 1380.²⁹ Upon the guidance from the authors of the aforementioned petition of 1408, proposing that a pursuivant ought to be appointed after completing 25 years of age, with a 7-year apprenticeship period to become a herald, we can infer that at the time of the encounter Calabre must have been an adult man of about 32 years of age.³⁰ Thus we can assume that the meeting took place no later than 1373–1380.

Notably, the letter by Calabre seems to imply that the Polish interlocutor was not necessarily a witness of that battle or the crowning of the king of arms by the emperor; he only could have been in possession of a book that gave an account of those events. The battle may have occurred long before the encounter with the Pole; it could have been one of those fought between the Wittlesbachs or Luxembourgs with the Hungarian Anjou in the latter half of the 1300s. According to Dariusz Piwowarczyk, who makes a reservation that his proposition is merely loose hypothesizing, the Pole may have been a clergyman or a close collaborator of King of Poland and Hungary Luis of Anjou (†1382)³¹ as the book referred to by the Pole might have been an old family chronicle.³²

There is no problem to accept (which Melville did) that the author's informer was a Polish herald he met on one of his official missions.³³ This seems to be evidenced by the sort of mention focusing of a rite which is interesting for a narrow milieu of heralds. This is plausible as the first appearances of Polish heralds (1395, 1402, 1403) appear to confirm that the office would have become established in Polish royal courts by the late 1300s.³⁴

²⁸ G. Melville, *Der Brief...*, 110: verse 306–311.

²⁹ *ibidem*, 109–112: verse 263 n. and 340 n.

³⁰ F. Roland (see note 1), 109; G. Melville, *Der Brief...*, 75, note 20.

³¹ D. Piwowarczyk, *Obyczaj rycerski...*, 27.

³² The ancestral book of the family Topor is supposed to be one of the oldest non-extant family chronicles of late 14th and early 15th centuries: M. Koczerska, "Świadomość genealogiczna możnowładztwa polskiego w XV wieku," in *Spoleczeństwo Polski średniowiecznej*, vol. II (Warsaw, 1982), 266–322; J. Kurtyka, "Czy istniała kronika rodowa Toporów? [on family chronicle of the Topors]" *Studia Historyczne* 28 (1985): 157–179.

³³ G. Melville, *Der Brief...*, 96.

³⁴ On the beginnings and the first documented traces of the office of herald of arms at the Polish royal court, see: B. W. Brzustowicz, *O urządzie herolda...*, 35 n.; *idem*, *Turniej rycerski w Królestwie Polskim w późnym średniowieczu i renesansie na tle europejskim* [on a chivalric tournament in the Polish Kingdom in Late Middle Ages and Renaissance], (Warsaw, 2003), 256 n.; B. W. Brzustowicz, K. Stevenson, *op. cit.*, 153 n.; S. K. Kuczyński, "Heroldowie króla polskiego," in *Venerabiles, nobiles et honesti. Studia z dziejów społeczeństwa Polski średniowiecznej*, ed. A. Radziwiński, A. Supruniuk, J. Wroniszewski (Toruń, 1997), 333 n.; *idem*, "Les hérauts d'armes dans la Pologne médiévale," in *Le héraut, figure européenne (XIVe–XVIe siècle)*, 654 n.; J. Szymczak, *op. cit.*, 161 n.; D. Piwowarczyk, *Obyczaj rycerski...*, 28 n.

Since there are no surviving instances of Polish heralds' literary–historical output, we would also have another proof in the form of the book referred to (which may have contained handwritten notes and perhaps excerpts from other works on tasks and customary procedures involved in the performance of this office) that, despite no references in sources, Polish heralds were active and left their mark there, too.

Piotr Andrzej Dmochowski, Andrzej Sikorski
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An Unknown Illegitimate Daughter of the Mazovian Prince Konrad III the Red

“On 17 July, 1608, I married the fourth wife, Lady Warszewicka, holder of the dignity of Land Attorney of Nur, in the Duchy of Mazovia, a descendant of a Mazovian ducal family, Lady of the Manor of Tyrzyn and Burzec.¹” The quotation comes from the *Memoirs* of Zbigniew Ossolinski, the then Podlachian governor. One will not find any analyses of this event: apparently, only once was a mention devoted to it recently, in a footnote² — an aside to a discussion of prominent Mazovian families from the 16th and 17th centuries. This could help identify other illegitimate descendants of the Mazovian Piasts. The daughter was illegitimate since apart from the marriage of Anna, daughter of Konrad III, to the Ruthenian Governor Stanisław Sprowski, we know of no marital union between Piast female descendants and representatives of nobility, with all such unions, found in genealogical literature, having been questioned.³ This case is of interest on other counts, too, because it demonstrates how important an element of the social life of the day — on top of the tangible, material issues — were the less tangible and measurable matters of prestige: in this case expressed by the ducal descent of the spouse. It also shows the genealogical consciousness of middle nobility of an established local position, aspiring to a major role in public life, as was the case with the Ossolinskis in the late 16th and early 17th centuries.

Before moving on to verify Katarzyna Warszewicka’s descent, the genealogy of the people mentioned before will be discussed. Zbigniew Ossoliński, bearer of Topór, came from a Lesser Poland’s family that was in his very person promoted to the ranks of the magnate class. He was son of Hieronim, Sandomierz Castellan († 1575/1576) and Katarzyna Zborowska, bearer of Jastrzębiec, Cracow Castellan dignity holder, and was born on 3 Sep., 1555. His career set off in 1577–1581 from the position of courtier and secretary to the king, only to become: the

¹ Z. Ossoliński, *Pamiętnik* [memoirs], ed. J. Długosz (Warsaw, 1983), 49.

² J. Dziegielewski, “Najznamienitsi na Mazowszu za Jagiellonów i Wazów w XVI–XVII,” in *Cała historia to dzieje ludzi...: studia z historii społecznej ofiarowane profesorowi Andrzejowi Wyczańskiemu w 80-tą rocznicę urodzin i 55-lecie pracy naukowej* [history is about people; studies in social history], ed. C. Kukła, P. Guzowski (Białystok, 2004), 159, note 5.

³ K. Jasiński, *Rodowód Piastów mazowieckich* [on Mazovian Piast pedigree] (Poznań–Wrocław, 1998 [2008]), 197–199; P. A. Dmochowski, A. Sikorski, “Rzekomi Piastowie mazowieccy,” *Rocznik Polskiego Towarzystwa Heraldycznego* n.s. IX [XX] (Warsaw, 2010): 11–28.

1593–1603 Sandomierz Castellan, the 1603–1605 Żarnów Castellan, the 1605–1613 Podlachian Governor, and the 1613–1623 Sandomierz Governor. He also held the office of Elder of Nowe Miasto in 1606–1608 and of Stopnica in 1619. He died in 1623 and had four wives: his first spouse was Katarzyna Sienieńska, bearer of Dębno, whom he married in 1583, daughter of Jan, Żarnów Castellan; his second wife was Anna, *nee* Firlej (unmarried fem. ‘Firlejówna’), married in 1594, daughter of Jan, Governor of Krakow, deceased six years later. In 1601 he married Katarzyna Kosińska of Lisów, bearer of Rawa, widowed by the Mazovian Governor Stanisław Kryski, deceased in 1607. Katarzyna Warszewicka was thus his fourth spouse. Ossoliński’s issue include: Krzysztof (1587–1645), Sandomierz Governor, Maksymilian (1588–1645), Czersk Castellan and Halszka (married to Konstanty Korniakt) from his first wife; with his second spouse he fathered Jerzy (1595–1650), Royal Chancellor. His male lineage ended in 1826 with Józef–Maksymilian, the founder of the Ossolineum publishing house.⁴

We know of no reason why Ossoliński married Katarzyna Warszewicka. She was then 36 years of age or more, which meant she could be said to have been a rather aged widow after the Nur Judge Mikołaj Laskowski, bearer of Korab. The reason was perhaps the estates of Turzyn and Burzec, situated in the Stężyca District of the Sandomierz Province, where Warszewicka had life–rent, and which Ossoliński so meticulously listed in his mention of the wedding. Katarzyna died on 3 March, 1620, in Sandomierz and was buried on 14 April in the Klimontów church. She had no children with Ossoliński.⁵

Katarzyna’s first husband, Mikołaj Laskowski, signed as one coming from Laskowo Głuchy in Kamieńczyk District of the Land of Nur, so he came from Eastern Mazovia and performed his activities there, too. In 1589 he was Member of Parliament from Nur as the District King’s Cup–Bearer. In 1594 he was appointed the Elder of Wyszaków (which he apparently remained until his death); in 1597 a representative to the Crown Tribunal in Lublin, and in 1598 as a Nur Judge he represented the land in the Sejm. The last mention of him comes from 1601, when he was a tax collector of Nur, and on 10 Nov. he appeared on a document written in Brok by Bishop of Płock Wojciech Baranowski, which established the Literary Brotherhood of Wyszaków. So, he must have died between 10 Nov., 1601 and 17 July, 1608 (the widow’s wedding).⁶ He allegedly had a son from his marriage with Katarzyna Warszewicka, and the son had children.⁷

⁴ W. Czapliński, “Ossoliński Jan Zbigniew h. Topór (1555–1623), wojewoda podlaski, potem sandomierski,” in *Polski słownik biograficzny* (hereinafter: *PSB*), vol. 24 (Wrocław–Warsaw–Kraków–Gdańsk, 1979), 428–431; Z. Ossoliński, *op. cit.*, 6–23, 183; W. Dworzaczek, *Genealogia. Tablice* (Warsaw, 1959), table 144.

⁵ Z. Ossoliński, *op. cit.*, 121–122; Jerzy Ossoliński, *Pamiętnik*, ed. W. Czapliński (Warsaw, 1976), 33, 93. Turzyn and Burzec were erroneously positioned by the authors of *Pamiętnik* and *PSB* in the District of Radom; *Polska XVI wieku pod względem geograficzno–statystycznym*, vol. 3: *Małopolska (Źródła dziejowe*, vol. 14), ed. A. Pawiński (Warsaw, 1886), 334 and 338.

⁶ A. Boniecki, *Herbarz polski*, Cz. 1, *Wiadomości historyczno–genealogiczne o rodach szlacheckich*, vol. 13 (Warsaw, 1909), 358–359; J. Chojńska–Mika, *Sejmiki mazowieckie w dobie Wazów* (Warsaw, 1998), 34–35, 155, 157; “Ecclesia Viscoviensis. Dzieje parafii św. Idziego w Wyszakowie,” in *Folia Ecclesiastica–Pultoviensia* vol. 1, ed. Z. Morawski, M. Przytocka (Pułtusk, 2006), 268, note 715; 273.

⁷ After A. Boniecki, *op. cit.*, vol. 13, 358–359. It is uncertain, though, if this Jan Laskowski was son of Mikołaj Laskowski and Katarzyna Warszewicka as Jerzy Ossoliński (son of Zbigniew) wrote about his stepmother — Katarzyna Warszewicka: “She was a lady in her middle age but infertile, very good and friendly to us.” (J. Ossoliński, *op. cit.*, 33). Also, Zbigniew Ossoliński upon Warszewicka’s death dealt in all matters financial with Mikołaj Warszewicki, brother of the deceased, and the nephews of the first husband of his fourth wife. (Z. Ossoliński, *op. cit.*, 122, 124, 218). Ossoliński was meticulous in recording all transactions and inheritance settlements, so if he did not mention the children coming from his fourth wife’s first marriage, or their guardians, one can infer there were none.

Warszewicka's only sister that we know of, Zofia, married Zygmunt Kazanowski (approx. 1563–1634), bearer of Grzymała, in 1590; he later became Crown Judge. Zofia died before 1614; in that year Zygmunt was married to a daughter of the Sanok Wojski [in lieu of governor and castellan when those were at war] Elżbieta Humnicka. There were three daughters from the marriage with Elżbieta: Zofia, deceased in 1617, probably unmarried, Helena Ossolińska (after Maksymilian Ossoliński, Czersk Castellan), Katarzyna Stanisławska (after Jan Stanisławski, Elder of Szydłów); they also had sons: the the Elder of Krosno Stanisław Kazanowski and the Crown Court Marshal Adam Kazanowski (approx. 1599–1649).⁸

Speaking of the Kazanowskis, note that Zbigniew Ossoliński's memoirs is the sole source speaking of Katarzyna's Piast lineage. Jerzy, Zbigniew's son, fails to mention this in his diary. There are no references of the sort in two imprints published upon the death of Adam Kazanowski in 1650; Kazanowski was a royal court marshal and son of Zygmunt and Zofia *nee* Warszewicka, with the two publications making extensive references to relatives.⁹ Notably, Katarzyna Warszewicka's stepson, Krzysztof Ossoliński, disregarded Katarzyna's Piast background when making plaques in the Krzyżtopór castle, even though those were meant to highlight the most prominent ancestors, relations and kin.¹⁰ Yet, what Zbigniew Ossoliński wrote merits some research. He wrote it for himself and the inner circle of his descendants rather than glory in the outer world, so if these were to be pure fantasy, why did he not write in a like manner about the other members of his family? Katarzyna Warszewicka could have known about her Piast ancestry since it concerned her grandmother.

Why could Mazovian Piast blood have penetrated into the Warszewicki lineage? This must have come out of wedlock since the issue of the only non-dynastic marriage of Mazovian Piasts is (at least in the first generations, which is the focus of interest here) rather easy to acknowledge, and there are no Warszewickis there.¹¹ Let us then see who Katarzyna Warszewicka's ancestors were and whether some of them could have been illegitimate Piast offspring.

The Warszewickis came from the village of Warszewice, land of Czersk, Radwankowo Parish (the right bank of the Vistula). Their seal was rare in Mazovia: Kuszaba–Paprzyca.¹² Alas, no magistrate books from that period have survived, which substantially hindered any quest on this matter. However, we know about the Warszewickis quite a lot from T. Wierzbowski, who wrote about the life and activities of the historian and political writer, diplomat and a Krakow canon, Krzysztof Warszewicki.¹³ There we find a precise study of the family's early generations' genealogy.

⁸ A. Boniecki, *op. cit.*, vol. 9 (Warsaw, 1905), 357–358; A. Przyboś, “Kazanowski Zygmunt z Kazanowa h. Grzymała (ok. 1563–1634), podkomorzy wielki kor.,” in *PSB*, vol. 12 (Wrocław–Warszawa–Kraków, 1966–1967), 259–261.

⁹ K. Iwanicki, *Laska nadworna koronna na pogrzebie Jaśnie Wielmożnego JegMci Pana Adama z Kazanowa Kazanowskiego...* (Warsaw, 1650); K. J. Wojsznarowicz, *Laska żelazna w popiele skruszona* (Lublin, 1650) [both on Crown staves of office].

¹⁰ The best reading of the tablets, alongside the polemical argument with its previous editions and the discussion of their genealogical value was published recently; J. Sperka, B. Czwojdrak, “Wiarygodność genealogiczna inskrypcji z zamku Krzyżtopór w Ujeździe,” *Rocznik Polskiego Towarzystwa Heraldycznego*, n.s., vol. V [XVI] (Warsaw, 2001): 41–74.

¹¹ R. T. Prinke, *Poradnik genealoga amatora*, (Warsaw, 1992), 58, table 12; R. T. Prinke, A. Sikorski, *Królewska krew. Polscy potomkowie Piastów i innych dynastii panujących* [on Polish descendants of the Piasts and other ruling dynasties] (Poznań, 1997), 87, no Z–144; 92, no Z–201; 101, no Z–304; 139, no J–303.

¹² B. Paprocki, *Herby rycerstwa polskiego*, (Krakow: K. J. Turowski, 1858), 633; A. Wolff, *Mazowiecki zapiski herbowe z XV i XVI wieku* [on armorial inscriptions in 15th and 16th centuries] (Warsaw, 1937), 367 as per index.

¹³ 13 T. Wierzbowski, *Krzysztof Warszewicki 1543–1603 i jego dzieła* (Warsaw, 1887), *passim*.

As it turns out, Katarzyna Warszewicka was Krzysztof Warszewicki's niece. Her paternal uncle was the theologian, preacher and ascetic writer Stanisław Warszewicki, a Jesuite priest. Katarzyna's father was Andrzej Warszewicki, of whom we only know that in 1553 he accompanied Stanisław Tęczyński, an envoy on his mission to Turkey. Another piece of information comes from 1566, when he placed his last will in judicial files; it was endorsed by King Sigismund II Augustus in 1571. This means Andrzej must have died in between the dates. T. Wierzbowski speculates that this could have occurred in early 1571. Andrzej had married Helena Siennicka; three children are known to have survived: Zofia and Katarzyna, but also the son Stanisław. There must have been another brother — Mikołaj — who was not mentioned in the last will of Andrzej Warszewicki, so he could have been born after the document was made, possibly even after Andrzej's death. His date of birth was then probably 1566(67?)–1571.¹⁴ Nothing certain can be said of Helena Siennicka's parents: she would have come from a family signing 'of Siennica,' based in the land of Czersk, having the coat of arms Krzywda.¹⁵

Jan Warszewicki, Andrzej's father, launched his civil career in 1536 as a supply judge of Czersk. Then, in 1539 and possibly in 1543 he was a representative at the Land Diet [Sejmik] of Krakow. The Sejm of 1539 and 1542 appointed him Tax Collector of Czersk, and then Czersk and Liw. He sat in castellanies of: Liw (1544), Ciechanów (1545), Zakroczym (1555), Wyszogród (1556) and, finally, Warsaw (1557). He died perhaps just after 21 May, 1563.

Jan Warszewicki was married twice. As early as 1525 or 1526 he apparently married Elżbieta Parys [Pol. unmarried fem. 'Parysówna,' note by LK].¹⁶ He had two sons from his first marriage: Stanisław and Andrzej; from the other, the issue was the son Krzysztof and a daughter of an unknown name, *primo voto* Radzimińska (after Wojciech Radzimiński), *secundo voto* Myszowska (after Stanisław Myszowski).¹⁷ We know from the published dissertations by Poznań, Gniezno and Krakow canons that Stanisław Warszewicki came from the first marriage whereas Krzysztof — from the other. However, no known document provides the name of Andrzej Warszewicki's mother. T. Wierzbowski based his presumption about Andrzej Warszewicki's lineage from the

¹⁴ Z. Ossoliński mentions him, revealing the degree of kinship with Katarzyna Warszewicka, *op. cit.*, 122, 124, 218.

¹⁵ There is no way to establish the names of Helena Siennicka's parents. Her father could have been Mikołaj, the hereditary Lord of the Manor of Siennica, appearing in 1556–1557 in *Matricularum Regni Poloniae Summaria* (hereinafter: MPRS), vol. V, p. 1, *Acta cancellariorum, 1548–1572*, (Varsoviae: T. Wierzbowski, 1919), 118 (no 1899), 120 (no 1931); possibly identical with Mikołaj Siennicki, who, together with Jan Siennicki, funded the altar prebendary of the Holy Trinity, Transfiguration of the Lord and All Saints, in the Siennica Church, which was erected on 16 Sep., 1541 by Bishop Sebastian Branicki (J. Nowacki, *Dzieje Archidiecezji Poznańskiej*, vol. II (Poznań, 1964), 540. So could Stanisław Siennicki (approx. 1495–1500 r.) the Elder of Liw (at least as of mid-1630s through the end of the decade), the Warsaw Wojski (1538), married with Helena, daughter of Jakub Brzoska of Rzewień (Różan District, now: Rzewnie), Wis Castellan, the Elder of Różan and Maków, or one of his brothers: Jan, Franciszek or Mikołaj (possibly different from the aforementioned, presumably a parish priest of Siennica in 1528–1534, which would automatically exclude him from this speculation), sons of Dadźbóg of Siennica (*Metryka czyli album Uniwersytetu Krakowskiego z lat 1509–1551* (Warsaw: A. Gąsiorowski, T. Jurek, I. Skierska, R. Grzesik, 2010), 491 as per index; A. Pawiński, *Ostatnia księżna mazowiecka, obrazek z dziejów XVI wieku*, (Warsaw, 1892), 114; J. Nowacki, *Dzieje Archidiecezji Poznańskiej*, vol. II, 540; Kartoteka Słownika historyczno–geograficznego Mazowsza w średniowieczu [Medieval Mazovia Historical and Geographical Dictionary card index at the Institute of History, PAN Polish Academy of Arts and Sciences, Warsaw], hereinafter: SHGMaz card index, item: Siennica, pow. garwoliński).

¹⁶ T. Wierzbowski, *Krzysztof Warszewicki...*, 50–51, 64 is inconsistent: on one occasion he calls Jan's second wife Helena, on another — Elżbieta. Could he possibly have confused the forename of Siennicka, Andrzej Warszewicki's wife with Parysówna, wife of Jan, Andrzej's father?

¹⁷ Although K. Niesiecki, *Herbarz Polski*, v. IX, (Lipsk: by J. N. Bobrowicz, 1842), 238, reports that married to Stanisław Myszowskim was Stanisław and Krzysztof Warszewicki's niece.

first marriage on the following premises: in his last will Andrzej called Stanisław his full brother whereas Krzysztof goes only so far as to call Andrzej his brother; one of the guardians of Andrzej's children was Adrian Łoski of Wola Chynowska, possibly mother's cousin; Andrzej wrote his last will in 1566, having fathered three children, so he must have been advanced in years at the time and thus could hardly have been Parysówna's son. There is a crack in this rather coherent picture, though: only ecclesiastic sources report Anna Chynowska as Jan's wife. According to other accounts, Dorota Łoska was Jan Warszewicki's wife and some of his children's mother. The issues related to both wives' identities will be discussed further on.

Jan Warszewicki's parents, and Andrzej's grandparents, were Jakub Warszewicki, Czersk District King's Cup–Bearer¹⁸ in 1499–1511 and in 1511 the Wojski of the land, and a woman *de domo* Łoś. Lack of her and her parents' first names makes it impossible to carry the reconstruction on along the maternal side.¹⁹ Wierzbowski suspects that Jakub Warszewicki's father was a Paweł, signing 'of Warszewice,' the hereditary lord of the village as well as of Brzoza and Wólka Brzoska, situated in the land of Czersk. He is known from one inscription of 1476, where the Mazovian Duke exempted those villages from the duty of construction and reparation of castles and fortresses.²⁰ T. Wierzbowski notes that he must have been a rather well-to-do person if he gave each of his daughters 6000 groszys worth of dowry.²¹

In order to establish Andrzej Warszewicki's mother, we need to take a closer look at Jan Warszewicki's wives. All available information on this topic is presented below.

1524. Under this year A. Boniecki reports Dorota Łoska, daughter of Jan Łoski of Wola Chynowska and Zofia²² Boglewska, as wife to Jan of Warszwowice.²³ Given no source of this in-

¹⁸ Although T. Wierzbowski, *Krzysztof Warszewicki...*, 47, calls Jakub Warszewicki Czersk District King's Cup–Bearer (with reference to: *Księga ziemi czerskiej 1404–1425* (Warsaw: by J. T. Lubomirski, 1879), CII and Land Books of Warsaw „Mss. vol VIII” and Zakroczym „Mss. vol II”), a remark that seems to be more relevant is by B. Sobol, *Sejmy i sejmiki na Mazowszu książęcym* (Warsaw, 1968), 176, who writes that 19 April, 1501, to 8 May, 1509, Jakub of Warszewice performed the office of Czersk District King's Cup–Bearer. The sources known to us dub Jakub *pincerna* (SHGMaz card index, item: Warszewice pow. czerski; Archiwum Główne Akt Dawnych [Chief Archive of Old Files] (hereinafter: AGAD), *Metryka Koronna* (hereinafter: MK) vol. 32, card 258 verso; 41, card 16, 54. The only Czersk official who held the office mentioned by A. Wolff, *Studia nad urzędnikami mazowieckimi 1370–1526* (Wrocław–Warsaw–Kraków, 1962), 254, is Bogusław Niewczas of Moszny, who became one in 1497 (in the index of the study p. 344 as “pinc. Czirn.”). Thus we assumed that Jakub Warszewicki was Czersk District King's Cup–Bearer.

¹⁹ The family Łoś, bearer of Dąbrowa, though probably coming from Przasnysz District, ie. North Mazovia, were at that time associated with the lands of Czersk and Wyszogród, with the latter on account of Janusz Łoś of Grodkowo marrying Ofka, daughter of Czersk Castellan Sławiec of Boglewice (1451?); A. Boniecki, *op. cit.*, vol. 1 (Warsaw, 1899), 333. SHGMaz card index, item: Krzynowłoga Mała pow. Przasnyski, reports that she came from that estate. Presumably, the Łosiówna married to Warszewicki was daughter of Stanisław, appearing in the land of Czersk in 1460–1476; A. Boniecki, *op. cit.*, vol. XVI (Warsaw, 1913), 17.

²⁰ *Kodeks dyplomatyczny Księstwa Mazowieckiego* (Warsaw: J. T. Lubomirski, 1863), 275.

²¹ T. Wierzbowski, *Krzysztof Warszewicki...*, 46 with reference to *Księga ziemi czerskiej 1404–1425*, XLVIII.

²² J. Małek, “Łoski Jan z Woli Chynowskiej h. Rogala (zm. 1535), wojewoda mazowiecki i vicesgerent Mazowsza,” in *PSB*, vol. XVIII (Wrocław–Warsaw–Kraków, 1973), 425–426, thinks this was Zofia but indicates that A. Boniecki calls her Dorota elsewhere. Indeed, when describing the issue of Stanisław Boglewski, A. Boniecki, *op. cit.*, vol. I, 334, writes that he had daughters: Zofia, wife of Jan Grodzanowski, 1529, Katarzyna *1o voto* Jan Ojrzanowski, Liw District King's Cup–Bearer, the Elder of Warsaw 1521, *2o voto* Piotr Goryński, Mazovian Governor 1531, Dorota, wife of Jan Łoski, Mazovian Governor, 1533.

²³ He writes about that under the item ‘Łoscy’; A. Boniecki, *op. cit.*, vol. XVI, 9. However, he knows no Chynowska, wife of Warszewicki; A. Boniecki, *op. cit.*, vol. III, 138–141 (item ‘Chynowscy’). A. Boniecki did know Czersk judicial books very well, as this is where the Bonieckis came from, lived and worked!

formation, we cannot determine whether the author really knew Dorota's descent or, perhaps, knowing that Jan's wife was Dorota Łoska, he identified her as the only known Dorota Łoska from the period.

1524. There is a mention of Dorota, wife of Jan — the late Jakub of Warszewice's (Czersk District King's Cup–Bearer's) son.²⁴

1525 or 1526. In either of these years, T. Wierzbowski (basing this on ecclesiastic sources used by J. Korytkowski) presumes Jan Warszewicki to have married Anna Chinowska, bearer of Nałęcz.²⁵

1530. There is a note that comes from this year, which will be quoted in full here as it reveals a circle of relations of particular interest to us here, and which will be referred to time and again. This is an inscription into the Pauline Brotherhood at the Bright Mountain of Częstochowa [Jasna Góra].

“Anno domini 1530 generosus dominus Nicolaus Boglewssky de |—|a Leczyezyczye vixilifer terre Czmernsis unacum uxore sua Zophia et |—|b domino Iohanne Lasky castellano Wynseni, una cum uxore sua Zophia et cum tota sua genealogia confraternitatem nobiscum susceperunt. Eodem anno ut supra, generosus dominus Iohannes Warszewiczky et cum uxor sua Dorothea et filiis suis videlicet domino Stanislao et filiabus, videlicet Zophia, Anna, Hedvigis.²⁶”

^a crossed out: Wedza Ladzeczke.

^b deleted: Omnibus.

1554. Stanisław Warszewicki gave information (for 8 Feb.) about his ancestors, as occasioned by his appointment to Poznań canon. The pedigree exposition says he was son of Jan Warszewicki, Liw Castellan, bearer of “*paprzicza alias lapis molaris et Jednorozecz*,” and Anna Chinowska, bearer of “*Nalencz et Pierzchala, hoc est unius liliae*.”



Fig. 1. Genealogy of Stanisław Warszewicki, Poznań canon²⁷

²⁴ AGAD, MK vol. 41, card 16–16 *verte*.

²⁵ T. Wierzbowski, *Krzysztof Warszewicki...*, 50, in note 2 and 3, in making a reference to J. Korytkowski, *Pralaci i kanonicy katedry metropolitalnej gnieźnieńskiej od roku 1000 aż do dni naszych*, vol. IV (Gniezno, 1883), 226. T. Wierzbowski did not call forth any other sources, so he must have arrived at the date of wedding by deducing it from Stanisław Warszewicki's date of birth, which J. Korytkowski thinks was in 1527. T. Wierzbowski knew of no findings by A. Boniecki concerning the Chynowski and the Łoskis as these were published a dozen or so years afterwards. So, it is bound to be a genuine idea by T. Wierzbowski. The name of Warszewicki's wife was also taken over from Korytkowski.

²⁶ “Jasnogórski rękopis *Regestrum Confraternitatis Fratrum S. Pauli Primi Heremite* z lat 1517–1613,” prepared for print by J. Zbudniewek, *ZP, Studia Claromontana* VI (1985): 281.

²⁷ R. Weimann, “Receptiones seu installationes ad episcopatum, prelaturas et canonicatus Ecclesae Cathedralis Posnaniensis ab Anno 1532 usque ad Annum 1800,” *Roczniki Towarzystwa Przyjaciół Nauk Poznańskiego* XXXV, (1908): 37–38; “Materyjały do historyi prawa i heraldyki polskiej,” in *Archiwum Komisji Historycznej*, vol. III

Notably, Stanisław Warszewicki's consanguine brother Krzysztof, on his appointment to Krakow canon on 23 May, 1598, also provided information on his lineage.

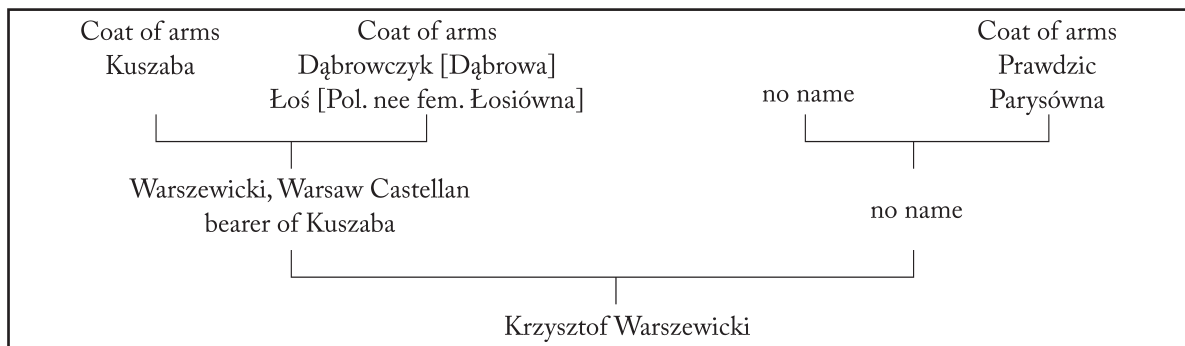


Fig. 2. genealogy of Krzysztof Warszewicki, Krakow canon²⁸

There is an evident contradiction here in the lineage of the two stepbrothers: their paternal grandmother (thus common for both, wife of Czersk District King's Cup-Bearer Jakub Warszewicki) is introduced as bearer of Bończa on one occasion, and of Dąbrowa on another. It cannot escape our attention, though, that the Dąbrowa coat of arms was on the seal of the Łoś family, and this is the name of Jakub's wife written into the *Metrica Regi Poloniae*, so Krzysztof's genealogical exposition ought to be considered correct.²⁹

1566/1571. On 26 November Andrzej Warszewicki personally filed his last will in the land survey of Garwolin.³⁰ On 18 May, 1571, the document was endorsed by King Sigismund II Augustus. Only the second wife, Helena Siennicka, was mentioned there by name; Andrzej calls Stanisław *fratrem suum germanum* ie. full brother. The closest circle of Stanisław Warszewicki is helpful in the dissertation, too. It is indicated by the list of those to exercise Andrzej's will: Stanisław Warszewicki, Adrian Łoski of Wola Chynowska, the Land Writer of Czersk Wojciech Gliniecki, Stanisław Cieciszewski, Jan Czyszkowski and Andrzej Rosochowski. Adrian Łoski is brother of Dorota Łoska, whom A. Boniecki presumes to be Warszewicki's wife, but Jan Czyszkowski is a relation of Anna Chynowska, Warszewicki's wife, as per ecclesiastic sources.

1567. There is the last note we know concerning Stanisław Warszewicki's genealogy, related to his joining the Jesuit Order in Rome. It was included by Rev. S. Bednarski, who prior to WWII created a monograph on Stanisław Warszewicki. He wrote that Warszewicki was born in 1529 or 1530, son of Jan Warszewicki and Anna Dorota Chinowska. Rev. Bednarski did not directly cite the source of the information. Describing Warszewicki's life he refers in footnotes to T. Wierzbowski and the documents of the Jesuit Order kept in Rome, which he apparently had reviewed!³¹ Another interesting information in this context is that Stanisław Warszewicki, upon

(Kraków: B.Ulanowski, 1886), 411; R. T. Prinke, "Indeks osób do wywodu przodków kanoników poznańskich 1535–1786," *Gens* 1–4 (1993): 68, 100.

²⁸ W. Urban, "Wywody szlachectwa kanoników i prałatów krakowskich (1550–1600)," *Rocznik Polskiego Towarzystwa Heraldycznego*, n.s., vol. IV [XV] (Warsaw, 1999): 174a.

²⁹ SHGMaz card index, entry: Krzynowłoga Mała pow. przasnyski; AGAD, MK vol. 9, card 213 *verte*.

³⁰ AGAD, MK, vol. 109, 575–578; MRPS, vol. V, pp.1, 247, no 4398.

³¹ Ks. S. Bednarski, "Stanisław Warszewicki. Pochodzenie — Młodość — Studia w Wittenberdze i Padwie," in *Studia z dziejów kultury polskiej*, ed. H. Barycz, J. Hulewicz (Warsaw, 1949), 244–245. More on Rev. Bednarski in A. Ordęga, *X. Stanisław Bednarski T.J., Straty kultury polskiej*, vol. I (Glasgow, 1945), 17–33. Of particular interest here is the information (pp. 21–22), that Rev. Bednarski in preparing his doctoral dissertation {"Upadek i

his inclusion in the Order, resigned from the Gniezno scholastic prebendary for the sake of Stanisław Karśnicki; in exchange for that, Karśnicki resigned from the office of Gniezno canon to benefit Rev. Jan Łoski of Wola Chynowska, son of the aforementioned Adrian, and Jan's relation.³²

As a result of the appearance of the names Łoski and Chynowski among Katarzyna Warszewicka's ancestors, an association is brought to mind with Hieronim (Jarosz) Łoski, son of the Mazovian Duke Konrad III the Red and Anna Łoska. K. Jasiński has established that Hieronim was born around 1480/1495 and died after 1527. Sources present him as a clergyman in 1512 — an altar prebendary holder in St. John's Church, Warsaw (*honor Jeronymus Leski altar. Varschov*).³³ This document remained unknown to K. Jasiński, and it slightly moves the date *ad quem* of Hieronim's birth, which was earlier rather arbitrarily established as 1495 (see below). Following 1520 he would have moved to Maków Mazowiecki, though as an altar prebendary holder he appeared later in 1527. His mother's descent from the Łoskis, bearers of Rogala, of the land of Czersk, is deemed possible by K. Jasiński, albeit uncertain. What aroused doubts is the position Hieronim held in the Church hierarchy: rather low-ranking for his mother's descent. His grandmother Zofia of Kuczbork owned estates in the land of Płock, and the sources call his mother '*nobilis et honesta*', which indicates their descent from nobility. K. Jasiński is rather cautious identifying Anna Łoska (Hieronim's mother) with a Warsaw nun by that name, noting, however, that this is possible in chronological terms; this identification is made weaker, though, by the fact that Hieronim's mother was never called a nun directly.³⁴

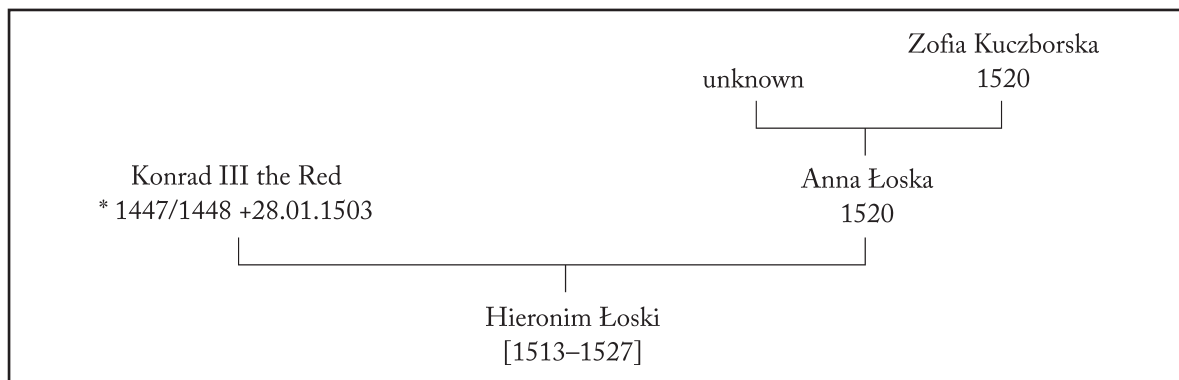


Fig. 3. The known ancestors of Hieronim Łoski, natural son of Konrad III the Red, by maternal descent³⁵

If we are to accept K. Jasiński's findings concerning the date of birth of Hieronim Łoski, his mother — Anna Łoska — could have been born before 1460/1480 (assuming Hieronim was born when his mother was 15–20), and what follows is that his grandmother Zofia Kuczborska must have been born before about 1440/1465. Still, K. Jasiński established the same dates for the

odrodzenie szkół jezuickich w Polsce,” (Krakow, 1933)}, spent 9 years researching domestic archives (5 years) and foreign (the remaining 4: Germany, Rome, the Vatican — the Jesuit archive). The work was awarded a prize by the PAU Polish Academy of Arts. He collaborated with *PSB* (p. 27).

³² J. Korytkowski, *Pralaci i kanonicy katedry metropolitalnej gnieźnieńskiej*, vol. IV, 352 note 3, 531–532; see also A. Boniecki, *op. cit.*, vol. XVI, 10.

³³ AGAD, *Pułtuskie testamenta konsystorskie* 1, card 426 *verte* (SHGMaz card index, entry: Łoś, pow. czerski).

³⁴ K. Jasiński, *Rodowód Piastów mazowieckich* [on Mazovian Piast lineage], 191–193. This identification has recently been negated by J. Grabowski, “Małżeństwa Konrada III Rudego. Ze studiów nad genealogią Piastów mazowieckich,” in *Klio viae et invia. Opuscula Marco Cetwiński dedicata*, ed. A. Odrzywolska–Kidawa (Warsaw, 2010), 801.

³⁵ K. Jasiński, *Rodowód Piastów mazowieckich*, 191–193.

whole illegitimate issue of Konrad III, who were supposed to have been born in 1480–1495. In fact, K. Jasiński did not clarify why he accepted the year 1480, with 1495 resulting from the fact of Konrad III marrying Anna Radziwiłł [Pol. Fem. unmarried ‘Radziwiłłówna’] in 1496–1497.³⁶ Aware of the way one exercised power at that time (visitation tours) and judging by the likely temperament of Konrad III (Hieronim was not his only illegitimate son) one might suspect that the dates proposed by K. Jasiński might not correspond to the facts.³⁷ Konrad might well have begotten a child at the age of 15–20. So, if he was born around 1447/1448, his children could have been born as early as 1462. Now that Hieronim Łoski is virtually Konrad’s only illegitimate child described in some detail in sources, we can use this personage to establish the other extreme of the margin that determines the births of Konrad III’s illegitimate offspring. Obviously, we do not know if Hieronim was the youngest of Konrad’s illegitimate children, but for the present argument this is immaterial. In the sources known to us, Hieronim Łoski appeared first in 1512: the document called him a priest and an altar prebendary beneficiary of St. John’s Collegiate Church in Warsaw. If there is no mention in the document that at that time he was a minor, we can assume he will have been at least 20. Thus we arrive at the other extreme date: 1492. Therefore, Hieronim Łoski, like the other illegitimate children of Konrad the Red would have been born between about 1462 and 1492. Sure enough, any such calculations might be erroneous, but in this case they could prove helpful for the identification of Hieronim Łoski’s mother, and consequently, too, the mother of an illegitimate daughter of Konrad III the Red. In light of this, the time margin of the birth of Hieronim Łoski’s mother and grandmother ought to be expanded. Thus, Anna Łoska (if at least 15–20 at Hieronim’s birth) could have been born between 1442 and 1477, whereas Zofia Kuczborska — between 1422 and 1462. A significant constraint is the fact that both mother and grandmother were still alive at the time the document was made, i.e. 1520, so we had better accept the latter of the dates.

Łoskis were a well-to-do family from the Land of Czersk, part of the Rogalita lineage. Paprocki wrote about them, “The Chynowskis are ancient in Mazovia:” they call themselves the Łoskis, and have great merits in this land of the Commonwealth; there were glamorous men in this family. [...] The Odrzywolskis share the land with those.³⁸ It was those Łoskis *vel* Chynowskis, then, coming from Łoś, Chynów and Wola Chynowska (Czersk District, 30–40 km South of Warsaw), that Konrad III’s mistress must have come from.³⁹ It must be remarked, though, that there is a place called Łosie, situated in Warsaw District, near Radzymin, 30 km North–East of Warsaw, where the Łoskis, bearers of Brodzic, came from, but their representatives come to light only towards the end of the 16th century in tax lists, after which A. Boniecki mentions them: Piotr Łoski comes first, appearing in 1578.⁴⁰ For the record, there is also a place called Łaś in

³⁶ J. Grabowski, *Matżeństwa Konrada III Rudego*, 802–803 — establishes the date of wedding for the autumn of 1496.

³⁷ Recently noted by S. A. Sroka, “Nieślubne potomstwo władców Europy środkowej w XIV wieku [on illegitimate offspring of Central Europe’s monarchs],” *Zeszyty Naukowe Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego*, vol. MCCXCI “Prace Historyczne,” fasc. 135 (2008): 21.

³⁸ B. Paprocki, *Herby rycerstwa polskiego*, (Kraków: K. J. Turowski, 1858), 655.

³⁹ A. Boniecki, *op. cit.*, vol. III, s. 138–141 in writing about the Chynowskis remarked that they signed as coming from Chynów and Wola Chynowska, and that they descended from the Łoskis, while A. Boniecki, in *op. cit.*, vol. XV (Warsaw, 1912), 194, in the entry on the Łoskis writes that some Chynowskis signed as Łoskis.

⁴⁰ *Polska pod względem geograficzno–statystycznym*, vol. V, “Mazowsze” (Warsaw: A. Pawiński, 1892) [*Źródła Dziejowe*, vol. XVI], 256; A. Boniecki, *op. cit.*, vol. XV (Warsaw, 1912), 194. *Atlas Historyczny Polski. Mazowsze w drugiej połowie XVI wieku*, (hereinafter: *AHM*) p. II, *Komentarze, indeksy*, ed. W. Pałucki, by: A. Dunin–Wąsowicz, I. Gieysztorowa,

the land of Różan,⁴¹ with which Hieronim Łoski was associated. Under 1527, Boniecki gives the names of the hereditary lords of Łaś, but neither Hieronim nor Anna appear there.⁴² It ought to be accepted, then, that the mistress of Konrad III comes from the Łoskis, bearers of Rogala, Czersk District. What needs to be done then is try to find this Anna Łoska within this family and trace the lives of her legitimate children: Łoskis and Chynowskis, among whom we ought to find Anna Chynowska/Dorota Łoska. If we are unable to prove Andrzej Warszawicki's descent from Anna Łoska or if we demonstrate that the Anna Łoska could not have had offspring named Łoski/Chynowski, we will be forced to acknowledge that a possibility that the ancestor of Katarzyna Warszawicka is another mistress of Konrad III or another Mazovian duke becomes more plausible; this option would not be based on sources, though.

The genealogy of the Łoskis, bearers of Rogala, can be traced back to the late 14th century, and Boniecki presents it in detail, but of interest to us are later generations. Jan, signing as 'of Łoś,' Zakroczym Land Judge in 1435–1453, son of Anna — daughter of Rogala from Nowy Dwor, had three daughters and nine sons. Of those daughters, we know nothing about Katarzyna and Anna, while Dorota married Mikołaj Ciołek of Żelechów and Wrzeszczów. In theory, Anna might have been Konrad III's mistress, if he was born in 1447/1448 and so was she, possibly, but given a large number of siblings she might have been much older than him, which makes this option rather unrealistic. Hieronim would then have been born in the 1470s. The third from among Jan's sons, Mikołaj, Lord of half of the Manor of Skuły and Słubice in Warsaw District, was Warsaw canon and died between 1486 and 1492. Jan's youngest son Andrzej, Lord of the Manor of Chynów, Czersk Treasurer, apparently died childless after 1491 (table 4).⁴³

Jan's eldest son, Piotr of Łoś, co-owner of Łoś and Słubica, Warsaw District, was married to a Dorota of unknown descent, and he died between 1474 and 1476, leaving three children: Wawrzyniec, Jan and Anna. Anna appeared in sources twice: in 1476, alongside with her siblings at the division of the estates after her father's death, and in 1483 as wife of Wojciech of Naropno (near Rawa).⁴⁴ Theoretically she might have been Hieronim's mother, but then Hieronim would have been born before 1483, or else he would have shared the family name with his mother's husband: Naropiński (table 5).

Wawrzyniec, son of Piotr, using the name Chynowski, in 1505 was married with Anna Czyszkowska, whose dowry he guaranteed, and he died before 1517, when his sons exchanged land estates with their paternal uncle. He fathered the sons Jan, Hieronim and Stanisław and daughters, Urszula and Anna, appearing in 1521 as unmarried. Since Stanisław, brother of this Anna, was still alive in 1537, and so were her fraternal nephews in end-16th century, she would have been too young for Konrad's concubine. However, Wawrzyniec's wife, Anna Czyszkowska, fits the picture very well, particularly that she had a son named Hieronim! Anna surely came from the family bearing the coat of arms Ogińczyk, signing as 'of Czyszkow,' Czersk District; we are unable to position her within this family, though. Remarkably, Anna's brother-in-law, Jan Łoski (see below) was a chamberlain at the court of duchess Anna, sister of Janusz III, which could also

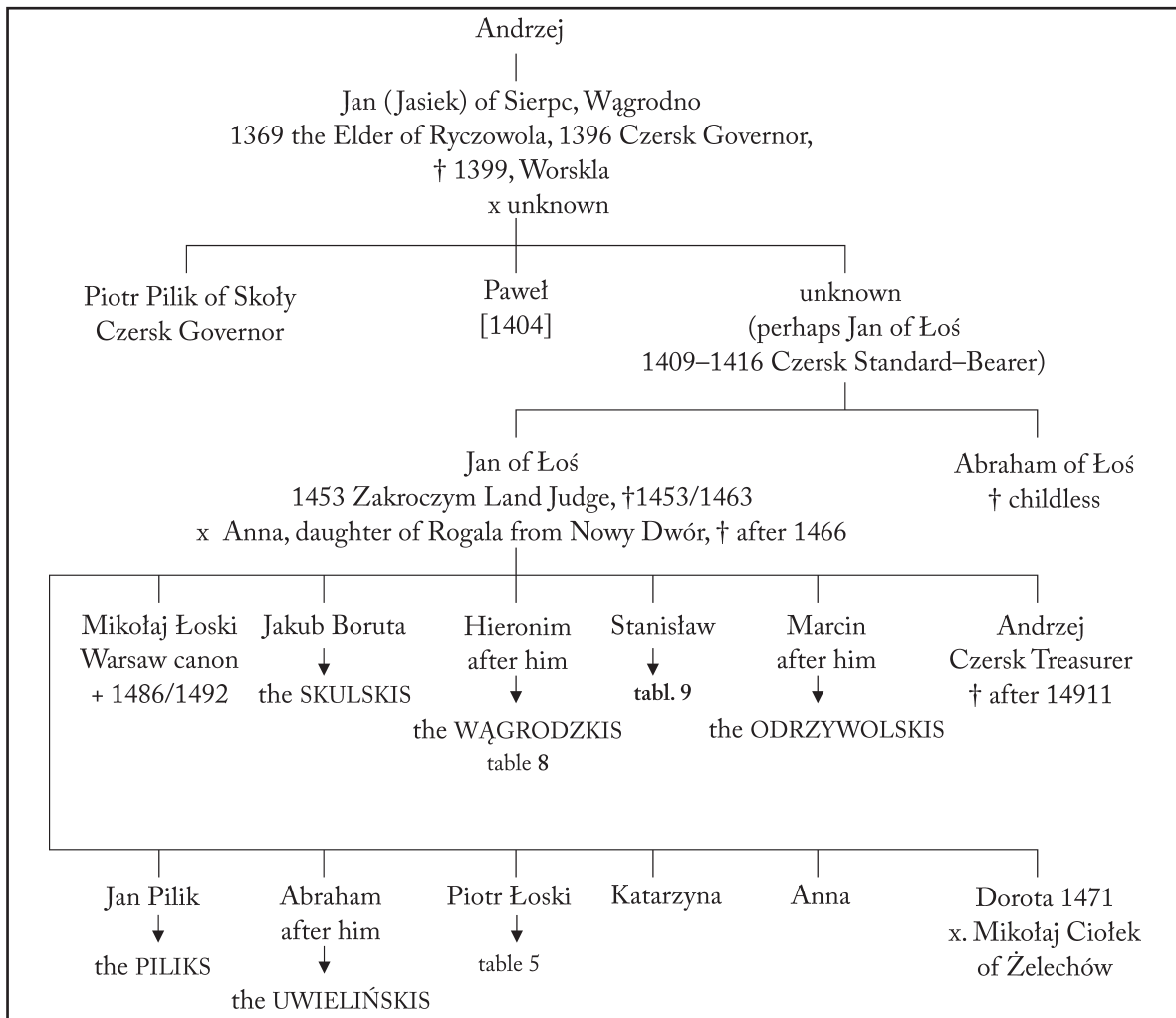
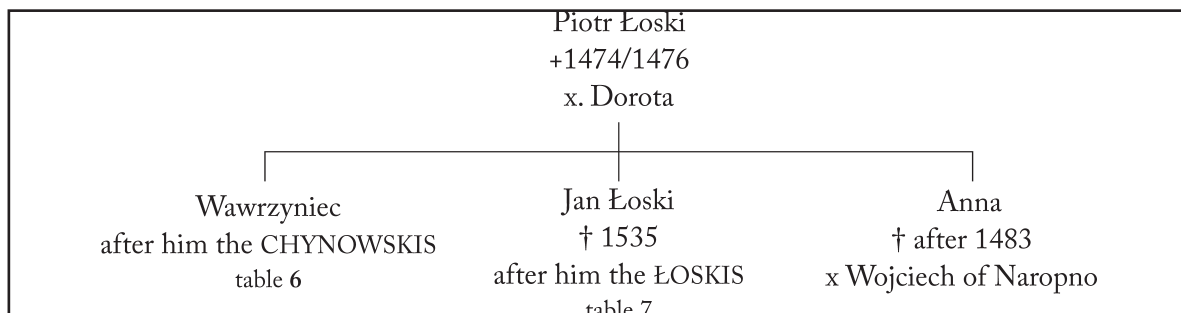
J. Humnicki, W. Kalinowski, W. Lewandowska, K. Pacuski, W. Pałucki, H. Rutkowski, W. Szaniawska, (Warsaw, 1973), 190 (Łosie, Warsaw District), 213 (Ruda Łoska, Warsaw District).

⁴¹ *AHM*, p. II, 189

⁴² A. Boniecki, *op. cit.*, vol. XVI, (Warsaw, 1913), 5–8.

⁴³ A. Boniecki, *op. cit.*, vol. III (Warsaw, 1900), 139, vol. XVI, 8–11 and 211. Not much new contribution can be found in the new publication by J. Piętka, *Mazowiecka elita feudalna późnego średniowiecza*, (Warsaw, 1975), 93–95.

⁴⁴ SHGMaz card index, entry: Naropna, z. Rawska, AGAD, MK, vol. 5, card 207 *verte*. Anna and her husband Hieronim of Naropno are known in no other sources.

Fig. 4. The first generations of the Łoskis and the families descending from them⁴⁵Fig. 5. The Chynowski of Chynów and Łoskis of Łoś in the Land of Czersk⁴⁶

⁴⁵ Based on: A. Boniecki, *op. cit.*, vol. III, 139; vol. XVI, 8–9; M. Wilska, “Pilik Jan (Jaśko) h. Rogala (zm. 1399), wojewoda mazowiecki,” in *PSB*, vol. XXVI, (Wrocław–Warsaw–Kraków–Gdańsk–Łódź, 1981), 278; M. Wilska, “Pilik (Pilikowic) Piotr ze Skuł h. Rogala (zm. po 1435), wojewoda mazowiecki,” in *PSB*, vol. XXVI, 279; A. Supruniuk, *Otoczenie księcia mazowieckiego Siemowita IV (1374–1426)* (Warsaw, 1998), 179–180.

⁴⁶ Based on: A. Boniecki, *op. cit.*, vol. III, 139, vol. XVI, 8–9.

point to her brother Wawrzyniec's close ties with the ducal court.⁴⁷ An argument put forward against the identification is that this branch of the family used the name Chynowski. The weight of the argument is, however, weakened by the fact that in the early 1500s names were far from established, so probably Hieronim and his parents used both family names Łoski and Chynowski.⁴⁸ What we know of Hieronim, son of Wawrzyniec, is that in 1517, together with his siblings, he exchanged parts of Wola Chynowska with his paternal uncle Jan Łoski. Therefore we know no date of his marriage with Zofia Pracka, with whom he had children: Paweł, Andrzej, Piotr, Zofia and Katarzyna. These children only appeared in sources in 1560–1609, which hints at Hieronim living for quite some time after 1517.⁴⁹ Since Hieronim, son of Konrad III the Red, appeared in 1512–1527 as a clergyman, this reconstruction attempt ought to be rejected, but it was theoretically possible for him to have left the ranks of the clergy and got married after 1527. So, if we assume Konrad's mistress to have been Anna of Czyszków, the illegitimate son of the duke was a different person than the Hieronim just discussed. Apparently, Anna, daughter of Wawrzyniec and Anna Czyszkowska, stands a good chance to have been wife of Jan Warszewicki. In 1521 she appeared as a maiden, to marry him soon, in 1524/1525. She died before 1540 (ie. before a tentative date of Warszewicki marrying Parysówna, deduced by T. Wierzbowski from the fact that her son, Krzysztof was born in 1543).

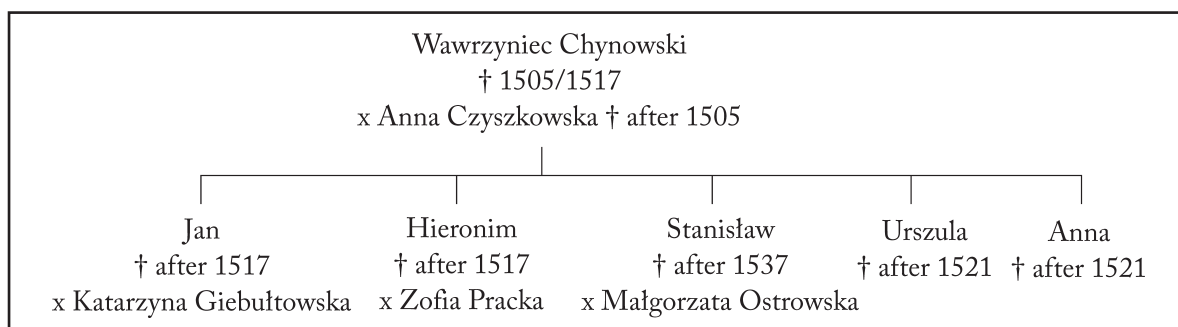


Fig. 6. The first generation of the Chynowskis, bearers of Rogala, of Chynów in the Land of Czersk⁵⁰

A yet another son of Piotr of Łoś, signing as one 'of Wola Chynowska,' held a number of Mazovian offices, only to become the Governor and Viceroy of Mazovia in 1532. Jan was married to Zofia Boglewska and died in 1535.⁵¹ No Anna is to be found among his children; also, these children appear until the 1570s, so they clearly were a younger generation than that of Anna, Konrad's mistress. This is where Dorota Łoska, daughter of Piotr, Warszewicki's wife unknown to T. Wierzbowski, enters the scene; she will be a subject of further discussion.

The sixth son of Jan, the Land Judge Hieronim of Łoś, died before 1476, and among his children who were granted parts of Wągrowno and Uwielin, Grójec District, was Anna. Because Hieronim Łoski, the illegitimate son of Duke Konrad III, was still alive in 1526, he cannot be identified with this Hieronim, Zakroczym Land Judge. Yet the daughter of the Land Judge Hiero-

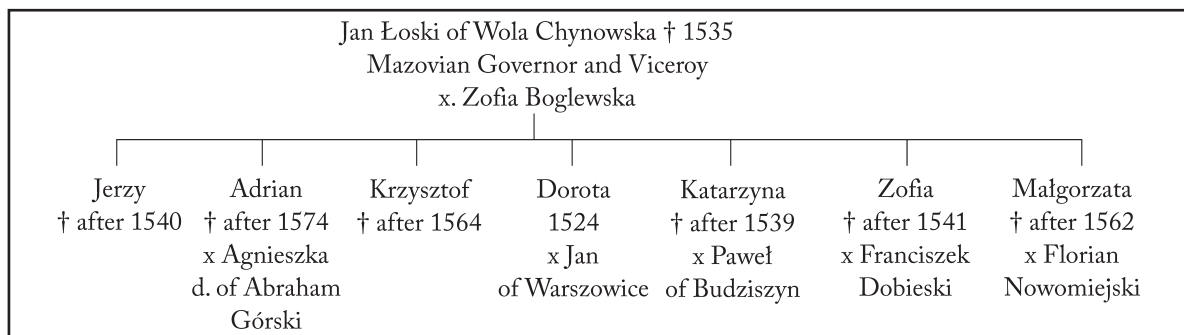
⁴⁷ J. Tęgowski, Najbliższe otoczenie ostatniego z Piastów mazowieckich w świetle testamentu księcia Janusza III [on the closest milieu of the last of the mazovian Piasts],” in *Władza i prestiż. Społeczeństwo Rzeczypospolitej w XVI–XVIII wieku*, ed. J. Urwanowicz, E. Dubas–Urwanowicz, P. Guzowski (Białystok, 2003), 16, 18.

⁴⁸ See note 39.

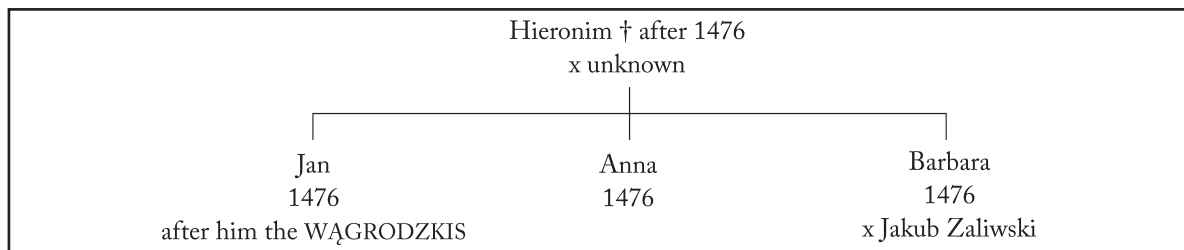
⁴⁹ A. Boniecki, *op. cit.*, vol. III, 139.

⁵⁰ Based on: A. Boniecki, *op. cit.*, vol. III, 39–140, vol. XVI, 8.

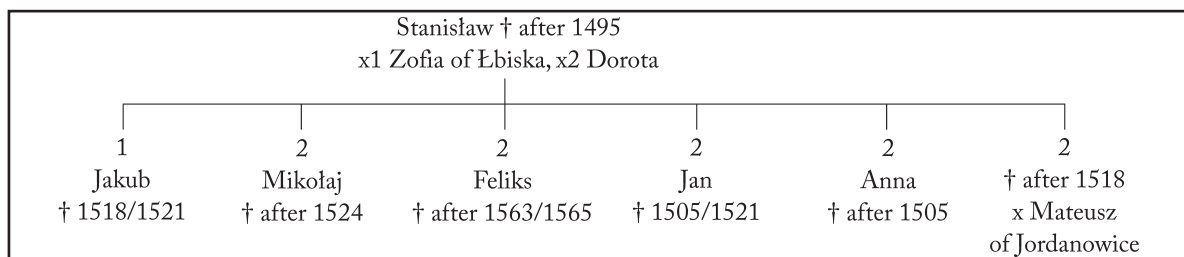
⁵¹ J. Małek, *op. cit.*, 425–426.

Fig. 7. The Łoskis of Łoś in the Land of Czersk — early generations⁵²

nim, Anna, known from only one appearance in 1476, could have been Duke Konrad's concubine with a like probability as her aforementioned paternal cousin.

Fig. 8. Beginnings of the Wągrodzkis⁵³

Stanisław of Łoś, the seventh son of the Land Judge Jan, was the hereditary Lord of the Manor of Łoś, and he died after 1495. With his second wife, Dorota, he fathered daughter Anna, appearing alongside her siblings in 1505. This Anna was probably somewhat younger than both of her namesakes and paternal cousins mentioned before, and she can also be considered a possible mistress of Konrad III.

Fig. 9. The issue of Stanisław of Łoś⁵⁴

As regards the offspring of the remaining sons of the Land Judge Jan of Łoś, ie. Abraham, Jan Pilik, Jakub Boruta, Hieronim and Marcin, we have virtually no accounts, but one should think that, on account of them using the names Uwieleński, Pilik, Skulski, Wągrodzki and Odrzywolski, those did not include Hieronim Łoski. An exact lineage of those families cannot be established based off of Boniecki's armorial, with the other sources no longer extant.⁵⁵

⁵² Based on: A. Boniecki, *op. cit.*, vol. III, 139, vol XVI, 8–10.

⁵³ Based on: A. Boniecki, *op. cit.*, vol. XVI, 9.

⁵⁴ Based on: A. Boniecki, *op. cit.*, vol. XVI, 9, 11, 13.

⁵⁵ The information gathered under the relevant entries in the card index of SHGMaz contribute little to the issue, entries: Odrzywół, Uwielin and Wągrodo pow. grójecki, Skuły pow. tarczyński.

In conclusion, Hieronim Łoski, an illegitimate son of Konrad III, cannot with any degree of certainty be identified among the members of the family Łoski/Chynowski mentioned by Boniecki; neither can his mother Anna. We are then left with a hypothesis — quite likely — that Anna *nee* Czyszkowska, wife of Wawrzyniec Chynowski *vel* Łoski, could have been the mistress of Korad III and mother of his son, ie. Hieronim Łoski. It could be suspected, too, that Anna, married to Jan Warszawicki, was also among the illegitimate offspring of Duke Konrad. The lineage of Katarzyna Warszawicka could thus be shown as follows:

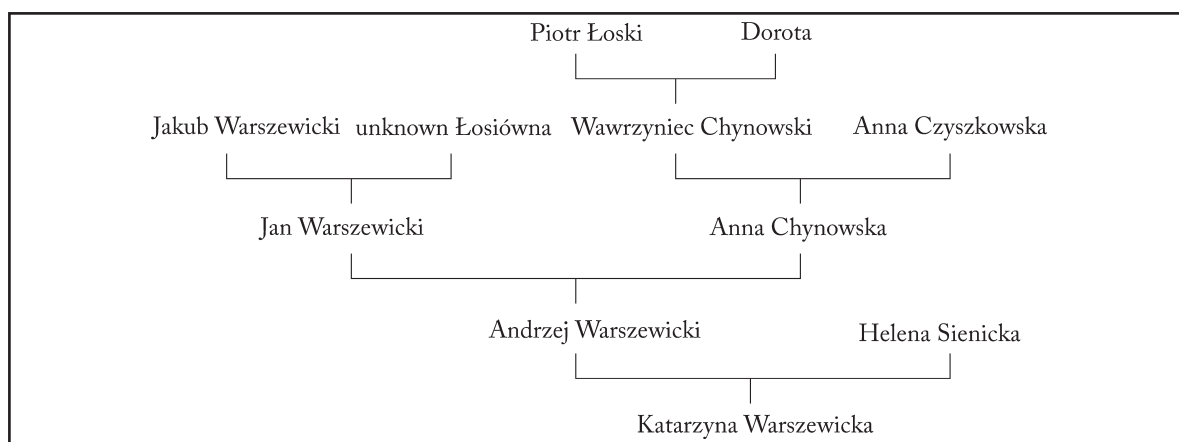


Fig. 10. A reconstruction attempt of the ancestral lineage of Katarzyna Warszawicka, fourth wife of Zbigniew Ossoliński (the protagonist of the paper)⁵⁶

If Andrzej Warszawicki's mother was Dorota Łoska, as presented by A. Boniecki, the lineage reconstruction would be this:

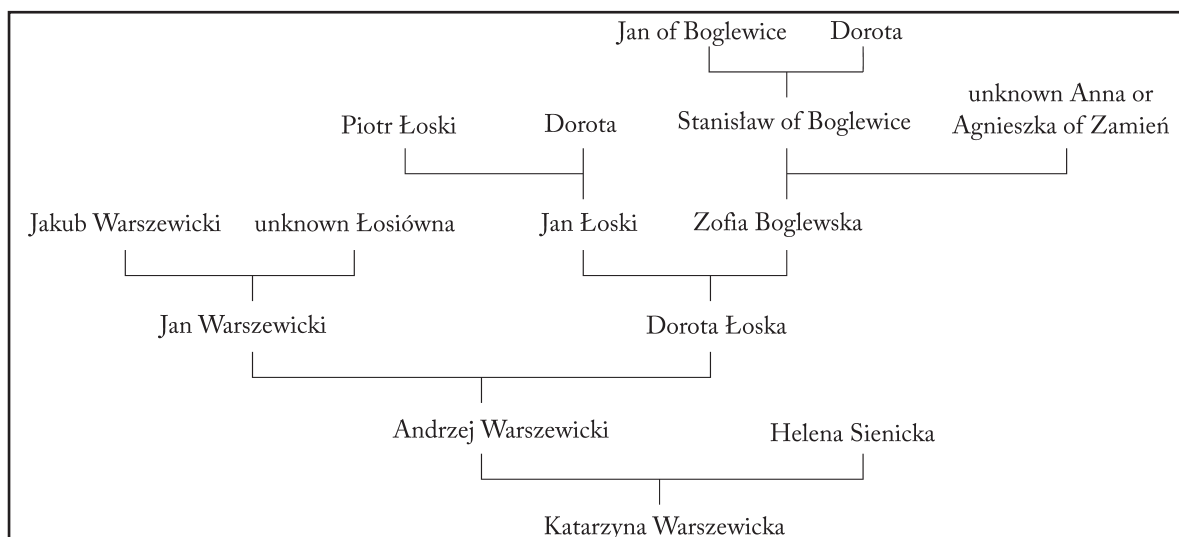


Fig. 11. An alternative pedigree of Katarzyna Warszawicka, fourth wife of Zbigniew Ossoliński (the protagonist of the paper)⁵⁷

⁵⁶ T. Wierzbowski, *Krzysztof Warszawicki...*, 45–51, 54–55; A. Boniecki, *op. cit.*, vol. III, 139.

⁵⁷ Based on: T. Wierzbowski, *Krzysztof Warszawicki...*, 45–51, 54–55; A. Boniecki, *op. cit.*, vol. I, 333–334; vol. XVI, 8–9.

The unreal dichotomy of Jan Warszewicki's wife raises questions about the adequacy of the above genealogical reconstructions. Who did Jan Warszewicki marry, then — Dorota Łoska or Anna Chynowska — and who did he have children with? Undoubtedly, his first wife was Dorota. Two records of 1524 and 1530 point to that. The other contains premises that possibly indicate Dorota's close kinship with the Governor Jan Łoski, but neither of these sources gives her name. Only A. Boniecki outright calls her Dorota Łoska and shows her exact place in this family's genealogy, but it would be hard to establish on what basis. The couple got married before 1524 (here we can presumably trust A. Boniecki). So, Dorota was born in 1504 at the latest. The relationship most probably lasted somewhat longer than 1524–1530 if, as we assumed before, the cohabitation was to produce Andrzej Warszewicki, Katarzyna's father; he is absent from the Bright Mountain record of 1530 (there are only Jan Warszewicki, Dorota, their daughters and Stanisław). Also, we know it was only in 1540 that he married another woman — Elżbieta Parysówna. Other sources report Stanisław Warszewicki as having been born in 1529–1530.⁵⁸ So, Stanisław, son of Jan Warszewicki and Dorota, appearing in the Bright Mountain record, is identical with Stanisław the Jesuit. Now that we have established that Dorota was Jan's wife in 1524–1530 (possibly Boniecki is right it was Dorota Łoska), it must be astonishing to find out that Stanisław himself writes in 1554 and 1567 that his mother was Anna (Anna–Dorota?) Chynowska! Why did Stanisław consistently call his mother this way if sources call her Dorota? He must have known his mother's name even though — and possibly for the very reason that — she died when he was a teenager and could have been no other than an illegitimate daughter of a Mazovian duke.⁵⁹ It comes as a surprise in this context that A. Boniecki, so well-versed in the sources of the Land of Czersk sees no parallel between the Warszewickis and the Chynowskis! And yet, for some reason, he links Warszewicki's wife with the Łoskis, even though in the alternative pedigree of Katarzyna Warszewicka (fig. 11) — as opposed to the first genealogical reconstruction (fig. 10) — there are no Piast ancestors at all, not even ones suspected of descent from the Piasts. Apparently then, A. Boniecki must have made a mistake in identifying the wife of the Castellan Warszewicki with Dorota Łoska, daughter of Jan Łoski, but a personage other than Anna Dorota Chynowska. S. Bednarski seems to be making an attempt at reconciling these inconsistencies when he writes about Anna Dorota Chynowska, wife of Jan and mother of Stanisław Warszewicki.⁶⁰ Whose daughter was she? Chronology clearly negates the possibility of the lineage given by A. Boniecki. According to our findings, Hieronim Łoski, the illegitimate son of Duke Konrad III the Red, could have been born between 1462 and 1492, so he must have been older than Dorota, daughter of the Governor Jan Łoski, whose approximate date of birth can be mid–1504 at the latest. Konrad III died on 28 Oct., 1503; we know he was sick on 4 September, so Anna Dorota — if his daughter — must have been born by June, 1504.⁶¹ Hieronim

⁵⁸ Ks. S. Bednarski, *Stanisław Warszewicki*, 244.

⁵⁹ He was consistent and in both of the ancestral expositions he called his mother Anna (1554) and probably Anna Dorota (1567) Chynowska, which seems to be a valid argument for this sort of identification.

⁶⁰ Another scenario is possible, too: Rev. S. Bednarski noticed Anna Chynowska in the works of T. Wierzbowski, and Dorota in the Jesuit sources in Rome, so he brought the two together into one person — Anna Dorota Chynowska — presumably rightly so, even though his reasoning here seems incorrect. Rev. S. Bednarski gathered his information (judging by the references in the notes) from Warszewicki's autobiography (Archivum Societatis Iesu, Roma, Fondo Gesuito Vocaciones vol. III, fasc. 215–216). The same reference is found at the end of the passage where A. Boniecki writes that Anna Dorota died after living a dozen years or so, and about 1540 Jan Warszewicki married Helena (Archivum Societatis Iesu, Roma, 170 the book of records of the Roman novitiate fasc. 94). Rev. Bednarski seems not to have used Boniecki's armorial, as he would have made a note of that if he had.

⁶¹ K. Jasiński, *Rodowód Piastów mazowieckich*, 170.

might have been her elder brother, then. Theoretically, he could have been her father or paternal uncle, which, however, due to the lack of premises, ought to be discarded. J. Piętka passed to us information that would indicate the existence of another Anna Dorota Łoska: in comparing the information about the Łoskis and the Chynowskis, bearers of Rogala, he wrote that Jan, Wawrzyniec and Anna Łoski's mother's forename was Dorota, wife of Piotr Łoski. Then he stated that "Piotr Łoski was no longer alive in 1483, when his wife Anna appears as a widow." he referred to a record in *Metrica Regni Poloniae* that clearly speaks of Anna as daughter of the late Piotr Łoski, sister of Jan and Wawrzyniec and wife of Wojciech of Naropno.⁶² There is also the possibility that the daughters of the Land Judge Piotr of Łoś — Anna and Dorota (married to Mikołaj of Zelechów) are, in fact, one and the same person: Anna Dorota, but timing definitely precludes such identification. Our knowledge of Stanisław Warszewicki's paternal grandmother's coat of arms is of little assistance to us; we can hardly be sure it was correct if Mother's coat of arms was described as Nałęcz. However, Chynowski/Łoski descent from Rogala is not exactly obvious: Boniecki has no knowledge of Jan and Abraham of Łoś's parents.⁶³ The names Jan and Abraham (in particular) are typical for the family Nałęcz. Perhaps, then, the descendants of Jan of Łoś began to use the coat of arms Nałęcz, but for some time the matter was not settled. Yet sources evidence that in 1474 Mikołaj of Łoś signed with the seal Rogala, the same as the hereditary lords of Uwielin used in 1510.⁶⁴ Maternal grandmother's coat of arms Pierzchała, presented in 1554, appeared not only accompanied by name but also by a blazon, so it appears credible. Still, we can hardly identify any Łoski/Chynowski of that period with that coat of arms. Dorota Łoska, Governor's wife, was daughter of Boglewska, thus a bearer of Jelita, whereas Anna Czyszkowska's mother was Czyszkowska, hence a bearer of Ogończyk.

No possibility of an unambiguous determination of the descent of Konrad III's illegitimate daughter or the lineage of his mistress — mother of Anna Dorota Chynowska — forces us to make a detailed critical analysis of the literature and exploit all the few sources directly and indirectly connected with the topic. The analysis of the sources available brings forth a conclusion that Konrad III's son, Hieronim Łoski, was not included in the genealogy of Łoski/Chynowski drawn out by A. Boniecki since he makes no match to any of the people who bear that name listed there. As regards Anna Dorota Chynowska, we ought to assume that she was daughter of Anna Czyszkowska, but one who was not born out of the union with Wawrzyniec Chynowski but, rather, out of cohabitation with Duke Konrad III. Reverend Hieronim Łoski would have thus been Anna Czyszkowska's son, too, and hence Anna Dorota's elder brother. It is hard to determine, based on the present knowledge and sources available, whether there were any other children coming from this relationship of Konrad III's. On account of the above, the first of the two lineage reconstructions presented above ought to be adopted, but it ought to be modified as follows:

⁶² J. Piętka, *Mazowiecka elita feudalna*, 93 and 95, note 681; SHGMaz card index, entry: Naropna (ziemia rawska), Łoś (ziemia czerska), AGAD, MK vol. 5, card 207.

⁶³ M. Wilska, *Pilik Jan...*, 278; M. Wilska, *Pilik (Pilikowic) Piotr...*, 279; A. Supruniuk, *Otoczenie księcia mazowieckiego...*, 179–180 report that Piotr Pilik bequeathed his estates to the nephews Jan and Abraham, whereas in the bio of Jan Pilik it reads that he had two sons, Piotr and Paweł. The life of Paweł remains unknown to us; we only know that in 1404 he took part in a pilgrimage to Compostella.

⁶⁴ A. Wolff, *Mazowiecki zapiski herbowe z XV i XVI wieku* (Warsaw, 1937), no 454, 99: "*honorabilem dominium Nicolaum de Losch de armis Rogalye*," no 89, 197–198: "*de armis Rogalye: Joahannes Wuyelynsky, Andreas Vvelyynsky*."

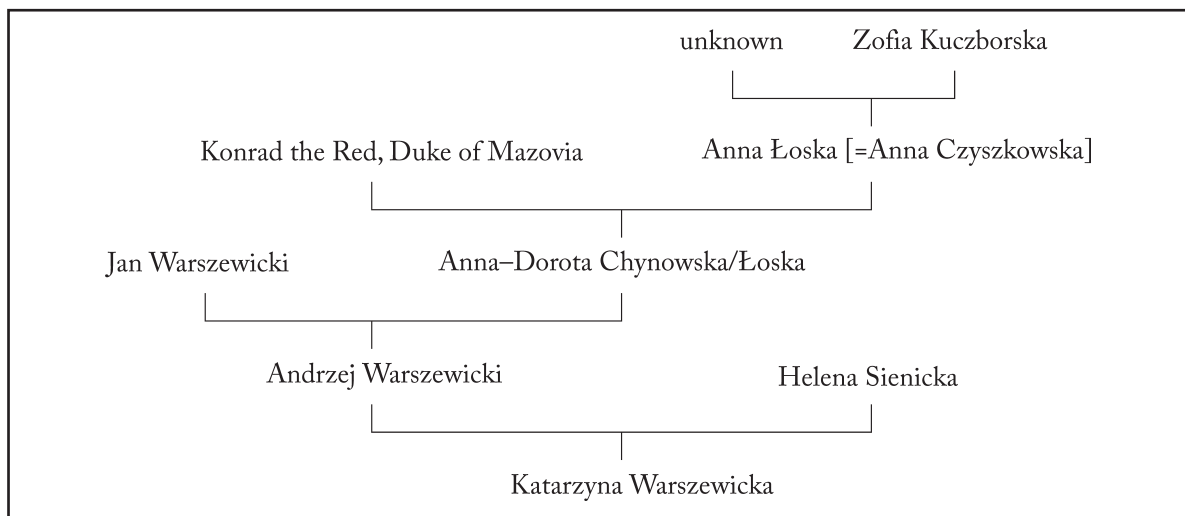


Fig. 12. Simplified pedigree of the ancestors of Katarzyna Warszawicka, Zbigniew Ossoliński's fourth wife (the protagonist of the paper), indicating her possible descent from the Mazovian Piasts.

This inquiry supposedly expands the time margins which determine the births of Konrad III's illegitimate children. If we assume Anna Dorota was born in 1504 at the latest, we contradict K. Jasiński's findings that his illegitimate offspring were born before his marriage to Anna Radziwiłłówna. Jasiński's assumption is based on no sources, though, but is only a guess. Also, aware of the promiscuity prevalent at the court of the last Mazovian Piasts,⁶⁵ one could easily trace the phenomenon back to the previous generations. There are no compelling reasons why Konrad III should have ceased to have mistresses after marrying Anna Radziwiłłówna, and why he should not have any illegitimate children following the wedding. Also, we appear to stand a good chance of discovering other illegitimate issue of the duke: ones unknown in the literature, with the others (known in sources) more likely to be better positioned chronologically. The answer to the question whether Konrad III had several mistresses at a time or possibly one followed another, may be of some future interest. The account given by Długosz has it that Konrad III entered subsequent relationships after the deaths of the previous lovers; he does pass the information that his first favourite was a bigamist, though, so he might just as well have mentioned a like conduct of the duke, especially that he saw how nasty some of his actions were. Yet, Długosz died in 1480, so his opinions concern the period that came before.

This quest has revealed that all illegitimate offspring of Konrad III should be subjected to more scrutiny, particularly in terms of birth dating. It is therefore postulated that Konrad III be investigated in more detail (it would be worthwhile to draft an itinerary of the duke); so should his marriages and concubines.⁶⁶ The genealogy of the Mazovian Piasts (this being the prime objective of this study) ought to be supplemented like this, then:

⁶⁵ Recently, the promiscuity at the court of the last Mazovian Piasts was discussed by A. Gomółka, "Zapiski i pomówienia. Anna z Radziwiłłów księżna mazowiecka w historii i literaturze," in *Radziwiłłowie. Obrazy literackie. Biografie. Świadectwa historyczne*, ed. K. Stępnik (Lublin, 2003), 21–27; J. Tęgowski, *Najbliższe otoczenie...*, 16, 21. More literature there.

⁶⁶ Recently more on that has been written in J. Grabowski, *Matżeństwa Konrada III Rudego*, 799–808.

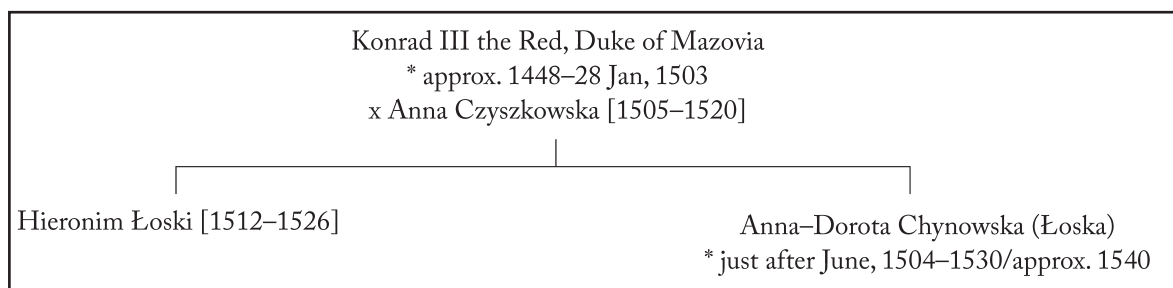


Fig. 13. Illegitimate children of Konrad III the Red and Anna Czyszkowska

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The 14th–century Seal Stamp of Piotr von Parchwitz

The discoveries of the early medieval stamps of knightly seals from Poland are rare occurrences. Until recently just two objects were recognised as coming from before the early 1300s,¹ but in recent years three more have been found². In all, we now know five metal stamps of 13/14th century Polish knights. There are certainly more discoveries of the sort, but the relevant institutions and research centres are hardly ever notified of ones. The discoverers of the seals, who usually perceive these object as precious relics that they could make good money on usually try to sell them, and offer those for online bids at auction sites as anonymous sellers. In 2008 at one of such websites I found a seal matrix, possibly coming from the 1300s, which — judging by the damaged legend + *S' NICOLAI D(e) S[...]* — belonged to Mikołaj/Nicholas, who based off of the coat of arms on the seal ought to be identified as someone from a Silesian–Moravian knightly family of Kralice, who settled in the Land of Bytom and Krnov–Opava (photo 1–2).³ Other casual owners of seal stamps do not reveal their possessions. Since, however, they hardly ever realise what they have, they sooner or later look for someone among their friends and/or acquaintances to help identify the find. This is how I got hold of an impression in plasticine of a shield-shaped seal stamp of approx. 85mm height and 72 mm width, representing an arrow crossed in pale, to base, with a legend: + *SIGILLVM SIMONIS DE WILCOV*. A History student of Wrocław University got it from her friend with a request for its recognition. A comparison of the seal with the imprint's reproductions available and with its blazons indicated we dealt with an original metal stamp of the seal of Szymon/Simon of Wilkow.⁴ The owner of the stamp, found

¹ B. Paszkiewicz, M. Florek, “Pieczęć Gedka i herb Bienia z Łososiny,” *Venerabiles, nobiles et honesti. Studia z dziejów społeczeństwa Polski średniowiecznej. Prace ofiarowane Profesorowi Januszowi Bieniakowi w siedemdziesiątą rocznicę urodzin i czterdziestopięciolecie pracy naukowej*, ed. A. Radzimiński, A. Supruniuk, J. Wroniszewski (Toruń, 1997), 354–356.

² *ibidem*, 351–368; D. Karczewski, “Trzynastowieczny tłok pieczętny komesa Macieja Boguszycza,” *Heraldyka i okolice*, ed. A. Rachuba S. Górzyński, H. Manikowska (Warsaw, 2002), 193–199; D. Adamska, T. Stolarczyk, “Stempel tłoka pieczęci rycerskiej — znalezisko z okolic Jawora,” *Studia Źródloznawcze* 42 (2004): 79–84.

³ <www.allegro.pl/item454832064_sredniowieczna_pieczec_okazja_unikat.html> (9.10.2008). For more on the family von Kralitz (Kralicki) see also J. Pilnáček, *Rody starého Slezska*, ed. K. Müller, vol. 1 (Brno, 1991), 57–58; R. Sękowski, *Herbarz szlachty śląskiej. Informator genealogiczno–heraldyczny*, vol. 4: *K–Ł* (Chorzów, 2005), 98. A draw of the seal of another Mikołaj of Kralice, coming from 1310 with an image of a shield with a family charge (two Crossed Axes) covered by helm with a crest, bending to dexter see A. Sedláček, *Atlasy erbů a pečeti české a moravské středověké šlechty*, ed. V. Růžek, vol. 5 (Praha, 2003), table 239, no 5.

⁴ Of Simon's original seal, authenticating a document of 1285, only crumbs of wax have remained, see Archiwum Państwowe we Wrocławiu [State Archive, Wrocław] (hereinafter: APWr.), Rep. 6 no 142b. Its image is well known



Fig. 1. The reverse of the stamp of Mikołaj of Kralitz's seal (www.allegro.pl)



Fig. 2. The avers of the stamp of Mikołaj of Kralitz's seal (www.allegro.pl)

at a face review of a settlement site in Wierzbna, near Świdnica, the headquarters of a powerful family of the Wierzbnas, which Simon came from⁵ did not agree to make it available or have it thoroughly investigated. I do not know what happened to it later.

Two years ago a History student of the same university brought over a photograph of an impression of a seal press that he had found at the site of the castle of Świny, near Bolków, which from the 1200s to 1700s was the family estate of the Świnkas (von Schweinchen).⁶ This time the object was successfully leased, upon guaranteeing the owner full anonymity. The find was subjected to thorough inspection, whose results have been presented in this study.

The matrix, preserved in a fine condition has the shape of a round disc, 24 mm in diameter and 7–8 mm thick. It is made from the alloy of copper, tin and lead, weighing 13 g. It has no guard or shackle with a hole for a chain or leather strap, were characteristic for 13th and early 14th century seals, but instead of which on a smoothed out metal surface a flat conical handle was forged. It points to the stamp's origin from the 14th century at the earliest because it was as of the beginning of the century that guards and shackles with ears were commonly being replaced

to us from a number of reproductions, redrawings and descriptions, see also P. Pfothenauer, *Die schlesischen Siegel von 1250 bis 1300 beziehentlich 1327* (Breslau, 1879), 27, no 18 and table II, no 18; A. Małecki, *Studia heraldyczne*, vol. 2 (Lwów, 1890), 211; F. Piekosiński, "Poczet najstarszych pieczęci szlachty polskiej z tematów runicznych," *Wiadomości Numizmatyczno-Archeologiczne* 2 (1890): col. 8; *idem*, *Heraldyka polska wieków średnich* (Kraków, 1899), 94, fig. 131; *idem*, *Pieczęcie polskie wieków średnich*, 1: *Doba piastowska* (Kraków, 1899), 128, fig. 144; *idem*, "Herbarz szlachty polskiej wieków średnich," in *Herold Polski* (1905), 49, no 22; F. von Heydebrand und der Lasa, "Die Bedeutung des Hausmarken- und Wappenwesens für die schlesische Vorgeschichte und Geschichte," *Altschlesien. Mitteilungen des Schlesischen Altertumsvereins* 6 (1936): 355, no 2; M. Gumowski, "Pieczęcie śląskie do końca XIV wieku," in *Historia Śląska od najdawniejszych czasów do roku 1400*, vol. 3, ed. W. Semkowicz (Kraków, 1936), 437, no 108 and table CXXII, no 108; *idem*, *Handbuch der polnischen Siegelkunde* (Graz, 1966), table XLVII, no 485; L. Radler, Beiträge zur Geschichte der Grafen von Würben, 1. Teil, "Archiv für schlesische Kirchengeschichte," vol. 17 (1959), 88, photo 5.

⁵ A. Tarnas-Tomczyk, "Ród Wierzbnów do końca XIV wieku. Genealogia i rozsiedlenie," *Acta Universitatis Wratislaviensis* 1540 "Historia CXIII" (Wrocław, 1993): 40–41; T. Jurek, *Panowie z Wierzbniej. Studium genealogiczne* (Kraków, 2006), 94.

⁶ B. Grydyk-Przondo, "Uwagi o kasztelanii Świny i początkach rodu Świnków," *Śląski Kwartalnik Historyczny Sobótka* 22 (1967): 285. See also B. Guerquin, *Zamki śląskie* (Warsaw, 1957), 77–78; O. Czerner, J. Rozpędowski, *Bolków. Zamek w Świnach* (Wrocław, 1960), 91–106; R. M. Łuczyński, *Zamki sudeckie* (Jelenia Góra, 1993), 79–81; M. Chorowska, *Rezydencje średniowieczne na Śląsku. Zamki, palace, wieże mieszkalne* (Wrocław, 2003), 125–126.

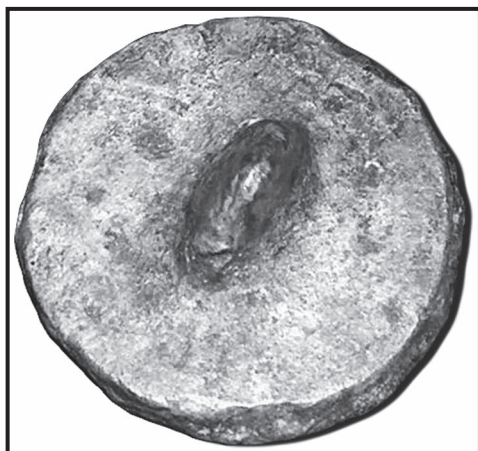


Fig. 3. Third the reverse side of the piston seal
Peter von Parchwitz
(photo by K. Błaszczyk)



Fig. 4. Fourth Side view of the piston seal Peter von Parchwitz
(photo by K. Błaszczyk)

by handles (knobs), which in the course of time an ever bigger and more ornamental part of the stamp⁷⁷. The simplicity of the stamp found in Świny might mean that what we have here is an early stage of the formation of this sort of shape. The height of the stamp, together with its handle, is about 14–15 mm

In the avers of the stamp there is a concave emblem that exposes the image of a strutting deer and an inscription in majuscule script, separated from the image field with a singular line reading: + S PETIR VON PARCHWICZ, with the letters CH forming a ligature (a vertical closure of an uncial script arch where C is a handle of the letter H), with the consonant Z shaped as a mirror image of majuscule letter S (photo 5–6). The words are separated by little crosses. The text of the legend and the parts of the emblem were carved using the technique of engraving with several graters of various section tip sizes. The stamp is slightly damaged: it has in its lower half a shallow and narrow, vertical scratch, starting right underneath the dorsum of the deer, between its hind and front legs, and ends at the arc of the uncial letter N. Both the emblem and the text in the legend indicate it was property of Piotr/Peter of Prochowice (von Parchwitz), a representative of a knightly family, sealing documents with a deer, and classed by some researchers as members of a heavily multiplied family of Jeleń (Jeleńczyk), which — on top of the Prochowickis — includes Greater Poland's Niałek family and the Silesian Rymbaba (von Rheinbaben) family.⁸ The families shared — other than a (probably) common ancestor — the same coat of arms: a strutting deer, to sinister or to dexter.

The image of a deer, only as an emblem, however, is regularly seen on the 14th century seals of the family von Parchwitz. The oldest of those, having 40 mm in diameter, where the ancestral deer, placed against a pearly background, is strutting to sinister, comes from 1321.⁹ Its owner was — as per the legend that reads + S' STEPANI DE PARIIEWIC — Stefan/Stephen von Parchwitz, one of the most influential knights at the court of Bolesław, the Duke of Brzeg and Legnica

⁷⁷ *Sfragistyka*, ed. M. Gumowski, M. Haisig, S. Mikucki (Warsaw, 1960), 128.

⁸ T. Jurek, "Slesie stirps nobilissima". Jeleńczycy — ród biskupa wrocławskiego Tomasza I, *Roczniki Historyczne* 58 (1992): 23–58; *idem*, "Herby rycerstwa śląskiego na miniaturach «Kodeksu o św. Jadwidze» z 1353 roku," *Genealogia. Studia i Materiały Historyczne* 3 (1993): 11–14; T. Giergiel, "Symbolika jelenia w polskiej heraldyce," *Rozprawy Wydziału Humanistycznego Wyższej Szkoły Humanistyczno-Przyrodniczej w Sandomierzu* 2 (1998), 16–18.

⁹ APWr., Rep. 91 no 206.



Fig. 5. The matrix of Piotr von Parchwitz's stamp
(photo by K. Błaszcyk)



Fig. 6. The impression of Piotr von Parchwitz's stamp
(photo by K. Błaszcyk)

(fig. 7).¹⁰ Two other seals were property of the brothers Piotr/Peter and Mirzan. The first of those, authenticating documents in 1370 and 1383 was 28 mm in diameter and shows a deer against a smooth background to dexter; the inscription in the legend reads + S' PETRI D' PARCHOWICZ (fig. 8–9).¹¹ The other, approx. 29 mm in diameter, impressed beside the seal of Peter on a document from 1370, exposes the theme of deer (on obliquely chequered background) to sinister and its legend reads + S MIRZONIS DE PARCHOWICZ (fig. 10).¹² Alas, the preserved wax copy of Piotr's seal does not correspond to the seal stamp of interest to us: it differs in size, the way of projecting the emblem, as well as the content and language of the surrounding inscription. A fundamental question arises: who owned the stamp found in Świny? The answer will be facilitated by the review of the subsequent generations of the von Parchwitz family and an analysis of the formal features of the seal.

Historiography has looked into the genealogy of the lords on Prochowice many times. Rev. Stanisław Kozierowski was the first to bring it together, but he only included the persons who were sufficiently covered by sources.¹³ He was followed by Fedor von Heydebrand und der Lasa and Marek Cetwiński.

The first one did significantly expand the family circle of the Prochwicks, but it did not avoid a number of interpretation mistakes,¹⁴ with the latter study having collected biographical

¹⁰ The seal (of a gypsum cast) was published by P. Pfothenauer, *op. cit.*, table IX, no 92, but he erroneously read the legend as + S' STEPHANI DE PARCHEWIC, see *ibidem*, 36 (no 92). Pilnáček, *op. cit.*, vol. 2, 410, erroneously identifies the deer from Stefan's seal as a unicorn, possibly under the influence of a modern coat of arms of the family von Parchwitz auf Schildberg, see more in notes 25–26.

¹¹ APWr., Dokumenty miasta Wrocławia (hereinafter: DmWr.), 21 XII 1370, 2 V 1383.

¹² APWr., DmWr., 21 XII 1370.

¹³ S. Kozierowski, "Ród Jeleni–Niałków–Brochwiczów (Studyja nad pierwotnym rozsiadleniem rycerstwa wielkopolskiego, cz. 7)," *Roczniki Towarzystwa Przyjaciół Nauk Poznańskiego* 45 (1918): 90–93. cf. K. Benyskiewicz, *Ród Jeleni Niałków z Kęblowa i jego rola w procesie jednoczenia państwa polskiego na przełomie XIII i XIV wieku* (Poznań–Wrocław), 2002.

¹⁴ F. von Heydebrand und der Lasa, "Die Methodik der Sippenkunde als Hilfswissenschaft der schlesischen Geschichtsforschung im 13. Jahrhundert, erläutert an den schlesischen Geschlechtern Odrowons, Zaremba und Nalęcz–Jelen," *Zeitschrift des Vereins für Geschichte Schlesiens* 75 (1941): 75–77 and Stammtafel III b: Rawicz, Nalęcz=Jelen.

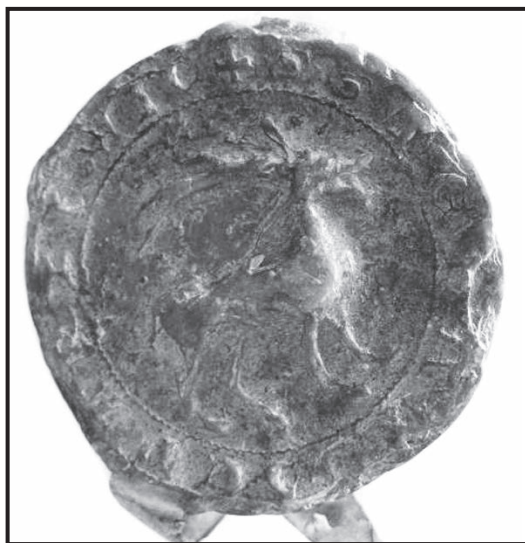


Fig. 7. Seal of Stefan von Parchwitz of 1321; APWr., Rep. 91, no 206 (photo by M. L. Wójcik)



Fig 8. Seal of Piotr von Parchwitz of 1370–83; APWr., DmWr, 21 XII 1370 (photo by M. L. Wójcik)



Fig. 9. Seal of Piotr von Parchwitz of 1370–83; APWr., DmWr, 2 V 1383 (photo by M. L. Wójcik)



Fig. 10. Seal of Mirzan von Parchwitz of 1370; APWr., DmWr, 21 XII 1370 (photo by M. L. Wójcik)

information only about the first generation of the Silesian Parchwitzs (until end–1200s).¹⁵ The fullest genealogy of the family discussed here was prepared by Tomasz Jurek, who followed the lineage up to the early 1400s.¹⁶ This researcher's findings conclude that the forefather of the lords of Prochowice was Miro, the Castellan of Głogów, deceased after 1248, brother of Janusz/John of

¹⁵ M. Cetwiński, *Rycerstwo śląskie do końca XIII wieku. Biogramy i rodowody* (Wrocław, 1982), 120–121, 145–146, 150. The data he collected and compared concerning the 13th century Parchwitzs were supplemented by R. Żerelik, "Biogramy rycerstwa śląskiego. Uzupełnienia," *Śląski Kwartalnik Historyczny Sobótka* 44 (1989): 464, 467.

¹⁶ T. Jurek, "Slesie stirps nobilissima..." 35–40 and table 3: Panowie z Prochowic. The researcher's genealogical settlements were generally accepted by, among others, T. Giergiel, *op. cit.*, 16 (table 1: Ród Jeleni); U. Schmilewsky, *Der schlesische Adel bis zum Ende des 13. Jahrhunderts. Herkunft, Zusammensetzung und politisch-gesellschaftliche Rolle* (Würzburg, 2001), 485–486; and K. Benyskiewicz, *op. cit.*, 21.

Niałek and Widźmin, who Greater Poland's Jeleńczyks descend from.¹⁷ Miro is reported to have fathered two sons, Iko and Michał/Michael, the first of whom, recorded as living in 1247–1283, was Palatine of Legnica (1256–1278), and the other, signing as 'of Sośnica,' whom sources report for 1248–1283, was Palatine of Wrocław (1261–1262) and Castellan of Środa (1269), Niemcza (1279) and Wrocław (since 1282).¹⁸ Michał's lineage expired in the next generation because his only presumed son, Piotr, decided to be a clergyman and became Wrocław canon (1293–1300).¹⁹ Iko had a son with a daughter of Stefan of Sośnica (name unknown) and named him Miro (Mirzan), appearing in 1280–1295, Legnica Palatine (1286–1289) and Wrocław Castellan (1292).²⁰ He had a son, Stefan, confirmed for 1304–1354, identical with the one who impressed the seal with the image of deer on the document of 1321, and he himself was father of the previously mentioned Piotr and Mirzan, who sealed with their own stamps the deeds of 1370 and 1383, as well as of Boguska, wife of Henryk von Biberstein.²¹ Mirzan, husband of Czuchna, daughter of Spytko of Melsztyn, died childless.²² Piotr had three children from his marriage with Elżbieta (Ilsa), Lady of the Manor of Maniów, whom T. Jurek identifies with the long-forgotten daughter of Bolko II of Świdnica and Agnes of Austria;²³ the offspring were: Zygmunt/Sigismund, Mikołaj/Nicholas and Katarzyna/Katherine.²⁴ The scholar traced the modern family of barons von Parchwitz auf Schildberg, bearers of the altered coat of arms featuring a Unicorn,²⁵ from the very Zygmunt, father of Jan/John and Krzysztof/Christopher. The family died out in at the end of the 1500s.²⁶

¹⁷ T. Jurek, "Slesie stirps nobilissima..." 38; *idem*, *Herby rycerstwa śląskiego...* 13. Notably, the opinion had also been expressed by S. Kozierowski, *op. cit.*, 93.

¹⁸ T. Jurek, "Slesie stirps nobilissima..." 38.

¹⁹ *ibidem*. cf. S. Kozierowski, *op. cit.*, 39.

²⁰ T. Jurek, "Slesie stirps nobilissima..." 38–39.

²¹ *ibidem*, 39; T. Jurek, *Herby rycerstwa śląskiego...*, 13; *idem*, *Obce rycerstwo na Śląsku do połowy XIV wieku* (Poznań, 1996), 107, 200, 334; *idem*, "Ślub z obcym. Zony i córki niemieckich rycerzy na Śląsku w XIII–XIV w.," in *Kobieta i rodzina w średniowieczu i na progu czasów nowożytnych*, ed. Z. H. Nowak i A. Radziwiński (Toruń, 1998), 42; *idem*, "Elity Śląska w późniejszym średniowieczu," in *Kolory i struktury średniowiecza*, ed. W. Fałkowski (Warsaw, 2004), 374–375. Boguska of Prochowice, as wife of Henryk Biberstein, is also reported by M. Łukaszewski, "Genealogia rodu Bibersteinów," in *Bibersteinowie w dziejach pogranicza śląsko-łużyckiego*, ed. T. Jaworski (Zielona Góra, 2006), 34. The family relationships obtaining between Piotr, Stefan and Mirzan were subject of research studies by B. Śliwiński, "Kasztelan krakowski Spycimir z Tarnowa i jego związki genealogiczne z możnowładztwem małopolskim w I połowie XIV wieku," *Acta Universitatis Nicolai Copernici, Nauki Humanistyczno-Społeczne* 240, *Historia XXVI* (Toruń, 1992): 107, erroneously recognising Piotr as son of Mirzan and grandson of Stefan.

²² S. Kozierowski, *op. cit.*, 92; J. Bieniak, "Rozmaitość kryteriów badawczych w polskiej genealogii średniowiecznej," in *Genealogia — problemy metodyczne w badaniach nad polskim społeczeństwem średniowiecznym na tle porównawczym*, ed. J. Hertel (Toruń, 1992), 147; B. Śliwiński, *op. cit.*, 105; T. Jurek, "Slesie stirps nobilissima..." 39–40; *idem*, *Herby rycerstwa śląskiego...*, 13. The wedding could only have taken place after 11 June, 1353, since on that day Pope Innocent VI released Mirzan and Czuchna, from the obligations of canon law that forbade third-degree kin (bordering on the fourth degree) from marrying each other cf. *Vetera monumenta Poloniae et Lithuaniae*, ed. A. Theiner, vol. 1 (Romae, 1860), no 724; *Regesty śląskie*, ed. W. Kort, vol. 2: *1349–1354*, ed. K. Bobowski, M. Cetwiński, J. Gilewska–Dubis, A. Skowrońska, B. Turoń (Wrocław, 1983) no 867.

²³ T. Jurek, "Zapomniana Piastówna: Elżbieta córka Bolka II świdnickiego, [on the daughter of Duke Bolko II, who had fallen into oblivion]" *Przegląd Historyczny* 84 (1993): 433–442.

²⁴ *idem*, "Slesie stirps nobilissima..." 40; *idem*, *Herby rycerstwa śląskiego...*, 13; *idem*, *Zapomniana Piastówna...*, 440.

²⁵ *idem*, "Slesie stirps nobilissima..." 40; *idem*, *Zapomniana Piastówna...*, 441. The seal with Unicorn had been impressed by Krzysztof von Parchwitz at the document dated 22 Dec., 1478, see *Lehns- und Besitzurkunden Schlesiens und seiner einzelnen Fürstenthümer im Mittelalter*, hrsg. v. C. Grünhagen und H. Markgraf, Bd. 2 (Leipzig, 1883), no 84, p. 286.

²⁶ T. Jurek, "Slesie stirps nobilissima..." 40; *idem*, *Zapomniana Piastówna...*, s. 441. The last representative of the family von Parchwitz auf Schildberg may have been Krzysztof, who in 1586 participated in the funeral of the Duke

The recognised genealogy of the family von Parchwitz records two Piotrs — Piotr Michałowic [son of Michał], Wrocław canon in 1293–1300, and Piotr Stefanowic [son of Stefan/Stephen], reported in sources from at least 1367 to about 1391–1401.²⁷ We now know that the two impressions preserved of the seal belonging to Piotr, son of Stefan, are profoundly different from the matrix of the stamp found in Świny. We know nothing about the seal of Piotr, son of Michał, but it can be presumed that (provided he did have one) it must have contained some religious motif popular with the diocese clergy,²⁸ which was possibly enriched in some family emblem at best. It can be exemplified by a vesica seal of Henryk/Heinrich von Baruth, Wrocław canon and provost, featuring in its upper part the head of John the Baptist, patron saint of Wrocław Diocese and Chapter, while in its lower part — the image of Aurochs,²⁹ the emblem of the Baruths, and a round seal of Henryk/Heinrich of Wierzbna, Wrocław canon, showing at its top a half-figure of Christ who holds a lamb in his left hand, and at the base featuring an armorial shield in bend to the right, with crossed *rogacina* (a property mark) in bend — an early emblem of the family Wierzbna (von Würben).³⁰ This is far from a rule since another Henryk of Wierzbna, also a Wrocław canon and later an archdeacon, signed only with an armorial shield featuring a fess, above it three fleurs-de-lis in fess, below it three fleurs-de-lis, two and one.³¹ From a formal point of view, it would be possible to ascribe the stamp found in Świny *per analogiam* to the canon Piotr von Parchwitz. Note, however, that the technology of its manufacturing can be traced back to early 14th century at the earliest rather than the 1200s.³² This does not preclude seeing it as an archetypal 14th century stamp that uses a knob instead of a guard and shackle, but its other attributes speak against an early dating of the find.

It is widely known that Latin was the most popular language of medieval bureaucracy, but in Silesia German was a competitor language since the late 13th c. and early 1300s, and gradu-

of Brzeg Jerzy/Georg II, see J. Sinapius, *Schlesische Curiositäten erste Vorstellung Darinnen die ansehnlichen Geschlechter des Schlesischen Adels. Mit Erzählung des Ursprungs, der Wappen, Genealogien, der qualificirtesten Cavaliere, der Stamm-Hausler und Guter beschrieben*, Bd. 1 (Leipzig, 1720), 693, quoted by R. Sękowski, *op. cit.*, vol. 6: *O–Po* (Chorzów, 2008), 168. Also, Sinapius mentioned no medieval ancestors of the barons von Parchwitz auf Schildberg, whereas Sękowski took extreme liberty at mixing 13th century representatives of Parchwitzs, who signed with a Deer, with the family von Schildberg (of Kazanów), who used a coat of arms featuring an urus's horn and deer antler, joined at base, wrongly recognising the two groups of relations as one and the same family. On the family von Parchwitz auf Schildberg cf. J. Pilnáček, *op. cit.*, vol. 2, 409–410.

²⁷ Mentioned first by a document of 25 Nov., 1367, (*Urkundenbuch der Stadt Liegnitz und ihres Weichbildes*, hrsg. v. F. W. Schirmacher (Liegnitz, 1866), no 254), while as a living person *her Peter von Parchwicz* last appeared on the list of document witnesses dated 1 April., 1391, (*Landbuch księstw świdnickiego i jaworskiego*, ed. T. Jurek, vol. 2: “1385–1395” (Poznań, 2000), no 887). He must have died by 8 May., 1401, since his wife Ilsa of Prochowice, was called a widow on that occasion; see T. Jurek, “Slesie stirps nobilissima...,” 40, note 109; *idem*, *Zapomniana Piastówna...*, 440.

²⁸ See P. Pfotenhauer, *op. cit.*, table IX, no 59–64; table X, no 65–72, 74; table XII, no 84; table XIII, no 96–102.

²⁹ The seal is known to have existed in 1321–1343, see APWr., Rep. 67 no 172a; Rep. 83 no 80; Rep. 121 no 26. The copy of 1321 was reproduced based off of a gypsum cast by P. Pfotenhauer, *op. cit.*, table VIII, no 80. Basic information on Henryk and the family von Baruth was compiled by T. Jurek, *Obce rycerstwo...*, 196.

³⁰ The seal was preserved at a document, without an exact day date, of 1327, APWr., Dokumenty miasta Świdnicy, 1327 (former catalogue number: U 34). Henryk has been most fully described by A. Tarnas–Tomczyk, *op. cit.*, 48–49, and T. Jurek, *Panowie z Wierzbnej...*, 49–54.

³¹ APWr., Rep. 83 no 33 (of 1315). For a reproduction and description of the seal, see P. Pfotenhauer, *op. cit.*, table III, no 21, and p. 27 (no 21); F. Piekosiński, *Heraldyka polska...*, 275–276. Biographic information on Henryk was also compiled by A. Tarnas–Tomczyk, *op. cit.*, 49–50, and T. Jurek, *Panowie z Wierzbnej...*, 49–54.

³² See above, note 7.

ally but effectively it entered city and ducal chancelleries.³³ Alike process can be seen in chivalric diplomatics. If back in the first half of the 14th c. knights' private documents written in German were still rather rare, their number rose significantly in the 1360s to become a majority in the 1380s³⁴. In the same period, German began to appear ever more often in the legends of Silesian knights' seals. The oldest examples are the seals belonging to the Packs (1353), the Krenwitz vel Krzanowskis (1356) and the Borschnitzs (1359).³⁵

The text of the legend was written in Gothic majuscule script by means of capital and uncial letters. The first type includes the letters I, P, S, T, V and W, with the latter represented by the consonants C, H and N and the vowel E. The most recognisable in chronological terms are uncial letters C and E, modelled after Roman epigraphy, which assume the shape of closed, bolded arcs, having markedly sharpened outer loop lines. Identically sharp are the endings of the curved legs of capital N and R and the ovals of an ellipsoid O, with the latter having sharpenings in the outer and inner outline of the letter, forming an unclosed 8 in the middle. This characteristic spikiness of the outer line duct of some letters can be commonly observed in Polish and German epigraphy only as of mid 14th century.³⁶ It soon disappeared, though as a result of the growing popularity of the Gothic minuscule script (since the 1360s) and the proto-Renaissance capitals (as of mid 15th c.).³⁷ In the word *PARCHWITZ*, the closure of the uncial C, instead of a typical arc, adopts the form of a straight and thickened stem, ended on both sides with wedge-shaped deeply-embedded finals, similar to the vowel I, which is at the same time an integral part of the subsequent consonant H. The letters thus form a ligature; it does not occur in Polish Gothic stone epigraphy,³⁸ and the few studies dedicated to the form of seal inscriptions make a comparative analysis and an unambiguous determination of its occurrence in sigillography impossible. It is worthy of note, though, that it does appear like-shaped on the seals of the Frankish chivalry in 1334, and it was recorded 34 times by the end of the 1400s.³⁹ It probably reached Silesia soon afterwards, possibly about the middle of the century, but it never enjoyed great popularity. On the seals of the representatives of chivalric families where the letterch C and H come together, such as the Birchens, Knoblauchdorfs, Moschs, Rechenbergs, Reichenbachs but also Parchwitzs, these were writtern separately.⁴⁰ The ligature CH is found in Silesia occidentally on the seal of Gosław, Vogt of Ziębice, known from 1299–1311,⁴¹ but the uncial C is here shaped as a smooth semicircle, typical of the forms coming from the end of 13th and early 14th century.⁴²

³³ T. Jurek, "Die Urkundensprache im mittelalterlichen Schlesien," in *La langue des actes. Actes du XI Congrès international de diplomatique (Troyes, jeudi 11 – samedi 13 septembre 2003)*, ed. O. Guyotjeannin (Paris, 2004); online at: <<http://elec.enc.sorbonne.fr/document193.html>> (12.01.2011); *idem*, "Język średniowiecznych dokumentów śląskich," *Kwartalnik Historyczny* 111 (2004): 31–35.

³⁴ *idem*, *Die Urkundensprache...*, 6; *idem*, *Język średniowiecznych dokumentów...*, 35.

³⁵ APWr., Rep. 91 no 313 (Albrecht von Pack); DmWr., 24 VI 1359 (Herman von Borschnitz); Národní archiv v Praze (hereinafter: NA Praha), Archiv České Koruny, no 576 (Albrecht von Crenowitz).

³⁶ *Sfragistyka...*, 166; B. Trelińska, *Gotyckie pismo epigraficzne w Polsce* (Lublin, 1991), 31–32, 36–37; W. Vahl, *Fränkische Rittersiegel. Eine sphragistisch-prosopographische Studie über den fränkischen Niederadel zwischen Regnitz, Pegnitz und Obermain im 13. und 14. Jahrhundert* (Neustadt a.d. Aisch, 1997), 152, 156, 165.

³⁷ B. Trelińska, *op. cit.*, 49–50, 83–84.

³⁸ *ibidem*, 148.

³⁹ W. Vahl, "Beschreibung und Auswertung mittelalterlicher Siegel," *Archiv für Diplomatik, Schriftgeschichte, Siegel und Wappenkunde* 42 (1996): 517; *idem*, *Fränkische Rittersiegel...*, 193.

⁴⁰ Full documentation will make its way to the catalogue of the seals of Silesian chivalry up to the 14th century.

⁴¹ APWr., Rep. 66 no 34 (lost), 47; Rep. 84 no 35, 62; P. Pfothenauer, *op. cit.*, table VII, no 75, and p. 34, no 75 (with an erroneous reading of the legend).

⁴² B. Trelińska, *op. cit.*, 31. See also S. K. Kuczyński, *Piecczęcie książąt mazowieckich* (Wrocław, 1978), 201.

The Graphic features of the script, the language of the legend and the shape of the stamp determine the time of the formation of the seal between mid- and end-14th century. Its owner can thus only be Piotr, son of Stefan, husband of Elżbieta/Ilsa, whose activity was recorded in 1367–1391/1401. The possibility that it belonged to his contemporary, bearing the same name but omitted by genealogists, is rather dubious. The medieval Parchwitz pedigree recognised by genealogists also ignores Sibán (*Tschybano*) *de Parchwicz*, a witness at a document of Ruprecht, Duke of Legnica, dated 4 December, 1380,⁴³ Jan/John *Parchewicz*, Legnica canon known from 7 Feb., 1405,⁴⁴ Jakub/Jacob *de Parchuicz*, Wrocław cathedral's altar prebendary holder and vicar, recorded on two documents of 1358,⁴⁵ or Jakub/Jacob *de Parchewicz*, subcurator and Premonstratensian monk at St Vincent Monastery in Olbin near Wrocław, mentioned in a diploma of 24 June, 1410⁴⁶, but the fact can be easily explained by an inability to establish their genealogical relationships. While the first two may be associated with our Prochowickis, which is indicated by the appearance of representatives of other chivalric families in their milieu, such as Reichenberg, Schellendorf, Predel, Schlewitz or Kurzbach⁴⁷, the two last ones might well have been either members of the knightly von Parchwitz family or have descended from the Prochowice burgesses.⁴⁸ However, since the seal with the family emblem of von Parchwitz leaves no doubt as to the family or class affiliation of the owner, and numerous written sources preserved from the latter half of the 14th century know only one Piotr von Parchwitz, it is him that we ought to attribute the seal stamp to.

This discussion leads to a conclusion that Piotr Stefanowic used two kinds of seals presenting the theme of a strutting deer, facing right or left depending on occasion, differing in the details of the image, the form and content of the legend, and the size of the stamp. Ownership of two different seals, which is often the case for monarchs, is also not uncommon for Silesian knights. The list of those having two seals is headed by an Opole magnate Zbrośław of Śmicz⁴⁹ (first half of the 13th century), who is joined in the 14th century by others, such as Herman von Barby,⁵⁰

⁴³ *Urkundenbuch der Stadt Liegnitz...*, no 313.

⁴⁴ *ibidem*, no 411.

⁴⁵ *Regesty śląskie*, ed. W. Korta, vol. 4: 1358–1359, ed. J. Gilewska–Dubis, K. Bobowski (Wrocław–Warsaw, 1991), no 91, 105.

⁴⁶ “Urkunden des Klosters Czarnowanz,” hrsg. v. W. Wattenbach, in *Codex diplomaticus Silesiae* (hereinafter: *CDS*), Bd. 1 (Breslau, 1856), no 85.

⁴⁷ B. Śliwiński, *op. cit.*, 108 recognises Syban, albeit for mysterious reasons, as son of Mirzan Stefanowic, whereas T. Jurek “Slesie stirps nobilissima...,” 40, note 110, excludes him from van Parchwitz family because in other documents his name reads Prawtitz (*Urkundenbuch der Stadt Liegnitz...*, no 343, 344). So he thus includes him into the Prautitz family, cf. T. Jurek, *Obce rycerstwo...*, 266. It is unclear if one and the same person is meant.

⁴⁸ Prochowice was located by Duke Bolko Świdnicki before 1298 {see: W. Kuhn, “Die Städtegründungspolitik der schlesischen Piasten im 13. Jahrhundert vor allem gegenüber Kirche und Adel,” *Archiv für schlesische Kirchengeschichte* 30 (1972), 59}, and Piotr von Parchwitz confirmed its charter in 1374 (*Urkundensammlung zur Geschichte des Ursprungs der Städte und der Einführung und Verbreitung deutscher Kolonisten und Rechte in Schlesien und der Oberlausitz*, hrsg. v. G. A. Tzschoppe, G. A. Stenzel (Hamburg, 1832), no 187; W. Kuhn, *op. cit.*, 59).

⁴⁹ Archiwum Archidiecezjalne we Wrocławiu [Archdiocese Archive of Wrocław] (hereinafter: AAWr.), DD 50a, DD 50d (type A from 1235–1236, with the older copy regarded as a fake); APWr., Rep. 125 no 90 (type B of 1259). For the description of the seal and its reproductions see also A. Schulz, *Die schlesischen Siegel bis 1250* (Breslau, 1871), 14 and table VIII no 63–64; P. Pfothenauer, *op. cit.*, 25, no 4 and table I, no 4; F. Piekosiński, *Pieczęcie polskie...*, 87, fig. 83 and p. 110, fig. 118; M. Gumowski, *op. cit.*, 327, fig. d, p. 330, 436, no 104 and table CXXXI, no 104; M. L. Wójcik, “Średniowieczne pieczęcie rycerstwa śląskiego,” in *Pieczęcie w dawnej Rzeczypospolitej. Stan i perspektywy badań*, ed. Z. Piech, J. Pakulski, J. Wroniszewski (Warsaw, 2006), 269, photo 1.

⁵⁰ APWr., Rep. 88 no 61a, 63, 64 (type A and used as a counter-seal type B, both from 1302–1303); cf. P. Pfothenauer, *op. cit.*, 30, no 42 and table V, no 42; M. Gumowski, *op. cit.*, table CXXIII, no 118.

Herman von Eichelborn,⁵¹ Jan/John von Kolmas,⁵² Wolfram von Pannwitz⁵³ and Piotr/Peter von Zedlitz^{54,55}. Substituting one seal with another — a bigger one with a smaller one, or one topped by helm and crest with one featuring charge or coat of arms — should be associated with the process of heraldisation of the heraldic emblems of Silesian chivalry and the accompanying tendency towards diminishing seal size.⁵⁵ The exposure of the charge or coat of arms (a shield with a charge or a shield with a charge topped with helm and crest), which were gradually becoming the sole content of the seal iconography, required no excessive size of the field. This was accompanied by the supplanting of Latin inscriptions from seals for the sake of ones written in German. Therefore, there are grounds to presume that the stamp discussed, having about 24 mm in diameter, with a German legend, was created later than Piotr's seal, 28 mm in diameter, having a Latin rim text. There are two documents left that were signed by the latter, dated 21 December, 1370, and 2 May, 1383,⁵⁶ which seems to convince one it was in use as of the beginnings of Piotr's public activity, ie. at least 1367.⁵⁷ The time the later seal was made can thus be established in the latter half of 1383.

It is hard to say without doubt what the reasons were why Piotr changed the seal. The simplest explanation is the former seal getting lost, or its wear and tear. The impression seen at the document of 1383 is less clear and more flattened as compared to the one that authenticates the act of 1370 (fig. 8–9). The divergence in their quality might yet be a result of a different force applied by the matrix against the wax while sealing. Finally, we cannot eliminate the possibility that the decision to replace the old seal with a new one was meant to unify the exposure of the traditional family emblem of the Parchwitzs. Piotr, who first sealed documents with a deer to dexter reoriented it to sinister. In doing so he set it in agreement with the iconographic pattern known from his father's and elder brother's seal. He also succumbed to the prevalent canons of sigillographic art, diminishing the size of the stamp and introducing into it a legend in German.

Finally, a puzzling question ought to be considered: how Piotr of Prochowice's seal made its way to the castle of Świny. Various as possible guesses might be, it was most probably lost. Piotr was in close ties with the courts of the Dukes of Legnica and — thanks to him marrying Elżbieta (Ilsa), presumed daughter of Bolko II and Agnes of Austria — the Dukes of Świdnica. Diplomatic sources confirm his frequent visits to both towns.⁵⁸ The towns were connected by trade

⁵¹ AAWr., KK 21 (type A of 1363), D 13, KK 20 (type B from 1367–1380).

⁵² Type A from 1383–1387, type B from 1388–1391; cf. M. Chmielewska, "Pieczęcie Agnieszki, księżnej świdnickiej (1338–1392)," *Wiekі Stare i Nowe* 4 (2005): 79–80, 88 (with errors) and photos 8–9 (with misleading descriptions); M. L. Wójcik, "O kontrasigillach pieczęci księżnej świdnickiej Agnieszki. Uwagi na marginesie szkicu Mieczysławy Chmielewskiej "Pieczęcie Agnieszki, księżnej świdnickiej (1338–1392)," *Śląski Kwartalnik Historyczny Sobótka* 62 (2007): 252, 256.

⁵³ NA Praha, Řád Maltézský, no 2905 (type A of 1388), 2907, 2908 (type B of 1393–1394). His seals were unknown to D. Adamska, T. Stolarczyk, *op. cit.*, 80–82.

⁵⁴ Type A from 1363–1364, type B from 1364–1370; cf. M. Chmielewska, *op. cit.*, 79, 87 (disregarding Type A and erroneous dating of the period of Type B seal's usage) and photo 4; M. L. Wójcik, *O kontrasigillach...*, 253, 255.

⁵⁵ M. Gumowski, *op. cit.*, 328, 329; M. L. Wójcik, "Herby, hełmy i klejnoty. Uniwersalne i swoiste treści obrazowe pieczęci rycerstwa śląskiego," in *Wokół znaków i symboli. Herby, pieczęcie i monety na Pomorzu, Śląsku i Ziemi Lubuskiej do 1945 roku*, ed. A. Chlebowska, A. Gut (Warsaw, 2008), 56–63; *idem*, "Od hełmu do herbu. Przyczynek do badań nad heraldyzacją znaku rycerstwa śląskiego," in *Pieczęcie herbowe — herby na pieczęciach*, ed. W. Drelicharz, Z. Piech (Warsaw, 2011), 251–272.

⁵⁶ cf. note 11.

⁵⁷ *Urkundenbuch der Stadt Liegnitz...*, no 254.

⁵⁸ APWr., DmWr., 2 V 1383; *Urkundenbuch der Stadt Liegnitz...*, no 254, 277, 278, 284, 287; "Schlesiens Bergbau und Hüttenwesen. Urkunden (1136–1528)," hrsg. v. K. Wutke, CDS, Bd. 20 (Breslau, 1900), no 148; *Landbuch*

routes — the shorter one leading via Jawor and Strzegom, and the longer one affording stopovers in Jawor, Bolków and Świebodzice.⁵⁹ Along the latter, several kilometres north of Bolków, one finds Świny. There is no compelling evidence that travelling between Legnica and Świdnica, Piotr used this road, but indirect argument in favour of this is the single visits in Bolków and Świebodzice.⁶⁰ It does not go as far as saying that Piotr and Elżbieta — travelling together or separately — stopped in Świny, too, but this option is supported by the fact that their daughter, Katarzyna von Parchwitz, was married to Jan (Hans) von Schwein (subsequently: Schweinchen), son of Gunczel (senior), Lord of the Castle of Świny.⁶¹ The place where the stamp was discovered is then, paradoxically, another circumstance, of not at all the least significance, suggesting that Piotr Stefanowic [son of Stefan/Stephen] was its owner.

The seal of Piotr van Parchwitz expands our knowledge of the sigillographic culture of the Silesian chivalry of the latter half of the 14th century. However, seen in a broader context, it provides valuable material for genealogical studies. It is thus a classical example illustrating the opinion that even the most minor historical source might contain cognitively significant information.

księstw..., vol. 2, no 396, 464, 887; vol. 3, ed. T. Jurek: [1396–1407] (Poznań, 2007), no 12 (in the appendix).

⁵⁹ J. Nowakowa, *Rozmieszczenie komór celnych i przebieg dróg handlowych na Śląsku do końca XIV wieku* (Wrocław, 1951), 75–76, 104, 115 and the map.

⁶⁰ *Landbuch księstw...*, vol. 2, no 580, 592 (Bolków, 6 Oct., 1388), 908, 909 (Świebodzice, 21 June, 1391).

⁶¹ C. von Schweinichen, *Zur Geschichte des Geschlechtes derer von Schweinichen*, Bd. 3 (Breslau, 1907), table 2. There is no rationale in T. Jurek's presumption that Katarzyna married Jorge Reibnitz (T. Jurek, "Slesie stirps nobilissima...", 37; *idem*, *Zapomniana Piastówna...*, 441, note 53). Her marriage with Jan, Lord of the Manor of Świny, is confirmed by the two documents unknown to the scholar. The first one, made on 10 November, 1412, tells us that Katarzyna was wife of Jan von Schwein[ichen] (*Hannos von Sweyn*), cf. C. von Schweinichen, *op. cit.*, Bd. 1 (Breslau, 1904), 133 (regesta), 207, no 51 (full text). The other, dated 4 March, 1415, permits her identification with the daughter of Elżbieta and Piotr von Parchwitz, and it mentions Elżbieta (*Elisabeth Parchowitzynne*) with son Mikołaj (*ihre ehelichen Sohn, Herr Nickel von Parchwitz*) and Jan von Schwein[ichen] (*Hans von Schwein*), whom it calls Elżbieta's son-in-law (*ihre Eidam*); *ibidem*, 134 (regesta). These documents have an additional value for the study of the von Parchwitz family because they negate a proposition that Elżbieta last appeared in sources on 22 May, 1412, and died soon afterwards (T. Jurek, *Zapomniana Piastówna...*, 441). The date of her death falls in the period after 4 March, 1415. See more in M. L. Wójcik, "Kto był mężem Katarzyny, domniemanej wnuczki ostatniego Piasta świdnickiego? Przyczynek do genealogii panów von Parchwitz," *Rocznik Lubelskiego Towarzystwa Genealogicznego* 2 (2010): 13–23.



Jarosław Kuczer
Zielona Góra

***Graffen haben wir nicht im Lande*¹. Social and Legal Aspects of the Growth of the Silesian Aristocracy in 1600–1740**

The formation and development of European aristocracy in modernity followed some general patterns but there was regional peculiarity that generated regional differences. It meant there was an increase in aristocratic titles even where they were not formally applicable (Poland),² with the elites thus formed expanding for as long as end–18th century.³ Their permanent modelling, and the evident internal break–down, too, was politically conditioned and reflected domestic tensions within the empire. It was at the beginning of the arbitrary lower time limit of 1600s that the largest scale action against the ruling elites took place almost all across Europe on the part of aristocracy: Fronde in France, Swedish and Spanish rebellions, risings in Italy, military mutinies of the Zebrzydowskis and the Lubomoirskis in Poland. In the 18th century the phenomenon is much less marked until 1789. The Silesians and Czech classes rose against the emperor in 1618, and so did the Catalans in 1640, defending provincial privileges, and the Council of the Swedish monarch against the king and his growing power in 1680. The spirit of the *Adelsverschwörung* sweeping across the Continent created the premises for the change of the *ancien regime* for a new order.⁴ Almost everywhere, religion was now the thin line demarcating the parties of the conflict: in England, the Netherlands, France and the German Empire.⁵ Yet, the *nobel rebellion* was not, essentially, an outcome of a religious sentiment; rather, it was a *sui generis* frustration of the elites,

¹ G. Wentzky von Petersheyde, *Kurzer Traktat und Bericht von dem schlesischen Ritterrecht und Ehrengericht...* (1615), 101.

² Like nobility throughout Europe, Polish *szlachta* could be granted a title by the emperor, which may not have been recognised under common law but it did build the position and prestige of the individual: the Radziwiłłs (1515/1518 and 1547 of the Roman Empire, in 1569 recognised in Poland), the Ossolińskis (1633 of the Papal States — not recognised by the Polish polity, 1634 of the Roman Empire, 1736 of France's peer and duke), the Denhoffs (1637 of the Roman Empire), the Koniecpolskis (1637 of the Roman Empire), the Lubomirskis (1647 of the Roman Empire), the Jabłonowskis (in 1698 and 1733/1734 the Roman Empire), the Sapiehas (1700 of the Roman Empire): T. Lenczewski, *Genealogie rodów utytułowanych w Polsce*, vol. 1 (Warsaw, 1997), *passim*; Sz. Konarski, *Armorial de la noblesse titree polonaise* (Paris, 1958), *passim*.

³ R. G. Asch, *Nobilities in Transition 1550–1700. Courteirs and Rebels in Britain and Europe* (New York, 2003), 49.

⁴ E. Hinrichs, *Fürsten und Mächte. Zum Problem des europäischen Absolutismus* (Göttingen, 2000), 105–122.

⁵ R. G. Asch, *Nobilities in Transition 1550–1700...*, 103–118.

which were denied access to the emperor, and which were consistently deprived (such as in Silesia for over a century) of political privileges, without recourse to any reasonable arguments.

On the other hand, the emperor himself — though of as *Quelle aller Gnaden* — played a catalysing role in the creation of the new order. This policy aroused no opposition in Silesia. Unlike in other parts of the empire, there was no well-established, medieval titular class hierarchy, and the oldest few investitures for the families around came from the end of the 15th century. There was no clear division based on the Czech upper *Herrenstand* and the lower *Ritterstand*. No conflict between the new and the old occurred then, which would push the count families towards seeking ducal dignities, ie. an escape from finding themselves on par with commoners.⁶ Silesia was in these terms a *tabula rasa* to be filled in from scratch. The future was to demonstrate that an increase in the numbers of nobility did not translate into its stronger position as a class. In his actual creation of the five separate groups — classes (each was denoted as ‘*Stand*’ even though it was not a separate class) — the emperor sought to make their foundations unstable, and the whole nobility susceptible to his means of influence. He applied both sublime measures, such as skilful dismissal from court, and drastic ones: social degradation, removals of titles or executions. This diverse manner of acting upon individuals and groups was perfectly expressed by R. Villaire, who wrote that “the power of a Baroque-era polity consolidated around an alliance between the central authority, the community and corporate institutions, the authorities of local institutions, etc.; it tames particular powers when those oppose or hinder «royal service», but above all it strives to use them, include them in the general picture, and co-ordinate them with the activity of monarchy, so for some reasons it strengthens those.”⁷ The transformations that involved the Silesian nobility in the 17th century are to some degree part of the general process which is known in literature as ‘identity crisis’ of the European nobility, going back to ‘some time’ in the Baroque period.⁸

It is even possible that Ferdinand II was more afraid of opposition in both Austrias, the central hereditary lands, than of the future problem of the Prague defenestrators. If the changes introduced by Rudolph II were satisfactory for all parties, the subsequent ones, concerning the Czechs of 1627, were part of the emperor’s uncompromising activity and required appropriate preparation because the previous settlements of ‘land order’ had been changed by the early events of the Thirty Years’ War. This was not only fomented by the anti-imperial motions of the Czech *Ritterstand* and *Herrenstand* in 1618–1620 (which seem obvious enough) but also the threat of opposition, at large. In the Czech Republic and Silesia, upon the publication of *Verneuerte Landesordnung* of 1627, the classes were supposed to forget about the privileges of a class-polity. Article VIII stipulated that the emperor reserved for himself and his heirs the right to make law (the Bohemian Court Chancellery was transferred to Vienna as early as 1424) with the help of servants dependent solely on himself.⁹ This was coupled by changes in the social positioning of

⁶ More on the phenomenon of such a conflict: J. Arndt, “Zwischen kollegialer Solidarität und persönlichem Aufstiegsstreben. Die Reichsgrafen im 17. und 18. Jahrhundert,” in *Der europäische Adel im Ancien Regime. Von der Krise der ständischen Monarchien bis zur Revolution (ca. 1600–1789)*, ed. R. G. Asch (Köln, 2001), 122.

⁷ *Człowiek baroku*, ed. R. Villarie (Warsaw, 2001), introduction, 11.

⁸ P. Serna, “Szlachcic,” in *Człowiek oświecenia*, ed. M. Vovelle (Warsaw, 2001), 63.

⁹ “Der Röm. Kays. Auch zu Hungarn und Böhheim, u. Königl. Majestät Ferdinandi des Andern, u. Verneuerte Landes-Ordnung Deroselben Erb-Königreich Böhheim,” in *Historische Aktenstücke über das Ständewesen in Österreich*, vol. 2 (Leipzig: W. Jurany, 1847), 16; “Wir behalten uns und unsern Erben und Nachkommen den Königen ausdrücklich bevor in diesem Erbkönigreich Gesetze und Rechte zu machen und alles dasjenige, was des jus legis ferendae, so als dem König allein zusteht, mit sich bringt,” quoted after: W. Conze, *Ostmitteleuropa von der Spätantike bis zum 18. Jahrhundert* (München, 1993), 208.

nobility. Articles XXVIII, XXIX and XXX spoke of an inner composition of *Herrenstand*, but it was noted that dukes were never to be considered a separate class any more. It was possible to be conferred the title of a ‘Count of the Reich’ without having the title of a Czech count; at the very same time the latter ceased to be granted. Also, any nobleman who was conferred the title, was supposed to present this fact at an appropriate Silesian Land Diet, an *Inkolat* of which (affiliation with gentry or a knightly status) he would receive thereby. Following a positive decision by this body, he would seek a diploma with the emperor. Surely, one could not forgo proving a knightly descent (*Ritterliche Herkunft*) to the fourth generation: *bis in das vierte Glied or vier Ahnen und Schild*, unlike regular nobility, who in applying for membership in *Ritterstand* were only supposed to trace their knightly lineage back to the third generation (*dritte Glied*). However, the class of barons (*Freiherrenstand*, *panský stav or stav svobodných pánů*) was divided into ‘old’ and ‘new,’ as it was the case previously in Austria.¹⁰

The Silesian *Herrenstand*, modelled after the Czech counterpart, and far from being established in the 17th century, also found itself lost in the new Austrian solutions at that time, which caused the process of the so-called “de-Bohemisation” of the whole of the socio-political structure of the Czech Kingdom after (about) 1600. Following 1627, an official model holding throughout the empire was adopted, with five categories of nobility: *Fürstenstand*, *Grafenstand*, *Freiherrenstand*, *Ritterstand*, *Adelstand*, which — paradoxically — were not classes on their own. Aristocracy comprised, above all, *Herrenstand*, ie. titular nobility: dukes (*Herzog*, *Fürst*), counts of the Reich (*Reichsgrafen*), counts (*böhmische Grafen*), barons of the Reich (*Reichsfreiherren*) and barons (*böhmische Freiherren*), with a distinction into a senior and junior class of counts, and a like difference among barons.¹¹ Interestingly, despite the introduction of an official division into the senior/junior class of barons, still before the publication of the ‘new land order’ the title *Alter* came to be granted, modelled after other so-called ‘incorporated countries.’ The most frequent case of the sort is the von Nostitz family, and their elevation to the ranks of senior barons in 1621, but we are unable to find today whether this was possibly so more on account of their being Czech Falkenau title holders.¹² *Verneuerte Landesordnung* of 1627 did not contradict the existence of *Herrenstand*, but it did break its inner structure.¹³ In consequence, and along a courtly tradition in reference to the so-called *Abrufung der Stände*, counts and barons remained aligned behind electors, dukes, prelates and before knights.¹⁴

Due to an increase in the number of investitures, even the baron families, of whom there were rather few, came to be losing their exceptional character. The reason was not that some unexpected migration of the titulars was to occur to or from Silesia; it was related to the way in which new barons were granted elevations and estates. The power of imperial commission was so great that even the most major families joined the rivalry for social position. All this fosters making

¹⁰ J. C. Lünig, *Das Teutsche Reichs-Archiv*, vol. 6 (Leipzig, 1711), 210; J. Brňovják, “Erb a přídomek — atributy českých nobilitací císaře Karla VI,” *Genealogické a heraldické informace* (2005): 8–9.

¹¹ A precise structure of Silesian nobility is illustrated in J. Brňovják, “Otázka konfese Slezanů v nobilitačních řízeních České dvorské kanceláře za vlády císaře Karla VI. a tzv. slezský inkolát,” in *Čeští nekatolíci v 18. století. Mezi pronásledováním a náboženskou tolerancí*, ed. Zdeněk R. Nešpor (Ostrava, 2007), 333 and 339; Also, in part, in O. Ladanyi, *Terminologie der deutschen und englischen weltlichen Adelstitel in der Neuzeit* (Wien, 1990), 19.

¹² Národní Archiv v Praze [hereinafter: NAP], Česka Dvorská Kanzelař [hereinafter: ČDK], 752, catalogue no. IV D 1, file 468, *Alter Herrenstand*, 12. May 1623, Freyherr von Nostitz, Otto und Christoph (the latter having been Karniów commander).

¹³ *Der Röm. Kays. Auch zu Hungarn und Böheim...*, 27–30.

¹⁴ C. F. F. Strantz, *Geschichte des deutschen Adels urkundlich nachgewiesen von seinem Ursprunge bis auf die neueste Zeit*, vol. 3 (Breslau, 1854), 25.

analyses on the basis of the criterion of frequency of families' occurrences in sources — for the sake of this study, it focusses on the ones who possessed the largest estates, whose representatives were most commonly in prominent offices and held military positions. A section of titular families appeared as landed gentry only temporarily and is not even traceable in land surveys. In terms of geographical origin what is relevant is the attitude in the period that started the 17th century. And again, for the sake of this study, a family's presence in the 16th century Silesia appears in a sense sufficient to for it be recognised as local; those people — unlike the “new” nobility — were intimate with the local problems and the Silesian “world.”¹⁵

The first period of conferring titles to the nobility in Silesia was certainly the 15th century. As mentioned before, the emperors used to grant, as of 1526, the titles of barons (scarce at that time) in exchange for long-lasting direct services for the emperor. The social–proprietary gap between the title–holding nobility and those without titular investiture was so vast that there was no issue of nobility laying claims with the emperor. If that had been the case, the mere takeover by a new emperor would have been enough of an occasion for an increase in the number of baronages. And yet examples of investitures right after that date are extremely scarce. It was then that the Kurzbachs in 1493 were granted the title of the barons of the Reich, the Wilczeks in 1500, in 1530 it was the Maltzans (1343),¹⁶ the Kittlitzs¹⁷ in 1533, the Rechenbergs¹⁸ in 1534, the Oppersdorfs¹⁹ in 1554, the Prosskaus²⁰ in 1560, the Brauns in 1573 or the Schaf-

¹⁵ The criterion for the description of ‘foreign’ families being Latin font, in the text by Johann Sinapiusa we find 126 families (he listed those with the title of count and those with the title of baron: six of those) of possibly extra-Silesian origin. On account of this group developing only in the 17th century, we can assume that their vast majority could have been present in Silesia in the 17th century (if not in the author's times). The information coming from J. Sinapiusa can only be a partial source for the analysis of the subject, as the recognition of Cellary, Bibran, Canon and the Piedmontine Fernemonts as ‘foreign’ (while already there in mid-17th century) while also considering as local the Dünnewalds of Liechtenstein, the Herbersteins of Graz county, the Hessian Hatzfelds, strikes one as somewhat strange. Since in the text, the author often emphasizes the out-of-Silesian origin of a majority of families, it appears that the differences in the spelling stem from the method applied to distinguish the foreign from the German-speaking names. The author probably assumed that the Gothic font was used for the German-speaking names. According to this spelling ‘foreign’ counts are (though I am far from expressing my final opinion in this matter): Barbo, Bathori, Bethlen, Bnin, Braida, Cellary, Cobb, d'Hautoy le Bronne, Dohna (!), Filco, Gallas, Giannini, Hornes, Jarotschin, Jaworowitz, Jaxa, Karwath, Khinsky, Kokorzowecz, Kolowrath, Kotulinsky (!), Moncada, Palfy, Podstatsky, Pompei, Praschma (!), Rozdraszow, Sbiluto, Schidlowitz, Schmessel, Sedlitzky, Sobeck, Strattmann, Sunegh, Sweerts, Tenczin, Thurzo; ‘foreign’ barons: Ampringen, Balassa, Duba, Bibran (!), Blanckowsky, Blodowsky, Bodmar, du Bois, Boreck, Brunetti, Budowa, de Campo, Canon, Chamare, Czigan, Dambrowka, de Wahl, Dobrzensky, Deach (Trach), Drachotusch, Fernemont, Forno, Garnier, Gottschalkowsky, Koily, Jarotschin, Karwath, Kochtitzky, Koschinsky, Krawarz und Tworkau, Kruschina, Larisch, Leipe (Lippa), Lichnowsky, Lody, Longueval, Lhotsky, Lundy, Lyncker, Macquier, Marcklowsky, Mattuska, Mitrowsky, Morawitzky, Monteverques, Nobis, Nowagk, Paczensky, Pawlowsky, Pecker, Perszten, Pettalurz, Peterswaldsky, Petrach, Plaweczky, Plencken, Poppen, Posadowsky, Rhediger, Rupp, Ruvere, Rzicz, Saingenois, Sandrezky, Scalvinioni, Schidlowitz, Sedlitzky, Sedmorad, Servi, Silver, Skrbensky, Sobeck, Strafolo, Struzky, Stwolin, Sweerts, Sylver, Talmberg, Tasso, Tharouille, Trach, Tworowsky, de Wahl, Wengiersky, Wilczek, Zierowsky, Zuanna, Zwola, Zygan: J. Sinapius, *Schlesische Curiositäten erste vorstellung, darinnen die ansehnlichen Geschlechter des schlesischen Adels*, vol. 2 (Leipzig, 1726), 13–15.

¹⁶ C. F. F. Strantz, *Geschichte des deutschen Adels...*, 19.

¹⁷ J. Kuczer, *Szlachta w życiu społeczno-gospodarczym księstwa głogowskiego w epoce habsburskiej (1526–1740)*, (Zielona Góra, 2007), 76.

¹⁸ H. Rechenberg, *Beiträge zu einer Geschichte der Familie Rechenberg unter Mitbenutzung einiger die keltische Sprache behandelnden Schriften, sowie vieler aus früheren Jahrhunderten, im Kön. Sächs. Hauptstaats-Archiv aufbewahrter Akten* (Dresden, 1903), 65–67.

¹⁹ S. Karwowski, “Verhältnis der Reichsgrafen von Oppersdorff auf Oberglogau zu den Königen von Polen,” *Jahres-Bericht des Königlichen katholischen Gymnasiums zu Leobschütz* 195 (1893): I.

²⁰ A. Sedláček, *Českomoravská heraldika*, vol. 2 (Praha, 1925), 581.

fgotschs²¹ in 1595. Interestingly, in the list of the nobility that took part in the Turkish campaign of 1566, presented by Radosław Żerelik, we find almost solely knights.²² It looks like by the end of the century no pressure for social promotion arose, such as what we know from the following century. It is just a possible act of kindness and a particular honour, reserved for the few sort of “Renaissance magnates.”

And yet the 16th century also witnessed the appearance of a dignity one level up from baron — the Baron of the Reich. These were extremely few by the very end of the Hapsburg era in Silesia, and even today they are genealogical rarities. Among those few were the Maltzans: Joachim II was conferred the title on 2 August, 1530.²³ Another was the von Oppernsdorf family of Upper Silesian Głogówek. On 21 April, 1554, its representatives bore the title *Reichsfreiherr von Aich und Friedstein*. It was conferred on Johan, Gregor and Wilhelm by the monarch through of a Viennese chancellery.²⁴ The title was also borne by the Promnitzs, as of 1559,²⁵ owners of the estate Zar–Trzebiel and the demesne of Pszczyna in Upper Silesia;²⁶ then came the Räders, since 1565.²⁷ It was also conferred even later: in the 17th century it was obtained by the subsequent owners of the Free Class Polity Bytom — the Henkel von Donnersmarcks (1636).²⁸ Also, in the Duchy of Swidnica–Jawor as late as 1738 a posthumous record of Johann Stephen von Becker, the Baron of the Reich on Milin was made.²⁹

In the period discussed (1600–1740), other than the arbitrary starting date, which was followed by investitures to the nobility previously unknown in Silesia, two more dates are marked, rarely emphasised in Silesian history, which are, apparently, so obvious and insufficiently rationalised in the literature of the subject in the social aspect. Going beyond those marked a turning point in the development of Silesian aristocracy.

The first period is the investiture time until the Thirty Years’ War, and practically until 1620. By now we have to do with an increased number of investitures to the local nobility, but also the first cases of installing “Austrian Catholics” in Silesia were reported. Both processes were rather well–perceptible, but this was not yet the time of historic changes. Among the local nobility, more titles being conferred on the Rechenbergs or Oppernsdorfs came to the foreground, even though the latter were in fact replaced by a lineage stemming from Moravia.³⁰ New dukes came up then (Liechtensteins) and barons (Sprintzensteins).³¹ These had close ties with the court and Czech aristocracy; they were Catholics being introduced to backwater country. Importantly,

²¹ C. F. F. Strantz, *Geschichte des deutschen Adels...*, 19–20.

²² *Wykaz szlachty chrześcijańskiej z kampanii tureckiej 1566* (Poznań–Wrocław: R. Żerelik, 2002).

²³ E. H. Kmeschke, *Neues allgemeines Deutsches Adels–Lexikon*, b.m.w. 1865, 101.

²⁴ An upgrade of the coat of arms of the same year speaks of this: Österreichisches Staatsarchiv [hereinafter: ÖS], Allgemeines Verwaltungsarchiv [hereinafter: AVA], Adelsarchiv, Oppernsdorf 5.X.1554.

²⁵ T. Jaworski, “Wkład Promnitzów w rozwój gospodarczy Śląska i Łużyc,” in *Šlechic podnikatelem, podnikatel šlechticem. Šlechta a podnikání v českých zemích v 18.–19. století*, ed. J. Brňovjak, A. Zářický (Ostrava, 2008), 24.

²⁶ T. Jaworski, *Żary w dziejach pogranicza śląsko–łużyckiego* (Żary, 1993), 87–95.

²⁷ W. Strzyżewski, *Herby i tytuły, pieczęć szlachecka w księstwie głogowskim (XVI–XVIII wiek)* (Warsaw, 2009), 159.

²⁸ Adelsarchiv, Henkel von Donnersmarck, 26.II.1607 (Lazarus with his sons Lazarus Junior and Georg), 18.XII.1636, 29.VII.1651 (Lazarus Junior).

²⁹ 2Archiwum Państwowe we Wrocławiu [hereinafter: APW], księstwo świdnicko–jaworskie, catalogue number 231: *Personal Land– Register derer Landstände und Landsaßen in hiesigen beyden Fürstenthübern Schweidnitz und Jauer nach Ordnung derer Weichbilder, wie solches von denen Herren Landes Eltesten Anno 1738 revidiret worden*, 3.

³⁰ H. Schnurpfeil, *Geschichte und Beschreibung der Stadt Ober–Glogau in Oberschlesien*, Ober–Glogau 1860, 120 nn.

³¹ The second wife of baron Johann von Sprintzenstein was countess Eleonora von Harrach, close kin to the Prague Archbishop Arnoldem Wentzel von Harrach: E. Kolbe, *Geschichte der Stadt Neustädte, unter Benutzung amtlicher und privater Quellen bearbeitet* (Neustädte [after 1924]), 51.

those were being brought round at the expense of the local, Silesian families.³² After the suppression of the Czech Rising, which was eventually supported by Silesians, too, the second period began. Ferdinand II bequeathed a number of grants in the empire; he would elevate generals, serving in the imperial army, and his favourites, to high dignities and titles.³³ At the time of his rule the local nobility only sporadically got even the first count titles. Only under Ferdinand III (1637–1657) those were conferred in Silesia on a more regular basis, but still more common were elevations to baronage — far more frequent than in the 16th century. Even such eminent Silesian families as Nostitz, Schlafgotsch, Schöneich, Proßkau, Redern, Gaschin, Keßlitz and others only got their count status in the early 1700s.³⁴

Despite the Dresden Accord of 1621, which was designed to protect nobility, confiscations became more common due to continued warfare and failure to make a declaration of loyalty, expected by the emperor. The most afflicted families included Praschm, Schönaich, Schaffgotsch and Colonna — non-Silesian but apologetic, and hence pardoned and granted manor there. The emperor, in his attempt to eliminate a subject who had committed felony, could make use of the senioral legislation, sanctioned by the laws of the Reich and the Silesian regulations. These provided for sentencing a rebellious nobleman to death, imprisonment or exile, a suspension in their rights to perform in office, a fine of confiscation of real estate and assets and forfeiture of commodities. These forms of punishment applied in case of rebellion against the state, the ruler or law and order. Obviously, the latter were considered high treason (*criminum laesae maiestatis*), service against His Majesty or against the duchy or, alternatively, supporting rebels or a mutiny.³⁵ Those were the heaviest crimes, and a mere levelling of charges foreshadowed the plight of the accused.³⁶ We cannot forget that in the 17th and 18th centuries a mere imprisonment of an aristocrat became a token of evident social degradation.³⁷

During the course of the Thirty Years' War, the emperor had plenty of evidence for felony on the part of Silesian nobility and was in a position to use it. The material collected implies that the emperor's mercy paved the way for the evolution of Silesian aristocracy after 1620. It can be seen as a major factor in the formation of the Silesian elites of the Baroque era. The picture becomes all the more clear-cut if we consider the emperor's attitude to Bohemians and Silesians. If, in the first region *Herrenstand* was completely replaced in the wake of the Battle of the White Mountain, and mass confiscations and executions were ubiquitous, in Silesia the rule of the Viennese court was based on the new nobility, quite commonly *Briefadel* — nobility hastily formed upon

³² Both the Lichtensteins (Karniów) and the Sprintzensteins (Otyń, Province of Zielona Góra) appeared in Silesia in the same (1614) year: G. Biermann, *Geschichte der Herzogthümer Troppau und Jägerndorf* (Teschen, 1874), 513; T. Andrzejewski, *Rechenbergowie w życiu społeczno-gospodarczym księstwa głogowskiego w XV–XVII w.*, (Zielona Góra, 2007), 223.

³³ H. Hübner, "Die Verfassung und Verwaltung des Gesamtstaats Schlesien in der Zeit des Dreißigjährigen Krieges," *Zeitschrift des Vereins für Geschichte und Altertum Schlesiens* [hereinafter: ZVfGAS], 59, 1925, 78–79; S. Moser, *Strukturwandel des ständischen Besitzes im Viertel unter dem Wienerwald. Untersuchungen zum Herren- und Ritterstand aufgrund der Gültbücher 1571–1701* (Wien, 1982), 70–78.

³⁴ NAP, ČDK, 752, cat. no. IV D 1, file 432 (Gaschin), 448 (Keßlitz), 468 (Nostitz), 476 (Proßkau), 479 (Redern), 495 (Schönaich); O Schaffgotschach cf.: U. Schmilewski, "Schaffgotsch," *Neue deutsche Biographie* [hereinafter: NDB], vol. 22 (Berlin, 2005), 536–538.

³⁵ P. Wiązek, "Klasyfikacja przestępstw w ordynacji ziemskiej księstwa opolsko-raciborskiego z roku 1562," *Acta Universitatis Wratislaviensis* 2070, "Prawo [law] CCLXI" (Wrocław, 1998), 84.

³⁶ *idem*, "System kar w ordynacji ziemskiej księstwa opolsko-raciborskiego z roku 1562," *Acta Universitatis Wratislaviensis* 1953, "Prawo CCLVI" (Wrocław, 1997), 48–55.

³⁷ P. Serna, *Szlachcic...*, 60–61.

imperial charter; there was also *Beamtenadel* — civil servant nobility and a large number of those rehabilitated who, after a period of going “astray,” demonstrated the will to support His Majesty and to whom a forgiving hand was being extended in an act of mercy. The nobility of whole duchies did turn to the new ruler, albeit with some exceptions.³⁸

In post-1620 Silesia, a pattern of imperial mercy emerged; seen in these terms it was hardly less severe than the Bohemian model. The families, deprived of their manors and degraded, only regained their privileges in the following generations. They were then presented with new conditions and their role as well as a position vis-à-vis the monarch changed. All family that had fallen into ignominy was subsequently pardoned and brought back to imperial favour; sometimes a conversion into Catholicism was forced. The rebels themselves who had committed felony were expelled from Silesia and condemned to social and political non-existence.

The most famous case of mercy — possibly due to the fate of the nestor and founder of the family might, baron Hans Ulrich von Schaffgotsch (1595–1635) — was a re-incorporation of his Silesian family in the ranks of nobility. Schaffgotsch, a Silesian by birth, whom poets of the stance of Martin Opitz³⁹ were so proud of, a hero of the Battle of Ścinawa/Steinau (11 Oct., 1633) lost the emperor’s trust once suspicion was cast against Albrecht Wallenstein. What caused fears was in the first place the ties with *Generalissimus* and the plans of both aiming at a revision of the Silesian governance. At the time of apprehension, a *Petition on the Status of Silesia* was allegedly found on the detainee, which was sufficient a pretext to accuse him of high treason and sentence him to death by beheading.⁴⁰ Żmigród, personal demesne of Schaffgotsch, was subsequently bequeathed to Field Marshall Count Melchior von Hatzfeld in 1641.⁴¹ It turned out however that the execution of Hans was not to affect all family members and they retained the right to the Lower Silesian domain of Książ. The condition, though, was family conversion and the education of juniors in Catholic vein.⁴²

³⁸ The nobility of the Duchy of Głogów refused to pay homage to Frederic V in Wrocław, in 1620: G. Hoffmann, *Geschichte von Schlesien aus der älteren Zeit bis auf unsere Tage*, vol. 3 (Schweidnitz, 1828), 200; The classes of the Duchy of Głogów also expressed doubt as regards the policy of the Silesian classes seeking to crown Frederic, which was in their opinion too hasty: *Acta Publica, Verhandlungen und Correspondenze der Schlesischen Fürsten und Stände*, ed. J. Krebs, vol. 2 (Breslau, 1869), 331–333; In 1618 an opinion was quite commonplace that considered the Czech Defenestratory Movement “unverantwortlich, an dem sie [Silesian classes] kein Gefallen tragen,” quoted after: H. Palm, *Das Verhalten der schlesischen Fürsten und Stände im ersten Jahren der böhmischen Unruhen*, ZVfGAS 5 (1863), 252; More on executions and confiscations in Bohemia after 1620 cf.: P. Mat’ a, *Svět české aristokracie [1500–1700]* (Prague, 2004), 67–68, 125 nn., 148 nn., 411–412, 461 nn., 735–736.

³⁹ M. Opitz, *Schäfferei von der Nymphen Hercynie* (Breslau: Wolfenbüttel, Herzog August Bibliothek, 1630), <<http://diglib.hab.de/wdb.php?dir=drucke/50-13-poet-9>> (09.09.2010).

⁴⁰ German historiography rejects the idea that the Regensburg execution of Schaffgotsch could have been a court murder designed to make another Silesian duchy Catholic. Nevertheless, these were exactly the consequences of the act and the emperor’s visible policy towards the estates of the Żmigród Free Class Polity: J. Krebs, *Hans Ulrich von Schaffgotsch* (Breslau, 1890), 168; *Die Verhandlungen Schwedens und seiner Verbündeten mit Wallenstein und dem Kaiser von 1631 bis 1634*, ed. G. Irmeler, vol. 3 (Leipzig, 1891), 425–427; *Albrechts von Wallenstein, des Herzogs von Friedland und Mecklenburg: ungedruckte, eigenhändige vertrauliche Briefe und amtliche Schreiben aus den Jahren 1627 bis 1634 an Arnheim* (Anhang), 1–37.

⁴¹ The baron got his earlier title and army rank in 1635, soon after routing the army of Bernhard of Weimar and the Battle of Regensburg: J. Krebs, *Melchior von Hatzfeld und der kleine Krieg um Breslau (Januar–April 1634)*, ZVfGAS 35 (1901), 302.

⁴² Schaffgotsch probably had a number of enemies at the Viennese court as hindrances were multiplied to prevent him from meeting the emperor and, customarily, seek pardon. The court that tried Schaffgotsch included: General and Field Marshal Goetel, General of Cavalry Wajgel, royal commanders, two auditing generals and commander Wildberg, with whom, incidentally, Schaffgotsch was reported as having an argument. According to Schaffgotsch’s

The Upper-Silesian Praschms are an interesting example. The works of the Confiscation Commission of October, 1629, in the Duchies of Opava and Karniów resulted in a truthful charge levelled against Carl von Praschm of an audience in Brno with Frederic V (Jan./Feb. 1620). In line with the brief of the Opava Diet of 13 January, together with the barons Johan Wenzel Sedlnitzky von Choltitz and Heinrich von Wrba, he was supposedly inviting the palatine for the reception of the Duchy's homage. In exchange it was expected he would confirm the privileges of its classes. Also, the deputies were accused of handing the monarch a 5000 thalers worth of presents.⁴³ 93 people were interrogated, including Hans, Wilhelm, Carl and Hans Bernard von Praschm. Hans was imprisoned and accused of remaining loyal to enemy until the moment of the reconquest of Silesia and fined with 2500 thalers. Wilhelm was accused of negotiating with the Danish military commissioner Joachim von Mitzlaf and the formation of military units on local guard to serve Danish interests for Danish money. He was supposed to pay in 1500 thalers to the treasury. Carl had died when the Commission was proceeding, and Hans Bernard was found to be a loyal subject of the Emperor.⁴⁴ All in all, most family domains were confiscated. The commission was formed upon the motions of the Royal Chamber of Wrocław acts of 16 April and 7 July, 1635. It was headed by ambitious commissioners-servants Leonard Borschki and Baltasar Heinrich von Oberg. The manors of the Praschms were taken over by Jesuits (in Znaim), baron Hans Moritz von Redern, and a third was secured by Karl Eusebius von Lichtenstein, son of Karl, which substantially weakened this Czech-Moravian line of lords, but did not deprive them of sources of a standing that was appropriate for titular nobility of medium might. Also, they were not forced to change their confession. What is important, the family's vitality was checked for some time but it was not destroyed.⁴⁵ The family fully rebuilt its position only at the beginning of the 18th century. They were allowed to buy the domains of Falkenberg.⁴⁶

It took the Schönaichs from Siedlisko, near Głogów, much longer to regain the rights to their manor. However, they not only remained Calvinists but also retained close to all their estates from before the war. Of the 22 villages that were part of their domain, they only lost Miłaków, Żuków, Drogomil, Bukowiec, Rejów and Rudno until 1763.⁴⁷ An heir of the revolutionary lean-

aide, named Wattenbach, it was obvious for all that the decision had been made in Vienna before, at the Military Council (Kriegsrat), and the court was called only *pro forma*: Wattenbach, *Die letzten Lebenstage des Obersten Hans Ulrich Schaffgotsch*, ZVfGAS 2, (1856), 159, 162–163; M. Witkowski, "Kształtowanie się „nowej ogólnoaustriackiej arystokracji” na Śląsku. Przykład śląskiej linii Schaffgotschów w XVII wieku," in *Szlachta europejska w strukturach lokalnych XVI–XVIII wieku*, ed. M. Konopnicka, J. Kuczer, W. Strzyżewski (Zielona Góra, 2010), 99nn.

⁴³ G. Biermann, *Geschichte der Herzogtümer...* (Teschen, 1874), 516.

⁴⁴ A. Weltzel, *Geschichte des eden, freiherrlichen und gräflichen Geschlechts von Praschma* (Ratibor, 1883), 42–48.

⁴⁵ S. Gorge, "Zur Geschichte der Troppau-Jägerndorfer Konfiskationen im dreißigjährigen Kriege," *Zeitschrift für die Geschichte des Königlichen Gymnasium Niederschlesiens* 1, (1945/46): 41.

⁴⁶ G. Dessmann, *Geschichte der Schlesischen Agrarverfassung* (Strassburg, 1904), 242.

⁴⁷ Österreichisches Staatsarchiv, Haus-, Hof- und Staatsarchiv, Provinzen, Schlesien, file 4, fascicle 8, 129–131, 141–143, a transcript of the document signed by Burgraff von Dohn is presented on p. 134; H. Hoffmann, *Die Jesuiten in Glogau* (Breslau, 1926), 12–15 and 41–43; J. Blaschke, *Geschichte der Stadt Glogau* (Glogau, 1912), 304–305; W. Barth, *Die Familie von Schönaich und die Reformation* (Beuthen, 1891), 75–77; F. Minsberg, *Geschichte der Stadt und Festung Gross-Glogau*, vol. 2: "Glogau 1853", 100; APW, księstwo głogowskie 1329–1886, Rep. 24, cat. no 648, 2–3; R. Berndt, *Beiträge zur Geschichte des Königlichen katholischen Gymnasiums zu Gross-Glogau*, Glogau [b.m. i r.w.], 1–3; H. Hoffmann, "Fürst Carolath contra Glogauer Jesuiten. Ein Beitrag zur Friderizianischen Kabinettsjustiz," in *Archiv für die Schlesische Kirchengeschichte*, vol. 1, (1936): 169. In 1622 the Jesuits appeared in Nysa, in 1628 in Żagań, in 1629 in Świdnica and in 1638 in Wrocław: B. Duhra, *Geschichte der Jesuiten in den Ländern deutschen Zunge in der ersten und der zweiten Hälfte des XVII Jh.* (Freiburg, 1913–1921), 154.

ings of Georg was his paternal nephew Johann, called “the unhappy⁴⁸” by historiography. The shelter he offered to Frederic V and his wife after the defeat at the White Mountain, was a rationale for his being deprived of his manor, titles and privileges. In the beginning, all the estates previously held by Schönaichs were taken over by the Jesuits that arrived in Głogów in 1629, who were also granted the family’s Wrocław real estate in 1641, ie. the *Schönaichisches Haus*; there they began organising a Jesuit school, and later on a college — on the grounds of the recess published in Linz on 10 Jan., 1645.⁴⁹ Johann was given an avenue to seek pardon but on condition of the payment of 54,444 Reichsthaler. This was an exorbitant sum, which in the conditions of hostilities, march–past and billeting just cannot have been amassed. As a result of the imperial decisions and the imperial commission’s resolutions of 9 Jan., 1650, they were only regained by Sebastian von Schönaich, who successfully proved the primogeniture rights to majorat of each of the male progeny — questioned by the emperor.⁵⁰

Among the most famous stories speaking volumes about the whole process of the restoration of estates and the migration of aristocracy within the Silesian province was the 17th century acts of the future counts of the Reisch, the von Colonnas, the barons von Fels, residing in the Duchy of Opole–Racibórz. They may have been incorporated into the Silesian classes only after the war, but this special case is worth describing in a little more depth. The story of the family began with the treason of Leonard, a Protestant and one of the leaders of the Defenestrator Movement. This close collaborator of Count Turn was appointed field marshal of the insurgent units in the provisional government and led the unsuccessful march on Vienna. After the defeat of Sinnzendorf (12 April, 1620) he lost the manors of Engelsberg, Buchau, Schönau and Gießhübel by imperial decree, sold to the Counts von Czernin. Leonard survived thanks to being given safe haven by the Dukes of Legnica and the King of Sweden. Again, it was only his son Caspar (1594–1666) who was allowed to buy the estates of Toczek [Tost] and Strzelce Opolskie [Gross–Strehlitz] in Upper Silesia. Even though Caspar was initially disinherited by the emperor since he had served in the Swedish army, before signing the Treaty of Prague of 1635, under the command of Count Heinrich Matthias von Thun, but in 1638 he applied for inheritance after the deceased cousin Siegfried von Promnitz. The emperor recognised his rights in the Pardonbrief of 29 Oct., 1638, “despite all the deeds performed against him and the House of Hapsburg, both in speech and act.” The pardon was preceded by the conversion into Catholicism.⁵¹

Much as the Czech *Herrenstand* was shaken by the post–1620 executions, the exceptions typical of it could not have destroyed something that did not exist. Observing the Silesian province we can deny a generalisation by Richard Asch that the Thirty Years’ War changed the social picture by ruining a number of families. The Silesian families — even if they did suffer — rose from their apparent downfall.⁵²

⁴⁸ J. Kuczer, “Baron Johann von Schönaich zwany Nieszczęśliwym (p. 1),” *Pro Libris. Lubuskie Pismo Literacko–Kulturalne* (2008): 104–109; *idem*, “Baron Johann von Schönaich zwany Nieszczęśliwym (p. 2),” *Pro Libris. Lubuskie Pismo Literacko–Kulturalne* (2008, 2): 137–142.

⁴⁹ M. Weber, *Das Verhältnis Schlesiens zum alten Reich in der frühen Neuzeit* (Köln–Weimar–Wien, 1992), 251; C. Grünhagen, *Geschichte Schlesiens*, vol. 2 (Breslau, 1886), 331.

⁵⁰ C. D. Klopsch, *Geschichte des Geschlechts von Schönaich*, vol. 4 (Glogau, 1853), 209–210.

⁵¹ A. Nowack, “Die Reichsgrafen Colonna, Freiherrn von Fels, auf Tost und Gross–Strehlitz bis 1695,” *Jahresbericht des Königlichen Gymnasiums zu Neustadt Ob.–Schles* (1902, 22): 4–5, quote p. 7: “...für alle in den gegen ihn und das Erzhaus Österreich «feindlich angeführten Kriegs–Armaden» und sonst in Wort und Werk begangenen Verletzungen der Treue;” *cf.*: A. Gindely, *Geschichte der 30jährigen Krieger*, part I (Prague, 1869), 5, 21, 40, 45, 124, 146, 189.

⁵² R. G. Asch, *Nobilities in Transition 1550–1700...*, 140.

With the “new land order” and specifically the section on *Von Belehnung und Annehmung der Ausländer in das Königreich* (A XIX i XX), the emperor secured a legal freedom of investiture,⁵³ with hosts of unpaid veteran commanders of the imperial army antechambering. One of the first to come up to be rewarded was the commander of a regimen of cuirassiers of a likely Irish origin, the Count of the Reich Wilhelm von Gall,⁵⁴ in Polish and Imperial service, possibly of Holstein. Also, it was not surprising to see Johan Franz von Ferremont or famous Melchior von Hatzfeld, whose merits have already been mentioned before, settle where they had recently been operating. The Catholic Dünnewalds owed their position to the progenitor of the Silesian line Johann Heinrich, colonel and subsequently general of imperial forces. His position at the Viennese court was connected with the role he played in the army as the commander of imperial cavalry during the military campaigns against Turkey, conducted in the latter half of the 17th century. He took part in the defence of Vienna on 14 July through 12 September, 1683, against Kara Mustafa's troops and demonstrated his strategic excellence during the Slovene campaign. His triumphs included the seizure of the passes to Essek [Osijek] and the towns of Possega [Posega] and Czernigk [Cernik] as well as the strongholds of Veste Walpo [Valpovo] and Peterwardein [Petrovaradin]. He was one of the generals of Duke Eugene of Savoy who took part in the victorious Battle of Slankamen (19 August, 1691).⁵⁵

This was rather typical for frontier provinces throughout Europe anyway, where the 17th century wars magnified the domains of the nobility supporting the victorious sides of the conflict.⁵⁶ However, their end commenced an era that Norbert Elias considered the courtisation of warriors, who were too numerous for the post-war needs. The court, knowing the military traditions of nobility, proposed an alternative. As Peter Wilson noticed, at the first stage, the imperial authorities manipulated aristocracy by granting it a position of influence, but in so doing they immensely expanded the size of the group. At the second stage, when the class had taken over the influence at the court and in imperial institutions, the emperor became a hostage of an essentially erroneous manner to implement absolute power.⁵⁷

Throughout the Thirty Years' War titles were being conferred in a chaotic and unco-ordinated manner. The pace of their multiplication came to depend on the needs of the royal budget. The mere fact of one person being elevated to three different classes in their lifetime bore testimony to how fast the changes were happening. Sometimes stages in the hierarchy were skipped as is illustrated by the family de Nobis — the same person was first granted knighthood only to be subsequently elevated to Baron of the Reich.⁵⁸ That was unthinkable in the old Reich of the

⁵³ *Der Röm. Kays. Auch zu Hungarn und Böhheim...*, 2.

⁵⁴ J. O'Donovan, “The Family of Gall Burke, of Gallstown, in the County of Kilkenny,” *The Journal of the Kilkenny and south-east of Ireland. Archeological Society* 3 (1860–61): 109.

⁵⁵ F. Lucae, *Schlesiens curiose Denkwürdigkeiten oder vollkommene Chronika von Ober- und Nieder-Schlesien...*, Bd. 2 (Frankfurt am Mäyn, 1689), 209; J. Sinapius, *Schlesische Curiositäten...*, vol. 2, 70; A. Förster, *Geschichtliches von den Dörfern des Grünberger Kreises. Aus den besten vorhandenen Quellen und eigener Beobachtung und erfahrung zusammengestellte Erinnerungsbilder* (Grünberg, 1905), 202; J. Kuczer, “Od glorii do upadku. Osadnictwo szlachty tytularnej na Śląsku po wojnie trzydziestoletniej na przykładzie rodziny hrabiów von Dünnewald (1669–1718), [from glory to fall; on the settlement of the titular nobility in Silesia after the Thirty Years War, as per the Dünnewald family]” *Studia Śląskie* 68 (2009): 101–102.

⁵⁶ R. G. Asch, “Ständische Stellung und Selbstverständnis des Adels im 17. und 18. Jahrhundert,” in *Der europäische Adel im Ancien Regime. Von der Krise der ständischen Monarchien bis zur Revolution (ca. 1600–1789)*, ed. R. G. Asch (Köln, 2001), 18.

⁵⁷ P. H. Wilson, *Absolutism in Central Europe* (London–New York, 2000), 62–63.

⁵⁸ Johann Baptist de Nobis received, in 1672, the title of *Ritter*, in 1696 the title of baron, whereas the Hochbergs in Książ: 1650 — the title of barons, in 1666 — a hereditary title of counts, 1683 — the title of Counts of the

emperors Maximilian II or Rudolph II. The emperor confirmed that with numerous ducal appointments. For the Silesian lands he did so as early as during the so-called ‘young’ *Reichstag* of 1653/1654, when he elevated the Lobkovitz and Auersperg families to dukedoms.⁵⁹ An attempt was made at halting the flooding of the province with titulars by the formula of *ad personam* conferment: it emphasized the individuality of the title holder, but it prevented passing the dignity on in lineage, possibly to numerous descendants. It proved unsuccessful, though, as through the eventual introduction of an avenue enabling applications for the so-called ‘extension’ [*Ausdehnung*] of the title onto third parties, the objective of the formula was denied. As evidenced by the analysis of land books of a number of Silesian duchies, the years after 1648 proved to be unprecedented and unmatched afterwards in that respect. This was the third period — one of an intensification of investitures in mid-century.⁶⁰ At that time, even local families come to dignities, with the cosmopolitanisation of nobility and a paradigm shift in self-perception making the division into ‘local’ and ‘foreign’ nobility immaterial. However, we do see that some lords from outside of Silesia disappeared as fast as they made their way here. In the Duchy of Głogów, a number of families exemplified the phenomenon without exception: the families Pachta, Sintzendorf, Dünnewald, Müllenau, Montani, Nassau, Platten, Leschcorault. This rotation was constant and surprisingly fast — mostly within up to a dozen or so years — whereas the old families stuck to their own manors.⁶¹

The context of transformation of the times, arouses the question of the origin of the titular nobility in Silesia. Nobility migrated from various parts of Europe. New families or new lines of the families who had settled down in Silesia were being granted estates. The material presented so far points to the non-Silesian section that shaped the group in the 16th and 17th centuries. We are incapable of determining whether the Berg, Donnersmarck, Schaffgotsch, Maltzan or Schönaich families played a more significant part in the life of the region than the Hatzfelds or Birons. In the social sense, the newcomer aristocracy formed a very colourful group: a mosaic, cosmopolitan arrangement. It entered into family unions and social relationships with the local nobility, influencing their inner relations. This gave rise to new opportunities, lacking in other countries due to a growing number of aristocrats, real or titular.

Among the local noble families of Silesia such as Gaschin, Nimptsch, Schönaich, Henckel von Donnersmarck, Nostitz, Oppersdorff, Dohna, Franckenberg, Hochberg, Jaroschin, Karwath, aristocrats appeared that were open to proposals of integration into the broad structures of the empire, who possessed a strong instinct of creating for themselves a space for political self-fulfilment. When we analyse the direct contact we see (while deliberately ignoring earlier or

German Reich: S. Michalkiewicz, *Gospodarka magnacka na Śląsku w drugiej połowie XVIII wieku (na przykładzie majątku Książ)* (Wrocław, 1969), 14; the Haugwitz’ on majorat Obiszów were conferred the titles of baron, in 1723 and Count of the Bohemian Crown, in 1733: ČDK, 752, cat. no IV D 1, file 468, *Ritterstand* 8. August 1672, *Ritter de Nobis* oraz *Bestätigung der Reichsfreyherrenstandes*, 7. May 1696, *Freyherr de Nobis*; *Stammbuch des blühenden und abgestorbenen Adels...*, vol. 2, 118; Lazarus Junior Henkel von Donnersmarck was elevated to nobility in 1607, to baronage in 1636 and to count in 1651: ÖS, AVA, Henkel von Donnersmarck (documents of 1607, 1622, 1636, 1651).

⁵⁹ On the families *Reichsunmittelbare Fürsten*: F. U. Graf v. Wrangel, *Die souveränen Fürstenhäuser Europas*, vol. 1–2 (Stockholm und Leipzig, 1899).

⁶⁰ Such suggestions are arrived at following an analysis of the lists of duchies presented in the text. Likewise, what most investitures were like around 1700 can be seen in the material collected in the Viennese archive of nobility: ÖS, AVA, Adelsarchiv and the National Archive, Prague: NAP, CDK

⁶¹ J. Kuczer, W. Strzyżewski, *Spisy dóbr ziemskich księstwa głogowskiego z lat 1671–1727* (Warsaw, 2007), 58–127.

further family relationships) that there were more and more of Bohemian nobility (Globen⁶²), Bohemia–Meissen (Canitz⁶³), Austrian (Hardeck,⁶⁴ Neyhardt,⁶⁵ Herberstein⁶⁶), Turin–Vogtland (Kosspoth⁶⁷), Hessian (Hatzfeld⁶⁸), Moravian (Kaunitz,⁶⁹ Hoditz,⁷⁰ Podstasky⁷¹), Czech (Kinsky,⁷² Gallas⁷³), Brandenburg and Saxon (Geist, Hagen⁷⁴), Styrian (Galler,⁷⁵ Herberstein,⁷⁶ Hoffmann⁷⁷) or Tyrolean (Colonna).⁷⁸ A group of Italian nobility is of special interest. It includes the Counts of Cellara⁷⁹ from around Florence and Milan,⁸⁰ Counts of Pompei from the Venetian Lombardy,⁸¹

⁶² A high social position of the Globen family is testified to by posts in the college of ministers of the court in Innsbruck (1716): J. S. Heinsius, *Genealogisch Historische Nachrichten von den allerneuesten Begebenheiten, welche sich an den Europäischen Höfen zutragen worinn zugleich Vieler Standes–Personen und andere Berühmter Leute Lebens–Beschreibungen vorkommen...* (Leipzig, 1742), 633.

⁶³ NAP, ČDK, 752, cat. no IV D 1, file. 421, [b.n.s.].

⁶⁴ Hardecks were a family from Lower Austria. Exact genealogy is presented in: A. O. Fabri, *Theatri nobilitatis Europae In quo tabulis progonologicis praecipuorum In cultiori christiano orbe magnatum et illustrium progenitores...* (Francfurti ad Moenum, 1678), 18, com. de Hardeck; The family also had estates in the Duchy of Bayreuth (Bavaria/Franconia): K. H. Lang, *Neuere Geschichte des Fürstenthums Baireuth*, vol. 3 (Nuremberg, 1811), 210.

⁶⁵ The first to come to Silesia was Johann Baptista Count von Neyhardt, who, as of 1703 was President of the Royal Chamber of Silesia: J. Sinapius, *Schlesische Curiositäten...*, vol. 2, 150.

⁶⁶ Johann Bernhard (dec. 1685) was Elder of the Duchy of Wrocław: D. Bergstaesser, “Herberstein,” in *NDB*, vol. 8 (Berlin, 1969), 577.

⁶⁷ The position of the family in Silesia was consolidated right after the end of hostilities by Just von Kosspoth of the Schildbach line, a court counsel and marshal of the Dukes of Oleśnica: J. Sinapius, *Schlesische Curiositäten...*, vol. 2, 131; in 1711 the family was granted the title of Counts of the Reich: J. Ch. Hellbach, *Adels–Lexikon oder Handbuch über die historischen, genealogische und diplomatischen, zum Theil auch heraldischen Nachrichten vom hohen und niedern Adel...*, vol. 1 (Immenau, 1825), 691.

⁶⁸ J. Friedhof, *Die Familie von Hatzfeld. Adelige Wohnkultur und Lebensführung zwischen Renaissance und Barock* (Düsseldorf, 2005).

⁶⁹ The title of the Counts of the Reich was conferred on them in as early as 1642: J. Ch. Hellbach, *Adels–Lexikon...*, vol. 1, 641.

⁷⁰ Count of the Reich (since 1641 r.) Georg Maximilian as imperial general appeared in Silesia in about 1622 during the Thirty Years’ War and became General War Commissioner. His Silesian manor was taken over by his second son Maximilian Georg (1636–1689), Elder of the Duchy of Nysa: J. H. Zedler, *Grosses vollständiges Universallexicon aller Wissenschaften und Künste*, vol. 13 (Leipzig und Halle, 1739), 183; J. Sinapius, *Schlesische Curiositäten...*, vol. 2, 109.

⁷¹ The family was present in the Silesia in the 16th century but their domains expanded with the performance in office in Silesia since 1650s, particularly in the Duchy of Karniów: J. H. Zedler, *Grosses vollständiges Universallexicon...*, vol. 28, 948.

⁷² This family maintained contacts with Silesia mainly thanks to Karl von Khinsky being appointed canon and Prelate of the Chapter of Głogów, and as a result of marriages of Wenzeslaus Norbert Octavus, Count of the Reich, with representatives of the magnate families of Martinitz, Sintzendorf and Nostitz (all from the Duchy of Świdnica–Jawor): J. Sinapius, *Schlesische Curiositäten...*, vol. 2, 122–123.

⁷³ Yet Gallases also owned land in Italy, such as the Duchy of Lucerne, Apulia: R. v. Procházka, *Genealogisches Handbuch erloschener böhmischer Herrenstandsfamilien* (Neustadt a. Aisch, 1973), 95.

⁷⁴ The family came from around Magdeburg: J. Ch. Hellbach, *Adels–Lexikon...*, vol. 1, 414–415.

⁷⁵ *ibidem*, 400.

⁷⁶ J. A. Kumar, *Geschichte der Burg und Familie Herberstein*, vol. 1 (Wien, 1817), 4–10.

⁷⁷ As of 1712 the Counts of Bohemia. Before and after that, their representatives were connected with courts and official administrative structures of the Duchy of Nysa and the Free Class Polity of Pszczyna, albeit it is uncertain whether the baron–count line is meant here: J. Ch. Hellbach, *Adels–Lexikon...*, vol. 1, 568.

⁷⁸ Appeared in Upper Silesia in 1638 on the domain of Toszek and Strzelce: A. Nowack, *Die Reichsgrafen Colonna...*, 3–5.

⁷⁹ The family that came to own the estate of Lubliniec in the Duchy of Opole–Racibórz in 1629 (Andreas Cellary): C. Blažek, *Der abgestorbene Adel der Provinz Schlesien und der O. Lausitz*, vol. 1 (Nuremberg, 1887), 17.

⁸⁰ NAP, ČDK, 752, cat. No IV D 1, file 421, no 455, 1 nn.

⁸¹ In 1654 the Duchy of Legnica–Brzeg was passed to general Tomio Pompei: J. Sinapius, *Schlesische Curiositäten...*, 2, 177.

the family Barbo,⁸² who came to Silesia via Carniola, the Gianninis⁸³ from the Duchy of Modena, the Fernemonts, who came a long way from Piedmont via the Netherlands and Lorraine⁸⁴ and the Cantelmos,⁸⁵ temporarily resident here as well. The group was joined by some Frenchmen descending from fortress commanders and imperial army officers: the Lorraine d'Hautois le Bronne,⁸⁶ counts, and barons Leschcorault,⁸⁷ of the same origin; there were some Spaniards: marquises de Moncada⁸⁸ or barons Monteveques.⁸⁹ The picture should be made more complete by mentions of the English–Flemish Flemmings,⁹⁰ the Pomeranian Manteuffels⁹¹ or the Hungarian Palfi–Erdeödi.⁹² It would be a mistake, though, to forget about the counts coming from Carniola — the Auerspergs,⁹³ the Bohemian Lobkovitzs,⁹⁴ Moravian Lichtensteins,⁹⁵ a line from Lorraine,⁹⁶ the Württembergs from Graz⁹⁷ and the Hungarian Batorys appearing early on. Also, apparently far fewer ‘newcomer’ families came from ordinary nobility or knighthood, such as the Thomagninis since 1660, who applied for elevation to *Herrenstand* in 1737.⁹⁸ They appeared here with investitures in hand.

Confession became a major factor, quite naturally. It is quite clear from the constitution of the Silesian Diet of 1621 that *treue Anhaenger des Kaisers* were perceived by the Protestant classes only

⁸² Johann Franciscus Engelbertus Barbo from the family traditionally allied with the Catholic church, whose members had performed a number of apostolic missions, undertook the office of Wrocław Suffragan Bishop approx. 1701–1704: J. Sinapius, *Schlesische Curiositäten...*, vol. 2, 41.

⁸³ About 1712 the Gianninis were granted the estates in the Duchy of Karniów: J. H. Zedler, *Grosses vollständiges Universallexicon...*, vol. 10, 730.

⁸⁴ They appeared in 1652 in the Duchy of Głogów on the manor Sława, taken away from the Reichenbergs: W. Strzyżewski, “Kariera rodziny Fernemont w księstwie głogowskim w świetle wczesnonowożytnych pieczęci (XVII–XVIII) wiek,” in *Polacy–Niemcy. Pogranicze*, ed. G. Wyder, T. Nodzyński (Zielona Góra, 2006), 141.

⁸⁵ NAP, ČDK, 752, cat. no IV D 1, file 421, no 432, Cantelmo, p. 1–4.

⁸⁶ They were conferred the title of the Counts of Bohemia in 1707: C. Blažek, *Der abgestorbene Adel...*, 40.

⁸⁷ In 1696 the family was granted the title of Bohemian Baron: *ibidem*, 61.

⁸⁸ In 1649 an officer bearing this name became the commander of the stronghold of Brzeg; he initiated the exploitation of mineral water deposits in Niemcza Weichbild: J. Sinapius, *Schlesische Curiositäten...*, vol. 1, 148.

⁸⁹ Lodovicus de Monteveques was in 1668 the commander of the capital city of the Duchy of Głogów: *ibidem*, vol. 2, 384.

⁹⁰ At different times of family history, they owned estates in England, Scotland, Norway, Italy as well as in Pomerania and Saxony. The Silesian line arrived here from Poland, when Count Jacob Heinrich von Flemming appeared in the estates of the Duchy of Opole–Racibórz. He then bought the manor of Sława, situated next to the border with Poland: J. Sinapius, *Schlesische Curiositäten...*, vol. 2, 73.

⁹¹ J. H. Zedler, *Grosses vollständiges Universallexicon...*, vol. 19, 586.

⁹² A Nicolaus von Palfi was granted the title of count about 1589 and some estates in Austria. In Silesia they appeared after the Thirty Years’ War, even though the first mention in sources comes from 1667. At that time the estate of Stara Kaminica in the Duchy of Świdnica–Jawor, was owned by Nicola Palfi, Count von Erdeödi, an imperial counsellor and valet, Elder of the Royal Castle of Bratislava: J. Sinapius, *Schlesische Curiositäten...*, vol. 2, 172–173; This family is missing in the lists of 1690 or 1738: APW, księstwo świdnicko–jaworskie, cat. no 231, 239.

⁹³ M. Merian, *Topographia Provinciarum Austriacarum. Austriae, Styriae, Carinthiae, Carniolae, Tyrolis etc. Das ist Beschreibung und Abbildung der fürnembsten Stätt und Plätze in den Osterreichischen Landen. Under und Ober Osterreich, Steyer, Cärndten, Crain und Tyrol...*, vol. 14 (Frankfurt am Mayn, 1679), 11.

⁹⁴ ADB, vol. 19, 52.

⁹⁵ The Lichtenstein family, before arriving in Moravia, inhabited Tyrol: C. Blažek, *Der abgestorbene Adel...*, 62.

⁹⁶ More exactly the Duchy of Cieszyn in 1722 was taken over by Leopold Joseph (1679–1729): ÖS, HHSA, Familien–Urkunden, cat. no 1864.

⁹⁷ Silvius Nimrod von Württemberg–Weiltingen: M. Feist, “Sylvius Nimrod, Herzog von Oels,” *ZfGAS* 52, 1918, 85–102.

⁹⁸ Brňovják, *Erb a přídomek...*, 15.

among *gläubige Katholiken*.⁹⁹ Imperial supporters were often being assisted even before the time of the White Mountain. It was not so easy to find those ready to support the emperor, though, especially that the traditions of class opposition in Silesia went back to at least the 15th century. To speed up the process, new people were sought, and a provoked migration of Catholic nobility was used, which soon dominated the provincial and central life in all Hapsburg dominions (*Erblande*).¹⁰⁰ This was achieved by such measures as taking over court proceedings between Catholic and Protestant nobility by the Imperial Aulic Council [*Kaiserliche Reichshofrath*] and the Bohemian Aulic Chancellery [Česka Dvořská Kancelář]. The adjudication they passed were generally favourable to Catholics. A major court case of the sort was one between counts and barons von Berge of 1713,¹⁰¹ and the dispute between the Lutheran Rechenbergs and the Catholic Spintzensteins of 1614–1616, which foreshadowed the sort of era that was imminent. A baron, unknown in Silesia, with strong ties in Vienna, where he was a Privy Councillor and an imperial colonel, won two processes concerning the demesne of Otyń, Głogów Duchy, both at the lower level and at the higher court instance in Vienna, too.¹⁰² By decree of Saxon Elector and the Protestant Elder of Silesia he was forced to sign a recess in 1634, but upon the return of imperial forces in 1636 the domain was given back to Sprintzenstein, while the very apt and wide-ranging defence by the Rechenbergs fell upon deaf ears.¹⁰³

If Catholic nobility was a minority and had no influence on the lands, in the early 1600s there were attempts to regain power bottom-up.¹⁰⁴ The objective of the Empire was to oust civil servants marked by Protestantism, characteristic for their classes, and replace them with a new stock. A part of the nobility sensed the trend in the triumphal march towards state centralisation by means of making the polity confessional. This group converted to Catholicism or at least balanced between the Protestant classes and the Catholic imperial servants' party, as was the case in Bohemia with Wilhelm Slavata, Michael Adolf von Altan or the brothers Karl, Maximilian and Gundaker von Lichtenstein. It was there, rather early — in the late 1590s and early 1600 — that several people from *Herrenstand* were forced to convert to Catholicism. Those activities climaxed in their being appointed to the three most senior offices of *Oberkanzler*, *Oberhofmeister* and *Oberstlandrichter* in 1599.¹⁰⁵ About 1600 the religious war was exacerbated: the compromise

⁹⁹ Dessmann, *Geschichte...*, 188–189.

¹⁰⁰ T. Winkelbauer, "Grundherrschaft, Sozialdisziplinierung und Konfessionalisierung in Böhmen, Mähren, Österreich unter der Enns im 16. und 17. Jahrhundert," *Konfessionalisierung in Osteuropa. Wirkungen des religiösen Wandels im 16. und 17. Jahrhundert in Staat, Gesellschaft und Kultur (Forschungen zur Geschichte und Kultur des östlichen Mitteleuropas, vol. 7)*, ed. J. Bahlcke, A. Strohmezer (Stuttgart, 1999), 314.

¹⁰¹ K. B. G. Keller, *Joachim von Berge und seine Stiftungen* (Glogau–Leipzig, 1834), 211–212.

¹⁰² M. v. Rechenberg, *Folgen der rechten Ordnung nach dess... Hns. Melchiors von Rechenbergs... Fundamenta... contra Hansen Ernsten Sprintzenstein/Melrvon* [b.m.w.] [after 1613]; *idem*, *Folget fernere ausführliche Deduction sampt gründlicher refutation dess... Hn. ... Melchiors von Rechenberg... contra Hansen Ernsten Sprintzenstein* [b.m.w.] [approx. 1613]; *idem*, *Freyherr zu Klitschdorff, Kegen unnd warhaffter Extract u. gründliche facti species wie es umb die Wartenbergische Acta bewandt... ex parte des Hn. ... Melchiors von Rechenberg, Freyherrns zu Klitschdorff... mit... Refutation... dessen, wass Hanss Ernst Sprintzenstein... angegeben*, [b.m.w.] [approx. 1613]; *Ordinis iurisconsultorum in alma academia Rostochiensis responsa iuris, quae in causa successione inter generosos et illustres Barones et Dominos, D. Joannem Ernsterum de Sprintzenstein... et Dn. Melchioem de Rechenberg, reddita sunt* [b.m.w.] 1615.

¹⁰³ T. Andrzejewski, *Rechenbergowie...*, 222–225.

¹⁰⁴ E. Schimka, "Zusammensetzung des nö. Herrenstandes 1520–1620," [manuscript of doctoral dissertation] (Wien, 1967), 12; on the Austrian models of Counter-Reformation and their effect see: J. Miller, *Absolutism in Seventeenth-Century Europe* (Singapore, 1990), 160–165.

¹⁰⁵ Ch. v. Eickels, *Schlesien in böhmischen Ständestaat. Voraussetzungen und Verlauf der böhmischen Revolution von 1618 in Schlesien* (Köln–Weimar–Wien, 1994), 98–99.

between the Catholic aulic party and the Protestant classes had come to an end. The process went parallel in Bohemia, Moravia and Silesia.¹⁰⁶ It was only the Altrantstadt convention in article 1 point 9 that forced the emperor to treat Catholics and Protestants in civil service equally. What was symbolic, however, was that the three commissioners appointed to enforce the agreement were Catholics.¹⁰⁷

The Reich's Privy Councillor and Vice-Chancellor Otto von Nostitz (1574–1630)¹⁰⁸ in his memorial¹⁰⁹ of 1625 proposed that the emperor create a party (a group of people) in Silesia, which would be loyal to his policies. The point was not only to prevent a rebellion like the one in Bohemia, but also a subordination of public life in Silesia with a view to a more effective governance of the whole region.¹¹⁰ It postulated political transformations in the legal status of Bohemia, and a limitation of the role of classes and ducal councils in Silesia. It was indicated that religion and law were fundamental for effective government. Dangers of Calvinism spreading over Silesia were being demonstrated. It was planned to close Calvinist colleges and replace those with Catholic schools. Youths were to be forbidden to study at Calvinist universities, whereas the bishops and Catholic dukes were obliged to create Catholic higher education. Local power was to be placed in Catholic hands. Bishops were to be appointed as General Elders of Silesia. The memorial aimed at abolishing the principles of the August Letter, but it did not seek to persecute Protestants in Silesia. A return to “the the old principles of monarchy” was being contemplated.¹¹¹

The strong foundation of religiosity was also emphasized by the Nysa Jesuit Christoph Weller. In his memorial he presented a broad program of the bringing the province back to the Catholic fold, which had a direct bearing on the structure of the local *Herrenstand*. This document was the first one to have so strongly articulated a sort of doctrine of support for Catholic parties and classes. Weller consistently postulated bequeathing estates to Catholics and partisans of the emperor only. He was quite overt in his recommendation to create a powerful and loyal group of partisans, who would owe their social promotion and worldly estates to the emperor, allowing them to form part of the new political landed elite.¹¹² Indeed, building new aristocratic structures turned to be based on confessional grounds, with the power of Catholic aristocracy ever greater, particularly in the hereditary Hapsburg lands as early as the turn of the century, and undoubtedly, religion was a means rather than an end in itself.¹¹³

Above all, the ducal class was targeted for replenishment with Catholics. Also, appeals to the consciences of free lords were made, and then also to the remaining titulars, with a view to avert-

¹⁰⁶ T. Válka, “Karrieristen oder fromme Männer? Adelige Konvertiten in den böhmischen Ländern um 1600,” *Frühneuzeit-Info* 10 (1999): fasc. 1–2, 9–10.

¹⁰⁷ Still, interestingly, the convention was to be executed by Catholics: D. v. Velsen, *Die Gegenreformation in den Fürstentümern Liegnitz–Brieg–Wohlau. Ihre Vorgeschichte und ihre staatsrechtlichen Grundlagen* (Leipzig, 1931), 132.

¹⁰⁸ Vocelka, *Die politische Propaganda Kaiser Rudolfs II. 1576–1612* (Wien, 1981).

¹⁰⁹ Its content was ascribed to Burgrave Karl Hannibal von Dohna: H. Hübner, *Die Verfassung und Verwaltung...*, 77.

¹¹⁰ *Acta Publica*, vol. 5, 9–27.

¹¹¹ *ibidem*, vol. 5, 9–15; H. Jedin, “Zwei Denkschriften über die Gegenreformation in Schlesien,” *ASK* 3 (1938): 212–215; G. Jaeckel, *Stände und Volk in Abwehr gegen kirchliche und verfassungsrechtliche Restauration 1621–1629*, vol. 4, *JbSKG* 40 (1961), 12–14; M. Konopnicka–Szatarska, “Duchowieństwo zakonne realizatorem habsburskiej polityki kontrreformacyjnej w księstwie glogowskim,” *Klasztor w państwie średniowiecznym i nowożytnym*, ed. M. Derwich, A. Pobóg–Lenartowicz (Wrocław–Opole–Warsaw, 2005), 447.

¹¹² H. Jedin, “Eine Denkschrift über die Gegenreformation in Schlesien aus dem Jahre 1625,” *Kirche des Glaubens*, ed. H. Jedin, vol. 1 (Freiburg im r.), 395–412.

¹¹³ T. Válka, *Karrieristen oder fromme Männer?...*, 11; The 17th century is often considered a time of inevitable classes' defense against changes that had to come: R. v. Friedeburg, *Widerstand und Konfessionskonflikt. Notwehr und Gemeiner Mann im deutsch–britischen Vergleich 1530–1669*, 71–97.

ing the situation at the brink of the Thirty Years' War.¹¹⁴ Achieving this ideal picture was impossible until 1675, when the last Protestant Duke of Legnica died, and the “heretical” Dukes of Oleśnica or the Calvinist free lords von Schönaich and Henckel von Donnersmarck enjoyed the trust of the court. Attachment to religion was important in the very act of homage. It appeared in the very first sentences and pertained to an intention to persevere in the Catholic faith and send to Diets Catholics only. This is the text of the oath made by the Dohns of Syców of 6 April, 1719. Also, the progenitor made an obligation that he would not support Protestants, place them in municipal offices or erect Protestant churches. Dukes were also supposed to guarantee the loyalty of confession of their subjects, receiving homage from those.¹¹⁵

Such an inspiration of the development of social elites brought together the consistency of settlement policy as well as religious and political postulates. Now it was titular nobility that joined in the conversions to Catholicism,¹¹⁶ which from the very beginnings impressed one with the positive models that radiated from the very tops of of the social structure.¹¹⁷ Karl von Lichtenstein (1569–1627) came to be a classic didactic example; in 1599 he converted to Catholicism and in 1614 and 1622 he assumed the Duchies of Karniów and Opava.¹¹⁸ Particularly amplified in public reception were the Silesian conversions of Frederic, Landgrave of Hesse, who was to become bishop (1671–1682) and cardinal, the widow after the Duke of Oleśnica, Eleanor–Charlotte *de domo* Mömpelgard–Coligny, the act occurring in 1701, and the sister of the last Piast — Charlotte, Duchess of Holstein, in 1672. Likewise, the descendants of the hapless Ulrich von Schafgotsch, brother-in-law of the dukes John Christian of Brzeg and George Rudolph of Legnica, were brought up in the Catholic faith and never dissented.¹¹⁹ Notably, though, aristocracy had had leanings to Catholicism even prior to 1600. The Oppersdorfs accepted this confession before

¹¹⁴ The Dukes of Brzeg and Legnica remained Calvinist and so did the Schönaichs. The dukes converted to Calvinism in 1610 — John Christian by wedlock with Dorothea Sybille, daughter of the Furfirst of Brandenburg — and George Rudolph of Legnica–Wołów, before marrying Duchess Sophie Elisabeth von Anhalt–Dessau. Calvinism was considered a heresy, which was not tolerated as early as Rudolf II. The third Calvinist duke was the Margrave of Brandenburg John George II, Duke of Karniów (without a right to vote). Lutheranism was supported by Karl II of Oleśnica (since 1617 the co-governors Karl Friedrich of Oleśnica and Henry Venceslaus of Oleśnica–Bernstadt). Yet Adam Venceslaus of Cieszyn converted to Catholicism in 1610 and persecuted Protestants in his lands, with his son Frederic William since 1617. In 1599 this was done by Karl von Lichtenstein. The third duke was the Bishop of Wrocław. Of Catholic confession was Karl Hannibal von Dohna of Syców. The remaining free lords were of Protestant confessions: K. Orzechowski, *Historia ustroju Śląska* (Wrocław, 2005), 176–180; Ch. v. Eickels, *Schlesien in böhmischen Ständestaat...*, 90–95.

¹¹⁵ J. Franzkowski, *Geschichte der freien Standesherrschaft, der Stadt und des landrätlichen Kreises Gross Wartenberg*, (Gross Wartenberg, 1912), 100, 106 and 116.

¹¹⁶ It is hard to establish what percentage of converts were granted higher offices in Silesia, but their number may well be astonishing. As regards neophytes from nobility, they very often adopted the name Ignatius, thanks to which most are easily traceable. The name was even used by the emperor Joseph II. Other notable names include Franz, Xavier, Johann Nepomuk, Anna: D. v. Velsen, *Die Gegenreformation in den Fürstentümern Liegnitz–Brieg–Wohlau...*, 96–98; The problem of names given to Protestants and Catholics was discussed by: P. Maťa, “Vorkonfessionelles, überkonfessionelles, transkonfessionelles Christentum. Prolegomena zu einer Untersuchung der Konfessionalität des böhmischen und mährischen Hochadels zwischen Hussitismus und Zwangskatholisierung,” in *Konfessionelle Pluralität als Herausforderung. Koexistenz und Konflikt in Spätmittelalter und Frühen Neuzeit*, ed. J. Bahlcke, K. Lambrrecht, H.–Ch. Maner (Leipzig, 2006), 307–331.

¹¹⁷ D. v. Velsen, *Die Gegenreformation in den Fürstentümern Liegnitz–Brieg–Wohlau...*, 96–98.

¹¹⁸ W. Conze, *Ostmitteleuropa von der Spätantike...*, 209.

¹¹⁹ J. Deventer, “Zu Rom übergehen”. Konversion als Entscheidungshandlung und Handlungsstrategie. Ein Versuch,” in *Staatsmacht und Seelenheil, Gegenreformation und Geheimprotestantismus in der Habsburgermonarchie*, ed. R. v. Leeb, S. C. Pils, T. Winkelbauer (Wien–München, 2007), 169–171.

1617 (Georg, dec. in 1606, or his son Rudolph. dec. 1617), which they sought to manifest by repressions against their subjects.¹²⁰

Although there were no *über drei oder vier von Adel oder Herrenstand, ausser den Geistlichen, nicht zu finden, der katholischen Religion zugethan*¹²¹ in Silesian hereditary duchies, the reversal of the situation would take place mainly thanks to conversions and migrations of titular nobility. As a result, among the 34 titulars in the Duchy of Glogów, 11 were Protestants (with just one Calvinist) and 23 Catholics, thus constituting two thirds of the local aristocracy. We also need to remember that they were more prominent landed gentry, holding larger domains than the Protestants, which obviously boosted their position.¹²² Also, 8 out of 10 counts were Catholics.¹²³ The situation was similar in the Duchy of Brzeg, where there were 16 Catholics with a title and 12 Protestants (1 Calvinist).¹²⁴ Interestingly, among Catholics there were many more noblemen holding the title of count who were placed higher in social hierarchy. The land register of the Duchy of Legnica reveals 10 Catholic counts and 2 Protestant.¹²⁵ The motifs behind setting classes against one another were thus rather obvious since among the non-titulars the proportion of Protestants was overwhelmingly dominant. The same conclusions are demonstrated by the analysis of the few imperial specifications created upon the demand of the moment by Emperor Charles VI for the *weichbilds*, as was the case with the ones of Górowo and Kozuchów in 1729, revealing only 6 noblemen of Catholic confession resident in the two. In Kozuchów *weichbild* these were Count von Globen, Baron von Müllenau and Baron von Hohenhauf, whereas in Górowo area the Catholics were Johann Carl Count von Nostitz and the non-titular von Kreckwitz i von Stentsch. Notably, the latter performed in the highest offices in their districts, being land elders and the last to be mentioned having been tax collector, too.¹²⁶

An analysis of the process and following the names indicate that many more Catholic families appeared in Silesia than there were conversions. The conversion process will not be the key to the problem, then. The empire was unable to make Catholicism trendy among aristocracy or other classes, such as burgesses. An analysis of the origin of aristocrats indicates that there were more Catholic newcomers in Silesia than were conversions of the locals. This must have maintained a state of division and distance between the two groups of citizens, even among the elites, which were brought together by common values such as craving for power. Among the negative side effects of this situation were difficulties experienced by some immigrants in taking root in Silesia. A number of estates that fell in the hands of imperial supporters remained owned by those people, unlike a typical landed estate, which tended to change hands, sometimes every few years. In order to avoid some major manors coming back to the indigenous noble owners, the imperial power preferred to grant those to some of its court marshals or loyal servants from other provinces, even if it be solely 'for safekeeping.' A model illustration was the transfers of the 10-village

¹²⁰ H. Schnurpfeil, *Geschichte und Beschreibung...*, 59–61.

¹²¹ *Acta Publica*, vol. 4, 17.

¹²² Catholics: Rederns, d'Hautois le Bronnes, Canons, Nostitzs, Stoschs, Brayds, some from the Berg family, Müllenaus, Glaubitzs, Barwitz zu Fernemonts, Churschwands, Leschcouraults, Prosskaus, Dünnewalds and Kößlitzs. Protestants included the Calvinist Schönaichs, Glaubitzs, Knobelsdorffs, Glaubitzs, Schweinitzs, Trachs, Rederns and Silbers: J. Kuczer, W. Strzyżewski, *Spisy dóbr...*, 106–117.

¹²³ *ibidem*, 106–117.

¹²⁴ Catholics included Herbersteins, Zierotins Düttrichsteins, Plenclers, Lilgenaus, Wastebergs, Dyherns, Seydlitzs, Colonnas, Hoffmanns, Heins, Steinbergs and Schlegengergs. Protestant families: Beeß, Picklers, Saurmas, Trachoms, Kanitzs (Calvinists), Sandretzkys, Befugs, Schlichtings, Kottulinskys: APW, księstwo brzeskie, cat. no 140, 2–37

¹²⁵ APW, księstwo legnickie, caty. no 3, 2–29.

¹²⁶ APW, księstwo glogowskie 1329–1886, Rep. 24, cat. no 529.

domain of Zabór, Zielona Góra Weichbild, whose ownership throughout 1668–1726 went from the Blumenthals, to the Luxembourgish Dünnewalds, the Bohemian Pachts and finally to the Sintzendorffs.¹²⁷ The 17th century and the mobilisation of the centralist policy of Vienna yielded the fruits of the construction of a *sui generis* social stratum that was to owe its position to the emperor and guard his interests. Unlike in France, where the development of upper class aristocracy came to be a threat to the king, in Silesia (like in Castille) the phenomenon was welcome, especially that the emperor himself created such a formation, and in so doing he built a class on which his power in provinces would rest — a strong elite, loyal to the dynasty and attached to his Catholicism.¹²⁸

Other than in Bohemia before 1627, the Silesian *Herrenstand* was formed by a small group of barons without connections to one another, who may have already been rather different from the medieval warlords, but who were conscious of their unique position that resulted not only from the political but also military potential. The lack of a unifying element, characteristic of the whole group in the Hapsburg era, stemmed from the structural underdevelopment of the 15th and the 16th centuries. As compared with the neighbouring territories, the Silesian structure remained way beyond the West–European or German model of divisions. It was only in the 17th century that conditions surfaced for political and economic self–fulfilment and rivalry among nobility, who focussed on fighting for titles. The emperor reacted to the expectations of nobility in three ways. First, he made elevations of local nobility if they clearly integrated with the functions of the polity; second, to prevent a deepening of hostility in close to all hereditary lands, he left an open avenue for those families that turned against him in the Thirty Years’ War; third, he transformed Silesia from a European backwater province into a focal point of European aristocracy’s interest, for which it became a land of new opportunities.

¹²⁷ More on that phenomenon: J. Kuczer, *Od glorii do upadku...*, 93 and next.

¹²⁸ I. A. A. Thompson, “The Nobility in Spain 1600–1800,” in *The European Nobilities in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries*, ed. H. M. Scott, vol. 1 (London, 1995), 210–219.

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The Ennoblement of the Final Moment — the Coats of Arms of Death

The inevitable, omnipresent, likely to come any moment. For some terrifying, for others — phenomenally fascinating, mysterious and extremely democratic: death, the companion of life. In antiquity regarded as republican: “Pale death knocks at the doors of all alike;”¹ it heavily influenced the culture of the advanced Middle Ages, Renaissance and Baroque. Death was ubiquitous: *pompa funebris*, the dance of death and corpses in art, in all forms of decomposition. It acted upon imagination just as powerfully as the vision of the Last Judgement. It was intensified by wars, plague, poor harvest that brought famine and epidemics. Death in Old Polish literature was always there, and in the Baroque period it reached its climax. Stanisław Łochowski published a selection of lyrical sentences in 1648, quoting the poet Jan Kochanowski:

Whether you were born mighty and well-to-do
Or a slave: Death will always come to you.²

and the subsequent ones by the master from Czarnolas [nb. Pol. Black Woods; note L.K.]:

Not all are born with equal luck,
Some fence their plots further than others;
One has more wealth in the home than another,
And hence more friends; Death is just:
It uses one law for all,
Chooses at random, indiscriminately,
It will seize the lord and servant, without delay.³

¹ Q. Horatius Flaccus, *Carmina* I. 4,13–14: *Pallida Mors aequo pulsat pede pauperum tabernas / regumque turris.*

² S. Łochowski, *EMBLEMATA / HORATIANA / Rhythmis Polonicis è præcipuis lin-guae patriæ Rhythmographis se-lectis illustrata...* (Cracoviæ, 1647), 27; *idem, Emblemata Horatiana, / To iest / SENTENCYE / HORATIVSZOWE / Z Przednich Poetow Polskich wy-łięte, y zá / KOLENDĘ / Ná Rok Pański 1648. /... OFIAROWANE* (Krakow, 1648), 27 [trans. L. Kawalec].

³ *ibidem.* [trans. L. Kawalec]

As well as a poetic stanza by Andrzej Malski, concerning worldly utensils:

There is nothing you own in the world:
It may be yours today, tomorrow someone else's.
Then it will go elsewhere, and then to yet another place,
And we go down like dry leaves off a tree.⁴

The theme of death has seen plenty of publications,⁵ in Poland, too.⁶

In the past, from Antiquity to Baroque, the notion of entropy as we know it today was foreign to the minds of the times, but deep inside there was some gut feeling that it did exist, as it was expressed in the saying: *Debemus morti nos nostraque*,⁷ which Horace put poetically as “*mortalia facta peribunt*.”⁸

In Polish armorial lexicons death does not appear, but in their western counterparts it customarily does show at the end of the volume, as a peculiar illustration of the saying “*finis coronat opus*.” Written on unfolded canvass, supported by puttos and covering a pedestal, having at its



Fig. 1. The finale of the last page of Ovid's *Transformations*, Nuremberg edition of 1679: skull on a pedestal in a laurel wreath with the motto hanging *FINIS CORONAT OPUS*. Photo by M. D. Kossowski

⁴ *ibidem*, [trans. L. Kawalec] 29.

⁵ cf.: P. Ariès, *Western attitudes toward death: from the Middle Ages to the present* (Baltimore, 1975); *idem*, *Images of man and death* (Cambridge, 1985). Further literature there.

⁶ see J. A. Chrościcki, *Pompa funebris. Z dziejów kultury staropolskiej* (Warsaw, 1974); *idem*, “Oswajanie śmierci pięknem, [on taming death with beauty]” in *Barok: Historia — Literatura — Sztuka XI/2* [21] (2004), 17–39; T. Dobrzeński, “Geneza polskiego portretu trumiennego,” in *Portret. Funkcja — forma — symbol: Materiały sesji Stowarzyszenia Historyków Sztuki, Toruń, grudzień 1986* (Warsaw, 1990), 73–88; *Przeraźliwe echo trąby żalostnej do wieczności wzywającej. Śmierć w kulturze dawnej Polski od średniowiecza do końca XVIII w. Katalog wystawy pod kierunkiem i redakcją P. Mrozowskiego, 15 grudnia 2000 — 15 marca 2001, Zamek Królewski w Warszawie* [a catalogue of an exhibition displaying works of art on death] (Warsaw, 2000); *Vanitas. Portret trumienny na tle sarmackich obyczajów pogrzebowych, katalog wystawy Muzeum Narodowe w Poznaniu, listopad 1996 — luty 1997*, ed. J. Dziubkowska [a Poznań exhibition catalogue] (Poznań, 1996).

⁷ Death is our destiny: we and all that is ours are doomed.

⁸ Q. Horatius Flaccus, *De arte poetica* 68: human works will perish (meaning: mortal people's works will perish).

base garlands of fruit and above it a skull in a laurel wreath, the motto constitutes the last page of Ovid's *Transformations* of 1679 (fig. 1).⁹

In the same year *Armorial Universel* by Charles Segoing was printed in Paris, the last page of which featured majestic arms of Death, called *L'empire de la Mort* (fig. 2).¹⁰



Fig. 2. The coat of arms of Death, found in Charles Segoing's *Armorial Universel...*, published in Paris in 1679.
Photo by M. D. Kossowski

⁹ P. Ovidius Naso, *P. Ovidii Nas. Metamorphosis, Oder: Des verblühten Sinns der Ovidianischen Wandlungs = Gedichte gründliche Auslegung: Aus dem Niederländischen Carls von Mander [Karl van Mander]...*, (Nuremberg, 1679), 174.

¹⁰ Ch. Segoing, *Armorial Universel contenant Les Armes des principales Maisons Estalz et Dignitez des plus considerables Royaumes de l'Europe. Blazonnées de leurs Métaux & Couleurset Enrichies de leurs Ornemens extérieurs...* (Paris, 1679), 218, fig. 215.

The heart of this coat of arms, fulfilling all requirements of heraldic composition, is a single-field armorial shield, hatched, diagonally crossed, with tightly inserted flames. The charge is composed of an Enthroned Human Skeleton, with an hourglass in the right hand and a scythe in the left, with a blown-out shroud, on a five-step podium with skulls of all classes arranged by level and hierarchy and with crossed bones or the attributes of dignity and power and of the professions. The armorial shield is topped with a closed crown, with its decoration corresponding to the symbols of death and ennobled with dry and barren branches. Above the crown flutters a scarf with the inscription *L'empire de la Mort*.

The copperplate impression is not coloured, with the hatching of the field and the component parts of the crown — the girdle and the bails — indicated the black colour. According to most authors of armorial treatises, the symbolism of black includes mourning, as in the graphical denotation of the colours by Jacques Francquart of 1623.¹¹ The flames — the glowing flame droplets in the field of the shield — are arranged alternately. They resemble a motif of ermine coat and do make a reference to it, seen as an initial pattern. The flames symbolise the souls of the dead filling the space of the world. They were rendered in silver, same as the other themes of the arms: the charge, the ornamentation of the crown, the branches surrounding the shield and the motto above it.

The charge of the coat of arms has an elaborate composition of complex symbolism and comprises a number of semantic notions referring to its component parts. The main part of the charge is human skeleton demonstrated frontally and seated with long bones broadly stretched in both directions. It rests on a high seat that looks like a pedestal, with its heels propped against the base and broadly spread tibias and femurs. The trapezoidal back support resembles a box of the cover of the coffin and the semicircular head support looks like a halo. In its right hand the skeleton is raising a bat-winged clock and its left forearm supports a scythe. Both of these attributes point to the inevitability of a person's death linked to the strictly determined time as measured by the content of sand in the hourglass. The throne of Death is placed on a five-step pedestal. On its four consecutive steps skulls with tibias are resting (actually these are femurs), or a bone is crossed with an attribute of the lay or religious post held. Most of the attributes of the posts correspond with those held by nobility. Along the front of the lowest step, but not on it, skulls of commoners are aligned with the attributes of their professions. Recognising most of those poses no problem. Some rank crowns used in the 17th century may be a little difficult to recognise as those were a bit simplified for the sake of graphical composition. One finds some help in the same author's work, published many years before, *Tresor heraldique*,¹² which shows and describes crowns: from the papal tiara to the headgear of viscount, baron and archduke.¹³

The front of the upper step, where the throne of Death is placed, is filled with three crowned skulls, their bones resting on the fourth step. They symbolise the transience of supreme dignities. Looking from the heraldic dexter, these are skulls of the Pope, in the tiara of the bishop of Rome,

¹¹ see J. Francquart, *Pompa funebris optimi potentissimique principis Alberti Pii, Archiducis Austriae, ... Veris imaginibus expressa a Iacobo Francquart... Ejusdem principis morientis vita...* (Bruxellae, 1623).

¹² *TRESOR / HERALDIQUE, / OV / MERCVRE / ARMORIAL. / Oú sont démontrées toutes les choses nécessaires pour / acquérir vne parfaite connoissance de l'Art de / blasonner. / Enrichy de Figures & du Blazon des Maisons Nobles & considéra-ibles de France, & autres Royaumes & Estats de l'Europe. Avec deux Tables fort amples, à l'ay de desquelles on peut / trouuer d'abord le Nom & les Armes de / chacune Famille. / Par Mc. CHARLES SEGOING, Aduocat en Parlements, & és Conseils d'Etat & Priué du Roy. / ...* (a Paris, M.DC.LVII., [1657]).

¹³ *ibidem*, 460–466.

the Emperor, in a closed crown with high bails and the French King,¹⁴ with the lower openwork arching of crown bails, or any other ruler in the crown of dynastic kings.¹⁵ One level down is filled, from the right, by four skulls: a cardinal in the hat of the Prince of the Church;¹⁶ a king in the crown with five fleurons (of an elective king?), or maybe a viceroy, peer or duke;¹⁷ an archbishop in a mitre and with a processional cross and probably a duke in a three-fleurred crown (since none of the skulls in this row is wearing a ducal coronet). The middle row represents the skulls of: a bishop with a mitre and a pastoral; presumably a count, albeit in a diadem with five rather than nine pearls,¹⁸ an abbot in a mitre without any additional attributes; a baron having a diadem whose girdle features three rows of pearls;¹⁹ there is also a figure resembling a rector with an attribute that resembles a sceptre of the head of a university. On the first level there are six skulls: one of a viscount with three large pearls capping his diadem;²⁰ a vice-chancellor with a single staff shaped like a lantern, a knight in helm with a raised visor and unfolded mantling; a canon in a typical hat; a chancellor with crossed staves, tipped with lanterns on which birds are sitting; there is also a secretary or medicine doctor with a diadem girdle without gems.

Before the first step, as if along ground level, there are seven skulls of the lowest class. Behind the first one you can see ears of crops; behind the second one there are bunches of grapes; at the third one there are crossed bludgeons instead of bones and juggling circles; at the third one there is a brush and a palette; the fourth one is accompanied by a mason's axe, a hammer and a punch or drill; the penultimate one features a flute crossed with a lute; behind the last one there are cymbals (provided they are rightly made out). These represent the symbolic end to the lives of a farmer, gardener, jester, painter, artisan, musician — and perhaps a Jew, too — occupying the lowest rank in the social hierarchy, even in the number of other plebeians.

The armorial shield of the French type is topped with a black open crown, where silver skulls and the glowing flames of the same dye were put. The girdle — instead of pearls — features five human skulls with crossed bones, separated by flames. Instead of fleurons there are as many skulls, pierced by arrows, or perhaps nailed by executioners, with the splinters of nails having broken through sinciputs, also with bones and spread-out bat wings, as if growing out of temple bones. An identical skull crowns the junction of bails, which are lined with little skulls without jaws, looking like pearls, and separated by tiny flames. The arrowhead above the skull that pins the bails is there instead of a cross topping a sphere. Cross symbolizes victory over Death. It could not have capped the crown. Rather than a symbol of redemption, a symbol of death was presented: a spear- or arrow-head that pierced through a skull.

The shield is flanked by two branches tangled together, dried-out, possibly coming from an oak. The motto on the scarf announces a kingdom, or even an empire of Death.

The skeleton in the charge symbolizes death, destruction, the opposite of life and the reverse of creation. It is a representation of an abstract concept, which does not yield to an order made by people in the material sphere. The scythe symbolizes good harvest, which Death cannot complain about. A layout of skulls on the steps of the pedestal corresponds to *Danse Macabre*, an

¹⁴ *ibidem*, 463.

¹⁵ *ibidem*, 464–465.

¹⁶ *ibidem*, 461.

¹⁷ *ibidem*, 465.

¹⁸ *cf. ibidem*.

¹⁹ He should have been entitled to a diadem of five double rows of pearls on the girdle as indicated by *Tresor heraldique...*, *cf. ibidem*, 466.

²⁰ *ibidem*, 466.

iconographic representation dating back to the Middle Ages. One of those²¹ is headed by the imagery of Death carrying a coffin on a shoulder and leading the pope by the hand. Another gets hold of a king and grabs a cardinal by his arm. Another image of Death takes a couple of courtiers by their arms. Yet another Grim Reaper clutches a hand of a shrugging boy and reaches out to a baby with its other hand. Still others seize a bishop, take a priest's hand, embrace a nobleman's shoulder and stretch their arms out to get hold of a monk's head.

Heraldry knows a number of representations whose motif is worthlessness of human efforts, featuring a human skull or another human bone or some *vanitas* motif,²² but all of those referred to individuals' family emblems; here we are dealing with a coat of arms of an abstract idea — a Baroque representation of the ultimate moment.

The arms makes an impression that the author erected a special monument to Death and ennobled it by presenting it with a token of privilege. It is no ordinary ennoblement but a special one in the eyes of the armorial author, a rank that surpasses royal, imperial and papal dignities taken together. Death is beyond their power and dominates the mightiest of this world, which is evocatively rendered by the armorial design. It is enthroned on the top pedestal, towering above the crowned heads of the most powerful rulers, put below its feet. In line with the Baroque outlook, Death is egalitarian in the sense of making all its equal subjects, and upon the hour of the terminus of life, it manifests its *absolutum dominium* of the whole bio-material dimension. In the extreme case, impersonated as a dead body, Death scorns the crucified Christ, as in the first scene of Dance of Death, the work of Albrecht Kauz of 1649, from the Bern Museum of History (fig. 3).²³

It is probably the only case where an abstract-notion type of phenomenon was ennobled, literally. Before it came to that, it had been given a material, iconographic form. It was shown as a human skeleton, and a corpse at various stages of decomposition, most commonly with hollow orbits, broken abdominal integument, partly exposed skeleton, even snakes or eels and larvae in the decomposing mass. A number of iconographic representations also made use of the figure of Death.

The main reason why the theme of transience was being raised, which was manifested in all arts in the period of Baroque, was possibly best expressed by Horace's sentence "*cita mors venit*" in the sense of "*cito venit*" ie. 'death comes quickly.'²⁴ This conviction was not only expressed by the idea that life passes quickly, but it also referred to some fateful events, as illustrated by two major calamities of those days — plague and war, particularly the Thirty Years' War, which stamped its seal on the generation that survived it and on their heirs.

²¹ see *Book of Hours* with funeral miniatures and Death strutting with its victims, cards 212 x 148 mm, approx. 1430–1440: Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Rothschild Ms. 2535, f. 108 v.–109 r., in *The Dictionary of Art*, vol. 4, ed. J. Turner (London, 1996), 370–372, fig. on p. 371.

²² The coat of arms of Sir Isaac Newton revealed crossed bones on a black field, whereas the armorial symbol of the Lutheran Bishop of Uppsala Laurentius Gothius (17th c.) — an hourglass in a red field, see: P. Dudziński, *Alfabet heraldyczny* (Warsaw, 1997), 138. In Polish heraldry there is a Białogłowski [(white) Woman] coat of arms, having three calvarias with no jaws in its charge, one and two. There is also the coat of arms Trupia Głowa [Dead Skull], representing a skull with a sabre blade piercing through its sinciput, or — in another of its varieties — a *malchus* axe instead of a sabre, in a horizontal position. See K. Łódzia-Czarniecki, *Herbarz Polski podług Niesieckiego treściwie ułożony i wypisami z późniejszych autorów, z różnych akt grodzkich i ziemskich, z ksiąg i akt kościelnych oraz dokumentów familijnych powiększony i wydany...*, vol. I (Gniezno, 1875–1888), 7, 36; A. Heymowski, "Polska Rola Herbowa IV: Szlachta 1: Stare herby polskie Ś — T (1–289)," box 26, item. 244 and 245, unpublished material.

²³ Bernisches Historisches Museum, inv. 822.2.

²⁴ Q. Horatius Flaccus, *Sermones* I. 1, 8.

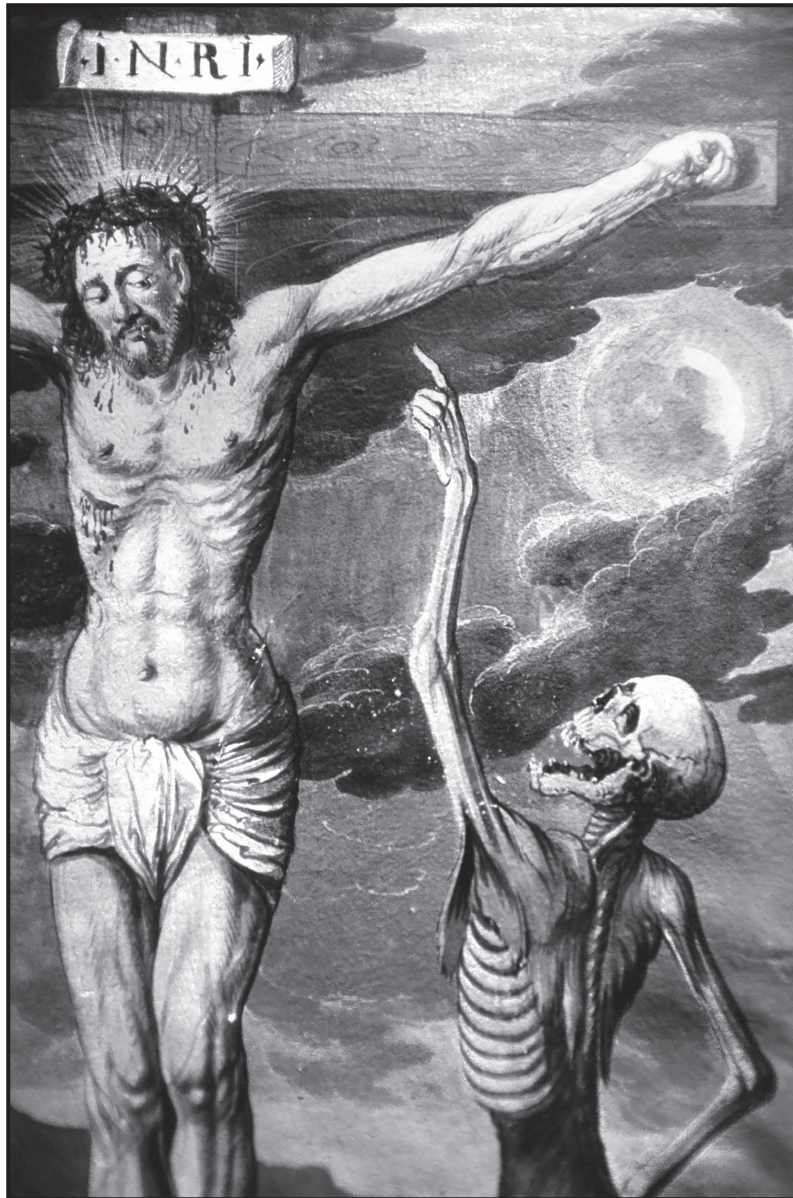


Fig. 3. *Death Scorning the Christ on the Cross*, a part of the first scene of the *danse macabre* by Albrecht Kauz of 1649. Bernisches Historisches Museum. Photo by M. D. Kossowski

In Poland the notion of death was not ennobled by means of being placing a coat of arms in armorials. It was an appropriate gut feeling since the unceremonious nature of the phenomenon contradicts the notion of *nobilitas*, and hence has a plebeian character. Among the reasons for this approach was a contempt for death our forefathers developed owing to their placing the Christian eternity in Paradise above the worldly existence and on account of a deep faith in resurrection on the Day of Reckoning.

On the other hand, Death exists of the Creators will and is necessary for the continuity of being in another time–space. Does it, then, deserve any form of ennoblement?



Sławomir Górzyński
Warsaw

“Industrial” Coats of Arms

The theme of ‘industrial’ coats of arms is, in a way, imprecise; the armorial bearings in the Polish Kingdom that were created by the partitioning powers seemed artificial and could not have reflected the spirit of Polish heraldry. Those were fashioned in St. Petersburg and meant to serve imperial objectives.

Mid-19th century brought — alongside an administrative reform — a first caveat for the Polish heraldic identity: in territorial heraldry. New heraldic badges were established for some newly-formed governorates. The Warsaw Guberniya, now comprising territories from the former provinces of Kalisz, Łęczyca, Mazovia, Rawa and Cuyavia, featured all the coats of arms of the former lands in its new seven-field heraldic device, the scale of the new land incorporation notwithstanding. A new coat of arms was created — one formed from a number of fields. The Lublin Guberniya’s arms, in a novel four-field shield, brought together the arms of the former Province of Lublin, the Land of Chełm as well as Eagle and Pahonia [Pol. Pogoń — the Chase] symbolising Podlachia (fig. 1); the Płock Guberniya, in its two vertically-divided two-field



Fig. 1. Lublin Guberniya emblem



Fig. 2. Płock Guberniya emblem

shield, contained a King's Head from the arms of the Land of Dobrzyń beside the Płock Eagle with the letter 'P' (fig. 2), whereas in the heraldic badge of the Augustów Guberniya we also see Pahonia and Bear — a figure from the arms of Samogitia. In the heraldic badge of the Radom Guberniya there was an Eagle on top of the Sandomierz stripes.

This mention is in place since along with the establishment of new provincial coats of arms,¹ which were not really the last word of St. Petersburg's heraldry office, work was commenced to



Fig. 3. Theodore Count Berg, Viceroy of the Polish Kingdom

codify city coats of arms. To that end, an order was sent out to municipal authorities demanding that information be submitted on the heraldic devices in use and the basis of their usage. This order was issued in the office of the Secretary of State and sent out by the Viceroy of the Polish Kingdom and the Governmental Commission for the Interior. The Emperor did not endorse the arms submitted, although as many as 455 towns sent in their heraldic representations. It was concluded that those unduly reminded one of the old traditions of the Polish towns.²

The towns were ordered to submit information on their coats of arms again in 1867 through Viceroy Count Berg (fig. 3). The materials collected upon the first survey did not survive and were destroyed by Germans after the fall of the Warsaw Rising, but the documentation from the 1860s has been kept in St. Petersburg's heraldic archives. Below are several exam-

ples of creations from those days. It goes without saying that the preserved materials are vital for the Polish home-rule heraldry. The files have preserved not only the drawings of arms and copies of foundation rights but also the sketches of seals and imprints of matrices.

Creations of heraldic officials

It was not only the Polish Kingdom that was "endowed" with badges created in the Russian heraldic office in St. Petersburg — a number of Russian towns were granted new emblems after 1857, too. These days the Department of Heraldry of the Ruling Senate in St. Petersburg is striving to reinstate the original arms in these towns, aware of how bad the mid-1800s implementations were. These include the coats of arms which as early as in 1700s included motifs to do with industry.

¹ On arms created in the Polish Kingdom cf. ed. S. Górzyński, *Heroldia Królestwa Polskiego, katalog wystawy dokumentów ze zbiorów Rosyjskiego Państwowego Archiwum Historycznego w Sankt Petersburgu, 17.XII.2001 – 3.II.2002*, Muzeum Historyczne m.st. Warszawy (Warsaw, 2001).

² M. Adamczewski, S. K. Kuczyński, "Miejsce 'Albumu herbów miast Królestwa Polskiego' z 1847 roku w polskiej heraldyce miejskiej," *Herby miast polskich w okresie zaborów (1772–1918). Materiały sesji naukowej* [materials of a scholarly session on the emblems of Polish towns], *Włocławek 5–6 grudnia 1996* (Włocławek, 1999), 109–130.

It can clearly be seen in the coats of arms of guberniyas formed in 1896. The ten arms (except the one of Lublin Guberniya — fig. 4) are completely different from the previous symbols.

The designs known from the files of heraldic offices are but loose broodings of heraldic officials (such as B. Kione) on matters heraldic without any attempt at reference to the regional historic traditions. In one case a reference was made to the armorial badge of Warsaw (figs 5, 6). It was hardly a mermaid, though; rather, the awkward creature resembled the dragon from the emblem of the Land of Czersk (alas, in the 1880s A. Koch, A. Kulikowski, and recently A. Znamierowski, followed in these footsteps, with the coat of arms of Grójec, reverberating these ideas). Even if a symbol from the time of independent Poland was being left in a town's coat of arms, it ended up heavily transformed.

The two arrow-heads from the emblem of Grodzisk create — in the 1867 design — a square rather than the two arrow-heads (fig. 7), whereas the emblem of Łowicz, the pelican — rather than feeding its offspring with blood — is catching fish (fig. 8). Also, in municipal arms, a canton with guberniyal emblem appeared (deplorably, some of today's armorial designers, such as Jerzy Michta in the arms of towns in the Świętokrzyskie Province, refer to this tradition).



Fig. 4. The 1896 arms of Lublin Guberniya



Fig. 5. Warsaw emblem in the period of the Polish Kingdom



Fig. 6. A design of Warsaw's coat of arms of 1874



Fig. 7. A design of the emblem of Grodzisk (guberniyal emblem in canton)



Fig. 8. *Corona muralis* and a canton in a design of the emblem of Łowicz

Back to industrial arms, tough. The guberniyal emblems, created in 1896 abound in symbols related to manufacturing, farming and food processing. Eventually, Warsaw Guberniya, a predominantly farming region, was ascribed a stack of cereal and a river — to mark the region as divided in two by the Vistula (fig. 9). A stack, with the same significance, made its way to the emblem of Radom Guberniya, which was growing as an industrial centre those days, too (fig. 10). The agricultural character of Kalisz Guberniya was reflected in ears of cereals, too, but a reference was also made to the production of wool, which was being supplied to the textile factories in and around Łódź (fig. 11). The character of the region, associated with agricultural production is



Fig. 9. Warsaw Guberniya emblem

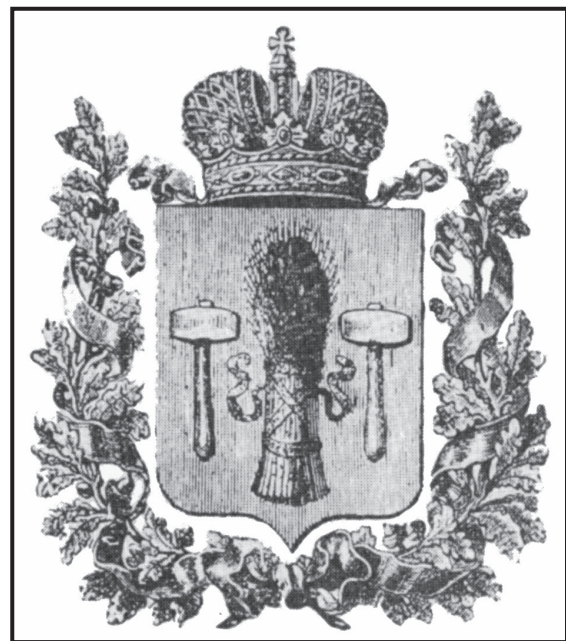


Fig. 10. Radom Guberniya emblem



Fig. 11. Kalisz Guberniya emblem

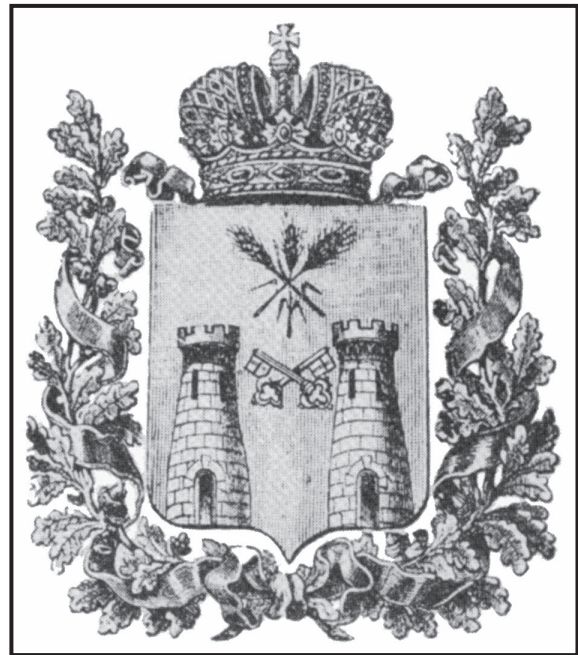


Fig. 12. Płock Guberniya emblem

rendered by the newly introduced emblem of Płock Guberniya: above two towers, separated by two crossed keys, three ears of cereals were presented (fig. 12).

Of a different character, but still connected with trade, is the emblem of Łomża Guberniya — a ship surmounted by two rhombuses supposedly symbolising boxes with merchandise (fig. 13).

Industrial production, and more specifically weaving, is the leitmotif of the emblem of Piotrków Guberniya (fig. 14). It was there that the weaving industry was expanding rapidly; its products were being exported to the central regions of the Empire. In the years immediately preceding the creation of new provincial emblems, the textile production of the Łódź region



Fig. 13. Łomża Guberniya emblem



Fig. 14. Piotrków Guberniya emblem

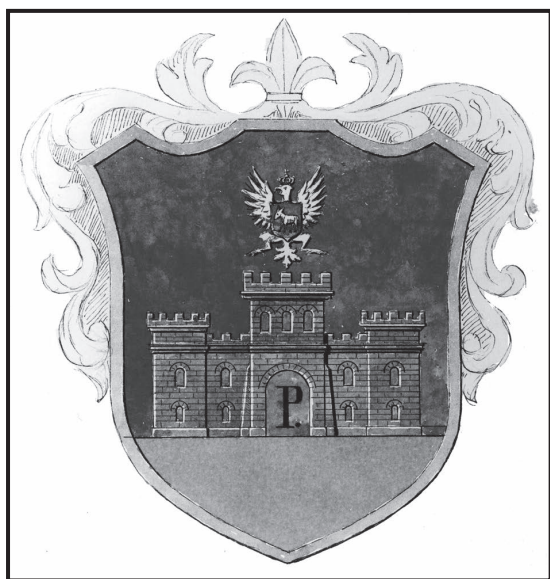


Fig. 15. A design of Piotrków emblem, with the Eagle featuring the charge Ciołek on the chest

was blossoming and flooding the Russian market, so no wonder the officials in the land on the river Neva included this industry's symbolism in the emblem of Piotrków Guberniya. For the record, another emblem of Piotrków Guberniya was designed — one which directly draws upon the emblem of Piotrków (fig. 15), even though this reference was make-believe, too, as the Eagle from above the city walls had been removed and replaced by a Two-Headed Eagle (incidentally, from the heraldic viewpoint, this idea was rather fortunate as at that time Płock was part of Russian imperial dominion).

Kielce Guberniya's industrial output was appreciated, too. This long-time industrial centre, host to a number of metallurgic plants, was rewarded by an emblem featuring a flaming kiln.

A review of guberniyal emblems, as related to the symbolism of the predominant industry, shows that a new creation can also be well-contemplated and coherent. This is not to make value judgements about the implementations; rather, I set out to demonstrate the complexity of the representations being determined in the land on the river Neva. Gubernial emblems were followed by implementations of new town arms.

Before I move on to present the emblems created in the 19th century, which have associations with the industrial production typical for the region, please note that industrial symbolism is typical for the 19th century, not only related to territorial heraldry: in the Galicia region of the Hapsburg Empire, coats of arms granted upon ennoblement of individuals did make similar references, too, which I wrote about about a dozen years ago. Notably, the coats of arms were proposed by those about to be granted the arms, which means they were interested in those sorts of conferrals. Half-Cog was granted to Teodor Baranowski Edler von Zgoda (1887) (fig. 16a); Wojciech Dobija von Kamieniec, an Imperial and Royal Colonel, who was ennobled as an officer and participant in a military campaign, placed a Millstone in the arms to commemorate his parents, owners of a mill (1917) (fig. 16b); Ferner Edler von Fernberg, a supervisor of a salt-mining bank in Bochnia, placed in his arms an Entrance to a Mine (1786) (fig. 16c); others' coats of arms linked them to salt, too, such as Freindl von Freindelsberg (chemical Signs for Salt), a discoverer of a new deposit in Wieliczka (1796) and Anton Friedhuber Ritter von Grubenthal (Entrance to a Salt-Mine) (1794); brewing symbols (Hops and Oats) made their way to the coat of arms of the Okocim brewer Jan Goetz Edler von Okocim (1881) (fig. 16d); Francis Hilburg Edler von Ehrenfels, an official of Wieliczka Salts, also featured an Entrance to a Salt-Mine (1794). Suffice to present one more of the great many persons associated with salt: Jan Nepomucen Ritter von Sahera who, as an administrator of treasury estates in Galicia, including Galician Salts, got a Stack of Cereal and a Barrel of Salt as well as Iron and Hammer (metallurgical symbols) in his coat of arms (1818). Similar examples could be given of the Polish Kingdom, but as the topic awaits its researcher, allow me to move back to town arms.

The tradition of urban or regional industrial symbolism is a long one and nothing novel in municipal heraldry. Remaining within Polish context, we could point to the emblems of Bochnia (14th century), Wieliczka (XV century) (fig. 17) and Olkusz (16th century), or the seals of the

towns featuring elements associated with salt and lead–ore mining, very profitable industries. The importance of agriculture, and forestry in particular, was reflected in the emblem of Ostrów (Hewn Blysmus Tree).

Mining industry was readily exposed in Lesser Poland's coats of arms. The three towns mentioned were granted their emblems still in the old days of Poland. Drohobycz, too, was conferred arms related to salt mining and trading — 9 Barrels of Salt. Another conferral made during the economic boom was connected to exploitation of oil and produced the emblem of Borysław, a major industrial centre in Galicia. Please note that the emblem of Borysław rather faithfully renders the Oil Rigs of that period, as evidenced by photographs taken before WWII (fig. 19 a–b).

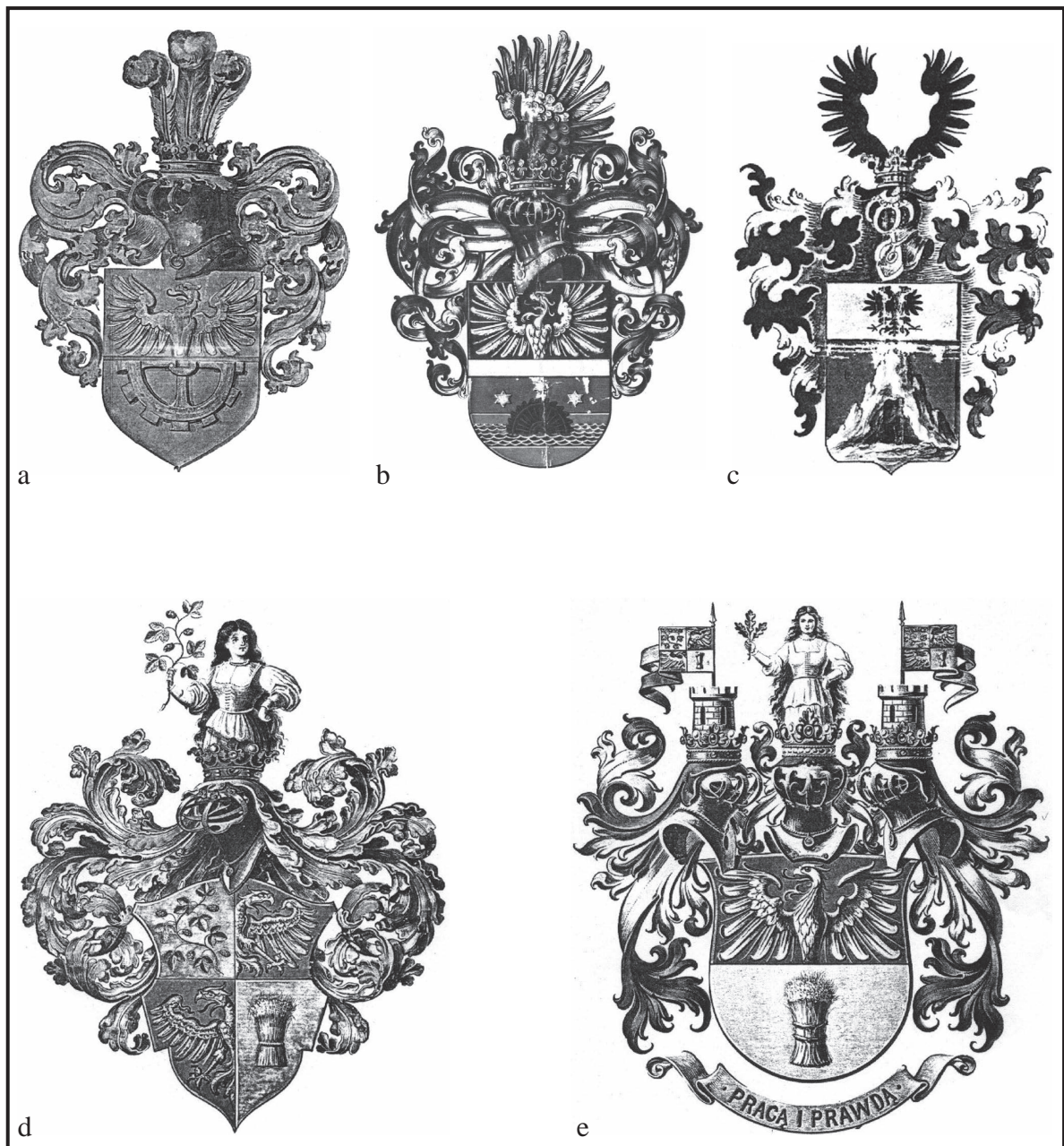


Fig. 16. The coats of arms from the ennoblement of: a — Baranowski, b — Dobija, c — Ferner, d — Goetz (nobility arms), e — Goetz (baronial arms)



Fig. 17. Seal impressions of Wieliczka and Bochnia

In the Polish Kingdom a wide-ranging campaign was carried out to establish what emblems towns should use. For that purpose a survey was sent out to all towns and cities in the Kingdom. Very soon responses began to arrive, which contributed to the creation of the “Book of Heraldic Office” — this was discussed on several occasions (recently by M. Adamczewski); this source-book which is now

unavailable did leave its mark on the contemporary Polish heraldry. There still remains a copy of some materials from the co-called Cup-Bearer’s Book, with some having survived indirectly by M. Gumowski making use of notes made before the destruction of the “Book of the Heraldic Office.”

However, it is worth quoting a passage concerning the mentality of Modliborzyce’s townsfolk (a town in the Kingdom). These people, unsure of which emblem they ought to use or what the seal represents, “wished to have in their newly-created emblem a Spool representing the weavers living and working in Modliborzyce;”³ likewise, the residents of Janów thought that “a much better identification of their town would be a Boat, symbolising a port and trade along the Vistula.”⁴ The manufacturing of locomotives (heavy industry), made it to the coat of arms of the town of Kromolów alongside the traditions of the owners (a Steam Engine and the heraldic Lily), but the heraldic office did not endorse this design. The biggest industrial centre of the Kingdom, Łódź — built out of nothing, one could say — sought to combine tradition with a telling charge in its emblem: hence the charge Łodzian, Radwan and the modern day symbolised by a Weaving Shuttle in the paw of a Lion sitting in a Boat.⁵

Zgierz had three-part shield in bend, in the first field blue Spindles and two Spools, blue and red, in the middle a golden inscription “Bogu po sławu, caru po czest” [to God’s glory and in honour of the Emperor] and a silver Gear in the third red field.

The weaving shuttle was a commonplace theme of new heraldic creation. It appeared in the coat of arms of Tomaszów Mazowiecki, designed in 1894, alongside a woolly ram for a clarification of its semantics. Now, the emblem is a Maiden on a Bear in a golden field, thus a direct reference to the founders’ coat of arms — the Ostrowskis.

Just for illustration’s sake, two would-be emblems will now be described, designed at the beginning of the 20th century.⁶ These were involved in a campaign, still under way, of establishing emblems for the Polish Kingdom.

Sosnowiec was supposed to start as city on 10 June, 1902. So, an emblem needed to be established. On 13 Sep., 1904, the town hall sent a design to Piotrków, which according to the paper *Przemysłowo-Handlowy Kurier Sosnowiecki* was authored by Stefan Byszewski.

The emblem of Sosnowiec, designed in early 20th century was a “beautiful” picture, rich in content, but its composition is a classic example of amateur heraldry created unawares of the rules governing heraldic art (fig. 20, 21), which is not a hermetic manner of iconographic

³ M. Adamczewski, *Miejsce „Albumu herbów miast Królestwa Polskiego”, op. cit.*, 114–115.

⁴ *Ibidem*, 115.

⁵ *Ibidem*, 118–119.

⁶ RGIA, fasc. 1343, op. 15, d. 326, Sosnowiec k. 259 and Zduńska Wola k. 245. I published both designs but without an in-depth discussion in *Heroldia...*

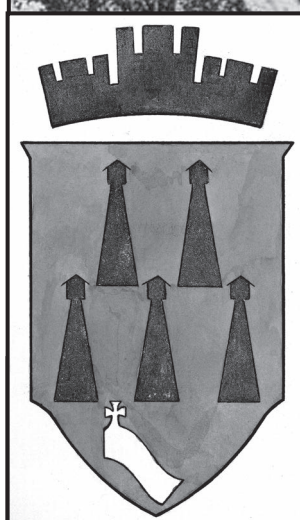


Fig. 18. The emblem of Boryslaw (between WWI and WWII)



Fig. 19a–b Boryslaw, the view of oil rigs



Fig. 20. Sosnowiec emblem, a design

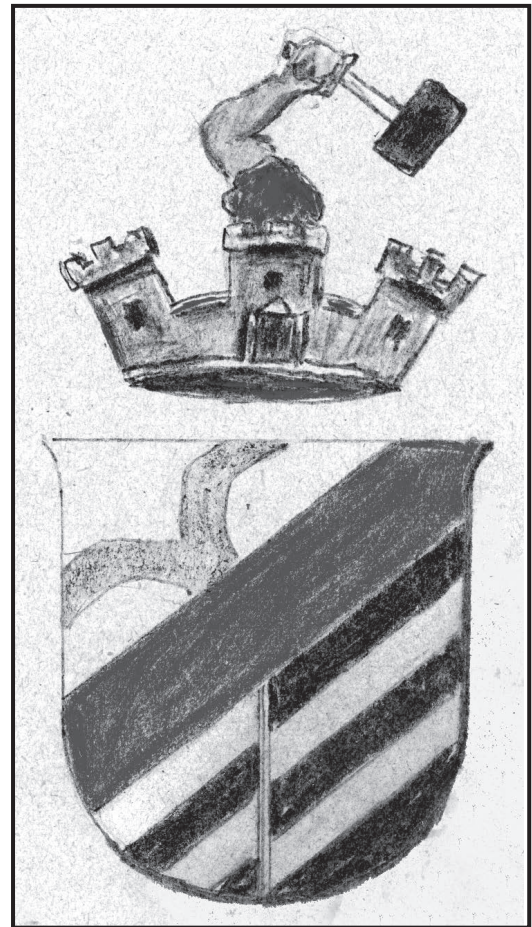


Fig. 21. Sosnowiec emblem, a sketch from the interbellum

representation for its own sake. In following a set of rules, heraldry imposes a framework on an armorial designer thanks to which the armorial creation, or a novel rendering of a coat of arms, is legible. Heraldry, like logo design rules, is supposed to come up with an unambiguous message, as desired on the receiving end. However, a different origin of the creation as well as the composition framework of a shield, give a logo designer more freedom. Yet, the 19th century designers demonstrated plenty of resourcefulness when creating armorial badges⁷⁷. One of such picturesque compositions can be found in an emblem designed for Sosnowiec.

As this is a painted picture, the description will not follow blazoning rules; the language to be used is prose with elements of blazoning. Per bend sinister, natural Earthen turning to Azure, to dexter of the helm and of bend sinister an Industrial Plant with Oil Rig and a Gear protruding from a Building with three windows and a slanting roof, crosswise another Building with two windows, slightly detached from the two a Chimney, taller by half than the Rig with the Gear, white–grey Smoke coming out. Redbrick buildings, the rig and gear Sable. To sinister of the buildings six lone Pine–Trees, alternating taller and shorter, all natural, to sinister of the helm

⁷⁷ When describing the conferrals of coats of arms in Galicia, I quoted a description by K. Chłędowski, who contemptuously wrote about a new coat of arms created for Minister Lidl as a “louse hopping on a goat’s drum.” This is how he and a friend of his saw it.

Trees turning into dense Forest. Further description needs to be halted as the buildings might be some actually existing structures.

In the first field below the helm, there are several lines and alternating sky-blue, black and yellow stripes. They form no arrangements known in heraldry; rather, they render the geological structure below the city (from today's descriptions of the badge). As if this were not enough, so as to dispel doubts and make it clear we are dealing with a subterranean structure, a small shield was diagonally overlaid on the stripes, where Argent, Hammer and Iron crossed, Sable. I think the bend that goes across the shield ought to be linked to new outlines of streets or the railway line, which had such heavy bearing on the town's development. The lower, sinister half of the shield is made up of several symbols. The River that forks (two flows that join to form one; again blazoning terms do not suit this description) is Przemsza, formed by the Biała [Pol. White] Przemsza and Czarna [Black] Przemsza. Since this river is where lands of all three of Poland's partitioning powers meet, these were included in the representation: above are the colours of Russia (silver, blue and red), dexter to base shows the black and yellow colours of the Kingdom of Prussia and to base we find the black and yellow colours of the Austrian Empire. Since the designer most obviously was hardly satisfied with the amount of information included in the shield, he added several components to the colours of Russia: gears, rollers — possibly from metallurgical plants, a branch of Sosnowiec industry — and weaving shuttles as well as wheels, possibly related to railway or mining rigs.

There were even more industrial and urban associations pushed into the limited shield space. The shield is capped by kiln chimneys. This is a creative application of *corona muralis*, which often comes top of armorial shields (not only in Russia), normally featuring city walls, towers, crenels (in Russian heraldry), into symbols characteristic of this particular town. This is not all:

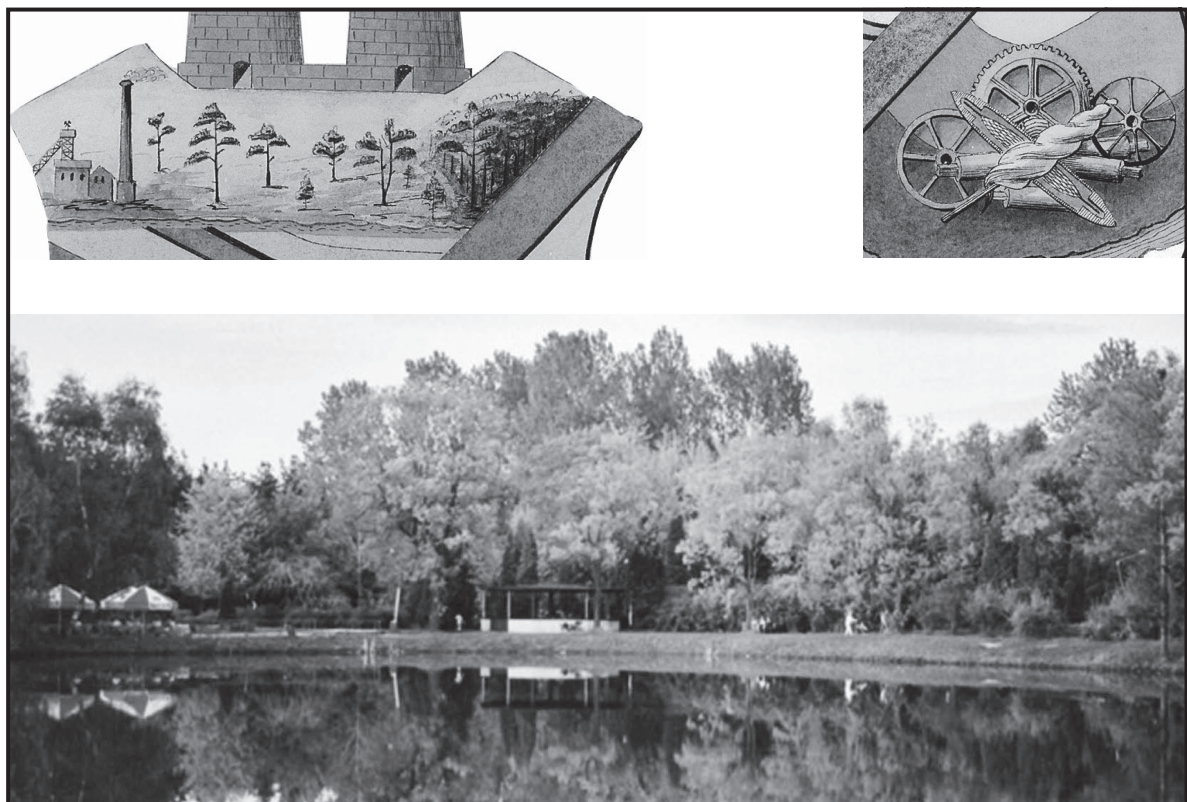
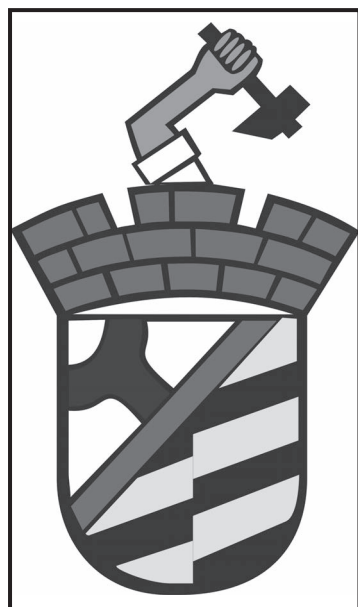


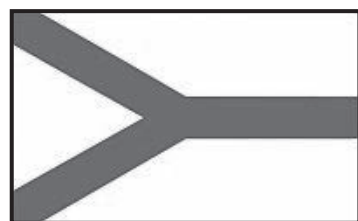
Fig. 22. Sosnowiec emblem, a design; current view of Sosnowiec

the badge was sort of animated with a muscular, bent male arm that holds a hammer, placed on something resembling a footbridge.

This was too much even for the servants of St. Petersburg Heraldic Office. The changes that were introduced established the emblem for a hundred years. Today's official armorial badge (fig. 23), although its symbols remind one partitions of Poland and thus evoke controversy, has not been changed. In accordance with the information on the city's official website, the Polish Heraldry Society undertook to prepare a new coat of arms. Despite some sort of accord between



23. Sosnowiec, współczesny rysunek herbu



24. Sosnowiec, współczesna flaga

the Society and the municipal authorities, new emblem has not been created. The description of today's official city emblem reads "The city heraldic badge is made up of two parts: a heraldic shield and a top. The shield is divided with a red bend. A white left-hand top corner is divided into three parts with blue bands, symbolising a forking River. The right-hand bottom part showing a Fault of geological strata is vertically halved into the outer three-part field formed by slanting bars — yellow and black, one above another, and the inner part made up of the same sort of fields but moved one field down. The shield is topped by a brick wall in the shape of an arc, towered by three chimneys. From behind the middle chimney rises a hand with a rolled up sleeve of a white shirt, bent in elbow facing the right side of the coat of arms. The hand is holding a brown-and-black hammer.⁸"

Just for the record, the flag of Sosnowiec is presented here, reminding us of the city's location on the rivers (fig. 24).⁹

Just as Sosnowiec owed its development to industry, which developed expansively in this city in the 19th century, so did Zduńska Wola boost from a small settlement into a vibrant town in the same period. This settlement, known in Middle Ages, got its charter only on 25 Oct., 1825, thanks to Stefan Złotnicki, bearer of Prawdzic. Wavers, mostly from Silesia, were brought over at that time. In 1895, the 14th volume of *The Geographical Dictionary of the Polish Kingdom* passed the information about three steam-powered weaving plants and thousands of cottage industries. The three big plants were reflected in an emblem design that was sent to St. Petersburg.

Adamczewski and Śmiałowski devoted an article to the heraldic symbols of Zduńska Wola: "Cztery herby Zduńskiej Woli,¹⁰" where they analyse heraldic badges of the city. However, they fail short of discussing the emblem described below.

The design of the emblem is known from the same fascicle as the one where the Sosnowiec design is contained in a black-and-white drawing made in ink, which could be described as "per fess, a big Factory in between small ones, two other structures with chimneys in the background."

⁸ <http://www.sosnowiec.pl/strefa_mieszkanca/artykuly/k1,96,zakochaj_sie_w_sosnowcu/k2,140,historia/k3,151,insygnia/> [access 2011-05-09].

⁹ *ibidem*.

¹⁰ M. Adamczewski, J. Śmiałowski, "Cztery herby Zduńskiej Woli," in *Heraldyka samorządowa II Rzeczypospolitej (1918-1939). Materiały sesji naukowej Włocławek 24-25 października 2001 r.*, ed. S. K. Kuczyński (Włocławek, 2002), 169-183.

None the less, I would be inclined to take those buildings to signify a "city" that expands in the backdrop of the factories (fig. 25). This expression of the image is justified in so much as the factories operated by farming work out to home manufacturers and buying the ready stuff back. This manufacturing method, prevalent in the town, has been reflected in the other field of the shield: to base (on a linear substructure) a Weaving Machine represented spatially. One person is working at it: one can recognise a woman in the picture, one with long hair and wearing a dress. The home-manufacturing method can be observed in two more details. There is a door leading to the place where the people are working, thus making it evidently seem to be some cottage industry rather than a factory floor: this could be a flat or even a chamber, as the frieze seen above it could represent some canopy above what could be a shed where the machine is kept. Unfortunately I have no photographs of such weaving plants from Zduńska Wola to back my conjecture, but it appears plausible to me.

Even though, luckily, the design was not introduced into the town's symbolism, the municipal authorities decided to add to it a heraldic composition (two nobility coat of arms), albeit somewhat different (the town's website shows this in the colours of the feathers in the Ostoja coat of

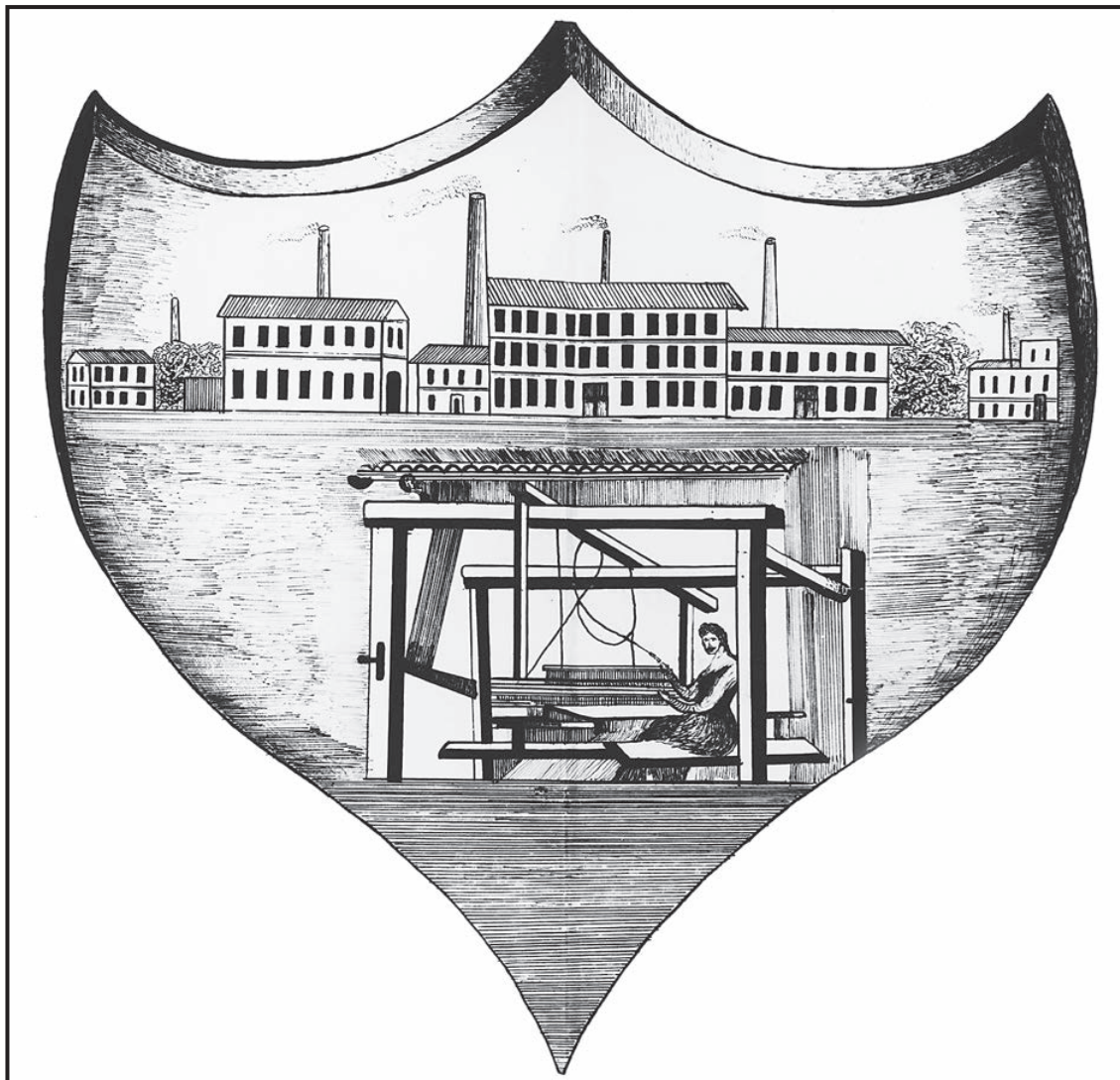


Fig. 25. Zduńska Wola emblem, a design

arms).¹¹ Still, this confusion was facilitated by the publications of M. Gumowski, J. Plewako, and J. Wang, in whose armorial only the coat of arms Prawdzic appeared in the emblem of Zduńska Wola, which is totally erroneous, having no historical or legal rationale. Alas, the decision of the council is legal. It shows yet again that only the existence of a Heraldic Commission with a strong legal basis, and able to block a council's decision in municipal heraldry, makes sense in Poland.

¹¹ A blazon (!) from the website is this: „The coat of arms of Zduńska Wola is an adapted heraldic family sign of the founders of the town — Prawdzic and Ostoja. On the first shield (left) there is a coat of arms of Prawdzic: Argent, on a red wall with crenels Half-Lion Or, holding a ring in paws — or the Truth [Prawda] ie. a mirror. The contour of the ring Or. Above the shield a gold crowned Gold Half-Lion, (as in the shield). The founder of the town, Stefan Żłotnicki, sealed with these arms. On the second shield (right) there is the coat of arms Ostoja — the family coat of arms of the founders wife, Honorata of Okołowicze. It represents, in the red field, a sword with a gold hilt, pale, silver blade to base, between two crescents Or, fesswise out. Above the shield a Crown, where five ostrich feathers, including two Or, between three Gules.” <<http://www.zdunskawola.pl/www/portal?id=57822>>.

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The Hortenau Family – the Unknown Hapsburgs¹

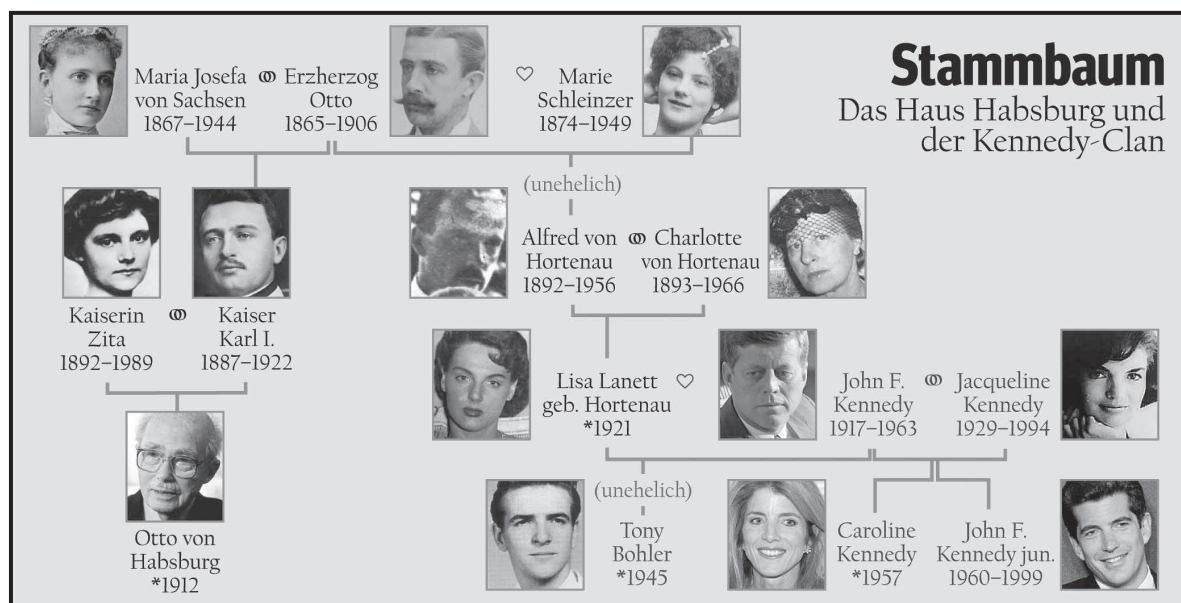
The House of Hapsburg, or actually the family of Hapsburg–Lorraine, was long governed by a customary law based on tradition. The legal foundation of their position was — according to some old documents — above all the Pragmatic Sanction of 1713, which authorised the principle of the integrity of the empire and the power of the ruling dynasty. It also made throne succession principles more precise, and made it possible for women to assume royal power, too, if necessary. Alongside the rules on inheritance, it also reinforced a hierarchical structure of dynasty and regulated the difficult issues of etiquette. Since then, everybody knew their place within the Hapsburg dynasty, and any primacy contention has since been immaterial.²

The ways of the dynasty or the duties of its members have not been codified, though. Those were written down only in 1839 in the Imperial–Austrian family statute of 3 February, 1839 (*Kaiserlich Oesterreichische Familien–Statut vom 3. Februar 1839*). Its provisions were classified until the fall of monarchy, which as of mid–19th century caused heavy criticism on the part of parliamentarians. The document, made up of 61 articles, was since its conception kept in *Haus-, Hof-, und Staatsarchiv*, which was subordinated to the Ministry for Foreign Affairs and the Imperial House. It was usually aristocrats from the best houses that sat in it, possibly because part of their workload was the issues of the whole imperial family, on top of foreign policy.

The family statute of 1839 was by and large the work of Chancellor Clement, Duke von Metternich, who strove to preserve and strengthen not only the power of Austria, but also the unity of the whole Hapsburg family, which was in danger in the aftermath of the demise of Emperor Franz I. His son and successor, Ferdinand I, had “serious problems with himself” and the impression that he acted in the name of the dynasty was absolutely fallacious. The rulers of Tuscany and Modena, despite being dependent on the military might of Vienna, ceased to recognise the authority of the young emperor, while the Hungarian line, represented by the local palatine, Archduke Joseph (1776–1847), supporting the tendencies for the autonomy of the Crown of Saint Stephen, was getting dangerously independent. The family statute was then written mainly for the sake of reinforcing the position of the weak monarch, whose entitlements as the head of the family were thus engrained in law and hence unchangeable: “The emperor, as the head of the family, is not only sovereign and judge of all family members, but he is also entitled to special supervision, and in particular: care, guardianship and supervision of entering into wedlock, but above all the monitoring of any activities and relations of the highest–ranking family members

¹ A study written as part of the research project MSM (Czech Ministry of Education, Youth and Physical Education) no 0021620827.

² cf. Valentin Urfus, *19.4.1713 — Pragmatická sankce: rodný list podunajské monarchie* (Praha, 2002).



Hapsburg and Kennedy family tree

that could affect the honour, dignity, peace, order and welfare of the Their Most Serene Dynasty.³³ Although the statute was sometimes perceived as a way of enhancing the influence of Metternich, after 1848, when the young Franz Joseph I was sworn successor to the throne, it became the pillar on which the emperor based his power within the dynasty, justifying his interventions into the lives of other family members.

In accordance with the statute, the whole family formed the so-called House of Hapsburg, a durable and structured social group, with the monarch-emperor its head. Inscribing this structure in the law was of utmost significance because until 1839 the relations between the monarch and his family members had been based on tradition and pacts. The ruler was not only entitled to sovereignty over his family in judicial issues (there was a special court under the auspices of the Ministry for Foreign Affairs), but also had the right of supervision regarding the behaviour of all his relatives. He could affect the most minor issues related to their lives. Without his knowledge, no archduke could choose a profession or travel. In fact, all their actions that could be regarded as irresponsible representation and thus harmful for the dynasty were being monitored.

The family statute also regulated other issues in more detail. The most fundamental was the membership of the House. Under Article 1, it was the emperor, as the head of the whole family, his spouse, the spouses of the previous rulers, archdukes, archduchesses, who descended in male lineage from one of the three sons of Mary Theresa and Francis I, and were descendants of the persons that were married to a royal family member. Archduchesses were members of the House until married, and once they became widows, they re-entered the House.

The supreme judge (practically the only one) of the members of the Hapsburg family was the emperor. Archdukes were exempt from any court's jurisdiction, and one could not limit their freedom or privileges. They enjoyed extraterritorial status, which proved particularly convenient after 1867. Thanks to it they did not have to receive either Austrian or Hungarian citizenship (one could not have both), so they did not have to declare as Transleithanians or Cisleithanians.

³ Brigitte Hamannová, *Habsburkové. Životopisná encyklopedie* (Praha, 1996), 23–24.

All disputes and issues were solved behind closed doors and could not be revealed. Contentious though this family absolutism may have seemed, the truth was other. Despite some exceptions,⁴ until the fall of the dynasty in 1918, all Hapsburgs recognised the authority of the emperor without any reservations and conformed to his rulings.

The wide-ranging privileges of the members of the Hapsburg–Lorraine family and their extraordinary revenue came at a price, though: above all the duty of absolute obedience to the head of the dynasty (emperor–king) and the injunction to observe the family statute. One of its chief clauses was the principle of equality in the spouse’s status. Only members of a Christian family, ruling contemporarily or supposed to rule in the future were deemed “proper for wedlock.” This rule may have been broken (with serious problems involved) by Archduke John (1782–1859), when he married a daughter of a postmaster from the Styrian Aussee, Anna Plöchl.⁵ Sixteen years later, though, after the issue of the family statute, such a union would have been impossible. Under Franz Joseph I disregard for these rules meant immediate removal from the dynasty, loss of all rights and forced emigration.⁶

It was for this reason that some archdukes never legalised their relationships, even if they had male offspring. In most cases, such matters were solved by means of money — mother was given a sum as security. The problem was considered settled since.⁷

Interestingly, no illegitimate child of the Hapsburgs was ever appointed to public office in the era of the Austrian Empire, although in the 16th and 17th centuries some bastards had received a privileged position in the society, and the name d’Austria.⁸ The 19th century society, more conservative in some ways, regarded the existence of extramarital offspring as socially unacceptable, so bastards were hardly ever legitimised. The situation of out-of-wedlock children of nobility was particularly complicated. A recognition of inherited nobility would have been considered only in two cases: if parents were married, all of their offspring automatically received the titles of their father (*egitimatio per matrimonium subsequens*). Another way out was a recognition of an illegitimate child by a decision of the emperor (*legitimatio per rescriptum principis*), for which only parents could apply. Following the imperial approval, those children gained all their fathers’ privileges, including the right to inherit their parents’ allodial assets, but

⁴ Peter Wiesflecker, *Studien zur habsburgischen Heirats- und Familienpolitik im Zeitalter Kaiser Franz Josephs I. Austritte aus dem Kaiserhaus und Eben mit Bürgerlichen*, Diplomarbeit (Wien, 1989).

⁵ Their only child was son Franz Ludwig (1839–1891), who initiated the lineage of Counts of Meran. See Österreichisches Staatsarchiv, Allgemeines Verwaltungsarchiv Wien, Adelsarchiv (hereinafter: AVA, AA), Anna Plöchl, Freiherrnstand (von Brandhofen) 1834; Meran, Grafenstand 1844–1850.

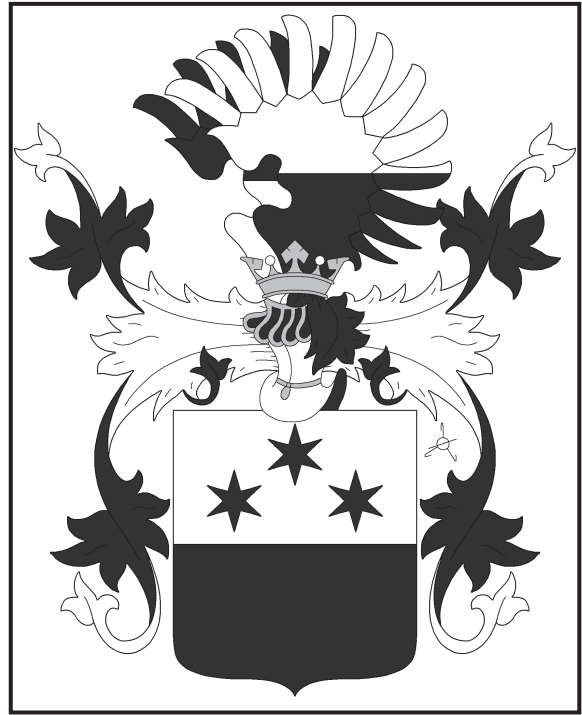
⁶ This is how Archduke Heinrich (1868–1872 Count Waidek) and Archduke Ferdinand Karl (since 1911 Ferdinand Burg) were treated. P. Wiesflecker, *Studien*, 20 n., 150 n. The so-called *casus Wallburg* has remained inexplicable. In 1858 Archduke Ernest from the line of Archduke Rainera (1824–1899) allegedly married a Hungarian noble Laura Skublics de Velike et Bessenyo (1826–1865), with whom he had four children, using the name of baron von Wallburg. Upon the duke’s death they applied to the emperor for recognition of their inheritance, which was rejected on the grounds that the emperor did not consent to their parents’ marriage. B. Hamannová, *Habsburkové*, 72–73.

⁷ Anna Nahowski got PLZ 150 000 compensation from Franz Joseph I. cf. Friedrich Saathen, ed., *Anna Nahowská a císař František Josef. Zápisky* (Praha, 1994), 124. Archduke Leopold Salvator (1847–1915) did otherwise: he really cared for his three illegitimate children living in Mallorca and divided his assets between them. B. Hamannová, *Habsburkové*, 256.

⁸ The most famous bearer of this name was don Juan d’Austria (1547–1578), victor in the battle of Lepanto, son of Emperor Charles V and Barbara Blomberg. The same name was given to the illegitimate children of Emperor Rudolph II and Anna Maria Strada von Rosberg and a son of the Spanish King Philip IV and Maria Calderón Juan José (1629–1679).



Tony Bohler

The coat of arms from the ennoblement
of the Hortenaus

they were excluded from inheriting *fideicommissum*. The rights of legitimised issue were close to those of legitimate children. So, if their father was elevated to the ranks of nobility or granted a higher title, the privilege extended to his legitimised offspring, too, and there was no need to include those in any separate document. Confessional differences between parents constituted no hindrance here, whereas the same religious issue would have made the parent's marriage impossible.⁹

It was the requirement of emperors consent that was the main hindrance in Hapsburgs' receiving legitimisations of their extramarital offspring. The ruler would have to officially endorse the cohabitation and then concede in public that some family members do maintain extramarital relationships. This was socially unacceptable, particularly in case of married Hapsburgs. Therefore, if it did come to some children becoming ennobled, this fact was being concealed. This is why any search for those is so problematic.

Today, we know of only two ennobled bastards of the Hapsburg–Lorraine dynasty.¹⁰ These are the illegitimate children coming from a years–long relationship between Archduke Otto (1865–1906) with the ballerina Maria Theresa Schleinzer (1874–1949), *de domo* Adam. She was born from the cohabitation between Joseph Schleinzer and Katherine Adam, and initially he bore her mother's name, whereas she was ennobled (with the name Schleinzer) only upon their parents' ennoblement. She was in a long–lasting relationship with Otto, and he owned up to two children born out of this cohabitation: He later recognised Alfred (1892–1957) and Hildegard

⁹ Reinhard Binder–Krieglstein, *Österreichisches Adelsrecht. Von der Ausgestaltung des Adelsrechts der cisleithanischen Reichshälfte bis zum Adelsaufhebungsgesetz der Republik unter besonderer Berücksichtigung des adeligen Namensrechts*, (Frankfurt am Main, 2000), 43.

¹⁰ J. Županič, *Nová šlechta Rakouského císařství* (Praha, 2006), 114.

(born 1894), who bore their mother's maiden name, Adam, as his own¹¹ children and secured their economic status.¹²

In 1902 Maria Theresa Schleinzer married a doctor from Opatija, Istria, Julius Cohn (born 1869) with whom she had a son. Cohn came from a Jewish family that had converted to Catholicism. He was a son of Leon Cohn, a retired first-class chief accounting counsellor, and graduated from Vienna University as a physician, and in 1897 he settled in Opatija, a reputable health spa in Istria. He was an esteemed doctor and contributed to the development of the local spas and the whole of the Austrian Riviera. During the 60-year anniversary of Francis Joseph I's enthronement in 1908, the emperor conferred on him the title of imperial counsellor.¹³

The children Maria had with Otto grew up in Cohn's family. Although any mention of them was classified, they seemed to have had their own guardian and tutor. It was a woman of most distinguished circles — Charlotte Countess von Boos-Waldeck (1838–1920), *de domo* baroness von Breidbach-Bürresheim,¹⁴ a Mistress of the Order of the Starry Cross, wife of an Imperial and Royal Bailiff, secret advisor and owner of the Lower-Austrian domain of Raabs, Johann Philipp von Boos-Waldeck (1831–1917). Even though her position has not been officially listed in preserved materials, it was her who submitted the motion for the ennoblement of the two children, and her close terms with the family of the archduke's ex-lover can be testified to by the fact that she died in 1920 in Opatija, the town where Julius Cohn performed his medical practice.

Countess Boos-Waldeck remarked to the emperor that “the children of the present spouse of Doctor Cohn were born as illegitimate, and that at the moment the legitimisation *per subsequent matrimonium* is out of the question and so is legitimisation *per rescriptum principis* ([...] the adopting father cannot have marital children, while Doctor Cohn does have his own children”),¹⁵ She stressed, too, that the names of the children should be changed — Adam to Cohn — so the ennoblement of the children ought to extend on Julius Cohn, as well. All ought to be conferred the same predicate title on. Thanks to this, it ought to be possible for Cohn and his spouse, as well as Alfred and Hildegard, to resign from using their names by the Emperor's consent, and use only the predicate name, which would create an impression of them being one family.

Francis Joseph I consented to this plan because the ennoblement applied for had one more objective — the concealment of the relationship with the Archduke. While his ennoblement, which took place on 24 October, 1911, was duly published in *Viener Zeitung*, the ennoblement of the siblings which occurred on the very same day, albeit in secret, was marked as strictly forbidden to be revealed to the press. The reasons for the ennoblement of the children were not revealed even by the materials from the cabinet chancellery; it is only in the file of Julius Cohen that we find the information that his ennoblement was performed upon the motion by the Viceroy of Trieste and “with a most respectable reference to the Emperor's oral acceptance and

¹¹ Like a daughter born from his relationship with the actress Luise Robinson. B. Hamannová, *Habsburkové*, 351. I have found no information on her ennoblement, though.

¹² He did not include them in the last will, though. (signed at the castle of Schönau on 7 May, 1906). Otto divided his assets in such a way that a quarter was bequeathed to the elder son Karl Franz Joseph (the subsequent Emperor Charles I), and the remaining three quarters to the younger Maximilian Eugene Luis. After debt it was 700 238,75 koronas. See Österreichisches Staatsarchiv, Haus-, Hof- und Staatsarchiv, Kabinettsarchiv, Kabinettskanzlei (Separatakten) (hereinafter HHStA, KK), 63/1911.

¹³ HHStA, KK, 3103/1911.

¹⁴ Her only son Clement (1863–1885), a cadet in a dragoon regiment, died early. *Almanach českých šlechtických rodů* (1999), 37.

¹⁵ appendix to the act of ennoblement, no date, in: AVA, AA, Adam von Hortenau, Adelstand 1911–12.

a consent by the Minister for Public Works and the Council of Ministers (session of 14 October, the previous year).¹⁶

The name Horst, initially proposed by Countess Boos–Waldeck was negatively opinionated by the Imperial and Royal Ministry of the Interior.¹⁷ Therefore on 16 November, 1911, Julius von Cohn alongside with his spouse applied for the title Edler and predicate Hochenau, Hortenau or Hoheneich, from among which the servants authorised the second one. Both titles were granted to them in a document of 27 November, 1911, alongside a coat of arms: per fess Argent and Gules, three red stars, one and two; crowned Tournament Helm with visor, mantling Gules and Argent. Two folded, separated eagle wings in crest: dexter Gules–Argent, sinister Argent–Gules. Upon the next motion of 2 May, 1912, all those ennobled were granted the right to sign as Edler von Hortenau.¹⁸ instead of the names Adam or Cohn.

Further details of the lives of the Archduke's descendants are known only in an outline fashion. Hildegard married Mihály Pála Kuczor, who had a florist shop in Opatija, later both emigrated to the USA. Alfred, like his stepfather, became a physician and had his practice in Opatija. While his mother remained in this town and was buried there, he left for Sweden (according to some sources in 1938, with others giving the date after WWII), and thence to the USA. He was probably married twice. His only daughter Elisabeth (born 1921), also called Lisa, was born from of the first wedlock with Charlotte (1893–1966), Böhler¹⁹ by her second marriage.

Lisa Lanett's personal life, and the way she was called later were rather tempestuous. In mid-1940s she had an affair with a young US navy officer John Fitzgerald Kennedy (1917–1963). Probably Lisa's son Tony Böhler (born 1945) was his issue, but Kennedy refused to recognise the child. Tony was adopted by his grandmother Charlotte, after whom he was named Böhler or Bohler. He studied at the Peekskill Military Academy and later he went into trading works of art. Today he lives in California. His mother, Lisa, married several more times. She worked as a real estate agent and finally she settled in San Antonio, Texas, where she was still alive in 2009. Tracing Tony Bohler's descent by the Austrian daily *Kurier* in 2009 was a somewhat sensational event.²⁰

*Translated from Czech into Polish by Andrzej Spyra
[retranslated into English from Polish by L. Kawalec]*

¹⁶ HHSStA, KK, 3104/1911 a 3103/1911.

¹⁷ “In the light of the regulations in force, the name Horst is inappropriate because there is already a noble family who are using it, and there are several families using it as predicate,” AVA, AA, Adam von Hortenau, Adelstand 1911–1912.

¹⁸ The final decision of 25 May, 1912, *ibidem*. The application together with the recommendations by the Ministry of the Interior has been preserved in the file of Julius Cohn, 12 May, 1912.

¹⁹ *Descendants of Archduke Franz Karl of Austria*, [cit. 07.02.2010]. available at: <<http://www.angelfire.com/in/heinbruins/FraKa.html>>.

²⁰ cf. „Kurier. Unabhängige Tageszeitung für Österreich” (20.03.2009); *John F Kennedy's alleged child Tony Bohler*, [cit. 27.02.2010]. available at: <<http://theoriginalgreenwichdiva.com/john-f-kennedy-alleged-child-tony-bohler/3459/>>; *John F. Kennedy's "Austrian" Son*, [cit. 27.02.2010]. available at: <<http://theoriginalgreenwichdiva.com/john-f-kennedy-alleged-child-tony-bohler/3459/>>.

DISCUSSIONS

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The Idea of Nobility in the Polish–Lithuanian Commonwealth. On the Book by Sławomir Baczewski

The book by Sławomir Baczewski on *noblesse* arouses a number of questions, including some methodological issues and the question of source evidence for the judgements it presents.¹ Its large part is reporting the state of the art in scholarship and giving an account of how things stand; this part of the book is highly accurate. Surprisingly, what strikes me is some incomprehensible shortcomings, in both parts (sources and studies), which will become significant once the author sets out to draw conclusions, as well as when he poses and defends his scholarly propositions. Allow me to point, above all, to the lack of speeches and sermons anthologies; that those were published in the 18th century (such as one by Jan Ostrowski–Daneykowicz) is no problem since they mostly contain 17th century material. Some of these contain valuable theoretical remarks concerning speeches and sermons. Many of those may be insufficient today, but they testify to the way of thinking our ancestors shared.

Some sources are quoted from selections (and in translations) in bilingual anthologies. The bibliography lacks works by Franciszek Piekosiński; studies by Juliusz Bardach are presented very selectively; among the works by Mirosław Korolko there is no study on the royal chancellery or the work on Andrzej Frycz–Modrzewski; there is nothing by Konstanty Grzybowski,² Kazimierz Hartleb, Jerzy Kłoczowski, Zbigniew Kuchowicz or Jadwiga Krzyżanowska. As regards my own studies, my work on Old Polish speech–making has been left out, as has the *Słownik literatury staropolskiej* [Old Polish Literature Dictionary; one paper cited is a swallow that does not make a summer], not to mention *Dzieje literatury pięknej w Polsce* [the history of belles–lettres in Poland; both redactions!]. As regards historical studies, beside the authors mentioned, there is no reference to the volumes from the series *Konfrontacje historyczne* or works by Michał Bobrzyński; work on education in the Commonwealth have been omitted, too. Another surprising absence

¹ cf. Sławomir Baczewski, *Szlachectwo. Studium z dziejów idei w piśmiennictwie polskim. Druga połowa XVI wieku – XVII wiek*, [on the idea of nobility in Polish literature; mid16th to end–17th centuries] (Lublin: Wyd. UMCS, 2009).

² He is only cited as the publisher of Sebastian Petrycy of Pilsen; the author probably did not bother to read the introduction to this edition by Konstanty Grzybowski.

is the lack of citations of French and German scholars, particularly those discussing the issue of nobility and *noblesse*.

However, we should note one thing, apparently immaterial, but one that could be the key to the understanding of the issues the author raises. The study is commenced with the statement:

[...] the subject of the book is *noblesse* as the key concept for the ideology of the political power in the 2nd half of the 16th century and in the 17th century, as reflected in publicist, literary and political theory texts.³

This is where I think the crux of the matter lies: *noblesse* as a set of features making someone part of a class or a social group is to my mind something else than the “idea of nobility,” which is foundational for the theory and practice of political power, so characteristic of the Polish Crown.

Nobility and “the idea of nobility” — synonymous?

Being a nobleman, ie. being a member of a social class means having fulfilled some conditions, such as bearing a coat of arms, having conferrals, family tradition, etc.⁴ The “idea of nobility” is related to another issue: establishing the principles of singling out one class/group from among the society, the rights and duties of this class, its place and role in the legal, social and political system of the Kingdom.⁵

Regarding the former, formal conditions of becoming a noble person are described — questions are posed regarding the principles on which a state’s legal, political and economic system is based, as well as the part some key ideas play in it (such as “the idea of nobility”⁶). At this point it is worth referring to Franciszek Piekosiński, who pointed that the Polish monarchy had formed since the Middle Ages along three general ideas: *dominium* (state/dominion), *servilium* (service), *beneficium* (privilege/favour) (service for the lord is remunerated).⁷ This is how the formal foundations of not only the polity but also “the idea of nobility” were determined; the reasons include the fact that the notions indicated (and the legal and economic realities related

³ cf. Sławomir Baczewski, *Szlachectwo. Studium z dziejów idei w piśmiennictwie polskim*, 6.

⁴ cf. the entry *Szlachta*, in Aleksander Brückner, *Encyklopedia staropolska*, vol. 1–2 (Warsaw: Trzaska, Evert i Michalski, 1939, repr. Warsaw: PWN, 1990), vol. 2, col. 593–602. See also Franciszek Piekosiński, *O dynastycznym szlachte polskiej pochodzeniu* (Kraków: Kulczycki i S-ka, 1888); Gert Oswald, *Lexikon der Heraldik* (Leipzig: VEB Bibliographisches Institut, 1984), 156–157, where the communion of ancestors is listed among the factors determining adherence to nobility.

⁵ cf. Stanisław Ehrlich, *Wstęp do nauki o państwie i prawie* (Warsaw: PWN, 1979); Juliusz Bardach, *Historia państwa i prawa Polski* (Warsaw: PWN, 1973); also Juliusz Bardach, Zdzisław Kaczmarczyk, Bogusław Leśnodorski, *Historia państwa i prawa Polski od połowy XV w. do r. 1795* (Warsaw: PWN, 1957). As far as the notion of class is concerned cf. Stanisław Kozyr-Kowalski, “Mikroklasy i makroklasy społeczeństwa,” *Nowa Krytyka. Czasopismo Filozoficzne* <http://www.nowakrytyka.pl/spip.php?article281> (2010–12–27), in this paper there is also a review of positions on ‘class’ as a socio-philosophical idea.

⁶ cf. nn. 4 and 5. Also Robert K. Merton, “Studies in Cultural and Social Structure,” in *Social: Theory and Social Structure*, *idem* (New York: Free Press, 1968), 175–584; his remarks were for the author much more instructive than those of the current researchers cited. See also the remarks by Konstanty Grzybowski in *idem*, *Ojczyzna. Naród. Państwo* (Warsaw: PIW, 1970), 47–79: the author succinctly describes the transformations in the political structure of the Polish Crown and the grand Duchy of Lithuania also in terms of the change in the attitude to the “idea of nobility” rather than to nobility as a class/group; its review of literature is interesting and very telling, *ibidem*, 219–221.

⁷ cf. Franciszek Piekosiński, *O dynastycznym szlachte polskiej pochodzeniu*, 11–12.

to them) regulated the principles of mutual relations between the lord and his subjects and the rules of remunerating them for some specific “services” (a key issue, recurrent throughout the 17th century, traceable not only in military mutinies but also in eulogies⁸). This is to suggest that possibly the three principles might form the foundation for the so-called nobility democracy, or noble democracy, throughout I Polish–Lithuanian Commonwealth [of 1454–1795; note by LK] (I am not sure if those could be called a “social structure” after Merton, but there seem to be some underlying bases of this structure⁹). However, works by Jerzy Kłoczowski need to be referred to, where he succinctly demonstrates the formation of a class society in *Rzeczpospolita*, as seen against the European backdrop, and in so doing he reveals the structure of this society¹⁰. Therefore, I think that what we call nobility democracy does fulfil the conditions set out by Merton.

The distinction discussed by Piekosiński is significant as we need to answer a fundamental question whether the class of nobility is open or closed.¹¹ What is at issue is whether it limits itself to a group of people, with others unable to join it in any way, or open enough to allow influx, such as by ennoblement of newcomers (surely, with some clear-cut criteria the ennobled one must fulfil: bravery in battlefield or some services for the Commonwealth).¹²

The “idea of nobility” as an element of the legal, political and economic system is a slightly different issue, rather loosely related *in summa* to the former. Nobility might of course be a ruling class in this system; “the idea of nobility” is, however, something else and might be related to such matters as ennoblement principles, but also to the criteria along which the king appoints people from outside nobility but ones fulfilling the criteria of what can generally be called “the idea of nobility.” It finds best illustration in the career of Jean-Baptiste Colbert in France under

⁸ cf. Jakub Z. Lichański, “Mars z upominkiem na wesele.” Siedemnastowieczne panegiryki jako świadectwo mentalności,” *Napis* (1997, ser. 3): 7–13. A remark by Konstanty Grzybowski attracts attention: referring to opinions by Stanisław Orzechowski and Jan Zamoyski, and others from the time of the Zebrzydowski Mutiny, pointed to the fact that in end-16th and early 17th centuries *beneficium* was more important than *servilium*, cf. Konstanty Grzybowski, *Ojczyzna. Naród. Państwo*, 76–79.

⁹ cf. Robert K. Merton, “Studies in Cultural and Social Structure,” *passim*; also Andrzej Wyczański, ed., *Polska w epoce Odrodzenia. Państwo. Społeczeństwo. Kultura* (Warsaw: WP, 1970) (studies on Anna Sucheni-Grabowska and Andrzej Wyczański); Janusz Tazbir, ed., *Polska XVII wieku. Państwo. Społeczeństwo. Kultura* (Warsaw: WP, 1969) (papers by Henryk Olszewski, Jarema Maciszewski, Stanisław Cynarski).

¹⁰ cf. Jerzy Kłoczowski, *Europa słowiańska w XIV–XV wieku* (Warsaw: PIW, 1984), 79–119.

¹¹ cf. Robert K. Merton, “Studies in Cultural and Social Structure,” 224 and next, where the author discusses the issue of anomie (to put it in a nutshell: it is about an atrophy of norms in a society or group). I think the category might be possibly applied to group/class of nobility, albeit very cautiously. It is a growing anomie that I think is the case in the 17th century (cf. Merton, *ibidem*, 216: „the social structure strains the cultural values, making action in accord with them readily possible for those occupying certain statuses within the society and difficult or impossible for others.”).

¹² On top of ennoblement, the adoption of a coat of arms, *indygenat* (recognition of a foreign status as a noble) and *skartabellat* (inclusion into nobility but without rights to office or election to parliamentary bodies) merit a mention. cf. Zygmunt Głogier, *Encyklopedia staropolska*, vol. 1–4 (Warsaw, 1900–1903; repr. Warsaw: WP, 1958), vol. 1, 10–11 (adoption; here: *adoptio per arma*), vol. 2, 270 (*indygenat*), vol. 4, 243 (*skartabell*); Szymon Konarski, *Armorial de la noblesse polonaise titrée* (Paris, 1957); Józef Szymański, *Herbarz rycerstwa polskiego w XVI wieku* (Warsaw: DiG, 2001); Barbara Trelińska, *Album armorum nobilium Regni Poloniae XV–XVIII saec.; herby nobilitacji i indygenatów w XV–XVIII w.* (Lublin: Wyd. UMCS, 2001); Józef Szymański, *Nauki pomocnicze historii* (Warsaw: PWN, 2009), 638–690 (Heraldyka [heraldry]); Andrzej Jezierski, Cecylia Leszczyńska, *Historia gospodarcza Polski* (Warsaw: Key Text, 2003), 71–75 (scholars rely on the works by Tadeusz Korzon). Also Franciszek Piekosiński, *O dynastycznym szlachty polskiej pochodzeniu*, 82 and next. Cf. also Jean-Marie Constant, *La noblesse française aux XVI^e et XVII^e siècles* (Paris: Hachette, 1994) (*La vie quotidienne*). An extremely negative judgement of *noblesse* in *Encyclopedie...*, Diderot, d’Alembert (vol. 11, 166–181).

Luis XIV: as a burgess he arrived at a status second only to the King of France.¹³ Apparently such careers were impossible in Poland as a burgess accomplished in their services to the Crown was ennobled. The case of a collective ennoblement of the city of Lwów/Lvov of 1658 does not contradict that.¹⁴

With bases for discussion so outlined it becomes clear that in continuing the investigation, the two issues need to be precisely distinguished. The first one is discussion of nobility, their significance, attitudes, norms and values it generated *de iure* and *de facto*. The second issue is about something else: a question is posed whether the principles of polity organisation are simply based on a social division and the dominant position of the group/class of nobility or, possibly, on an “idea of nobility,” expressed in one way or another, but not necessarily very strongly connected to membership in the group/class of nobility. In other words: is it only an *ex-definitione* nobleman who corresponds to the “idea of nobility” or can this idea be owned up by, or refer to, a representative of any social group/class?

The discussion of nobility, its norms and values, and their reflection in literature, such as eulogies and sermons, is an interesting, albeit a well-researched, topic, and Sławomir Baczewski gives a solid account of that in his book.¹⁵ Obviously, one can point to the omissions that I have pointed to before, but *in summa* those are the adequately written passages, even if they contribute little to the issues already well-known. The problem of the “idea of nobility” is an utterly different story. There, Sławomir Baczewski’s studies are at least arguable, if not outright insignificant for the scholarship of the subject matter because of leaving out the issues of the structure of the I Commonwealth. I take the subject to be matters systemic.

What I said before is a good characteristic of the problem I had indicated in Łukasz Górnicki’s monograph. Bear in mind that Górnicki was an Aristotelian and a Platonist (he does translate Plato!), as well as a Neo-Stoicist; Baczewski makes a reference to half of this opinion only.¹⁶ It is important since 16th century thinkers were in fact eclectics as methodologists, comparing various ideas to describe the phenomena they investigated, which I think I was the first one to make a strong argument for.¹⁷ As far as I think (and which is evidenced in *Dworzanin polski*) perception of nobility as arising from virtue rather than birth is a major issue, particularly by the 1550s.¹⁸ It might appear an attempt at some sort of breaking of a monopoly of the class of nobility (bear in mind that this Stoic idea is a peculiar type of *topos*¹⁹), but I will not go into this issue any further.

¹³ cf. Ines Murat, *Colbert*, trans. into Polish Wiera Bieńkowska (Warsaw: PIW), 1988.

¹⁴ cf. Franciszek Jaworski, *Nobilitacja miasta Lwowa* (Lwów, 1909) (Biblioteka Lwowska, vol. IV).

¹⁵ cf. Sławomir Baczewski, “Szlachectwo. Studium z dziejów idei w piśmiennictwie polskim,” 82–110, 208–249; in *Między literaturą a kulturą. Studia o „literaturze mieszczańskiej” przełomu XVI i XVII wieku*, Witold Wojtowicz, (Szczecin: Wyd. Nauk. Univ. Szczecińskiego, 2010), *passim* [Uniwersytet Szczeciński: Rozprawy i Studia, t. (DCCCXIV) 770], the literature is cited.

¹⁶ cf. Sławomir Baczewski, *op. cit.*, 60; Jakub Z. Lichański, *Łukasz Górnicki — Sarmacki Castiglione* (Warsaw: DiG, 1998), 128, 130–149.

¹⁷ cf. Antoni Podsiad, *Słownik terminów i pojęć filozoficznych*, (Warsaw: IW PAX, 2000), col. 211 (the author points to the tradition of the Alexandria School and of Gottfried Wilhelm Leibniz); Jakub Z. Lichański, *Łukasz Górnicki — Sarmacki Castiglione*, 62–63 {I refer to an opinion by Jerome E. Seigel, *Rhetoric and Philosophy in Renaissance Humanism* (Princeton: Princet. Univ. Press, 1968), 3–30}; James Hankins, ed., *The Cambridge Companion to Renaissance Philosophy* (Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press, 2007), *passim*.

¹⁸ cf. Jakub Z. Lichański, *Łukasz Górnicki — Sarmacki Castiglione*, 102–125.

¹⁹ cf. *Nobilitas sola est atque unica virtus* [Virtue is the one and only nobility] — the saying attributed to Juvenalis, cf. D. Iuvenalis, *Satirae* (Parisii: Ludovicus Prateus, ex typogr. Frederici Leonard, 1684), k.a.3, 245 (Satire VIII, v. 20) — it is a joint edition of Juvenalis’ and Persius’ satires; the text of the satires had been known and published before, eg. In 1503 r. (a copy of this edition was kept in Polish collections in the 16th c.).

The Social Structure of the I Commonwealth

This is the first problem; the second one concerns the understanding of some notions, such as some of those used by the author of *Dworzanin polski* (he is only a representative of a social group of considerable influence²⁰). In the key issue for Górnicki's political concept: the expression "Poland's foundation is no government" ought to be read as a negation — is not a — rather than "no-government" as Rev Piotr Skarga would have it. Make no mistake, the other statement is a *topos*, maybe even a *gnome*²¹ while the former indicates a fact or a conviction (not just Górnicki's of course) that the essence of Poland is not really a rigid governmental structure (as it was in the 16th century) but a structure based on other rules, such as democracy and noble freedom, as guaranteed in the Constitution of 1505*. This is not to claim I am right; what I do set out to prove is that in the latter half of the 16th century, a judgement could have appeared, holding that in considerations of the structural form of the Crown and the Grand Duchy of Lithuania we should reckon with the fact that it was based on rather vague systemic principles (no rigid governmental structure but, rather, the principles written into the *Sandomierz Pacts* of 1570, *Henrician Articles* and *Pacta Conventa* of 1573 or *Warsaw Confederation* of 1573).²²

If this interpretation is adopted, it turns out that at the turn of that century some people practically involved in politics realised that Poland had found itself in a potentially dangerous situation of not being defended by a rigid framework of law but instead relying on some vague remarks about Crown Councils, The Knighthood and All Classes of the Crown and the Grand Duchy, and also of all other Polities belonging to the Crown, as warrants of law and order in the Commonwealth (clause 1 of *Henrician Articles*). A form thus described must not be called non-government [or anarchy/prostitution, LK]; a reference should be made to another term — one from before the 1926 coup d'état — *Sejmocracy*.²³ This very term used to be applied to denote the form of government of the I Commonwealth.²⁴

Alas, the book by Baczewski does not touch upon these issues at all. Instead, it gets lost in partial descriptions of highly critical remarks (for the most part) on the plight of the Commonwealth in general and of nobility in particular. True, extensive source literature has been cited (usually some well known and used literature of the subject). Yet, the subject matter there is not

* [so the difference in the Polish understanding of the two readings of the expression is like comparing statements 'Poland stands on Constitution' as opposed to 'Poland stands on Prostitution'; translator's note, L.K.]

²⁰ cf. Jakub Z. Lichański, "Retoryka, polityka i 'Satyr' Jana Kochanowskiego," in *Retoryka od średniowiecza do baroku — teoria i praktyka*, *idem* (Warsaw: PWN, 1992), 238–239.

²¹ A still earlier form of this expression in Polish literature is a known sentence from Jan Kochanowski "O nierządne królestwo i zginienia bliskie" [oh, anarchic kingdom, about to perish!], cf. *idem*, *Odprawa posłów greckich*, v. 383.

²² cf. *Artykuły henrykowskie*, http://www.trybunal.gov.pl/wszechnica/akty/art_henr.htm (2010–12–27); *Konfederacja warszawska 1573*, <http://www.literatura.hg.pl/varconf.htm> (2010–12–27); Krystyna Długosz-Kurczabowa, *Konfesja sandomierska* (Warsaw: Semper, 2000). Mirosław Korolko, *Klejnot swobodnego sumienia* (Warsaw: IW PAX, 1974). cf. also Michał Szuster, *Tabela przywilejów szlacheckich*, <http://www.poczeta.com/przywileje.htm> (2010–12–27). Also Jakub Z. Lichański, *Lukasz Górnicki — Sarmacki Castiglione*, 118–125 and others. Studies by Konstanty Grzybowski are seemingly impossible to be overestimated, cf. Konstanty Grzybowski, *Teoria reprezentacji w Polsce epoki odrodzenia* (Warsaw: PWN, 1959), *passim*; *idem*, *Ojczyzna. Naród. Państwo*, 47–79 and next.

²³ cf. Jan Nowak-Jeziorański, *Polska wczoraj, dziś i jutro* (Warsaw: Czytelnik, 1999), 212–213 and next.

²⁴ *Ibidem*.

really “the idea of nobility” but the issue of nobility’s dominance as a group/class in the society of I Commonwealth; this has already been well-researched, though.²⁵

And yet, is Urszula Augustyniak wrong when she writes: “the study is particularly valuable in its 1. persuasive demonstration of the significance of the idea of nobility and its evolution from the late 16th century until the end—1690s, from the concept of open society and civic democracy to a closed society, consolidated with the heritage of blood within the upper class and with the Catholic orthodoxy. 2. perceiving a close connection between practical systemic implementations and ideology, which is often eluded in the works of the so-called ‘political historians’²⁶”?

The basic problem I see is my doubts whether the societies of the Crown or the Grand Duchy were ever open societies. If we were to take clause 1 of the *Henrician Articles* for granted, those “all classes” might, in theory, mean a “civic democracy.” However this interpretation is conflicted by the fact that any class other than nobility had minimal leverage on law making and law enforcement. They did have access to nobility, but this is another issue, and it only testifies to the openness of the noble class.²⁷ Anyway, this openness was relative: see the problem of the so-called Registered Cossacks under King Władysław IV. In Diderot’s and d’Alembert’s *Encyclopédie*, citizens (*citoyens*) are distinct from nobility (*noblesse*); while the first notion is presented in positive light, the other — not at all so (no matter how many notions to do with the idea of “nobility” are presented in its rich list).²⁸ Notably, nobility posited as a social class, is equated with tyranny, while citizen is an a member of a class of free people. If these notions were perceived in this light in the 18th century, one may wonder if using those with reference to the society of I Commonwealth has any rationale if Old Polish Lexicon mentions no notion of “citizen” whereas the entry “nobleman” is connoted with “to ennoble, to ornament.²⁹” This is no precise information, so allow me to quote some notions from the lexicon of Jan Mączyński.³⁰

The entry *civis* has a Polish meaning ‘burgess’; whereas the entry *nobilis* means in Polish ‘noble, esteemed, famous’.

The entry *nobili genere natus* is in Polish ‘born of noble stock.’

The entry *nobilitas* has the Polish meaning ‘nobility, high class, dignity.’

Interestingly, in Polish, the entry *ignobilitas* means ‘peasantry’ whereas *ignobiliter* — ‘unvirtuously/ignominiously.’

Apparently, this quotation merits giving it some thought since literary scholars tend to forget about such meanings of these words. It is particularly captivating that ‘peasantry’ was at the time semantically close to ‘unvirtuous.’ What is also striking is that, although there is no connotation of virtue with *nobilis* or *nobilitas*, I would be inclined to recognise the two as semantically close if not synonymous. It is a pity that the researcher made no reference to sourced such as dictionaries, then; the fact that they are hardly referred to by researchers is no excuse. It is my claim that the interpretations of the Latin words *civis*, *nobilis* and *nobilitas* indicates that making a distinction

²⁵ cf. previously mentioned works by eg. Juliusz Bardach, Konstanty Grzybowski, Kazimierz Hartleb, Jerzy Kłoczowski, Franciszek Piekosiński, Janusz Tazbir or Andrzej Wyczański.

²⁶ cf. Urszula Augustyniak, p. 4 of the cover; Sławomir Baczewski, *op. cit.*

²⁷ cf. Franciszek Piekosiński, *O dynastycznym szlachty polskiej pochodzeniu*, 82 and next.

²⁸ cf. Denis Diderot, Jean le Rond d’Alembert, *Encyclopédie...*, vol. 1–28, 1751–1772, vol. 3 (488–489), vol. 11 (166–181), cf. <http://www.lexilogos.com/encyclopedie_diderot_alembert.htm> (2010–12–27).

²⁹ cf. on-line Old Polish Dictionary, <<http://staropolska.pl/sloownik/>> (2010–12–27).

³⁰ cf. Jan Mączyński, *Lexicon Latino-Polonicum...*, (Regiomonti Borussiae: Ioh. Daubmann, 1564), k. K1, k. Tt2v, <<http://www.wbc.poznan.pl/dlibra>> (2011–01–04).

between the notions of ‘nobility’ and the ‘idea of nobility’ is methodologically appropriate. This is also what Florian Znaniecki indicates when discussing scholarly methods in sociology; in my opinion it is a distinction between a description of systems and its component parts (nobility) and values as cultural objects (the idea of nobility).³¹

Do I, then, consider Baczewski’s book unnecessary or wrong? The judgement cannot be unambiguous since the book, divided into three parts, particularly in its third part brings up much interesting material resulting from analysing eulogies and sermons.³² Two previous parts (“How Nobility Came into Being” and “Towards a Closed Society”) also present a good deal of interesting material, but only where the author analyses sources. Theoretical parts provoke too many questions; one of those is contained in the title of the first part. In my opinion the “idea of nobility” did not come into being— it WAS made (thus the title should read “How Nobility Was Made”). Referring to the quotes from Mączyński, I should like to draw attention to the fact, overlooked by the author, that our domestic theorists of the period used Latin terms (so did their European counterparts) rather than Polish (these would appear only in the 18th century, with their legal sense only determined by the Constitution of 3 May, 1791). Also, the Constitution features the notion of the ‘nation’, while the notions of ‘nobility’ and ‘landed gentry’ (synonymous in legal terms?) connote with ‘citizen.’³³ The notions ‘burgesses,’ ‘peasants and villeins’ (are these two terms synonymous in legal terms; do all of those fall under the notion of ‘citizen?’).³⁴ Konstanty Grzybowski was probably first to have raised this issue in reference to the 16th century;³⁵ he also noted that “[...] the term ‘citizen’ was then usually limited to the class of nobility.”

Why do I refer to the Constitution of 3 May? If we consider civic society (whatever it means) in I Commonwealth to have started with *Łaski’s Statutes* of 1505, then this period culminates with the Constitution of 3 May, so we need to make references to it, particularly that in its clause 2 it introduces the notions of ‘noble class’ = ‘nobles’ and ‘nobility.’³⁶ This is to note that this term’s sense is synonymous to the notion of ‘noble class’ and the Constitution makes an assumption that a Polish nobleman is equal in dignity to any foreign nobleman, no matter what title they bear (there are no exclusions in the Constitution, but most certainly monarchs are exceptions — they form a separate class — as do the princes of the blood).

Research Hypothesis

The critical remarks presented before pushed me towards posing a research hypothesis, which I find myself slightly abashed to propose. The starting point is the proposition by Piekosiński: the Polish monarchy had been shaped since Middle Ages along three pan–European notions of *dominium* (state/dominion), *servilium* (service) and *beneficium* (service is to be rewarded).³⁷ Thus

³¹ cf. Florian Znaniecki, *Metoda socjologii*, trans. and intro Elżbieta Hałas (Warsaw: PWN, 2008), 35–120 and next.

³² cf. Sławomir Baczewski, *op. cit.*, 208–249.

³³ cf. Konstanty Grzybowski, *Teoria reprezentacji w Polsce epoki odrodzenia*, 122–126 (the author proves that the synonymousness of the notions of ‘nobleman’ and ‘landed gentleman’ appears as early as in the 16th c.

³⁴ cf. *Ustawa Rządowa. Prawo uchwalone dnia 3 maja roku 1791* (Warsaw: M. Groell, 1791, repr. Warsaw: Zamek Królewski, 1991).

³⁵ cf. Konstanty Grzybowski, *Teoria reprezentacji w Polsce epoki odrodzenia*, 12.

³⁶ *Ustawa Rządowa. Prawo uchwalone dnia 3 maja roku 1791*, 6 (Art. II).

³⁷ cf. Franciszek Piekosiński, *O dynastycznym szlachty polskiej pochodzeniu*, 11–12; also Jerzy Kłoczowski, *Europa słowiańska w XIV–XV wieku*, 79–119.

not only the formal foundations of the state but also of the “idea of nobility” were determined, one of the reasons being that these notions (as well as the political and economic notions they signified) regulated the relations between the lord and his subjects and the way they were rewarded for their ‘services’ (a recurrent theme in the 17th century, which can be traced to mutinies and seen in eulogies³⁸). I propose that it is worth contemplating whether the three were the foundations of the so-called noble democracy throughout I Commonwealth (I am not sure if those could be called a “social structure” after Merton, but there seem to be some underlying bases of this structure).³⁹

Dominium and *servilium* (and to a degree *beneficium*, too) were legally determined by such acts as Łaski’s Statutes (1505 — with the Taszycki Amendment, one which was not endorsed by the Sejm, though), the work by Jakub Przyłuski, and finally *Henrician Articles* and *Pacta Conventa* (1573; these were in force until the end of I Commonwealth). The inner structure of I Commonwealth and the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, and partly Ukraine, too, was shaped by common law and parliamentary constitutions; a review of offices and dignities is very telling about the complexity of the system.⁴⁰ What was this structure to look like in practice? Clauses 6 and 7 of *Henrician Articles* give at least a partial answer:⁴¹

It can often happen that there may be different opinions among Senators. Therefore we and our descendants shall not conclude anything with our power, but we shall strive as much as possible to bring all to one statement of opinion, acknowledging all judgements that appear in agreement with the law, and do not contradict freedoms and privileges conferred to the Polities [the principle of unanimity backed by a reference to a legal tradition — note by JZL]. And if it were impossible to bring all to one formulation of opinion, our conclusion shall be in agreement with those who lean most obviously towards freedoms, rights and customs, according to the laws of their lands and the weal of the Commonwealth, except in the issues decided by the Parliament which are to be resolved by common custom, to the knowledge and consent to all classes [how to arrive at decisions in the Sejm that cannot reach a consensus in something — note by JZL]. It is certain and proved that one Royal Highness cannot manage the affairs of the great Lands of the Kingdom lest the Royal Dominion lapse into anarchy and peril. Therefore we hereby resolve and make it a perpetual law that 16 people be appointed to Crown Councils of each General Assembly of the Sejm, representing Poland, Lithuania and other Lands of the Commonwealth, acquainted of all the classes and introduced to Polish and Lithuanian Crown servants, to constantly remain in our presence, guarding our person and majesty, public freedom, and without whose counsel and knowledge neither We or our descendants shall do anything and can do anything in public affairs (without prejudice to the Sejm prerogatives). These persons shall see to it that nothing happen in all things *contra dignitatem nostram*, and against the law, on which they shall report to the coming General Assembly of the Sejm [the establishment of the Crown Council and, later on, Crown Tribunal and Treasury Tribunal — note by JZL]. These lords shall be free to visit and stay with us at their discretion, and we admit them to this and other matters as Councillors, and they will know and counsel on everything. The Deputies shall be equal to others, except that in their term they shall live with us. To keep up an old custom of providing our letters *ad Consiliarios absentes*, when something of

³⁸ cf. Jakub Z. Lichański, “Mars z upominkiem na wesele.” *Siedemnastowieczne panegiryki jako świadectwo mentalności*, 7–13. [17th century eulogies as testimonies of mentality]

³⁹ cf. Robert K. Merton, “Studies in Cultural and Social Structure,” *passim*; also Andrzej Wyczański, ed., *Polska w epoce Odrodzenia*, *op. cit.*; Janusz Tazbir, ed., *Polska XVII wieku. Państwo, op.cit.* cf. also Stanisław Russocki, “Structures politiques dans l’Europe des Jagellon,” in *Acta Poloniae Historica* 39 (1979), 101–142; Juliusz Bardach, “Deputes a la diete en Pologne d’ancienne regime,” in *Acta Poloniae Historica* 39 (1979), 143–185.

⁴⁰ cf. Zdzisław Góralski, *Encyklopedia urzędów i godności w dawnej Polsce* (Warsaw: KiW, 2000). Some significant remarks can also be found in: Edward Potkowski, “*Écritures et société en Pologne du bas Moyen Age (XIV^e–XV^e siècles)*,” in *Acta Poloniae Historica* 39 (1979), 47–100 (particularly p. 60–77 where an increase in the literary activity in Poland was demonstrated on the basis of rich literature; this was due to transformations in the political structure of the Polish Crown and a consolidation of the position of the nobility.

⁴¹ cf. *Artykuły henrykowskie*, <http://www.trybunal.gov.pl/wszecznic/a/akty/art_henr.htm> (2010–12–27).

the sort occurs: the appointment of these 16 persons shall be immediate, 4 for each half a year — one bishop, one governor, and two castellans — and they shall come along the sequence in which they sit in the Council. But if any would not sit their term, or *per aliquod legale impedimentum* could not, he shall immediately declare on this matter at the Sejm, and another *ex ordine* shall be appointed in his stead. These lords are to be remunerated from our and our descendants' treasury. Ruthenian bishops and other lay Senators shall be paid PLZ 500 for the semi-annual period. Lords clergymen from the Polish lands do not need this allowance as they are well-paid.

The General Assembly of the Sejm of the Kingdom shall convene every other year or whenever necessitated by an urgent and sudden need of the Commonwealth; therefore by the counsel of the Councillors of both Polities we shall convene it whenever needed by the plight of the Commonwealth. We shall convene it for up to six weeks. Before these, as is customary in Poland and in Lithuania in accordance with the Statute of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, there shall be Regional Assemblies [Sejmiks], as in Koło and in Korczyn there are usually supreme regional Sejmiks, so shall a supreme Sejmik be held in Wołkowysk in Lithuania. We shall announce our needs at these Sejmiks, as is customary, by our envoys. [the manner of convening the Sejm and local and regional sejmiks — note by JZL].

Because most of these resolutions were kept until the Constitution of 3 May, it can be said that the passages quoted are the foundations of the social and political structure of I Commonwealth.⁴² If so, it is on this plane that we ought to discuss the “idea of nobility.” As we can see from the quotations, nobility was a dominant class in the polity and this is indisputable. This issue thus arouses no controversy until the reforms adopted by the Great Sejm of 1788–1792 (with the qualification I have made regarding the interpretation of some notions, such as citizen). It ought to be borne in mind that the social structure emerged from a typical class system;⁴³ it underwent further transformations — no doubt about that — but, as we can see from *Henrician Articles*, some old ideas remained alive for as long as the Enlightenment.

These issues were discussed far more fully by Konstanty Grzybowski in the study referred to. He noted that the represented entity was *Res Publica, Rzeczpospolita* (these could be said to correspond to the notion of *dominium*).⁴⁴ However, a notion of *Corpus Regni* appears, as well; Grzybowski reminds us that polity ought to be understood dualistically. On the one hand, there is monarchy, but there is also the “society.”⁴⁵ There is one evident problem, though: the representatives perform legal actions “in lieu” of those who elected them (the issue loses importance in the 16th century).⁴⁶ This is how we reach the basic thing: the structure of the Sejm. It was a class structure, but “it consisted of the representatives of one class only; [...] anyway, the class of nobility, who increasingly monopolised for their own sake the House of Representatives, is more heterogeneous classwise than its counterparts elsewhere.”⁴⁷ Apparently, Polish theorists saw

⁴² cf. Adam Jankiewicz, ed., *Lex est Rex in Polonia et in Lithuania... Tradycje prawno-ustrojowe Rzeczpospolitej. Doświadczenie i dziedzictwo*, (Warsaw: Wyd. Tryb. Konst., 2008) (Studia i Materiały, vol. XXVIII): a case study of Wacław Uruszczak of this volume thoroughly explains the complexity of the political system of I Commonwealth, cf. *ibidem*, 11–23.

⁴³ cf. Jerzy Kłoczowski, *Europa słowiańska XIV–XV wieku*, 79–130, 196–327.

⁴⁴ cf. Konstanty Grzybowski, *Teoria reprezentacji w Polsce epoki odrodzenia*, 11–47; *idem*, *Ojczyzna. Naród. Państwo*, 47–79 (Chapter 4: *Ciało Królestwa Polskiego [Corpus Regni Poloniae]*, chapter 5: *Bellum sine hoste geritur*). See also Ewa Bem–Wiśniewska, *Funkcjonowanie nazwy Polska w języku czasów nowożytnych 1539–1795* (Warsaw: DiG), (*Res Humanae. Studia*).

⁴⁵ Konstanty Grzybowski, *Teoria reprezentacji w Polsce epoki odrodzenia*, 14: there is a vital note: “I do not use the term ‘classes’ as representation is not just the deputies of the classes but also participants in their own, private, rights.”. See also further remarks by the scholar on pp. 33 and next.

⁴⁶ *Ibidem*, 15–16 and next.

⁴⁷ *Ibidem*, 30–31 and next. cf. further remarks, 35–36, where he refers to the remarks by Jakub Przyłuski and Łukasz Górnicki on who exercises power, and in what manner, in the Crown and the Grand Duchy of Lithuania. See also

in the nobility of the 16th century an intermediate class (Jakub Przyłuski, Reinhold Heidenstein, Andrzej Frycz Modrzewski, commentators of Aristotle's *Politics*). Hence the *specula* containing role models of a citizen (Mikołaj Rej, Łukasz Górnicki).

What has been said finds no contradiction in the discussion that raged on in the Kingdom about the enforcement of rights. It is not only about being unequal vis-a-vis the law but, above all, the enforcement of court rulings: this is why Górnicki speaks of equality as being law-abiding, which — as I said — was an essential issue in the 16th and the 17th centuries.⁴⁸

This is what the plight of nobility was like. Still, what was said before sheds new light on the issue of the “idea on nobility.” One can say that it is an element of inner debate within a certain group/class, aiming at determining the norms and values we will refer to regarding ourselves and others whose inclusion in the class/group we are contemplating (as in the peculiar argument between Rej and Górnicki concerning a role model of citizen).⁴⁹ Also, what are the criteria that decide why we are distinguished from the others in the society? As regards the issue of nobility there is little to argue about — in the society of the period there was such a group, full stop — the other issue is a research problem. However, please note that it has already been discussed, as was the case in the discussion of the writings by Łukasz Górnicki, Piotr Skarga or Wacław Potocki but also Stanisław Herakliusz Lubomirski and Andrzej Maksymilian Fredro (not to mention such theorists as Jakub Przyłuski, Reinhold Heidenstein or Gotfryd Lengnich). It was also described when analysing writings coming from interregna or the Zebrzydowski Rebellion. Obviously, expanding the field of analytical observation is important, but in this case I deem it a sterile activity unless accompanied by wide-ranging heraldic-genealogical research. What has so far been established in the subject matter may not be precise, and an analysis of eulogies or sermons — above all *nuptialia* and *funeralia* — might reveal some relevant new source material.⁵⁰

A renewed analysis of the “idea of nobility” as if for its own sake is a little sterile in scholarly terms because what it might do is possibly make some mid-16th to end-17th century philosophical or theological tendencies in Old Polish literature and commentary more marked. I do not think, though, that we should be surprised by anything as the finishing point is the ideas contained in the Constitution of 3 May and the accompanying political literature. We could, at best, point to some traces of readings of Western writers contemporary to ours.

Conclusions

The book by Baczewski makes us aware of two things: I Commonwealth's social stratification and the place of nobility within it needs to be studied anew. Worthy of our attention too is the way the notions of nobility, *noblesse* etc. are understood in casual, literary and legal use. The legal and political framework of these dissertations ought to be *Łaski's Statutes* (with the Taszycki's Amendment) and the Constitution of 3 May. I doubt whether Karl Popper's ideas might be of

further remarks on pp. 43 and next, concerning the role of the king as arbiter in some possible disputes within the Sejm. But the note on p. 122 (“Polish peasant voters are peasants from the class point of view, but from the point of view of social strata they are nobility”) slightly complicates the class arrangement of I Commonwealth!

⁴⁸ cf. Konstanty Grzybowski, *Teoria reprezentacji w Polsce epoki odrodzenia*, 206–217 (the author refers to, among others, *Diariusze sejmowe* [Sejm Law Publications] of 1555–1585).

⁴⁹ cf. Jakub Z. Lichański, *Łukasz Górnicki — Sarmacki Castiglione*, 102, 112–118.

⁵⁰ The redaction of *nuptialia* was made eg. for Italy, cf. Olga Pinto, *Nuptialia. Saggio di bibliografia di scritti italiani pubblicati per nozze dal 1484 al 1799* (Firenze: Leo S. Olschki, 1971).

any use for the description of the society — I would prefer Robert K. Merton. The reason is not any uniqueness of the society of I Commonwealth; rather, the philosopher's taxonomy does not reckon with a number of particular solutions, which cannot be expressed in these categories. Robert K. Merton or Arnold J. Toynbee⁵¹ are more useful, especially that I Commonwealth clearly drew upon the Roman model (formally republican; practically — closer to that of the Principate). Refer not only to Wawrzyniec Gościński and Jan Zamoyski but also to orations made in the Sejm and the Senate, where plenty of Latin terms were used.⁵² One ought to reach to dictionaries, too. Notions are essential.

In sum, Baczewski makes one reconsider a number of issues, and this is a lot in itself. This is the chief value of the book. Still, the objective — “the subject of the book is noblesse as the key concept for the ideology of the political power in the 2nd half of the 16th century and in the 17th century, as reflected in publicist, literary and political theory texts” — seems delivered on only in part. Most generalisations are erroneous or based on erroneous assumptions and fallacious interpretations of analytical material. In any case, the author did not even look into anthologies of Old Polish speeches (which is evident from the name index), which actually makes it impossible to positively assess his analytical effort. His book is a collection of resources and some analytical propositions; his generalisations make no novel contribution to the knowledge of Old Polish society and its mentality on top of what we already know very well from previous research.⁵³

⁵¹ cf. Arnold J. Toynbee, *A Study of History* (Oxford: OUP, 1948).

⁵² cf. Karol Mechrzyński, *Historia wymowy w Polsce*, vol. 1–3 (Krakow, 1856–1858); Wilhelm Bruchnalski, “Rozwój wymowy w Polsce,” in *Dzieje literatury pięknej w Polsce*, parts. 1–2, (Krakow: Wyd. PAU, 1918), vol. 2, 241–418; Jakub Z. Lichański, *Orator sarmaticus. Teoria retoryki a oratorstwo staropolskie doby baroku*. in *Retoryka od średniowiecza do baroku. Teoria i praktyka, idem* (Warsaw: PWN, 1992), 261–319; Krystyna Płachcińska, *Obraz kultury retorycznej społeczeństwa szlacheckiego na podstawie mów sejmowych z lat 1556–1564* (Łódź: Wyd. Uniwers. Łódzkiego, 2004), *passim*; Maria Barłowska, *Swada i milczenie. Zbiory oratorskie XVII–XVIII wieku — prolegomena filologiczne* (Katowice: Wyd. Uniw. Śląskiego, 2010, Prace naukowe Uniwersytetu Śląskiego w Katowicach, no 2777), *passim*. The last work that was written at the same time as the study discussed and could not have been used by the author is a summary of the current state of research on Old Polish and Enlightenment-era speech-making and opens a new scholarly field. It is a pity that at no stage of his research did Baczewski confront his thoughts and analyses to a larger extent with the studies of Maria Barłowska or directly with the author.

⁵³ cf. volumes of the series *Konfrontacje historyczne*.



REVIEWS

***Słownik historyczno–geograficzny ziem polskich w średniowieczu* [The Historical and Geographical Dictionary of Polish Lands in the Middle Ages], electronic edition; <http://www.slownik.ihpan.edu.pl>, general redaction: Tomasz Jurek; IT edition: Stanisław Prinke**

In 2010 an online project was launched that makes it possible to access online electronic versions of the fascicles of the monumental study firmed by the Institute of History, Polish Academy of Arts and Sciences (PAN) *Słownik historyczno–geograficzny ziem polskich w średniowieczu*. What is this dictionary? It is a project designed to gather and classify a rich source database concerning: settlement networks, ownership issues, genealogy of the owners of settlements, ecclesiastical issues, etc., of Polish lands in Middle Ages. The review leaves aside any assessment of the content of the dictionary, particularly that it has been reviewed a number of times.¹ This is just to

evaluate the usefulness of the electronic version.

Accessing the homepage leaves some doubt as to where we have come. Below the name of the institution endorsing the dictionary a recognisable map has been placed (especially for those using the dictionary fascicles on Poznań Province) showing the map of Poland by Bernard Wapowski. On the viewer's left there is a menu with links to the homepage, introduction, information for the user, list of maps charts and genealogical trees, alphabetical review and, finally, at the very bottom a search box and a clarification question whether the search is to be performed in all dictionaries or only some, and whether the search should involve the whole text or just the entries (place names). Before moving on to some detailed discussion of the project, it needs to be said that the concept, the idea of the website (visualisation) is well-devised and very simple (in

¹ There are three reviews on the page, concerning: *Słownik ziemi wieluńskiej*, by T. Lalik in *Kwartalnik Historyczny* 71 (1964): 785–787, S. Zajączkowski in *Kwartalnik Historii Kultury Materialnej* 13 (1965): 583–590 and a review article by K. Górską–Gołaska, *Uwagi o Słowniku historyczno–geograficznym ziemi chełmińskiej w średniowieczu*, *Zapiski Historyczne* 38 (1973): 335–347. Also: E. Kowalczyk, *Rec. Dzieje Lubelszczyzny*, vol. 3, *Słownik historyczno–geograficzny województwa lubelskiego w średniowieczu*, ed. S. Kuraś (Warsaw, 1983), *Kwartalnik Historii Kultury Materialnej* 32 (1984, no 1): 101–102 and J. Powierski, *O słowniku historyczno–geograficznym ziemi chełmińskiej*, *Komunikaty Warmińsko–Mazurskie* 2/3 (1972): 407–425. Another review of a dictionary (to remain with electronic editions)

is A. Wędzki, *Pochylając się nad Słownikiem historyczno–geograficznym województwa poznańskiego w średniowieczu...*, <http://www.mediewistyka.amu.edu.pl/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=27&Itemid=26>, where particular attention is paid to a need to deepen and consolidate the cooperation (fruitful already) between archaeologists and historians in working on next fascicles of the dictionary.

the positive sense of the word). Importantly, there are no widgets, thanks to which the site is very clear and easy to use — the search is virtually intuitive.

By clicking the link *wprowadzenie* we are confronted with a large text discussing the historical background of the formation of the dictionary and the idea behind it. The project has formally been run by the Institute of History of PAN since 1958, and the period covered concludes around the end of the first quarter of the 16th century ie. about 1530. The database of sources was constrained to all printed matter and selected manuscripts (magistrate books, 16th century treasury sources). The territorial division adopted reflects the period around the turn of the 16th and the 17th centuries. The dictionary records any physiographic objects, settlements, territorial units. The alphabetically ordered entries are broken into several sections that reveal the name, locality, which territorial unit it was part of, topography, ownership issues, rights the settlement had, church relations, important people associated with the settlement but acting outside of it, literature, archaeological data; sometimes there are ‘Remarks’ with extra comments. The information given followed the pattern: year date, a transcript summarising the document, and the source the transcript comes from. The entries are signed with the initials of the people who made those (where several people prepared the fascicle). The edition under review included “all dictionaries published under the firm of Instytut Historii PAN,” and fascicles have been added that were published separately *Słowniki województwa lubelskiego*, *Słownik ziemi sanockiej*, *Słownik dóbr klasztoru tysogórskiego [on the lands of Sanok, Lublin and the monastery of Łysa Góra]*.² Another hyper-

² It lists the dictionaries published by IH PAN, and those outside of the series but there was no mention that there is a real chance to publish the Dictionary of Western Pomerania (outside of IH PAN). Recently there have been articles announcing work on such a dictionary: E. Rymar, “Materiały do słownika geograficzno-histo-

text link *informacje dla użytkownika* shows in detail what the search yields page looks like and how you search. We have two basic functions: an alphabetical review of entries, which can be compared to turning pages in a paper variety, and a search in the whole dictionary material available, or upon choosing a specific dictionary. In the search results line, entries are given where the full phrase appears at least once (it is perfectly visible, as it is highlighted yellow). Including full entries in search results is absolutely appropriate and understandable because we can thus see the full context in which the word has been used. The engine finds phrases according to our phrasing, so if we key in “Jan” the engine will yield only the occurrences of this word rather than this being part of other words like *Jana*, *Jankowski* or *Bojanowski*. One can search the database in yet another way: “writing *Jan will make it possible to find the word’s occurrences in words such as *Felicjan*, while typing *Jan* will allow access to words like *Bojanowski*, *Janowi*, *Jankowice*, etc. The case of the letters is immaterial.” The options fully suffice to perform a simple search, and the use of the engine is just intuitive and requires no prior introduction.

The next link is to *wykaz map, tabel i tablic genealogicznych* and allows getting acquainted with maps, charts and genealogical trees that found their way to paper versions of the dic-

rycznego Pomorza Zachodniego w średniowieczu. Południowa połać obecnego powiatu stargardzkiego (gm. Stargard, Dolice),” part I: A–Ł, *Stargardia IV* (2004): 354–376; on p. 349 E. Rymar wrote, that his work on a dictionary for the S-W part of the former Pomerania, the lands of the former New Marche (former districts of Chojno, Myślibórz, Gorzów, Strzelce, Choszczno, Drawsko, Świdwin, part of Stargard and Pyrzyce) are advanced, and “some seed materials for the former lands of Widuchów and Bańska Swobnica have been included in the recent regional monographs.” Part of the dictionary must then be the brief data from the study E. Rymar, “W krainie cystersów i rodu Kamyków, czyli teren gminy Będzino w wiekach średnich (do XVI wieku),” in *Gmina Będzino. Z dziejów dawnych i nowych*, ed. A. Chudziński (Pruszczyk Gdański–Będzino, 2009), 80–99 the dictionary part.

tionary and are related to the entry being reviewed — it just takes clicking on one.

Before presenting some observations related to making use of the electronic edition of the dictionary, it is worth mentioning that apart from the *Tęki Dworzaka*, edited by Prof. Jerzy Wisłocki, first published in 1996 on a cd-rom and then placed on the website of the Kórnik Library of PAN (www.bkpan.poznan.pl), and the *regesta* of transcripts from *Metrica Regni Poloniae* (unfortunately as for today it is only from about 100 years that we can browse on the website of the Main Archive of Old Acts, AGAD, Warsaw, www.agad.archiwa.gov.pl/metodyka/wyszukiwarki.html), there are no other projects designed to making sources available online for historians. We can point to such undertakings abroad, such as the model William the Conqueror cadaster at www.domesdaybook.co.uk. Part of the trend are the digital libraries that are cropping up recently, such as the international Google Books and the Polish Project of the Federation of Digital Libraries [Federacja Bibliotek Cyfrowych] at www.fbc.pionier.net.pl which now hosts over 600,000 publications, or the National Digital Archive [Narodowe Archiwum Cyfrowe] at www.nac.gov.pl, which digitalises and makes available printed material including the documents from Polish archives. These are usually scans of documents or source materials but without the possibility of searching for words or phrases (which is now technologically possible).

Back to the dictionary: this is a most significant project, and it is comfortable and convenient as it speeds up the initial query and makes it very precise as opposed to the laborious turning of pages. Thus dubbing the dictionary an “auxiliary resource” appears inappropriate and does not really do the dictionary justice. One needs to realise the sheer magnitude of work the teams of researchers put in making the catalogue records for the dictionary. It is surely the basic resource any research query ought to start from. Therefore we can

safely and without exaggeration say that this is a monumental resource! Anyone having at least a little to do with regional history, relations between settlers or genealogy cannot do without this resource. It is a fundamental publication for genealogists, too.

There are some things that one can have reservations about. The selection of dictionaries for the project has not been justified. On top of medieval dictionaries, included too was a dictionary of the Benedictine monastery of Świąty Krzyż in paper and electronic version that comprises mostly the places situated in the Province of Sandomierz, but also Lublin or Krakow, ie. partly overlapping with the dictionaries from the IH PAN series and, moreover, spanning a much longer period. No information was given whether the selection is final or whether in the course of time and contracting copyright holders to other dictionaries, those will be included in the project, as well.

The search engine and its capacity arouse some doubts. It is obvious that for some looked-up words it is sufficient, but for those more common, appearing in a great many entries it does not really fulfil its mission. Perhaps, beside the simple search there should also be a more advanced application. Would it not be useful to expand the search capacity so that it can include not only individual words but also more complex phrases, and word combinations and logical expressions, such as a conjunction of two words (meaning both words must appear in one entry) or a conjunction of one word and a negation of another (one is to appear as long as the other does not), etc. Perhaps in using a blurry search a possibility should be offered to search for different forms of a word, and instead of the “*” auxiliary that stands for any sequence of signs, another masking auxiliary ‘?’ might be introduced that replaces exactly one character. This sort of extended search engine proved to be effective in the *Tęcki Dworzaka* files on a cd-rom.

Maybe the dictionary ought to be expanded in such a way as to insert hypertext refer-

ences to documents available online in certain entry fields? Some sources used in the dictionary must already be available online,³ and most will be in the coming future.

Wykaz map, tabel i tablic genealogicznych contains a number of typos;⁴ luckily, unlike traditional publications, this can be corrected any time. The index of acronyms and abbreviations placed at the beginning of each volume is no good solution: in reading a passage it would be a good idea to be able to see a list of those, available straight from the homepage.

A more general question arises how to cite the online edition? Is it by referring to the paper edition or by some description and electronic positioning? The authors give no instruction here. This edition of sources will only exacerbate the issue of citing sources via a given dictionary, which Tomasz Jurek recently mentioned in a letter to the Polish Heraldry Society Yearbook.⁵ It is worth looking at the publication from yet another angle: don't these amenities make scholars more lazy? Will the papers based on the electronic edition of the dictionary still be deemed unaided? Won't researchers just stop at checking the phrases in-

vestigated in the dictionary at the expense of research queries in manuscript sources, and in this way create secondary resources? Time will tell.

Despite these critical remarks it ought to be said plain and simple: the project has been implemented perfectly. It is a model solution. After *Teczki Dworzaka*, the time has come for the monumental Dictionary to make its way online. It is only to be wished that other vital series will be made available, too: *Monumenta Poloniae historica*, *Słownik staropolskich nazw osobowych* [Old Polish Proper names], *Słownik starożytności słowiańskich* [Slavonic antiquities], and many others.

Despite the electronic edition becoming available online, the undersigned are looking forward to further printed, paper fascicles of the dictionary, as those already published occupy a prominent place on the bookshelves of the authors of this paper!

Piotr Andrzej Dmochowski
and Andrzej Sikorski, Warsaw

³ To give an example, in *Słownik historyczno–geograficzny ziemi wyszogrodzkiej w średniowieczu*, ed. A. Wolff, A. Borkiewicz–Celińska (Wrocław, 1971), *Herbarz Ignacego Kapicy Milewskiego (dopelnienie Niesieckiego)* (Kraków: Z. Gloger, 1870) and *Codex diplomaticus et commemorationum Masoviae generalis* (Warsaw: J. K. Kochanowski, 1919) were used; both available at the website of Wielkopolska Biblioteka Cyfrowa (<http://www.wbc.poznan.pl/dlibra>).

⁴ There is: 'PŁOCK'; there should be 'PŁOCK', it reads on p. 153 — 'mapa: Bukówka i jej dopływ' but should read on p. 153 — 'mapa: Bukówka i jej dopływy', it reads on p. 609 — 'tabl.: Pawłowsy z Wierzbno (odnoga Rydzyńskich)' and should read: p. 609 — 'tabl.: Pawłowsy h. Wierzbno (odnoga Rydzyńskich)', it reads: p. 633 — 'tabl.: Pampowsy h. Poronia' but should read on p. 633 — 'tabl.: Pampowsy h. Poronia', it reads: p. 289 — 'mapa: Położenie Sanoka' but should read: p. 289 — 'mapa: Położenie Santoka'.

⁵ T. Jurek, "Uwagi i sprostowania," *Rocznik Polskiego Towarzystwa Heraldycznego*, n.s., vol. VIII [XIX] (Warsaw: DiG, 2008): 207–208.

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