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Uniwersytet Szczeciński  
Instytut Historyczny  
PL 71-017 Szczecin, ul. Krakowska 71–79  
e-mail: adam.makowski@usz.edu.pl

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## **PROFESSOR EDWARD WŁODARCZYK**

On 7 April 2021, after a serious illness, our long-time friend, teacher and mentor, Professor Edward Włodarczyk, who had served for 20 years as Editor-in-chief of the journal *Studia Maritima*, passed into Eternity.

All his life, he had been associated with Western Pomerania, but his mind and heart reached beyond local, regional and national borders. He was born on 5 October 1946 in Gilów near Strzelce Krajeńskie to a family of teachers. He studied history at Adam Mickiewicz University in Poznań, from which he obtained a doctorate in 1977 and a habilitation in 1989. In 1999, he was awarded the title of Professor of Humanities by the President of the Republic of Poland.

Professor Edward Włodarczyk devoted all his life to research on the history of the port cities of Pomerania and the southern Baltic region in the 19<sup>th</sup> and first half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. He studied their economy, including maritime economy, but he also investigated the development of urban societies and the changes taking place in them. He devoted much of his research to wealth inequalities in Baltic cities and was interested in industrialization and urbanization processes taking place in the whole of Northern Europe in the 19<sup>th</sup> and early 20<sup>th</sup> centuries. He also explored the topic of the maritime trade and policy of Prussia in the second half of the 19<sup>th</sup> and early 20<sup>th</sup>

centuries. Professor Włodarczyk published over 230 monographs, collective works, articles, scientific dissertations and reviews. He had been awarded many times for his scientific work, among others by the Mayor of the City of Gdańsk and the Minister of National Education, and was twice a winner of the „West Pomeranian Nobel Prize” granted by the Chapter of the West Pomeranian Science Leaders Club. His last work, published just before Christmas, is entitled *Studia z dziejów pruskiej gospodarki i polityki morskiej w latach 1815–1939* [Studies in the History of Prussian Economy and Maritime Policy in the Years 1815–1939].

For many years, Professor Edward Włodarczyk was the face of Szczecin’s historical and, more broadly, humanist academic community. At the University of Szczecin, he served as dean, head of an Institute, Vice-Rector and, finally, Rector. From 1997 to 2016, he was Editor-in-chief of the journal *Studia Maritima*. He was also a member of editorial boards of other scientific journals, including *Zapiski Historyczne*, *Dzieje Nowożytne*, *Studia Zachodnie*, *Śląski Kwartalnik Historyczny* Sobótka.

He was greatly appreciated by Polish and European historians. He was vice-president of the Polish Historical Society and president of the Szczecin branch of this Society. Professor Włodarczyk inspired the organization of the 19<sup>th</sup> General Congress of Polish Historians „Poland - Baltic - Europe”, which was held under his guardian wings in Szczecin in 2014.

To those who were lucky enough to meet him personally, he was an epitome of the best qualities of a Polish professor: composed, dignified, impeccably dressed, always reflecting deeply on problems, discovering new horizons of thought, and able to prevent the most serious conflicts and disputes. To us, people who were close to him, he was simply a good person who made life easier and better.

We shall miss him greatly.

English version: Radosław Dolecki

## PROFESOR EDWARD WŁODARCZYK

7 kwietnia 2021 roku po ciężkiej chorobie odszedł do Wieczności nasz przyjaciel, a dla wielu nauczyciel i mentor, przez 20 lat redaktor naczelny czasopisma „Studia Maritima” – Profesor Edward Włodarczyk.

Całe życie związany był z Pomorzem Zachodnim, ale umysłem i sercem przekraczał granice lokalne, regionalne, państwowe. Urodził się 5 października 1946 roku w Gilowie, nieopodal Strzelec Krajeńskich w rodzinie nauczycielskiej. Historię studiował w Uniwersytecie im. Adama Mickiewicza w Poznaniu, gdzie w 1977 roku doktoryzował się, a w 1989 roku habilitował. W 1999 roku z rąk Prezydenta RP otrzymał tytuł profesora nauk humanistycznych.

Profesor Edward Włodarczyk przez całe życie naukowo zajmował się dziejami miast portowych Pomorza i regionu południowego Bałtyku w XIX i pierwszej połowie XX wieku. Badał ich gospodarkę, w tym morską, ale śledził także procesy kształtowania się społeczeństw miejskich i zachodzące w nich przemiany. Wiele miejsca poświęcał rozwarstwieniu majątkowemu w nadbałtyckich miastach. Interesowały Go także procesy industrializacyjne i urbanizacyjne obejmujące w XIX i początkach XX wieku całą Europę Północną. Zajmował się również handlem morskim i polityką morską państwa pruskiego w drugiej połowie XIX i na początku XX wieku. Łącznie opublikował ponad 230 monografii autorskich, prac zbiorowych, artykułów, rozpraw naukowych i recenzji. Za swą pracę naukową był wielokrotnie nagradzany, między innymi przez Prezydenta Miasta Gdańska, Ministra Edukacji Narodowej i dwukrotnie Zachodniopomorskim Noblem przez Kapitułę Zachodniopomorskiego Klubu Liderów Nauki. Ostatnią publikacją, którą obdarzył nas tuż przed świętami Bożego Narodzenia są *Studia z dziejów pruskiej gospodarki i polityki morskiej w latach 1815–1939*.

Przez wiele lat Profesor Edward Włodarczyk był twarzą szczecińskiego środowiska historycznego i – szerzej – humanistycznego. W Uniwersytecie Szczecińskim pełnił funkcje dziekana, dyrektora Instytutu, prorektora i wreszcie jego rektora. Od 1997 do 2016 roku pełnił funkcję redaktora naczelnego czasopisma „Studia Maritima”. Wchodził też w skład redakcji innych czasopism naukowych, w tym np. „Zapisek Historycznych”, „Dziejów Nowożytnych”, „Studiów Zachodnich”, „Śląskiego Kwartalnika Historycznego Sobótka”.

Był wielce doceniany w polskim i europejskim środowisku historyków. Pełnił funkcję wiceprezesa Polskiego Towarzystwa Historycznego i prezesa jego szczecińskiego oddziału. Z inspiracji Profesora i pod Jego opiekuńczymi skrzydłami w Szczecinie w 2014 roku odbył się XIX Powszechny Zjazd Historyków Polskich „Polska – Bałtyk – Europa”.

Dla tych, którzy mieli szczęście poznać Go osobiście był symbolem najlepszych cech polskiego profesora: stonowany, dystyngowany, nienagannie ubrany, o zawsze głębokiej refleksji, odkrywający nowe horyzonty myślowe, umiejący zażegnać najpoważniejsze konflikty i spory. Dla nas, osób mu bliskich, był po prostu dobrym człowiekiem, przy którym życie stawało się lepsze i łatwiejsze.

Będzie nam go bardzo brakowało.

Adam Makowski

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**Małgorzata Cieśluk**

Institute of History  
University of Szczecin  
malgorzata.ciesluk@usz.edu.pl  
ORCID: 0000-0002-2863-1440

**Bandits and/or pirates – the meaning of the words ὁ ληστής and ὁ πειρατής in ancient Greek novel**

**Keywords:** piracy in antiquity, ancient Greek novel, historical semantics

In the introduction to his book on piracy in antiquity, Philip de Souza draws attention to the significance of the nomenclature used by Greek and Roman authors to refer to people whom we today call bandits and pirates. Since no items of material culture unequivocally associated with piracy have been recovered, written sources are often the only legitimate basis for research and interpretation in this area. In view of that, the understanding of Greek and Latin source terms is of fundamental importance<sup>1</sup>.

In Greek texts, three words are used to denote pirates: ὁ καταποντιστής, ὁ ληστής, and ὁ πειρατής. The meaning of the noun ὁ καταποντιστής does not raise any doubt: it literally means “one who throws into the sea” or “plunges into the sea”<sup>2</sup>. The contexts in which this word appears clearly point to the illicit nature of the activities which the people so named conduct and the connection between these activities and the sea. This term, however, was rarely used by ancient authors<sup>3</sup>. Since the time of Homer, the most common words used when referring to pirates and piracy had been forms of the noun ὁ ληστής, which had a general meaning “bandit” or “robber” and appeared in ancient sources in reference to people engaged in various types of robbery or raiding.

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1 Philip de Souza, *Piraci w świecie grecko-rzymskim*. Trans. Jacek Lang (Zakrzewo: Wydawnictwo Homini, 2008), 17–31.

2 See entry ὁ καταποντιστής in LSJ.

3 de Souza, *Piraci*, 27. The limited function and semantics of the noun ὁ καταποντιστής are also evidenced by the sparsity of cognate words. The Greek-Polish Dictionary, edited by Zofia Abramowiczówna, lists only two related forms – the verb καταποντίζω (plunge or sink in the sea) and the noun ὁ καταποντισμός (sinking). To compare, the noun ὁ ληστής has eleven and the noun ὁ πειρατής – four cognates.

From the middle of the 3rd century BC, the noun ὁ πειρατής started to be increasingly used in Greek texts<sup>4</sup>. In view of the emergence of this new word (ὁ πειρατής), it seems pertinent to ask whether it differed in meaning from ὁ ληστής (which could indicate that the people referred to by those terms conducted different types of activities), or whether the two nouns were used synonymously to designate people with the same identity traits. Put in semantic terms, the question is whether the words ὁ ληστής and ὁ πειρατής had identical (equivalent) meaning ranges, and so were used interchangeably, or whether there is evidence (at least in the writings of some authors) that they were connected by a different type of relationship (hyponymy, hyperonymy or overlapping).

Another, even more fundamental, question that arises in connection with this problem is whether the authors of the Greek texts understood the word ὁ πειρατής in the same way as we understand the denotation of the word “pirate” today? The etymological relationship between the Greek word ὁ πειρατής and the Latin noun “pirate” and then the English noun “pirate” or Polish “pirat” makes it natural for one to intuitively project the contemporary understanding of piracy onto the ancient concept of this activity, which may limit the understanding of the phenomenon in its historical context<sup>5</sup>. One should also not overlook the possible changes in the meaning range of the word in question over the span of antiquity, associated with the natural evolution of the Greek language. If, following de Souza, we take the century BC as a *terminus post quem*, then the ancient Greek texts in which the noun ὁ πειρατής appears come from different time points in a period that stretches over seven centuries. This temporal perspective can be extended even further when we also include Byzantine authors who were in constant dialogue with their ancient predecessors.

The Suda, one of the most important Byzantine encyclopaedic lexicons (10<sup>th</sup> century), provides precise definitions of the concepts in question. They show that the 10<sup>th</sup>-century author of the lexicon saw the words ὁ καταποντιστής and ὁ πειρατής as being equivalent in meaning. The term ὁ ληστής, on the other hand, could only be treated as a synonym of the previous two, if it was accompanied by a word denoting the “sea”, which narrowed down the semantic range of the noun “bandit” to “bandit at sea” (κατὰ θάλασσαν): πειρατῶν: καταποντιστῶν, κατὰ θάλασσαν ληστῶν (1454).

Used on its own, the word ὁ ληστής referred strictly to activities conducted on land: λησταί: καὶ ληστής μὲν ὁ ἐν ἠπειρῷ πειρατής δὲ ὁ ἐν θαλάσσει (474).

The definition given in the Suda is valuable since it makes a clear distinction between the meaning ranges of the nouns ὁ ληστής and ὁ πειρατής: a bandit (ληστής) operates on land (ἐν ἠπειρῷ) and a pirate (πειρατής) at sea (ἐν θαλάσσει). This distinction means that the nouns are not synonyms *sensu stricto*. Although the meaning

4 de Souza, *Piraci*, 19–20.

5 On this tendency in contemporary research, see e.g. Paul McKechnie, *Outsiders in the Greek Cities in the Fourth Century BC* (London: Routledge, 1989), 106.

ranges of these words shared common elements (bandit), they did not overlap completely, which is a condition for the existence of a relationship of equivalence. The ancient Greeks assigned different features to the designates of ὁ ληστής and ὁ πειρατής, which significantly limited their interchangeable use with reference to the same people or phenomena.

The Byzantine definitions correspond with the modern understanding of the word “pirate”, which, apart from robbery/raiding, has the following denotative components: being a member of a ship’s crew, operating at sea, and conducting an activity consisting in attacking other ships. This similarity in meaning, however, does not necessarily extend to the earlier period. McKechnie notes that the distinction made in the Suda should not be treated as a universal one and that it may not be found in the oldest texts containing both words<sup>6</sup>. De Souza states even more emphatically that the definitions in the Suda say little about how these words were used in the successive periods of antiquity<sup>7</sup>, and then goes on to make a radical conclusion: “From the texts cited above it can be seen that *peirates* is a synonym for *leistes*. They both mean pirate or bandit, and can both be translated by either English word, or by the neutral term plunderer”<sup>8</sup>.

De Souza’s analyses of the oldest sources containing forms of the noun ὁ πειρατής are convincing: it seems that both terms were used quite freely, and their meaning ranges permeated one another. He, however, takes the same position on the synonymy of the two words in later texts written up to the end of antiquity. From this, one can infer, although de Souza does not say this explicitly, that he does not see any evidence of significant change in the meaning of the word ὁ πειρατής over the next seven centuries. It seems worthwhile to subject this assumption to critical reflection.

The aim of this article is to examine the semantic range of the words ὁ ληστής and ὁ πειρατής and related nouns and adjectives in a compact body of texts that are collectively referred to as the ancient Greek novel or romance novel<sup>9</sup>. The fact that these

6 Ibidem, 106

7 de Souza, *Piraci*, 24.

8 Philip de Souza, *Piracy in the Graeco-Roman World* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 8.

9 The ancients did not have a genre name for the large and internally diverse body of fictional texts written in prose. The names “romance” or “novel” have been given to these works by scholars who have conducted genological studies from the early modern period to the present day. The genre of the ancient Greek novel is represented by five surviving works: Chariton’s *Chaereas and Callirhoe*, Xenophon of Ephesus’ *Ephesiaca* (or *An Ephesian Tale of Anthia and Habrocomes*), Longus’ *Daphnis and Chloe*, Achilles Tatius’ *Adventures of Leucippe and Clitophon*, and Heliodorus of Emesa’s *Aethiopica* (or *An Ethiopian Story of Theagenes and Chariclea*); see Niklas Holzberg, *Powieść Antyczna* (Kraków: Wydawnictwo Homini, 2003), 13–43. Whitmarsh proposes that this genre should be called “romance”, and that the five texts belong to a broader category of novel, which also includes works of prose in which themes other than love and journey are the leading motifs; see Tim Whitmarsh, *Narrative and Identity in the Ancient Greek Novel. Returning Romance* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011), 1, fn. 1.

texts are works of fiction does not make them any less valuable as objects of semantic reflection. There are three main reasons why these works provide good material for this type of study. Firstly, they represent the same literary genre, and, therefore, follow the same conventions, making it easier to carry out a comparative analysis. Secondly, they are extensive pieces of writing, with bandits and pirates of various sorts playing an important role in the plot of each novel, which means the terms of interest appear in these texts numerous times in various contexts. Thirdly, owing to the findings of the last few decades, we know that they come from the period between the first half of the 1st century and the middle of the 4<sup>th</sup> century AD<sup>10</sup>. This broad chronological horizon allows to make comparisons between the meanings of the investigated words in different periods. The importance of Greek and Latin fiction to research on ancient piracy has also been noted by de Souza, who included the ancient novels among his source materials<sup>11</sup>. In this present study, four of the five Greek novels are analysed. Longus, the author of *Daphnis and Chloe*, does not use the word ὁ πειρατής or its cognates, which places his novel outside the scope of this paper.

The analysis covered all passages in which the novelists used the terms ὁ καταποντιστής, ὁ ληστής and ὁ πειρατής as well as related nouns and adjectives, and the situational context was taken into account. Two questions were addressed: (1) do the linguistic data confirm de Souza's claim that the words ὁ ληστής and ὁ πειρατής have identical meaning ranges, and (2) do the novels contain hints pointing to changes in the meaning range of the noun ὁ πειρατής? Given those goals, special attention was paid to passages in which at least two of the investigated words were used in the same situational context. It was also important to determine whether there existed groups of robbers which were referred to using only one of the nouns under study and its cognates. For the sake of clarity, the noun ὁ ληστής is henceforth translated as "bandit", and ὁ πειρατής as "pirate".

Chariton:

Although there is no clear evidence for the dating of *Chaereas and Callirhoe*, it is assumed that it was most probably written in the first half of the 1st century AD<sup>12</sup>. Accordingly, Chariton's novel is the oldest of the Greek novels, and its author may have been only slightly younger than Strabo. Some scholars consider the writer from Aphrodisias to have been the actual creator of the genre<sup>13</sup>.

10 It is worth emphasising that the chronology of the individual texts is only approximate, as there is no confirmed information about the authors of the novels. In most cases, only the writer's name and place of origin are known. For more on this subject, see Holzberg, *Powieść*, 69; Whitmarsh, *Narrative*, 261–263.

11 de Souza, *Piraci*, 24–25, 255–259.

12 Holzberg, *Powieść*, 70; Whitmarsh, *Narrative*, 262; Tilg, *Chariton of Aphrodisias and the Invention of the Greek Love Novel* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), 37.

13 Tilg, *Chariton*, VII et seq.

Before we proceed to linguistic analyses, it is necessary to understand the contexts in which the terms in question appear. To get the big picture, let us look at the general characteristics of the two groups of robbers featuring in Chariton's novel. The most important role is played by a band from Syracuse, composed of local thugs and port gangsters, commanded by the supposed ferryman Theron. The brigands rob a tomb in Syracuse, and, along with other loot, carry off the heroine Callirhoe, the daughter of the famous Syracusan politician and general Hermocrates<sup>14</sup>, who has been mistakenly buried alive in the tomb. Then, the robbers take the heroine on a ship to Miletus, where they sell her as a slave. Theron is the commander of the band and the *spiritus movens* of their undertakings. References to this character and the abduction and enslavement of Callirhoe are made repeatedly throughout the novel. This far into the analysis, we should consider the relationship between the robbers and the space in which they operate: they plunder the grave and abduct the heroine on land, and then go out to sea, which at this point only serves as a transport route. The band operates in a complex space that combines both types of setting. In the novel, land is directly connected with the sea: the plundered tomb is located close to the sea shore, and Theron and his band have their base in the port of Syracuse.

The role of the second band is much less prominent. Recruited by one of the characters, the bandits sink a Syracusan ship off the shore of Miletus, thus preventing a prompt reunion of the novel's protagonists. The novelist does not focus on the identity of this group – one might even get the impression that he does not pay much heed to it, as the information he provides about them is inconsistent. At first mention, he says that the attackers were barbarian soldiers (φρουρίον βαρβάρων: 3.7.2.5; similarly: 3.10.2.1). The historical context clearly indicates that it would have had to be a Persian garrison stationed in the vicinity of Miletus, as the plot of the novel is set in Greece at the turn of the 5<sup>th</sup> century BC<sup>15</sup>. At the end of the novel, however, when recapitulating the plot, the male protagonist (Chaereas) attributes the attack to the robbers from Phrygia (Φρύγες λησται: 8.8.1.3). Unlike Theron's band, the Milesian attackers feature in the novel as a collective character stripped of any individual traits. Like their identity, also the relationship of the Milesian band with the space type (land/sea) is vague. Undoubtedly, the burning and sinking of the ship anchored off the shore is a one-off action and does not point to a closer relationship of the brigands with the sea.

This rather small representation of robber gangs, of which one plays only an incidental role, does not allow to formulate any in-depth conclusions. What can be said

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<sup>14</sup> The character of Callirhoe is very loosely set in the historical context: we only know from historical accounts that Hermocrates had a daughter of an unknown name who died due to an accident; see Bryan P. Reardon, Introduction to *Chaereas and Callirhoe*, Chariton, in: *Collected Ancient Greek Novels*, edited by Bryan P. Reardon (Berkeley–Los Angeles–London: University of California Press, 2008), 18.

<sup>15</sup> Reardon, Introduction, 19.

for sure is that both bands are most often referred to with the noun *ὁ ληστής* (bandit). Various forms of this word appear nearly thirty times in the text of the novel. What is important from the point of view of our deliberations is that, when referring to Theron's band, Chariton also uses the noun *ὁ πειρατής* as well as the related adjective "piratical" (*πειρατικός*) and the noun denoting a pirate crew or pirates' lair (*τὸ πειρατήριον*). However, even on close inspection of the contexts of use of those words, it is difficult to identify and define any specific criteria that guided the writer in choosing one rather than the other term. The adjective *πειρατικός* is used as an attribute of a ship (*τῷ πειρατικῷ κέλητι*: 8.7.7.4; *τῷ πειρατικῷ πλοίῳ*: 8.7.8.1. 1.2, 6.2.10.2). By contrast, Chariton does not use the adjectival form *ληστρικός* at all. Yet, when describing Theron's band's lair he uses both the noun *τὸ πειρατήριον* (1.7.1.3; 3.3.13.2) and *τὸ ληστήριον* (2.9.3.1, 4.1.1.2, 6.2.10.2). The female protagonist describes the members of the band as *πειρατὰς* when she says that fate has subjected her to "pirates more dreadful than the waves" (*τῶν κυμάτων τοὺς πειρατὰς φοβερωτέρους ἐπέστησας*: 1.12.3.2). Also the inhabitants of Babylon emphasise that Callirhoe was saved from the hands of pirates (*ἐξήγαγε πειρατῶν*: 6.1.3.2). At the same time, there are numerous passages in the novel in which both Theron and members of his robber band are referred to as *ὁ ληστής* (see 1.7.1.2, 1.9.4.2, 1.9.7.3, 1.11.4.1, 1.12.1.4, 1.13.10.4, 1.14.9.4, 2.2.8.6, 2.6.3.7, 2.8.7.2, 2.9.5.1, 3.2.8.4, 3.4.14.1, 4.3.2.5, 5.1.5.1, 5.7.4.3, 6.1.2.4, 6.6.3.5, 6.6.4.3, 6.7.9.1, 8.7.8.2). The practice they indulge in is called *ἡ ληστεία* (banditry) (1.7.5.3, 8.4.5.1).

An analysis of passages in which the author uses both terms within the same situational context turns out to be equally ineffective. In the first of these excerpts, Chariton explains how Theron gathered his band:

"There was a certain Theron, a wicked man, who out of vileness took to the sea and had bandits (*ληστὰς*) lying in wait in ports. Under the pretence of ferrying, he assembled a pirate crew (*πειρατήριον*)" (1.7.1.3)<sup>16</sup>.

We can see that Chariton associated the terms *λησταί* and *πειρατήριον* closely by putting them side by side within the same situational contexts: the bandits form a pirate crew. There is no evidence that the words have different meaning ranges – on the contrary, it seems clear that they are used as synonyms. On the margin, it is worth noting the causal relationship that the writer discerns between sailing the sea and vileness, as highlighted in the first part of the quote (*ἐξ ἀδικίας πλέων τὴν θάλασσαν*). The sea in Chariton's novel is a type of space that has negative connotations (Theron followed a life of crime on the sea "out of vileness"). It seems that this idea could be explicated in the following way: wicked people feel better at sea than on land, and, therefore, a person associated with the sea, even through a profession such as a fisherman or a ferryman, is prone to unethical behaviours.

16 Unless stated otherwise, all the translations from ancient Greek are mine.

A similar situation is found in the passage in which Theron wonders if it was prudent of him to have left the plunder behind on a ship moored in the vicinity for a few days while he was looking for someone to sell his loot to. He concludes that he acted as though “he were the only bandit that existed” (ληστής), and asks himself: “Do you not know that other pirates, also, sail the sea?” (πειραταί: 1.12, 2–3). This example seems unambiguous: Chariton identifies his character by means of both words and uses them interchangeably. Of course, it is worth noting that the noun πειραταί is used in direct connection with the phrase “at sea” (τὴν θάλασσαν), but this does not change the impression that, for Chariton, the nouns ληστής and πειραταί are synonymous.

This is confirmed by at least two other passages, in which the words ὁ ληστής and ὁ πειρατής appear in an identical context. In one of the many lamentations, the heroine complains about her fate, and uses three different terms to describe her captors (Theron’s gang). She says that she fell into the hands of tomb-robbers (τυμβωρύχων) and was taken to sea by “pirates more dreadful than the sea waves” (εἰς θάλασσαν καὶ τῶν κυμάτων τοὺς πειρατὰς φοβερωτέρους), and that her beauty only served one purpose: for Theron, the bandit (Θήρων ὁ ληστής), to receive a higher price for her (1.14.8.4). Finally, at the end of the novel, Callirhoe’s father, Hermocrates, recalls that during the search for his daughter, the Syracusans found a pirate ship at sea (ἐν δὲ τῇ θαλάσσει τῷ πειρατικῷ πλοῦ), and on it Theron and the bodies of other bandits (τοὺς μὲν ἄλλους ληστὰς) who had died of thirst (8.7.8.2).

The analysis above indicates that Chariton, like Polybius or Strabo, belongs to a group of authors who, according to Philip de Souza, did not see a major difference in meaning between the nouns ὁ ληστής and ὁ πειρατής and used them as synonyms<sup>17</sup>. In Chariton’s case, it seems pertinent to ask whether it is of any significance that he did not use the word πειραταί to refer to the bandits who sank the Syracusan trier near Miletus. If so, then the nautical connotations of Theron’s band (their base in the port, Theron’s job as a ferryman, their ship and sea voyage) could signal that this group has a partially different identity than the brigands from Miletus. Then it would be meaningful that the members of Theron’s band are referred to as ὁ ληστής but also as ὁ πειρατής. Unfortunately, the very limited linguistic material pertaining to the Milesian gang makes it impossible to formulate a convincing hypothesis.

Achilles Tatius:

The novel *Adventures of Leucippe and Clitophon* features a larger gallery of characters referred to as ὁ ληστής and ὁ πειρατής (or both), who are more broadly involved in the plot compared to those in the story of Callirhoe. We read about a band recruited from among fishermen near Tyre. They abduct Clitophon’s half-sister Calligone from the beach during a festival in honour of Heracles and, on boats, take her to the ship of

17 de Souza, *Piracy*, 26.

Callisthenes, who has orchestrated the kidnapping. Tatius also devotes quite a lot of attention to Egyptian robbers living in the backwaters of the Nile Delta who control the coast and attack both ships sailing on the Nile and seafaring ships passing this area. They abduct Clitophon and Leucippe during their journey on the Nile. Finally, a third group of brigands appears, assembled on the island of Pharos from local thugs, about whom we only learn that they are people associated with the sea<sup>18</sup>. They kidnap the hero and heroine and take them on a ship to Alexandria, but the captives escape with the help of local pearl divers.

Similarly to Chariton's novel, *Leucippe and Clitophon* contains at least three passages in which the writer uses the words ὁ ληστής and ὁ πειρατής alongside one another in the same situational context. All these excerpts refer to the group of abductors from Pharos, who abscond with Leucippe to a ship, and then immediately set off on their way, chased by another craft with soldiers who have been summoned to her rescue. Tatius relates this situation as follows:

“Meanwhile, the bandits (οἱ λησται) sailed at a still greater speed, and when we neared them, the bandits (οἱ λησται) sighted another ship, and, on recognising it, summoned it for help: its crew were purple-fishers, also dealing in piracy (πορφυρεῖς δὲ ἦσαν πειρατικοί). The commander, seeing that there were now two ships against him, was perturbed and ordered his crew to reverse, and the pirates naturally ceased their flight and were challenging us to give battle” (5.7.6–7).

The same situation is again recounted near the end of the novel, this time from the perspective of the abducted female protagonist. Among other things, Leucippe tells us about a prostitute brought to the ship by the same bandits (οἱ λησται), who offered the girl to one of the pirates (τινὶ τῶν πειρατῶν), saying that the bandit (ὁ ληστής) was in love (8.16.1–2).

In both excerpts, the noun ὁ ληστής has an identical meaning range as the noun οἱ πειραται and the related adjective πειρατικοί. The author uses these forms interchangeably with reference to the same individuals, which may indicate that they are synonymous. The third passage confirms this conclusion: also here the author uses the noun “bandit” interchangeably with forms of the noun “pirate”. This time the Pharian kidnappers are summoned by Thersander, who is keeping Leucippe prisoner in a village near Ephesus. When the girl rejects his erotic advances, saying that even the bandits did not take her virginity, Thersander mockingly asks how it is possible that she spent so many nights among pirates (πειραταῖς) and still managed to keep her virginity. Then he says with irony: “Did these bandits (οἱ λησται) become eunuchs for your sake? Or was it a band of piratical (τὸ πειρατήριον) philosophers?” (6.21.3.3). Let us add that

18 De Souza points out that Caesar in *De bello civili* (3.112) accused the inhabitants of the island of Pharos of comporting themselves like pirates; see de Souza, *Piracy*, 221, fn. 21.

in many other places in the novel in which the author returns to the events on Pharos, the kidnappers are referred to solely as οἱ λησται (5.3.2.2, 5.7.3.1, 5.7.3.4, 5.7.4.1, 5.17.5.5, 5.17.9.3, 7.7.3.3, 7.9.3.2, 8.5.1.5, 8.5.6.2, 8.15.4.1, 8.15.4.2, 8.16.5.1, 8.16.6.3, 8.16.7.3).

On the other hand, we cannot ignore the fact that Tattius only uses the words ὁ ληστής and ὁ πειρατής synonymously when describing the gang of Pharian abductors. It is, therefore, necessary to take a closer look at the terminology related to the remaining groups of robbers.

The group of Egyptian Nile Delta bandits, whom Tattius also calls the herdsmen (οἱ βούκοιοι; see, among others, 3.9.2, 4.12.4, 4.12.8), plays an important role in the novel – most of Book III and the entire Book IV revolve around their activity. It is them who kidnap the protagonists and put them through a series of dramatic adventures in captivity, including the counterfeit, theatrically staged death of Leucippe. Tattius depicts a scene in which the herdsmen attack a ship sailing along the coast – the Egyptians used small, light boats which could also move freely on the backwaters of the Nile Delta, their natural habitat. Tattius devotes a lot of space to the description of the fighting methods used by the herdsmen, which allowed the bandits to stand up to regular army troops. When referring to the Egyptian abductors, the novelist only uses the noun ὁ ληστής (3.5.5.5, 3.9.3.3, 3.10.5.3, 3.12.1.4, 3.12.2.3, 3.13.1.3, 3.13.2.3, 3.13.4.2, 3.13.5.4, 3.14.4.3), 3.15.1.3, 3.16.4.3, 3.17.1.3, 3.18.5.4, 3.19.2.3, 3.19.2.4, 3.20.2.3, 3.20.3.3, 3.21.1.3, 3.21.5.3, 3.21.6.2, 3.22.2.2, 3.22.2.3, 3.22.3.3, 4.1.3.1, 4.6.4.3, 4.9.5.4, 4.9.6.2, 4.17.6.4, 4.18.1.1) or its derivatives. He describes their boats using the adjective ληστρικός (σκαφῶν ληστρικῶν: 3.20.5.3), calls their leader ὁ λησταιάρχος (3.12.1.4, 3.19.2.4, 3.21.6.3, 3.22.2.3, 3.22.3.4, 3.22.5.3), and says that they are a gang of bandits (τὸ ληστήριον: 3.14.1.5, 3.19.3.4 and ἡ ληστεία: 3.24.1.4). The number of forms of the noun bandit (ὁ ληστής) which Tattius uses to refer to the Egyptian herdsmen is large enough to exclude the possibility that he chose these terms randomly. For some reason, the author does not, even once, use any form of the noun ὁ πειρατής to refer to this group of robbers.

The last band, which consists of bandits recruited from among local fishermen in the vicinity of Tyre, features only once in the plot of the novel. They have been gathered to kidnap a girl participating in a religious rite on the seashore and deliver her to a young man who is in love with her and is waiting on a ship moored nearby. The writer refers to the fishermen (ἀλιεῖς) involved in the abduction as οἱ λησται (2.16.2.6, 2.17.3.2, 2.18.5.2). However, in describing the servant who has been given the task of assembling the band, he uses the adjective πειρατικός (piratical). Writing about the servant's aptitude for this task, Tattius emphasises that he was a fellow of a robust body and "by nature piratical" (φύσει πειρατικός; 2.17.3.2)<sup>19</sup>. The mere fact that Tattius employs

<sup>19</sup> Translators of *Leucippe and Clitophon* propose different understandings of the phrase φύσει πειρατικός. Zawadzki, in a Polish translation of the novel, uses the expression "skłonny do rozbojów"

the adjective “piratical” here, however, does not mean that the character belongs in the category denoted as ὁ πειρατής. The fact that the servant has a trait that makes him resemble a pirate, does not automatically mean that he is the same sort of character as οἱ πειραταὶ of the Pharian gang<sup>20</sup>.

These observations lead to the conclusion that, in the final analysis, there is a visible difference in Achilles Tatius’ vocabulary between the words ὁ ληστής and ὁ πειρατής. The former (ὁ ληστής) is generic and is used in relation to various types of characters, both those who engage in banditry only incidentally (the kidnappers of Tyre and Pharos) and those for whom banditry is a permanent element of their identity (the Egyptian herdsmen). However, not every bandit (ὁ ληστής) in Tatius’ novel is a pirate (ὁ πειρατής).

There seem to be two attributes that distinguish the kidnappers of Pharos (pirates) from the other robbers. The first one is having a seagoing ship. The Pharian freebooters are the only ones to sail a ship; they flee on the vessel and quickly find another ship crew who are ready to come to their aid in a military confrontation with the pursuing soldiers (5.7.2–7). Meanwhile, the herdsmen attack ships in the area of the Egyptian coast from small light boats (σκαφῶν ληστρικῶν: 3.20.5.3). The fishermen–kidnappers of Tyre operate in a similar way: they row up to the shore on a boat, abduct the girl and carry her off to the ship where the young man in love with her is waiting for them. The writer refers to the boat used for the abduction as ὁ λέμβος, a light boat that could be used by both pirates and fishermen<sup>21</sup>. The context suggests that the boat used by the attackers is a fishing boat, as it does not cause panic among the people gathered on the shore. To compare, the vessels taking part in the kidnapping on Pharos are referred to by the noun ἡ ναῦς (5.7.6–7), as is the ship which the perpetrator of the abduction in Tyre waited on (2.17.1.1) and the ship attacked by the Egyptian herdsmen (3.20.2–4). In

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(given to robbery), and, therefore, interprets the adjective in an evaluative context; see Achilles Tatios, *Opowieść o Leucippe i Kleitofoncie*. Trans. Robert K. Zawadzki (Częstochowa: Wydawnictwo Wyższej Szkoły Pedagogicznej w Częstochowie, 2002), 89; similarly Ebbe Vilborg, *Achilles Tatius, Leucippe and Clitophon. A Commentary* (Göteborg: Elanders Boktryckeri Aktiebolag, 1962), 53. J.J. Winkler, in an English version, translates the term as “a born pirate”; see Achilles Tatius, *Leucippe and Clitophon*. Trans. John J. Winkler, in: *Collected Ancient Greek Novels*, edited by Bryan P. Reardon (Berkeley–Los Angeles–London: University of California Press, 2008), 197. These discrepancies result from the broad meaning range of the noun ἡ φύσις, which could be used when speaking of someone’s origin as well as external appearance and character. In such a situation, the translator is forced to make a choice in accordance with his interpretation.

20 I disagree on this point with Philip de Souza, who quotes this passage to support his claim that the words ὁ ληστής and ὁ πειρατής are used synonymously in Tatius’ novel. The researcher says: “The obvious translation of both words here is pirate, rather than bandit”; see de Souza, *Piracy*, 7. Much more convincing evidence for the synonymy of these words is found in passages 5.7.6–7, as discussed above (de Souza also makes note of them, but does not analyse them in detail; see de Souza, *Piracy*, 25, fn. 28), and passage 6.21.3.3.

21 See Lionel Casson, *Ships and Seamanship in the Ancient World* (Princeton–New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1971), 162–3.

all cases, they are seafaring vessels fit to travel over long distances. A second attribute of pirates revealed by the comparison of the different groups of robbers, is the potential to operate in the open sea – which does not preclude activity on land (e.g. abduction of Leucippe from her home on an island). Οἱ πειραταὶ not only have a ship but are also ready to fight in the open sea.

Achilles Tatius' linguistic practice in using the words ὁ ληστής and ὁ πειρατής is in certain respects similar to that of his predecessor, Chariton: in some passages, they both use the nouns “bandit” and “pirate” interchangeably to refer to the same characters. However, while in the tale of Callirhoe, there was little differentiation between the gangs of robbers, and so the evidence was too scanty to draw any far-reaching conclusions, the observations made on the basis of Tatius' novel point to a tendency towards concretisation of the meaning of the word ὁ πειρατής. Of crucial importance here is the fact that Tatius gives this name exclusively to one band of robbers. A comparative analysis of the two novels allows to identify features indicative of a gradual development in the Greek language of the connotation of the word “pirate” (ὁ πειρατής) into one partially distinct from that of the word “bandit” (ὁ ληστής). It is difficult to say how important the chronological distance between Chariton and Tatius was in this regard. *The terminus ante quem* for Tatius' novel has been established, on the basis of papyrus finds, at the end of the 2nd century AD<sup>22</sup>. This means that the author of *Leucippe and Clitophon* lived about 150 years later than Chariton, which makes it likely that the language has evolved at least slightly during this period.

While reflecting on the differences in the meaning range of the words ὁ ληστής and ὁ πειρατής, it is worth paying attention to two elements that seem to be common to the linguistic practice of both novelists. The first of them is the relationship between the proclivity for robbery and the space of the sea. In our earlier discussion of Chariton's novel, a passage was quoted describing the bandit Theron in which the narrator says that he “took to the sea out of vileness” (ἐξ ἀδικίας πλέων τὴν θάλασσαν: 1.7.1.3). Similar overtones can be heard in an excerpt from Tatius' novel in which the narrator portrays Chaereas, who inspired Leucippe's abduction on Pharos. The narrator states that “he contrived a plot, having assembled a squad of robbers of his own sort, for he was himself a seafaring man” (θαλάσσιος ὦν ἄνθρωπος: 5.3.2.2).

The second element that the two novels have in common is associated with the evaluative connotation of the term ὁ πειρατής. Philip de Souza also reflects on this issue when arguing with David S. Potter's claim that originally this term had no pejorative connotations<sup>23</sup>. There is no doubt that in the texts of both novels, which come from a later period, the word ὁ πειρατής carries a great potential of negative associations.

22 Robert K. Zawadzki, *Wstęp do Opowieść o Leukippe i Klejtofoncie*, Achilles Tatios [Achilles Tatius] (Częstochowa: Wydawnictwo Wyższej Szkoły Pedagogicznej w Częstochowie, 2002), 28–29.

23 de Souza, *Piraci*, 23.

In Chariton's work, the pejorative connotation is only hinted at when Callirhoe complains that she has been taken captive by "pirates more dreadful than the sea waves" (τῶν κυμάτων τοὺς πειρατὰς φοβερωτέρους: 1.14.8.4). In Tatius' novel, the characters who wish to convey that they see someone's behaviour as particularly negative, use the adjective πειρατικός (piratical) or the noun τὸ πειρατήριον, which stands for pirates' base or lair. Leucippe recollects her abduction, speaking of the pirate's violence (ὑβρις πειρατική: 6.16.5.3), which has stripped her of her true identity. Later, when she is imprisoned and harassed by the Ephesian merchant Thersander, she describes his attitude and intentions by saying that she has again found herself in a pirates' lair (οὕσα ἐν πειρατηρίῳ: 6.13.1.3; similarly: 6.13.3.2). She then warns Thersander and his cruel servant that if they were to commit the crimes they were planning to, their hiding place would be "the real pirate's lair" (ἀληθινὸν τοῦτο πειρατήριον: 6.22.2.1). The attributes that are the most saliently related to the concept of piracy are haughtiness, taking people captive, and violence, including sexual violence. This is also seen in the reproachful remarks the imprisoned male protagonist addresses to his lover/guardian Melite. The woman has been falsely accused of killing Leucippe. Clitophon laments that the one who twice escaped death at the hands of brigands has now been killed by Melite's pirate gang (τὸ δὲ τῆς Μελίτης πεφόνευκέ σε πειρατήριον: 7.5.3.5). The respected Ephesian widow Melite, who was in love with the protagonist, obviously had nothing to do with pirates. The metaphor of Melite's house as the pirates' lair is intended to highlight the magnitude of the alleged murderess' iniquity. The passages quoted above clearly show that the negative connotation had settled for good in the Greek language. Piracy became the synonym of the most cruel violence.

Xenophon of Ephesus:

Researchers assume that *An Ephesian Tale of Anthia and Habrocomes* was written no earlier than the end of the 1st century AD, i.e. several decades after Chariton's novel, but earlier than Tatius' novel<sup>24</sup>. Despite this chronological proximity, Xenophon of Ephesus shows a clear autonomy in his usage of the words ὁ ληστής and ὁ πειρατής.

Xenophon's novel features three gangs of brigands, which play different roles in the plot. The first to appear in the story are pirates from Tyre, who attack the ship carrying Anthia and Habrocomes and take the protagonists captive, sending them off on a conventional wandering adventure. A second gang plays an even greater role in the plot, featuring differently in each protagonist's story. The female protagonist is captured by the robbers twice and has to deal with all sorts of threats to her life and virginity, while her husband Habrocomes, unaware of Anthia's fate, joins the gang for a short time and befriends their leader. A third group of brigands play an incidental part in the story.

24 Ludwika Rychlewska, Wstęp do *Opowieści efeskie czyli o miłości Habrokomesa i Antii*, Ksenofont z Efezu [Xenophon of Ephesus] (Wrocław: Zakład Narodowy im. Ossolińskich – Wydawnictwo, 1970), XXXV–XXXVII; Holzberg, *Powieści*, 79; Whitmarsh, *Narrative*, 263–264.

In some ways, they resemble Theron's gang from Chariton's novel. They rob a tomb in Tarsus, find the heroine buried alive in the tomb, and carry her off, along with the loot, on a ship to Alexandria.

Xenophon uses the term *ὁ πειρατής* only to refer to the first band – the Tyrian pirates, commanded by Corymbus, who attacked the ship carrying the protagonists and abducted them. Similarly to Chariton's and Tatius' novels, Xenophon's work contains a passage in which the noun *ὁ πειρατής* is used side by side with the noun *ὁ ληστής* in the same situational context. When the heroes are held captive by Corymbus' band, Habrocomes laments that they have been exposed to the insolence of pirates (*πειρατῶν ὕβρει*: 2.1.2.4) and, worse still, his beauty has aroused passion in one of the bandits (*ληστῆ ἑρῶντι*: 2.1.3.3) – despite the fact that he uses two different terms, he undoubtedly refers to the members of the same gang. This time, however, the mere co-occurrence of the terms “pirate” and “bandit” in the same context is not sufficient evidence for their synonymy. Xenophon differs from his predecessors in that he uses the noun *ὁ πειρατής* much more often in his novel (in reference to the Tyrian gang). The noun *ὁ πειρατής* appears 10 times in the novel (1.13.1.1, 1.13.3.1, 1.13.4.1, 1.13.6.2, 1.14.6.3, 1.14.6.6, 2.1.2.4, 2.2.2.3, 3.3.1.3, 5.14.1.5), while the noun *ὁ ληστής* is used only three times (1.15.3.3, 1.16.5.2, 2.1.3.3). Xenophon also uses, once, a word denoting a bandit-companion, derived from the noun *ὁ ληστής* (*ὁ συλληστός*: 1.15.3.3). A reverse proportion is observed in Chariton's novel, which contains seven occurrences of forms of the noun “pirate” (all used in relation to Theron's gang) and 25 occurrences of forms of the noun “bandit”. A similar quantitative relationship between forms associated with the words *ὁ πειρατής* (7 occurrences) and *ὁ ληστής* (22 occurrences) (used to refer to the Pharian abductors) is found in Tatius' novel.

The quantitative data support the claim that Xenophon's linguistic practice is different from Chariton's and Tatius', but in order to understand what exactly this difference consists of, one has to analyse the passage in which Anthia recapitulates her adventures. It shows that the author of the *Ephesiaca* perceived the pirates of Tyre as a gang having specific features, distinct from other robbers, and that he used the words *ὁ πειρατής* and *ὁ ληστής* to make this distinction clear. Anthia relates her story to Habrocomes:

“I have found you again although I have wandered over many a land and sea (*ἀπείληφά σε πολλήν γῆν πλανηθεῖσα καὶ θάλασσαν*), escaped harsh punishment from bandits (*ληστῶν ἀπειλάς ἐκφυγοῦσα*) and plots from pirates (*καὶ πειρατῶν ἐπιβουλὰς*), insults from pimps (*καὶ πορνοβοσκῶν ὕβρεις*), chains (*δεσμὰ*), deep pits (*καὶ τάφρους*), slave-runners' tables (*καὶ ξύλα*), poisons and graves (*καὶ φάρμακα καὶ τάφους*)” (5.14.1.5).

A recapitulation of the plot at the end of the story was an invariable element of the structure of all ancient Greek novels. It had a more or less conventionalised form. Also

conventional were the adventures of the protagonists: all of the novels start off with robbers who take the heroes captive and, thus, precipitate a series of life-threatening events which put the characters' fidelity to the test. In this light, the words denoting chains, fetters, and enslavement, and other such general terms could be regarded as *topoi*, not closely connected with the actual plot of the specific story. In Xenophon's novel, however, Anthia's recapitulation of her adventures, while fully conventional, is closely associated with what she actually went through. This is evidenced by the use of the noun ἡ τάφος – "pit in the ground". Xenophon's is the only one of the surviving ancient Greek novels in which the protagonist was trapped in a deep pit with hungry dogs. The novelist scrupulously recalls this motif in the recapitulation. Therefore, if we assume that the individual perils Anthia enumerates allude to her actual adventures, we can conclude that the expressions "threats from bandits" (ληστῶν ἀπειλὰς) and "plots from pirates" (πειρατῶν ἐπιβουλὰς) refer to two different groups of villains. Λησταί are members of the land-based (πολλήν γῆν) gang commanded by Hippothous, while πειραταί are the pirates assembled by Corymbus, who attacked the protagonists in the open sea (θάλασσαν). The analysis of Xenophon's usage of the two terms leads to the conclusion that in his vocabulary, the words "bandit" and "pirate" have different meaning ranges, and the writer intentionally calls the two gangs by different names.

Given this, it is worth taking a closer look at Xenophon's pirate gang, bearing in mind our earlier observations on the pirates of the island of Pharos portrayed in Tati-us' novel. Let us recall that the Pharian band had two distinctive characteristics: they possessed a seagoing ship and were ready to fight in the open sea. The pirates of *An Ephesian Tale* also fully meet these two criteria. Xenophon relates that a huge trireme (ἐν τριήρει μεγάλῃ) with Phoenician pirates dropped anchor in the port of Rhodes, accidentally, next to the ship which carried the protagonists (1.13.1.1). Already at that time, the pirates drew up an attack plan, but it was only after both ships had sailed to sea that they put their scheme into action. Around noon, as weariness overwhelmed the sailors and passengers, the pirate vessel approached at high speed and the pirates, fully armed, boarded the protagonists' craft. After a short fight in which they murdered the few defenders, the pirates transported the spoils to their own ship, captured those passengers whom they deemed good enough to be sold as slaves, and set fire to the plundered ship, which sank along with the remaining travellers (1.13.4–1.14. 6).

Xenophon's pirates not only have their own ship, but operate mainly at sea and have the knowledge and skills necessary to successfully attack other ships (selection of the time of the attack). In addition to these two essential points, Xenophon provides readers with further information about the pirate gang. He, thus, describes the characteristic appearance of the gang's leader Corymbus (τῶν δὲ πειρατῶν ὁ ἕξαρχος; 1.13.3.1): he was a young man of tall stature with a scary gaze and messy hair. The narrator also says that the pirates had their lair (τὰ οἰκεῖα; 1.14.6.6) in Tyre. The pirate gang was not fully

independent – its leader, Corymbus, was in the service of the local landowner, Apsyrtus, and received payment and part of the loot for his services (1.14.6.6). As Apsyrtus appears in the novel, Xenophon returns to using forms of the word ὁ ληστής; he says that Apsyrtus was the leader of a bandit gang (ἄνδρὸς ἄρχοντος ληστηρίου: 1.14.6.6; ὁ προεστὼς τοῦ ληστηρίου: 2.2.1.2). The writer’s linguistic choices, thus, emphasise the distinct nature of the characters involved in the action. Apsyrtus is consistently referred to as the leader of bandits, but he is never directly called a “bandit” or a “pirate” himself. He controls the pirates, decides how to divide the plunder, and keeps the most valuable slaves to himself, while the pirate Corymbus, though reluctantly, has to accept his decisions. Xenophon’s language is precise and unambiguous: though Apsyrtus reaps profits from piracy, he is certainly not a pirate. As the action unfolds, it turns out that his cooperation with the pirates does not prevent him from living a life of a respected resident of Tyre, who ultimately takes care of the protagonist (2.10.1–4).

Xenophon uses a completely different linguistic practice with regard to the other two bands of robbers: the tomb-robbers of Tarsus and Hippothous’ gang. Particularly interesting is the latter group, if only because it is the single typically “land-based” gang among all the bands we come across in the ancient Greek novels. In fact, we should be speaking of two gangs led by Hippothous. The first one operated in forests on the border between Syria and Cilicia. After it had been destroyed by a squad of soldiers, Hippothous easily created another gang with which, “overcoming all opposition, burning villages and killing many people”<sup>25</sup> (4.1.1), he travelled through Syria, Phoenicia and Egypt. The gang established its base near the Ethiopian border, close to the trade route towards India. Since the writer linked Hippothous’ fate with the fates of the two separated protagonists, numerous references to his gang are made throughout the novel. Without exception, they are always called ὁ ληστής (2.11.11.3 2.13.1.1, 2.13.4.2, 2.13.5.4, 2.13.6.4, 3.9.5.3, 3.9.5.4, 4.1.1.5, 4.5.1.2, 4.5.3.2, 4.6.4.6, 4.6.6.6; 5.3.1.6, 5.3.2.5, 5.4.1.2, 5.4.2.2, 5.4.3.3, 5.4.4.4, 5.5.3.4, 5.9.6.3). No form of the noun ὁ πειρατής is ever used to refer to this group of brigands. The same applies to the tomb-robbers of Tarsus. Although they carried the heroine off to their ship and sailed with her to Alexandria, Xenophon speaks of them only as bandits – οἱ λησταί (3.8.3.1, 3.8.6.2, 3.8.7.6; 3.9.2.3, 3.9.8.5, 3.10.2.1, 3.10 4.8, 3.11.1.1).

The discussion above shows that Xenophon’s linguistic practice is quite novel and unique when compared to Chariton’s and Tatius’. Although, indeed, Xenophon, like Tatius, uses the noun ὁ πειρατής to denote a gang of robbers who have a ship and conduct their activities in the open sea, he employs it much more frequently when talking about Corymbus’ pirate gang than Chariton or Tatius did in analogous cases. Accordingly, the proportion between the occurrences of the nouns ὁ πειρατής and ὁ ληστής is

25 Ksenofont z Efezu [Xenophon of Ephesus], *Opowieści efeskie czyli o miłości Habrokomesa i Antii*. Trans. Ludwika Rychlewska (Wrocław: Zakład Narodowy im. Ossolińskich – Wydawnictwo, 1970), 50.

different in Xenophon's work. What is even more important is that, in his novel, he sets all piratical activities exclusively in a maritime context, from spotting the target of the attack, through attacking the vessel, to its sinking. In no passage does Xenophon suggest that Corymbus' pirates also operate on land, even if only temporarily. It, therefore, seems plausible to say that Xenophon understood the concept of "pirate" in a narrow sense, as a robber who conducts his 'raiding' activities only at sea, looting and destroying ships. Also very interesting are the themes of the pirates' permanent base and the relationship between the gang and Apsyrthus, the mastermind behind their illicit practices, who is also a respected citizen of the city.

## HELIODORUS

The exact date of when Heliodorus lived and wrote is still vividly discussed in the literature of the subject. Indirect evidence suggests that he wrote the *Aethiopica* at some point in the broad chronological horizon between the mid-3<sup>rd</sup> and mid-4<sup>th</sup> centuries AD<sup>26</sup>. In any case, the time span between Heliodorus and his immediate predecessor, Achilles Tatius, is between 50 to 150 years. It may be due to this temporal distance that Heliodorus' lexical choices regarding the groups of robbers he describes are clearly distinct from those of the earlier novelists.

Although the *Aethiopica* is the longest of the ancient Greek novels and has a complicated plot, an extensive range of characters and a complex, multi-layered narrative, it only features two gangs of brigands: Egyptian herdsmen inhabiting the backwaters of the Nile Delta and pirates who raid the ship with the protagonists, Theagenes and Chariclea, on board. Both gangs play an extremely important role in the plot, which may explain the high frequency of the investigated linguistic forms in the text. What particularly draws attention in Heliodorus' novel is the large variety of cognate words. In addition to the noun ὁ ληστής, the writer uses the adjective ληστρικός (bandit-like) and the nouns τὸ ληστρικόν (banditry), ἡ ληστεία and ἡ ληστρική (act of banditry) and ὁ λησταρχός (gang leader). The group of words related to the noun ὁ πειρατής is much smaller: it includes the noun τὸ πειρατήριον (a pirate gang) and the adjective πειρατικός (piratical). Importantly, the word ὁ πειρατής itself never appears in Heliodorus' novel. Instead, he uses the word ὁ καταποντιστής, and is the only one among the Greek novelists to do so.

26 See Sylwester Dworacki, *Wstęp do Opowieść etiopska o Theagenesie i Charikleji*, Heliodor [Heliodorus] (Poznań: Wydawnictwo Naukowe UAM, 2000), XVIII–XX; Whitmarsh, *Narrative*, 262. One of the scholars who proposes dating Heliodorus' novel to the middle of the 3rd century AD is Holzberg, *Powieść*, 144–145.

The appearance of the form ὁ καταποντιστής requires a few words of comment. As already mentioned at the beginning of the present paper, this noun was used by Greek authors to denote a pirate *sensu stricto*<sup>27</sup>. It appeared in Greek texts slightly earlier than the form ὁ πειρατής: it was used in the 4<sup>th</sup> century BC by authors such as Isocrates and Demosthenes. However, as indicated by the low frequency of its use, for some unknown reason, it did not enjoy popularity among Greek authors. There is also no surviving evidence of cognate adjectives or nouns. In their place, writers most often employed forms of the noun ὁ ληστής, which meant that the noun ὁ καταποντιστής was used, in the same text by the same author, side by side with words such as ληστικός (bandit-like) or ἡ ληστεία (act of banditry) to refer to the same characters. This does not mean, however, that the noun ὁ καταποντιστής was equivalent to the noun ὁ ληστής in all contexts. Ancient authors often used these two words to differentiate between the people they described. Isocrates, in the *Panathenaicus*, discriminates among different types of villains: “pirates and bandits and those given to other vile practices” (τοὺς καταποντιστὰς καὶ ληστὰς καὶ τοὺς περὶ τὰς ἄλλας ἀδικίας ὄντας: 226). Demosthenes, in his oration *Against Aristocrates*, writes about the island of Alopeconnesus that “it was full of bandits and pirates” (ληστῶν δ’ ἦν μεστὴ καὶ καταποντιστῶν: 166; similarly: 167). A 2nd century AD author, Cassius Dio, clearly states how he understands the difference between καταποντισταὶ and λησταί: “Pirates (οἱ καταποντισταὶ) harassed those who sailed ships, in the same way as bandits [those who engaged in banditry] (οἱ τὰς ληστείας ποιούμενοι) did those who lived on land” (36.20.1). As de Souza notes, Dio does not use any forms related to the noun ὁ πειρατής<sup>28</sup>.

Heliodorus’ linguistic idiom turns out to be very similar to Cassius Dios’. The novelist uses the noun ὁ καταποντιστής twice, each time juxtaposing it, in one phrase, with a form of the noun ὁ ληστής. At the beginning of Book I, Chariclea recites the misfortunes she and Theagenes suffered together:

“... loss of loved ones and capture by pirates (καταποντιστῶν ἄλωσις), thousands of perils of the sea (θαλασσῶν μυρίος κίνδυνος) and being imprisoned by bandits again, this time on land” (ληστῶν ἐπὶ γῆς: 1.8.2.6).

Elsewhere, the narrator relates the adventures of one of the background characters: “And among many other dangers and many miseries at that time, he was taken captive by pirates (περιπεσῶν ἀλοὺς δὲ καὶ ὑπὸ καταποντιστῶν), and then, when he fled and again came to Egypt, he was, in turn, captured by herdsmen–bandits (ὑπὸ τῶν βουκόλων ληφθεῖη ληστῶν: 6.2.4.7)”.

There is no doubt that, in both passages, Heliodorus makes a distinction between pirates and bandits. The first passage is particularly worthy of attention as it

27 de Souza, *Piracy*, 27.

28 For more on this topic, see *ibid.*

emphasises the difference in the spacial context in which the two words appear: the capture by pirates was associated with dangers of the sea (θαλασσῶν), while the λησται kidnapped the protagonists on land (ἐπὶ γῆς).

Also noteworthy are the next two excerpts, which recapitulate the story and are the male protagonist's lamentation. What is important for the present discussion is that, although the situational context of these passages has not changed, the writer replaces forms of the noun ὁ καταποντιστής with forms of the noun τὸ πειρατήριον (pirate gang). At the beginning of Book II, Theagenes is convinced that his beloved Chariclea has been murdered and blames the vengeful goddess Erinys for having made them flee, for having exposed them to the "dangers of the sea" (κινδύνοις θαλασσῶν) and the "dangers of the pirate gang" (κινδύνοις θαλασσῶν), for having given them to "bandits" (λησταῖς), and finally for depriving them of everything they had (2.4.1.5). Later in the text, he once again returns to this part of the story, lamenting his destiny:

"Don't you see how it added a pirate gang (πειρατήρια) to the escape and to the dangers of the sea (τοῖς ἐκ θαλάττης ἀτόποις), how it made sure we suffer those [dangers] of land (τό ἐκ γῆς), even graver, the war that came right after the bandits" (λησταῖς; 5.6.3.2).

What is particularly notable about the four passages above is the recurrence of several motifs. For the sake of clarity, let us collate the key excerpts:

## 1.8.2.6

- capture by pirates  
(καταποντιστῶν ἄλωσις)
- countless dangers of the sea  
(θαλασσῶν μυρίος κίνδυνος)
- taken [...] by bandits on land  
(ληστῶν ἐπὶ γῆς)

## 5.6.3.2

- added a pirate gang  
(πειρατήρια)
- to the dangers of the sea  
(τοῖς ἐκ θαλάττης ἀτόποις)
- those of land (τὰ ἐκ γῆς): the war that  
came right after the bandits (λησταῖς)

## 6.2.4.7

- he was taken captive by pirates  
(περιπεσῶν ἀλοῦς δὲ καὶ ὑπὸ  
καταποντιστῶν)
- he was, in turn, captured by  
herdsmen-bandits  
(ὑπὸ τῶν βουκόλων ληφθεῖη ληστῶν)

## 2.4.1.5

- the dangers of the sea  
(κινδύνοις θαλασσῶν)
- the dangers of the pirate gang  
(κινδύνοις πειρατηρίων)
- given them to bandits  
(λησταῖς)

Heliodorus repeatedly refers to the same motifs, consistently using the related terminology. The noun λησται (bandits) appears in all the quotes, and in two cases the relationship between λησται and land is highlighted (ἐπὶ γῆς: 1.8.2.6; τὰ ἐκ γῆς: 5.6.3.2). The motif of λησται, in turn, is preceded by the motif of dangers of the sea (θαλασσῶν: 1.8.2.6, 2.4.1.5; θαλάττης: 5.6.3.2). Up to this point, we can speak of the writer's consistent use of both the motifs (bandits, land, sea) and their linguistic representations (ὁ ληστής, ἡ γῆ, ἡ θάλαττα / θάλασσα). However, Heliodorus uses two different names to refer to bandits who operate in the space of the sea: πειρατήρια (5.6.3.2, 2.4.1.5) and καταποντισταί (1.8.2.6). On one occasion, the noun καταποντισταί is used without an explicitly expressed relation with the sea (6.2.4.7). The comparison above distinctly shows that Heliodorus uses the words καταποντισταί and πειρατήρια in the same context to refer to the same type of characters operating in the space of the sea. Undoubtedly, the writer treats the two words as synonyms – the meaning range of the nouns καταποντισταί and πειρατήρια is the same.

So, who are the pirates (αἱ καταποντισταί) of the pirate gang (τὸ πειρατήριον) in the *Aethiopica*? They have their base in the vicinity of a port on the island of Zakynthos. The gang is led by Trachinus, who, unlike Corymbus in Xenophon's novel, is an independent pirate. Trachinus has his own seagoing ship and sets up a piratical ambush (πειρατικὸν ἐργαστήριον: 5.20.3.2) behind one of the island's headlands to attack the Phoenician ship carrying the protagonists. When the heroes manage to avoid the ambush, the pirates chase them, embarking on a piratical expedition (πειρατικὸς ὁ στόλος: 5.24.1.3). They follow the fugitives to Crete and further towards the African coast. Heliodorus describes the pirates' strategy. They attacked when the moment was ripe – as the sun set, the wind subsided and the large Phoenician vessel lost the speed advantage it had gained, having larger sails. The lighter pirate ship (πειρατικὸν ἀκάτιον: 5.22.8.9), owing to efficient rowing, easily caught up with the protagonists' ship. The pirates first circled around the Phoenician ship, not allowing it to escape, and then got on board, forced the crew and passengers to leave the ship with just the "one chiton on their backs" and sent them off in a lifeboat. The pirates remained on the captured vessel and tried to tow their own ship on a rope. However, a violent storm had them choose between the two craft, and ultimately they decided to keep the captured ship. The novelist vividly describes the difficulties the pirates had handling the large ship in the rough conditions of the night storm (5.27)<sup>29</sup>.

The complexity of the terminological situation is exacerbated by the fact that the writer also uses the noun ὁ ληστής several times in reference to Trachinus' pirate gang (5.20.7.5, 5.24.4.2, 5.25.1.1, 5.27.2.3, 5.27.5.2, 5.27.8.5, 5.30.1.3). He describes the

29 Heliodorus calls the large Phoenician merchant ship ἡ ὀκάς (5.20.3, 5.23.3, 5.25.2, 5.27.2, 5.27.5), the pirate ship – ἡ ἀκατος (5.23.3, 5.24.1, 5.27.2, 5.27.5, 5.27.7), and the lifeboat in which the crew and passengers departed after the attack – τὸ σκάφος (5.24.2, 5.25.3).

leader of the pirates as ὁ λήσταρχος (5.20.5.2, 5.30.2.3), and also introduces the concept of “bandits’ law” (τὸν ληστρικὸν νόμον: 5.31.3.7). The piratical ambush (πειρατικὸν ἐργαστήριον: 5.20.3.2) is referred to elsewhere as ἡ ληστρική (5.22.6.4).

In this respect, Heliodorus’ linguistic practice is more or less similar to that of the other novelists.

In his descriptions of Trachinus’ pirate gang, one can observe certain tendencies regarding the choice of the words of interest. The writer uses the noun ὁ καταποντιστής (pirate) only in the protagonists’ retrospective accounts and lamentations. When directly relating the action, he uses forms with the general meaning “bandit” (ὁ ληστής) and specifies what kind of banditry he has in mind combining them with the adjective πειρατικός (piratical). The way the writer employs the term τὸ πειρατήρια (pirate gang) clearly indicates that he understands it as a synonym *sensu stricto* of the word ὁ καταποντιστής. Thus, although Heliodorus does not use the noun ὁ πειρατής, we can surmise that it would also be synonymous with the noun ὁ καταποντιστής. It seems, therefore, that in Heliodorus’ vocabulary, the words ὁ καταποντιστής and ὁ πειρατής have a fully shaped meaning and are interchangeable. The meaning range of these words partly overlaps with that of the general name ὁ ληστής (bandit), but it also contains specific elements that set the concept of “pirate” apart from that of “bandit”. To put it differently, not every bandit (ὁ ληστής) from Heliodorus’ novel can be called a pirate (ὁ πειρατής).

A second gang appearing in the *Aethiopica* belongs to the category of bandits who are referred to solely with forms of the noun ὁ ληστής and its cognates, such as the adjective ληστρικός (bandit-like) and the nouns ἡ ληστεία and ἡ ληστρική (an act of banditry) and ὁ λησταρχός (gang leader). The gang are the Egyptian herdsmen-bandits who abducted the protagonists shortly after Chariclea and Theagenes had happily concluded their adventure with the pirates. It was them who the heroes recollected in the recapitulations analysed above. What is important from the point of view of the present discussion is that they live and conduct their activity in the space of a marshy lake shore seasonally flooded by the Nile. Boats are an indispensable piece of equipment for people living in such an environment<sup>30</sup>. Heliodorus describes with interest the specific solutions the inhabitants of this area used to deal with the adverse natural conditions. We read, among other things, about the way they raised their children (1.6.1.3), about unique buildings, the erection of which required a “bandit’s skill” (τήχνης ληστρικής: 1.28.2.6), and about the special rules of the community that governed itself in its own bandit-like way (ληστρικὸν πολιτεύεται: 1.5.3.1). Parenthetically, this community is not a uniform one – it is made up of numerous, smaller groups that wage bandit wars

30 Heliodorus refers to the herdsmen’s boats with the same term he used earlier to describe the lifeboat on which the sailors and merchants, robbed by Trachinus’ pirates, sailed off from the Phoenician ship: τὸ σκάφος (1.5.3.3).

(ληστρικὸς πόλεμος: 1.29.6.7) against one another. Some of these groups inhabit bandit villages outside the marshes (τὰς κώμας τὰς ληστρικάς: 1.33.2.9) – Heliodorus mentions that they practise banditry (ἡ ληστεία: 6.13.2.5) as their main occupation. All this adds up to the overall picture of a bandit’s way of life (ληστρικὸς ὁ βίος: 1.3.1.8, 7.5.5.9). Heliodorus also introduces the concept of a “bandit’s nature” (ληστρικὸν ἦθος: 1.4.3.4). One can assume that it is comprised of such temperamental traits as fierceness and a short temper typical of barbarians (θυμοῦ ληστρικοῦ καὶ βαρβαρικῆς ὀργῆς: 2.12.5.6), fickleness (φύσει τε ἀβέβαιον καὶ ληστρικόν: 2.17.5.4) and greed (πλήθος ληστρικόν: 1.3.4.1). The novelist does not forget to describe the typical appearance of a bandit, whose most distinctive feature is long hair (τὸ ληστρικώτερον εἶδος: 2.20.5.3, 2.20.5.8). Heliodorus uses forms of the adjective ληστρικός (bandit-like) in twenty passages describing the herdsmen (see also: 1.1.1.2, 1.1.1.7, 1.3.3.2, 1.33.2.4, 2.10.3.6, 5.2.7.1, 5.2.8.6). For the sake of completeness of the picture, it should be added that the leader of the thugs, Thyamis, is referred to as ὁ λησταρχός (1.4.1.1, 1.4.2.1, 1.7.1.2, 1.7.1.6, 1.7.2.7, 1.18.2.2, 1.19.2.5, 5.4.3.6, 6.13.5.10).

Let us note that in portraying the herdsmen-bandits in such a precise manner, Heliodorus never uses any form of the word ὁ πειρατής. The consistency with which the robber terminology is deployed in the novel makes it plain that the identity of the herdsmen is distinct from that of the Zakynthian pirate gang. The differences between the two groups seem clear. The main difference is in the nature of the space in which they operate: the pirates conduct their activities in the open sea, while the herdsmen lead their bandit life in the temporarily flooded parts of the Nile Delta. Although water is the herdsmen’s natural habitat, the entire area in which they live falls into the spatial category of land. Other differences follow from this basic spacial division: starting with the type of vessels the robbers use, to their fighting skills at sea or on land.

## CONCLUSIONS

The detailed analysis above leads to some concrete findings regarding the development of the meaning of the word ὁ πειρατής and its relationship with the word ὁ ληστής in the ancient Greek novel. At the most general level, it was found that the only word that the Greek novelists used to refer to all groups of robbers was the noun ὁ ληστής. In Chariton’s *Chaereas and Callirhoe*, the oldest of the surviving novels, this noun is used interchangeably with the noun ὁ πειρατής, and the book provides no evidence that would allow to differentiate the denotations of these two words. Observations regarding Theron’s gang indicate that it conducted its activity in the interlaced spaces of the sea and land and that the function of their ship was unique: it was not used in sea raids, but only served as a means of transport. In later novels, there is a visible tendency for

the meaning range of the noun ὁ πειρατής to be saturated with specific elements which render its denotation partially distinct from that of the word ὁ ληστής. This phenomenon is fully conspicuous in Xenophon's *Ephesiaca* and Heliodorus' *Aethiopica*. Pirates, unlike other robbers, have a seagoing ship, and they attack other ships in the open sea as their regular occupation. The term ὁ πειρατής and its cognates are never used to denote robbers who do not meet these two criteria. This interpretation is convincingly confirmed by Heliodorus' use of the word ὁ καταποντιστής as a synonym of the noun τὸ πειρατήριον. In both novels, therefore, the noun ὁ πειρατής is a hyponym of the noun ὁ ληστής. This means that every pirate is a bandit, but not every bandit is a pirate. By the same token, the usage of the two words is consistent with the definitions found in the Suda, as cited in the introduction to this paper.

This last observation is actually an argument against Philip de Souza's view that the two words are universally synonymous. It indicates that one should not assume *a priori* that the meanings of ὁ πειρατής and ὁ ληστής are equivalent in all ancient texts. It seems that, especially with regard to later texts from the Roman era (in the case of the novels, texts from the end of the 1st and beginning of the 2nd century AD), one should investigate the possibility that these two words are related by hyperonymy/hyponymy. In some instances, this may be a vital clue for the identification of people and interpretation of various phenomena related to ancient piracy described in written sources.

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English version: Radosław Dolecki, Mark Atkinson

## SUMMARY

The present article deals with the problem of the meaning range of the words ὁ πειρατής and ὁ ληστής in ancient Greek novels. The aim was to verify Philip de Souza's claim that ancient authors used these terms interchangeably as synonyms. The analyses confirmed de Souza's assumption only with regard to Chariton's *Callirhoe*, the oldest of the surviving novels dating back to the first half of the 1st century AD. In later novels, especially in the works of Xenophon of Ephesus and Heliodorus, the noun ὁ πειρατής is used as a hyponym of the noun ὁ ληστής. This means that in the investigated texts, the referents (designata) of the word ὁ πειρατής have features specific only to the meaning range of this term which partially differentiate its denotation from that of the general term ὁ ληστής. This is an important clue for interpreting written sources related to ancient piracy.

The study was conducted from a semantic perspective using the methods of comparative philological analysis.

## ROZBÓJNICY I/CZY PIRACI: ZNACZENIE NAZW Ο ΛΗΣΤΗΣ I Ο ΠΕΙΡΑΤΗΣ W ANTYCZNYCH POWIEŚCIACH GRECKICH

**Słowa kluczowe:** piractwo w antyku, antyczna powieść grecka, semantyka historyczna

## STRESZCZENIE

W artykule podjęty został problem stosunku zakresu treści nazw ὁ πειρατής i ὁ ληστής w antycznych powieściach greckich. Celem było zweryfikowanie tezy zaprezentowanej przez Philipa de Souza, zgodnie z którą autorzy antyczni stosowali te nazwy jako synonimy i w efekcie można je rozumieć na zasadach zamienności. Przeprowadzone analizy potwierdziły powyższe założenie jedynie w wypadku najstarszej powieści Charitona, pochodzącej z pierwszej połowy I wieku po Chr. w powieściach późniejszych, szczególnie u Ksenofonta z Efezu i Heliodora, stwierdzono występowanie stosunku podrzędności nazwy ὁ πειρατής wobec nazwy ὁ ληστής. Oznacza to, że we wskazanych tekstach desygnaty nazwy ὁ πειρατής posiadały cechy specyficzne tylko dla zakresu treści tej nazwy, wyodrębniając częściowo jej denotację w stosunku do ogólnej nazwy ὁ ληστής. Stanowi to istotną wskazówkę podczas interpretacji źródeł związanych ze zjawiskiem piractwa antycznego.

W rozważaniach przyjęto perspektywę semantyczną oraz zastosowano metody porównawczej analizy filologicznej, uwzględniającej kontekst sytuacyjny.

**Jakub Morawiec**

Institute of History  
Centre for Nordic and Old English Studies,  
University of Silesia in Katowice  
email: kubmo@wp.pl  
ORCID: 0000-0003-3942-0566

**A skald in royal service – the case Þórarinn loftunga.  
Part 1: Ideological contexts of *Höfuðlausn***

**Keywords:** skaldic poetry, Christian doctrine, royal ideology

**INTRODUCTION**

Despite a limited scope of information on Þórarinn loftunga, an Icelandic poet, who was famous for his service for Knútr inn ríki, the king of England, Denmark and Norway, there is a reasonable ground to assume that the skald played an important role in events he described in his poetry. It mainly refers to taking over of Nor by Knútr in 1028 and efforts to establish Knútr's son Sveinn in Norway in early 1030s as a follower and heir of the king Óláfr Haraldsson whose status as saint was just about to rise<sup>1</sup>.

Knútr, as other rulers of that time, was eager to use skaldic poetry as one of the main channels of royal propaganda. That's why his court in England gathered a substantial number of skalds who were delivering their compositions praising the king that served to legitimise both his status and achievements<sup>2</sup>.

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- 1 Timothy Bolton, *Cnut the Great* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2017), 172–195; Jakub Morawiec, *Knut Wielki. Król Anglii, Danii i Norwegii (ok. 995–1035)* (Kraków: Avalon, 2013), 248–301.
  - 2 Matthew Townend, “Contextualising the Knútsdrápur. Skaldic Praise-Poetry at the Court of Cnut”, *Anglo-Saxon England* 30 (2001): 145–179; Jakub Morawiec, *Między poezją a polityką. Rozgrywki polityczne w Skandynawii XI wieku w świetle poezji ówczesnych skaldów* (Katowice: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Śląskiego, 2016), 407–446.

The first half of the 11<sup>th</sup> century was also marked by new serious challenges for the skaldic art. An advent of Christianity in the North in general and baptism of numerous rulers in particular, made skalds make efforts to implement symbolism of the new faith into their art. Poetry dated to the period shows that it was an utterly demanding and difficult task for many poets and it resulted mainly with temporary decline of sophisticated stylistics of pagan kennings. This very period brought also conditions for the emergence of a new kind of skald – a man who used his talent not only to praise his patron but also to voice his own opinions and views. Both Sigvatr Þórðarson and Arnórr Þórðarson are the best examples of this trend and it is tempting to investigate if Þórarinn loftunga could be classified under the same category of poets<sup>3</sup>.

Consequently, the main aim of my study is to contextualise Þórarinn's poetry as a whole and inspect if it can be treated as a sophisticated insight not only into the politics of Knútr inn ríki (and his son Sveinn) but also the skald's own artistic input that could have affected his place at the royal court. The present study on Þórarinn's poetry is arranged into three parts, each one devoted to a skald's different composition.

The first part is focused on preserved lines of *Hořfuđlausn*. Despite its limited range<sup>4</sup>, it features very sophisticated vocabulary that points at skald as being an innovative and skilful poet. The kenning *gætir Gríklands* (defender of Greece) and a compound *himinríki* (the Heavenly Kingdom) will remain in the centre of my analysis. My aim of this part is to investigate to what extent these sophisticated stylistic devices reflect certain political and religious aspects of the ideological framework that accompanied Knútr during his reign in England.

## THE POET

As in cases of numerous other skalds, all the information about Þórarinn we have today comes from Scandinavian sources, both poetry attributed to him and sagas referring to his works. Both *Heimskringla* and *Knýtlinga* sagas portray Þórarinn as a distinguished poet (*skáld mikit*) who gained success serving kings and other rulers and do not hesitate to note his nickname, Praise-Tonuge (*loftunga*)<sup>5</sup>.

Authors of both sagas, introducing the poet, attach an anecdote, that can be classified as a typical *hořfuđlausn* episode. Þórarinn was said to compose a poem for Knútr,

3 Morawiec, *Między poezją a polityką*, 216–226, 236–241.

4 See below.

5 *Heimskringla II*, ed. Bjarni Ađalbarnarson, Íslenzk fornrit 26–28 (Reykjavík: Hiđ íslenzka fornrita-félag, 2002), 307 (further cited as Hsk II); *Danakonunga sǫgur*, ed. Bjarni Guđnason, Íslenzk fornrit 35, (Reykjavík: Hiđ íslenzka fornritafélag, 1982), 124. The author of the latter text adds that Þórarinn was old when he came to Knutr's court.

that appeared to be a flokkur, a type of composition considered to be less prestigious. The king found it highly dishonourable and ordered skald to deliver a more prestigious drápa if Þórarinn wanted to save his life. The poet did his task and delivered a new composition the very next day, deserving a reward of fifty marks of silver<sup>6</sup>.

Although both narratives retell the very same story, both versions differ in one aspect. In Snorri's variant Þórarinn delivered his poem being already a member of the royal retinue, whereas in the Knytlinga saga version the incident happened when Þórarinn wanted to enter Knútr's court for the very first time<sup>7</sup>.

The Legendary Saga of St. Óláfr features an episode on another skald, Þormóðr Kolbrúnarskáld, who is said to have visited the court of Knútr inn ríki during his journey to Denmark. The episode concentrates on the king's effort to attract Þormóðr with a vision of becoming a king's skald. The latter remains reluctant, voicing his doubt if he deserves such a grace and if Knútr will be generous enough. Then the king recalls other poets who stayed with him, including Þórarinn loftunga and offers Þormóðr the same payment he gave the former – a mark of gold. Although Þormóðr remarks that Þórarinn was no longer in Knútr's service, he finally accepts the invitation. The episode is further concluded by a stanza, attributed to Þormóðr, in which he recalls Þórarinn by his nickname and urges the king to reward his efforts at least equally<sup>8</sup>.

Flateyjarbók features another episode, on envoys sent by Knútr to Norway who were to provide Óláfr Haraldsson with the king's errand claiming his rights to rule over Norway. This episode is concluded by a note on two poets who remained at Knútr's court and were rewarded by the king, Sigvatr Þórðarson and Þórarinn loftunga. According to the author of the episode, the king of England and Denmark gave Þórarinn two rings, a half mark of gold and a sword<sup>9</sup>.

Episodes listed above suggest that for saga authors and compilers Þórarinn was a very convenient example of a famous poet in Knútr's service. Interestingly, a version of the Þormóðr episode in the Legendary Saga lists Þórarinn alongside another poet, Skapti, whereas a version in Flateyjarbók features Þórarinn only. It points at Þórarinn's status and fame as a convincing illustration of Knútr's riches and his generosity. The latter's willingness to spend money was a prominent motif in various compilations of Ólaf's saga explaining the way the King of England and Denmark was

6 Hsk II, 308; *Danakonunga sǫgur*, 125.

7 The version of the same story in Flateyjarbók repeats the scheme of Heimskringla. See *Flateyjarbók. En samling af norske konge-sǫgær*, vol. 2. (Christiana: P.T. Mallings Forlagsboghandel, 1861), 306.

8 *Óláfs saga hins helga. Die „Legendarische Saga“ über Olaf den Heiligen*, ed. Anne Heinrichs et al. (Heidelberg: Carl Winter, 1982), 124–126; *Saga Óláfs konungs hins helga. Den store saga om Olav den hellige efter pergamenthåndskrift i Kungliga biblioteket i Stockholm nr. 2 4to med varianter fra andre håndskrifter*, ed. Oscar Albert Johnsen, Jón Helgason, 2 vols. (Oslo: Dybwad, 1941), 799–802; *Flateyjarbók II*, 199–200.

9 *Flateyjarbók II*, 253.

able to overcome Óláfr Haraldsson. Although representing two hostile sides, all three poets can be placed under the same category of prominent and talented skalds, whose art was highly needed by their patrons. From a perspective of saga authors and their audiences, Þórarinn's affiliation with the court of Knútr seems to be equally obvious and deeply-rooted as similar cases of Hallfreðr Óttarsson linked with Óláfr Tryggvason or both Sigvatr Þórðarson and Þormóðr Kolbrúnarskáld linked with Óláfr the Saint. Importantly, both latter skalds are illustrated in the sagas as the ones who did not fear to use their talent and position to voice their own thoughts on political matters. A question arises if Þórarinn could be placed within the same category of poets/members of a royal retinue. Such a problem should be analysed from two different perspectives. The first one refers to the literary image of Knútr and his relations with poets. The second, to historical status of skaldic art in his court. I will return to this issue in the final part of my study.

Þórarinn's association with both Knútr inn ríki and his son Sveinn is also marked by Skáldatal accords with preserved poetry that is attributed to him<sup>10</sup>. Still it is impossible today to state when exactly Þórarinn entered Knútr's retinue although it had to happen before 1028 when the King of England and Denmark invaded Norway. He described the expedition in one of his poems and one can assume he took an active part in that endeavor. His engagement in Sveinn Knútsson's instalment (together with his mother Ælfgifu of Northampton) in Norway proves that Þórarinn was considered not only as a good poet but also a trustworthy man. The poem he composed there, *Glælognskviða*, points at his personal engagement in attempts of young Sveinn's retinue to either initiate or take control of the emerging cult of St. Óláfr. One cannot rule out a possibility that it was the main reason why Knútr sent Þórarinn to Norway. His further dealings remain unknown. Perhaps he left Norway ca. 1035, accompanying Sveinn and his mother, who had to retreat under growing pressure of leading Norwegian nobles.

## ÞÓRARINN'S WORKS AND THEIR PRESERVATION

Preserved poetry of Þórarinn features three poems: *Höfuðlausn* (Head-Ransom), *Tøgdrápa* (Journey *drápa*) and *Glælognskviða* (Sea-Calm *kviða*)<sup>11</sup>. Although the title of the first poem (*Höfuðlausn*) has its medieval background, a context of its composition

10 A list of poets composing for Scandinavian rulers, attached to both *Snorra Edda* and one of manuscripts of *Heimskringla*. *Edda Snorra Sturlusonar. Edda Snorronis Sturlaei*, ed. Jón Sigurðsson et al., vol. 3. Copenhagen, 1887, 258, 267. See also Morawiec, *Między poezją a polityką*, 72–77.

11 *Scandinavian Poetry of the Middle Ages, Poetry from the Kings' Sagas 1. From Mythical Times to c. 1035*, vol. 2, ed. Diana Whaley (Turnhout: Brepols, 2012), 849–876 (further cited as SPMA 1).

should be rather considered as a later literary construct. Snorri Sturluson in his *Heimskringla* and authors of other redactions of *Óláfs saga helga*, cite the refrain (*stef*)<sup>12</sup> of the poem which is the only preserved fragment of this composition. Despite its radically limited scope, the preserved refrain, referring to a concept of Knútr as a Christian monarch, accords with other means of propaganda employed by the King of England and Denmark. It allows to accept Matthew Townend's proposals of dating the poem to ca. 1027<sup>13</sup>. Doubts concerning the historical veracity of the *höfuðlausn* motif make it very probable that the refrain was a part of *drápa*, by which Þórarinn initiated his service for the king. Consequently, one can assume, that originally Þórarinn's poem was a *drápa* dedicated to Knútr and as such can be grouped among other preserved *Knútsdrápur*<sup>14</sup>.

Contrary to *Höfuðlausn*, it is possible to be more precise when it comes to chronology of another Þórarinn's poem – *Tøgdrápa*. Its content suggests that the skald composed it sometime between 1028 and 1030, i.e. between taking control over Norway by Knútr and the death of jarl Hákon of Hlaðir, who was predestined to represent the king in Norway<sup>15</sup>.

The poem depicts the route Knútr and his fleet took on his way to Norway in 1028. The skald enlists the spots, that either marked crucial stages of the campaign (e.g. Limfjord, where the king's troops from Denmark and England met), or made it easier for an audience to estimate developments of the royal fleet (e.g. Stad). The poem features eight stanzas. Þórarinn used a *klofastef* in his *drápa*. Its second part is missing, thus assumptions that the poem is partially preserved are justified<sup>16</sup>. Its beginning ("Knúts und sólar") leaves no doubt that, similarly to *Höfuðlausn* – Þórarinn composed *Tøgdrápa* being fully aware of ideological expectations of the king and his court concerning legitimacy of Knútr's power in England. Stanzas of *Tøgdrápa* are to be found in various narratives. Six out of eight preserved strophes are cited by Snorri in both redactions of *Ólaf's saga helga*. A sequence of the first four stanzas is to be found in redaction A of *Fagrskinna*. Stanzas 7 and 8 are to be found only in the *Knýtlinga saga* and *Snorra Edda* respectively<sup>17</sup>.

12 As it features two lines only, one cannot exclude a possibility this couplet is a part of an original four-line refrain.

13 SPMA 1, 850.

14 Townend, "Contextualising the *Knútsdrápur*", 157.

15 SPMA 1, 851. For more about the poem see part 2 of this study.

16 SPMA 1, 851.

17 Stanza 8 is cited by all main redactions of *Snorra Edda*. Only redaction A attributes it to Þórarinn. See SPMA 1, 862.

Snorri used the poem while describing Knútr's expedition to Norway in 1028<sup>18</sup>. Providing a whole sequence of six stanzas, in fact he makes Þórarinn a dominant figure of the chapter. It is the skald, not the saga author, who "speaks" through his poetry and provides a proper account on the encounter of two monarchs. In this very case, Snorri did not feel obliged to either develop or explain the content of the stanzas and one can find it as a consequence of a good opinion he had of Þórarinn as a poet. He concludes the chapter in question with an intriguing comment. Snorri states that for he who composed the stanzas, an observance of these events was far more important than retelling them (*var sjón sögu ríkri*), as Þórarinn was very proud of being in the company of King Knútr when he came to Norway<sup>19</sup>. This unique statement can be interpreted in different ways. On one hand it could refer to Snorri's general acknowledgment of skalds as eye-witnesses of various events, articulated in the Prologue of *Heimskringla*<sup>20</sup>. On the other, it could, rather indirectly, refer to Snorri's focus on Knútr's generosity as the key factor in a process of gathering followers, needed to overcome King Óláfr the Saint effectively. No matter which alternative one prefers, it is possible to assume that Snorri knew the remaining preserved stanzas of *Tøgdrápa*. Obviously, it is confirmed by the featuring of strophe 8 in *Snorra Edda* where it is used to provide an example a kenning of a generous man<sup>21</sup>. However, the above mentioned statement of Snorri clearly suggests that he had known also stanza 7, the very same used by the author of the *Knýtlinga* saga. Þórarinn underlines the fact of meeting the outstanding man (*mannbaldr*) – Knútr and fifty marks (*fimm tega marka*) he was given for his poem<sup>22</sup>. Snorri refers to the very same amount of silver, the poet was said to be given by the king, although according to *Heimskringla* it was a reward for *Höfuðlausn*<sup>23</sup>. Besides, it seems very probable that Þórarinn's remark on meeting *mannbaldr* was enough for Snorri to comment on the poet's pride.

The author of *Fagrskinna* decided to cite a sequence of four strophes of *Tøgdrápa* (stanzas 2–5). Similarly to Snorri, he used them to corroborate his own account on Knútr's expedition to Norway in 1028<sup>24</sup>. The author of the *Knýtlinga* saga, on the other

18 Hsk II, 307–310.

19 Hsk II, 310.

20 See Morawiec, *Między poezją a polityką*, 33–34.

21 Snorri Sturluson, *Edda, Skáldskaparmál 1–2*, ed. Anthony Faulkes (London: Viking Society for Northern Research, 1998), 63.

22 SPMA 1, 861.

23 Hsk II, 310.

24 *Fagrskinna*, ed. Bjarni Einarsson, *Íslensk fornrit 29*, (Reykjavík: Hið íslenska fornritafélag, 1984), 191–193.

hand, cited stanza 7 of the poem, just to fulfil his account on Þórarinn and his encounters with King Knútr<sup>25</sup>.

A distinguished feature of *Tøgdrápa* is its metre – *tøglag* (journey metre). It differs from *dróttkvætt*, the most popular skaldic metre, by having four syllables (instead of six) in each line. Presumably, referring to the title of the poem, the metre was to be used in accounts on war expeditions, optionally other travels of the king. *Tøglag* seems to be especially bound to Knútr's court. Perhaps it was a result of numerous journeys undertaken by this monarch (Denmark, Norway, Rome, Saxony) that each time they were presented as an important and prestigious means of Knútr's reign. The same metre was used by Sigvatr in his *Knútsdrápa*<sup>26</sup>. Matthew Townend argues that the latter poet invented the metre and used it for the first time but it was Þórarinn's *drápa* that made it well known<sup>27</sup>.

Þórarinn composed *Glælognskviða* being already in Norway, presumably ca. 1032<sup>28</sup>. The poem should be considered as an immanent element of policy undertaken by the Danish regime, represented by Sveinn Knútsson and his mother Ælfgifu of Northampton, aiming at strengthening the position of the young ruler in the country. It featured either initiating and/or stimulating the emergence of the cult of Óláfr Haraldsson, who, as a saint, was supposed to grant Norway to Sveinn as his spiritual heir. The fact that such a poem was composed by Þórarinn points at trust and recognition he enjoyed at the court<sup>29</sup>. Early dating of the poem was questioned by Staffan Hellberg<sup>30</sup>. He claims that Knútr had no interest in promoting the cult of his enemy<sup>31</sup>. Besides, it is impossible, in his opinion, to observe any traces of miracle tradition in newly christianised Norway. Moreover, Hellberg sees direct similarities between the poem and the earliest liturgy on St. Óláfr, dated to the mid-11<sup>th</sup> century. That's why he argues that the poem was composed later, based on the account of now-lost *Translatio Sancti Olavi* and used on the occasions of later translations of the holy monarch<sup>32</sup>. Hellberg's argument was criticised by Haki Antonsson, who claims that the mature state of Óláfr's cult as portrayed in *Glælognskviða*, a result of skald's observations in England, should be considered as an idealised picture. Moreover, Haki rightly claims that veneration of such

25 *Danakonunga sǫgur*, 125.

26 Morawiec, *Między poezją a polityką*, 234.

27 SPMA 1, 852.

28 SPMA 1, 864.

29 Jakub Morawiec, "Cnut the Great's conquest of Norway and beginnings of the cult of St. Olaf", *Gdańskie Studia z Dziejów Średniowiecza* 18 (2014): 157–168.

30 Staffan Hellberg, „Kring tillkomsten av *Glælognskviða*”, *Arkiv for Nordisk Filologi* 99 (1984): 14–48.

31 *Ibidem*, 18.

32 *Ibidem*, 18–25.

saints in England, like St. Edward the martyr, could have inspired Knutr to promote the cult of his former enemy<sup>33</sup>.

The poem features nine stanzas. Again, it is very probable, it was longer originally. All stanzas are cited by Snorri in both redactions of his *Óláf's saga helga*. Stanza 1 is cited in *Fagrskinna*. *Glælognskviða* is composed in *kviðuhátt*. The choice of this very metre could have been dictated by the fact that, although it was addressed to Sveinn Knútsson, it was not typical *lofakvæði*<sup>34</sup>. Townend's suggestion that Þórarinn was under the influence of earlier *kviðuhátt* poetry, first of all *Ynglingatal*, sounds interesting even if it is not well documented<sup>35</sup>.

Þórarinn depicts the greatness of Sveinn and his retinue. The skald, in following stanzas, addresses the young ruler, pointing at St. Óláfr as his example to follow. Sveinn is supposed to celebrate the sanctity of his predecessor and show his own generosity and willingness to keep peace. Þórarinn refers to pilgrims visiting the shrine of St. Óláfr, experiencing miracles occurring due to the intervention of the holy monarch. Sveinn, according to the poet, should show his respect to the saint, visit his shrine and pray there. One can assume, that the delivery of the poem accompanied such a manifestation. Spiritual unity of both monarchs served to underline the distinguished status of the fallen king and to strengthen the position of the current ruler<sup>36</sup>.

## A STATUS OF THE KING IN HO FUÐLAUSN

As has been already noted above, there are only two lines of Þórarinn's *Höfuðlausn*, that have survived to our times, a part of the refrain of the poem:

“Knútr verr grund sem gætir Gríklands himinríki” – “Knútr defends the land as the guardian of Greece [defends] the Heavenly Kingdom”.

On the one hand, as Matthew Townend declares in his edition of the couplet, such state of its preservation makes it impossible to date the poem by internal references<sup>37</sup>. On the other hand, these two lines feature intriguing elements that distinguish Þórarinn's composition within the poetic corpus. The first one is a kenning *gætir Gríklands*. A reference to Greece that plays a role of determinant in this kenning is

33 Haki Antonsson, “The Cult of St. Óláfr in the Eleventh Century and Kievan Rus”, *Middelalderforum* 3 (2003): 146. For other examples, strengthening such an argument, see Morawiec, *Knut Wielki*, 300–301.

34 SPMA 1, 863; Morawiec, *Między poezją a polityką*, 234.

35 SPMA 1, 864.

36 SPMA 1, 863–876; Morawiec, “Cnut the Great's conquest of Norway”. For more about the poem see part 3 of this study.

37 SPMA 1, 850.

probably the oldest surviving instance of this kind<sup>38</sup> and usually the whole phrase is explained as a kenning of God<sup>39</sup>. The second distinguished element is a word himinríki – the Heavenly Kingdom. Again, it is the oldest known example of such a term in the corpus<sup>40</sup>. Both cases point at the skald being an innovative artist not afraid to implement new and original elements into his art.

As it has been already noted, the two lines resemble very closely refrains of other poems composed at Knútr's court and dedicated to the king, namely Sigvatr Þorðarson's and Hallvarðr háreksblei's Knútsdrápur<sup>41</sup>. As Roberta Frank noted, all three refrains depict the king of England and Denmark in high relief placing the monarch above other humans and just next to God<sup>42</sup>. Indeed, kennings employed by Sigvatr and Hallvarðr, *höfuðfremstr jöfurr* (the most eminent ruler) and *dróttinn ítran fjalla sal* (lord of the splendid hall of the mountain), symbolically accord well with the phrase used by Þórarinn. As Elaine Treharne has recently argued, Sigvatr's *höfuðfremstr jöfurr* echoes a process of transformation of Knútr from Viking king to venerated northern emperor that should be linked with the king's trip to Rome in 1027 and the ideological framework of his letter to English subjects issued the same year<sup>43</sup>. The poetic message can be linked, according to Treharne, with a tendency to define Knútr's status as *vicarius Christi*, resembled also by other accounts, especially *Encomium Emmae Reginae* and contemporary visual depictions of the king (Stowe 944)<sup>44</sup>. Elsewhere, Treharne, following the argument of Timothy Bolton, points at Knútr's pilgrimage to Rome, attending the imperial coronation of Conrad II and meeting the Pope as key events that influenced certain changes in royal imagery focusing on Knútr's monarchical supremacy, spiritual validation and imperial ambition. The king wanted to be both depicted and treated as equal to Roman emperors like Charlemagne, of Otto I, and, his contemporary, Conrad II<sup>45</sup>.

38 Hellberg, "Kring tillkomsten", 36; Judith Jesch, *Ships and Men in the Late Viking Age. The Vocabulary of Runic Inscriptions and Skaldic Verse* (Woodbridge: Boydell, 2000), 100.

39 See SPMA 1, 850.

40 Ibidem, 851.

41 SPMA 1, 649–662; *Scandinavian Poetry of the Middle Ages, Poetry from Treaties on Poetry*, ed. Kari Ellen Gade, Edith Marold (Turnhout: Brepols, 2017), 239.

42 Roberta Frank, "King Cnut in the Verse of his Skalds", in: *The Reign of Cnut, King of England, Denmark and Norway*, ed. Alexander R. Rumble (London: Leicester University Press, 1994), 116–117.

43 Elaine Treharne, "The Performance of Piety. Cnut, Rome, and England", in: *England and Rome in the early Middle Ages. Pilgrimage, Art, and Politics*, ed. Francesca Tinti (Turnhout: Brepols, 2014), 356.

44 Ibidem, 352. See also Elaine Treharne, *Living Through Conquest. The Politics of Early English 1020–1220*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), 13.

45 Treharne, *Living Through Conquest*, 14; Timothy Bolton, *The Empire of Cnut the Great. Conquest and Consolidation of Power in Northern Europe in the Early Eleventh Century* (Leiden-Boston: Brill, 2009), 290–300. See also Morawiec, *Knut Wielki*, 325.

Although, in my opinion, both Bolton and Treharne are not right limiting the process in question to immediate effects of Knútr's visit in Rome, the latter's analysis seems to support earlier assumptions that all three Knútsdrápur should be placed together not only from a perspective of its rhetoric but also their similar chronology<sup>46</sup>. All three extravagant kennings can be seen as both a response of skalds to the needs of sophisticated ideological framework employed at the royal court and the result of their artistic efforts to face these expectations. Individuality of the refrains in general and kennings in particular could have been a result of either cooperation or competition between skalds. Both alternatives seem to be equally possible, pointing at a relatively high level of artistry as a necessary factor allowing a poet to enter Knútr's retinue.

Trying to contextualise Þórarinn's kenning, especially the reference to Gríkländ, it would be, of course, hard to forget about the significance of the king's visit in Rome in 1027. It seems reasonable to argue that all three poets were expected to reflect properly Knútr's ambitions in their compositions. Considering both sophistication of the refrains and later tradition on the king's generosity towards his poets, one can assume they did their job. Still, looking for potential ideological inspirations for these skalds in general and Þórarinn in particular, it seems worthy to focus on a specific kind of data, previously ignored in this context, namely Knútr's charters.

There are 36 diplomas, issued in the name of Knútr, that have survived to our times. A half of them is considered authentic, another half either dubious or clear forgeries<sup>47</sup>. In the context of preserved lines of Þórarinn's *Höfuðlausn*, both arengas of particular charters and the king's titles are especially interesting. The latter can help in a proper contextualising of *gætir Gríkländs*. Eleven out of thirty six Knútr's chapters present the king as:

- imperator Knuto,
- inclite ac speciosae gentis Anglorum regnator basileius,
- rex totius Albionis ceterarumque gentium triuiatim persistentium basileus,
- misericordia dei basileus, omnis Britanniae regimen adeptus<sup>48</sup>.

Six of these charters are considered authentic. More importantly, they come from various stages of Knútr's reign, both before and after the postulated date of the composition of Þórarinn's *Höfuðlausn*<sup>49</sup>. These examples leave no doubt that the king of England and Denmark did not hesitate to employ and use imperial nomenclature,

46 Frank, "King Cnut", 116–117; Townend, "Contextualising", 176–178. See also Morawiec, *Między poezją a polityką*, 54.

47 On Knútr's diplomas see Peter H. Sawyer, *Anglo-Saxon Charters. An Annotated List and Bibliography* (London: Beekman Books Inc, 1968), 285–297.

48 For the full list of this group of diplomas see Morawiec, *Knut Wielki*, 327.

49 Two of them, considered as authentic, are dated to 1019 (S 956) and 1024 (S 961) respectively. See Morawiec, *Knut Wielki*, 328.

showing him as sovereign not only in England but in the whole region ranging from Ireland to Sweden.

Partly agreeing with both Bolton and Treharne, I would argue that the visit in Rome in 1027 intensified and cemented, rather than initiated, Knútr's ambitions to present himself as equal to emperor and another vicarius Christi. The king found it an important and useful ideological framework, crucial not only for his plans, for instance towards Norway, but also to strengthen his and his successors' position in England itself.

The latter aspect seems to be confirmed by the fact that very similar titles are to be found in diplomas issued by Knútr's predecessors, Edgar and Æthelred II. The former, in numerous cases, is titled: *tocius Britannie basileus, Christo conferente tocius Anglicæ regionis basileus*<sup>50</sup>. Such a tendency is not surprising as Edgar is considered a monarch, who was very willing to adapt imperial ideology as his coronation in Bath, showing a king as *decus ducum et totius Albionis imperator*, in 973 indicates<sup>51</sup>.

One can observe usage of the same nomenclature in diplomas issued by Æthelred II. Three cases feature direct references to imperial ideology. The king is titled:

- *famosus totius Britannicæ insulæ imperator*,
- *totius Albionis Dei providentia imperator*,
- *dei fauente clementia Angligene nationis imperator*<sup>52</sup>.

This very short review shows that certain elements of imperial ideology were part of English kingship already in the 10<sup>th</sup> century and were results of contacts between the dynasty of Wessex with Liudolfings. In 929 Otto I married Edith, half-sister of Æthelstan, king of the English. Starting in mid-930s, Æthelstan's diplomas present him as *anglorum basyleos et curagulus totius Bryttannie*. Such rhetoric was found useful in a process of unification of England, undertaken by Æthelstan and his successors<sup>53</sup>. Knútr, on the other hand, since the very beginning of his reign in England, did his best to present himself as legal heir of his predecessors, especially Edgar<sup>54</sup>. The introduction of new law, royal coinage and titles used in diplomas, were meant to make his English subjects believe that Knútr's regime represented continuity of the golden era of Edgar.

50 See Simon Keynes, "A Conspectus of the Charters of King Edgar, 957–975", in: *Edgar. King of the English 959–975. New Interpretations*, ed. Donald Scragg (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2008), 60–82; Morawiec, *Knut Wielki*, 329.

51 See Simon Keynes, "Edgar, rex admiralibis", in: *Edgar. King of the English 959–975. New Interpretations*, ed. Donald Scragg (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2008), 4.

52 See Morawiec, *Knut Wielki*, 329 for details concerning the charters.

53 See Catherine E. Karkov, *The Ruler Portraits of Anglo-Saxon England* (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2004), 14.

54 See Michael K. Lawson, "Archbishop Wulfstan and the Homiletic Element in the Laws of Æthelred II and Cnut", *The English Historical Review* 107/424 (1992): 568 and especially 571, where Lawson recalls one of Ælfric's homilies, confronting the times of the heathen (Scandinavian) army harassing the country with the times of Edgar, when the whole kingdom enjoyed peace, as a good example of this sentiment.

His visit in Rome in 1027 brought an additional argument for such a view, fully used by the king and his retinue<sup>55</sup>.

It shows that Þórarinn, in fact no matter when exactly he started his service for Knútr, had many chances to learn about aspects of imperial ideology used by the king of England and Denmark and learn how to use it in his poetry for his patron. Unfortunately, our deduction has to be based on two lines of *Höfuðlausn* and two other *Knútsdrápur*. Still, the kenning *gætir Gríklands* seems to resemble a certain knowledge on the concept of the most ultimate ruler, sovereign of all Christians and their rulers, so visibly depicted in both writings and visuals showing Carolingians and Liudolfings in general and Otto III as *dominator mundi* (the Aachen Gospels) in particular<sup>56</sup>. On the other hand, one cannot exclude a possibility, that Þórarinn, constructing the kenning, was at least equally motivated by an ambition to distinguish his art from his peers at the royal court. First of all, the kenning *gætir Gríklands* could have been the skald's response to refrains of other *Knútsdrápur*. As Matthew Townend rightly notes, *Hallvarðr háreksblesi's Knútr verr jörð sem alls dróttinn ítran fjalla sal* (Knútr defends the earth as the lord of all [defends] the splendid hall of the mountains) is the closest parallel<sup>57</sup>, although one cannot be exactly sure who inspired whom. Additional inspiration could have also come from phrases like *kærr keisara* (dear to the emperor) and *klúss Pétrúsi* (close to Peter) *Sigvatr Þórðarson* used in his *Knútsdrápa*<sup>58</sup>. All these phrases point at an important aspect of imperial ideology, namely a junction of secular and religious matters. Apart from strictly military/political duties, emperor was supposed to take care of ecclesiastical matters – alongside the pope, he was considered responsible for building and keeping harmony in Christian ecumene, defending the Church and eventually, leading his subjects into salvation<sup>59</sup>. All three skalds seem to mirror this dichotomy in their compositions. Consequently, keeping its potential strictly divine symbolism in mind (God, Heaven), I would argue that the phrase *gætir Gríklands* could have been also a kenning of emperor, the very same way *ítran fjalla sal* that could have designated an imperial palace. That's why the twofold symbolism of these phrases

55 Morawiec, *Knut Wielki*, 330–331. See also Karkov, *The Ruler Portraits*, 137–139.

56 See for example a poem composed by Leo of Vercelli and dedicated to both pope Gregory V and Otto III. Treharne (*Living through Conquest*, 13) points also at similarities between the visual depiction of Knútr in Stowe 944 with a similar image of emperor Basil II, known from one of the psalters, being crowned by archangels, standing on a mound, under which are prostrate subjects. See also Karkov, *The Ruler Portraits*, 6, 9, 15.

57 SPMA 1, 850.

58 SPMA 1, 661.

59 See Lawson, “Archbishop Wulfstan”, 565–566 and 568 where a relevant example of Archbishop Oda of Canterbury's *Constitutio*, dedicated to king Edmund, is recalled. See also Franz Reiner Erkens, “Vicarius Christi – sacratissimus legistaltor – sacra majestas. Religiöse Herrschaftslegitimierung im Mittelalter”, *Zeitschrift der Savigny-Stiftung für Rechtsgeschichte. Kanonistische Abteilung* (2003): 18–20.

seems to reflect advanced artistic skills of Knútr's poets, able to mirror sophisticated aspects of imperial ideology in their art<sup>60</sup>.

Previous reading of *gætir Gríklands* as a God kenning seem to be justified by a term *himinríki* (the Heavenly Kingdom) used by Þórarinn in his refrain<sup>61</sup>. I do not intend to question this well-established interpretation, rather to investigate a potential background that enabled the poet to include a concept of Heavenly Kingdom in his composition.

An idea of God as a sovereign of the eternal dominion and the ultimate example to follow for all earthly rulers is one of essential elements of Christian doctrine. It is not surprising at all that one can find traces of the idea in Anglo-Saxon England. As the topic is too vast to be explored fully here, I will limit myself mainly to sermons of Wulfstan, archbishop of York, occasionally referring to other relevant examples. This choice seems especially reasonable considering the fact of the crucial role Wulfstan played in the first part of Knútr's reign in England<sup>62</sup>.

Apart from being an important ecclesiastical official and a law-maker, Wulfstan is remembered and recognised for his religious writings, especially sermons, composed both in Old English and Latin. One of his three homilies preserved in the York Gospel Book features a summoning to a prayer to God *ealmihtine, heofena heah cyning* (God almighty, high king of heaven)<sup>63</sup>. In one of the Latin sermons, preserved in an 11<sup>th</sup>-century manuscript known as Copenhagen 1595, Wulfstan addresses his readers this way:

Cogitandum nobis est, fratres mei, et cum grandi intentione agenda est penitentia ne nos mors subitanea eueniat, sed dum tempus habemus conuertamur de malo ad bonum, ut de ista uita misera et decepta transeamus ad patriam regni caelestis perpetuam et ad uitam sine fine mansuram, et cum omnibus sanctis accipere mereamur immortalitatis gloriam.

But while we have time, let us convert from wickedness to goodness so that we can pass from this miserable and deceitful life into the perpetual homeland of the Heavenly Kingdom and into the enduring life without end, and we shall deserve to receive the glory of immortality with all the saints<sup>64</sup>.

60 See Karkov, *The Ruler Portraits*, 133, about similar symbolism attached to both the cross Knútr and Emma donated to the New Minster in Winchester and the key of St. Peter that appears on the frontispiece of the *Liber Vitae*.

61 See Jesch, *Ships and Men*, 100.

62 Bolton, *Cnut the Great*, 93–94; Morawiec, *Knut Wielki*, 152–156.

63 E. Treharne, *Living through Conquest*, 58–59.

64 Thomas N. Hall, „Wulfstan's Latin Sermons”, in: *Wulfstan, Archbishop of York. The Proceedings of the Second Alcuin Conference*, red. Matthew Townend (Turnhout: Brepols 2004), 130–131. On the manuscript see Dorothy Whitelock, „Archbishop Wulfstan, Homilist and Statesman”, *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society* 24 (1942): 31.

According to Helen Foxhall Forbes, Wulfstan wanted his audience to treat *caelestis regnum*, a residence of God, as an example for an order of earthly society, based on law and penance as two complementary means, unnecessary to please God<sup>65</sup>. This society, as Elaine Treharne points out, Wulfstan found in his texts as still remaining in turmoil and in need of moral and political change, associated with an advent of Knútr's reign<sup>66</sup>.

The aforementioned Knútr's charters, that feature numerous references to the concept of *caelestis regnum* and God as its ultimate ruler, point at Wulfstan's and other authors' impact at the royal court in this respect. The diploma catalogued as S 950, dated to 1018, issued by the king at the request of Queen Emma for Archbishop Ælfstan, who was granted a property in Sussex, features an arenga that seems to accord fully with Wulfstan's rhetoric confronting a failure of all that attracts a human eye with an eternal life with holy angels<sup>67</sup>.

S 959, dated to 1023, that features a grant of the port of Sandwich for Christ Church in Canterbury, is kept in the same vein. Its arenga states that, although humans are laden with the burden of this mortal life and defiled with the transitory property of this world, yet they may purchase the eternal reward of heavenly life with these perishable riches<sup>68</sup>.

S 963, dated to 1031, issued for minister Æthelric, granted a half hide in Devon, is another example of this trend. The arenga features reference to sacred writings that make it clear that things that are seen are temporal, whereas those which are not seen are eternal<sup>69</sup>.

S 969, dated to 1033 and issued by the king to Bovi, one of his ministers, continues the same line of reasoning. It recalls desires of the world and gives preference to the

65 Helen Foxhall Forbes, *Heaven and Earth in Anglo-Saxon England. Theology and Society in an Age of Faith* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2013), 173.

66 Treharne, *Living through Conquest*, 62.

67 "Uniuersa quae in seculo presenti humanis uidentur oculis cito deficient, quae uero superis locantur montibus amoenitate uigent continua. in summitonantis regmine aeternaliter fixa manentia et idcirco nobis inueterati filiis seculi studendum est ut operibus iustis frui mereamur bonis caelestibus semper uicturi cum angelis sanctis". Sawyer, *Anglo-Saxon Charters*, p. 286. For English translation of this diploma see Michael K. Lawson, *Cnut. England's Viking King 1016–1035* (Stroud: The History Press, 2011), 221–222.

68 "Ideoque subtilissima mentis certatione illum imitari satagamus, licet mortalis uitae pondere pressi et labentibus huius saeculi possessionibus simul infoecati, tamen miserationis eius largitate caducis opibus aeterna caelestis uitae praemia mercari queamus". *Codex Diplomaticus Aevi Saxonici*, ed. John M. Kemble, vol. 4 (London: S.&J. Bentley, 1846), 21; Sawyer, *Anglo-Saxon Charters*, 288–289.

69 „[...] secundum illud quod prece gentium in sacris scripturis paginis clara promulgat predicatione. Dicens omnia que uidentur temporalia sunt. Que autem non uidentur eterna". *Codex Diplomaticus Aevi Saxonici*, vol. 4, 35; Sawyer, *Anglo-Saxon Charters*, 290.

blessed and wise men, who hasten to acquire the eternal and everlasting joys of the heavenly patrimonium (celestis patria)<sup>70</sup>.

S 966, on the other hand, dated to 1032 and issued to the church of St. Mary in Glastonbury to confirm previous privileges, seems to echo the same rhetoric concluding Knútr's donation in reference to the ultimate reign of eternal Lord<sup>71</sup>. God, as rex regum omniumque subsistentium uisibilium atque inuisibilium creator et suae creationis discretissimus dispositor, is also referred to in S 970, dated to 1033 in which Knútr grants a property in Overton to earl (dux) Godwine<sup>72</sup>.

The link between strict following of the ultimate Lord and a prospect of eternal reward is to be seen in S 984, dated ca. 1020/22 and being a grant to the Abbey of St Benet of Holme. Knútr is able to make a donation [to?] Christo omnipotenti, qui est omnium regum rex. His motivation to be generous to the abbey is clearly articulated: pro consequendo praemio coelestis haereditatis<sup>73</sup>.

A concept of the eternal reward in celestis regnum is also used in some of his diplomas to threaten those who would dare to question the king's will. Those shall be outlawed from heaven and condemned to everlasting fire of hell. One can enlist S 978, issued to Ælfwine, bishop of London, confirming of the lands of St Paul's and S 981, issued to Christ Church in Canterbury as examples of such rhetoric<sup>74</sup>.

Perhaps even more importantly, a concept of the Heavenly Kingdom is used in both preserved letters written by Knútr to his English subjects, in 1020 and 1027 respectively. The first one, issued during the king's journey to Denmark, is concluded this way: so that we may and might all together through the mercy of that eternal God and his

70 „[...] cum cuius imperio hic labentis saeculi prosperitas in aduersis successibus sedulo permixta et conturbata cernuntur, et omnia uisibilia atque desiderabilia ornamenta huius mundi ab ipsis amatoribus cotidie transeunt; ideo beati quique ac sapientes cum his fugitiuis seculi diuitiis aeterna et iugiter permansura gaudia coelestis patrie magnopere adipisci properant”. *Codex Diplomaticus Aevi Saxonici*, ed. John. M. Kemble, vol. 6 (London: S.&J. Bentley, 1848), 180–181; Sawyer, *Anglo-Saxon Charters*, 291.

71 „Regnante in perpetuum domino, qui sua ineffabili potentia omnia disponit atque gubernat [...]”. *Codex Diplomaticus Aevi Saxonici*, vol. 4, 40; Sawyer, *Anglo-Saxon Charters*, 290–291.

72 *Codex Diplomaticus Aevi Saxonici*, vol. 4, 48; Sawyer, *Anglo-Saxon Charters*, 291.

73 *Codex Diplomaticus Aevi Saxonici*, vol. 4, 28–29; Sawyer, *Anglo-Saxon Charters*, 295. Such motivated generosity was nothing new in times of Knútr. One can recall an example of Æthelwulf, king of Wessex (795–858), who justified one of his grants (S 92): ‘pro amore caelestis patriae et pro redemptione animae meae’. Sawyer, *Anglo-Saxon Charters*, 95. See also Foxhall Forbes, *Heaven and Earth*, 227.

74 S 978: „Si quis uero harum terrarum condonationem contradicere presumpserit, a paradisiaco consortio exul existat”. *Codex Diplomaticus Aevi Saxonici*, vol. 6, 184; Sawyer, *Anglo-Saxon Charters*, 293. S 981: „[...] avertat illum Deus omnipotens a gaudiis regni coelestis in profundum inferni; nisi ante finem perfectius emendaverit”. *Diplomatarium Anglicum Aevi Saxonici*, red. Benjamin Thorpe (London: MacMillan & Co., 1865), 326; Sawyer, *Anglo-Saxon Charters*, 294. These diplomas seem to echo Wulfstan's descriptions of hell as territory of everlasting pain, fire, sorrow and lamentation, one can trace in his sermons. See Whitelock, „Archbishop Wulfstan”, 28.

saints' intercession come to the joy of the Heavenly Kingdom and live with him who lives and reigns, ever without end. Amen<sup>75</sup>.

In the second letter, written after Knútr's visit in Rome, the king explains the reason of his sojourn:

The most particular reason why I did this was that I learnt from wise men that St Peter the Apostle received from God the great power of binding and loosing, and carries the keys of the kingdom of heaven, and so more particularly I considered it very profitable to seek his special advocacy with God diligently<sup>76</sup>. Concluding his letter, the king states, that he appeals to all his bishops and the reeves of the kingdom: by the loyalty that you owe to me and to God<sup>77</sup>.

Both letters were addressed to the wider public and at least their distribution among English ecclesiastical and lay circles provided a chance for Þórarinn and other skalds to get acquainted with Knútr's propaganda, the notion of both imperial ideology and Christian aspects of the king's status. Referring again to the argument of both Bolton and Treharne, one would claim that especially the second letter could have made a huge impact on poets and the way they depicted the king in their compositions. However, in my opinion, it seems justified to claim that this ideological framework, including both secular and religious ingredients, was so crucial and vital for the king and his court that Icelanders approaching Knútr's court had many opportunities, both before and after 1027, to learn about it and include it in their art dedicated to the king. Both charters and two preserved letters point at the constant flow of this framework – a result of close and direct cooperation of the king with the hierarchy of the English Church. It especially refers to archbishop Wulfstan, responsible, among other things, for the king's law codes<sup>78</sup>. If Simon Keynes is right, and the archbishop should be credited for writing the last part of the 1020 letter, the part featuring the reference to the concept of Heavenly Kingdom, it would be natural to point to him as the one responsible for the transfer of the framework in question to the royal court<sup>79</sup>. The main elements of this framework, featuring, as accounts cited above indicate, a prominence of heavenly mat-

75 "þæt we magan and moton ealle samod þurh þæs ecean Godes mildheortnesse, and his halgena þingrædene, to heofena rices myrhðe becuman, and mid him wunian þe leofað and rihsað, a butan ende. Amen". *Die Gesetze der Angelsachsen*, ed. Felix Liebermann vol. 1, (Halle: Max Niemeyer, 1903), 275; Treharne, *Living through Conquest*, 18–19.

76 "Ob id ergo maxime hoc patraui, quia a sapientibus didici, sanctum Petrum apostolum magnam potestatem a Domino accepisse ligandi atque soluendi clauigerumque esse celestis regni, et ideo specialius eius patrocinium apud Deum diligenter expetere ualde utile duxi", *Die Gesetze*, 276. See also Treharne, *Living through Conquest*, 30.

77 "[...] per fidem Deo et mihi debetis", *Die Gesetze*, 277. See also Treharne, *Living through Conquest*, 32.

78 See Lawson, „Archbishop Wulfstan”, 580–583.

79 Simon Keynes, "The Additions in Old English", in: *The York Gospels. A facsimile with introductory essays by Jonathan Alexander, Patrick McGurk, Simon Keynes, and Bernard Barr*, ed. Nicholas Barker (London: Roxburghe Club, 1986), 95–96. M.K. Lawson, "Archbishop Wulfstan", 584, points out, on

ters over earthly ones, the status of the Heavenly Kingdom (celestis regnum, celestis patria) as the ultimate aim of all Christians and the king's concern over redemption of his soul, could have easily and naturally influenced Þórarinn composing his lines of *Höfuðlausn*. It refers to both gætir Gríklands as kenning of the emperor-like, vicarious Christi-ruler and himinríki as the ultimate and ideal regnum he should not only defend but also emulate.

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the other hand, echoes of Wulfstan's homilies, including the famous *Sermo Lupi ad Anglos*, in particular parts of the 1020 letter.

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English version: Mark Atkinson

## SUMMARY

The first half of the 11<sup>th</sup> century was marked by serious challenges for the skaldic art. An advent of Christianity in the North in general and the baptism of numerous rulers in particular, made skalds make efforts to implement symbolism of the new faith into their art. This trend is clearly reflected in the poetry of Þórarinn loftunga, an Icelandic poet, who is known for his compositions for Knútr inn ríki, the king of England, Denmark and Norway. The article investigates preserved lines of one of Þórarinn's poems, *Höfuðlausn* (Head-ransom). Special attention is paid to its sophisticated stylistic features, namely references to Byzantium (*Griklands*) and the Heavenly Kingdom (*himinríki*) and a kenning "defender of Byzantium" (*gætir Griklands*). The article argues that the presence of these features, juvenile in the skaldic art, in Þórarinn's poem, was an effect of skald's both ability and willingness to adopt certain elements of Christian doctrine and royal ideology present at Knútr's English court as a response to particular expectations of the king towards his skalds and their poetry.

## **SKALD W SŁUŻBIE KRÓLEWSKIEJ – PRZYPADEK ÞÓRARINA LOFTUNGA. CZĘŚĆ I: IDEOWE KONTEKSTY HÖFUÐLAUSN**

**Słowa kluczowe:** poezja skaldów, doktryna chrześcijańska, ideologia królewska

### **STRESZCZENIE**

W pierwszej połowie XI wieku poezja skaldów musiała zmierzyć się z poważnymi wyzwaniami. Coraz większe wpływy chrześcijaństwa na Północy, znaczone chrztem kolejnych skandynawskich władców, postawiły poetów przed koniecznością zaimplementowania w swojej sztuce symboliki związanej z nową wiarą. Proces ten znajduje swoje odbicie między innymi w poezji Þórarina loftunga (Pochwalny Język), islandzkiego skalda działającego na dworze Knuta Wielkiego, króla Anglii, Danii i Norwegii. Artykuł poświęcony jest zachowanemu fragmentom jednego z wierszy Þórarina, zatytułowanego Höfuðlausn (Okup za głowę). Szczególna uwaga poświęcona jest stylistycznym elementom utworu takim jak nawiązania do Bizancjum (Gríklands) i Królestwa Niebieskiego (himinríki) oraz kenningowi „obrońca Bizancjum” (gætir Gríklands). Celem artykułu jest wykazanie, że elementy te były efektem gotowości ze strony poety zaadoptowania w swojej sztuce określonych aspektów doktryny chrześcijańskiej i ideologii królewskiej obecnych na angielskim dworze Knuta. Gotowość ta była odpowiedzią poety na oczekiwania ze strony króla adresowane do skaldów działających w jego otoczeniu.

**Marek Smoliński**

Institute of History  
University of Gdańsk  
mszczuj1294@gmail.com  
ORCID: 0000-0003-1231-6531

**Remarks on the treaty of 20 March 1289 between the Brandenburg Margraves of the Johannine line and Prince Vitslav II of Rügen, and the place of this agreement in the plans to seize Gdańsk Pomerania after the death of Mestwin II**

**Keywords:** Pomerania, Brandenburg, Rügen, Greater Poland, Pomeranian dukes, Mestwin II, Bogislaw IV, Margraves of Brandenburg, John II, Otto IV “with the Arrow”, Conrad, Prince (= Fürst) Vitslav II of Rügen, bishops of Cammin Hermann von Gleichen, Jaromar, Przemysław II, Treaty of Prenzlau (20 March 1289)

On 20 March 1289 in Prenzlau, the Rugian Prince Vitslav II concluded a treaty with the Brandenburg Margraves of the Johannine line: Otto IV “with the Arrow” and Conrad<sup>1</sup>. The concluded treaty concerned the division of Eastern Pomerania. It was carried out after the death of the Gdańsk-Pomeranian Duke Mestwin (Mściwoj) II. The ruler of Rügen was to handle the acquisition of his realm. If Mestwin II, during his lifetime, agreed to entrust Vitslav with the Sławno (Schlawer) land, the Rugian Prince promised the Brandenburg Margraves and their heirs a payment of 3,050 Brandenburg silver marks (“tria milia marcarum argenti Brandenburgensis et L<sup>tas</sup> marcas”). 2000 marks were to be paid by St. Martin’s day (November 11) of the year Vitslav obtained the Sławno land. Another sum of 1,050 marks was to be paid by Vitslav to the the Margraves by the next St. Martin’s day, i.e. November 11.

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1 Max Perlbach, hrsg., *Pommerellisches Urkundenbuch*, (hereinafter: PU, similar to other documentary publications in this work with the document number) (Danzig: Westpreussischen Geschichtsverein, 1882), 448. Herman Krabbo lists other editions of the document in: *Regesten der Markgrafen von Brandenburg aus askanischem Hause*, bearb. v. Hermann Krabbo, Georg Winter, Lieferung 1–12 (Leipzig: Duncker & Humblot, Berlin-Dahlem: Selbstverlag des Vereins), 1910–1955 (hereinafter: Regesten with the document number), 1469.

If Vitslav obtained the entire Sławno land, he was to satisfy the claims of the Brandenburg Margraves. In exchange for half of this territory, which, in accordance with the treaty, was to become property of the Margraves after the death of Mestwin II, the ruler of Rügen would give Otto IV, Conrad and their heirs appropriate compensation in the form of another land. After receiving this compensation, the Margraves promised to return half of the sum already paid by Vitslav. This was to take place on the agreed date. The treaty was sworn by the knights of Prince of Rügen and the knights of the Brandenburg Margraves. For Vitslav: Johannes von Ceryn, Detlev von Zlizen. For the Brandenburg Ascanians: the Wedel brothers Hasso and Zulis as well as Frederick von Eickstedt. In the event of the death of one of the guarantors of the treaty, he was to be replaced by another.

The Sławno land (as well as the entire Eastern Pomerania) owned by Mestwin II (called in this part of the document Vitslav II's uncle) was to be divided among the signatories of the treaty after the death of the East Pomeranian ruler. It was assumed that after the death of Mestwin II, Vitslav II would not be able to seize East Pomerania by way of peaceful agreements, and thus it was stated that the ruler of Rügen would need to do it by force. For this reason, the Margraves guaranteed him military and financial assistance in the planned undertaking.

The treaty of 20 March 1289 has been mentioned several times in the literature on the subject<sup>2</sup>. However, it has never been the subject of a separate study. While the

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2 Friedrich Wilhelm Barthold, *Geschichte von Pommern und Rügen*, dritter Teil: *Vom Tode Barnims I. (1278) bis zum Auftreten der Hohenzollern in der Mark Brandenburg (1411)* (Hamburg: Friedrich Perches, 1842), 46–47; Stanisław Kujot, „Margrabiowie brandenburscy w dziejach Pomorza za księcia Mestwina II“, *Roczniki Towarzystwa Naukowego w Toruniu* 1 (1878): 61–64; Theodor Pyl, „Wizlaw II.“, in: *Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie* 43 (1898): 681–684; Paul von Nießen, *Geschichte der Neumark im Zeitalter ihrer Entstehung und Besiedlung. (Von den ältesten Zeiten bis zum Aussterben der Askanier)* (Landsberg a. W: Dermietzel & Schmidt 1905), 315–316; Christian Reuter, „Die Askanier und die Ostsee“, *Hansische Geschichtsblätter*, 13 (1907): 307; Martin Wehrmann, *Geschichte von Pommern*, Bd. I: *Bis zur Reformation (1523)* (Gotha: Friedrich Andreas Perthes 1904), 122; idem, „Jaromar von Rügen als Elektus von Kammin (1289–1294)“, *Pommersche Jahrbücher*, 20 (1920): 134–135; Walther Grünberg, *Der Ausgang der pommerellischen Selbständigkeit* (Historische Studien, 128) (Berlin: Mathiesen Verlag 1915), 43; Kazimierz Jasiński, „Tragedia rogozińska 1296 r. na tle rywalizacji wielkopolsko-brandenburskiej o Pomorze Gdańskie“, *Zapiski Historyczne* 36 (1961), 4: 84–85; Johannes Schultze, *Die Mark Brandenburg. 1: Entstehung und Entwicklung unter den askanischen Markgrafen (bis 1319)* (Berlin, Duncker & Humblot 1961), 192; Krystyna Zielińska-Melkowska, „Zjednoczenie Pomorza Gdańskiego z Wielkopolską pod koniec XIII w: umowa kepińska 1282 r.“, *Roczniki Towarzystwa Naukowego w Toruniu* 73 (1968), 3: 95–96; Józef Spors, *Dzieje polityczne ziem sławieńskiej, słupskiej i białogardzkiej XII–XIV w.* (Słupsk–Poznań: Wydawnictwo Poznańskie, 1973), 141, 152; Janisław Osieglowski, *Polityka zewnętrzna Księstwa Rugii (1168–1328)* (Warszawa–Poznań: Państwowemu Wydawnictwo Naukowe 1975), 92; Błażej Śliwiński, „Fragmenty dziejów politycznych ziemi sławieńskiej w latach 1301–1303“, *Zapiski Historyczne* 61 (1991), 1: 7; idem, *Mściwoj II (1224–1294) książę wschodniopomorski (gdański)*, (Warszawa: DiG 2016), 349–350; Edward Ryman, „Stosunki Przemysła II z margrabiami brandenburskimi ze starszej linii askańskiej w latach 1279–1296“, in: *Przemysł II. Odnowienie Królestwa Polskiego*, ed. Jadwiga Krzyżaniakowa (Poznań: Instytut Historii UAM, 1997), 125; idem, „Wojny na Pomorzu Zachodnim i wojenne czynniki Pomorza poza Pomorzem

purpose of concluding the treaty seems clear and resulting from its contents, the circumstances of the conclusion of the agreement allow the proposal of several hypotheses. The lack of a broader discussion of the treaty between the ruler of Rügen with the Margraves causes historical errors, especially in the more recent historiography<sup>3</sup>. This finding seems quite surprising. It results, however, from the research directions in which attempts were made to analyse parts of the diploma written during the conclusion of the treaty of Prenzlau. Historians from the 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> centuries, who referred to the treaty of 1289, tried to cover in their works all items of the aforementioned document. As a result, they avoided the problems of researchers who only explored certain parts of the Prenzlau document. For this reason, they sometimes spread ahistorical statements<sup>4</sup>.

One of the first historians who tried to comprehensively look at the treaty of 1289 was Friedrich Wilhelm Barthold<sup>5</sup>. He recalled the earlier agreements of the Duke of East Pomerania Mestwin II with the Margraves of Brandenburg in 1269 and 1273<sup>6</sup>. In the first case, Mestwin II relinquished all his lands to the Margraves, in order to regain them as a fief obtained from the Ascanians. The exception was the Białogard (Belgard) land, which was to become the direct property of the Margraves<sup>7</sup>. Under the second agreement, Mestwin II was to resign in favour of the Margraves from Słupsk (Stolp) and Sławno lands in order to take them into a fief for himself and his children<sup>8</sup>. The

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XII – początek XVII wieku (Kalendarium)”, in: *Pomorze militarne XII–XXI wiek*. Materials from a scientific session held on 27 November 2003 at the Ducal Castle in Szczecin, ed. Kazimierz Kozłowski, Edward Rymar, Vol. 1, (Szczecin: Oficyna Wydawnicza Archiwum Państwowego w Szczecinie „Dokument” 2004); Dariusz Wybranowski, “Polityka biskupów kamieńskich Jaromira, Wisława i Piotra wobec rycerstwa w latach 1289–1298. Fragment z dziejów władztwa biskupiego i stosunków pomorsko-brandenburskich w drugiej połowie XIII wieku”, *Przegląd Zachodniopomorski* 15 (2000), 44: 1, 16, note 26; Bronisław Nowacki, *Przemysł II 1257–1296. Odnawiciel korony polskiej* (Poznań: Instytut Historii UAM, 1997), 135.

- 3 An example of such claims is the purchase price of the Sławno land of 3,000 marks. It is also wrongly assumed that the land of Sławno was to be bought from Mestwin II for these 3,000 marks. The bases for these theories were the statements contained in the works of Zielińska-Melkowska, “Zjednoczenie Pomorza Gdańskiego”, 95; Spors, *Dzieje polityczne*, 152 and Osieglowski, *Polityka zewnętrzna Księstwa Rugii*, 92.
- 4 It seems that especially 20<sup>th</sup>-century Polish historians did not appreciate the possible help in the correct interpretation of the document that could be found in the renditions of this diploma prepared by Heinrich Friedrich Paul von Wedel, hrsg v., *Urkundenbuch zur Geschichte des Schloßgesessenen Geschlechtes der Grafen und Herren von Wedel*, (Leipzig: Bernhard Hermann 1888), 25; Herman Krabbo in: *Regesten*, 1469.
- 5 Barthold, *Geschichte von Pommern und Rügen*, Teil 3, 46–47.
- 6 PU, 238, 253; the last authors to refer to these agreements are Błażej Śliwiński, *Mściwoj II (1224–1294)*, 177 et seq., 190 et seq., 200 et seq. (who negates the possibility of an actual conclusion of this treaty), and Edward Rymar who questions these claims in “Mściwoj II jako lennik margrabiów brandenburskich (w latach 1269–1273)”, *Studia z Dziejów Średniowiecza* 23 (2019), 216–244.
- 7 PU, 238.
- 8 Ibidem, 253

text of the documents shows that a part of the land was separated out from the object of the transaction and intended for the brother-in-law of the Duke of Gdańsk, Heinrich Kichrberg<sup>9</sup>.

Later in his argument, Barthold drew attention to the political and family ties linking the Brandenburg Margraves with Vitslav II of Rügen. So he rightly recalled the treaty on the division of Gdańsk Pomerania after the death of Mestwin II in 1289<sup>10</sup>. The agreement included a plan to take over the Sławno land by the ruler of Rügen. Barthold also drew attention to the person of the bishop-elect Jaromar of Rügen. The support of the Cammin (Kamień) church for the Brandenburg-Rügen plans was a factor uniting both parties signing the treaty on the future division of Gdańsk Pomerania. Barthold completed this fragment with a reflection on the rapprochement between Mestwin II and Przemysł II, Duke of Greater Poland, and the anti-Brandenburg basis of the alliance of both dukes. Thus, the treaty of 1289 was for the aforementioned researcher a testimony to the struggle for political domination of the Margraves on the shores of the Baltic Sea: from Rügen to Gdańsk Pomerania. The Prenzlau Agreement was presented by the quoted historian as a reaction to the Pomeranian-Greater Poland rapprochement and the resulting danger for the political position of the Brandenburg Margraves<sup>11</sup>.

Describing the fief relationship of Mestwin II and the Brandenburg Margraves, Stanisław Kujot devoted a fragment of his analysis to the claims of Vitslav II to the Sławno land. They resulted from the kinship of the rulers of Rügen and Eastern Pomerania. The mother of Vitslav II of Rügen was Euphemia, daughter of Świętopełk of Gdańsk-Pomerania. Thus Mestwin II was Vitslav II's uncle<sup>12</sup>. Regarding the earlier relations of the signatories of the treaty of 1289, i.e. the Brandenburg Margraves with Mestwin II, Kujot (like Barthold) first mentioned the issue of tributes paid to the Ascanians by the Pomeranian prince in 1269 and 1273. Later, the quoted historian dealt with the problem of the participation of the Margraves in the civil war between the sons of Świętopełk of Gdańsk (between 1269 and 1271). At the beginning of the dispute over the Gdańsk throne, the Margraves were allies of Mestwin II. Rivalling his brother Wartislaw II, Mestwin II recognized the suzerainty of the Brandenburg Ascanians.

9 For more on him, see Rymar, "Henryk hrabia Kirchberg, szwagier Mściwoja II Pomorskiego", *Zapiski Historyczne* 48 (1983) 1–2: 183–193; idem, *Rodowód książąt pomorskich* (2nd ed.), (Szczecin: Książnica Pomorska 2005), 277.

10 PU, 285; see Barthold, *Geschichte von Pommern und Rügen*, Teil. 3, 46–47; idem, *Geschichte von Pommern und Rügen*, zweiter Teil: *Von der Bekehrung Pommerns zum Christenthume bis zum Tode Barnims I. i. J. 1278. Nebst einer Höhen und Fluß-Karte von Pommern*, (Hamburg: Friedrich Perches 1840), 553 et seq.; and the last author: Śliwiński, *Mściwoj II (1224–1294)*, 213 et seq. (in this work, there is a reference to older literature on the subject).

11 Barthold, *Geschichte von Pommern und Rügen*, Teil 3, 44 et seq.

12 Kujot, *Margrabiowie brandenburscy*, 54.

Kujot claimed that it was not known exactly what the Margraves had promised Mestwin II in return for recognizing their suzerainty. The difficulty in correctly assessing the relationship of both sides of the treaty stemmed from the fact that the Brandenburg Margraves, without consulting the Pomeranian ruler, started to act independently. They themselves sought power in the Duchy of Gdańsk-Pomerania<sup>13</sup>. However, these plans were hindered by the Pomeranian-Greater Poland alliance from the early 1270s. The Margraves, however, never gave up their attempts to seize the above-mentioned territory. An expression of this policy was the agreement concluded in 1277 for the repurchase for 3,600 Brandenburg marks of the Sławno and Darłowo (Rügenwalde) lands by John II, Otto IV and Conrad from Vitslav II of Rügen – Mestwin II's nephew<sup>14</sup>. Kujot analyzed only those fragments of the treaty that directly pertained to the relationship between: Pomerania – Rügen – Brandenburg. He omitted the terms of repayment and coverage of the buyout sum, considering them as extraordinary matters not directly related to Pomerania. However, Kujot's attention was drawn to the clause of the document, which suggested that Vitslav II could advocate the recognition of the authority of the Margraves in the Sławno land to Mestwin II<sup>15</sup>.

One of the reasons for the conclusion of the treaty of 20 March 1289 in Prenzlau was, according to Kujot, the growth of cooperation between Mestwin II and the Dukes Przemysł II of Greater Poland and Bogislaw IV of West Pomerania. Its important item was the question of ownership of the Sławno land, which suggests that the alliance of these rulers was directed against the Margraves of Brandenburg and Rügen<sup>16</sup>. Another reason for the congress in Prenzlau was the need to clearly define the rights to Pomerania, which Vitslav II and the Brandenburg Margraves intended to obtain after the death of Mestwin II. The congress in Prenzlau was therefore to decide on the equal division of the Pomeranian land. If Mestwin II were to give Vitslav II the Sławno land during his lifetime, the Rugian Prince promised to pay the Margraves 3,050 marks. Vitslav II was to give them some other territory for this half, which would formally belong to the Margraves in the future. If this land went into the hands of the Margraves, they were to return 1,500 marks to Vitslav II<sup>17</sup>.

Kujot recognized the Treaty of Prenzlau as one of the most important documents that set out the plan of the Brandenburg Margraves with regard to Pomerania. The alliance concluded by the Ascanians with Vitslav II was dictated by the forces that Otto IV and Conrad had in the expected clash with Przemysł II of Greater Poland, which

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13 Ibidem, 61.

14 PU, 285.

15 Kujot, *Margrabiowie brandenburscy*, 62.

16 Ibidem, 63.

17 PU, 448; Kujot, *Margrabiowie brandenburscy*, 64.

turned out to be too small. Being aware of this, the Margraves came to an agreement both with Vitslav II and soon with his son, Jaromar, bishop-elect of Cammin<sup>18</sup>.

Paul von Nießen was another researcher to record the agreement between Vitslav II and the Brandenburg Margraves in 1289<sup>19</sup>. The aforementioned researcher tried to explain the reason for the Brandenburg-Rügen treaty by means of an argument concerning the dynastic policy of Mestwin II<sup>20</sup>. To realize his policy, the Duke of East Pomerania concluded inheritance agreements not only with the Margraves, but also earlier with Barnim I of West Pomerania. Nießen also allowed for the possibility of an inheritance agreement in Eastern Pomerania between Mestwin II and Vitslav II of Rügen<sup>21</sup>. Probably knowing the texts of the agreements concluded by the Brandenburg Margraves with the Pomeranian Duke in 1269 and 1273, Nießen focused his attention on one of their aspects. In documents from 1269 and 1273, Mestwin II mentioned his children<sup>22</sup>. So he did not specifically refer to his widely known daughter Katarzyna<sup>23</sup>. Hence the assumption that Mestwin II could finally have a daughter, but also a son(s)<sup>24</sup>. His / their alleged death in the period of infancy was to induce the East Pomeranian ruler to change his succession policy. It was also influenced by the resistance of the Pomeranian nobility. They were against the possibility of Mestwin II's domain being inherited by someone from the German circle<sup>25</sup>. That is why Mestwin II associated himself with his relative Przemysł II, the ruler of Greater Poland. In 1282, he recognized

18 Kujot, *Margrabiowie brandenburscy*, 64–65.

19 Phyl, „Wizlaw II.“, 622 only mentioned the treaty but did not analyse its details. Similarly, Śliwiński, *Fragmety dziejów politycznych*, 7; Rymar, *Stosunki Przemysła II z margrabiami brandenburskimi*, 135; idem, „Wielkie Pomorze obszarem lennym margrabiów brandenburskich z dynastii askańskiej (trybutarnym Rzeszy Nienieckiej)”, *Roczniki Historyczne* 62 (1996), 38; idem, *Wojny na Pomorzu Zachodnim*, 150; Wybranowski, *Polityka biskupów kamieńskich*, 16.

20 Nießen, *Geschichte der Neumark*, 315–316.

21 Nießen did not clearly indicate any specific legal acts or source information on this matter. While in the case of the treaty with Barnim I, it could have been the Cammin Agreement of 1264 (PU, 206; see Jan Powierski, „Układ kamieński na tle stosunków między książętami Pomorza, Krzyżakami i Prusami w latach sześćdziesiątych XIII wieku”, *Rocznik Olsztyński* 8 (1968), 11–33; Śliwiński, *Mściwoj II (1224–1294)*, 82 et seq.), then in the case of the Rugian Princes being heirs to Mestwin II the source could have been the chronicle by Johannes Bugenhagen, see Otto Heinemann, hrsg. v., *Johannes Bugenhagens, Pomerania*, (Stettin: Verlag Leon Sarniers Buchhandlung 1900), III, XIV, 123.

22 PU, 239, 256.

23 Born of his marriage to Judith Wettin of Brehna; see Marek Smoliński, *Polityka zachodnia księcia gdańsko-pomorskiego Świętopelka* (Gdańsk: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Gdańskiego, Officina Ferberiana 2000), 155 et seq.

24 Historians have been interested in this matter for some time. One of the proposals for solving the problem of the sons of Mestwin II was the assumption of errors in the readings of the diplomas from 1269 and 1273. Instead of the word „pueri”, some historians have proposed the word „patruī”, indicating not the children but the uncles of the East Pomeranian prince. However, this hypothesis was not further developed in the literature on the subject; see Kujot, *Margrabiowie brandenburscy*, 55.

25 About the election of a new ruler by Pomeranians in the event of Mestwin II's death, see Johannes Bugenhagens, *Pomerania*, III, XIV, 123; Jasiński, *Tragedia rogozińska*, 84.

him as his heir<sup>26</sup>. In this situation, the Margraves, who wanted to take over, after the expected death of Mestwin II, if not all, then at least part of his duchy, decided to cooperate with their recent rival, Vitslav II of Rügen. His advantage in this case were the rights to Eastern Pomerania, which he retained as the son of Jaromar II and Euphemia, daughter of Świętopełk II, Duke of Pomerania. Both sides started to cooperate already at the moment of the vacancy in the bishopric of Cammin (Kamień), after the death of Bishop Hermann von Gleichen in 1288. Jaromar was elected in his place before March 5, 1289. He was the son of Vitslav II. His additional advantage was the kinship linking the bishop-elect with the Margraves<sup>27</sup>. Ultimately, however, both sides did not proceed to implement the agreement of 1289. According to Nießen, after the resignation or death of Jaromar, the Bishop of Kamień, in 1294<sup>28</sup>, the political paths of both sides of the Treaty of Prenzlau clearly diverged.

Christian Reuter, who was also interested in the agreement concluded in 1289 between Vitslav II of Rügen and the Margraves Otto IV and Conrad, considered it in the context of a specific political plan implemented by the Ascanians. This plan was aimed at subordinating to the Margraves the areas stretching from the mouth of the Trave and the mouth of the Oder rivers to the mouth of the Vistula<sup>29</sup>. Trying to implement their bold intentions, the Margraves of the Johannine line had to repeatedly thwart the resistance of the coalitions and alliances cyclically forming against them. Reuter pointed out that in the early seventies the Ascanians lost the rivalry for Gdańsk. In 1272/1273, they faced the coalition formed against them by the Archbishop of Magdeburg Conrad, the Princes Vitslav II of Rügen, Henry of Mecklenburg, Nicholas of Werle, Waldemar of Rostock and Count Gunzelin of Schwerin<sup>30</sup>.

26 Janusz Bieniak, "Postanowienia układu kępińskiego (15 lutego 1282)", *Przegląd Historyczny* 82 (1992) 2, 209–232; recently on this, see Śliwiński, *Mściwoj II (1224–1294)*, 257–271. This work features a review of positions on the essence of the agreement between Mestvin II and Przemysł II.

27 On that day Jaromar appeared as the Bishop of Cammin; see Rodgero Prümers, hrsg. v., *Pommersches Urkundenbuch*, (hereinafter: PommUB), Bd. II (Abth. I–II), Bd. III (Abth. I), (Stettin: In Commission bei Th. von der Rahmer, Friedr. Nagelsche Buchhandlung, Paul Rikammer 1885–1888), 1526–1528; Wehrmann, *Jaromar von Rügen als Elektus von Kammin*, 126.

28 See Rymar, *Biskupi – mnisi – reformatorzy. Studia z dziejów diecezji kamieńskiej*, (Szczecin: Wydawnictwo Naukowe Uniwersytetu Szczecińskiego 2002), 23–24.

29 Reuter, *Die Askanier und die Ostsee*, 302 et seq.

30 Georg Christian Friedrich Lisch et al., hrsg. v., *Mecklenburgische Urkundebuch*, (hereinafter: MUB), Bd. II (1251–1280), (Schwerin: in Commission der Stiller'schen Hofbuchhandlung 1864), 1250; Regesten, 1021, 1022; Reuter, *Die Askanier und die Ostsee*, p. 302 was not interested in the fact that the coalition was also joined by Barnim I as well as Bolesław the Pious together with Mestvin II. See also Nießen, *Geschichte der Neumark*, 229 et seq.; Rymar, "Walka o Pomorze Gdańskie w latach 1269–1272", *Rocznik Gdański* 44 (1987) 1: 26; Smoliński, "Sytuacja na pograniczu askańsko-meklemburskim w II połowie XIII w. i na przełomie XIII/XIV w. i najazd Brandenburgii na Pomorze Sławieńskie w 1306 r.", *Gdańskie Studia z Dziejów Średniowiecza*, no. 7: *Mazowsze, Pomorze, Prusy*, (2000): 188–189; Śliwiński, *Mściwoj II (1224–1294)*, 190 et seq. (herein also the remaining literature on the subject).

In 1277, the matter of seizing the Sławno land (and according to Reuter also the Słupsk land<sup>31</sup>) was included by the Margraves in their plans to intervene in Scandinavia on the part of the exiled Swedish king Waldemar. At the described moment, Waldemar was an exile expelled from the country by his brother Magnus. Striving to regain power, Waldemar began building a political party that would facilitate this enterprise. It was largely based on kinship ties. Waldemar was married to the Danish princess Sophia, which favoured his alliance with the Danish King, Erik Glipping. Erik, however, was the brother-in-law of the Johannine Margraves because his Queen Consort was Agnes, the daughter of Margrave John I. Duke Barnim I of West Pomerania and Lord Waldemar of Rostock also had a part in this political game. They became guarantors of the repayment of the debt that Erik Glipping incurred with the Ascanians. The ruler of Rügen, who participated in the described events, sold the Sławno land to the Margraves with its fortified towns and the city of Darłowo<sup>32</sup>. This transaction was therefore only one of the elements of the political situation that the Margraves tried to exploit.

In his article, Reuter showed that the fact of obtaining the Sławno land in 1277 was for the Margraves one of the steps in their march towards the eastern part of Pomerania. However, in order to take this step, and at the same time to retain their fresh acquisition, the Ascanians had to become actively engaged in Scandinavian politics and, what is equally important, maintain their dominance over Western Pomerania.

Complementing Reuter's arguments, one should also remember that 1277 brought about several political events that could possibly determine the political position of the Margraves. Waldemar of Sweden and his wife Sophia made them a generous offer. In exchange for help in regaining their part of the Swedish kingdom, they offered Otto IV and Conrad the island of Gotland as well as a yearly payment of 1000 marks, to be paid for four years. If Gotland did not come under the rule of Waldemar, the Ascanians were to receive compensation in the form of other lands that they themselves would accept<sup>33</sup>. Moreover, the agreement provided for further land concessions in favour of the Margraves.

31 It is known, however, that Mestvin II was able to regain it most likely in 1274. Therefore, it is difficult to assume that the Ascanians wanted to acquire it also from Vitslav II; see Śliwiński, *Mściwoj II (1224–1294)*, 207 et seq.

32 PommUB II, 1045; Regesten, 1102; Franz Blatt, Gustav Hermansen, ved, *Diplomatarium Danicum udgivet af det Danske Sprog-og Litteraturselskab*, (hereinafter: *Diplomatarium Danicum*), 2 Raekke Bind 2, (København: Ejnar Munksgaards Forlag 1941), 283; Reuter, *Die Askanier und die Ostsee*, 302; see also Nießen, *Geschichte der Neumark*, 229; Eberhard Sauer, *Der Adel während der Besiedlung Ostpommerns (die Länder Kolberg, Belgard, Schlawe, Stolp) 1250–1350*, Stettin: Verlag Leon Sauniers Buchhandlung 1939), 136; Schultze, *Die Mark Brandenburg*, 179; Jasiński, *Tragedia rogozińska*, 79–80; Bronisław Włodarski, "Świętopełk i Mściwoj II (Z dziejów Pomorza Gdańskiego w XIII w.)", *Zapiski Historyczne* 33 (1968): 88; Spors, *Dzieje polityczne*, 141; Śliwiński, *Mściwoj II (1224–1294)*, 226–227.

33 Johan Gustaf Liljegren Liljegren, ed., *Diplomatarium Svecanum*, Vol. 1: 817–1285, (Holmiae: P.A. Norstedt & Söner 1829), 630; Regesten, 1120.

In the context of their Baltic policy, Reuter considered a return to the old plans of the Margraves, whose immediate goal was to subjugate Lübeck. It should be remembered that in 1280, the King of the Romans Rudolf of Habsburg handed over to his nephew, Duke Albert of Saxony and the Margraves John II, Otto IV and Conrad the right to administer the property and rights pertaining to the Reich in Saxony and Thuringia<sup>34</sup>. The Margraves thus received the rights that had previously been held by the deceased Albert, Duke of Brunswick, and the aforementioned Saxon duke. The city almost immediately protested against the rights of the Margraves and tried to remove them from the influence on their politics and income through legal and then military means<sup>35</sup>. Lübeck soon became one of the most important members of the alliance established, among others, against the Ascanians of the Johannine line. The alliance united people directly or indirectly mentioned in the agreement of 1277, in which, inter alia, the Sławno land was traded. Among the signatories of the alliance established on 13 June, 1283, were Vitslav II of Rügen and Bogislaw IV – the son of the late Barnim I of West Pomerania. In addition to them, the alliance against the Margraves of Brandenburg was joined by: John I, Duke of Saxe-Lauenburg, Princes Henry I and John I of Werle, John II, John III and Henry II of Mecklenburg, John, Nicholas and Borwin of Rostock, as well as counts Helmold and Nicholas of Schwerin, and Bernhard of Dannenberg. They were supported by the cities: Lübeck, Wismar, Rostock, Stralsund, Schwerin, Demmin and Anklam<sup>36</sup>. As is known, Szczecin (Stettin), Stargard and Pyrzyce (Pyritz) also participated in the war. The fights on the Pomeranian front ended on 13 August 1284 with the peace treaty in Vierraden concluded between Margraves Otto IV and Conrad, and Bogislaw IV and Vitslav II of Rügen<sup>37</sup>. This treaty also included at least some of the allies of both sides. Western Pomerania suffered heavy losses after this peace. The Ascanians, in turn, failed to subdue Lübeck and the Polabian lands. Among the allies of the Margraves who swore the final provisions of

34 Johann Friedrich Böhmer, Friedrich Techen, bearb. v., *Urkundenbuch der Stadt Lübeck*, (hereinafter: UB Lübeck) Theil 1, (Lübeck: Friedr. Aschenfeldt 1843), 403; Regesten, 1224.

35 See Regesten, 1296, 1304, 1309, 1310, 1312, 1317, 1318.

36 PommUB II, 1265; Regesten, 1334; Wehrmann, "Vom Kriege Brandenburgs und Pommerns in den Jahren 1283–1284", *Monatsblätter der Gesellschaft für Pommersche Geschichte und Altertumskunde* 17 (1903): 129–135; Nießen, "Zum brandenburgisch-pommerschen Kriege von 1283–1284", *ibidem*, 145–148; Stanisław Kujot, "Dzieje Prus Królewskich", *Toczniki Towarzystwa Naukowego w Toruniu* 22 (1915): 1074–1075; Smoliński, *Sytuacja na pograniczu*, 193; Rymar, *Wojny na Pomorzu Zachodnim*, 149; idem, "Udział Pomorza w wojnie koalicyjnej 1283–1285", in *Kręgu idei, polityki i wojska. Studia ofiarowane Profesorowi Januszowi Farysiowi w siedemdziesiąt rocznicę urodzin*, ed. Tomasz Sikorski, Henryk Walczak, Adam Watora, (Szczecin: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Szczecińskiego 2009), 471–487. See also Krzysztof Guzikowski, "Rywalizacja i współpraca. Polityka Barnima I (1233–1278) i Bogusława IV wobec Piastów (1278–1309)", *Przegląd Zachodniopomorski* 32 (2017) 2: 190, note 39, where recent literature on the subject has been given. This alliance was directed not only against the Margraves. Its signatories also took into account their relations with Norway.

37 PommUB II, 1312; Regesten, 1366.

the treaty were mentioned not only the Danish King Erik Glipping, but also the Prince of Greater Poland Przemysław II<sup>38</sup>. This cooperation probably continued for some time, because one of its aspects was the marriage of Przemysław II with Richeza, the daughter of the aforementioned Swedish King Waldemar. It was concluded in the fall of 1285, but was certainly planned earlier<sup>39</sup>.

A surprising event in the above-mentioned war of 1283–1284 was the regaining of the Sławno land by Mestwin II. The ruler of East Pomerania was associated with the Duke of Greater Poland, Przemysław II, then an ally of Brandenburg<sup>40</sup>. Thus, Mestwin II's move was perilous. It threatened to upset his relations with the Ascanians. Mestwin II then had to have political support, which would possibly hinder the counteraction of the Margraves. The move by the East Pomeranian ruler was probably agreed with Przemysław II. The literature, perhaps wrongly, emphasizes the errors in Przemysław II's policy of that time. These errors include, among others, his alliance with Brandenburg. The Duke of Greater Poland supposedly did not benefit from it<sup>41</sup>. However, this claim does not seem to be correct. Since Przemysław II was to inherit from Mestwin II, the seizure of the Sławno land by the Gdańsk-Pomeranian Duke certainly extended the area that was to fall to the Duke of Greater Poland in the future.

Returning, however, to Reuter's discussion, one should focus on his statements strictly concerning the agreement of 1289<sup>42</sup>. According to him, the factors that induced the Brandenburg Margraves to return to their policy of expansion east of the Oder were the failures they suffered in their expansion towards the river Trave<sup>43</sup>, as well as their policy towards cities and the awareness of the near end of Mestwin II's life. The latter reason significantly determined the actions of the Margraves aimed at seizing East Pomerania and Gdańsk. For this reason, on 20 March 1289, Otto IV "with the Arrow" together with his brother Conrad concluded the Treaty of Prenzlau with Vitslav II. Reuter did not deal with the text of the concluded pact itself, adopting the findings of earlier researchers.

Wehrmann drew attention to other circumstances of the alliance of the Rugian ruler and the Brandenburg Margraves. In his research, he emphasized the importance of the election of Jaromar, son of Vitslav II of Rügen, to the office of Bishop of Cammin.

38 Rymar, *Stosunki Przemysła II z margrabiami brandenburskimi*, 107.

39 See Jasiński, *Tragedia rogozińska*, 79, where there is more information on the mediation of the Margraves regarding the conclusion of this marriage.

40 The last author to discuss these events was Śliwiński, *Mściwoj II (1224–1294)*, 288 et seq. The idea for such a solution to the problem of the seizure of the Sławno land was proposed by Spors, *Dzieje polityczne*, 142.

41 See e.g. Nowacki, *Przemysław II*, 107.

42 Reuter, *Die Askanier und die Ostsee*, 305.

43 It is also worth remembering the defeat of the Margraves' army in the spring of 1284 suffered during their attack on Mecklenburg. See Regesten, 1353.

This idea has already appeared in the literature on the subject, although earlier researchers did not pay this much attention to it<sup>44</sup>. Wehrmann began his argument by stating that the peace in Vierraden in 1284 resolved the principal moot points between the Ascanians, Bogislaw IV and his younger half-brothers (Barnim II and Otto I)<sup>45</sup>. They were the sons of Barnim I and Matilda, daughter of Otto III<sup>46</sup>. Hence, in disputes arising in the ducal house, they appealed to the support of the Brandenburg Ascanians. An important factor in stabilizing the situation was the attitude towards the situation of the Bishopric of Cammin. Due to the age of the Bishop of Cammin Hermann von Gleichen, both in Pomerania and in Brandenburg the necessity of the future election of his successor was slowly taken into account. The account of the 16<sup>th</sup>-century Pomeranian chronicler Thomas Kantzow that Bogislaw IV asked the Pope to appoint Jaromar, son of Vitslav II as an auxiliary bishop to Hermann, raises mixed opinions in the literature of the subject<sup>47</sup>. Certainly, however, even if the West Pomeranian dukes did not in fact support Jaromar's election, then after Hermann's death in 1288 they at least did not strongly oppose his cause. The already possible marriage of Bogislaw IV with Margaret, the daughter of Vitslav II of Rügen, must have played a role as well<sup>48</sup>.

Jaromar was elected in 1289 after the members of the Cammin chapter who represented the influences of individual rulers had reached an agreement<sup>49</sup>. It was a compromise between the Brandenburg Margraves, Vitslav II and Bogislaw IV. From this cooperation, a political block, primarily centred around the Ascanians and rulers of Rügen, emerged. Bogislaw IV quickly resigned from participating in this alliance. A few years later he found himself in a political block hostile to the Ascanian family, centred around the Duke of Greater Poland, Przemysł II, and the East Pomeranian Mestwin II<sup>50</sup>. The West Pomeranian Duke certainly felt connected with the current opponents of the Brandenburg Ascanians as early as 1287. The Margraves certainly did not disregard the attitude of Bogislaw IV. In 1288, they met with him, the Bishop of

44 See Nießen, *Geschichte der Neumark*, 316.

45 Wehrmann, *Jaromar von Rügen als Elektus von Kammin*, 124.

46 Rymar, *Rodowód książąt pomorskich*, 150.

47 See Georg Gaebel, hrsg. v., Thomas Kantzow, *Pomerania. Eine pommersche Chronik aus dem sechzehnten Jahrhundert*, (Stettin: Paul Rikammer 1908), 228; Wehrmann, *Jaromar von Rügen als Elektus von Kammin*, 124; Rymar, *Biskupi – mnisi – reformatorzy*, 24; Smoliński, "Między dwoma organizmami państwowymi – biskup kamieński Herman von Gleichen i jego stosunki z książętami Pomorza Zachodniego oraz margrabiami brandenburskimi", *Średniowiecze Polskie i Powszechnie* 2(6), (2011): 40.

48 Rymar, *Rodowód książąt pomorskich*, 161; Smoliński, *Między dwoma organizmami państwowymi*, 40.

49 Wehrmann, *Geschichte von Pommern*, 124; idem, *Jaromar von Rügen als Elektus von Kammin*, 124; Rymar, *Biskupi – mnisi – reformatorzy*, 24.

50 See Kujot, *Dzieje Prus*, 1091; Grünberg, *Der Ausgang der pommerellischen Selbständigkeit*, 41–42; Spors, *Dzieje polityczne*, 145 et seq.; Rymar, *Stosunki Przemysła II z margrabiami brandenburskimi*, 132 et seq.; Śliwiński, *Mściwoj II (1224–1294)*, 325 et seq.

Cammin, Hermann, and with Prince Vitslav II of Rügen in Schwedt. They then made concessions to Pomerania regarding the Ueckermünde borderland<sup>51</sup>. At the same time, however, they tried to secure the inheritance rights of the half-brothers of Bogislaw IV and their Ascanian mother. It does not seem that the congress with the Margraves and Vitslav II was a reason for Bogislaw IV to change his political sympathies and move to the Brandenburg-Rügen faction. It cannot be ruled out, however, that the congress weakened the willingness of the West Pomeranian Duke to engage more fully in the anti-Brandenburg coalition linking Greater Poland and Eastern Pomerania.

Further on, Wehrmann drew attention to the various stages of the Brandenburg-Rügen agreement<sup>52</sup>. These included not only the agreement of 1277 under which Vitslav II sold the Sławno land to the Margraves or the treaty of 1289 on the division of Eastern Pomerania after the death of Mestwin II concluded between Vitslav II and the Margraves. Among the particularly important legal acts issued in this matter, the quoted author also included the agreement of 25 October 1290 concluded in Gerswalde between Margraves Otto IV and Conrad on the one hand, and bishop Jaromar and the church of Cammin on the other<sup>53</sup>. The Margraves then agreed that the bishop and the church of Cammin would have full property rights and sovereignty in the town and land of Kolberg (Kołobrzeg), in the town and land of Naugard (Nowogard), and in the town of Jarmen and the surrounding villages, with all the property that the bishop and his church had had until the day the agreement was concluded. For the transfer to the church of Cammin of all the property bound by the precarium law, the bishop and his church gave their fortified town of Kerkow (near Soldin) and its adjoining lands to the Margraves. They emphasized, however, that within a few days and years, the Duke of Szczecin, Bogislaw IV, should join the cause of strengthening the position of the Church and leave the town of Kerkow at the free disposal of the bishopric, as it was before. Additionally, the Margraves declared that they would not build any strongholds and fortifications that would harm the castles and fortifications in the lands of the Cammin bishopric. In addition, Otto IV and Conrad confirmed that the bishop, the chapter of Cammin, vassals and people of the bishopric should have the right to duty-free transport of grain through their lands from Löcknitz to all other places. Another concession of the Ascanians to the bishopric was the declaration of the right to full bishop's jurisdiction in his lands which also meant not supporting the protesters against the rulings of the church court. The Margraves also assured the church side that the bishop's income would be paid to him and that the rights of his church would

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51 PommUB III, 1472; Regesten, 1459; Jasiński, *Tragedia rogozińska*, 84; Spors, *Dzieje polityczne*, 145, 152.

52 Wehrmann, *Jaromar von Rügen als Elektus von Kammin*, 134–135.

53 PommUB III, 1555; Regesten, 1495; Wehrmann, *Jaromar von Rügen als Elektus von Kammin*, 129–134; see also Jasiński, *Tragedia rogozińska*, 85.

be respected. The bishop was also to be the full owner of all parishes, prelatures, arch-deaconries and parsonages in his lands. An exception was made in favour of Bernhard, notary to the Margraves. The bishop handed over to him half of the parsonage on the Oder in the New March. Should the Margraves acquire new territories by purchase or some other means, they undertook to pay the bishop one shilling a year for each arable lahn/hube therein. In the event that the bishop fell into a dispute over the borders with neighbouring archbishoprics or bishoprics, they undertook to provide military support to the bishopric of Cammin. The document ended with an assurance that the spiritual and secular property of the Cammin church would be respected by the Brandenburg Margraves. We must therefore agree with Wehrmann that this agreement meant very large concessions from the Brandenburg Margraves to the Cammin bishopric. It can even be considered a milestone on the way to the political independence of the Cammin bishopric. The agreement also clearly indicated that Otto IV and Conrad were anxious to cooperate with Bishop Jaromar.

The reason for the efforts to gain the favour of the Bishop of Cammin is suggested by another agreement, the importance of which for the discussed matter was also indicated by Wehrmann. On 5 November 1292 in Angermünde, the Margraves concluded another agreement with Vitslav II of Rügen and his son, Bishop-elect Jaromar. In it, the bishop promised his uncles, i.e. the Margraves, and his father that he would help and make his lands and fortified towns available and open to the Ascanian and Rugian troops when they began their campaign to occupy East Pomerania after the death of Mestwin II<sup>54</sup>. In return, the bishop was to receive 4,000 silver marks and a promise that the troops would buy food rations in his lands. Both sides agreed that the matter of the border between the bishopric of Cammin and the Brandenburg-Rügen gains would be dealt with by a specially appointed commission composed of 4 knights (two for each side). It was to be headed by the Bishop's trusted representative, Count Otto von Everstein. The bishop was to receive a shilling paid in the Kolberg coin from every arable lahn of the Pomeranian fields subordinated and leased by the Margraves and the prince of Rügen, and 6 denarii for each half a lahn. The final issue to be resolved was the Margraves' claim to the supremacy over the land of Kolberg, which was restored to the bishop in exchange for the land of Kerkow ("inpetitoine quam habebant ad terram Colbergensem, que restaurata est per terram Kirkowe"). This pact was directed against all but those who swore it. It did not envisage an attempt to seize Pomerania earlier than after the death (post obitum) of Mestwin II. First of all, it infringed the

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54 PommUB III, 1625; Regesten, 1561; Wehrmann, *Jaromar von Rügen als Elektus von Kammin*, 135; Kujot, *Margrabiowie brandenburscy*, 65; idem, *Dzieje Prus*, 1091; Jasiński, *Tragedia rogozińska*, 82; Spors, *Dzieje polityczne*, 146, 153; Rymar, "Władztwo biskupów kamieńskich między Unieścią i Grabową w XIII i XIV wieku", *Rocznik Koszaliński* 25 (1995): 44; idem, *Stosunki Przemysła II z margrabiami brandenburskimi*, 136.

rights retained by Przemysł II. If it were fully implemented, it would also violate the laws of the Polish Church. It was therefore the final act in the strengthening cooperation between the Margraves and the rulers of Rügen: Vitslav and his son, the bishop of Cammin.

According to Wehrmann, the treaty of 1289 was one of the few concluded between the Margraves and the ruler of Rügen, proving the continuing aspirations of both sides to take over East Pomerania. In addition to the diplomatic and military side, the pact also had a financial dimension. Vitslav II had to conclude it, because he gave up the rights to the Sławno land in favour of the Margraves already in 1277.

The next researcher who became interested in the Treaty of Prenzlau of 1289 was Walther Grünberg<sup>55</sup>. In discussing the Brandenburg-Rügen agreements, the historian tried to make use of the judgements of earlier researchers (primarily Barthold and Nießen). Grünberg pointed to the rights of Vitslav II to the Sławno land, resulting from the lineage of the Prince's mother. In the agreement of 1277 and in the seizure of Darłowo, he saw not only a certain stage in the march of the Margraves to the shores of the Baltic Sea, but also compensation for the loss of Gdańsk in the early 1270s. The emphasis on this element can be considered a kind of novelty in academic theories related to the agreements between Brandenburg Margraves and Vitslav II. Grünberg also analysed the text of the Prenzlau Agreement. However, he wrote nothing more about it, other than what could already be found in the earlier historiography. In his further discussion, he also took into account the matter of the alliance of the Margraves with Vitslav II, which translated into the election of Jaromar to the bishopric of Cammin in 1289 and the above-mentioned agreement of Angermünde from 1292<sup>56</sup>. Following earlier researchers, he assumed that the plans of the Ascanians and Vitslav II of joint aggression against the lands of East Pomerania collapsed with the death of Bishop Jaromar around 1293/1294.

Another historian who discussed the Prenzlau Agreement of 1289 in more detail was Kazimierz Jasiński<sup>57</sup>. While analysing the Brandenburg-Rügen agreements, he drew attention not only to the ancestry of Vitslav II and the resulting rights to Pomerania. He also pointed to the lost Buckow notes, fragments of which were to be preserved in the chronicle by Johannes Bugenhagen. These records included information about Vitslav II's candidacy to the inheritance from Mestwin II<sup>58</sup>. The content of this

55 Grünberg, *Der Ausgang der pommerellischen Selbständigkeit*, 31.

56 Ibidem, 42–43.

57 Jasiński, *Tragedia rogozińska*, 84

58 Otto Heinemann, hrsg. v., *Johannes Bugenhagens, Pomerania*, III, XIV, 123; this information, also taken from Pomerania, was published under the title "Aufzeichnungen pommerischer Klöster über die Geschichte des 13. Jahrhunderts von Bugenhagen in seiner Pomerania aufbehalten", in: *Scirptores rerum Prussicarum*, hrsg. v. Theodor Hirsch, Max Töppen, Ernst Strehlke, 1, (Leipzig: Verlag von S. Hirzel 1861), 773; Kujot, *Dzieje Prus*, 1163; Labuda, "Kultura materialna i artystyczna; piśmiennictwo

note should not be surprising, since the 16<sup>th</sup>-century chronicle of Thomas Kantzow informed that Mestwin II considered West Pomeranian dukes (probably Bogislaw IV) as his successors. Due to the lack of a male heir, the successor of Mestwin II was certainly searched for in Eastern Pomerania. However, the candidacy of Bogislaw IV, like that of one of the Brandenburg Margraves or the ruler of Rügen<sup>59</sup>, was eventually rejected by the society of Eastern Pomerania<sup>60</sup>. Jasiński recognized the impact of the political events of 1287 and 1288 as particularly important for the agreement between the Margraves and Vitslav II in 1289. These events include the conclusion of a defence arrangement between Mestwin II and the Cammin Bishop Hermann of 4 April 1287<sup>61</sup>. Another proof of the growing resistance against the Margraves' policy was the alliance between Bogislaw IV of West Pomerania, Przemysł II of Greater Poland and Mestwin of Gdańsk-Pomerania in the fall of that year<sup>62</sup>. Also significant were Bogislaw IV's efforts to regain control of the Białogard land, previously remaining under the control of Pribislaw (Przybysław) – a vassal of the Brandenburg Margraves and son-in-law of Mestwin II<sup>63</sup>. These factors, according to Jasiński, provoked the Margraves to conclude an agreement with Vitslav II in Prenzlau in 1289.

The Brandenburg-Rügen alliance changed the balance of power to date. Before 1289, Vitslav II did not belong to the allies of the Johannine Margraves. The Rugian prince was even a competitor of the Ascanians in the Pomeranian affairs. For Jasiński, the most important aspect of the treaty of 1289 was the clause stipulating the plans to seize Pomerania by Vitslav II after the death of Mestwin II (importantly, by peaceful means or by force). Noteworthy was also the clause on the equal division of the already conquered Pomerania between the ruler of Rügen and the Brandenburg Margraves participating in the costs of this undertaking<sup>64</sup>. The next steps of the Margraves were: getting closer to the Bishop of Cammin Jaromar and attempting to compromise by diplomatic means the political position of Mestwin II. A way to achieve this was the marriage of Przemysł II with a Brandenburg noblewoman of the House of Ascania,

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i ideologia” in: *Historia Pomorza*, ed. Gerard Labuda, vol. 1, p. 1, (Poznań: Wydawnictwo Poznańskie 1975), 574; Jasiński, *Tragedia rogozińska*, 84, note 110; see also Śliwiński, *Mściwoj II (1224–1294)*, 329. Wehrmann also referred to the matter of inheritance from Mestwin II.

59 Otto Heinemann, hrsg. v., Johannes Bugenhagens, *Pomerania*, III, XIV, 123.

60 Georg Gaebel, hrsg. v., Thomas Kantzow, *Pomerania*, 232; Śliwiński, *Mściwoj II (1224–1294)*, 332, note 37.

61 PU, 424, 426; Kujot, *Dzieje Prus*, 1091; Jasiński, *Tragedia rogozińska*, 82; Spors, *Dzieje polityczne*, 145–146; Smoliński, *Sytuacja na pograniczu*, 196; *ibid.*, “Relacje książąt Pomorza Wschodniego z Kościołem”, in: *1050. rocznica chrztu Polski*, ed. Krzysztof Lewalski, (Gdańsk: Gdańskie Towarzystwo Naukowe 2016), 125; Śliwiński, *Mściwoj II (1224–1294)*, 328.

62 PU, 426

63 Jasiński, *Tragedia rogozińska*, 83 et seq; cf. the correction of hypotheses regarding the political position of Pribislaw Śliwiński, *Mściwoj II (1224–1294)*, 340 et seq.

64 Jasiński, *Tragedia rogozińska*, 84–85.

Margaret – the daughter of Albrecht III and Matilda of Denmark, which was concluded before 23 April 1293<sup>65</sup>. Paradoxically, however, the political situation that was created then prevented the armed intervention of the Margraves in Pomerania immediately after the death of Mestwin II and made it possible for Przemysł II to seize the Duchy for himself.

Johannes Schultze also expressed his opinion about the Prenzlau agreement in the form of a short and concise paragraph. In his synthesis of the history of Brandenburg, he wrote that Otto IV and Conrad did not take their eyes off Pomerania, however, he did not present any broader context of the treaty. On 26 March 1289, they concluded an agreement with Vitslav II that in the event of the death of Mestwin II, Pomerania and the Sławno land were to be divided between them. However, because in 1282 Mestwin II concluded a treaty with Przemysł II, after the death of its ruler, Pomerania was taken over by the ruler of Greater Poland. The Margraves then had to wait with their claims<sup>66</sup>.

At the end of the 1960s Krystyna Zielińska-Melkowska published a work devoted to the Treaty of Kępno from 1282. Pursuant to the agreement, Mestwin II, by “donatio inter vivos”, recognized Przemysł II as his successor<sup>67</sup>. When describing the circumstances accompanying the conclusion of this agreement, the quoted author also referred to the relationship between the Duke of Gdańsk and the Margraves of Brandenburg. She also pointed to specific instances illustrating their mutual relations. One such example was the herein discussed Treaty of Prenzlau of 1289. According to Zielińska-Melkowska, Otto IV and Conrad concluded it with their recent enemy Vitslav of Rügen due to the processes integrating the Pomeranian and Greater Poland rulers. Several alliances were of significant importance in this regard. The first one was of a particularly defensive character and was concluded between Mestwin II and the bishop of Cammin, Hermann von Gleichen on 22 April 1289<sup>68</sup>. The terms of this alliance were accepted in August 1289 by the Pomeranian nobility<sup>69</sup>. The Pomeranian powers then promised to uphold the pact concluded between the Bishop of Cammin, Hermann and Duke Mestwin II, and after the death of the latter, to not accept as their ruler anyone who would not honour this treaty. In November 1289, a congress was held in Słupsk. It gathered the opponents of the Brandenburg Ascanians: Mestwin II, Bogislaw IV and Przemysł II<sup>70</sup>. The Prenzlau agreement was therefore a response to the birth and consolidation

65 See Jasiński, “Genealogia Piastów wielkopolskich”, *Kronika Miasta Poznania*, 2 (1995): 56. Margaret was the daughter of Christopher I and Margaret Sambia. Albrecht III’s sister, the last wife of Barnim I and stepmother of Bogislaw IV, and her support for the Brandenburg cause has already been discussed above.

66 Schultze, *Die Mark Brandenburg*, 192.

67 PU, 333; Zielińska-Melkowska, *Zjednoczenie Pomorza Gdańskiego*, 95.

68 PU, 421.

69 Ibidem, 424.

70 Ibidem, 426.

of the Pomeranian-Greater Poland alliance<sup>71</sup>. To undermine it, the Ascanians wished to engage the new head of the Cammin bishopric, Jaromar of Rügen. When describing the provisions of the Prenzlau treaty of 1289, Zielińska-Melkowska introduced into the literature of the subject the information about the total of 3,000 marks, which Vitslav II was to promise to the Margraves in exchange for the Sławno land<sup>72</sup>. It is not known whether the source of this information was the fact that the quoted researcher did not closely read the text of the Prenzlau document, or whether this information should be treated as a kind of simplification of the statement. It soon turned out, however, that the statement “3000 marks for the Sławno land” became very popular in the Polish literature on the subject.

In the 1970s, a work by Józef Spors was published and it dealt with the political history of the lands of Sławno, Słupsk and Białogard in the 12<sup>th</sup>–14<sup>th</sup> centuries. Its author tried to collect and make use of all the previous scientific opinions present in the literature on the Brandenburg-East Pomeranian relations. He devoted a lot of attention to the claims of the Brandenburg Margraves to Gdańsk Pomerania and the Sławno land. Agreements concluded by the Brandenburg Ascanians with the Rugian rulers also found their proper place in this work. This work contains very well elaborated fragments of the history of Pomerania and some fragments of lower quality, which is understandable in the light of such a wide range of topics<sup>73</sup>. Spors claimed that in the Prenzlau Treaty of 1289, which concerned the division of Pomerania after the death of Mestwin II, the Duke of Rügen, Vitslav, “promised to give 3,000 marks of Brandenburg silver” to the Margraves of Brandenburg. The quoted researcher also maintained that “this sum was undoubtedly the return of the payment for the purchase of the Sławno land in 1277”<sup>74</sup>. The 3,000 marks that Vitslav II was to pay to the Margraves also meant for Spors that the transaction from 1277 was cancelled.

It is difficult to understand what the legal situation between the Margraves and Vitslav II was supposed to be after the reversal of the transaction from 1277. According to Spors, Vitslav II gave the Ascanians their money back in 1289. However, the quoted researcher did not specify how the 3,000 marks (actually 3,050) was to compensate for the 3,600 marks. However, the accuracy of his idea can be assessed by re-referring to the text of the document from 1277.

On 18 January 1277, near the bridge called Ziznow (in Galenbeck), Prince Vitslav II of Rügen declared that he had made a pact with his brothers-in-law, the Brandenburg Margraves, John II, Otto IV and Conrad. Pursuant to this agreement, he sold the

71 Zielińska-Melkowska, *Zjednoczenie Pomorza Gdańskiego*, 95.

72 Ibidem, 96.

73 See a review of this work: Gerard Labuda, “Marginalne uwagi o dziejach Pomorza sławieńsko-słupskiego w XII i XIII wieku”, *Zapiski Historyczne* 42 (1977), 2: 73–102.

74 Spors, *Dzieje polityczne*, 141.

Sławno land with its fortified towns and the city of Darłowo to the Margraves. The Ascanians and their 20 knights were to pay 3,600 marks of Brandenburg silver for it. However, this transaction was subject to certain conditions. Two thousand three hundred marks was to be deducted from this sum, to be repaid later by Vitslav II's suzerain, i.e. the Danish King Erik. This repayment was to be guaranteed not only by the King, but also by his guarantors: the Pomeranian Duke Barnim I and a relative of Vitslav's – Lord Waldemar of Rostock. In the event that Erik died and his guarantors did not pay, the Margraves undertook to pay Vitslav the sum of 2,300 marks. The Ascanians were to do it in consecutive instalments and pay in the following two years by the Shrovetide, 1000 marks respectively. Of the 300 remaining silver marks, 25 were to be counted in gold and Vitslav was to receive them from King Erik. In exchange for the remaining 1,000 marks, the Margraves were to give Vitslav their estate owned in Denmark, namely the islands of Æerø, Søby and Grosbol. If four knights sworn on each side calculated that the value of these Danish estates would be less than 1,000 marks, the Margraves were to pay the difference. If, on the other hand, they calculated that the Margraves' Danish estates were worth more than 1,000 marks, Vitslav was to return the surplus to the Margraves. In addition, Erik, in accordance with the Danish custom, was to act as the Margraves' guarantor for the island of Æerø, as it was the inheritance of the Brandenburg Margraves<sup>75</sup>. Vitslav undertook further that, together with his 20 knights (on a specific year and day), he would hand over the land of Sławno with its fortified towns and the city of Darłowo, which he owned and had inherited ("proprietatis titulo et hereditario warandium faciamus"). Finally, the Margraves promised to release Vitslav from the debt of 319 marks which he had with the Jews in Magdeburg<sup>76</sup>.

The reading of the document issued on the occasion of concluding the agreement in 1277 clearly indicates the complicated procedure that its contractors used in determining the sum and circumstances of the transaction concerning the sale of the Sławno land. The payment of the 3,600 marks was an undertaking divided into instalments. The matter was probably also connected with the plans of Erik of Denmark and the Brandenburg Margraves' intervention on behalf of Waldemar of Sweden. It is known that in 1277 Erik Glipping in fact led an expedition to Sweden. Its costs proved to be so high that the ruler devalued the Danish coin to finance it. The money that was supposed to go to him in connection with Vitslav II and the Brandenburg Margraves' transaction meant solid financial support for him.

The relatively small number of source materials does not allow to precisely determine to what extent the terms of the agreement of 1277 were fulfilled. However, in the literature of the subject it is assumed that the Margraves actually entered the Sławno

75 The Margraves may have acquired the rights to it through their mother Sophia – daughter of Waldemar II. Cf. Krabbo, in: Regesten, 1102.

76 PommUB II, 1045; PU, 285; Regesten, 1102; *Diplomatarium Danicum*, 283.

land on the basis of this treaty. This may indicate the implementation of at least one of the essential clauses of the said agreement<sup>77</sup>. Other conditions, due to the provisions of the treaty and political circumstances, would have to be completed by the beginning of the 1280s. The treaty of 1277 between Vitslav II and the Johannine Margraves was concluded when the dispute over the appointment of the Archbishop of Magdeburg after the death of Archbishop Conrad (15 January 1277) began to increasingly aggravate<sup>78</sup>. This conflict had an impact on the relations between the Ascanians and Barnim I of West Pomerania. This ruler may have felt threatened by the Margraves as late as April 1277. He then concluded an agreement with the Bishop of Cammin, Hermann, on the transfer of rights to the Kolberg land. He agreed to it under the condition that the Bishop would never hand it over to the Margraves<sup>79</sup>. However, already in June this year, the Margraves apparently sought the favour of Barnim I, expecting from him military aid in exchange for granting fiefs<sup>80</sup>. After the death of Barnim I, Margrave Conrad I was also probably seeking favour of the Pomeranian rulers. In December 1278, he came to Szczecin to the court of the eldest son of Barnim I, Bogislaw IV<sup>81</sup>. However, already in the summer of 1280, Bogislaw IV and the townspeople of Szczecin began asking Lübeck for help against the Margraves<sup>82</sup>. In January 1277, the aforementioned city, on the order of the Roman King Rudolf, paid the Margraves of the younger line – Otto V and Albrecht III – 1,000 marks of silver<sup>83</sup>. In August 1280, Rudolf granted to the Margraves John II, Otto IV and Conrad control over the fiefdoms of the Reich, including Lübeck<sup>84</sup>. As has already been mentioned this caused resistance from the

77 See Nießen, *Geschichte der Neumark*, 248–249 (This author introduced a new sum for the purchase of the Sławno land into the literature on the subject. In fact, he argued that it was nominally 3,200 marks. Vitslav II was supposed to be compensated for the remaining sum with the lands obtained in Denmark); *Margrabiowie brandenburscy*, 61; Reuter, *Die Askanier und die Ostsee*, 302–303; Sauer, *Der Adel während der Besiedlung Ostpommerns*, 136; Schultze, *Die Mark Brandenburg*, 179; Włodarski, Świętopelk i Mściwoj II, 85; Spors, *Dzieje polityczne ziem sławieńskiej*, 141; Osieglowski, *Polityka zewnętrzna Księstwa Rugii*, 90; Śliwiński, *Mściwoj II (1224–1294)*, 177 et seq.

78 Regesten, 1102a.

79 PommUB II, 1060; Regesten, 1109; Smoliński, *Między dwoma organizmami państwowymi*, 36 (here with the erroneous date of 1276 for this treaty).

80 PommUB II, 1096; Regesten, 1146; Barthold, *Geschichte von Pommern und Rügen*, 2, 570. On this war, see Georg Sello, “Brandenburgisch-Magdeburgische Beziehungen 1266–1283”, *Geschichtsblätter für Stadt und Land Magdeburg*, 23 (1888): 71–98, 131–184; Rymar, *Wojny na Pomorzu Zachodnim*, 147; Smoliński, “Udział Polaków i Pomorzan w bitwie pod Frohse 10 I 1278 r. Próba identyfikacji sojuszników Ottona IV ze Strzałą”, *Studia z Dziejów Średniowiecza*, no. 14: Kaci, święci, templariusze, (2008): 285–310 (herein also the remaining literature in which events related to the war were mentioned).

81 PommUB II, 1118; Regesten, 1165.

82 PommUB II, 164, 165, 168; Osieglowski, *Polityka zewnętrzna Księstwa Rugii*, 91.

83 UB Lübeck I, 389; Regesten, 1136.

84 UB Lübeck I, 403; Regesten, 1224.

Lübeck townspeople, who quickly joined the alliances that were being created against the policy of the Ascanians.

Due to the lack of sources, it is difficult to describe the position taken by Vitslav II of Rügen in relation to these events. The document by Waldemar of Sweden, which deals with the granting of Gotland, does not mention him<sup>85</sup>. On 8 September 1277, Waldemar with his wife Sophia promised John II, Otto IV and Conrad Gotland; in exchange, the Margraves (acting in person or through their representatives) were to help recapture the lands which were his in half of the kingdom of Sweden. In addition, he promised to pay 4,000 marks in 4 yearly instalments of 1,000. Had Gotland not become the part of the kingdom of Sweden taken over by Waldemar, the aforementioned Ascanians would receive an equivalent in the form of other lands of similar value. In this pact, there was absolutely no mention of the Danish vassal, Vitslav II. The ruler of Rügen was therefore omitted when concluding this treaty, even though Vitslav II, by agreeing to transfer in 1277 a part of the payment for the Sławno land to Erik Glipping, was supposed to be an important link in the coalition supporting Waldemar.

Between 1283 and 1284, when the Brandenburg Margraves fought the alliance of the feudal lords and Baltic cities, Vitslav II was a signatory of the treaty directed against the Ascanian family. Relations between Rügen and Brandenburg improved only after the peace in Vierraden of 13 August 1284<sup>86</sup>. At that time, however, the Sławno land had been again seized by Mestwin II of East Pomerania. Therefore, it seems that Spors, on the basis of the grants of the Brandenburg Margraves to the Buckow (Bukowo) and Kolbatz (Kołbacz) Cistercians from 1281 and 1282, correctly marked the introduction of the Ascanian rule in the Sławno land<sup>87</sup>.

When discussing Spors' hypotheses, it is worth considering the price that the Margraves were to pay to Vitslav II in 1277. For this purpose, one must refer to another, aforementioned treaty. It was concluded on 30 April 1277 between the Pomeranian Duke Barnim I and the Bishop of Cammin Hermann von Gleichen. It concerned the Kolberg land, which the Duke gave to the Bishop in exchange for 3,500 marks, in order to receive it back as a fief<sup>88</sup>. This operation, meaning in fact the change of a lord into a vassal, was connected with the necessity to pay an appropriate fee. It probably oscillated around the generally recognized value of a given territory. Importantly, the described transaction concerned areas adjacent to the Sławno land. Both agreements were concluded by different contractors, although the agreements were signed in the same year of 1277. Therefore, it cannot be ruled out that the sum of 3600/3500 marks was the market price that was agreed to be paid in the 1270s for the property rights to

85 PommUB II, 1045; PU, 285; Regesten, 1102; *Diplomatarium Danicum*, 283.

86 PommUB II, 1332; PU, 323; Spors, *Dzieje polityczne ziem sławieńskiej*, 141.

87 Spors, *Dzieje polityczne ziem sławieńskiej*, 141; Rymar, *Wielkie Pomorze obszarem lennym*, p. 37.

88 PommUB II, 1060; Regesten, 1109.

compact territories in this part of Pomerania. However, this price has been lowered mainly in Polish literature on the subject.

The authoritative position of Zielińska-Melkowska and Spors largely swayed any further research by Polish historians on the Treaty of Prenzlau of 1289. Writing a few years later about the Principality of Rügen, Janisław Osieglowski correctly read and described the terms of the pact between the Brandenburg Margraves and the Rugian ruler of 1277. However, unexpectedly, a passage about 3000 marks appeared in his work as well<sup>89</sup>. Importantly, however, according to Osieglowski, these 3,000 marks were the sum for which the Rugian Prince agreed to buy the Sławno land from the Ascanian family, although at that moment it was owned by Mestwin II<sup>90</sup>. The hypothesis about the purchase of the Sławno land by Vitslav II from the Brandenburg Margraves was soon expanded by other researchers with the idea that the Rugian Prince would attempt to buy this land for the aforementioned 3000 marks from Mestwin II<sup>91</sup>. While appreciating the creative effort of researchers trying to describe the situation in 1289, it must be stated that such hypotheses are significantly detached from the source text, which is the basis for research on the problem of the Rügen-Brandenburg treaty.

Błażej Śliwiński was the last researcher who was interested in the matters of the Rügen-Brandenburg agreements of the 1270s and 1280s. This historian attributed the establishment of the Rügen-Brandenburg alliance of 1289 to at least several reasons. These include the strengthening of Mestwin II's influence in the western frontiers of his realm, as evidenced by the defence agreement concluded between the East Pomeranian Duke and the Bishop of Cammin Hermann on 22 June 1287 in Malechów<sup>92</sup>. Contrary to some researchers, Śliwiński concluded that this agreement protected both parties not against the attack of the Brandenburg Margraves, but against the invasion of Vitslav II of Rügen or Bogisław IV of West Pomerania. The Ascanians were excluded from this group, because they could attack the Duchy of East Pomerania through the Białogard land, which was indirectly subordinate to them. They did not need to lead their armies through the dominion of the Bishop of Cammin.

89 Rymar, *Wielkie Pomorze obszarem lennym*, 37 also believed that in 1277 the Margraves bought from Vitslav II of Rügen the hereditary right to the Sławno land for 3000 marks.

90 Osieglowski, *Polityka zewnętrzna Księstwa Rugii*, 90, 92 (despite the fact that in note 158 the author quoted a fragment of the Prenzlau treaty).

91 Śliwiński, *Mściwoj II (1224-1294)*, 349-350.

92 PU, 421. This treaty has been well described in the literature on the subject. See Kujot, *Dzieje Prus*, 1090-1091; Spors, *Dzieje polityczne ziem sławieńskiej*, 146; Jasiński, *Tragedia rogozińska*, 82; Barbara Popielas-Szultka, "Przemysł II a Pomorza Zachodnie (stosunki polityczne)", in: *Przemysł II*, 147-148; Rymar, *Władztwo biskupów kamieńskich*, 41-44; Smoliński, *Sytuacja na pograniczu askańsko-meklemburskim*, 196; Dariusz Wybranowski, "Początki świeckiego kręgu wasali biskupa kamieńskiego Hermana von Gleichen (1251-1288/89) na tle jego działalności politycznej i kolonizacyjnej. Część 2 (1275-1280)", *Studia z Dziejów Średniowiecza*, no. 12: Krzyżacy, szpitalnicy, kondotierzy, (2006): 445; Śliwiński, *Mściwoj II (1224-1294)*, 328 and note 19 with the remaining literature on the subject.

The second reason for the Rügen-Brandenburg alliance was the exclusion, in 1287, by the East Pomeranian nobles of both the Rugian ruler and one of the Brandenburg Margraves from the group of potential successors of the Duke of Gdańsk<sup>93</sup>. Both were previously considered as potential heirs of Mestwin II. The negotiations on this matter must have been quite advanced, which was favoured by the fact that Przemysł II did not have a male heir either. Mestwin II was to finally agree to the possible succession of the Brandenburg Margrave. His candidacy was presented at the assembly of East Pomeranian Lords. An alternative candidate to take power in Eastern Pomerania as the successor of Mestwin II, and who was supported by the knights of the Sławno land, was Vitslav II. According to the above-mentioned Buckow notes, these plans were thwarted by the Pomeranian barons. At the same time, they declared their support for further cooperation with Bogislaw IV of West Pomerania. It was in him that they saw the successor of Mestwin II in the event of the death of Przemysł II without male issue. Mestwin II agreed with the Pomeranians' stance. Przemysł II also respected the opinion of the Pomeranian nobles and ceased to cooperate with the Brandenburg Margraves. According to Śliwiński, these decisions were taken during the assembly in Słupsk, which took place on 15 August 1287<sup>94</sup>. Its indirect effect was another colloquium on 23 November 1287, which gathered Mestwin II, Przemysł II and Bogislaw IV<sup>95</sup>. Failure to keep the promises given to the Brandenburg Margraves, together with the irretrievably lost material and financial outlays incurred by the Ascanians<sup>96</sup> and the failed expectations of the ruler of Rügen, led to the alliance and aforementioned Rügen-Brandenburg Treaty of 20 March 1289 in Prenzlau<sup>97</sup>.

While the dashed hopes could actually be the bond in the alliance of the Margraves and the Rugian ruler, it must be clearly indicated that the cooperation between both parties was certainly in existence already in the summer of 1287. As in the case of the agreement between Vitslav II and John II, Otto IV and Conrad of 1277, the Scandinavian affairs were the underlying cause here. On 22 November 1286, the son of Christopher I and Margaret Sambiria, the Danish King Erik Glipping died, stabbed to death (during a hunt) by unknown perpetrators. The murderers were never found.

93 Otto Heinemann, hrsg. v., Johannes Bugenhagens, *Pomerania*, III, XIV, 123; Kujot, *Dzieje Prus*, 1163; Labuda, *Kultura materialna i artystyczna*, 574; Jasiński, *Tragedia rogozińska*, 84, note 110; Rymar, *Wielkie Pomorze obszarem lennym*, 37; Śliwiński, *Mściwoj II (1224–1294)*, 329.

94 PU, 424; Śliwiński, *Mściwoj II (1224–1294)*, 330.

95 PU, 426.

96 According to the Buckow notes known from the mention by Johannes Bugenhagen (Otto Heinemann, hrsg. v., *Johannes Bugenhagens, Pomerania*, III, XIV, 123), Mestwin II was to receive grain and silver from the Margrave of Brandenburg. Labuda, *Kultura materialna i artystyczna*, 574; Śliwiński, *Mściwoj II (1224–1294)*, 329.

97 See Śliwiński, *Mściwoj II (1224–1294)*, 349, where the author referred to the signatories of the treaty as those who were united by the harm done to them in 1287.

Accusations made against the potential assassins of the King, however, at that time became a weapon in the struggle for power and influence in Scandinavia. Accused of murdering the ruler were, among others, Count Jacob Nielsen of Halland and the royal steward, Peter Höfel and his associates<sup>98</sup>. Later, the accusations were also made against Waldemar IV of Schleswig, who, together with the Queen Dowager of the murdered King, became the legal guardians of the under-age Prince Erik Menved. On 25 May 1287, a congress of Danish lords took place in Nyborg. Further steps to be taken in the face of the king's death were discussed. The congress was attended by Queen Dowager Agnes' brother, i.e. Otto IV "with the Arrow", Margrave of Brandenburg. He then supposedly knighted Erik Menved<sup>99</sup>. Vitslav II, the Danish vassal from Rügen, was also present there. He had already arrived there around 1 May 1287, as on that day he was making grants for the monastery in Neunkamp<sup>100</sup>. On 5 May 1287, Vitslav II can be found (next to Margrave Otto IV) in a document issued by Erik Menved for the Cistercian convent in Reval<sup>101</sup>. A day later, while already in Wagria (in Grobenitz), Otto IV and Conrad (who probably also participated in the congress in Nyborg) issued a document in which they informed that without the consent of Agnes, the widow of Erik Glipping and her son Erik Menved, they would not conclude any peace with the murderers of Denmark's ruler. This commitment would also be repeated by Waldemar IV of Schleswig and Vitslav II of Rügen<sup>102</sup>.

While organizing the affairs of the deceased Danish king (signatory to the agreement of 1277 involving the Margraves of Brandenburg and the ruler of Rügen and regarding the sale of the Sławno land to the Ascanians), the question of ownership of the said territory was raised again. It is actually unknown to what extent the deceased King fulfilled his financial obligations made in 1277. It is therefore possible that during the meeting of the Margraves with the Rugian ruler after the death of Erik Glipping, the plan of a renewed alliance began to ripen, and its aim was to seize the Pomeranian territory by the Margraves. The Margraves also maintained their contacts with the ruler of Rügen in the fall of 1287, when they met with him at the already mentioned congress in Schwedt. It should be remembered that during this colloquium, Otto IV and Conrad tried, inter alia, to secure the interests of the widow of Barnim I, Matilda

98 See Johann Martin Lappenberg ed., "Annales Ryenses ab. O. c. – 1288", in: *Monumenta Germaniae Historica. Scriptores* (hereinafter: MGH SS), Bd. 16, (Neudruck, Leipzig: Verlag Karl W. Hiesermann 1925), 410; Regesten, 1422.

99 Georg Waitz ed., "Ex adidamentis et continuationibus annalium ex Ryensibus excerptorum I", in: MGH SS, Bd. 29, (Leipzig: Verlag Karl W. Hiesermann 1925), 233; Regesten, 1422.

100 PommUB III, 1427.

101 Ibidem, 1425, 1427; Regesten, 1432.

102 PommUB, 1419; Regesten 1424.

of Brandenburg and her sons: Barnim II and Otto I, and perhaps neutralize Bogislaw IV<sup>103</sup>.

On 24 June 1287, in Angermünde, Otto IV and Conrad made a pact with the son-in-law of Mestwin II Pribislaw of Białogard and Richard von Friesach, among others on the military aid of the said vassals against every enemy of the Margraves<sup>104</sup>. They also promised that they would not betray the Margraves in the future and that they would not wage any war without their consent. It cannot be ruled out that the terms of this agreement should be treated as preparations for a planned military action. Due to the location of the lands ruled by Pribislaw, only Pomerania could be the enemy against whom this alliance would be effective.

It is possible that the family ties of Pribislaw II with the ruler of East Pomerania and the feudal allegiance he pledged to Otto IV and Conrad gave him one more role to play. It was the function of a mediator between Mestwin II and the Ascanian family. At the end of January 1289, Pribislaw II travelled to the Duchy of East Pomerania. It is possible that he went to Mestwin II with a mission, the purpose of which was to test the possibility of financial settlement of the Margraves' claims to the Sławno and Darłowo lands<sup>105</sup>. As mentioned above, on 20 March 1289, Otto IV and Conrad concluded in Prenzlau a treaty with Vitslav II. It included a stipulation enabling the land of Sławno to be obtained through voluntary entrustment of it to the ruler of Rügen by Mestwin II. Apparently, this possibility had been considered before. It is no coincidence that Vitslav II soon went to Kolberg, controlled by his son, the Bishop of Cammin. On 30 April 1289, he met with Pribislaw II there<sup>106</sup>. The latter, addressing Vitslav II as his relative, gave up his claims to two villages in favour of the Cistercian abbey in Dargun in exchange for 100 marks in Kolberg coin. It was then probably concluded that any form of peaceful renunciation of the Sławno land by Mestwin II had no chance of being fulfilled. Hence, the only option left for the Rugian ruler and the Brandenburg Margraves was the military way. Conflict started after the death of Mestwin II and his successor Przemysław II. Rügen was first to join the fray. At the beginning of the 14<sup>th</sup> century, Vitslav II's son, Sambor, attempted to seize the Sławno land<sup>107</sup>. However, the Middle Pomeranian engagement ended in his death. In 1306, the territory was

103 PommUB III, 1472; Otto Heinemann hrsg. v., *ibidem*, Bd. VI, (Stettin: Verlag Paul Rikammer 1907), 3937.

104 PommUB II, 1431; Regesten 1426; Wybranowski, "Upadek polityczny księcia Przybysława II, pana na Dobrej, Białogardzie i Olesznie, a sprawa likwidacji enklaw wpływów brandenburskich na Pomorzu Zachodnim do 1291–1292 roku", *Przegląd Zachodniopomorski*, 14 (43), (1999), 2, 12. This treaty was connected with the homage paid to the Margraves by Pribislaw of Białogarda, Dobra and Oleszna.

105 PommUB II, 1489; any doubts as to the political status of Pribislaw at the time were probably correctly removed by Wybranowski, *Upadek polityczny*, 13–15.

106 PommUB III, 1504; Wybranowski, *Upadek polityczny*, 14.

107 Śliwiński, *Fragmety dziejów politycznych ziemi sławieńskiej*, 7–24.

taken over by the Margraves of Brandenburg, to the detriment of Władysław Łokietek (Ladislau the Elbow-high)<sup>108</sup>.

At the end of the above analysis, it is necessary to try and explain the reason for the occurrence of 3,050 marks, i.e. the amount which Vitslav II of Rügen undertook to pay in Prenzlau in 1289. This attempt should be treated as an alternative proposal to the ones already existent in the literature and also attempting to solve the above-mentioned puzzle. However, they leave room for further research and are currently difficult to accept. The need to pay for the territory that was to be acquired by peaceful means or by force by one of the parties to the political pact should indicate the rights to the acquired land being accepted by others. This activity also needed to have an appropriate legal basis in the system in which both parties to the contract were functioning and which they accepted. The promise of payment, therefore, cannot be reduced to mere monetary compensation for a previous sales contract (of 1277). In 1289, the Ascanians agreed that the Prince of Rügen should seize, by all available means, the land to which they claimed suzerainty and property rights. The sum mentioned in the treaty of 1289 was probably the price for the permission to take over the territory which the Margraves considered theirs and for which Vitslav II had to pay. It is therefore possible that it was a case of a legal regulation resembling the so-called "relevium". In the fief system, this term represented a succession fee which was paid to the senior lord when the vassal was changed<sup>109</sup>. Initially, it was a fee for a life fief. Later, the heirs of the deceased vassal, initially male and later also female, paid it to their lord. Next, "cognati", i.e. collateral relatives also on the distaff side were allowed to inherit the fief. Of course, this right was limited in some respects by the will of the senior lord who, under certain conditions, could take the fief from his vassal and grant it to another person<sup>110</sup>. It was important that the recipient was of equal status with the deceased vassal and was born in wedlock. Ancestors of both lines of the Brandenburg Margraves: John I and Otto III were to pay such a fee in 1231 in Ravenna, when Emperor Frederick II granted to John I (and in the event of his death to Otto III) the lands owned by their father Albrecht II. In that case, however, these costs were covered by the then Archbishop of Magdeburg, Albrecht II von Schwarzburg<sup>111</sup>. Earlier, however, he collected a large sum from them

108 See Rymar, "Najazd brandenburski na Kamień Pomorski (1306)", *Przegląd Zachodniopomorski* 9 (38), (1994), 1: 35–54.

109 See George Lennepes, *Abhandlung von der Lenhe zu Landsiedel-Recht viele bisher ungedruckte Lehn- und Lehnbriefe [...] Codice probationum*, (Marburg: bei Müllers Erben und Weldige 1769), 266; Werner Rösener, "Relevium", in: *Lexikon des Mittelalters*, hrsg. v. G. Avella-Widhalm, L. Lutz, R. Mattejiet, U. Mattejiet, Bd. 7, (Stuttgart–Weimar: Metzler 1999), 687; see also Susan Reynold, *Lenna i wasale. Reinterpretacja średniowiecznych źródeł*, transl. Arkadiusz Bugaj, (Kęty: Wydawnictwo Marek Derewiecki 2011), 928–929, 1006–1007.

110 Reynold, *Lenna i wasale*, 969–970.

111 Cf. Krabbo, in: Regesten, 605.

for granting the Margraves their allodial lands as a fief<sup>112</sup>. The young Ascanians had to pay it, if only on account of the defeat they suffered in the battle against the Archbishop at Plan in 1229<sup>113</sup>. In the light of the law recognized by the Brandenburg Margraves, from 1269 (i.e. from the homage of Mestwin II paid to the Margraves in Arnswalde (Choszczno)), every ruler of the Sławno land should settle the matter of his authority with the Ascanians of the Johannine line. After the purchase of the Sławno land from Vitslav II in 1277, the Margraves wished to convert the fiefdom into actual possession of this territory. Its recovery by Mestwin II thwarted this intention and forced them to undertake attempts to retrieve the Sławno land. This could be achieved through a buyout from the East Pomeranian ruler or an armed invasion. According to the plans, both variants were to be carried out by Vitslav II (nephew of Mestwin II). It is believed that the Prince, through a grant by Rudolf Habsburg, became in 1283 the vassal of the German Reich in terms of the continental estates belonging to Rügen. As regards the island itself, however, he was still to recognize Danish suzerainty. So at least with regard to estates located outside Rügen itself, he had to obey the laws in force in the Reich. It also concerned the claims of the Brandenburg Margraves to the Sławno land. For these reasons, when substituting for the current vassal of the Ascanian family, his uncle Mestwin II, Vitslav II had to pay them for it. For this price, the Margraves probably gave up their feudal rights to the Sławno land and agreed to its equal division, similar to the planned division of the part of Gdańsk-Pomerania.

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112 Alfred Bauch, *Die Markgrafen Johann I und Otto III von Brandenburg in ihren Beziehungen zum Reich 1220–1266–1267*, (Breslau: Verlag von Edward Trewendt 1886), 6, note 5 (which explains the problem of feudal suzerainty of the archbishops of Magdeburg over the allodial lands of the Brandenburg Margraves) and 19.

113 Regesten, 598; Bauch, *Die Markgrafen Johann I und Otto III*, 19.

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English version: Jerzy Skwarzyński, Mark Atkinson

## SUMMARY

On 20 March 1289 in Prenzlau, the Rugian Prince Vitslav II concluded a treaty with the Brandenburg Margraves from the Johannine line: Otto IV “with the Arrow” and Conrad. The agreement concerned an equal division of Gdańsk Pomerania, which was intended to be seized after the death of Mestwin II. It also contained clauses regarding the possibility of acquiring the Sławno land by peaceful means or by force. Its takeover was to be handled by Vitslav II. The Brandenburg Margraves, Otto IV and Conrad, committed themselves to military and financial support of Vitslav II in this undertaking. After seizing the Sławno land, Vitslav II agreed to pay the Margraves 3,050 silver marks.

The Treaty of Prenzlau has been discussed several times in the literature of the subject. However, for some reason the development of research on the relationship between Brandenburg and Pomerania has not broadened the knowledge of its content in the literature on the subject. With regard to some items, one can even speak of a regression in the knowledge of the provisions of the Treaty of Prenzlau. For this reason, this study attempts to indicate the simplifications that contributed to the ever-rudimentary knowledge of the agreement in the works of contemporary researchers.

It seems that the Prenzlau Treaty should be considered in the light of the fief law functioning in the German Reich. It was concluded by the parties that recognized and respected this law. This fact possibly explains why it was necessary for Vitslav II to pay the Brandenburg Margraves a fee after the seizure of the Sławno land.

## **UWAGI W SPRAWIE HISTORIOGRAFICZNEGO SPOJRZENIA NA UKŁAD Z 20 MARCA 1289 R. MIĘDZY MARGRABIAMI BRANDENBURSKIMI Z LINII JOANNICKIEJ I PRINCEPSEM RUGIJSKIM WISŁAWEM II ORAZ MIEJSCA TEJ UMOWY W PLANACH ZAJĘCIA POMORZA GDAŃSKIEGO PO ŚMIERCI MŚCIWOJA II**

**Słowa kluczowe:** Pomorze, Brandenburgia, Rugia, Wielkopolska, księżęta pomorscy, Mściwoj II, Bogusław IV, margrabiowie brandenburscy, Jan II, Otton IV ze Strzałą, Konrad, princeps (= Fürst) Wisław II rugijski, biskupi kamieńscy Herman von Gleichen, Jaromar, Przemysław II, układ w Prenzlau (20 marca 1289 r.)

### **STRESZCZENIE**

20 marca 1289 r. w Prenzalu princeps rugijski Wisław II zawarł układ z margrabiami brandenburskimi wywodzącymi się z linii joannickiej: Ottonem IV ze Strzałą i Konradem. Umowa dotyczyła równego podziału Pomorza Gdańskiego, które zamierzano opanować po śmierci Mściwoja II. Zawierała też klauzule dotyczące możliwości pozyskania na drodze pokojowej lub militarnej ziemi sławieńskiej. Operację jej przejścia przeprowadzić miał Wisław II. Margrabiowie brandenburscy Otton IV i Konrad zobowiązali się do militarnego i finansowego wspomżenia Wisława II w tym przedsięwzięciu. Po zajęciu ziemi sławieńskiej Wisław II zgodził się zapłacić margrabiom 3050 grzywien srebra.

Układ prenzlawski kilkakrotnie był już omawiany w literaturze przedmiotu. Z jakiegoś jednak powodu rozwój badań nad relacjami między Brandenburgią i Pomorzem nie pogłębił znajomości jego treści w literaturze przedmiotu. W niektórych punktach można wręcz mówić o regresie w znajomości postanowień umowy prenzlawskiej. Z tego powodu w niniejszym artykule starano się wskazać uproszczenia, które przyczyniły się do coraz słabszej recepcji układu w świadomości współczesnych badaczy.

Wydaje się, że układ prenzlawski powinien być rozpatrywany na tle prawa lennego funkcjonującego w Rzeszy Niemieckiej. Zawarły go strony, które owe prawo uznawały i je respektowały. Dzięki temu być może daje się wyjaśnić konieczność zapłaty margrabiom brandenburskim przez Wisława II, po zajęciu przez niego ziemi sławieńskiej.

**Adam Krawiec**

Faculty of Historical Studies  
Adam Mickiewicz University, Poznań  
kraam@amu.edu.pl  
ORCID: 0000-0002-3936-5037

**Pomerania in the Medieval and Renaissance Cartography  
– from the Cottoniana to Eilhard Lubinus**

**Keywords:** Pomerania, Duchy of Pomerania, medieval cartography, early modern cartography, maritime cartography

The following paper deals with the question of the cartographical image of Pomerania. What I mean here are maps in the modern sense of the word, i.e. *Graphic representations that facilitate a spatial understanding of things, concepts, conditions, processes, or events in the human world*<sup>1</sup>. It is an important reservation because the line between graphic and non-graphic representations of the Earth's surface in the Middle Ages was sometimes blurred, therefore the term *mappamundi* could mean either a cartographic image or a textual geographical description, and in some cases it functioned as an equivalent of the modern term "Geography"<sup>2</sup>. Consequently, there's a tendency in the modern historiography to analyze both forms of the geographical descriptions together. However, the late medieval and early modern developments in the perception and re-constructing of the space led to distinguishing cartography as an autonomous, full-fledged discipline of knowledge, and to the general acceptance of the map in the modern sense as a basic form of presentation of the world's surface. Most maps which will be examined in the paper were produced in this later period, so it seems justified to analyze only the "real" maps, although in a broader context of the geographical imaginations. The area under consideration is the historical Pomerania

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- 1 D. Woodward, J. B. Harley, "Preface", in: *The History of Cartography*, Vol. 1: *Cartography in Prehistoric, Ancient and Medieval Europe and the Mediterranean*, ed. J. B. Harley, D. Woodward (Chicago 1987), XVI.
  - 2 P. Gautier Dalché, *La Géographie de Ptolémée en Occident (IVe-XVIe siècle)* (Turnhout 2009), 111.

and Pomerelia (Gdańsk Pomerania), as well as the lands which stretch along the southern shore of the Baltic Sea, approximately between lower Recknitz in the west and lower Vistula in the east.

## THE ENCYCLOPEDIA-SYMBOLIC CARTOGRAPHY OF THE MIDDLE AGES

Scholars paid relatively little attention to the medieval and early modern cartographical image of the area South to the Baltic Sea so far, with the notable exception of the map by Eilhard Lubinus, the last and at the same time the most spectacular achievement in the Renaissance mapping of the region. There were, however, not only the modern historians of cartography who had not been interested in the medieval cartographical description of this region, but also the mapmakers of the time. Only a few medieval maps with the name of Pomerania appearing are known. An explanation of this situation is primarily the specificity of the then-dominating – and for a long time the only one existing – form of European maps, which can be described as “encyclopedic-symbolic”. The aim of a mapmaker was to create a true image of the Earth’s surface, but he had in mind a different kind of “truth” than the “truth” of the later “scientific” cartographers<sup>3</sup>. The map was to represent a deeper meaning of the world and its intrinsic order by bringing before a viewer’s eyes the most significant places and events connected with the two main forces acting in this world: God, and the human. Thus, the map user could contemplate the Creator in His creation. The medieval *mappae-mundi* was some kind of a visual encyclopedia “which would present the entire history and philosophy of the human race organized within a geographical framework”<sup>4</sup>. It presented a peculiar knowledge of the world as a physical-spiritual continuum of time and space, created by the Christian God, and being a *lieu de memoire* of the Christianity<sup>5</sup>. The maps weren’t, however, pure “religious symbols” without any direct link to the “real” world, as many 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> century historians assumed. The correctness of the lands’ shape wasn’t a crucial matter for the mapmakers and the map wasn’t intended to be used as an aid. Nevertheless, it offered a general orientation in the spatial

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3 About the understanding of the “truth” in the medieval cartography: A.D. von den Brincken, “Quod non vicietur pictura. Die Sorge um das rechte Bild in der Kartographie”, in: A.D. von den Brincken, *Studien zur Universalkartographie des Mittelalters* (Göttingen 2008), 311–323.

4 E. Edson, *The World Map 1300–1492. The Persistence of Tradition and Transformation* (Baltimore 2007), 14f.

5 About the term *lieu de memoire* and its meaning: P. Nora, “From *Lieux de memoire* to *Realms of Memory*. Preface to the English-language edition”, in: *Realms of Memory: Rethinking the French Past*, ed. P. Nora, Vol. 1 (New York 1996), xvii.

relations between important places like e.g. a modern map of the public transport in a big city does<sup>6</sup>.

The medieval cartography was a cartography of meanings. The presence of a town, a country, a *gens*, or a *natio*, on the map, was justified by the mapmakers' and their recipients' ability to tell a story about them, especially an important one. This story created a link between them and the "great" history (biblical history, the history of the ancient and modern universal powers), or sometimes emphasized the place of the mapmaker's own country/town/nation in the broader world. In most cases, the story wasn't inscribed in the map. Rather, it was a pre-knowledge of the map user, or an accompanying text, which allowed to "fill in" the cartographic image with narratives.

Considering this, the prevalent absence of the names of Pomerania, its inhabitants, and of the Pomeranian cities on medieval maps, should be regarded predominantly as a consequence of the inability of their makers to recall any important narratives connected with this region. In general, the knowledge of the whole Central Europe by the Western European educated elites for a long time remained on a relatively low level, and Pomerania was no exception here. There were, of course, areas, where the proximity and political or economic interests resulted in better knowledge of the region in question as soon as in the Early Middle Ages, but known, detailed sufficiently enough maps made in these areas (Poland, eastern German lands, Scandinavia, Pomerania itself), were produced only at the very end of the medieval period or even later. The phrase "detailed sufficiently enough" is crucial here, because most of the known medieval maps are relatively small, unsophisticated diagrams, 10–20 cm in diameter. On such maps there was simply no place for numerous choro-, or ethnonyms, and in consequence the mapmaker had to choose only the most important of them. It seems that Pomerania/Pomeranians did not belong among such significant names.

Besides, there was a strong tendency among the makers of the medieval geographical descriptions in word and picture to use mainly well established, post-antique names. Such names, legitimized by the authority of the Ancients, were considered as descriptions of objectively existing, timeless, geographical entities, which created a "first level" geography. Upon this system of the post-antique territories, another level of the geographical nomenclature was superimposed, based on the currently existing, present-day names of countries and nations. The tendency to use the "first level" names instead of the potentially ephemeral present-day names, precluded the mapmakers from the use of the new territorial or ethnical names until they were acknowledged within the imaginative geography, in order to secure a long-lasting actuality of the map or

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6 P. Gautier-Dalché, "Maps, Travel and Exploration in the Middle Ages: Some Reflections about Anachronism", *The Historical Review* 12 (2015), 144ff.

text<sup>7</sup>. The most important premise for the permanent inclusion of the new peoples and countries in the imagined world of the Western European elites, was their belongingness to the *Christianitas*, and establishing of their own, stable political structures. Both levels of the geographical nomenclature existed simultaneously, so e.g. Pomerania was still regarded as a part of Germania, understood usually not as the medieval Holy Roman Empire, but as a timeless geographical region. This factor also contributed to the domination of the older names on the maps in favor of the newer ones. The situation began to change as late as in the 14<sup>th</sup> century, in accordance with the growing tendency to understand the “truthfulness” of the world’s image in texts and on maps in a more modern way: not as revealing of the timeless essence of the reality in line with the Ancients (including the Christian Ancients, i.e. the Church Fathers), but as a description of the physical world “here and now”.

From this point of view it is understandable that the makers of the *mappaemundi* in the Early and High Middle Ages did not use the relatively young and less known names of Pomerania or the Pomeranians. Scholars generally agree that the idea of conceptualization the lands along the southern shore of the Baltic Sea as a separate territorial unit with a Slavic proper name “Pomorze”, which means literally “a land by the sea”, emerged for the first time at the end of the 10<sup>th</sup> century, and reflected political changes in the area: the emergence of the local early state structures, and the northern expansion of the Piast rulers<sup>8</sup>. The name was attested for the first time in its ethnic form in the mid-11<sup>th</sup> century, when the author of the “*Annales Altahenses*” (The Annals of Niederalteich) mentioned a group named *Bomerani* as the subjects of the Prince Zemuzil, a person not known from other sources<sup>9</sup>. Some thirty years later Adam of Bremen listed the *Pomerani* among the Slavic peoples in his influential description of *Sclavania* – the Slavdom, included in his chronicle “*Gesta Hammaburgensis ecclesiae pontificum*” (Deeds of the Bishops of Hamburg)<sup>10</sup>. In the second decade of the 12<sup>th</sup> century, a territorial name *Pomorania* appeared also in a written source, in the chronicle of the so-called Gallus Anonymus<sup>11</sup>.

7 On the terms „imaginative geography” and “conception of space in a text”: A. Krawiec, “The concept of space in the chronicle of Gallus Anonymus, the mental geography of its author, and their significance for the controversy on his place of origin”, *Acta Poloniae Historica* 112 (2015), 26ff.

8 S. Rosik, *Conversio gentis Pomeranorum. Studium świadectwa o wydarzeniu (XII wiek)* (Wrocław 2010), 103, n. 318 (where older literature is to be found).

9 *Zemuzil dux Bomeraniorum, Annales Altahenses maiores*, a. 1046, ed. E.L.B. Ab Oefele, MGH SS rer. Germ., vol. 4, Hannover 1891, 41.

10 *Trans Oddoram fluvium primi habitant Pomerani, deinde Polani, Magistri Adam Bremensis Gesta Hammaburgensis ecclesiae pontificum*, II, 21, schol. 14(15), ed. B. Schmeidler, MGH SS rer. Germ., vol. 2, Hannover-Leipzig 1917, 76; cf. *ibidem*, IV, 13, 241.

11 *Galli Anonymi Cronica et gesta ducum sive principum Polonorum*, I, prohemium, ed. K. Maleczyński, MPH SN, vol. 2, Cracow 1952, 7, and other places in the text.

The basic association with the region south to the Baltic Sea in the early medieval western and northern Europe, was the fact that this area is inhabited by the Slavic peoples. The only thing which the anonymous author of the so-called “Old English Orosius”<sup>12</sup> could or wanted to write about the territory west of the lower Vistula, was its name *Weondland* – “the land of the Slavs”<sup>13</sup>. The same meaning bears the name *Windland*, which denoted the Pomeranian territory, with special regard to the famous Viking stronghold Jomsborg, in the Scandinavian and Islandic literature of the 11<sup>th</sup>–13<sup>th</sup> century<sup>14</sup>. The first inscription on a map also belongs to this northern geographical tradition, which could be roughly connected with the region in question. In the second quarter of the 11<sup>th</sup> century in England a world map was produced, known in the historiography as the Anglo-Saxon Map, or the Cottoniana. Despite its atypical, rectangular shape, it belongs to the group of detailed *mappaemundi*, the same as the high-medieval Psalter Map, Ebstorf Map, or Hereford Map<sup>15</sup>. On the northern shore of the Ocean surrounding the inhabited world, east of *Slesuic* (Schleswig) and south to an island, which should probably represent Scandinavia and Iceland, the author placed an inscription *Sclau*i (the Slavs)<sup>16</sup>. It is to be remembered, however, that the connection of the *Sclau*i on the map with the region of Pomerania is only conjectural. The conception of space of the Cottoniana – and, indeed, of most other medieval encyclopedic-symbolic maps – isn’t exact enough to superimpose the names from them on a modern map precisely. The Slavs mentioned by the mapmaker could also be the Polabian Slavs, or the western Slavs in general. This possibility is reinforced by the analogy to the other insular *mappaemundi*. The mid-13<sup>th</sup>-century Psalter Map recto mentions explicitly the *Sclauenia occidentalis* (the land of the Western Slavs)<sup>17</sup>, a name which at that

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- 12 The “Old English Orosius” is a 9<sup>th</sup>-century adaptation of the “*Historia adversus paganos*” of Paulus Orosius into the West-Saxon dialect made for the king Alfred the Great of Wessex. The most important change made by the anonymous author was replacing of the Orosian description of the northern and eastern parts of Europe with a new, far more detailed version, which based mainly on the relations of the two travelers: Wulfstan and Ohthere, cf. F. Leneghan, “*Translatio imperii: The Old English Orosius and the Rise of Wessex*”, *Anglia* 133 (2015), 4, 656–661.
- 13 „Chorografia Orozjusza w anglosaskim przekładzie króla Alfreda”, 20, in: *Źródła skandynawskie i anglosaskie do dziejów Słowiańszczyzny*, ed. G. Labuda (Warszawa 1961), 69.
- 14 J. Morawiec, „Obraz Słowian w średniowiecznej literaturze skandynawskiej”, in: *Wikingowie w Polsce? Zabytki skandynawskie z ziem polskich*, eds. M. Bogacki, A. Janowski, Ł. Kaczmarek (Gniezno-Szczecin 2019), 114ff.
- 15 On the map: P. McGurk, “The Mappa Mundi”, in: *An Eleventh-Century Anglo-Saxon Illustrated Miscellany: British Library Cotton Tiberius B.V part I*, eds. P. McGurk, D. N. Dumville, M. R. Godden, A. Knock (Copenhagen 1983), 79–87.
- 16 Cf. W. Kowalenko, „Bałtyk i Pomorze w historii kartografii (VII-XVI wiek)”. *Przegląd Zachodni* 10 (1954), 8–9, 358; A.D. von den Brincken, „Mappa mundi und Chronographia. Studien zur *imago mundi* des abendländischen Mittelalters”, *Deutsches Archiv für Erforschung des Mittelalters* 24 (1968), 163, 170.
- 17 L. Chekin, *Northern Eurasia in Medieval Cartography. Inventory, Text, Translation, and Commentary*, (Turnhout 2006), 141.

time denoted unambiguously the Slavic territories between Oder and Elbe. Richard of Haldingham, the presumable author of the Hereford Map (end of the 13<sup>th</sup> century), mentioned the “Slavic peoples” (*Sclauorum gent[es]*) as the inhabitants of the post-antique Upper Germania, although the location of the legend on the map gives no clue as to which group of Slavs he had in mind<sup>18</sup>.

For the first explicit appearance of the Pomeranians on a known map one had to wait well into the High Middle Ages, probably until the end of the 13<sup>th</sup> century. According to the opinion currently dominating in the historiography, it was the time when a *mappaemundi* known as the Ebstorf Map came into being in the convent in Ebstorf (now in Lower Saxony, Germany)<sup>19</sup>. The map was destroyed during WW II, and now is known only from the pre-war copies and photographs. With a diameter of 356 cm, it was the largest noted medieval world map. Owing to its place of origin, the map presents a more detailed, although not always “correct” in our meaning of this word, image of the Central and Eastern Europe, compared to any other object of its kind. Unfortunately, as early as in the moment of unearthing in 1843, some parts of the map were already badly damaged. One of the destroyed areas covered the south-western shores of the Baltic Sea, and thus we are unable to establish what the cartographical image of Pomerania looked like, and what name (if any at all) the mapmaker ascribed to this region. There is, however, a longer, only partially readable legend containing the word *Pomeranos* (the Pomeranians)<sup>20</sup>. The legend was identified by the scholars as a citation from the Adam’s of Bremen chronicle, where the inhabitants of Pomerania were listed erroneously among the neighbors of Moravians<sup>21</sup>. The only geographical feature, which could be connected to the country on the Ebstorf Map in its now-known form, was Oder River (*Oldera, Odera*), described in accordance with Adam of Bremen as flowing from the Moravian Mountains in the northern direction<sup>22</sup>. The name of the Oder appeared also on the Hereford Map in a distorted form *Cidera*, along with the Vistula (*Fistula*)<sup>23</sup>.

18 *The Hereford Map. A Transcription and Translation of the Legends with Commentary*, no. 446, ed. S.D. Westrem (Turnhout 2001), 189. The legend is probably took over from a 12<sup>th</sup>-century lost map, which later became the main source of a geographical treatise “*Expositio mappae mundi*”, ascribed to Roger Howden, P. Gautier-Dalché, “*Décrire le monde et situer les lieux au XIIe siècle. L’Expositio mappae mundi et la généalogie de la mappemonde de Hereford*”, *Mélanges de l’École Française de Rome – Moyen Âge* 113 (2001), 1, 394.

19 H. Kugler, *Die Ebstorfer Weltkarte. Kommentierte Neuauflage in zwei Bänden*, Vol. 2 (Berlin 2007), 61–70. The once popular dating of the map on the beginning of the 13<sup>th</sup> century, and pointing at Ger vase of Tilbury as a possible author, is now generally rejected.

20 *Ibidem*, Vol. 1, 114.

21 *Ibidem*, Vol. 2, 237; cf. *Magistri Adam Bremensis...*, II, 22, schol. 17(18), 80.

22 H. Kugler, *Die Ebstorfer Weltkarte*, Vol. 1, 198.

23 L. Chekin, *Northern Eurasia*, 165. An alternative, although less likely identification of the *fluvius Cidera*, is Eider River in the Schleswig-Holstein, *ibidem*, 168.

## THE SEA CHARTS AND THE LATE MEDIEVAL “TRANSITIONAL” WORLD MAPS

It is not a coincidence that the new era in the history of the cartographical image of Pomerania began with the appearance and increasing popularity of a new type of maps – the sea or marine charts. The origins of the sea chart remain obscure. The oldest known example of the genre is the so-called Pisa Chart, made probably in Genoa in the last quarter of 13<sup>th</sup> century, although written sources confirm that such charts had already been in use in the Southern Europe earlier, possibly as soon as in the 12<sup>th</sup> century<sup>24</sup>. The concept of the space on the marine charts differed radically from the then-dominating encyclopedic-symbolic maps. The criteria of “truthfulness” of the cartographic image on the charts consisted of depiction of physically accurate geographical forms and representing the spatial relations between geographical objects in possibly the most accurate way. If any narratives influenced the cartographical image, it must have been predominately the utilitarian ones, related to trade and navigation. A sufficient reason for placing an object – a country, a city etc., on a map, was now its very existence. The sea charts belonged to a new model of cartography which could be described as a “mathematical” cartography for strict rules based on calculations and measurements had to be followed<sup>25</sup>. A transitional period begun when two paradigms in the perception of the geographical space coexisted together: the earlier model of the narrativized, subjectively perceived space, along with the newly introduced concept of the modern, measurable and objectivized space. This period lasted approximately from the early 14<sup>th</sup> to the late 16<sup>th</sup> century, and over the course of time the new model gradually displaced the older one in the mapmaking. At least until the mid-15<sup>th</sup> century, however, both models were not perceived as excluding one another, but rather as complementary<sup>26</sup>. A kind of hybrid or “transitional” maps arose, which supplemented the new visual forms with elements of the traditional imaginations and narratives, like the Earthly Paradise etc. The visual determinants of the new cartographical image, like the rhumb lines, or later the grid of meridians and parallels, soon became “powerful rhetorical devices”, which not always played a practical role in the process of the mapmaking, but sometimes were only supposed to convince the viewers about the credibility of the map and its maker<sup>27</sup>.

24 E. Edson, *The World Map*, 33ff; P. Gautier-Dalché, *Carte marine et portulan au XIIe siècle: le Liber de existencia riveriarum et forma maris nostri mediterranei (Pise, circa 1200)* (Rome 1995), 7ff, 39ff.

25 It is to remember, however, that until the 17<sup>th</sup> century the cartographers rarely used a field measurement, typical for the modern cartography, partially due to lack of sufficient tools and techniques, cf. J. Snyder, “Map Projections in the Renaissance”, in: *The History of Cartography*, Vol. 3, ed. D. Woodward (Chicago 2007), 380.

26 E. Edson, *The World Map*, 227f.

27 G. Carlton, “The World Drawn from Nature: Imitation and Authority in 16<sup>th</sup>-Century Cartography”, *Intellectual History Review* 24 (2014), 21.

The earliest known sea charts depicted only the Mediterranean and the Black Seas. From the early 14<sup>th</sup> century onwards, charts including the western and northern shores of Europe appeared. Relatively early, in the 1320s, a Venetian cartographer Pietro Vesconte used the cartographical convention of a sea chart to produce a world map for the first time. The map illustrated the treatise “*Liber secretorum fidelium Crucis*” (The Book of Secrets for the faithful to the Cross) by Marino Sanudo written ca. 1320, which was supposed to persuade the readers to organize a new crusade and to recover the Holy Land. There are known nine manuscript copies of the Sanudo’s treatise which include the world map<sup>28</sup>. The outlook of the coastlines and the names slightly differ among individual copies, also in the Baltic region. In the northern part of Central Europe, the names *Pomorior* or *prouincia Pomerania* can be found. Thus, Vesconte’s map marks a milestone not only in the history of the map design, but also in the history of the regional cartography of Pomerania, as it contains the earliest known case of the region’s name appearing on a map. In most copies the name is situated correctly along the southern shore of the Baltic Sea. One copyist, however, distorted the Central European space, so the names of Pomerania and Cracow (i.e. Kingdom of Poland) were moved deep into the hinterland and located south-east of the eastern end of the Baltic. The name’s presence on the map is likely a result of personal experience of Marino Sanudo, who, during his voyages in search for the support of his crusading plans, visited the Baltic region, and the easternmost city he mentioned was Stettin, at that time the capital of the Duchy of the Pomerania-Stettin<sup>29</sup>.

The early Italian sea charts depicted only the coastlines and the places close to them, such as the coastal towns and cities, or the river mouths. The hinterland was left blank. The charts of such design were made continuously well into the Early Modern period, especially by the Italian makers. However, while Pietro Vesconte was creating his sea-chart-based world map, yet another development began. The charts from the Majorcan school of mapmaking became complete regional maps of Europe, and later of Asia and Africa, showing not only the coasts, but also the cities, rivers, mountains, and other features of the hinterland such as the rulers and their coats of arms. The Majorcan cartographers paid more attention to the aesthetical aspect of their works. The charts began to be highly decorated, and in some cases became true pieces of art<sup>30</sup>.

A striking feature of the late medieval sea charts of Europe is diversity in the outlook on the coastlines. In the Mediterranean Basin and around the Black Sea the coastlines

28 E. Edson, *The World Map*, 62ff. A similar map is also included in a copy of the chronicle of Paulinus Venetus from ca. 1329, Paris BN Lat. 4939, f. 9r.

29 A.D. von den Brincken, „Die kartographische Darstellung Nordeuropas durch italienische und malloquinische Portolanzeichner im 14. und in der ersten Hälfte des 15. Jahrhunderts“. *Hansische Geschichtsblätter* 92 (1974), 51.

30 *Ibidem*, 50.

were, from the very beginning, pictured in a very precise way, generally comparable with the modern cartography. In case of the Atlantic coasts of the Iberian Peninsula, France, British Isles, and Africa, a constant tendency for the amendment of the cartographical image is to recognize the simplified and almost symbolic shapes on the early charts, and upgrade them to the “Mediterranean” level of exactitude on later examples<sup>31</sup>. The situation changes radically in the Baltic Basin. The shape of the Baltic Sea had very little to do with what one can see on modern maps. Moreover, for a very long time there was no sign of progress. The Baltic on the early 14<sup>th</sup>-century charts hardly differed from the same sea depicted on a chart two centuries later. This state of affairs could be explained primarily with the political and economic causes. In the High and Later Middle Ages the Baltic shipping was almost monopolized by the Hanseatic League. The local sailors managed well with the sailing on the relatively small and well known water body without charts. Symptomatic is, in this context, a remark on the world map by a 15<sup>th</sup> century Venetian cartographer Fra Mauro. He noticed that “On this sea [i.e. the Baltic] one don’t sails using a chart or a compass, but with a sounding-lead”<sup>32</sup>. It is highly possible that the lack of marine charts of the Baltic resulted from the conscious politic of the Hanse, which did not let foreign ships sail on its “own” waters, and thus prevented them from performing measurements necessary for the cartographical purposes. The Hanseates did not make their own charts because they had no need of them. An exact chart of the northern seas could be even regarded by them as a potentially dangerous object, for it could be stolen or secretly copied by their economic or political rivals<sup>33</sup>. The tradition of sailing according to oral instructions or written manuals, but without or with limited use of charts, persisted in the Baltic navigation even longer than the Hanseatic League itself, until the 18<sup>th</sup> century<sup>34</sup>.

The standard image of the Baltic Sea and the adjacent regions of the medieval nautical cartography are to be seen already on the earliest known chart including this area, made by a Genoese priest Giovanni da Carignano ca. 1327<sup>35</sup>. Although the cartographer came from an Italian city, later his work provided a basis for the charts of the Majorcan school. All the most typical features of the Baltic and the Pomerania which can be found on the Carignano chart, had later been repeated by the Majorcan cartographers such as Angelino Dulcert, Abraham Cresques, and many others. They

31 Cf. P. Billion, “A newly discovered chart fragment from the Lucca Archives, Italy”, *Imago Mundi* 63 (2011), 1, 3–6.

32 *Per questo mar non se nauega cum carta ni bossolo ma cum scandaio*, P. Falchetta, *Fra Mauro’s World Map, with a Commentary and Translations of the Inscriptions* (Turnhout 2006), 669.

33 A.D. von den Brincken, „Die kartographische Darstellung“, 53f.

34 J. Szeliga, „Zarys rozwoju kartografii południowego Bałtyku”, in: *Z dziejów kartografii*. Vol. IX: *Mapy południowego Bałtyku*, ed. M. Stelmach (Szczecin 1997), 21.

35 The chart was destroyed during the WW II. On the chart and its author: R.J. Pujades i Battaler, *Les cartes portolanes. La representació medieval d’una mar solcada*, (Barcelona 2007), 490.

included a distinctive, deformed shape of the sea, an extremely simplified run of the coastline, as well as the presence of the Vistula (*uandalus fluuius*) and the Oder (*odera*). Carignano, a man of an extraordinary erudition, was also able to list a great number of place names from the area south to the Baltic, and on the legend *Stetin* was distinguished with a semi-circle, which indicated a large and important city. Among the country names on the chart lacked, however, the name of Pomerania<sup>36</sup>. Since the cartographer mentioned other country names in the region, e.g. Poland, Prussia, Rus', or Brandenburg March<sup>37</sup>, it confirms that the region's presence on the world map of Pietro Vesconte is to be explained rather by some personal experiences, than by its role played in the imaginative geography. A conspicuous feature of the Carignano chart and of other early sea charts, is the lack of the network of rhumb lines in the northern area, including the Baltic Basin. The contemporary cartographers used it to distinguish the uncharted waters and lands of the North from the better known, familiar Western and Southern Europe. For an educated person in 14<sup>th</sup> century Genoa, Pomerania was in fact some kind of *terra incognita*, to an extent greater than Northern Africa or Central Asia were...

The outlook of the Baltic Basin on subsequent Majorcan sea charts was decisively affected by two slightly later works of another Italian cartographer, Angelino Dulcert, or Dalorto. He probably came from Genoa, but was active in Majorca, where he made both his known charts, dated 1330 and 1339<sup>38</sup>. Dulcert continued the earlier custom of leaving Northern Europe out of the rhumb network, and keeping the contrast between the detailed and filled with place names coasts of the Mediterranean, the Black Sea, and the Atlantic on the one side, and the simplified, almost empty shores of the Baltic on the other, which is even more striking than in case of Carignano's chart. The shape of the Baltic on Dulcert's and on the following sea charts had been described by scholars as "a fish bladder", "a fish scale", or "a bludgeon"<sup>39</sup>. The southern shore of the sea documents a complete confusion of the makers (Dulcert and earlier Carignano), who did not have sufficient data to create a cartographic image comparable with that of other parts of Europe, and were even unable to order the possessed data properly. The

36 *Lubech, Uismaria, Roistoc, Grisuald, Anchele* (Anklam), *Stetin, Engedasa* (zap. Gdańsk), *Elbange* (Elbląg), *Cironia* (zap. Kurlandia), *Riga*; T. Fischer, *Sammlung mittelalterlichen Welt- und Seekarten italienischen Ursprungs und aus der italienischen Bibliotheken und Archiven* (Venezia 1886), 126, cf. W. Kowalenko, „Bałtyk i Pomorze”, 368, n. 43.

37 A.D. von den Brincken, „Die kartographische Darstellung“, 50f.

38 On Angelino Dulcert and his charts: R.J. Pujades i Battaler, *Les cartes portolanes*, 490ff. Some earlier researchers assumed that Dulcert and Dalorto were two different persons, but now this thesis is generally rejected

39 „Pęcherz rybi”: M. Stelmach, *Historia kartografii Pomorza Zachodniego do końca XVIII wieku* (Szczecin 1991), 30, n. 17; „rybia łuska”: M. Stelmach „Zarys dziejów kartografii pomorskiej do początków XIX w.”, in: *Pomorze i Szczecin na dawnych mapach, planach i widokach*, ed. E. Jäger (Szczecin 1998), 7; „maczuga”: J. Szeliga, „Zarys rozwoju kartografii”, 15.

name of Pomerania did not appear again. The coastline runs on its Pomeranian stretch in the E-W direction from the *Litefania* (Lithuania?) to the *elbingana* (Elbing?), and then turns S on the earlier chart, or SE on the later one. It lacks gulfs, except for two oval “lakes”, connected by a short “canal” with the sea: *lacus nerie* in the eastern part, and *lacus alech* west of it. They most likely represent the Curonian or Gdansk, and the Stettin Bay respectively. The sparse city names on the Baltic coast include *turon* (? – possibly either Torun moved erroneously to the seashore, or the misunderstood name of the Curonian Spit), Gdansk (*godansec*), Elbląg/Elbing (*elbingo*, *elbingana*), Słupsk/Stolp (*scolpe*), Anklam (?-*alleth*)<sup>40</sup>, and Szczecin/Stettin (*stetin*). Their localization in relation to one another confirms the cartographer’s lack of orientation in the depicted space. Compared to the rest of the East-Central European hinterland, the area in question was flattened and moved to the west, so that e.g. Prague was situated further east than Gdansk. As for the rivers, only the largest ones were marked: the Oder and the Vistula, which there bears a name *fluvius vandalus* (Vandal River). Remarkably, its run is showed more correctly on the earlier map, while on the later one the river runs SW to NE, instead of SE to NW.

The cartographic image of what could represent the unnamed Pomerania on the later Dulcert chart, is complemented with a name *Vandalia*, located in a blank space between the Vandal/Vistula, the *lacus nerie*, and the city of *turon*. It is unlikely to determine which country Dulcert had in mind in that case. A comparison with written sources indicates that there are three possibilities coming into play here: Poland, today’s Eastern Germany, or Pomerania. The most probable option seems to be the first one, because it is attested in a contemporary written source, an anonymous geographical treatise known in historiography as „*Descriptio Europae Orientalis*” (Description of the Eastern Europe), together with the name of the Vandal River<sup>41</sup>, while the name of Poland does not appear on the chart. A Pomeranian context of the name *Vandalia* could be intriguing, because it would be the earliest case of a phenomenon which later played an important role in the self-conscious of the Pomeranian elites: a takeover of the Polish tradition, in which the name of the Vandals was understood as a specific denomination of the “Poles-as-Slavs”, and its reshaping in order to prove that only the Pomeranians are the “true” Vandals, and in that way they are the “first” and most important among other Vandals-Slavs. The theory about the Vandalian identity and origin of the Pomeranians was recorded for the first time in the so-called “*Protocolum*” (The Protocol) written by Augustin of Stargard shortly after the chart came into

40 Ibidem, 15, identifies the name *Alleth* or *Allech* which appeared on different sea charts, with the Hel Peninsula, but this supposition seems to be unlikely, consider the location of the name.

41 *Olim dicebatur Polonia Vandalia a Vandalo fluuio, Anonymi descriptio Europae orientalis*, ed. D. Kuņčer (Beograd 2013), 146. The text was written probably ca. 1310–1311 in the papal court in Avignon.

being, in the years 1342–1347<sup>42</sup>. What distinguishes Augustin’s version from that of Dulcert, is, however, the lack of the choronym “Vandalia”. He wrote exclusively about the Vandals-Pomeranians.

Dulcert’s Vandalia remained a rare appearance in the late-medieval maritime cartography. The name would emerge only from time to time, e.g. on an unsigned chart presenting a simplified copy of the chart from 1339, and according to some historians came from Dulcert’s own hand<sup>43</sup>. The name *Avandalia*, in an unambiguous meaning of Poland, appeared also in the “Libro del conocimiento de todos los reynos y tierras y señorios” (The Book of Knowledge of All Kingdoms, and Countries) written in the mid-14<sup>th</sup> century Castile. The text is a description of the known world in the then-popular manner of a (fictive) travel relation, composed mainly on a base of the Majorcan sea charts and/or a written instruction for the mapmakers<sup>44</sup>. In his work, the anonymous author mentioned some place names which can be connected with Pomerania, but the country itself seemingly did not exist on his mental map as a separate territorial unit with a distinctive name, and his image of the whole Central European region looks rather dimly, subsumed under the general name of the Kingdom of Bohemia, and some other regions, like the above-mentioned *Avandalia*. Among the Pomeranian names in the “Libro del conocimiento” are the cities of *grisualdiz* (Greifswald) by the lake *alechon* (probably the Stettin Bay), *corueric* (Kołobrzeg), *escorpe* (Słupsk?), and *dançicha* (Gdańsk) with the mouth of the river *Turonie*<sup>45</sup>. In the last case, the author probably confused the city name of Torun with the adjacent Vistula River based on a source map.

Apart from the name of Vandalia, most of the features of Dulcert’s image of the Baltic Basin were taken over by the later cartographers, and appeared repeatedly on the sea charts well until the 16<sup>th</sup> century, as well as on some late medieval “transitional” world maps<sup>46</sup>. They all contain the same or similar set of data, including city names of Gdansk (*Godansec/Dancicha*), Anklam (*Alech*) etc., the mouth of Vistula (*fluvius vandalicus*), and the two circular or oval lakes/bays. More detailed was the image of the Western Pomerania, of which a specific feature was the course of the coast, usually

42 Augustyn ze Stargardu zwany niegdyś Angelusem, *Protokół*, ed. E. Rymar, transl. E. Buszewicz (Stargard 2008), 70–74.

43 R.J. Pujades i Battaler, *Les cartes portolanes*, 129. Later, one can find the name *Vandalia* on some late medieval world maps, on which it was located deep in the hinterland. It probably denoted Poland, or some other unspecified Slavic country.

44 N.F. Marino, “Introduction”, in: *El libro del conocimiento de todos los reynos (The Book of Knowledge of All Kingdoms)*, ed. N.F. Marino (Tempe, Arizona 1999), xvi–xxxi.

45 *El libro del conocimiento de todos los reynos (The Book of Knowledge of All Kingdoms)*, ed. N.F. Marino (Tempe, Arizona 1999), 12.

46 Cf. the comparison of the Baltic’s shape on late medieval maps and charts: H. Winter, “The changing face of Scandinavia and the Baltic in cartography up to 1532”, *Imago Mundi* 12 (1955), Fig. 3, 49.

going in the direction NEN-SWS. There also exist sea charts, on which the whole southern shore of the Baltic was left blank, and the coastal line was reduced to an almost direct line. The charts sometimes prove the confusion of their makers. On the so-called Miltenberg chart, dated back to the second half of the 14<sup>th</sup> century and preserved in a 19<sup>th</sup>-century copy, the Vistula disembogues east of the Curonian Bay. This mistake generated yet another confusion, because *Godances* and *Dancicha* became two separate cities, one of which was situated west of the bay, and the second one east of it, by the Vistula's mouth. Paradoxically, in this situation both locations were correct in their own way<sup>47</sup>.

Other misunderstandings further influenced the concept of space on the map of Europe in the "most ambitious and luxurious cartographic production of the 14<sup>th</sup> century"<sup>48</sup>, the Catalan Atlas, prepared in the 1370s by a Majorcan cartographer Abraham Cresques for the king of France. The number of locations on the southern shore of the Baltic is relatively large. It includes Elbląg (*Albinga*), and Kołobrzeg (*Colberg*), but Cresques duplicated the city of Stettin, as the name appeared twice on both sides of the Oder's mouth. The lands of Prussia (*prutenia*) and Courland (*curonia*) were labelled as "additional" cities on the map<sup>49</sup>. The lack of knowledge about Prussia was, however, an exception. Generally speaking, in the Late Middle Ages Prussia seemed much more known to the western Europeans, including the cartographers, than the adjacent Pomerania. In the western imaginative geography, the exposed place of (Teutonic) Prussia, recognizable also in the geographical texts of the time, i.a. in the enormously popular "Book of Sir John Mandeville" from the mid-14<sup>th</sup> century, was certainly down to the influence of the region's popularity among the members of the chivalry, who readily visited the Teutonic Order State looking for glory of a crusader in fights against local "infidels"<sup>50</sup>. The contrast between the elaborate, "crusading" image of Prussia, and the extremely simplified image of Pomerania, is striking on a large, copperplate engraved world map known as the Borgia Map. The map was likely created in southern Germany in the first half of the 15<sup>th</sup> century. Most of the Central European space is occupied by a depiction of the fight between Christians and the "pagans" in Prussia, supplemented with an appropriate inscription, and certain city vignettes. The area where Pomerania should be the mapmaker left, in contrast, completely blank<sup>51</sup>.

47 W. Kowalenko, „Bałtyk i Pomorze”, 371.

48 E. Edson, *The World Map*, 74.

49 W. Kowalenko, „Bałtyk i Pomorze”, 367.

50 W. Paravicini, *Die Preußenreisen des europäischen Adels*, Vol. 1 (Sigmaringen 1989), 50ff.

51 E. Edson, *The World Map*, 178; F. Schmieder, „Anspruch auf christliche Weltherrschaft. Die Velletri/Borgia Karte (15. Jahrhundert) in ihrem ideengeschichtlichen und politischen Kontext“, in: *Herrschaft verorten. Politisch Kartographie im Mittelalter und in der frühen Neuzeit*, ed. I. Baumgärtner, M. Strecken (Zürich 2012), 260.

In 1367, two Venetian cartographers, brothers Domenico and Francisco Pizzigano, made a large (138 x 92 cm) sea chart. The chart is notable for its innovative features including the depictions of the real and imaginary islands on the Atlantic, or the “River of Gold” in Africa. A less known innovation of the chart is an inscription *pomerania* in a rubric, located south to the Baltic Sea. It is the earliest known use of this name on a maritime chart. The world map of Pietro Vesconte provided a source for the Pizzigano brothers, as the choronym *Sclauia*, located S-W from the Pomerania, indicates. The name of the land of Slavs is extremely rare to encounter in the medieval cartography, but it appeared on Vesconte’s map in a similar location. Apart from the region’s name and the name of *Vandalia* placed further in the inland, other features of its image on the Pizziganos’ chart remained the same as on other sea charts. From the late 14<sup>th</sup> century onwards, the name of Pomerania came into use in the nautical and universal cartography, but did not become a common feature. It had not been used by most late medieval chart and map makers who depicted the Baltic Basin and Central Europe, either from lack of space, lack of sufficient knowledge, or because they were probably not convinced that the name is important enough to be included in the world’s image.

The most successful late medieval attempt to integrate Central Europe into the cartographical image of the whole human world is provided by the world map of the Venetian geographer, Camaldolese monk Fra Mauro, presumably completed in 1459. Fra Mauro’s work has been highly prized by historians for its accuracy and veracity, for making use of a plethora of different written and cartographical sources as well as oral traditions, and for an effective integrating of the three late medieval cartographic traditions: the encyclopedic-symbolic, the nautical, and the Ptolemaic, in one work<sup>52</sup>. The decorative outlook of the map foretells the new, Renaissance trends in cartography. In order to achieve an impression of a complete and unified vision of the world which echoed the tradition of the encyclopedic-symbolic cartography, Fra Mauro created a fiction of exactitude by shaping the coastlines of the less known areas of Eastern Asia, Africa, and Northern Europe, so that they resemble the professionally measured and mapped shores of the Mediterranean and Western Europe. Only the presence of a series of deep circular bays in the coastlines of the southern, eastern, and northern seas marks their hypothetical character in the cartographical language of the Venetian monk. In this respect, Pomerania became fully “Europeanized”. The southern shores of the Baltic Sea (named *Sinus Germanicus* – German Gulf) have an equated outlook without the symbolic bays. The difference between them and the southern parts of Europe, so typical for the earlier nautical charts, disappeared. To the author, Pomerania

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52 The most complete and profound study of the Fra Mauro’s map in its cultural context to date: A. Cattaneo, *Fra Mauro’s Mappa Mundi and Fifteenth-Century Venice* (Turnhout 2011). Cf. W. Iwańczak, „Na progu czasów nowożytnych – kartograficzny obraz świata w twórczości Fra Mauro”, *Przegląd Historyczny* 91 (1992), 1, 24ff.

belonged in the known and recognized world. The country bears on the map its own name: *P[rovincia] pome[n]rania*<sup>53</sup>. The cartographer regarded it, however, as one of the countries of “lesser importance”: its name was inscribed with smaller letters in blue, while the names of adjacent Poland (*Polana*) and Prussia were inscribed with large letters in gold. Along the Eastern and Western Pomeranian coast Fra Mauro located some cities, identity of which, in some cases, has to remain a guess: *Dancech* (Gdańsk), *Lomborgo* (Lębork?), *Stolpa* (Słupsk), *Slago* (Sławno?), *Riuol* (?), *Presant* (?), *Treto* (?), *Uolgali* (Wolgast), *Gripsoldo* (Greifswald), and *Sondes* (Stralsund?), complemented with two names located further in the inland, by the Oder’s mouth: *P[rovincia] volgasta* (the province of Wolgast), and *Steuna* (Stettin)<sup>54</sup>. Noteworthy and difficult to explain is the omission of such important centers as Kołobrzeg and Kamień Pomorski. Furthermore, remarkable is the elaborate shape of the Oder’s mouth along with the Stettin Bay, different from both the standard circular *lacus Alech* of the medieval maritime cartography, and from its outlook on the Ptolemaic maps of the time.

The late medieval and early modern maritime cartography remained largely uninfluenced by the great achievement of Fra Mauro and the rapid development of the post-Ptolemaic regional maps. The traditional image of the Baltic Basin, rooted in the charts of Angelino Dulcert, which, in its oversimplification, contrasted sharply with the rest of the world, is to be found on the charts designed as late as in the second half of the 16<sup>th</sup> century. An example may be a Venetian chart of Georgio Sideri dated back to 1565, where the *prouincia Pomerania* is a completely empty space with an almost straight coastline and two circular, “Dulcertian” bays<sup>55</sup>. Modifications of this conventional image have probably usually had pure esthetical grounds, like on an anonymous, early 16<sup>th</sup> century nautical chart from the Lusitanian school, known as the Dijon portolan<sup>56</sup>. Its author amplified the straight coastline with a series of small bays, partially connected with unnamed rivers, which has little to do with real knowledge, but represents only an attempt of diminishing the visual contrast between the areas west and east of Jutland.

The breakthrough in the nautical cartography of the Baltic Basin was connected to the merchant aspirations of the Netherlands. The Dutch cartographers designed sea charts of the Baltic at least partly basing on the experiences gathered by their sailors, which resulted in a more exact image of its coastlines and the adjacent regions. Those new sea charts had in fact more in common with the tradition of the Renaissance regional cartography, than with the Late Medieval nautical charts, also from the visual

53 P. Falchetta, *Fra Mauro’s World Map*, 661.

54 *Ibidem*, 659 and 661.

55 M. de la Roncière, M.M. du Jourdin, *Portulane. Seekarten vom 13. bis zum 17. Jahrhundert* (München 1984), 235; Fig. 57.

56 *Ibidem*, 216; Fig. 27.

point of view. The difference to the earlier charts is already recognizable on the first chart from that group, the wood engraved “Caerte van Oostland” (the chart of the Eastern lands) by Cornelis Anthonisz (Anthoniszoon), first published in 1543<sup>57</sup>. Despite some mistakes, like the rotation of the coast west to Gdansk counterclockwise by 45 degrees, which caused a radical shortening of the map’s longitudinal extension, or situating the Rügen in the place of the Usedom or Wollin Islands, the chart brought on a new quality in the nautical mapmaking of Pomerania, especially when it comes to the Bay of Gdansk, and the Hel Peninsula. Another milestone in the formation of the image of Pomerania in Dutch nautical cartography, was the sea atlas “Spiegel de Zee-waerdt” (Mirror of the navigation) composed by a sailor and cartographer Lucas Janosz Waghenaer, published in two tomes in 1584 and 1585. The image of the southern Baltic shores was divided into three subsequent maps, which displayed the following segments: from Rügen to Kołobrzeg, from Kołobrzeg to Rozewie, the Bay of Gdansk and the Curonian Bay. The correctness and exactitude of the presented land increased radically. Not only the shores and locations were depicted, but also the characteristic elements of the topography, which could be useful from the sailor’s perspective, such as the deep points, cliffs, hills, fields, and orchards visible from the sea<sup>58</sup>. The work of Waghenaer enjoyed a significant popularity, and his maps had influenced the cartographical image of the Baltic until the 18<sup>th</sup> century.

### THE PTOLEMAIC MAPS AND THE BEGINNINGS OF THE REGIONAL CARTOGRAPHY IN THE LATE MIDDLE AGES

In 1397, a copy of the geographical treatise known as “Geography” and written by an Alexandrian scholar Claudius Ptolemy in the 2<sup>nd</sup> century A.D., was transported to Florence from Constantinople<sup>59</sup>. Shortly thereafter, “Geography” was translated from Greek into Latin. The work enjoyed an enormous popularity among the late medieval scholars and humanists, although different groups of recipients appreciated its different aspects: the previous as a source of scientific data, the latter as a monument of their beloved antiquity. Due to the authority of Ptolemy, who was already known among the West European scholars as the author of influential handbooks of astronomy and astrology, “Geography” stimulated and accelerated the increasingly observable efforts to

57 J. Szeliga, „Zarys rozwoju kartografii”, 22f.

58 Ibidem, 24; R. Skrycki, „Kartografia Pomorza Zachodniego”, in: S. Alexandrowicz, J. Łuczyński, S. Skrycki, *Historia kartografii ziem polskich do końca XVIII wieku* (Warszawa 2017), 289.

59 About the reception of the Ptolemy’s work in late medieval Europe cf. P. Gautier Dalché, *La Géographie de Ptolémée*, 143–288.

create a cartographic image based on the mathematical and astronomical calculations, and enhanced the development of regional cartography.

“Geography” is in fact an instruction for mapmakers to produce complete and correct maps. In order to do that, its author proposed an innovative solution – the use of a geographical projection. The work contains an explanation of the principles of the geographical projections, a gazetteer of ca. 8000 coordinates for all the places and geographical features mentioned in the work, and (not always) a set of maps<sup>60</sup>. The area, which, centuries after Ptolemy, got the name Pomerania, was placed in the known Ptolemaic atlases on the map *quarta Europae* of the Great Germania. The maps designed according to original instructions of Ptolemy could not present an exact and correct image of the region, as they were based on the state of knowledge of Alexandrian scholars from the late antiquity, for whom the Baltic Basin was a part of the unknown and hostile barbarian North<sup>61</sup>. On the oldest extant Ptolemaic maps, e.g. in the manuscript BJ 7805 from the collection of the Cracow Jagiellonian Library, the southern coastline of the “Germanic Ocean” has a form of an almost straight line, whereas the hinterland is filled with hardly identifiable names of towns, tribes, and rivers, the only attributable one is the *Vistula*.

Not much time had passed until the inconsistency between the Ptolemaic image of Europe and the observable geographical reality was recognized. As a result, a new category of maps emerged: the so-called *tabulae modernae* (modern maps). They were regional maps designed according to the actual state of knowledge, which either updated the image of the areas already present in the original Ptolemaic atlas, or represented territories not included there. Claudius Clavus, a geographer of Danish origin, active in the papal court in Rome, designed in 1427 the first known “modern map” which was meant to supplement a copy of “Geography” made for Cardinal Guillaume Fillastre. The map depicts the Scandinavian Peninsula and the Baltic Sea, it is also the first map of Pomerania made (theoretically) in a cartographic projection. The outlook of the area south of the Baltic Sea on Clavus’ map is very simplified and distorted, representing more the cartography of meanings, than of measure. The coast of the unnamed Western Pomerania was disproportionately extended in comparison to the extremely shortened section placed east to it, between two unnamed rivers or bays. The short section was captioned *Pomaria*, which indicates that it should represent the area between the Oder and Vistula, and the rivers/bays are analogues of the *lacus nerie* and *lacus alech* of the nautical charts. The small Pomerania seems to be, however, the only part of the southern Baltic region, which was positively, or at least neutrally, valued

60 It is unclear, whether the maps were included in the original work of the Alexandrian, or are a later Byzantine addition. In the standard form known in the Western Europe, the book contained one world map and 26 regional maps: 10 maps of Europe, 4 maps of Africa, and 12 maps of Asia.

61 Cf. J. Strzelczyk, *Odkrywanie Europy*, 2nd ed. (Poznań 2000), 301.

by the cartographer. Instead of typical choronyms, the adjacent areas were provided with emotionally-loaded inscriptions: *Slauorum regio insidiatrix* (the robbery land of Slavs) to the left, and a word-play *Peruersa Prutenorum nacio uelut nocio* (the perverse nation, or rather problem, of Pruthenians) to the right<sup>62</sup>. The latter certainly echoes the crusading perspective in the perception of Prussia and its native inhabitants, while the first is presumably explicable with some personal experiences, and/or with the then-widespread stereotypes about the Slavs, expressed e.g. in popular texts about the *nationum proprietates*<sup>63</sup>. The question about the cause for the lack of similar negative comment about Pomeranians has to be left unanswered. It could have resulted from a more positive attitude towards them, or simply by a lack of space on the map. The map of Claudius Clavus did not influence the way of presentation of Pomerania on later Ptolemaic “modern maps”. Not all of their makers, after all, had a clear notion of where the country named Pomerania could lie. An anonymous maker of a Ptolemaic world map, the so-called Zeitz Map (ca. 1470), located the inscription *litus pomeranie* (the coast of Pomerania) east of the Vistula’s mouth<sup>64</sup>, so for him the country began where the historical Pomerania, the one contemporary to him ended.

It was suggested, that Claudius Clavus and Cardinal Fillastre contributed in a way to the making of a lost map from the early 15<sup>th</sup> century, which plays an important role in the history of the cartography of Pomerania. The map in question was presented in 1421 by the Polish envoys to Pope Martin V, who was supposed to resolve the conflict between Poland and the Teutonic Order State. According to an account of a Teutonic general procurator Johann Tiergard, during the trial the Polish delegation presented *ein gemolit tuch inr gleichnisse einer mappe mundi* (a painted cloth similar to a *mappa-mundi*)<sup>65</sup>. With the map, the Poles tried to convince the head of the Church, that the contentious areas of the Chełmno Land and Pomerelia lie within the Polish borders, while later the Teutonic knights used the same map to show their own interpretation of the territorial extent of the Teutonic Order State. The lost artifact has for a long time aroused an understandable interest among researchers.

The mentioned event has been praised not only as the beginning of the Polish regional cartography, but also as a landmark in the history of diplomacy: the earliest known case, when a map was used to solve a conflict between two states<sup>66</sup>. Most historians overlooked, however, two earlier mentions in the sources which could possibly

62 W. Kowalenko, „Bałtyk i Pomorze”, 373f.

63 Cf. E. Walther, „Scherz und Ernst in der Völker- und Stämme-Charakteristik mittellateinischer Verse“, *Archiv für Kulturgeschichte* 41 (1959), 263–301.

64 H. Winter, “The changing face”, 51.

65 *Codex Epistolaris Saeculi Decimi Quinti*, Vol. 2: 1382–1445, ed. A. Lewicki (Kraków 1891), No. 95, 119.

66 B. Olszewicz, „Bernard Wapowski”, in: *Dziewięć wieków geografii polskiej: wybitni geografowie polscy*, ed. B. Olszewicz (Warszawa 1967), 53.

also relate to similar situations. According to the protocol of the 1413 trial, the procurator of the King of Poland presented to the papal judge *quandam cartham continentem grenicies regni Polonie circa illam partem, que vocatur Naklensis* (a chart, containing the borders of the Kingdom of Poland in their part, which is called ‘of Nakło’)<sup>67</sup>. The problem is, that the Latin word *cart(h)a* could denote either a cartographical image<sup>68</sup>, or a piece of parchment or paper with a text written on it. The second option seems to be more likely, as the above mentioned information in the protocol’s text is followed by an extensive and extremely detailed verbal description of the Polish-Pomeranian border close to Nakło, which could be possibly taken over from the *cartha*.

Seven years later, on 6 January 1420, Holy Roman Emperor Sigismund of Luxembourg issued in Wrocław a verdict as an arbitrator between Poland and the Teutonic Order. Later, an extensive “Justification” of this verdict was written. According to its text, both delegations supported their claims with some descriptions and “images/paintings” (*picturae*) presented to the Emperor the day before the arbitration’s end<sup>69</sup>. The context of the word *picturae* indicates here quite clearly that the author had cartographical images (i.e. maps) in mind<sup>70</sup>. Thus, the “date of birth” of the Polish cartography has to be brought forward for at least one year. Unfortunately, we are unable to solve the dilemma of whether the supposed Polish map or maps presented during the Wrocław arbitration was identical with the map presented following year to the Pope, or represented an earlier stage in the development of the cartographical image of the Polish-Pomeranian borderland and maybe provided a basis for the later, more sophisticated map.

Most of the Polish historians generally agree that the 1421 map had to be prepared purposely before the trial, simply because no earlier map of the controversial area made with sufficient accuracy existed. As we see, it isn’t true, but the above mentioned statement and the following considerations can be true, however, if we relate them to the map from Wrocław. The researchers differed in their assessment of the circumstances

67 Lites ac res gestae, T. 2, 310.

68 E.g.: A. Wojtkowski, „Tezy i argumenty polskie w sporach terytorialnych z Krzyżakami: część pierwsza (1310–1454)”, *Komunikaty Mazursko-Warmińskie* 10 (1966), 1, 56, who unambiguously translates *cartha* as „a map”, and K. Łopatecki, „Wykorzystanie map w działaniach strategicznych do 1586 roku w Koronie i Wielkim Księstwie Litewskim”, *Terminus* 19 (2017), 3, 514f.

69 A. Wojtkowski, „O nowo odkrytym tekście ‘Justyfikacji’ wyroku wrocławskiego w procesie polsko-krzyżackim r. 1419/20”. *Komunikaty Mazursko-Warmińskie* 12 (1968), 3, 545. Cf. A. Wojtkowski, „Tezy i argumenty”, 72; K. Łopatecki, „Wykorzystanie map”, 515.

70 Of course, one can’t exclude completely the possibility, that the *picturae* mentioned in the „Justification” had nothing to do with cartography. They could be paintings of some kind, e.g. portraits of the ancient Polish kings who ruled over Pomerelia, presented by the Polish delegation to Sigismund in order to make its claims more impressive and persuasive. However, the designation of maps as “paintings” was quite popular in the Late Medieval and Early Modern period. As late as in 1540s Stanisław Łaski wrote, that a wise military commander should possess “painted countries” (*malowane krainy*) in order to launch a successful campaign, K. Łopatecki, „Wykorzystanie map”, 516.

in which the lost artifact came into being<sup>71</sup>. Split were also the opinions about its outlook. The map should be either a presentation of the whole Poland and the Teutonic Order State, made in color, “carefully and magnificent, and [...] in large format”<sup>72</sup>, or a crude sketch of the Gdansk Pomerania. All these opinions were nothing but guesses, which had more to do with the intuitive presumptions of the historians, than with the historical reality. The sole facts we can extract from our source is the very existence of the map, and that it showed the location of some Teutonic castles in the controversial area. The phrase “a painted cloth”, and the comparison to a *mappamundi* can suggest a detailed piece of cartography in color, but the first one could also be only a loan translation from Latin, where the primary meaning of the word *mappa* was “a piece of cloth”. Thus, Tiergardt could have in mind any graphic spatial presentation, even a sketch made on a piece of paper or parchment during the hearing in the Papal Court or shortly before. A few years earlier, the Teutonic procurator Peter of Wormditt made use of a similar picture. In 1413, he sketched from memory a small map of Livonia during a meeting with the pope to explain to the head of the Church the location of the Dorpat bishopric<sup>73</sup>.

According to a theory of Bożena Strzelecka, recently repeated by Evelyn Edson, the very idea of using a map during the Polish-Teutonic trial, or maybe the person ordering of it, was inspired by the above-mentioned Cardinal Fillastre, who was a papal commissar during the trial of 1420–1421<sup>74</sup>. He was known from his pro-Polish attitude, and from his interests in geography and mapmaking. Moreover, he knew a potential executor of the map, one with sufficient cartographic skills and the knowledge about the Baltic Basin: Claudius Clavus<sup>75</sup>. Certainly the map in question, no matter if it was prepared for the trial in Rome, or for the Emperor’s arbitration, did not provide the basis for the known “modern map” of Northern Europe, because the controversial area was depicted on it with too small accuracy. Nevertheless, Clavus could have prepared a different map on the commission of Fillastre, later lost, and therefore not utilized

71 E.g.: F. Bujak, *Studja geograficzno-historyczne* (Kraków 1925), 107: the map was produced in Poland on a base of some not specified itineraries; B. Strzelecka, „Ze studiów nad geografią i kartografią XV w.”, *Czasopismo Geograficzne* 30 (1959), 313f: the map designed and produced in Italy using materials of the papal court; K. Buczek, *Dzieje kartografii polskiej od XV do XVIII wieku: zarys analityczno-syntetyczny* (Wrocław 1963), 16: a product of the Polish military intelligence, designed in connection with the Great War against the Teutonic Order in 1410.

72 F. Bujak, *Studja*, 108.

73 B. Olszewicz, „Dwie szkiecowe mapy Pomorza z połowy XV wieku”, *Strażnica Zachodnia* 8 (1937), 1, 43f.

74 B. Strzelecka, „Ze studiów...”, 309f; E. Edson, *The World Map*, 125.

75 Cf. P. Gautier Dalché, “L’œuvre géographique du cardinal Fillastre (+ 1428). Représentation du monde et perception de la carte à l’aube des découvertes”, in: *Humanisme et culture géographique à l’époque du Concile de Constance. Autour de Guillaume Fillastre. Actes du colloque de l’Université de Reims, 18–19 novembre 1999*, ed. D. Marcotte (Turnhout 2002), 293ff.

during the preparation of the known one. Of course, the cartographer had to use data provided by the Poles, and some of them could have a form of maps similar to the earliest preserved pieces of the Polish regional cartography, which came into being half a century later.

By chance (or not), those maps – the maps of Gdansk Pomerania, and of the Teutonic Pruthenia from the so-called Sędziwój Codex, depict the same territory as the lost map or maps of 1420 and 1421. The manuscript codex of the professor of Cracow Academy Sędziwój of Czechło, includes a collection of different historical and geographical texts, and among materials concerning the Thirteen Years' War, the mentioned maps are placed (pp. 636–637)<sup>76</sup>. They are crude sketches, consisting primarily of toponyms arranged on the page according to their spatial location, and supplemented with rivers marked with double wavy lines. A similar wavy line demarcates the sea shore. The first map (21 x 30 cm) consists of 74 place names spread across the area of Gdansk Pomerania, Warmia (Ermland), Chełmno and Michałów Lands. It ends on Słupia River in the west, and on Bydgoszcz (Bromberg) in the south. In the left lower corner of page 636 the author placed a separate section presenting the western part of Gdansk Pomerania with Lębork, Bytów, and Łeba, which did not fit onto the page in the right place. The second map (21 x 13,5 cm) shows the area of Teutonic Pruthenia east of Łyna (Alle) River, ending in Königsberg (*Krolowgrad*) in the north, and Neman River in the east.

Scholars recognized the relative accuracy of the maps. Of course, it is a level of accuracy achievable to a person who knew the depicted area from his own experience, and recreated it from memory without any special measurements. In the words of Bolesław Olszewicz, “a word cannot be said about strict conceptualization of the proportion between the maps' area, and the distances on them on the one hand, and the real area and distances on the other”<sup>77</sup>. The maps seem to present an example of the utilitarian cartography, made for the *ad hoc* purposes. Nevertheless, it has to be left unanswered what were these purposes, and who was the mapmaker. Joachim Lelewel, and later Wojciech Kętrzyński, Bolesław Olszewicz and others after them, had seen the mapmaker in the person of the chronicler and city writer from Gdansk, Johann Lindau<sup>78</sup>. Władysław Kowalenko tended to ascribe the making, or at least the copying of the maps, to Sędziwój himself<sup>79</sup>. Bożena Modelska-Strzelecka came to a conclusion,

76 Cf. W. Kowalenko, „Bałtyk i Pomorze”, 377ff; the reproductions of the maps: B. Olszewicz, „Dwie szkicowe mapy”, Pl. I and II. About the codex of Sędziwój: J. Wiesiołowski, *Kolekcje historyczne w Polsce średniowiecznej XIV–XV wieku* (Wrocław-Warszawa-Kraków 1967), 98–135.

77 „o ścisłym ujęciu stosunku powierzchni map i odległości na nich do powierzchni i odległości rzeczywistych nie ma mowy”, B. Olszewicz, „Dwie szkicowe mapy”, 37.

78 Ibidem, 44, where the discussion of the earlier historiography.

79 W. Kowalenko, „Bałtyk i Pomorze”, 375.

that the maps' author was no other than the chronicler Jan Długosz<sup>80</sup>. In contrast, there has been a general agreement among the scholars that the execution of the maps was in some way connected with the Thirteen Years' War, as the manuscript context indicates. However, F. Bujak was of opinion that they were designed at the beginning of the war<sup>81</sup>, while B. Olszewicz, W. Kowalenko and J. Wiesiołowski linked them to the peace negotiations between the Poles and the Teutonic Order at the war's end. Kowalenko pointed at the convergence of the Polish forms of the place names used on the map of Gdansk Pomerania with the Polish reasoning during the negotiations, as described by Długosz, according to whom the Polish adherence of the mentioned area was the most important argument in favor of its incorporation to the Crown of Poland<sup>82</sup>. Kowalenko's argument is, however, questionable, because the Polish forms of the place names were an obvious choice for a Polish speaking mapmaker, and it is unnecessary to link them with any special political events. According to B. Modelska-Strzelecka, the influence of the maps from the codex of Sędziwój is recognizable in the 16<sup>th</sup> century cartography of the eastern parts of Pomerania and adjacent territories, especially on the maps by Olaus Magnus (1532) and Heinrich Zell (1542)<sup>83</sup>. The maps from the Sędziwój Codex are the oldest examples of a much more widespread group of small local maps concerning different parts of Pomerania, made for practical purposes at least since the Late Middle Ages. Most of them certainly have not survived until our times. The earliest known piece of such local cartography from the Duchy of Pomerania, is a sketch of the border between four different manors in the district of Pyrzyce (Pyritz), dated 1551<sup>84</sup>.

In the second half of the 15<sup>th</sup> century, the invention of print found application also in the area of cartography. Among the incunabula maps were both traditional, encyclopedic-symbolical maps, and the products of the Ptolemaic cartography: original maps from "Geography", and the *tabulae modernae*. A point of reference for the early printed maps of Central-Eastern Europe was the work of Ptolemy. Most of these maps came to existence as the Ptolemaic *tabulae modernae*, or as derivatives of them. Regarded as an archetype of all the later maps is a lost map of Central Europe from the mid-15<sup>th</sup> century, prepared by Cardinal Nicholas of Cusa, one of the most prominent

80 A. Krawczyk, „Informacja o badaniach Bożeny Modelskiej-Strzeleckiej nad mapą Jana Długosza”, in: *Z dziejów kartografii*. Vol. XVII: *Kamienie milowe w kartografii*, eds. J. Ostrowski, P.E. Wespiański (Warszawa 2013), 86ff. Unfortunately, because the only account about the hypothesis of Modelska-Strzelecka is to find in her posthumously published notice, her arguments in favor of it remain unknown. She was, however, of opinion, that Długosz made also a lost map, which illustrated his description of Poland, the „Chorography”, *ibidem*, 92.

81 F. Bujak, *Studja*, 90.

82 W. Kowalenko, „Bałtyk i Pomorze”, 378f.

83 A. Krawczyk, „Informacja o badaniach”, 86ff.

84 K. Siedlik, „Analiza prawidłowości przedstawienia treści geograficznej na Wielkiej Mapie Pomorza Eilharda Lubinusa”, *Przegląd Zachodniopomorski* 29 (2014), 2, 20.

theologians and nature philosophers of his time. Some specific toponyms on the later Cusanus-based maps indicate that the Cardinal made use of certain data received from a Pole, probably Jan Długosz<sup>85</sup>.

Individual known variants of Cusanus' lost map differ in the level of exactitude and in the number of details. Their common distinctive feature is the "flattened" Baltic Sea without the northern turn in its eastern part, similar to the early sea charts. In consequence, the coasts of Pomerania and of southern Livonia were placed on almost the same latitude. The name of Pomerania is to be found on most variants of the map, located between the Vistula and Oder, which were disproportionately brought together, like on the map of Claudius Clavus. There is a possibility that the distortion of the coast line results from the presentation of the Bay of Gdansk' area in a different scale than the western part of the Pomeranian coast<sup>86</sup>. It would be a similar situation as in the case of the medieval maritime charts, where the Black Sea was disproportionately large in comparison to the Mediterranean Sea, probably due to the juxtaposition of two separate charts in different scales on an early stage of development of the sea charts in their known form. On the map by Francesco Roselli from the beginning of the 16<sup>th</sup> century the caption *POMERIA* is repeated twice east of Gdansk, on both sides of the unnamed Curonian Bay. It seems likely, that it is a result of the mapmaker's mistake – confusing Stettin Bay with Curonian Bay. The mistake is, however, significant, as it demonstrates that on the mental map of an Italian cartographer of the time, the name Pomerania was associated with the southern part of the Baltic Basin in general, and not with a specific set of data, like the place names, or rivers. The location of the region in the imaginative geography of the southern European intellectuals had not been fully established yet.

The image of Pomerania on the previously mentioned maps is devoid of details and reduced to partially distorted names of the main cities. More Pomeranian cities and towns, although in some cases with unidentifiable names, appeared on a copper-plate engraved map from 1491, known as the Eichstätt map, or Cusanus' map type B, ascribed to the renowned cartographer Nicolaus Germanus by some historians<sup>87</sup>. It was likely the longitudinal "squeezing" of the area between the Oder and Vistula, and a lack of space connected with them, which caused the placement of the inscription *POMERANIA* deep in the inland, south of *PRVSSIA*. Another specific feature of the map, is the Stettin Bay with wide connection to the open sea, described as *MARE*

85 K. Buczek, *Dzieje kartografii*, 17–21.

86 Such a supposition was made by J. Szeliga, „Zarys rozwoju kartografii”, 18.

87 K. Buczek, *Dzieje kartografii*, 19; reproduction of the map: *ibidem*, Pl. II. Cf. M. Stelmach, *Historia kartografii*, 21f.; J. Łuczyński, „Ziemie polskie i litewskie na mapach Mikołaja z Kuzy i jej wariantach”, in: S. Alexandrowicz, J. Łuczyński, S. Skrycki, *Historia kartografii ziem polskich do końca XVIII wieku* (Warszawa 2017), 52f.

*RECES[SUM]* (a recessed sea). On the eastern end of the region, the Bay of Gdansk was radically reduced, and the Vistula Spit was enlarged, becoming an island named *INSULA NERE*, which could be translated as “The Island of [Frische] Nehrung”.

The earliest known “Cusanus” map of the so-called type A is a manuscript map of Heinrich Martellus from the end of the 15<sup>th</sup> century<sup>88</sup>. The map is less detailed and devoid of the cartographic grid. Martellus outlined the southern coastline of the Baltic Sea in a slightly different way than it was done on the Eichstätt map, and omitted a line of hills which extended along the coast, as well as the island in the Bay of Gdansk/Vistula Bay. The vignette with the name of Pomerania (*POMARIA*) was located more precisely, closer to the sea. The names of the cities and towns are the same on both versions of the map. The name of Pomerania had not yet appeared on the Ptolemaic “modern map” of the Baltic Basin, prepared and signed by Nicolaus Germanus, and published for the first time in Leinhart Holle’s edition of Ptolemy’s “Geographia” (Ulm 1482)<sup>89</sup>. The longitudinal extension of the unnamed land was drastically reduced in the manner of Claudius Clavus. The only place names are Gdansk (*Dantzig*) and Stettin (*Stetin*), located correctly by the Vistula and unnamed Oder River. The outlook of its coastline is of a mere conventional character and has almost nothing to do with the reality, although the cartographer marked a small peninsula north of Gdansk, which could possibly represent Hel, if it doesn’t appear there only by chance.

For many European, and especially Central European readers, the first opportunity to locate Pomerania on a map, was provided by a simplified, wood engraved version of the Cusanus’ map type A, prepared by Hieronymus Münster for the illustrated “Liber Chronicarum” of Hartmann Schedel – one of the most ambitious editorial enterprises of the incunabel era, published in Nuremberg in 1493. Interestingly, the inscription *POMERN* was one of the few names in German form among generally Latin nomenclature of the map. Other German land name forms on the map are concentrated in its northern part, mainly in Scandinavia, which could indicate that in the imagined world of Nuremberg humanists of the late 15<sup>th</sup> century the region belonged to the “wild” North, contrary to the other countries on the southern and eastern shores of the Baltic Sea, whose Latin names confirmed their affiliation with the “normal”, “civilized” world<sup>90</sup>. The toponymy of the area in question is reduced to the most important cities:

88 Cf. *ibidem*, 52. Reproduction of the map: K. Buczek, *Dzieje kartografii*, Pl. V.

89 About the Ulm editions of „Geography” and the person of Nicolaus Germanus: J. Babicz, „Donnus Nicolaus Germanus – Probleme seiner Biographie und sein Platz in der Rezeption der ptolemäischen Geographie“, in: *Land- und Seekarten im Mittelalter und in der frühen Neuzeit*, ed. C. Koeman (München 1980), 9ff; M. Herkenhoff, *Die Darstellung außereuropäischer Welten in Drucken deutscher Offizinen des 15. Jahrhunderts* (Berlin 1996), 86ff.

90 On perceiving of the Slavic Central Eastern Europe by 15<sup>th</sup>-century German humanists as a region of the barbarian North cf. H.-J. Bömelburg, *Polska myśl historyczna a humanistyczna historia narodowa (1500–1700)*, transl. Z. Owczarek (Kraków 2011), 99ff.

Gdansk (*Danczgo*) on the right(!) bank of Vistula, and two locations in the West Pomerania: Stettin (*Stetin*) and Greifswald (*Grispalt*). The hydrography is represented by two main rivers: the Vistula (*Vistula fl[uuius]*), and the Oder (*Adera fl[uuius]*), each with an unnamed left-bank tributary.

## THE RENAISSANCE CARTOGRAPHY

The new developments in the late medieval European cartography culminated in the late 15<sup>th</sup> and early 16<sup>th</sup> century. The growing popularity of printed maps contributed greatly to a change in the ways of conceptualizing the space by the Europeans. The basic form of presentation of geographical space became now a visual, cartographical image, which superseded a verbal (oral or written) description typical for the earlier period. Maps of the whole world and of separate countries and regions abounded, representing a new type of map – the Renaissance map. Those new maps represent, in fact, a synthesis of all the earlier branches of cartography: the encyclopedic-symbolical, the maritime, and the Ptolemaic, with the preponderance of the last one. The persons ordering the maps, and the executors, usually paid much greater attention to the esthetical value. The map or chart was now supposed to present not only geographical content and/or narratives about the past, present, and future, which endow sense and identity to its users, but also manifest spiritual or political pretensions. All those purposes remained valid, especially the last one. Yet, one of the most important aims of a map was now bringing pleasure to the spectator's eyes. Pieces of cartography sometimes became pieces of art. Increasingly widespread became also the utilitarian role of the map. Compared to the previous era, maps and charts were intended to be useful in a modern sense of the word<sup>91</sup>, and were more and more frequently used in a variety of situations such as a war and a travel, or in planning of both.

One of the first utilitarian maps of the new kind, was the wood engraving road map, known as the "Romweg-Karte" (The map of the roads leading to Rome), prepared by a Nuremberg cartographer Erhard Etzlaub on the occasion of the Holy Year 1500. This first road map of Germany was created for pilgrims traveling to Rome, and accordingly presented primarily the roads which could be used by them. One year later, a second, improved edition of the map appeared. Etzlaub enlarged it, extended its coverage, and made it more precise by adding other roads<sup>92</sup>. Both versions of the map included the territory of Pomerania (*POMERN*). For the first time the cartographical

91 The medieval *mappaemundi* or maps of the Holy Land were also regarded as „utilitary” by the contemporaries, but their utility consisted in supporting the user in his/her way to salvation.

92 L. Zögner, *Imago Germaniae. Das Deutschlandbild der Kartenmacher in fünf Jahrhunderten* (Weissenhorn 1996), 13.

image of Pomerania consisted not only of towns, the sea shore, and main rivers. On the map from 1500, the main towns and cities of the province were connected with a road, which in turn connects them with the rest of the road network of the Holy Roman Empire, and subsequently with Rome. Thus, the province was symbolically integrated by the cartographer within the German, Christian, civilized world. The map's content can in a way be considered as a symbolical demonstration of the dominance of Germans' civilization over their eastern neighbors, marked with the lack of roads on the territory of the bordering Kingdom of Poland, with exception of a short section from Krakow to the border of Bohemia<sup>93</sup>. The Pomeranian road to Rome ran from Gdansk (*Dantzik*), through Lębork (*lewenborg*), Słupsk (*stolpe*), Koszalin? (*kosselm*), Goleniów? (*gollnaiü*), and Szczecin (*Stetin*), and further S-W via Berlin. On the map, among other significant places, one can find a Marian sanctuary Chełmska Góra (*Golnberg Maria*), the bishop seat in Kamień Pomorski (*Camyn*), and the island of Wollin (*Iulyn*). Equally remarkable is the name "Pomeranian Sea" (*Das pomerish mer*), ascribed by Etzlaub to a section of the Baltic Sea located off the shore of Pomerania. The exceptionally detailed and correct image of Pomerania on the "Romweg-Karte", was modified on its later version. The outlook of the coast of the "Pomeranian Sea" became more fitting near Gdansk. A second road from this city, leading along Vistula River up to Torun, and further bifurcating towards Cracow and Poznan, was added. Therefore, the original contrast between the road-full Reich and a road-less Poland was partially reduced. The three above-mentioned additional Pomeranian locations disappeared from the map, and the run of the main road was corrected.

The road map of Erhard Etzlaub visually integrated the early modern Pomerania within the Holy Roman Empire. A quarter of century later another one of the later lost maps in the history of the Pomeranian cartography came into existence. Contrastively, it presented the province as a part of the Poland-dominated Central-Eastern Europe. The author of the wood engraving map, published in 1526 by the Cracow printer Florian Ungler, was Bernard Wapowski, "the father of the Polish cartography"<sup>94</sup>. A "modern map" by Marco Beneventano is considered Wapowski's first attempt in amendment of the cartographical image of Central Europe, and was included in the edition of Ptolemy's "Geography" printed in Rome in 1507. The theory about Wapowski's influence on the map's outlook is based on the presence of two seemingly insignificant locations: Wapowice (*Vapovicze*) and Radochonice (*Radochoniza*), which were respectively the

93 On the late medieval stereotype about lacking good roads and bridges in Poland, symbolizing its civilizational inferiority, cf. A.F. Grabski, *Polska w opiniach Europy Zachodniej XIV-XV w.* (Warszawa 1968), 116f.

94 On the life and cartographic achievements of Bernard Wapowski: B. Modelska-Strzelecka, „Bernard Wapowski”, in: *Copernicana Cracoviensia*, Vol. 3: *Krakowski krąg Mikołaja Kopernika, Zeszyty Naukowe Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego. Prace Historyczne*, 42 (Kraków 1973), 25–42.

main manor of cartographer's family and his place of birth<sup>95</sup>. Apart from this, numerous place names appear in their Polish forms, an occurrence untypical for a map made in Italy. The map from the 1507 Ptolemy's "Geography" is based on Nicholas of Cusa's prototype, but in comparison to its other known version the number of marked locations increased, their longitudes and latitudes are more precise, and the outlook of the Baltic coast is slightly amended. An inscription *POME-RANIA* is divided in half by the Szczecin Bay, which indicates a more political than geographical understanding of the name, because its location reflects the actual contemporary coverage of the Duchy of Pomerania. The cartographical image of Pomerania is less detailed than that of the rest of Poland<sup>96</sup>. It may reflect its lesser significance in the mental geography of Wapowski, at least possibly during the Italian period of his life or earlier, when he collected the data he put to use in the creation of the Ptolemaic "modern map".

After coming back to Poland, Wapowski continued his cartographical activities. On October 18, 1526 the King of Poland Sigismund I issued a privilege for Florian Ungler, allowing him to print three maps composed by Wapowski. One of them was supposed to depict Poland (i.e. the Kingdom of Poland), Mazovia, and the Balkans, the second one Pruthenia, Pomerania, Samogitia, and the Grand Duchy of Lithuania. The third one was meant to be a general map of Central-Eastern Europe, which comprised all the enumerated lands<sup>97</sup>. The maps by Wapowski were highly unfortunate. During the great fire of Cracow, two years after they came into print, the wooden plates burned down with the rest of the unsold exemplars of maps. Their fragments were unearthed by chance in 1932 in the Central Archives of Historical Records (AGAD) in Warsaw, in the bindings of the acts of the salt mine in Bochnia. Twelve years later they were burned too, during the Warsaw Uprising. Earlier, in 1939, Germans destroyed the print of the map's critical edition. Only a few exemplars survived, and the copies made basing on them are now the only source of our knowledge about the exact outlook of Wapowski's achievement.

The relatively crudely executed maps by Wapowski were not a great achievement in terms of their esthetical value, but have been highly praised by scholars because of their extraordinary exactitude, in the measure of time, of course<sup>98</sup>. Unfortunately, none of their known fragments belongs to the map of Pomerania. The known sheet of the map of Poland contains, however, a southern part of the region, reaching the latitude of Starogard Gdański (*Stargart*) and Białogard (*Belgrot*) in the north, and extending from

95 J. Łuczyński, „Ziemie polskie i litewskie”, 57.

96 W. Kowalenko, „Bałtyk i Pomorze”, 381; J. Szeliga, „Zarys rozwoju kartografii”, 18.

97 K. Buczek, *Dzieje kartografii*, 24.

98 Cf. e.g. *ibidem*, 30f; W. Kowalenko, „Bałtyk i Pomorze”, 384, and lately Z.G. Török, “Renaissance Cartography in East-Central Europe, ca. 1450–1650”, in: *History of Cartography*, Vol. 3, ed. D. Woodward (Chicago-London 2007), 1817.

Sztum (*Stum*) and Kwidzyń (*Quidzin*) in the east to Drahim (*Draym*) and Białogard in the west. The cartographer marked a large number of locations, a detailed river network, and even the main forests, especially the Noteć Forest. The seats of bishops and of the archbishop were marked with their respective signs of power. The towns and cities were labeled with small buildings, which differ between individual cases. Certainly, in that way the location's size was marked, but it is hard to determine whether there was some deliberate reasoning behind the choice of a specific vignette for a town, or not.

The maps which Bernard Wapowski composed on his own as well as together with Marco Beneventano, were, nonetheless, known and acknowledged among the European cartographers of the time. The last one of them likely influenced e.g. the 1513 "Tabula moderna Sarmatie Eur[opeane]" by the famous Alsatian cartographer Martin Waldseemüller, where the image of Eastern Pomerania is, however, extremely simplified<sup>99</sup>. More detail of the region is to be found on the second of his "modern maps" of Central and Eastern Europe: "Tabula moderna Germanie", the main source for which provided the second redaction of the Erhard Etzlaub's road map. The cartographer also used the map of Beneventano/Wapowski, but its influence is noticeable mostly on the territory of the Kingdom of Poland<sup>100</sup>. With the inscription *PO-ME-RIA-NA* Waldseemüller denotes the whole territory between the Vistula and lower Spree, which erroneously disembogues to the sea on said map. Noteworthy is the unusual form of the land's name, probably caused by a conflation of two variants: "Pomeria" from the later maps by Cusanus, and the more appropriate "Pomerania". The map's author repeated most of Etzlaub's Pomeranian place names and redrew his outlook of the coastline, including the connection of Wollin Island with the mainland in the west. An even more exact copy of Etzlaub's image of Pomerania is contained in the "Carta itineraria Europae" (The road map of Europe) prepared by Waldesemüler in 1520, which depicts not only the locations, but also the roads between them. The location of Pomerania on two different "modern maps" by Waldeseemüller reflects a general problem of Ptolemy-influenced imaginative geography of European humanistic elites in the late 15<sup>th</sup> and early 16<sup>th</sup> century: an ambivalent status of the territory between the Vistula and the Oder. According to the Alexandrian geographer both belonged to Germania Magna, but on the other hand there was a strong tendency to conceptualize them as a part of Sarmatia, because Poland, which partially extended between those rivers, was increasingly often identified with the ancient land of Sarmatians<sup>101</sup>. This ambivalence affected primarily

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99 J. Łuczyński, „Ziemie polskie i litewskie”, 59.

100 Ibidem, 60.

101 Cf. T. Ulewicz, *Sarmacja. Studium z problematyki słowiańskiej XV i XVI wieku*, 2nd ed. (Kraków 2006), 63ff.

the image of Poland and its inhabitants, but simultaneously, to a limited degree, of its northern neighbor, Pomerania.

Scholars have found traces of Wapowski's achievements also on other maps. One of them is a masterpiece of the Renaissance cartography of the European North, the "Carta marina et Descriptio septentrionalium terrarum ac mirabilium rerum in eis contentarum" (A marine map and Description of the northern lands and of their marvels) by the Swedish catholic ecclesiastic and cartographer Olaus Magnus. Printed in Venice in 1539, the richly decorated map of the Baltic Sea and the Scandinavian Peninsula gives us an insight into what the area of Pomerania on the map by Wapowski could look like. It was suggested that the map's author received his information about the lands south to the Baltic in Poland, where he spent some time in exile after the victory of the Reformation in Sweden. His informer there could have probably been Wapowski himself, or an erudite and a connoisseur of geography, bishop of Chełmno, Johannes Dantiscus<sup>102</sup>. In fact, the map by Olaus Magnus begins in the south, where the known fragment of Wapowski's map of Poland ends in the north. In the map's concept of space, the name of Pomerania was connected with the western part of the Duchy of Pomerania, located on the left bank of the Oder. At least in this area the cartographer placed the legend *POMERANIA DVCA TVS*, although it could be only a matter of finding an empty space on the map, large enough to put the country's name in. The settlement and the river network on the Pomeranian area, as well as the coastline, were depicted on a relatively high level of detail, including lighthouses. It is, however, to be remembered, that the seeming exactitude of the coasts, not only on the map by Olaus Magnus but on the most Renaissance maps as well, is only a purposely created impression, which has little to do with the later cartography of measurement, and is in fact almost as conjectural as on the medieval *mappaemundi*. Their run was usually based on a guess, or copying an earlier piece of cartography, and only in rare cases the source of information for the mapmaker was provided from an oral relation of a sailor, or by other traveler, as well as an astronomical measurement. The Olaus Magnus' map was, however, the first known map, which presented the correct shape of the Baltic Sea with its main, north-eastern axis<sup>103</sup>. Its unique feature is the demarcation of the freezing zones of the sea, located also along the coast of Pomerania, beginning approximately in Rostock in the west. It can be regarded as an original attempt to document the contemporary climate changes; they were leading to gradual expansion of the freezing zones on the Baltic Sea, which turned its waters into *mare congelatum* (a frozen sea) or *mare concretum* (a hardened sea) which in the ancient and the medieval tradition was sometimes mentioned as one of the incredible marvels of the North.

102 S. Alexandrowicz, *Rozwój kartografii Wielkiego Księstwa Litewskiego od XV do połowy XVIII wieku*, 2nd ed. (Poznań 1989), 31.

103 J. Szeliga, „Zarys rozwoju kartografii”, 19.

As far as we can deduct from the later maps, Wapowski's image of Central-Eastern Europe had influenced forms of its cartographical visualization for a century. Gradually, however, the new image superseded the earlier cartographical tradition rooted in the map of Nicholas of Cusa. The influence of Cusanus' map is noticeable in works produced at least until mid-16<sup>th</sup> century. Among its later versions, which show most of its distinctive features, was e.g. a woodcut map of the Venetian engraver, publisher, and cartographer Giovanni Andrea Vavassore, dated ca. 1530<sup>104</sup>. It differs from the early redactions of the map type B mainly in the more corrupted names, eg. *Pomeria* instead of *Pomerania* (a typical form in the cartography of the time), more conventional outlook of the coastline, and a large island located in the mouth of the *mare reces[sum]* (i.e. Stettin Bay). Among the mid-16<sup>th</sup> century "Wapowski-based" maps of Europe with the most detailed and cartographically correct image of Pomerania, was the 1555 map of the German cartographer and instrument maker Caspar Vopel (Vopelius), later published twice by Bernard van der Putte<sup>105</sup>.

Among other highly important maps which influenced the cartographical image of Pomerania, was the map of Poland, by Waclaw Grodecki. Made likely in 1557 during his study in Leipzig, it was anonymously published for the first time on wood engraved plates in 1562 in Basel<sup>106</sup>. In his work, Grodecki probably used the maps by B. Wapowski, M. Waldseemüller, H. Zell, S. Porębski, some written sources, and astronomical measurements<sup>107</sup>. Later, his map of *Polonia* provided a source for other Polish and West European maps, i.a. the map from the world atlas "Theatrum orbis terrarum" (The theatre of the globe) by Abraham Ortelius, published for the first time in 1573. The Brabantian cartographer collected the best maps known to him, and after certain modifications put them together, creating one of the most popular and valued sources of cartographical knowledge for at least half of a century. The following editions had been corrected and enlarged by Ortelius until his death in 1598, but each of them contained the original map mentioned here. Due to the coverage of Grodecki's map, it presented only the eastern part of the Duchy of Pomerania on the right bank of the Oder. The scholars pointed out that there are three areas discernible on the map, each on different level of accuracy. The image of Pomerania belongs to the intermediate one,

104 K. Buczek, *Dzieje kartografii*, 20f; reproduction of the map: *ibidem*, Pl. III.

105 *Ibidem*, 25 and 28; reproduction of the relevant fragment of the map: *ibidem*, Pl. XIII.

106 *Ibidem*, 32; reproduction of the map: *ibidem*, Pl. XV; J. Łuczyński, „Ziemie polskie w kartografii drugiej połowy XVI w.”, in: S. Alexandrowicz, J. Łuczyński, S. Skrycki, *Historia kartografii ziem polskich do końca XVIII wieku* (Warszawa 2017), 84.

107 *Ibidem*, 86f.

with location errors of ca. 20–100 km<sup>108</sup>. Its untypical feature was the use of a mixture of German, Latin, and Polish forms of place names<sup>109</sup>.

In the 16<sup>th</sup>-century cartography, Pomerania appeared to be a region too small and/or too insignificant to be marked on the maps of the world, but important enough to appear on the majority of general maps of Europe, and on the regional maps of Central, Eastern, or Northern Europe. A typical cartographical image of Pomerania consisted of its name, usually in Latin or German, the two main rivers – the lower Oder and Vistula, and of the main cities, including Stettin, Słupsk/Stolp, Kammin/Kamiień Pomorski, and Wolgast, as well as Gdansk in the Pomerelia. Sometimes the Bays of Stettin and of Gdansk are to be seen, the first one usually presented with an open mouth of the Oder, and without the islands of Wollin and Usedom. It is not clear in all cases, whether the mapmaker knew for sure which area exactly should the name of Pomerania be connected with, as well as that it is to be placed somewhere south to the Baltic Sea. The map of the North by Abraham Ortelius, partially based on the Olaus Magnus' "Carta Marina", provides an example, where an inscription *Pomeraniae pars* (a part of Pomerania), located quite deep in the inland, indicates that there exists a further part of the region outside the map, although in fact it contains not only the whole Pomerania, but also northern, unnamed Poland. On the other hand, however, in case of other maps in Ortelius' atlas, e.g. the map of Europe (1572), the inscription *POMERN* is located correctly. The location of the region's name (or even its omission) could have derived, in individual cases, from a confluence of different factors, which not necessarily reflected the cartographer's actual mental geography. The availability of sources, the amount of place on the map, the technical issues connected with the production process of the wood engraved plates or copperplates, etc., could have been among them.

### **DUCHY OF POMERANIA AS AN INDEPENDENT THEME IN THE RENAISSANCE CARTOGRAPHY**

For a long time, the role played by the independent Pomerania and its rulers from the House of Griffins, as well as by the Teutonic and Polish Pomerelia in the North- and Central European affairs of the late Middle Ages and the Early Modern period, did not translate into the region's more important role in European imaginative geography. During the 16<sup>th</sup> century, the region's name had become, though, an integral part of the cartographical image of Europe. It appeared on the general maps of Europe and regional maps of Poland, Germany, or (in the post-Ptolemaic nomenclature of the time)

108 Ibidem, 85.

109 J. Łuczyński, „Północne i północno-zachodnie pogranicze na szesnastowiecznych mapach Polski i jej sąsiadów”, in: *Cartographia confinium. Zachodnie i północne ziemie Rzeczypospolitej w dawnej kartografii*, eds. E. Jaworski, R. Skrycki (Gorzów 2009), 25.

Germania, and Sarmatia. However, one would have to wait until the mid-1540s, when Pomerania was finally being treated as a separate territorial unit deserving a description of its own in text and on a map within general descriptions of the whole world. It was one of the most renowned humanist scholars of the time, the geographer, cartographer and Hebraist, Sebastian Münster, who, in his “Cosmographia”, included a chapter about Pomerania, illustrated with a map.

Münster’s first work in geography was a 1540 edition of Ptolemy’s “Geography” improved with his own “modern maps”, among which, however, not one presented the territory on the southern Baltic shore. The Ptolemy of Münster was followed by his own treatise, “Cosmographia”, published initially in the German language in 1544<sup>110</sup>. Until the beginning of the 17<sup>th</sup> century the work had had 35 editions in the original version, as well as in other languages, like Latin, French, Italian, English, and Czech. It became one of the most popular and influential geographical works of the late 16<sup>th</sup> century all over Europe. Münster’s *opus magnum* is regarded as an apogee of the tradition of Early Modern descriptive geography<sup>111</sup>. It belonged to the genre of Renaissance cosmography in its specific, German variant, rooted in the Medieval encyclopedic writings of the type called *imago mundi*, aimed at providing an exhaustive image of the known world, including not only a geographical description in its strict sense, but also historical, political, religious and “ethnographical” information, with a strong “Germanocentric” tendency.

Münster divided his work into six books, the third of which is devoted to Germania, understood in the German-humanistic manner of time not as the ancient, Ptolemaic region, or the Holy Roman Empire, but as the southern Baltic lands. One of the described provinces was the *Landt Pomern/Regio Pomeraniae*. The description for Münster was provided by a leading Pomeranian Lutheran scholar, Petrus Artopoeus (Peter Becker)<sup>112</sup>. It contained a general outlook of the province’s history, description of the main cities including the legendary Vineta, a genealogy of the Griffin House, a description of the Rügen Island, and information about the confessional affairs in the province. All this was supplemented with the above-mentioned first separate map of

110 About the Renaissance genre of cosmography in general, and the German Renaissance “geographhistorians” cf. M. McLean, *The Cosmographia of Sebastian Münster. Describing the World in the Reformation* (Aldershot 2007), 87–143; on Münster’s work: *ibidem*, 143–342, N. Broc, *La géographie de la Renaissance* (Paris 1980), 77–84. The full title of the first edition was: “Cosmographia. Beschreibung aller Lender durch Sebastianum Munsterum, in welcher begriffen Aller völcker, Herrschafften, Stetten und namhafftiger flecken, herkommen: Sitten, gebreüch, ordnung, glauben, secten vnd hantierung, durch die gantze welt, vnd fürnemlich Teutscher nation. Was auch besonders in iedem landt gefunden, vnnnd darin beschehen sey. Alles mit figuren vnd schönen landt taflen erklert, vnd für augen gestelt“.

111 N. Broc, *La géographie*, 77.

112 [S. Münster], *Cosmographia universalis Sebastiani Münsteri* (Basileae 1550), 766.

the region, also ascribed to Artopoeus, in a scale estimated in ca. 1:1000000<sup>113</sup>. Contrary to some other maps in “Cosmographia”, e.g. that of Poland, the “Tabula Pomeraniae secundum omnes principatus & insigniores ciuitates, oppida & arces eius” (The map of Pomerania, according to its duchies, and the more important cities, towns, as well as castles) had a large, two-page format. It is hard to determine, which factor contributed to this choice: the region’s importance on Münster’s mental map of Europe, a desire to present a less known territory to the readers, or simply its elongated shape.

The verbal and cartographical descriptions of Pomerania in “Cosmographia” were prepared with an active participation of the local elites, including the royals: the duke of Pomerania-Stettin, Barnim XI, and of Pomerania-Wolgast, Philip I. The official nature of the collected resources was emphasized by their delivery to the Münster’s studio in Basel by Philip’s chancellor Jakob von Zitzewitz himself<sup>114</sup>. The geography of Pomerania in “Cosmographia” is also geography of power. A dominating element of the map is a decorative line of the coats of arms at the top. For the first time in the cartography of the region, its political borders were marked. Pomerania was not presented as a homogenous territorial unit, but as a whole, consisting of distinctive, although not clearly separated parts, named among which were: Upper Pomerania (*Ober Pomern*) in the west, Lower Pomerania (*Vnder Pomern*) in the east, *Casubia*, *Vandalia*, the Duchies of Stettin (*Hertzogthum Stetin*) and of Wolgast, as well as the islands of Usedom and Rügen. Due to its different political affiliation, Pomerelia was left outside the marked borders of Pomerania and only partially presented on the map, but nevertheless deserved information about both its former and present political status in a colophon inserted in the right lower corner. The content of the map is generally consistent with the accompanying text, including the sunken city of Vineta, which appeared on a map for the first time. The city was located in the sea near Usedom, according to the then-dominating Pomeranian tradition, for the first time written down by Augustin of Stargard in the 14<sup>th</sup> century, and repeated in Münster’s time by Thomas Kantzow<sup>115</sup>. The settlement network is represented with 77 cities and towns, and the natural landscape by the rivers, lakes, hills, and coastal dunes “in form of a caterpillar”<sup>116</sup>, as well as randomly placed trees. An inscription *Mare Pomeraniae* (The Sea of Pomerania) placed over the coastline can be regarded as an additional persuasive element on the map, which was meant to emphasize the maritime aspect of the Griffins’ reign – a significant question

113 R. Skrycki, „Kartografia Pomorza”, 290.

114 M. Stelmach, *Historia kartografii*, 35–38; M. Stelmach, „Zarys dziejów kartografii pomorskiej (XVI–XVIII w.)”, in: *Z dziejów kartografii*. Vol. IX: *Mapy południowego Bałtyku*, ed. M. Stelmach (Szczecin 1997), 36.

115 Cf. M. Rusakiewicz, *Wineta. Korzenie legendy i jej recepcja w historiografii zachodniopomorskiej do XVI wieku* (Wrocław 2016), 75ff and 109.

116 M. Stelmach, „Zarys dziejów kartografii pomorskiej (XVI–XVIII w.)”, 38.

for receivers from the era, when “ruling the waves” played such an important role in politics and economy.

Due to immense popularity of Münster’s work, Petrus Artopoeus’ map influenced the region’s perception in the European imaginative geography, and because it was the only one cartographical description of Pomerania for a long time, it was later used in yet another influential work – the atlas by Abraham Ortelius. Ortelius’ atlas was prepared in the form of copper printing plates, which positively affected the clarity of the original wood engraving map of Pomerania. The authors of the previous maps, including Artopoeus/Münster, treated this country as a part of large, post-Ptolemaic regions of Sarmatia or Germania. Ortelius, as the first cartographer, put it into a context of another tradition, giving the map the title “Pomeraniae, Wandalicae regionis typ[us]” (The image of Pomerania, a region of Vandals). In the Middle Ages, the name of the late antique people of Vandals was generally used as an “additional” designation of Slavs in general, or of the Polabian Slavs. From the 13<sup>th</sup> century onwards, Polish intellectuals had used it as a means to express the Slavic aspect of the Poles’ own identity. As mentioned above, in the following century, the Vandalic tradition was adapted by Augustin of Stargard in order to demonstrate the dominance of the Pomeranians as the only “true” Vandals among other Slavs. The Pomeranian-Vandalic tradition was further developed by humanists, and became an integral part of the elites of the Duchies of Pomerania. Thus, Ortelius, even more than his predecessor, accented the independence of Pomerania, if not in the real world, then in the world of imaginations. The image of Pomerania on the map from Ortelius’ atlas did not differ much from its reference. The most visible difference was the name of the “Pomeranian Sea” replaced by a more common form “Baltic Sea” (*Balticum mare*). The place names, the rivers’ course, and the outlook of the coastline remained generally unchanged; the information about Pomerelia was retained too.

The Artopoeus’ map in its Ortelius’ version was also used by an author of another late-16<sup>th</sup> century atlas titled “Theatri orbis terrarum enchiridion” (A handbook to the theatre of the globe), an Antverpian engraver Philipp Galle (1585). The atlas by Galle was a smaller, simplified, and cheaper version of the work of Ortelius, with the copper-plate maps supplemented by Latin descriptions in verse composed by Hugo Favolius. Galle’s map of Germania confirms that despite marking the Pomeranian borders on the Artopoeus/Ortelius map, the region’s location and extent were not an unambiguous question at that time. The large inscription *Po-me-ran-ia* is scattered all over a large area, including not only the proper Pomerania, but also the northern part of Greater Poland, with a south-eastern ending near Pyzdry. The map of Pomerania kept most features of the earlier versions, although a condensation of the place names as a result of its smaller dimensions made them less legible and less accurately located. Galle cut the original map west of Usedom, probably in order to fit it onto the page.

The explanation provided in the accompanying description states, that the country's borders are the Vistula and the Oder<sup>117</sup>. Hence, the understanding of the name Pomerania was changed from political to a purely geographical one.

At the beginning of the 17<sup>th</sup> century it became increasingly evident, that the map of Artopoeus/Münster/Ortelius did not stand up to the current standards in cartography, while an appropriately exact and correct map of a country was then regarded not only as an important instrument of a good and modern government, but also as a necessary element of the inner and external propaganda of the Prince. Philip II, Duke of Pomerania-Stettin, a man of extraordinary erudition, highly interested in art and science, was among the people who realized this situation. He commissioned several pieces of art, and founded the Pomeranian art cabinet<sup>118</sup>. The need for a new cartographical representation of the Duchy was all the more urgent, that other Central European countries had already disposed of large, multi-sheet, highly detailed and decorative maps. In 1610, Philip II commissioned a new, ultimate presentation of Pomerania under the title "Pomeranographia" or "Balthus Pomeranicus", which was to be a compendium of knowledge about the country's geography, history, nobility, and reigning house, in four books, illustrated with a map<sup>119</sup>. The Duke's counsellor Jürgen Valentin von Winther became the person in charge of preparing the book, and the mapmaking was contracted out to a professor of philology from Rostock, Eilert Lübben, better known under a Latinized form of his name, Eilhardus Lubinus. Von Winther did not manage to finish the work before his death in 1623, and the "Pomeranographia" has never appeared in print and has gone missing. The map by Lubinus grew over the course of time, and finally became an autonomous, large, highly detailed and richly decorated artifact, praised by the scholars as a masterpiece, which "upstaged the greatest achievements of cartography in the neighboring regions, and for decades was the most significant and the most beautiful piece of cartography in this part of Europe"<sup>120</sup>.

Lubinus was not a professional cartographer, but he had been already famous and renowned author of the map of Rügen, prepared probably in 1608 on commission of Philip Julius, duke of Pomerania-Wolgast, on the basis of the field measurements he took personally. He is also believed to have made a celestial globe and a globe of the

117 *Theatri orbis terrarum enchiridion minoribus tabulis per Philippum Gallaeum exaratum* (Antverpiae 1585), 88.

118 Cf. M. Stelmach, *Eilhardus Lubinus i jego wielka mapa Księstwa Pomorskiego* (Szczecin 2001), 25–34.

119 M. Stelmach, „Zarys dziejów kartografii pomorskiej (XVI–XVIII w.)”, 59f.

120 [...] efekt końcowy przyćmił największe dokonania kartografii sąsiednich regionów i w tej części Europy na długie dziesięciolecia był najbardziej znaczącym, a zarazem najpiękniejszym dziełem kartograficznym, R. Skrycki, „Wielka mapa Pomorza Eilharda Lubinusa – dotychczasowy stan badań i nowe ustalenia”, in: *Z dziejów kartografii*. Vol. XVII: *Kamienie milowe w kartografii*, eds. J. Ostrowski, P.E. Weszpiński (Warszawa 2013), 119.

Earth<sup>121</sup>. Making the map of Pomerania was a large-scale enterprise, fulfilled not only by Lubinus himself, but with the support of the state authorities. The local officials were obligated by the duke to provide him with all help he might need. During the process, the scholar made use of the same method as Rügen earlier on. The necessary measurements were carried out in the autumn of 1611 (the territories on the left bank of the Oder), and in the springtime of 1612 (the eastern part of the Duchy). The amount of work he did is registered in the preserved documents. According to them, during his research journey of 1612, Lubinus traveled more than 1500 km in 54 days, making 5793 observations and taking measurements in 152 locations, meanwhile collecting historical and ethnographical data from the local population<sup>122</sup>. Apart from this, the mapmaker made use of certain documents from the ducal archive in Wolgast, and probably of some earlier, unknown maps<sup>123</sup>. The painter Johann Wolfart prepared pictures of the main cities and towns painted with nature, and the Pomeranian noble families had to deliver the correct images of their coats of arms, so that later he could decorate the map. The map was finished after six years, and was officially approved by Duke Philip. The drawing was sent to Amsterdam, where Nicolaus Geillekercke engraved it on twelve copperplates. The final version of the map had dimensions of 125 x 221 cm. Scholars are not sure, whether the map was printed on the plates from Amsterdam<sup>124</sup>, or on one of the Pomeranian plates, possibly in Stettin<sup>125</sup>. Unfortunately, Philip II did not live to see it, because he died February 3, 1618. The first printed exemplars were officially given to the reigning dukes Philip Julius and Francis by Lubinus in November that year. An exact number of the printed exemplars of the map is not known, but the scholars estimate, that it did not exceed ca. 50 complete maps<sup>126</sup>. Some further prints were made in 1758, after the copperplates were unearthed accidentally in an old house in Greifswald, only to be definitely lost during the Seven Years War<sup>127</sup>.

The map by Eilhard Lubinus bears the full title “Nova illustrissimi Principatus Pomeraniae descriptio cum adjuncta Principum Genealogia et Principum veris et potiorum Urbium imaginibus et Nobilium insignibus” (The new description of the most glorious Duchy of Pomerania, with the genealogy of its dukes, the images of the dukes and of the more significant cities, as well as with the coats of arms of the nobility). All

121 Ibidem, 120.

122 M. Stelmach, „Zarys dziejów kartografii pomorskiej (XVI-XVIII w.)”, 42f.

123 B. Wolny, „Południowe wybrzeże Bałtyku na mapie Księstwa Pomorskiego Eilharda Lubinusa z 1618 roku. Podstawowe ustalenia analizy geometryczno-matematycznej”, in: *Z dziejów kartografii*, Vol. IX: *Mapy południowego Bałtyku*, ed. M. Stelmach (Szczecin 1997), 85.

124 M. Stelmach, „Zarys dziejów kartografii pomorskiej (XVI-XVIII w.)”, 44.

125 R. Skrycki, „Wielka mapa”, 129.

126 Ibidem.

127 M. Stelmach, „Zarys dziejów kartografii pomorskiej (XVI-XVIII w.)”, 44. There exist also three facsimile editions from the 20<sup>th</sup> century, from 1926, 1980, and 1989.

these persuasive elements appeared in the map's bordure or over the sea above the coastline (the genealogical tree of Griffins), making it a visual demonstration of the power and glory of Pomerania, its rulers and nobility, comparable with other similar cartographic/iconographic images of the era. An integral part of the map is "Pomeraniae et rerum in ea memorabilium Brevis descriptio E. Lubini" (A short description of Pomerania and of the notable things therein, by E. Lubinus): information about borders, history, divisions, government, and cities of Pomerania. Apart from that, the map documents a late stage of the country's and the dynasty's cultural and identity transition, when the memory about their Slavic roots coexisted with the progressive acculturation within the German-speaking culture. The inscriptions, including the title and the "Brevis descriptio", are written in Latin as it was the official language of the Duchy and of the European elites at the time. The whole toponymy of the Duchy, however, appears on the map in German forms. Only the etymology of the country's name presented by Lubinus, and the figure of Griffins' semi-mythical ancestor Swentibor (*Suantiborus*), described in the genealogical tree as *Princeps Pomeranorum Sclavorum Wandalorum Ethnicus* (a pagan duke of Pomeranians, Slavs, and Vandals) remind of the once-Slavic past of Pomerania.

The scale of the map was estimated to be 1:227000, 1:239904, or 1:240000, and the image of Rügen has a scale of 1:192000<sup>128</sup>. On the map, one can find 3071 locations, a detailed river network as well as other water bodies, objects such as windmills, manors, sheepfolds and forests<sup>129</sup>. Although Lubinus' map is without any doubt a great achievement in mapmaking, it is not free from errors and incorrections. Most of them resulted from the limitations of the measurement techniques and instruments of the time, and some arose during the preparation process of the copperplates<sup>130</sup>. It was recognized, that the map's accuracy is especially low near the seashore and in other areas, where the measurements were straitened by their inaccessibility<sup>131</sup>. According to Krzysztof Siedlik, some of the discrepancies between the cartographic image of Pomerania by Lubinus, and the actual course of the seashore, rivers, and some other water bodies, could be caused by the climate changes, since it was created during the apogee of the so-called Little Ice Age, which probably caused the lowering of the Baltic Sea level by 1–2 meters<sup>132</sup>. Bolesław Wolny distinguished four sectors on the map, each one

128 Ibidem; R. Skrycki, „Wielka mapa”, 131.

129 M. Stelmach, „Zarys dziejów kartografii pomorskiej (XVI-XVIII w.)”, 46. A detailed analyze of the map's geographical content: M. Stelmach, *Historia kartografii*, 60–64.

130 K. Siedlik, „Analiza prawidłowości”, 54ff. An exhaustive cartometric analyze of the selected fragments of the map: ibidem, 33–54. There were e.g. situations, when the engraver understood a road marked on his reference as a river.

131 B. Wolny, „Mapa Księstwa Pomorskiego z 1618 roku Eilharda Lubina. Ocena geometryczno-matematyczna”, *Materiały Zachodniopomorskie* 34 (1988), 126–141.

132 Ibidem, 51ff.

with slightly different cartographical features, which was probably caused by the fact that the cartographic image was based not only on the Lubinus' own field observations and measurements, but also on earlier cadaster maps, prepared in different scale and on different level of accuracy<sup>133</sup>.

The map of Lubinus did not fall into oblivion, but became one of the main sources of knowledge about Pomerania for cartographers from Germany and the Netherlands for at least a century<sup>134</sup>. Created as a magnificent instrument of the state propaganda, it did not get, however, a chance to fulfill its primary task. The overall crisis of the Thirty Years' War, which finally reached Pomerania with the Capitulation of Franzburg in 1627, did not create favorable conditions for presenting the country as a regional power. Additionally, in 1637, after the death of the last and childless duke from the House of Griffins, Bogislaw XIV, the Duchy of Pomerania finally lost its status of an independent political entity, and its territory was divided between Brandenburg and Sweden. Ironically, the map which was meant to praise the endless glory and power of the Griffins' Pomerania became a requiem for the Duchy.

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133 B. Wolny, „Południowe wybrzeże”, 85; cf. K. Siedlik, „Analiza prawidłowości”, 19ff.

134 R. Skrycki, „Wielka mapa”, 137.

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English version: Mark Atkinson

## SUMMARY

The paper is a new attempt at a *new look* at the issues related to the image of Pomerania in medieval and renaissance cartography. The breakpoints of the analysis are marked by the appearance of the first attempt to more clearly describe the areas on the southern Baltic coast on the world map known as Cottoniana (11<sup>th</sup> century), and on the other hand, the map by Eilhard Lubinus (1618), which was the most perfect early-modern cartographic representation of the Duchy of Pomerania, and at the same time formally stood on the border of Renaissance cartography and 17<sup>th</sup>-century “cartography of measurement”. The overview of the presentation of the cartographic image of Pomerania has been divided into sub-chapters relating to various categories of maps. The first one concerns medieval encyclopedic-symbolic maps, and especially the possible reasons for not including the name of Pomerania on the vast majority of maps in this category. In the following subsections were studied nautical maps, late medieval Ptolemaic maps and the so-called transitional maps, renaissance cartography and early modern separate maps of Pomerania. Particular attention was paid to the way the name of Pomerania was understood by cartographers and to the ways of inserting the discussed regions into wider spatial contexts.

## POMORZE W KARTOGRAFII ŚREDNIOWIECZNEJ I RENESANSOWEJ – OD COTTONIANY DO EILHARDA LUBINUSA

**Słowa kluczowe:** Pomorze, Księstwo Pomorskie, kartografia średniowieczna, kartografia wczesnonowożytna, kartografia morska

## STRESZCZENIE

Praca stanowi nową próbę *nowego spojrzenia* na kwestie związane z obrazem Pomorza w kartografii średniowiecznej i renesansowej. Punkty graniczne analizy wyznaczają pojawienie się

pierwszej próby bardziej jednoznacznego opisu terenów na południowym wybrzeżu Bałtyku na mapie określanej jako tzw. Cottoniana (XI w.), a z drugiej strony opracowanie mapy Eilharda Lubinusa (1618), która stanowiła najdoskonalsze wczesnonowożytne przedstawienie kartograficzne terenu Księstwa Pomorskiego, a jednocześnie pod względem formalnym stała na pograniczu kartografii renesansowej i siedemnastowiecznej kartografii „pomiarowej”. Omówienie sposobu przedstawiania kartograficznego obrazu Pomorza zostało podzielone na podrozdziały, odnoszące się do różnych kategorii map. Pierwszy dotyczy średniowiecznych map encyklopedyczno-symbolicznych, a zwłaszcza możliwych przyczyn nieuwzględnienia nazwy Pomorza na zdecydowanej większości map z tej kategorii. W kolejnych podrozdziałach zanalizowane zostały mapy żeglarskie, późnośredniowieczne mapy ptolemejskie i tzw. mapy typu przejściowego, kartografia renesansowa oraz wczesnonowożytne odrębne mapy Pomorza. Szczególna uwaga została zwrócona na sposób rozumienia nazwy Pomorza przez kartografów oraz na sposoby wpisywania przez nich omawianego regionu w szersze konteksty przestrzenne.

**Rafał Reichert**

Institute of Iberian and Ibero-American Studies

University of Warsaw

r.reichert@uw.edu.pl

ORCID: 0000-0002-3462-8678

**Direct supplies of timbers from the southern Baltic region for the Spanish Naval Departments during the second half of the 18<sup>th</sup> century<sup>1</sup>****Keywords:** Spanish shipbuilding, South Baltic region, timber supply, wood commerce, XVIII century**INTRODUCTION**

The main idea of proposing this article is to demonstrate the importance of the European peripheries as important centers of natural supplies used by the European powers of the 18<sup>th</sup> century (Great Britain, France, Holland and, in this particular case, Spain) for development of their Royal Navies, which were the first support of their expansionist and colonialist policies. With this it is important to reveal the efforts of the Spanish Crown to restore and maintain its naval power in the Atlantic world during the 18<sup>th</sup> century. This paper is a first approximation to resolve questions about the commercial strategies of Spain to acquire the European natural resources, which strengthened the growth of its Royal Navy. The general proposal of the research is to analyze the issue of a direct timber trade from the South Baltic region, it means territories currently occupied by Germany, Poland, Russia and Lithuania, between the ports of Lübeck and Klaipėda-Memel (Map 1); nevertheless in this article I will present mostly a case of actual Polish shores and some comparisons with other ports in the region.

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<sup>1</sup> This paper is the result of the project „The role of wood supplies from the southern Baltic region and the viceroyalty of New Spain in the development of the Spanish seaborne empire in the 18<sup>th</sup> century”, which is developed at Warsaw University with financing of the National Science Center, Poland; register number: 2017/25/B/HS3/01017.

It is a common place in Spanish historiography<sup>2</sup> to mention about wood from the Baltic or Northern Europe without further delving into specific issues as contractors, reports and inspections of hills, cut timbers, transport of forest goods, etc. This absence of precision has made it necessary to increase that unknown space still existing in historical studies. Therefore, during the last years, I have been conducting archived research in Poland and Spain where the first tracks on this subject were found. Especially, in the case of the South Baltic, the Sound Toll records were useful<sup>3</sup>, where I could find and systematize information about the maritime movement of vessels coming from the South Baltic region, their cargo, personal data of captains as well as the ports of origin and destination in Spain between 1700 and 1799.



**Map 1.** Principal ports with the southern Baltic region which participated in the direct commerce with Spain during the 18<sup>th</sup> century

Source: Own elaboration based on the *Google Earth Pro* software.

- 2 For example: Juan Torrejón Chaves, Ana Crespo Solana, Gervasio de Artiñano y Galdácano, Gaspar de Aranda, Alfredo Martínez González, Álvaro Aragón Ruano, Lourdes Odriozola Oyarbide, María Baudot Monroy, Rafael Torres Sánchez, Iván Valdez Bubnov, Manuel Díaz Ordoñez.
- 3 The toll registers of the Sound Strait (Denmark) are accessible on the Internet: <http://www.soundtoll.nl/index.php/en/over-het-project/str-online>.

On the other side, the abundant Polish bibliography<sup>4</sup> that mainly concerns the Gdansk trade issue mentions wood shipments to Spain but without precision. It is also important to underline that according to the documentation so far reviewed it turns out that the merchants of the South Baltic ports did not show great enthusiasm for trade with the Iberian Peninsula, arguing for high costs, attacks by privateers and lack of ships<sup>5</sup>. Some mention about these difficulties can be found in letters of the Count of Aranda, the ambassador of Spain in Poland, sent from Warsaw to Secretary of State Ricardo Wall between the years 1760 and 1762 when he described his interview with town council and traders from Gdansk. A similar lack of enthusiasm observed Gaziński in the case of merchants from Stettin, who since 1719 were pressed by the Prussian king, Frederick William I to boost major commercial activity with the Iberian Peninsula<sup>6</sup>. Perhaps for this reason Polish and other regional historians didn't pay attention to the analysis of trade with Spain, which was not significant in comparison with other countries like Holland, the United Kingdom, Sweden, Denmark and France.

However, despite the scarcity of historiographical sources on the South Baltic woods and the initial state of archival research in this article, it is intended to present the clues and possible paths that must be developed in the coming months and years.

Finally, it can be mentioned that the first step to approach the subject of direct trade between the southern Baltic and Spain, the author of this article made in the other text entitled "El comercio directo de maderas para la construcción naval española y de otros bienes provenientes de la región del Báltico sur, 1700–1783", where he exposes the geopolitical issues of the region and the general commercial movement between the years 1700 and 1783<sup>7</sup>.

## GEOPOLITICAL AND ECONOMIC CONTEXT OF THE SOUTHERN BALTIC HINTERLAND

This section aims to present the geopolitical and economic conditions of this region to understand its strategic location in the local and external State policies, which used the potential of wood and grain production to develop their expansionist policies. The

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- 4 Maria Bogucka, Andrzej Groth, Edmund Cieślak, Jerzy Trzoska, Zbigniew Binerowski, Henryk Leśniński, Czesław Biernat, Stanisław Gierszewski, Henryk Samsonowicz, Zenon Guldon, Jerzy Fedorowicz.
  - 5 Cezary Taracha, "Jeszcze o gdańskiej misji Pedra Arandy w 1761 roku", *Rocznik Gdański*, 56/2 (1996): 18.
  - 6 Radosław Gaziński, *Handel morski Szczecina w latach 1720–1805* (Szczecin: Uniwersytet Szczeciński, 2000), 276–277.
  - 7 Rafał Reichert, "El comercio directo de maderas para la construcción naval española y de otros bienes provenientes de la región del Báltico sur, 1700–1783", *Hispania. Revista Española de Historia*, 76–252 (2016): 129–157.

main territories of the *Hinterland* of these ports, like Stettin, Gdansk, Königsberg, Pillau and Memel, were connected by the navigable rivers: the Oder with their main creek the Warta; the Vistula with her navigable creek the Bug; and two important rivers from the East: the Pregolya and the Neman, which related the region of actual Belarus to the Baltic sea. All these waterways formed a network that connects distant geographical regions from Brandenburg, Silesia, the Tatra Mountains, the Polish grasslands to Polesie, with important commercial centers in Wroclaw, Opole, Frankfurt, Poznan, Cracow, Warsaw, Torun, Elblag, Grodno, Kaunas and Vilnius (map 2).

The geopolitical situation of this great area in the 18<sup>th</sup> century is very dynamic, and convulsed, with political and economic conflicts. Into this ambient atmosphere emerged new European powers (Prussia and Russia) and also the disintegration of the Commonwealth of Poland and Lithuania started. What had crucial significance in this process was the Great Northern War (1701–1721), in which the alliance between the kingdoms of Denmark and Norway, Russia and Prussia was formed against Sweden. This was the conflict in which Poland and Lithuania were involved through the ambition of his young king Augustus II the Strong, who signed the treaty with Russia by Peter the Great in 1704. The defeat provoked the occupation of Polish territory by the army of Charles XII of Sweden and the abdication of the Polish king in 1706. This situation benefited the Russian Tsar, who after the victory in the battle of Poltava (8 July 1709), took the initiative in the war and finally defeated the Swedish king. In the case of the Commonwealth, from that moment began the progressive political dependence of Russia that finally ended in three partitions of the Polish-Lithuanian territory and its complete disappearance in 1795. This political context is very important because the goods that came to the ports from Stettin to Memel mostly came from the ancient territories of the Commonwealth of Poland and Lithuania. That situation of land occupations and port blockades caused the interruption in the commercial exchange that took place through the main ports of the South Baltic during the belligerent conflicts, as were the cases of Stettin and Gdansk during the Great Northern War. For example, between 1711 and 1720, the Russian squadron, composed of between two and five warships, commanded by Franz Vilbois, was installed in the Gdansk roadstead. Its purpose was to obstruct the lucrative trade of this port with Sweden. The Scandinavians responded to this reprisal with attacks by their corsairs on ships carrying the Gdansk flag<sup>8</sup>.

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8 Jerzy Trzoska, *Żegluga, handel i rzemiosło w Gdańsku w drugiej połowie XVII i XVIII wieku*, (Gdańsk: Uniwersytet Gdański, 1989), 21.



**Map 2.** The ports, the capitals and the trading cities in the area of studies

Source: Own elaboration based on the *Google Earth Pro* software.

It must be emphasized that the 18<sup>th</sup> century is the epoch of rapid economic development of Prussia, the Commonwealth of Poland-Lithuania and also Russia. The latter looked for developing its commercial network through the Baltic ports in Kronstadt, Saint Petersburg, Narva (from 1704) and Tallinn (from 1710).

Talking about the economic situation of the Commonwealth, it is important to know that it was dominated by feudal agriculture based on the plantation system. Typically, a nobleman's landholding comprised a *folwark*, a large farm worked by serfs to produce surpluses for internal and external grain trade, which started to grow in the sixteenth century. From those moments the Poland and Lithuania union played a significant role in the grain supplies for Western Europe and also other goods (pelt, linen, hemp and forest material)<sup>9</sup>. However, the economic growth did not influence on administrative, political and military reforms, that could secure the peaceful development of the Polish-Lithuanian state. Looking at the example of Prussia and Russia, it can be seen that these basic changes had a positive consequence in the construction of their superpower position.

<sup>9</sup> Krzysztof Olszewski, *The Rise and Decline of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth due to Grain Trade*, (Venice: Ca'Foscari University of Venice, 2007), 6-8.

Those neighboring countries of the Commonwealth in the first half of the 18<sup>th</sup> century laid down a greater role to strengthen themselves through administrative reforms (division into district), which in turn were intended to reinforce the military organization of the States. For example, in 1721 Frederick Wilhelm I introduced the duty of military service, which allowed the increase of the mobilization capacity of the Prussian army. The state was divided into cantons, from where recruits were enlisted. Most of the administrative officials were active soldiers or army veterans. In contrast to the Poland and Lithuania union, since the 18<sup>th</sup> century representatives of the Prussian and Russian nobles were obliged to carry out military service, a fact which allowed them to prepare officers and introduce discipline, which the gentry from the Commonwealth lacked. This, in relation to the growing military strength of Prussia and Russia, was a negative feature that influenced the later military dependence of both these countries and the weakness of the Polish-Lithuanian army<sup>10</sup>.

#### **DIRECT TRADE OF A FOREST SUPPLY FROM THE SOUTHERN BALTIC WITH SPAIN**

As previously mentioned, in the Sound Toll registers for the period from 1700 to 1799, we have discovered 1,973 ships which sailed from one of the southern Baltic ports through the Danish Straits toward Spain. Table 1 shows the maritime traffic between these two regions divided into four main categories: 1) Grain; 2) Wood for naval construction; 3) Mixed and other cargoes and 4) Wood for building barrels. As you can see, the product that has been registered the most times is grain (613 vessels), which amounts to 31.07%; in second place there were those who transported wood for the needs of shipbuilding (542 ships), which amounts to 27.47%; in the third place there are registers of ships that carried varied goods, but we can also find small amounts of grain and wood of all types (471 ships), which amounts to 23.87%. The last product with a high registration coefficient was wood for building barrels (347 vessels, 17.59%). However, summing all vessels with wooden cargo both for the needs of the shipbuilding industry and barrel manufacture it gives a total value of 45.06% of all maritime registered in Sound Toll originating from the southern Baltic ports (Diagram 1).

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10 Jerzy Topolski, *Gospodarka polska a europejska w XVI-XVIII w.* (Poznań: Wydawnictwo Poznańskie, 1977), 158.

**Table 1.** Total ships number that sailed from the southern Baltic to Spain and registered in the Sound Toll (1700–1799)

Period					
	Wood for naval construction	Wood for build barrels	Grain	Mixed and other cargoes	Total
170–1709	0	0	0	5	5
1710–1719	0	0	3	3	6
1720–1729	1	3	0	1	5
1730–1739	0	6	3	2	11
1740–1749	5	51	0	14	70
1750–1759	53	67	30	72	222
1760–1769	33	73	36	62	204
1770–1779	179	41	60	103	383
1780–1789	202	53	178	149	582
1790–1799	69	53	303	60	485
Total	542	347	613	471	1973

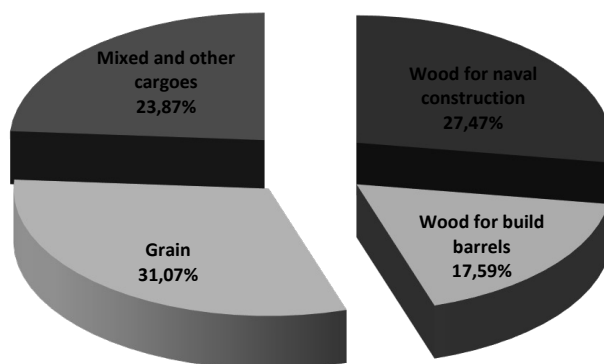
Source: Reichert, "El comercio directo" and the Sound Toll microfilms: 258, 259, 260, 261, 262, 263, 264, 265, 266, 267, 268, 269, 270, 271, 272, 273, 274, 275, 276, 277, and 278.

Analyzing the direct maritime traffic between the two regions, it can be seen that during the first four decades of the 18<sup>th</sup> century it practically did not exist (27 ships registered) and only from this decade it began to gain strength and develop until the end of the century. This situation was mainly caused by the unstable geopolitical situation in the South Baltic region. The Great Northern War (1700–1721), the War of the Polish Succession (1733–1735) and the War of the Austrian Succession (1740–1748), which broke out almost at the same time as the war of the *Asiento* (1739–1748); these conflicts affected the limitation of access to the major ports of the southern Baltic, where, as in the case of Wismar, Szczecin and Gdansk, these cities were besieged and cut off from their natural base. In the case of West Pomerania and East Prussia, there is also a royal order restricting (1709, 1720 and 1736) the import of goods from the territories of Poland and Lithuania, the *Hinterland* for Memel, Königsberg and Szczecin, this last city was involved in the trade with Wielkopolska from where wheat and rye was obtained<sup>11</sup>.

Moreover, in the first half of the century Spain was also in the process of reconstructing its administrative, economic, military and naval power, so it can be assumed that it showed no great interest in the supplies of the southern Baltic. However, as can be seen in Table 1, this trend changes and until the end of the century there is

11 Gaziński, *Handel morski*, 117–119 and Andrzej Groth, "Port w Królewcu: jego funkcje i zaplecze w XVI–XVIII wieku", *Śląskie Studia Historyczne*, 13 (2007): 199–203.

a growing direct trade, with its peak in the 1780s. When talking about the forest supplies for Spanish shipbuilding the first person who sought to engage in direct maritime movement with the South Baltic was the Secretary of the Royal Navy, Marques de la Ensenada (1737–1754), who after the decision to regulate a forest law by the Forests Ordinance (1748), where it was intended to promote plantations in the territory of the metropolis of trees for the Navy, did not reach its objective because those prohibitions caused the opposite effect, that planters and peoples opposed the State. This conflict caused a sharp decrease in internal forest supplies for the Navy, forcing the Crown to look for timber in the Baltic and the West Indies<sup>12</sup>.



**Diagram 1.** Percentage distribution for goods from the South Baltic and registered in the Sound Toll (1700–1799)

Source: Reichert, “El comercio directo” and the Sound Toll microfilms: 258, 259, 260, 261, 262, 263, 264, 265, 266, 267, 268, 269, 270, 271, 272, 273, 274, 275, 276, 277, and 278.

One example of it is a correspondence of the Count of Aranda, the ambassador of Spain in Poland, which was sent from Warsaw to Secretary of State Ricardo Wall between the years 1760 and 1762. The royal official repeatedly expressed his great interest in promoting trade between the southern Baltic region and Spain; he mentioned that the main branches of the Polish economy focused on the cultivation of cereals and the felling of timber. In addition, he set out to travel to Gdansk/Danzig to talk to the city’s Assembly and the most powerful merchants in order to encourage them to open up to greater collaboration with the Spanish. His initiative failed because the merchants showed no great interest in sending their ships beyond the English Channel, arguing that it was not economically convenient for them and, furthermore, claimed that on the route through French waters they were exposed to attacks by pirates and corsairs from other nations. However, that trip from Aranda also provided valuable

12 Rafael Torres Sánchez, “Administración o Asiento. La política estatal de suministros militares en la monarquía española del siglo XVIII”, *Studia Historica: Historia Moderna*, 35 (2013): 193.

information about his effort to establish a contract with merchants in Gdansk with the aim of obtaining supplies for the Royal Navy. When the ambassador returned to Warsaw in September 1761 he wrote a memo to the Secretary of the Navy, Julián de Arriaga, explaining that he was negotiating with Gdansk's most powerful ship owner, Gabriel Gottlieb Schultz, who had permission to trade the masts that were in the Russian port of Kronstadt and came from St. Petersburg. The transaction was not concluded because the ship owner of Gdansk did not want to lend his boats to make the complete trip from the Russian port to Spain; he only offered to „commission for purchases and expeditions”<sup>13</sup>. It must be said that since the 1740s the Schultz family had tried to establish commercial links with France and Spain to supply the Southern Baltic woodlands. This attempt had some success when Jan Filip Schultz persuaded the King of Poland, Augustus III, to grant contracts to the merchants of Gdansk to trade the timber of the royal forests with these countries<sup>14</sup>.

In fact, since 1742, the direct trade of timber from the southern Baltic gradually began to ascend and had its greatest peak during the administrations of the secretaries of Marina Pedro González Castejón and Antonio Valdés, when in the toll books of the Strait of Sound were registered 440 vessels loaded with timbers (Table 1)<sup>15</sup>. Interestingly, and according to the records of the Sound Toll (Table 2), between the years 1750–1779, the most timber was sent to Spain from Gdansk (123 registers), and the domination of Prussian ports began in 1770–1799, when the largest timber transports were sent from Memel (250 registers).

**Table 2.** Number of ships departing with wood cargoes from five important ports of the southern Baltic region to Spain and registered in the Sound Toll (1700–1799)

Period							Total
	Gdansk/ Danzig	Szczecin/ Stettin	Klaipėda/ Memel	Kaliningrad/ Königsberg	Baltisk/ Pillau	Other ports	
1700–1709	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
1710–1719	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
1720–1729	0	1	0	0	0	0	1
1730–1739	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
1740–1749	5	0	0	0	0	0	5
1750–1759	41	10	0	1	0	1	53

13 Cristina González Caizán, Cezary Taracha, Diego Téllez Alarcia, *Cartas desde Varsovia. Correspondencia privada del Conde de Aranda con Ricardo Wall (1760–1762)*, (Lublin: Werszet, 2005) and Taracha, “Jeszcze o gdańskiej misji”, 18.

14 Jerzy Trzoska, *Żegluga, handel i rzemiosło*, 167.

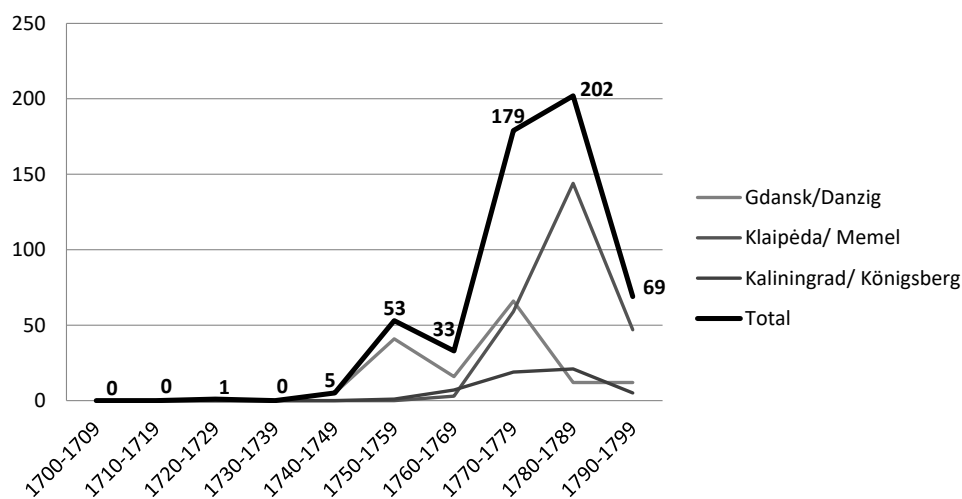
15 Reichert, “El comercio directo”, 148–150 and the Sound Toll microfilms: 258, 259, 260, 261, 262, 263, 264, 265, 266, 267, 268, 269, 270, 271, 272, 273, 274, 275, 276, 277 y 278.

Period							
	Gdansk/ Danzig	Szczecin/ Stettin	Klaipėda/ Memel	Kaliningrad/ Königsberg	Baltisk/ Pillau	Other ports	Total
1760–1769	16	7	3	7	0	0	33
1770–1779	66	20	59	19	7	8	179
1780–1789	12	10	144	21	9	6	202
1790–1799	12	2	47	5	3	0	69
Total	152	50	253	53	19	15	542

Source: Reichert, "El comercio directo" and the Sound Toll microfilms: 258, 259, 260, 261, 262, 263, 264, 265, 266, 267, 268, 269, 270, 271, 272, 273, 274, 275, 276, 277, and 278.

Probably this increased importance of the Prussian ports (Stettin, Königsberg, Memel and Pillau) in overseas trade is also due to the weakening position of the United Kingdom in the Baltic region. At that time Great Britain was focusing all its strength in the Seven Years' War (1756–1763) against France and Spain. In the decade between 1760 and 1769, Prussian trade strongly competed with the Swedish and Polish. It can be supposed that, during the 1780s, the Spanish Naval Secretary was interested in the development of timber trade with Prussia and Russia, which confirms the voyage of the captain Tomas de Gayangos, whom between October 1786 and June 1787 was commissioned to visit different ports of Prussia, Poland and Russia to review the wood classes and conditions that were stocked in them. In his report he concluded that the pine sent from the Polish forests to Gdansk, Königsberg and Memel was of a higher quality than that offered by the Prussians because it had a good weight and resins. The captain, on his trip to Saint Petersburg, visited Riga, where he recognized the good quality of the pines stored there to elaborate masts. Finally, during his stay in Kronstadt he observed that the pine for masts from the Kazan mountains (Russia) was still superior to that from Riga, but was exclusively for the use of the Russian Navy and was not commercialized<sup>16</sup>.

16 Juan Torrejón Chaves, "La madera báltica, Suecia y España (siglo XVIII)", w: *Comercio y Navegación entre España y Suecia (siglos X-XX)*, ed. Alberto Ramos Santana et al. (Cádiz: Universidad de Cádiz, 2000), 166, 180, 186–191.



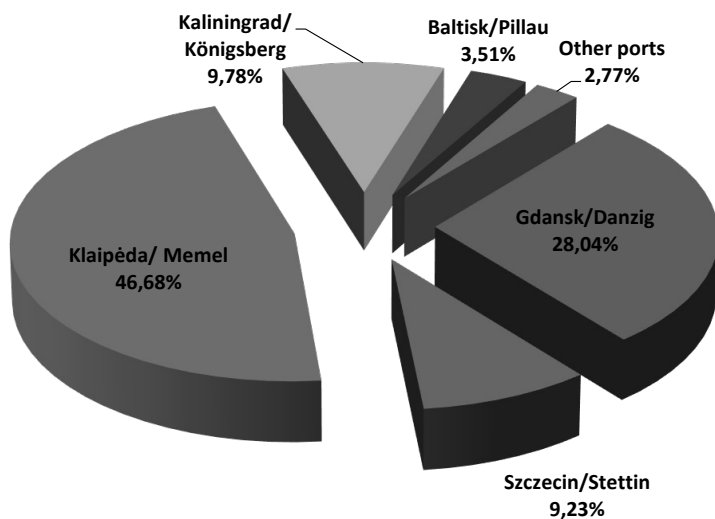
**Diagram 2.** Number of ships from Gdansk, Memel and Königsberg which sailed from timber to Spain and registered in the Sound Toll (1700–1799)

Source: Reichert, "El comercio directo" and the Sound Toll microfilms: 258, 259, 260, 261, 262, 263, 264, 265, 266, 267, 268, 269, 270, 271, 272, 273, 274, 275, 276, 277, and 278.

Observing the percentage share in direct timber trade (Diagram 3) between the southern Baltic ports and Spain, it can be seen that Memel, which dispatched 253 ships (46.68% of the total timber), had the largest share in it. Significantly more than half of them (144 ships) were sent in the eighties of the 18<sup>th</sup> century. In second place was Gdansk, which dispatched 152 ships (28.04%). The next places were taken by Königsberg (9.78%), Stettin (9.23%) and Pillau (3.51%). From other ports in the region like Lübeck, Wismar, Wolgast, Rostock, Swinemünde, Kolberg and Stolp, a total of 15 vessels sailed (2.77% of the total).

It is worth mentioning that the port in Memel was practically geared to sending ships with timber for the needs of shipbuilding, because of all the ships registered in the Sound Toll from this city to Spain (349 ships) marks that 72% of them carried timber for shipbuilding. In other cases, this share accounted for 18 to 28% (Stettin, Gdansk and Königsberg), which indicates that they have led to more diversified trade and also offered different products like grain, hemp, linen and wood for barrels. One opposite example to Memel is Wismar, where 69 vessels carried grain and only four had different cargoes (6% of the total)<sup>17</sup>.

<sup>17</sup> Reichert, "El comercio directo" and the Sound Toll microfilms: 258, 259, 260, 261, 262, 263, 264, 265, 266, 267, 268, 269, 270, 271, 272, 273, 274, 275, 276, 277, and 278.



**Diagram 3.** Percentage distribution of main South Baltic ports in the direct wood commerce from Spain and registered in the Sound Toll (1700–1799)

Source: Reichert, “El comercio directo” and the Sound Toll microfilms: 258, 259, 260, 261, 262, 263, 264, 265, 266, 267, 268, 269, 270, 271, 272, 273, 274, 275, 276, 277, and 278.

Finally, it is important to know the Spanish ports where the wood for shipbuilding was to be transported. According to the records from Sound Toll, 330 ships (60.89% of the total) went to Cadiz (Diagram 4). This number shows that this Andalusian port was the most important destination for ships carrying timber. However, at this stage of the research, it is not possible to confirm whether all wood was handed over to the arsenal of La Carraca or just part of it, and the rest was sent to other arsenals (La Habana and Cartagena) or shipyards. However, this is quite likely because the port of Cadiz has been often just a transshipment port for goods that were distributed from it to the West Indies, the Mediterranean and the Cantabrian Seas<sup>18</sup>.

Another place where the wood got arrived was El Ferrol, where 105 ships (19.37% of the total) arrived. It was one of the most famous arsenals and shipyards during the 18<sup>th</sup> century, where the most ships were built for the needs of the Spanish Royal Navy. An interesting fact is that over 60% of all received timber went to this port in the 1770s. In this decade, 42 ships were constructed, of various types (among others: *La Concepción* with 114 cannons launched in 1779, 13 frigates with 28 or 34 cannons and 6 ships

18 Ana Crespo Solana, “El comercio holandés y la integración de espacios económicos entre Cádiz y el Báltico en tiempos de guerra (1699–1723)”, *Investigaciones de Historia Económica*, 8 (2007): 47.

of the line with 74 or 80 cannons)<sup>19</sup>. According to Luis Guitián Rivera, the shipyard of El Ferrol for the construction of one ship of the line with 74 cannons needed about 16,000 cubits of cubic<sup>20</sup> wood, and for the construction of a frigate for 36 cannons about 6,500 cubits of cubic wood<sup>21</sup>.

**Table 3.** Number of ships arriving with wood cargoes to the Spanish arsenal and ports from the southern Baltic region and registered in the Sound Toll (1700–1799)

Period								
	Cadiz	El Ferrol	Cartagena	Santander- Bilbao- San Sebastian	Malaga	Seville	Other ports	Total
1700–1709	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
1710–1719	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
1720–1729	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
1730–1739	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
1740–1749	5	0	0	0	0	0	0	5
1750–1759	19	19	3	8	3	0	1	53
1760–1769	24	5	4	0	0	0	0	33
1770–1779	94	67	8	1	3	5	1	179
1780–1789	144	12	7	12	13	6	8	202
1790–1799	43	2	0	6	11	4	3	69
Total	330	105	22	27	30	15	13	542

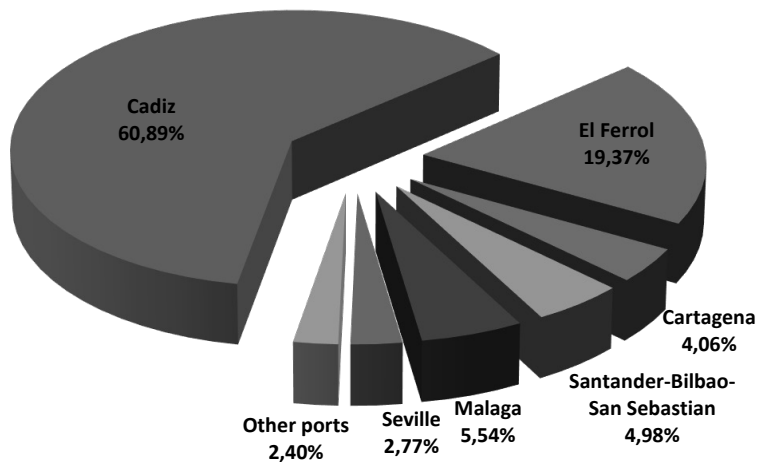
Source: Reichert, "El comercio directo" and the Sound Toll microfilms: 258, 259, 260, 261, 262, 263, 264, 265, 266, 267, 268, 269, 270, 271, 272, 273, 274, 275, 276, 277, and 278.

The last of the arsenals (Cartagena) received only 22 transports of wood for shipbuilding (4.06%). This fact and the lack of data regarding the shipment of wood to La Habana (the only arsenal outside the Iberian Peninsula) can confirm the thesis that part of the wood that went to Cadiz was sent to these places. It is worth mentioning that wood for the needs of the shipbuilding industry also went to other ports (Malaga, Seville) or centers (shipyards in Cantabria and the Basque Country), however, they had a small share in the development of the royal navy.

19 Valdez Bubnov, Ivan. *Poder naval y modernización del Estado. Política de construcción naval española (siglos XVI-XVIII)*, (México: Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, 2011), 269.

20 In the 18<sup>th</sup> century, in Spain were two types of cubit measures: 1. *codo común* (0.418 m) and 2. *codo real* or *de ribera* (0.574 m).

21 Luis Guitián Rivera, "La destrucción histórico del bosque en Galicia", *Semata. Ciencias Sociais e Humanidades*, 13 (2001): 133.



**Diagram 4.** Percentage distribution of main Spanish ports in the direct wood commerce from the South Baltic and registered in the Sound Toll (1700–1799)

Source: Reichert, "El comercio directo" and the Sound Toll microfilms: 258, 259, 260, 261, 262, 263, 264, 265, 266, 267, 268, 269, 270, 271, 272, 273, 274, 275, 276, 277, and 278.

It should be noted that the basic document review in Spanish archives allowed to corroborate that reports and budgets prepared by the officers of the Spanish Navy represent a magnitude of the demand of wood for the correct operation of their departments, which had to deal with the constant failure of forestry supplies for construction, maintenance, repairing and careening of ships. It is interesting that in the official reports from each department corresponding to the decades 1780s and 1790s, the origin of the received or stored timber is mentioned. With frequency the great volume of it coming from the West Indies and North Europe<sup>22</sup>.

## CONCLUSION

This preliminary study about the forest supplies systems for major naval departments of Spain (Cadiz, El Ferrol, Cartagena and La Habana) permit us to understand the importance of the natural resources in the rivalry for world domination in the 18<sup>th</sup> century. Also we seek to understand in detail the commercial strategies of Spain to hold its naval policy, which, in turn, will show the importance of the southern Baltic supplies in its belligerent system. At the same time, it will be possible to identify the advantages

22 One example of it is a report of the state of the Cadiz arsenal (1785) which made reference to the presence of „North pine”. In the same report is also the heading „West Indies Woods”. General Archive of Spanish Navy, Arsenales 7197, exp. 13.

and disadvantages of the raw material supply system in economic, administration, logistic, social, as well as ecological and environmental aspects.

Studying direct trade between the South Baltic and Spain, it can be seen that its development took place from 1740 and lasted until the end of the century. The period of increased maritime traffic occurred in the 1770s and 1780s, where 381 ships transported timber (70% of the total). It was a period of great development of the Spanish Navy headed by Pedro González Castejón and Antonio Valdés. At the time of this last Secretary (1783–1795), the production of ships of the line with 112 cannons (9 units) was intensified, where 5 were produced in La Habana and 4 in El Ferrol according to the design made by José Joaquín Romero y Fernández de Landa.

As one could observe in the South Baltic region, the expedition of timber for the needs of shipbuilding was concentrated around 4 main ports (Stettin, Gdansk, Königsberg and Memel), where Memel and Gdansk especially dominated (almost 75% of all vessels registered in Sound Toll came from these two ports). It is important to emphasize that the movement from the southern Baltic Sea was dominated by Prussian ports and the only one that did not come under the authority of this state was Gdansk (a free city), a vassal of the Polish king. Despite the domination of Prussian ports, it is worth knowing that a large part of the products that came to them came from the Polish-Lithuanian Union, which thanks to river routes went to the sea.

Analyzing the ports in Spain, where ship wood arrived, is the undisputed position of Cadiz, which took over 60% of all ships (330 vessels). This state of affairs can be explained both by the need to satisfy the arsenal in La Carraca as well as the fact that part of the timber was sent to other places on the Mediterranean Sea as well as to La Habana. The second very important shipbuilding center was El Ferrol, which received almost 20% of all wooden vessels (105 vessels). This state of affairs confirms the domination of these two centers in the development of the Spanish Royal Navy.

Finally, I want to explain that the next step of this investigation will look to resolve questions about the commercial networks at regional and global levels, in order to identify the merchants who bought forest materials from the *Hinterland* (the South Baltic region), as well as the invested money, the amounts of wood that corresponded to them per contract and information, which included the function of stores and business intermediaries with Spain. I also want to identify forest areas of wood cutting according to the agreements signed with the contractors. All this information will lead us to a better understanding of the Spanish global networks thanks to the identification of the merchants implicated in the naval supplies trade for Spain during the 18<sup>th</sup> century.

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## SUMMARY

During the 18<sup>th</sup> century, the European political scene was dominated by the imperialist competition between Great Britain, France and Spain, which took a new course due to the greater development of Royal Navies. This rivalry for the dominion over the world influenced and stimulated the technological, economic and military progress, but, at the same time, this phenomenon provoked a high demand of natural resources (precious metals and raw materials, especially timbers, hemp and canvas) to maintain the operational needs of Royal Navies. The purpose of this paper is to show the importance of forest resources coming from the Southern Baltic (today the territories of Germany, Poland, Russia, and Lithuania) whose abundant forests were the principal source of wood, pitch, hemp and tar, that is, basic products used for building vessels and for keeping them in operation.

With this, through the toll registers of the Sund Strait (Denmark) and archive information from Poland and Spain, I am intending to analyze and interpret the evidence of wood supplies from the South Baltic (especially from actual Polish ports in Gdansk and Szczecin) which were sent to the Spanish naval departments during the 18<sup>th</sup> century in order to demonstrate the importance of those forest sources for the development of Spanish naval power.

## **ZAOPATRZENIE W DREWNO Z POŁUDNIOWEGO BAŁTYKU HISZPAŃSKICH DEPARTAMENTÓW MARYNARKI WOJENNEJ W DRUGIEJ POŁOWIE XVIII WIEKU**

**Słowa kluczowe:** Hiszpański przemysł okrętowy, Południowy Bałtyk, zaopatrzenie w drewno, handel drewnem, XVIII wiek

### **STRESZCZENIE**

W XVIII wieku europejska scena polityczna została zdominowana przez imperialistyczną rywalizację między Wielką Brytanią, Francją i Hiszpanią, która wpłynęła na szybki rozwój Królewskich Marynarek Wojennych tych krajów. Walka o panowanie nad światem stymulowała postęp technologiczny, gospodarczy i militarny, jednak z drugiej strony zjawisko to wywołało olbrzymie zapotrzebowanie na surowce naturalne, jak metale szlachetne i inne materiały potrzebne do prowadzenia wojny morskiej, zwłaszcza żelazo, drewno, smołę, żywicę, konopie i płótno lniane. Celem niniejszego artykułu jest pokazanie znaczenia zasobów leśnych pochodzących z *hinterlandu* południowego Bałtyku (dziś tereny Niemiec, Polski, Rosji i Litwy), których obfite lasy były głównym źródłem budulca w budownictwie okrętowym. Bazę dokumentalną tekstu stanowią rejestry sundzkie, gdzie została przeanalizowana żegluga pomiędzy południowym Bałtykiem i Hiszpanią oraz dane uzyskane podczas kwerend archiwalnych w Polsce i Hiszpanii, które miały za cel przedstawienie dowodów na istnienie bezpośredniego handlu drewnem nie tylko z Holandią, Wielką Brytanią, Francją i Skandynawią lecz również z innymi, odległymi regionami europejskimi jak miało to miejsce w przypadku drewna z południowego Bałtyku (zwłaszcza z obecnych polskich portów w Gdańsku i Szczecinie), które trafiło do hiszpańskich departamentów marynarki wojennej w XVIII wieku.



**Emil Chróściak**

University of Szczecin

echrost@wp.pl

ORCID: 0000-0001-8656-1260

**Szczecin's Maritime Timber Trade and Deliveries to Spain Between 1750 and 1760 on the Basis of *Wochentlich-Stettinische Frag- und Anzeigungs-Nachrichten*<sup>1</sup>****Keywords:** Pomerania, Spain, timber trade, Szczecin, Świnoujście**TRADE RELATIONS BETWEEN POMERANIA AND SPAIN IN THE 18<sup>TH</sup> CENTURY**

The 18<sup>th</sup> century was marked with the developing absolutism and the centralisation of state power which translated into a rivalry between dominating European sea powers: Great Britain, France, the Netherlands, and Spain. From the perspective of the Port of Szczecin, Spain had never been a serious trade partner due to many unfavourable conditions connected to politics, economy, and logistics. However, significant amounts of silver that Spain had obtained through her territories in America drew the Prussian monarchs' attention and influenced them to promote trade with the Kingdom.

King Frederick William I made one of the first attempts to do so in 1719 by trying to encourage Pomeranian tradesmen to forge stronger ties with their Iberian counterparts (which was supposed to be beneficial to the Spanish war effort against England, France, and Austria). He faced local tradesmen's disapprobation or even animosity. To respond to the king's irritation caused by the tradesmen's hidebound approach they presented him with a memorandum in which they explained that Pomerania

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1 This text was written as a part of *The Role of Timber Deliveries from the Northern Baltic Area and the Viceroyalty of New Spain in the Development of the Spanish Empire in the 18<sup>th</sup> Century* project financed by NCN OPUS 13 nr 2017/25/B/HS301017 and supervised by Rafał Reichert PhD in the Institute of Iberian and Ibero-American Studies at the University of Warsaw.

had focused exclusively on trading within the Baltic Sea region and that the merchants would not go further than to France and eastern England. The king deemed those arguments insufficient, so a congress of representatives of port cities in Prussian Pomerania was held to respond to the king's claims. Accused of cowardice and a lack of initiative they defended their position stating that, in order to deliver to the Iberian Peninsula, merchants would have to use at least two-decker ships, heavily armed, manned by up to 150 people including soldiers. Pomeranian merchants did not have such ships at their disposal. Moreover, they did not have enough capital necessary to bring the Iberian project to fruition. The merchants also explained that they were not familiar with the market, so they lacked insight in any demand for what Pomerania had to offer<sup>2</sup>.

The project was abandoned because the king did not manage to convince the merchants to establish a connection with Spain. In the middle of the 18<sup>th</sup> century, a suggestion to make those trade links emerged again. This time it was Marques de la Ensenada, the minister of the Spanish navy, who reached out with the idea prompted by the repercussions caused by the 1748 Forest Ordinance with which the navy wanted to monopolise the use of timber from the Iberian Peninsula; according to this new law, any commercial forestry operations could only be undertaken with the navy's approval. The effects of this law were contradictory to its intentions as villages and municipalities that managed their forests opposed it. This resulted in a rapid drop in the amount of timber delivered to the navy, so Spain had to look for new sources outside of the metropole. Under the circumstances, the navy minister directed his attention not only to the West Indies, an obvious location from the perspective of Spain, but also to the Baltic region – not entirely accessible to Spanish merchants<sup>3</sup>, yet rich in timber<sup>4</sup>.

The goal of this text is to show that even though direct trade between Spain and Pomerania existed, it was not as representative as the connection with Denmark, the Netherlands, or England. The present article, however, expands the body of knowledge regarding Szczecin's trade network. What is more, it aims to demonstrate the execution of the Spanish navy's plan regarding the southern Baltic coast in the first decade of its implementation (1750–1760) from the perspective of both Szczecin and its satellite

2 Radosław Gaziński, *Handel morski Szczecina w latach 1720–1805* (Szczecin: Wydawnictwo Naukowe Uniwersytetu Szczecińskiego, 2000), 276–277. Szczecin's conflict with Frankfurt by the river Oder and the breaking of its trading ties with Greater Poland also caused difficulties. Andrzej Grodek, „Handel Odrzański w rozwoju historycznym”, in: *Monografia Odry*, ed. Andrzej Grodek et al. (Poznań: Instytut Zachodni, 1948). Only in the 1840s, after the river Świna was deepened, did the port's situation begin to improve. Henryk Lesiński, „Udział Kamienia i Wolina w żegludze i handlu morskim w XVI–XVIII wieku”, *Przegląd Zachodniopomorski* 1 (1981): 19.

3 The Spanish had limited access to the Baltic markets because of the trade monopoly of the Dutch and English merchant houses, the bitter enemies of Castilian monarchs, in that area.

4 Rafał Reichert, *Direct supplies of timber from the southern Baltic region for the Spanish Naval Departments during the second half of the eighteenth century*. Manuscript, 5–6.

port Świnoujście. To that end, timber trade was shown on the backdrop of Szczecin's exchange with other ports connected to the main Pomeranian port with long-established ties. The Port of Szczecin was not focused exclusively on trading timber, but also other goods, such as cereal grains, linen, broadcloth, or bricks. This text is supposed to inspire further research and discussion; it is based on the data gathered from a weekly newspaper *Wochentlich-Stettinische Frag- und Anzeigungs-Nachrichten*. The data was confronted with the information from digitised Sound Dues registers<sup>5</sup>.

### **WOCHENTLICH-STETTINISCHE FRAG- UND ANZEIGUNGS-NACHRICHTEN**

*Wochentlich-Stettinische Frag- und Anzeigungs-Nachrichten* was a newspaper issued from 1727 under numerous titles by the Royal and Prussian Information Chamber (Königlich Preußisches Intelligenz-Comtoir). The initial title *Wochentlich Stettinische zur Handlung nützliche Preis-Courant der Waaren und Wechsel-Cours, wie auch Frage- und Anzeigungs-Nachrichten* (1727–1735), was simplified and changed to the aforementioned *Wochentlich-Stettinische Frag- und Anzeigungs-Nachrichten* (1736–1775), and later to *Stettinischer Intelligenz-Zettel* (1776–1809), *Königl. Preuss. Pommersches Intelligenz-Blatt* (1810–1814) and finally *Stettiner Intelligenz-Blatt* (1814–1849)<sup>6</sup>.

Until 1849, the Royal and Prussian Information Chamber had monopolistic control over publishing any judicial, police, and administrative announcements granted by Frederick William I. Moreover, any market, financial or industrial information, including notifications regarding ship movements in ports or prices of goods, were published in *Wochentlich...*<sup>7</sup>. The end of the Chamber's monopoly, caused by other periodicals being allowed to issue announcements, resulted in the newspaper's downfall.

In the aforementioned period, the frequency of the newspaper's release changed. Initially, it was issued on a weekly basis<sup>8</sup>, later it was released three times a week, and in 1829 it became a daily<sup>9</sup>.

*Wochentlich...* had a distinctive structure. Administrative announcements were printed first, then commercial offers from Szczecin appeared, followed by those from other locations. After that, information on people leaving the city, famous individuals entering Szczecin (*zu Stettin angekommene Fremde*), as well as a society section were to

5 Digitised Sound Dues registers, accessed: 15.07.2019, <http://www.soundtoll.nl/index.php/en/>.

6 Władysław Myk, „Zarys rozwoju szczecińskiej prasy codziennej od XVI do XX wieku (1537–1945)”, *Przegląd Zachodniopomorski* 1–2 (1997): 49.

7 Information regarding cultural events, as well as the society column and family announcements regarding christenings, marriages, funerals, etc. was also published.

8 In the period under discussion, *Wochentlich-Stettinische Frag- und Anzeigungs-Nachrichten* was released once a week.

9 Myk, „Zarys”, 49.

be found. Apart from that, a price list of selected items, information on fees<sup>10</sup>, and news regarding ships moving in and out of Szczecin and Świnoujście, including the name of the vessel, details about the captain, and a description of cargo were included. Market prices of *Vor-* and *Hinterpommern* wool would close every issue<sup>11</sup>.

## INFORMATION ON TIMBER PRODUCTION

As previously mentioned, commercial offers for merchants were also published in *Wochentlich-Stettinische Frag- und Anzeigungs-Nachrichten*<sup>12</sup>. These announcements (usually no longer than five lines) make it possible to partially uncover where the timber shipped from Szczecin and Świnoujście was produced.

Between 1750 and 1760, the newspaper printed 178 announcements regarding the sales of different types of firewood (mainly oak, beech, and alder) or to the construction and shipbuilding industries. Prefabricated wooden components, such as staves, boards, and rafters were also listed.

Most of the timber sales information published in *Wochentlich...* came from towns located no further than 50 km from Szczecin. Out of 63 locations which supplied timber, as few as eight were mentioned more than five times<sup>13</sup>. Only Podjuchy (*Podejuch*) made announcements about timber for sale on a regular basis, as almost 17% of the notifications published in *Wochentlich...* came from the Monastery of Saint John Foundation in Podjuchy. The Foundation announced regularly (30 times) that they had timber for sale. Other locations which appeared in that section routinely, were Goleniów (*Gollnow*, 13 times)<sup>14</sup>, Podlesie (*Friedrichswalde*, now a part of Sowno, 10 times) and Szadzko (*Saatzig*, nine times). On the basis of the data collected it can be assumed that timber trade was one of the local income sources of these locations, but to confirm this hypothesis a detailed analysis of the economy of e.g. the Monastery of Saint John Foundation or the town of Goleniów would have to be conducted.

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10 Usually on beer, meat, and bakery products.

11 Arrest warrants were also printed. Janina Kosman, „Uczone, półuczone, moralne... Przykłady osiemnastowiecznego czasopiśmiennictwa pomorskiego ze zbiorów biblioteki Archiwum Państwowego w Szczecinie”, in: *Piśmiennictwo na Pomorzu Zachodnim do końca XVIII wieku*, ed. Janina Kosman (Szczecin: Wydawnictwo Archiwum Państwowego „Dokument”, 2015): 168.

12 Issues printed in 1728, 1736, and from 1738 to 1771 are available in the Pomeranian Library in Szczecin.

13 These included Podjuchy (*Podejuch*), Goleniów (*Gollnow*), Podlesie (*Friedrichswalde*), Szadzko (*Saatzig*), Dąbie (*Damm*), Pudągła, Dunzig, and Grambin.

14 In the middle of the 18<sup>th</sup> century, 14 skippers and eight shipbuilders lived in Goleniów alone. In 1749, Goleniów supplied 1040 fathoms of spruce timber. Henryk Lesiński, „Rozwój rzemiosła i handlu Goleniowa w XVI–XVIII wieku”, *Materiały Zachodniopomorskie* 38 (1992): 327.

Three towns near the Oder – Pudagla (8 times), Grambin (6 times), and Dunzig (6 times) – also form an interesting group. Grambin and Dunzig came under the Ueckermünde forest jurisdiction. Announcements regarding timber for sale from these three towns were published jointly in *Wochentlich...*, usually accompanied by information about selling timber from Pudagla (8 times) under the Kasibór (*Caseburg*) jurisdiction.

A vast majority of timber sales announcements in *Wochentlich...* were not published regularly. Out of 63 locations that were mentioned, 39 appeared only once. 16 towns appeared two to five times, which suggests that occasional timber excess was sold by a given town, but this also requires a more careful analysis of the local economies.

Announcements were made mainly by institutions and local administration. As mentioned above, no-one published more of them than the Monastery of Saint John Foundation. The announcements by Ueckermünde, Karsibór, or Goleniów were made by their local administrations<sup>15</sup>. Szczecin's merchants<sup>16</sup> and Junkers<sup>17</sup> made announcements about timber for sale less often.

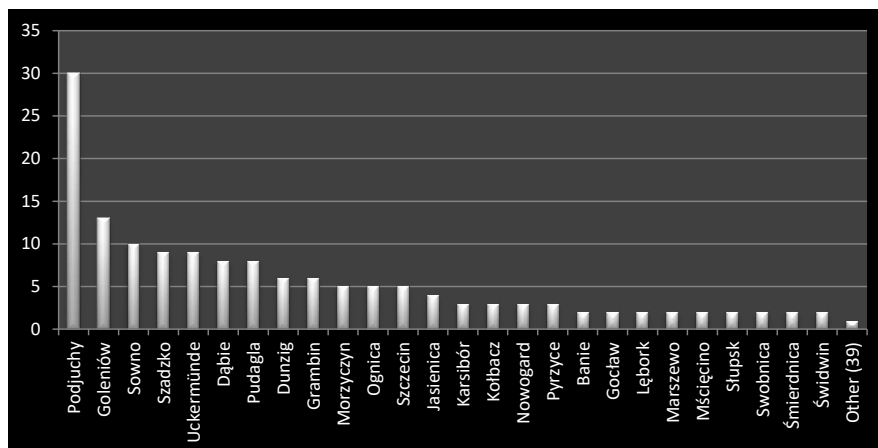


Fig. 1. The numbers of announcements published in *Wochentlich...* by different towns

Source: All the data in charts and diagrams calculated by the author

Offers from outside of Szczecin's Chamber of War and Commerce amounted to a small, yet important, collection of announcements. For instance, in 1755, the

15 The bulk of timber delivered to the Royal storage yard in Szczecin through Inoujście came from lands owned by lords. Radosław Gaziński, „Handel małych portów Zalewu Szczecińskiego w XVIII wieku”, *Nautologia*, 3–4 (1997).

16 E.g. Daniel Nyłow, *Wochentlich-Stettinische-Frag und Anzeigungs-Nachrichten (dalej Wochentlich...)* 23 (1756): 375.

17 E.g. Von Lepels, *Wochentlich...* 23 (1756): 338; czy von Münchowowie, *Wochentlich...* 23 (1756): 400. In one of the issues, information regarding timber recovered from a wreck of an English ship which sank in 1749 near Rewal was printed, too. *Wochentlich...* 15 (1751): 230.

newspaper published an announcement made by Wrocław's Chamber of War and Commerce about 2000 oaks for sale from near Racibórz<sup>18</sup>. Announcements by the Neumark's Chamber were published more often in *Wochentlich...* They were long, listing all towns in which one could make a purchase<sup>19</sup>. This could be a step to confirm a hypothesis about Silesia and the Neumark being the hinterlands of the Port of Szczecin in terms of timber trade. It could also confirm that there was a timber trade network between the Chambers of Szczecin, the Neumark, and Wrocław. This would have to be supported by separate research projects focused on trade exchange between different regions near the Oder within the Kingdom of Prussia.

### **TIMBER TRADE AND SHIP MOVEMENTS IN THE PORT OF SZCZECIN (STETTIN) AND THE PORT OF ŚWINOUJŚCIE (SWIENEMÜNDE)**

The data crucial for this article is to be found in the closing pages of the newspaper, where information about ship movements in the Ports of Szczecin and Świnoujście was printed.

The data gathered from the newspapers shows that between 1750 and 1760 the ship traffic in Świnoujście was greater than that in Szczecin. Out of the total number of ships that docked in the Port of Szczecin (6452 vessels), 57% (3704) arrived, and approx. 43% (2748) departed from it<sup>20</sup>. It was the other way around in the Port of Świnoujście, where 47% (5745) arrived and 53% (6793) left<sup>21</sup> out of the total of 12 538 vessels.

According to the data found in *Wochentlich...*, Świnoujście was also the port which played a bigger part in the outbound shipping of timber through Szczecin Lagoon to the Baltic Sea. Among 2748 ships listed as leaving Szczecin, 51% (1408 ships) transported timber, while 1340 vessels (49%) carried different cargo. Meanwhile, in Świnoujście, out of the total of 6793 ships which left the port, as much as 75% (5115 vessels) transported timber, and only a quarter of ships (1678 ships) carried other goods. Out of all vessels that shipped timber mentioned in *Wochentlich...* (6523) approx. 78% (5115) departed from Świnoujście and only around 22% (1408) departed from Szczecin. This indicates that the Port of Szczecin was focused not only on one product (timber) but diversified into other goods (cereal grains, linen, broadcloth, or bricks) unlike Świnoujście, which specialised in selling timber products.

18 *Wochentlich...* 49 (1755): 770.

19 Those included Rzepin (*Reppen*), Trzcińsko [Zdrój] (*Schönfließ*), and Kłodawa (*Kladow*). *Wochentlich...* 23 (1759): 255; 17 (1760): 191–192.

20 It must be stressed that not all ships arriving at Szczecin or Świnoujście carried goods. Even half of the ships coming into the Port of Szczecin could be empty (*ledig*) or only ballasted.

21 It is worth noting that some of the ships that entered Świnoujście had been registered as leaving port in Szczecin.

## PORTS OF DISCHARGE AND EXPORTED TIMBER

Timber export through the Szczecin Lagoon and into the Baltic Sea normally began in March and ended in December, before Christmas. Carriers were very active in the warmest months, i.e. from April to September, with June and July being the busiest months (respectively 144 and 146 ships on average). This rhythm was closely linked with the climate in that region of the Baltic Sea as sailing in the late autumn and spring was dangerous and often impossible due to storms, European windstorms, and the freezing of the Szczecin Lagoon and the Oder.

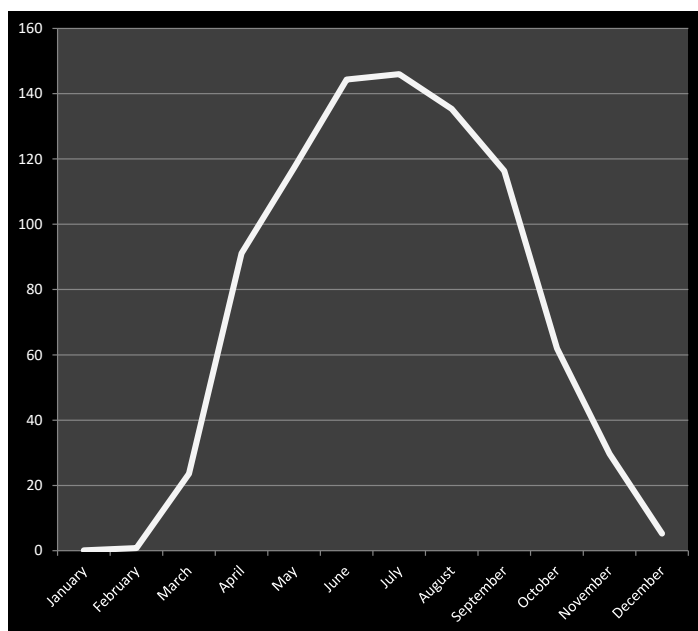


Fig. 2. The average number of ships carrying timber from the Ports of Szczecin and Świnoujście in every month

In the period under discussion, Copenhagen was the main port of discharge for ships departing from Szczecin and Świnoujście. Approx. 69.1% of all ships registered as carrying timber left for Denmark's capital city<sup>22</sup>. Other important ports of discharge for the Pomeranian timber were London (7.1% ships), Bordeaux (5%) and Amsterdam (4.5%)<sup>23</sup>. The remaining 14.3% of ships carrying timber distributed the cargo unevenly between other ports; fewer than 2% of all ships departing the two Pomeranian ports entered each of them.

22 Exporting timber to Denmark through the Szczecin Lagoon and the Baltic Sea took up approx. 70% of all ships that carried timber departing from Szczecin and Świnoujście; apart from Copenhagen, 0.6% of ships sailed to Bornholm, and 0.3% to Aabenraa (*Apenrade*) respectively.

23 According to *Wochentlich...*, 2.5% of timber-carrying ships moved from Szczecin to Świnoujście.

The data from *Wochentlich...* shows that only 0.7% (48) of all ships carrying timber that departed from Szczecin and Świnoujście arrived directly at Spanish ports, mainly at Málaga (0.4% – 25 ships), Cádiz (0.2% – 25 ships) and, as from 1757, San Sebastián, a port in the Basque Country (0.1% – eight ships).

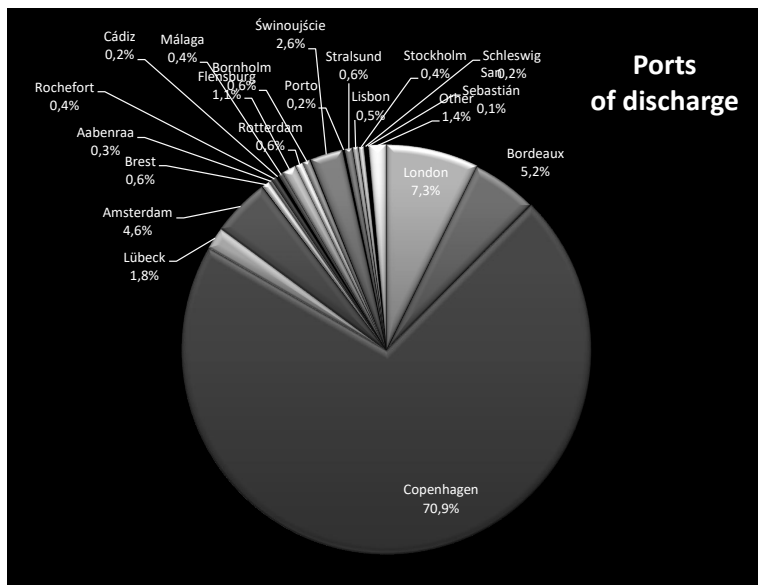


Fig. 3. Main ports of discharge for ships carrying timber from the Ports of Szczecin and Świnoujście

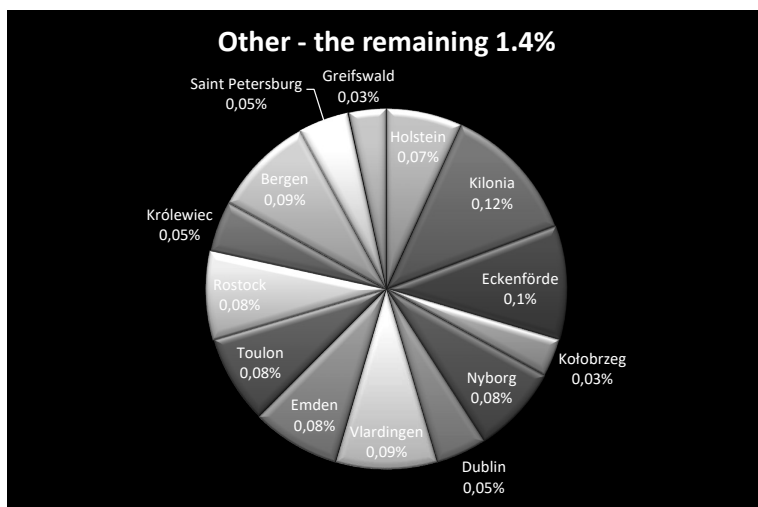


Fig. 4. Other ports of discharge for ships carrying timber from the Ports of Szczecin and Świnoujście

The data regarding the timber which left both ports is difficult to interpret due to a lax approach of the staff responsible for listing the cargo and publishing this information in the newspaper. As in the *Wochentlich...* announcements, information regarding the timber loaded onto the ships included its type, function, or what prefabricated components were made out of it (sometimes more than one feature was listed but it did not happen often)<sup>24</sup>.

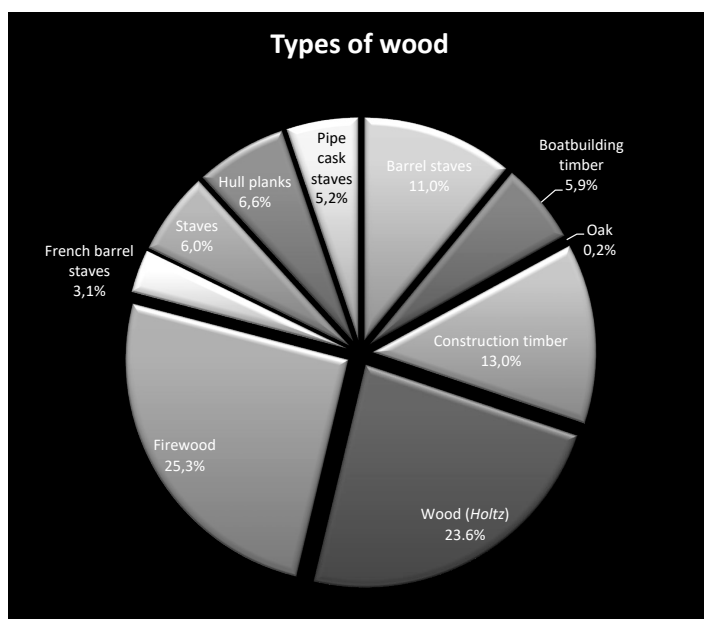


Fig. 5. Types of timber leaving from the Ports of Szczecin and Świnoujście

Firewood, a low-quality timber, was the largest group of products (25.3% of timber carried by the ships). The most problematic group is the second largest one, which was listed simply as wood (*Holtz*, 23.6% of the carried timber)<sup>25</sup>. Other large groups are also defined by the function of the material; those are timber for construction (13%) and barrel making (11%). The final function-oriented group (and crucial for this paper)

24 Cf. *Wochentlich...* 38 (1757): 495, for a ship called De Junge Jan Duckes headed to San Sebastián, the type of wood, the function of timber, and names of the products were listed.

25 Unfortunately, it was not possible to establish what was understood by *Holtz*. It seems that it was low-quality wood that could not be put into any other category, but one of the ships headed to Spain was also described as carrying *Holtz*, which makes the issue more complicated, as it is unlikely that timber of poor quality was exported to the Iberian Peninsula from as far away as Pomerania due to the costs of the journey [*Wochentlich...* 20 (1757): 270–271]. It is just as unlikely that this umbrella term was used to refer to a number of different types of timber loaded onto one ship, because in the lists published in the newspaper a note on a ship would sometimes have more than one type mentioned (e.g. boatbuilding timber, hull planks, or pipe cask staves). Cf. *Wochentlich...* 38 (1757): 494–495.

is timber for boatbuilding (5.9%). Other features listed concern timber prefabricated components, such as hull planks (6.6%), staves (6%), pipe cask staves (5.2%) and French barrel staves (3.1%). The smallest group in the register regarded the type of wood: it was oak (only 0.2%) but, unfortunately, neither its function nor the type of prefabricated components made with it was mentioned.

Out of the categories listed in *Wochentlich...*, mainly barrel staves were delivered to the Spanish ports between 1750–1760 (65%, which means 31 out of 47 ships). Pipe cask staves (including wine barrel staves) and hull planks, classified as prefabricated elements, were each transported by seven ships (15%). Construction timber, boatbuilding timber and unidentified *Holtz* were each carried by only one ship.

## CAPTAINS AND THEIR SHIPS

As mentioned above, *Wochentlich...* also included names of the ships which partook in the trade exchange with the Ports of Szczecin and Świnoujście. Personal data of skipper who were in charge of them was also of value.

As stated in *Wochentlich...*, the captains usually made no more than two trips, depending on the length of the journey. Despite that, some managed to make as many as 11 trips in one year (but those journeys were usually short). One of them, skipper Michael (or Michel) Köhler, sailed to Copenhagen 11 times in both 1752 and 1757 (on a number of different ships). Captains who sailed to Spain were not mentioned twice in one year, which is understandable provided the time it took to travel there: a one-way trip was six to eight weeks long.

Köhler stood out as a captain not only because of the number of trips he managed to make in one year, but also the number of ships which he commanded<sup>26</sup>. Captains would usually lead one vessel, but Köhler broke the efficiency records commanding possibly as many as four different ships<sup>27</sup>.

The captains who made more than one journey a year would usually go to the same port of discharge. For example, if captain Paul Wegner made 11 trips in a year, the port of discharge for his ship *Hoffnung* was always Copenhagen. Captain Köhler went

26 Assuming that Michael Köhler and Michel Köhler are the same person, rather than two people with similar names.

27 In 1756, the names of a skipper Michael Köhler appeared in *Wochentlich...* 11 times in announcements regarding St. Johannes, Maria (Sophia), Anna (Sophia), and Margaretha ships. However, the names of ships mentioned in the newspaper are difficult to interpret due to a lax approach of those who made the lists. The full names of ships were not always written down, which is why the aforementioned Maria (Sophia) was referred to as Maria, Maria Sophia, M. Sophia, or Sophia. This last variant is even more problematic because of its similarity to another ship, Anna (Sophia), the naming of which was also inconsistent.

against this trend too, as in one year (1757) he made 10 trips to three ports altogether: Copenhagen, Flensburg, and London.

Some issues of *Wochentlich...* also listed ships that waited in the Port of Świnoujście to depart on a longer journey across the Sound straits. This data is interesting as, apart from copying information about the ships leaving the port, in some cases additional information such as a type of the ship or its home port was included. This makes it possible to establish what types of ships carried Pomeranian timber and which port the captains overseeing the shipping came from (apart from the local ones these were mainly Rotterdam, Amsterdam, Götteborg, and Copenhagen). Unfortunately, out of the total number of vessels registered as docked in the port in 1757 (83 ships) 18 descriptions included information regarding the size of the ship: there were 11 one-masted and seven three-masted ones. In the case of ships waiting for a trip to Spain only 20 out of 37 vessels had their type listed: there were 19 three-masted ships and one snow<sup>28</sup>.

When it comes to home ports, out of the total of 27 ships sailing to Spain six came from Göteborg; there were also two from Rotterdam, Amsterdam, and Copenhagen each, one came from Äbo, one from Wolgast, and one from an unspecified Danish port. Home ports of the remaining vessels were not specified.

### **WOCHENTLICH... AND THE SOUND DUES REGISTERS**

A comparative analysis of the data from *Wochentlich-Stettinische Frag- und Anzeigungs-Nachrichten* with those from the Sound Dues registers (the lists of tolls collected from foreign ships sailing through the Sound between 1429 and 1857 made by Denmark) shows how weak the former is as a source since the data obtained from it is unreliable. Out of 48 ships that sailed through the Sound to reach Spain between 1750 and 1760 according to *Wochentlich...*, four were not mentioned in the Sound Dues registers. In the same period, as many as 54 ships that had Szczecin or Świnoujście as a port of loading were listed in the Sound.

Apart from information such as the date, a port of loading, a port of discharge, type of cargo, and the skippers' personal data, the Sound Dues registers included the name of every ship's home port. According to the Sound Dues registers, the home ports of most ships sailing to Spain were in the Netherlands – Amsterdam (10 ships) or Rotterdam (10) – and Sweden – Göteborg (10). Out of the remaining 24 ships, there were no

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28 *Snow* is a two-mast merchant ship which has the buoyancy of approx. 1000 tons. It was sometimes used by the navy; it was then referred to as a corvette or a sloop-of-war. *Snow*, accessed: 16.07.2019, <https://www.statkihistoryczne.pl/snow/>.

vessels from Prussian Pomerania, but four listed Stralsund (3) or Greifswald situated on the Swedish *Vorpommern* as their home ports<sup>29</sup>.

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In light of the data retrieved from the newspaper, 50 ships moved between the ports in Málaga, Cádiz, and San Sebastián and the Ports in Szczecin and Świnoujście. Forty-seven ships carrying timber and one carrying wheat departed from those Pomeranian ports between 1750 and 1760. In that period, only two vessels travelled from Spain to Pomerania (both from Málaga), which carried oil, wine and break bulk cargo (*Stückguter*)<sup>30</sup>.

These were not the only Spanish goods that found their way to the Pomeranian market. In 1756, the newspaper published information about Spanish tobacco for sale available from a merchant named Daniel Graffen<sup>31</sup>.

A comparative analysis of the data retrieved from *Wochentlich...* and the Sound Dunes registers between 1750 and 1760 shows that Spain was not an important partner for Szczecin in terms of direct trade<sup>32</sup>. Even though timber export played a significant part in trade in Szczecin and Świnoujście, exports to the Spanish market formed for less than 1% of deliveries in the initial years of Ensenada's plan. The outbreak of the Seven Years' War, which made it impossible to keep to the plan in the final two years of the decade<sup>33</sup>, and a stronger position of other Baltic ports such as Gdańsk or Riga, where the representatives of the Spanish Crown resided, are some of the possible

29 An interesting case of the vessel commanded by Carl Gotfried Burmeister is worth mentioning. In 1751, it was mentioned in *Wochentlich...* as docked in the Port of Świnoujście. Wolgast was listed as its home port and Carl Burmeister as its skipper. In the same year, a vessel commanded by C. G. Burmeister was registered in the Sound, but its home port was Stralsund, not Wolgast. Neither the Sound registers, nor the 1751 editions of *Wochentlich...* include the name of the ship, but in the following years Burmeister commanded a three-masted vessel Printz Ludwig.

30 In 1752, a ship carrying Spanish wine with Świnoujście listed as its port of loading was mentioned. *Wochentlich...* 20 (1752): 351. Moreover, in 1754 and 1756, two oil-carrying ships from Málaga docked in the roadstead in Świnoujście were listed. However, they were not registered in either port later. *Wochentlich...* 17 (1754): 247; 21 (1756): 348.

31 *Wochentlich...* 18 (1752): 285.

32 It is not impossible that the timber from Szczecin arrived on the Iberian Peninsula, but first it was delivered e.g. to Copenhagen.

33 In 1759 and 1769, ship movements in the Ports of Szczecin and Świnoujście were not registered in *Wochentlich...* as the maritime trade was stopped because of the ongoing Seven Years' War. A poorly developed Prussian fleet, which was supposed to prevent the Swedish forces from reaching the river mouth of Świna, was defeated as early as in September 1758. In August 1759, the Prussian fleet managed to break the blockade on Peene, but it was destroyed by the Swedes near Nowe Warpno. Radosław Gaziński, „Preussische Meerespolitik im 18. Jahrhundert“, *Studia Maritima* 22 (2019): 36–38 (cf. Radosław Gaziński, „Z dziejów stosunków gospodarczych między Szwecją a Prusami. Spór o handel na pianie i Świnie w latach 1720–1763”, *Przegląd Zachodniopomorski* 1 (1992): 45).

reasons. The Prussian policy of strict rationing, bans, tolls, and monopolies, which had been introduced to limit the consumption of foreign goods and boost state production, also influenced trade ties between these two countries<sup>34</sup>.

When it comes to timber trade in Szczecin and Świnoujście, the data shows that in the decade under discussion Pomeranian merchants continued trading mainly within the Baltic Region and the coasts of eastern England and France, according to the traditional model. The dominance of Copenhagen as a port of discharge, followed by London and Bordeaux, clearly shows that a traditional trading network in Pomerania was being maintained.

Types of timber exported do not indicate that Pomerania delivered significant amounts of timber to supply any western European navy in an effort to build ships in the first decade of executing Ensenada's plan. Timber delivered to Spain was mainly used to build casks, but construction and boatbuilding timber (in small quantities) was also listed<sup>35</sup>.

According to the data in the Spanish archives, the amount of timber delivered from Szczecin to Spain was the greatest only between 1770 and 1780<sup>36</sup>, so the results of the analysis of the first decade of implementing the plan are not contradictory to a claim that timber from Pomeranian ports was used in expanding the fleet of the Spanish Empire in the 18<sup>th</sup> century. For this reason, the research concerning the problem in the following years of the second half of that century is going to be continued<sup>37</sup>.

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34 Gaziński, *Handel morski*, 27.

35 In *Opis miasta Szczecina (The Description of the City of Szczecin)*, Ludwig Wilhelm Brüggemann states that, in 1777, construction timber was moved to France and Spain for the total price of 9978 thalers, and boatbuilding timber for 1550 thalers. The drawback of this list is the fact that data from two countries was provided in one column. However, it shows that in the following years some construction and boatbuilding timber reached the Iberian Peninsula. Ludwig Wilhelm Brüggemann, *Opis miasta Szczecina*. Transl., Introduction and ed. Agnieszka Gut (Szczecin, Wydawnictwo Naukowe Uniwersytetu Szczecińskiego, 2018): 102.

36 Reichert, *Direct supplies*, 7.

37 The quality of the information gathered from the newspaper is a separate issue. As mentioned above, notes on ship movements in the port were taken fairly carelessly resulting in numerous inconsistencies, which cause problems upon comparing the data with the Sound Dues registers. Another difficulty is posed by unclear entries regarding the cargo shipped, especially when it comes to the unspecified *Holtz* category. Despite its imperfections, *Wochentlich...* is a valuable resource for those involved in the research for this project as it makes it possible to recreate ship movements in the port and it provides the data from the announcements about both timber and Spanish goods.

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English version: Radosław Dolecki, Mark Atkinson

## SUMMARY

From the perspective of the Port of Szczecin, Spain had never been a serious trade partner, which was influenced by many unfavourable factors. However, on both the Prussian and Spanish sides, attempts were made to establish closer trade contacts. This text aims to show that direct trade between Spain and Pomerania existed, even though it was not as representative as the connection with Denmark, the Netherlands or England, but it supplements the knowledge about the geography of Szczecin's trade contacts. To that end, timber trade was shown on the backdrop of Szczecin's exchange with other ports connected to the main Pomeranian port with long-established trade ties. The text was based on press information published in the weekly *Wochentlich-Stettinische Frag- und Anzeigungs-Nachrichten*. The information gathered from the newspaper was confronted with the data contained in digitised Sound Dues registers. A comparative analysis of the data from those sources shows that in the years 1750–1760 Spain was not an important trade partner for Szczecin. Deliveries to the Spanish market in the years 1750–1760 accounted for a share that did not exceed 1% of all Szczecin's export. This was due to the outbreak of the Seven Years' War, which prevented the execution of the plan in the last two years of the analysed decade, and in the stronger commercial position of other Baltic ports, such as Gdańsk or Riga, among other things.

## MORSKI HANDEL DREWNEM SZCZECINA A DOSTAWY DO HISZPANII W LATACH 1750–1760 W ŚWIETLE "WOCHENTLICH-STETTINISCHE FRAG- UND ANZEIGUNGS-NACHRICHTEN"

**Słowa kluczowe:** Pomorze, Hiszpania, handel drewnem, Szczecin, Świnoujście

## STRESZCZENIE

Z punktu widzenia portu w Szczecinie, Hiszpania nigdy nie była poważnym partnerem handlowym, na co wpłynęło wiele niekorzystnych czynników. Zarówno jednak po stronie pruskiej, jak i hiszpańskiej podjęto próby nawiązania bliższych kontaktów handlowych. W tekście chciano więc wykazać, że handel bezpośredni między Hiszpanią a Pomorzem istniał,

choć nie był tak reprezentatywny jak ten prowadzony z Danią, Holandią czy Anglią. Artykuł uzupełnia wiedzę o geografii kontaktów handlowych Szczecina. Handel drewnem dlatego przedstawiono na tle wymiany Szczecina z innymi portami połączonymi tradycyjnymi więzami gospodarczymi z głównym portem Pomorza. Tekst powstał na podstawie informacji prasowych opublikowanych w tygodniku *Wochentlich-Stettinische Frag- und Anzeigungs-Nachrichten*. Informacje uzyskane podczas analizy gazety zostały skonfrontowane z danymi zawartymi w zdigitalizowanych rejestrach ceł sundzkich. Z zestawienia danych z wymienionych źródeł wynika, że w latach 1750–1760 Hiszpania nie była ważnym partnerem handlowym Szczecina. Dostawy na rynek hiszpański w latach 1750–1760 stanowiły udział nieprzekraczający 1% całego eksportu Szczecina. Przyczyn takiej sytuacji upatruje się m.in. w wybuchu wojny siedmioletniej, która uniemożliwiła realizację planu w ostatnich dwóch latach analizowanego dziesięciolecia oraz w silniejszej pozycji handlowej innych portów bałtyckich, takich jak Gdańsk czy Ryga.

**Krzysztof Kubiak**

Jan Kochanowski University in Kielce

k.kubiak@ujk.edu.pl

ORCID: 0000-0002-9623-923X

**Portuguese Navy operations on Lake Niassa (1967–1974)****Keywords:** Mozambique, Lake Niassa, guerrilla war, counter guerrilla operations, Portuguese Navy

In 1964, the Mozambique Liberation Front (Frente de Libertação de Moçambique, FRELIMO), operating from Tanzania, commenced guerrilla warfare against the Portuguese. Fighting took place in the northern part of the border provinces – eastern Cabo Delgado and western Niassa, adjacent to the great lake bearing the same name. Due to climatic conditions and topography of the province of Niassa<sup>1</sup>, the lake was the most convenient route for the partisans to travel from the north to the south. In order to break the infiltration route, the Portuguese Navy (Armada Portuguesa) was forced to organise and maintain a group of units consisting of patrol and landing boats, as well as a special sub-subunit of marines. It was an absolutely unique undertaking in the history of maritime warfare<sup>2</sup>. It should be noted that for the Portuguese Navy the war in Mozambique began much earlier – on 24 September 1964; a group of a dozen or so partisans from FRELIMO fired upon Cobué on Lake Niassa, specifically targeting the local administration office located there (one of the five located in

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1 Area 129 thousand km<sup>2</sup>, population in 1960 – 285,000 (farmer and farmer-gatherer population living in large family groups), average population density 2 people/km<sup>2</sup>, belonging to the Macua, Nyanya and Yao tribal groups. The provincial administrative centre, Vila Cabral (now Lichinga) had about 3,000 residents. It is an upland area (altitudes range from 500 to 1600 m above sea level). In the dry season, rainfall drops to 15 mm per month, in the rainy season it is about 250 mm per month.

2 During the Great War, the theatre of the struggle was Lake Tanganyika, but any search for greater similarities between those events and the Portuguese activity on Lake Niassa is not justified.

the Lago District, which stretches as a narrow strip along the shore, starting from the border with Tanzania).

### COMBAT OPERATIONS AREA – LAKE NIIASSA

Lake Niassa, also known as Malawi and Nyasa, is the southernmost of the Great African Lakes, which include – starting from the north: Lake Turkana (Rudolf), Lake Kyoga (Kioga), Lake Albert, Lake Edward, Lake Victoria, Lake Kivu, Lake Tanganyika, Lake Mweru, and the alkaline Lake Rukwa, all of them filling the tectonic depressions known as the East African Rift. It is a true inland sea, the fourth largest freshwater reservoir in the world (by volume) and the ninth largest lake in the world with a surface area of 29,600 km<sup>2</sup> (almost the area of Belgium). The length of the lake is 580 km, the greatest width is 75 km, the maximum depth is 706 m. The largest river flowing into Malawi is the Ruhuhu and the largest outlet is the River Shire (Shiré, Chire) which is, through Lake Malombe, a tributary of the Zambezi. The water temperature on the surface ranges from 24 to 29°C. There are no tides and currents on the lake, but in strong winds, short storm waves can reach up to 2.5 m. This is especially common between May and August, when the noon wind known as the *mvera* can turn into a squall. Moreover, navigation is hampered by seasonal changes in the water level up to 5 m (the highest level in May, the lowest in December)<sup>3</sup>.

The lake was discovered by Europeans relatively late. It was only in 1846 that the Portuguese merchant Candido José da Costa Cardoso managed to reach it, and after him, in 1859, came David Livingstone (who called it Lake of Storms). In 1954, a water delimitation was carried out between the Portuguese Mozambique and the British territories (Nyasaland and Tanganyika). The border ran through the middle of the lake, however, leaving the islands of Chizumulu (4.4 km long, greatest width 1.3 km) and Likoma (7.1 km long, greatest width 2.0 km) along with two smaller islands in British hands. These were therefore exclaves, initially British and later and now Malawian, in Mozambique waters. The larger island of Likoma is located 4.5 km from the Mozambique coast, 28 km from the border separating the waters of both countries and 60 km from the Malawi coast. For Chizumulu, these values are 20.5, 10.0 and 48.2 km, respectively.

In the initial stage of the conflict, the Portuguese kept on the lake (mainly for prestige, not military reasons) the 20-ton hydrographic vessel *Mina*, transported in 1957 by train from Beira via Chipoka to Metangula, and a 22-ton patrol boat *Castor*, also

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3 Paul F. Hamblin, Harwey A. Bootsma, Robert E. Hecky, "Surface Meteorological Observations over Lake Malawi/Nyasa", *Journal of Great Lakes Research* 29 (2003), Supplement 2: 22.

transported from the Indian Ocean (from Nacala via Catur and Meponda to Metangula) in December 1963<sup>4</sup>. From the end of 1962, marines from special forces (Destacamento de Fuzileiros Especiais № 2) were stationed at the lake – one platoon in Cobuè and another in Metangula. In 1963 in Metangula, the Command for the Defence of Lake Niassa and the Ports was organised (Comando da Defesa Marítima e da Capitania dos Portos do Lago Niassa)<sup>5</sup>.

Organising systematic counter guerrilla activities at the turn of 1964 and 1965, the Portuguese (a platoon of marines) intercepted combatants camping in the border region on 5 January 1965 (it is not clear on which side of the border it happened). They also determined that the enemy had developed two main infiltration routes<sup>6</sup>:

- one running through the waters of the lake from towns (marinas) on its eastern shore (including settlements relatively well connected with Dar es Salaam, such as Mbamba located about 40 km from the border, or Liuli located approx. 35 km further north) directly to Mozambique,
- another leading from Tanzania, across Lake Niassa towards its north-eastern outskirts, and further south, taking advantage of the particular course of the border of Malawi, towards the Mozambique provinces of Tetè, Sofala and Zambezia (the province of Tetè being particularly threatened by infiltration).

To block them, additional vessels were required. In August 1965, a decision was made to transfer *Antares* and *Regulus* patrol boats from the coast of the Indian Ocean to Lake Niassa. Two more vessels – large flat-bottomed boats with a shallow draft – were to be built on site: one in Lepoche on the Tanzanian border and the other in Cobuè. However, this decision was quickly changed. Due to the escalation of the enemy's activity, it was decided to transfer two larger vessels to the lake (*Marte* and *Mercúrio* patrol boats), along with the previously planned *Regulus* patrol boat and an LDM 404 landing boat<sup>7</sup>.

4 In September 1963, the vessel was delivered from the home country to Nacala by the freighter *Sofala*. This liner had a very interesting history. It was an ex-German vessel *Aller*, originally owned by Bremen Norddeutscher Lloyd, which operated it on Far Eastern and Australian lines. After the outbreak of the war, it took refuge in Lourenço Marques. In May 1943, it was seized by the Portuguese and handed over to Companhia Nacional de Navegação. With a gross tonnage of 7,956, the ship built in 1937 at the Bremen Vulkan AG shipyard in Vegesack became one of the largest freighters flying the Lusitanian ensign. It remained in operation until 1968, then the vessel was scrapped in Spanish Castellon. Sofala, accessed: 13.01.2020, <http://alernavios.blogspot.com/2016/07/sofala.html>.

5 Pedro Lauret, *A Marinha de Guerra Portuguesa. Do fim da II Guerra Mundial ao 25 Abril de 1974* (Vila do Conde: Verso da História, 2015), 217.

6 John. P. Cann, *Brown Waters of Africa. Portuguese Riverine Warfare 1961–1974* (Solihull: Helion & Company Limited, 2016), 38.

7 *Ibidem*, 140.

## TRANSPORT OF THE VESSELS TO LAKE NIASSA

*Regulus* had a displacement of 18 tons, so it was smaller than the patrol boat *Castor* (22 tons) which had previously been transported to the lake; the landing boat's displacement was 19 tons. However, the patrol boats *Marte* and *Mercurio* displaced 32 tons each, which significantly complicated the entire project in terms of logistics and transport. The plan was to transport the vessels on railway flat wagons from Lumbo to Villa Cabral, and then on low-bed trailers to Meponda on Lake Niassa. While the railway stage did not seem to cause major problems, which turned out however to be a symptom of rather wishful thinking, the road phase raised serious concerns from the very beginning. First of all, they were related to the condition of the roads, which became impassable stripes of mud during the rainy season lasting from November to April. No information was available on the load-bearing capacity of bridges and necessary clearance under structural elements, as well as the strength of culverts. Moreover, with the limited amount of heavy equipment, most of the work had to be done using the simplest hand tools. The transport service did not have at its disposal either appropriate trailers or tractor units, but this could be solved in a relatively simple way by acquiring the appropriate equipment from South African companies providing services to the mining industry. At that time, the guerrillas began to plant mines on the roads between Cobuè, Metangula and Villa Cabral, which required the inclusion of sub-units of sappers from the ground force, who in turn required protection from the sub-units of riflemen. The entire operation, codenamed *Atum* (tuna), began to consume more and more resources. The distances planned to cover were as follows: from Lumbo to Nampula, by rail – 180 km, from Napula to Villa Cabral by rail – about 750 km, from Villa Cabral to Meponda by road – about 70 km<sup>8</sup>.

In August 1965, engineering reconnaissance began on the planned ship transport route. In this regard, the military closely collaborated with engineers assigned to assist them by the Mozambique Railways Directorate (*Ferro de Moçambique*). Already the first reconnaissance showed that on the route between Lumbo and Monapo, one bridge was too low for flat wagons with ships to pass under it without obstruction, while five others needed reinforcement. However, the alternative route from Nacala to Monapo required even more time and money. This situation required a thorough revision of the planned project, as it had initially been assumed that the operation would start in Nacala. After the adoption of the modified plan, the preparation of a special slipway at Lumbo was immediately started (which had to be adapted to the operation of railway stock, as it was planned to use it to mount the vessels on the flat wagons). It should be

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8 Operação "Atum". Transporte de Lanchas da Marinha do Lumbo a Meponda, accessed: 13.01.2020, <https://niassa1558.blogspot.com/2019/02/operacao-atum-transporte-de-lanchas-da.html>.

noted that to this day there is no port or a larger marina there, and goods are delivered from the roadstead by lighters and barges. During that time, rigs (cradles) for the ships were to be brought from Nacala, while heavy tractor units capable of towing platforms were to arrive from Lourenço Marques. The work was very intensive and all the time under time pressure. In fact, calculations indicated that the highest tide, which could greatly facilitate the implementation of the first stage of the project, would occur on 13 and 14 September. However, the deadline was not met<sup>9</sup>.

In the first ten days of September, the freighter *Beira* (built in 1963, capacity 14,200, hull built by Arsenal do Alfeite, vessel completed in the Netherlands<sup>10</sup>) dropped anchor off the coast of the Island of Mozambique. *Marte* and *Mercúrio* were her deck cargo. On 9 September, both patrol boats were launched, but as the slipway had not yet been completed, the first of the ships was mounted on a railway wagon and pulled ashore only on 17 September. Fortunately, it turned out that the highest tide range was not necessary. However, there was another unexpected problem. Namely, the Mozambique Railways Directorate informed the Navy that it did not see the possibility of completing the entire project and was withdrawing from cooperation<sup>11</sup>. This was probably due to the fear that heavy flat wagons would cause damage to the track, for which the army would not be willing to pay later. For this reason, the ship was eventually launched again. At the end of September, the LDM 404 landing craft, towed by *Pacheco Pereira* frigate, arrived at the Mozambique Island. It did not require high water for loading and a kind of “dress rehearsal” was carried out with its use. On 29 September, the flat-bottomed vessel was mounted on a railway flat wagon without the use of joists. On 2 October, the transport reached Nampula and proceeded to Villa Cabral. One serious obstacle was encountered in the form of the bridge in Monapo, which proved too narrow for a landing boat to move between its arches. The Navy’s carpenter, using the simplest tools, levers and wedges, built a platform made of railway sleepers, which raised the hull, without removing the ship from the wagon, to a height of 2.4 m. Thanks to this, she was able to roll over the arches of the spans. The road stage was not so easy. On soggy roads, the trailer slipped off the road three times and the entire transport project took up to 30 days. And this time, the lightest, flat-bottomed ship was being transported. This was not a good prognosis for the planned transfer of patrol boats waiting off the Island of Mozambique<sup>12</sup>.

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9 Cann, *Brown Water*, 142.

10 Brázia, Paulo Jorge Martins da, *A Marinha Mercante entre 1945–1985. As Grandes Armadoras* (Lisboa: Universidade de Lisboa, 2010), 154.

11 Cann, *Brown Water*, 143.

12 *Ibidem*, 144.

On 8 October, *Marte* and *Mercúrio* were joined by *Régulus*. The vessel was delivered by the freighter *Rovuma* (a cargo ship built in 1947 and having a capacity of 9,270)<sup>13</sup>. Being the smallest, the last of the ships to arrive was to be the first to set off. By that time, the Portuguese had rented in South Africa two heavy M20 Diamond Model 980 ballast tractors with M9 low-bed trailers (the truck and the trailer together formed the M19 Tank Transporter system)<sup>14</sup> and two Leyland 880 FFT tractors. On 19 November, the loading of the ships onto railway wagons began in Lambo<sup>15</sup>. The fact that such security measures were deemed necessary proves the level of threat posed at that time, even several hundred kilometres from the border with Tanzania. The route to Nampula, about 180 km long, took 9 days. The passage of the ships over the bridge of Malema required the same steps as in the case of LDM 404. The vessels were too wide to pass between the arched supports of the bridge and it became necessary to raise the “cargo” above their level by means of a structure made of railway sleepers. On 30 November, the squad reached Nova Feixo (now Cuamba) and on 1 November it arrived in Catur<sup>16</sup>. However, there was another delay there. In Catur, there were neither tractors with trailers nor the infantry company from the 1891st rifle battalion, assigned to protect them. Eventually, they set off on 2 December. Meanwhile, it started to rain on the night of 2–3 December. The route to Villa Cabral was completed smoothly, but the remaining 65 km proved to be a serious challenge. On 7 December, the convoy approached a section of the road on which there were three primitive bridges built over rifts<sup>17</sup>. The convoy approached the first bridge, over a stream called Rio Machele, whose carrying capacity was assessed in the report sent to the Navy at 100 tons. Both Leyland tractors crossed it without problems. When the Diamond with the trailer on which *Marte* was mounted entered the bridge, the beams broke under the trailer’s front axles. Fortunately, the front part of it rested against the abutment, and the whole combination remained balanced and did not tip over to the side. The structure was rebuilt with the use of wedges and levers. Then *Marte* was finally back on the road. However, the passage of the second tractor was not risked and a special earth and wooden dike was built for it. Both combination vehicles finally set off in the morning of 8 December. The second bridge spanned the banks of a stream known

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13 Brázia, *A Marinha Mercante*, 224.

14 This equipment was purchased in the United States by the British Purchasing Commission, and it ended up in the Republic of South Africa along with the 6<sup>th</sup> Armoured Division, which had returned from the Italian front.

15 Laurent, *A Marinha*, 225.

16 Cann, *Brown Water*, 145.

17 The road conditions and the difficulties faced have been well described in a film made by a group of Portuguese veterans: *Meponda Moçambique II*, accessed: 15.01.2020 [https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=4v\\_s9c7OIS0](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=4v_s9c7OIS0).

as Rio Napita. It was in even worse condition than the previous one and it was necessary to reinforce it. The obstacle was overcome and another delay was basically irrelevant. There were 2 km to the next bridge, and the road to it was reinforced with steel plates supplied from Meponda. The stream was crossed without problems<sup>18</sup>. A few kilometres to the shore of the lake, however, another serious accident occurred. As the naval carpenter Carlos Águas Trindade recalls:

An observer in an off-road vehicle reported another hole and the driver of the first tractor needed to brake sharply. The rear wheels began to slip and slid to the marshy shoulder (...). Standing with a wedge in my hand, I wondered what to do. During this time, the wheels were sinking and the entire trailer was tilting. I remembered that there were mosquito mounds nearby, and that the hard aggregate obtained from them had been used many times in Africa to harden roads. I went to the back of the column, where an engineering company protected by riflemen was located; they had a bulldozer, transported on a truck, and were accompanied by local workers. Using the machine, it was possible to build a layer of compacted ground, which arrested the increasing tilt of the trailer. After two days of work [in the account written many years later, there is an evident discrepancy between the dates – author's note] the trailer was pulled back onto the road<sup>19</sup>.

Compared to the obstacles that had been overcome before, launching the boats seemed trivial. There was a long slipway in Meponda, onto which the tractors carefully manoeuvred their trailers backwards and the boats smoothly slid out of their cradles<sup>20</sup>.

In the course of another operation in May 1966 (*Operação Atum-2*), four more landing boats (LDM 408, LDP 107, LPD 203 and LPD 204) were successfully transported to Niassa. The following year, during the *Operação Ruaz* carried out between 5 July and 23 August 1967, the forces on Lake Niassa were strengthened with *Saturno* and *Urano* patrol boats, as well as the LDM 407 landing boat<sup>21</sup>. The Lake Niassa Squadron (*Esquadilha de Lanchas do Lago Niassa*, ELLN) reached its maximum force, counting at that time, together with the auxiliary crafts and boats, 14 vessels<sup>22</sup>.

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18 Cann, *Brown Water*, 145.

19 *Operação "Atum"*.

20 *Ibidem*.

21 Lauret, *A Marinha de Guerra*, 224.

22 Moçambique, LFP «Saturno» – P 1136, accessed: 15.01.2020, <https://reservanaval.blogspot.com/2018/05/mocambique-lfp-saturno-p-1136.html>.

**Table 1.** The build-up of Portuguese naval forces on Lake Niassa

Vessel	Arrival date	Remarks
<i>Mina</i>	late 1957	a civil passenger river boat adapted to carry out hydrographic activities
<i>Castor</i> (P 580)	December 1963	Handed over to Malawi in August 1968, renamed <i>John Chilembwe</i> (also known as <i>Jobo Milembwe</i> )
<i>Antares</i> (P 360)	November 1964	Handed over to Mozambique in 1975
LDM 404	November 1965	
<i>Marte</i> (P 1134)	December 1965	
<i>Mercúrio</i> (P 1135)	December 1965	
<i>Régulus</i> (P 369)	November 1965	Handed over to Malawi in March 1969, renamed <i>Chibisa</i>
LP 1*	early 1966	Handed over to Mozambique in 1975
LP 2*	early 1966	
LDM 408	May 1966	
LDM 405	May 1966	
LDP 107	May 1966	
LDP 203	May 1966	
LDP 204	May 1966	
LDM 407	August 1967	
<i>Urano</i> (P 1137)	August 1967	
<i>Saturno</i> (P 1136)	August 1967	

\* built in Metangula, specification unknown

Source: Author's own elaboration based on: John P. Cann, *Brown Waters of Africa. Portuguese Riverine Warfare 1961–1974* (Solihull: Helion & Company Limited 2016), 148–149; *Jane's Fighting Ships 1971–1972*, London: McGraw-Hill Inc., 1972), pp. 276–277, 325.

## BASE FACILITIES

As the number of the ships operating on Lake Niassa increased, it became necessary to expand the accompanying facilities. The Portuguese built their main base in Metangula (the name Vila Augusto Cardoso was also used<sup>23</sup>), and a manoeuvring base in Cobué. The first one was situated on a peninsula that cut into the waters of the

23 The name commemorates – and has survived to this day – the Portuguese navy officer Augusto de Melo Pinto Cardoso (1859–1930). He came to Mozambique at the age of 25. Under the leadership of the outstanding explorer Alexander de Serpa Pinto, he was mapping the northern part of the colony, from the coast of the Indian Ocean towards Lake Niassa, which was one of the stratagems in the Portuguese-British game. Then he was governor of Lourenço Marques, and then of the province of

lake for about 2 km. At the peninsula's end, a small ("lake") lighthouse was erected as a navigation sign. A 1,000 m long runway was located along the western shore. Dornier Do 27 and Cessna planes landed there, mainly carrying out medical evacuation tasks. There was a convenient anchorage on the eastern side of the peninsula. At the base of the peninsula, there was a small settlement established in 1900<sup>24</sup>. The base provided favourable conditions for the projection of forces in the lake area, but was poorly connected with main supply lines. This, in turn, translated into permanent shortages in supplies, including food. As one of the naval special forces officers stationed there, Lieutenant Raúl Patrício Leitão, recalls: "What could be more important than diversifying our basic menu with fresh vegetables and eggs from a few dozen hens kept next to the workshops"<sup>25</sup>. Another veteran wrote:

being still hungry, I went to a vendor to get eggs. In the canteen I bought my favourite Nocal beer, made an "advocaat" drink and drank it, because I knew it was a "strengthening drug" with high caloric and nutritional value<sup>26</sup>.

In August 1967, at Vila Auguste Cardoso were stationed four Júpiter-class patrol boats (*Marte, Mercúrio, Urano, Saturno*), four larger and three small landing craft, as well as two squads of naval special forces<sup>27</sup>. Protection was provided by a company of marines (Compahnia de Fuzileros) and a company of riflemen (Compahnia de Cacaçadores) from the ground forces. In addition, 3–4 locally acquired runabouts were maintained. The base had a mechanical workshop and a radio station. The base perimeter was fortified. It was protected by barbed wire entanglements, machine gun positions and at least two 20 mm Oerlikon cannons set on land bases<sup>28</sup>.

Cobué is situated 63 km by air and about 100 km by road (it takes more than 3 hours to cover it even today) north of Metangula. The town is situated in a shallow gulf curved to the east, facing the Malawi-owned islands of Licoma (4.3 km from the coast) and Chisumulo (17 km from the coast). The settlement grew around a mission founded by Italian priests (which could boast a church and a school), but in the first

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Inhambane. After the overthrowing of the monarchy in 1910, he symbolically broke his sword and resigned. Later he worked in maritime and customs administration.

24 Currently, it has about 14,000 residents.

25 John P. Cann, *The Fuzileiros. Portuguese Marines in Africa 1961–1974* (Solihull: Helion & Company Limited 2016), 53.

26 A Ração De Combate, accessed: 26.02.2020, <http://contosdaguerracolonial.blogspot.com/2009/11/racao-de-combate.html>.

27 Base Naval de Metangula-Fuzileiros, Reserva Naval, LDM e LDP, accessed: 15.01.2020, <https://reservanaval.blogspot.com/search/label/CF%202>.

28 Farol de Mentangula, accessed: 15.01.2020, [http://metangula1.rssing.com/chan-6313448/all\\_p1.html](http://metangula1.rssing.com/chan-6313448/all_p1.html).

phase of the war it was abandoned by the population<sup>29</sup>. The abandoned buildings were taken over by the Portuguese, who deployed a platoon of marines and a squad of special forces there. Usually, three small landing craft were kept there. In military terms, the facility was highly exposed to threats, as it was located only about 65 km from the border with Tanzania.

## TASKS AND THEIR FULFILMENT

In operational terms, the presence of Portuguese forces on the lake was aimed at cutting the infiltration routes used by FRELIMO and demonstrating a strong presence on the lake and in the coastal region. In practice, this task consisted in patrolling 280 km of the shore to detect guerrilla boats sneaking south along the shores<sup>30</sup>. A permanent guard line was also maintained, crossing the lake at the height of Metangula, which was to stop the influx of partisans to the Tetè province (distance from Kasankha Bay up to 35–40 km). However, both tasks proved extremely difficult to carry out. The Portuguese forces lacked vessels and men, and on the west shore, the situation was further complicated by the need to respect the sovereignty of Malawi's waters. In practice, the authorities of this country did not protest against the operation of Portuguese ships in their own waters, but the political constraint related to this issue formally existed.

The patrol activities were, therefore, the main part of the Portuguese naval operations in Lake Niassa. Such tasks were usually carried out by a group consisting of a patrol boat and a landing craft with a platoon of special forces on board. A patrol normally lasted five days. During its course, coastal channels were penetrated and landing groups were deployed at least several times each day; they made contact with local residents in order to both demonstrate presence and collect information. This was extremely important as the guerrilla *modus operandi* assumed avoiding contact with the Portuguese forces. FRELIMO treated the lake region primarily as a zone of penetration to the south, not another area of confrontation. When detecting the presence of the enemy, boats with activists made for the shore, where they were carefully camouflaged while the combatants sought shelter on land. Maintaining contacts with local residents meant that the Portuguese were quite effective in obtaining news about newly-arrived strangers, because the local population already knew that they demanded various benefits, especially fresh food. On the barren shore, robbing a small community of their supplies could push it dangerously close to the brink of survival. Therefore, out of the

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29 Cann, *The Fuzileiros*, 54.

30 The distance between the water–land boundary at the Mozambique–Tanzania border and the border with Malawi is 212 km.

two possible solutions, they opted for cooperation with the Portuguese and not with the “liberators”<sup>31</sup>.

The Portuguese navy then developed a specific tactical procedure. In the initial phase of operations, usually on the first night, the patrol boat was anchored or drifted about 1000–2000 m from the shore and carried out observations with a radar station (Jupiter ships were equipped, for example, with the Decca 330 navigation radar). After the discovery of a boat or a group of boats, manoeuvres aimed at identification were initiated<sup>32</sup>. The ability to conduct radar observation was a major advantage in this case. Another option was to deploy the marines ashore in a place suitable for a temporary base. After disembarking the landing craft or pontoons, the marines would conduct patrols and organise ambushes. During that time, both boats moved further away to a distance that made it impossible to spot them from the shore. In this way, the location of the marines was not revealed, and at the same time, the vessels were kept in adequate proximity to approach the shore and provide gunfire support if necessary. The Portuguese forces preferred to transmit the emergency call signal with visual means (rocket flares), as there were not enough portable radio stations, and, what is more, they often refused to work in difficult climatic conditions. A typical patrol lasted five days, after which soldiers and sailors were given three days to rest, inspect and conduct maintenance of weaponry and equipment<sup>33</sup>. These were extremely tedious, arduous, and both mentally and physically exhausting operations. The enemy was engaged only sporadically, which increased the frustration of the soldiers. The guerrillas were relatively well versed in the course of the shoreline and began to lay mines in places convenient for landing<sup>34</sup>. In order to increase the effectiveness of the operations, the Portuguese experimented with the use of detection dogs, generally to a good result<sup>35</sup>.

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31 The relationship between the local population and the partisans, on the one hand, and the Portuguese administration and the army, on the other, is discussed in: *Resenha Histórico-Militar das Campanhas de África*, 6.º Volume, *Aspectos da Actividade Operacional*, Tomo III, *Moçambique*, Livro II (Lisboa: Estado-Maior do Exército, Comissão para o Estudo das Campanhas de África (1961–1974), 2012), 97–100.

32 Cann, *The Fuzileiros*, 54.

33 *Ibidem*, 54–55.

34 *Ibidem*.

35 Cães de Guerra no Corpo de fuzileiros, accessed: 17.01.2020, <https://barcoavista.blogspot.com/2010/10/caes-de-guerra-no-corpo-de-fuzileiros.html>.

## TACTICAL CASE STUDY

An example of fulfilment of patrol tasks may be the operations carried out at the end of March 1967. A sub-subunit of 25 marines (with one 60 mm mortar) was then deployed from a landing craft about 23 km north of Cobué. The disembarkation was carried out before sunrise. The partisans were then intensively infiltrating the border zone, bearing a relatively small risk, as the topography of the terrain made it relatively easy to detect the enemy approaching by land. The marines, being recently deployed at the lake, could therefore have the advantage of surprise. After disembarking, the soldiers maintained silence and avoided paths and routes, as they suspected them to have been mined. However, this decreased the pace of the march – only three kilometres were covered in an hour. With the dawn, the Portuguese organised an ambush, taking positions on a hill that dominated the area. Two teenage shepherds were captured who revealed that they had sneaked out to fish from a FRELIMO camp, where they had ended up due to “conscriptio” conducted by the organisation. The camp itself was supposedly located about 7 km away. According to the testimonies of the prisoners, it was divided into two zones, one was occupied by the combatants while the other provided quarters to local residents, who needed to cater for the “combat component” and had been mostly “mobilised” just like the captured shepherds. The entire camp was protected by a sparse minefield, but well-worn paths led through it. The marines’ commander assumed that no more than a dozen militants were stationed in the camp, and thus he had a numerical advantage that allowed him to successfully engage the enemy. So he gave the order to march. It took the marines two hours to travel the area covered with dense vegetation. Then it was time for a short break and deployment to initial positions. Before that happened, the commander instructed the soldiers and non-commissioned officers what their tasks were. Such precautions were necessary because the terrain did not allow command by visual means, and the Portuguese did not have other means of communication (the sub-subunit only had an HF radio station for communication with the command). The plan was simple: go across the minefield in a column formation using the visible path, form a line in the perimeter of the camp and attack to eliminate the enemy in a direct firefight conducted at the shortest possible distance. On the other side of the minefield, there was to be a mortar squad (a gunner and an ammunition man, the second ammunition soldier was included as a rifleman in the assault group), a radio operator and a paramedic, the latter two being tasked with supporting their colleagues using regular G-3 rifles). Of the 27 soldiers, 23 participated in the attack. It took the Portuguese five minutes to cross the minefield and deploy. The partisans felt very confident. No sentries were stationed or they were insufficiently vigilant, as the marines remained undetected, although while marching they themselves could observe the garrison force through the bushes, being occupied

with their daily, routine morning activities<sup>36</sup>. The wall of dense vegetation ended about 30 metres from the first huts that made up the camp. The Portuguese stepped out into the open as if they were ghosts of the jungle and commenced intense, precise fire from a short distance. The fight was short as the FRELIMO combatants made no effort to organise themselves and rushed to flee. The Portuguese did not give chase. A search of the battlefield revealed that the marines had eliminated (killed or injured) 60 opponents at the cost of one wounded. About 40 weapons were acquired. At sunset, the entire squad boarded the landing craft again and returned to Cabuè<sup>37</sup>.

The aforementioned operation can be considered typical. It well illustrates the capabilities of small, autonomous groups of selected elite soldiers using the advantage provided by landing craft. On the other hand, it demonstrates the weakness of the Portuguese reconnaissance, which made the results of the marines' operations dependent on a proverbial stroke of luck. It is also impossible to ignore the extreme simplification, if not to say crudeness of Portuguese tactics (a phenomenon also observable in other theatres of African wars), and a particular arrogance resulting from the feeling of superiority over the opponent. Therefore, the goal was to shorten the distance as quickly as possible, which often meant – as in the case of the episode described above – resigning from the detailed reconnaissance, hoping that this would be compensated by individual training, firepower and determination. This approach was so far successful but was not devoid of a minimal margin for error.

## COOPERATION WITH MALAWI

The Portuguese “lake” flotilla was also an instrument of politics. One of the tasks carried out unofficially and covertly was the training by commandos of the irregular militia from Malawi, i.e. the paramilitary party organisation founded by President Hastings Banda and called Young Pioneers (also known as “green shirts”)<sup>38</sup>. Malawi also had no

36 An extremely vivid account of the above-described operation also outlining its much wider context is contained in the memoirs of the commander of the marines' sub-subunit. Raúl Patrício Leitão, *O Quarto da Alva* (Lisboa: Âncora Editora 2012), 114–137; Raúl Patrício Leitão, *Putos da Minha Rua* (Lisboa: Âncora Editora 2014), 96–110.

37 Cann, *The Fuzileiros*, 147.

38 What was important from the Portuguese point of view was the fact that this formation was used to patrol rural areas and, as a result, clashed with FRELIMO fighters marching south. Even ignoring the primary internal role of the pioneers as a structure serving to uphold Banda's power, it should be noted that the Malawi armed forces were completely unable to cope with the infiltration, if only due to the inadequacy of its size for the country's area (approximately 118,000 km<sup>2</sup>). In 1967, 2,000 soldiers served in the Malawian Defence Force. They were mostly veterans of the 1st Battalion, King's African Rifles (locally enlisted British formation). An operational battalion was stationed in the Cobbe barracks in the capital city of Zomba. A significant weakness in Malawi's efforts

vessel, so its claims to control the waters of the “African sea” were completely abstract. To strengthen relations with Malawi, the Portuguese decided to hand over two patrol boats to their neighbour. In August 1968, the ceremony of taking over *Castor* took place, and it was renamed *John Chilembwe* under the new ensign (the name *Jobo Milembwe* also appears). In March 1969, *Castor* was joined by *Régulus*. This boat, in turn, was renamed *Chibisa*. In the same year, Malawi acquired a 9.1 m long Spear-type patrol boat from the British company Fairey Marine<sup>39</sup>. At that time, Malawi’s sovereignty over the “lake forces” was purely nominal. Most of the crews were Portuguese; for example *Castor*, before her handover, was assigned an officer and two non-commissioned officers from *Mercúrio*, who remained on board after the ensign had changed (their salaries were then paid by Malawi). It was a similar case with *Régulus*. Portuguese support was not limited to personnel. The boats were still serviced and repaired in Metangula, and their daily operation was possible owing to the supply of Portuguese fuel, transported by landing craft across the lake to Monkey Bay (Lusumbwe, southern shore, about 250 km south of Metangula) where the Malawian Defence Force were attempting to establish a base. The Malawi staff were trained both on the boats under the supervision of the Portuguese and in the unofficial “maritime school” organised in Metangula (most of the students came from the Young Pioneers)<sup>40</sup>.

## CONCLUSIONS

From 1964 to 1974, the Lake Niassa region was the scene of systematic, low-intensity operations by the Portuguese Navy. With the use of a dozen or so light vessels and 1–2 sub-subunits of special forces, whose bases were protected by two companies of marines, a permanent advantage was maintained in a very large water reservoir and over 200 km of the adjacent coastal belt. This state of affairs continued until the end of the war in 1974. In the early 1970s, the Portuguese forces inflicted such serious losses on the partisans that the leadership of FRELIMO, in practice, abandoned the infiltration route across the lake and along its eastern shore. However, this success had little impact on the end result of the confrontation in Mozambique. When crossing the lake became too risky, a much longer (about 800 km) but safer route through Zambia was used. The

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was the fact that government forces did not have any vessel at their disposal. The Portuguese operated without any obstacles in their neighbour’s waters, but for political and prestige-related reasons, this situation needed to change. Richard Carver, *Where Silence Rules: The Suppression of Dissent in Malawi. An Africa Watch Report. October 1990* (New York: Human Rights Watch), 16–27; Young Pioneers (Malawi Congress Party) (Malawi), accessed: 22.06.2020, <https://militias-guidebook.com/pgag/72/>.

39 *Jane’s Fighting Ships 180–1981* (London: London: McGraw-Hill Inc., 1972), 312.

40 Cann, *Brown Water*, 142.

situation was further worsened by the change of the political line pursued by Malawian President. Hastings Banda, being a seasoned politician, recognised that the chances of the eventual success of the Portuguese were slim and decided to improve his relations with other African countries supporting FRELIMO, especially Tanzania and Zambia. The most important part of this change was allowing the guerrillas to travel through Malawi. This enabled FRELIMO to infiltrate the Mozambique province of Tetè both from the north and the east and then extend its operations south of the River Zambezi. The war entered a new phase. Control of Lake Niassa undoubtedly allowed the Portuguese to prolong it, but it could not prevent the final defeat.

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English version: Radosław Dolecki, Mark Atkinson

## SUMMARY

For a decade, from 1964 to 1974, the Portuguese Navy planned, organised and conducted low-intensity counter guerrilla activities on Lake Niassa (Nyasa, Malawi). It was one of the theatres of confrontation with the anti-colonial liberation movement. The Portuguese maintained a lasting advantage on Lake Niassa. This fact significantly hindered the use of shipping lanes to transfer guerrillas to Southern Mozambique. In operational, tactical and logistical terms, operations on Lake Niassa are an example of the flexibility of the navy and its ability to face a wide variety of challenges. At the same time, the Portuguese demonstrated considerable organisational skills, as well as the ability to improvise effectively and manage in a rational way very limited resources. The article was based on Portuguese documents, studies and reports, as well as studies in English.

## DZIAŁANIA PORTUGALSKIEJ MARYNARKI WOJENNEJ NA JEZIORZE NIASA (1967–1974)

**Słowa kluczowe:** Mozambik, jezioro Niasa, wojna partyzancka, działania przeciwpartyzanckie, marynarka portugalska

## STRESZCZENIE

Przez dekadę, w latach 1964–1974, portugalska marynarka wojenna planowała, organizowała i prowadziła działania o niskiej intensywności na jeziorze Niasa. Był to jeden z obszarów konfrontacji z antykolonialnym ruchem wyzwoleniczym. Portugalczycy utrzymali trwałą przewagę na Niasa, co w znacznym stopniu utrudniło wykorzystanie szlaków żeglugowych do przerzutu partyzantów na południe. W wymiarze operacyjnym, taktycznym i logistycznym działania na jeziorze Niasa stanowią przykład elastyczności floty i jej zdolności do stawiania czoła bardzo zróżnicowanym wyzwaniom. Portugalczycy wykazali się przy tym znacznymi umiejętnościami organizacyjnymi, połączonymi ze zdolnością do skutecznej improwizacji, a jednocześnie racjonalnością w dysponowaniu bardzo ograniczonymi

zasobami. Artykuł jest pierwszą w literaturze polskiej próbą zmierzenia się z tytułowym tematem. Powstał na podstawie portugalskich dokumentów, opracowań i relacji, a także opracowań w języku angielskim.



**Maciej Kijowski**

University of Occupational Safety Management in Katowice

maciej.kijowski@onet.pl

ORCID: 0000-0002-0333-0465

**From the studies on the suicides of Polish seafarers****Keywords:** suicide, seafarer, ship, sea

*In Memory of Professor Jerzy Olszewski, PhD, Eng.,  
Minister of Foreign Trade and Maritime Economy (1974–1980)*

Among the conditioning factors of suicidal thoughts and tendencies, apart from endogenous premises<sup>1</sup>, the element of interpersonal and social reactions<sup>2</sup> is essential. Seafarers on ships at sea “form an occupational group that is considered to be a complicated and difficult object of research”<sup>3</sup>, at the same time, it is a group characterised as one of those which are most at risk of suicide<sup>4</sup>. The most evident causes which have a negative effect on the mental health of seafarers, such as the risk of attempting or committing suicide, include long periods of staying away from the family and friends, fatigue and exhaustion, as well as job security and working conditions<sup>5</sup>. Although Eligiusz Józef Sitek does not refer to the etiology of suicides in the cited work, he gives a more comprehensive list of “specific components of the seafaring profession [that affect] the conditions of life at sea”, dividing them into physical factors (e.g. microclimate in engine rooms, vibration, noise, specific conditions of alimentation), natural

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1 More in: Adam Świeżyński, “«Śmierć z wyboru» – filozoficzny aspekt samobójstwa”, *Studia Philosophiae Christianae* 1 (2002): 82–98.

2 Cf. Marek Jarema, “Czy można ocenić ryzyko samobójstwa?”, *Psychiatria Polska* 1 (2018): 10.

3 Eligiusz Józef Sitek, “Problemy pracy i życia marynarzy na statkach transportowych”, *Nautologia* 4 (1980): 25.

4 See: Adam Mazurkiewicz, “Z działalności ITF – Międzynarodowej Federacji Transportowców”, *Biuletyn Morski* 3 (2017): 7.

5 See: ibidem, 8.

factors (e.g. rapid changes of climate, hydrometeorological conditions), and sociological and psychological factors (associated with “the inability to meet many needs of people on the ship, which in consequence (...) causes various types of psychological tensions”<sup>6</sup>). The quoted author aptly describes the ship as a “separate social ‘microcosm’”<sup>7</sup>, and its crew as a randomly integrated group, internally coherent or antagonistic, with defined interactions as well as a formal and informal structure<sup>8</sup>. Even if this group is composed of people who are close to each other, “a sailor must be self-sufficient and self-reliant”<sup>9</sup>. Bogdan Jaremin confirms that the ship is an artificial ecosystem, and a member of its crew is simultaneously affected by external factors (including water, air, but also the environment of ports), internal factors (biotic and abiotic, including physical, chemical and structural-operational factors), and finally anthropocentric factors (written and unwritten rules of life on the ship)<sup>10</sup>. The index of unfavourable factors by Roman Dolmierski and Jerzy Nitka is also significant, as they distinguish psychological factors (feeling of isolation from the home country and loved ones; isolation within a randomly selected group whose composition does not change, in a relatively small space; increasingly shorter stops of ships in ports and longer at roadsteads; single-sex isolation; monotony; problems with customs and foreign exchange; and finally, the fact that seafarers associate work on a ship with a threat to health and life, which results in a lasting feeling of mental tension), and physico-chemical factors (dynamic changes of climate, electromagnetic phenomena; neurosis-inducing disturbances of daily and longer-term circadian rhythms caused when rapidly crossing time zones; noise and vibrations – from infra- to ultra-acoustic – emitted by engines of increasingly higher power; the toxic effect on the central nervous system of exhaust gases, cargo or plastics used to make floor coverings and ceilings in crew compartments, the effect of electromagnetic radiation dependent on the operation of radar and ship radio, and of other devices emitting microwaves)<sup>11</sup>. The author of an in-depth study of individual

6 Sitek, “Problemy”, 25.

7 Ibidem, 30.

8 Cf. ibidem, 28.

9 Ibidem, 30.

10 Cf. Bogdan Jaremin, *Zgony polskich marynarzy i rybaków podczas pracy na morzu w latach 1960–1999 – analiza zjawiska i wpływu środowiska pracy ze szczególnym uwzględnieniem orzecznictwa lekarskiego i możliwości prewencji* (Gdańsk: Akademia Medyczna w Gdańsku [Medical University of Gdańsk], Międzywydziałowy Instytut Medycyny Morskiej i Tropikalnej [the Interdepartmental Institute of Maritime and Tropical Medicine], Klinika Chorób Zawodowych i Wewnętrznych [the Clinic of Occupational and Internal Diseases], 2005), 15–16; see also: Józef Stankiewicz, “Choroby centralnego układu nerwowego. Choroby umysłowe. Alkoholizm nałogowy. Epilepsja. Psychonerwica. Histeria”, in: *Poradnik medyczny kapitana statku*, ed. Zdzisław Teisseyre (Warsaw: Państwowy Zakład Wydawnictw Lekarskich, 1962), 377–378.

11 See: Roman Dolmierski, Jerzy Nitka, “Ocena stanu psychofizycznego marynarzy zatrudnionych w dziale pokładowym i maszynowym”, *Technika i Gospodarka Morska* 7 (1989): 34; Władysław Ejsmont, “Problemy medyczne w aspekcie nowoczesnych statków”, *Biblioteka Nawigatora* 3 (1972): 86;

and group deviant behaviour on a seagoing ship is Robert Woźniak<sup>12</sup>. In the context of the observations of Narcyz Klatka, we can also add to the factors indicated by the above-mentioned authors – although with certain reservations – spherical lightnings and infrasonic waves (with a frequency of 1–10 Hz) which are spread out over the sea surface<sup>13</sup>. However, I am more convinced by Mieczysław Plopa's indication of "additional limitations of the nature of sensory deprivation", by which he means the narrowing of the seafarer's perceptive field to the water and the ship's area<sup>14</sup>, but also the combination of excessive formalisation of interpersonal relations on the ship with an increased susceptibility to stress during a certain phase of the voyage, which is the cause of suicide attempts<sup>15</sup>. In the course of research conducted directly on ships, Ludwik Janiszewski also noticed the symptom of *long eye*, "characterised by noticeable changes in the colour and functioning of the eye", caused by a high and extreme degree of deprivation of needs, especially sexual and emotional needs, caused by separation<sup>16</sup>. In his earlier research into the environment of deep-sea fishermen, the same author noticed their almost pathological suspicion towards their partners on land, which can even include spying on them (and this is a service fishermen provide to one another), as well as a topic that pervades ship conversations, anecdotes and jokes – the not at all humorous so-called Dyzio's (or day man's) syndrome, named after the alleged seducer and lover of the fishermen's wives who was on the prowl on land<sup>17</sup>. Janiszewski pointed out that the stereotype of the alleged inclination of seafarers' wives towards infidelity is a myth, but he admitted *expressis verbis* that the actually committed infidelities lead seafarers to suicidal thoughts or acts<sup>18</sup>. An example of a potential suicide affected by the day man's syndrome will be discussed below.

In 1981, a very interesting study was conducted among the seafarers working in the Polish Ocean Lines, concerning their satisfaction or dissatisfaction with work at sea.

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Lech Milian, *Zawód marynarza floty transportowej: studium monograficzne* (Gdynia: Wydawnictwo Wyższej Szkoły Morskiej w Gdyni, 1974), 145–154; see also: Andrzej Ropelewski, *Ludzie „Dalmoru”* (Gdańsk: Marpress, 1998), 128–129, which recalls the suggestions of sociologists and psychologists as well as ship's doctors, put forward since the late 1960s and inspired by these and similar phenomena, that trawler trips should be shortened to about 90 days or that their crews should be replaced after that time.

- 12 Cf. Robert Woźniak, *Problemy socjologii wychowania morskiego (Socjologiczne studium wychowania na statku morskim)* (Szczecin: Szczecińskie Towarzystwo Naukowe, 1987), 150–182.
- 13 See: Narcyz Klatka, "Okrety widma – tajemnica nie wyjaśniona", *Przegląd Morski* 1 (1975): 51–56.
- 14 Cf. Mieczysław Plopa, *Stres w izolacji morskiej. Psychospołeczne uwarunkowania* (Gdańsk: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Gdańskiego, 1996), 76.
- 15 Cf. *ibidem*, 77.
- 16 Cf. Ludwik Janiszewski, *Rodzina marynarzy i rybaków morskich. Studium socjologiczne* (Warsaw–Poznań: PWN, 1976), 86.
- 17 Cf. *ibidem*, 214–216; Ludwik Janiszewski, *Rybaczy dalekomorscy. Studium socjologiczne* (Poznań: Instytut Zachodni, 1967), 429.
- 18 Cf. Janiszewski, *Rodzina*, 216, 255.

My attention was primarily drawn to the stressors indicated by 88 seafarers: the absence of the family (57 people), the absence of the sexual partner (48), interpersonal relations (32), the length of the voyage (30), lack of home food (19), lack of entertainment (16), working conditions (14), limited space (14), constant company of the same people (10), bad work organisation (6), disturbances in the circadian rhythm of the body (4)<sup>19</sup>. Following this, Stanisław Kozak collected the suggestions made by the respondents, and among these particularly noteworthy are, *inter alia*, extending “the possibility of taking family members to sea, which would strengthen emotional ties among seafarers’ families”, or – very current at that time – a reduction of fees “for radiotelephone calls to the home country”<sup>20</sup>. According to Sitek, calling people on land “reduces the mental tension [of a seafarer – author’s note], but at the same time it allows for a momentary detachment from the environment”<sup>21</sup>, and Janiszewski adds that it creates “an illusory impression of direct communication”<sup>22</sup>. Kozak<sup>23</sup> wrote about lightening the often heavy atmosphere on the ship – this time basing on the surveys conducted among shipmasters. A sense of humour plays an important role in settling and preventing conflicts also in other closed communities, e.g. in the Armed Forces<sup>24</sup>; it is not a sufficient antidote, however, in a situation when the suicides of seafarers are largely caused by separation from their relatives<sup>25</sup>.

Adam Mazurkiewicz gives and interprets the results of fascinating research conducted by Stephen Roberts (Swansea University), who was interested in the deaths of seafarers on ships flying the British flag in the years 1979–1980, 1982–1983 and 2001–2005. In all these periods taken together, seafarers ranked second among the occupational groups with highest suicide rates (76 per 100,000 in the first two periods taken together, 68 per 100,000 in the third period). Independently of this, in the years 1959–2009 research was conducted in Poland, Hong Kong, Sweden, Denmark, on the Isle of Man, in Great Britain and Singapore. The results are electrifying, as it was calculated that out of 17,000 deaths as many as 1,000 were caused by suicide; in other words, as many as 6% of deaths, and since 1997 as many as 6.5% of deaths were suicidal. It can be said with full responsibility that even such intimidating results are understated,

19 See: Stanisław Kozak, “Niektóre czynniki wpływające na zadowolenie i niezadowolenie z pracy marynarzy PLO”, *Technika i Gospodarka Morska* 6 (1982): 299–300.

20 Ibidem, 300.

21 Sitek, “Problemy”, 30.

22 Janiszewski, *Rodzina*, 94.

23 Stanisław Kozak, “Problemy kierowania załogą statku”, *Technika i Gospodarka Morska* 6 (1983): 311.

24 Cf. Józef Baryła, “Kształtowanie stosunków międzyludzkich w Siłach Zbrojnych PRL”, in: *Kształtowanie stosunków międzyludzkich w pracy ZSMP w wojsku. Materiały z posiedzenia Rady Młodzieżowej WP w dn. 28.04.1977 r.* (Warsaw: Wydawnictwo MON, 1977), 71–72.

25 See: Zenon Borucki, *Osobowość a przystosowanie zawodowe marynarza* (Wrocław–Warsaw–Cracow–Gdańsk–Łódź: Ossolineum, 1986), 43.

since in 2005, out of 835 deaths at sea, over 20% were the result of suicides<sup>26</sup>. Another reason for lowering the statistics is the aversion to showing the relationship between disappearances of seafarers and their suicidal aetiology, while as much as 50% of disappearances of seafarers are most likely the result of suicides<sup>27</sup>. Even more important are the results of Jaremin's research on the causes of 668 deaths (including disappearances at sea) on Polish seagoing ships in the years 1960–1999; this researcher included suicides and disappearances at sea as deaths due to external causes, indicating that the 121 so-called other accidents (including suicides) accounted for 22.61% of deaths in this category, with 114 disappearances at sea accounting for 20.56% of deaths (including 35 disappearances which did not involve a ship disaster, among them those caused by depression with subsequent suicidal decisions)<sup>28</sup>. Out of 151 “other accidents”, as many as 51 are obvious suicides, including – according to Jaremin, Kinga Szymańska and Elżbieta Rosik – 33 on merchant ships, 17 on deep-sea fishing vessels, 1 in cutter and boat fishing, which accounts for 33.8% of deaths in this category and 7.6% of all deaths on board ships<sup>29</sup> – more than in the years 1957–1965, when it was 5.5%<sup>30</sup>. This is most likely an underestimated statistic<sup>31</sup> – although it was even more underestimated by Ryszard Leszczyński, who calculated that in the years 1945–2003 only 14 undisputed suicides were committed in Polish sea fishing<sup>32</sup> – consisting of suicides committed by men, most often between the ages of 30 and 50, most often by hanging and strangling, only in the second place by throwing themselves into the water, which is puzzling, as bringing the body to asphyxia (anoxemia) by drowning is, *sit venia verbo*, easier and more effective than hanging; followed by poisoning with drugs or other chemicals; and in one case – by the use of a firearm<sup>33</sup>. This 7.6%, although “more modest” compared to the 13.3% of fatal accidents among seafarers recorded in 1945–1954 in Sweden<sup>34</sup>, is actually a very large number, considering, for example, that in 2008 in Poland suicides accounted for “only” 1.3% of all deaths<sup>35</sup>. If in the decades 1960–1969, 1970–1979, 1980–1989 and 1990–1999 suicides accounted for as many as 9.4%, 6.6%, 7.9% and 8%,

26 See: Mazurkiewicz, “Z działalności”, 7.

27 See: *ibidem*.

28 See: Jaremin, *Zgony*, 85–89.

29 See: *ibidem*, 90, 122; Szymańska, Jaremin, Rosik, “Suicides”, 37.

30 See: Roman Dolmierski, Krystyna Jolanta de Walden, “Ocena kliniczna przyczyn samobójstw u marynarzy”, *Psychiatria Polska* 3 (1972): 256.

31 Cf. Jaremin, *Zgony*, 91; Szymańska, Jaremin, Rosik, “Suicides”, 38.

32 See: Ryszard Leszczyński, *Tragedie rybackiego morza*, vol. 2 (Gdańsk: Fundacja Promocji Przemysłu Okrętowego i Gospodarki Morskiej, 2005), 417–418.

33 See: Jaremin, *Zgony*, 92.

34 See: Dolmierski, de Walden, “Ocena”, 256.

35 See: Krzysztof Rosa, “(Nie)wiarygodność danych statystycznych dotyczących zachowań samobójczych. Perspektywa teoretyczna i praktyka społeczna”, *Przegląd Socjologiczny* 2 (2012): 286.

respectively, of the deaths of Polish seafarers and fishermen at sea, then in relation to the male population of Poles aged 20 and over, they amounted approximately to only 1.3%, 2.2%, 0.2% and 1.2% of deaths<sup>36</sup>. Such a significant disproportion is not unrelated to the perception of a seagoing ship as a closed institution according to Erving Goffman's concept – I do not agree with it *in toto*, but I believe that its criticism by Janiszewski<sup>37</sup>, or the modification of the concept of the ship by Żaneta Stasieniuk<sup>38</sup> to the level of partially closed institutions are not justified if they refer to the 1970s or 1980s (presently, shorter voyages and more frequent contact with relatives actually make the ship an institution that is closed only to a certain extent, *ad certum gradum*). If ships had not been fully or almost completely closed institutions 40–50 years ago, the number of suicides on board would not have exceeded the statistic of deaths on land by so much. As the figures for suicides on land<sup>39</sup> are unreliable, their numbers at sea will be all the more hidden. And it will get worse because the State Marine Accident Investigation Commission does not keep statistics of victims of maritime accidents and suicides at sea<sup>40</sup>. Therefore, attention should be paid to the urgent need to undertake in-depth interdisciplinary research on the suicides of seafarers across modern Poland (especially since the vast majority of them work on ships flying foreign flags) and on a global scale, in particular in terms of the number of these acts (measured in absolute numbers and the percentage of all causes of seafarers' deaths) and their premises, which may differ from those recorded in previous decades.

I could not fail to refer to one more statistic, the more so as – based on clinical material and files produced by maritime chambers – it constitutes the basis for one of the probably only two studies devoted entirely to the suicides of seafarers that exist so far in Polish literature<sup>41</sup>. In the period between January 1958 and September 1969, 123 cases of fatal accidents and disappearances at sea were recorded on Polish seagoing ships, of which 45 cases (36.5%) were of interest to Dolmierski and de Walden, who divided them into 3 groups: proven (evident) suicides – 13, disappearance in the state of a mental disorder (a probable suicide) – 13 (in total 21.1% of fatal accidents), disappearance for unknown reasons – 19. As for the 13 proven suicides, first of all, it is necessary to indicate their methods: jumping overboard – 5, hanging – 4, poisoning – 3,

36 See: Szymańska, Jaremin, Rosik, "Suicides", 38. On the quantitative disproportion between the suicides of seafarers and the male population employed on land, see also Jaremin, *Zgony*, 122–123.

37 Cf. Ludwik Janiszewski, "Krytyka Goffmanowskiej koncepcji statku morskiego jako instytucji zamkniętej", *Ruch Prawniczy, Ekonomiczny i Socjologiczny* 1 (1987): 153–162.

38 Cf. Żaneta Stasieniuk, *Zbiorowość marynarzy w procesie zmian społecznych* (Szczecin: Wydawnictwo Naukowe Uniwersytetu Szczecińskiego, 2009), 24–26.

39 More in: Rosa, "(Nie)wiarygodność", 265–290.

40 See: Aleksandra Pikała, "Ostatni rejs taty", *Gazeta Wyborcza*, 15.04.2019, supplement *Duży Format*, 17.

41 Dolmierski, de Walden, "Ocena". I refer to the other article in footnote 13.

gunshot – 1 case, and secondly, the psychiatric diagnosis of individual suicides: paranoid syndrome based on chronic schizophrenia – 4, mental disorders related to alcohol abuse – 3, endogenous depressive syndrome – 2, delirium and obtundation – 1, reactive depressive syndrome – 1, and finally 2 cases of undetermined mental disorders<sup>42</sup>. Of the 13 apparent suicides, 4 were committed under the influence of alcohol, while 6 victims had frequently abused alcohol; suicides were most common in summer (in most cases between 7 and 8 pm) and least common in spring. If suicides and disappearances are considered together, it should be noted that as many as 33 cases concerned the age group 20–40 years, 30 of whom were people with primary education; most of them (27 people) were married<sup>43</sup>.

For the effective ordering of the conceptual apparatus used in relation to the discussed issue, one should undoubtedly refer to the phenomenon known as *calenture* (*paraphyrosyne calentura* from Latin *caleo*, *calere*), although it is both useful and risky, as there is no *opinio communis doctorum* to confirm its existence, and this term does not appear in psychiatric literature later than in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. *Calenture*, mentioned as a possible cause of suicides and disappearances at sea, is described as “a seafarer’s irresistible urge to throw himself overboard”, apparently manifesting itself “after a voyage of at least one week without contact with land”<sup>44</sup>. The occurrence of this syndrome is favoured by the (not necessarily cumulative) presence of such conditions as cloudless skies, calm tropical days and the lack of other ships on the horizon, most often when a physically tired sailor is on board alone and leaning over the bulwark, and the deck is in motion<sup>45</sup>. *Calenture* does not occur at night<sup>46</sup>, so suicides committed at that time have other sources. On the basis of my knowledge, I only mention this term in passing, because I cannot confirm the existence of *calenture*, although I am not able to deny it unequivocally<sup>47</sup>, also because this concept has recently been recalled – it is another question whether rightly so – as a synonym for heat stress<sup>48</sup>. Without a shadow of a doubt, however, I can confirm the

42 See: Dolmierski, de Walden, “Ocena”, 256.

43 See: *ibidem*, 257.

44 Mazurkiewicz, “Z działalności”, 7; Alastair Donald Macleod, “Calenture – missing at sea?”, *Psychology and Psychotherapy: Theory, Research and Practice* 4 (1983): 347–350; cf. also Jaremin, *Zgony*, 26, who considers the occurrence of *calenture* possible only “after a long stay on a crowded ship”.

45 See: Mazurkiewicz, “Z działalności”, 7.

46 See: *ibidem*.

47 In statements given to the author on 28 June 2018 and on 17 September 2018, the specialist psychiatrist Łukasz Filipowski, MD, and a seafarer with many years of professional experience quoted many times in the present article, chief engineer Ryszard Leszczyński, PhD denied the existence of *calenture*, considering it, independently of each other, as non-existent.

48 Cf. Kathelyne E. Glisson, *The Ability of the U.S. Army Heat Strain Decision Aid (HSDA) to Predict a Limiting Heat Stress Exposure* ([Tampa]: University of South Florida Scholar Commons, 2017), 1.

existence of a fear that is characteristic of deep-sea mariners, with specific dynamics<sup>49</sup> and also suicidal consequences.

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It happens that officers of Polish seagoing ships die by suicide for reasons that are completely professional and at the same time related to their ambitions, for example Master Mariner Paweł Krupa<sup>50</sup>, who on 30 November 2006, while commanding M/S Nordborg, committed suicide in an American port after hitting the quay with the stem during entry manoeuvres<sup>51</sup>. The suicide committed on 4 September 1978 by a processing technology fisherman on M/T Kalmar, Bernard Orliński<sup>52</sup>, by strangling and inflicting 7 stab wounds in the chest and abdominal cavity, was found to be the consequence of morbid ambitions and jealousy after his son-in-law, who was the member of the same crew, was promoted to an able fisherman<sup>53</sup>. However, the reasons for many obvious suicides could not be determined – among them, the death of the captain of M/T Wierzyca, Master Mariner Włodzimierz Paszkiewicz on 25 July 1960<sup>54</sup>; of Wiesław Gołaszeński, an able fisherman on R/V Doktor Lubecki on 20 April 1986<sup>55</sup>; also the death of Stanisław Bohdanowicz, an engine trainee on M/T Wkra, who jumped overboard and drowned on 1 March 1971<sup>56</sup>; the death of the ship's doctor Janusz Penderecki on 1 November 1982 on M/T Aries<sup>57</sup>; of a junior processing technology fisherman Sławomir Januszyk on 9 September 1990 on M/T Amarel<sup>58</sup>; or the third officer Vitaly Yegorchev

49 More in: Plopa, *Stres*, 100–123; idem, “Lęk u marynarzy dalekomorskich: dynamika, modyfikatory”, in: *Lęk. Różnorodność przeżywania*, ed. Waldemar Tłokiński (Warsaw: Arx Regia, Ośrodek Wydawniczy Zamku Królewskiego w Warszawie [the Publishing Centre of the Royal Castle in Warsaw], 1993), 131–140.

50 The personal data of the victim of a suicide are as detailed as it was provided in the source used in a given case. This also applies to names of ships and ports.

51 See: Ryszard Leszczyński, *Ginące frachtowce*, vol. 4, *Polacy pod obcymi banderami* (Gdańsk: Fundacja Promocji Przemysłu Okrętowego i Gospodarki Morskiej, 2014), 231.

52 See: Ryszard Leszczyński, *Tragedie rybackiego morza*, vol. 3 (Gdańsk: Fundacja Promocji Przemysłu Okrętowego i Gospodarki Morskiej, 2006), 305; Wiesław Błady, *Polska flota rybacka w latach 1921–2001. Kalendarium tragicznych zdarzeń na statkach rybackich w latach 1945–2000* (Gdynia: Morski Instytut Rybacki, 2002), 271.

53 See: Bogdan Czubasiewicz, *Przerwany rejs w Talcahuano* (Szczecin: KAW, 1987), 66–67.

54 See: Ropelewski, *Ludzie*, 171 (which gives the wrong name of the trawler: the Wieżyca); also: Leszczyński, *Tragedie*, vol. 3, 100, 602. Błady gives the date 20 July 1961, *Polska*, 245.

55 See: Błady, *Polska*, 282.

56 See: ibidem, 261; Leszczyński, *Tragedie*, vol. 3, 241.

57 See: Ropelewski, *Ludzie*, 172; Leszczyński, *Tragedie*, vol. 3, 340, 603; the letter of chief engineer R. Leszczyński, PhD to the author of 15 July 2020.

58 See: Błady, *Polska*, 286; Leszczyński, *Tragedie*, vol. 3, 394.

on 2 October 2003 on M/T Langusta<sup>59</sup>. Suicide notes are uncommon, such as the one by the fisherman Franciszek Nowicki, addressed to his wife (he wrote that he was not a spy, he loved his homeland, but the crew had driven him up the wall), written just before his disappearance (most likely jumping into the sea) from S/T Kwisa on 23 January 1962<sup>60</sup>. However, the reasons for the suicide of the sailor who jumped overboard from M/S Nowowiejski on 19 May 1975 were never explained. One of the first persons outside the crew to learn about the event was the captain of ST/S Dar Pomorza, who recorded the tragedy as follows: “At 7.30 pm I was talking to M/S Nowowiejski (...). In the vicinity of the island of Bali (near Java), a sailor jumped overboard. They saw it, they searched for him, but to no avail”<sup>61</sup>. It is significant how calmly, *aequo animo*, one sailor acknowledges the suicide of another – as if not only every tragic death (*in genere*) at sea was part and parcel of the trade, but one of its forms, suicide (*in specie*), was almost the norm. *Ait enim mare*.

The question of alarms on ships is also very problematic. The first issue is the effectiveness, or rather ineffectiveness, of the man overboard alarm in the event of suicides, quite different from situations in which the fall overboard is accidental, caused by another person’s attack or a bout of disease, where the correctly implemented Williamson-Butakov turn could save lives. The second problem results from the influence of alarms on the psyche of seafarers, who react to them in different ways depending on the time of day; the third, similar to the previous one, is the crew’s (especially in the case of younger seafarers) disregard of alarms. There is also another serious issue – the alarm is supposed to help the people present on the ship to respond to sudden and unexpected events threatening human life; a sailor unprepared for immediate and dangerous situations not only becomes distracted, but is also subject to nervous tension and anxiety<sup>62</sup>. Regardless of the reasons why a sailor is overboard, the greatest danger to their life is posed by two states. The first is immersion (more dangerous when a person is swimming, as unnecessary movements increase blood flow in the muscles and the skin, and lead to quick heat loss), and the second is hypothermia, resulting in a slow pulse, and in consequence, brain hypoxia (which in turn causes dizziness), disorientation, ventricular fibrillation, fatigue, drowsiness and an overwhelming desire

59 See: Leszczyński, *Tragedie*, vol. 3, 464.

60 See/after: ibidem, 124. On suicide notes, see: Krystyna Golańska, “Listy od samobójców”, in: eadem, *Proszę wstać!... reportaże sądowe* (Łódź: Wydawnictwo Łódzkie, 1968), 315–324.

61 Tadeusz Olechnowicz, *Z notatnika ostatniego komendanta* (Gdynia: Oficyna Wydawnicza Miniatura, 2004), 43.

62 Cf. Eugeniusz Jabłoński, “Alarmy na polskich statkach towarowych w teorii i w praktyce”, *Technika i Gospodarka Morska* 5 (1981): 237–239; Danuta Kilian-Surdykowska, “Charakter prawny alarmów ćwiczebnych na polskich statkach morskich”, *Technika i Gospodarka Morska* 12 (1984): 613–615.

to rest – if a person falls asleep and is unable to wake up, they die<sup>63</sup>. It should be noted that such an atypical hypersomnia may give casual observers (including those rushing to help) the false impression that the person who fell overboard with no suicidal intent had in fact attempted to take their life. This is how the 37-year-old sailor Bogdan S. went missing on 25 May 1997 in unexplained circumstances during the stopover of M/S Able Forest in a Venezuelan port, and the shipowner unequivocally considered the death as a suicide<sup>64</sup>. Situations in which shipowners (but not only them) arbitrarily rule deaths from unclear causes as obvious suicides often take a very drastic form – on 13 October 1999, during the stopover of M/S Carola (flying the flag of Antigua and Barbuda, German shipowner) in the Turkish port of Diliskelesi, the captain of the ship, 53-year-old Master Mariner Witold Filipiuk died in mysterious circumstances; this time the Turkish prosecutor hastily ruled that the cause of death was suicide, after which the ship suddenly left the port. The permit for the transportation of the body to Poland issued by the Consulate General of the Republic of Poland in Istanbul contained a clause that prohibited the opening of the coffin, but the captain's widow opened it, discovering the naked body of her husband, laid on unplanned boards and in an advanced state of decomposition. The condition of the body made it impossible to dissect it, but nevertheless, expert pathologists found that the captain had been made to consume a large amount of alcohol before his death; finally, the prosecutor of the Szczecin-Śródmieście District Public Prosecutor's Office initiated and then dropped an investigation into murder<sup>65</sup>.

Factors conducive to suicides on board ships may include the way in which the ship's doctor and other crew members perform their duties (although they should actually prevent suicides), especially since the occurrence of mental disorders in a seafarer is an obvious reason to place him in the ship's hospital, and in the absence of such – in a separate cabin and under the care of another person. The ineffectiveness of pharmacotherapy (*inter alia* with neuroleptics) also necessitates the use of mild forms of immobilisation of the patient, e.g. the Neil-Robertson stretcher used in ship rescue<sup>66</sup>. In the decision IMG 176/63 of 15 October 15 1963 on the death of a 42-year-old junior processing technology fisherman on a trawler crossing the North Sea, the Maritime Chamber in Gdynia ruled the cause of death as jumping over the bulwark in a state of acute delirium and obtundation followed by drowning, at the same time accusing the ship's doctor of gross negligence of duties. Since the ship left the port in Gdynia

63 See: Jaremin, *Zgony*, 25; Wiesław Renke, "Aspekty medyczne ratowania życia na morzu na tle wypadku statku «Kudowa Zdrój»", *Technika i Gospodarka Morska* 2 (1984): 75–76.

64 See: Leszczyński, *Ginące*, vol. 4, 208.

65 See: *ibidem*, 212–214.

66 See: Stankiewicz, "Choroby", 375–376; Roman Dolmierski, "Choroby nerwowe i psychiczne", in: *Morski poradnik medyczny*, eds. Roman Dolmierski, Andrzej Krynicki, Stanisław Tomaszunas (Warsaw: Państwowy Zakład Wydawnictw Lekarskich, 1987), 190.

(3 days before the above-mentioned event), the fisherman behaved in a manner indicating mental disorders, uttered ridiculous sentences, called the names of Catholic saints, knelt, prayed (including every morning on the bow and during the screening of films in the mess); nevertheless, the doctor did not examine him, did not use the Medical Radio, did not suggest that the captain should isolate the fisherman and immediately send him for treatment to the nearest port; he only considered the fisherman to be overly religious, administered 2 tablets of Fenactil to the patient and then gave him 150 mg of the same medication (he did not record the amounts and doses in the medical record). As a result, on the third day of the voyage, the fisherman again ran onto the bow and, after kneeling down and making incomprehensible gestures, jumped overboard in the presence of all those on the navigational watch. He was taken to a lifeboat, but was found dead as a result of drowning<sup>67</sup>. It can be considered a suicide, although Wiesław Blady writes euphemistically that the fisherman “jumped overboard and drowned<sup>68</sup>”. It should be recognised that the doctor could and should have prevented it. This was also the case in situations where seafarers who had not been subjected to any treatment jumped overboard after at least a few days of drinking alcohol and not performing their official duties, as well as in the case of a boatswain who was consulted via the Medical Radio after a head injury in the occipital region and was struggling with mental disorders (hallucinations, illusions, persecutory delusions) – Luminal and Bromural were recommended (3 x 1 tablet of both) as well as supervision over the patient, but it was enough for the boatswain to tell the able fisherman who was taking care of him that he felt better – consequently, the carer left him and the patient jumped overboard<sup>69</sup>. An evident suicide attempt took place on another ship: after being treated in a psychiatric hospital, the chief electrician suffering from paranoid schizophrenia did not show up at meals and watches, locked himself in his cabin with his eyes sealed with paper tape; after entering the foreign port of C., at the captain’s request, the consul called the doctor from another Polish ship in C. The doctor disregarded the problem, mistakenly claiming that the patient had poisoned himself with a strong amphoteric agent used to clean electric motors, and the mental disorders occurred as a result of using an Esperal implant. He provided the patient with, among others, Codeinum, Pyralgin, Spasmophen duplex, Elenium, Luminal and vitamin C; he also recommended a psychiatric check-up after returning to the home

67 See: Eugeniusz Jabłoński, “Niektóre problemy odpowiedzialności lekarza okrętowego PMH w świetle orzecznictwa izb morskich”, part I, *Technika i Gospodarka Morska* 1 (1986): 13.

68 Blady, *Polska*, 248.

69 See: Jerzy Pobocho, Andrzej Szakowski, “Problemy psychiatryczne w orzecznictwie izb morskich”, in: *Medycyna morską. Materiały sesji naukowej zorganizowanej w Szczecinie dnia 25 XI 1972 przez Szczecińskie Towarzystwo Naukowe przy współudziale pracowników naukowych Katedry Higieny Pracy Instytutu Higieny Uniwersytetu w Rostoku*, ed. Eugeniusz Miętkiewski (Warsaw–Poznań: PWN, 1975), 58–59.

country, and finally, found him fit to work on the ship (!). The next day, after leaving the port of C., the patient went up on deck and, noticing two ships travelling closely, jumped overboard; he was picked up by one of the ships. As the Maritime Chamber in Szczecin later determined in the decision WMS 28/84 of 31 August 1984, the patient had been suffering from persecution mania and fled to the sea for fear of being killed by imaginary enemies<sup>70</sup>. A similar case occurred on the ship H., where the 39-year-old third engineer went missing. The probable cause of this incident was jumping overboard in a state of severe mental depression, which could have been caused by epilepsy and alcoholism. In the decision WMG 142/77 of 30 September 1977, the Maritime Chamber in Gdynia stated, *inter alia*, that the ship's doctor had neglected to refer the patient to a specialist and had not requested the medical history from his workplace clinic via telegraph<sup>71</sup>. As stated by the Maritime Chamber in Szczecin in the decision WMS 232/79 of 31 December 1979: "[t]he most probable, almost certain cause of the disappearance" of the mentally ill second electrician on M/S Energetyk on 28 August 1979, was his "jumping overboard in order to commit suicide"<sup>72</sup>, while the Maritime Chamber in Gdynia in the decision WMG 207/81 of 30 January 1982 clearly indicated "jumping (...) from the port side of the ship into the water for suicidal purposes" as the reason for the disappearance of the junior steward from TS/S Stefan Batory on 6 October 1981<sup>73</sup>. Symptoms of depression on board are an indication for the isolation and/or hospitalisation of every seafarer, including the shipmaster. Master Mariner Leonid Cybulski, trying to command M/T Dalmor in such a state (in practice, it was done by the chief officer), went missing on 20 February 1975, most likely jumping overboard before the trawler entered the port where the patient was to be hospitalised<sup>74</sup>. In this case it was too late, but in another case an oiler on M/T Neptune was prevented from committing suicide – his serious crisis was the result of the crew's unwise allusions about the conduct of his newly married wife (Dyzio's syndrome); he was hospitalised in a mental hospital in Saint John's<sup>75</sup>. Suicides at sea are therefore planned and carried out not only due to conflicts within the crew, but also due to the complexity of (real or

70 See: Eugeniusz Jabłoński, "Niektóre problemy odpowiedzialności lekarza okrętowego PMH w świetle orzecznictwa izb morskich", part II, *Technika i Gospodarka Morska* 2 (1986): 64.

71 See: *ibidem*.

72 "Zaginięcie II elektryka m.s. Energetyk na Morzu Północnym w dniu 28 sierpnia 1979 r. (Orzeczenie Izby Morskiej w Szczecinie z dnia 31.12.1979 r. – WMS 232/79 i Odwoławczej Izby Morskiej z dnia 27.08.1980 r. – OIM 11/80)", *Prawo i Orzecznictwo Morskie* 17–18 (1990): 95–96.

73 "Zaginięcie mł. stewarda ts.s. Stefan Batory na Oceanie Atlantyckim w dniu 6 października 1981 r. (Orzeczenie Izby Morskiej w Gdyni z dnia 30.01.1982 r. – MG 207/81)", *Prawo i Orzecznictwo Morskie* 7–8 (1987): 112.

74 See: Leszczyński, *Tragedie*, vol. 3, 272; Ropelewski, *Ludzie*, 172.

75 See: Zbigniew Gach, *Leon rybak: wywiad-rzeka przeprowadzony w latach 2007/2008 z kapitanem żeglugi wielkiej rybołówstwa morskiego Leonem Skelnikiem, jednym z pionierów polskiego rybołówstwa przemysłowego po II wojnie światowej* (Gdańsk: Gdański Kantor Wydawniczy, 2008), 149.

imaginary) conflicts in the families of seafarers<sup>76</sup>. It is also important that replacing the ship's doctor with telemedicine leads to the depersonalisation of the patient (and also of the doctor), which, above all, may lead to diagnostic and therapeutic errors (also in the case of mental illnesses)<sup>77</sup>.

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When analysing the causes of suicides on board ships, one more issue should be kept in mind. In the face of the ship's disaster, the inevitability of a catastrophe, little chance of survival, a person on board this vessel may bring themselves *in articulo mortis* to a decision to commit suicide, dictated as much by despair as by the calculation of the situation in which they found themselves. In this case, we can also speak of a hidden number of suicides – if the suicide was committed without the presence of witnesses, and other persons on the ship are going to die (disappear at sea) soon, the fact of the suicide will not be revealed, and the body of the person who committed it may be recovered with the bodies of the victims of the sea; if it is not the case, the person will be presumed dead.

An example of staging a suicide in order to divert suspicions from the actual perpetrators of the crime are the events of the spring of 1983 on M/S Łódź, which was waiting for cargo in the Cameroon port of Douala. The chief officer, Zdzisław K., went missing on 20 April, and after two days his body was found in the water. The captain and 25 crew members gave an unambiguous opinion that the only cause of death was suicide, due to the deceased's family, financial and professional problems, as well as his insomnia and Luminal use. The proceedings conducted by the Cameroon prosecutor's office and the autopsy carried out as part of it clearly indicated murder (the deceased had been choked with a rope, his ribs and spine had been broken, and a 6-kg carbon dioxide extinguisher had been attached to his right wrist with handcuffs), but the prosecutor of the Voivodeship Public Prosecutor's Office in Szczecin dropped the investigation on 20 November 1984<sup>78</sup>. Investigations in similar cases ended in the same way. For instance, when in 1981 M/S Ziemia Lubelska was waiting for the entrance to the port in Gdańsk, its captain Władysław K. went missing, and his body was found in

76 More in: Milian, *Zawód*, 328–344; Ludwik Janiszewski, *Sukces małżeński w rodzinach marynarzy. Studium socjologiczne* (Warsaw–Poznań: PWN, 1986), 171–173; Mirosława Kaczmarczyk-Sołwa, “Konflikty w rodzinach marynarzy”, in: *W kręgu ludzi morza. Księga pamiątkowa z okazji 70. Rocznicy urodzin Prof. zw. dr. hab. Ludwika Janiszewskiego*, ed. Robert B. Woźniak (Szczecin: Wydawnictwo Naukowe Uniwersytetu Szczecińskiego, 1997), 99–103; on the potential genesis of conflicts, cf. Krzysztof Wszeborowski, “Rodzina marynarska”, *Kalendarz Gdański* (1973): 183–188.

77 Cf. Michał Żychliński, “Etyczne problemy udzielania pomocy medycznej na morzu”, *Aequitas* 3 (2015): 105–106, 108–109.

78 See: Andrzej Studziński, *Tragiczny rejs. Głośne katastrofy statków, przemyt i tajemnicze zaginięcia na morzu* (Warsaw: Wydawnictwo Prawnicze, 1989), 74–81.

the water 2 weeks later, with a metal rod attached to his neck. On M/S Szymanowski, docked in 1982 in Bremerhaven, the body of its captain K. was found, hanging on a sisal cord attached to the hook of a clothes hanger in the anteroom of his cabin<sup>79</sup>. And what about the events on M/S Jelenia Góra, whose captain, Master Mariner Julian Kowalik, went missing on 11 or 12 May 1978? In order to stage his suicide, care was even taken to place a pair of his sandals next to the ship side<sup>80</sup>. Evidence in his cabin was not secured and the disappearance of Kowalik was not linked to the fact that a year and a half earlier, the then captain of the Jelenia Góra, Master Mariner Stanisław Łużyński, had gone missing in similar circumstances, and the chief officer had jumped out of the second floor of the house where he lived<sup>81</sup>. In this context, it is necessary to suggest that psychologists should undertake in-depth research on the reaction of family members to the tragedy of a seafarer; staging a suicide or a fatal accident to cover up a murder that is probable but hard to detect (like in the case Karol Kiżewski, who died on 26 May 2002 on M/V Tsuru<sup>82</sup>) is met with an understandable lack of acceptance from relatives<sup>83</sup>. A separate problem is the negation of an undisputed *suicidium*, which attests to the process of repression and is evident, for instance, in the words of the younger brother of the aforementioned doctor Penderecki, who writes about him in the following words: “[h]e died (...) in unclear circumstances. Actually, we don’t really know what happened”<sup>84</sup>.

Another issue concerns situations in which seafarers desperately jump overboard, which may *prima facie* look like suicides, but these acts are not committed for suicidal purposes. For example, on 17 June 1949 at the roadstead in Gdańsk, the entire crew of S/T Tur left the ship by jumping overboard immediately after an explosion caused by a tugboat hitting a mine<sup>85</sup>; or on 21 September 1952 in the North Sea, a panic-stricken able fisherman Remigiusz Barankiewicz jumped over the bulwark of the S/T Mercury, which due to a storm was heeling 34 degrees for up to 3 minutes<sup>86</sup>. Providing that in this text I do not discuss passenger deaths, I must make an exception, recalling how, after leaving the port of Nyneshamn, a passenger jumped off M/F Rogalin, attempted to swim to an island several hundred metres away and drowned. And this time again

79 See: *ibidem*, 80.

80 See: *ibidem*, 31–40; Krzysztof Pohl, *Tak blisko życia. Pitaval morski* (Szczecin: KAW, 1988), 180–198.

81 See: Studziński, *Tragiczny*, 31, 81; Pohl, *Tak blisko*, 198.

82 See: Leszczyński, *Ginące*, vol. 4, 224–225, 253.

83 A moving account by the mother of the deceased, Irena Kiżewska, was provided by Marzena Burczycka-Woźniak, *Prawda i prawo* (Gdynia: MiT, 2008), *passim*.

84 Krzysztof Penderecki, Katarzyna Janowska, Piotr Mucharski, *Pendereccy. Saga rodzinna* (Cracow: Wydawnictwo Literackie, 2014), 17.

85 See: Ryszard Leszczyński, *Katastrofy i wypadki morskie floty pomocniczej PMH (1926–2016)* (Gdańsk: Fundacja Promocji Przemysłu Okrętowego i Gospodarki Morskiej, 2017), 343–354, 546.

86 See: Leszczyński, *Tragedie*, vol. 3, 27.

the desperation was not suicidal in intent, as the man had been twice denied political asylum in Sweden, and he had threatened to settle there anyway<sup>87</sup>. And the last exception – some passengers on luxury cruise liners – such as Thomas McElhany on 14 December 2018 on M/S Carnival Victory – reportedly like to choose “a romantic cruise” as an opportunity for suicide<sup>88</sup>. Drastic examples of suicides committed *in extremis* are found in the history of the tragic evacuation by sea of prisoners of the Stutthof concentration camp, which began on 27 April 1945. Some of the evacuees – unable to withstand hunger, thirst, agony of fellow prisoners on barges – died by suicide<sup>89</sup>; as an expert on the subject writes, they took their lives “out of despair”<sup>90</sup>.

There are also suicides committed by seafarers ashore for reasons closely related to their work at sea. I have already mentioned the chief officer of the *Jelenia Góra*; I cannot overlook the tragedy of Master Mariner Zbigniew Kurowski, who shot himself on 21 August 1979 in his apartment in Gdańsk, shortly after hearing about the harmful decision of the Maritime Chamber in Gdynia regarding the fire on M/S Reymont he commanded<sup>91</sup>. And almost 40 years earlier, a man of the sea committed suicide on land – not a seafarer, but the commander of the National Defence Marine Brigade, the acting commander of the Land Coastal Defence, Colonel Stanisław Dąbek, who shot himself on 19 September 1939 in Kępa Oksywska in the face of imminent defeat, ordering his soldiers to cease the fight with the Nazis after his death<sup>92</sup>. Another example of honour suicide is the *exitus* of Professor Jerzy Olszewski, who shot himself with a rifle on 22 May 1981 in Skubianka. The solemn post-war funeral of the colonel and the choice of his resting place indicate the obviousness of honouring the meaning of his death<sup>93</sup>. The tragedy of the death of Minister Olszewski, forced to take his own life in defence of his battered dignity, lies in his suicide note: “I have never taken a bribe

87 See: Zbigniew Sak, *Z Lublina na oceany* (Szczecin: Wydawnictwo Kadruk, 2015), 281–284.

88 See: (KK), “Rejs po śmierć”, *Angora* 29 (2019): 71.

89 See: Elżbieta Maria Grot, *Evakuacja morską więźniów KL Stutthof przez Rugię do Danii w 1945 r.* (Szczecin: Muzeum Stutthof, 2015), 71.

90 Ibidem.

91 More in: Ryszard Leszczyński, *Ginące frachtowce*, vol. 2 (Gdańsk: Fundacja Promocji Przemysłu Okrętowego i Gospodarki Morskiej, 2009), 97–202; Grażyna Murawska, “Kapitański honor”, in: *Ekspres reporterów*, part 6 (Warsaw: KAW, 1980), 3–48.

92 See: Grzegorz Piwnicki, “Bohaterski dowódca obrony Gdyni w 1939 roku – płk Stanisław Dąbek”, *Zeszyty Gdyńskie* 5 (2010): 73–74.

93 See: Mariusz Kardas, “Cisza zaklęta w nadmorskich piaskach – pamięć o tych, co odeszli, jako kamień węgielny dla tożsamości gdyńskiego obywatela”, in: *Mare Integrans. Studia nad dziejami wybrzeży Morza Bałtyckiego*, vol. XII, *Śmierć w dziejach człowieka. Współczesność. Monografia oparta na materiałach z VIII Międzynarodowej Sesji Naukowej Dziejów Ludów Morza Bałtyckiego, Wolin, 31 lipca – 2 sierpnia 2015*, eds. Maciej Franz, Karol Kościelniak, Zbigniew Pilarczyk (Toruń: Wydawnictwo Adam Marszałek, 2016), 284–286.

from anyone. I swear it in the face of death. Let my death end the witch hunt<sup>94</sup>.” Unfortunately, it did not.

\*

And the conclusions? And the attempts to prevent suicides of seafarers now and in the future? I would not dare to make any *ex cathedra* conclusions, or give “good” advice from the perspective of a comfortable chair on the mainland. First of all, seafarers should as soon as possible be subjected to such thorough *sub specie suicidologiae* examination as the police are<sup>95</sup>, and mariners should be recognised as a professional group that is at a risk of suicide no less than law enforcement officers. Secondly, work on a sea-going vessel, associated with deprivation of many needs and not conducive to maintaining homeostasis<sup>96</sup>, is an objective suicide factor. Thirdly, although suicides have been known to occur at sea for years, what especially favours them are the phenomena of the last more or less thirty years – the commercialisation of shipping and its focus solely on profit, dehumanisation and disempowerment of seafarers’ work, internationalisation of crews, the use of the so-called flags of convenience.

With unwavering admiration, I recall the times when the seagoing ship was also assigned the role of shaping the personality of seafarers or offering them cultural and educational support<sup>97</sup>. I know that it is only *vox clamantis in deserto*, but if the Polish fleet was able to return to such deeply humanistic aspirations (a task given to it in parallel with that of developing maritime education in society), the number of factors conducive to suicide would significantly decrease (although these will still be committed). It is therefore necessary to prevent seafarers’ suicides and to limit the range of suicidogenic factors.

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94 After: Jakub Szumski, *Rozliczenia z ekipą Gierka 1980–1984* (Warsaw: IPN, 2018), 261.

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97 More in: Woźniak, *Problemy*, 65–81, 183–216; Tadeusz Olechnowicz, “Czas wolny na morzu a niektóre zagadnienia szkolenia oficerów”, *Technika i Gospodarka Morska* 3 (1970): 116, 118–119; Lech Milian, *Czas wolny marynarzy na morskich statkach transportowych* (Szczecin: Wydawnictwo Instytutu Zachodniopomorskiego, 1972), 194–202, 227–241.

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English version: Aleksandra Szczypta, Mark Atkinson

## SUMMARY

The work of seafarers on a seagoing ship involves numerous negative conditions which affect the physical and mental spheres of their functioning. The struggle with the environment, the inability to leave the ship, and the distance from the family and friends make sailors one of the professional groups at the highest risk of suicides. The author draws special attention to the social significance of seafarers' suicides, which is related to the circumstances of committing these acts, their total number and their alarmingly high percentage among all causes of sailors' deaths. Another advantage of the article is that it discusses the almost forgotten term “calenture”, unknown to modern scientific literature and probably related to the seafarers' inclination to suicide. The article is based on an analysis of committed suicides and of the unclear results of research into them.

## Z BADAŃ NAD SAMOBÓJSTWAMI MARYNARZY NA POLSKICH STATKACH MORSKICH

**Słowa kluczowe:** samobójstwo, marynarz, statek, morze

## STRESZCZENIE

Praca marynarza na statku morskim stanowi przesłankę licznych negatywnych uwarunkowań w sferach fizycznej i psychicznej jego funkcjonowania. Zmagania ze środowiskiem, niemożność opuszczenia statku, odległość dzieląca od rodziny czy przyjaciół czynią z ludzi morza jedną z grup zawodowych charakteryzujących się największym ryzykiem zamachów samobójczych. Autor zwraca szczególną uwagę na społeczne znaczenie samobójstw marynarzy, co powiązane jest z okolicznościami popełnienia tych czynów, łączną ich liczbą i niepokojąco wysokim odsetkiem wśród wszystkich przyczyn ich zgonów. Walorem artykułu jest również przypomnienie terminu „kalentura”, niemal zapomnianego, nieznanego współczesnej literaturze naukowej, a prawdopodobnie związanego ze skłonnością marynarzy do popełniania samobójstw. Artykuł opiera się na analizie popełnionych samobójstw i niejasnych wyników badań podjętych nad nimi.

