

## **Regional identity in Silesia (until 1526)**

### **Abstract:**

During the search for factors constituting proof of the existence of a Silesian regional identity in the Late Middle Ages, the author analyzed the process of formation and functioning of common traditions. Among the contributing factors analyzed is the name *Śląsk/Silesia* and the process through which it entered the collective consciousness. The Piast dynasty was a significant element of this tradition, considering the attempts made at preserving their memory, primarily within historiographical works. Saint Hedwig of Silesia (d. 1243) was of particular significance to this dynasty; her cult changed from one dynastic in nature into regional, as she became the patron saint of Silesia. In Silesian tradition Piotr Włostowic (d. circa 1151) is another very important figure; his literary and historiographical prowess allowed him to rise to the status of regional hero. The local Church was also significant in the forging of regional identity. The author analyzed the actions it took for the purpose of preserving and strengthening knowledge about the Bishops of Wrocław, indicating such sources as the bishop catalogues which were widespread in Silesia. Much attention was paid to the regional discourse present within chronicles and other publications; in the Late Middle Ages these became the main platform for expression of regional issues. Analyzing the particulars of some events, the author indicated the tangled paths to the formation of a Silesian regional identity. This was primarily the result of the far-reaching ethnic changes taking place in Silesia at the turn of the 12<sup>th</sup> and 13<sup>th</sup> centuries, alongside the influence of cultural traits imported from bordering regions.

### **Keywords:**

Śląsk / Silesia, Wrocław, historiography, middle ages, regional identity, patriotism, Church, chronicles, annals, catalogues of bishops, Piast dynasty, St. Hedwig of Silesia, Piotr Włostowic, Henryków Book, German language, Polish language, Latin

The issue of regional identity has already been explored by scholars in a variety of ways;<sup>1</sup> I have decided therefore to refrain from defining it here. Nevertheless, as the aim of my study is to identify the beginnings and the earliest traces of regional identity in Silesia, it would be reasonable to briefly describe my practical understanding of this concept. In my view, these are factors which prove the existence of this specific identity and distinguish the social group of our interest (Silesians) from other communities. The

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<sup>1</sup> Cf. Jürgen Petersohn's deliberations on Franconia, *Franken im Mittelalter. Identität und Profil im Spiegel von Bewußtsein und Vorstellung*, Ostfildern 2008 (=Vorträge und Forschungen. Sonderband, 51), p. 52 and following. See also collective volumes on this subject: *Regionale Identität und soziale Gruppen im deutschen Mittelalter*, ed. Peter Moraw, Berlin 1992 (=Zeitschrift für historische Forschung, 14); *Identité régionale et conscience nationale en France et en Allemagne du Moyen Âge à l'Époque Moderne. Actes du colloque organisé par l'Université Paris XII – Val de Marne, l'Institut universitaire de France et l'Institut Historique Allemand à l'Université Paris XII et à la Fondation Singer-Polignac, les 6, 7 et 8 octobre 1993*, eds Rainer Babel, Jean-Marie Moeglin, Sigmaringen 1997 (=Beihefte der Francia, vol. 39); *Spätmittelalterliches Landesbewusstsein in Deutschland*, ed. Matthias Werner, Ostfildern 2005 (=Vorträge und Forschungen, 61). Cf. valuable observations on national consciousness/identity: Benedykt Zientara, *Świt narodów europejskich*. See also W. Mrozowicz, *Od kiedy*, pp. 135–147.

point of reference for these factors must be, in every case, a particular region (Silesia), and it is between this region and a particular community that there develops, over a long historical period, a conscious and positive emotional bond. These factors, without doubt, include: a shared space designated by one universal name (understood dynamically, that is with consideration of its political-territorial transformations), a shared language or languages, a shared culture and religion, shared interests and legal system, as well as a shared leadership.

From the perspective of this study, the most important factor to prove the existence of cultural/regional identity is a shared tradition. This refers to values and symbols that develop over a region's history, including nomenclature, and is founded on experiences shared by inhabitants of that region, which means that this tradition refers to the past and to the memory of the past, and nurtures the memory of common heroes of the bygone era. These are the central issues to be examined in the following presentation of the origins of regional identity in Silesia.

A particular concept may only take root in the collective consciousness when it is named. This somewhat clichéd statement refers to the usage of geographical names by individuals who see a certain value in the designatum of a given name, as well as by external observers. The process by which the name Silesia emerged may be only traced back through written sources. The discussion on the subject of the earliest names that were once used to identify Silesia and its inhabitants falls outside of the parameters of the period this study is focused on. My principal interest is the period from the mid-12<sup>th</sup> century onwards when the name of Silesia (originating from the name of the tribe of Ślężanie) – known already in the 9<sup>th</sup> century – was becoming increasingly widespread and replaced all other tribe-related names found in the sources from between the 9<sup>th</sup> and 11<sup>th</sup> centuries.

The oldest records where the name of Silesia can be found are written in Latin and occurred in a Latin linguistic context. They reflect the Slavic form of the name only slightly. During the Middle Ages varied forms of this name appeared in writing, which were adjusted to the specificity of each of the four major languages used in Silesia at the time. These included first and foremost the Latin form of the name used by educated individuals (*Silesia*), then the name used by Silesian citizens of Polish and Czech origin (*Śląsk* and *Slezsko*, respectively), and eventually that used by the German settlers (*Schlesien*).

The name derived from the tribe of Ślężanie started to define a region which was far more extensive than that initially occupied by the tribe.<sup>2</sup> Evidence of this fact may be

<sup>2</sup> As regards the name of Silesia, its origin and meaning, see Waclaw Korta, *Spór o nazwę Śląska*, 'Sobótka', 41 (1986), No. 2, pp. 165–186; Winfried Irgang, *Oberschlesien im Mittelalter: Einführung in Raum und Zeit*, [in:] *Oberschlesien im späten Mittelalter. Eine Region im Spannungsfeld zwischen Polen, Böhmen-Mähren und dem Reich vom 13. bis zum Beginn des 16. Jahrhunderts*, ed. Thomas Wunsch, Berlin 1993 (=Tagungsreihe der Stiftung Haus Oberschlesien, vol. 1), pp. 14–20; W. Mrozowicz, *Od kiedy*, pp. 135–136. It would be worth mentioning here the recent attempt to relaunch the discussion on the connection of the tribe of Silingi with Silesia, and in consequence the origins of the name of Silesia: see Przemysław Siekierka, *Silingowie u Klaudiusza Ptolemeusza*, pp. 553–562.

found in sources produced outside Silesia, dating to the first decades of the 12<sup>th</sup> century. These include, especially, the oldest Polish and Czech chronicles.<sup>3</sup> The name of the Silesian region (recorded as *regio Zlesnensis* or *regio, que Slezsko vocatur*) was adopted mostly by the inhabitants of its surrounding territories. However, it needs to be emphasized that this process occurred very slowly. This is proved by another Polish chronicle, written around the turn of the 13<sup>th</sup> century by Master Vincent Kadłubek, which still lacks a uniform geographic-ethnic terminology. What we find there are two references to the province of *Silencii* or *Silenciani*,<sup>4</sup> two references to the name ‘divina Silencii provincia’ and ‘sacra Silencii provincia’,<sup>5</sup> as well as three references to the inhabitants of Silesia: *Silenciades*, *Silencii* and *Silenciani*.<sup>6</sup> It would seem that this abundance of names reflects the slow process of development of the Silesian region within the new political structure of the Polish lands that resulted from feudal fragmentation. From the outset of the 13<sup>th</sup> century the region of Silesia and Silesian dukes played a crucial role in this structure (as the so-called monarchy of the Henrys of Silesia).<sup>7</sup>

At the same time, the charters issued by successive Silesian dukes – who were becoming increasingly independent rulers – contained the title of Duke of Silesia (*dux Zlesie* and variations thereof). The first one to use this title in 1175 was Duke Boleslaus the Tall.<sup>8</sup> His son Henry I the Bearded and his successors followed his example. This title referred only to dukes which exercised power over the territory of Lower Silesia. Almost at the same time, the dukes of Upper Silesia started to use the title of Dukes of Opole (*dux de Oppul*).<sup>9</sup> In the oldest Silesian chronicle, produced ca. 1260s–1270s in the Cistercian monastery of Henryków – the so-called *Henryków Book* – the name Silesia occurs numerous times as part of ducal titles and as a geographical term. The most characteristic were expressions such as ‘the province of the Silesian land’ (*Sleziensis terre provincia*, I 1), ‘Silesian land’ (*terra Sleziensis*, I 1) or simply ‘the land of Silesia’ (*terra Slesie*, I 8, 9), which prove that at the time Silesia was already perceived as an independent geographic

<sup>3</sup> *Anonima tzw. Galla Kronika czyli dzieje książąt i władców polskich*, ed. Karol Maleczyński, Kraków 1952 (=Monumenta Poloniae Historica, nova series, vol. 2), II, 50, p. 119; Canonici Wissegradensis, *Continuatio Cosmae a. 1126-1142*, ed. Josef Emler, [in:] *Fontes rerum Bohemicarum*, vol. 2, Praha 1874, p. 216. Cf: Marek Cetwiński, *Ślązacy w kronikach polskich (Anonima tzw. Galla i Wincentego zwanego Kadłubkiem)*, [in:] *Ślązacy w oczach własnych i obcych*, pp. 68–70; Antoni Barciak, *Śląsk w źródłach czeskich do końca XIV w.*, [in:] *Przełomy w historii. XVI Powszechny Zjazd Historyków Polskich, Wrocław 15-18 września 1999 roku. Pamiętnik*, eds Krzysztof Ruchniewicz, Jakub Tyszkiewicz, Wojciech Wrzesiński, vol. 2, part 1, Toruń 2000, p. 117.

<sup>4</sup> *Magistri Vincenti dicti Kadlubek Chronica Polonorum*, I 9 6, II 22 16. See also T. Jurek, *Die Entwicklung eines schlesischen Regionalbewußtseins*, p. 24; M. Cetwiński, *Ślązacy*, pp. 70–73; W. Mrozowicz, *Od kiedy*, pp. 138–139.

<sup>5</sup> *Magistri Vincentii, Chronica...*, III 18 11, III 30 7.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibidem*, III 18 11, III 18 13, III 18 14.

<sup>7</sup> See B. Zientara, *Henryk Brodaty*, 2<sup>nd</sup> edition, pp. 271–381; P. Wiszewski, *Henryk II Pobożny*, pp. 149–205.

<sup>8</sup> *SUB.*, vol. 1, Nos 45 (1175), 49 (1177). The subject was examined in more detail by T. Jurek, *Die Entwicklung eines schlesischen Regionalbewußtseins*, pp. 25–26.

<sup>9</sup> For more information on ducal titles see T. Jurek, *Die Entwicklung eines schlesischen Regionalbewußtseins*, p. 25; A. Rüter, *op. cit.*, pp. 189–191.

unit and, in connection with the ducal titles, as an independent political unit also.<sup>10</sup> The occurrence of the name Silesia in both medieval documents and in the *Henryków Book* allows one to assume that throughout the 13<sup>th</sup> century its popularity gained in force, and the name appeared not only in scholarly chronicles but was also fully recognized and used at Silesian courts and by the clergy.

In light of the surviving sources it becomes obvious that in the period this paper is concerned with it was rather uncommon to examine the origins of the name of the region. One of the first contemporary scholars that addressed the issue was Wincenty Kadłubek, who presented the quasi-etymology of the term. It is, however, difficult to deduce exactly what he meant when calling Silesia ‘a divine [or sacred] province of silence’. These words rather did not refer to the ecclesiastical province of Silesia,<sup>11</sup> for this was designated in the 13<sup>th</sup> century as the Church (*Ecclesia Wratislaviensis*) or diocese of Wrocław (*dyocesis Wratislaviensis*).<sup>12</sup> Nevertheless, the extent to which one can justifiably attribute a metaphoric or mystical sense to this expression is unclear.<sup>13</sup> Neither the authority of modern Silesian mystics nor one of Kadłubek’s methods of concealing the true meaning of the described phenomenon (*integumentum*) seem to be convincing in this respect.<sup>14</sup>

A quite contrary approach to the origins of the name of the region was presented by an anonymous annalist who, in the second half of the 15<sup>th</sup> century, completed and then continued an anonymous Czech annual chronicle. Its completed version is known as *Historia Bohemica, Polonica et Silesiaca*.<sup>15</sup> The Czech annalist is also famous for adapting the tale of three brothers – Czech, Krak and Lech – to the Silesian cultural context. According

<sup>10</sup> *Liber fundationis claustris sanctae Mariae Virginis in Heinrichow, passim*. More information on the term *terra* in *The Henryków Book* and other sources see Kazimierz Orzechowski, ‘Terra’ w *śląskich źródłach narracyjnych do końca XIV wieku*, ‘Sobótka’, 36 (1981), No. 2, pp. 219–241; *idem*, ‘Terra’ w *dokumentach śląskich do końca XIV wieku*, ‘Sobótka’, 40 (1985), No. 2, pp. 226–251; see also Wojciech Mrozowicz, *Wyobraźnia przestrzenna śląskiego dziejopisarstwa średniowiecznego*, [in:] *Śląsk w czasie i przestrzeni*, eds Joanna Nowosielska-Sobel, Grzegorz Strauchold, Wrocław 2009 (=Spotkania Dolnośląskie), pp. 11–13.

<sup>11</sup> M. Cetwiński, *Ślązacy*, p. 72.

<sup>12</sup> See for example *Liber fundationis claustris sanctae Mariae Virginis in Heinrichow*, p. 193.

<sup>13</sup> Mistrz Wincenty (tzw. Kadłubek), *Kronika polska*, translated and edited by Brygida Kürbis, Wrocław 1996, p. 139, footnote No. 93.

<sup>14</sup> Zbigniew Kadłubek, *Integumentum i ‘święta kraina milczenia’ Mistrza Wincentego*, *Mediewistyka.net* (<http://www.mediewistyka.pl/content/view/81/40/>; accessed on December 4<sup>th</sup>, 2012).

<sup>15</sup> The manuscript IV F 104 housed in the University Library in Wrocław contains valuable information on the subject, see Wojciech Mrozowicz, *Die Acta quedam notatu digna im Lichte einer neuentdeckten Handschrift. Plädoyer für die Neuausgabe des Werkes*, [in:] *Editionswissenschaftliche Kolloquien 2003/2004. Historiographie, Briefe und Korrespondenzen. Editorische Methoden*, eds Matthias Thumser, Janusz Tandeci in cooperation with Antje Thumser, Toruń 2005 (=Publikationen des deutsch-polnischen Gesprächskreises für Quelleneditionen, vol. 3), pp. 90–91, 96; Marie Bláhová, *Společné dějiny? Slezská redakce anonymní České kroniky 15. století*, [in:] *Slezsko – země koruny české. Historie a kultura 1300–1740*, eds Helena Daňová, Jan Klípa, Lenka Stolárová, Praha 2008, pp. 233–244; *eadem*, *Tercius Lech... plantavit totam Silesiam. Die Widerspiegelung des Wissens um die Zusammengehörigkeit der Schlesier zur Böhmischem Krone in der Historiographie des Spätmittelalters*, [in:] *Geschichte, Erinnerung, Selbstdentifikation. Die schriftliche Kultur in den Ländern der Böhmischem Krone im 14.-18. Jahrhundert*, eds Lenka Bobková, Jan Zdichynec, Praha 2011 (=Die Kronländer in der Geschichte des böhmischen Staates, 5), pp. 14–26.

to earlier Polish chronicles, mainly those of Wincenty Kadłubek, as well as of *Chronica Polonorum* which was produced in Silesia and based on Kadłubek's work, the last of these brothers was viewed as the founder and the eponym of the Polish state inhabited by the tribe of Lechites. In the discussed tale, both Poland and Cracow (Polish: Kraków) derive from Krak, and Lech is viewed as the eponym of Legnica ('fundavit Lechnicz, que civitas dicitur Legnicz, et plantavit totam Slesiam'). At the same time, Legnica is viewed as the centre of Silesia and symbolic of the region as a whole.

A vital role in the process of founding a regional identity is played by the people in power. In the feudal era, when society was organized in a hierarchical fashion, a special task was entrusted to individuals occupying the top positions – the rulers and, more generally speaking, the families they descended from. They fulfilled their mission either actively – as part of their rulership, for example, by leading military campaigns or undertaking actions related to the territory under their control, or passively – by making their image available to writers and artists who in turn made them the subjects of courtly narratives, local chronicles or artistic representations.

The common belief that power comes from God had been introduced as early as Antiquity and over the centuries it was further strengthened by the contents of the Holy Bible, most notably by the words of Saint Paul – 'non est enim potestas nisi a Deo' (Romans 13, 1). This view was reflected in the oldest Polish chronicles of Gallus Anonymus and Wincenty Kadłubek, whose views on the origins of the Piast dynasty (although this name was not yet used at that time) presented a coherent vision of the sacred character of the rulership of the descendants of Piast or Mieszko I.<sup>16</sup> The message of these chronicles was gradually absorbed by local Silesian historiography. A legend telling the story of Piast's visitation of two pilgrims, who transpired to be divine angels, was included in *Chronica principum Poloniae*.<sup>17</sup> This chronicle also describes the dynasty (*progenies*) that was established by Piast as being created in an act of divine providence (*Divina disposicione*),<sup>18</sup> while it was widely known that one of the Piast dynastic branches controlled Silesia as a consequence of territorial divisions introduced by Boleslaus the Wrymouth.

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<sup>16</sup> For more information on the divine origins of Piast power presented in the chronicles see Jacek Banaszekiewicz, *Podanie o Piaście i Popiele. Studium porównawcze nad wczesnośredniowiecznymi tradycjami dynastycznymi*, Warszawa 1986, especially pp. 149–155; Czesław Deptuła, *Galla Anonima mit genezy Polski. Studium z historiozofii i hermeneutyki symboli dziejopisarstwa średniowiecznego*, 2<sup>nd</sup> edition, Lublin 2000, pp. 156, 166–167; Przemysław Wiszewski, *Domus Boleslai. W poszukiwaniu tradycji dynastycznej Piastów (do około 1138 roku)*, Wrocław 2008 (=Złota Seria Uniwersytetu Wrocławskiego, vol. 1), especially. pp. 174–186.

<sup>17</sup> *Kronika książąt polskich*, pp. 435–437. For more information on the circulation of the chronicle's manuscripts see Wojciech Mrozowicz, *Cronica principum Polonie und Cronica ducum Silesie – die Hauptwerke der Fürstengeschichtsschreibung Schlesiens (Einige Überlieferungs- und Deutungsprobleme)*, [in:] *Die Hofgeschichtsschreibung im mittelalterlichen Europa: Projekte und Forschungsprobleme*, eds Rudolf Schieffer, Jarosław Wenta, Toruń 2006 (=Subsidia historiographica, vol. 3), pp. 150–152.

<sup>18</sup> *Kronika książąt polskich*, p. 435.

The Piast dynasty, whose power was viewed as being ordained by God, enjoyed great respect in Silesia. Its memory was nurtured by monastic circles, which in turn were offered strong support by the Piasts in the early stages of their settlement in Silesia. What needs to be highlighted is that the creation of *Chronica Polonorum* is probably closely related to the foundation by the Piast Duke Boleslaus I the Tall of the Cistercian monastery of Lubiąż.<sup>19</sup> The chronicle was produced in the 1280s when the process of feudal fragmentation in Silesia was reaching its peak and the rulers of remaining Polish territories were increasingly inclined towards the idea of state unification.<sup>20</sup> It is not completely certain whether the principal founder of the chronicle was actually the later duke-unifier of the lands of Poland, Henry IV the Righteous.<sup>21</sup> It is suspected that at the time he was in need of an ideological tool to support his political actions which focused on gaining power over the restored Kingdom of Poland.<sup>22</sup> *Chronica Polonorum*, although unfinished and lacking editorial finishing touches (perhaps due to the sudden death of the author?), could have functioned as such a tool. This may be manifested, for instance, in the great attention devoted by the anonymous chronicler to the history of the ‘monarchy’ of Cracow, the purpose of which could be to direct the thoughts of Silesian dukes towards the Crown of Poland. What he actually presented was the earliest history of the Duchy of Silesia in connection with the role played in the capital by Ladislaus the Exile,<sup>23</sup> as well as the process of Henry I the Bearded’s assuming power over Cracow.<sup>24</sup> According to *Chronica Polonorum*, the Silesian branch of the Piast dynasty was simply predestined to rule over both Cracow and the entire Kingdom of Poland. This approach is crucial for the process of founding a regional identity in Silesia.<sup>25</sup> According

<sup>19</sup> Wojciech Mrozowicz, *Śląska Kronika polska. Wstęp do studium źródłoznawczego (część 1)*, [in:] *Studia z historii średniowiecza*, ed. Mateusz Goliński, Wrocław 2003 (=Acta Universitatis Wratislaviensis, No 2512, Historia 163), pp. 105–128.

<sup>20</sup> See also a recently published work by Wojciech Drelicharz, *Idea zjednoczenia królestwa w średniowiecznym dziejopisarstwie polskim*, Kraków 2012 (=Monografie Towarzystwa Naukowego Societas Vistulana, vol. 1); for the earlier literature see especially Janusz Bieniak, *Zjednoczenie państwa polskiego*, [in:] *Polska dzielnicowa i zjednoczona. Państwo – społeczeństwo – kultura*, ed. Aleksander Gieysztor, Warszawa 1972, p. 208–216.

<sup>21</sup> Heinrich von Loesch, *Zum Chronicon Polono-Silesiacum*, ‘Zeitschrift des Vereins für Geschichte und Alterthums Schlesien’, 65 (1931), p. 225; Waclaw Korta, *Średniowieczna annalistyka śląska*, Wrocław 1966, p. 345; Gerard Labuda, *Kroniki genealogiczne jako źródła do dziejów rozbicia i zjednoczenia monarchii w Polsce średniowiecznej*, ‘Studia Źródłoznawcze’, 22 (1977), pp. 49–50; *idem*, *Nowe spojrzenie na śląską ‘Kronikę polską’*, [in:] *Ojczyzna bliższa i dalsza. Studia historyczne ofiarowane Feliksowi Kurykowi w sześćdziesiątą rocznicę urodzin*, eds Jacek Chrobaczyński, Andrzej Jureczko, Michał Śliwa, Kraków 1993, pp. 26–32; Elżbieta Wilamowska, ‘*Kronika polsko-śląska*’. *Zabytek pochodzenia lubiąskiego*, ‘Studia Źródłoznawcze’, 25 (1980), pp. 88–92; Roman Michałowski, *Princeps fundator. Studium z dziejów kultury politycznej w Polsce X–XIII wieku*, Warszawa 1993, p. 115; Tomasz Jurek, *Plany koronacyjne Henryka Probusa*, [in:] *Śląsk w czasach Henryka IV Prawego*, p. 26. See also controversial views of Jerzy Mularczyk, *Kronika polska i jej relacja o bitwie pod Studnicą*, ‘Kwartalnik Historyczny’, 95 (1989), No. 2, pp. 25–55.

<sup>22</sup> On these actions see especially T. Jurek, *Plany*, p. 13–27.

<sup>23</sup> *Kronika polska*, pp. 629–643.

<sup>24</sup> *Ibidem*, pp. 641, 647, 648.

<sup>25</sup> Cf: Roman Heck, *O piastowskich tradycjach średniowiecznego Śląska (Problemy świadomości historycznej i narodowej)*, ‘Kwartalnik Historyczny’, 84 (1977), No. 1, p. 15, 17–21.

to the author of the chronicle, just as Silesia was to retain its political connection with Poland – independent of the ethnic transformations of the time – so the identity of the Silesian community was to be permanently connected with the idea of ‘Polishness’. Silesia was perceived as being part of a Polish community, which in turn was unified – at the time only idealistically, although the past this had really been the case – by such values as a shared religion and the cults of saints, shared symbols (the crown, art) and shared leadership.<sup>26</sup>

The memory of the Piast dynasty was further cultivated by the monks of Lubiąż in the following century. In the second half of the 14<sup>th</sup> century *The Epitaphs of the Dukes of Silesia (Epytaphia ducum Slezie)* were produced,<sup>27</sup> a work combining obituary annals and a genealogical chronicle which outlines the links between the chosen representatives of the Piast dynasty.<sup>28</sup> At this point it is worth mentioning that these links often exceeded regional boundaries. Based on the contents of the annals and their structure, it has been claimed that the Dukes of Głogów had aspirations to both unify the lands of Poland and to assume the Crown of the Kingdom of Poland.<sup>29</sup> This assertion is somewhat in opposition to the source’s actual practical function, however, which was to commemorate the founder of the monastery and his family as part of the liturgical obligation of the monastic community.<sup>30</sup> Moreover, it would require an (involuntary?) transmission of an ideological message on the part of the authors which would have been utterly unthinkable to the German Cistercians from the Lubiąż monastery. It appears that the content that is closest to their hearts is contained in the so-called *Versus Lubenses* – somewhat a work of propaganda which praised the contributions of the Lubiąż monks to the cultural transformation of Silesia between the 12<sup>th</sup> and the 14<sup>th</sup> centuries.<sup>31</sup> In my view, these ambiguities demonstrate that the formation of a distinct Silesian identity was a complicated process.

<sup>26</sup> Cf. W. Drelicharz, *op. cit.*, pp. 199–240.

<sup>27</sup> *Nagrobki książąt śląskich (Epytaphia ducum Slezie)*, ed. August Bielowski, [in:] *Monumenta Poloniae Historica*, vol. 3, pp. 710–714.

<sup>28</sup> W. Korta, *Średniowieczna annalistyka*, pp. 260–262.

<sup>29</sup> J. Kęłowski, *Pomniki Piastów śląskich*, p. 72; Michał Kaczmarek, *Nekrolog lubiąski. Próba krytyki przekazu*, ‘*Studia Źródłoznawcze*’, 26 (1981), p. 125; W. Drelicharz, *op. cit.*, pp. 291–295; for the political strategy of Henry (III) of Głogów see especially Tomasz Jurek, *Dziedzic Królestwa Polskiego*, pp. 48–50, 70–75.

<sup>30</sup> See i.e.: Georg Tellenbach, *Die historische Dimension der liturgischen Commemoratio im Mittelalter*, [in:] *Memoria. Der geschichtliche Zeugniswert des liturgischen Gedenkens im Mittelalter*, eds Karl Schmid, Joachim Wollasch, München 1984 (=Münstersche Mittelalter-Schriften, vol. 48), pp. 209–210; Otto G. Oexle, *Memoria i przekaz memoratywny we wczesnym średniowieczu*, translated by Stefan Kwiatkowski, [in:] *idem, Społeczeństwo średniowiecza. Mentalność – grupy społeczne – formy życia*, Toruń 2000, pp. 69–70; M. Kaczmarek, *Nekrolog Lubiąski*, pp. 114–115.

<sup>31</sup> *Wiersz o pierwszych zakonnikach Lubiąży*, ed. August Bielowski, [in:] *Monumenta Poloniae Historica*, vol. 3, pp. 708–710. On this work see i.e.: Konstanty K. Jażdżewski, *Lubiąż. Losy i kultura umysłowa śląskiego opactwa cystersów (1163-1642)*, Wrocław 1992 (=Acta Universitatis Wratislaviensis, No 1081), p. 25, 111–115, 160; Siegfried Epperlein, *Gründungsmythos deutscher Zisterzienserklöster östlich der Elbe im hohen Mittelalter und der Bericht des Leubuser Mönches im 14. Jahrhundert*, ‘*Jahrbuch für Wirtschaftsgeschichte*’, 3 (1967), pp. 303–335 (I quote the Polish edition: *idem, Mit fundacyjny*, pp. 587–604); E. Wilamowska, *op. cit.*, p. 81; Wojciech Mrozowicz, *Średniowieczne śląskie dziejopisarstwo klasztorne*, [in:] *Tysiąclecie dziedzictwo kulturowe diecezji wrocławskiej*, pp. 146–147; *idem, Z dyskusji*

The impact of this work was not limited to the enclosed world of the monastery; its message spread outside the thick walls of the complex, which is best evidenced by *Chronica principum Poloniae*, written around the mid-1380s by the Canon of the Collegiate Church of Brzeg, Piotr of Byczyna. The work refers directly, and at times indirectly, to the content of *The Epitaphs of the Dukes of Silesia*.<sup>32</sup> In this context, it would seem reasonable to adopt a similar interpretation of the message of *Chronica principum Poloniae*, which – created out of inspiration and on commission of the Dukes of Legnica-Brzeg with Louis I at the head – was to provide ideological support for his efforts to win power over Poland during the period of instability following the death of King Louis I of Hungary.<sup>33</sup>

His attempts did not, however, yield the result he expected. In the Late Middle Ages in the territory of Silesia a somewhat archaic territorial division into duchies still survived, but their significance within the Bohemian Crown was rather minor and was systematically losing strength. At the same time, the importance of the Piast dukes was also weakening, especially with regard to their position in the complex political, national and religious arrangement of late medieval central Europe.<sup>34</sup> The declining importance of the Piast dukes in Silesia, together with the decline of their impact on the formation of Silesian identity (related to the ruling dynasty), suffered even more damage following the emergence of dukes from other ruling families of central Europe: the descendants of the King of Bohemia, George of Poděbrady (from 1453) in the Duchy of Ziębice and Oleśnica, Saxon electors (from 1474) in part of the Duchy of Żagań, as well as the Hohenzollerns (from 1482), who assumed power over Krosno Odrzańskie, formerly part of the Duchy of Głogów. In the north-eastern borderlands of Silesia there emerged a so-called ‘free state lords’.<sup>35</sup> All the transformations that strongly weakened the position of the dukes resulted in the fact that, when viewed in a wider social context, they ceased to constitute a building factor of regional identity. From then on they were only rarely mentioned in local chronicles, like, for example, *Chronica principum Poloniae* (dated at

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*nad początkami klasztorów w średniowiecznej historiografii śląskiej*, [in:] *Origines mundi*, pp. 177–178; P. Wiszewski, *Zakonnicy i dworzanie*, pp. 186–187, 192–193; *idem*, *Świat XIII-XIV-wiecznych cystersów lubiąskich w kilku lustrach uchwycony* (unpublished text – I would like to thank the author for making it available to me); R. Bartlett, *Tworzenie Europy*, pp. 234–236; W.P. Könighaus, *Die Zisterzienserabtei Leubus*, m.in. pp. 11, 15–16, 27–28.

<sup>32</sup> *Kronika książąt polskich*, chapter 18 and *passim*; *Monumenta Lubensia*, p. 7; W. Korta, *Średniowieczna annalistyka*, p. 260.

<sup>33</sup> See also further pages.

<sup>34</sup> Cf. R. Heck, *O piastowskich*, pp. 16–20.

<sup>35</sup> For more information on these transformations see Marian Ptak, Wojciech Mrozowicz, *Die territorialrechtliche Binnenstruktur Schlesiens. Ein historischer Überblick vom Mittelalter bis zum Ende des 20. Jahrhunderts*, [in:] *Adel in Schlesien. vol. 2: Repertorium: Forschungsperspektiven – Quellenkunde – Bibliographie*, eds Joachim Bahlcke, Wojciech Mrozowicz, München 2010 (=Schriften des Bundesinstituts für Kultur und Geschichte der Deutschen im östlichen Europa, vol. 37), pp. 37–67; in this volume see also the article of Marcin Pauk and Ewa Wólkiewicz.

the turn of the 16<sup>th</sup> century),<sup>36</sup> which needs to be regarded more as a curiosity than a reminiscence of the former glory of the Piast dynasty with a more profound ideological message. *Chronica*, formerly attributed to Benedict of Poznań, should by no means be treated as a call ‘to return Silesia to Poland’.<sup>37</sup>

The only representative of the dynasty of Silesian rulers, also remembered vividly in the Late Middle Ages, was Duchess Hedwig (d. 1243), the wife of Henry I the Beard-ed.<sup>38</sup> Although originally a member of the Bavarian ducal family of Andechs, she became part of the Piast dynasty through marriage and not long after occupied an honourable place in Piast history. This was to a large extent due to her being canonized soon after her death, as early as 1267. The ceremony, held in Trzebnica, gathered numerous Piast dukes, including from outside Silesia, and Hedwig was the first member of the Piast dynasty to be proclaimed a dynastic saint. Thanks to Saint Hedwig, the entire Piast dynasty was sanctified (*beata stirps*). This is best illustrated by the work devoted to the genealogy of Saint Hedwig.<sup>39</sup> The unusual case of this German-born duchess proclaimed a saint and patron of the Polish dynasty is more evidence of the complexity of the process of the development of identity of Silesia.

The mother of Henry II the Pious, a tragic hero from the battle of Legnica, enjoyed a special place in the cult tradition of the Piasts of Silesia. Her worship gained in strength when Bishop Przeclaw of Pogorzela extended it to the entire diocese in 1344.<sup>40</sup> It developed further due to various widely-disseminated tales of Hedwig’s life, and these included not only biographic-hagiographic or preacher’s texts (in Latin, German and Czech), but

<sup>36</sup> Published only partially in footnotes to the edition of *Kronika książąt polskich*, pp. 489–490, 492–493, 495, 498, 500–507, 509–510, 512–517, 520–523, 525–529, 531–533, 535, 540, 542–544, 548–552, 554, 556–565. On this subject see W. Mrozowicz, *Cronica principum*, pp. 153–159.

<sup>37</sup> Zofia Grabowiecka, *Benedykt z Poznania – szesnastowieczny badacz polskiej przeszłości Śląska*, [in:] *Z dziejów postępowej ideologii na Śląsku w XIV–XVI w.*, ed. Ewa Maleczyńska, Warszawa 1956, pp. 125–150, here 150.

<sup>38</sup> On this subject see especially Joseph Gottschalk, *Sankt Hedwig, Herzogin von Schlesien*, Köln 1964; Benigna Suchoń, *Święta Jadwiga, księżna śląska*, ‘Nasza Przeszłość’, 53 (1980), pp. 5–132; Antoni Kiełbasa, *Święta Jadwiga Śląska*, Warszawa 1990.

<sup>39</sup> *Tractatus sive Speculum genealoye sancte Hedwigis quondam ducisse Slesie*, ed. Aleksander Semkowicz, [in:] *Monumenta Poloniae Historica*, vol. 4, Lwów 1884, pp. 642–651. For more information on this source and the notion of *beata stirps* see Kazimierz Jasiński, *Franciszkanin Henryk z Breny propagatorem kultu św. Jadwigi*, [in:] *Księga Jadwiżańska. Międzynarodowe Sympozjum Naukowe ‘Święta Jadwiga w dziejach i kulturze Śląska’*, Wrocław-Trzebnica 21–23 września 1993 roku, eds Michał Kaczmarek, Marek L. Wójcik, Wrocław 1995, pp. 339–350.

<sup>40</sup> [Sigismundi Rosiczii] *Gesta diversa transactis temporibus facta in Silesia et alibi*, [in:] *Geschichtsschreiber Schlesiens des XV. Jahrhunderts*, ed. Franz Wachter, Breslau 1883 (=Scriptores rerum Silesiacarum, vol. 12), p. 39. More information on the cult of Saint Hedwig see Stanisław Araszczuk, *Kult św. Jadwigi na Śląsku w świetle przedtrydenckich wrocławskich ksiąg liturgicznych*, Opole 1995 (=Opolska Biblioteka Teologiczna, vol. 7); Winfried Irgang, *Die politische Bedeutung; Wojciech Mrozowicz, Św. Jadwiga – jej żywot i kult (wraz z uwagami na temat rękopisu IV F 192 Biblioteki Uniwersyteckiej we Wrocławiu)*, [in:] *Legenda o św. Jadwidze / Legende der hl. Hedwig*, ed. Wojciech Mrozowicz, Wrocław 2000, pp. 597–620; *idem, Die politische Rolle des Kultes der heiligen Adalbert, Stanislaus und Hedwig in Polen im 13. Jahrhundert*, [in:] *Fonctions sociales et politiques du culte des saints dans les sociétés de rite grec et latin au Moyen Âge et à l’époque moderne. Approche comparative*, eds Marek Derwich, Michel Dmitriev, Wrocław 1999 (=Opera ad historiam monasticam spectantia, Series I, Colloquia 3), pp. 120–122.

also works involving other forms of artistic expression such as books and panel painting.<sup>41</sup> With the engagement of the members of the Piast dynasty, especially Duke Louis I of Legnica-Brzeg (d. 1398)<sup>42</sup> as well as the members of the Church, Saint Hedwig acquired the status of the main patron of Silesia, and the place of her burial – Trzebnica – was gradually becoming a major centre of her cult and pilgrimage. In the liturgical calendar of the Wrocław diocese, Saint Hedwig's day was deemed to have the highest status of the *triplex* rite. In literary texts or prayers devoted to her, Hedwig is often associated with Silesia. A good example of this is liturgical poetry containing calls to joy addressed to the citizens of Silesia on the occasion of Saint Hedwig's day. These include such expressions as 'Iubilat Silesia', 'Gaudeat Ecclesia, gaudeat et Slesia', 'Gaudet solum Silesiae' or 'Verus sol Silesie', and 'ductrix Slesiae'.<sup>43</sup>

Over time, the cult of Saint Hedwig underwent a major transformation. In the process of its formation it was strongly influenced by early Franciscanism, although the model of sanctity from the preceding era – where kings and dukes were regarded as holy – was not yet completely forgotten. Ascetic piety with origins in Franciscan philosophy is strongly accentuated in the works describing the life of the saint produced before the end of the 13<sup>th</sup> century. It was both piety and miraculous events connected with Hedwig's life that constituted the main content of her hagiographies and formed the basis for her canonization. A pictorial version of her life, produced in 1353, was supplemented by, most notably, descriptions of the battle of Legnica, of which there is no mention in other texts of the life of the saint. The work presents the saint as the mother of Henry the Pious (who died in the battle of Legnica while defending Christianity) and the patron of the fight with the infidels. The latter aspect would attain a new dimension in the mid-15<sup>th</sup> century in the face of the growing threat from the Turks.<sup>44</sup>

Let us add that due to insufficient academic attention devoted to this subject it is today difficult to determine whether the cults of other saints, mainly those of Saint Wenclaus, Adalbert and Stanislaus, were equally important to the formation of Silesian

<sup>41</sup> Halina Manikowska, *Legenda św. Jadwigi – obieg i transformacja*, [in:] *Kultura elitarna a kultura masowa w Polsce późnego średniowiecza*, ed. Bronisław Geremek, Wrocław 1978, pp. 155-171; Wojciech Mrozowicz, *Materiały rękopiśmienne dotyczące św. Jadwigi w zbiorach Biblioteki Uniwersyteckiej we Wrocławiu*, [in:] *Księga Jadwiżańska*, pp. 233-248 (here, among others, the list of known to historians narrative sources devoted to Saint Hedwig). More information of iconographical versions of Saint Hedwig's life and other artistic representations see the article of Romuald Kaczmarek contained in this volume.

<sup>42</sup> One of his greatest contributions included the foundation of the first illuminated code with the legend of Saint Hedwig as well as of the chapel and a collegiate church of her patronage in Brzeg, see Alicja Karłowska-Kamzowa, *Fundacje artystyczne; Der Hedwig-Codex von 1353. Sammlung Ludwig*, ed. Wolfgang Braunfels, vol. 1-2, Berlin 1972; Michał Kaczmarek, *Okoliczności powstania i twórca Kodeksu lubińskiego z Legendą obrazową o św. Jadwidze*, 'Roczniki Historyczne', 77 (2011), pp. 51-79.

<sup>43</sup> Examples selected from the source annex to the paper of W. Araszczyk, *op. cit.*, pp. 153-184.

<sup>44</sup> Alicja Karłowska-Kamzowa, *Zagadnienie aktualizacji w śląskich wyobrażeniach bitwy legnickiej 1353-1504*, 'Studia Źródłoznawcze', 17 (1972), pp. 91-118; H. Manikowska, *Legendą, passim*; Stanisław Solicki, *Rola kultu św. Jadwigi w przygotowywaniu akcji antytureckiej na Śląsku w końcu XV i w początkach XVI wieku*, [in:] *Księga Jadwiżańska...*, pp. 371-384. For more information on the manifestations of the cult of Saint Hedwig see the article by Romuald Kaczmarek in this volume.

identity as the cult of Saint Hedwig.<sup>45</sup> It is mainly thanks to Church liturgy and preaching that these practices were widespread in Silesia and they fostered identification with the Church of Wrocław, and indirectly also with the whole of the Silesian province. Could they have influenced the awareness of Silesians to a similar extent as the cult of Saint Hedwig? It seems just about possible, but the issue requires further study. A similar conclusion can be reached for figures that were worshipped locally as saints, but were never canonized – Duchess Anna (the wife of Henry the Pious), Gertrude (the daughter of Saint Hedwig) and Bishop Nanker – as well as other saints of the common Church worshipped in Silesia from the very introduction of Christianity, especially the patron of the Wrocław diocese, Saint John the Baptist, his co-patron Saint John the Evangelist, Saint Vincent of Saragossa, Saint Vincent of Bavegna and Saint Bartholomew.<sup>46</sup>

Another figure who played a major role in the history of the region and whose memory was actively nurtured (albeit for different reasons) is Peter Wlast, (d. ca. 1151),<sup>47</sup> presented by Silesian historiography and literature as a true local hero. Although nothing is certain about Wlast's descent (scholars mostly point to his probable Scandinavian (Danish) or Slavic (Silesian) background and link him with a local magnate, Łabędź), he achieved one of the highest distinctions – the title of voivode – under Duke Boleslaus III the Wrymouth, and following his death under the Senior Duke and Duke of Silesia, Ladislaus II the Exile. It was probably the political position of Wlast and his connections with a circle of junior dukes that resulted in the fact that he was blinded and removed from power in 1145–1146. There are historical records proving Wlast's strong dedication to the wellbeing of the Church, which manifested itself in the foundation of 77 churches, but this was less a result of Wlast's utmost piety as it was a form of expiation for the abduction of Duke Volodar Rostislavich of Przemyśl in 1120 for which he was responsible.

Peter Wlast's biography became a frequent motif in Silesian historiography and the subject of chivalric novels which were very popular in the Middle Ages. We find extensive references to Peter Wlast in the *Chronica Polonorum*.<sup>48</sup> He is also the main protagonist of a work known as *Cronica Petri comitis Poloniae*<sup>49</sup> written by an anonymous Norbertine monk from Saint Vincent abbey at Olbin. He is believed to be the subject of the mysterious Song of Maurus (*Carmen Mauri*), mentioned in one of the manuscripts of the *Chronica Polonorum*, sometimes identified with the 16<sup>th</sup>-century rhymed

<sup>45</sup> For synthetic work on the cult of these Saints in Silesia see Wojciech Mrozowicz, *Die Heiligen und ihre Verehrung im mittelalterlichen Schlesien (ein Kurzüberblick)*, 'Concilium medii aevi. Zeitschrift für Geschichte, Kunst und Kultur des Mittelalters und der Frühen Neuzeit', 6 (2003), pp. 4-7 (see online: <http://cma.gbv.de/dr,cma,006,2003,a,01.pdf>), for more literature on the subject.

<sup>46</sup> W. Mrozowicz, *Die Heiligen*, pp. 1–4. See also above the remarks on the cult of Saint John the Baptist in the article by M. Pauk, E. Wólkiewicz.

<sup>47</sup> Stanisław Rosik, *Peter Wlast († um 1151)*, [in:] *Schlesische Lebensbilder*, vol. 11, ed. Joachim Bahlcke, Inzingen 2012, pp. 11–24, where we find, most notably, a list of essential literature on the subject of Peter Wlast.

<sup>48</sup> *Kronika polska*, pp. 628–629, 630–633.

<sup>49</sup> *Cronica Petri comitis Poloniae*, pp. 1–30.

tragedy ('ritmico contextu descripta tragedia').<sup>50</sup> That latter reference occurred in one of two biographies of Wlast rewritten by Benedict of Poznań (d. ca. 1525–1529), a Wrocław monk of the Canons Regular of Saint Augustine, from the works of Jan Długosz.<sup>51</sup> Nevertheless, at the close of the Middle Ages, despite the significance of Peter Wlast in Polish affairs being strongly emphasized, 'he was recorded as a figure that was mostly connected to Silesia', where the memory of him would be actively nurtured in the centuries to follow.<sup>52</sup>

One institution whose impact on the formation of identity of the citizens of historical Silesia might have been crucial was the Church and its dependent units. The integrating force of the local ecclesiastical structure was widespread throughout the entire region and the influence of the office of the Bishop of Wrocław, which was filled several times by members of the Piast dynasty, has been already characterized in a separate study.<sup>53</sup> At this point it would be reasonable to turn one's attention to another aspect of the unifying role played by the Church. The Church was the first institution to use writing in its everyday activities and to inspire the production of literary works that focused, among others, on local issues. Yet what needs to be stressed here is that the contents of these works were always strongly connected with the current activity of the Church and, at the same time, were evidence of the continuity of its tradition. These works included, most importantly, catalogues of bishops, whose number in the case of the Bishopric of Wrocław was quite extensive (there are as many as 10 medieval catalogues dated to the period between the second half of the 13<sup>th</sup> century and the close of the 15<sup>th</sup> century). These include the earlier catalogues of Henryków and Lubiąż and later catalogues of Cracow, Krzeszów, *Series episcoporum Wratislaviensium* and the so-called catalogue of Stenzel, which are part of the so-called *Institutio* group (catalogues contained in *Chronica principum Poloniae – Institutio Ecclesie Wratislaviensis*, in *The Annals of Rosicz* and *The Annals of Głogów (Rocznik głogowski)* by Mikołaj Liebenenthal).<sup>54</sup> The oldest catalogue of the Bishops of Wrocław, the so-called *Chorus Wratislaviensis*, is known only from brief citations.<sup>55</sup>

<sup>50</sup> *Cronica Petri comitis Poloniae*, p. 34; Ryszard Gansiniec, *Tragedia Petri comitis*, 'Pamiętnik Literacki', 43 (1952), pp. 52–139.

<sup>51</sup> Lech Krzywiak, *Benedykt z Poznania. Śląski miłośnik historii z początku XVI wieku*, 'Roczniki Historyczne', 57 (1991), pp. 73–116; Wojciech Mrozowicz, *Dziejopisarstwo średniowieczne we Wrocławiu*, 'Sobótka', 61 (2006), No. 1, pp. 18–19.

<sup>52</sup> S. Rosik, *Peter Wlast*, pp. 20–23, citation from page 21.

<sup>53</sup> See the article by M. Pauk, E. Wólkiewicz in the book and Blanka Zilynská, *Role církevních institucí v procesu integrace slezského regionu*, 'Sobótka', 66 (2011), No 3, pp. 37–49.

<sup>54</sup> An edition containing all texts: *Katalogi biskupów wrocławskich*, ed. Wojciech Kętrzyński, [in:] *Monumenta Poloniae Historica*, vol. 6, Kraków 1893, pp. 534–585; for analyses of the editions see Wojciech Mrozowicz, *Kataloge der Breslauer Bischöfe. Überlegungen über alte und die Möglichkeiten neuer Editionsansätze*, [in:] *Quellen kirchlicher Provenienz. Neue Editionsvoorhaben und aktuelle EDV-Projekte. Editions-wissenschaftliches Kolloquium 2011*, eds Helmut Flachenecker, Janusz Tandeci in cooperation with Krzysztof Kopiński, Toruń 2011, pp. 59–70. For more information on the catalogues see especially Odilo Schmidt, *Untersuchungen zu den Breslauer Bischofskatalogen*, Breslau 1917 (=Darstellungen und Quellen zur schlesischen Geschichte, vol. 25); W. Mrozowicz, *Od kiedy*, pp. 139–140. I am currently preparing a more extensive study on the subject of Silesian catalogues.

<sup>55</sup> See especially O. Schmidt, *op. cit.*, pp. 42–43, 135–141.

It probably dates to the very beginnings of the Bishopric. In order to provide a complete picture of the matter, it is necessary to mention a widely-disseminated (in the modern era) catalogue produced outside Silesia by Jan Długosz, and dedicated to the Wrocław Bishop Rudolph of Rudesheim (d. 1482).<sup>56</sup>

The catalogue of bishops, modelled after the lists of Roman bishops (popes), was developed for the purpose of performing a commemorative liturgy for the late bishops, during which their names were read in public.<sup>57</sup> The catalogue also documented, by means of a constantly-updated list of bishops, the continuity of bishoprics, which was evidence ‘not only for their long history but also for their dogmatic relationship with the entire Church organism’.<sup>58</sup> At the same time, it legitimized the authority of bishops and could be used as a propaganda tool.<sup>59</sup> Most of all, and especially important from the perspective of the main subject of this study, the depiction of the beginnings and undisturbed continuity of bishoprics constituted a crucial element of the Church’s own identity and impacted the way it was perceived from the outside.

Although the production of catalogues of bishops was a purely pragmatic activity, it also created opportunities to present the local past from the perspective of concise biographies of the Wrocław Bishopric’s masters. Attempts were also made to enrich the texts with information on the history of the particular ecclesiastic units they were written in, such as abbeys, for example. Most of the entries found in the catalogues of bishops are rather concise; those few that are more extensive never stray too much from the standards known in the Western Church.<sup>60</sup> In some cases the descriptions of bishops were extended by, for instance, information on the foundation of the Wrocław Bishopric – in the case of *The Catalogue of Lubiąż* these were written in verse<sup>61</sup> – or by extensive

<sup>56</sup> *Catalogus episcoporum Wratislaviensium*, ed. Alexander Przeddziecki, [in:] Joannis Długossi Senioris Canonici, *Opera omnia*, ed. Alexander Przeddziecki, vol. 1, Cracoviae 1887, pp. 439–477; for information about his manuscript tradition and various editions see O. Schmidt, *op. cit.*, pp. 17–29.

<sup>57</sup> Otto Gerhard Oexle, *Die Gegenwart der Toten*, [in:] *Death in the Middle Ages*, eds Herman Braet, Werner Verbeke, Leuven 1983 (=Mediaevalia Lovaniensia, vol. 1/9), p. 41, see also Józef Szymański, *Z zagadnień średniowiecznej biografistyki. Katalogi dostojnicze. Studium źródłoznawcze*, Warszawa 1969, pp. 145–147; Meta Niederkorn-Bruck, *Dziejopisarstwo w tekstach liturgicznych średniowiecza*, trans. Edward Potkowski, [in:] *Historia – pamięć – pismo. Studia z dziejów tradycji historycznej i historiografii*, eds Edward Potkowski, Jerzy Kaliszuk, Jacek Puchalski, Warszawa 2002 (=Kultura, historia, pismo, vol. 1), pp. 30–34.

<sup>58</sup> J. Szymański, *op. cit.*, p. 170.

<sup>59</sup> *Ibidem*, pp. 156–178. An interesting example of using the catalogue of Wrocław Bishops in the 14<sup>th</sup> century as a source of information that ‘raised his [the bishop’s] dignity, legitimized his authority and proved the ancient origins of the Wrocław Bishopric’ was presented by Rościsław Żerelik, *Praktyczne wykorzystanie katalogu dostojniczego w kancelarii Henryka z Wierzbna biskupa wrocławskiego*, ‘Sobótka’, 48 (1993), No. 1, pp. 65–69.

<sup>60</sup> See the typology of the forms of the catalogue entries developed by J. Szymański, *op. cit.*, pp. 13–37. See also Reinhold Kaiser, *Die Gesta episcoporum als Genus der Geschichtsschreibung*, [in:] *Historiographie im frühen Mittelalter*, eds Anton Scharer and Georg Scheibelreiter, München 1994 (=Veröffentlichungen des Instituts für Österreichische Geschichtsforschung, vol. 32), pp. 459–480.

<sup>61</sup> The poem together with its translation into Polish was published as *De institutione pontificatus in civitate Vratislaviensi / O ustanowieniu biskupstwa we Wrocławiu*, trans. Kazimierz Liman, [in:] Kazimierz Liman, *Antologia poezji łacińskiej w Polsce. Średniowiecze*, Poznań 2004, pp. 302–303.

descriptions of Piotr and Ekhard, two great benefactors of the Henryków abbey – found in *The Catalogue of Henryków*.<sup>62</sup>

As regards the number of catalogues produced, the Wrocław Bishopric stands out against all other bishoprics.<sup>63</sup> Both the impressive number of catalogues as well as the variety of contexts they were produced and used in are evidence of the growing need of the time to make records of local history and, in consequence, for the development of a much richer historical culture and the formation of historical consciousness and regional identity. Furthermore, if one considers the fact that written sources often link the catalogues of bishops with other historiographical works, especially universal chronicles (like in the case of *Series episcoporum Wratislaviensium* and *The Catalogue of Cracow (Katalog krakowski)* linked with the *Chronicle* of Martin of Opava and its extracts),<sup>64</sup> this is firm proof of the emergence of a new historiographic approach involving the establishment of a link between general and local history.

Naturally, the catalogues of the Bishops of Wrocław were not the only Silesian historiographic works where regional discourse was used.<sup>65</sup> Most probably, the richest in regional discourse are annals and chronicles whose oldest surviving examples come from as early as the 1260s and 1270s. From the period starting from the second half of the 13<sup>th</sup> century to the outset of the modern era, Silesia produced an impressively extensive number of historiographic works, of which almost 70 have survived today: more than 40 annals, 13 chronicles (including five devoted to the subjects universal to all of Silesia, five monastic chronicles and three municipal chronicles), 12 shorter narrative chronicles, two biographical works, one extensive poem, one geographic-historical description and one description of a journey. The majority of these pieces are rather short historiographic forms, mainly chronicle works, which also include quite voluminous annals with almost several hundred entries (like the so-called *Annals* of Rosicz or *Annales Glogovienses*). The most prolific creators of historiographic works were clerics – members of monastic communities, especially Cistercians and Canons Regular, as well as representatives of the secular clergy, in particular from collegiate circles in Brzeg, Głogów and Wrocław. In the Late Middle Ages, with the growth of literacy in society

<sup>62</sup> *Initium ordinationis Wratislaviensis Ecclesie episcoporum*, [in:] *Liber foundationis claustris Sancte Marie Virginis in Heinrichow*, pp. 194–195, 197.

<sup>63</sup> By the end of the Middle Ages, the number of catalogues grew significantly (15 in Mainz, 17 in Passau 17, 12 in Salzburg, 11 in Tours, 10 in Metz and 10 in Trier), see J. Szymański, *op. cit.*, pp. 82–85. See also Markus Müller, *Die spätmittelalterliche Bistumsgeschichtsschreibung. Überlieferung und Entwicklung*, Köln-Weimar-Wien 1998, pp. 17–250.

<sup>64</sup> Cf. Jacek Soszyński, *Śląski zabytek rękopiśmienny w Wenecji*, [in:] *E scientia et amicitia. Studia poświęcone Profesorowi Edwardowi Potkowskiemu w sześćdziesięciopięciolecie urodzin i czterdziestolecie pracy naukowej*, ed. Marcin Drzewiecki, Warszawa-Pułtusk 1999, pp. 179–188; *idem*, *Kronika Marcina Polaka i jej średniowieczna tradycja rękopiśmienna w Polsce*, Warszawa 1995 (=Studia Copernicana, 34), pp. 100–102.

<sup>65</sup> Wojciech Mrozowicz, *Początki śląskiej historiografii regionalnej*, [in:] *Kronikarz a historyk. Atuty i słabości regionalnej historiografii. Materiały z konferencji naukowej Cieszyn, 20-21 września 2007*, ed. Janusz Spyra, [Cieszyn 2007], pp. 100–129 ([www.sbc.org.pl/dlibra/docmetadata?id=7767&from=pubstats](http://www.sbc.org.pl/dlibra/docmetadata?id=7767&from=pubstats)).

and the popularization of pragmatic writing, Silesian historiography was enriched by the works of, among others, Peter Eschenloer and Johannes Froben.<sup>66</sup>

The great majority of historiographic works push issues of general history to the background.<sup>67</sup> Gradually, they become less and less focused on Polish matters and turn to issues connected with Bohemia, which are first presented in connection with the incorporation and gradual merger of Silesia with the territory of the Bohemian Crown of Saint Wenceslaus.<sup>68</sup> At the same time, the thematic scope of Silesian historiography becomes restricted mainly to the Silesian region – and often only to the writers' most immediate surroundings, such as the the monastery, church estates, group of monasteries in a particular congregation, town or duchy. These limits are rarely exceeded, and when they are they are mainly connected with the interests of Silesia.<sup>69</sup> When it comes to the micro-scale, a brilliant example is the oldest Silesian chronicle – the *Henryków Book*,

<sup>66</sup> Colmar Grünhagen, *Wegweiser durch die schlesischen Geschichtsquellen bis zum Jahre 1550*, Breslau 2<sup>nd</sup> edition 1889; updated list of Silesian historiographical works is recently prepared by Mario Müller and Axel Kriechmus, *Verzeichnis der historiographischen Schriften zur schlesischen Geschichte von den Ursprüngen bis zum Ende des 18. Jahrhunderts*, [in:] *Studien zur neuzeitlichen Geschichtsschreibung in den böhmischen Kronländern Schlesien, Oberlausitz und Niederlausitz*, eds Lars-Arne Danneberg and Mario Müller, Görlitz-Zittau 2013 (=Beihefte zum Neuen Lausitzischen Magazin, vol. 11), pp. 19–109; for the list of editions see Wojciech Mrozowicz, *Die mittelalterliche Geschichtsschreibung in Schlesien. Stand und Bedürfnisse im Bereich der Quelleneditionen*, [in:] *Die Geschichtsschreibung in Mitteleuropa. Projekte und Forschungsprobleme*, ed. Jarosław Wenta, Toruń 1999 (=Subsidia historiographica, vol. 1), pp. 216–227. Apart from several individual works only Silesian annals have so far been studied analytically – W. Korta, *Średniowieczna annalistyka, passim* (however this requires further updating), cf. Wojciech Mrozowicz, *Mittelalterliche Annalistik in Schlesien. Ein Beitrag zur neuen Ausgabe schlesischer Annalen*, 'Quaestiones mediae aevi novae', 6 (2001), pp. 277–296. Earlier synthetic studies approach Silesian historiography either from a Polish perspective (see especially Heinrich Zeissberg, *Die polnische Geschichtsschreibung des Mittelalters*, Leipzig 1873, reprinted in Weimar 1968, Polish translation: *Dziejopisarstwo polskie wieków średnich*, Warszawa 1877) or German perspective (see especially Ottokar Lorenz, *Deutschlands Geschichtsquellen im Mittelalter seit der Mitte des dreizehnten Jahrhunderts*, 3<sup>rd</sup> edition, ed. Arthur Goldmann, vol. 1–2, Berlin 1886–1887, reprinted in Augsburg 1999). Such an approach brought about the loss of the unique character of Silesian historiography as regional historiography. From newer synthetic publications see especially Roman Heck, *Główne linie rozwoju średniowiecznego dziejopisarstwa śląskiego*, 'Studia Źródłoznawcze', 22 (1977), pp. 61–75.

<sup>67</sup> This issue is still relatively superficially examined; for partial research results see W. Korta, *Średniowieczna annalistyka*, pp. 366–368; Michał Kaczmarek, *Dzieje powszechne w średniowiecznej historiografii śląskiej (do schyłku XIV w.)*, [in:] *Dawna historiografia śląska. Materiały sesji naukowej odbytej w Brzegu w dniach 26–27 listopada 1977 r.*, Opole 1980, pp. 104–115; *idem*, *Motywy bamberskie w dziejopisarstwie cystersów śląskich w XIII wieku*, [in:] *Mente et litteris. O kulturze i społeczeństwie wieków średnich*, ed. Helena Chłopocka, Poznań 1984, pp. 145–152; Antoni Barciak, *Postrzeżenie Czech i Czechów na Śląsku w XIV i w początkach XV w.*, [in:] *idem*, *Między Polską a Czechami. Śląsk i jego mieszkańcy w źródłach czeskich doby średniowiecza*, Wrocław 2012, pp. 189–198; *idem*, *Władcy czescy w relacji autora Kroniki książąt polskich*, [in:] *Korunné země v dějinách českého státu*, eds Luděk Březina, Jana Konvičná, Jana Wojtucka, Praha 2005, pp. 309–317.

<sup>68</sup> Cf. W. Korta, *Średniowieczna annalistyka*, pp. 367–368.

<sup>69</sup> In reference to the issue of German historiography cf. Rolf Sprandel, *Was wußte man im späten Mittelalter in Süddeutschland über Norddeutschland und umgekehrt? Studien zur spätmittelalterlichen Geschichtsschreibung 1347–1517*, [in:] *Nord und Süd in der deutschen Geschichte des Mittelalters. Akten des Kolloquiums veranstaltet zu Ehren von Karl Jordan 1907–1984*, Kiel, 15.–16. Mai 1987, ed. Werner Paravicini, Sigmaringen 1990 (=Kieler Historische Studien, vol. 34), pp. 219–230. See also W. Mrozowicz, *Wyobrażenia*, pp. 11–22.

produced in the monastery of Cistercians in Henryków.<sup>70</sup> Its authors focus on the matters of their home monastery and its landed properties, which constitute a unique micro-region.<sup>71</sup> Nonetheless, their conception of the world is much broader: the work mentions localities and lands located a considerable distance away from Henryków, both in Silesia (such as other Cistercian centres – Lubiąż, Trzebnica, Krzeszów and Kamieniec – and certain towns, like Leśnica, Oleśnica, Niemcza or Lwówek Śląski), as well as the neighbouring Bishoprics (of Poznań, Kraków, Miśnia and Lubusz), and even more remote lands (Brandenburg and Prussia). Even so, these only appear in connection with issues that are of greatest interest to the monks of Henryków. It is the territory of Henryków that is their small homeland<sup>72</sup> whose history and mysteries have been recorded on the pages of the chronicle. However, the Wrocław diocese, synonymous with Silesia as a whole, was regarded by the monks of Henryków as superior in quality and value. Its masters were actually benefactors of the monastery, hence they deserved reverence and ‘pro ipsis devotione ardentissima semper [...] orare’.<sup>73</sup> Paradoxically, the interests of German-originating Cistercians and their abbey led to the production of records – in a Latin monastic chronicle – on the unique Slavic character of the Silesian region and especially on the local legislative system within the institution of the Polish Church which controlled the Wrocław diocese. This again shows how complex the process of developing a unique identity for the multi-ethnic Silesian community was.<sup>74</sup>

In the regional discourse of Silesian ducal historiography, which includes, first and foremost, *Chronica Polonorum* and *Chronica principum Poloniae*, the so-called ‘small homeland’ is viewed in a slightly different way. According to the 1280s work *Chronica Polonorum*, this homeland is defined as the whole of Silesia, granted to Ladislaus the Exile by his father Boleslaus the Wrymouth.<sup>75</sup> It is to this patrimonial land (*patrimonium Slesie*) that the sons of Ladislaus returned in order to quickly divide it between themselves with the aid of the Senior Duke Casimir the Just.<sup>76</sup> Despite these and subsequent divisions whose main boundaries are well known to the author of the chronicle, Silesia is still viewed as part of one whole.<sup>77</sup>

A century later, the *Chronica principum Poloniae*,<sup>78</sup> written – by common consensus – by a Canon of the Collegiate Church of Brzeg, Peter of Byczyna, mostly repeats the contents found already in *Chronica Polonorum* and simultaneously devotes special

<sup>70</sup> *Liber fundationis claustris Sancte Marie Virginis in Heinrichow, passim*. On this subject see especially Józef Matuszewski, *Najstarsze polskie zdanie prozaiczne. Zdanie henrykowskie i jego tło historyczne*, Wrocław 1981; P. Górecki, *A local society*.

<sup>71</sup> His maps are published by P. Górecki, *A local society*, pp. 262–264.

<sup>72</sup> W. Mrozowicz, *Wyobrażenia*, pp. 11–13; *idem*, *Od kiedy*, pp. 140–141.

<sup>73</sup> *Liber fundationis claustris Sancte Marie Virginis in Heinrichow*, p. 193.

<sup>74</sup> On this subject, mainly in reference to *The Henryków Book*, cf. Piotr Górecki, *Assimilation, resistance, and ethnic group formation, passim*.

<sup>75</sup> *Kronika polska*, pp. 629–630, 644.

<sup>76</sup> *Ibidem*, pp. 634, 637–638, 644.

<sup>77</sup> *Ibidem*, pp. 643, 649, 651, 652. See also K. Orzechowski, *Terra w śląskich*, pp. 227–229.

<sup>78</sup> *Kronika książąt*, pp. 423–578.

attention to the political fragmentation of Silesia by presenting the history of some new and former duchies. In spite of this fact, Silesia is viewed as one political and geographical whole, mostly in the opening parts of the work.<sup>79</sup> This approach is further complemented by its administrative-ecclesiastical aspects, for it is characteristic for *Chronica principum Poloniae* to associate Silesia with the Wrocław Bishopric, whose formation (presented in the catalogue of the Wrocław Bishops by Peter of Byczyna) is linked by the writer with 'king' Casimir the Restorer. The chronicler also emphasizes the connections of the Bishopric with the Silesian branch of the Piast dynasty.<sup>80</sup> What is striking about the literary piece by Peter of Byczyna is that the history of Silesian dukes is presented from a Polish perspective. This, in turn, is interpreted as evidence of claims to the royal crown made by Duke Louis I, who in the 1380s was interested in assuming the throne of Cracow.<sup>81</sup> At the same time, *Chronica principum Poloniae* seems to present an approach where the Polish dimension is linked with the Silesian one, which is viewed from the perspective of individual duchies, and especially the Duchy of Legnica-Brzeg. In spite of this fact, the work is still viewed as the most important Silesian medieval chronicle, which stands out from other similar works due to its rich regional discourse. The chronicle, with all its qualities, plays a pivotal role in the history of Silesia, which is proved by the existence of numerous copies of the original manuscript, its adaptations and German translation, in some cases extended by an independent continuation.<sup>82</sup>

The regional discourse of urban historiography is very different; in this study an analysis of its most common characteristics will be restricted to the great chronicles produced at the close of the Middle Ages in Wrocław and Namysłów. In the first of these towns, two chronicles were produced by the writer Peter Eschenloer (d. 1481). The earlier one, written in Latin, presents the history of Wrocław between 1438 and 1471. The later one, much more extensive and written in German, depicts the history of the town from 1440 to 1479.<sup>83</sup> The *Chronicle of Namysłów*, also written in German and describing the period between 1347 and 1509, was prepared by Johannes Froben (d. ca. 1510).<sup>84</sup>

<sup>79</sup> *Ibidem*, pp. 453, 465, 476, 486-492, 554, importantly, the name Silesia appears only in the part based on other sources (chronicle of Anonymous and Master Wincenty's *Chronica Polonorum*), and the separate part mentions the names of smaller duchies, cf. K. Orzechowski, *Terra w śląskich*, pp. 231-236.

<sup>80</sup> *Kronika książąt*, pp. 545, 547, 551-553, see also pp. 428-429.

<sup>81</sup> W. Mrozowicz, *Cronica principum*, pp. 153-154, for further documentation.

<sup>82</sup> There are (or were) 15 complete and 5 incomplete known manuscripts of the chronicle and 10 manuscripts of its German so-far-unpublished translation, see Leo Santifaller, *Liebensals Kopialbücher des Prämonstratenserstiftes zum Hl. Vinzenz in Breslau*, Innsbruck 1947 (=Mitteilungen des Instituts für Österreichische Geschichtsforschung. Ergänzungsband 15), pp. 88-100; W. Mrozowicz, *Cronica principum*, pp. 150-151; Joachim Schneider, 'Liegnitzer Chronik' ('Chronik der alten Fürsten und Herren von Polen'), [in:] *Die deutsche Literatur des Mittelalters. Verfasserlexikon*, vol. 11, Berlin-New York 2002, col. 923-924.

<sup>83</sup> Peter Eschenloer, *Historia Wratislaviensis et que post mortem regis Ladislai sub electo Georgio de Podiebrat Bohemorum rege illi acciderant prospera et adversa*, hrsg. von Hermann Markgraf, Breslau 1872 (=Scriptores rerum Silesiacarum, vol. 7); *idem*, *Geschichte der Stadt Breslau*, ed. Gunhild Roth, vol. 1-2, Münster 2003 (=Quellen und Darstellungen zur schlesischen Geschichte, vol. 29/I-II).

<sup>84</sup> The full version of the chronicle has not yet been published. A doctoral thesis on this subject by Roland Czarnecki is currently being prepared for print: *Kronika Namysłowa autorstwa Johannes Frobena jako utwór dziejopisarstwa miejskiego*; the author is also planning to publish the full text of the chronicle.

The main subject of interest of the authors of these chronicles which were produced on the initiative of municipal councils were, of course, the towns of Wrocław and Namysłów, their interests and histories. Although the authors were perfectly aware of these towns' relationships with Silesia, they were so concentrated on municipal matters that they paid scarce attention to even their closest surrounding region, and even if they did so, they treated it more like a geographical point of reference than a socio-political whole they were part of.<sup>85</sup> Municipal historiography was by then becoming a platform for expressing or shaping the awareness of citizens and therefore – in contrast to other areas of Silesian historiography discussed above – did not constitute an important region-integrating factor. Quite the contrary: by giving priority to municipal interests which were often divergent from the interests of neighbouring duchies, as for example in the case of the conflict between the town of Wrocław and the dukes from the Poděbrady family, such texts could even hamper the processes of integration.

Another novel feature of the regional historiographic discourse in late medieval Silesia is the tendency to break away from the Polish perspective to which it was traditionally tied. This is probably best represented by a monk from the abbey of Canons Regular in the Wrocław Sand Island, Benedict Johnsdorff (d. 1503) who, in his chronicle (the *Chronicle of Bohemia*), perceives the history of Silesia as part of the history of Bohemia.<sup>86</sup> For him, such an approach did not seem unreasonable because his monastery 'in suburbio civitatis Wratislaviensis, que caput est ducatus Slesie, [...] cum ipsa civitate et ducatu ad regnum Bohemie pertinere dinoscitur'.<sup>87</sup> This new approach towards the history of Silesia reflects the final stage of the process of its incorporation into the territory of the Crown of Bohemia. Similar ideas are presented in *Annales devolutionis Silesiae ad regnum Bohemiae* (*The Annals of the Passing of Silesia to the Kingdom of Bohemia*) from the second half of the 15<sup>th</sup> century, which regard all key Czech moments in the history of Silesia – from the proclamation of tributes in mid-11<sup>th</sup> century to of Silesian dukes paying homage 'in perpetuum' to John of Luxembourg in the 1330s – as stages leading to the integration of this land with the Crown of Bohemia.<sup>88</sup> A slightly different strategy was used by the compiler of the aforementioned *Historia Bohemica, Polonica*

<sup>85</sup> Cf. Gunhild Roth, *Vorwort*, [in:] Eschenloer, *Geschichte*, pp. 116–117.

<sup>86</sup> *Die böhmische Chronik des Benedict Johnsdorf*, [in:] *Geschichtsschreiber Schlesiens des XV. Jahrhunderts*, ed. Franz Wachter, Breslau 1883 (=Scriptores rerum Silesiacarum, vol. 12), pp. XIX–XX, 109–124; *Česká kronika Benedikta Johnsdorfa*, ed. Jaromír Mikulka, Ostrava 1959. For the commentary on this chronicle see Blanka Zilynská, *Die Böhmisches Chronik Benedikt Johnsdorfs über die Böhmisches Krone im Rahmen der Kronländer*, [in:] *Geschichte, Erinnerung*, pp. 82–108.

<sup>87</sup> *Česká kronika*, p. 15. See also W. Mrozowicz, *Początki*, pp. 127–128; *idem*, 'Regno Bohemie in perpetuum applicavit'. *Śląsk a Czechoy w śląskiej historiografii średniowiecznej*, 'Sobótka', 66 (2011), No. 3, p. 30; B. Zilynská, *Die Böhmisches Chronik*, pp. 106–108.

<sup>88</sup> The text of *Annales* as *Alte Regesten zur Geschichte der Devolution Schlesiens an Böhmen* is mentioned by Wilhelm Schulte, *Die politische Tendenz der Cronica principum Poloniae*, Breslau 1906 (=Darstellungen und Quellen zur schlesischen Geschichte, vol. 1), pp. 168–169; for the Polish translation see Wojciech Mrozowicz, *Dolny Śląsk w latach 1327-1526*, pp. 151–152; see also *idem*, *Regno Bohemie...*, p. 29.

et Silesiaca,<sup>89</sup> who simply adapted an anonymous annals produced in Bohemia to the Silesian context, thereby augmenting its content by applying local themes. All in all, the effect was identical: Silesian history, presented either as one whole or with a strong focus on its capital, Wrocław, was shown in the piece as part of the history of Bohemia.

Some of the presented issues connected with regional discourse in selected hagiographic literature prove that Silesian chronicles and annals, especially in the Late Middle Ages, became the main platform for expressing region-specific issues.<sup>90</sup> They reflect both the state of regional consciousness and the direction of its development. What needs to be emphasized is that Silesia is not always viewed in these works as an entire whole, since its perception depends on the authors' territorial location and position in the institutional hierarchy. What is characteristic for Silesian historiography of the Late Middle Ages is that it questions the Polish tradition, which is clearly present in the annals and chronicles of the 13<sup>th</sup> and 14<sup>th</sup>-centuries, and of the contemporary and later periods also.<sup>91</sup> The new Silesian identity was to be based on a depiction of the history of the region whereby the Polish tradition was replaced by a Czech tradition. By contrast, by the close of the 13<sup>th</sup> century there is no evidence in the surviving hagiographic literature of an evolution of a regional discourse tradition connected with the German settlers, whose presence, beginning from the 13<sup>th</sup> century, completely transformed the ethnic composition of the region. Their original works either referred directly to the former Polish traditions, as one can observe in the example of *Chronica principum Poloniae* especially,<sup>92</sup> or restricted their view of the region from the angle of a narrow history of selected towns.<sup>93</sup>

From the second half of the 13<sup>th</sup> century, the role of written German started to gain importance in Silesia, to the extent that the number of its direct and indirect receptors outnumbered that of Latin – formerly the only language reserved for literature. German was not only restricted to the aforementioned types of literature; it more and more frequently became a language used in other literary genres, including poetry.<sup>94</sup> German was

<sup>89</sup> *Cronica Bohemorum ab ipsorum inicio conscripta* [...], [in:] *Monumenta historica Boemiae nusquam antehac edita*, ed. Gelasius Dobner, vol. 3, Prague 1774, pp. 43–59. See also literature mentioned here in the footnote no. 15.

<sup>90</sup> See also H. Manikowska, *Świadomość regionalna*, pp. 253–267.

<sup>91</sup> An piece of interesting evidence on the vivid Polish traditions in Silesia – the figure of a Silesian cantor John of Poznań, a witness during the trial between Poland and the Teutonic Knights in 1422 – was presented by Tomasz Jurek, *Nacionis de Slesia. Ze studiów nad świadomością historyczną na późnośredniowiecznym Śląsku*, [in:] *Nihil superfluum esse. Prace z dziejów średniowiecza ofiarowane Profesor Jadwidze Krzyżaniakowej*, eds Jerzy Strzelczyk, Józef Dobosz, Poznań 2000 (=Publikacje Instytutu Historii UAM, 33), pp. 441–448.

<sup>92</sup> *Liegnitzer Chronik. Fortsetzung der deutschen Uebersetzung der chronica principum Poloniae*, [in:] *Geschichtsschreiber Schlesiens*, pp. 95–106; J. Schneider, *op. cit.*, pp. 923–924.

<sup>93</sup> Cf. above for the subject of municipal historiography in Silesia. See also Wojciech Mrozowicz, *Die deutschsprachige Annalistik Schlesiens im Spätmittelalter. Aus den Arbeiten an der Gesamteition*, [in:] *Editionswissenschaftliche Kolloquien*, pp. 69–84.

<sup>94</sup> Arno Lubos, *Geschichte der Literatur Schlesiens*, vol. 1, part 1: *Von den Anfängen bis ca. 1800*, Würzburg 1995, pp. 21–77 and footnotes on pp. 348–362 (regarding Middle Ages and early Humanism); Marian Szyrocki, *Wczesne zabytki literatury niemieckojęzycznej na Śląsku*, [in:] *Dawna kultura literacka na Śląsku. Zbiór studiów*, eds Marianna Borysiak, Adam Galos, Wrocław 1994, pp. 7–23.

dominant in both municipal records and from ca. mid-14<sup>th</sup> century documents issued in Silesia also.<sup>95</sup> There is no question about the fact that German, including its written form, was one of the key determiners of regional identity in Silesia, and that it spurred the formation of a new community of Silesian citizens, in historiography known as ‘the new Silesian tribe’.<sup>96</sup> At the same time, Polish does not seem to play even the slightest role in this context,<sup>97</sup> although its position as a language of education in Silesia was strongly defended by the Polish Church.<sup>98</sup> Czech, on the other hand, became widespread as an official language in Upper Silesia only at the close of 15<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>99</sup>

The above remarks, either due to length restrictions or the lack of adequate studies, do not in fact exhaust the subject of regional identity in 15<sup>th</sup>–16<sup>th</sup>-century Silesia. What certainly requires more thorough study are issues such as the range of the social impact of the name Silesia and, most notably, whether the fact of living in Silesia and being ‘Silesian’ related also to non-members of the elite communities (in the understanding of a ‘political nation’). It is also important to examine the transformation of the content of

<sup>95</sup> From earlier papers on the history of the Silesian German language see Joseph Klapper, *Mittelalterliche Kulturlandschaften im schlesischen Raum*, ‘Schlesisches Jahrbuch’, 8 (1935/36), pp. 85–102; Wolfgang Jungandreas, *Zur Geschichte der schlesischen Mundart im Mittelalter*, Breslau 1937. From more recent papers see especially *Anfänge und Entwicklung der deutschen Sprache im mittelalterlichen Schlesien. Verhandlungen des VIII. Symposions vom 2. bis 4. November in Würzburg 1989*, eds Gundolf Keil, Josef J. Menzel, Sigmaringen 1995 (=Schlesische Forschungen, vol. 6); Tomasz Jurek, *Die Urkundensprache im mittelalterlichen Schlesien*. It is also worth mentioning publications and papers devoted to German Silesian municipal records: *Der Sachsenspiegel aus Oppeln und Krakau*, eds Ilpo Tapani Piirainen, Winfried Waßer, Berlin 1996 (=Schriften der Stiftung Haus Oberschlesien. Landeskundliche Reihe, vol. 10); *Zweispachige Stadtbücher aus Oppeln/Opole*, eds Stanisław Borawski, Astrid Dormann-Sellinghoff, Ilpo Tapani Piirainen, Wrocław 2002 (=Beihefte zum Orbis Linguarum, vol. 14); Ilpo Tapani Piirainen, Ingar ten Venne, *Der Sachsenspiegel aus der Dombibliothek in Breslau/Wrocław. Einleitung, Edition und Glossar*, Wrocław 2003 and other paper by Ilpo Tapani Piirainen: *Erforschung deutschsprachiger Handschriften des 14.-18. Jahrhunderts in schlesischen Archiven in Polen*, ‘Kwartalnik Neofilologiczny’, 41 (1994), No. 3, pp. 239–250; *idem*, *Frühneuhochdeutsche Sprach- und Rechtsdenkmäler in Wrocław/Breslau*, ‘Neophilologische Mitteilungen’, 89 (1988), pp. 333–357; *idem*, *Die Schöffebücher von Legnica/Liegnitz. Ein Beitrag zum Frühneuhochdeutschen in Slask/Schlesien*, ‘Neophilologische Mitteilungen’, 91 (1990), pp. 417–430; *idem*, *Das Stadtbuch von Legnica/Liegnitz aus den Jahren 1371-1445. Ein Beitrag zum Frühneuhochdeutschen in Slask/Schlesien*, [in:] Acta Universitatis Wratislaviensis, 1356. Studia Neerlandica et Germanica, Wrocław 1992, pp. 287–293. A recently published valuable information on *Psalterz floriański* see Rudolf Hanamann, *Der deutsche Teil des Florianer Psalters. Sprachanalyse und kulturgeschichtliche Einordnung*, Frankfurt am Main 2010 (=Regensburger Beiträge zur deutschen Sprach- und Literaturwissenschaft, B 96).

<sup>96</sup> Earlier Polish publications downgraded the importance of the German language in Silesia, see i.e.: Stanisław Rospond, *Dzieje polszczyzny śląskiej*, Katowice 1959, pp. 173–179.

<sup>97</sup> What is remarkable is that it was in Silesia where the oldest and one of the most important monuments of Polish literature appeared, including the renowned Polish sentence from *The Henryków Book* and, most importantly, the Polish part of *Saint Florian Psalter* see J. Matuszewski, *op. cit.*; S. Rospond, *op. cit.*; Mieczysław Walter, *Śląskie polonica rękopiśmienne w zbiorach Biblioteki Uniwersyteckiej we Wrocławiu*, part 1–2, Wrocław 1949–1977.

<sup>98</sup> See resolutions of the synod of Łęczyca (1257) against Bolesław Rogatka – *Kodeks dyplomatyczny Wielkopolski*, vol. 1, No. 361; Wilhelm Schulte, *Zur Geschichte des mittelalterlichen Schulwesens in Breslau*, ‘Zeitschrift des Vereins für Geschichte und Alterthum Schlesiens’, 36 (1901), Nr. 1, pp. 79–80; see also Antoni Karbowski, *Dzieje wychowania i szkół w Polsce w wiekach średnich*, part 1: *Od 966. do 1363. roku*, Petersburg 1898, pp. 188–195.

<sup>99</sup> T. Jurek, *Die Urkundensprache*; S. Rospond, *Dzieje polszczyzny*, pp. 119–129; Jan Vilikovský, Josef Vašica, Antonín Grund, *Starší česká literatura ve Slezsku*, 2<sup>nd</sup> edition, Ostrava 1999, pp. 9–15.

this concept, especially in the context of political, administrative and demographical changes. We know almost nothing about the regional discourse of numerous surviving sermons, especially those devoted to patron saints, although the significance of preaching in the development of public awareness is obvious. Similarly, our knowledge of the role of Silesian education – relatively much is known of its organization and range, whereas our knowledge of the curriculum does not exceed far beyond general and obvious features<sup>100</sup> – means that we may only speculate that this factor played a meaningful role in the formation of regional identity. The role played by Silesian institutional and private book collections was also not insignificant, but so far it has been examined only partially; as regards the issues discussed in this paper, only the medieval libraries of Wrocław have been the subject of a thorough study.<sup>101</sup> We are also lacking research that would bring us closer to the issues of circulation and readership of works (or manuscripts) devoting attention to regional discourse. A wider and a more thorough study of these and possibly other aspects connected with the issue of Silesian identity would allow us, in my view, not only to confirm current observations on the existence of a specific regional identity in medieval Silesia, but also to supplement it with new content.

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<sup>100</sup> More significant works are presented by Rościsław Żerelik, *Szkolnictwo na średniowiecznym Śląsku*, 'Sobótka', 53 (1998), Nos 3–4, pp. 391–399.

<sup>101</sup> Stanisław Solicki, *Historiografia w średniowiecznych bibliotekach wrocławskich*, [in:] *Dawna historiografia...*, pp. 135–157.

