A Local Society in Transition
The Henryków Book *and Related Documents*

PIOTR GÓRECKI

This book consists of an annotated translation of a history of a Cistercian monastery known as the *Henryków Book* and of some thirty charters further illustrating that history. A substantial historical essay introduces these materials.

The monastery situated at Henryków, in the duchy Silesia, was founded and consecrated between 1222 and 1228, and endowed with an estate in those years and continuously thereafter. The *Book* was composed at the monastery itself, in three sections: the first and the third by its third abbot, Peter, in or soon after 1268, the second by an anonymous monk, in or soon after 1310. The charters were issued, between 1225 and 1310, by the dukes of Silesia and by others interested in the monastery and its estate: the bishops of Wrocław and Poznań, the monastery's neighbors or donors, and their descendants.

Both the *Henryków Book* and the charters encompass a range of historical topics: the foundation of the monastery, and the resulting political and legal relationships; the history of each of the dozens of holdings included in the monastery's estate; and the full roster of the bishops of Wrocław, the diocese where the monastery was situated. The second occupies most of the work in its entirety, making the *Henryków Book* a history of a substantial population, society, economy, pattern of lordship and power, spanning well over one full century before the work's final redaction – in the words of the title, a local society in transition. The monastery's foundation and its political implications are treated specifically in the first section of the *Book*, which is therefore an excellent entrée into a local world of politics and power centered upon the monastery. Moreover, that section is also highly interesting as a text. It actively negotiates the patterns of lordship and power with which it is concerned, through a variety of rhetorical and forensic strategies; it directly addresses, and reinterprets, the network of memory and of law affecting these issues; and it reflects both the biography and the literary imprint of its principal author, Abbot Peter.

The essay that precedes the translation explores these and related subjects in detail, which is designed as an independent introduction to contemporary medieval Poland as well as to the sources; they are further contextualized by the charters, which offer supplementary, and sometimes explicitly varied, perspectives on the events and relationships described in the *Henryków Book*. The result is a multilayered historical record of a monastery and an author in their local world; a distinct region of medieval Europe; and an interesting fragment of Cistercian history.

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To Alan E. Bernstein and Richard Hellie

Contents

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Renata and Ania, as always, are present here in all kinds of ways, and so this work is yet another modest tribute to them. During the course of its writing and revision, my parents, Danuta and Jan Górecki, were a source of inspiration and strength, and role models of scholarly care and integrity; an earlier version of these ackowledgements was the last piece of prose written by me on which my father commented while confronting his final illness. This brings me to some

Abbreviations

The following list provides abbreviations and sigla used for frequently cited works. Full details can be found in the Bibliography.

Grodecki, *Liber* (1949)	Grodecki, Roman, trans. and ed. *Księga henrykowska*
Grodecki, *Liber* (1991)	Grodecki, Roman, trans. and ed. (with a new introduction by Józef and Jacek Matuszewski) *Liber Fundationis*
Lex.MA.	*Lexikon des Mittelalters*
Niermeyer	Niermeyer, J. F. *Mediae Latinitatis Lexicon Minus*
P.S.B.	*Polski Słownik Biograficzny*
Piastowie	Szczur, Stanisław and Krzysztof Ożóg, ed. *Piastowie Leksykon biograficzny*
Rodowód	Jasiński, Kazimierz, *Rodowód Piastów śląskich*.
S.P.	Plezia, Marian, ed. *Słownik łaciny średniowiecznej w Polsce*
S.U., 1	Appelt, Heinrich, ed. *Schlesisches Urkundenbuch*, vol. 1
S.U., 2–5	Irgang, Winfried, ed. *Schlesisches Urkundenbuch*, vol. 2–5
S.U., 6	Irgang, Winfried, and Daphne Schadenwaldt, ed. *Schlesisches Urkundenbuch*, vol. 6
S.Sp.	*Słownik Staropolski*

The *Henryków Book* and Its Contexts

1 The importance of the sources

Undergraduates interested in the study of the past are invariably perplexed to discover that that past is a subject of strong disagreement among professional historians. Contrary to their initial intuitive sense that, once it has occurred, the past is fixed and accessible as such, our best students promptly learn instead that the conceptual skill driving our discipline is a confrontation of widely divergent interpretations – sometimes by means of outright debate.[1] In turn, the professional historians themselves greatly benefit by placing that fact right at the center of instruction, because teaching inevitably demands from us a rigorous clarification of those contested historiographical issues. One kind of material that may be used in this way is historiography.[2] Another is a sample of primary sources, selected in order to reflect interesting and currently contested historical issues. That is the material presented here.

The primary sources that follow are translated from Latin. They include a narrative history of a Cistercian monastery and of its estate, and a selection of charters further documenting that history. The monastic history and the charters span, at their widest range, the mid-twelfth and the early fourteenth centuries. Their principal subject is the monastery established between 1222 and 1228 at Henryków (Heinrichau) in the duchy of Silesia, currently in southwestern Poland, situated about fifty kilometers to the south of Wrocław, the principal city of that province and the seat of its diocese (see Maps 1–3).[3] The charters were

1. An excellent example of this way of framing historical knowledge is *Debating the Middle Ages: Issues and Readings*, ed. Lester K. Little and Barbara H. Rosenwein (Oxford: Blackwell, 1998). For a partial survey of debating in one specialized subject of medieval historiography, see Warren Brown and Piotr Górecki, "What Conflict Means: The Making of Medieval Conflict Studies in the United States, 1970–2000," in *Conflict in Medieval Europe: Changing Perspectives on Society and Culture*, ed. W. Brown and P. Górecki (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2003), 1–35, at 26–33; for a reflection on debating as an intellectual mode in a rather different specialized subject, see Geoffrey Koziol, "The Dangers of Polemic: Is Ritual Still an Interesting Subject of Scholarly Inquiry?" *Early Medieval Europe* 11 (2002), 367–88.

2. This is Little and Rosenwein's approach in *Debating*. Many other works develop it, in various modes. One example is *The Problems in European Civilization Series* initiated in the late 1950s by D. C. Heath and Company – among which see, for instance, *The Pirenne Thesis: Analysis, Criticism, and Revision*, ed. Alfred A. Havighurst (3rd ed., Lexington, MA: D. C. Heath and Company, 1976).

3. A superb introduction to the province of Silesia, especially to the region and duchy of Wrocław, is Richard C. Hoffmann, *Land, Liberties, and Lordship in a Late Medieval*

issued by the rulers of the duchy of Silesia, and, in fewer cases, by their cousins who ruled the other Polish duchies; by the bishops of Wrocław and of Poznań; and by other authors. These sources are interesting for a variety of reasons; as with any good historical material, the exact range of interest is best defined by the readers themselves. As a point of departure let me note three big issues, or problems, that have recently elicited much interest (and much disagreement) among historians, and upon which this monastic history and the related documents shed direct light.

The first is the medieval "frontier." This construct is currently understood by historians in several ways. Some view it principally in spatial terms: either as a type of space, adjoining some other region or situated between two or more other regions; or as a particular region of Europe, the Iberian Peninsula for example. Others consider the frontier above all as a dynamic process: the patterns of interaction – social, political, economic, religious, cultural – within some population or territory thus defined, or between the populations and territories to which it is peripheral. To yet other scholars, the "frontier" is interesting above all as an idea, or a state of mind, held by some historical population, by medieval historians today, or both, and useful for a variety of classificatory purposes.[4]

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Countryside: Agrarian Structures and Change in the Duchy of Wrocław (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1989); for the duchy in general, see Rościsław Żerelik, "Dzieje Śląska do 1526 roku" [The history of Silesia until 1526], in *Historia Śląska* [History of Silesia], ed. Marek Czapliński (Wrocław: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Wrocławskiego, 2002), 14–116. For the origins and history of the Henryków monastery, see Robert Bartlett, *The Making of Europe: Conquest, Colonization and Cultural Change, 950–1350* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1993), 139–40, 154–55, 163; a series of studies by Heinrich Grüger: *Heinrichau: Geschichte eines schlesischen Zisterzienserklosters, 1227–1977* (Cologne and Vienna, 1978); "Das Patronatsrecht von Heinrichau," *Cîteaux* 28 (1977), 26–47; "Das Volkstum der Bevölkerung in den Dörfern des Zisterzienserklosters Heinrichau im mittelschlesischen Vorgebirgslande vom 13.–15. Jahrhundert," *Zeitschrift für Ostforschung* 27 (1978), 241–61; Piotr Górecki, "Rhetoric, Memory and Use of the Past: Abbot Peter of Henryków as Historian and Advocate," *Cîteaux* 48 (1997), 261–93; Górecki, "Politics of the Legal Process in Early Medieval Poland," *Oxford Slavonic Papers,* new series 17 (1984), 22–44.

4. Archibald Lewis, "The Closing of the Medieval Frontier, 1250–1350," *Speculum* 33 (1958), 475–83; *Medieval Frontier Societies*, ed. Robert Bartlett and Angus MacKay (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1989), especially: Bartlett, "Colonial Aristocracies of the High Middle Ages" (23–47); Paul Knoll, "Economic and Political Institutions on the Polish–German Frontier in the Middle Ages: Action, Reaction, Interaction" (151–74); Alfred Thomas, "Czech–German Relations as Reflected in Old Czech Literature" (199–215); Friedrich Lotter, "The Crusading Idea and the Conquest of the Region East of the Elbe" (267–306); and the thematic overview by Robert I. Burns, "The Significance of the Frontier in the Middle Ages" (307–30); *The Transformation of Frontiers: From Late Antiquity to the the Carolingians*, ed. Walter Pohl, Ian Wood, and Helmut Reimitz (Leiden: Brill, 2000); Nora Berend, *At the Gate of Christendom: Jews, Muslims and "Pagans" in Medieval Hungary, c. 1000–c. 1300* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), 6–41; *Medieval Frontiers: Concepts and Practices*, ed. David Abulafia and Nora Berend (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2002),

The second big issue, or problem, is medieval "Europe" – usually viewed as an aspect of an even bigger problem, namely "Europe" in general as a historical entity. Like *frontier*, this construct may be understood principally in spatial terms – that is, as one of the major geographic regions of world history, along with the Near and the Far East, pre-Columbian America, pre-colonial Africa, and others, each of which may be subject to similar analysis. Alternatively, "Europe" may be viewed in dynamic terms, as a cultural unit that in the course of the Middle Ages was either "made," or "transformed," or "unified;" or that, on the contrary, remained, and now remains, irreducibly "diverse." Also like frontier, Europe, too, may be interesting above all as an idea, or an "invention," held by historians and others today, and by the past populations whom the historians study.[5]

The third major issue is the medieval locality, understood broadly as that "small world" which made up the basic parameters of human existence, and which entailed, in a seamless whole, community, production, exchange, spirituality, emotion, power, conflict, and the law.[6] In turn, the locality thus understood is an aspect of yet another kind of history, namely the history of a region – a province, a lordship, a town, or some other substantial unit of space and society. This kind of history has long been represented by substantial, one- or two-vol-

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especially Grzegorz Myśliwski, "Boundaries and Men in Poland from the Twelfth to the Sixteenth Century: The Case of Masovia" (217–37); Nora Berend, "Défense de la Chrétienté et naissance d'une identité: Hongrie, Pologne et péninsule Ibérique au Moyen Age," *Annales: Histoire, Sciences Sociales* 58 (2003), 1009–27; Martyn Rady, "The Medieval Hungarian and Other Frontiers," *Slavonic and East European Review* 81 (2003), 698–709.

5. Bartlett, *Making*; Richard W. Southern, *Scholastic Humanism and the Unification of Europe*, vol. 1, *Foundations* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1995); Michael Borgolte, *Europa entdeckt seine Vielfalt, 1050–1250* (Stuttgart: Verlag Eugen Ulmer, 2002); Patrick J. Geary, *The Myth of Nations: The Medieval Origins of Europe* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2002); Krzysztof Pomian, *Europa i jej narody* [Europe and its nations], trans. Małgorzata Szpakowska (rev. ed., Gdańsk: Wydawnictwo słowo/obraz terytoria, 2004). On the historiography of one aspect of this subject, see Piotr Górecki, "Medieval 'East Colonization' in Post-War North American and British Historiography," in *Historiographical Approaches to Medieval Colonization of East Central Europe: A Comparative Analysis against the Background of Other European Interethnic Colonization Processes in the Middle Ages*, ed. Jan M. Piskorski (Boulder and New York: East European Monographs/Columbia University Press, 2002), 1–38; see also Górecki, "A View from a Distance," *Law and History Review* 21 (2003), 367–76, and Górecki, "Assimilation, Resistance, and Ethnic Group Formation in Medieval Poland: A European Paradigm?" in *Das Reich und Polen: Parallelen, Interaktionen und Formen der Akkulturation im hohen und späten Mittelalter*, ed. Thomas Wünsch and Alexander Patschovsky, Vorträge und Forschungen 59 (Ostfildern: Jan Thorbecke Verlag, 2003), 447–76.

6. Wendy Davies, *Small Worlds: The Village Community in Early Medieval Brittany* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1988); Susan Reynolds, *Kingdoms and Communities in Western Europe, 900–1300* (2nd ed., Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1997); William C. Jordan, *From Servitude to Freedom: Manumission in the Sénonais in the Thirteenth Century* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1986).

ume syntheses of a particular society, economy, and pattern of power.[7] It intersects with yet another major subject, currently being revisited by medievalists after an interlude of relative historiographical disinterest, and that is economic history – a complex of agrarian history, rural and urban demography, technological change, patterns of land use and settlement, the development of towns and of urban and commercial networks, and, perhaps above all, the individual and collective life of the peasantry.[8]

7. The pioneering works of this genre (and its constitutent sub-genres) are: Georges Duby, *La société aux XIe et XIIe siècles dans la région mâconnaise* (2nd ed., Paris: S.E.V.P.E.N., 1971); J. Ambrose Raftis, *The Estates of Ramsey Abbey: A Study in Economic Growth and Organization* (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 1957); Raftis, *Tenure and Mobility: Studies in the Social History of the Medieval Village* (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 1957); Edward Miller, *The Abbey and Bishopric of Ely* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1951) – representing, roughly speaking, two different historiographical schools, the francophone and the anglophone. The former has consisted of an enormous number of monographs modelled on Duby's, of which the most synthetic and comprehensive is Robert Fossier, *Enfance de l'Europe, Xe–XIIe siècles: Aspects économiques et sociaux*, 2 vols. (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1982), and of which the explicitly revisionist is Dominique Barthélemy, *La société dans le comté de Vendôme de l'an mil au XIVe siècle* (Paris: Fayard, 1993). An outstanding example of the latter is Eleanor Searle, *Lordship and Community: Battle Abbey and Its Banlieu* (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 1974). Among the many historiographical treatments of the francophone variant of regionally based history of society, economy, and power, see above all Thomas N. Bisson, "*La terre et les hommes*: A Programme Fulfilled?" *French History* 14 (2000), 322–45. A major work on a region, related to those "schools," but highly original, is Grzegorz Myśliwski, *Człowiek średniowiecza wobec czasu i przestrzeni (Mazowsze od XII do poł. XVI wieku)* [Medieval man with regard to time and space: Masovia from the twelfth to the mid-sixteenth century] (Warsaw: Wydawnictwo Krupski i S-ka, 1999), of which see the review by Piotr Górecki, *Speculum* 77 (2002), 1368–72.

8. This enormous literature begins with the two classic works by Marc Bloch, *Feudal Society*, trans. L. A. Manyon (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1961), and *French Rural History: An Essay on Its Basic Characteristics*, trans. Janet Sondheimer (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1966). Thereafter, it overlaps with the historiography noted in the preceding note; and in addition includes, among others, the following works in English: Norman J. G. Pounds, *An Historical Geography of Europe, 450 BC–AD 1330* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1973); Pounds, *An Economic History of Medieval Europe* (London: Longman, 1974); Pounds, *Hearth and Home: A Study of Material Culture* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1993); Richard Hodges, *Dark Age Economics: The Origins of Towns and Trade, AD 600–1000* (New York, 1982); Georges Duby, *Rural Economy and Country Life in the Medieval West*, trans. Cynthia Postan (Columbia, SC: University of South Carolina Press, 1968); *The Fontana Economic History of Europe*, ed. Carlo Cipolla, vol. 1: *The Middle Ages* (Glasgow: Collins/Fontana, 1972); *Towns in Societies: Essays in Economic History and Historical Sociology*, ed. Philip Abrams and E. A. Wrigley (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1978); Edward Miller and John Hatcher, *Medieval England: Rural Society and Economic Change, 1086–1348* (London: Longman, 1978); Kathleen Biddick, *The Other Economy: Pastoral Husbandry on a Medieval Estate* (Berkeley and Los Angeles:

Of course, these major subjects are closely interrelated. For instance, the question of the medieval meanings of *Europe* is explicable, at least in part (and, as always, not without controversy), in terms of Europe's "frontiers," above all their functions and their transitions – a line of analysis which immediately raises the meanings of *frontier* and of its conceptual twin, *core*. Do these words refer to a point of contact? A kind of space? A process? Something else? Such questions may be (and indeed have been) addressed in terms of a close analysis of particular places or regions, peasantries, town populations, merchants and other social intermediaries, ethnically diverse groups, lordships, laws, and much else – in short, in terms of the constituent topics that make up the third big subject just noted, that is, local and regional history.

The sources translated here were produced in a macro-region of medieval Europe whose history raises exactly the three big issues just noted. That macro-region is "Eastern" (or, more currently, "East Central") Europe.[9] Considered in its entirety, the region has long been viewed as a "frontier" of the Continent. Thus, today, it offers us a conceptual and empirical test case of what we mean by

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University of California Press, 1989); David Herlihy, *Medieval Households* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1985); Jean Chapelot and Robert Fossier, *The Village and House in the Middle Ages*, trans. Henry Cleere (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1985); Peter Spufford, *Money and Its Use in Medieval Europe* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988); Paul Freedman, *The Origins of Peasant Servitude in Medieval Catalonia* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991); Piotr Górecki, *Economy, Society, and Lordship in Medieval Poland, 1100–1250* (New York: Holmes and Meier, 1992); Edward Miller and John Hatcher, *Medieval England: Towns, Commerce and Crafts, 1086–1348* (London: Longman, 1995); Thomas N. Bisson, *Tormented Voices: Power, Crisis, and Humanity in Rural Catalonia, 1140–1200* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1998); Freedman, *Images of the Medieval Peasant* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1999); Christopher Dyer, *Making a Living in the Middle Ages: The People of Britain, 850–1520* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2002); Keith D. Lilley, *Urban Life in the Middle Ages, 1000–1450* (Houndmills: Palgrave, 2002). See also the recent historiographical treatments in "La historia rural de las sociedades medievales europeas: trayectorias y perspectivas," Monográfico coord. by Isabel Alfonso, part 1, *Historia Agraria* 31 (2003), 11–83: I. Alfonso, "Presentación" (11–12); Christopher Dyer and Philipp R. Schofield, "Estudios recientes sobre la historia agraria y rural medieval británica" (13–33); Ghislain Brunel and Benoît Cursente, "Tendencias recientes de la historia rural en Francia" (35–56); and José Ángel García de Cortázar and Pascual Martínez Sopena, "Los estudios sobre historia rural de la sociedad hispanocristiana" (57–83); and part 2, *Historia Agraria* 33 (2004), 13–103: I. Alfonso, "Presentación" (13–14); Luigi Provero, "Cuarenta años de historia rural del medioevo italiano" (15–29); Julien Demade, "El mundo rural medieval en la historiografía alemán desde 1930" (31–79); and Piotr Górecki, "Los campesinos medievales y su mundo en la historiografía polaca" (81–103).

9. An important marker of that conceptual shift is Timothy Garton Ash, "Does Central Europe Exist?" *New York Review of Books* 33.15 (9 October 1986), 45–53.

frontier, and by *core*[10] – considerations that inevitably shed light on the bigger question of the existence, formation, and indeed reality, of that Europe whose frontier it (in some sense) was.[11] Yet readers expecting to reach global resolutions of issues that are drawn this broadly will, at first glance, be disappointed, because in these sources East Central Europe is represented in exceedingly local terms. The story the sources tell – the circumstances they narrate, the relationships they describe, the memories they reflect – is circumscribed within a radius of, at the outermost, a bit over ten kilometers around the monastery itself.[12]

These sources also, though less directly, reflect a bigger horizon: the Polish principalities of Silesia, Great Poland, and Little Poland; Germany (mentioned once with that word), including the newly colonized German province of Meißen; pagan Prussia; Polish towns, especially Wrocław, Głogów, Poznań, and Kraków; and (on one occasion, and very obliquely) Rome. One of these wider geographic horizons coincides approximately with medieval Poland between the late twelfth and the early fourteenth centuries. Thus, the sources are among other things, records of Polish history,[13] and may of course be used to teach that subject, or more generally the history of East Central, or Eastern, or northern Europe.[14]

10. Perhaps the most important statement of a historiographical contrast between the approaches to this big problem today – not framed as a polemic or a debate, but a clear and fascinating reflection of conceptual difference – is, on the one hand, Bartlett, *Making*, and, on the other, Berend, *At the Gate*. See the brief remarks (on this and other conceptual issues) by Janet Nelson in her enthusiastic review of Berend, *American Historical Review* 107 (2002), 1279–80; see also Piotr Górecki, "'Tworzenie Europy' Roberta Bartletta w kontekście anglosaskich badań historycznych nad początkami i kształtowaniem się Europy" [Robert Bartlett's *The Making of Europe* in the context of English-language scholarship on the origins and formation of Europe], in Robert Bartlett, *Tworzenie Europy. Podbój, kolonizacja i przemiany kulturowe, 950–1350*, trans. Grażyna Waluga (Poznań: Poznańskie Towarzystwo Przyjaciół Nauk, 2003), 505–15.

11. In contrast to Bartlett's strong confidence, which I share, that Europe and its regions are specifiable constructs in the medieval period and beyond (Górecki, "Tworzenie," 512–14), note the skeptical (and, themselves, strongly differing) views of Borgolte, *Europa*, throughout, and Norman Davies, *Europe: A History* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996), 7–10, 14–56.

12. The particulars in the rest of this paragraph are thoroughly explained in the subsequent, topical sections of the present essay, and illustrated in the chart and the maps.

13. By "Poland," "Polish" towns, peasants, or history, and so forth, I mean (as I have meant throughout my work [*Economy*, 29, n. 1, and *Parishes*, 7, n. 24]), the region of the Continent ruled by the Piast dynasty, inhabited by a Slavic population to which its members and foreigners referred as *Poloni*, and which, at different points between the tenth and the fourteenth centuries, attracted immigrants from elsewhere, above all Germany.

14. In conjunction with the superb series of translated, and tacitly edited, sources concerning this region of Europe, currently underway at the Central European University in Budapest, for which see most recently *Gesta Principum Polonorum: The Deeds of the Princes of the Poles*, ed. and trans. Paul W. Knoll and Frank Schaer (Budapest: Central European University Press, 2003), and the general editors' remarks at vii–viii.

Likewise, because in the course of this period Silesia, and thus the Henryków region, became first a part of Bohemia, then (until 1945) of Germany, they also illustrate Czech and, much more so, German history. However, apart from scholarly audiences specialized in national or in macro-regional terms, these sources should interest general medievalists simply because of the wide range of subjects they address. To illustrate this point, let me return to my three big issues.

First, the "frontier." The Henryków region, and the people who inhabited it at different points between, say, 1160 and 1310, comprised a "frontier" in several senses of that word. Here was an area of both old and new settlement, subject to both old and new lordship. This was also a "frontier" in a local sense – that is, a demographic and economic periphery within Silesia itself, situated in an intermediate zone between old (principally Polish) and new (initially Polish, thereafter increasingly German) subregions of rural and urban settlement. For this reason, the Henryków region was also a stage for interethnic contact and interaction.[15] Moreover, that periphery itself extended, at its own edge, toward a specific boundary perimeter: a segment of a large, deliberately created, defensive border zone encompassing the duchy of Silesia in its entirety, called the *przesieka* (a "clearing") in Polish, and the *hach* (a "hedge") in German.[16] Finally, viewed on the largest scale, the Henryków region was one of thousands of places within East Central Europe, that macro-region of the Continent into which, in the net, foreigners migrated from its other macro-regions (especially, but not exclusively, from Germany), during the century and a half spanned by our documents.

The matter of scale brings me to "Europe." Readers of Robert Bartlett will readily identify in this region some of his indices of a Continent-wide cultural integration. Our story begins with one instance of expansion of the Cistercian Order by filiation, a process long-standardized in regions further to the west, and evidently replicated here in that standardized form.[17] Likewise, the story occurs, right from its outset, within a well-established context of bishoprics, local or parish churches, and practices of possession, assessment, payment, and consumption of tithes. At one moment, crusading enters the picture, as an important actor departs on an expedition against the pagan Prussians.[18] Several more instances add up to a vivid case study of what Bartlett calls the "aristocratic diaspora" that bridged major regions of the Continent, and of its impact upon this local world.

On the other hand, readers of Michael Borgolte will discover here regional, even local, differences, or areas of specificity, that seem to be irreducible and permanent. Examples include the recurring image of the good Piast duke and of his evil counterpart; the statuses, and the collective activities, of the indigenous,

15. Górecki, "Assimilation," 455–75.
16. See nn. 259–60 below.
17. For monastic, especially Cistercian filiation, nn. 133, 301 below.
18. Chapter 46.

Polish peasants, both previously settled in the region, and migrants into it; ethnic classifications, especially the dichotomy between Poles and Germans, and, in one late instance, between both these groups on the one hand and the Jews on the other; legal systems and institutions, especially "Polish" and "German" land law and procedure and their alternatives; and much else. Readers of Nora Berend will find it convenient to view all the types of people and social features just noted, as interrelated, mutually influential, "cells" (in a social sense of that metaphor), engaged, if you will, in a permanent, ongoing negotiation of difference – and neither tending toward, not actually producing, any one unifying, systemic outcome. Finally, the material for such considerations inevitably shifts the reader's attention to the concrete: to those hundreds of transactions, and dozens of well-documented people, which and who make up one "small world" of medieval Europe.

In addition, the sources are interesting as texts. They are, of course, two very different types of text. The monastic history is a narrative, although it incorporates charters, whereas the charters are principally records of particular transactions (or sequences of transactions), although they, in turn, incorporate narrative material. Both types of sources have long elicited a specialized, and sometimes highly technical, scholarly interest. The most recent phase of that interest has been underway since about 1990. During this period, the text has emerged as an autonomous object of study, deliberately distinguished from the reality to which it supposedly refers. This recent attention to text on its own terms transcends our profession. It has emerged in the last quarter of the twentieth century out of the "linguistic turn," by which is meant a fascination shared by a long generation of historians, anthropologists, and literary scholars with language and representation; and with the implications of language and representation for objective knowledge.[19]

This intellectual ferment has affected medieval historiography on several levels. Paradoxically, one of its outcomes is a return to a very old historiographical tradition, namely source analysis and criticism in the grand style: a close attention to matters of genre, trope, composition, and other elements of literary form; a renewed, systematic examination of particular fragments of medieval writing, such as preambles of royal charters; an identification of model texts, textual transmission, and textual adaptation; and more. Another outcome is, in every sense, historiographically new. In fact, it is often framed as a strong revision, or an outright rejection, of the aims and assumptions of earlier analysis and

19. Medievalists have generally pulled back from the most radical, or skeptical, implications of that last question; two important exceptions to that caution (very different from one another) are Kathleen Biddick, *The Shock of Medievalism* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1998), and Philippe Buc, *Dangers of Ritual: Between Early Medieval Texts and Social Scientific Theory* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2001). For an introduction to this subject, see Michael Stanford, *An Introduction to the Philosophy of History* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1998), 183–205, 227–62.

criticism of sources. This is an interest in what might be called the agency behind the text, and the agency embedded within it.

The former kind of agency is reflected in a new search, today, for the meaning of the medieval author.[20] The latter type of agency is an attribute of the text itself. We now recognize that texts themselves work, or – to paraphrase John Austin – that one can do things with texts.[21] One area of reality which texts are understood to affect is memory – especially the kind of memory that is shared by groups, and that historians and others call collective or social memory.[22] Over the past fifteen years, we have experienced an outburst of studies devoted to the ways in which texts function as reflections, or as repositories, or as sources of memory (and of its converse, oblivion) in a variety of past and present societies. In its own turn, this outburst is a result of a fortuitous conjunction of several disparate interests. One, arising directly from psychology, concerns memory's cognitive aspects: the act of remembering, the processes or dynamics behind remembering, and the relationship of remembering to other aspects of cognition.[23] Another, an aspect of the history of ideas, focuses on two cognitive dimensions of memory, as experienced by past populations: mnemonics, meaning active and deliberate approaches to the creation and retention of memory; and theories of memory, that is, the ideas in terms of which memory and oblivion were conceptualized in the past.[24] A third area of interest concerns

20. See nn. 47–59 below.

21. John L. Austin, *How to Do Things with Words* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1962); two excellent approaches to this kind of study, specifically concerning charters, are Warren Brown, "Charters as Weapons: On the Role Played by Early Medieval Dispute Records in the Disputes They Record," *Journal of Medieval History* 28 (2002), 227–48, and Brown, "When Documents are Destroyed or Lost: Lay People and Archives in the Early Middle Ages," *Early Medieval Europe* 11 (2002), 337–66.

22. Paul Connerton, *How Societies Remember* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989); James Fentress and Chris Wickham, *Social Memory* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1992); Patrick J. Geary, *Phantoms of Remembrance: Memory and Oblivion at the End of the First Millennium* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1995); Amy G. Remensnyder, *Remembering Kings Past: Monastic Foundation Legends in Medieval Southern France* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1995); Elisabeth van Houts, ed., *Medieval Memories: Men, Women, and the Past, 700–1300* (Harlow: Longman/Pearson Education, 2001); Rosamond McKitterick, *History and Memory in the Carolingian World* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004).

23. Symptomatic of a reawakening of interest is a 1995 reprint of a 1932 classic on the cognitive dimensions of memory, Frederick C. Bartlett, *Remembering: A Study in Experimental and Social Psychology* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1932, repr. 1995); see also Elizabeth Ligon Bjork and Robert A. Bjork, eds., *Memory* (San Diego: Academic Press, 1996).

24. Again, an important occasion, in the late 1990s, for a reprint, Frances A. Yates, *The Art of Memory* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1966); Mary Carruthers, *The Book of Memory: A Study of Memory in Medieval Culture* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990); Janet Coleman, *Ancient and Medieval Memories: Studies in the Reconstruction of the Past* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992).

the meanings and the functions of social groups, including the problem of memory (and oblivion) as a type of group experience.[25]

This interest has identified – distilled, as it were, from among other phenomena – memory as a central element of past reality. This outcome is interesting on its own terms: memory is now a dimension of the past no less real, and no less important, than are other cognitive events, such as knowledge, emotion, or belief. In addition, memory usefully frames other phenomena. For example, Mary Carruthers' work on mnemonics in monasteries, or Janet Coleman's essays on ancient and medieval ideas about memory, tell us much about medieval learning – understood as an activity, and as an area of knowledge. Another example concerns memory and groups. Because, as is now clear, memory (and oblivion) may be, and typically are, experienced by groups, memory helps us define what we mean by a group. To put it differently, a group may emerge – indeed, it may meaningfully exist – specifically insofar as its members share common memories (or, which is much the same thing, what they believe to be common memories). Thus, memory relates to group "consciousness," or group "identity."

Because different kinds of groups may experience memory in different ways, memory further serves historians as a criterion for identifying specific medieval groups. We now have a legacy of excellent studies treating memories specific to peasants, to women, to monks or nuns, to families (including ruling dynasties), to "peoples" (*gentes*), and to other types of collectivities.[26] At different moments in its historiography, collective memory has contributed to our understanding of status, gender, institutions, the law, family and kinship, the transition of "the year 1000,"[27] ethnicity, "national" identity or consciousness,[28] and much else. The

25. Once more, we may note here an element of a recent recovery of rather old learning, this time Maurice Halbwachs, *On Collective Memory*, ed. and trans. Lewis A. Coser (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1992).

26. Fentress and Wickham, *Social Memory*, 87–143; Geary, *Phantoms*, 62–64, 68–69, 177–79; Remensnyder, *Remembering*, passim; and all the articles in van Houts, *Medieval Memories*, especially: Matthew Innes, "Keeping It in the Family: Women and Aristocratic Memory, 700–1200" (17–35); Patricia Skinner, "Gender and Memory in Medieval Italy" (36–52); Kathleen Quirk, "Men, Women and Miracles in Normandy, 1050–1150" (53–71); Renée Nip, "Gendered Memories from Flanders" (113–31); Fiona Griffiths, "Nuns' Memories or Missing History in Alsace (c. 1200): Herrad of Hohenbourg's Garden of Delights" (132–49).

27. Geary, *Phantoms*, passim.

28. Susan Reynolds, "Medieval *Origines Gentium* and the Community of the Realm," *History* 68 (1983), 375–90; Fentress and Wickham, *Social Memory*, 173–99; and the earlier studies in Poland and the former Czechoslovakia, concerning the subject which the authors usually framed as "national" identity, yet which is identical with one aspect of what is elsewhere conceptualized as collective memory: *Dawna świadomość historyczna w Polsce, Czechach i Słowacji* [Former historical consciousness in Poland, Bohemia, and Slovakia], ed. Roman Heck (Wrocław: Zakład Narodowy im. Ossolińskich, 1978); Jacek Banaszkiewicz, *Kronika Dzierzwy. XIV-wieczne kompendium historii ojczystej* [Dzierzwa's Chronicle: a fourteenth-century compendium of native history] (Wrocław: Zakład Narodowy

reader will readily note that, based on the *Henryków Book*, we may add to the above list: Poles and Germans; the monks of one particular monastery; the cathedral chapters of Wrocław and of Poznań; the courts of the Piast dukes; communities of local knowledge; and (again) more.[29]

For medieval historians, memory is unavoidably mediated by texts. For this reason, another subject that memory helps us frame is the text itself. In my view, memory is the crucial variable behind those dimensions of the text that relate to agency – that is, the dimensions that affect what a text does, or what can be done with it. In order to unpack this rather abstruse proposition, let me begin with a deliberately simplified schema of the relationship of text to memory. First, a text may be a record: a transcription of words actually stated or believed to have been stated, or a narration of events that have actually transpired, or that are believed to have transpired. In that capacity, the text works as an alternative to memory, since it expresses in written form material that is otherwise retained (or lost) by the mind. Second, a text may reflect memory. That is, it may logically assume, or implicitly refer to, some area of knowledge which it does not record, in the sense just noted, on its face.

Third, a text may be a repository of memory. This relationship includes record and reflection, but is not limited to them. The full knowledge conveyed by a text may well extend beyond its explicit content, or its logical assumptions or implications. For example, the *Book*'s frequent references to "the territory of Henryków," or to "the noble and mediocre," presume that these phenomena

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im. Ossolińskich, 1979); Banaszkiewicz, *Podanie o Piaście i Popielu. Studium porównawcze nad wczesnośredniowiecznymi tradycjami dynastycznymi* [The tale of Piast and Popiel: a comparative study of early-medieval dynastic traditions] (Warsaw: Państwowe Wydawnictwo Naukowe, 1986); *Państwo, naród, stany w świadomosci wieków średnich. Pamięci Benedykta Zientary, 1929–1983* [State, nation, estates in medieval consciousness: in memory of Benedykt Zientara, 1929–1983], ed. Aleksander Gieysztor and Sławomir Gawlas (Warsaw: Państwowe Wydawnictwo Naukowe, 1990), especially the article by Gawlas, "Stan badań nad polską świadomością narodową w średniowieczu" [The state of research concerning the Polish national consciousness in the Middle Ages] (149–194); Banaszkiewicz, *Polskie dzieje bajeczne mistrza Wincentego Kadłubka* [Polish fable history by Master Vincent Kadłubek] (Wrocław: Monografie FNP/Leopoldinum, 1998). For the analogies between this line of inquiry and the subsequent anglophone interest in collective memory (Geary, *Phantoms*, for example), see Piotr Górecki, "Poland: To the 18th Century," in the *Encyclopedia of Historians and Historical Writing* (London: Fitzroy Dearborn, 1999), 929–34, at 931.

29. Piotr Górecki, "Communities of Legal Memory in Medieval Poland, c. 1200–1240," *Journal of Medieval History* 24 (1998), 127–54, at 128–29, 133, 139–40, 148, 151–52; Górecki, "Local Society and Legal Knowledge: A Case Study from the Henryków Region," in *Christianitas et cultura Europae: Księga Jubileuszowa Profesora Jerzego Kłoczowskiego* [*Christianitas et cultura Europae*: A Jubilee Book for Professor Jerzy Kłoczowski], ed. Henryk Gapski, 2 vols. (Lublin: Instytut Europy Środkowo-Wschodniej, 1998), 1: 544–50; with which compare Judith Everard, "Sworn Testimony and Memory of the Past in Brittany, c. 1100–1250," in van Houts, *Medieval Memories*, 72–91.

were generally known and clear, and thus they neither state, nor imply what they encompassed or meant. Finally, a text may be a source of memory. This role, too, includes the above possibilities; the simplest way to use a text as a "source" is to consult it, for its explicit record, or for its implicit information, or for the knowledge it assumes on the part of the audience and does not convey. Rosamond McKitterick opened this whole subject in 1989 by reminding us (very helpfully) that texts are interesting in part because someone actually read them, and, directly or tacitly, drew knowledge from them.[30] In addition, however, the text may be actively structured, or actively used, or both, in order to affect what is remembered – and therefore, in the longer term, what is known.

An intriguing mark of the recent surge of interest in the text is strong scholarly resistance against the simple, or the straightforward, interpretation of these four possibilities. That resistance is usually framed as a rhetorical refutation of several (typically unattributed) propositions: that the text is a "transparent" venue to some reality; that it provides direct "access" to it; that it corresponds with it; or that (to turn to my own metaphor of reflection) it "mirrors" an external reality.[31] Despite (or perhaps because of) their occasional stridency, such critiques have not, at least among most medievalists, successfully undermined the basic, intuitively empiricist notions of reference. Instead, they have complicated, and enriched, our understanding of the link between the text and some real, past world – forcing us (among other things) to devote attention to the four possibilies of my simplified schema, especially to the text considered as a repository of memory about an external world, and as an active source of that memory.

These relationships between text and memory may relate to the text's composition – its arrangement, especially the sequence and relative detail of presentation, its literary (especially rhetorical) emphasis, its mnemonic features, and its visual aspects; or to the earlier sources, oral or written, upon which the text draws; or to the manner in which it draws upon those earlier sources, whether by aural transmission, direct incorporation, paraphrase, new redaction, or elaboration; and to its ultimate form as an accumulation of those earlier sources. A text may thus be a composite document, an "archive" of earlier texts – each of which is related to memory in the ways just noted. Moreover, all these aspects of a text may be products of an intentional design – a purpose, perhaps indeed a strategy – aimed at shaping, modifying, interpreting, and sometimes obliterating what is remembered. This design, the intentionality and the presumed future active use

30. Rosamond McKitterick, *The Carolingians and the Written Word* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989), especially for the active consultation of written materials in the *mallus*, 60–75.

31. Nancy Partner, "The New Cornificius: Medieval History and the Artifice of Words," in *Classical Rhetoric and Medieval Historiography*, ed. Ernst Breisach (Kalamazoo: Medieval Institute Publications, 1985), 5–59, at 16–17, 22–24; Górecki, "Rhetoric," 263, 265; most recently, Buc, *Dangers*, especially 9–10, 156, 248–49.

expressed by the text, is exactly what I am calling the text's agency. The *Henryków Book* reflects, and expresses, agency in that sense. In order to illustrate this proposition in depth, let me situate the *Book* in context of its genre, its authorship, and several areas of reality with which it engages, and which it was evidently designed to affect.

2 Purpose, genre, and structure of the Henryków Book

The purpose of the history of the Henryków monastery is quite straightforward, and is explicitly identified by its two identifiable authors.[32] The narrative was written specifically in order to serve the monks as a source of reliable knowledge against current or potential enemies.[33] What is considerably more complicated is the genre of which this particular history is an instance. Like other medieval historical writings, the *Henryków Book* seamlessly incorporates several types of historical prose. It is a local chronicle – that is, a description of a sequence of past events, chronologically arranged, and spanning several generations.[34] It pertains specifically to a monastery, and is therefore a monastic chronicle. It concerns one particular type of monastery, an individual Cistercian community. Thus, it fits into a long tradition of Cistercian historiography extending back to the foundation story of Cîteaux and of the Cistercian Order, elaborated continuously since the first years of the twelfth century.[35]

The *Book* is also a monastic cartulary, that is, a transcription of charters issued to the monks of Henryków by the dukes of Silesia, the bishops of Wrocław, and other authors, intended as a convenient source of access to those documents.[36]

32. For the question of the *Book*'s authorship, nn. 47–59 below.

33. See nn. 62–64 below.

34. Elisabeth M. C. van Houts, *Local and Regional Chronicles*, Typologie des sources du moyen âge occidental 74 (Turnhout: Brepols, 1995), 14.

35. For monastic and Cistercian historiography, see Bernard Guenée, *Histoire et culture historique dans l'Occident médiéval* (Paris: Aubier Montaigne, 1980), 46–58, especially 47. Two superb treatments of the Cistercian sub-genre of medieval monastic historiography, in one region of medieval Europe, are Derek Baker, "The Genesis of English Cistercian Chronicles: The Foundation History of Foutains Abbey," *Analecta Cisterciensia* 25 (1969), 14–41, and 31 (1975), 179–212, and Freeman, *Narratives*.

36. For cartularies, see *Les cartulaires: Actes de la Table Ronde organisée par l'Ecole nationale des chartes et le G.D.R. 121 du C.N.R.S. (Paris, 5–7 décembre 1991)*, ed. Olivier Guyotjeannin, Laurent Morelle, and Michel Parisse (Paris: École des Chartes, 1993); Olivier Guyotjeannin, Jacques Pycke, and Benoît-Michel Tock, *La diplomatique médiévale* (Turnhout: Brepols, 1993), 273, 277–81; David Walker, "The Organization of Material in Medieval Cartularies," in *The Study of Medieval Records: Essays in Honour of Kathleen Major*, ed. D. A. Bullough and R. L. Storey (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1971), 132–50; the range of format and content surveyed in G. R. C. Davies, *Medieval Cartularies of Great Britain: A Short Catalogue* (London: Longman, 1958). For the *Henryków Book* as a cartulary, see Józef Matuszewski, *Najstarsze polskie zdanie prozaiczne: zdanie henrykowskie i jego tło historyczne* [The oldest Polish