

Piotr Górecki

the text
and the
world

The Henryków
Book, Its Authors,
and Their Region,
1160-1310

OXFORD



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*The Henryków Book, Its Authors, and their
Region, 1160–1310*

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For my mother,
and to the memory of my father

Preface

THE SOURCE, THIS BOOK, AND RELATED WORK

It is immodest to describe any phase of one's work as a capstone. Nevertheless, this book is a culmination of a strand of my work spanning nearly thirty years. That strand originates in a conversation in the summer of 1980, when I was a graduate student, with (the now deceased) Professor Wojciech Bartel of Jagiellonian University's Institute of Legal History, regarding the possibilities and the feasibility of pursuing, as a scholar based in the United States, medieval history centred on Poland.

At the end of that conversation, Professor Bartel introduced me to—literally, placed in my hands—a rather modest-sized book, published in 1949, containing a Latin edition and a Polish translation of a history of one Cistercian monastery. The monastery was (and its post-Cistercian church complex today is) situated in Henryków, formerly the duchy and now the province of Silesia. The work was written in the monastery, over the course of the thirteenth century, and redacted into a codex soon after 1310. That codex comprises the core of the 1949 book. This history, the codex, and its edition, are conventionally known as the *Henryków Book*.

Although this source has informed my work since its beginning,¹ it took me some time to realize just how right Wojciech Bartel had been about its importance. It is an exceptionally interesting source—in itself, as a text, and as a venue toward a local and regional world with which that text engaged, and which it interpreted and affected. Thus, it serves as an entrée into a number of subjects of major interest to medieval historians, well beyond the specialists interested in Poland or its nearby regions. As a text, it is notable as a literary work, above all as an example of forensic rhetoric and argument, entailing an active interpretation, and commemoration of the material it conveys, and an active creation of collective memory. That material entails lordship, power, economy, the law, social groups, and institutions—all comprising a local and regional world of the *Book* and its authors. Much of my publishing output has consisted of articles about these aspects of the *Book* in its context. In addition, in 2007 I published an annotated translation of the *Book* into English, prefaced by a substantial introductory essay.²

Polish and German medievalists are intimately familiar with the *Henryków Book*, which has elicited an enormous literature. Yet, curiously, that literature has not produced a book similar to this one. That is to say, no one has written, or is currently in the process of writing, a book situating the monastery, in the time spanning the first century of its existence—approximately, the chronological range of the *Henryków Book*—the *Book*, and the *Book's* authors, in the multiplicity of

¹ Górecki 1983 and 1984.

² Górecki 2007b.

contexts in which I do here. To be sure, many individual authors, in Poland and in Germany, have addressed specific aspects of the *Book* and its many contexts, and I acknowledge my debt to them throughout this book. At present, let me note two especially important—though diametrically different—monographs.

In 1978, Heinrich Grüger published what remains until today the sole full history of this monastery, from its beginnings until the later twentieth century.³ It is, in the best sense of that term, a narrative history, and, as such, an invaluable resource for basic reference: the placement, in time and space, of the many protagonists and localities named in the *Book*; the dating, and other biographical particulars, of the monastery's abbots; and similar 'factographical' detail. Especially important is Grüger's meticulous attention to the myriad inhabitants, spanning several statuses, who preceded the arrival of the monks and who subsequently interacted with the monastery. However, Grüger's story in *Henrichau*, though meticulous and most valuable, is distantly, if at all, related to some of those major themes of interest to all medievalists to which the *Book* is pertinent, and which have arisen over the four decades since its publication. Viewed from today's perspective, *Henrichau* is seriously 'underproblematized'.

The book published three years later by Józef Matuszewski is, in every sense, 'problematized'—that is to say, it concerns not a story, but specific issues and concepts.⁴ As his point of departure, Matuszewski examines one single detail in the *Book*: its report of an utterance, by one of the protagonists, in Polish, which comprised the earliest written record of a statement in that vernacular. The author pairs a close linguistic analysis of the utterance with a study of several contexts of that utterance and of the speaker—a direction which expands into a contextualized study of the portion of the *Book* containing the utterance and of the author of that portion, focusing, among much else, on the text's literary and rhetorical devices, and on the genres of which this portion of the *Book* is an example. I cannot overestimate the importance of having read that book, in 1982, as a crucial source of inspiration regarding the *Book* in its context, and would like, here, to re-express my debt to its author. On the other hand, Matuszewski's book is extremely short, and its point of departure correspondingly narrow. It begs for an elaboration, and expansion, of the multiple contexts it invokes, and several others. This is the purpose of my book.

Outside Poland and Germany, the present book is part of a historiographical genre locating some specific text, author, or ecclesiastical community—accessible through a localized, substantively rich, or 'thick', dossier of written material—in a broader, multidimensional context. Works in this genre vary widely in their emphasis, method, and the contextualizing subjects; a full survey would require a major historiographical essay. Instead, let me note four excellent books which serve as examples of that variation, and of the place of the present book within the genre. Two are early: Eleanor Searle's 1974 study of Battle Abbey, and, a decade later, Marjorie Chibnall's reconstruction of 'the world' of Orderic Vitalis.⁵ The remaining two, close to our historiographical present, are Jason Glenn's study centred on

³ Grüger 1978a.

⁴ Matuszewski 1981.

⁵ Searle 1974; Chibnall 1984.

Richer of Reims published in 2004, and Emilia Jamrozak's monograph about Rievaulx Abbey, out a year later.⁶

Searle's book is pioneering in this genre. Written at a time of intense output by the Toronto school of agrarian and seigneurial local history at the crest of its activity, the book it is a major contribution to that school. Its benchmark source is a major monastic chronicle, and the principal contexts are the economic, social, and seigneurial dimensions of the rural world surrounding the monastery. Chibnall situates Orderic and his *oeuvre* in a broad and multidimensional context: the author's biography, the ecclesiastical world, the external world of rulership, lordship, and knighthood, and, the various genres of medieval historical writing. This contextualization of the author and his work previews, in broad terms, my own approach to the *Henryków Book*. In sum, the present book is intended as a specialized work in the directions of inquiry to which Chibnall, Searle, and (from a very different perspective) Matuszewski, pointed us many years ago.

Glenn gives us a superb study of a benchmark source—a tenth-century chronicle—as a physical artefact, as a text, and as a source of access to a surrounding 'world'. Throughout his book, Glenn deftly moves between Richer's text and the external reality to which that text refers. The key contextualizing phenomenon is the dynastic continuity and transition between late Carolingian and early Capetian kingdom. Jamrozak's book is, to my knowledge, the position in this entire genre closest in its aims and emphasis to my book. The closeness is not related to place—Rievaulx is, of course, very far from Poland—but to the issues surrounding her benchmark text and its monastery, nicely summed up by her subtitle: collective memory, and its reflections in the text; social networks, centred upon a locality of which the monastery was a focal point; people comprising those networks; and the meaning and significance of her benchmark source, Rievaulx's cartulary.

Despite these thematic resonances with these four anglophone works, my book is distinct in several respects. I hasten to add that, as with Grüger and Matuszewski, I note these differences in order to place my own book in the genre, and as not even a suggestion of polemic or criticism. Neither Searle nor Chibnall emphasizes the text and issues related to textuality: its literary, rhetorical, or persuasive aspects, or related cognitive phenomena, above all knowledge, memory, and oblivion, and their negotiation and interpretation. These themes emerged in the historiography some years after Searle and Chibnall wrote. Also, within the broad range of contexts addressed by Chibnall, my book differs in its emphasis. For example, I do not address the question of the internal 'monastic life' of the Henryków community—spirituality, observance, and the like—because, quite curiously, these subjects are utterly absent from the *Book*.⁷ Moreover, Chibnall's thematic range is cast at a much higher level of generality than my own. As has been my habit throughout my work, I rely on a much closer inquiry into texturing detail, and on thematic resonances spanning the different chapters.

⁶ Glenn 2004; Jamrozak 2005.

⁷ Regarding this intriguing absence, I am grateful for C. Steven Jaeger's insights in a conversation at UCLA on 11 April 2012.

In contrast to my book, Glenn's study is based on the autograph manuscript, and works as a full study of the manuscript as an object: codicological and palaeographical, as well as compositional. My book is, quite simply, not that kind of study. My attention to the physical aspects of the *Book* is sparse, and limited only to those features which may relate to the substantive parts of its message. As for Glenn's principal context, dynastic history, here this subject—the presence, power, and multiple roles of the Piast dukes—works entirely differently, in terms of its particulars, documentation, and substantive results. Finally, Glenn deemphasizes the economic, social, and material aspects of his author's 'world', a move that reflects a retrenchment in the study of concrete, economic, material, and social history in favour of 'cultural' concerns, during the decades separating his work from the generation of Searle and Chibnall. Today, this retrenchment is undergoing a rapid reversal, and these subjects—fully informed by the intervening concerns with culture, cognition, and textuality—are rapidly recapturing the attention of medieval historians.⁸ My book is part of that process.

Jamroziak's book is, again, thematically narrower than mine.⁹ In this case, the most thoroughly developed contextual phenomenon is the relationships—some friendly, others adversarial—between the Rievaulx monastery and its neighbours. Analogous relationships, centred on the Henryków community, are a central subject of my book, but (again) are only one of several, equally important parts of the context. I also develop this subject rather differently. To give one example: Jamroziak classifies people with whom the monastery interacted along a sharply polarized moral grid—as 'good' or 'bad'. The *Henryków Book* expresses a less clear, morally more nuanced position. Although it evaluates particular protagonists, such evaluations are ambivalent. This ambivalence, and its uses in the text, enable me, as author, to use value judgement, legitimation, and delegitimation, as one of those many areas of interpretation and knowledge to which the *Book* gives us an entrée.

APPROACH AND STRUCTURE

The Text and the World began as a far more limited project. Originally, I wished to recast my previously published work into a book consisting of revised articles. In the process of that revision, and rereading of the source, revisiting the source, and my earlier work, I promptly realized that this will be an entirely new product, in substance and in form. On subjects previously addressed, my analysis and conclusions here are, in important respects, quite different from what I have written before. Some subjects are completely new. The rewriting has resulted in almost entirely new prose; in particular, one previously published article comprises a substantial portion of one chapter.¹⁰

⁸ An important marker is Alfonso 2007, and the specialized Brepols series of which that book is the first volume, under the general editorship of Paul Freedman and more recently Philipp Schofield.

⁹ By which I mean that the range of contextual themes is more limited—not, of course, that her treatment of such themes is, in any sense, 'narrow'.

¹⁰ Górecki 1997, now part of Chapter 2, with the kind permission of the editorial board of *Cîteaux*.

This book consists of nine chapters. Four examine the *Book* principally as a ‘text’, five look at the ‘world’ of which that text and its authors were a part. Each chapter is structured as follows. Early in the chapter, the *Book* is used as a source concerning the subject of that chapter. The text works as an independent variable—a basis for the selection, by me, of the subjects of this book. If the authors of the *Book* address a subject, then that subject becomes a subject of this book, as one of its chapters. In its later part, each chapter situates the *Book*, regarding that subject, in the context of other sources—contemporaneous with the *Book*—above all, ducal diplomas and other charters, as well as other narrative sources. Intermittently throughout, and again at the end of each chapter, I return to the *Book*, so as to round out the subject of the chapter, now viewed from the complex perspective of all the documentation. This is an example of identifying patterns of resonance and conjuncture among all the texts examined, regarding the subject of the chapter.¹¹

Chapter 1 introduces the *Book* as a source, and serves as an introduction for the remainder of the book. The first part of the chapter discusses the *Book*’s textual attributes: its purpose, content, internal structure, authorship, generic classification, and the times of its writing and final arrangement into the codex. The remainder of the chapter shifts attention to the earlier, or first, of the *Book*’s two authors, the third abbot of Henryków, Peter, who, in his own work, appears as a fully-fledged protagonist, and provides the reader with his implied autobiography. Because, in the course of his life, Peter interacted with the major contemporary issues reflected by the *Book*, his biography works to frame this book in its entirety. Those issues comprise the principal subjects of the chapters in this book.

Chapter 2 concerns the *Book* as an act of persuasion: an active shaping of a message, directed to the monks, consisting of a rhetorical construction, and a partisan interpretation, of the monastery’s position in its local and regional universe—framed against several competing, potentially threatening alternatives. Chapter 3 is the first of two chapters concerning the sources of knowledge upon which the *Book*’s authors drew in composing their work: memory, collective and individual, and written sources. Deliberately reversing the usual progression in the analysis of these modes, this earlier chapter focuses principally on writing. The *Book* simultaneously describes and embodies that transition—and, in these regards, is set in context of its contemporaneous written record.

The fourth chapter concerns knowledge drawn from memory, and conveyed in spoken form. The chapter reconstructs what I call ‘communities of legal knowledge’, or of ‘legal memory’—social groups within which knowledge was formed, reproduced, and (sometimes) lost—and examines the collective activities whereby such groups acquired, experienced, and conveyed such knowledge. All this is inferred from the same diplomatic record which the preceding chapter treats from the perspective of the shift to writing. In explicit debt to Michael Clanchy, these two chapters position the *Book* and its documentary context as one example of the Europe-wide transition from memory to written record.

¹¹ My understanding of conjuncture and resonance is indebted to Bisson 1998; see Górecki 2012, p. 218.

Chapter 5 begins the shift away from the *Book* as a ‘text’ to the ‘world’ with which that text engaged. This chapter considers the economic, or material, resources comprising the monastery’s estate, and their consolidation, or ‘compaction’, into one instance of a Cistercian monastic estate, consisting of a network of standardized components: granges; arable, forest, park, orchards, lakes, stream and river banks; fisheries; areas of new clearing or demographic expansion; tenants and villages; urban goods and revenues; and tithe revenues. Chapters 6 and 7 shift emphasis onto the human story—individual and collective—behind the long process of consolidation described in Chapter 5. By this, I mean the biographies of the many dozens of individual protagonists, and groups of laypeople and ecclesiastics.

This story is bisected into two chapters for a reason. Originally, I planned to present their common subject in one single chapter, across the entire sweep of the *Book*, spanning the later twelfth to the early fourteenth century. However, the *Book*’s two authors are so different from one another that, on this subject, it seemed good to follow the structure of the main primary source as a point of departure in my work. Peter was especially prolific concerning particular people and groups. From his vantage point, the human story consists of a richly-documented pattern of interaction, between people and among people and resources, and of the results of those interactions over time. This is the principal subject of Chapter 6. The continuator focused largely on the impersonal, systemic impact of human activity rather than the lives of the people involved. His work is best used for diagnostic purposes, that is, to recover broad aspects of social or economic reality resulting from personal activity: land clearing; transition in the structure and management of estates; new patterns of land tenure; techniques; and interethnic relations. The principal aim of Chapter 7 is to trace out these aspects of the rural world.

Chapter 8 contextualizes the broad dynamics and processes inferred in Chapters 6 and 7 in two high-level subjects, across the decades treated by the *Book*, ‘the long thirteenth century’: the peasantry, and townspeople, throughout Silesia. Both subjects are amply reflected in the *Book*, and this chapter revisits them from an overarching perspective. In contrast to the preceding chapters, this chapter relies almost exclusively on diplomatic evidence, except for its final section, where it returns to those fragments of the *Book* which work as closures—in a narrative and in a thematic sense—for the *Book*’s authors, and for me.

Chapter 9 serves as a brief conclusion. It revisits the relationship between the *Book* considered as a text, and the processes, events, and relationships with which the *Book* engages. It then turns to several levels of the ‘world’ of which the *Book*, its authors, their surrounding network of people and relationships were a part. However, in this chapter, that ‘world’ is understood not as a series of contextualizing phenomena, but as a geographical progression—moving, so to speak, outward from Henryków and its region, through Silesia, medieval Poland in its entirety, the Cistercian Order and its local contexts, all the way to medieval Europe—and, to one of its major, historiographically conceived macro-regions, namely East Central Europe.

LIMITATIONS: WHAT THIS BOOK IS NOT

A book which reaches a wide array of phenomena through the lens of one exceptionally rich source, intersecting with all of them, poses a risk of becoming a book about ‘the world’ meant in the undesirable sense: as everything. Thus, let me turn to some limitations of the approaches, methods, and subjects of the present book—signals of what the book is not.

First, some issues concerning conceptualization, or what is loosely known as theory. The dichotomy, expressed in the title, between ‘the text’ and ‘the world’ is not meant to set up my work as a naïve contrast between the text as an ‘image’, and the ‘reality’ to which that text, in some sense, relates. Nor is it intended to signal an engagement with some of the current theoretical issues related to textuality, representation, possibility of ‘access’ to a ‘world’ outside the text, and the like. All I mean is a shift, by me, in the course of my book, from the *Book* as a specialized written product, toward those events, persons, processes, and relationships to which it responded, and which it was intended to affect.

Likewise, let me disavow an assumption possibly implied by my basic method: confronting one principal source with a large mass of other documents. I do not mean to use the diplomas as some kind of privileged, empirical source of ‘control’ over the material conveyed by the *Book*. Such documents, as we well know from the best work on that genre, are not a venue to some kind of direct, certain, or unmediated ‘access’ to the ‘external reality’ surrounding their production. On the contrary, they are texts in the same complicated sense in which the *Book* is; they, too, raise questions of authorship, purpose, interpretation of the conveyed material, rhetorical or persuasive arrangement, and the like.¹² That, however, is not a subject of this book.

Another issue lurks in my approach to systemic change. In this book, transition and continuity are assessed by means of a cohort analysis of significant amounts of evidence, spanning the *Book* and other documents. That evidence ranges from simple words, through entire terminologies, to fuller narrations, interpretations, comments, and normative statements. On the key subjects distilled out by the *Book’s* two authors, transitions in words, terminologies, and more substantial textual references, occurred over clearly specifiable chronological periods, and were logically related to one another. Thus, from the historian’s perspective, they tend to explain one another. This is the sense in which the basic method of *The Text and the World* is a close confrontation of the material conveyed by the *Book* with material conveyed by the many authors (and scribes) of the charters.

Medievalists have long been aware of the need for caution in inferring transition, or continuity, in some aspect of past reality, on the basis of transition or continuity in the terminology supposedly referring to that reality, or in the narrative material supposedly describing or engaging with it. Examples include debates about the nature, and the degree, of systemic transition in post-Carolingian

¹² Recent examples include Brown 2002a; Brown 2002b; Kosto and Winroth 2002; Koziol 2012.

Europe, or about inferring conceptually fraught phenomena, such as violence or power, from supposedly relevant terminology or narrative material.¹³

I minimize these risks through a shamelessly conventional approach: first, by noting the logically, and chronologically, related conjunctions among the different levels of transition—terminological and narrative—in the documentation; second, by confronting documents issued by a variety of authors to a variety of recipients, for a variety of purposes, with a variety of messages, and from a variety of perspectives. Despite the many debates and postmodern interventions concerning the limits of historical inference, and their slightly destabilizing outcomes, this is what we, as historians, have actually continued to do.

On a more mundane level, this book is limited in scope on some major subjects. Above all, the diagnostic inferences and systemic generalization expressed in Chapters 6, 7, and 8, are not intended to present a complete economic or social profile of the Henryków monastic estate, let alone of its surrounding world, Silesia, or Poland. Part of the reason is chronological. The source base used in this book ends abruptly with the decade 1300–1310. Several important attributes of Henryków's economy are documented only later. To use a few examples, from my book, the reader will not learn about the full number of the monastery's granges, the detailed patterns of settlement in the local region adjacent to the monastery, or the monks' irrigation projects.¹⁴

Finally, a disclaimer about one aspect of the monastery's 'world', one which the English-language reader may expect to see in any book located in Europe 'east' of some arbitrary point. In contrast to my earlier work, this book is not pitched, historiographically or conceptually, in terms specific to East Central Europe. I have deliberately decided not to present the *Book* or its world in terms of the European 'frontier', and the phenomena specific to it, such as 'colonization', 'Europeanization', and so forth. This is not a revisionist point of view or argument. On the contrary, this book dovetails with these types of studies. However, it does so as a local and regional study, in which this text, and its world, are contextualized and understood along entirely different lines.

¹³ Brown and Górecki 2003a, pp. 27–33; White 1998, p. 144; Górecki 1999, pp. 91–2; Brown 2011, pp. 1–30; Bisson 2009, pp. 6, 22, 44–6, 49–50, and elsewhere.

¹⁴ On the latter, see Jamrozik 2013, p. 192.

Acknowledgments

Any project, but especially one culminating many years of related work, can never be fully acknowledged. The real debt—to teachers, colleagues, friends, and family—is simply not expressible. Nevertheless, let me begin with warmest thanks to two crucial undergraduate teachers at the University of Illinois, Urbana-Champaign, Fred Gottheil and the late Bennett Hill. Although I did not know this at the time, their instruction and example set the foundation for my interest in medieval history, especially its legal, social, and economic aspects.

Subsequently, at the student phase of my specialization as a medievalist, I benefited from the immense support of Alan Bernstein, Robert Bartlett, Paul Knoll, and—again, now deceased—Gerald Gunther and Richard Hellie. Today, regarding this book, Alan, Rob, and Paul have been crucial supporters, together with Isabel Alfonso, Christopher Balsz, Jim Brennan, Michael Brün, Lucille Chia, Tom Cogswell, Paweł Derecki, Marek Derwich, John Eldevik, Wojciech Fałkowski, Denver Graninger, John Hudson, Richard Hoffmann, C. Steven Jaeger, Emilia Jamroziak, Jerzy Kłoczowski, Radosław Kotecki, Jacek Maciejewski, Melanie Maddox, Halina Manikowska, Henry May, Karol Modzelewski, Deborah Montana, Robert Ian Moore, Wojciech Mrozowicz, Maria Nowak, Robert Patch, Marcin Rafał Pauk, Susan Reynolds, Sian Roman, Barbara Rosenwein, Sébastien Rossignol, Michele Salzman, Teri Simpson, Sterling Stuckey, Michael Villacrés, Przemysław Wiszewski, Ewa Wólkiewicz, and Yuriy Zaretsky.

In addition, I thank several colleagues and close friends whose involvement with the creation of this book has been especially sustained, over time and several specific stages. The book would simply not exist without Patrick Geary—who, upon reading an early draft of the translation of the *Book* which ultimately became *Local Society*, urged me to write a bigger monograph about that document, in its many contexts—on the theme of the *Book's* connection with collective memory, a focus of an early article I was working on at the time, and, of course, of Pat's own brilliant monograph of a few years earlier.¹ Pat's exhortation agitated (in the good sense of that word) my own, exceedingly loose and preliminary thoughts along the same lines; but without that conversation, I would have let those thoughts lapse, and gone on to other work. In the years since that conversation, Pat has been a close supporter of the resulting work—the articles, *Local Society*, and the present book.

During those same years, Grzegorz Myśliwski has been an unswerving, enthusiastic advocate, sustaining me in this book project, on, so to speak, its two ends: with an unflinching conviction, understandable from a great young Polish medievalist, about the value of the *Henryków Book* as a primary source; and—with his characteristic generosity and kindness—about my ability to discern, or as he put it, to 'pull

¹ Geary 1995.

out' of the text and express in prose, the many layers of historical insight the *Book* offers. Meanwhile, equally consistently and generously, Richard Godbeer has conveyed the same message and trust in the outcome. I will forever be grateful for the breadth, depth, and warmth of his support. To him and Grzegorz, I am especially grateful for a steely sense of assurance that this project will come to a good end.

More recently in the writing process, Warren Brown has discussed the book at length with me, on many occasions, has been a source of much advice, and has read and closely commented on portions of the text. At a crucial point, he advised me to submit a book proposal sooner rather than later. This aspect of our contact has been a seamless part of our collaboration, in various venues, over twenty years. Another great friend, colleague, and long-term collaborator has been Björn Weiler. My contacts with him have entailed, above all, conferences and publications thematically related to this book, and have been invaluable for the shaping of this book and the ideas behind it.

I am most grateful for several opportunities to preview this book with groups of students and colleagues: in 1998, when, thanks to an invitation from János Bak, I presented several of the themes now developed in this book to a group of extraordinary students at the Central European University in Budapest; several times in 2011, 2012, and 2013 at the German Historical Institute in Warsaw; and in 2012, at a UCLA Center for Medieval and Renaissance Studies Roundtable. For the Warsaw events, I am most grateful to Eduard Mühle, who invited me to two specialized conferences, and the newly established senior scholarship at the Institute, where I pursued work on an important phase of the book, in a great and hospitable institution, and city. Likewise, I thank the organizer of the Roundtable, Karen Burgess, and the discussants, above all Karen, Massimo Chiavolella, Steve Jaeger, Richard Rouse, and Kristina Markman.

Most recently, I simply cannot say enough about the assistance and support from Oxford University Press editors: Christopher Wheeler, through whom I submitted the book proposal to the Press, his successor Stephanie Ireland, and, at all the subsequent phases Cathryn Steele. They are an editorial dream team, combining the highest level of collegiality, supportiveness, and sensitivity throughout the lengthy process of consideration, assessment, acceptance, and subsequent processing of a book manuscript. I am no less grateful to the several referees, first of the book proposal, then of the completed manuscript.

As always, throughout my work, I thank Renata, who is so completely present in everything I do, and our daughter Ania—with, as of today, wishes for a happy birthday. This book is, yet again and as always, a tribute to them. And I dedicate this book to my mother, Danuta Wojnar-Górecka, and to the memory of my father, Jan Górecki (born Stefan Jerzy Kraushar). The two of them have been, and remain, bedrocks of my personal and academic identity. Moreover, with my mother, I have long shared an interest in that intersection of social, economic, seigneurial, and legal history which, I hope, is well represented in this book. She has been, and is, a colleague—always more experienced and wiser, senior in every sense—as well as friend and supporter. This is a modest expression of thanks to her and her husband, jointly and indivisibly.

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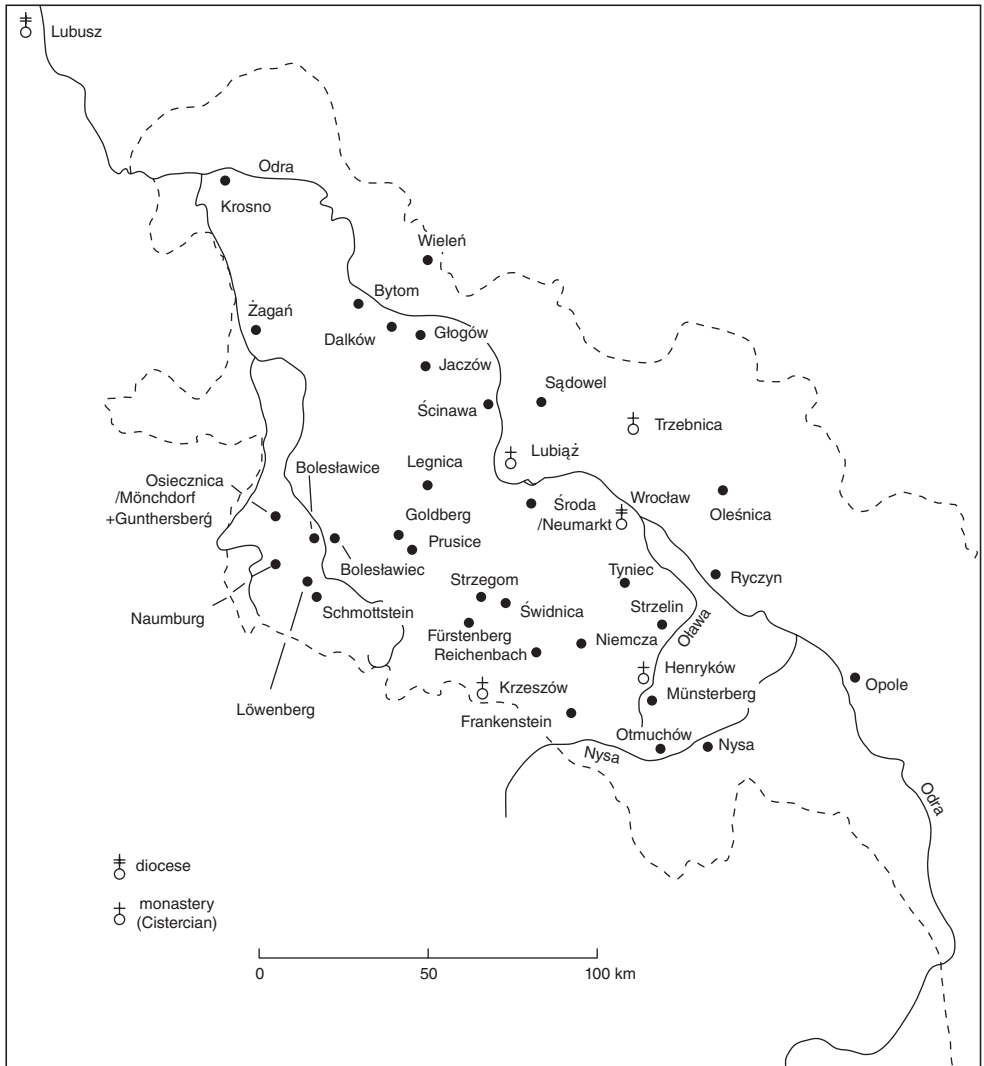
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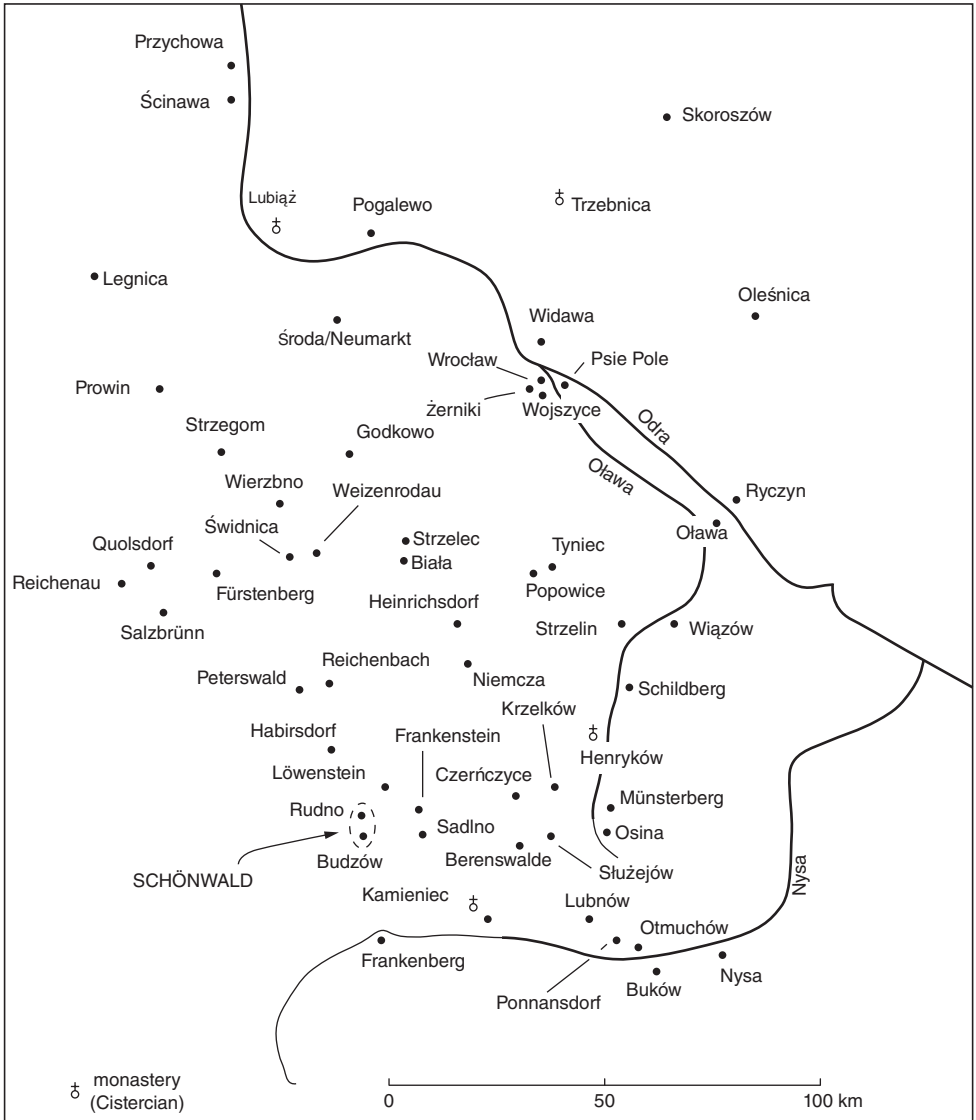
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- S.U., 2 *Schlesisches Urkundenbuch*, vol. 2, ed. Winfried Irgang. Vienna, Cologne, and Graz: Hermann Böhlhaus, 1978.
- S.U., 3 *Schlesisches Urkundenbuch*, vol. 3, ed. Winfried Irgang. Vienna and Cologne: Böhlau Verlag, 1984.
- S.U., 4 *Schlesisches Urkundenbuch*, vol. 4, ed. Winfried Irgang. Vienna and Cologne: Böhlau Verlag, 1988.
- S.U., 5 *Schlesisches Urkundenbuch*, vol. 5, ed. Winfried Irgang. Cologne, Weimar, and Vienna: Böhlau Verlag, 1993.
- S.U., 6 *Schlesisches Urkundenbuch*, vol. 6, ed. Winfried Irgang and Daphne Schadenwaldt. Cologne, Weimar, and Vienna: Böhlau Verlag, 1998.



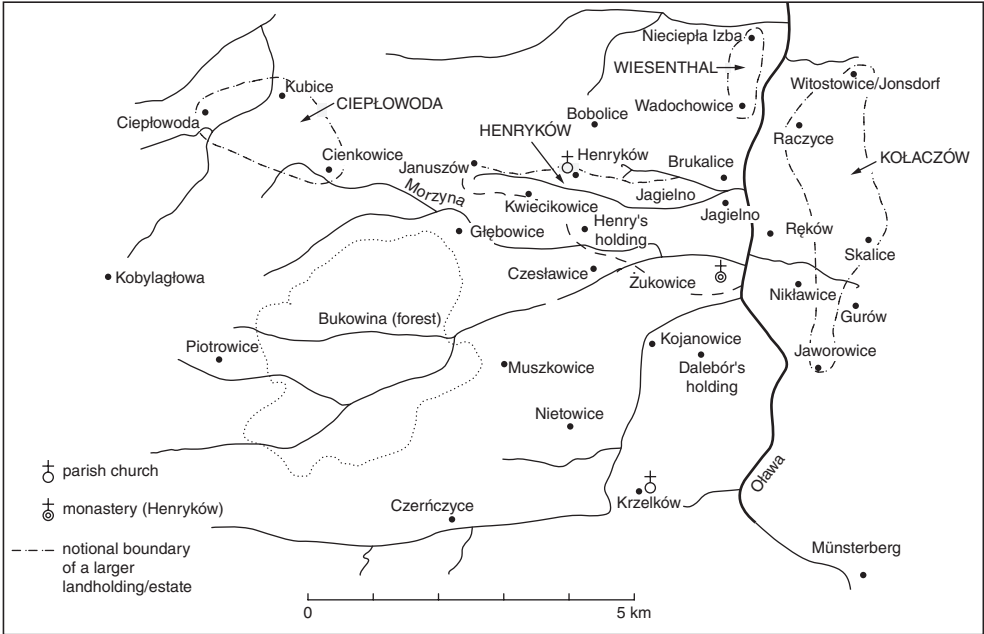
Map 1. Western Poland



Map 2. Silesia



Map 3. Central Silesia



Map 4. The Henryków region

PART I
THE TEXT

1

In Search of the Authors

THE HENRYKÓW BOOK

Occasionally, our activity as historians mimics our historical material. This is the case now. The present book emerges out of, and is framed and shaped by, a book—or, rather, a single medieval codex—conventionally known to historians as the *Henryków Book*.¹ The codex was produced shortly after 1310, at the monastery situated in Henryków, in the duchy of Silesia, approximately fifty kilometres south by southwest of Wrocław, Silesia's most important city and the seat of its bishopric. It is currently held by the archiepiscopal archive of Wrocław.²

The codex is rather modest in size, consisting of just under fifty folios. The text is written in a fourteenth-century Gothic script, in several hands. The writing is continuous. There are no gaps in the text intended as breaks, and the gaps that do exist are uncompleted portions, left as empty folio. The sole decorative matter consists of initials, some surrounded by abstract, non-figural decorative designs. Units of text, as well as charters embedded in the text, are marked off by rubrics—which range from short equivalents of titles all the way to substantial repetitions, elaborations, or summaries of what is said in the text. Apart from the rubrics, the text has no visual subdivisions or markers. At some point in the seventeenth century, a reader of the codex numbered the folios, in cursive hand, with Roman numerals.³

The codex consists of two historical works, and includes, interspersed with the narrative, a total of thirty-two charters, apparently copied in their entirety. Of the two works, the first—by far the larger, taking up forty-seven folios—is a history of the localities incorporated into the estate of the monastery, and of the monastery itself, extending back about 150 years from the creation of the codex, approximately into the second half of the twelfth century.⁴ The second, much shorter work is a list of the bishops of Wrocław, which extends the chronological coverage

¹ The codex has been edited by Józef Matuszewski and translated by Roman Grodecki, as *Księga henrykowska. Liber Fundationis claustrae sancte Marie Virginis in Heinrichow*, ed. and trans. Roman Grodecki (Poznań and Wrocław, 1949); reissued without change, though with a new preface by Józef and Jacek Matuszewski, as *Liber Fundationis claustrae sancte Marie Virginis in Heinrichow, czyli Księga henrykowska* (Wrocław, 1991), and hereafter abbreviated as *K.H.*, with page references to the 1991 edition; translated into English, Górecki 2007b; Górecki 2010c. The complete scholarly edition remains Stenzel 1854.

² Matuszewski 1981, pp. 10–11.

³ Stenzel 1854, pp. v–viii, remains the detailed palaeographical and codicological analysis; see the facsimile of the codex appended to the 1991 reprint of the Grodecki edition.

⁴ *K.H.*, ch. 1–196, pp. 109–92; Górecki 2007b, pp. 91–193.

backward even further, to the mid-eleventh century, but ends in 1273.⁵ Of the embedded charters, most were issued by the dukes of Silesia, some by the dukes of Great Poland, the bishops of Wrocław, and other authors.

The longer, narrative portion of the *Book* divides into two additional portions, or histories. The second, later portion begins with an unusually precise chronological placement of the preceding text, and of its own relationship to that text. It notes that the earlier portion concerns 'circumstances' spanning the monastery's 'origin, in the year of the Lord 1227, until the year of the Lord 1257', and continues that story 'after' that year.⁶ The earlier portion was written between 1268 and 1273, the later in, or soon after, 1310. In the resulting codex, the two portions were placed in sequence, and identified (in rubrics and elsewhere) as *liber primus* and *liber secundus* of the overall work. The list of the bishops of Wrocław was appended at the end.

The two major historical narrations, or *libri*, are broadly similar in terms of subject and structure. Together, they consist of a total of nineteen sections, to which the text refers as 'treatises' (*tractatus*) or, more often, 'accounts' (*rationes*).⁷ Each *liber* begins with a short preamble, announcing an intention to inform the monks about the circumstances under which their monastery was established, and about the history of each locality acquired by the monastery.⁸ In both portions, this aim is expressed in conventional terms of transience of human deeds, and the utility of writing in forestalling that transience.⁹ The remaining sections of both portions describe, one by one, the stories of particular localities included in the monastic estate. These localities are referred to as 'inheritances' (*hereditates*), 'holdings' (*sortes*), 'manors' (*praedia*), and 'villages' or 'estates' (*villae*).¹⁰ Each locality elicited its own microhistory, including its initial possessors, its alienations away from them, and subsequent circumstances, extending ultimately to the consolidated estate.¹¹

The *Book's* authors are identified in two passages. The preamble of the second portion announces that the first has 'been most clearly set out... in the preceding book by the venerable lord, Peter, abbot... and one of the first builders of this place', and then switches, uniquely in the *Book*, to an authorial voice, expressed in the first person singular: 'I, the least among the brothers', and 'successor in vows' to the originating monks, have, 'accepted... the solace of setting out this matter' in

⁵ *K.H.*, ch. 197–211, pp. 193–200; Górecki 2007b, pp. 194–202; Heck 1981.

⁶ *K.H.*, ch. 126, pp. 155–6.

⁷ *K.H.*, ch. 1, p. 109; ch. 26, p. 117; ch. 28, p. 118; ch. 58, p. 124; ch. 65, p. 126; ch. 74, p. 129; ch. 80, p. 132; ch. 82, p. 133; ch. 93, p. 138; ch. 127, p. 156; ch. 140, p. 162; ch. 147, p. 165; ch. 154, p. 168; ch. 165, p. 175; ch. 192, p. 189.

⁸ *K.H.*, ch. 1, p. 109; ch. 124–126, pp. 155–6.

⁹ Searle 1980a; Clanchy 1993, pp. 146–7; Guyotjeannin, Pycke, and Tock 1993, pp. 15, 76–7.

¹⁰ *K.H.*, ch. 1, p. 109; ch. 20, p. 116; ch. 22, p. 117; ch. 22–29, pp. 117–18; ch. 32–35, p. 119; ch. 42, p. 120; ch. 45, p. 121; ch. 47–49, pp. 121–2; ch. 58, p. 124; ch. 65–66, p. 126; ch. 69, p. 127; ch. 72, p. 128; ch. 78–80, pp. 131–2; ch. 83–84, pp. 134–5; ch. 94, p. 139; ch. 113–124, p. 148; ch. 116, pp. 149–50; ch. 120–123, pp. 152–3; ch. 127, p. 156; ch. 143, p. 163; ch. 147, p. 165; ch. 154, p. 168; ch. 165–166, p. 175; ch. 171–172, pp. 178–9; ch. 175, p. 180; ch. 180, pp. 182–3; ch. 186, pp. 185–6; ch. 188, p. 186; ch. 192–196, pp. 189–92; Podwińska 1971; Górecki 1983, pp. 19–24.

¹¹ Górecki 2007b, pp. 3–4, 8, 20, 54–7.

writing.¹² This passage is the *Book's* sole identification of its two authors. The first portion never raises the subject of its authorship, let alone identifies its author. Likewise, after this statement, the second never returns to the subject of its authorship. Thus, all we have is the single reference to the self, a humble monk, screened behind conventional authorial modesty.¹³

These two attributions confront us with some ambiguities of medieval authorship.¹⁴ By *author* I mean the person, or the group, responsible for the text's content, composition, and expression in written form.¹⁵ Thanks to the continuator, we have two specific individuals identified as authors, one of them by name and office. However, their relationship to the actual codex is impossible to trace exactly, and presumably complex. As his continuator presents it, Peter's role was to 'set out' early history of the monastery, which surely means that Peter had composed the text, but not necessarily that he actually did the writing.¹⁶ Nor did the continuator state that he himself wrote his text, the 'second book'. Both men may have dictated rather than written their work.

The second portion may, indeed, be the continuator's autograph, or a product of his dictation, but we can be absolutely certain that Peter did not write in his own hand, or dictate to someone else, that section of the codex which comprises the 'book' subsequently attributed to him. That section of the codex was created, in the form in which we have it, in the early fourteenth century,¹⁷ between forty and fifty years after his death. In his reference to himself and Peter, the continuator implied that, at the time he resumed Peter's initial historical project, Peter's work had been available in some earlier text. That textual transmission further suggests a decades-long history of textual fragmentation, affecting above all the first portion of the *Book*, created by Peter decades earlier as one work, and, if we give credence to the continuator, restored to unity as a prolegomenon to the continuator's own work. An intriguing—in this case, a textual—case of fragmentation and redemption.¹⁸

Medievalists in Poland and Germany have widely accepted the continuator's identification of Peter as the earlier author, for several reasons.¹⁹ Apart from the presumably complex, yet plausible, textual history of Peter's work, there is simply no reason to doubt the attribution. The 'first book' repeatedly refers to itself as a *liber*, a *libellus*, and a piece of writing (*scriptum*),²⁰ suggesting that, at the time of its initial composition, it was a single work, to be consulted as such. This fact

¹² *K.H.*, ch. 126, p. 156.

¹³ Polish historians now increasingly think that the author is the second abbot of Henryków named Peter: *K.H.*, ch. 170, 179, pp. 177, 182; Żerelik 1994; see also Kozak, Taras-Tomczyk, and Wójcik 1999, p. 66.

¹⁴ Górecki 2007b, pp. 16–19.

¹⁵ Minnis 1984, pp. 5, 28–9, 75–84; Zimmermann 2001b, especially Geary 2001.

¹⁶ And thus I must correct my own translation and interpretation of Peter's role as unequivocally referring to the act of writing, in Górecki 2007b, pp. 17–18, 148.

¹⁷ Stenzel 1854, p. v.

¹⁸ A phrase to which I am indebted to Bynum 1991 and North 2003.

¹⁹ Matuszewski 1981, pp. 21–9.

²⁰ *K.H.*, ch. 1, p. 109; ch. 19–20, p. 116; ch. 37–38, p. 120; ch. 51, p. 122; ch. 56, p. 123; ch. 73, p. 129; ch. 77, p. 130; ch. 82, pp. 133–4; ch. 91, p. 138; ch. 112–113, p. 147; ch. 120, p. 152.

enhances the likelihood that the work, even if subsequently transcribed in separate segments, was composed by one specific person, exactly as the continuator asserted. Peter is independently documented in ducal and episcopal charters, issued during the period of work attributed to him by the continuator.²¹ The *Book's* first portion, and the narrative core of the Wrocław bishops' list, repeatedly mention, in the third person, a monk named Peter, a frequent and important actor who became abbot sometime between the 1250s and 1263.²² The continuator listed Peter, by name, among the founding group of monks who migrated into Henryków shortly before 1227.²³

The earlier portion of the *Book* and the bishops' list share elements of style, purpose, rhetorical development, and message that do not recur in the continuation.²⁴ These two works reflect an apparent (that is, a highly plausible) purposeful design, consistent with a strong authorial presence and intervention, and so most historians consider Peter as author of the bishops' list as well.²⁵ The portion of the *Book* attributed to Peter, and the list of the bishops of Wrocław, jointly reflect an 'authorial function'.²⁶ For all these reasons, I take the continuator at his word, and accept Peter's authorship of the earlier portion and of the bishops' list.

GENRE

Each author identified the purpose of the monastery's history explicitly, and in similar words: to serve the monks as a source of reliable knowledge against current or potential enemies.²⁷ Like other medieval historical writings, the *Book* seamlessly incorporates several different genres.²⁸ It is a local chronicle—a description of a sequence of past events, chronologically arranged, and spanning several generations.²⁹ It is a cartulary, that is, a transcription of charters issued to the monks of Henryków by the dukes of Silesia, bishops of Wrocław, and others, meant as a source of access to those documents.³⁰ The charters transcribed in it are embedded in an extensive narrative, and so it is what medievalists interchangeably call a 'historical cartulary,' a 'cartulary-chronicle', or something equivalent in different scholarly vernaculars, always suggesting generic hybridity.³¹

The *Book* is a *liber* in several senses of that word: a *liber memorandorum* ('book of things to be remembered'), a historical narrative written to enable its readers (or listeners) to confront adversity, by informing them of important events, circum-

²¹ *S.U.*, 3:no. 418 (1263), 277, ll. 30–31; no. 437 (1263), 288, l. 35; 4:no. 78 (1268), 65, l. 41.

²² *K.H.*, ch. 69, p. 127; ch. 105, p. 146; ch. 111, p. 146; ch. 114, p. 148; ch. 116, pp. 149–50; ch. 205, p. 197; ch. 208, p. 199.

²³ *K.H.*, ch. 125–126, pp. 155–6. ²⁴ Górecki 1997, p. 266, n. 24.

²⁵ Matuszewski 1981, 21, 84. ²⁶ Zimmermann 2001a, p. 7.

²⁷ *K.H.*, ch. 1, p. 109; ch. 126, p. 156.

²⁸ And thus illustrates the limits of generic classification; Lifshitz 1994.

²⁹ Van Houts 1995, p. 14.

³⁰ Matuszewski 1981, p. 14, n. 40; Guyotjeannin, Morelle, and Parisse 1993; Guyotjeannin, Pycke and Tock 1993, pp. 273, 277–81; Walker 1971; Davis 1958.

³¹ Guyotjeannin, Pycke, and Tock 1993, pp. 276, 278; Guenée 1980, p. 34; Genet 1977.

stances, and relationships, and of their implications³²; and a *liber traditionum*, or *donationum* ('book of conveyances', or 'gifts'), a systematic record of acquisitions.³³ The word repeatedly used for it by its authors, *libellus*, is conveniently multivalent, because, in addition to 'booklet', that word meant a legal polemic, or a partisan presentation of a legal case—a recurrent, explicit purpose of the *Book*. Two other genres of medieval writing which inform the *Book*, though to a lesser extent, are historical 'deeds' (*gesta*)—images of good and bad lordship and rulership—and hagiography. The authors' references to actions taken, or events explained, by God or the devil, and their presentations of particular events in biblical imagery, situate the *Book* in medieval providential history. In its commemoration of selected protagonists through monastic prayer, the *Book* works as a monastic necrology.³⁴

As a history of an individual Cistercian community, the *Book* also fits into the long tradition of Cistercian historiography extending back to the foundation story of Cîteaux, and of the Cistercian Order, elaborated continuously since the early twelfth century, beginning with the *Exordium Parvum*, the *Exordium Cistercii*, and the normative material contained in the *Carta Caritatis*, and elaborated, some decades later, into the *Institutes of the Cistercian Order*.³⁵ The *Book* provides an excellent case study in the adaptation of this varied, slightly unwieldy genre, in a regional context, at approximately the chronological mid-point of its existence.³⁶

One such adaptation concerns the monastery's origins.³⁷ Both authors begin their stories with descriptions of an egress into Henryków, out of an older Cistercian community, the monastery of Lubiąż—the earliest Cistercian foundation in Silesia, established in the years 1163–1175.³⁸ Peter referred to Lubiąż as 'our mother',³⁹ and recalled the participants in the egress as '[w]e, the first monks . . . from . . . Lubiąż', while his continuator enumerated the migrating monks

³² Górecki 1997, p. 265, nn. 20–21; Clanchy 1993, pp. 133, 147, 171–2; Geary 1995, pp. 84–7; Maitland 1907, pp. lxiii–lxiii; Hilton 1960; Searle 1980b, pp. 1–29.

³³ Guyotjeannin, Pycke, and Tock 1993, pp. 272–3.

³⁴ On Peter's treatise as a 'book of the dead' (*liber mortuorum*), see Matuszewski 1981, pp. 77–8.

³⁵ Guenée 1980, pp. 46–58; Baker 1969, 1975; Freeman 2002; *Les plus anciens textes de Cîteaux*, ed. Jean de la Croix Bouton and Jean Baptiste Van Damme, *Cîteaux Commentarii Cistercienses—Studia ed documenta 2* (Achel, 1974). The constituent documents are hereafter cited as follows: *Exordium Parvum*—E.P., *Exordium Cistercii*—E.C., *Carta Caritatis Prior*—C.C.P.; *Memorials of the Abbey of St. Mary of Fountains*, ed. John R. Walbran (Durham, 1863); *Chronicon Clarevallense*, in P.L., 185:1247–2; *The Foundation of Kirkstall Abbey*, in *The Publications of the Thoresby Society: Miscellanea*, vol. 4, part 1 (Leeds, 1893), pp. 169–208; *Exordium Magnum Ordini Cisterciensis*, in P.L., 185:996–1198, and the newer edition, *Exordium Magnum Cisterciense sive narratio de initio Cisterciensis Ordinis*, ed. Bruno Griesser (Rome, 1961) [hereafter E.M.]; *Scriptores Minores Historiae Danicae Medii Aevi*, vol. 2, ed. M. C. Gertz (Copenhagen, 1970), pp. 134–57 (*De fundatione monasterii Vitaescholae; De fundatione monasteriorum Vitaescholae, Tutaevallis, Auraeinsulae*), 153–264 (*Exordium monasterii quod dicitur Cara Insula*); *Chronica Olivensis auctore Stanislao abbate Olivensi*, and *Chronicon monasterii Claratumbensis Ordinis Cisterciensis auctore fratre Nicolao de Cracovia*, ed. Wojciech Kętrzyński, in *M.P.H.*, 6:310–50 and 433–80, respectively.

³⁶ Górecki 2010a.

³⁷ For an important generic context, see Epperlein 1967.

³⁸ Menzel 1990–1991; Könighaus 2004; Jązdowski 1992; Górecki 2007b, pp. 77–9; Bartlett 1993, p. 259, map 12; Górecki 1992, pp. 14–15, 124, 143, 193–200; Olszewski 1990, pocket supplement, figure 6.

³⁹ *K.H.*, ch. 4, p. 111.