

Wieki
Stare i Nowe
(The Old and the New Ages)
Vol. 3 (8)



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Edited by
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Preface

Wieki Stare i Nowe (The Old and the New Ages) is a serial publication by Institute of History, University of Silesia in Katowice. Volume one of the periodical, planned as a yearbook, was published in the year 2000 and edited by Idzi Panic and Maria Wanda Wanatowicz. In 2005 (since Vol. 4) the journal was officially rated by the Ministry of Science and Higher Education. Since the year 2009, the periodical has been appearing under a slightly altered title: capital letters were used and the numbering of the yearbook was changed – volume six was issued as Vol. 1 (6). From then on, individual volumes of the journal have been also available online. Beginning with Vol. 2 (7) the periodical's formula has been widened. So currently, apart from articles, it also includes reviews and source materials.

The works published in *Wieki Stare i Nowe* concern both general history and the history of Poland from ancient times to the modern historical events. The editors remain faithful to the idea that motivated the establishment of the journal, and that is, not restricting particular volumes to selected thematic fields, but keeping them varied and survey in character. This approach also pertains to the assumption that in *Wieki Stare i Nowe* the results of research by academic employees and doctoral students of Institute of History, University of Silesia, are published. However, it does not exclude publishing in the periodical the papers by historians representing other academic centres. Therefore, the thematic scope of works published in *Wieki Stare i Nowe* is very wide, since the journal accepts articles concerning various fields of history.

For the above-mentioned reasons, among others, we decided to publish an English-language edition of the journal. Our goal was to include the works not only by the Institute of History, University of

Silesia historians, but also by researchers from other academic centres. Moreover, we wanted to provide space for texts analysing all, if possible, or several historical periods.

Sylwester Fertacz
Maria W. Wanatowicz
(trans. Krystian Wojcieszuk)

AGATA A. KLUCZEK

Topical imagery on the coinage of Roman emperor Florian (276 A.D.)

After Aurelian's death — as we read in Eutropius' *Breviarium* — “Tacitus [...] suscepit imperium, vir egregie moratus et rei publicae gerendae idoneus. Nihil tamen clarum potuit ostendere intra sextum mensem imperii morte praeventus. Florianus, qui Tacito successerat, duobus mensibus et diebus XX in imperio fuit neque quicquam dignum memoria egit. Post hunc Probus, vir inlustris gloria militari, ad administrationem rei publicae accessit [...]. Hic cum bella innumera gessisset, pace parata dixit brevi milites necessarios non futuros. Vir acer, strenuus, iustus et qui Aurelianum aequaret gloria militari, morum autem civilitate superaret.”¹ There is a significant comment in that passage, assessing the emperor Florian and his reign. While Tacitus and Probus, whose names appear side by side with Florian's name in the text, emerge, even from a brief and superficial characteristics, as meritorious rulers and personages “on the throne” in Imperium Romanum of the 3rd century, Florian, in comparison to them, does not deserve a positive assessment that would sum up his reign and even he himself seems unworthy of mention. His reign is only a minor interlude between the reigns of the great and eminent men. The name which closes like a bracket that period in the Empire's history is that of Aurelian — apparently the greatest ruler among all the ones mentioned above.

Actually, Florian's (M. Annius Florianus) reign is not distinct enough, especially when compared with that of Aurelian and Probus or Tacitus. He assumed the purple in the early summer of 276 A.D., when the emperor Tacitus

¹ Eutr., IX 16—17,2.

died in Asia Minor as a result of an illness² or a military conspiracy³ on his way back to Europe from the campaign against the Goths. He was “succeeded” by Florian,⁴ a praetorian prefect, who, as tradition says, pleaded family bonds with Tacitus.⁵ More important is the fact that when the army proclaimed him emperor the Roman Senate⁶ approved of his succession. This act of consensus took the blemish of a usurper off Florian and gave him a legitimate position in Rome. However, the period of Florian’s reign was filled with armed struggle and political rivalry. He continued the campaign against the barbarian Goths, in which his predecessor had already achieved success. He also had to measure swords with his rival to the emperor’s purple — Probus. The appearance of this pretender, supported by a part of the Roman troops stationed in the eastern provinces, and the subsequent encounter of the forces commanded by Probus with those subordinate to Florian, quickly i.e. after about two months’ time,⁷ put an end to Florian’s reign. It happened when Florian ran into Probus’ army near Tarsus, was captured in unclear circumstances by his rival’s soldiers and then assassinated by his own subalterns.⁸

In light of the said episodes of his career and the circumstances of his reign Florian can be perceived as a representative military ruler of the 3rd century, one of those who achieved the imperial purple through service in the Roman

² Aurel. Vict., caes. 36,2 — indicates Tyane in Cappadocia; E. de caes. 36,1 — he wrongly locates the event in Tarsus, confusing it further with the circumstances relating to Florian’s subsequent fate.

³ Chron.a. 354, p. 148 (ed. Th. Mommsen); Euseb. Hier., chr. CCLXIII Olymp. I, p. 223 (ed. R. Helm); Cassiod., chron., p. 148, 995 (ed. Th. Mommsen); Georg. Sync., chr., p. 722 (ed. G. Dindorf); Chron. Gall. 434, p. 642 (ed. Th. Mommsen) — indicate Pontus.

⁴ HA Pr. 10,1; 13,4; Zos. I 64,1; Zon. XII 29. Information about the position of a praetorian prefect see Zos. I 63,1; Zon. XII 28.

⁵ For example Aurel. Vict., caes. 36,2; HA Tac. 9,6; 13,8; 14,1; HA Pr. 13,3; Polem. Silv., later., 51, p. 522 (ed. Th. Mommsen). HA Tac. 17,4 states they had different fathers. However, presumably they were brothers with the same mother. Their full names were: M. Annius Florianus and M. Claudius Tacitus.

⁶ Zos. I 64,1; Zon. XII 29. In spite of that he is described by Aurel. Vict., caes. 36,2 as: “[...] nullo senatus seu militum consulto imperium invaserat,” and his reign as *dominatio* — a notion rarely used in his work. Cf. Aurel. Vict., caes. 37,1.

⁷ According to different sources Florian’s reign lasted e.g. 1 or 2 months — Aurel. Vict., caes. 37,1; 2 months and 20 days — Eutr. IX 16; 2 months — E. de caes. 36,2; HA Tac. 14,2; Malal. XII, p. 301 (ed. B.G. Niebuhr); 88 days — Chron.a. 354, p. 148 (ed. Th. Mommsen); Euseb. Hier., chr. CCLXIII Olymp. I, p. 223 (ed. R. Helm); Cassiod., chron., p. 148, 995 (ed. Th. Mommsen); Georg. Sync., chr., p. 722 (ed. G. Dindorf); 89 days — Chron. Gall. 434, p. 642 (ed. Th. Mommsen); 3 months — Oros. VII 24,1.

⁸ Assassinated in Tarsus by his own troops — HA Tac. 14,2; HA Pr. 10,8; 13,4; Zos. I 64,2—4; Zon. XII 29; Malal. XII, pp. 301—302 (ed. B.G. Niebuhr); Aurel. Vict., caes. 37,1. Cf. E. de caes. 36,2; Cassiod., chron., p. 148, 996 (ed. Th. Mommsen); Georg. Sync., chr., p. 722 (ed. G. Dindorf); Ioh. Ant., fr. 158, p. 600 (ed. C. Müller).

army and by staying in the closest surroundings of the Emperor; they obtained the purple from the army and remained involved in military matters throughout their reign. As a consequence of Florian's "typicality" one can expect that the representations featured on the coins minted by him and in his name will be a specific mirror of the contemporary reality. It can be assumed that they will mainly represent what belonged to the canon of the coin iconography. Yet, it cannot be excluded that on the surface of that "mirror," covered with conventional and traditional elements, there shall appear a scar — the reflection of an individual stigma and the result of the turbulent events throughout Florian's reign. Such an approach and expectations correspond to an opinion that Florian's coinage "lacks a distinct program line" and that "general and topical mottos,"⁹ applied to his coins, are, to a large extent, derived from his predecessors.¹⁰ The opinion seems all the more apt when we take into account that in the summary view the images struck on Florian's coins appear neither very interesting nor original against the background of the iconography found in the coinage issued by and in the name of the previously mentioned rulers — Tacitus and Probus,¹¹ whose reigns immediately proceeded and followed Florian's reign. Perhaps for that reason Florian's coinage, typologically of little interest, has rarely been an object of study in the literature on the subject.¹² As a matter of fact, Florian's reign — as in the case of other short-reigning rulers of the 3rd century — has not been considered interesting enough to researchers.

However, the study of Florian's issues may be inspiring if viewed in terms of what is stereotypical in the coin iconography of the 3rd century. In this case the research strategy will consist in the first place in establishing the typological structure of the regularly minted coins in percentages,¹³ through the analysis of

⁹ W. Kaczanowicz: *Aspekty ideologiczne w rzymskim mennictwie lat 235—284 n.e.* Katowice, 1990, p. 101. Cf. A.A. Kluczek: *VNDIQVE VICTORES. Wizja rzymskiego władztwa nad światem w mennictwie złotego wieku Antoninów i doby kryzysu III wieku — studium porównawcze.* Katowice, 2009, pp. 263, 275, 294.

¹⁰ Concerning the coins from Lugdunum cf. P. Bastien: *Le monnayage de l'atelier de Lyon de la réouverture de l'atelier par Aurélien à la mort de Carin (fin 274—285).* Wetteren, 1976, pp. 45—49.

¹¹ Cf. M. Weder: "Tacitus in Lyon und Rom. Zur Münzprägung des Kaisers Tacitus in den Münzstätten von Lyon und Rom." *Numismatische Zeitschrift* 1981, 95, pp. 35—47; W. Kaczanowicz: "Aspekty ideologiczne w mennictwie cesarza Tacyta (275—276 r.n.e.)." In: *Studia z dziejów starożytnego Rzymu.* Ed. A. Kunisz. Katowice, 1988, pp. 97—111; W. Kaczanowicz: *Aspekty ideologiczne w rzymskim mennictwie...*, pp. 92—102, 104—113; Idem: *Cesarz Probus. 276—282 n.e.* Katowice, 1997, pp. 83—101.

¹² For example, A. Alföldi: "Siscia, IV: Die Prägungen von Tacitus und Florianus." *Numizmatikai Közlelőny* 1939—1940, 38—39, pp. 7—22.

¹³ With reference to one or a group of 3rd-century Roman emperors a different attempt to define the occurrence of a given motif in the imperial coinage, based on the number of types and issuances, is represented by F. Redö: *Numismatical Sources of the*

the contents of monetary treasures. They were *antoniniani*, the currency common in circulation in the 70s of the 3rd century, renewed after Aurelian's reform (*antoniniani-aureliani*), formally issued as silver yet in practice not so much silver as billon coins, always maintaining its ore unequivalence in relation to its nominal value. The material, that has been gathered, comprises 778 of those silver coins coming from 11 big treasures.¹⁴ An additional corpus of 28 Florian's gold coins (*aurei*) and the medallions of this ruler¹⁵ provide supplementary material, allow-

Illyr Soldier Emperors' Religious Policy. Budapestini, 1973; R. Suski: *Konsolidacja Cesarstwa Rzymskiego za panowania Aureliana 270—275*. Kraków, 2008, pp. 229—312. Cf. presented by E. Manders "Mapping the representation of Roman imperial power in times of crisis." In: *Impact of Empire*. Vol. 7: *Crises and the Roman Empire*. Eds. O. Hekster, G. De Kleijn, D. Slootjes. Leiden—Boston, 2007, pp. 285—288) the concept based on the number of types. The author believes, the percentages arrived at through the analysis of the contents of coin hoards are comparable to the results of the analysis of the number of types published by *The Roman Imperial Coinage* [henceforth: RIC]. Eds. H. Mattingly et al. London, 1968. Over long periods of time (Manders analysed the coinage of 193—284 A.D.) the existing correlations may confirm the approach, yet it does not seem useful for more analytical studies. The numerical data describing the content of *denarii* treasures (69—235 AD) were analysed by C.F. Noreña: "The communication of the emperor's virtues." *The Journal of Roman Studies* 2001, 91, pp. 146—168. In my study I focus on a different historical period, use other definitions of the categories of representations and methodology so I quote the results obtained by Manders and Noreña as additional information about the intensity with which the coins bearing definite representations were issued.

¹⁴ They are treasures from: Blackmoor, Thibouville, Reichenstein, Nieder-Rentgen, Sainte-Pallaye, Lochhausen, Maravielle, La Venèra, Sirmium, Svetozarevo, Pleven — W. Vischer: "Der Münzfund von Reichenstein." *Mittheilungen der Gesellschaft für Vaterländische Alterthümer in Basel* 1852, vol. 5, p. 41; H. v. Hammerstein, K. Wichmann, G. Wolfram: "Der Münzfund von Nieder-Rentgen." *Jahrbuch der Gesellschaft für lothringische Geschichte und Altertumskunde* 1896, VIII/2, p. 28; N.A. Mouchmov: "Tajnite znaci vrhu monetite ot Serdika." *Annuaire de Musée National de Sofia* 1922/1925 (1926), pp. 178—195; *Die Fundmünzen der römischen Zeit in Deutschland*. I/1: *Oberbayern*. Ed. H.-J. Kellner. Berlin, 1960, p. 173; P. Bastien, H.-G. Pflaum: "La trouvaille de monnaies romaines de Thibouville (Eure)." *Gallia* 1962, vol. 20, pp. 264—265; W. Kellner: *Ein römischer Münzfund aus Sirmium (Gallienus—Probus)*. Wien, 1978, pp. 43—44; R. Bland: "The Blackmoor Hoard." *Coin Hoards from Roman Britain* [henceforth: CHRB] 1982, vol. 3, pp. 40—41; S. Estiot: "Le trésor de Maravielle (Var)." *Trésors Monétaires* [henceforth: TM] 1983, vol. 5, pp. 92—93; Eadem: *Ripostiglio della Venèra*. Vol. 2/2: *Tacito e Floriano*. Verona, 1987, pp. 89—112; N.A. Crnobrnja: *Ostava rimskog novca iz Svetozareva, Valerijan—Dioklecijan*. Svetozarevo, 1987, pp. 36—38; S. Estiot, M. Amandry, M. Bompaire: *Le trésor de Sainte-Pallaye (Yonne): 8864 antoniniens de Valérien à Carin*. TM, 1994, vol. 14, p. 95.

¹⁵ S. Estiot: "L'or romain entre crise et restitution, 270—276 ap. J.-C., II. Tacite et Florian." *Journal des savants* 1999, fasc. 2, pp. 423—427; Eadem: *Monnaies de l'Empire romain: XII/1. D'Aurélien à Florian (270—276 après J.-C.)*. Paris, 2004, pp. 314—429. The last work is especially valuable. On the basis of the numismatic collections of Cabinet des médailles in Paris as well as other public and private collections and auction

ing to specify the conclusions. Next, the obtained results will be collated with the indicators defining the intensity with which thematic motifs are employed in the coinage of Florian's predecessors and also the similarities and differences in that area will be brought into light. There is a possibility to confront the themes applied to the coins in the name of Florian with those promoted in the coinage of Aurelian, one of the great emperors of the 3rd century, that has been already thoroughly investigated and recognized. The themes employed in the latter's coinage have been identified on the basis of the representations featured on 19,406 silver coins (predominantly on *antoniniani* and *aureliani*, less frequently on *denarii* and *quinarii*).¹⁶ In such retrospective approach it is Claudius II's coinage, comprising 21,499 *antoniniani*¹⁷ which provides further material for comparative analysis.

catalogues the author sorts out the coinage, among others Florian's, makes suggestions as to the chronology and provenance of particular coin emissions, and provides certain data on the number of definite monetary types and their variants. The figures, however, refer rather to the coin collections housed in museums than to the contents of treasures.

¹⁶ The numismatic data comes from the same treasures as Florian's coinage (Blackmoor, Thibouville, Reichenstein, Nieder-Rentgen, Sainte-Pallaye, Lochhausen, Maravielle, La Venèra, Sirmium, Svetozarevo, Pleven), and from others in which there are no Florian's coins (Normanby, Ig, Komin, Dunaújváros, Šimanovci, "Balkan hoard," Rjaževo, Çanakkale, hoards "P" and "B," "Syrian antoniniani hoard") — W. Vischer: *Der Münzfund...*, pp. 34—38; H. v. Hammerstein, K. Wichmann, G. Wolfram: *Der Münzfund...*, pp. 23—27; J. Brunšmid: "Nahodaj rimskih bakrenih novaca iz druge polovine trećega stoljeća iz Šimanovaca (kotar Zemun)." *Viestnik Hrvatskoga Arheološkoga Društva* 1913/1914 (1914), NS 13, pp. 271—280; N.A. Mouchmov: *Tajnite znaci...*, pp. 174—215; Idem: "Nahodka na rimski moneti ot III vek pri s. Rjaževo, Plovdivsko." *Annuaire du Musée National Bulgare* 1932/1934 (1936), pp. 184—200; Z. Barcsay-Amant: *The Hoard of Komin. Antoniniani of the 3rd Century A.D.* Budapest, 1937; *Die Fundmünzen der römischen Zeit in Deutschland...*, pp. 168—172; P. Bastien, H.-G. Pflaum: *La trouvaille...*, pp. 255—261; C. Brenot, H.-G. Pflaum: "Les émissions orientales de la fin du IIIe s. après J.-C. à la lumière de deux trésors découverts en Syrie." *Revue Numismatique* [henceforth: RN] 1965, vol. 7, S. 6, pp. 139—141, 158—161; H.-G. Pflaum, P. Bastien: *La trouvaille de Çanakkale (Turquie). Deniers et antoniniani émis de 261 à 284.* Wetteren, 1969, pp. 135—147; P. Bastien, H. Huvelin: *Trésor d'antoniniani en Syrie. La VICTORIA PARTHICA de Valérien. Les émissions d'Aurélien à Antioche et Tripoli.* RN, 1969, vol. 11, S. 6, pp. 258—270; W. Kellner: *Ein römisches Münzfund...*, pp. 20—40; R. Bland: *The Blackmoor Hoard...*, pp. 33—37; Idem: "A Third Century Hoard from the Balkans." *Coin Hoards* 1985, vol. 7, pp. 190—195; R. Bland, A. Burnett: *Normanby, Lincolnshire.* CHR, 1988, vol. 8, pp. 188—189; S. Estiot: *Le trésor de Maravielle...*, pp. 72—88; Eadem: *Ripostiglio della Venèra. Vol. 2/1: Aureliano.* Roma, 1995, pp. 151—265; N.A. Crnobrnja: *Ostava rimskog novca...*, pp. 16—30; *Die Fundmünzen der römischen Zeit in Ungarn.* Ed. J. Fitz. Bd. 1: *Komitat Fejér.* Collected by V. Lányi. Bonn—Budapest, 1990, pp. 53—235; P. Kos: *Ig. Najdba antoninijanov tretjega stoletja.* Ljubljana, 1991, pp. 98—99; S. Estiot, M. Amandry, M. Bompaire: *Le trésor de Sainte-Pallaye...*, pp. 91—94.

¹⁷ The numismatic evidence from the coin hoards: Normanby, Blackmoor, Thibouville, Reichenstein, Nieder-Rentgen, Sainte-Pallaye, Lochhausen, Maravielle, La Venèra,

Also, a preliminary comparison may be drawn between the ideas propagated on Florian's coinage with those promoted on the silver types of Quintillus and Tacitus — other short-reigning rulers, whose reigns fell on the same period in the Empire history. Here, the research material comprises 1,713 *antoniniani* of the former and 3,568 *aureliani* of the latter.¹⁸ In the total number of 46,974 silver coins Florian's issues make up a small sub-group (which is surely due to a mere two-months' period of his reign¹⁹), yet numerous enough to carry out a quantitative analysis of the contents promoted in his coinage.

Sirmium, Svetozarevo, Pleven, Ig, Komin, Rjaževo, Çanakkale, "P" and "B," "Syrian antoniniani hoard" — W. Vischer: *Der Münzfund...*, pp. 29—33; H. v. Hammerstein, K. Wichmann, G. Wolfram: *Der Münzfund...*, pp. 18—23; N.A. Mouchmov: *Tajnite znaci...*, pp. 172—173, 206—209; Idem: *Nahodka na rimski moneti...*, pp. 174—199; Z. Barcsay-Amant: *The Hoard of Komin...*; *Die Fundmünzen der römischen Zeit in Deutschland...*, p. 168; P. Bastien, H.-G. Pflaum: "La trouvaille des monnaies romaines de Thibouville (Eure)." *Gallia* 1961, vol. 19, pp. 87—95; C. Brenot, H.-G. Pflaum: *Les émissions orientales...*, p. 138, 157—158; H.-G. Pflaum, P. Bastien: *La trouvaille de Çanakkale...*, pp. 63—108; P. Bastien, H. Huvelin: *Trésor d'antoniniani en Syrie...*, pp. 256—257; W. Kellner: *Ein römischer Münzfund...*, p. 19; R. Bland: *The Blackmoor Hoard...*, pp. 26—31; R. Bland, A. Burnett: *Normanby...*, pp. 177—186; S. Estiot: *Le trésor de Maravielle...*, pp. 71—72; N.A. Crnobrnja: *Ostava rimskog novca...*, p. 16; P. Kos: *Ig...*, pp. 89—96; S. Estiot, M. Amandry, M. Bompaire: *Le trésor de Sainte-Pallaye...*, pp. 83—90; J.-B. Giard: *Ripostiglio della Venèra. Vol. 1: Gordiano III — Quintillo. Roma, 1995*, pp. 79—121.

¹⁸ The data were drawn from the listings which comprise the hoards of: Normanby, Blackmoor, Thibouville, Reichenstein, Nieder-Rentgen, Sainte-Pallaye, Lochhausen, Maravielle, La Venèra, Sirmium, Svetozarevo, Pleven, Ig, Komin, Šimanovci, "Balkan hoard," Rjaževo, Çanakkale, "B" — W. Vischer: *Der Münzfund...*, p. 34, 39—40; H. v. Hammerstein, K. Wichmann, G. Wolfram: *Der Münzfund...*, p. 23, 27—28; J. Brunšmid: *Nahodik rimskih bakrenih novaca...*, p. 281; N.A. Mouchmov: *Tajnite znaci...*, pp. 178—211; Idem: *Nahodka na rimski moneti...*, p. 168, 182—183, 197; Z. Barcsay-Amant: *The Hoard of Komin...*; *Die Fundmünzen der römischen Zeit in Deutschland...*, p. 168, 173; P. Bastien, H.-G. Pflaum: *La trouvaille...* (1961), pp. 96—97, Idem: *La trouvaille...* (1962), pp. 261—264; C. Brenot, H.-G. Pflaum: *Les émissions orientales...*, pp. 161—163; H.-G. Pflaum, P. Bastien: *La trouvaille de Çanakkale...*, pp. 109—115; W. Kellner: *Ein römischer Münzfund...*, pp. 19, 40—43; R. Bland: *The Blackmoor Hoard...*, pp. 32—33, 37—40; Idem: *A Third Century Hoard...*, pp. 195—197; R. Bland, A. Burnett: *Normanby...*, pp. 187—190; S. Estiot: *Le trésor de Maravielle...*, pp. 88—92; Eadem: *Ripostiglio della Venèra. Vol. 2/2...*, pp. 43—88; N.A. Crnobrnja: *Ostava rimskog novca...*, pp. 32—36; P. Kos: *Ig...*, pp. 96—98; S. Estiot, M. Amandry, M. Bompaire: *Le trésor de Sainte-Pallaye...*, pp. 91, 94—95; J.-B. Giard: *Ripostiglio...*, pp. 121—128.

¹⁹ The chronology of Florian's reign cf. M. Peachin: *Roman Imperial Titulature and Chronology, A.D. 235—284*. Amsterdam, 1990, pp. 46—47: about June—August 276 A.D. Cf. S. Estiot: *L'or...*, pp. 373—374, Fig. 4: data concerning the manufacture of silver coinage: decrease in the manufacture after Aurelian's reform of 274 A.D., spectacular growth during Tacitus' reign and a fall during Florian's reign.

All the mints striking coins in Florian's name are represented in the examined collection — the mint workshops in Rome, Lugdunum, Ticinum, Siscia, Serdica and Cyzicus (cf. Table 1). The other mints — those in Antiochia, Tripolis, Alexandria — produced coins for Florian's rival Probus, immediately after Tacitus' death. It is to Probus that the lands of the Empire, southward of the Taurus Mountains were subordinated, which naturally resulted in his taking control over the three eastern mints mentioned above.

Table 1

Percentage of coin production (Florian's silver coinage)							
Hoards	Mints	Lugdunum	Rome	Ticinum	Siscia	Serdica	Cyzicus
Blackmoor*		60	20	—	10	—	10
Thibouville*		36.4	27.2	36.4	—	—	—
Nieder-Rentgen		27	54	2.7	13.5	2.7	7.3
Sainte-Pallaye*		75	12.5	—	—	12.5	—
Lochhausen*		—	72.7	9.1	—	9.1	9.1
Maravielle		12.1	54.5	9.1	18.2	—	6.1
La Venèra		6.1	35.2	7.4	41.6	4	5.7
Sirmium*		—	5	—	52.5	25	17.5
Svetozarevo		—	4.2	2.1	8.3	29.2	56.2
Pleven		—	—	—	6.5	10.9	82.6

* The author's own calculations.

Source: S. Estiot: *Monnaies de l'Empire romain: XII, 1. D'Aurélien à Florian (270–276 après J.-C.)*. Paris, 2004, p. 51.

Florian's imperial coinage offers the material relatively unvaried in terms of monetary types and variants. His coins, that can be found in the researched treasures, match 27 types distinguished by reverse legends which carry different meanings. Drawing on these legends particular monetary types may be assigned to a number of thematic categories.

We can distinguish the following categories: 1) "emperor" i.e. the representations which denote the emperor's actions (e.g. *adventus*, *reditus*), sum up his achievements by bestowing a suitable epithet upon him (e.g. *restitutor*, *reditus*); 2) "*virtutes Augusti*" i.e. the moral, civic and military qualities related to the person of the emperor or the concepts of wealth, abundance, felicity, eternity, success; 3) "*saeculum aureum*" i.e. the references to the *prosperity* of the Roman state; 4) "gods" i.e. the reverses whose legends directly name the Roman gods and divinities or indicate the relations between the emperor and the gods; 5) "military motifs" i.e. the images focused on the relation between the emperor and the army or the appeals addressed to the

militaries (eg. *fides militum*); 6) “the geographical motifs” i.e. the references to Rome and other geographical constituent elements of the Roman state, and also using such notions as *orbis* and *oriens*.²⁰ Such a scheme of thematic categories in Florian’s coinage covers all the coin types represented in the researched treasures. There remains however a narrow group of monetary types absent from the said treasures and although they do not add much to the overall imagery featured in Florian’s coinage yet the fact of issuing them causes that, theoretically, categorizing the coinage of this ruler, like in the case of other emperors, should also include the category of “*victoria*” or exhibiting victory as such or as won over a definite opponent.²¹ Thus the model should comprise at least 7 thematic categories.²²

Such a classification of monetary images obviously entails a considerable simplification of the typology of the imperial coinage and the concepts it promoted. Not always is the sense of the representation confined to the implications arising from the reverse legend; sometimes the accompanying iconography may add another meaning to the primary association and then the coin promoting such additional idea should be put into more than one category. For instance, if the idea *virtus Augusti* has been illustrated by the figures of an emperor and a god, such coins can be put both into the category of “*virtutes Augusti*” and the one of “gods.” Also the message conveyed through some legends may also be assigned to more than one category. As an example, the themes of *restitutor exerciti* and *restitutor Illurici* that appear in the 70s of the 3rd century are not univocal: they may fall both into the category “emperor,” as they *explicitely* indicate the role of an emperor, and to the category “military motifs” (as in the case of the first theme) as well as to the category “geographical motifs” (as in the case of the second theme), depending on whether the activity takes place within a military sphere or within a geographical one, materialized under the name of *Illyricum*. Placing the emperor’s proper name or a qualifier: *noster* in the reverse legends, a practice encountered in the imperial coinage from the 60s of the 3rd century onwards, aiming to establish a closer link between the exposed person of a ruler and the imperial attributes (e.g.: *providentia Augusti nostri*),

²⁰ The coins of *pacator orbis* type, which are found in the examined treasures, may included here. There is known to be a Florian’s *aureus* promoting the theme of *Romae aeternae* — S. Estiot: *L’or...*, *Fl.*, no. 2.

²¹ There are also Florian’s *aurei* propagating the idea of *victoria Gothica/Ghottica* — S. Estiot: *L’or...*, *Fl.*, no. 9, 18.

²² Cf. The conception put forward by E. Manders’s (*Mapping the representation...*, pp. 284—285, 289—290) of distinguishing 13 thematic categories as: “dynastic representation,” “military representation,” “divine association,” “*saeculum aureum*,” “euergeresia,” “paradigmata,” “*restitutor*-messages,” “elevation,” “non-specific representation,” “virtues,” “*aeternitas*-messages,” “geographical messages,” “*unica*.”

the universal ideas (e.g.: *laetitia Augusti nostri*), and even the geographical notions (e.g.: *Siscia Probi Augusti*), caused that the monetary types created in this way may be put into at least two categories: “*virtutes Augusti*” and “emperor.” Likewise, as an example, the ideas of wealth and felicity included in the category “*virtutes Augusti*” — if they bear the qualifier *Augusti* — may at the same time belong to the category “*saeculum aureum*.” In each of these cases definite monetary types can be assigned to at least two categories.

Consequently, also the methods of calculating the share and establishing the hierarchy of themes in the imperial coinage should be varied. One of the possible ways is to indicate the number of coins in each category, in disregard of the required conformity with the total sum of coins (which entails the “multiplication” of the pieces bearing mottos that belong to more than one category).

After all, to obtain the material for a better comparison, it is possible to leave out this potential polyvalence of the concepts and arbitrarily place each monetary type in one category only. Instead, we obtain a possibility to use fully comparable results which define in the given case Florian’s silver coinage and the silver coinage of several of his predecessors, viewed as a sum (cf. Fig. 1).

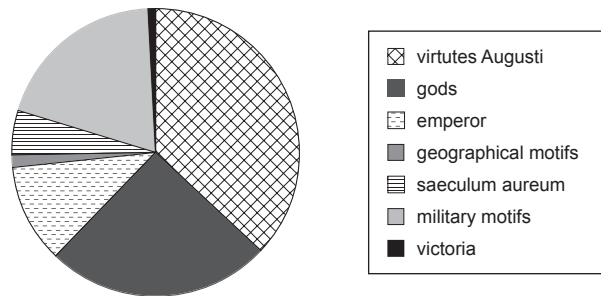


Fig. 1. Silver coins 268—276 — thematic categories

The practice of leaving out the ambiguity of some legends has some advantages as it ensures quite a simple and clear-cut picture of the ideas promoted in the coinage.²³ On the other hand, however, it makes the picture incomplete and therefore to some extent falsified. For that reason it is better to adopt a more flexible approach in research which aims to capture other indicators and regularities and takes into consideration the multi-threaded nature of monetary legends. It is also possible to select a definite category in the whole coinage of a given emperor, in this case Florian’s, and to estab-

²³ One can avoid a lapse that happened to E. Manders (*Mapping the representation...*, p. 285). She achieves namely the total result of 102.1% representations.

lish an additional category (“*varia*”), with changeable contents including, if needed, e.g. the really rare types and/or coins with ambiguous inscriptions (cf. Fig. 2). Or disregarding the required conformity with total sum of coins (which entails the “multiplication” of the pieces bearing legends that belong to more than one category) to state the number of coins for each category. The latter method can help to reveal the similarities and differences between the rank of themes in Florian’s coinage and their hierarchy in the coinage of particular other emperors and show them in the form/as of variable tendencies (cf. Figs. 3—6).

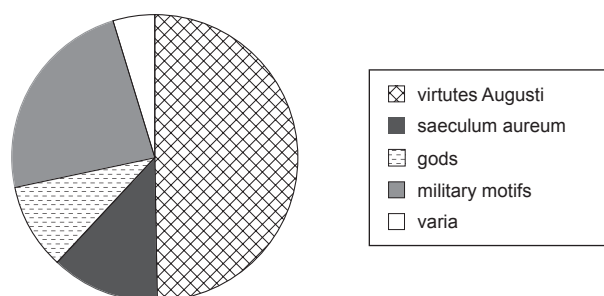


Fig. 2. Florian's silver coins — thematic categories

The comparison of the simplified patterns of the monetary contents (cf. Figs. 1 and 2) reveals the essential differences between the subject matter carried by the silver coins of Florian and the concepts promoted in the coinage of his four predecessors, considered as a whole. The coins, struck with great

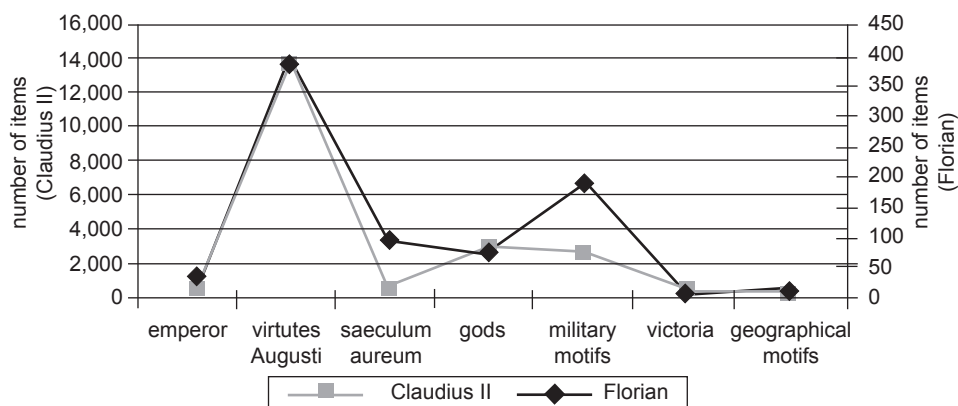


Fig. 3. Silver coinage of Claudius II and Florian — thematic categories

intensity in Florian's name, advertised the imperial virtues, yet the promotion of the ruler's actions and achievements did not reach a comparable level —

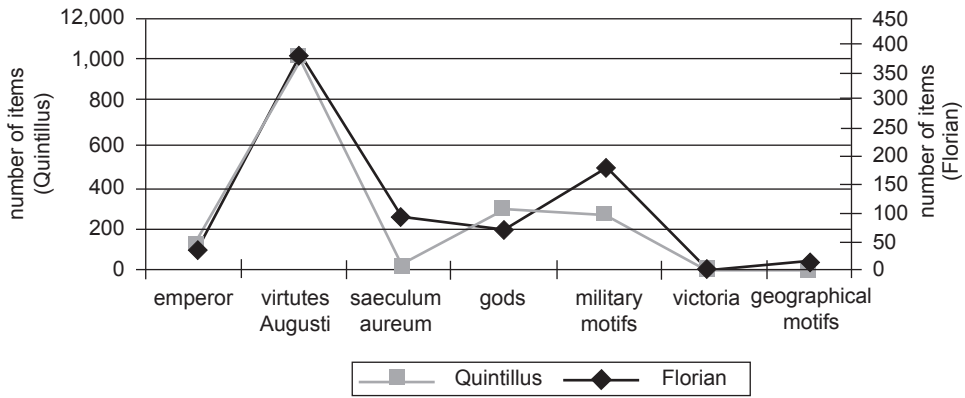


Fig. 4 Silver coinage of Quintillus and Florian — thematic categories

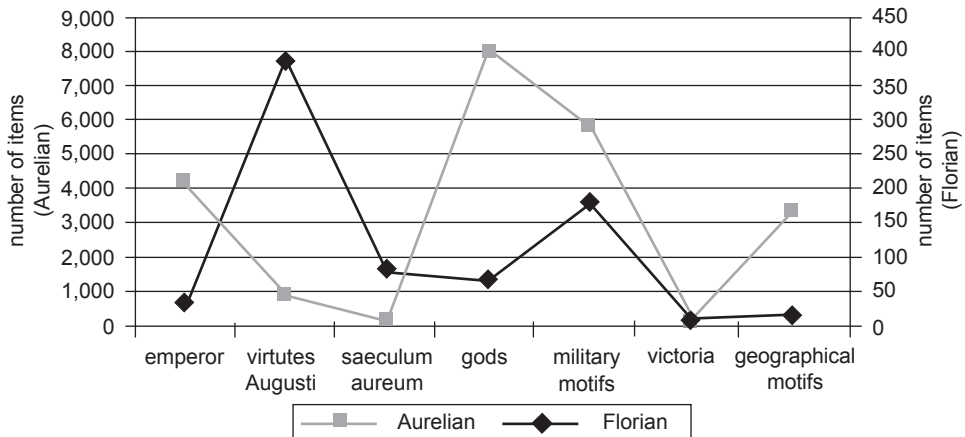


Fig. 5 Silver coinage of Aurelian and Florian — thematic categories

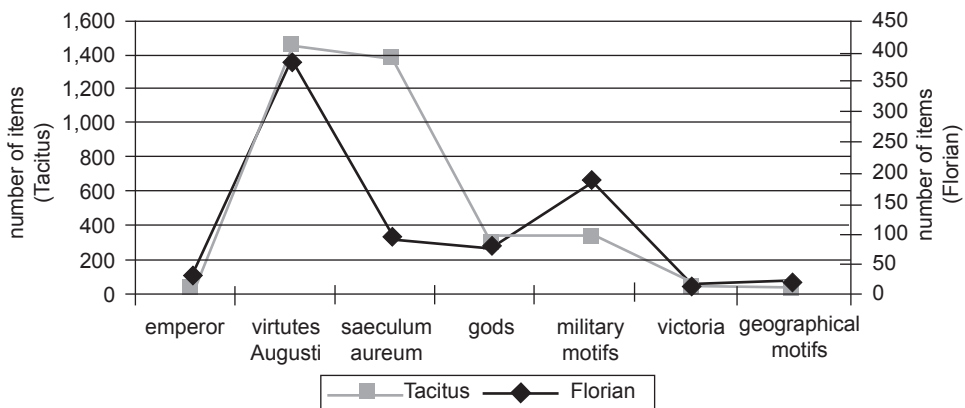


Fig. 6. Silver coinage of Tacitus and Florian — thematic categories

only few coins have been included in “*varia*” category. Little attention was given to the promotion of gods and divinities and to the problems associated with *saeculum aureum*. In general, the coins belonging to the categories “*virtutes Augusti*” and to “the military motifs” predominate in the group of Florian’s silver coins. For the most part, the hierarchy of the themes in Florian’s coinage resembles the one arising from the study of the silver coins issued by his predecessors. This is especially true for the coinage of Claudius II and Quintillus (cf. Figs. 3 and 4). In this context, the *casus* of Aurelian’s coins (cf. Fig. 5) is a specific exception to the rule, although in the case of Tacitus’ issues some differences can also be observed in the way emphasis is laid on certain monetary contents (cf. Fig. 6).

A high position of “*virtutes Augusti*” category in the hierarchy of monetary themes is characteristic for the coinage of the late 60s and early 70s of the 3rd century. The share of particular imperial virtues in the research data of silver coins is different for particular rulers (cf. Table 2).

The percentages reflect the presence of “*virtutes Augusti*” coins in the research numismatic data which vary according to the ruler. In Aurelian’s silver coinage imperial virtues were promoted on as few as mere 5% of reverses.²⁴ On the contrary, in Claudius II’s issues their share exceeded 60% and in the case of Quintillus — approached 60%, whereas in Tacitus’ coinage the value went down to some 42%. Among Florian’s types such coins make up nearly 50% of the silver coinage. The percentages stated in each of these examples differ considerably from the average value cited in the literature on the 3rd century, which is about 17%.²⁵ With reference to Florian, the percentage indicator, which significantly exceeds the said “average,” is the result of a mechanical, topical adoption of traditional concepts in the Roman coinage. From the representations on Florian’s *aureliani* there emerges an almost “canonical” portrait of an emperor, endowed with numerous *virtutes* among which *felicitas Augusti*, *providentia Augusti* and *virtus Augusti* are the most prominent. The concepts of *salus Augusti*, *aequitas Augusti* are not so strongly represented. However, these values — *providentia*, *virtus*, *felicitas*,

²⁴ Cf. A.A. Kluczek: “*Virtus Augusti* dans le monnayage et la propagande de l’empereur Aurélien (270—275 apr. J.-C.)” In: *Haec mihi in animis vestris templa. Studia Classica in Memory of Professor Lesław Morawiecki*. Eds. P. Berdowski, B. Błahaczek. Rzeszów, 2007, pp. 321—334.

²⁵ E. Manders (*Mapping the representation...*, pp. 285—286) gives the percentage of 17.4% for the years 193—284 A.D. Concerning the intensity of promoting the theme of *virtus* in the years 69—235 A.D. cf. C.F. Noreña: *The communication...*, p. 156, Table 3; and in the 3rd century — O. Hekster, E. Manders: “Kaiser gegen Kaiser. Bilder der Macht im 3. Jahrhundert.” In: *Deleto paene imperio Romano. Transformationsprozesse des Römischen Reiches im 3. Jahrhundert und ihre Rezeption in der Neuzeit*. Eds. K.-P. Johne, T. Gerhardt, U. Hartmann. Stuttgart, 2006, pp. 138—142.

Table 2

**“Virtutes Augusti” in silver coinage of Claudius II,
Quintillus, Aurelian, Tacitus and Florian**

“Virtutes Augusti”	Claudius II		Quintillus		Aurelian		Tacitus		Florian	
	number of items	percentage N = 1,3610	number of items	percentage N = 1,012	number of items	percentage N = 987	number of items	percentage N = 1,493	number of items	percentage N = 387
Abundantia	1	<0.01	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Aequitas	1,666	12.2	6	0.5	—	—	299	20.0	38	9.8
Aeternitas	118	0.9	94	9.3	23	2.3	—	—	3	0.8
Annona	1,229	9.03	4	0.4	3	0.3	55	3.7	—	—
Concordia	1	<0.01	120	11.9	81	8.2	—	—	—	—
Felicitas	788	5.8	1	0.1	—	—	35	2.3	125	32.3
Fortuna	7	<0.01	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Fides	6	<0.01	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Genius	675	5.0	1	0.1	—	—	—	—	—	—
Indulgentia	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	3	0.8
Iuventus	15	0.1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Laetitia	624	4.6	110	10.9	18	1.8	46	3.1	1	0.2
Liberalitas	295	2.2	21	2.1	—	—	—	—	—	—
Liber(i)tas	18	0.1	2	0.2	19	1.9	—	—	—	—
Libertas	700	5.1	4	0.4	—	—	1	<0.1	—	—
Pax	842	6.2	93	9.2	135	13.7	144	9.7	3	0.8
Perpetuitas	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	11	2.8
Pietas	—	—	—	—	393	39.9	—	—	—	—
Providentia	1,700	12.5	147	14.5	31	3.1	404	27.1	94	24.3
Pudicitia	3	<0.01	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Salus	572	4.2	—	—	—	—	347	23.2	44	11.4
Securitas	137	1.0	151	14.9	19	1.9	—	—	—	—
Spes	258	1.9	—	—	—	—	3	0.2	—	—
Tranquillitas	—	—	—	—	—	—	2	0.1	—	—
Uberitas	263	1.9	27	2.7	5	0.5	92	6.2	—	—
Victoria	1,658	12.2	137	13.5	181	18.4	33	2.2	—	—
Virtus	2,034	14.9	94	9.3	79	8.0	32	2.2	65	16.8

Source: The author's own calculations.

aequitas, salus — actually fill the frames of Florian's portrait, painted with the focus on the emperor's virtues advertised on as many as 95% of all his coins included in "*virtutes Augusti*" category.²⁶ As a matter of fact, these virtues were commonly employed in the coinage of the late 60s and early 70s of the 3rd century. It turns out that in the numismatic data belonging to "*virtutes Augusti*" category and issued in the name of Florian's four predecessors, on which there appear altogether the names of 24 *virtutes*, the above-mentioned 5 imperial virtues make up 48%.²⁷ In this context, it has to be admitted that Florian's coinage, assigning definite virtues to the catalogue of the emperor's personal *virtutes*, exploited mostly topical ideas. Surprisingly enough, only a very small number of his *aureliani* bear the motif of *pax Augusti*, otherwise popular and — according to statistics — intensively employed in the coinage of other rulers of the same period (cf. Table 2). Apparently, in the researched hoards there are no rare Florian's coins carrying such themes as *victoria Augusti* and *victoriae Augusti*,²⁸ *securitas Augusti*,²⁹ *ubertas Augusti*.³⁰ Two values, however, associated with the emperor — *perpetuitas Augusti* and *virtus Augusti* — were rendered in Florian's gold coinage. There is only a single coin referring to *perpetuitas Augusti* theme whereas 10 *aurei* carry the idea of *virtus Augusti*. It is characteristic that the representations on Florian's coins intensively propagate the emperor's *virtus*.³¹ It is also symptomatic that the *aureliani* from Rome convey the idea of *aequitas Augusti*.³²

²⁶ The group of coins advertising these 5 *virtutes* makes up as much as 47% of all Florian's silver coins under analysis.

²⁷ Also the lists made up by F. Gneccchi (*The Coin-Types of Imperial Rome*. Chicago, 1978, table on the pp. 29—35) show that they belonged to the most popular coin types in the Roman coinage over several centuries of the Empire.

²⁸ The coins from Siscia discussed by S. Estiot: *Monnaies...*, pp. 378—382. Cf. RIC 5/1, *Fl.*, no. 43 (attribution: Rome).

²⁹ RIC 5/1, *Fl.*, no. 53; S. Estiot: *Monnaies...*, p. 316.

³⁰ RIC 5/1, *Fl.*, no. 41; S. Estiot: *Monnaies...*, pp. 314—315.

³¹ Apart from the said denominations — *aurei, aureliani* — also silver *quinarii* and asses were emitted which promoted *virtus Augusti*, RIC 5/1, *Fl.*, no. 50, 55; cf. S. Estiot: *Monnaies...*, p. 69. There are no such coins in the examined treasures. On the other hand *aurei* from Ticinum, promoting *virtus Augusti* inscribed on the reverse, had *virtus Floriani Augusti* on the obverse, S. Estiot: *L'or...*, *Fl.*, no. 6—7; Eadem: *Monnaies...*, pp. 336, 507—509; cf. RIC 5/1, *Fl.*, no. 24 (attribution: Rome). R. Hedlund ("...achieved nothing worthy of memory." *Coinage and authority in the Roman empire c. AD 260—295*. Uppsala, 2008, p. 63) attributes the struck of *virtus Augusti* types to the uncertain political position of Florian — considering the fact that Probus was raised by the army — and therefore with an urgent need to affirm or assert the military capacity of the emperor.

³² RIC 5/1, *Fl.*, no. 25. Cf. bronze medallions from Rome with the representation of *tres Monetae*, F. Gneccchi: *I medaglioni romani*. Milano, 1912 [henceforth: Gn.], 2, *Fl.*, no. 2—3. On S. Estiot's list (*Monnaies...*, p. 314) there are as many as 21 items.

Interestingly enough, *felicitas*, *indulgentia*, *laetitia*, *pax*, *salus*, i.e. the slogans so optimistic in their implication, make up jointly as much as 45% of Florian's *aureliani*, which promoted *virtutes Augusti*. Likewise, in the case of his predecessors' coinage, the thematic subgroup of imperial virtues of *laetitia*, *liber(it)as*, *pax*, *securitas*, *tranquilitas*, *uberitas* constitutes nearly 29%. It has to be assumed, that the longing for a ruler, endowed with *providentia Augusti*, who would advocate and guarantee the prevalence of such values as those symbolized by the said virtues, was a constant thread in the coinage of this part of the 3rd century.

These expectations towards the emperor are complemented by the contents of the coins of "saeculum aureum" category,³³ which promoted the optimistic values of the golden age. The themes of this category, too, are quite frequent in Florian's coinage: among the representations on his coins they constitute above 12% of the examined items, proportionally twice as many as in the coinage of his predecessors all together (cf. Fig. 1). Particular motifs of this thematic current were by no means very popular in the coinage of Florian's predecessors, with the exception of Tacitus's, in which case 39% of his silver coins spread the ideas of *pax*, *salus*, *spes* defined as *publicae* and of the prevalence of *felicitas saeculi*, *felicitas temporum* in the Roman state. This fact may lead to a hypothesis that a high level of intensity in taking up the mottos of this category, which prevailed in Florian's coinage, was a "heritage" of the contents used in the coinage of his immediate predecessor — Tacitus. It is supported by an overview of the legends applied to the coins by the former and the latter ruler. The slogan SECVRITAS SAECVLI³⁴ was the only *novum* in Florian's coinage found in the researched treasures. The 4 ideas, known and popular in Tacitus's coinage, namely *clementia temporum*, *felicitas saeculi*, *felicitas temporum* and *laetitia fundata* make up a substantial part (almost 96%) of this thematic category.³⁵ The remaining motifs of *salus publica*, *securitas seculi*, *securitas perpetua* played a complementary role in the program leading to the restoration of fortune and the prevalence of prosperity (cf. Fig. 7).

When comparing the ways of promoting the emperor, who was perceived either through his deeds, achievements or through a simple demonstration of traditional titles that he held, or viewed from the perspective of *virtutes Augusti*, it has to be stated that although the said virtues occupy plenty of space in the coin iconography, the method indicated first has rarely been applied in Florian's

³³ E. Manders (*Mapping the representation...*, pp. 285—286) determines the value of 19.2% for the period 193—284 A.D.

³⁴ The coins from Siscia — RIC 5/1, *Fl.*, no. 105; S. Estiot: *Monnaies...*, p. 378. Cf. RIC 5/1, *Fl.*, no. 95 (attribution: Ticinum).

³⁵ In Tacitus's coinage the said 4 concepts were promoted on over 63% silver coins of "saeculum aureum" type. At the same time these coins constitute almost 25% of Tacitus's coinage in the examined treasures.

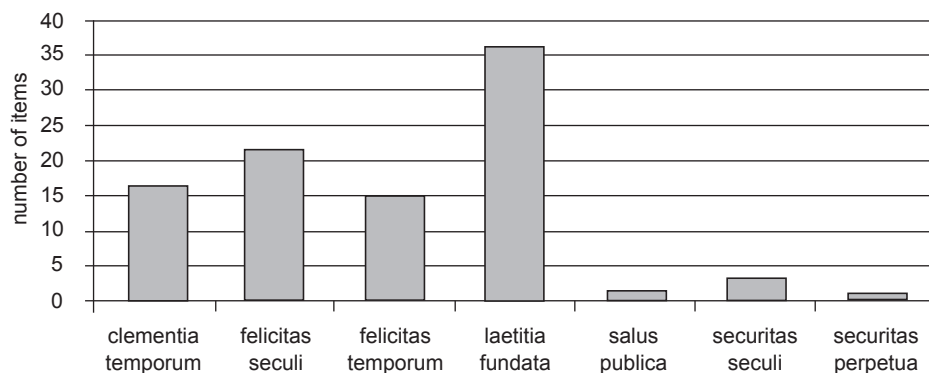


Fig. 7. “*Saeculum aureum*” in representations on Florian’s silver coins — typology

coinage. It is striking, especially when compared to Aurelian, in whose coinage about 21% of silver coins were intended to directly promote the emperor. They described the ruler by such epithets as: *restitutor orbis*, *pacator orbis*, *restitutor orientis*, *restitutor saeculi* and commented various aspects of his presence in Imperium Romanum e.g. *adventus Augusti*, *princeps inventutis* and *fortuna redux*. Only 3 themes have remained from this rich program underlying the representations on Florian’s coins and these are *pacator orbis*, *princeps iuventutis* and *fortuna redux* (cf. Fig. 8).

The *antoniniani* in “the emperor” category make up less than 5% of the body of Florian’s silver coins. This result is comparable with the findings made in the case of Claudius’ II and Quintillus’ coinage.³⁶ The group of coins related to Florian may, to a limited extent, be complemented by the *aureliani* of REDITVS AVG type,³⁷ which, however, are not represented in the analysed hoards. On the other hand, the *aureliani* carrying the idea of *pacator orbis* in their reverse legends present Sol in their iconography. Then there arises a legitimate question whether the epithet applied to this image refers to the solar god or to the emperor himself. This is an example of the said ambiguity of the coin representations that allows to include the type to “emperor” category —

³⁶ The category “emperor” makes up ca. 4% of the whole “collection” of Claudius II’s coins and ca. 7% of Quintillus’ coinage. From the “collection” of Tacitus’s coins only 3 items of *restitutor orbis* type and (possibly) 38 coins of *conservator militum* type may be included in that category. Still, in the imperial coinage there was a very strong tendency to emphasize the place and role of the emperor in the life of the state. On the coins of various types the ruler was depicted through his multiplied roles and functions of a citizen, consul, chief and warrior, founder of a dynasty, gods’ charge and collaborator, conqueror, guarantor of prosperity for the Empire. Cf. e.g. C. King: “Roman portraiture: images of power.” In: *Roman Coins and Public Life under the Empire. E. Togo Salmon Papers II*. Eds. G.M. Paul, M. Ierardi. Ann Arbor, 1999, pp. 127–131.

³⁷ The coins from Siscia — S. Estiot: *Monnaies...*, pp. 382–383. Cf. RIC 5/1, *Fl.*, no. 90–91 (attribution: Ticinum).

which is being done here — and to “gods” category and also, due to a more specific definition of *orbis*, to the category “the geographical motifs.”³⁸ Still, irrespective of this complementation, the fact remains that the presence of the ruler is only very slightly marked in the reverse representations on Florian’s coins. Taking up the theme of *restitutor saeculi vota decennialia* on a bronze medallion, known to be a single sample of its kind,³⁹ is spectacular in that field and enriching the category.

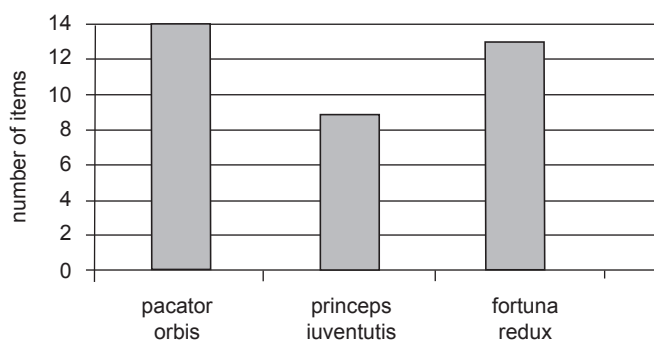


Fig. 8. “Emperor” in representations on Florian’s silver coins — typology

The category of “gods” did not occupy much space in Florian’s silver coinage, either. The themes that can be directly assigned to it, if we let ourselves be led by the contents of the reverse legend only, which gives the name of the god and defines the relations between the emperor and the gods, can be found on the reverses of nearly 10% of *aureliani*. On the whole, it is not much. By comparison, in his predecessors’ coinage, considered globally, over 25% of coin items conveyed such concepts (cf. Fig. 1).⁴⁰ Among Florian’s predecessors it is

³⁸ In the simplified classification of the representations in Florian’s coinage I assigned that type to the category “emperor,” motivated by the fact that in the 70s of the 3rd century the assimilation of the Roman emperor with the gods is already advanced. He is portrayed like a god, bestowed with the epithets once belonging to the gods. He is, therefore, e.g. *pacator orbis*, like Jupiter, Hercules, Sol and *rector orbis*, like Jupiter. Cf. A.A. Kluczek: “Roman Emperor as the World Ruler, A.D. 235—284.” *Eos* 2008, 95, fasc. 1, pp. 85—87; Eadem: *VNDIQVE VICTORES...*, pp. 331—334.

³⁹ Gn. 2, *Fl.*, no. 4; H. Cohen: *Description historique des monnaies frappées sous l’Empire Romain communément appelées médailles impériales. Réimpression de l’édition originale augmentée d’une introduction et d’une mise à jour de G. Depeyrot*. Paris, 1995 [henceforth: Cohen], vol. 6, *Fl.*, no. 81. Cf. A.A. Kluczek: “Władca świata. (Auto)portret cesarza rzymskiego w II i III wieku.” *Przegląd Nauk Historycznych* 2007, 6/1—2, pp. 81—85.

⁴⁰ E. Manders (*Mapping the representation...*, pp. 285—286) defines the share of the coins of “divine association” category in the years 193—284 as 21.8%; C.F. Noreña (*The communication...*, p. 155, Table 2) defines that the occurrence of “gods, goddess-

only in the case of Tacitus that the percent defining the presence of the coins of “the gods” category in treasures is lower.⁴¹

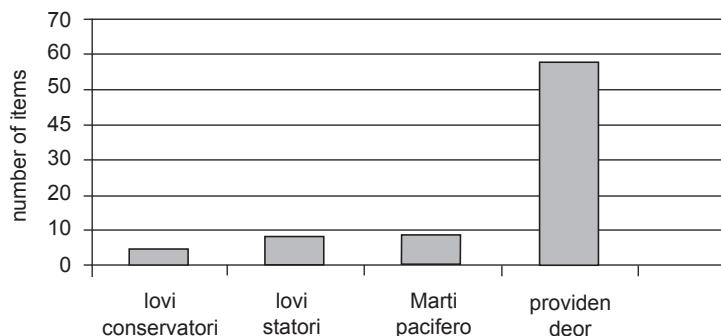


Fig. 9. “Gods” in Florian’s silver coinage — typology

Three gods appeared in Florian’s coinage: Jupiter, Sol and Mars (cf. Fig. 1). The name of Jupiter, endowed with the epithets *conservator* or *stator*, is featured on about 14% of the silver coins assigned to “the gods” category. Accordingly, Mars the *pacifer* is shown on about 9% of the reverses. Other coins of this thematic group (over 76%) promote the theme of *providentia deorum*. Against the background of this modest representation of the gods in Florian’s silver coinage, the iconography on his gold coins stands out. There is an *aureus* from Rome carrying the inscription *Iovi victori*.⁴² More gold coins, however, i.e. ca. 39% of all gold coins spread the idea of *conservator Augusti*. It is Sol who becomes the ruler’s protector as is evidenced by the imagery on these *aurei*. A characteristic figure of this god appears in the iconography of Florian’s coins of PROVIDEN DEOR⁴³ and CONSERVATOR AVG⁴⁴ types, yet it is significant that the name Sol does not appear as an individual theme of the reverse inscriptions. It has to be remarked here, that the coins conveying the themes of *Soli conservatori*, *Soli invicto* as well as *Oriens Augusti* in Aurelian’s gold and silver coinage constitute 55% of the numismatic data conveying directly (in their reverse legends)

es and minor deities” in the representations on *denarii* in the years 69—235 A.D. as amounting to 29%.

⁴¹ In Tacitus’s coinage the percentage reaches 8.5%, in Claudius II’s — almost 15%, in Quintillus’ — above 17%, and in Aurelian’s coinage it makes up ca. 41%.

⁴² S. Estiot: *L’or..., Fl.*, no. 1. Cohen 6, *Fl.*, no. 42; RIC 5/1, *Fl.*, no. 20 — mention also *aurei* of *Marti victori* type, these items do not appear in S. Estiot’s accounts.

⁴³ *Aureliani* from Siscia and Serdica — S. Estiot: *Monnaies...*, pp. 378—379, 408—409; cf. RIC 5/1, *Fl.*, no. 110—113.

⁴⁴ *Aurei* from Cyzicus — S. Estiot: *L’or..., Fl.*, no. 10—17; Cf. Eadem: *Monnaies...*, p. 429; RIC 5/1, *Fl.*, no. 17—18 (attribution: Rome), 114—115.

religious themes, that is belonging to “gods” category.⁴⁵ In Florian’s coinage we can observe a definite withdrawal from that practice, like in the times of Tacitus.⁴⁶

Similarly, little space in the representations on the coins struck in Florian’s name was dedicated to the concept of *victoria*. Although, silver coins on whose reverses the themes of *victoria* interweaved with the epithet denoting an eternal character of the victory i.e. *victoria perpetua Augusti*,⁴⁷ were struck for him, there are no such items in the researched treasures. I have already mentioned that also the coins carrying the slogan *victoria Augusti* are lacking. These are, it seems, the premises on which to formulate a supposition that a broadly comprehended idea of *victoria* was, by no means mechanically reproduced in the iconography of the coinage in the 3rd century. The remark refers both to the motif of *victoria* associated with a victory over a definite opponent, as well as the one which carries a more universal, even “eternal” meaning and which is an imperial virtue. The group of representations in that thematic category is complemented by the concepts of *victoria Gotthica*⁴⁸ and *victoria perpetua*,⁴⁹ propagated on Florian’s *aurei*. The denomination and the rare occurrence of such mottos⁵⁰ provide additional evidence that in the 70s of 3rd century the motif of *victoria*, a topical concept in the Roman coinage, was not persistently promoted. Quite the opposite: it was relatively rare — coming out occasionally, in special denominations or small issues.

The application of the military themes in the coin representations was a natural phenomenon in the 3rd century.⁵¹ In the case of Florian “the military motifs” category covered over 23% of the examined silver types. The result does not considerably differ from the average result for the coinage of his predecessors — the statistics made on the basis of the researched treasures show, that the coins from that category made up ca. 20% of silver coinage

⁴⁵ Cf. A.A. Kluczek: “Empereur romain et dieux. Sources numismatiques et investiture divine d’Aurélien (270—275).” In: *Historie. Historica* no. 13. Ed. M. Myška. Ostrava, 2006, pp. 9—26.

⁴⁶ Cf. W. Kaczanowicz: *Aspekty ideologiczne w rzymskim mennictwie...*, pp. 99—100.

⁴⁷ Coins from Serdica — S. Estiot: *Monnaies...*, pp. 408—409.

⁴⁸ Coins from Cyzicus and Serdica — S. Estiot: *L’or..., Fl.*, no. 9, 18; Eadem: *Monnaies...*, p. 408, 429.

⁴⁹ Coins from Ticinum — S. Estiot: *L’or..., Fl.*, no. 4—5; Eadem: *Monnaies...*, p. 336. Cf. RIC 5/1, *Fl.*, no. 23, 42 (mint: Rome, apart from *aurei* there also *antoniniani* are mentioned).

⁵⁰ There are no such coins in the analysed treasures. In his accounts S. Estiot (*Monnaies...*, pp. 336, 408, 429) enumerates only 2 items of each of the 2 types.

⁵¹ Cf. W. Kaczanowicz: *Aspekty ideologiczne w rzymskim mennictwie...*, pp. 47—48, 66—67, 80—81, 88—89, 95, 110, 117—118; R. Hedlund: “...achieved nothing worthy of memory...,” pp. 98—100.

(cf. Fig. 1).⁵² Yet, if we consider the high intensity of striking of coins in that category of Aurelian's coinage (ca. 29%)⁵³ and at the same time low intensity in Tacitus's coinage (almost 10%), then in that context the high result for Florian's coinage allows a supposition that the contents addressed directly to the militaries went beyond a mechanical reproduction of the solutions elaborated earlier.⁵⁴ Besides, only 3 motifs from the numerous concepts functioning in the tradition were employed on Florian's *aureliani* (cf. Table 3). The coins of *concordia militum* type make the better part of this thematic category (over 80%). The remaining motifs — *fides militum* and *concordia exercituum* (? , *exercitus?*) — played a complementary role.

Table 3

**“Military motifs” in silver coinage (*antoniniani/aureliani*)
of Quintillus, Aurelian, Tacitus and Florian**

Emperors List of reverse types	Claudius II		Quintillus		Aurelian		Tacitus		Florian	
	number of items	percentage N = 2,762	number of items	percentage N = 259	number of items	percentage N = 5,606	number of items	percentage N = 329	number of items	percentage N = 184
CONCORDIA EXERCIT	14	0.5	58	22.4	10	0.2	—	—	7	3.8
CONCORDIA LEGI	—	—	—	—	76	1.4	—	—	—	—
CONCORDIA MILITVM	—	—	—	—	3,814	68.0	102	31.0	150	81.5
CONSERVAT MILIT	—	—	—	—	—	—	38	11.6	—	—
FIDES EXERCITI	1,294	46.9	4	1.5	7	0.1	—	—	—	—
FIDES MILITVM	407	14.7	197	76.1	206	3.7	189	57.4	27	14.7
GENIVS EXERCITI	1,037	37.5	—	—	112	2	—	—	—	—
GENIVS ILLVR	—	—	—	—	90	1.6	—	—	—	—
PAX EXERC	9	0.3	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
PROVID EXERCI	1	<0.01	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—

⁵² E. Manders (*Mapping the representation...*, pp. 285—286), defines the presence of “military representation” in the coinage of the years 193—284 A.D. with 22.5%.

⁵³ Cf. A.A. Kluczek: “Cesarz rzymski Aurelian jako *paedagogus militum*.” In: *Wieki Stare i Nowe* Vol. 1 (6). Ed. I. Panic, M.W. Wanatowicz. Katowice, 2009, pp. 73—99.

⁵⁴ Cf. A.A. Kluczek: “*Vue d’Asie mineure*” sur les problèmes de la Crise du III^e siècle dans l’Empire romain (in press).

Table 3

Reverse legends by motif	Claudius II		Quintillus		Aurelian		Tacitus		Florian	
	number of items	percentage N = 2,762	number of items	percentage N = 259	number of items	percentage N = 5,606	number of items	percentage N = 329	number of items	percentage N = 184
RESTITVTOR EXERCITI	—	—	—	—	168	3	—	—	—	—
VIRTVS MILITVM	—	—	—	—	1,123	20.0	—	—	—	—

Source: The author's own calculations.

In light of the presented data, indicating a measurable occurrence of different categories of concepts in Florian's coinage which and in comparison to the representations in the coinage of other rulers in the years 268—276, his coinage appears in general "statistically average." The hierarchy and the share of particular categories in Florian's coinage are not a true copy of the pattern emerging from the coinage of his predecessors considered as a whole, though they largely resemble it. There are a few deviations, which can be explained by the fact of deriving ideas from the heritage of his immediate predecessors. No doubt the clear-cut program and individualization of the representations in their coinage influenced the ideological contents employed in Florian's name. This interdependence may explain, at least partially, the occurrence of differences between the general picture of the coinage of the end of the 60s and first half of the 70s of the 3rd century and the detailed picture of the representations featured on Florian's coins.

We may treat this hardly original example of Florian's coinage as a kind of a negative of the contents and ways of their articulation in the legends and iconography, which can be defined as variable, original, resulting not so much from the application of the existing models as from the exploration leading to the modification and creation of new representations, which may be interesting for further inquiry into the intensity of promoting thematic concepts in the coinage of the 3rd century. Identifying the scheme of the themes employed in Florian's coinage has also a positive aspect: their "averageness" entitles to the conclusions about the expectations of the anonymous "general public" towards the ruler, basic problems confronting the Empire, more extensively — about the mentality of the state of the 3rd century. Not only do the coin representations mirror the program (or rather: programs) of the emperors and their actions but also the contents featured on the imperial coins may be examined as "consensus" transmitters⁵⁵ or as a reflection of widespread trends — such a postulate seems all the more justified in the case of an ephemeral and untrustwor-

⁵⁵ Cf. P. Veyne: *L'empire gréco-romain*. Paris, 2005, pp. 399—406.

thy government. The calculations carried out in the present article show that the representations featured on the coins produced in Florian's name reflect all conventional dreams about a ruler endowed with *virtus* and ensuring the prevalence of prosperity in the Roman state. A strong dependence of the ruler on the army, in turn, leads to the issuance of the coins belonging to category of "military motifs."⁵⁶

⁵⁶ The present article was written in 2009 and published in Polish language version in 2011 so I do not use such sources as the studies of C.F. Noreña: *Imperial Ideals in the Roman West: Representation, Circulation, Power*. Cambridge, 2011; E. Manders: *Coining Images of Power: Patterns in the Representation of Roman Emperors on Imperial Coinage, A.D. 193—284*. Leiden, 2012. They deal with similar issues as the ones discussed in my article.

Agata A. Kluczek

Topical imagery on the coinage of Roman emperor Florian (276 A.D.)

Summary

The key to discuss the subject-matter in Florian's coinage and differentiate the topic in the coinage in the second half of the 3rd century was to take three following steps: 1) determine the typological structure of the coinage of Florian in percentages, based on the analysis of the content of the monetary treasures, 2) attach the monetary types to broader thematic categories, 3) compare the hierarchy of the thematic categories and monetary types in the coinage of Florian and others emperors governing in the years 268—276 A.D. The basis for the analysis constituted the material covering 778 silver Florian's coins coming from 11 big monetary hoards. A collection of 28 gold Florian's coins, as well as his single medallions was the completion allowing for making conclusions precise. The material for retrospection and comparison constituted 46,186 silver coins minted in the times of Claudius II, Quintillus, Aurelian, and Tacitus. A comparative analysis of topics dealt with in Florian's coinage and that of his predecessors proves that the coin-images made on behalf of Florian were reflected above all in conventional dreams on the ruler equipped with *virtus* and guaranteeing the prosperity in the empire. Moreover, the coins messages present a strong dependence of the emperor on the army.

Agata A. Kluczek

Topische Veranschaulichungssphäre im Münzwesen des römischen Kaisers, Florian (276)

Zusammenfassung

In ihrem Artikel hat die Verfasserin die im Münzwesen des Florians dargestellten Inhalte besprochen und die im Münzwesen der 2. Hälfte des 3. Jhs enthaltenen topischen Elemente unterschieden. Sie ergriff folgende Maßnahmen: die Bestimmung von der prozentualen typologischen Struktur der Ausgabe von den im Florians Namen regelmäßig in Umlauf bringenden Münzen, die Zuordnung von den einzelnen Währungstypen zu thematischen Kategorien, der Vergleich von den Hierarchien der einzelnen thematischen Kategorien in Florians Münzwesen mit dem von seinen in den Jahren 268—276 herrschenden Vorgängern.

Die Grundlage für genannte Untersuchungen waren: 778 silberne aus 11 großen Schätzen stammenden Florians Münzen, 28 goldene Florians Münzen und Medaillons des Herrschers. Der Stoff für den Rückblick und Vergleich bildeten auch 46186 unter der Regierung von Claudius II, Quintillus, Aurelian und Tacitus ausgegebene silberne Münzen. Aus der Vergleichsanalyse geht hervor, dass die an den Münzen angebrachten Bilder vor allem die konventionellen Wünsche von einem tapferen, das Wohlergehen des Imperiums gewährleistenden Herrscher und eine starke Abhängigkeit des Kaisers von der Armee widerspiegeln.

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The formation of Racibórz and Opole duchies Comments on problem of the first division of Silesia in the second half of 12th century

Mieszko the Old's charter from 1177 from Gniezno, contains the oldest account on the title of duke for Mieszko Tanglefoot.¹ It lists duke Bolesław the Tall, Kazimierz the Just and younger duke Mieszko (*Misico iunior dux*) and Lestek (Bolesław the Curly's son). That "younger duke" is undoubtedly Mieszko Tanglefoot.² The chapter confirms that he possessed his own duchy. The name of the duchy is noted in *Rocznik kapitulny krakowski*, in obituary note under the year 1211: "Mesco dux Ratibor obit."³ Chronology and circumstances of marking off Racibórz duchy, the first regional duchy

¹ *Codex diplomaticus nec non epistolaris Silesiae* (further cited as KDS). Vol. 1 Ed. K. Maleczyński, A. Skowrońska. Wrocław, 1956—1964, no. 59. The same chapter is published in *Schlesisches Urkundenbuch* (further cited as SU). Vol. 1. Ed. A. Appelt. Wien—Köln—Graz, 1971, no. 497. In this paper I use Mieszko's traditional nickname "Tanglefoot," but cf. J. Bieniak: "Powstanie księstwa opolsko-raciborskiego jako wyraz przekształcenia się Polski w dzielnicową poliarchię." In: *Sacra Silentii provincia. 800 lat dziedzicznego księstwa opolskiego (1202—2002)*. Ed. A. Pobóg-Lenartowicz. Opole, 2003, p. 45, who argues that the nickname was attributed to Conrad not Mieszko.

² M. Przybył: *Mieszko III Stary*. Poznań, 2002, p. 75, 89. K. Jasiński (*Rodowód Piastów śląskich*. Vol. 1. Wrocław, 1973, pp. 50—52) dated his birth on period between 1132 and 1146; M. Przybył (*Władysław Laskonogi książę wielkopolski 1202—1231*. Poznań, 1998, p. 99) dates it to 1146; recently N. Mika (*Mieszko, syn Władysława II Wygnańca, książę raciborski i pan Krakowa — dzielnicowy władca Polski*. Racibórz, 2006, pp. 36—43) takes 1131 as date of his birth, similarly to M. Dworsatcek: *Władysław II Wygnaniec*. Wrocław, 1998, p. 30.

³ *Najdawniejsze roczniki krakowskie i kalendarz*. Ed. Z. Kozłowska-Budkowa. In: *Monumenta Poloniae Historica. Series Nova* (further cited as MPH SN). Vol. 5. Warszawa 1978, p. 71.

in Silesia, are differently seen by scholars.⁴ Similarly, the fact of existence of Opole duchy connected with Jarosław, is hardly recorded in sources, thus interpreted different ways.⁵ The only, relatively early record, that confirms Jarosław's possession of Opole duchy comes from period directly after his death. Jarosław's stepbrother, Henry the Bearded confirmed in 1202 grant of settlement called "Jarosław" for Cisterians in Pforta. The grant was made by "recordacionis Jarozlaus Wratislaviensis episcopus tunc dominus de Opol," that was confirmed by both father — Bolesław the Tall, and Henry.⁶ Authentic chapter confirms existence of Opole duchy, under Jarosław's reign, and that he was independent ruler, as the grant is confirmed by both dukes, Bolesław and Henry.⁷ Mieszko ended up creation of his duchy by incorporation of Opole duchy. Scholars' views on circumstances of this process, have been recently questioned.⁸

Available sources let one date Bolesław the Tall's return to Silesia to 1163. German *Cronicon Montis Sereni* records that then "Poloni filium ducis sui receperunt, curia eis ab imperatore indicta."⁹ *Rocznik lubiński* notes under 1163 that "Boleslaus filius Wlodislay a patruis reducitur in Zlesiam."¹⁰ This fact is noted in annals from the Lesser Poland as well. There is additional

⁴ See B. Zientara: *Bolesław Wysoki, tułacz, repatriant, malkontent*. Introduction by A. Jureczko. Kraków, 2008; J. Bieniak: "Polska elita polityczna XII wieku. Part 1: Tło działalności." In: *Spółczesność Polski średniowiecznej*. Ed. S.K. Kuczyński. Vol. 2. Warszawa, 1982, pp. 29—61; J. Rajman: "Mieszko Płatonogi, pierwszy książę raciborsko-opolski (1173—1202)." *Kwartalnik Historyczny* 1996, vol. 1, pp. 23—41; Idem: "Utrata władzy przez książąt wrocławskich nad ziemią raciborską i opolską na przełomie XII i XIII wieku." *Studia Historyczne* 1998, no. 3, pp. 325—340; J. Bieniak: "Powstanie księstwa..." pp. 37—82; J. Rajman: *Książę Mieszko Płatonogi jako twórca księstwa opolskiego*. In: *Sacra Silentii Provincia...*, pp. 83—91; N. Mika: *Mieszko...*, pp. 75—78.

⁵ A. Barciak: "Jarosław-Kazimierz, pierwsza nieudana fundacja cysterska na Górnym Śląsku." *Nasza Przyszłość* 1994, no. 83, pp. 189—201; J. Rajman: "Jarosław/Kazimierz i Woszczyce — pierwsze fundacje cysterskie w księstwie opolsko-raciborskim." *Śląski Kwartalnik Historyczny Sobótka* 1998, no. 1—2, pp. 1—18; W. Königshaus: *Die Zisterzienserabtei Leubus in Schlesien von ihrer Gründung bis zum Ende des 15. Jahrhunderts*. Wiesbaden, 2004, pp. 29—31, 212, 227.

⁶ KDS, Vol. 1. No. 91=SU, Vol. 1, no. 77.

⁷ This grant is also referred to in chapter of Bishop of Wrocław Wawrzyniec from 1218; Jarosław is mentioned there as *dominus*. KDS, Vol. 2, no. 198=SU, Vol. 1, no. 171.

⁸ E. Rymar: "Kiedy Mieszko Płatonogi panował w Krakowie?" *Roczniki Historyczne* 1999, Vol. 65, pp. 7—26. New interpretation presented by J. Bieniak: *Powstanie księstwa...*, p. 73.

⁹ *Chronica S. Petri Erfordensis moderna*. Ed. O. Holder-Egger. In: "Monumenta Germaniae Historica" *Seria Scriptores* (further cited as MGH SS). Vol. 30. Hannover, 1896, p. 152; see B. Zientara: *Bolesław Wysoki...*, p. 46; N. Mika: *Mieszko...*, p. 70.

¹⁰ *Roczniki wielkopolskie*. Ed. B. Kürbis in cooperation with G. Labuda, J. Luciński and R. Walczak. In: MPH SN, Vol. 6. Warszawa, 1962, p. 113.

information that Bolesław was accompanied by his brother Mieszko: “Boleslaus filius Wlodislay a patruis reducitur in Zlesiam cum fratre suo Meschone et eadem terra datur eis in possessionem.”¹¹ It is easy to see that Bolesław the Tall, as elder, is in a forefront. Master Wincenty also contributed to the return of Władysław the Exile’s sons to Silesia in his chronicle. According to him: “elder’s name was Bolesław, younger’s name was Mieszko Tanglefoot, Konrad was the youngest” and that Bolesław the Curly “grants them venerable Silesia.”¹²

There is very recent assumption that Mieszko Tanglefoot is mentioned in contemporary German sources, that describe Frederick Barbarossa’s expedition to Poland in 1172.¹³ Those accounts have been analysed many times so far, still it seems worth looking at them again. *Annales Colonienses maximi* (recorded till 1238) dates emperor’s expedition to 1173. Its account suggests that Frederick engaged large forces “cum maximo exercitu Bawarorum, Suevorum, Francorum, Saxonum.” The emperor entered Poland to restore his nephew in his duchy: “imperator [...] in Poloniam profiscitur pro restituendo nepote suo in ducatum.” The chronicle provides neither nephew’s name nor purpose of imperial intervention. Further account claims that “Poles, as soon as imperial army appeared, brought tribute of 8 thousands pounds of silver and recognized his superiority.”¹⁴ So, the reason of the expedition was to restore the duke, emperor’s *nepos*, to power in *ducatum*. The annal is silent about the name of the duke and details regarding those who offered the emperor money.

¹¹ *Roczniki polskie*. Ed. A. Bielowski. In: MPH SN Vol. 2. Lwów, 1872; *Rocznik Traski i Rocznik krakowski*. In: MPH SN, Vol. 2..., p. 833; *Rocznik Sędziwoja*. In: MPH SN, Vol. 2..., p. 875.

¹² W. Kadłubek: *Kronika polska* (further cited as Wincenty). Ed. B. Kürbis. Wrocław, 1996, p. 169.

¹³ N. Mika: *Mieszko...*, p. 76. He cites *Erfurt chronicon younger* (MGH SS, Vol. 30, Part 1, p. 371), that mentions death of Ludwig, landgrave of Thuringia, who passed away just after the expedition. His death is dated in the same way by *Cologne annals* (MGH SS, Vol. 17, p. 785), and because he died just after the expedition to Poland, it is in fact accurate to date it to 1173. On the expedition in context of Ludwig’s policy, see Frommann: “Landgraf Ludvik III der Fromme von Thüringen (1152—1190).” *Zeitschrift für thüringische Geschichte und Altertumskunde* 1908, Vol. 18, pp. 184—186.

¹⁴ MGH SS, Vol. 17..., p. 786. The same text, as *Chronica regia Coloniensis*, was edited by G. Waitz in: *Scriptores Rerum Germanicarum in usum scholarum*. Hannover, 1880, p. 124; *Rahewini Gesta Friderici I. imperatoris*. Ed. G. Waitz. In: *Scriptores Rerum Germanicarum*. Hannover, 1912, pp. 168—170. It contains detailed account on imperial expedition to Poland in 1157. Unfortunately, the chronicle unfortunately ends in 1160. See M. Smoliński: *Caesar et duces Polinae. Szkice z dziejów stosunków polsko-niemieckich w drugiej połowie XII wieku (1146—1191)*. Gdańsk, 2006, passim. Unfortunately, I did not have a chance to use F. Opperl: *Das Itinerar Kaiser Friedrichs Barbarossas (1152—1190)*. Köln—Graz, 1978.

Chronica S. Petri Erfordensis (covering period 1070—1335) also notes emperor's expedition against Poland, but dates it to 1172.¹⁵ The emperor “ventus vehemens circa nativatem Domini extitit adeo ut plerisque in locis menia non parum leserit.” According to the chronicler, there was a conflict between Poles, that was raised by duke Mieszko: “Apud Polenos simultacio quedam duce Mesichone quodam exentur, unde imperator codunato exercitu eo contendit.” Similarly to *Colonge annals*, he claims, that when the emperor entered Poland, “Qui cum fines Polenorum intraret, predictus Mesich obviam ei veniens dextras peciit et accepit, multatus non parva pecunia.” The narrative underlines that it was Mieszko who started disturbances in Poland in 1172 (“apud Polenos simultacio”). The emperor came to Poland, but the duke paid him the tribute. Undoubtedly, the author meant the stimulator of those disturbances. He however does not refer to necessity of restoration of Frederick's nephew.

Similar account is provided by *Cronica Reinhardsbrunnensis*.¹⁶ Once again, emperor's expedition aimed to get Mieszko under control: “[...] imperator congregation exercitu volens intrare Poloniam super Misiconem ducem eorum.” One learns again that the duke rushed to pay tribute as soon as emperor's army entered into the country: “[...] qui cum fines eorum intraret, more solito arridente sibi fortuna, predictus scilicet Misico obviam sibi veniens dextras petit et accepit, multatus non parva pecunia.” Author claims that Mieszko was duke of Poles, thus he most likely referred to superior duke, it is Mieszko the Old.

Identification of this “duke Mieszko” and, postulated by scholars, connection between emperor's expedition and establishment of separate duchy for Tanglefoot, should be reconsidered. In order to know since when he was a duke, it is important to identify the one who made Bolesław the Tall exile.¹⁷ It is worth consider another problem, rarely touched by scholars. Are we allowed to connect emperor's expeditions with, initiated by Władysław the Exile's sons, “war of castles.”

The mysterious conflict is mentioned by Wincenty. According to him, Bolesław the Curly, reinstalling Władysław's sons in Silesia, “excluded some castles from the grant to secure [his own reign even more].” It was sign of control over nephews. According to Wincenty, exclusion of some of castles “led to numerous miseries and disturbances.” The chronicler mentioned also that Władysław's sons argued with the Curly over conditions they would be

¹⁵ MGH SS, Vol. 30..., Part 1, p. 371.

¹⁶ Ibid., p. 539.

¹⁷ As far as I know, none of scholars, including myself, has noted that if Mieszko, mentioned by *Erfurt chronicle*, is to be identified with Tanglefoot, one has to accept that he, already in 1172, had its own duchy. He is called “duke” there. Zientara, Bieniak and other scholars exclude however such option and claim he did not have Racibórz duty then.

reigning the duchy. Brothers are shown as fighting arm by arm. “Once sons of Władysław entered Silesia, they proclaimed that it had not been granted to them but returned as their rightful heritage.” It refers only to both elder brothers as the youngest Konrad, according to Wincenty, remained in monastery.¹⁸

After some time they managed to take control over castles their uncle had kept before: “[...] they take castles, fortify them and strengthen their crews. Wincenty only very generally defines chronology of these events, saying that it took place “when the duke was busy with more important things.” Then he referred extensively to Bolesław’s doubts whether he should fight against nephews. It is worth stressing that, according to the chronicler, the duke had not reacted immediately: “[...] first, the good duke seemed not to care about it, saying that it doesn’t affect either dignity or advantage of the country...” Then he referred to some mysterious instigators, who tried to make duke fight against nephews. Bolesław succumbed to it and began war “not the one he could afford, but the one he was forced to.” Sons of Władysław, called by the chronicler the “young lions,” were achieving victories “supported by a few significant knights.” Then Wincenty described expedition to Prussia. As it is well known, it ended up with great loss of Bolesław the Curly’s army. The chronicler concluded it with words: “since then war triumphs had omitted both Bolesław and his sons” and referred to the last will of the duke regarding his only son Lestek.

Wincenty’s account lets us distinguish following “facts”: taking over the castles by Władysław’s sons, Bolesław the Curly’s consideration of military reaction on this, war with nephews who appeared to be victorious side, and finally, expedition to Prussia. Only the last of these events can be safely and precisely dated — 1166. It is easy to see that all these events cover the whole 10-year period: for sons of Władysław’s return to Silesia (1163) till Bolesław the Curly’s death (1173).

Scholars use to rely on Wincenty in the case of purpose of the conflict. Differences can be noted regarding chronology of “the war of castles.” Benedykt Zientara relied strongly on this account. He assumed that Bolesław’s expedition to Prussia in 1166 was a good opportunity to take over castles in Silesia. The war however, that sons of Władysław led with relatively small but distinguished unit, was dated by him to 1167 or 1168.¹⁹ It means, he placed Curly’s counterattack after expedition to Prussia. Janusz Bieniak pointed out, that Wincenty is not too precise in his account. Thus he dated the conflict to after 1163.²⁰ Norbert Mika argues that account in *Miracles of St. Henry*, that

¹⁸ Wincenty, pp. 170—171.

¹⁹ B. Zientara: *Bolesław Wysoki...* He was followed by Bieniak and Mika. Dating the war on 1166 was proposed by both Rajman and M. Przybył.

²⁰ J. Bieniak: *Polska elita polityczna...*, p. 54, assumes that it was not conflict over main Silesian castles (Wrocław, Legnica), but some castles, excluded by the senior. Also

refers to gathering in Akwizgran in late 1165, is connected with rebellion against the emperor in Poland and his plans to restore its loyalty. Bolesław the Curly's initiative to take over Silesian castles was treated as a sign of rebellion. Polish embassy, led by bishop of Płock Werner, came to Akwizgran in late December of 1165, but had to wait to have a chance to see the emperor. Finally, "he graciously dealt with their case."²¹ One cannot be sure that it actually refers to "the war of castles."²² Context of Wincenty's account lets us assume, that when the senior let sons of Władysław return to Silesia, he, at the very same time, took control over "castles." It would let one date it to 1163 then 1165. Besides, in 1165, there was much more important issue between Poland and Empire. Both the emperor and his chancellor Rajnald made attempt to gather other rulers around their Church plans. On 29th of December 1165, the gathering in Akwizgran took place. Canonization of Charlemagne was announced there by anti-pop Paschalis III. Bishop Werner's visit there at that time could be treated as Bolesław the Curly's support for Paschalis III. Czesław Deptuła, who studied the problem thoroughly, focuses on those Church issues, although he does not rule out that mention of "emperial yoke taken off" may be an echo of recent conflict of Silesian castles. Deptuła is right when he stresses that stylistics of the account of 1165 events, resembles these of 1157.²³ *Miracles of St. Henry* contain information, that Werner brought rich gifts and was given in turn relics of St. Sigismund and St. Henry. Such prestigious gifts exclude thesis of "war of castles" was a context of this visit. If it was so, Bolesław would be accused of treachery and treaty regarding Bolesław the Tall. Emperor perhaps could forgive him in that case, but such gifts would not be possible. It looks totally different when it comes to emperor's attempts to get Polish support for his papal policy.

So, there were numerous variations on chronology of "the war on castles": after 1163, 1165, 1166 or 1167—1168. Wincenty presented those events very generally — between 1163 and 1173. Suggestion of Gernot von Grawert-May — put in an article on other, wider topic — that Bolesław the Curly was also forced to leave some Silesian castles due to emperor's intervention in 1172, should be seen as a consequence of linking the conflict initiated by

E. Rymar: "Kiedy Mieszko...", p. 18, claimed that it could not be the case of main castles, because it would result with emperor's anger. Different view presents M. Przybył: *Mieszko III Stary...*, p. 67.

²¹ N. Mika: *Mieszko...*, p. 73.

²² *Vita Henrici et Cunegundis*. Ed. G. Waitz. In: MHG SS, Vol. 4, p. 815.

²³ C. Deptuła: "Niektóre aspekty stosunków Polski z cesarstwem w wieku XII." In: *Polska w Europie. Studia historyczne*. Ed. H. Zins. Lublin, 1968, p. 60. Interestingly, A. Gąsiorowski: "Werner" in: *Słownik starożytności słowiańskich*. Vol. 6, Part 2. Ed. W. Kowalenko et al. Wrocław, 1980, pp. 381—382, totaly ignores the problem of "castles."

sons of Władysław with emperor's expedition in 1172.²⁴ One should stress that Wincenty mentions only two "Silesian wars." First was initiated by Bolesław the Curly against sons of Władysław. The second one could be dated, following the chronicler, to 1177. He noted that Mieszko Tanglefoot exiled Bolesław the Tall and rebelled whole Silesia. New duke of Cracow, Kazimierz the Just, had to react to this. Acceptance of von Grawert-May's suggestion reduces "Silesian wars" before 1177 into one and it remains in accordance with Wincenty's account.

It is only *Kronika polska* (Polish Chronicle) of Lubiąż from late 13th century, that links Mieszko Tanglefoot and Jarosław with Bolesław the Tall's exile from Wrocław during Bolesław the Curly's reign, that resulted with emperor's intervention.²⁵ This version was thoroughly analysed by Zientara.²⁶ It was accepted by experts on relations between Poland and Empire,²⁷ those

²⁴ G. Von Grawert-May: "Pozycja Śląska w państwie piastowskim i jego stosunek do Rzeczy w aspekcie państwowoprawnym." In: *Śląsk i Pomorze w historii stosunków polsko-niemieckich w średniowieczu*. Ed. M. Biskup. Poznań, 1987, p. 41; see also G. Von Grawert-May: *Das staatsrechtliche Verhältnis Schlesiens zu Polen, Böhmen und dem Reich während des Mittelalters*. Aalen, 1971.

²⁵ *Kronika polska*. Ed. L. Ćwikliński. In: MPH, Vol. 3. Lwów, 1878, pp. 633, 644—646.

²⁶ B. Zientara: *Bolesław Wysoki...*, p. 62: "Since brothers kept united, their position was strong. Soon however conflicts appeared. First of all, Mieszko Tanglefoot did not want to be a duke without a share in Bolesław the Tall's dominium and started to demand his own land." Author argues also, that "Mieszko Tanglefoot's efforts were not effective until he got support from Jarosław." Zientara followed in this case *Kronika polska*, that refer extensively to Jarosław's hatred towards stepmother — duchess Adelajda. Mieszko and Jarosław managed to expel Bolesław the Tall in 1172. The latter was forced to look for help from emperor Frederick. Author finds account of *Kronika polska* reliable and assumes that Mieszko and Jarosław cooperated with Bolesław the Curly. The grant of Opole duchy for Jarosław should be dated before 1175. Separate grant for Mieszko (Racibórz) should dated the same way. See B. Zientara: *Henryk Brodaty i jego czasy*. Warszawa, 1975, p. 89.

²⁷ J. Hauziński: "Polska a Królestwo Niemieckie w II połowie XII wieku." In: *Niemcy — Polska w średniowieczu. Materiały z konferencji naukowej zorganizowanej przez Instytut Historii UAM w dniach 14—16 XI 1983 r.* Ed. J. Strzelczyk. Poznań, 1986, p. 146, claims that Jarosław, allied with Mieszko Tanglefoot, expelled Bolesław from Silesia around 1171/1172 and caused imperial intervention. He treats account of *Reinfarsbrunn Annals* about Mieszko's negotiations as initiative of Mieszko the Old, who substituted heavily ill Bolesław the Curly. Hauziński claims that entry of imperial army to Poland happened when Mieszko's embassy had already got to Lusatia. Mieszko the Old took an oath of fidelity to emperor, agreed to pay tribute and accept Frederick's will to restore Bolesław in Silesia. This was in accordance with general policy of emperor to keep internal unity of countries in Central Europe. According to M. Smoliński: *Caesar et duces Poloniae...*, p. 151, Mieszko Tanglefoot and Jarosław expelled their elder brother being supported by Bolesław the Curly. The latter was forced to agree that Bolesław the Tall will be never expelled again.

who deal with: problem of the first partition of Silesia, policy of dukes of the Great Poland.²⁸ It functions even in the latest publications on Mieszko Tanglefoot.²⁹ It is even present in the latest monograph of Wrocław and in series of popular books.³⁰ German source let us believe, that emperor's nephew was expelled in 1172 by Mieszko the Old. He also, as "duke of Poles" managed to melt down emperor's wrath by paying a tribute. There is no doubt however that he had to agree to Bolesław the Tall's return to Silesia. These accounts point at only one Mieszko and it was Mieszko the Old. This view is also preferred by some scholars.³¹ Without account of *Kronika polska* from late

²⁸ M. Przybył: *Władysław Laskonogi, książę wielkopolski 1202—1231*. Poznań, 1998, p. 33, 68—69 states that "[...] senior of Silesia wanted to keep superior power over the whole region. It was resisted by Tanglefoot, who, together with brother Jarosław, expelled Bolesław from Silesia. This caused Kazimierz the Just's, ally of Bolesław, intervention who gave him back Wrocław duchy (1177) and Mieszko's Racibórz duchy enlarged by Bytom, Siewierz and Oświęcim." It means that Mieszko held Racibórz duchy at that time but Bolesław wanted to remain his overlord. According to Przybył, Mieszko and Jarosław had expelled Bolesław before 1173 but the latter managed to return in 1173 although full restoration was possible in 1177 thanks to Kazimierz's support. Przybył dates the first conflict between sons of Władysław to 1171, caused by "autocratic ambitions of Silesian senior, who wanted to control the whole region." In his opinion, emperor's expedition in 1172 was motivated by "will to remind Polish dukes about their obligations towards emperor, taken in 1162." Mieszko the Old took the oath of fidelity to emperor and had to agree to restore Bolesław in his dominion.

²⁹ J. Bieniak: *Polska elita polityczna XII wieku...*, p. 55 follows Zientara with thesis of cooperation between Mieszko and Bolesław the Curly. E. Rymar: *Kiedy Mieszko...*, p. 18, writes, that Mieszko, fighting against Bolesław wanted access to senior power. See J. Rajman: "Mieszko Płatonogi..."; Idem: "Utrata władzy przez książąt..."; Idem: "Książę Mieszko Płatonogi..."; N. Mika: *Mieszko...*, pp. 75—76. W. Brzeziński: "Pochodzenie Ludmiły, żony Mieszka Płatonogiego." In: *Europa Środkowo-Wschodnia w polityce Piastów*. Ed. K. Zielińska-Melkowska. Toruń, 1997, pp. 213—219, follows K. Jasiński, arguing that Mieszko's marriage with Ludmiła was an effect of his hostile relations with Bolesław the Tall. The marriage is dated to period 1170—1178, and was completed due to Mieszko the Old's effort. Ludmiła was a daughter of Otton III, duke of Moravia and Durantia, a daughter of Mstislav, the grand duke of Kiev.

³⁰ C. Buśko, M. Goliński, M. Kaczmarek, L. Ziątkowski: *Historia Wrocławia. Od pradziejów do końca czasów habsburskich*. Wrocław, 2001, p. 52. According to the authors, Bolesław the Tall was expelled twice, the first time around 1172, his return was possible due to emperor's intervention. Second time, he was expelled by Mieszko Tanglefoot in 1177. P. Mostowik: *Z dziejów Księstwa Oświęcimskiego i Zatorskiego XII-XVI w*. Toruń, 2005, p. 36, dates this conflict to before 1172. T. Jurek: "Mieszko Płatonogi." In: *Słownik władców polskich*. Ed. J. Dobosz. Poznań, 1997, pp. 286—287, claims that in 1163 it was Bolesław the Tall, who regained power in whole Silesia. Mieszko demanded separate duchy and Bolesław's reluctance made him rebel together with Jarosław that resulted with expelling Bolesław in 1172. Emperor's intervention caused the latter's restoration.

³¹ See E. Rymar: "Interwencja niemiecka na Śląsku w 1172 r. a walka potomstwa Władysława II Wygnańca o polski pryncypat w latach 1163—1180." *Sobótka* 1994,

13th century, there would no be way to assume that duke Mieszko, present in contemporary German accounts, is in fact the Tanglefoot. They refer to Jarosław in this context neither.

Differences in opinions of historians are caused by various distribution of trust to the chronicle and series of forgeries, written in Cistercian monastery in Lubiąż.³² They contain some information, unknown from other sources, about Mieszko and Jarosław, although full of contradictions and mistakes, pointed out already by scholars.³³ *Kronika polska* from Lubiąż contains two accounts: A — puts Silesian events into all-Polish context, B — focuses on

no. 3—4, p. 179, rightly indicates that historians were so much influenced by *Kronika polska* that they turned one Mieszko from German accounts into two persons. He himself however calls Mieszko and Jarosław “potential perpetrators of the incident.” According to E. Wies: *Fryderyk Barbarossa. Mit I rzeczywistość*. Warszawa, 1996, p. 212, emperor was forced to invade Polish duke Mieszko III. M. Smoliński: *Caesar et duces Poloniae...*, p. 96, assumes Mieszko the Old was reluctant to negotiate return of Władysław’s sons to Silesia with Frederick, being hostile to both emperor and Bolesław the Tall. N. Mika: *Mieszko...*, pp. 75—76, preferring account of *Kronika polska*, claims that Mieszko Tanglefoot, together with Jarosław rebelled against Bolesław the Tall and expelled him causing emperor’s intervention. According to Mika, accounts of *Kronika polska* and *Erfurt Chronicle*, agree with each other, thus it was Mieszko Tanglefoot, not the Old, who paid emperor tribute. He argues that Mieszko the Old was not engaged in this conflict. According to him, it is confirmed by account of *Cologne annals*, where under 1173, one can read that imperial army aimed to: “restituendo nepote suo in ducatum.” Emperor, leading great army, entered Poland and received 8 thousands pounds tribute. Frederick’s expedition is recorded by other German sources as well. Among Polish accounts, only *Cracow annals*, written in 14th century, wrongly inform about: “emperor, that entered Hungary, Legnica is destroyed, duke Bolesław died.” This events also recorded by *Kronika polska* from Lubiąż. One has to consider person of duke Mieszko who paid emperor a tribute. It has been argued so far that it could have been only senior of Poland, namely Bolesław the Curly, although as heavily ill, he could have been substituted by Mieszko the Old. See B. Zientara: *Bolesław Wysoki...*, p. 384; J. Bieniak: *Powstanie księstwa opolsko-raciborskiego...*, p. 56. Mika’s hypothesis seems to eliminate need to assume Bolesław’s illness. However it does not explain why young duke, yet without his own domain, was to represent whole Poland and possess great amounts of silver. Thus, it was certainly Mieszko the Old.

³² On Lubiąż writings see A. Wałkowski: *Skryptoria cystersów filiacji portyjskiej na Śląsku do końca XIII wieku*. Zielona Góra—Wrocław, 1996; Idem: “Wpływ skryptorium klasztoru cystersów w Pforcie na dokument lubiąski do końca XIII wieku.” *Nasza Przyszłość* 1994, no. 83, pp. 203—247; Idem: “Piśmiennictwo pragmatyczne skryptoriów cystersów filiacji portyjskiej na Śląsku do końca XIII wieku.” In: *Viae historicae. Księga jubileuszowa dedykowana Profesorowi Lechowi A. Tyszkiewiczowi*. Ed. M. Goliński, S. Rosik. Wrocław, 2001; K.K. Jażdżewski: *Lubiąż. Losy i kultura umysłowa śląskiego opactwa cystersów (1163—1642)*. Wrocław, 1992.

³³ Lubiąż account was fund reliable by K.K. Jażdżewski: *Lubiąż...*, pp. 31—32; B. Zientara (note 25); A. Barciak: “Jarosław-Kazimierz...,” p. 191, with comment on some inaccuracies. M. Przybył: *Mieszko III Stary...*, pp. 6—7 values highly both

Silesian matters only. The chronicle describes, following Wincenty's account, return of Władysław the Exile's sons to Silesia as result of emperor's (here mistakenly called Henry V) pressure. After some time, sons of Władysław rebelled against Bolesław the Curly. Wincenty mentions a group of distinguished knights, the chronicle mentions German unit. One can assume that chronicler referred to, known from Wincenty's account, "war of castles." Both relations (A and B) claim that Mieszko Tanglefoot and Jarosław rebelled together against Bolesław the Tall, but in both cases, the same event is mentioned. According to version B, they cooperated "cum Boleslao monarcho" that is the Curly. Reference to this duke is the only indicator that enables dating of initiative of two brothers against Bolesław the Tall. If one however considers that the chronicler mistook both emperors (Henry V and Frederick Barbarossa), it rises doubts regarding reliability of the account. If one assumes mistake regarding Bolesław the Curly that should be substituted by Mieszko the Old, chronology of those events would change drastically. It eliminates one reason to date Tanglefoot's and Jarosław's rebellion to 1172 and, consequently to bound him with expelling of the Tall and emperor's intervention. Besides, information provided by the chronicle are ambiguous itself. The same set of events in version A is linked with Kazimierz the Just's rebellion against Mieszko the Old, it means 1177. Other elements in version B are dubious as well, for instance cooperation with Bolesław the Curly. Exiled Bolesław the Tall got to emperor who was staying in Lombardia at that time. In Milan, the duke got fame by beating huge knight. The chronicle from Lubiąż provides wrong chronology in this case as well, as the Milan expedition of Frederick took place in 1161.³⁴

According to the chronicle (A and B), duke Kazimierz the Just, after taking control over Cracow, made Mieszko Tanglefoot the duke of Racibórz, Jarosław the duke of Opole and Konrad ruler of Głogów. As this account labels Jarosław as bishop of Wrocław, it fails again. Jarosław became the bishop in 1198. This account is supplemented by another information that

Kronika polska and *Kronika wielkopolska* in the case of conflict between Tanglefoot and Jarosław against Bolesław the Tall.

³⁴ J. Bieniak: "Powstanie księstwa...", p. 59, rightly points out, that: "*Kronika polska* cannot provide us reliable chronology. In both its parts — general and Silesian — the same events are bound to different circumstances, consequently differently dated. Bolesław the Tall is expelled twice, during Bolesław the Curly's reign and at the beginning of Kazimierz the Just's reign. Each time it is done by brother — Mieszko and son — Jarosław, reluctant towards father's second marriage; each time he goes to Milan and wins over some mighty warrior [...] to return with emperor's help and restore exactly the same towns: Wleń and Legnica. Bieniak argues that "*Kronika polska* mistakenly links Wincenty's account with some own information about Bolesław the Curly, confirmed by German sources, dated to 1172—1173."

would rather fit 1198 context: Bolesław the Tall granted bishop Jarosław and Wrocław cathedral with Nysa.

None of historians dealing with problem of division of Silesia has not decided to reject the chronicle's account about rebellion of Silesian young dukes during reign of Bolesław the Curly, despite the fact, noted by all, that the account contains mistakes and inaccuracies. The chronicle provides us with valuable data but chronology is its weak point. Information about common rebellion of Mieszko Tanglefoot and Jarosław against Bolesław the Tall is definitely valuable. It resulted with the fall of the latter's reign. It is confirmed by other sources, Wincenty writes about rebellion in Silesia (in 1177) and expel of Bolesław the Tall by Mieszko Tanglefoot. Wincenty's account can be supplemented by the chronicle of Lubiąż, Jarosław, the Tall's son was also engaged in this rebellion. It makes me conclude that there is no reason to see war in 1172 as common initiative of both Mieszko and Jarosław against Bolesław. As German sources suggest, Silesian senior was expelled by Mieszko the Old.

Bolesław the Tall's charter from Grodziec, dated to period between 21st of March and 31st of August 1175 for Cistercians in Lubiąż³⁵ led to assumptions about dukes present there at that time. List of witnesses is open by Mieszko the Old as "dux maximus," then generally "principes cum clero et populo Polonie" are mentioned. Note about those "dukes" is supplemented: "Et alia manu" and then phrase: "Ego Boleslauus filius Boleslai interfui et assensi," that refers to Bolesław, son of Bolesław the Tall. Then there is long list of witnessing nobles. General mention of "principes," taking part in grant, opens door to speculations. There could have been e.g. Jarosław, Mieszko and Konrad or only some of them, depending on our precondition, who of them could have had his own dominium then. According to some opinions reference to son of Bolesław the Tall is later interpolation to original text. Bieniak omits such option and constructs important hypothesis for beginnings of Opole duchy on this reference. He claims that young Bolesław was designated to be father's successor, thus, consequently, the oldest son Jarosław, was given separate duchy. Such hypothesis, in context of the document, is not necessary. Strict relation between designating Bolesław and Jarosław's separate domain is not necessary. The latter was supposedly assigned by father to church career. Finally, he became the bishop of Wrocław in 1198. Lack of own domain drove him to rebel against father in 1177. These remarks are not to question the fact of Jarosław being duke of Opole but to underline that Bieniak's arguments, that lead to date rise of Opole duchy in 1175, cannot be confirmed by sources.³⁶ The chapter from

³⁵ KDS, Vol. 1, no. 55 = SU, Vol. 1, no. 45.

³⁶ It is difficult to accept thesis of J. Bieniak: "Powstanie księstwa..." p. 58, who claims that Jarosław's two charters from period 1198—1202, where he is entitled bishop

1175 tells us nothing about titles of both Mieszko and Jarosław. None of them is listed there.³⁷

Forged chapter of Bolesław the Tall for monastery in Lubiąż from 1st of May 1175, is another matter. There is Mieszko the Tanglefoot listed there, entitled *dux de Raczybor*.³⁸ This diploma mentions Jarosław as well, without title of duke and is described as “alter filli” of duke Bolesław (Bolesław, the Tall’s son, is listed before him). The forgery was not produced to prove that in 1175 Mieszko the Tanglefoot was duke (of Racibórz) and Jarosław was not. The charter was written to prove rights of the monastery to some estates and mention of both dukes is rather accidental. Author of the forgery found it crucial to add Jarosław, Mieszko and Konrad to personnel witnessing the grant, just to create impression that all Silesian Piasts confirm those rights. One can only appreciate accuracy of chosen titles for given dukes.

Kronika polska from Lubiąż is the oldest account referring to first division of Silesia that included separate domains for Mieszko (Racibórz) and Jarosław (Opole). Establishment of duchy in Racibórz occurred, according to the chronicle, after return of sons of Władysław to Silesia. According to this account, returning brothers were assigned (“adepti sunt”): Bolesław to Wrocław, Legnica and Opole; Mieszko to Racibórz, Konrad to Głogów. That is why, Mieszko attacking, according to version A, Bolesław the Tall, is entitled duke of Racibórz. The chronicle adds, that Kazimierz the Just made Mieszko duke of Racibórz, Jarosław of Opole and Konrad of Głogów in 1177.³⁹ This last information contradicts another, previous one that Mieszko became duke of Racibórz after return from exile. Earlier possession of own duchy is also suggested by fragment that refers to 1172 — Jarosław, duke of Opole, together with Mieszko (in version A without title, in version B as “Mesco Ratiborgensis”), due to hatred of stepmother Adelajda, expelled Bolesław.⁴⁰

but not the duke, prove, that he was gave Opole duchy back to his father. One has to ask whether lack of document of duke Jarosław of Opole can be appropriate prove that he was not a duke there? Bieniak claims that Jarosław’s title was not bound to any particular domain and prove a thesis of late origin of hereditary duchies. Mieszko Tanglefoot’s obituary from Cracow prove the opposite, he was entitled the duke of Racibórz. Henry the Bearded chapter from 1202 confirms on the other hand that Jarosław was the duke of Opole.

³⁷ J. Bieniak: “Powstanie księstwa...,” p. 57, does not make it easy to define his views in that matter. The same paper brings his various, contradicting opinions about potential presence of both princes confirming the grant.

³⁸ KDS, Vol. 1, no. 11, 114 = SU, Vol. 1, no. 325—327.

³⁹ J. Bieniak: “Polska elita polityczna...,” Part 2, p. 59, correct Wincenty’s account, skating that it was Kazimierz the Just who granted Konrad with separate domain.

⁴⁰ This fragment from B version is marginally treated by Zientara and Bieniak. Both claim that Mieszko did not have title of duke of Racibórz, despite the fact that the

The chronicle refers also to status of Opole. First it was ruled by Bolesław the Tall, however during rebellion of Jarosław and Mieszko, the former is titled duke of Opole. The same Jarosław is titled bishop of Wrocław at that time by chronicler, but it must be rejected.⁴¹ It means the chronicle does not help in attempt to decide when exactly Mieszko became the duke of Racibórz.

Kazimierz the Just's decisions are alternatively described by *Kronika Wielkopolska*, where Mieszko is granted with duchy of Opole — something all scholars find wrong. Information that Kazimierz gave Mieszko Bytom and Oświęcim is more reliable as supplement to Wincenty's account. In *Kronika Wielkopolska*, the first partition of Silesia takes place some time after the return ("tractu temporis"), which remains in accordance with *Kronika polska*. I wrongly attributed duchy Opole to Mieszko. Following *Kronika polska*, the account argues that unequal partition was the cause of conflict between brothers. *Kronika Wielkopolska* is silent about duchy of Racibórz granted to Mieszko, replaced by Opole.

Concluding, one must state that none of medieval chroniclers knew when Jarosław and Mieszko were granted with their own duchies. They knew however that it had happened before Kazimierz the Just took over the throne in Cracow.

Zientara argues, that Władysław's younger son had played role of "formal co-ruler" to Bolesław the Tall since 1163.⁴² He thought, agreeing with older historiography that the first partition of Silesia took place in 1172 due to emperor's intervention.⁴³ The same view is presented by other scholars.⁴⁴

Bieniak is against early dating of the first partition of Silesia. According to him, Mieszko the Tanglefoot and Konrad could not count on grants

chronicle puts it clearly. Both of them however, treat information about cooperation between Silesian juniors and Bolesław the Curly as reliable.

⁴¹ J. Bieniak: "Powstanie księstwa...", p. 58 underlines the chronicler's lack of consequence Chile distributing their titles.

⁴² B. Zientara: *Bolesław Wysoki...*, p. 60, dated to 1163 negotiations in Nürnberg between emperor and Polish dukes, that resulted with return of sons of Władysław.

⁴³ B. Zientara: *Bolesław Wysoki...*, p. 57.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 64; J. Bieniak: "Polska elita polityczna...", p. 55 claims that "after series of turbulences, there was a compromise, visible in testation of Mieszko III's charter for monastery in Lubiąż (1177); there are Polish dukes listed here, according to their age. It means that sons of Władysław were included in statute of succession. However Mieszko was granted duchy of Racibórz." The chronology proposed by Bieniak is not clear. One can assume the compromise was made in 1177. If so, there is a question: why did Mieszko have to wait for 4 years for his own domain, regarding his return in 1173. Bieniak made his view clearer elsewhere ("Powstanie księstwa...", p. 57). He argued this time that emperor's expedition in 1172 resulted with a treaty between Mieszko the Old (substituting ill Bolesław the Curly) and emperor. The deal meant share for younger Piasts in power in Silesia. See also J. Hauziński: "Polska a królestwo niemieckie...", p. 147; E. Rymar: "Interwencja niemiecka na Śląsku w 1172...", p. 176.

from either Bolesław the Curly or Mieszko the Old, thus they directed their demands toward their elder brother who was sole ruler of Silesia.⁴⁵ Bieniak gives preference to *Rocznik lubiński* (Lubin Annals), treating it as coming from the *Rocznik dawny* (Old Annals). This account, similarly to German source, cited earlier, reports about return of Bolesław the Tall but do not mention Mieszko. Information about joint return of Bolesław and Mieszko, Bieniak treats as reflex of Wincenty's account.⁴⁶ One has to note however that both Lesser Poland Annals and Lubin Annal, followed the lost the *Rocznik dawny*. According to Bieniak, Jarosław and Mieszko the Tanglefoot were given their own duchies in 1177.⁴⁷

Hypothesis of Zientara, developed by Bieniak means selected attitude to *Kronika polska* and its account: partition of Silesia in 1163 is found as unreliable, contrary to claim that Tanglefoot expelled the Tall in 1172 from Silesia. This view was accepted by numerous historians.⁴⁸

Another view is presented by Ernst Wies who referred to Władysław the Exile's death and negotiations in Nürnberg in 1163: "[...] both sons of late Władysław, brought up at German court, received their feudal domains: Wrocław and Racibórz."⁴⁹ Account of *Kronika polska* seems to suggest that decision to part Silesia was made by someone else, out of their control. Perhaps due to this, Wies concludes, that it was Frederick who granted sons of Władysław with Silesian duchies.

Is it possible that treaty between Frederick and Mieszko the Old in 1172 included decision about granting Jarosław and Mieszko their own duchies in Opole and Racibórz? Such thesis finds no confirmation in German sources, that

⁴⁵ J. Bieniak: "Polska elita polityczna...", p. 52.

⁴⁶ Ibid.

⁴⁷ Ibid., p. 55, footnote 44.

⁴⁸ B. Zientara: *Bolesław Wysoki...*, p. 62: "Bolesław the Tall managed, with German support, to return to Wrocław, but was forced to grant Jarosław with Opole and Mieszko with Racibórz duchies." T. Jurek: "Mieszko Płatonogi." In: *Słownik władców polskich...*, pp. 286—287, considered, in the context of 1172 events, "possibility that Mieszko was given his own small domain with Racibórz." W. Brzeziński: "Pochodzenie Ludmiły...", p. 217, agrees that grant of Racibórz duchy for Mieszko was the result of war in 1172. Also P. Mostowik: *Z dziejów Księstwa...*, p. 36 and J. Hauziński: "Polska a królestwo niemieckie...", p. 146, M. Przybył: *Mieszko III Stary...*, p. 67, share the same view. According to M. Smoliński: *Caesar contra duce Poloniae...*, pp. 80, 93, Wincenty's account about negotiations between emperor Frederick and Polish dukes seems to be too literary not to include some inaccuracies. Negotiations were concluded in Nürnberg in late summer 1163. Similarly N. Mika: *Mieszko...*, p. 78. Different view is presented by K. Tanaś: "Bolesław I Wysoki, książę śląski 1163—1201 a Niemcy Polityczne tło działalności." In: *Scripta Minora*. Vol. 2. Ed. B. Lapis. Poznań, 1998. His analysis about partition of Silesia is based only on part of literature and chronicles. Following S. Smolka, he dates grants of duchies for Jarosław and Mieszko to 1177.

⁴⁹ E. Wies: *Fryderyk I Barbarossa...*, p. 169.

mention only emperor's intervention to restore Bolesław the Tall and Mieszko the Old's tribute. Besides, it would mean that the emperor decided to grant Bolesław's rebels and at the same time weaken his own vassal. Rebellion of Silesian juniors in 1172 is intriguing as they both were lacking their own domains. What kind of resources could they have to rebel against Bolesław, who ruled the whole region? Such initiative could end up with success only in the case of general support of Silesian nobles. However, contemporary German accounts mention Mieszko the Old in this context. He was able to organize both army and resources. Wincenty's account about Bolesław the Curly's forced to launch war of Silesian castles, means he was not the initiator. One can risk hypothesis that Mieszko the Old wanted to confront Bolesław the Tall still during reign of Bolesław the Curly. Mieszko's military dealings in 1172 would be seen as counter-reaction to "war of castles." Consequently, relying on Wincenty, one can assume that the Tall was supported by his younger brother Mieszko. Moreover, I argue that grant of Racibórz duchy was made in peaceful way. Mieszko was given it by his brother for support during the "war of castles."⁵⁰

This assumption is based on — confirmed by Wincenty — information about joint cooperation of Mieszko with older brother. We do not know when did it happen. It could have happen in 1166 or a little bit later, when news of the Curly's defeat was spread over the country. German accounts let me argue that it was Mieszko the Old who led military campaign in Silesia in 1172. He expelled Bolesław the Tall from Wrocław provoking emperor to intervene. Tribute paid almost immediately, prevented Frederick to enter the country. I exclude account of *Kronika polska*, that Mieszko the Tanglefoot and Jarosław rebelled against Bolesław the Tall in 1172.

The Tanglefoot played important role in the coup d'état in Cracow in 1177. According to Wincenty "when capitols and castles of all regions subdued to his power with joy, Silesia wanted to rebel. Power there was gathered by Mieszko son of Władysław, who expelled his brother Bolesław." Mieszko the Tanglefoot part in those events raises no doubts.⁵¹ When nobles in Lesser Poland rebelled

⁵⁰ W. Königshaus: *Die Zisterzienserabtei Leubus...*, p. 326, treats duchy of Racibórz as brother's payment for support.

⁵¹ B. Zientara: *Bolesław Wysoki...*, pp. 67—68 claimed that Mieszko the Tanglefoot expelled his brother again from Wrocław in 1177. Bolesław found shelter in Cracow. Kazimierz was not able to launch war against Mieszko. That is why he agreed, after negotiations, to grant the duke of Racibórz Bytom and Oświęcim on condition that Mieszko will give Wrocław back to Bolesław. J. Hauziński: "Polska a Królestwo Niemieckie..." p. 149 dates another rebellion of Mieszko, who already had Racibórz, and Jarosław against Bolesław to 1177. E. Rymar: "Kiedy Mieszko..." p. 18 assumes that nobility in Cracow, that made Mieszko the Old rule fall, offered Bolesław the Tall the throne. Then Mieszko Tanglefoot rebelled against Bolesław and expelled him from Wrocław. W. Brzeziński: *Pochodzenie Ludmiły...*, pp. 213—219, following elder opinions (that I find reasonable as well), claims that Kazimierz the Just rebelled against Mieszko the

against Mieszko the Old's reign in Cracow, the Tanglefoot acted against Kazimierz the Just and expelled his ally, Bolesław the Tall from Wrocław.⁵² It is possible that it was in accordance with Jarosław's interests, thus echoes of their joint actions against Bolesław the Tall, recorded in Lubiąż. It was however mistakenly connected with the end of Bolesław the Curly's reign.

Duke Kazimierz, according to Wincenty, regain Silesia for Bolesław who was restored in Wrocław, but his warlike brother, that Mieszko, was neutralized by grant of several castles and their brother Konrad was granted Głogów.⁵³ Since then, rulers of Cracow had to respect position of duke of Racibórz.⁵⁴

The reason of Jarosław's rebellion against his father, dated to 1177, could have been only one — demand of separate domain.⁵⁵ We know nothing however about his status in 1198. We can only assume that before he became the bishop of Wrocław in 1198, he had already have duchy of Opole. That can be confirmed by authentic charter of Henry the Bearded I have already mentioned. One has to agree with Antoni Barciak that Jarosław granted Cistercians already as duke of Opole, before becoming bishop of Wrocław. Barciak sees difficulties in precise dating of taking over Opole by Jarosław but cautiously assumes it could have happened around 1197. He took bishopric in Wrocław already being a duke of Opole.⁵⁶ One should also consider another Wincenty's

Old in 1177, being allied with Bolesław the Tall. Mieszko Tanglefoot was allied with the Old then. See also M. Przybył: *Mieszko III Stary...*, pp. 90—100; M. Smoliński: *Cesar contra duces Poloniae...*, pp. 143—144.

⁵² J. Bieniak: "Mistrz Wincenty w współczesnych mu Piastach." In: *Europa Środkowa i Wschodnia w polityce Piastów...*, pp. 33—53, interprets chronicler's references to Mieszko the Old, Kazimierz the Just, Bolesław the Curly and Bolesław the Tall. Mieszko the Tanglefoot is mentioned by author only while dealing with his action against Bolesław the Tall, whom he, together with Jarosław of Opole, prevented to get Cracow. In my opinion Bieniak overestimates Bolesław the Tall's role in 1177 events. His view was questioned by M. Smoliński: "Dyplomacja księcia Mieszka III Starego w dobie zamachu stanu z lat 1177—1180/81." In: *Średniowiecze polskie i powszechne*. Vol. 3. Ed. I. Panic, J. Sperka. Katowice, 2004, pp. 32—67. T. Jurek: "Rotacja elity dworskiej na Śląsku w XII-XIV w." In: *Genealogia. Władza i społeczeństwo w Polsce średniowiecznej*. Eds. A. Radziwiński, J. Wroniszewski. Toruń, 1999, pp. 7—27, shows that Bolesław the Tall persecuted nobles (and Benedictines), that were suspected of expel of his father. I do not think Bieniak is right seeing the Tall as candidate of Cracow nobles to the throne in 1177. He was not popular. I am not going to study this problem here.

⁵³ Wincenty, p. 200.

⁵⁴ Wincenty, p. 247.

⁵⁵ Contrary to Bieniak, I assume, that author of Lubiąż forgery from 1175, provided us with true information that Jarosław was then only *alter filius* of Bolesław the Tall and did not possess his own duchy.

⁵⁶ A. Barciak: *Jarosław-Kazimierz...*, p. 191. T. Sadowski: *Książęta opolscy i ich państwo*. Wrocław, 2001, p. 14 agrees, that Jarosław became the duke of Opole before taking bishopric of Wrocław. He pays attention to a fact that Jarosław is not present

account, that refers to Jarosław's taking part in the battle of Mozgawa in 1195. The chronicler wrote that "Mieszko the Old is supported again by Mieszko, son of Władysław and Jarosław, son of Bolesław, his nephew."⁵⁷ On empty battle field, after the first phase of the battle, Mieszko and Jarosław defeated units of komes Goworek and took him captive. It would indirectly prove that Jarosław had his own military power at disposal being the duke. He could have however substituted his father.⁵⁸ There is still question whether separate duchy from Jarosław has anything in common with Bolesław the Tall's complain on "all Polish dukes," mentioned in Innocent III's bull from 1198.⁵⁹ One has to agree with Bieniak and Rymar that Bolesław remained in good terms with his son and exclude him from group of people attacking Silesian duke.⁶⁰ After death of bishop Żyrosław (1st of June 1198), Jarosław succeeded him in the office. There is a coin preserved that shows new bishop receiving crosier from his father. Relations between both were good at that time.⁶¹

Other references to Jarosław entitled a duke come from later forged charters, including the diploma of Bolesław the Tall from 1201, claiming that grant for Cistercians was done by "Jarozlaus tunc dux de Opol sibi in episcopate succedens." Bolesław the Tall did not like the grant as directed against his own fund, Lubiąż monastery.⁶² This forgery, containing pretension of the monastery towards Jarosław for taken tithes, refers to Jarosław as the duke of Opole "taking bishopric of Wrocław." Another forgery, this time of Henry the Bearded, from 26th of June 1202, repeats the phrase known from original diploma: "dominus Jarozlaus episcopus Wratizlauie tunc dominus de Opol."⁶³ Reference to Jarosław is to be found as well in another Henry's forged diploma from 3rd of June 1202, granting Lubiąż with village Bartoszów. The charter is witnessed by Bolesław the Tall, Henry the Bearded and "domini Jaroslai episcopo Wratislaviensis tunc ducis de Opol."⁶⁴

Documents of general charter of Cistercians from 1201 contain information, that monastery in Lubiąż took over control of another one, on Stradunia.⁶⁵ Based

among testators of his father's charter in 1175. Remarks of J. Horwat: *Księstwo opolskie...*, p. 20 have only compilatory value.

⁵⁷ Wincenty, p. 252.

⁵⁸ J. Rajman: "Mieszko Płatonogi...", p. 30. J. Bieniak: "Powstanie księstwa...", p. 61, rightly excludes from analysis of this topic the case of Mediolan expedition of Bolesław the Tall.

⁵⁹ SU, Vol. 1, no. 64.

⁶⁰ E. Rymar: "Kiedy Mieszko...", p. 20.

⁶¹ B. Zientara: *Henryk Brodaty...*, p. 101.

⁶² KDS Vol. 1, no. 116 = SU, Vol. 1, no. 331.

⁶³ KDS Vol. 1, no. 118, pp. 324—325 = SU, Vol. 1, no. 333.

⁶⁴ KDS Vol. 1, no. 117, p. 317 = SU, Vol. 1, no. 332.

⁶⁵ *Statuta Capitulum Generalium Ordinis Cisterciensis ab Anno 1146 ad Annom 1786*. Vol. 1. Ed. J.M. Canivez. Louvain, 1933, p. 274.

on authentic charter of Henry the Bearded from 1202,⁶⁶ one can assume, that the latter monastery, was granted by Bolesław the Tall. It means, that after death of Jarosław (22nd of March 1201), his father remained legal possessor of estate on Stradunia. Its transfer to Lubiąż had had to happen before 10th of August 1201, as on this day it already belonged to the monastery.⁶⁷ This grant is actually the only one known initiative of Bolesław the Tall for the duchy of Opole.

The period 1201—1202 is marked by grand conflict between Henry the Bearded, who succeeded Bolesław in Wrocław, and Mieszko the Tanglefoot. We know anything about it thanks to two bulls of Innocent III, concluding the strife between both rulers.⁶⁸ One of them comes from period between 8th of December 1201 and 25th of November 1202. Its arenga contains reference to pope who has the bull written on request of duke Henry, paying special attention to will to keep peace. It suggests, that Henry asked the pope to mediate between him and his rivals. Second, shorter bull, written the same day, contains papal confirmation of peace between Henry and Mieszko, that embraced their sons. The pope was to punish anathema the one who would broke this peace.

According to a content of the bull, the treaty was concluded (*talis compositio intervenit*) between Mieszko and Henryk. The former “*quod acceptis mille marcis argenti, quasi psi solvisti, contentus esset castris et terra, que compositionis tempore detinebat.*” Just exactly this fragment seems to be crucial as it says, that Mieszko was satisfied with castles and lands he took. He possessed them “*compositions tempore,*” it means “during concluding the treaty” with Henry.⁶⁹

Henry also promised not to attack either Mieszko or his son regarding lands and castles at their disposal: [...] *tu quoque, quod nec eum, nec filium eius super castris omnibus, que tenebat, ullo tempore molestares, firmiter promisisti.*” The unnamed Mieszko’s son, mentioned here, is Kazimierz. Mieszko received one thousand pounds of silver and kept arguable castles and lands.⁷⁰ One can read further, that Mieszko was obliged to give up pretensions to lands and castles inherited by Henry after his father. The duke was to resign any attacks on either duke of Wrocław or his son.

⁶⁶ This charter was written after 23rd of May, 1202. KDS, Vol. 1, no. 91.

⁶⁷ It is suggested by content of Innocent III’s bull from 10th of August, 1201. KDS, Vol. 1, no. 86, p. 204.

⁶⁸ KDS Vol. 1, no. 88, 96 = SU, Vol. 1, no. 80, 81.

⁶⁹ N. Mika: *Mieszko...*, p. 141, translates this fragment slightly different way: “at the end of conflict.”

⁷⁰ J. Horwat: *Mieszko Płatonogi, książę raciborski, opolski oraz krakowski 1131—1211*. In: *Cracovia — Polonia — Europa. Studia z dziejów średniowiecza ofiarowane Jerzemu Wyrozumskiemu w sześćdziesiątą piątą rocznicę urodzin i w czterdziestolecie pracy naukowej*. Kraków, 1993, p. 217, wrongly mentions 200 thousands pounds!

The content of the bull indicates, that conflict was about lands of twofold status. Part of them was Henry's patrimony — Mieszko was obliged to give up pretensions to. Another part were both lands and castles held by Mieszko during confirmation of the peace. Henry was obliged to respect their status. They were not part of his patrimony. In that case, it had to be duchy of Opole. Mieszko had rights to it due to Bolesław the Tall's grant. Those one thousand pounds of silver was paid by Henry to Mieszko to compensate the latter's resignation from pretentions to Henry's patrimony.

Both papal bulls mention peace between both dukes. Scholars have seen taking over Opole by Mieszko as cause of new Silesian war that broke out after 8th of December 1201 so far.⁷¹ In his recent article however, Janusz Bieniak argues for lack of any conflict between both dukes.⁷²

Did the treaty, mentioned in the bull, end up war? It seems so, but Bieniak ignores both reference in arenga and the shorter bull, thus let us focus on concrete decisions mentioned in papal charter. They definitely refer to hot atmosphere in Silesia in 1202. It means, that Mieszko took over those castles and lands just before the peace was concluded. It seems obvious that Mieszko's initiative was a consequence of earlier dealings of his nephew. Supposed reconstructions of course of events is not primarily new, but it stands against Bieniak's argument being absolutely in conflict with sources. Bolesław the Tall concluded a treaty with his brother Mieszko, after 22nd of March 1201. According to it, Mieszko was supposed to take over Opole after the Tall's death. It actually happened on 8th of December 1201. Most likely, in spring 1201, Opole and other castles were taken by Henry the Bearded. It was obviously against the above mentioned treaty — Henry had no rights to Opole. The bull from 1202 states that Mieszko had right to "lands and castles," taken before the treaty. In my opinion it means that Mieszko managed to take over Opole and other castles of the duchy, expelling crews of Henry the Bearded.⁷³ Following Bieniak and claiming that there was no conflict, makes no sense. The bull states that Mieszko was obliged to give up any attacks on Henry and his patrimony. To confirm it, Mieszko was paid with thousand pounds of silver. Bieniak's assumption that Henry bought senior rights to Silesia, must be rejected. First, Mieszko had no bigger right to Wrocław than Henry. Second, the bull mentions those "lands and castles" as patrimony. It means the payment referred to "lands and castles" Mieszko

⁷¹ E. Rymar: "Kiedy Mieszko...", p. 22; T. Jurek: "Mieszko Płatonogi...", pp. 286—287; W. Königshaus: *Die Zisterzienserabtei Leubus...*, p. 327.

⁷² J. Bieniak: "Powstanie księstwa...", p. 75; Idem: "Polska elita polityczna...", Part 1, pp. 59—60; Idem: "Mistrz Wincenty o życiu...", pp. 27—28.

⁷³ If it was Mieszko who granted praemonstratens in Ołbin with the church in Toszek, it means Toszek had to belong to him already before 12th of August, 1201. SU, Vol. 1, no. 75; KDS, Vol. 1, no. 87.

had taken and Henry had full rights to. In my opinion, military dealings (yes!) let Mieszko take control over territory beyond duchy of Opole (perhaps Stare Olesno-Kluczbork).

Lack of Jarosław's self-reliance, reflected in the charter from 1202, corresponds with account of *Kronika polska*, where grant of Opole duchy for Jarosław is valid till his death only.⁷⁴ Bolesław the Tall took over Opole again, after death of his son. History of monastery on Stradunia, referred above, confirms account of *Kronika polska* that the Tall possessed Opole in 1201. Before his death, Bolesław, according to *Kronika polska*, "decedens fratri suo Mesiconi terram Opolie delegavit." Mieszko was granted with Opole due to the last will of his brother. It happened between 22nd of March and 8th of December 1201. Account of *Kronika polska* leaves no doubt in that matter. One can assume that Bolesław, shortly before his death, managed to fulfill old demand of his younger brother, hardly satisfied with his small domain. *Kronika polska*, cited above, contains important information, ignored by Bieniak: Bolesław the Tall gave his brother Mieszko "terram Opolie" but "quam Henricus Barbatus filius eius, item sibi assumpsit."⁷⁵ This account should be read literally, Henry broke the agreement taking over duchy of Opole.

Mieszko the Tanglefoot appeared as new protector of Lubiąż, confirmed by note of his name in local necrology.⁷⁶ It should be mentioned also that monastery on Stradunia had been primarily named "Jarosław," but under the reign of first two Piasts of Opole, the new name "Kazimierz" (as reference to Mieszko's son) was introduced. Mieszko, together with his wife Ludmiła, founded female monastery of praemonstratens in Rybnik, somewhere between 1202 and 1206, granting it with forty villages in duchy of Racibórz and three in duchy of Opole.⁷⁷ It is an example of unification of new political domain,⁷⁸ and the foundation was supported by Cyprian, bishop of Wrocław,

⁷⁴ MPH, Vol. 3..., pp. 637—638.

⁷⁵ Ibid., p. 638.

⁷⁶ W. Königshaus: *Die Zisterzienserabtei Leubus...*, p. 327.

⁷⁷ S. Pierzchalska-Jeskowa: *Dzieje klasztoru...*, p. 35; J. Rajman: "The Origins of the Polish Praemonstratensian Circary." *Analecta Praemonstratensia* 1990, Vol. 66, issues 3—4, pp. 208—209; Idem: "Założenie klasztoru premonstratensek w Rybniku. Przegląd problematyki badawczej." In: *Sacrum i profanum. Klasztory i miasta w rzeczywistości Górnego Śląska w średniowieczu*. Ed. E. Bimler-Mackiewicz. Rybnik, 2003, pp. 89—95; M. Kopka: "Jeszcze o początkach rybnickiej fundacji norbertanek." In: *Premonstratensci na ziemiach polskich w średniowieczu i epoce nowożytnej*. Ed. J. Rajman. *Annales Academiae Paedagogicae Cracoviensis*. Vol. 40. *Studia Historica* V, 2007, pp. 52—57, who dates the foundation to 1206.

⁷⁸ B. Kłoch: "Piastowie śląscy a kościoły parafialne do schyłku XIV wieku na przykładzie związków władców opolsko-raciborskich." In: *Piastowie śląscy w kulturze i europejskich dziejach*. Ed. A. Barciak. Katowice, 2007, p. 104, sees the Mieszko's foundations (including St. Mary church) as strengthening of influences in the border terri-

close advisor of Henry the Bearded. Perhaps it was a sign of some agreement after 1201—1202 conflict.

tory. On other potential Mieszko's foundations see A. Pobóg-Lenartowicz: "Mecenat artystyczny Piastów opolskich w średnowieczu." In: *Piastowie śląscy...*, pp. 50—51. N. Mika: "Mieszko...," p. 131 lists Rother potential Mieszko foundations of chapels in Kęty, Pszczyna and Gliwice. Only the one in Rybnik is found confirmed.

Jerzy Rajman

The formation of Racibórz and Opole duchies Comments on problem of the first division of Silesia in the second half of 12th century

Summary

The article presents the arguments questioning currently accepted interpretation of *Silesian Chronicle* that it was Mieszko Tanglefoot that attacked Bolesław the Tall, his older brother in 1172. In my opinion, Mieszko possessed his own duchy with the capital in Racibórz between 1166 and 1170, and the person who removed Bolesław the Tall from Wrocław was Mieszko the Old. Such a conviction is in accordance with contemporary German sources.

The position of Mieszko Tanglefoot against his older brother dates back to 1177. Insignificant source basis does not allow for defining the exact time of ascribing Opole Duchy to Jarosław, the oldest son of Bolesław the Tall. In this article I am trying to show weak points in the hypothesis by J. Bieniak who dates the formation of this duchy to 1175. I assume that Jarosław acted against his father as late as in 1177. What can be established is the fact that before Jarosław became the bishop in Wrocław in 1198 he had already been the prince of Opole, which one can assume on the basis of the authentic document of Henryk the Bearded (widely discussed in the article).

In contrast to J. Bieniak who questions the existence of the state of war between Mieszko and Henryk, I think that Mieszko received from his brother Bolesław the record of Opole territory after his death. In the first half of 1202 it was Henryk the Bearded who beat him to the inclusion of Opole, but Mieszko excluded him from Opole and threatened his ruling in Wrocław. The conflict ended in 1202 thanks to the intervention of Innocent III, the Pope. The Pope confirmed Mieszko's legal possession of "Castles and lands" in the bull from 1202, under the general statement of which stands undoubtedly the Polish land. Instead, prince Mieszko had to promise that he would not exclude Henryk from his homeland, that is, Wrocław Duchy.

Jerzy Rajman

Die Gründung des Ratiborer und Oppelner Herzogtums Zur Problematik der ersten Teilung Schlesiens in der zweiten Hälfte des 12. Jhs

Zusammenfassung

Im folgenden Artikel versucht der Verfasser die gegenwärtig geltende Interpretation der *Schlesischen Chronik* und nämlich die These zu beanstanden, dass der Fürst Bolesław Wysoki (Boleslaw der Hohe) im Jahre 1172 im Schlesien von seinem jüngeren Bruder, Mieszko Platonogi angegriffen wurde. Dafür gibt er folgende Argumente an: seit etwa 1166—1170 besaß Mieszko schon sein eigenes Herzogtum mit der Hauptstadt in Ratibor und derjenige, der den Fürsten Boleslaw Wysoki aus Breslau im Jahre 1172 fortgejagt hatte, war Mieszko der Alte. Diese Theorie entspricht den heutigen deutschen Quellen.

Der Ausfall des Mieszko Platonogi gegen seinen älteren Bruder wird von dem Verfasser erst auf das Jahr 1177 datiert. Spärliche Quellen lassen nicht zu, einen genauen Zeitpunkt zu bestimmen, als das Oppelner Herzogtum für den ältesten Sohn von Boleslaw Wysoki, Jarosław (Jaroslaw), abgesondert wurde. Der Verfasser versucht, die Schwächen der von J. Bieniak aufgestellten Hypothese aufzuzeigen, als ob das Herzogtum schon etwa 1175 gegründet wurde. Er vermutet, dass Jarosław gegen seinen Vater erst 1177 aufgetreten ist. Es lässt sich nur folgendes feststellen, bevor Jarosław im Jahre 1198 der Breslauer Bischof wurde war er schon der Oppelner Fürst, wovon die authentische von Henryk Brodaty (Heinrich der Bartige) ausgefertigte (und im folgenden Artikel weitläufig besprochene) Urkunde zeugt.

Dem J. Bieniak zum Trotz, der den Krieg zwischen Mieszko und Henryk bestreitet, nimmt der Verfasser an, dass Bolesław seinen Bruder Mieszko zum Erben des Oppelner Landes erst nach seinem Tode eingesetzt hat. In der ersten Hälfte 1202 wurde Oppeln von Henryk Brodaty erobert, doch Mieszko hat ihn aus dem Oppelner Land verdrängt und die Herrschaft des Heinrichs in Breslau war gefährdet. Der Konflikt war noch 1202 dank der Intervention des Papstes Innocent III zu Ende. In der Bulle vom 1202 hat der Papst bescheinigt, dass Mieszko ein rechtmäßiger Besitzer von *Burgen und Grundstücken* sei; hinter dem Namen verbirgt sich zweifellos das Oppelner Land. Dafür musste sich der Fürst Mieszko dazu verpflichten, den Heinrich von seinem väterlichen Erbe, dem Breslauer Herzogtum, nicht zu verdrängen.

MACIEJ WOŹNY

Political activity of Bolek V of Opole during Hussite wars

The 15th century was a time of numerous military encounters that did not omit Silesia either. The biggest changes in the region were caused by Hussites raids in late 1420s and early 1430s. That was a time when duke of Opole, Bolek V, began his political career. His policy during Hussites raids is especially accentuated nowadays. There have been two different interpretations of his activity so far: one made by Stanisław Brodtko, second by Władysław Dziewulski.¹ The former found the duke dedicated follower of Jan Hus who joined heretics motivated by their ideology. This view has been accepted by most of historians dealing with this topic.² Dziewulski, on the other hand, argued that the duke was motivated by political reasons, counting on widening his dominions due to dealings of Hussite army. He was mainly focused on properties of bishop of Wrocław. Due to such different opinions, it seems crucial to study policy of Bolek during Hussite wars again.

Bolek V was the oldest son of Bolek IV, duke of Opole and, around 1426, was granted with small territory containing a half of Głogówek, that became

¹ S. Brodtko: "Piast — husyta. Książę opolski Bolko V jego ród." In: *Z dziejów postępowej ideologii na Śląsku w XIV-XVI wieku*. Ed. E. Maleczyńska. Warszawa, 1956, pp. 68—97; W. Dziewulski: "Herezja Bolka Opolskiego." *Studia z Dziejów Kościoła Katolickiego* 1960, no. 1, pp. 181—193; Idem: "Pierwszy wolnomyśliciel polski." *Kwartalnik Opolski* 1965, no. 2, pp. 5—14.

² Z. Boras: "Książę "heretyk" Bolko V." In: Idem: *Książęta piastowscy Śląska*. Katowice, 1974, pp. 289—303; J. Kwak: "Bolko V Husyta (ok. 1400—1460)." In: *Książęta i książęta Górnego Śląska*. Ed. A. Barciak. Katowice, 1995, pp. 34—36; S.A. Sroka: "Bolesław V Wołoszek." In: *Piastowie. Leksykon biograficzny*. Ed. S. Szczur, K. Ożóg. Kraków, 1999, p. 767; T. Sadowski: "Bolesław V Wołoszek." In: Idem: *Książęta opolscy i ich państwo*. Wrocław, 2001, pp. 155—164.

his residence, by his father.³ Since around 1423, Piasts ruling in Opole, had been avoiding Sigismund of Luxemburg, the heir of Czech crown, supporting Poland at that time. It was supposedly the result of sentence of Vaclav IV, who handed their lands over the dukes of Głógów-Żagań.⁴ However, in the early 1423, Piasts from Opole supported Sigismund, signing, together with other Silesian dukes, treaty of Bratislava.⁵ It could be the result of the fact that Vaclav IV's heir did not refer to the case of Prague sentence.

The beginning of political activity of the duke of Głógówek is marked by his presence at assembly in Grodków, that began on 18th of September. This event was differently dated by historians. Colmar Grünhagen argued, that the assembly took place in 1421 as it was connected with imprisonment of Czech embassy by the duke of Racibórz.⁶ Such interpretation was accepted by Kazi-

³ W. Dziewulski: "Ziemia prudnicka w epoce feudalnej." In: *Ziemia prudnicka. Dzieje. Gospodarka. Kultura*. Ed. W. Lesiuk. Prudnik, 1975, p. 61.

⁴ Dukes of Głógów-Żagań demanded lands bequeathed by Władysław of Opole to his daughter and, at the same time, wife of Henry VIII. Vaclav IV's sentence was in accordance with expectations of those dukes. Piasts of Opole were outlawed. For more see J. Sperka: "Bernard (1374/1378—1455)." In: *Księżęta i księżne Górnego Śląska...*, pp. 18—21. Pro-Polish policy is confirmed by both marriages: of Bernard with daughter of Spytek of Melsztyn and of Bolek the younger with daughter of queen of Poland, and Bernard's support for Jagiełło during so-called "the hunger war." See J. Goździelewski: "Wojna polsko-krzyżacka 1414 r., tzw. 'wojna głodowa'." *Studia i Materiały do Historii Wojskowości* 1970, Vol. 16, Part 2, p. 38; J. Rajman: *Pogranicze śląsko-małopolskie w średniowieczu*. Kraków, 1998, p. 200. Pro-Polish attitude of Piasts of Opole is also confirmed by marriage of Bolek V with Elżbieta Granowska, stepdaughter of the king of Poland. See K. Jasiński: *Rodowód Piastów śląskich*. Vol. 3: *Piastowie opolscy, cieszyńscy i oświęcimscy*. Wrocław, 1977, p. 102. Their attempts to avoid Sigismund are confirmed by their absence during assembly in Wrocław in early 1420, where almost all Silesian dukes were present. See C. Grünhagen: "Der Reichstag zu Breslau und das Strafgericht des Keisers Sigismund im Jahre 1420." In: *Abhandlungen d. Schlesischen Gessellschaft für Vaterländische Kultur Philosophic Historique Abteilung Jahrgang*. 1868, issue 2, p. 4. Bernard's, Bolek IV's and Bolek V's stay in Nysa on 31st of December 1419 proves that their absence in Wrocław was intentional. Apart from above mentioned dukes, there were bishop of Wrocław and dukes Conrad of Kozielsk and Ruprecht of Lubin. See "Die Inventare der nichtstaatlichen Archive Schlesiens. Neisse." Issue 1. Ed. E. von Graber. In: *Codex diplomaticus Silesiae*. Bd. 36. Breslau, 1933, pp. 40—41, no. 158.

⁵ M. Biskup: *Wojny Polski z Zakonem Krzyżackim (1308—1521)*. Gdańsk, 1993, pp. 121—142; "Geschichtsquellen der Hussitenkriege." Ed. C. Grünhagen. In: *Scriptores Rerum Silesiacarum*. Bd. 6 (further cited as SRS 6). Breslau, 1871, pp. 30—34, no. 46; K. Pieradzka: "Udział polskich feudałów w planach rozbioru Polski w XIV i XV wieku na tle dążeń odśrodkowych." *Zeszyty Naukowe Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego. Historia* 1955, issue 1, pp. 24—25.

⁶ C. Grünhagen: "Die Hussitenkämpfe..." p. 56.

mierz Orzechowski and Jiří Jurok.⁷ Dziewulski concluded that the event took place in 1424.⁸ He could connect that with a peace concluded between duke Przemek of Opava with Hussites.⁹ However 1427 as a date of the assembly is accepted in some new publications.¹⁰ First, princes gathered in Grodków to discuss Hussite problem only in 1427, as it happened in January that year. Second, Silesians applied in 1421 to enter union of dukes and towns of Reich, establishment of separate union was senseless. Third, decision made in Grodków, analysed below, had defensive character, which is easy to understand after recent failures of Catholics. In 1421, Silesian duchies were not threatened by Hussite raid. M. Čapský noted that the chapter, written during the assembly, does not refer to duke of Racibórz. Phrase found there “die von Ratibor” refers to duchess Helena, Jan the Iron’s widow.¹¹ During the assembly in Grodków, decision was made that duke Jan of Ziębice, together with Wrocław, Świdnica and Jawor, would set up the unit of 230 riders, that were supposed to border settlements: Kowary, Żaclerz, Czarny Bór and Grzędy. Second army, containing 70 horsemen of bishop of Wrocław, 30 knights from Lubin, 60 knights sent by duke of Brześć and Legnica and 60 riders of Konrad of Kał, was supposed to get to Broumov. Another army, containing 30 horsemen from Cieszyn and 25 knights of Bolek the younger, was supposed to get to Ostrava, that belonged to Bolek IV.¹² His uncle, Bernard, together with 30 knights and 20 horsemen of

⁷ K. Orzechowski: *Ogólnośląskie zgromadzenia stanowe*. Warszawa—Wrocław, 1979, p. 119; Idem: *Historia ustroju Śląska*. Wrocław, 2005, pp. 78—79; J. Jurok: *Příčiny, struktury, a osobnosti husitské revoluce*. České Budějovice, 2006, p. 140.

⁸ W. Dziewulski: “Herezja Bolka...,” p. 183.

⁹ SRS 6, p. 44, no. 60.

¹⁰ M. Goliński: “Broń palna na Śląsku do lat trzydziestych XV w. oraz jej zastosowanie przy obronie i zdobywaniu twierdz.” In: *Studia i Materiały do Historii Wojskowości*. Vol. 31. Ed. T.M. Nowak. Białystok, 1989, p. 9; M. Čapský: *Vevoda Přemek Opavský...*, pp. 270—271. Both authors referred to the article, unknown for me, of A. Philip: “Überlieferung und Datierung der Grotkauer Einigung.” In: *Quellenstudien aus der Universität in Innsbruck*. Innsbruck, 1909, h. 1, pp. 61—161.

¹¹ M. Čapský: *Vevoda Přemek Opavský...*, pp. 270—271. Of Helena and Jan of Racibórz see E. Šefčík: “Helena (zm. 1449).” In: *Księżęta i księżne Górnego Śląska...*, pp. 48—49; Idem: “Jan II Żelazny (ok. 1365—1424).” In: *Księżęta i księżne Górnego Śląska...*, pp. 58—59.

¹² His control over Ostrava is confirmed by one of his chapters, produced in the town, which calls the duke “herzog un here zu Oppul, zu Ostraw etc.” and states, that one of villages is located “in unserim Ostrzischen gebite.” See “Listinář Těšínska.” In: *Codex diplomaticus Ducatus Tessiensis*. Ed. E. Němec. Český Těšín, 1958, no. 158. Moreover, the chapter was written by Jerzy Schaffer, who wrote another Bolek IV’s chapter from 21st of January 1426. See “Regestum St. Wenceslai.” In: *Codex diplomaticus Silesiae*. Bd. 6 (further cited as CDS 6). Eds. W. Wattenbach, C. Grünhagen. Breslau, 1870, p. 51, no. 176. Ostrava was then pledged to dukes of Opole, as Alois Adamus noted, see A. Adamus: *Dějiny města Ostravy v přehledu až do r. 1860*. Ostrava, 1927,

duke Kazimierz of Oświęcim and 20 knights of Conrad the White, was supposed to support Przemek of Opava. 50 horsemen from Racibórz were supposed to come to Karniów. In total, the army consisted of 625 knights, 320 cannons and 2 thousands guns. In the case of Hussite raid on the territory of any of union members, the rest was supposed to support him.¹³ Bolek IV's attendance at the assembly proves that, contrary to opinions of some scholars, he was not keen to join Hussites since the beginning. One can also state that he represented his father there, who was absent.

Means of defence, engaged by dukes and towns, were not sufficient. Hussite raid began in early 1428. They attacked from both sides. One unit attacked Kłodzko, second one moved towards Opava Duchy.¹⁴ Military activity was undertaken by Taborites and Orphans, Calixtines traditionally stayed in Bohemia. Inhabitants of invaded territories started to evacuate. It resulted with desolation of towns like: Polska Ostrava, Kietrz, Osobłoga, Paczków, Głuchołazy, Ząbkowice, Otmuchów i Grodków.¹⁵

Kłodzko and Opava were unsuccessfully besieged and relieved by duke of Oleśnica.¹⁶ Hussites crossed territory of Głubczyce duchy¹⁷ and, on 13th of March, they got to Głogówek. The town was defended by forces gathered by both owners, Bolek and Bernard. Supported by troops from Prudnik, Strzelecзки and Biała, their number was around one thousand. According to one of participants of the raid, the young prince, seeing approaching enemy, fled.¹⁸ Lacking the leader, Catholic forces surrendered and the town was plundered and destroyed.¹⁹ Then Taborites moved to undefended Prudnik. It made the inhabitants of Nowy

p. 14. Dalibor Prix argued that Bolek V was ruler of Ostrava at that time. See D. Prix: "Vévoda Václav II. Opavský a hlubčický. Ve stínu otce, husitu a bezvládi." *Časopis Slezského muzea* (further cited as ČSM) 1999, R. 48, p. 171. Prix's hypothesis was accepted by M. Čapský: *Vévoda Přemek Opavský...*, p. 281. However, both historian are wrong. Ostrava was ruled then by Bolek V's father.

¹³ Details concerning the assembly see SRS 6, pp. 10—12, no. 17; C. Grünhagen: "Die Hussitenkämpfe..." pp. 56—57.

¹⁴ On description of the 1428 raid see C. Grünhagen: "Die Hussitenkämpfe..." pp. 130—160.

¹⁵ SRS 6, pp. 66—67, no. 90; W. Dziewuski: *Spółeczeństwo śląskie...*, p. 28.

¹⁶ *Chronik des Martin von Bolkenhain* (further cited as *Kronika Marcina z Bolkowa*). Ed. F. Wachter. In: *Scriptores Rerum Silesiacarum*. Bd. 12. Breslau, 1883, p. 1; SRS 6, p. 58, no. 80; M. Čapský: *Vévoda Přemek Opavský...*, pp. 271—275.

¹⁷ Taking of Nowa Cerkiew, located in the duchy, is mentioned by bishop Conrad in letter to the Grand Master of Teutonic Order. See SRS 6, p. 63, no. 88.

¹⁸ *Chronicon veteris Collegiati Pragensis 1419—1441*. Ed. K. Höfler. In: *Fontes Rerum Austriacarum*. Abt. 1, Bd. 2, Th. 1, Wien, 1856, pp. 90—91.

¹⁹ In letter to Konrad of Kał, Władysław Jagiełło said that fortified Głogówek was not defended. See SRS 6, p. 61, no. 83. Inhabitants of Zgorzelec informed Nürnberg about taking of Głubczyce. SRS 6, pp. 66—67, no. 90.

Chocim escape from the town.²⁰ Then Czech army took over undefended Biała.²¹ Soon afterwards, Bolek of Głogówek signed treaty with Hussites, that included also his both father and uncle.²² They were followed by other Silesian dukes: Jan of Ziębice, Ludwik of Oława, Waclaw of Głubczyce, dukes of Racibórz, Przemek of Opava, Każko of Oświęcim and Bolko of Cieszyn.²³

Leaving territory of duchy of Opole, Hussites entered dominions of their biggest enemy — bishop of Wrocław. Głuchołazy, Widnawa, Paczków, Grodków Otmuchów and suburbs of Nysa were burned.²⁴ Surrounding villages were burned as well, most likely as a revenge for Conrad IV's raids. Silesian army, led by Ludwik III of Oława and Ruprecht of Lubin, tried to face the enemy at Nysa. On 18th of March 1428, both sides confronted in a battle, that ended up with retreat of Silesians.²⁵ Similarly to Bolek, Ludwik of Brzeg and Legnica left Brzeg alone.²⁶ Jan of Ziębice behaved differently. He broke the treaty and attacked Hussites on 27th of December at Stary Wielisław near Kłodzko where he found death.²⁷ The raid of Hussites mostly affected dominions of Bolek V, his uncle Bernard and bishop of Wrocław.²⁸ At the end of this year, ruler of Głogówek appears again in sources. In October, he sent his envoy to Zgorzelec to discuss further dealings against Hussites.²⁹ On 23rd of October, Ludwik of Lubin granted his wife Margret with castle Jelcz and assigned as her protectors: his father Bolek IV, uncle Bernard of Niemodlin and their brothers Bolek V and Jan.³⁰

²⁰ In 1430, Bolek grantem destroyed Prudnik with desolate willage Nowy Chocim. See *Die Inwentare der nichtstaatlichen Archive Schlesiens. Kreis Nuestadt*. Ed. E. von Graber. In: *Codex diplomaticus Silesiae*. Bd. 33 (further cited as CDS 33). Breslau, 1928, p. 33, no. 12.

²¹ *Kronika Marcina z Bolkowa*, p. 1; SRS 6, p. 63, no. 88; pp. 67—69, no. 91.

²² W. Dziewulski: "Herezja Bolka V...", p. 184.

²³ SRS 6, pp. 69—71, no. 93.

²⁴ SRS 6, pp. 63—64, no. 88. Some inhabitants of Paczków were killed, rest was chased away. See F.A. Zimmermann: *Beiträge zur beschreibung von Schlesien*. Bd. 3. Brieg, 1784, p. 298.

²⁵ According to citizens of Toruń, staying in Silesia then, country men fled from the battlefield. See SRS 6, pp. 58—59, no. 80. Description of the battle in *Strzeliński fragment*. See SRS 6, pp. 155—156.

²⁶ F. Szafranski: *Ludwik II...*, pp. 72—72.

²⁷ *Kronika Marcina z Bolkowa*, pp. 6—7; SRS 6, p. 156, 160; N. Pol: *Jahrbücher der Stadt Breslau*. Bd. 1. Breslau, 1813, p. 176; C. Grünhagen: *Die Hussitenkämpfe...*, p. 164.

²⁸ W. Dziewulski: *Spółeczeństwo śląskie...*, p. 28.

²⁹ The envoy reached Zgorzelec on 18th of October, which is confirmed by Zgorzelec accounts. The town paid 6 gr. for his accommodation. See *Codex diplomaticus Lusitaniae Superioris II*, Bd. 2. Ed. R. Jecht. Görlitz, 1903, p. 63.

³⁰ *Lehns- Und Besitzurkunden und seiner einzelnen Fürstenthümer im Mittelalter*. (further cited as LuBS). Eds. C. Grünhagen, H. Markgraf. Leipzig, 1881, pp. 376—378;

When Hussites left Silesia, dukes began preparation to defence again. Thus Saxony and Silesia signed a pact of mutual support in the case of raid of Hussites, obliged to send one-thousand unit within 14 days.³¹ Other countries were preparing to fight against Czech apostates in new crusade. It was again organized by bishop of Winchester, who had got permission from the king of England to recruit 250 knights and 2,500 archers. This army however, instead of fighting against Hussites, moved to France against Joanna d'Arc. It irritated pope as it proved that Catholics are more eager to fight against each other than remote heretic country.³²

Any means undertaken against invaders appeared ineffective, when another raid on Silesia was organized in early 1430. This army included foreigners, among others Dobiesław Puchała, Zygmunt Korybutowicz, Piotr Polak and Fryderyk Ostrogski. There were manifold reasons of the raid. First, it was important aspect of economy of Taborites and Orebiters. Second, those Hussitian wings wanted once again attack dominions of their arch enemy — dukes of Oleśnica. Third, Hussites wanted to get better positions to trade with Poland.³³ Hussites crossed again Racibórz Duchy, devastating Koźle Duchy, that belonged to dukes of Oleśnica.³⁴ Bolek the Younger did not wait for enemy in Głogówek this time, but moved to Chrzelice — his farthest castle in the east.³⁵ In April, one of invading units, led by Korybutowicz, besieged Gliwice that was taken on 17th of April.³⁶ Second unit crossed Oder at Krapkowice and on 15th of April reached Głogówek. Bolek V accepted then the four articles of Prague and allied with Hussites.³⁷

Wykaz regestów dokumentów archiwum archidiecezjalnego we Wrocławiu. Ed. W. Urban. Wrocław, 1970, no. 672.

³¹ SRS 6, pp. 79—81, no. 110.

³² J. Grygiel: "Contra Bohemos — wokół problemu krucjat antyhusyckich w XV-wiecznej Europie." *Zeszyty Naukowe Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego. Prace Historyczne* 1999, issue 126, pp. 70—71.

³³ J. Grygiel: *Życie i działalność Zygmunta Korybutowicza. Studium z dziejów stosunków polsko-czeskich w pierwszej połowie XV wieku.* Wrocław, 1988, pp. 106—107; F. Šmahel: *Husitské Čechy...*, pp. 226—227.

³⁴ SRS 6, p. 95, no. 123; SRS 6, pp. 108—109, no. 157.

³⁵ *Urunden des Klosters Czarnowanz.* Ed. W. Wattenbauch. In: *Codex diplomaticus Silesiae.* Bd. 1. Breslau, 1857, no. CIX.

³⁶ SRS 6, pp. 156—157; *Sigismundi Rosiczii diversa transactis temporibus facta in Silesia etalibi. Ab anno C. 1051 usque 1470* (further cites as *Roczniki Rosicza*). Ed. F. Wachter. In: *Scriptores Rerum Silesiacarum.* Bd. 12. Breslau, 1983, p. 48. F. Gramer: *Chronik der Stadt Beuthen in Ober-Schlesien.* Beuthen, 1863, p. 59. Apart from Gliwice, Korybutowicz took Bytom as well.

³⁷ The event was widely commented in various sources. See *Kronika Marcina z Bolkowa*, p. 9; *Codex epistolaris Vitoldi magni ducis Lithuaniae 1376—1430.* Ed. A. Prochaska. Kraków, 1882, pp. 899—900, no. 1409; SRS 6, p. 96, no. 125; pp. 108—109, no. 157. C. Grünhagen: "Bemerkungen, Ergründ Berichtigungen zu neueren

According to most of historians, ideology triggered Bolek's decision to become Hussite, referring to his previous studies in Prague.³⁸ Only Dziewulski found different purpose of Bolek's "conversion." According to him, heir of Opole was motivated by perspective of taking over, with the help of Hussites, lands belonging to bishop of Wrocław.³⁹ Tracing further dealings of young duke, one can only agree with Dziewulski. Quick acquisition to Taborites suggests that Bolko the younger had already earlier considered his decisions. He could have been motivated both by memory of great destructions, caused by previous raid of Czechs⁴⁰ and his conviction that Hussites are practically unbeatable. All previous military encounters between Catholics and Hussites ended up with either failure or retreat of the former side. Duke Jan of Ziębica's death is a good example as he fell heroically, left alone by his own army.

Events of 1428 prove that Bolek missed heroic virtues. Moreover, all alliances of Silesian duchies, made in order to defend against raids, did not work. It all could have influenced duke's decision. However, it seems that it had been first consulted with his father. The letter of Conrad the Younger to the Grand Master of Teutonic Order, is the most important evidence of cooperation between Bolek IV with his son. According to the letter, duke of Opole provided his son with cannons and powder.⁴¹ Senior's attitude was quite specific as he had never fought against Hussites, contrary to his younger brother, Bernard. One should remember that instead of Bolek IV, it was his son who participated in Gródek assembly. It was not the father but the son who negotiated with Hussites. Thus it seems likely that during the first part of his rule in Głogówek, Bolek V was executing will of his father, trying to carry twofold politics. It could only have been influenced by revoking the sentence of Vaclav IV. This situation made Piasts of Opole vary their policy during Hussites wars in order to achieve as much profits as possible. Thus Bernard was one of the most faithful followers of Sigismund of Luxemburg,

Schriften auf dem Gebiete der schlesischen Geschichte mit urkundliche Beilagen." *Zeitschrift des Vereins für Geschichte Schlesiens* 1871, Bd. 11, p. 216, corrected letter's date from 1432 to 1430. Account of *libri vicariorum*, saying that Bolek joined Hussites in 1428 by threat and secularized church in Głogówek, should be rejected. The source is unreliable, mixing numerous events. See H. Schnurpfeill: *Geschichte und Beschreibung der Stadt Ober-Glogau in Schlesien*. Ober Glogau, 1860, pp. 29—32. The church functioned there at least till 1441. See A. Weltzel: "Das Kollegiatstift zum heiligen Bartholomäus in Ober-Glogau." *Zeitschrift des Vereins für Geschichte Schlesiens* 1896, Bd. 30, p. 178.

³⁸ S. Brodtko: "Piast — husyta...", p. 77; J. Horwat: *Księstwo opolskie i jego podziały do 1532 r. Książęta, miasta, Kościół, urzędy, własność prywatna*, Rzeszów, 2002, p. 219.

³⁹ W. Dziewulski: *Herezja Bolka V...*, p. 185.

⁴⁰ See J. Rajman: *Pogranicze śląsko-małopolskie...*, p. 201.

⁴¹ SRS 6, pp. 108—109, no. 157.

Bolek IV officially supported the king as well, although he remained passive and his son joined Hussites.

Duke of Głogówek followed Hussites invading lands of bishop of Wrocław. They attacked Grodków and Nysa. In order to conquer them, invaders decided to take over neighbouring castles first. They succeeded to take three near Grodków: Głębocko, Meristow and Więcmierzyce. He resided in Meristow, two others were occupied by his troops.⁴² His forces were not big, he had 55 knights at his disposal in 1427, so he could not match number of horsemen of other dukes.⁴³ Number of infantry did not exceed 500 according to data from 1428.⁴⁴ Heir of Opole was supported unofficially by his father who provided him with both cannons and powder.⁴⁵

Hussites left Gródków and moved to Niemcza, that they managed to take on 23rd of April.⁴⁶ It became their invading base, commanded by Bedrzych of Strażnica.⁴⁷ In second half of May, Bolek was defeated for the first time, attacked at Gryżów by units from Wrocław and Nysa.⁴⁸ This failure does not surprise, given limited forces the duke had at disposal, lack of experience and, supposedly feeling of being unpunished as close to Hussite forces. Apart from Gryżów, Bolek lost Meristow. Afterwards, he moved to Kluczbork,

⁴² *Roczniki Rosicza*, p. 49; SRS 6, pp. 108—109, no. 157. Information about taking over Prudnik and Głogówek by Bolek V's troops means, that author of the letter was convinced Bolek did it against Bernard, who was co-owner of those towns. Presence of army in both towns could not surprise Konrad as it had to stay there in order to defend them against Hussites. Gryżów had belonged to dukes of Opole since 1383. See LuBS, Bd. 2, pp. 310—312; M. Čapský: *Vevoda Přemek Opavský...*, p. 68. Knights from other regions joined army in Głogówek: Melchior Hoff from Meristow crew or Mikołaj Kotuliński of Niemodlin. See SRS 6, p. 98, no. 130.

⁴³ SRS 6, pp. 10—12, no. 17.

⁴⁴ During the defence of Głogówek, Bolek had 1-thousand army at his disposal. As Głogówek crew contained troops from Biała, Prudnik and Strzeleccki, belonging to both Bolek and his uncle Bernard, one can conclude, that at least half of the Głogówek crew belonged to Bernard.

⁴⁵ SRS 6, pp. 108—109, no. 157.

⁴⁶ *Kronika Marcina z Bolkowa*, p. 10; *Roczniki Rosicza*, p. 48.

⁴⁷ Piotr Polak was the vice-commandant. See F. Šmahel: *Husitské Čechy...*, p. 228.

⁴⁸ *Roczniki Rosicza*, p. 49; SRS 6, p. 96, no. 125. In result, Bolek V lost both Gryżów and Meristow. According to Rosicz, the battle took place on 18th of September, but this dating is not certain. Moreover, Hans of Gersdorf, in a letter written in late May, referred to Bolek's failure. It means it could not happen in mid-September. Some scholars claim that Bolek's troops resided in Meristow and Gryżów still in 1432, as a result of wrong dating of the letter by C. Grünhagen. See T. Wünsch: "Mittelalterliches Krisenmanagement im Widerstreit von Politik und Religion. Oberschlesische Städte in der Husitenzeit." In: *Oberschlesien im späten Mittelalter. Eine Region im Spannungsfeld zwischen Polen, Böhmen — Mähren und dem Reich vom 13 bis zum Beginn des 16 Jahrhunderts*. Ed. T. Wünsch. Berlin, 1993, p. 186.

possessed by duke Ludwik of Legnica-Brzeg, besieged by Hussites under command of Dobek Puchała.⁴⁹ They managed to take the town, charged then by Dobiesław. Bolek moved with army to Namysłów. He plundered area around. Citizens of Namysłów took advantage of it, and, supported by forces from Wrocław, attacked invaders. Many of Bolek's soldiers fell, part of them was taken captive.⁵⁰ This time again, the defeat was caused by small number of troops at disposal and lack of discipline. Thus afterwards he avoided open confrontation in battle. Situation seemed stable in mid-May. Hussites kept Gliwice, Bytom, Kluczbork and Niemcza. Bolek however did not acquire new territories.

Silesian dukes aimed to regain lost towns at that time. However, siege of Niemcza, in mid — 1430, did not bring success.⁵¹ In the meantime, Bolek remained in his dominions⁵² rather staying away from any military actions.

⁴⁹ Exact date of this expedition remains unknown. The main problem is whether Bolek joined Dobek just after conversion as argued by C. Grünhagen: *Die Hussitenkämpfe...*, pp. 185—187. However, the Konrad's letter to the Grand Master of Teutonic Order, written on 15th of May, suggests that the expedition preceded conversion. Konrad writes that Bolko, together with Hussites, took over castles near Grodków and Niemcza. However, he did not mention expedition to Kluczbork. It means that common dealings with Dobek took place after mid-May, probably after defeat at Gryżów. See SRS 6, pp. 108—109, no. 157. Burning of monastery in Jemielnica is another problem. C. Grünhagen: *Die Hussitenkämpfe...*, p. 186, treats it as authentic event, following A. Zimmermann: *Beiträge zur beschreibung von Schlesiens*. Bd. 2. Brieg, 1783, p. 271. J. Rajman: *Jemielnica. Wieś i klasztor cysterski na Górnym Śląsku*. Katowice, 1995, p. 111, finds the burning as possible. According to J. Horwat: *Księstwo opolskie...*, p. 219, duke of Głogówek took part in it. However, no contemporary source mentions the burning. See SRS 6, p. 157. Event of that kind would have been certainly recorded in sources. See example of Henryków: *Schlesische Nekrologien*. Ed. M. Wattenbach. In: *Zeitschrift des Vereins für Geschichte Schlesiens* 1862, Bd. 4, p. 304; *Roczniki Rosicza*, p. 47; SRS 6, p. 155; N. Pol: *Jahrbücher der Stadt Breslau*. Bd. 1. Breslau, 1813, p. 174. After Hussites wars, some monasteries exaggerated their losses in order to increase cult there. See R. Żerelik: "Problem wiarygodności przekazu o śmierci 70 mnichów krzeszowskich w czasie wojen husyckich." In: *Krzeszów uświęcony łaską*. Eds. H. Dziurła, K. Bobrowski. Wrocław, 1997, pp. 90—103. Information, given by E. Maleczyńska: "Śląsk w epoce feudalnej." In: *Historia Śląska*. Vol. 1, Part 2. Ed. K. Maleczyński. Wrocław, 1960, p. 241, about Bolek's participation, together with Hussites, in attack on Jasna Góra monastery, is also false. On this event see P. Bilnik: "Napać 'husytów' na Jasną Górę. Fakty — konteksty — legenda." *Studia Claramontana* 1995, no. 15, pp. 277—324; T. Kos: *Fundacja Klasztoru Jasnogórskiego w świetle nowej interpretacji źródeł*, Kraków, 2002, pp. 185—203.

⁵⁰ SRS 6, p. 165.

⁵¹ *Roczniki Rosicza*, p. 48; *Kronika Marcina z Bolkowa*, pp. 10—11; M. Goliński: *Broń palna na Śląsku...*, pp. 18—21.

⁵² He stayed in Głogówek in August 1430. See CDS XXXIII, p. 33, 40—41. He was there in March 1431 as well. See *Katalog IX*, no. 259. Month later he moved to Pilcza.

There were still fights in Lower Silesia, where Otmuchów was taken. However dominions of Piasts of Opole, since Bolek joined Hussites, remained not affected by war.⁵³ In May 1431, Silesian dukes tried, unsuccessfully, to regain Kluczbork.⁵⁴ They dealt much better regaining Gliwice, mainly due to treachery of Bernard Roth, Hussite command.⁵⁵

Europe was preparing for another anti-Hussite crusade. The initiative was directed by cardinal Julius Cesarini and was supposed to be led again by Brandenburg elector Frederick. Again, the expedition ended up with a defeat, this time at Domazlice. This defeat meant lack of perspective for military overcoming of Hussites and a need to look for some compromising dealings.⁵⁶ Such compromise was achieved during council in Basel and personal negotiations between Sigismund of Luxemburg and Calixtines.⁵⁷ The only remaining problem was the most radical wings of Hussites.

Their situation in Silesia became complicated as well. In April army of Taborites entered Racibórz duchy and took Rybnik. They left 300-person crew there and moved to Niemodlin Duchy.⁵⁸ These dealings made Bolek invade dominions of dukes of Racibórz. However, in early May, he was defeated by duke Mikołaj of Racibórz.⁵⁹ This defeat meant, that Bolek finally resigned from any military actions.⁶⁰ In mid-May joint forces of dukes of Niemodlin,

See *Codex Diplomaticus Poloniae*. Vol. 3. Ed. L. Ryszczewski, A. Muczowski. Varsoviae 1858, pp. 395—397, no. CCII.

⁵³ More about fights in Silesia see C. Grünhagen: *Die Hussitenkämpfe...*, pp. 193—202.

⁵⁴ *Roczniki Rosicza*, p. 49; B. Cimała: *Kluczbork. Dzieje miasta*. Opole, 1992, p. 37.

⁵⁵ *Joannis Dlugossii s. Longini canonici Cracoviensis Historiae Polonicae libri XII*. Vol. 4. Ed. A. Przeździecki. In: *Opera Omnia*. Vol. 13. Kraków, 1877, pp. 441—442; J. Jurok: *Husutské organizační struktury v Lužicích ve Slezsku*. ČSM, 1996, Vol. 45, p. 103.

⁵⁶ J. Grygiel: *Contra Bohemos...*, p. 73.

⁵⁷ J. Čehura: *České země v letech...*, pp. 93—101.

⁵⁸ SRS 6, p. 123, no. 177; p. 124, no. 179; pp. 126—127, no. 182.

⁵⁹ Both sides might have met earlier at Wodzisław Śląski, but it is uncertain. See I. Panic: *Żory pod rządami Przemysłidów i Habsburgów. Z badań nad historią miasta w latach 1327—1742*, Żory, 2002, p. 89.

⁶⁰ *Roczniki Rosicza*, p. 50. Rosicz notes Trzebnica as a place of the battle but it is definitely a mistake. It is hard to imagine that Bolek, leading small forces, moved to Lower Silesia. Długosz notes Rybnik as the place of the battle. See *Joannis Dlugossii...*, p. 457. M. Pol: *Jahrbücher der Stadt Breslau*, p. 182, also notes Rybnik. A. Komoniewski: *Chronografia albo Dziejopis Żywiecki*. Ed. S. Grodziski, I. Dwornicka. Żywiec, 1987, pp. 29—30, claims, that the battle meant victory of duke of Opole (!). See more on the event C. Grünhagen: *Die Hussitenkämpfe...*, p. 249. J. Horwat: *Księstwo opolskie...*, p. 219, claims that Bolek was defeated by Mikołaj both at Rybnik and Trzebnica. This view cannot be accepted as it is hard to imagine why both dukes would move to Lower Silesia to meet in another battle.

Brzeg and Namysłów, defeated Hussites at Kluczbork and began siege of the town. It was stopped after a week. Then the town was bought out for 1,250 sixties of Prague grosses by Ludwik II and Bernard of Niemodlin.⁶¹ In mid-May Piotr Polak was defeated as well and taken captive.⁶²

The final failure of Bolek was connected with sale of castle in Jelcz (with Piekary village) by Ludwik of Lubin on 10th of November 1433 to bishop of Wrocław Konrad and Wrocław chapter for 1,000 sixties of Prague grosses. Previous dealings of Bolko, who used the castle as a base to invade Church properties, was the main purpose of the transaction. Ludwik assured that he will deal with any pretensions of his brother-in-law.⁶³

Taborites managed to keep only several strongholds in Silesia. Such situation lasted till 1434 when radical wings were defeated at Lipiany. Last possessions of Hussites were bought out by bishop Konrad IV.⁶⁴ After elimination of radical wings, Sigismud was able to award his followers. Imperial grace included also Bolek IV. On 16th of September 1434, Sigismund revoked the sentence of his predecessor of confiscation of duchy and outlawry for Piasts of Opole.⁶⁵ Next year, Bolko, together with his son and brother, joined the Silesian land peace.⁶⁶

Summing up, one can state that Hussites wars were important event in history of Silesia in 1420s and 1430s. It was the time, when Bolek V began his political career. During Czech raids, his (and his father) land suffered the least. Bolek, during the second raid, joined heretics and took part in their campaigns, His father supported him although officially remained Catholic. On one hand, duke of Opole inspired his son to convert to Hussitism, on the

⁶¹ SRS 6, pp. 132—133, nos. 190, 191; W. Dziwulski: "Dzieje Kluczborka od najdawniejszych czasów do 1808 roku." In: *Szkice kluczborskie*. Vol. 2. Opole, 1979, p. 31; B. Cimała: *Kluczbork...*, p. 38; Z.H. Nowak: "Dobiesław Puchała." In: *Polski słownik biograficzny*. Vol. 29. Kraków, 1986, p. 324; M. Goliński: "Od czasów najdawniejszych do 1740 roku." In: *Namysłów. Z dziejów miasta i okolic*. Eds. M. Goliński, E. Kościak, J. Kęsik. Namysłów, 2006, p. 120. Ludwik asked Teutonic Order for some financial support. Finally, Money came from Namysłów and Bernard.

⁶² *Roczniki Rosicza*, p. 50.

⁶³ *Katalog dokumentów Archiwum Archidiecezjalnego we Wrocławiu*. Part 1: *Dokumenty oznaczone sygnaturami alfabetycznymi*. Ed. W. Urban. Wrocław, 1970, no. 1204; W. Urban: *Studia nad dziejami wrocławskiej diecezji w I połowie XV wieku*. Wrocław, 1959, pp. 128—129. The case was continued as pretensions to the Castel were voiced by Margret. She finally resigned from Jelcz on 14th of July 1444. See *Katalog dokumentów Archiwum Archidiecezjalnego...*, no. 1297.

⁶⁴ SRS 6, pp. 141—142, no. 205; *Wykaz regestów dokumentów...*, p. 116; *Roczniki Rosicza*, p. 51.

⁶⁵ CDS 6, p. 58, no. 192.

⁶⁶ *Silesiacarum Rerum Scriptores*. Bd. 1. Ed. F.W. von Sommerberg. Lipsiae 1729, pp. 1019—1022.

other, supported Sigismund, counting on revoking the sentence. Such policy appeared to be advantageous although Bolek V personally did not achieve any profits. Thus theory saying that he was able to control whole Upper Silesia, must be rejected. Bolek V appeared to be rather bad military leader. All his battles resulted with failure for him. On the other hand, it is difficult to find any anti-Church character of his dealings. References to secularization of church in Głogówek and attacks on monasteries in Jemielnica and Jasna Góra, are false.

Maciej Woźny

Political activity of Bolek V of Opole during Hussite wars

Summary

The article analyses the activity of Bolek V of Opole during the Hussite wars. The very period of his life is most frequently discussed in the literature. However, particular authors, describing his activity, often come to contradictory conclusions. The author looked at the sources concerning the very issue again, trying to correct some of the controversial opinions.

Bolek V remained under the influence of his father Bolek IV throughout the whole period of Hussite military actions in Silesia. Piasts from Opole in the first years of heretics' invasion on Silesia belonged to the anti-Hussite camp, which, among other things, resulted in burning Głogówek, the headquarters of young Bolek in 1428. He joined the Hussites two years later, probably on his father's recommendation and with his uncle Bernard's knowledge.

The author proposed a different chronology of military actions during the campaign from 1430. Besides, he rejected, as some of the historians, the information on the alleged participation of Bolek V in invasion on Czeszochowa and Jemielnica.

Maciej Woźny

Die politische Tätigkeit des Oppelner Fürsten Bolko V. zur Zeit der Hussitenkriege

Zusammenfassung

In seinem Artikel bespricht der Verfasser die Tätigkeit des Oppelner Fürsten Bolko V. zur Zeit der Hussitenkriege. Diese Periode wird in der Literatur am häufigsten besprochen, denn die einzelnen Autoren kommen oft zu widersprüchlichen Schlüssen. Anhand der vorhandenen Quellen versucht der Verfasser, manche strittige Meinungen richtig zu stellen.

Während der militärischen Handlungen der Hussiten in Schlesien blieb Bolko V. unter dem Einfluss seines Vaters, Bolko IV. Zur Zeit der ersten häretischen Einfälle ins Schlesien gehörten die Oppelner Piasten dem antihussitischen Lager, was u. a. zur Verbrennung des Sitzes von dem jungen Bolko in Głogówek im Jahre 1428 geführt hat. Nach zwei Jahren höchstwahrscheinlich im Auftrage seines Vaters und mit Wissen seines Onkels, Bernard, hat sich Bolko V. den Hussiten angeschlossen.

Der Verfasser gibt andere Chronologie von den Kriegshandlungen 1430 an. Außerdem genauso wie andere Historiker lehnt er die Information ab, dass Bolko V. an dem Angriff auf die Städte Częstochowa (Tschenstochau) und Jemielnica teilgenommen hat.

LECH KRZYŻANOWSKI, MIŁOSZ SKRZYPEK

**Administrative Commissions of Cieszyn and Bielsko
between 1920 and 1922
Studies on Polish-German relations
in Cieszyn Silesia in the interwar period**

The origins of local government in Habsburg monarchy date to second half of 19th century. In 1860, on the basis of October diploma of count Agenor Gołuchowski, released just then, establishment of the Country Board was announced — representative of planned land parliaments.¹

In Cieszyn Silesia (part of so-called Austrian Silesia at that time) this case was regulated by land statute from 26th of February 1861.² According to it, Silesian Land Parliament was the main legislative body for the region and for Opava Silesia. It contained 30 members, led by land marshal, nominated by Emperor. They were chosen through curial and indirect votes and the most prominent dignitary — bishop of Wrocław. Autonomous Land Division was executive body of Silesian Parliament. Districts constituted the smallest administrative parts of local government in Cieszyn Silesia. Imperial directive from 5th of March 1862 and the Law on organization of districts and its elections statute, enacted on 15th of November 1863, were legal base for their establishment. District was represented by district division and the board, chosen from its members. Board was directed by a mayor. The District division had both executive and control prerogatives. Number of its members varied, depending on size of a district, from 8 to 30 people. Districts were

¹ H. Wereszycki: *Historia Austrii*. Wrocław, 1986, pp. 222—223.

² L. Ręgorowicz, M. Dworżański, M. Tułacz: *Województwo Śląskie 1918—1928. Rozwój administracji samorządowej województwa śląskiego w zarysie*. Katowice 1929, p. 128.

controlled, regarding legal accordance of its dealings, by Land Government, that was a second instance of state authorities.³

These administrative solutions had been valid till the end of Habsburg Monarchy and the first years after incorporation of Cieszyn Silesia into Poland. National Board of Cieszyn Duchy (NBCD) decided to keep Austrian regulations then.

In October 1918, when NBCD was constituted as the main authority in Cieszyn Silesia, it was a need to take control over contemporary administration of the region. Negative consequences of refusal to accept authority of NBCD by local starosts (in Cieszyn, Bielsko and Frysztat), were neutralized, when the Board announced incorporation of the region into Poland, followed by enthusiasm of people (the gathering of 27th of October 1918). On 30th October, heads of almost all communes of the region made vows of loyalty. It took place in the National House in Cieszyn.⁴ This act was supposed to counterbalance negative reactions of starosts and city boards in both Cieszyn and Bielsko, dominated by Germans. It forestalled possible Czech actions as well.

Vows of loyalty by representatives of regional villages had its significance, considering the fact that on 7th of November 1918, members of City Board in Bielsko and representatives of several districts (Aleksandrowice, Kamienica, Stare Bielsko, Wapienica) declared will to remain in Austria stating that any changes in that case should be made by peace conference.⁵ Such attitude of Germans in Bielsko was caused by separatist activity of Silesian Folk Party of Józef Koźdoń, that was quite popular in Bielsko county. Taking over Cieszyn garrison by Poles in late October 1918 and acceptance of authority of NBCD by new Cieszyn starost, Zygmunt Żurawski, let the Board to overcome these problems at least in part. It led to absolute authority of the Board in Cieszyn county and it limited German initiatives in Bielsko county.⁶ Polish developments there were finally strengthened by establishment of authority, on 2nd of November 1918, of new Bielsko starost Jakub Podczaski.

Political authority of NBCD in Bielsko county was based on former administrative structure (starosty), accompanied by unfriendly attitude of authonomic authority, represented by some country districts and City Board

³ *Zbiór praw konstytucyjnych i administracyjnych województwa śląskiego*. Ed. W. Dąbrowski. Katowice, 1922, pp. 176—177; see more at A. Cienciała: *Podręcznik dla gmin śląskich*. Vol. 1. Cieszyn, 1889, pp. 1—173.

⁴ *Gwiazdka Cieszyńska* 1918, no. 88.

⁵ National Archive in Katowice, Cieszyn Division (further cited as APKat. C), collection: Rada Narodowa Księstwa Cieszyńskiego (further cited as RNKC), sygn. 17, p. 329; see also D. Sieradzka: *Miasta województwa śląskiego i ich reprezentacje samorządowe 1922—1939*. Kraków, 1996, pp. 37—38.

⁶ B. Cybulski: *Rada Narodowa Księstwa Cieszyńskiego (1918—1920). Studium historyczno-prawne*. Opole, 1980, pp. 36—37.

in Bielsko. It was counterbalanced by support of Poles living in pro-German districts of Bielsko county, who (e.g. in Skoczów) were creating citizen committees, taking care of execution of directives of NBCD by local district offices.⁷ Analogous role was played by heads of communes in Bielsko district belonging to the Union of Polish Districts in Silesia. Thanks to them, till the end of November 1918, NBCD managed to receive official declarations concerning incorporation of Cieszyn Duchy into Poland.⁸

In Bielsko however, despite of arrival of Polish Army on 17th of November 1918, situation had not improved. Finally, reconcile gestures of German social democrats (represented by Franz Hönigsman and Otto Bartusch), accompanied by advantageous contracts of Polish government offered to Bielsko textile factories, led to ultimate compromise. On 28th of November 1918, after negotiations between NBCD and representatives of the City Board, agreement was made. On 7th of December, they, together with representatives of local German districts, made vows of loyalty to Poland.⁹

There was slightly different situation in town of Cieszyn. Although local district division was dominated by Germans as well, it accepted authority of NBCD on 1st of November 1918. It did not mean however change in will to either remain under Austrian authority or create separate state, that would prevent incorporation to either Poland or Czech Republic. The latter vision was especially popular among Germans in Cieszyn and followers of Józef Koźdoń. However, existence of NBCD, constantly expressing its belonging to Poland, made keeping German flavour in the town authorities impossible in longer run. On 30th of November 1918, there was manifestation of Poles in Cieszyn, demanding inclusion of their representatives in the division.¹⁰ Realization of these postulates took time due to numerous turbulences, reflected by contemporary press.¹¹ According the published articles, NBCD, on 11th of December, enacted a directive on enlargement of district divisions. Poles, gathered in Polish Citizen Committee, demanded 1/3 of positions in Cieszyn District Division and the City Board and new, more just, elections statute.¹²

⁷ *Gwiazdka Cieszyńska* 1918, no. 89.

⁸ B. Cybulski: *Rada Narodowa...*, p. 34.

⁹ J. Spyra: *Niemcy na Śląsku Cieszyńskim wobec Rady Narodowej Księstwa Cieszyńskiego i wydarzeń z lat 1918—1920*. In: *Pamiętnik Cieszyński* Vol. 8. Ed. I. Pan-ic. Cieszyn, 1994, pp. 59, 72; A. Stępnia: *Kwestia narodowa i społeczna na Śląsku Cieszyńskim pod koniec XIX i w początkach XX wieku (do 1920)*. Katowice, 1986, pp. 239—243; D. Sieradzka: *Miasta województwa śląskiego...*, p. 38.

¹⁰ *Dziennik Cieszyński* 1918, no. 261.

¹¹ *Dziennik Cieszyński* 1918, no. 262, 271, 272; 1919, no. 9, 93, 95; *Gwiazdka Cieszyńska* 1918, no. 103; 1919, no. 15.

¹² See K. Piątkowski: *Stosunki narodowościowe w Księstwie Cieszyńskim*. Cieszyn 1918, p. 66.

There were protests against these postulates. Poles were accused of preferring nationality to competences in attempts to take positions in town authorities. Finally, the conflict was to be solved by special committee, that included 8 representatives of District Division and 8 members of Polish Citizen Committee. In January 1919, list of 15 Poles, who were to enter the Division, was completed. Polish-Czechoslovakia war in 1919 prolonged realization of these decisions. Attitude of the president of NBCD, Tadeusz Reger, his pressure on mayor Gamroth and quick end of Polish-Czechoslovakian conflict made Germans accept Polish conditions. On 2nd of May 1919, representatives of Polish political parties in the region, entered District Division in Cieszyn,¹³ that functioned with this larger number of representatives to July 1920.

Situation changed with decision made by the Board of Ambassadors on 28th of July 1920, dividing Cieszyn Silesia. In its eastern part, Polish government commissioner Zygmunt Żurawski and the Temporary Government Commission for Cieszyn Silesia (TGCCS), remained the main authority.¹⁴ On 30th of December 1920, it made decision of dissolution of district authorities and establishment, as their substitutes, so-called administrative commissions.¹⁵ This decision meant necessity to replace outdated offices with new, reflecting actual political situation. Commissions were to be established by government commissioner following proposals of local political and social bodies.

Resolution of TGCCS was not a new idea. Already on 20th of August 1920, Żurawski had established Administrative Commission in Cieszyn that replaced District Division. That initiative was undertaken to organize authorities again in divided town.¹⁶ Its first meeting (Commission used also German name: *Verwaltungs-Kommission der Stadt Teschen*) took place on 31st of August 1920. Proceedings were chaired by Józef Duda, the nominated commissioner of town, who had a speech manifesting beginning of Polish rule in town.¹⁷ Duda's declaration, defining new status and position of Poles in town authorities, did not mean elimination of Germans. Besides, it would be against policy of Żurawski, who did not want to radicalize national issues in the territory of his jurisdiction. Commissioner statement, quoted by press, meant that the Commission aims "to begin policy of peaceful coexistence and cooperation. On the one hand, we must avoid the politics of petty napping. On the other hand, German exclu-

¹³ W. Dubiański: *Skład władz gminnych...*, p. 105.

¹⁴ APKat. C, collection: Rząd Krajowy Księstwa Cieszyńskiego (further cited as RzK), sygn. 11. Protocol of the first meeting of TGCCS, 15th of December 1920.

¹⁵ APKat. C, RzK, sygn. 11. Protocol of the fifth meeting of TGCCS, 30th of December 1920.

¹⁶ *Dziennik Cieszyński* 1920, no. 190; *Gwiazdka Cieszyńska* 1920, no. 186.

¹⁷ APKat. C, collection: Acts of Town Cieszyn (further cited as AMC), sygn. 61, pp. 1—2, Protocol of proceedings of Administrative Commission of Cieszyn, 31st of August 1920; *Gwiazdka Cieszyńska* 1920, no. 189.

siveness in district authorities must be rejected. The Commission will contain equal number of Poles and Germans, moreover, the vice-commissioner will be always German. Equality of influences will be kept. It is important to keep good will while cooperating [...].”¹⁸ Sections of the Commission (containing equal number of Poles and Germans): financial, educational, legal, trading, industrial and railway, police, buildings, liquidation, disciplinary, were supposed to serve these declarations and plans.¹⁹

As it often happens, practice did not go along theory, and the reason for it was reversed ethnic composition of this area. It was due to division of town and incorporation of Cieszyn Silesia into Poland. Already during the fall of 1920, new names of the streets began to appear.²⁰ Despite of declarations, it caused conflicts. Tables with new names of the streets in Cieszyn were to be bilingual. Similarly, the same rule existed in Bielsko, Komorowice and Wapienica.²¹ Lack of respect towards this rule by Germans was another aspect of national rivalry in Cieszyn. In July 1921, “unknown” perpetrators painted most of signs on German shops in Cieszyn. It raised heated polemics and mutual accusations of persecutions (Germans) and ignoring rule of bilingualism and lack of signs in Polish (Poles).²² In November 1921, German owners gave in but, manifesting their resistance, they made Polish signs in Gothic causing new accusations.²³

Cieszyn Germans aimed to keep their prerogatives criticizing any sign of limitation (e.g. they accused Poles of unequal share of positions in the Board²⁴). In 1922 Poles were accused of breaking rights of national, mainly German, minorities. Responding to that, *Gwiazdka Cieszyńska* presented real situation, noting that, despite incorporation to Poland, there is German education, bilingual signs and German officers in Cieszyn, all proving respect for rights of national minorities.²⁵

Peaceful national relations in Cieszyn were one of the most important tasks of the commissioner of the town — Józef Duda. It is confirmed by the fact that chairing the first proceedings of the Administrative Commission, he spoke in German as well.

¹⁸ *Dziennik Cieszyński* 1920, no. 191; APKat. C, AMC, sygn. 61, p. 1; Protocol of 31st of August 1920; W. Dubiański: *Skład władz gminnych...*, p. 106.

¹⁹ APKat. C, AMC, sygn. 61, p. 4; Protocol of 31st of August 1920.

²⁰ APKat. C, AMC, sygn. 61; Protocol of 25th of October 1920.

²¹ APKat. C, AMC, sygn. 21; K. Nowak: *Z problemów Śląska Cieszyńskiego...*, p. 83.

²² *Dziennik Cieszyński* 1921, no. 173.

²³ *Gwiazdka Cieszyńska* 1921, no. 85.

²⁴ *Dziennik Cieszyński* 1920, no. 198.

²⁵ *Gwiazdka Cieszyńska* 1922, no. 37. Different view as presented by journal of National Democrats, *Dziennik Cieszyński*. Authors of its articles demanded Polonization of schools in Cieszyn. See *Dziennik Cieszyński* 1920, no. 197.

It is worth mentioning positive examples of Polish-German cooperation as well, mainly in town economy sphere. Cieszyn and the whole region lacked railway station (the former one remained in Czech part of the town). It caused delays in trade exchange that had to deal with complicated transit documents. Unfriendly attitude of Czech officers, who delayed departure of rail squads, was also significant in that matter. Renovation of railway station in Cieszyn-Bobrowka, became important alternative for Poles. The Administrative Commission dealt with this case in February 1922. It faced initiative of Ministry of Railways, planning since 1920 to close Railway Division in Cieszyn.²⁶ The Commission decided to defend its existence, asking Zygmunt Żurawski and TGCCS for support. Uniform opinion of the whole Commission proves that the “railway invalidity” was a problem for both Poles and Germans.²⁷

Fundamental initiatives regarding national issues were undertaken in early 1930s. They were preceded by decision made during 11th proceedings of the Commission in Cieszyn on 7th of October 1921.²⁸ It was supposed to stimulate pPolonization processes in local authorities. According to it, all German officers, being non-Polish speakers, were obliged to learn it on relevant level till 30th of June 1923. Otherwise, they were supposed to be fired.

New elections status for Cieszyn part of Silesian voivodeship, enacted in July 1922, caused staff movements that were supposed to bring Polish side a victory. Thus, on 7th of August 1922, the Minister of Internal Affairs dismissed Józef Duda (nominated starost of Bielsko). He was substituted by Dr Jan Michejda.²⁹ He took the office on 25th of August 1922, during proceedings of the Commission.³⁰ According to him, the main task of the Commission was to organize election and “[...] do its best to increase economic level of the town, including other aspects as well [...]”.³¹ Despite these declarations, Poles got only half of positions in new District Division. Germans got 30% and Jews 10% of available places. Similar situation occurred in 1925 election. It made all nations in Cieszyn cooperate. Visible victory of Poles in 1929 election, began above mentioned process of limitation of German political influences in town.³²

²⁶ APKat. C, RzK, sygn. 25, letter from Ministry of Railways to Z. Żurawski, 16th of October 1920 and 17th of November 1920; APKat. C, RzK, sygn. 33, letter from Ministry of Railways to TGCCS, 13th of January 1922.

²⁷ *Dziennik Cieszyński* 1922, no. 35.

²⁸ APKat. C, AMC, sygn. 61; Protocol of 7th of October 1921.

²⁹ APKat. C, AMC, sygn. 65, pp. 63—64. Jan Michejda had been member of Silesian Land Parliament in Opava and Austrian National Board in Vienna, where he represented Polish national circles. After collapse of Hasburg monarchy, he became one of three presidents of NBCD.

³⁰ APKat. C, AMC, sygn. 65, p. 67.

³¹ *Poseł Ewangelicki* 1922, no. 35.

³² W. Dubiański: *Skład władz gminnych...*, p. 103.

Similar dealings, leading to establishment of Administrative Commission, although a little bit later, were undertaken in Bielsko. It was also caused by political and national reasons. The District Board was dominated by Germans. In the case of general elections, they would also certainly win. Thus, the only way for Poles to take control over town was to establish the administrative commission. There is no doubt that standards of democracy were not respected in this case. However, members of TGCCS found it too profitable for Polish interests. The fact that the District Board in Bielsko lacked democratic legitimacy as well, was another story. It had been formed already in 1912, so it exceeded their planned tenure. Wartime justified such solution but it also strengthened arguments of Polish side. The latter could claim that one undemocratic power in Bielsko substitutes another one. News of preparations to establish the commission, activated local Polish circles, rather passive politically so far. It resulted in establishment of Polish Citizen Union (PCU) on 9th of March 1921. It included all Polish parties (except for Polish Socialist Party) aspiring to take power in the town. Absence of socialists in this body was fully justified. It was due to, traditional in Bielsko, cooperation of Polish and German socialists, who established their own list. It would have been hard to imagine local PSP members taking part in PCU without their German partners. The latter would not be welcomed in such organization though.

Dr. Bernard Bogaczewski became the head of PCU, Klemens Matusiak became its secretary. Aim of the organization was to gather all Poles living in Bielsko, regardless their political orientation, around common national, economic and educational program. It was being achieved by assemblies, gatherings, lectures and excursions. Interestingly, anyone, regardless his/her national origins, could become member of the PCU. On the other hand, amoral or unpatriotic behaviour could be a purpose of relegation. Since its beginnings, PCU was active in national dealings in Bielsko, organizing ceremony of 3rd of May in 1921. It was preceded by numerous interventions in town authorities, underlining importance of the day. PCU organized numerous manifestations and, in the evening, folk party.³³

In the beginning of its existence, PCU demanded incorporation of its members into District Board. It was a result of precondition that one must control German town authorities, remaining so far without any control. In April 1921, town office refused to add PCU members to the Board, expecting stabilization of legal situation, new elections statute and elections to the Board first. Responding to that, Poles started to demand from TGCCS dis-

³³ APKat. Bielsko-Biała Division (further cited as APKat. BB), collection: Acts of town of Bielsko (further cited as AMB), sygn. 55, Statute of PCU in Bielsko; APKat. BB, AMB, sygn. 310, PCU to town mayor office in Bielsko, 30th of April 1921.

missal of the town authorities. This postulate, as identical with plans of the Commission, was quickly fulfilled. On 11th of May 1921, TGCCS decided to dissolve the Board and substitute it with the Administrative Commission. German representatives, as it had been expected, protested although without positive effect. On the other hand, their strong voice, made it important for new authorities to include in squad of the commission representatives of all nations present in the town. Poles demanded half of positions for themselves. Germans were able to accept 7 positions of planned several dozens. Starost Jakub Podczaski, expert in local relations, took part in those negotiations. He was for inclusion of representatives of the biggest German parties in the Commission: liberals, Christian Democrats and National Socialists. The last of the three, despite similar label, did not have anything in common with later Nazi movement. Apart from that, there was a proposal to include social democrats, Jews and members of PCU in the Commission. Podczaski suggested to close the list of the Commission members on 30 persons.³⁴

Based on Podczaski's advices, personnel of the Commission was confirmed on 20th of June 1921. Dr. Marian Niemczewski, director of Polish Industry Bank, not a member of PCU, became its commissioner. At the same time he was head of county school board in the town. His main task was completion of the Commission personnel that had to be approved by TGCCS. He was ordered as well to consult it with local German, Jewish and Polish politicians, who should be invited to cooperate, remembering that final number of the commission members cannot exceed previous District Board. Savings, apart from political motives, were to be the main reason. Niemczewski managed to deal quickly with personal matters. German activist of Sozialdemokratischer Wahlverein "Vorwärts" (SW), Gustaw Bartusch, a master chimney sweep and Józef Kobiela from PCU, judge of county court, became vice-commissioners. Information on their professions proves apolitical character of contemporary authorities in Bielsko. It had its pros, as it made local administration neutral towards everyday politics. On the other hand, it raised various mundane problems like lack of time to make decision by people working elsewhere. As finding proper delegate to the Commission on Polish side did not cause bigger problems, the final decision of German social democrats in that case, was

³⁴ APKat., collection: Silesian Voivodeship Office. Local Government Division (further cited as UWŚI-WS), sygn. 975, PCU in Bielsko, 26th of April 1921, to TGCCS, k. 1; Bürgermeisteramt der Stadt Bielitz, 7th of April 1921 to PCU, k. 4; TGCCS to starost Podczaski 18th of May 1921, k. 6; APKat. BB, AMB, sygn. 1059, Bürgermeisteramt der Stadt Bielitz an die Regierungskommission in Teschen. 1st of June 1921; M. Skrzypek: "Aktywność społeczno-polityczna mieszkańców Śląska Cieszyńskiego w okresie integracji z odrodzonym organizmem państwowości polskiej w latach 1918—1922." In: *Odmiany myślenia o społeczeństwie obywatelskim*. Ed. L. Kacprzak, D. Mierzejewski. Piła, 2007, p. 394.

not so certain. Many Germans found it as sign of too big conciliatory manner toward Poles. Germans found it unfair that despite the fact they were majority in town, they were able to get only less prominent positions and offices. Main decisions in the town were taken by Poles, being minority in Bielsko. Finally, German politician found absence in the Commission too favourable for their further marginalization. SW and other parties decided to enter the Commission and delegate their leader Bartusch to its management.³⁵

The Commission personnel included primarily Polish activists. They mainly represented PCU: Wincenty Byrski, railway station master, Stanisław Chmura — financial officer, Karol Figna — worker, Edward Strzałkowski — trader, Franciszek Obrzut — schoolmaster, Karol Sojecki — butcher, Dr. Paweł Sporysz — director of one of Bielsko banks, engineer Franciszek Brzezowski, K. Matusiak — school inspector. The Commission included also vast representation of German circles: Christian Democrats (Dr. Eduard Pant,³⁶ Rev. Karl Kasperlik, Anton Borysławski — banker, Theodor Gröger — stoneworker, Joseph Prochaska — schoolmaster, Karl Strzelany — officer), liberals from Deutsches Freiheitliche Partei (Karl Hoinkes, Alfred Bartelmus — factory owners, Robert Kunz — officer, Dr. Ernst Steffan — advocate), Nationalsozialistische Partei (Theodor Schoppa — producer) and social democrats. The latter included both German (Otton Bartusch, Phillip Follmer — worker, Gustav Patrizi, substituted by Dr. Joseph Traubner) and Polish (Sylwester Dziki, Jan Pająk) activists. The personnel included Jews (Bertold Simachowitz — vice-president of Jewish religious district, Maurycy Braunberg — trader, Dr Hans Deutch — advocate), completing new town authorities of Bielsko.³⁷

Establishment of the commission meant dismissal of previous mayor of Bielsko — a German Edmund Eichler. New authorities however, to avoid potential new national conflict, departed with ex-mayor with honours. In a special letter, TGCCS listed all his services, attempts to maintain appropriate level of living conditions for inhabitants, especially during time of war. It seems that Eichler's services were really appreciated by TGCCS. Anyway, on 13th of June 1921, his mission came to an end. First period of existence of the Commission, was marked by personal conflicts. Pająk, on behalf of PSP and Emmerich Palizta from SW, demanded keeping mandate of Dziki instead of Jan Korzeniowski,

³⁵ APKat. BB, AMB, sygn. 1059, Bielsko commissioner to TGCCS on 22nd of June 1921; APKat. UWŚI-WS, sygn. 975, TGCCS to Bielsko commissioner, 22nd of June 1921, k. 11.

³⁶ He was member of Katholische Volkspartei, in 1920—1926 period, member of Town Board in Bielsko and vice-mayor. In period 1922—1935 member of Silesian Parliament and its vice-marshal.

³⁷ APKat. BB, AMB, sygn. 1059, Final list of members of the Administrative Commission in Bielsko; APKat. BB, AMB, sygn. 1313. Invitation for inauguration proceedings of Administrative Commission in Bielsko, 8th of July 1921.

who wanted to join the group. Silesian Catholics Union (SCU), defining themselves as the biggest Polish organization in Bielsko, protested against receiving only two places within PCU and demanded enlargement of the Commission of 6 persons (three of them would be recruited from their party). By virtue of savings, TGCCS rejected those claims. Those disturbances made personnel of the Commission fluctuate, which badly affected its functioning. For instance, Gustaw Bartusch was substituted by a teacher Jan Müller, A. Boryslawski by a locksmith Richard Pilarzy, K. Figna — by an officer Tomasz Rychlik, K. Hoinkes — by a baker Karl Fuchs, M. Braunberg — by an advocate Dr. Juliusz Schmetterling. Fuchs, after he joined the Commission was proposed by German parties as a new vice-commissioner who was to substitute Bartusch. Despite protests of PCU, they managed to achieve it and in July 1921, Fuchs took the office.³⁸ PCU protests were mainly caused by Fuchs' statements found unfriendly toward Poland suggesting that cooperation with him would be rather difficult. TGCCS however did not share this view being aware how fragile the compromise with Germans in Bielsko is. Thus, on 2nd of June 1921, TGCCS let Germans choose their candidate for vice-commissioner.³⁹

The Administrative Commission in Bielsko started to work on 8th of July 1921. Its functioning was not easy though. Personal problems, listed above were not the only obstacle. In February 1922, representatives of PCU left the Commission, protesting against management methods of Niemczewski. They accused him of favours towards Germans. He was said to proceed in German, to be reluctant towards employing Poles in the Town Office, finally, to use authoritative methods. The latter accusation was to be evidenced by practices in dwelling places commission, especially important due to constant lack of dwelling space in the town. Access to few free flats was dependant on subjective decision of the board, without any consultations with other members of the Commission. This procedure was said to favour only Germans. Polish officers, according to PCU, lacked flats. They were not able to settle in Bielsko, so the town kept its uniform German character.

³⁸ Election of vice-commissioner took place on 8th of July 1921. Steffan, another candidate, found by Poles as more of a conciliatory politician, received their voices. The result of election embarrassed Germans as Steffan got 16 voices and Fuchs only 13. On behalf of Polish-German agreement, Steffan did not accept the office and enabled Fuchs to take it. APKat. UWŚI-WS, sygn. 975, Government commissioner M. Niemczewski to TGCCS, 11th of June 1921, k. 34.

³⁹ APKat. UWŚI-WS, sygn. 975, Prefecture in Bielsko to TGCCS on 13th of July 1921, k. 16—17; TGCCS an Hochwohlgeboren Herrn Edmund Eichler Bürgermeisteramt der Stadt Bielitz. 15th of July 1921, k. 21—22; Bielsko commissioner to TGCCS on 11th of July 1921, k. 34; sygn. 1059, Prefecture in Bielsko to TGCCS on 13th of July 1921; D. Sieradzka: *Miasta województwa śląskiego...*, pp. 41—42; M. Skrzypek: *Śląsk Cieszyński 1920—1922. Wrastanie w Polskę* (unpublished PhD thesis), pp. 118—119.

Additional accusations were expressed during assembly of PCU, organized in Hotel "President" on 19th of February 1922. Niemczewski was attacked for tolerance towards "Hakata man" Fuchs, lack of changes in Bielsko police, still dominated by Germans, putting into town delegations for ceremonies commemorating Silesian uprisers, only Germans. According to PCU, it ended up with a scandal because Fuchs made a speech... in German.⁴⁰

PCU, supported by starost Podczaski, was willing to consider return to the Commission only on condition of Niemczewski's dismissal. It could not however be taken into consideration. Niemczewski was supported and trusted by TGCCS. In a letter addressed to him, the Commission agreed that lack of Polish element in town authorities excludes quick national changes. He was asked to remain in his office and select new Polish activists who could substitute protesting PCU members in the Commission. All members of PCU in the Commission left except from Kobiela and Rychlik. Niemczewski recruited Szczęsny Kobylański — director of Polish Railways in Bielsko; Dr. Teofil Adamiecki — secretary of Industry and Trade Chamber in Bielsko, Jan Szajter — director of gymnasium, judge Dr. Jakub Rodwin, financial officer of Christian labour unions Józef Janusz, shoemaker Antoni Brudziński, tailor Jan Klimczak. The commissioner and Kobiela declared their dismissal in the case those candidates are not accepted. The former gave in facing another campaign, organized by press in Bielsko and Cieszyn. This time he was accused of turning Polish Industry Bank into "Jewish-Czech-German" institution and being rather small patriot. According to PCU, considering Bielsko conditions, it was almost country betrayal. Taking it as offence, Niemczewski decided to focus on his banking career, feeling unable to achieve compromise with PCU.⁴¹ His decision was influenced also by unsuccessful attempt to get support of Polish activists. Many of them rejected his proposals, claiming that bearing in mind PCU's accusations, their position would be affected. Szajter refused Niemczewski, referring to bad perspectives for his company, once he loses Polish customers.⁴²

⁴⁰ APKat. UWŚl-WS, sygn. 975, PCU to government commissioner on 11th of February 1922, k. 45; PCU to TGCCS on 20th of February 1922, k. 43—44; Relation from public assembly in Hotel "President," 19th of February 1922, k. 64—66.

⁴¹ Niemczewski referred to these accusations that way: "Bank [...] I am in charge, that in fact controls almost all his actions and that, at least by this simple fact, proves that gentlemen from PCU lie, that it bought one of the biggest factories in Bielsko from 'Jewish-Czech-German' hands. Those gentlemen are right, I cannot cooperate with them." APKat. UWŚl-WS, sygn. 975, government commissioner to TGCCS on 15th of March 1922, k. 46—47.

⁴² APKat. C, RzK, sygn. 32, Zygmunt Żurawski on 17th of December 1921; APKat. UWŚl-WS, sygn. 975, government commissioner to TGCCS on 15th of February 1922, k. 41; *Dziennik Cieszyński* 1922, no. 38; M. Skrzypek: *Unifikacja...*, p. 234.

In April 1922, the Commission in Bielsko was managed by Kobiela and Fuchs. TGCCS in Cieszyn considered whether to nominate next commissioner or to wait till next election. Finally, it chose the former option. Kobiela, still working in district court, could not count on another sabbatical. It would mean that management of the Commission is left to Fuchs. Therefore, on 1st of May, new commissioner was elected. The office was taken by Kunon dé Pongratz, starost of Frystat. He came from old Hungarian family, that served Habsburgs. Pongratz was connected with German circles. However, his multiethnic origins, made him tolerant and meant a chance for consideration of Polish interests in administration as well. Pongratz did not have too many chances to prove his organization skills. His office was temporary and was valid till election of new district board. New elections statute was prepared already in July 1922. On 29th of October the first district election in inter-war Bielsko was organized. A little bit earlier, on 24th of September, there was election to the Silesian Parliament. Later in the fall — on 5th and 12th of November — new election to the Polish Parliament was also organized. In this context, it does not surprise that commissioner Pongratz's activity was limited to fluent organization of election.⁴³

Election of new District Board in Bielsko meant the end of the Administrative Commission there. Similar situation happened in Cieszyn. History of both these institutions is a small episode in politics of Cieszyn Silesia. It lets however formulate a few more general conclusions. First refers to superiority of national interests over democracy. Polish authorities were aware of necessity of such dealings, despite of accusation of authoritative character, in order to control management in towns in Cieszyn Silesia. On the other hand, the same authorities wanted to respect complicated national situation in the region. It is reflected by postulates regarding personnel of the commissions. It is important to underline that their everyday functioning lacked any national chauvinism. Contrary, in cases of bilingualism, streets naming, national ceremonies, their decisions were marked by strong will to make compromise. Growth of national antagonisms in the region was caused by events, that made both commissions found as good examples of cooperation between Poles, Germans and Jews.

⁴³ APKat. UWŚl-WS, sygn. 975, TGCCS to commissioner Pongratz on 1st of May 1922, k. 54; TGCCS to J. Kobiela on 4th of April 1922, k. 69; APKat. BB, AMB, sygn. 497, government commissioner in Bielsko to Minister of Internal Affairs, k. 91; sygn. 310, Town Office of Bielsko to TGCCS on 6th of May 1922.

Lech Krzyżanowski, Miłosz Skrzypek

Administrative Commissions of Cieszyn and Bielsko
between 1920 and 1922
Studies on Polish-German relations
in Cieszyn Silesia in the interwar period

Summary

The authors attempt to discuss the activity of Administrative Commissions of Bielsko and Cieszyn seen in the context of Polish-German relations in Cieszyn Silesia in the interwar period. A presentation of the main problem area is preceded by a synthetic analysis of the origins of the self-government in the very area in the context of the changes happening in Habsburg's dynasty in the second half of the 19th century. As a result of the events taking place between 1918—1920 the German ethnic element lost the possibility of creating an independent national centre in the territory of Cieszyn Silesia, however, it still created an economic lobby. Taking over a political control in the part of its area by the Polish side, on the other hand, forced the necessity to enter its representatives to the self-government structures so far dominated by Germans. In such a case, it evoked natural pressures and the necessity of ethnic regulations, which also constitutes the subject of the authors' deliberations.

Lech Krzyżanowski, Miłosz Skrzypek

Die Verwaltungskommissionen von Cieszyn und Bielsko
in den Jahren 1920—1922
Zu Untersuchungen über polnisch-deutsche
Beziehungen in Teschener Schlesien in der Zwischenkriegszeit

Zusammenfassung

Die Verfasser unternahmen den Versuch, die Tätigkeit der Verwaltungskommissionen von den Städten Bielsko und Cieszyn (Teschen) hinsichtlich der polnisch-deutschen Beziehungen in Teschener Schlesien in den Zwischenkriegsjahren zu besprechen. Zuerst ergründen sie die Genese der Selbstverwaltung auf dem genannten Gebiet angesichts der in der Habsburger Monarchie in der zweiten Hälfte des 19. Jhs obwaltender Änderungen. In Folge der in den Jahren 1918—1920 vorgehenden Geschehnisse hat die deutsche ethnische Gruppe die Gelegenheit verloren, ein selbstständiges Staatszentrum in Teschener Schlesien zu erschaffen, dennoch hatte sie dort immer noch ihre starke wirtschaftliche Lobby. Da Polen die politische Kontrolle über einen Teil ihres Landes übernommen hat, mussten polnische Repräsentanten der bisher von den Deutschen dominierten Selbstverwaltung beitreten. Das musste natürlich Anspannungen hervorrufen und nötigte, die Nationalitätsprobleme zu lösen, was auch die Verfasser in ihrem Artikel zu ergründen suchen.

WOJCIECH KAPICA

Political leaders of NSDAP in Pszczyna county between 1939 and 1945 The analysis of collectivity*

The year 1918 was full of great events of political history — the end of the First World War, the fall of German Empire. Failure of Germany and rising, since 19th century, of Polonism in Upper Silesia, caused Polish-German conflict in this region. Due to decision made by Allies, Upper Silesia was divided into both Polish and German part. Germans found loss of Upper Silesia, treated as integral part of their country, true failure. Attack of the Third Reich on Poland in September 1939 and then the fall of the latter enabled return of lost Upper Silesia to its “motherland.” It was time of unification of the region with “grand” Reich and creating NSDAP was its important aspect. New party had to be organized basing on trusted people. Members of NSDAP were divided into ordinary members and political leaders. The latter were special Hitler’s “soldiers” in ideological “front.”

They, especially those representing local and county levels, have been so far treated marginally by scholars who deal with problem of management of NSDAP. Political leaders in Katowice county have not been analysed at all. Michael H. Kater studied thoroughly social profile of the management

* The analysis of collectiveness of political leaders was based on personal questionnaires. I do not note reference in every single case. Those interested in the material can see it in the National Archive in Katowice, collection: NSDAP Kreisleitung Pless, microfilms: F 16504—16507. Pszczyna county is defined here in accordance with list of towns *Gau Oberschlesien*. Cf. *Alphabetisches Verzeichnis der Stadt- und Landgemeinden im Gau Oberschlesien mit den dazugehörigen Ortsteilen, Kolonien, Siedlungen usw.* [1940] pp. 162, 167.

in whole Germany but focused mainly on central management.¹ The same author touched upon the problem of social profile of NSDAP members in 1923.² Carl-Wihelm Reibal focused on local groups but in so-called Old Reich.³ Polish historian Tomasz Kruszewski focused on social-professional structure of local political leaders in a county management in his works, but in the territory of Old Reich, it is in Dzierżoniów.⁴ Marek Maciejewski described social-professional structure of whole NSDAP before 1933.⁵ Neither of these works however focus on the analysis of NSDAP officers on newly conquered territories in 1939, especially in Upper Silesia.

On 1st of September Nazi Germany attacked Poland. Vast advantage of Wehrmacht over Polish army and, in some extend, disloyal dealings of German minority in Poland determined German military successes and quick march towards eastern Poland. Military campaign in Upper Silesia did not last for long. Polish army (Operation Group "Silesia," commanded by Jan Jagmin-Sadowski), after hard but short defence, moved back towards east on 2nd/3rd of September. On 4th of September, Wehrmacht units entered Chorzów and Katowice, welcomed warmly by local Germans.⁶

Military encounters in Pszczyna were happening very fast as well. On 1st of September, Polish police arrested around 30 Germans, who were released next day. German minority in Pszczyna county welcomed warmly Wehrmacht units. On 4th of September, Bernhard von Derschau became local landrat.⁷

¹ M.H. Kater: *The Nazi Party. A social profile of members and leaders 1919—1945*. Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1983.

² M.H. Kater: "Zur Soziographie der frühen NSDAP." *Vierteljahreshefte für Zeitgeschichte* 1971, issue 2.

³ C.W. Reibal: *Das Fundament der Diktatur: Die NSDAP-Ortsgruppen 1932—1945*. Paderborn—München—Wien—Zürich 2002.

⁴ T. Kruszewski: *Partia narodowosocjalistyczna na Śląsku w latach 1933—1945. Organizacja i jej działalność*. Wrocław, 1995; Idem: "Struktura organizacyjna i społeczno-zawodowa NSDAP w powiecie dzierżoniowskim w latach 1933—1945." *Prawo* 1992, CCXIII; Idem: "Struktura społeczno-zawodowa SA na Dolnym Śląsku (w rejencjach wrocławskiej i legnickiej) w latach 1929—1934." *Studia nad Faszysmem i Zbrodniami Hitlerowskimi* 1990, Vol. 13.

⁵ M. Maciejewski: "Z badań nad społeczno-zawodową strukturą NSDAP w latach 1919—1933." *Studia nad Faszysmem i Zbrodniami Hitlerowskimi* 1985, Vol. 9.

⁶ R. Kaczmarek: *Górny Śląsk podczas II wojny światowej. Między utopią niemieckiej wspólnoty narodowej a rzeczywistością okupacji na terenach wcielonych do Trzeciej Rzeszy*. Katowice, 2006, pp. 427—428.

⁷ Bernhard von Durschau had been prefect of Pszczyna county for almost entire war. He was born in 1903 in Wagenitz. He studied law and became a state officer, which was concluded by passing state exam in 1928. In 1933 he started working in Ministry of Internal Affairs. In 1937 he became landrat of Opole, then of Grodków (till 1939). NSDAP member (card no. 1551185) since 1st of March 1933, achieved the rank of obergemeinschaftsleiter. He worked in local NSDAP division in Pszczyna as *Kreisamt-*

He, together with group of personnel from Reich and local Germans, started to organize administration in the county, its districts and towns, for instance by nominating mayors.⁸ Germans that had come from Reich did not know either the area itself or its specifics. Thus he relied on help offered by *Volksduetchs*, perfectly orientated in local reality. It is confirmed by the appeal of von Derschau, published in *Kattowitzer Zeitung* on 12th of September, to support German authorities.⁹ The office of temporary mayor of Pszczyna had been held by Franz Paliczka¹⁰ till 18th of September, who was substituted by Dr. Bock.¹¹ Later the office was held by Paul Lubczyk.¹² Pszczyna county comprised territory of 1,069.15 sq. kilometers, inhabited by 161,897 people.¹³

Establishment on civic administration in the county was accompanied by making up of local NSDAP structures. According to the main NSDAP organ in *Gau Schlesien* (later *Gau Oberschlesien*), *Kattowitzer Zeitung*, the process was completed in August 1940.¹⁴ Preserved personal questionnaires of political leaders, one can reconstruct formation process in Pszczyna county: NSDAP — trusted man was being chosen to form local group, he was becoming NSDAP representative (*Ortsbeauftragter der NSDAP*) in a given town. Then, if a local group had sufficient number of members and was official part of the structure, he became either temporary or full *ortsgruppenleiter*. The same scheme referred to cells and blocks, one can observe first *zellen-*

leiter — head of law division. Law counselor of the party. He had a wife and 4 children. Described in records as “ggl” (*gottgläubig* — Godfaithful). According to R. Kaczmarek, von Derschau “he was experienced officer both theoretically and practically at the outbreak of war.” He resided in Pszczyna. Allot OG Pless. National Archive in Katowice (henceforth: APKat.), collection: NSDAP Kreisleitung Pless, F 16504, personal questionnaire of Bernhard von Derschau. See also R. Kaczmarek: *Pod rządami gauleiterów. Elity i instancje władzy w reencji katowickiej w latach 1939—1945*. Katowice, 1998, pp. 70—71, 228.

⁸ R. Kaczmarek: *Górny Śląsk...*, p. 84.

⁹ I. Sroka, A. Szefer: “Życie społeczno-polityczne w reencji katowickiej w świetle *Kattowitzer Zeitung* i *Oberschlesische Zeitung* w latach 1939—1845.” *Studia i Materiały z Dziejów Śląska 1983*, Vol. 13, p. 296.

¹⁰ Franz Paliczka was born on 16th of September 1885 in Sandau. In NSDAP (card no. 7983723) since 1st of February 1941. Previously employed as cashier and head of saving office. Hired in NSDAP in Pszczyna as head of office division, in a rank of *gemeinschaftsleiter*. Belonged to German minority in Silesia. Married, two children. Catholic, resided in Pszczyna. Allot OG Pless. APKat., collection: NSDAP Kreisleitung Pless, F 16506, personal questionnaire of Franz Paliczka.

¹¹ R. Kaczmarek: *Górny Śląsk...*, p. 84; I. Sroka, A. Szefer: “Życie społeczno-polityczne...,” p. 297.

¹² *Alphabetisches Verzeichnis der Stadt- und Landgemeinden im Gau Oberschlesien mit den dazugehörigen Ortsteilen, Kolonien, Siedlungen usw.* [1940] p. 111.

¹³ *Ibid.*, p. 162.

¹⁴ I. Sroka, A. Szefer: “Życie społeczno-polityczne...,” p. 306.

beauftragters and blockbeauftragters and later zellenleiter and blockleiter. Germans complained about the lack of sufficient number of candidates to work on lower positions as the main organization problem.

NSDAP in Pszczyna county contained 40 local groups.¹⁵ Kurt Hossenfelder, former kreisleiter of Świdnica, became its first kreisleiter. He was holding the office from October 1939 till 24th of November of 1943.¹⁶ After Hossenfelder's call up to military service, his office was taken by Paul Makosch on 24th of November 1943, who held it till the end of war.¹⁷

The structure of county management (*Kreisleitung der NSDAP*) in 1942 looked as follows:

- *Kreisstabsamt* (staff of county management) — headed by Willi Kexel¹⁸ (as *Kreisstabsamtsleiter*).
- *Kreiskassenleiter* (head of county fund) — headed by Hans Reichert.¹⁹

¹⁵ Ibid., pp. 306—307.

¹⁶ T. Kruszewski: *Partia narodowosocjalistyczna na Śląsku...*, pp. 244, 245. Kurt Hossenfelder, born 5th of September 1906 in Klausdorf in landlord family. He failed to finish gymnasium and was working on various positions. Since 1927 he managed his father's estate. NSDAP member since 1st of December 1930 (card no. 403844) and NSV (Nationalsozialistische Volkswohlfahrt, card no. 4660412) since 1935. Between 1931 and 1932 Kreisleiter of Strzegom-West, then of Strzegom. In 1933 he became Kreisleiter of Świdnica, from — via Wehrmacht — he got to Pszczyna. He was Kreisleiter here till November 1943, when he became kreileiter of Bielsko (substituted by Makosch). He got rank of Oberbereichsleiter NSDAP. Married, 5 children. Also "Godfaithful," resided in Pszczyna. Allot OG Pless. APKat, collection: NSDAP Kreisleitung Pless, F 16506, personal questionnaire of Kurt Hossenfelder. See also R. Kaczmarek: *Pod rządami gauleiterów...*, pp. 114—115; T. Kruszewski: *Partia narodowosocjalistyczna na Śląsku...*, pp. 254—255.

¹⁷ T. Kruszewski: *Partia narodowosocjalistyczna na Śląsku...*, p. 254. Paul Makosch, born 12th of November 1901 in Racibórz. He finished only primary school. NSDAP member (card no. 1547596) since 9th of August 1932 and NBO (Nationalsozialistische Betriebszellenorganisation). *Zellenleiter* and later *Ortsgruppenleiter* in Zabrze. Before taking office of kreisleiter he work in NSDAP in Pszczyna as head of county staff. In rank of abschnittsleiter. Married, "Godfaithful," resided in Pszczyna. Allot OG Pless. APKat, collection: NSDAP Kreisleitung Pless, F 16506, personal questionnaire of Paul Makosch. See also R. Kaczmarek: *Pod rządami gauleiterów...*, p. 115.

¹⁸ Willi Kexel — no data regarding date and place of birth. As a profession he only noted his party function — *Kreisamtsleiter* — in his questionnaire. We can only suppose he belonged to NSDAP. He was employed as Kreisgeschäftsführer. Married, 2 children. Service in Wehrmacht. Resided in Pszczyna. Allot OG Pless. APKat, collection: NSDAP Kreisleitung Pless, F 16506, personal questionnaire of Willi Kexel.

¹⁹ Hans Reichert, born 24th of June 1902 in Wrocław. NSDAP member since 1st of January 1931 (card no. 428997). In Kreisleitung Pless first (since 16th of October 1940) as temporary and then full Kreiskassenleiter, nominated on 20th of April 1942. On 9th of November, nominated Abschnittsleiter NSDAP. On 25th of February 1934, in Legnica, he took a oath of political leader NSDAP. Married, 3 children. "Godfaith-

- *Kreisorganisationsamt* (county organization office) — headed by Walter Mosch²⁰ (as *Kreisorganisationsleiter*).
 - *Kreispersonalamt* (country personal office) — headed by Karl Unruh²¹ (as *Kreispersonalamtsleiter*).
 - *Kreisschulungsamt* (county training office) — headed by Kurt Heinzel²² (as *Kreisschulungsleiter*).
 - *Kreispropagandaamt* (county propaganda office) — headed by Georg Kokott²³ (as *Kreispropagandaamtsleiter*).
 - *Kreisgericht* (county party court) — vacant.
 - *Amt des Kreisobmanns der DAF/Amt für Soziale Arbeit* (county social work office) — headed by Zeller.
 - *Kreisamtsleitung* NSV (county management of NSV) — headed by Scherf.²⁴
- Offices included as well:

ful,” resided in Pszczyna. Allot OG Pless. APKat, collection: NSDAP Kreisleitung Pless, F 16506, personal questionnaire of Hans Reichert.

²⁰ Walter Mosch, born 16th of October 1898 in Namysłów. Officer, worked as director of county administration. NSDAP member since 1st of January 1940 (card no. 7942063). From then till January 1942, he worked in Kreisleitung Pless as Kreisorganisationsamtsleiter. On 9th of November 1943 nominated Hauptgemeinschaftsleiter NSDAP. On 20th of April 1943 nominated political leader of NSDAP. He had been SA member since 1933. Married, one child, resided in Pszczyna. Allot OG Pless. APKat, collection: NSDAP Kreisleitung Pless, F 16506, personal questionnaire of Walter Mosch.

²¹ Karl Unruh, born 26th of November 1889 in Żory. NSDAP member since 1st of May 1933 (card no. 7942063). Kreispersonalamtsleiter in Pszczyna since 17th of May 1941. He was also Hauptgemeinschaftsleiter NSDAP. On 25th of February 1934 in Świdnica sworn as political leader. Married, 3 children, resided in Pszczyna. Allot OG Pless. APKat, collection: NSDAP Kreisleitung Pless, F 16506, personal questionnaire of Karl Unruh.

²² Kurt Heinzel, born 16th of April 1901, teacher. NSDAP member (card no. 2144037). He held following offices in Kreisleitung Pless: Kreisschulungsleiter, plenipotentiary of training office, county director of NSLB (Nationalsozialistischer Lehrerbund — National Socialistic Teachers’ Union), county specialist of nationalities affair. In rank of Hauptgemeinschaftsleiter NSDAP. On 20th of April 1936 he was sworn as political leader. He was also member of NSLB. Married, 3 children, resided in Pszczyna. Allot OG Pless. APKat, collection: NSDAP Kreisleitung Pless, F 16506, personal questionnaire of Kurt Heinzel.

²³ Georg Kokott, born 26th of November 1900 in Królewska Huta. Teacher, NSDAP member since 20th of April 1941 (card no. 7983682). He was vice-Kreispropagandaamtsleiter in county management of NSDAP in Pszczyna. On 20th of April 1944 he was sworn political leader. Married, one child, resided in Pszczyna. Allot OG Pless. APKat, collection: NSDAP Kreisleitung Pless, F 16506, personal questionnaire of Georg Kokott.

²⁴ *Heimatkalender Pless* 1942, p. 145.

- *Kreispresseamt* (county press office) headed by Gerhard M.,²⁵ temporarily (due to service in Wehrmacht) substituted by Köhler.
- *Amt für Kommunalpolitik* (council policy office) — headed by Paul Lubczyk.²⁶
- *Kreisrechtsamt* (county legal office) — headed by Bernhard von Derschau.²⁷
- *Amt für Beamte* (officers; affairs office) — headed by Franz Paliczka.²⁸
- *Amt für Erzieher* (training office) — headed by Kurt Heinzel.
- *Amt für Technik* (technical office) — headed by Heinrich Nies.²⁹
- *Amt für Volksgesundheit* (health care office) — headed by Dr. Erwin Busse.³⁰

Kreisleitung contained also plenipotentiaries and professional advisors (*Beauftragte, Fachberater*):

- [*Beaufragter für*] *Rassenpolitik* ([plenipotentiary] of racial policy) — Dr. Kremp.
- [*Beaufragter für*] *Kriegsopfer* ([plenipotentiary] of war victims) — Theodor Mühlbach.³¹

²⁵ Gerhard M., born 20th of March 1915 in Giszowiec. Journalist, NSDAP member since 1st of February 1941 (card no. 7983716). Since 1st of August 1940 Kreisamtsbeauftragter des Presseamtes, then Kreispresseamtsleiter. Married, two children, “Godfaithful,” service in Wehrmacht. Resided in Pszczyna. Allot OG Pless. APKat, collection: NSDAP Kreisleitung Pless, F 16506, personal questionnaire of Gerhard M.

²⁶ Paul Lubczyk, born 28th of May 1900 in Zabrze. NSDAP member since 1st of June 1928 (card no. 91542). In Kreisleitung Pless was Leiter des Amtes für Kommunalpolitik, besides he was in of obergemeinschaftsleiter. Married, Catholic, resided in Pszczyna. Allot OG Pless. APKat, collection: NSDAP Kreisleitung Pless, F 16506, personal questionnaire of Paul Lubczyk.

²⁷ See footnote 7.

²⁸ See footnote 10.

²⁹ Heinrich Nies, born 13th of March 1906 in Siegen, builder. NSDAP member since 1st of May 1933 (card no. 1967435). In Kreisleitung Pless head of technical office and Kreiswalter of NSBDT (Nationalsozialistischer Bund Deutscher Technik — National Socialist Union of German Technics). On 9th of November 1943 he became hauptgemeinschaftsleiter NSDAP. In February 1935, in Hoyerswerda, he was sworn political leader NSDAP. He was also member of NSBO, NSV, RDB (German Officers Union), NSBDT, RLB, DRK (German Red Cross). Service in Wehrmacht. Married, one child, resided in Pszczyna. Allot OG Pless. APKat, collection: NSDAP Kreisleitung Pless, F 16506, personal questionnaire of Heinrich Nies.

³⁰ Erwin Busse, born 29th of August 1898 in Augustów near Łódź, doctor. NSDAP member since 1st of February 1941 (card no. 7983643). Since June 1940 Leiter des Volgesundheitsamtes in Kreisleitung Pless, although nominated officially on 20th of April 1944. Then also sworn political leader NSDAP in Pszczyna. Member of DAF, NSV, DRK, RLB. Unmarried, Evangelic. Resided in Pszczyna. Allot OG Pless. APKat, collection: NSDAP Kreisleitung Pless, F 16506, personal questionnaire of Erwin Busse.

³¹ Theodor Mühlbach, born 30th of March 1889 in Katowice. Engineer, head of technical department. NSDAP member since 1st of January 1940 (card no. 7944826).

— *Landwirtschaftlicher Kreisfachberater* (county agricultural advisor) — Holtz

— *Forstwirtschaftlicher Kreisfachberater* (county forest advisor) — Heinz Rache.³²

County management of NSDAP in Pszczyna had its quarters at Poststrasse 1, in a building called *Haus der NSDAP*. Local structures of the party were complete in August 1940. The county comprised of 40 local groups.

Table 1

Local groups of NSDAP in Pszczyna county in 1941/1942

No.	Local group	Leader (place of living)
1.	Alt Berun	Willi Grüning (Alt Berun)
2.	Altdorf	Kurt Kneiske, substituted by August Kleinert due to service in Wehrmacht (Altdorf)
3.	Anhalt	Karl Zänger (Anhalt)
4.	Brzestz	Johann Wrobel (Brzestz)
5.	Cwiklitz	Kurt Heine (Cwiklitz)
6.	Emanuelssen	Theodor Pilorz I (Emanuelssen)
7.	Goldmannsdorf	Wilhelm Mischer (Pawlowitz)
8.	Gottschalkowitzb	Heinrich Erdmann (Bad Gottschalkowitz)
9.	Groß Chelm	Max Posner (Groß Chelm)
10.	Groß Weichsel	Siegfried Salzwedel (Lonkau)
11.	Guhrau	Josef Gornik (Siegfriedsdorf)
12.	Imielin	Ewald Wulfe, substituted by Kullig due to service in Wehrmacht (Imielin)
13.	Kobier	Fritz Franke (Kobier)
14.	Kreutzdorf	Bernhard Mauthe, substituted by Kurt Frahnert due to service in Wehrmacht (Kreutzdorf)
15.	Krier	Erich Schulze (Krier)
16.	Kostow	Theodor Block (Kostow)
17.	Mittel Lazisk	Karl Gruhn (Mittel lazisk)
18.	Ober Lazisk	Willibald Witter, substituted by Karl Gruhn due to service in Wehrmacht (Mittel Lazisk)

Since 1st of November he was a temporary head of National Socialistic Care over War Victims in NSDAP Pszczyna. Married, 3 children, Catholic. Resided in Pszczyna. Allot OG Pless. APKat, collection: NSDAP Kreisleitung Pless, F 16506, personal questionnaire of Theodor Mühlbach

³² Heinz Rache, born 11th of March 1908 in Bad Salzuflen. The forrester. NSDAP member since 1st of May 1933 (card no. 3261432). Since 15th of August 1941, he was Forstwirtschaftlicher Fachberater in Kreisleitung Pless. In November 1933, in Hammerstein, he was sworn political leader NSDAP. Married, one child. Resided in Pszczyna. Allot OG Pless. APKat, collection: NSDAP Kreisleitung Pless, F 16506, personal questionnaire of Heinz Rache. See *Heimatkalender Pless* 1942, p. 145.

Table 1 continued

No.	Local group	Leader (place of living)
19.	Mokrau	Josef Ermler (Mokrau)
20.	Neu Berun	Paul Pietryas (Neu Berun)
21.	Neudorf	substitute (a.i.) Josef Ermler (Mokrau)
22.	Nikolai-Nord	Franz Wlotzek (Nikolai)
23.	Nikolai-Süd	Hans Müller (Nikolai)
24.	Ornontowitz	Köhler (Ornontowitz)
25.	Orzesche-Ost	Adolf Zipser, substituted by Tautz due to service in Wehrmacht
26.	Orzesche-West	Anton Müller (Orzesche)
27.	Pilgramsdorf	Erwin Meißner (Pilgramsdorf)
28.	Pleß	Paul Schindera, substituted by Konrad Mäder due to service in Wehrmacht (Pless)
29.	Podlesie	Alfred Maywald (Podlesie)
30.	Podlesie-Boerschächte	Fritz Wiefelspütz (Podlesie-Boerschächte)
31.	Sandau	Richard Mentler (Jankowitz)
32.	Staude	Josef Mrukwa III (Staude)
33.	Tannendorf	Johann Hosek (Mezerzitz)
34.	Tichau-Ost	Kurt Waluscha (Tichau)
35.	Tichau-West	Kurt Ryschka (Tichau)
36.	Urbanowitz	Wilhelm Rosner (Urbanowitz)
37.	Wessolla	vacant, Theodor Block
38.	Wohlau	Jakob Kendzior (Wohlau)
39.	Woschczytz	Erich Dallmann (Woschczytz)
40.	Wyrow	Josef Czerny (Wyrow)

Source: *Heimatkalender Pless* 1942, pp. 149—150.

There were other Nazi organizations, apart from NSDAP, that had been active in Pszczyna county. In 1940, the first SA units were formed here, besides there was Pszczyna division of NSKK (Nationalsozialistischer Kraftfahrer-korps — National Socialistic Drivers' Corps), that was part of SKKK Motorstandarte Kattowitz or NS-Reichskriegerbund.³³ We know, there were also in Pszczyna in 1941/1942: Kreisfrauenschaft (Deutsches Frauenwerk, headed by Margarete Maiss³⁴), SA-Sturmabteilung IV/2 (headed by SA-Obersturmban-

³³ I. Sroka, A. Szefer: "Życie społeczno-polityczne..." pp. 302, 311, 316.

³⁴ Margarete Maiss, born 26th of January 1891 in Wrocław. The forrester. NSDAP member since 1st of May 1933 (card no. 1111978). Since 1st of January 1941 temporary Kreisfrauenschaftsleiterin in NSDAP in Pszczyna. Unmarried, "Godfaithful." Resided

nführer Bergmann³⁵), SS-Sturm 9/124 (headed by SS-Unterscharführer Stawinoga), NSKK-Sturmbaum III/M 124 (headed by *Obertruppenführer* von Blackovitz) NSFK (Aufstab Pless, Stand. 34 — *Scharführer* Hilsberg, HJ and JD (Bann 786 — headed by *Bannführer* Birghan), BDM and JM (Untergau 786 — headed by *Untergauführerin* Uberreiter).³⁶

The aim of the paper is detailed analysis of the group of political leaders of Pszczyna county regarding their origins, age, sex, profession, attitude to NSDAP and Wehrmacht, confession, family. The analysis is based on 1,559 questionnaires of the leaders.³⁷ Division of analysed group is shown in Table 2.³⁸

Table 2

**Political leaders of NSDAP in Pszczyna county
according to organization level**

Organization level	Number	Percent
Political leaders — county management	67	4.30
Political leaders — local group	461	29.57
Political leaders — cell	197	12.64
Political leaders — block	788	50.55
No data	46	2.95
Total	1,559	100.00

Source: APKat., NSDAP Kreisleitung Pless, microfilms: F 16504, F 16505, F 16506, F 16507.

in Pszczyna. Allot OG Pless. APKat, collection: NSDAP Kreisleitung Pless, F 16506, personal questionnaire of Margarete Maiss

³⁵ Most likely Waldemar Bergmann, born 21st of January 1903 in Lubliniec, the forrester. NSDAP member since 1st of March 1932 (card no. 970069). SA member. In 1936, in Niemodlin, has sworn to political leader NSDAP. Married, 5 children. Resided in Radostowice. Allot OG Pless. APKat, collection: NSDAP Kreisleitung Pless, F 16506, personal questionnaire of Waldemar Bergmann. *Heimatkalender Pless* 1942, p. 145.

³⁶ *Heimatkalender Pless* 1942, p. 145.

³⁷ Questionnaires can be generally divided into simple and advanced, according to positions to be filled. County management was to fill in the latter, casual political leaders, the former. Obviously, exceptions occurred. Questionnaires were filled in period of 1940—1944 in Pszczyna county. The material is rather incomplete. Their analysis lets one suppose that they were not filled in supposed order. Still, their content can be treated as reliable. Political leaders wanted to bound themselves to NSDAP or they were long-time and loyal members. Besides, they were aware of the fact that providing wrong data could result in standing before the party court.

³⁸ I included in the county management: Kreisleiter, Kreishauptamtsleiters, Krei-samtsleiters, Kreishauptstellenleiters. Among local group members are: Ortsgruppen-leiters, Ortsgruppensamtleiters, ortsruppenhauptstellenleiters, ortsruppenstellen-leiters and other cooperators. All zellenleiters are counted as party workers in a unit, blockleiters and blockhelfers as party workers in a block.

Political leaders of NSDAP and belonging to given local group. Allotment to particular groups of members of NSDAP in Pszczyna was analysed in order to check internal division of the county.³⁹

The biggest number of political leaders, 144 persons, belonged to OG (*Ortsgruppe der NSDAP* — local group) Pszczyna (9.24%). The OG Pless was thus the biggest in the county. It was caused by several reasons: Pszczyna was the capital of the county (*Landkreis Pless*), the main town and the *Kreisleitung* was located here. The most prominent NSDAP officers in the county, Kreisleiters and others, belonged to this OG. Second, regarding number of members, was OG Mikołów-South (Nikolai-Süd): 83 persons (5.32%), then Łaziska Zachodnie (OG Lazisk-West): 63 persons (4.04%). There were 57 persons (3.66%) belonged to OG Mikołów-Północ (OG Nikolai-Nord). Relatively big numbers in Mikołów are connected with the fact that it was the biggest town in the county — 13,526 inhabitants, twice much as Pszczyna.⁴⁰

Place of origin. Locations listed in questionnaires are divided into four groups.

Group 1 — includes towns of Katowice county, that belonged to Poland before the war it is territory of Silesian voivodeship and outskirts of Kraków and Kielce voivodeships (including Pszczyna and its county).⁴¹ Opole county and those territories that belonged to Reich before the war, were excluded from this group.

Group 2 — contains rest of western and northern parts of Poland incorporated to Germany in 1939.

Group 3 — contains rest of towns in Reich, including Opole county and those parts of Katowice county, that belonged to Reich before the war. This was dictated by will to distinguish between *Reichsdeutches* and *Volksdeutches*.⁴²

Group 4 — contains towns outside Germany and those taken over from Poland in 1939.

³⁹ In unclear cases, a political leader was assigned to either bigger group or the group he held office.

⁴⁰ *Alphabetisches Verzeichnis der Stadt- und Landgemeinden im Gau Oberschlesien...*, pp. 101, 112.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*

⁴² According to Janusz Sobczak: *Hitlerowskie przesiedlenia ludności niemieckiej w dobie II wojny światowej*. Poznań, 1966, pp. 16—17, just after the First World War, Germans introduced terms like: “German ethnic territories in Europe” (*Der deutsche Volksboden in Europa*) and “ethnic German” (*Volksdeutcher*), that resembled political demands: “The term “ethnic German” was used to describe Germans living abroad, underlining that they are integral part of German nation and should be united with it within one German state. It resulted with gradation of demands, from postulates of unification of separate groups of German minority [...] to postulates of autonomy and sabotage during military encounters.”

Table 3

**Political leaders of NSDAP in Pszczyna county
and their place of origin**

Group	Number	Percent
Group 1	1,115	71.52
Group 2	12	0.77
Group 3	270	17.32
Group 4	24	1.54
Towns N.N.	17	1.09
No data	121	7.76
Total	1,559	100.00

Source: APKat., NSDAP Kreisleitung Pless, microfilms: F 16504, F 16505, F 16506, F 16507.

As above data suggests, the biggest number of political leaders came from group 1 towns (52 from Mikołów, 37 from Pszczyna, 33 from Orzesze, 30 from Łaziska Górne, 29 from Katowice, 26 from Tychy, 24 from Podlesie, 23 from Mokre and Bieruń Stary, 19 from Chorzów, 10 from Myslowice, 8 from Żory etc.) Additionally, 881 political leaders were born either in Pszczyna or in Pszczyna county. Second biggest group are people coming from towns in group 3, that included 270 leaders (17.32%): 11 from Gliwice, 10 from Wrocław, 9 from Berlin, 9 from Zabrze, 4 from Drezno, Bytom, Racibórz, 3 from Opole. Group 4 contained 24 leaders. 17 of them came from following towns in Bukovina (Buchenwald): 9 from Ilisesti, 2 from Noi Itcani and Tereblestie, 1 person from Itcani, Suceava, Mazanaesti and Gura Humorului.⁴³ There were Galitia towns (Dornfeld in Lwów county, Augustdorf in Siatyn county, Hanunin). One person came from Odessa, another one from Hungary (Feketeerdő). 12 leaders (0.77%) came from western and northern parts of Poland incorporated to Reich. It was impossible to identify 17 towns (1.09%). 121 questionnaires lacked information about the place of origin.

Those numbers show that most of political leaders came from territories of Upper Silesia, that belonged to Poland before 1939—1,115 persons. Over

⁴³ They were most likely German repatriates from southern Bukovina. Their transfer was a result of German-Romanian agreement from 22nd of October 1940. 52,107 Germans from Bukovina and 13,988 from Dobrudsha had been transferred to Germany. Part of them (18,155 from Bukovina and 37 from Dobrudsha) was transferred to Upper Silesia. German-Russian agreement from 5th of September 1940, enabled transfer of part Germans from Wołyń, Galitia and Narew region to Upper Silesia. See more in A. Szefer: *Przesiedleńcy niemieccy na Górnym Śląsku w latach 1939—1945*. Katowice, 1974, pp. 22—31, 123; J. Sobczak: *Hitlerowskie przesiedlenia ludności niemieckiej...*, pp. 165—192, 235—247.

half of this group are *Volksdeutches* from Pszczyna and Pszczyna county. Generally, “local element” dominated.

Age. Opinion of NSDAP gathering young and medium-age persons that, according to Kruszewski, made the party dynamic, has been prevailing in historiography.⁴⁴ Table 4 shows how it looked like in the case of Pszczyna county.

Table 4

**Age structure of political leaders
of NSDAP in Pszczyna county**

Born	Number	Percent
1870—1879	24	1.60
1880—1889	145	9.66
1890—1899	530	35.31
1900—1909	661	44.04
1910—1919	138	9.19
After 1920	3	0.20
Total	1,501	100.00

Source: APKat., NSDAP Kreisleitung Pless, microfilms:
F 16504, F 16505, F 16506, F 16507.

Average age of political leaders in Pszczyna county was 42.63 years of age. Almost half of them was born in period 1900—1909. 530 persons were born in period 1890—1909. The oldest members of NSDAP in the county were Anton Imach (1st of January 1873) — Blockbeauftragter in OG Nikolai-Nord; Paul Moll (1st of June 1873) — Blockleiter in OG Pless; Ludwig Michałek (15th of August 1873) — Blockbeauftragter in OG Neu Berun. The youngest was Gerhard P. (18th of January 1923) — Zellenleiter in OG Gross Chelm.

People in medium age dominated among political leaders in the county. Kruszewski, in his analysis of similar group in Dzierżoniów, concluded that party members between 31 and 50 were 70.80% of all (31—40 — 34.8%, 41—50 — 36%, counted for 1940).⁴⁵ In comparison with this data, politi-

⁴⁴ T. Kruszewski: “Struktura organizacyjna i społeczno-zawodowa...,” p. 158; M. Maciejewski: “Z badań nad społeczno-zawodową strukturą NSDAP...,” p. 156. Since its beginnings, NSDAP had directed its offer to young people. According to M.H. Kater, *The Nazi Party...*, pp. 1439—148, young profile of the party was noted by both contemporary historians and Nazi experts after 1945. Members of NSDAP were the youngest among German parties, except from Communists.

⁴⁵ T. Kruszewski: “Struktura organizacyjna i społeczno-zawodowa...,” p. 158.

cal leaders (taking 1940 as a base) contained 79.35% of 31—50s, 44.4% of 31—40s, 36% of 41—50s. One can also note similar percentage of young people, who were under-30 in 1940 — around 10% in both counties. Elder people (61+) were 3% of Dzierżoniów and 1.60% of Pszczyna. It means data is similar. Kruszewski is right underlining the fact that Nazi elites were becoming “older” and average age of management was slightly higher than “casual” members.⁴⁶

Sex. The structure is illustrated in Table 5.

Table 5

**Sex structure of political leaders
of NSDAP in Pszczyna county**

Sex	Number	Percent
Females	49	3.14
Males	1509	96.79
No data	1	0.06
Total	1,559	100.00

Source: APKat., NSDAP Kreisleitung Pless, microfilms: F 16504, F 16505, F 16506, F 16507.

Vast number of political leaders was male. This is situation that resembles regularly both contemporary times and totalitarian systems.⁴⁷ According to one of experts of social history of 3rd Reich and NSDAP, women, although constituted half of contemporary German society, were vastly underrepresented in the party.⁴⁸ Usually, they led various regime female organizations.

⁴⁶ Ibid., p. 158. According to M.H. Krater, *The Nazi Party...*, pp. 144—145, one has to note that, in course of time, there were more and more older members, who made the party more conservative and passive.

⁴⁷ In 1930s Carl Mierendorf noted that women did not play visible role in NSDAP. Kater claims it was effect of misogyny of part of NSDAP management and some natural way of female resistance to engage in Nazi movement. The ideology was dominantly male, that is confirmed by Hiler's *Mein Kampf*. According to the latter, women's task is to give birth to future German soldiers and their place is at home with children. At that time a saying *Kinder, Kirche, Küche*, was still popular in Germany. See M.H. Krater: *The Nazi Party...*, p. 148; R. Grunberger: *Historia społeczna Trzeciej Rzeszy*. Vol. 2. Warszawa, 1987, pp. 91—94. According to M. Maciejewski: “Z badań nad społeczno-zawodową strukturą NSDAP...,” pp. 175—176: “women were tempted mainly by atmosphere of ‘Beer garden’ dominating Turing NSDAP meetings. Hitler and other prominent members of the party referred not only to big policy but also to casual things, communicating with simple language, comprehensive for all. I do not mean women belong to intellectually less demanding. They however were much more interested social-economic than political matters.” See also M.H. Kater: “Frauen in der NS-Bewegung.” *Vierteljahreshefte für Zeitgeschichte* 1983, issue 2, pp. 202—241.

⁴⁸ M.H. Kater, *The Nazi Party...*, p. 149.

Similarly to the case of Pszczyna county, in the group studied by Kruszewski, males dominated (93.8% to 6.2%), in the way characteristic for whole Reich.⁴⁹

Socio-professional structure.⁵⁰ Thesis of bourgeois profile of Nazi movement has been dominating in studies on social and professional structures

⁴⁹ Ibid., p. 254.

⁵⁰ Profession is found as one of the most important categories in community studies. M.H. Kater: *The Nazi Party...*, p. 2, claims that “profession is the chief criterion of hierarchical status.” K.H. Jarusch: “Occupation and Social Structure in Modern Central Europe. Some Reflections on Coding Professions.” *Historical Social Research* 1979, vol. 4, no. 3, p. 10, indicated, that “although far from unambiguous, occupation has become the single most meaningful indicator of stratification in modern society. [...] Beruf describes a person’s place within both the class structure and the prestige hierarchy in a community.” See more on that W. Wesołowski: *Studia z socjologii klas i warstw społecznych*. Warszawa, 1962, pp. 11—36. Classifying professions of political leaders in Pszczyna county, I referred to M.H. Kater’s division of professions and its relation to social structure in Germany of 1920s and 1930s. Kater finds German society as three-level strata: especially numerous lower class, lower middle class and exclusive regarding numbers, upper middle class. Those classes were divided by Kater to professional categories:

1) unskilled workers, lacking both training and acquired skills

2) skilled workers, e.g. craft workers

3) other skilled workers

Lower middle class included:

4) independent master craftsmen

5) nonacademic professionals

6) lower and intermediate (petty) employees

7) lower and intermediate civil servants

8) merchants

9) self-employed farmers

Elite included:

10) managers

11) higher civil servants

12) self-employed, academically trained professionals

13) students

14) businessmen. See M.H. Kater: *The Nazi Party...*, pp. 1—13, 241.

He introduced slightly different division of NSDAP members who entered party between September and November 1923 (4,726 persons): 1) unskilled workers, 2) skilled workers, 3) servants, 4) craftsmen, 5) low and middle white-collars, 6) low and middle officers, 7) soldiers, 8) farmers, 9) merchants, 10) artists, 11) businessmen, 12) managers, 13) high officers, 14) self-employed, academically trained professionals, 15) unemployed, 16) no-profession, 17) students, 18) trainees. See M.H. Kater: “Zur Soziographie der frühen NSDAP.” *Vierteljahrshefte für Zeitgeschichte* 1971, issue 2, pp. 132—136.

It is important to note that such classifications are not sharp and definite and quite subjective. This is rightly pointed out by T. Kruszewski: “Struktura społeczno-zawodowa SA na Dolnym Śląsku...,” p. 195: “Trying to create precise characteristic of SA, ambiguity of terms like ‘worker,’ ‘independent,’ ‘officer,’ was quite troublesome.

of both fascism and Nazism. Harold D. Lasswell, in his *The Psychology of Hitlerism*, defined Nazism as “desperate attempt to take revenge by lower middle classes.” S.M. Lipset argued, that Nazism is “extreme political center,” that meant opposition of middle classes to both socialism and capitalism.⁵¹ Bourgeois was occupying indirect place in capitalistic society, its structure based on two opposite classes (capitalists-workers). Exact pace in it was symbolized by ownership of small, trade, craft or services, business.⁵²

Did the community analysed in this paper have bourgeois (lower middle class according to Kater) character as well? The structure is shown in Table 6.⁵³

Table 6

Socio-professional structure of political leaders of NSDAP in Pszczyna county

Social class	Professional groups	Number	Percent
Low class	unskilled workers	259	19.52
	skilled workers	423	31.88
	other skilled workers	23	1.73
Lower middle class	craftsmen	40	3.01
	nonacademic professions	28	2.11
	low and middle workers	89	6.71
	low and middle officers	180	13.56
Lower middle class	merchants	80	6.03
	farmers	179	13.49
Elite	managers	3	0.23
	higher officers	3	0.23
	self-employed	10	0.75
	students	1	0.08

⁵¹ Cited after M. Maciejewski: “Z badań nad społeczno-zawodową strukturą NSDAP...,” p. 140. He refers also to opinion of Italian historian Angelo Tasci, who claimed that it could not be fascism without strong political and economic crisis after the First World War.

⁵² M. Maciejewski: “Z badań nad społeczno-zawodową strukturą NSDAP...,” pp. 142—143; J. Banaszkiwicz: *Powstanie partii hitlerowskiej. Studium socjologiczne genezy faszyzmu niemieckiego 1919—1923*. Poznań, 1968, pp. 38—136, especially p. 101.

⁵³ Following cases were excluded: retired, invalids — 9 persons, housewives, wives, widows — together 29 women; leaders who either did not provide any information about their profession (172 persons) or wrote that they are without profession (17 cases); 5 professions remained not identified. In total, 232 cases had to be excluded. Kreisleiter Kurt Hossenfelder is such a case. Formally, he did not have any profession.

Table 6 continued

Social class	Professional groups	Number	Percent
Elite	businessmen	9	0.68
Total		1,327	100.00

Source: M.H. Kater: *The Nazi Party...*, pp. 1—13, 241; APKat., NSDAP Kreisleitung Pless, microfilms: F 16504, F 16505, F 16506, F 16507.

Data regarding particular professional groups can be now referred to social classes, distinguished by Kater. Results are shown in Table 7.

Tabela 7

Social classes of political leaders of NSDAP in Pszczyna county

Social class	Number	Percent
Lower class	705	53.13
Lower middle class	596	44.91
Upper middle class	26	1.96
Total		1,327
		100.00

Source: M.H. Kater: *The Nazi Party...*, pp. 1—13, 241; APKat., NSDAP Kreisleitung Pless, microfilms: F 16504, F 16505, F 16506, F 16507.

In NSDAP in Pszczyna county, widely defined proletariat prevailed. This group constituted 53.13% of the whole group. On the other hand, representatives of bourgeois class, dominating in NSDAP in Germany constituted less than half. Elites were represented by small portion. These results are similar with general census in Reich. 54.56% of society (27 millions) represented lower class, 42.65% middle class and 2.78% — elites.⁵⁴

These estimations differ from those made by Kruszewski for Dzierżoniów county — the party there had definitely bourgeois profile.⁵⁵ How to explain Pszczyna case? It can be result of “mix” of members from Pszczyna and surrounding areas. On one hand, the party there was formed by incoming element from Reich, where bourgeois class dominated (over 73%). The same percentage refers to Germans coming from outside Germany (72.73%). On the other hand, local element, that before 1939 used to have belong to Poles, mostly represented lower class — 61.75%). The middle class was represented by 26.87% and elites only by 1.38%. It was also result of Upper Silesia specifics — industrial area with limited agriculture.

Group of unskilled workers contained: 88 miners, 32 workers, 13 machinery workers, 9 factory workers, 9 guards, 6 forest workers. Among skilled workers one could find: 51 locksmiths, 44 bricklayers, 51 carpenters, 25

⁵⁴ M.H. Kater: *The Nazi Party...*, p. 12.

⁵⁵ T. Kruszewski: “Struktura organizacyjna i społeczno-zawodowa...,” p. 157.

blacksmiths, 24 railway workers. There were 5 foremen and one vice-foreman on the list. Group of craft masters contained masters of foundry (6), bakery (5), mining (4), carpenter (3), tailor (3), butchery (3). Non academic professions were represented by: 3 masters, 2 operators, 2 dentists and engineers. Group 6 was represented by 12 financial workers, 11 officers and 7 undefined officers. Low and middle officers were represented by 92 teachers (mainly in *Volksschule*), 42 state officers, 18 post officers. Group 8 was represented by merchants, including those trading wood. Managers were represented by two directors of brewery, 1 director in Giesche AG. Group of higher officers one could find gymnasium teacher and assessor of studies. Self employment was represented by 4 engineers, 2 lawyers, chemist, doctor, judge. In group 14 there were beer distributor, restaurants owners, chemist owners, cinema owner and store owner.

Big number of people connected with mining, foundries or industry in general, is absolutely justified if one considers industrial profile of the region. Relatively big number of farmers (most of them coming from Pszczyna or Pszczyna county) was a result of county profile. Teachers were another professional group, represented in big number.⁵⁶

Table 8

**Socio-professional structure of political leaders of NSDAP
in Pszczyna county according to place of birth**

Professional group	Group 1		Group 2		Group 3		Group 4	
	number	percent	number	percent	number	percent	number	percent
Unskilled workers	240	23.60	1	10.00	15	6.17	0	0.00
Skilled workers	372	36.58	1	10.00	40	16.46	2	9.09
Other skilled workers	16	1.57	0	0.00	3	1.23	0	0.00
Craftsmen	35	3.44	0	0.00	4	1.65	0	0.00
Nonacademic professions	16	1.57	0	0.00	12	4.94	0	0.00
Low and middle workers	58	5.70	3	30.00	25	10.29	1	4.55
Low and middle officers	56	5.51	4	4.00	109	44.86	4	18.18
Merchants	57	5.60	0	0.00	18	7.41	0	0.00

⁵⁶ M. Maciejewski: "Z badań nad społeczno-zawodową strukturą NSDAP...", pp. 185—186, explaining popularity of the movement among teachers, recalls particular conditions fulfilled by them: leadership skills, manipulation skills, loyalty towards superiors, that were especially valued by NSDAP. Numerous Gauleiters were working as teachers, just to list only few: Hans Schemm (Bayern), Julius Streiner (Franconia), Wagner (Silesia). After 30th of January 1933, 97% of German teachers was NSDAP members. See M.H. Kater: *The Nazi Party...*, pp. 19—31; Idem: *Zur Soziographie der frühen NSDAP*, pp. 137—159.

Table 8 continued

Professional group	Group 1		Group 2		Group 3		Group 4	
	number	percent	number	percent	number	percent	number	percent
Farmers	153	15.04	0	0.00	10	4.12	11	50.00
Managers	1	0.10	0	0.00	2	0.82	0	0.00
Higher officers	1	0.10	0	0.00	1	0.41	1	4.55
Self-employed	3	0.29	1	10.00	3	1.23	3	13.64
Students	1	0.10	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00
Businessmen	8	0.79	0	0.00	1	0.41	0	0.00
Total	1,017	100.00	10	100.00	243	100.00	22	100.00

Source: M.H. Kater: *The Nazi Party...*, pp. 1—13, 241; APKat., NSDAP Kreisleitung Pless, microfilms: F 16504, F 16505, F 16506, F 16507.

Analysis of Table 9, one can see dominance of lower class (61.5%) among persons coming from Katowice county, excerpt from territories that belonged to Germany in 1939, in comparison to bourgeois class (36.87%) and small elites. However, in groups 2, 3 and 4, bourgeois class visibly dominates (70%, 73.25% and 72.73% respectively) over rest of classes.

Table 9

**Social classes of political leaders of NSDAP in Pszczyna county
according to place of birth**

Class	Group 1		Group 2		Group 3		Group 4	
	number	percent	number	percent	number	percent	number	percent
Lower	628	61.75	2	20.00	58	23.87	2	9.09
Lower middle	375	36.87	7	70.00	178	73.25	16	72.73
Elites	14	1.38	1	10.00	7	2.88	4	18.18
Total	1,017	100.00	10	100.00	243	100.00	22	100.00

Source: M.H. Kater: *The Nazi Party...*, pp. 1—13, 241; APKat., NSDAP Kreisleitung Pless, microfilms: F 16504, F 16505, F 16506, F 16507.

The last thing that was analysed is the case of female professions. 29 of 49 women belonging to the party elites in the Pszczyna county, filled “wife — housewife,” 3 of them declared to be teachers, next 3 to be stenographers.

NSDAP membership. 312 (20.01%) of 1,559 political leaders of NSDAP in Pszczyna county were members of the party. Rest of them not. Even if they had status of candidates, situation seems to be unusual. Considering basic division of NSDAP members into ordinary ones and political leaders, with the latter as distinguished and, at least in theory, more dedicated element of the party structure, one would assume that party card had to precede nomination for a leader.

Analysis of the group shows that most of leaders, 71 (22.76%) had cards with series 7000001—8000000. 50 persons (16.03%) had cards with series 9000001—10000000, 40 (12.82%) had cards with series 1000001—2000000. This data proves that in Pszczyna county, “new” party members dominated over “old” ones.

Most of them (126 — 40.38%) joined the party in period 1940—1945. 71 of them did it between 2nd of May 1933 and 1st of May 1937. 64 persons did it in the first half of 1933. 28 leaders can be treated as “old fighters,” who joined NSDAP before 1933. 4 of them did it already in 1920s.

Julius Osterheld (born 29th of December 1893 in Bischhausen), who joined the party on 25th of July 1925 (he did it again on 1st of April 1932⁵⁷), was an absolute veteran, having the party card no. 12330. Another person, who joined NSDAP quite early, on 28th of December 1925, was Theodor Bock (card no. 26181, born 18th of October 1879 in Dolgen). Both were members of OG Kostow. Paul Lubczyk joined the party on 1st of June 1928.

The age at which particular (304) persons decided to enter ranks of NSDAP was analysed. The average age was almost 38. Most of them (117 — 37.50%) decided to do that at 30—39, 102 persons (32.69%) did being 40—49. It shows that most of them decided to become NSDAP member in mature, medium age (219 persons). 54 cases are people in their 20s and 25 in their 50s. Those who joined the party as teenagers or rather old constitute marginal group. Among the youngsters, one can list Günther A. (born 13th of September 1916 in Bürgel) who did it being 18. The same refers to Bruno R. (born 28th of June 1912 in Ludwighsthal). Ignatz Fuhrmann (born 27th of July 1876), who joined NSDAP being 66, Ernst Pietrowski (born 7th of February 1875 in Bielawa) being 63, Josef Rollnik (born 16th of October 1882 in Ober Sadow) being 60, started their “political careers” relatively late.

NSDAP in Pszczyna was a “mix” of *Reichdeutsches* with *Volksdeutsches* who voiced access to the party already when its structures in the county were being formed.

Party offices. Party offices are based on general structure on county level.⁵⁸ Results of the analysis in that case are presented in Table 10.⁵⁹

Although small number of members in county management is not surprising, relatively big number of Orstgruppenleiters and Ortsgruppenamtsleiters

⁵⁷ In cases of Julius Osterheld and Theodor Bock, I consider their first admission in 1920s.

⁵⁸ On organization structure of NSDAP see *Organisationsbuch der NSDAP*. München, 1937, pp. 84—146; T. K r u s z e w s k i: *Partia narodowosocjalistyczna...*, pp. 23—40; 55—292.

⁵⁹ Each leader is referred to one office. In cases of people who held several offices, the highest rank is taken.

(309) must surprise. Blockleiters (785 persons) constituted over a half of political leaders in the county (50.35%).

Table 10

**Functions of political leaders of NSDAP
in Pszczyna county**

Function	Number	Percent
Kreisleiter	2	0.13
Kreishauptamtsleiter	4	0.26
Kreisamtsleiter	21	1.35
Kreishauptstellenleiter	15	0.96
Kreisstellenleiter	6	0.38
Mitarbeiter der Kreisleitung	19	1.22
Ortsgruppenleiter	55	3.53
Ortsgruppenamtsleiter	309	19.82
Ortsgruppenhauptstellenleiter	33	2.12
Ortsgruppenstellenleiter	7	0.45
Mitarbeiter der Ortsgruppe	57	3.66
Zellenleiter	197	12.64
Blockleiter	785	50.35
Blockhelfer	3	0.19
No data	46	2.95
Total	1559	100.00

Source: APKat., NSDAP Kreisleitung Pless, microfilms: F 16504, F 16505, F 16506, F 16507.

Service in Wehrmacht. Hitler's announcement of obligatory and general military service in 1935, was accepted by NSDAP without enthusiasm. Since 1939, many party leaders demanded exemption and in fact were "untouched" in that case. Outbreak of war made the problem even more difficult. Growing needs of new recruitments made service of the party leaders necessary. For example, 15% of political leaders in southern Westphalia was recruited in early 1940, and in May 1943, 42% of the group was recruited.⁶⁰ Military service, especially in the eastern front, was not popular among NSDAP members. That is why they did their best to avoid it.

⁶⁰ M.H. Kater: *The Nazi Party...*, pp. 213—214.

Military service of the mightiest of political leaders, gauleiters and some kreisleiters, was short or located in easy, pacified territories.⁶¹ In short — most of 3rd Reich dignitaries served shortly, safely, mainly due to propaganda reasons. That is why political leaders were found as cowards by regular soldiers.⁶² The lower party rank, the bigger “chance” for military service.

Of general number of 1,559 cases, 199 political leaders undertook military service for Wehrmacht, but in 1,310 cases, there is lack of sufficient information.

Probably however, despite lack of data, one can assume that even they were obliged to service in Wehrmacht although for some reasons it had not been noted. Among elite of NSDAP in Pszczyna, following were in a front: Kurt Hossenfelder, Heinrich Nies, Willi Kexel, Wilhelm Schaefer, Bernhard von Dorschau.

Citizenship and German national list (DVL). This complicated case is presented in Table 11.

Relevant information about citizenship was provided by 185 persons. 64 of them described themselves as *Reichsdeutsche*, most of them was holding the most prominent positions in the Pszczyna county. 78 persons filled in German citizenship together with the previous one, thus they can be counted as ethnic Germans (*Volksdeutsche*). Among them, 77 were from Poland and one from Czechoslovakia. Besides, 82 political leaders informed in simple questionnaires about their 3rd group of German National List (DVL).⁶³

Table 11

**Citizenship of political leaders of NSDAP
in Pszczyna county**

Citizenship	Number	Percent
Reichsdeutsche	64	34.59
Volksdeutsche	78	42.16
No data	43	23.24
Total	185	100.00

Source: APKat., NSDAP Kreisleitung Pless, microfilms: F 16504, F 16505, F 16506, F 16507.

⁶¹ Ibid., p. 214. Kater lists example of gauleiter of Vienna, Baldur von Scherach, whose military service was short (6 months). Afterwards he returned to his party duties. However, Kreisleiter Otto Dettmann fought in Poland, the whole campaign in the West in 1940 to come back home to Rostock.

⁶² Ibid.

⁶³ Z. Boda-Krężel: “Niemiecka lista narodowościowa na Górnym Śląsku...,” pp. 379—406; Eadem: *Sprawa Volkslisty na Górnym Śląski. Koncepcje likwidacji problemu i ich realizacja*. Opole 1978, pp. 13—41. The fact, that some of political leaders of NSDAP received 3rd group of DVL was in conflict with general Policy, that prevented this group to join NSDAP and hold higher functions and offices.

Family. Most of leaders (81.85%) were married. 107 persons declared they are unmarried (9 misses, 1 engaged and 97 bachelors). There were also 4 widowed persons and one divorced man. Besides, in 171 cases, there is lack of sufficient data.

Table 12
**Marital status of political leaders of NSDAP
 in Pszczyna county**

Marital status	Number	Percent
Unmarried	107	6.86
Married	1,276	81.85
Divorced	1	0.06
Widowed	4	0.26
No data	171	10.97
Total	1,559	100.00

Source: APKat., NSDAP Kreisleitung Pless, microfilms: F 16504, F 16505, F 16506, F 16507.

Confession. Religious matters were important for NSDAP. Results in Pszczyna county are shown in Table 13. Among those who filled in this position, 64 persons declared being Catholics, 51 Evangelicals. 39 persons filled in “Godfaithful” (eclectic Nazi form of religious cult of German gods). 29 leaders did not fill in this rubric. In order to comparison, there were mostly Evangelicals in Kruszewski’s group (specifics of Lower Silesia) — 72.3% and only 21.31% of “Godfaithful.”⁶⁴

Tabela 13
**Confession of political leaders of NSDAP
 in Pszczyna county**

Confession	Number	Percent
Catholics	64	34.97
Evangelicals	51	27.87
“Godfaithful”	39	21.31
No data	29	15.85
Total	183	100.00

Source: APKat., NSDAP Kreisleitung Pless, microfilms: F 16504, F 16505, F 16506, F 16507.

⁶⁴ T. Kruszewski: “Struktura organizacyjna i społeczno-zawodowa...,” p. 159.

New Nazi cult was declared mostly by county elites, whereas representatives of local structures preferred their traditional confessions, either Catholic or Evangelical.

Following conclusion regarding NSDAP in Pszczyna county can be drawn. The party was formed by various elements, kind of hybrid — mix of *Reichsdeutsches* with local *Volksdeutsches*. Local element in the party structure definitely prevailed. On the other hand, 56% of county management originated from the Old Reich. The lower rank, the bigger percentage of locals. Similar mechanism was noted in Katowice county. Local Germans were informed that they will be governed by *Reichsdeutsches*. One can assume that it was due to lack of trust, so access to power was limited only to the lowest ranks for the locals.

Widely defined proletariat dominated over bourgeois class (53 to 45%). The former were represented mainly by locals, the latter by *Reichsdeutsches*. Most of NSDAP in Pszczyna was of medium age (average 43), there was few youngsters. It was result of the party “getting older” in whole Germany. Obviously there was notable advantage men over women in the party structures (the latter only 3%). According to my estimation, only 20% of leaders belonged to NSDAP, something against general practice and orders of *Organisationsbuch der NSDAP*. It was mainly result of lack of sufficient people who would be recruited.⁶⁵

Generally, political leaders of NSDAP constituted party elites. Usually true and loyal followers of Hitler, dedicated to the movement. Was it also the case of Pszczyna county? Above analysis proves, that those group could not constitute NSDAP elites according to Old Reich patterns.

⁶⁵ According to M.H. Kater: *The Nazi Party...*, p. 216, movement of party leaders to new territories and recruitment to Wehrmacht had to lead to lack of proper number of new staff, especially among blockleiters and zellenleiters.

Wojciech Kapica

Political leaders of NSDAP in Pszczyna county
between 1939 and 1945
The analysis of collectivity

Summary

The article makes an analysis of the collectiveness of political leaders of NSDAP in Pszczyna county between 1939 and 1945 (Pszczyna county belonged to Polish territories included directly in the Reich in autumn 1939). This type of NSDAP members in Katowice notary has not been the subject of academic considerations so far. The analysis of the group under examination took into account the birth place (to what an extent they were *Reichsdeutsches* from an Old Reich and to what an extent they were local *Volksdeutsches*), age (whether they were young or middle-aged), the socio-professional structure, experience in NSDAP, gender, the attitude to the army service, family and belief.

The author has established that the majority of political leaders came from the territories of Katowice notary which, before September 1939, belonged to Poland (the preponderance of local Nazis over NSDAP members from the Old Reich). He also noticed the dominance of middle-aged people in the collectivity in question, supremacy of men over women and a slight predominance of proletariat representatives over lower middle class.

Wojciech Kapica

Politische NSDAP-Leiter im Plesser Kreis (Pszczyna)
in den Jahren 1939—1945
Die Analyse von der Gemeinschaft

Zusammenfassung

Im vorliegenden Artikel wird die Gemeinschaft der politischen NSDAP-Leiter im Kreis Pszczyna (Plesser) in den Jahren 1939—1945 untersucht. Im Herbst 1939 gehörte der Plesser Kreis zu den polnischen Gebieten, welche direkt dem Deutschen Reich angeschlossen wurden. Diese Art der NSDAP-Mitglieder im Kattowitzer Regierungsbezirk waren noch nie wissenschaftlich ergründet. Oben genannte Gruppe der Leiter wurde hinsichtlich folgender Faktoren untersucht: des Geburtsortes (waren sie Reichsdeutsche oder einheimische Volksdeutsche), des Alters (junge Menschen oder die Menschen im mittleren Alter), der sozialberuflichen Struktur, der NSDAP-Dienstzeit, des Geschlechtes, des Verhältnisses zum Wehrdienst, des Familienstandes und der Konfession.

Der Verfasser stellte fest, dass die meisten politischen Leiter aus den Gebieten des Kattowitzer Regierungsbezirkes stammten, die vor dem September 1939 dem polnischen Staat angehörten (die einheimischen Nazis überwogen die NSDAP-Mitglieder vom Alten Reich). In der untersuchten Gemeinschaft beobachtete der Verfasser die Oberherrschaft von den Männern über die Frauen, von den Proletariern über die Kleinbürger und die Dominanz von den Menschen im mittleren Alter.

MACIEJ FIC

Polish youth music in history and civic education

A contemporary young member of audience differs significantly from his past counterpart. The reality around makes us a society in need of strong stimuli that activate various senses. It is even reflected by schoolbooks of history, that feature a lot of material referring to those modern ways of reception.¹

As a consequence, those who take part in education process require nowadays references to other forms of historical teaching, more accessible to them. One has to agree with Adam Suchoński that among especially important educational activities, there is a need to pair, during lessons, sources with other didactic means.² Among them (apart from visualizations, e.g. cartoons) one can list usage of songs. Music is one of the most effective media, especially in the case of young listener.³

Contemporary civilization and technology development enables wider and cheaper access to art. It creates new possibilities of influencing listeners through lyrics. Importantly, the role of music in didactics (also in propaganda) was appreciated already in the past. It was no accident that decision made by Edward Gierek to rebuild Royal Palace in Warsaw was

¹ See M. Bieniek: "Podręcznik szkolny historii." In: *Współczesna dydaktyka historii. Zarys encyklopedyczny dla nauczycieli i studentów*. Ed. J. Maternicki. Warszawa, 2004, pp. 266—269; M. Bieniek: *Dydaktyka historii. Wybrane zagadnienia*. Olsztyn, 2007, pp. 72—87; E. Chorąży, D. Konieczka-Śliwińska, S. Roszak: *Edukacja historyczna w szkole — teoria i praktyka*. Warszawa, 2008, pp. 162—170.

² J. Maternicki, C. Majorek, A. Suchoński: *Dydaktyka historii*. Warszawa, 1994, p. 360.

³ Cf. the principle of pleasure (theory of Davis, Alexander and Yelon). W. Strykowski, J. Strykowska, J. Pielachowski: *Kompetencje nauczyciela szkoły współczesnej*. Poznań, 2003, p. 51.

trumpeted by Trubadurzy in song titled *Znów stanie zamek* (The palace will stand again).

Nowadays, more and more institutions and publishers release music materials as tools of historical and civic education. Several important releases have been published recently. It is worth listing: double album titled *Głosy naszej historii. 80-lecie Polskiego Radia* (Voices of our history. 80th Anniversary of Polish Radio), released by Polish Radio. It contains over 40 tracks contributing to the most important moments in history of Poland. Similar release was prepared by *Gazeta Wyborcza* and *Oficyna Imbir*. It is the series titled “Dekady” (Decades), containing 6 volumes of photographs made in period 1945—2005. Each volume contains CD with music tracks prepared by Jerzy Eisler.

As I mentioned above, the need and effectiveness of music tracks in history teaching process, have been touched before.⁴ Lyrics of songs of artists popular among youth, appear more and more in materials addressed to students.⁵ Adam Suchoński, pointing at basic functions of such elements in lesson structure, lists as the most important: motivating, cognitive, forming and emotional.⁶ Slightly different schema have been proposed by Jerzy Kozera, who defines three basic functions of music in process of teaching/learning history: cognitive, intellectual and emotional-motivating.⁷ One can reinforce those proposal by adding activating of mental processes by prompting pupils’ imagination and shaping mental images with the help of verbal and acoustic symbols; besides a possibility of song analysis both regarding its lyrics and circumstances of its composition.⁸

In present education system, impact on school children of music tracks begins already in a primary school. During teaching/learning process, children have opportunity to learn lyrics of the most important songs and anthems that refer to Polish tradition and past. However, as they are mostly lofty and serious, they stimulate patriotism in rather conventional way — as in the

⁴ See M. Hoszowska: “Muzyka rozrywkowa w nauczaniu historii.” *Wiadomości Historyczne* 1998, no. 3; M. Fic: “Polska muzyka rockowa (‘alternatywna’) jako źródło do poznania przeszłości i refleksji nad współczesnością.” In: *Toruńskie Spotkania Dydaktyczne*. Vol. 3: *Źródła w edukacji historycznej*. Ed. S. Roszak, M. Strzelecka, A. Wieczorek. Toruń, 2006, pp. 162—170.

⁵ See E. Pustuła, M. Pustuła: *Historia 3. Teksty źródłowe*. Gdynia, 2004; K. Fic, M. Fic, B. Breier-Pniok: *Zbiór zadań z wiedzy o społeczeństwie. Testy przygotowujące do matury*. Toruń, 2006; M. Fic: *Matura. Wiedza o społeczeństwie*. Chorzów, 2009.

⁶ A. Suchoński: *Środki audiowizualne w nauczaniu i uczeniu się historii*. Warszawa, 1987, pp. 36—41; See J. Maternicki, C. Majorek, A. Suchoński: *Dydaktyka...*, p. 356.

⁷ J. Kozera: “Muzyka w nauczaniu historii.” In: *Współczesna dydaktyka...*, p. 203.

⁸ M. Bieniek: *Dydaktyka historii...*, p. 97; M. Fic: “Polska muzyka rockowa...” p. 203.

case of “Bogurodzica” (Mother of God) and “Mazurek Dąbrowskiego.” In following years, during further stages of education, there is more chances to use music tracks, as cognitive skills of pupils are growing, scope of topics is widening and being even more detailed. It lets incorporate new elements (especially in the case of history of 19th and 20th centuries. Apart from “traditional” songs, didactic process can be enriched by utterances of such genres like comic songs (T-raperzy znad Wisły), sing poetry (Jacek Kaczmarski, Przemysław Gintrowski, Jan Krzysztof Kelus, artists related to “Piwnica Pod Baranami” in Cracow). Much often however, references to historical and civic topics are to be found also in art of contemporary Polish and foreign artists, popular among youth.⁹

This study focuses on selected songs of Polish rock bands.¹⁰ It is worth noting that nowadays there is more and more opportunities to educate youth outside school buildings. This is the aim of venues organized by various artists at occasion of important anniversaries. Such form of adaptation of national legacy earns nowadays much more recognition and popularity. A music concert titled *Szacunek dla poznańskiego Czerwca* (Respect for Poznań June), that took place on the parking place of Hipolit Cegielski Factory in Poznań at 50th anniversary of events of June 1956 in Poznań, was a very good example. It was an occasion to watch young artists from Poland, Germany, Hungary. Their presence was to “reveal Poznań uprising on the perspective of other upsurges against Communist power in post-war Europe. [...] remind that apart from Poznań ’56, there was Berlin ’53, Budapest ’56 and Prague ’68.”¹¹ Another event that turned out to be undoubtedly important was Warsaw concert titled *XX lat wolności* (20 years of freedom), that took place exactly 20 years after 1989 election (4th of June 2009). The venue was featured by rock bands, active since 1980s and found as influential in the process of systemic transformation (Perfect, Lady Pank, T. Love, Oddział Zamknięty, Klaus Mittfoch, Aya RL, Republika, Piersi, Kobranocka, Turbo, Sztynwny Pal Azji, Voo Voo, Brygada Kryzys, Dezerter, Dżem). Marek

⁹ See *Wiek XIX w źródłach. Wybór tekstów źródłowych z propozycjami metodycznymi dla nauczycieli historii, studentów i uczniów*. Ed. M. Sobańska-Bondaruk, S. Lenard. Warszawa, 1998, pp. 236—240, 297—300; *Wiek XIX w źródłach. Wybór tekstów źródłowych z propozycjami metodycznymi dla nauczycieli historii, studentów i uczniów*. Ed. M. Sobańska-Bondaruk, S. Lenard. Warszawa, 1998, pp. 72—74, 391—393, 405—406; E. Chorąży, D. Konieczka-Śliwińska, S. Roszak: *Edukacja historyczna...*, pp. 180—182; A. Puszka: “Pieśni historyczne.” In: *Współczesna dydaktyka...*, pp. 262—263.

¹⁰ Rock as separate genre originated in mid 1950s as combination of elements of rhythm and blues, blues, and country. Its characteristic features are: strong rhythm and electric sound of instruments. See A. Wolański: *Słownik terminów muzyki rozrywkowej*. Warszawa, 2000, pp. 196—197.

¹¹ M. Kaźmierska, E. Obrębska-Piasecka: “Artyści o Czerwcu.” *Gazeta Wyborcza* 28th of June 2006, p. 12.

Niedźwiecki (the author of legendary LP3 — the List of Hits of Radio Three) led the show, reminding audience the most important events and contexts.¹² It is hard to avoid impression that such way of education of youth can be more effective than school lessons, even with the best schoolbooks at hand (especially regarding small number of teaching hours). The most striking confirmation of these words came from “Przystanek Woodstock,” (Woodstock Station) festival organized by Wielka Orkiestra Świątecznej Pomocy (Great Orchestra of Holiday Charity). On 1st of August 2009, at 5 p.m. (similarly to previous editions), Jerzy Owsiak broke the show and, together with several dozen thousands of fans, he celebrated memory of Warsaw Uprising by minute of silence and common performing of “Mazurek Dąbrowskiego.” It is symptomatic that the during event, that refers to legacy of flower-children movement, ignoring national pride, it was possible to celebrate anniversary of patriotic deeds of Poles.¹³

However, traditional school education remains the most popular teaching form, still it offers possibility of working with music.¹⁴ Its usage can be organized threefold way: by reference to listeners feelings and reactions, introduction of sources treated as historical products of the past and presentation of particular views regarding given processes and events from both past and present.

The first way means making impact on teenagers’ empathy. It is enabled by usage of songs coming from “those times” but in new arrangements.¹⁵ It is for instance the case of songs from Warsaw Uprising period, that have been released recently. One can list three releases, one that came up at 60th and two others set out at 65th anniversary of Warsaw Uprising. In 2004, Jozsko Broda, together with friends (Wojciech Waglewski, Marcin Pospieszalski and Piotr Żyżylewicz) and group of kids, recorded an album titled *Czuwaj wiaro!* The LP, commissioned by the Museum of Warsaw Uprising, contains 10 songs (“Serce w plecaku,” “Pałacyk Michła,” “Warszawo ma,” “Siekiera, motyka,” “Dnia pierwszego września,” “Sanitariuszka ‘Małgorzatka,’” “Warszawskie dzieci,” “Warszawianka,” “Piosenka o nocy” and “Gdy w noc wrześniowe”). Authors themselves claimed, “that these tunes and melodies are the beautiful evidence of people who were able to enjoy every simple case despite evil world and uncertain tomorrow, that surrounded them.”¹⁶

¹² See Ł. Wiewiór: “XX lat wolności.” *Teraz Rock* July 2009, p. 84.

¹³ M. Pęczak: “1939 rock.” *Polityka* 19th of September 2009., p. 69.

¹⁴ On the methods of working with source material see E. Trzcińska: “Aspekty metodyczne stosowania tekstów źródłowych w edukacji szkolnej.” In: *Historia. Teksty źródłowe do ustnego egzaminu maturalnego*. Ed. J. Chańko. Warszawa, 1997, pp. 12—13.

¹⁵ It seems worth recalling another project of that kind, realized in 2009 by the Museum of Warsaw Uprising and Polish band De Press, that recorded the album titled *Myśmy rebelianci. Piosenki Żołnierzy Wyklętych* (We’re rebels. Songs of Damned Soldiers), presenting songs of anti-Communists resistance from the first post-war years.

¹⁶ Dzieci z Brodą (Jozsko Broda), LP titled *Czuwaj wiaro!*

In connection with works on that album, Jan Pospieszalski made TV program titled *Piosenki, co na order zasłużyły*. All videoclips shot then became a part of exhibition in the Museum of Warsaw Uprising. Second album was attached to August 2009 issue of *Machina*, containing 5 tracks (“Warczą silniki,” “Warszawskie dzieci,” “Marsz Mokotowa,” “Pałacyk Michla” and “Serce w plecaku”) performed by young Polish alternative bands (Komety, Cinq q, Nowy Świat, Good Religion and Lady Mocca).¹⁷ The third project, released by the Museum of Warsaw Uprising, also in 2009, was titled *Gajcy*.¹⁸ Presenting little known, musically not exposed so far, art of one of the most interesting poets of war generation, Tadeusz Gajcy, publisher decide to promote knowledge of the Uprising through modern, musical interpretations of poems by Gajcy, performed by rock artists and bands. The album was recorded in collaboration of well-known musicians, famous for their intriguing projects and setting new standards in Polish music business: Pogodno, 52UM, Żywiołak, Armia, Maleo Reggae Rockers, Dezerter, Pustki, Kazik, Made in Poland, Agressiva 69 and Lech Janerka. The booklet of the album, apart from lyrics, included information about family ties of performing artists with insurgents and timeline of Gajcy.¹⁹ The release of the album was accompanied by a gig in Park of Freedom in the Museum of Warsaw Uprising, that featured most of artists that took part in recording session. During show, it was possible to watch visualizations, holograms based on source material about the Warsaw Uprising.²⁰ Such form certainly made impact of the show much more effectively.

The most known and renowned musical contribution to the Warsaw Uprising theme is a concept album titled *Powstanie Warszawskie* recorded by the Płock-based Lao Che. Looking for answer to the question of value of such release, it seems worth quoting Mariusz Denst of Lao Che commenting on another record with similar content: “[...] I was born in 1971, I cannot remember the times those songs refer to, but listening to them, when I close my eyes, I can see it exactly.”²¹ The album, released in 2005, contains 10 songs that refer to events and atmosphere of the Uprising: “1939/Przed Burzą,” “Godzina W.” “Barykada,” “Zrzuty,” “Stare Miasto,” “Przebiecie do Śródmieścia,” “Czeriaków,” “Hitlerowcy,” “Kanały,” “Koniec.” Each track quotes both contemporary poetry (of Krzysztof Kamil Baczyński, Zygmunt

¹⁷ “Dzieci Warszawy. Piosenki Powstania Warszawskiego.” *Machina* August 2009.

¹⁸ It was fourth attempt (after *Broniewski*, *Wypiański wyzwala* and *Poeci*) to confront alternative with poetry.

¹⁹ See review of the venue in *Teraz Rock*, November 2009, pp. 89–90.

²⁰ Apart from that, there were other musical events celebrating anniversary of Warsaw Uprising. On 31st of August 2009, there was a concert titled *Miron Białoszewski — “Pamiętnik z powstania”* on Krasińskich place in Warsaw.

²¹ Comment on *Tata Kazika* LP of Kult in: *Teraz Rock* October 2005, p. 54.

Jasiński) and “everyday” songs (“Siekiera, motyka, piłka, szklanka,” “Pałacuk Michla,” “Modlitwa Harcerska,” and an anthem of Polish Navy, transformed into anthem of the Old Town). One can hear general Władysław Sikorski speaking as well. The advantage of the record is creation of sophisticated collage with quotes from other rock bands (Izrael, Chłopcy z Placu Broni, Siekiera, KSU). Lyrics include description of civic fights (“Pełźnie ukradkiem Oporność 3-osobowa:/Ja, Pędzel i Farba Biała — morowa to załoga,/Do mnie należą tego miasta mury,/Kotwica wydrapie Buntu pazury”); Lao Che referred even to 16th century art (“Koniec — Duma Rycerska of Adam Czachrowski”).²² Additional advantage of using this form of education is the content of the booklet, with information on everyday life in Uprising Warsaw. According to one of journalists: “Lao Che managed to transform 63 days of the Uprising into language of rock, comprehensive for present audience.”²³

Slightly different theme is used in another concept album, released by Higher School of Promotion in Warsaw. The record, titled *POLSKA. The best of ...Biało-Czerwoni*. Contains 14 newly arranged songs on Poland. According to the rector of HSP: “the project [...] is an embodiment of modern patriotism, artistic view on Poland, its rich history and modern problems. It is an attempt to speak loudly about Poland, without lofty flavour but with responsibility and pride.”²⁴ He added that the project aims to influence attitudes of Poles, not politics.

Second category of songs, useful in didactics process, are those that include archival quotes of known historical figures. For example: statements of Jan Nowak-Jeziorański in *Czerwiec* by Mezo/Owal or Władysław Gomułka, Wojciech Jaruzelski and many others in *45-89* by Kult. Quotation in the former was limited to just one sentence. The latter however is in fact collage of various quotations building “a settling with 45-year Communist era.” Fragments of statements and speeches from *Dziennik Telewizyjny* were taken from Marceli Łoziński’s film titled *44/89*. The Kult’s song contains also interesting, rarely used, traces of Communists newspeak, e.g. statement of Stanisław R. Dobrowolski’s speech condemning accidents in Radom in 1976 (“For the basis of our, each of us separately, prosperity [...]”).²⁵

However, Łukasz Rostkowski’s (alias L.U.C.) record titled *39/89. Zrozumieć Polskę*, is the most developed product in this aspect. It contains 18 instru-

²² Lao Che, LP *Powstanie Warszawskie*.

²³ “Gazeta Telewizyjna” — *Gazeta Wyborcza*, 28th of July 2006, p. 40.

²⁴ LP *POLSKA. The best of... Biało-Czerwoni*, booklet. The record contains songs of: A. Rosiewicz “Pytasz mnie — mówisz mi”, J. Kaczmarski “Bajka o Polsce,” J. Pietrzak “Żeby Polska,” G. Ciechowski “Nie pytaj o Polskę,” Happysad “To miejsce na mapie,” Kult “Polska,” Farben Lehre “Rzecz nie pospolita Polska,” KSU “Kto Cię obroni Polsko” and Sztwywny Pal Azji “Spotkanie z...[Nie gniewaj się na mnie Polsko].”

²⁵ See L. Gnoiński: *Kult Kazika*. Poznań, 2000, p. 70.

mental tracks supplemented by archive recordings, referring to the most important events in history of Poland since the outbreak of the Second World War. Listeners can find there scratched fragments of speeches of Józef Beck, Stefan Starzyński or Ignacy Padarewski. Apart from motives well known from schoolbooks, there are new ones, like a sentence from the September campaign: “England hears us and won’t leave us alone.” Vast group of archival recordings refer to Communist period. One can listen to the main “actors” of that time: Władysław Gomułka, Bolesław Bierut, Edward Ochab, Józef Cyrankiewicz, Edward Gierek, Wojciech Jaruzelski, Czesław Kiszczak, Mieczysław Rakowski. There are speeches of crucial figures of Polish transformation on the record: Jerzy Zawiejski, John Paul II, Lech Wałęsa, Tadeusz Mazowiecki. The way title tracks are arranged, is another positive facet of the release regarding young audience: “Do roboty bez IQ,” “Odmóżdżanie adypinowe,” “Wizerunek firmy PRL” czy “Tribute to Lech Wałęsa.” One can read in a booklet of the record: “We have to remember, but not on order to hate either Russians or Germans, but to learn, through history, making better decision regarding our future and appreciate this beautiful mess we are living in. So the project is aimed to help people [...] understand and appreciate Poland. In times when idiot cartoon or cheap Amirecan movie character may become the greatest hero, our legend 39/89 declines to exist in youth’s perception. The time has come to show up proudly with this history using attractive possibilities of the 21st century.”²⁶ He supplemented this comment in press statement, explaining, that “young people taking matura exams in period 1985—2005, were learning history of the Second World War and Communist Poland in rush, casually, just before the exam. On condition, their teachers managed to have time to do it teaching earlier periods first. As a consequence, whole generation of Poles is not aware of events that shaped country we are living now. For them Poland means arguments of politicians, poor football and motorways.” He concluded his comment saying: “Perhaps if we were able to promote our history, instead of threatening by secret files, young people would feel grateful and proud that they can manage so much nowadays.”²⁷ These words seem to reflect well the core of the problem — a need to reignite patriotism. Besides, usage of such records let youth listen to original performances of speeches or comments they could come across in different contexts.

²⁶ L.U.C., LP 39/89. *Zrozumieć Polskę*.

²⁷ P. Wilk: “Patriotyzm w rytmie rapu.” *Rzeczpospolita* 17th of September 2009, p. 4. See also F. Łobodziński: “Raperska aplikacja.” *Newsweek Polska* 20th of September 2009, pp. 98—99; M. Pęczak: “1939 rock...,” p. 69. Author describes attitude of Polish music business to patriotism, martyrology, referring to most of songs mentioned in this text.

The third way of using music songs is a detailed analysis of their lyrics, referring to events from the past and present times. Modern music (e.g. Kult, Happysad, Dezerter) is especially useful for the classes called in Polish educational system “Knowledge of Society”.²⁸ Their advantage is lack of moralization tone and will to make listener follow given view. This is the way artists prefer themselves. Kazik said: “Everything I sing about is honest. There is my subjective feeling of rightness.”²⁹ Jacek Kawalec added: “I do not fight with either Communists or Church. I sing about things I observe around myself, people I know, my own feelings. These words and melodies are simple but still they preserve flavour of independence.” Reviewing music of Happysad, one of the journalist made a comment that can refer to other artists as well: “It is easy to identify with Happysad songs. They are reaction of sensitive human on tumult of today world and problems of everyday life.”³⁰

Of course, finding songs criticizing modern politicians and celebrities is the easiest thing. Andrzej Lepper (“used” by Kazik na Żywo, Kowalski, T. Love, Big Cyc), Renata Beger (Paweł Kukiz, Big Cyc) and Father Tadeusz Ryzyk (T. Love, Big Cyc) belong to the most popular ones. This however makes these songs of little value in studies on modern mentality. Still, bunch of songs remain its universal character. According to Robert Brylewski of Brygada Kryzys: “1990s created new kind of independent oligarchy, that remains in fact behind social control. They are separated by dark windows of their cars and we can only speculate about real scope of their power. I do not trust politicians, song written by us 20 years ago, is still actual.”³¹

Very often an artist takes role of the voice of society, when they e.g. record protests songs like Big Cyc and Kobranocka (against war in Iraq), Dezerter (against wars in Salvador and former Yugoslavia), Kazik (against conflict in Persian Gulf) or Kukiz (against presence of Polish soldiers in Afghanistan). Much more often, lyrics refer to everyday life — particular attitudes and policy (internal and external) of Polish government, that mostly remain unknown for young people. For example, Kazik’s song “Łysy jedzie do Moskwy,” is a comment on Polish-Russian relations and visit of contemporary prime minister Józef Oleksy in Russia, during the offensive in Chechnya. Fragment of lyrics goes: “I think there is something pathetic in it/to visit a host murdering children/In the name of imperial rubbish it is not a good idea/justified by neither celebration not an ordinary day.”³² Another critical view is present in Kazik’s “Wałęsa, dawaj moje 100 milionów,” referring to

²⁸ See K. Fic, M. Fic, B. Breier-Pniok: *Zbiór zadań...*, pp. 18—21.

²⁹ M. Lizut: *Punk Rock Later*. Warszawa, 2003, p. 30.

³⁰ J. Babula: “Punk rock Later.” *Teraz Rock* August 2004, p. 18.

³¹ M. Lizut: *Punk...*, p. 41.

³² Kazik, “Łysy jedzie do Moskwy,” LP *Oddalenie*. See L. Gnoiński: *Kult...*, p. 105.

infamous promise made by Lech Wałęsa during presidential election campaign in 1990 to give each Pole 100 millions PLN to establish own business.³³ Another Kazik's song, "Lewy czerwcowy (czyli panie Waldku, pan się nie boi)" is an excellent opportunity to reveal "practical" side of Parliament activity. It refers to peaceful coup in Poland in 1992, and was definitely inspired by Jacek Kurski's documentary on that topic titled *Nocna Zmiana*. Lyrics of the song are mixture of facts and fictitious additions of Kazik regarding circumstances of change of prime minister — when on 4th of June 1992, Waldemar Pawlak substituted Jan Olszewski. Kazik commented then on the film as the main inspiration: "I was moved by fragment of meeting at Wałęsa, shot in VHS by his crew. Those people, leaders of old opposition, talk about dramatic situation, that may influence Poland's fate, and their discussion is on such (low) level as if they tried to decide what to do with just delivered pizza. And suddenly, one of those pals, in my age, within a few hours, becomes by surprise one of the most important people in the country. I was aware that there are some mechanisms but I could not imagine that they are so trivial. Just to put it vulgar way, its only the case of better position at a trough."³⁴ Usage of this song during a lesson, supported by commentary on real course of events on 4th of June 1992, raises some important questions for young citizen: criterions that should be met by politicians, especially those occupying crucial positions, sense of responsibility, that should accompany their dealings. The song lets also both see differences between theoretical principles of establishing government and reality and gives pupils a chance to show their knowledge regarding those procedures.³⁵

From the perspective of civic education, it is important that a musician pays attention to social and economic problems. It is enough to list a few examples. Employment emigration of Poles was recalled by IRA in "Londyn. 8.15" and Leniwiec in "Szlaban graniczny." The latter goes: "On the border post, where crowned eagle dwells/'I love Poland' some wrote /Next he left, there is no trace of him/in fact he could write for the last to turn off the light."³⁶ The former goes: "For those who wanted to achieve something without stealing/For those who wanted simple to come easy/and for those who apart from hope have some plans/8:15 London, whole month already sold out/And each of them wanted to live normally, despite of it all/to live without paranoia/cause how long one can stand/Fight to survive every

³³ See P. Kendziołek, D. Wielowiejska: *Dekady 1985—1994*. Warszawa, 2006, p. 217.

³⁴ L. Gnoiński: *Kult...*, pp. 150—151.

³⁵ The song "Lewy czerwcowy" has its commentary, see B. Świątkowska, P. Dunin-Wąsowicz: "Rozszyfrowanie." *Machina* July 1998, p. 112.

³⁶ Leniwiec, "Szlaban graniczny," LP *Reklamy na niebie*.

day/or it is worth standing, despite of it all.”³⁷ Those texts provide us with excellent starting material to consider Polish bureaucracy, scope of emigration and possible means of solutions. Second way of describing reality in Poland can be illustrated by “Jest super” by T.Love. Zygmunt Staszewski, who wrote the lyrics, commented on that: “The first version of the song was titled ‘Made in Poland’ and was written seriously, telling that Poland likes to smell perfumes on Sundays in churches [...], but I found it later too pompous. I preferred to write text in style of president Kwaśniewski: “we’ve got only successes, everything is OK, we join NATO, Olympics in Zakopane will be soon.”³⁸ That is why, the final effect is interesting challenge for pupils, who are given such a text: “Look at great highways, at roads without holes/new blocks appear and there is no accident/people die rarely in clean hospitals/we have great government and president/they are all experts. I trust them and I know I choose my future/they will take my hand and lead me to Europe/It’s great/It’s great/so, what’s wrong?”

Last group of music songs I want to mention gathers compositions that rather tempt to review events of the past than reflex it reliable way. There are numerous examples, but I will limit myself to four of them. They all refer to listener’s empathy and — similarly to songs of L.U.C. — they remind pupils the most important events of the past. First two were composed by Kukiz, “Heil Sztajnbach” and “17 września,” written “to make words ‘God — Honour — Fatherland’ less pathetic.”³⁹ The former was contributed only, as the title would indicate, to Ericka Steinbach, thus the song title has phonetic version of the surname. The author found it symbolic — depiction of some taking-for-granted attitude, he wanted to protest against. Kukiz commented: “I was inspired by the 1st of September anniversary, that have definite associations for me. My grandfather who was taken to Auschwitz, the Warsaw Uprising. The problem is that if we do not care of our memory and identity, history will be quickly false. You do not need tanks but time and our passivity to gain it. Then it will be possible to turn truth into lie and lie into truth. That’s why it is so important to name the way they really are.” Then he added an interesting opinion: “But how we can care of our memory when I read in a school book that English and French, after German attack on Poland, ‘did not fulfill their commitments’. I should read in that schoolbook that they in fact betrayed and traded Poland.”⁴⁰ Author’s attitude resulted with following lyrics: “My home is here/the other one was taken

³⁷ IRA *Londyn*. 8.15, LP same titled.

³⁸ *Rozszyfrowanie*. T.LOVE, *jest super*. *Machina* May 1998, p. 128.

³⁹ M. Pęczak: “1939 rock...,” p. 69.

⁴⁰ “Paweł Kukiz broni prawdy o II wojnie światowej.” Interview made by Anita Dmitruczuk, *Gazeta Wyborcza Opole* 31th of August 2009.

from me by Hitler and Stalin, together they did it/Ribbentrop and Molotov established together/how to murder people to live in prosperity/One in Lvov, second in Auschwitz/I am talking about my grandparents, you bathe in their blood/You resemble Adolf as politician/You dream of folk screaming: One nation (Ein Volk), one fatherland (Ein Heimat), Poles out (Polen raus)/Glory to Sztajnbach (Heil Sztajnbach)/Here is my home/Yours were deprived of another: grandparents, father, uncle and his brother/Together with the Red Army pals/they were planting Europe with crosses/Pray for you brothers woman/those Wehrmacht took/Pray at their graves/I am staying here you will stay there..." Analysing lyrics it is worth remembering, Kukiz is really authentic. He sings about his grandparents and comes from Opole Silesia. It is worth considering actual meaning of the song regarding post-war transfer of peoples and its consequences. Second Kukiz's song, about Soviet aggression towards Poland, was inspired the same way: "I was inspired by both history of my family and (60th) anniversary. Besides, I turned to be aware that present Poland resembles Communists time so much. You couldn't talk about this date then and authorities did not have any problem with that commemorating September as anniversary of the outbreak of war. But now we keep remembering about this date."⁴¹ The song is a monologue of NKVD-man who appears tired of murdering Polish captives. It begins with popular Russian saying: "Kurica — nie ptica, Polska — nie zagranica" (Chicken is a not bird, Poland is not abroad), itself interesting introduction to a school lesson. One hears in further part of the song: "Pour some vodka Grisha, you are going to shoot soon, at some head's back/Then to a hole, throwing bodies/How many of them is left?/and our people want to go asleep/a lot of hard work/boss is angry/a weather is bad/and there is still so many of them/and bulldozer out of order/[...] Awful April almost done/green May before us/and there are still new coming/no free time/C'mon Grisha, do you feel pity of them?/Kurica nie ptica/ it is only Polish lord/let Wasia pour some lime/for this stake/lime will melt a memory/conscience will sleep well/and then there will be a forest here/truth will remain unveiled and Stalin will grant us." Certainly the text, being straightforward, reflecting atmosphere of Katyń murder, has a chance to stimulate historical reflection of youth.

Finally, two other examples. One is "Nasz PRL" by Big Cyc, that shows way of perceiving reality of 1980s by contemporary youth. Jacek Jędrzejczak sings: "Urban, Jaruzelski — nightmare of those days/everyone had white and black dreams/vinegar was smiling at us from shop shelves, mess of queues/In land of small Fiats the spell of provisions was threatening us/Grey worlds behind the window like an old movie/militia and their cars/Will we be strong enough? We were 19 then and thousands of ideas how to cure the world/So

⁴¹ Ibid. See M. Pęczak: "1939 rock..." p. 69.

many of us said no to freedom at Eastern Germany border/militia and their guns/No one knew who was confident and who slept with whom/a bag with materials, blood on the streets.” Lyrics are of great value for young listener, since they describe main elements of contemporary reality: manifesting youth and confrontations with “security service.” It resembles grayness of everyday life, ways of youth activity (printing anti-regime materials) and power of emotions and awareness of taking part in something important.⁴²

The last example, “Dwudziestolatka” by Elektryczne Gitary, written for 20th anniversary of the first free election in Poland, reflects vision of changes during last two decades. Jakub Sienkiewicz sings: “My brother-in-law was losing twenty years ago, today he gets profits. /My neighbour was a smuggler, afraid of documents, whispers and words/now he is an add expert/Uncle to cousins, wife to brother They all were informing against one another cured themselves/ have their own banks/village leader on the poster, it is going to be the fifth term/what a class and style/is there anything in that/two of us and three opinions/everybody will see how it goes.” The band paid attention to casual people and their ways of finding place in new reality. They referred also to problem of lack of comprehension and will to cooperate.

Songs listed above can help pupils rise questions regarding doubts they refer to. Thus can be helpful in shaping their cognitive potential, critical view on processes and dealings — important skills and attitudes. Fortunately, artists do not provide ready answers, do not aspire to be mentors and teachers. Paradoxically, it is their advantage.

⁴² M. Fic: “Rola polskiej muzyki “nowofalowej” w walce o odzyskanie suwerenności w 1989 roku.” In: *Polska droga do wolności. Rok 1989. Polityka, edukacja, kultura*. Ed. M. Białokur, J. Raźniewska, K. Stecka. Toruń—Opole, pp. 109—100.

Maciej Fic

Polish youth music
in history and civic education

Summary

The aim motivating the author of the text is to present the considerations on the possibilities of influencing a contemporary young receiver by the Polish youth music from the theoretical point of view. Apart from discussing the tasks and roles of music works, the author, referring to the examples of particular works and performers, tried to pay attention to the role and ways the lyrics of the music works can be used in practice during the history and civic education lesson.

The text is above all devoted to the analysis of selected Polish bands contemporarily functioning in a widely understood so called rock trend. It shows the examples of the references to impressions and feelings of the receivers, familiarization with the sources treated as historical products of the last realities (constituting the basis of the knowledge on those times and helpful in describing or recreating them) and using songs as the presentation of certain opinions on the events and processes from the past and present.

Maciej Fic

Polnische Jugendmusik im Geschichtsunterricht und staatsbürgerlicher Erziehung

Zusammenfassung

Der Verfasser hatte zum Ziel, theoretische Erwägungen über die Einwirkung der polnischen Jugendmusik auf den jungen Rezipienten zu schildern. Die Aufgaben und die Rolle der bestimmten Musikwerke besprechend wollte er veranschaulichen, auf welche Weise die Texte der Musikwerke in der Praxis, während des Geschichtsunterrichtes und staatsbürgerlicher Erziehung, verwendet werden können.

Zur Analyse wählte der Verfasser die Musikwerktexte von den gegenwärtig in Polen musizierenden Rockbands. Er zeigte, auf welche Weise ihre Autoren an Empfindungen und Gefühle ihrer Hörer appellieren, wie sie sich historische Quellen zunutze machen und wie sie mit ihren Liedern ihre eigenen Ansichten von vergangenen und jetzigen Geschehnissen und Prozessen auszudrücken versuchen.

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