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Examining the Slavic Identity in the Middle Ages: Perception of Common Sense of Slavic Community in Polish and Bohemian Medieval Chronicles

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EXAMINING THE SLAVIC IDENTITY IN MIDDLE AGES PERCEPTION OF COMMON SENSE OF SLAVIC COMMUNITY IN POLISH AND BOHEMIAN MEDIEVAL CHRONICLES

The closing report of a press centre of the organizing committee of the tenth Slavic Congress (Kiev, November 2010) does not discuss only a concept of the *literary reciprocity*. Firstly, it presents a complex ideological program which includes cultural, economical as well as political integration. Secondly, it encourages work with the youth, ecological education and inspires re-establishment of the forgotten spirituality. The report also highlights the necessity of mutual communication among scholars, journalists, politicians, artists, sportsmen and businessmen¹. There is no need to emphasise that the main idea of this congress – in the mechanism of throwback – refers to the distant historical Slavic unity.

The identification with the ethnonym *Slav* has alternately appeared in both Czech and Polish history along the development of an idea of Slavic nations/tribes' congeniality.

The question of Slavic identity is essentially interconnected with such terms as ethnogenesis and topogenesis. The problem is that a great number of previously published works intended to discuss ethnogenesis does not address the questions of mechanisms behind the emergence of the Slavic identity. This has been caused by inadequate methodology as well as terminology. Since written accounts are rather scarce, it is necessary to apply an archaeological and a linguistic approach while researching the question of Slavic ethnogenesis as a process of forming and transforming identity. Complications of using a language as a distinguishing and identifying ethnical feature were obvious already in the works of antique

¹ *Správa tlačového centra organizačného výboru X. Vseslovanského zjazdu v Kyjeve 2010* http://www.sppr.org.pl/xzw_s_pl.htm [4 I 2013]. The reference is being used only as an illustration how various political (and popular) initiatives and movements trace the sense of cooperation of the modern day Slavic nations to the former imaginary unity. Author of the article has no sympathy towards the ideological conclusions and intentions of this meeting. The reference to this happening in an academic article is caused by the rhetoric it uses, which tries to emphasise the historical unity of the Slavs. The article will try to show the possible basis of medieval chronicles and try to show the evolution of the sense of proximity between groups and nations, which we can denominate as Slavs.

and medieval scholars². Particularly in the case of the Slavs, it is difficult to abandon linguistics as the “sacred” method of making such distinctions – especially when the perception of the Slavism has been based predominantly on a linguistic congeniality up until now.

The existence, as well as the form of the Slavic identity is traditionally interconnected with the emergence and forming of Slavic languages, which seemed to have been present at the emergence of individual Slavic tribes/nations³. It would be highly fortunate if in these areas we could find an overlapping evidence of the most original pottery.

Methodological works are also no novelty within archaeology. On the other hand, these works do not make an ethnical classification of material sources any easier⁴. Authors of these texts maintain that changes in material culture do not have to reflect an immediate change of population within a relevant area. Even if this thesis is accepted to the most extreme extent, it still does not disrupt the model of a massive expansion from Proto-Slavic homeland which appears in all archaeological and historical schools as well as textbooks. This model, in a way, represents a paradigm of nations’ migrations since the Tower of Babel and Jewish migration.

The works dealing with ethnical identities in the Middle Ages often refer to studies of sociologists and anthropologists⁵. Objective categories have become less important than a mental level, consciousness as a bound binding a community together. The ethnical identity is perceived as a set, and system, of common features which represent the community both inward and outward and distinguish such a community from other similar ethnical groups⁶.

² ISIDOR ZE SEVILLY, *Etymologiae*, trans. I. ZACHOVÁ, ed. I. ZACHOVÁ, H. ŠEDINOVÁ, vol. IX, Praha 1998, p. 17, 13; H. POPOWSKA-TABORSKA, *Co językoznawca powiezieć może o wczesnych dziejach Słowian*, [in:] *Praojczyzna Słowian. Zbiór wypowiedzi*, ed. W. MAŃCZAK, Kraków 2001, p. 32. For optional summary of opinions see H. POPOWSKA-TABORSKA, *The Slavs in the Early Middle Ages from the Viewpoint of Contemporary Linguistic*, [in:] *Origins of Central Europe*, ed. P. URBAŃCZYK, Warsaw 1997, p. 91; latest *Sprache und Identität im frühen Mittelalter*, ed. W. POHL, B. ZELLER, Wien 2012, p. 302.

³ P. GEARY, *The Myth of the nations. The medieval origins of Europe*, Princeton–Oxford 2002, p. 37.

⁴ J. SIÂN, *The Archaeology of Ethnicity: Constructing Identities in the Past and Present*, London 1997, p. 115; P. URBAŃCZYK, *Foreign Leaders in Early Slavic Societies*, [in:] *Integration and Herrschaft. Etnische Identitäten und soziale Organisation im Frühmittelalter*, ed. W. POHL, M. DIESENBERG, Wien 2002, p. 258; H. MAMZER, *Problem etniczny w archeologii*, SA 40, 1999, p. 189; P. MÁČALA, *Etnogenéza Slovanov v archeológii*, Košice 1995, p. 59; E. KREKOVIČ, *Etnická interpretácia v archeológii*, [in:] *Etnos a materiálna kultúra*, ed. E. KREKOVIČ, Bratislava 2000, p. 13–16; P. URBAŃCZYK, *Archeologia etniczności – fikcja, czy nadzieja?*, [in:] *Archeologia w teorii i praktyce*, ed. A. BUKO, P. URBAŃCZYK, Warszawa 2000, p. 140; *Archaeology of identity – Archäologie der Identität*, ed. W. POHL, M. MEHOFER, Wien 2010, p. 325.

⁵ B. ANDERSON, *Imagined Communities*, London–New York 1991, p. 1–9; A.D. SMITH, *Myths and Memories of the Nations*, New York 1999, p. 6; T.H. ERIKSEN, *The Cultural Context of Ethnic Differences*, JRAI 26, 1991, p. 141.

⁶ F. BARTH, *Ethnic groups and boundaries*, Boston 1969, p. 9–39.

If objective criteria⁷ are put aside as being impossible to apply – one defining criterion remains – and that is *a myth*.

The myth of a common origin, ancestor, enemy, inner system of symbols and the whole communication within the group are key factors of holding the group identity together⁸. The name of *gens* is the most essential identifying feature as well as its outer representation. The name was subsequently spread by power or some form of attraction for other (predominantly military) groups⁹. It is well known that medieval tribes emerged in a revolutionary, not evolutionary manner. Key decisions were made directly and rationally, usually by a completely heterogeneous community.

Some scholars find this concept vague and difficult to grasp. Therefore it is quite natural that they insist on an own recorded/written memory as an inevitable element of identity's reproduction. One may encounter a theory which might be called a methodological nihilism here¹⁰. This discourse claims an impossibility of interpretation of relevant written sources.

In case of the ethnogenesis of the Slavs, the most recent works offer a deconstruction of the Slavic identity in general. The Slavs have become an amorphous population and have been claimed to be only a construct of scribes who were claimed to be unfamiliar with the tangle of groups and communities at the borders of *Imperium Romanorum*. They (the Slavs) could also have been a construct of scholars who connected a linguistic group to a group represented by a special type (types) of material culture as well as to communities recorded in written sources¹¹.

The problem is that there is no text pertaining to the Slavs left, so called *origo gentis* which appears only six centuries after first written sources mentioning Slavs¹². Own texts represented a tool of collective consciousness' reproduction – though often for a limited layer of society only. These texts also assisted in shap-

⁷ As for instance the language, skin colour, religion, material culture, dress, hair style.

⁸ A.D. SMITH, *op. cit.*, p. 10. Called as a *Myth-symbol complex*.

⁹ R. WENSKUS, *Stammesbildung und Verfassung: das Werden der frühmittelalterlichen gentes*, Köln–Wien 1977, p. 86.

¹⁰ W. GOFFART, *The Theme of 'The Barbarian Invasions' in Late Antique and Modern Historiography*, [in:] *Rome's Fall and After*, ed. W. GOFFART, London 1989, p. 111–132; R. KASPERSKI, *Problem etnogenezy Gotów w ujęciu Herwiga Wolframa: refleksje nad metodą*, KH 118, 2011, p. 399–431.

¹¹ D. DZINO, *Becoming Slav, Becoming Croat*, Leiden 2010, p. 159, or P. BARFORD, *The Early Slavs: Culture and Society in Early Medieval Eastern Europe*, London 2001. Cf. for mainly Polish literature A. MESIAR-KIN, *Prehľad pohľadov na etnogenézu Slovanov: Hľadanie pravlasti jazykovedou a archeológiou*, [in:] *Štúdie k slovenským dejinám. Historia nova II – 2011–2*, Bratislava 2012, p. 9–27. Available online on <http://www.fphil.uniba.sk/f ileadmin/ user upload/editors/ksd/HinoII-2011-2.pdf> [4 I 2013].

¹² It properly suits the concept of culture and history of the Slavs. In case of Slovaks, it is for instance *Slovanstvo a svet budúcnosti* (Slavism and the world of the future) as an eternal “antithesis of Europe” – M. BOBROWNICKA, *Narkotyk mitu*, Kraków 1995, p. 15; M. MAJ, *The myth of Slavonic Unity*, [in:] *Se-arch of paradigm*, ed. A. ZAMBRZYCKA-KUNACHOWICZ, Kraków 1992, p. 41–52.

ing community's memory and strengthening its myth. The name Slav persisted despite the Avar domination over the area which they had previously ruled. They never succeeded in establishing a hereditary kingdom and no Alarich or Geiseric occurred in order to unite the Slavic nations' migration¹³. Notations of Al-Masudi about Walinjana and their king Madž.ak (followed by all tribes of Slavs), or the first Slavs – the Zerviani of *Bavarian Geographer*, (same as the earliest history of Slavs from *Primary Chronicle*) are hard to identify and still wait for their examination in scientific literature¹⁴. It looks like both of these texts preserved an ethnogenetical construction, a tradition of the first king “mužik” – son of muž, the man – human, the first in the genealogical line passing the rule and “existence” to other tribes¹⁵.

Academic literature presents also an opinion of some medieval intellectuals of a Pannonian origin of all the Slavs¹⁶. However, while considering the relevant area as well as chronologically defined observed period it is obvious that the territory of the Slavic nations' emergence shifts and changes.

Tribes called *Slavic* (in this adjective form) are to be found in both Frankish and Byzantine literature constantly since *Miracula Sancti Demetrii*¹⁷. These are often ethnonyms adopted by scribes from topography. In other cases, the option of a tribe's name containing itself an inner distinguishing feature cannot be excluded.

Doubtlessly, the name “Slav” has become a literary criterion applicable together with other names as e.g. Moravian or Croat or it has been applied entirely generally, as for instance in the case of Polabian Slavs.

At some point, historiography stops discussing *the Slavs*, but rather simplifies the matter by referring to Bohemians, Poles and Croats. Later Pan-Slavic theories were also based on this concept¹⁸ and aimed to span these new self-identifications by an old, original cultural and political unity of Slavs.

Natural attempts to create the history of a dynasty (or of a political entity) as far to the past as possible have had an increasing tendency since the times of the most ancient texts. It was just natural that dynasties tried to challenge the *empire* based on the imperial Roman ideology with their own legendary genealogies

¹³ IDEM, *Verlaufsformen der Ethnogenese: Awaren und Bulgaren*, [in:] *Typen der Ethnogenese unter besonderer Berücksichtigung der Bayern*, vol. I, ed. H. WOLFRAM, W. POHL, Wien 1990, p. 123; W. POHL, *Awaren: ein Steppenvolk in Mitteleuropa 567–822 n. Chr.*, München 1988, p. 94.

¹⁴ J. BANASZKIEWICZ, *Slawische sagen De origine gentis (Al-Masudi, Nestor, Kadlubek, Kosmas) – dioskuri-sche matrizen. Der Überlieferung*, MHB 3, 1993, p. 3–34; IDEM, *Tradycje dynastyczno-plemienne Słowiańszczyzny północnej*, [in:] *Ziemie polskie w X wieku i ich znaczenie w kształtowaniu się nowej mapy Europy*, ed. H. SAMSONOWICZ, Kraków 2000, p. 275.

¹⁵ D. TŘEŠTÍK, *Mýty kmene Čechů*, Praha 2008, p. 54.

¹⁶ *Kronika Wielkopolska*, ed. B. KÜRBIS, trans. K. ABGAROWICZ, Kraków 2010, p. 13.

¹⁷ *Cuda św. Dymitra*, I, 13, p. 175, [in:] *Testimonia najdawniejszych dziejów Słowian. Seria grecka*, z. 2, *Pisarze z V–X w.*, ed. W. SWOBODA, A. BRZÓSTKOWSKA, Wrocław 1989, p. 175.

¹⁸ M. TÉRA, *Slovanská identita v raném středoveku*, [in:] *Slovanství ve středoevropském prostoru. Iluze, dez-iluze a realita*, ed. D. HRODEK et al., Praha 2004, p. 53.

which they kept setting into broader and broader contexts (Roman history, biblical history, common Slavic origin). However, one may only ask how much of motivation was of an ideological and propagandistic character and how much of it represented actual geographical knowledge.

Any occurrence of claiming the Slavic background may have had various interpretations. It is not clear whether it signifies preservation of such memory among political and intellectual elite. A reflection of common origin myth cannot be expected within the foreign affairs of those states where the mythical genealogies had been created (either by literary centres or individuals). Therefore it is only to be discussed to what extent the Slavism served as an ideological concept of those wielding the power. The tradition captured in the Pope Dukljanin's Chronicle stressing the memory of Slavic empire led by Svätopluk as *rex iustus* is still waiting for the further and deeper analysis¹⁹. There is no need to remind the vision of Sclavonia²⁰ of Saint Adalbert and Emperor Otto as a part of *Imperium Romanorum*. On the other hand, reminiscences of a Slavic king and realm in Pulkava's Chronicle must be emphasized – which could have served as a background of imperial politics of Charles IV (or more concretely for stretching the empire to the East).

There are three key coexisting and mutually supplementing lines in texts concerning the Slavic ethnogenesis, topogenesis or mythical genealogy. These are represented by three stories: biblical (by Arabic authors of the 10th century, *Primary Chronicle*, *Chronicle of Dzierzwa* and the later tradition), Antique or Roman, (quite common especially since the spread of university education) and dynastic²¹. A dynasty was a key element of a nation's emergence though it would be daring to maintain that it applied Slavic motifs within its ideology.

Contaminations caused by blending of traditions and myths may be frequently found even within a single text. This fact confirms that chroniclers (often political imaginers) had no lesser troubles to interpret history and own origin than current historians. Building the consciousness upon differences from the others? It should be mentioned that the “emergence” of a nation does not have to rely on

¹⁹ *Historia Królestwa Słowian czyli Latopis popa Duklanina*, trans. et ed. J. LEŚNY, Warszawa 1988, p. 67–73; L.E. HAVLÍK, *Dukljanská kronika a Dalmátska legenda*, Praha 1976 [= *Rozprawy československé akademie věd. Řada společenských věd*, 86.2], p. 13–45. I have to draw the attention to a monograph of Martin Homza dealing with this historical personality which is being currently prepared. At this moment some ideas can be found in M. HOMZA, N. RÁCOVÁ, *K vývinu slovenskej myšlienky do polovice 18. storočia*, Bratislava 2010 in the part about historical person and legend of Svätopluk on pages 39–74.

²⁰ N. VEREŠOVÁ, *Koncepcie geografického termínu Sclavinia v historických prameňoch 6.–14. storočia*, Dissertation thesis, Bratislava 2011, p. 239; F. GRAUS, *Die Nationenbildung der Westslawen in Mittelalter*, Sigmaringen 1980, p. 151–153.

²¹ J. WYROZUMSKI, *Mity o pochodzeniu*, [in:] *Współcześni Słowianie wobec własnych tradycji i mitów: symposium w Castel Gandolfo 19–20 sierpnia 1996*, ed. M. BOBROWNICKA, Kraków 1997, p. 9.

a “conflicting” model. It does not have to be a result of antagonisms contributing to a quicker self-identification. Nor it has to be a result of a winner/defeated relationships nor other linguistic or any perceived differences²².

Some authors have recorded the emergence of “a feudal nation” more easily, some with more difficulties²³. Benedykt Zientara maintains that a nation needs a myth (this magical term again) and a crisis for its reproduction and function.²⁴ Myths of “old good times” or “a bloody, heroic war”²⁵ constituted medieval memories, which were later recalled by “nations of the estates”²⁶.

This paper does not aim to discuss so-called Nestor’s Chronicle as this work, its information to beginnings of the Slavic history, its narrative and interconnection with the history of Rus’ would deserve a separate study²⁷. A chronicles’ overview addresses to political organisations which can be nowadays without hesitation defined as *Slavic*. Texts of these chronicles show how much it is relevant to actually use the adjective *Slavic*.

As its title signifies, this paper discusses self-identification of the Poles or the Czechs with the *Sclavi*, *Sclaveni*, *Slawi* in sources, perception of their common

²² J. EHLERS, *Was sind und wie bilden sich nationes im mittelalterlichen Europa (10.–15. Jahrhundert)? Begriff und allgemeine Konturen*, [in:] *Mittelalterliche nationes – neuzeitliche Nationen. Probleme der Nationenbildung in Europa*, ed. A. BUES, R. REXHEUSER, Wiesbaden 1995, p. 25.

²³ For terminology and examples see D. TŘEŠTÍK, *Moderne Nation, hochmittelalterliche politische Nation, frühmittelalterliche gens und unsere genetische Software. Der Fall Mitteleuropa*, [in:] *Mittelalterliche nationes – neuzeitliche Nationen. Probleme der Nationenbildung in Europa*, ed. A. BUES, R. REXHEUSER, Wiesbaden 1995, p. 173.

²⁴ H. SCHULZE, *Deutschland in der neuzeit*, [in:] *Mittelalterliche nationes...*, p. 103, as for instance in case of Cosmas. Cf. B. ZIENTARA, *Nationale Strukturen des Mittelalters. Ein Versuch zur Kritik der Terminologie des Nationalbewußtseins unter besonderer Berücksichtigung osteuropäischer Literatur*, Sae 32, 1981, p. 306. With a reference to above mentioned role of language in “group formation” B. ZIENTARA, *Powstawaanie świadomości narodowej na obszarze Europy pokarolińskiej*, Warszawa 1985, p. 31–33.

²⁵ *Děje Uhrů Mistra P. Řečeného Anonymus*, [in:] *Legenda a kroniky koruny uherské*, ed. R. PRAŽÁK, J. NECHUTOVÁ, Praha 1988, p. 224.

²⁶ J. SZÜCS, “Nationalität” und “Nationalbewusstsein” im Mittelalter: versuch einer einheitlichen Begriffssprache, AH.ASH 18, 1972, p. 27. Nation as a category containing something atavistic and biological have survived all the religious and humanistic traditions concerning one origin and goal of a human, the human equality of rights and cohesion. Nation had to be bound to a tradition of the statehood according to Marx and Engels. On the other hand, Stalin considered a nation to be an evolutionary stage of an ethnical group in the capitalistic era though all the societies had previously been only nationalities. (according to Jenő Szűcs feudal nation created a functional framework for integration of various links: social, ethnical, political, religious) cf. B. ZIENTARA, *Nationale Strukturen des Mittelalters...*, p. 304.

²⁷ *Повесть временных лет*, vol. I, ed. Д.С. ЛИХАЧЕВ, Москва–Ленинград, 1950, p. 11; *Древний текст летописи Нестора по Лаврентьевскому списку (852–1110 гг.)*, [in:] *Полное собрание русских летописей*, vol. I, Санкт Петербург 1846, p. 3; О.П. ТОЛОЧКО, *The Primary Chronicle’s ‘Ethnography’ Revisited. Slavs and Varangians in the Middle Dnieper Region and the Origin of the Rus’ State*, [in:] *Franks, Northmen, and Slavs: Identities and State Formation in Early Medieval Europe*, ed. I.H. GARIPZANOV, P.J. GEARY, P. URBAŃCZYK, Turnhout 2008, p. 169–188.

history and attitude to the mission of Constantine and Methodius²⁸. When considering the historically possible reconstructible reality, it turns out that it is more precise to talk about ideas of elites (intellectual ones?) in both Poland and Bohemia about the history of the Slavs and their eventual ideological use. Own origins' interpretation is a dynastic propaganda's issue²⁹. It is an expression of a tradition and continuity which are both indispensable for a dynasty. These things worked as a magnet for those interested in joining a family – and therefore to have an access to different options; to participate in the system. The most powerful theory influencing them was the long-lasting and trustworthy one. Possession and power represented the one serious issue, but only being an exceptional personality within the layer of the powerful could have meant legitimacy.

Firstly, Nestor's contemporary, first Polish/non-Polish chronicler Gallus Anonymus shall be addressed. He did not go back to the remote past of *Primary Chronicle's* *Ljachove* (and their from they rising *Poljane, Lutiči, Mazovšane, Pomorjane*).³⁰ He reflected only the echo of a political takeover, a dynastic exchange of Popiels for Piasts (exchange of tribe of Polans instead of Goplan tribe). It is possible that he deliberately avoided references to the more distanced past as he had known that he would have come across the myth of Popiels. As he himself states, his text is moved from a root to a branch – which means from geographical to political definition³¹. More specifically, this means placing Polonia ruled by Christian Piasts to the north of Sclavonia. Gallus does not work with a motif of a direct identification of the Poles with the Slavs not with a concept of direct genealogical line from Jafet to the dynasty of Piasts. However, he incorporated the term of a Slavic land (from Thrace through the Kingdom of Hungary and Carinthia to Bavaria, from Epirus through Dalmatia, Croatia, Istria to Aquileia, from the land of Sarmatians to Saxony and Dacia)³², which included also Poland. This passage was not based on real observations, rather on political ambitions of a young Polish state³³. From Gallus' point of view, the essential part is that when a son of a poor ploughman was raised to a position of a prince, the truce between the God and the Poles began.

²⁸ In my opinion, through the spread of texts of Constantine, Methodius and their disciples as well as the defense (and later rejection) of the Slavic language (in whatever form) as a language of literature, law and ecclesiastical life – the Slavic tradition spread over Balkan to Ruthenia.

²⁹ Henry IV (*ex gente Saxonum*) ruled as *rex Teutonicorum* and no longer as *Imperator Romanorum* (J. EHLERS, *op. cit.*, p. 16).

³⁰ *Повесть временных лет*, p. 11.

³¹ *Anonima tzw. Galla Kronika czyli dzieje książąt i władców polskich*, [in:] MPH, Nova Series, vol. II, ed. K. MALECZYŃSKI, Kraków 1952, p. 6–7; *Galli Chronicon*, [in:] MPH, vol. I, ed. A. BIEŁOWSKI, Lwów 1864, p. 392.

³² His ethno-geographical information are divided, firstly he names neighbours (Ruthenia, Kingdom of Hungary, Bohemia, Moravia, Saxony, Dacia). The second group has been quoted above, according to N. KERSKEN, *Geschichtsschreibung im Europa der "nationes": nationalgeschichtliche Gesamtdarstellungen im Mittelalter*, Köln–Wien 1995, p. 525–526.

³³ *Ibidem*, p. 526.

His story describes the mechanism of gaining and losing the rule. Further on, no Slavic adjective occurs nor the above mentioned ethnonym, except the moment when *Latinorum et Slauorum* (settlers of the realm) are asked to mourn the death of Boleslaw I Chrobry in a “few sad verses”³⁴.

In addition, no word about a Byzantine mission can be found. But there is mention of a (often emphasised as typical Slavic element) “peasant” background in inthronation-dynastic ritual (as in Bohemia, Carinthia), which special Slavic dissimilarity was disproved in a wider Indoeuropean scope³⁵.

In comparison, the first part of Cosmas’ Chronicle of Bohemians takes place in Roman Germania. The society to be ruled by Přemysl’s family had arrived under the leadership of a father – Čech – *whoever he might have been*³⁶, as Cosmas puts it. A motif of *patriarch Boemus’* arrival with his tribe in an empty homeland stands as a decisive argument for full property rights to take over the relevant area³⁷. It is known that Cosmas completely omitted the existence of Slavic monkship or scholarship³⁸. His approach to the Byzantine mission is quite similar – he does not mention Constantine – Cyril at all; Methodius is mentioned only in respect to the baptism of Bořivoj. In contrast to Gallus he identifies the Bohemians with Slavs at three occasions. This is the case of Břetislav’s victory over armies of the Emperor Henry III as well as preceding diplomatic negotiations. Thirdly, it is mentioned at the abduction of Judith of Schweinfurt, when Břetislav considered what he had done and how aggressively *Germans who had always despised Slavs and their language with arrogance would react*³⁹. Cosmas perceived an ability to speak the Slavic language as an added value for instance in case of the first and third bishops of Prague (Dětmar/Thietmar and Bohdal/Thidagg). It seems to be clear that this identification with some sort of the “sec-

³⁴ *Gesta principum Polonorum. The deeds of the princes of the Poles*, ed. J. BAK, U. BORKOWSKA, G. CON-STABLE, G. KLANICZAY, ed. et trans. P. W. KNOLL, F. SCHAEER, Budapest–New York 2003, p. 71–73. As in this edition is mentioned, the division may refer to Christians of Roman and Slavic liturgy, or to western settlers and Poles, demarked by language.

³⁵ With the symbol of a king – breadwinner, provider. Cf. J. BANASZKIEWICZ, *Podanie o Piaście i Popielu*, Warszawa 1986, p. 24, 40.

³⁶ *Cosmae Chronicon Boemorum cum continuatoribus*, [in:] *Fontes Rerum Bohemicarum*, ed. J. EMLER, vol. II, Praha 1874, p. 5; *Kosmasa kronika Czechův*, trans. et ed. M. WOJCIECHOWSKA, Wrocław 2006, p. 88; D. TŘEŠTÍK, *Mýty kmene Čechů...*, p. 57; D. TŘEŠTÍK, *Od příchodu Slovanů k říši českých Boleslavů*, [in:] *Přemyslovci. Budování českého státu*, ed. P. SOMMER, D. TŘEŠTÍK, J. ŽEMLIČKA, Praha 2009, p. 71. Authors have agreed that the story of father Čech’s wayfaring is original, therefore Cosmas did not take it from his source base, cf. H. SCHREUER, *Untersuchungen zur Verfassungsgeschichte der böhmischen Sagenzeit*, Leipzig 1902, p. 9.

³⁷ R. WENSKUS, *op. cit.*, p. 57.

³⁸ He disclosed himself while commenting on a foundation of the nunnery at Saint George’s church. Pope John II wrote to Boleslaus II that in any case no rites of “*Bulgarian or Ruthenian sect or in Old Slavonic*” could take place. *Cosmae Chronicon Boemorum*, p. 35.

³⁹ *Cosmae Chronicon Boemorum*: abduction of Judith/Jitka, p. 61, Henry’s ultimatum, s. 80, Ekkehard, the prince of Saxony finds out about the victory of the Slavs over the Emperor, p. 83.

ond identity” or linguistic – cultural group where Bohemians according to Cosmas belonged represented the way how they defined themselves against the Empire (*Saxons, Teutons*). In comparison to Piast, Přemysl the ploughman was called to rule over a society without a king⁴⁰, while Piast has a clear (same) position in society already ruled by a king.

It is especially the Monk of Sázava of all the Cosmas ‘continuator’ who replaces the ethnonym *Bohemian* with ethnonym *Slav*. Saxons do not attack Bohemians, but Slavs. Boleslav the Brave is a *prince of Slavs*, Bretislaus I is described as a *jewel of Slavs*. From the position of the monk of Sázava (where still a positive attitude towards Slavic language and liturgical books banished in 1096 could be present), he did not hesitate to provide new information regarding the Sázava monastery (as for instance its possession of relics of saints Boris and Gleb) after Cosmas who systematically concealed any notes about the fourth oldest monastery in Bohemia⁴¹.

Master Vincent Kadłubek, the bishop of Cracow, later supplemented so-called legends of Greater Poland (that means mainly the dynastic legend of the Piasts) with legends of Lesser Poland – about Krak, Wanda and foundation of Cracow. Thus, the new dynastic tradition interconnected myths of Poles and Vistulans (Cracowians – Gracchovians) in order to establish ideology for a firm, legal and politically organised society. According to Brygida Kürbis Kadłubek perceived Poles on a basis of a taught tradition as a synonym for the Slavs and incorporated their history to the Roman history⁴². *Slaviae* was not the only *monarchy* under Prince Popiel’s rule (however serves as an evidence of the self-identification), he gave the law and the principles of succession also to the neighboring countries⁴³. Furthermore, Kadłubek illustrated education

⁴⁰ I particularly did not examine the *Vita et passio sancti Vencaslai et sanctae Ludmilae aviae eius* because of long lasting problems with its dating and because of the program of the text – which is focused on christianization and legitimacy of rule. Direct identification of particular groups appears when adjective forms are used in the references to the paganism of the regions, e.g. regions of Polabian Slavs, Moravia and Bohemia (or Czechs in a form of noun). It can be said, that *Sclavus* – *paganus*. In comparison, the role of the mission of saint Constantine and Methodius carries a positive image, namely because of the translation of Holy Scripture into Slavonic language. The language therefore has a sacral importance. *Život a umučení svatého Václava a báby jeho svaté Ludmily*, [in:] *Na úsvitu křesťanství. Z naší literární tvorby doby románské v století IX–XIII*, ed. V. CHALOUPECKÝ, Praha 1942, p. 104, 106. For the datation of the *Vita et passio sancti Vencaslai et sanctae Ludmilae aviae eius* in the context of the filiation of the legends of saint Wencelaus see P. KUBÍN, *Sedm Přemyslovských kultů*, Praha 2011, p. 149; J. KALIVODA, *Nejstarší svatováclavská hagiografie v evropském literárním kontextu přelomu tisíciletí*, [in:] *Svatý Václav. Na památku 1100. výročí narození knížete Václava Svatého*, ed. P. KUBÍN, Praha, 2010, p. 51–61.

⁴¹ *Mnich Sázavský*, [in:] *Fontes Rerum Bohemicarum*, ed. J. EMLER, vol. II, Praha 1874, p. 239, 240, 251; *Mnich Sazawski*, [in:] *Kronikarze czeszy*, ed. M. WOJCIECHOWSKA, Wrocław 2006, p. 119, 142.

⁴² B. KÜRBIŚ, *Kształtowanie się pojęć geograficznych o Słowiańszczyźnie w polskich kronikach przeddlugoszowych*, SA 4, 1953, p. 272.

⁴³ MISTRZ WINCENTY KADŁUBEK, *Kronika polska*, ed. B. KÜRBIŚ, Wrocław 2003, p. 31.

and knowledge of authors of the Antiquity gained during university studies by the dialogue between Matthew, bishop of Cracow, and John, archbishop of Gniezno. However, it is not easy to determine and distinguish all the tribes to be identified with these antique Poles (Slavs). Nevertheless, it is Carantania where they chose Gracchus – Krakus⁴⁴ as their leader and king after having fought Dacians, Gauls and Romans. From this point onwards, a continuous narrative of the history of Poles as Wandals of Wanda, Lechites (though yet without Lech), including the entry about Alexander the Great up to Piast, the son of Chościsko, follows⁴⁵. We don't know how or from what "base" Vincent Kadłubek fabricated the Lechites – there was no tradition of father Lech in that time. Maybe they were the people of Lestek, or the Ljachs of Nestor (or Lędzians a group situated in Wolynhia and Sandomierz)⁴⁶, or a contamination of all of the terms. However, the formula Wanda – Wandal (river) – Wandals is invention of the chronicler, it was his contemporary Gervase of Tilbury who used *Wandalorum gens ferocissima* for the whole Slavic world⁴⁷.

However, there is no mention of a Slavic "sentiment" further on – as well as no appearance of the ethnonym, even in its adjective form. Hungarians are Pannonians, Ruthenians are Ruthenians and any relatedness (e.g. linguistic) is not emphasised neither between the above mentioned nor Poles. The same applies in respect to relations with Pomeranians, Bohemians or even Silesians. Scholastic Vincent Kadłubek created wide and rich history of Poles⁴⁸, forming a base of this ethnic-heterogenous *regnum*⁴⁹. Popularity as well as quality of Vincent's work (being a textbook of rhetoric in the 15th century) caused its deep influence on formation process of both Polish identity and political doctrine of the independence

⁴⁴ At this place another "Slavic" similarity appears, namely choosing a "foreign" ruler. Gracchus, Rurik, Přemysl, Samo, Hildigis – all of them were people from a foreign community; J. BANASZKIEWICZ, *Polskie dzieje bajeczne mistrza Wincentego Kadłubka*, Wrocław 2002, p. 24.

⁴⁵ *Chronica Polonorum. Magistri Vincentii dicti Kadłubek*, [in:] MPH, Nova Series, vol. XI, ed. M. PLEZIA, Kraków 1994, p. 23, 31.

⁴⁶ D. TRĚŠTÍK, *Mýty kmene Čechů...*, p. 62; For etymological analysis, examination of sources, geographical localization and observation of the term and its relation to term *Lach* – *Lęch* see G. LABUDA, *Studia nad początkami państwa polskiego*, vol. II, Poznań 1988, p. 167–209; entry word in *Wczesna słowiańszczyzna. Przewodnik po dziejach i literaturze przedmiotu*, ed. A. WĘDZKI, Warszawa 2008, p. 294.

⁴⁷ He might follow older texts, such as *Gesta Hammaburgensis* and *Chronica Slavorum*, where Vandals appear as a former name for all Slavs, or still act as a description for actual Slavic tribe. Cf. R. STEINACHER, *Wenden, Slawen, Vandalen. Eine frühmittelalterliche pseudologische Gleichzeitung und Ihre achwirkungen bis ins 18. Jahrhundert*, [in:] *Die Suche nach den Ursprüngen. Von der Bedeutung des frühen Mittelalters*, ed. W. POHL, Wien 2004, p. 336.

⁴⁸ S. GAWLAS, *Die mittelalterliche Nationenbildung am beispiel Polens*, [in:] *Mittelalterliche nationes...*, p. 131. Enriching the story of losing the rule of Popiels through the sins of the ruler, cf. J. BANASZKIEWICZ, *Die Mäuseturmsage – the symbolism of annihilation of an evil ruler*, APH 51, 1985, p. 13,

⁴⁹ A. BLACK, *Political thought in Europe 1250–1450*, Cambridge 1992, p. 86. With Gnezdno as *omnium Lechitarum metropolis*.

from the Empire (as a reaction to attempts of Frederick I)⁵⁰. Before we will start with the chronicles of 14th century we have to mention that there are no narrative sources speaking about the “Polish-Bohemian affinity” of queen Kunigunda, wife of Ottokar II of Bohemia and his cancellor Henrich the Italian (later on same position for Wenceslaus II) and it’s ideological sense⁵¹.

A biblical tradition firstly appeared in the *Chronicle* of Dzierzwa (at the turn of the 13th and of 14th century); Latin and Germanic history were been incorporated as well. Genealogical line from Jafet (known also from Arabs or Nestor) leads via Troy to Vandal, the ancestor of Vandals, *qui Poloni nunc dicuntur*⁵². Nations in the area which could be nowadays described as at least linguistically Slavic (from Pomerania, through Silesia, Rus’, Poland, Bohemia, Moravia, Pannonia, Carinthia, to Dalmatia, Croatia, Bulgaria) descended from Vandal’s sons. The reminiscence of memory or rather a perception of proximity – here justified by a blood bond (family) and reflected within a geographical framework can be observed⁵³. Dzierzwa’s contemporaries *Chronicon imperatorum et pontificiarum Bawarie* (at the turn of the 13th and of the 14th century) and *Descriptio Europae Orientalis* (the beginning of the 14th century) contain original excerpts which greatly influenced other researched chronicles. *Sclavonia* as a term as well as a motif of common roots of the Slavic-speaking nations were strongly influenced also by work of Bartholomew the Englishman *De proprietatibus rerum* spread by Friars Minor, especially in the 14th century excerpt *Brevis descriptio Slavoniae*⁵⁴. Following Dzierzwa’s story, Iustinian led *vandalica bella* against all the Slavs (taken from Hugo of Fleury) aiming to repel them to the broad area between the rivers Saale and Vistula. Bartholomew’s work denoted Poles as Vandals who had destroyed Italy and Africa in the times of Saint Augustine⁵⁵. Dzierzwa’s genealogical and geographical arguments show that Slavic unity had paradoxically emerged through Vandals. As predominantly Poles are Vandals, their position among other Slavic nations is quite a unique one. It needs to be emphasised that this work reflects not only geographical proximity of nations and ethnicity but also congeniality established by mythical family ties. A spread of the Polish identity can be also connected with forming of corporations of

⁵⁰ N. KERSKEN, *op. cit.*, p. 505; J. BANASZKIEWICZ, *Polskie dzieje bajeczne...*, p. 256–260.

⁵¹ A. BARCIAK, *Czechy i ziemie południowej polski w XIII oraz w początkach XIV wieku. Polityczno-ideologiczne problemy ekspansji czeskiej na ziemie południowej Polski*, Katowice 1992, p. 138–145.

⁵² *Miersuae Chronicon*, [in:] MPH, vol. II, ed. A. BIEŁOWSKI, Warszawa 1961, p. 163.

⁵³ It is appropriate to mention that Adam of Bremen or Helmond’s *Chronicle* had already located Vandals among e.g. Polabian Slavs or among Slavs dwelling between the rivers Oder and Vistula. Cf. A.F. GRABSKI, *Polska w opiniach obcych X–XIII w.*, Warszawa 1964, p. 135–149.

⁵⁴ *Anonymi descriptio Europae orientalis: Imperium Constantinopolitanum, Albania, Serbia, Bulgaria, Ruthenia, Ungaria, Polonia, Bohemia*, ed. O. GÓRKA, Cracoviae 1916, p. 41.

⁵⁵ J. BANASZKIEWICZ, *Kronika Dzierzwy: XIV-wieczne kompendium historii ojczystej*, Wrocław 1979, p. 44.

nobility in the 13th century⁵⁶. However, it has to be noticed that exact geographical description was on the second place, program of chronicler was to construct a rich *origo gentis/regis*⁵⁷.

It is only to be discussed whether this political imagination comes from political circles connected with Łokietek's court (reflecting the idea of unifying the reign) or represents only a reaction to the above mentioned (geographically) Western works. The logic of the text of the creation of the history for *gentis polonicae* is simple – it was master Vincent who wrote about Vandals – who were sons of Vandal, the son of Negno and those, who conquered the quarter of Europe⁵⁸.

The *Chronicle of Dalimil* written in verses is dated to the same period as the *Chronicle of Dzierzwa* as well as the *Chronicle of Greater Poland* which is going to be discussed below. In case of this work, the Serbs are called *Slavs*. According to so-called Dalimil, their origin could be traced back to the Tower of Babel. However when he discusses the particular topogenesis, he claims that “Serbian race” came into being *where lands of Greeks lie. They took over sunny world from sea to the gates of Rome*⁵⁹. Another of Dalimil's texts or rather its interpretation initiated spread of a myth of Slavic brothers whose descendants represent cognate nations. Namely, Croatia (written at the times of the Emperor Stephen Dušan) is in Serbia and it had been ruled by *lech* whose name was Čech⁶⁰. Dalimil was the first who located the homeland of Slavs into southern Europe and the first who mentioned *senior Boemus* as Čech – in Slavic language⁶¹. This is Dalimil's way to supplement a tradition already reflected by Cosmas or to interpret a common base used by Cosmas, too – probably contaminated with the White Croatia from the story of Croats from Constantine Porphyrogenetus⁶². Referring to the title of this paper, Dalimil reflected neither the Byzantine mission nor later activities of the Slavic monks. However, venerable Methodius sanctified *translatio regis* from Great Moravia to Bohemia. Further on, *Serb* (meaning *Slav*) appears only twice – in regards to Polabian Slavs. It is important, that the mentioned title *lech* transformed to a denomination used for the forefather of Lechits – Poles, as we can observe e.g. in Silesian *Chronica Principum Poloniae*⁶³, or in later oncoming texts.

After Dzierzwa's biblical enrichment of master Kadlubek's *Slavic-Vandalic-Polish* identification, later *Chronicle of Greater Poland* reduces the biblical story

⁵⁶ S. GAWLAS, *op. cit.*, p. 129. This is also the period of emergence of the term *lingua Polonica*.

⁵⁷ N. KERSKEN, *op. cit.*, p. 527.

⁵⁸ B. KÜRBIS, *op. cit.*, p. 272.

⁵⁹ *Kronika tak řečeného Dalimila*, ed. M. BLÁHOVÁ, Praha 1977, p. 11.

⁶⁰ *Kronika tak řečeného Dalimila*, p. 12.

⁶¹ N. KERSKEN, *op. cit.*, p. 609.

⁶² D. TŘEŠTÍK, *Mýty kmene Čechů*, p. 59 stand against it.

⁶³ *Chronica Principum Poloniae*, p. 430, [in:] *MPH*, vol. III, ed. A. BIEŁOWSKI, Lwów 1878.

and offers wider vision of Slavdom, based on concrete geographical terms, tribes and political organisations⁶⁴.

The aforementioned *Chronicle of Greater Poland* offers an extensive etymological digression maintaining that *already the most ancient books claim Pannonia to be a mother and a cradle of all the Slavic nations – mater et origo omnium Slauonicarum nacionum*. The interpretation and argument is etymological⁶⁵. ‘Pán’ is translated into both Greek and Slavic languages as the one who possesses everything and therefore Slavic ‘pán’ can be used to address a magnate – *maior habens – wojewodij – totum habens*⁶⁶. Pannonians were ruled by biblical Nimrod (a Slav, of course)⁶⁷. Three brothers originated from this tribe and these were the first Lech (!), the second Rus and the third Čech. Their descendants established kingdoms of Lechites, Ruthenians and Bohemians. Among them, the Lechites should have maintained the most powerful position within the Empire and ruled the largest territory. An anonymous author of the *Chronicle of Greater Poland* not only incorporated the well-known Čech, but also joined Lech (Lestko) of the *Lechitae* of Kadłubek with Dalimil’s *lech* in order to create a protoplasmic figure of this Lech. In addition, he created Rus for Ruthenians. The identification with the Slavs as well as an identity common for various branches of the Slavs is obvious within the *Chronicle of Greater Poland*. This identity hinges upon an original common language – the language of one father Slav – *ab uno patre Slavo* – whose name served as a suffix in many Slavic names as for instance Tomislav, Stanislav, Janislav, Venceslav. There is a controversy here, as two forefathers *Pan* and *Slav* appear in the text, though this might be just a matter of synonymous understanding. The chronicler also states that these nations lived in Slavic kingdoms of Pannonians, Poles, Ruthenians, and Bohemians. Later on, more Slavic kingdoms and principalities were established (namely of Bulgarians, Serbs, or the Kingdom of Dalmatia and Rascia)⁶⁸. As well as other above mentioned chroniclers, this author also does not mention the Byzantine mission. Significant is placing the big Sclavonia as equal to Germania, even maintaining that Slavonia was actually “bigger”⁶⁹. The “central” and strongest tribe of Slavs were the Lechits with their father Lech, chronicle served as a literary background for whole Polish kingdom

⁶⁴ B. KÜRBIS, *Dziejopisarstwo wielkopolskie XIII i XIV wieku*, Warszawa 1959, p. 316.

⁶⁵ N. KERSKEN, *op. cit.*, p. 529–530.

⁶⁶ *Kronika wielkopolska*, [in:] MPH, Nova Series, vol. VIII, ed. B. KÜRBIS, Warszawa 1970, p. 4; *Kronika Boguchwała i Godysława Paska*, [in:] MPH, vol. I, ed. A. BIEŁOWSKI, I, Lwów 1872, p. 468.

⁶⁷ B. KÜRBIS, *Studia nad Kroniką wielkopolską*, Poznań 1952, p. 130.

⁶⁸ *Kronika wielkopolska*, p. 5; *Kronika Boguchwała i Godysława Paska*, p. 469. Slavic interpolation continues up to the page 472. It is quite remarkable that the anonymous chronicler/s wrote that both Slavs and Germanic people had descended from Jafet therefore there were according to the author no other nations in the world being so open and friendly to each other. Could it be also the reflection of political ideology of Venceslas II?

⁶⁹ B. KÜRBIS, *Dziejopisarstwo wielkopolskie...*, p. 317.

and its unity – of course, with its cradle in Greater Poland (after Kadlubek's and Dzierzwa's Cracow)⁷⁰. In comparison to so called Dzierzwa, the description of Slavic lands tries to be more actual, more real and it is clear that the incorporation of Poland into the whole Slavic geography and history (and incorporation of Slavic history and geography into Polish history) originates in the times of Casimir the Great⁷¹.

Jan of Maringola's *Bohemian Chronicle* seems to be quite a complicated issue. The chronicle claims that Elys (one of those being responsible for a destruction of Troy) was the father of Elysans. After having changed their scripture – they became the Slavs (!). Eliška, mother of Charles IV, descended from this lineage and Charles himself is named as “the greatest glory of the Slavic tribe”⁷². On the other hand, he provides also the second genealogical variant where Slavs (Bohemians) are sons of Noah, though according to the history Bohemians might have descended from Gomer – as well as Gauls (Franks). Subsequently he continues by locating Bohemia as a part of Germania, marked off from Pannonia by mountains and forests. His etymology has been applied up to now (in some texts) – the Slavs call themselves according to “sláva” – glory⁷³. Placing Bohemia into the frame of Germania – similarly as Kosmas did, or binding the history of Slavs with Germania – was not a general and usual issue. It was caused by literary (ideological) ambitions. The picture of “big Germania” (e. g. stretching towards Vistula in the *Chronicle* of Martin of Opava) is a matter of Bohemian chronicles, it hardly finds its ground in Poland⁷⁴.

A bit later *Chronicle of Pulkava* begins with the First Book of Moses. At the confusion of languages, the Slavic language emerged as well. People were named after it as the Slavs – *Slouani*⁷⁵. Passing the fields of Sennar, they crossed countries of the Greeks to lands being possessed by the Slavs also up to his period – Bulgaria, Ruthenia, Serbia, Dalmatia, Croatia, Bosnia, Carinthia, Istria and Carniola⁷⁶. A man called Čech later left Bohemia (from *Boh* – God) for Croatia because of a murder. Pulkava applies the direct identification. The Bohemians are simply Slavs. They share the common identity based on the sib of Lech and Čech. Moreover, some of Lech's lineage came to Ruthenia, Pomerania and Kashubia while descendants of Čech crossed the river Morava and populated the land bearing the same name as the river. Brothers' continuity can be seen also in another mythical history when there were two brothers clever, wealthy and just – Krok and Krak

⁷⁰ N. KERSKEN, *op. cit.*, p. 531.

⁷¹ B. KÜRBIS, *Kształtowanie się pojęć geograficznych...*, p. 277.

⁷² *Kronika česká Jana z Marignoly*, [in:] *Kroniky doby Karla IV*, ed. M. BLÁHOVÁ, Praha 1987, p. 454.

⁷³ *Kronika česká Jana z Marignoly*, p. 458.

⁷⁴ B. KÜRBIS, *Kształtowanie się pojęć geograficznych...*, p. 266, 288.

⁷⁵ N. KERSKEN, *op. cit.*, p. 613.

⁷⁶ *Kronika česká Přibrika z Radenína, řečeného Pulkava*, [in:] *Kroniky doby Karla IV*, ed. M. BLÁHOVÁ, Praha 1987, p. 272.

who founded a castle and town of Cracow. Proclaimed affinity of Slavic nations – in this case Polish and Bohemian – could also serve as a literary and ideological concept for ambitions of Charles IV to gain the Polish throne⁷⁷.

Pulkava is the first to emphasise the missionary activities of Constantine, particularly his supposed conversion of Moravians as well as numerous Slavic lands. As the forefather Čech held the primacy among the Slavic nations, so the emperor made Bohemia a kingdom that continued the tradition of Great Moravia with subjected principalities and dukedoms, as for instance Poland or Ruthenia⁷⁸. Pulkava often applies *Slav* as an umbrella term for both Pomeranian and Polabian Slavs, though he also refers to the Polish dynasty as to Slavic princes. Therefore it is quite confusing when *Slav* functions as a defining term when the contrast between Poles and Slavs (meaning Bohemians) is stressed. Pulkava re-worked the story of Dalimil's Čech/Kosmas's Boemus and incorporated the brother Lech into it. The Dalimil's *lech* – probably a term that was unclear even in his times, or was of a foreign origin⁷⁹, has to be clarified – but not according to the *Greater Poland Chronicle*, because Pulkava does not mention the third brother, Rus.

The Byzantine mission is clearly positively perceived by Pulkava. Saint Constantine baptised the Slavs but when he saw their obstinacy he asked the Pope to permit masses and other sacraments in the Slavonic language. It is quite surprising that similar elements or the Slavic sentiments cannot be traced in other contemporary works as for instance the one authored by Francis of Prague or *Life of Charles IV*.

Another Pulkava's contemporary was Jan (Janko) of Czarnków, writing in the 1370s. However, he mentions the term "Slavic" only once while giving an account of escalation of violence between Poles and Hungarian garrisons in the streets of Cracow. Poles were searching inns and slaughtering supporters of Queen Elisabeth. This episode exactly describes multiple layers of this complicated identity. Poles pulled out of the inn *one Hungarian, named Michael, called the Pagan, who was a Hungarian nobleman though of Slavic origin – they killed him in the street*⁸⁰.

Jan Długosz authored a compendium of (not only) the Central European medieval chronicles, composed in the 15th century. Spiritual and intellectual setting of the University of Cracow responded after the Battle of Grunwald to a controversy with Habsburgs or a work of Eneas Silvio Piccolomini⁸¹. Alan being the first man to come to Europe does not appear in the Bible but represents an innovation in medieval chronicles⁸². His ancestor was Negno whose sons, partic-

⁷⁷ N. KERSKEN, *op. cit.*, p. 603.

⁷⁸ *Kronika česká Přibřika z Radenína, řečeného Pulkava*, p. 281.

⁷⁹ B. KÜRBIS, *Studia...*, p. 135.

⁸⁰ *Kronika Jana z Czarnkowa*, ed. M.D. KOWALSKI, Kraków 2001, p. 67.

⁸¹ S. GAWLAS, *op. cit.*, p. 140.

⁸² Długosz derived from an outstanding number of works from *Historia Brittonum*, Hugo of Flavigny, *Historie Salonitana*, Bohemian chronicles to Ruthenian annals, etc.

ularly the third one named Saxo established some lands⁸³ (neither languages nor nations.) In the beginning, it seems that there is no feeling of Slavic congeniality in Długosz – nor does he emphasise any proximity between individual groups of the Slavs. However, then he refers to the origin of Slavs (similarly to Pulkava, or Nestor, the *Chronicle of Greater Poland* or Arabic sources earlier): he mentions the wayfaring from Sennar valley, crossing of the Danube and settling down in Pannonia – which is *the oldest and most primary cradle and nurture of the Slavs*⁸⁴. However, the God later took this land from Slavs for their sins and so they had to face barbaric cruelties of other nations. Mutual envy as well as conflicts over borders and rule over the land even caused a departure of Slavic tribes led by Lech and Čech who had been previously in control of Syrmian Dalmatia, Slavonia, Croatia and Bosnia⁸⁵. Długosz also briefly addresses the issue of the origin of Rus. He maintains that *some claim* that Rus was not the son of Lech, but he was in fact his brother (!). All three brothers set out from Croatia in order to find a new homeland.

Długosz mentions the linguistic proximity of Poles, Ruthenians and Bohemians at many points, especially as far as geographical names are concerned. The linguistic proximity and common origin create the image of the Slavic identity⁸⁶. He connected Slavic tribes of Obodrites, Rugians or others by consanguinity to Poles. This bond is a motivation for mythical prince Leszko to help Hungarian people who are the Slavs as well to fight against the Greeks. Cyril and Methodius are according to Długosz apostles of the Slavs, those who translated the *Holy Scriptures* into Slavonic language and established an archbishopric in Velehrad⁸⁷.

His extensively refined biblical and dynastic myth does not represent only a re-writing of Kadłubek, Dzierzwa, the *Chronicle of Greater Poland* or Pulkava. It is a genuine tractate based on profound knowledge of sources of different provenience. It is also interesting that the Slavs – meaning Poles – are for the first time referred to also as Sarmatians⁸⁸. Except for a confirmation of the common origin of the Slavs and their congeniality, Długosz as an authority inspired also humanist

⁸³ That means Ruthenia, Poland, Pomerania, Cashubia, Saxony, Norway and also Bohemia, Moravia, Styria, Carinthia, Lizna, Croatia, Pannonia, Serbia, Bulgaria and Helysa – the lineage of Helysa (present since Pulkava to Maciej Miechowita).

⁸⁴ *Ioannis Dlugossii Annales seu cronicae incliti regni Poloniae*, ed. J. DĄBROWSKI, W. SEMKOWICZ-ZAREMBA, vol. I, Warszawa 1964, p. 69 (cetera: *Annales seu cronicae*). And from there spread and populated Bulgaria, Dalmatia, Serbia, Croatia, Bosnia, Rascia, Carinthia and Illyria as well as islands in Adriatic, Ionian and Aegean Sea.

⁸⁵ Their former centre should have been the castle of Psary-Krapina? over the river Huj, dividing Slavonia and Croatia.

⁸⁶ S. GAWLAS, *Świadomość narodowa Jana Długosza*, SŻ 27, 1983, p. 5.

⁸⁷ *Annales seu cronicae*, p. 167.

⁸⁸ T. ULEWICZ, *Z zagadnień słowiańskich XV i XVI wieku: Sarmacja i Sarmaci*, [in:] *Sprawozdania PAU*, vol. LX.2, Kraków 1950, p. 64; J. STRADOMSKI, *Spory o "wiarę grecką" w dawnej Rzeczypospolitej*, Kraków 2003, p. 66.

authors as for instance Jan of Dąbrowka or Maciej Miechowita⁸⁹ as well as other various interpretations of the origin of Slavs⁹⁰ (and also e.g. its applications within the political ideology of Sigismund II Augustus)⁹¹.

On the examples of mentioned Polish and Bohemian chronicles we can observe, that perception of common Slavic origin was not a simple topic even for their authors. Various literary threads and traditions (biblical, Roman, dynastic) were combined with the raise of geographical texts and we cannot always describe their political and ideological background (however, sometimes easily). The cradle of Slavs is firstly localized into Pannonia, in the *Chronicle of Greater Poland*. Other texts, namely former texts are not so clear about the original homeland. Firstly mentioning only the geographical term of *Sclavonia* (sometimes used only for Polish realm, or lands of Polabian Slavs), later constructing the common “Slavic sense” on the story of brothers-forefathers of Slavic nations. Language which the nations inherited *ab uno patre Slavo* as an unifying element is mentioned namely for the first time also in *Chronica Poloniae Maioris*. In chronological following Czech chronicles we can observe an evolution of the “language based Slavic feeling”, with the first reference to the mission of Saint Constantine and Methodius in the Chronicle of Pribík Pulkava from Radenín and more interesting note of John of Marignola that becoming a Slav is caused by the “change” of the scripture. We cannot claim whether the “start of the identification process” was based on a memory of common origin and history, e.g. on the Danube, in Pannonia, or it was build on a memory in a shape of an administrative-ideological unit – *regnum Sclavorum*. At the first sight, the authors of narrative sources worked with fabricated progressing intellectual concept where the closeness of languages (geographical as well) was interconnected with mythical genealogical relationships between nations. Some of the ideas are typical for the chronic will to demonstrate the knowledge of classical and coeval authors. However the will of the intellectuals to incorporate the dynasty and administrative which they served into a wider “commonwealth” is important for our conclusion. We can assume that this scholarly tradition has built a stable base for later (and much later) Slavic and Pan-

⁸⁹ A. BORZEMSKI, *Kronika Miechowity. Rozbiór krytyczny*, Kraków 1891, p. 38; K. BUCZEK, *Maciej Miechowita jako geograf Europy wschodniej*, [in:] *Maciej z Miechowa. Geograf, historyk, lekarz, organizator nauki*, ed. H. BARYCZ, Wrocław–Warszawa 1960, p. 82. Maciej Miechowita defended his tutor Długosz, therefore he desired to root his Slavs and Poles descending from Jafet more firmly within the history. Cf. MACIEJ MIECHOWITA, *Opis Sarmacji Azjatyckiej i Europejskiej*, trans. T. BIENKOWSKI, intr. H. BARYCZ, Wrocław–Warszawa–Kraków–Gdańsk 1972, p. 46.

⁹⁰ An exotic reference to renaissance poetry. T. ULEWICZ, *Świadomość słowiańska Jana Kochanowskiego. Z zagadnień psychiki polskiego renesansu*, Kraków 2006, p. 83; J. STRADOMSKI, *Problem etnogenezy i chrystianizacji Słowian w historiografii i polemice wyznaniowej I Rzeczypospolitej*, [in:] *Krakowsko-wileńskie studia slawistyczne*, vol. III, ed. W. STĘPNIAK-MINCZEWA, A. NAUMOW, Kraków 2001, p. 103.

⁹¹ L. HAJDUKIEWICZ, *Biblioteka Macieja z Miechowa*, Wrocław 1960, p. 69; T. ULEWICZ, *Zagadnienie Sarmatyzmu w kulturze i literaturze polskiej*, ZNUJ 59, 1963, p. 36.

Slavic (cultural or other) mutuality and solidarity more than the imaginary unity of Slavs in the pre-historic times.

Abstract. The concept of Slavic solidarity is taken by some political or ideological movements as obvious. In its later tradition it is based mainly on the language and cultural solidarity emphasised by romantic (and earlier) literature. The very origin of closeness of nowadays (and historical) Slavic nations is there traced to assumed bio-historical root. From the perspective of scientific analysis the examination of the whole term Slav should be done at first place. In medieval Polish and Bohemian chronicles we can observe a growing phenomenon of the identification with wider name Slav and with the common history of Slavs as well. In the *Chronicle of Greater Poland*, followed by chronicle of the Pulkava of Radenín and with the work of Jan Długosz was defined the model of biblical genealogy of Slavic nations. The solidarity was based mainly on the perception of similar languages and geographical closeness and was transformed in a literary way into blood relations. Reflection of this literary concept in foreign affairs is hardly to declare, but some dynastical representatives used the intellectual concept in a literary propaganda of their goals.

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