

WEST POMERANIANS' MEDIEVAL PILGRIMAGES TO ST. THEOBALD'S SANCTUARY IN THANN

The 12th century saw the blossoming of the idea of pilgrimages to sacred places (*peregrinatio ad loca sacra*). This idea dated back to ancient times. A pilgrimage was understood and perceived as an encounter with the sacred which could only be revealed as such in specific places and in the form of particular rites and rituals.¹ The popularity of pilgrimaging reached West Pomerania, too. West Pomeranians went on pilgrimages to all the most important pilgrimage centres of the then Christianity. The particular increase in the pilgrimage traffic took place from the late 14th century on.² The increase occurred in all of the then social groups, including also the representatives of the West Pomeranian rulers, the so-called House of Griffins.³

¹ A. Witkowska: *Przemiany w ruchu pielgrzymkowym i praktyce odpustów w Kościele zachodnim w XIV–XV wieku* [The 14–15th Century Transformations in the Western Church as Regards the Pilgrimage Traffic and the Indulgence Practice], "Znak" [The Sign] 23, 1971, 205–206, pp. 892–900; eadem: "Peregrinatio religiosa" w średniowiecznej Europie ["Peregrinatio religiosa" in the Medieval Europe], in: *Peregrinationes. Pielgrzymki w kulturze dawnej Europy* [Peregrinationes. Pilgrimages in the Culture of the Old Europe], ed. by H. Manikowska, H. Zaremska, Warszawa 1995 ("Colloquia Mediaevalia Varsoviensia", 2), pp. 9–16; H. Manikowska: *Jerozolima – Rzym – Compostela. Wielkie pielgrzymowanie u schyłku średniowiecza* [Jerusalem – Rome – Compostela. The Grand Pilgrimaging in the Late Middle Ages], Wrocław 2008.

² H. Heyden: *Das Wallfahrtswesen in Pommern*, "Blätter für Kirchengeschichte Pommerns", 22/23, 1940, pp. 7–20; idem: *Kirchengeschichte Pommerns*, Köln–Braunfeld 1957, Bd. 1, pp. 147 ff.

³ J. Zdrenka: *Die Pilgerfahrten der Pommerschen Herzöge ins Heilige Land in den Jahren 1392/1393 und 1406/1407*, "Baltische Studien", Neue Folge, 81, 1995; idem: *Pielgrzymki książąt pomorskich do Ziemi Świętej i Rzymu w latach 1392/1393 i 1406/1407* [The Pilgrimages of the House of

On the map of 14th and 15th century European pilgrimage sanctuaries which abounded to a several hundred places Thann, Alsace where the relics of St. Theobald were worshipped became an important destination. Despite the past controversies the saint in question must be identified with Ubald, the bishop of Gubbio, Umbria. A son of a local family, Ubald acted as bishop from about 1129 until his death in 1160. He was canonized in 1192 and until this day his body has been resting in Gubbio. Still, according to a hagiographical legend, the bishop's German servant returned back home with a relic in the form of one of the bishop's fingers which ultimately rested in the Thann church. Soon after this the place turned into the main cult centre for the German-speaking area where the sainted bishop's name was known as: Thiebolt, Dietbolt, Enwold, or Ewald. Dedicated to St. Theobald, the Thann church appears in the sources for the first time in 1317. Thann is also where twice a year, on May 16 and July 1 Theobald's anniversary was celebrated.⁴

The first mention ever of a pilgrimage to Thann dates back to a Lübeck's inhabitant's will from 1357. In the late 14th, and particularly the 15th century the pilgrimages to the Alsatian sanctuary became very

Pomeranians to the Holy Land and Rome in the Years 1392/1393 and 1406/1407], in: *Rycerstwo Europy środkowo-wschodniej wobec idei krucjat* [The Knights of the Central and Eastern Europe and the Idea of Crusades], Zielona Góra 1999, pp. 91–101; E. Rymar: *Wielka podróż wielkiego księcia. Wyprawa Bogusława X Pomorskiego na niemiecki dwór królewski, do Ziemi Świętej i Rzymu (1496–1498)* [The Grand Tour of the Grand Duke. The Excursion of Duke Boguslaus X Pomeranian to the German Court, to the Holy Land and Rome (1496–1498)], Szczecin 2004. On the question of rulers' pilgrimages in the late Middle Ages see H. Manikowska: "Hulanki były nam najlepszym nabożeństwem i odpustem ..." *Późnośredniowieczne 'peregrinationes maiores' władców: między sacrum a profanum* ["Revelry Was Our Best Liturgy and Indulgence ..." Rulers' Late Medieval *Peregrinationes Miores*: Between the Sacred and the Profane], in: *Ecclesia, cultura, potestas. Studia z dziejów kultury i społeczeństwa. Księga ofiarowana siostrze profesor Urszuli Borkowskiej* [Ecclesia, Cultura, Potestas. Studies on the History of Culture and Society. The book given as a gift to Sister Professor Urszula Borkowska], ed. by P. Krass, A. Januszek, A. Naliwajek, W. Polak, Kraków 2006, pp. 255–265.

⁴ Until this day in the research on both St. Theobald's worship and pilgrimages to Thann fundamental is the role of the study by M. Barth: *Zur Geschichte der Thanner St. Theobalduswallfahrt im Mittelalter*, "Annuaire de la Societe d'histoire des regions de Thann-Guebwiller", 1948, pp. 19–82.

popular. The saint was turned to in the cases such as setting a person free from enslavement, saving a person from fire, madness, wounds, physical disability, plague, or paralysis. In the late Middle Ages Ulrich Surgant, the Basel parish priest wrote: “There, that is, to Thann the grand pilgrimage was going from all of Europe, and sunder miracles and miraculous signs occurred.” Thann welcomed first and foremost pilgrims from Germany and neighboring areas: Alsace and Lorraine, Denmark, the Schleswig-Holstein area; from the towns of the Hanseatic North such as: Bremen, Stade, Hamburg, or Lübeck; from Mecklenburg, Pomerania, Prussia, Brandenburg, Westphalia, Saxony, Thuringia, Silesia, Bavaria, Baden-Württemberg, and Hesse; from the archdioceses of Köln, Mainz, and Trier; from Austria, Switzerland and the Netherlands, even from Italy and England.⁵

With regard to Pomerania and its neighboring areas, St. Theobald’s worship and Thann pilgrimages in particular have not frequently been a subject of separate studies so far. Years ago the worshipping of this saint in Mecklenburg was depicted by Friedrich Techen⁶, and in West Pomerania – by Hellumth Heyden and Norbert Buske.⁷ In the Polish medieval studies, however, the issues in question have not been of interest to researchers. The first attempt at changing this situation was the published article by Joachim Zdrenka from several years ago. In it, the author included the mentions from St. Theobald’s *Book of Miracles* on pilgrims who arrived at Thann from West Pomerania and Prussia.⁸ This book, written in Thann and

⁵ M. Barth, *Zur Geschichte ...*, pp. 39 ff.

⁶ F. Techen: *Der Nothelfer St. Theobald (Ewald)*, “Jahrbücher des Vereins für Mecklenburgische Geschichte und Altertumskunde”, 60, 1895, pp. 177 ff.

⁷ H. Heyden: *St. Ewald in Pommern*, “Blätter für Kirchengeschichte Pommerns”, 19, 1939, pp. 39–41; N. Buske: *Die Verehrung des Hl. Ewald und die Errichtung der Bodstedter Kapelle. Ein Beitrag zur Patrozinienkunde und zur Geschichte der Wallfahrtsorte in Pommern*, “Baltische Studien”, Neue Folge, 58, 1972, pp. 19–32.

⁸ J. Zdrenka, *Święty Teobald pomocnikiem w potrzebie mieszkańców Pomorza i Prus w średniowieczu* [St. Theobald Helping the Needy Pomeranians and Prussians in the Middle Ages], in: *Mieszczanie, wasale, zakonnicy* [Townspeople, Vassals, Monks], ed. by B. Śliwiński, Malbork 2004 (“Studia z Dziejów Średniowiecza” [Studies on the History of the

published as early as the 19th century until this day comprises one of the basic texts used in the research on the pilgrimages to the Alsatian sanctuary. It includes 215 accounts of the saint's miraculous interventions performed by him in the years 1405–1521.⁹ The mentioned book also comprised the basic source in the research which effected in this article. Its intention is to analyse the frequency, geography and chronology of the pilgrimages to Thann of the inhabitants of the parts of Pomerania situated within the late 13th century bounds of the Cammin diocese as well as of the lands situated their immediate vicinity which comprised the earlier bounds of the bishopric. As a complementary source, the thoroughly discussed in the literature on the subject wills of inhabitants of Stralsund, full of the information on the question of pilgrimages, have been used, too.¹⁰

The third category of the used sources is the pilgrims' signs recently identified more and more frequently. These were devotional articles formed as several centimeters high tin-lead casts, bought by a pilgrim at his destination and fixed on a garment, hat, or sack on his/her way back.¹¹ On them there were images presented of a saint

Middle Ages], 10), pp. 391–412. With regard to West Pomerania this register unfortunately proved incomplete. In his study J. Zdrenka omitted three accounts. It needs remembering that this historian pointed to the source of interest to us much earlier, when he wrote about Duke Świętobór I pilgrimage to the relics of St. Theobald. However, as a place of their worship he mistakenly pointed to Pentigen, Swabia and to Salanige near Vincenza, Italy (J. Zdrenka: *Polityka zagraniczna książąt szczecińskich w latach 1295–1411* [The Foreign Policy of the Szczecin Dukes in the Years 1295–1411], Słupsk 1985, pp. 265–266).

⁹ *Tomus Miraculorum Sancti Theobaldi im Original*, hg. v. G. Stoffel, Colmar 1875 (further: *Tomus Miraculorum*).

¹⁰ H. Heyden: *Stralsunder Wallfahrten*, "Greifswald-Stralsunder Jahrbuch", 8, 1969, pp. 29–37;

J. Schildhauer: *Hansestädtischer Alltag. Untersuchungen auf der Grundlage der Stralsunder Bürgertestamente vom Anfang des 14. bis zum Ausgang des 16. Jahrhunderts*, Weimar 1992.

¹¹ Their prototypes must have been *Pecten Maximum L.* shells, used most probably from as early as the 11th century as a symbol of the pilgrimage to St. Jacob the Grander in Compostela. See for example K. Köster: *Pilgerzeichen und Pilgermuscheln von mittelalterlichen Santiagostraßen*, Neumünster 1983 ("Ausgrabungen in Schleswig. Berichte und Studien", 2), pp. 142 ff.; A. Haasis-Berner: *Die Pilgerzeichen des 11.–14. Jahrhunderts. Mit einem Überblick über die europäische Pilgerzeichenforschung*, in:

or his/her relics worshipped in a given sanctuary. Pilgrims' signs whose oldest pieces are dated for the late 12th century were extremely wellsellable in the Middle Ages. They demonstrated the pilgrim's status as well as were the certificate of his/her presence in a sacred place. After the pilgrimage were completed, the signs oftentimes became objects of devotion. The cases are recorded of putting them into the grave along with their owner, bequeathing them to another person, using them in the folk medicine, offering signs as church votives, or simply using them for apotropaic aims.¹² Also, pilgrims' signs were used in bell production – their casts visible on bells' outer sides must have protected the entire communities residing within the bells' audibility.¹³ The area of Pomerania can boast of having the whole series of pilgrims' signs and their casts on bells found within its bounds.¹⁴ Among them there are also Thann devotion objects.

Archäologie als Sozialgeschichte. Studien zu Siedlung, Wirtschaft und Gesellschaft im frühgeschichtlichen Mitteleuropa, hg. v. S. Brather, Ch. Bückler und M. Höpfer, Rahden 1999 ("Internationale Archäologie. Studia Honoraria", 9), p. 272.

¹² The existing literature on pilgrims' signs is vast and becoming vaster every year. The basic works comprise, for example: K. Köster: *Mittelalterliche Pilgerzeichen*, in: *Wallfahrt kennt keine Grenzen*, hg. v. L. Kriss-Rettenbach, G. Möhler, München–Zürich 1984, pp. 203–223; *Heiligen Profaan. 1000 Laatmiddeleeuwse Insigne suit de collective H.J.E. van Beuingen*, ed. H. J. E. van Beuingen, A. M. Koldewij, Cothen 1993 ("Rotterdam Papers", 7); B. Spencer: *Pilgrim Souvenirs and Secular Badges*, London 1998; A. Haasis-Berner: *Die Pilgerzeichen des Hochmittelalters*, Würzburg 2003.

¹³ This custom became particularly popular in the late Middle Ages, in the 15th century, although the oldest recorded European bell cast of a pilgrim's sign comes from as early as 1325. See J. Poettgen: *Pilgerzeichen auf Glocken, Studien zu Geschichte, Verbreitung und Motivation ihrer Verwendung*, in: *Heiligen Profaan 2. 1200 Laatmiddeleeuwse Insignies uit openbare en particuliere coolecties*, ed. H. J. E. van Beuningen, A. M. Koldewij, D. Kicken, Cothen 2000 ("Rotterdam Papers", 12): 128 ff.; also E. Van Loon-van de Moosdijk: *Pilgrim Badges and Bells*, in: *Papers of the Medieval Europe Brugge 1997 Conference*, vol. 5: *Art and Symbolism in Medieval Europe*, ed. by G. De Boe, F. Verhaeghe, Zellik 1997, pp. 151–152.

¹⁴ See altogether M. Schaugstat: *Mittelalterliche Pilgerzeichen auf Glocken in mecklenburgischen Dorfkirche*, "Mecklenburgische Jahrbücher", 109, 1993, pp. 19–55; M. Rębkowski: *Pielgrzymki mieszkańców średniowiecznych miast południowego Bałtyku w świetle znalezisk znaków pątnicznych. Wstęp do badań* [The Medieval Pilgrimages of Southern Baltic

The analysis of the records from *The Book of Miracles* demonstrates that West Pomerania can be classified as second best, after Alsace, as regards the number of territories where St. Theobald's miracles took place. Of 160 miraculous phenomena recorded in *The Book ...* until 1461 as many as 23 occurred in the Duchy of West Pomerania.¹⁵ As a rule, *The Book of Miracles* informs of the arrival of a particular person to the sanctuary as well as it gives both the exact date of this event and the reason for pilgrimaging. Source records explicitly point to the personal arrival in Thann which was the condition and consequence of the previous obtaining of the saint's help. The list of Pomeranians successfully pilgrimaging to St. Theobald's sanctuary includes the representatives of manifold social groups starting from the Duke's court. This is confirmed by the presence in Thann of the Szczecin Duke Świętobór (Swantibor) I¹⁶, and of the knights, townspeople or peasants as in the following chart:

Townspeople in the Light of Pilgrims' Signs Findings. An Introduction to the Research], "Kwartalnik Historii Kultury Materialnej" [The Quarterly of the History of Material Culture], 52, 2004, 2, pp. 153–188; K. Nagel: "... umme salicheit miner zele..." *Wallfahren und Wallfahrtdevotionalen in den Städten Mecklenburg-Vorpommerns*, in: *Archäologie unter dem Strassenpflaster*, hg. v. H. Jöns, F. Lüth, H. Schäfer, Schwerin 2005, pp. 381–384; M. Majewski: *Świadectwa pielgrzymek średniowiecznych mieszkańców Pomorza Zachodniego na dzwonach* [The Proofs for the Pilgrimages of Medieval Inhabitants of West Pomerania Cast on Bells], in: *Wszyscy jesteście tułaczami* [We Are All Wanderers], Szczecin 2007, pp. 19–22.

¹⁵ H. Bettin, D. Volksdorf: *Pielgrzymki w testamentach mieszczan stralsundzkich jako zwierciadło mieszczańskiej religijności* [The Pilgrimages in the Wills of Stralsund Townspeople as a Reflection of Bourgeois Religiosity], in: *Kult św. Jakuba Większego Apostoła w Europie Środkowo-Wschodniej* [The Cult of St. Jacob the Apostle in the Central-Eastern Europe], ed. by R. Knapiński, Lublin 2002, pp. 211–233, here 229–230.

¹⁶ For the Duke's bio see E. Rymar: *Rodowód książąt pomorskich* [The Genealogy of the Szczecin Dukes], Szczecin 2005, pp. 408–412.

Ordinal	Pilgrim's Name	Date of arrival in Thann
1.	Duke Świętobór I	May 5, 1407*
2.	Knight Marquart	May 5, 1407
3.	Tekla from Stargard	before October 28, 1407
4.	Henry from Stargard	May 25, 1408
5.	Knight Herswanck	1408
6.	Klaus Howenhaus from Gryfice (Greifenberg)	July 3, 1412
7.	Abele from Anklam	October 21, 1412
8.	Woman from Stralsund	April 30, 1413
9.	Messengers from Polanów (Pollnow)	October 16, 1414
10.	Konrad Mesman from Szczecin	June 26, 1429
11.	Henry Schütz from Greifswald	May 15, 1435
12.	Peter Sweinin from Kołobrzeg (Kolberg)	August 24, 1442
13.	Henry Steffen from Kremem	July 2, 1447
14.	Ficky Bruckers from Szczecin	May 23, 1451
15.	Katherine from Trzebiatów (Treptow an der Rega)	1452
16.	Martin Gordmann from Darłowo (Rügenwalde)	June 23, 1461
17.	Jacob Loeffel from Cisowo (Zizow) near Sławno (Schlawe)	June 23, 1461
18.	Nicolas Burow from Rusko (Rußhagen) near Sławno	June 23, 1461
19.	Woman from Trzebiatów	no date
20.	Young man from Trzebiatów	no date
21.	Young man from Trzebiatów	no date
22.	Three brothers from Szczecin	no date
23.	Widow from Wolin (Wollin)	no date

* According to the mention in St. Theobald's *Book of Miracles*, Duke Świętobór I fell ill of gout on February 8, 1407 (*Tomus Miraculorum*, pp. 66–70). In the opinion of Norbert Buske, the Duke pilgrimaged to Thann twice, for the first time in May 1408 and again after January 16, 1411. It seems however that the dating of the Duke's first pilgrimage for as late as 1408 is contradicted by both the source (giving the exact date of the Duke's arrival to Thann) and the chronology of the events. Assuming Buske's line of reasoning as correct one should ask why Duke Świętobór waited for a whole year since he fell ill to be healed from his disease. It needs mentioning as well that only one of these pilgrimages was recorded in the analysed source although it has to be stressed at once that in two of this source's fragments (N. Buske: *Die Verehrung ...*, p. 22, Note 20). For the dating of Duke Świętobór I's stay in Thann see also J. Zdrenka: *Polityka ...* [The Policy ...], pp. 265–267; idem: *Itinerar des Stettiner Herzogs Swantibor I. (Around 1351–1413)*, "Archiv für Diplomatik, Schriftgeschichte, Siegel- und Wappenkunde", 41, 1995, pp. 188–189.

All the above mentioned Pomeranian pilgrims requested the help of St. Ewald – that is how the bishop of Gubbio was referred to in Pomerania – because of the special character of their troubles. Duke Świętobór I, for example, suffered from gout and infectious diseases. Tekla, the Duke's housekeeper had been possessed by an evil ghost. Henry from Stargard had got blind and could not see for two years. Konrad Messman had been captured, kidnapped and taken to Denmark where he was imprisoned. A woman from Stralsund had been paralysed and confined to bed for a whole year. Henry Schütz from Greifswald had been falsely accused of murder and sentenced to death. Henry Steffen had been hit by an arrow which got stuck in his leg for forty days. Peter Sweinin from Kołobrzeg had had a limp leg for a year. Marquart, a knight in the Duke of Szczecin's retinue had been affected by plague. Klaus Howenhaus from Gryfice had been put to prison by the bishop of Cammin. Knight Herswanck and his wife Dorothy had been deprived of 8,000 marks worth of their assets by the Duke of Szczecin. The saint whose help the latter married couple requested made for a successful bearing of their son whereas Herswanck was additionally made to return untouched from his imprisonment which he underwent as a result of the "great war". Abele from Anklam got sick while in her puerperium. The town of Polanów had come out unaffected from a siege. For seven days Ficky Bruckers had remained in bed without giving any signs of life. Katherine from Trzebiatów had been paralysed for eleven years and twenty five weeks. Martin Gordman had been lying unconscious for ten weeks. Jacob Loeffel from Cisowo had been lying dying for three days. Nicolas Burow from Rusko fall ill of an infectious disease. A woman from Trzebiatów bore a child who died after two days. Its parents had vowed that when the child would be seventeen, it would pilgrimage to Thann. Since this never happened, the brother of the miraculously resurrected Jacob Loeffel came to Thann instead. From Trzebiatów to the sanctuary came also a young man who, paralyzed in his early childhood, had been offered up to the saint by his parents. From this same town there came a woman so possessed by an evil spirit that they had to keep her tied all the time. The three brothers from Szczecin had been saved from fire. The widow from Wolin

addressed St. Theobald for the same reason.¹⁷ West Pomerania might also have been the place from where Vitt Buman and Henry Slaher (*von dem Bistoum zuo Bromen*), imprisoned by their bishop, came.¹⁸ Those who had been saved owing to the help of St. Theobald usually committed themselves later on to pilgrimage to his sanctuary and to offer something up to him. Therefore, their subsequent pilgrimages can be depicted as a sort of votive offerings to the saint.¹⁹ We also have the knowledge of the amount of the actual offering which two West Pomeranian pilgrims left for the sake of St. Theobald at his sanctuary. Namely, Duke Świętobór I offered up 6 guilders to St. Theobald as well as he committed himself to offering this very sum to the sanctuary on the annual basis. Klaus Howenhaus from Gryfice had vowed to offer up 115 marks to the sanctuary at first, yet, once his prayers had been answered, he ultimately offered up only as much as 20 marks. The envoys from Polanów and Henry from Stargard set up for Thann with the offering whose worth has not been known to us. Also, Peter Sweinin from Kołobrzeg and knight Marquart vowed their offerings for the saint. Additionally, pilgrims brought along the votive offerings whose form depended on the affliction from which they had been released. Analogically, in the case of a person saved from fire the saint was given a little waxen house. A pilgrim who was saved from imprisonment offered up a *gemalter turn*. As we know, both Duke Świętobór and knight Marquart additionally offered up chalices to the saint. The widow from Wolin offered up a *silberin hus*. The healed pilgrims hang silver and golden votive offerings, knives, iron rings and spheres on the pillow at the entrance to St.

¹⁷ For the mentioned relations see *Tomus Miraculorum*, pp. 2–5, 8–9, 13–17, 23–24, 53–54, 66–70, 77–80, 91–93, 105–106, 114–116, 118–119.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 32–33.

¹⁹ Cf. L. Schmutge: *Kollektive und individuelle Motivstrukturen im mittelalterlichen Pilgerwesen*, in: *Migration in der Feudalgesellschaft*, hg. v. G. Jaritz u. A. Müller, Frankfurt am Main – New York 1988, pp. 264; L. Schreiner: *Peregrinatio laudabilis und peregrinatio vituperabilis. Zur religiösen Ambivalentz des Wallens und Laufens in der Frömmigkeitstheologie des späten Mittelalters*, in: *Wallfahrt und Alltag in Mittelalter und Früher Neuzeit*, hg. v. G. Jaritz u. B. Schuh, Wien 1992 (“Veröffentlichungen des Instituts für Realienkunde des Mittelalters und der Frühen Neuzeit”, 14), pp. 133–163.

Theobald's church in Thann.²⁰

The above data can be compared with the information from the wills made by 220 Stralsund inhabitants in the years 1309–1530. In these wills 385 pilgrims who visited 32 different sanctuaries were mentioned. Among them, the pilgrimages to Thann were recorded as many as 33 times. This confirms the high position of the Alsatian sanctuary on the list of pilgrimage places visited by Stralsund townspeople the most willingly. It is worth mentioning that, with one exception, all the records concerning Thann almost exclusively come from the 15th century.²¹

The oldest such record suggesting that a pilgrimage from Stralsund to the Alsatian pilgrimage centre might have taken place dates back to 1396.²²

Another important source category is pilgrims' signs and their casts on the bells from the Thann pilgrimage sanctuary. The identification of the form of such devotional articles from the medieval Thann as well as their typology were done years ago.²³ Their height oscillates between several to twelve centimeters and they show an image of the bishop sitting on the throne with his pontificals and miter on. The bishop's right hand is raised in the gesture of blessing whereas with his left hand he is holding a crosier. Three additional elements appear on the signs, alone, or in random combination: two angels holding a miter, two small figures of adorers (pilgrims) kneeling at the bishop's feet, and a minuscule inscription

²⁰ M. Barth: *Zur Geschichte ...*, p. 42.

²¹ H. Bettin, D. Volksdorf: *Pielgrzymki ...* [The Pilgrimages ...], pp. 222–224. The comparative data concerning the records from the Lübeck wills can be found in N. Ohler: *Zur Seligkeit und zum Troste meiner Seele. Lübecker unterwegs zu mittelalterlichen Wallfahrtsstätten*, "Zeitschrift des Vereins für Lübeckische Geschichte und Altertumskunde", 83, 1983, pp. 83–103.

²² N. Buske: *Die Verehrung ...*, p. 23. In the neighboring Mecklenburg the first pilgrimages to Thann were recorded as early as 1367. *Ibid.*, p. 23, Note 23.

²³ K. Köster: *Meister Tilman von Hachenburg. Studien zum Werk eines mittelrheinischen Glockengießers des fünfzehnten Jahrhunderts*, "Jahrbuch des Hessischen kirchengeschichtlichen Vereinigung", 8, 1957, pp. 1–206, in particular 86 ff. N.-K. Liebgott: *Afstobninger af pilgrimstegn på danske middelalderlige kirkeklokker*, "Aarbøger for nordisk oldkyndighed og historie", 1971, pp. 195–240, in particular 225–229.

placed in the bottom part of the sign stating: *s teualt*, or *s teobaldo*, sometimes with wrong letters, or with the saint's name spelled differently. Such an image of bishop Theobald is typical of Thann and well-known to us from the other works of art such as, for example, the sculpture from the sanctuary.²⁴ Also, it needs to be mentioned that the characteristic angel figures holding the bishop's crosier correspond with the legendary role angels played in appointing Ubald bishop of Gubbio.²⁵

Until this day a several dozen or so of the Thann pilgrim's signs were identified in Europe. The oldest of them might come from the late 14th century, yet, the majority of these signs should be dated for as late as the following century, or else the early 16th century. The signs in question were recorded mainly in the central and northern Germany and southern Scandinavia, whereas only individual pieces originate also in the Netherlands. Another very characteristic quality of the set of these signs is the fact that the majority of them comprise bell casts whereas the originals are rare.²⁶ It is almost the same with regard to the region of Pomerania.

On the area of interest to us so far seven bell casts and only one fragment of an original pilgrim's sign with the image of St. Theobald on have been recorded. This latter sign comes from a vast, comprised of a several dozens or so pieces, set of pilgrim's signs discovered in the Cistercian convent in Seehausen, Uckermark. Only the upper part of the object dated for the 15th century has been preserved. It pictures the bishop's head dressed in the miter on which the broken off hands of angels who are holding it can be seen.²⁷

²⁴ A. Röpke: *Mittelalterliche Spuren der Verehrung des heiligen Theobald zwischen Elbe und Weser*, "Bremisches Jahrbuch", 82, 2003, pp. 34–35, Abb. 2.

²⁵ *Lexicon der christlichen Ikonographie*, Bd. 8, hg. v. W. Braunfels, Rom–Freiburg–Wien 1976, pp. 505 ff.

²⁶ See e. g. A. Röpke: *Mittelalterliche Spuren ...*, pp. 34 ff. N.-K. Liebgott: *Afstobninger af pilgrimstegn ...*, pp. 225 ff.; L. Andersson: *Pilgrimsmärken och vallfärd. Medeltida pilgrimskultur i Skandinavien*, Lund 1989 ("Lund Studies in Medieval Archaeology", 7), pp. 85–87; *Heilig en Profaan. 1000 Laatmiddeleeuwse ...*, p. 197, Afb. 359–360.

²⁷ Originally the find was mistakenly identified as a fragment of the Maastricht pilgrim's sign with the image of yet another bishop – St. Servatius. See R. Jaitner, G. Kohn: *Ausgewählte Pilgerzeichen aus dem*

The remaining signs survived in rural churches in the form of bell casts made throughout the entire 15th century. Their presence have been recorded in Medow near Anklam²⁸, Jürgensdorf Kr. Malchin, Ballwitz near Neubrandenburg and Rehberg Kr. Strasburg²⁹, Mielno (Mellen) near Łobez (Labes)³⁰, Gudowo (Baumgarten) near Drawsko (Dramburg) and, most probably, in Kwasowo (Quatzow) near Sławno.³¹ The oldest of the mentioned bells must have been cast in the early 15th century (Medow, Kwasowo), whereas the earliest – around the year 1500 (Mielno, Gudowo). The height of the badges oscillates between 70 and 120 mm, and in the set in question – depending on the combination of the imagined attributes accompanying the seated figure of bishop – at least five different types of badges can be identified. The signs from Medow and Jürgensdorf picture exclusively the figures of angels³², whereas the image from Gudowo – only the figures of adorers-pilgrims kneeling at the sainted bishop's feet. On the sign of the

Zisterziensernonnenkloster Seehausen in der Uckermark, “Wismarer Studien zur Archäologie und Geschichte”, 4, 1994, p. 103, Abb. 3g; H. Kühne, C. Brumme: *Der Pilgerzeichenfund am Kloster Seehausen und sein historischer Kontext*, in: *Studien zur Geschichte, Kunst und Kultur der Zisterzienser*, Bd. 8: *Sachkultur und religiöse Praxis*, hg. v. D. Schumann, Berlin 2007, pp. 411–412, 434–435.

²⁸ M. Rydbeck (book review): *Kurt Köster: Meister Tilman von Hachenburg. Studien zum Werk eines mittelrheinischen Glockengiessers des fünfzehnten Jahrhunderts*, *Jahrbuch der hess. kirchengesch. Ver.* 8 (1957), “Fornvannen”, 53, 1958, pp. 215–216, Fig. 4.

²⁹ M. Schaugstat: *Mittelalterliche Pilgerzeichen ...*, pp. 42–43, 50, Abb. 11.

³⁰ M. Majewski: *Ludwisarstwo stargardzkie XV–XVIII wieku* [The 15th–18th Century Stargard Bell Founding], Stargard 2005, pp. 85–86, 113–14. See also *Ludwisarstwo stargardzkie i pomorskie XIV–XVII wiek* [The 14th–17th Century Stargard and Pomeranian Bell Founding], ed. by

M. Majewski, Stargard 2003, pp. 100–101.

³¹ M. Majewski: *Ludwisarstwo ...* [The 15th–18th Century ...], p. 86. The pictures of the Gudowo and Kwasowo casts are courtesy to Dr. Marcin Majewski from the Stargard Museum.

³² Two analogical casts have been discovered also on the church bells in the two Mecklenburg villages situated west of the limits of the Cammin diocese: Domsühl and Burow. See M. Schaugstat: *Mittelalterliche Pilgerzeichen ...*, pp. 42–43.

Mielno bell cast in Stargard, apart from the adorers, an illegible majuscular inscription with what originally must have originally been the bishop's name was placed. Judging from the very obliterated sign images on the Ballitz and Rehberg bell casts, inscription tapes could have been placed in their lower parts. The simplest piece of the Thann sign was cast on the Kwasowo bell. There, the figure of St. Theobald is accompanied merely by a crosier.

All the available today to us and used above source categories suggests the high popularity of, first and foremost, the 15th century pilgrimages to St. Theobald's in Thann. One of the oldest, well-dated manifestations of this popularity comprises the record of the visit which Duke Świętobór I paid to the Alsatian sanctuary in 1407. It is however impossible to establish the source which fed the cult of St. Theobald existing in the Szczecin court. Still, according to Norbert Buske, the healing which took place as a result of addressing the saint as well as the pilgrimage itself could have popularize Thann and the cult of the Gubbio bishop in the Cammin diocese. On the other hand, the earliest evidence for the existence of West Pomeranians pilgrimaging to Alsace is the images of the Alsatian pilgrim's signs on the bells cast at the turn of the 15th and 16th century for several rural churches, that is, in the time when Thann no longer comprise an entry in the wills of Stralsund townspeople. It needs therefore remembering in this context that after 1461 the mentions of Pomeranian pilgrims in St. Theobald's *Book of Miracles* are few, too. One reason for this late 15th century decrease in the popularity of Thann as Pomeranian pilgrims' destination may have been due to the fact of erecting a chapel dedicated to St. Theobald in Bodstedt near Kenz in 1473 which, for people, translated into a possibility of worshipping their sainted bishop far closer to home than before.³³

The road which pilgrims going from Pomerania to Thann had to pass was relatively long. Both the situation of the Alsatian sanctuary and some sources indicate that Thann lay on the pilgrim's route leading from Aachen via Einsiedeln to Rome.³⁴ From another source we also know that Aachen itself as well as other Rhine sanctuaries

³³ N. Buske: *Die Verehrung ...*; see also H. Heyden: *Das Wallfahrtswesen ...*, p. 11; idem: *Kirchen geschichte Pommerns ...*, p. 47.

³⁴ M. Barth: *Zur Geschichte ...*, p. 43.

comprised a very popular aim of the religious journeys undertaken by inhabitants of the Baltic's southern coast.³⁵ Still another pilgrim's route led from Pomerania to Thann via Wilsnack and Einsiedeln and farther on to Aachen.³⁶ According to the records from *The Book of Miracles*, the distance between the Thann sanctuary and West Pomerania amounted to 150 miles (*von hynnän hundert vnd finnfzig milen*).³⁷ Due to numerous dangers, the journey must have been made in groups. This is how the route to the sanctuary had been passed by Duke Świętobór I's retinue. In it there were knight Marquart the ducal courtier and the above mentioned nameless: the Duke's father confessor, the cathedral canon and some other ministers. In June 1461 the route to Thann may also have been shared by Martin Gordmann, Jacob Loeffel and Nicolas Burow.

The Book of Miracles indicates that Pomeranian pilgrims arrived in Thann most often in the period from April to July and in October. As it has been already mentioned, the sanctuary's feasts took place annually on May 16 and July 1. Therefore we can assume that West Pomeranian pilgrims must have come to Thann with these feasts on their minds.³⁸

Little has been known so far on the question of the costs of a pilgrimage to the Alsatian sanctuary. The analyzed *Book of Miracles* does not contain this sort of information. The possible costs of such a venture can be estimated only owing to the information from the preserved will of Stralsund townspeople. Even with this latter information we are able to estimate only the overall cost of several pilgrimages, including the pilgrimages to Thann. In 1427 a Clawes Quastenberch assigned 20 marks for a pilgrimage to Einsiedeln and

³⁵ M. Rębowski: *Pielgrzymki mieszkańców ...* [The Medieval Pilgrimages ...], p. 184.

³⁶ H. Bettin, D. Volksdorf: *Pielgrzymki ...* [The Pilgrimages ...], p. 225. This route might have been taken by the above mentioned ducal housekeeper who vowed to visit also Wilsnack. See *Tomus Miraculorum*, p. 3.

³⁷ *Tomus Miraculorum*, pp. 4–5, 13–14. One German mile approximately amounted to 8,280 metres, which translated into 27,000 feet (H. Witthöft: *Meile*, in: *Lexicon des Mittelalters*, Bd. 6, column 471). This means that the way from West Pomerania to Thann a pilgrim had to pass to get there must be estimated for 1,240 kilometres.

³⁸ M. Barth: *Zur Geschichte ...*, p. 38.

Thann. In 1473 a Hans Klese assigned 30 marks for a peregrination to Thann via Wilsnack and Einsiedeln.³⁹ Not much is known about the accommodation of Pomeranian pilgrims in Thann. The account of Duke Świętobór I's journey suggests that his retinue found lodgings in the Thann inn "The Red Lion" (*jn der herberge zuom Roten Loeuwen*).⁴⁰

The presented analysis clearly demonstrates that Thann played the role of a destination of West Pomeranian pilgrims coming from all the important towns in the region such as: Anklam, Greifswald, Gryfice, Kołobrzeg, Stralsund, Szczecin, Trzebiatów and Wolin. The pilgrimaging groups also include representatives of minor town centers in West Pomerania such as Darłowo, or Polanów. With the exception of Stralsund, little has been known about the actual range of the pilgrimages to St. Theobald's with regard to each of the above mentioned towns. Neither do we have the knowledge of the state of affairs when it comes to the pilgrimages in question with regard to other Pomeranian towns. It is therefore worth mentioning in this context that traces of pilgrimaging do exist in the 15th century Pomeranian rural areas. This phenomenon can undoubtedly be classified as a symptom of the growing popularity of both religious journeys in all social groups in the late Middle Ages and the cult of St. Theobald in West Pomerania. From another source we know that in the Middle Ages the liturgical calendar of the Cammin diocese dated the feast of the Gubbio bishop for October 3, that is slightly later than in Thann. There, the bishop's main feast took place on July 1, to commemorate the translation of the relic.⁴¹ Apart from the erection of the already mentioned Bodstedt chapel, another

³⁹ H. Bettin, D. Volksdorf: *Pielgrzymki ...* [The Pilgrimages ...], p. 227, Note 78.

⁴⁰ *Tomus Miraculorum*, pp. 66–70; M. Barth: *Zur Geschichte ...*, p. 42.

⁴¹ M. Barth: *Zur Geschichte ...*, pp. 25–26, 51; E. Rymar: *Średniowieczny kalendarz kamiński i zapomniany obituarz kamiński z drugiej połowy XIV wieku* [The Medieval Calendar and the Long Lost Obituary Record from Cammin Dated for the Late 14th Century], in: idem: *Biskupi – mnisi – reformatorzy. Studia z dziejów diecezji kamińskiej* [Bishops – Monks – Reformers. The Studies on the History of the Cammin Diocese], Szczecin 2002, p. 130.

manifestation of the local cult is also the appearance of St. Theobald as a copatron of chapels and altars in other churches. Two fine examples of such manifestations are: the altar in St. Katherine's church in Stralsund, and in the St. Mary's churches in Kołobrzeg and Stargard.⁴² The 15th century popularity of the name Ewald among the inhabitants of West Pomerania can also be attributed to the popularity of the saint in question's cult.⁴³

Translated by Beata Zawadka

PIELGRZYMKI MIESZKAŃCÓW POMORZA ZACHODNIEGO DO SANKTUARIUM ŚW. TEOBALDA W THANN W ŚREDNIOWIECZU

Streszczenie

Na mapie europejskich sanktuariów pielgrzymkowych w XIV i XV w. ważnym punktem stało się także położone w Alzacji Thann. Przechowywano tam relikwie św. Teobalda – biskupa Gubbio – które ściągały pielgrzymów przede wszystkim z terenów niemieckich.

Celem artykułu jest analiza częstotliwości, geografii oraz chronologii pielgrzymek do Thann mieszkańców tych części Pomorza, które w średniowieczu wchodziły w skład diecezji kamińskiej. Jako źródła wykorzystano przede wszystkim zapisy z „Księgi cudów św. Teobalda” i znaki pielgrzymie. Łącznie stwierdzono występowanie informacji o 23 osobach, pochodzących z różnych grup społecznych, które odbyły pielgrzymki do Thann z Pomorza w latach 1407–1461. Na XV w. datuje się również siedem odlewów charakterystycznych znaków pielgrzymich z Thann, zidentyfikowanych na dzwonach wiejskich kościołów, oraz fragment oryginalnego znaku odkryty w klasztorze Seehausen.

⁴² N. Buske: *Die Verehrung ...*, p. 23; H. Bettin, D. Volksdorf: *Pielgrzymki ...* [The Pilgrimages ...], p. 230; M. Majewski: *Ludwisarstwo ...* [The 15th – 18th Century ...], p. 86. See also *Diplomatische Beiträge zur Geschichte Pommerns aus der Zeit Bogislafs X.*, hg. v. R. Klempin, Berlin 1859, p. 24; M. Barth: *Zur Geschichte ...*, p. 72.

⁴³ M. Barth: *Zur Geschichte ...* p. 52. See also W. Rozynkowski: *Omnes Sancti et Sanctae Dei. Studium nad kultem świętych w diecezjach pruskich państwa zakonu krzyżackiego* [Omnes Sancti et Sanctae Dei. A Study on the Worship of Saints in the Prussian Dioceses in the State of the Teutonic Order], Malbork 2006, pp. 241–250.

Wszystkie kategorie źródeł wskazują, że pielgrzymki do św. Teobalda w Thann cieszyły się popularnością przede wszystkim w ciągu XV w., o czym świadczą również inne przejawy kultu tego świętego, widoczne w tym okresie na Pomorzu.