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## The murder of Warcisław I in documents and historiography from the twelfth to sixteenth centuries

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Duke Warcisław I of the Griffin dynasty ruled Pomerania at the time of the Christianising mission of Otto of Bamberg, initiated by Bolesław Krzywousty (Boleslaw Wrymouth), conducted in 1124–25 and 1128.<sup>1</sup> The three biographies of Otto of Bamberg<sup>2</sup> constitute the richest source of information about Warcisław. In later sources, there are very few references to this Pomeranian duke; however, one event mentioned in some documents, over a span of several centuries, is the murder of Warcisław.

The question of the death of Warcisław is an important issue for many reasons. Primarily, an analysis of mentions of this event shows

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<sup>1</sup> For information about the circumstances of the mission, see J. Petersohn, *Der südliche Ostseeraum im kirchlich-politischen Kräftespiel des Reichs, Polens und Dänemarks vom 10. bis 13. Jahrhundert. Mission – Kirchenorganisation – Kulturpolitik*, Köln 1979, pp. 211–484. Recently published on this topic is also S. Rosik, *Conversio gentis Pomeranorum. Studium świadectwa o wydarzeniu (XII wiek)*, Wrocław 2010. There is also earlier literature on the subject.

<sup>2</sup> The three biographies of Otto of Bamberg were written in the twelfth century. For more information about authors and their works see K. Liman, 'Stan badań nad żywotami świętego Ottona z Bambergu,' *Studia Źródłoznawcze*, 3, 1958, pp. 23–47; cf. S. Haarländer, *Vitae episcoporum. Eine Quellengattung zwischen Hagiographie und Historiographie, untersucht an Lebensbeschreibungen von Bischöfen des Regnum Teutonicum im Zeitalter der Ottonen und Salier*, Stuttgart 2000 (Monographien zur Geschichte des Mittelalters, vol. 47), pp. 527–535; cf. also S. Rosik, *Conversio gentis Pomeranorum...*, passim.

the modification of the image of Warcisław's death in the historical sources. This is the result of borrowings from earlier texts and the different historical context of the creation of later sources. The main subject of this article is the sources from the twelfth to the sixteenth centuries, but the later views of scholars concerning Warcisław's death are also discussed, which demonstrates that a discussion on this problem is taking place in historical writing to this day.

The exact date of Warcisław's death is unknown, but the last events in which he participated, described by Saxo Grammaticus, date back to the third decade of the twelfth century.<sup>3</sup> In later Pomeranian historical writing, the memory of Warcisław was erased, as described below in this paper. Historians have indicated various possible dates for the duke's death, most often indicating the time between 1135 and 1147.<sup>4</sup>

Warcisław left two sons, Bogusław and Kazimierz, who were minors at the time of his death. They were cared for by Warcisław's brother, Racibor, who died around 1155.<sup>5</sup> Racibor is connected with the earliest-known mentions of Warcisław's death, found in Pomeranian documents from the second half of the twelfth century.<sup>6</sup> Specifically, they indicate that first a church and later a Benedictine monastery<sup>7</sup> were established at the site of Warcisław's murder and burial.

The earliest information about the monastery's foundation is contained in a document by the Pomeranian bishop Adalbert, dated 1153, in which he records that he, along with Duke Racibor, brought

<sup>3</sup> E. Rymar, *Rodowód książąt pomorskich*, Szczecin 2005, p. 98.

<sup>4</sup> For views on the date of the death of Warcisław see *ibidem*, pp. 97–105.

<sup>5</sup> For information about the history of the Duchy of Pomerania see J.M. Piskorski, 'Państwo pierwszych Gryfitów (do 1220 r.)', in: *Pomorze Zachodnie poprzez wieki*, ed. idem, Szczecin 1999, pp. 35–56; cf. R. Schmidt, 'Pommern in der frühen Herzogszeit (1124–1523)', in: *Geschichte Pommerns im Überblick*, ed. J. Wächter, Greifswald 2014, pp. 47–56. For information on this subject see also *Historia Pomorza*, vol. 1, part 2, ed. G. Labuda, Poznań 1972, *passim*.

<sup>6</sup> The documents quoted in this article come from the first volume of the *Pommerisches Urkundenbuch*, vide PU vol. I.

<sup>7</sup> The monastery was built in Stolpe (now Stolpe an der Peene). F. Schulz, 'Die Gründung des Klosters Stolpe an der Peene,' *Baltische Studien*, 32, 1881, pp. 1–70; cf. K. Bobowski, 'Uwagi dotyczące sieci klasztorów na Pomorzu Zachodnim w okresie średniowiecza,' in: *Pomorze Słowiańskie i jego sąsiedzi w X–XV w.*, ed. J. Hauziński, Gdańsk 1995, pp. 9–17. Only a small part of the monastery's buildings has survived to the present day. See J. Fait, 'Die Benediktinerkirche in Stolpe an der Peene. Ein Ausgrabungsbericht und Rekonstruktionsversuch,' *Greifswald-Stralsunder Jahrbuch*, 3, 1963, pp. 119–134.

the monks from a monastery in Berg near Magdeburg and settled them 'on the bank of the Peene river in a place called Stolpe (Ztulp) where the above-mentioned Duke Warcisław was buried and where a church was built in his memory.'<sup>8</sup>

The newly-formed community received tithes from the province of Grozwin. What is more, the above-mentioned church, previously consecrated by Bishop Adalbert, and all future churches on this land were granted to the abbot in Stolpe.<sup>9</sup> Moreover, the issuer of the document confirms all previous donations made by both himself and Duke Racibor, as well as all the goods to be donated to the monastery in the future by priests, dukes, or other believers.<sup>10</sup>

The son of Warcisław I, Duke Bogusław I, confirmed these donations in a document dated 1183.<sup>11</sup> It again mentions the founding of a church, and subsequently a Benedictine monastery, at the site of Warcisław's death; however, in this case, Duke Racibor is identified as the chief initiator of this undertaking, who 'for the salvation of souls, both his own and our father Warcisław's, murdered in the place Stolpe (Ztulp), founded a church in honour of God and St John the Baptist in that place, namely Stolpe, and also bestowed it with incomes and possessions and placed monks there in black habits under the rule of St Benedict.'<sup>12</sup> In addition, all donations to the monastery from Bogusław I, Kazimierz I, Duke Racibor, and all other believers are confirmed, and then all of the donations to the monastery to date are listed.<sup>13</sup>

Information about the creation of the monastery in Stolpe is also found in *Chronica Slavorum*, written by Helmold in the years 1163–1172.<sup>14</sup> This document includes a description of the battle of Henry the Lion with Kazimierz I and Bogusław I in the vicinity of Dymin in 1164.<sup>15</sup> Describing the flight of the Pomeranian army after the lost battle and its pursuit by the Saxon-Danish armies, Helmold states that the latter, ravaging the land, came 'to the place which

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<sup>8</sup> PU, I, 43.

<sup>9</sup> Ibidem.

<sup>10</sup> Ibidem.

<sup>11</sup> PU, I, 94.

<sup>12</sup> Ibidem. All translations are by M. Rusakiewicz.

<sup>13</sup> Ibidem.

<sup>14</sup> *Helmoldi Presbyteri Bozoviensis Cronica Slavorum*, MGH SS, ed. B. Schmeidler, Hannoverae 1937 [hereafter: Helmold].

<sup>15</sup> About these conflicts see *Historia Pomorza*, vol. 1, part 2, ed. G. Labuda, Poznań 1972, pp. 67–68.

is called Stolpe. In that place Kazimierz and Bogusław had previously founded an abbey in memory of their father, Warcisław, who had been killed and buried there'.<sup>16</sup>

When comparing the pieces of information above, it can be noted that they identify different initiators of the monastery in Stolpe. The oldest document, issued by Bishop Adalbert, emphasises the role of that clergyman in both the founding of the monastery and the consecration of the church previously established at the site. In this document, Racibor is presented as Adalbert's collaborator. Thirty years later the situation had changed, and Racibor is presented as the founder of the monastery. According to Helmold, on the other hand, the convent was founded by Bogusław and Kazimierz, which, however, may be the result of simplification on the part of the author.

One interpretation of these discrepancies is offered by Jürgen Petersohn, who suggests that the founder of the church in memory of Warcisław was probably Racibor, whereas Adalbert initiated the founding of the monastery.<sup>17</sup> Thus, Petersohn also explains why the monastery in Stolpe did not become a favoured memorial site of the Griffins; that role was played, for example, by the monastery in Grobe, funded by Racibor.<sup>18</sup>

It is also worth paying attention to the content of these documents, as the earlier one, issued by Adalbert, emphasises above all the spiritual role of that bishop in strengthening Christianity in Pomerania, as manifested by his bringing the Benedictines to Stolpe. This is presented as a continuation of the Christianisation of Pomerania initiated by Otto of Bamberg in collaboration with Bolesław and Warcisław. On the other hand, the document issued by Bogusław primarily emphasises the numerous incomes and estates with which the monastery in Stolpe was endowed. These are meticulously listed,

<sup>16</sup> Helmold, II, 100, pp. 198–199.

<sup>17</sup> J. Petersohn, 'Anfänge und Frühzeit der Greifenmemoria,' in: *Land Am Meer. Pommern im Spiegel seiner Geschichte. Roderich Schmidt zum 70. Geburtstag*, eds. W. Buchholz, G. Mangelsdorf, Köln 1995, pp. 88–92.

<sup>18</sup> J. Petersohn, *Anfänge...*, pp. 91–98. For information about the monastery in Grobe see M. Rębkowski, *Chrystianizacja Pomorza Zachodniego. Studium archeologiczne*, Szczecin 2007, pp. 46–48. Duke Racibor, his wife Pribisława, and Bogusław I were buried in this monastery; vide A. Behn, 'Grablegen der Greifenherzöge,' in: *Die Herzöge von Pommern. Zeugnisse der Herrschaft des Greifenhauses*, eds. N. Buske, R.G. Werlich, Köln 2012, p. 326.

as indicated in the *arenga*, in order to save human deeds from oblivion by preserving their memory in documents.<sup>19</sup>

Nevertheless, an element common to all of these documents was that the church and, later, the monastery were built at the site of Warcisław I's murder and burial. A sanctuary built at the site of a death was a typical method of creating a Christian memorial.<sup>20</sup> Similar foundations of sanctuaries at sites associated with the deaths of Christian rulers in the Baltic region are pointed out by Petersohn, who cites the chapels created at the site of death of the Danish-Obotrite duke Canute Lavard (1131) and the Swedish king Sverker (1156).<sup>21</sup> Thus, the main function of the foundation of the sanctuary in Stolpe was to commemorate Warcisław I, as is emphasised in the documents, as the first Christian ruler in Pomerania.

There are very few mentions of Warcisław I in the source material over the next two centuries. This changed in the first half of the fourteenth century, in conjunction with the creation of the first chronicles describing the earliest history of the dukedom and bishopric of Pomerania, e.g. *Genealogia christianitatis ducum Stettinensium* and the so-called *Protocollum*, written by Augustine of Stargard. The latter was created in the context of a dispute between the Archbishopric of Gniezno and the Bishopric of Kamień.<sup>22</sup> The former, however, which is now known in two different versions, each of which

<sup>19</sup> The *arenga* is not included in the PU, but it is included in *Codex Pomeraniae Vicinarumque Terrarum Diplomaticus: Oder Urkunden, so die Pommersch-Rügianische. Caminschen, auch die benachbarten Länder, Brandenburg, Mecklenburg, Preussen und Pohlen angehen*, ed. F. von Dreger, Berlin 1768 [hereafter: CPD], 8.

<sup>20</sup> For instance, the sanctuaries built at the site of a death of the holy martyrs are examples of this process. P. Brown, *Kult świętych. Narodziny i rola w chrześcijaństwie tacińskim*, Kraków 2007, pp. 1–18.

<sup>21</sup> J. Petersohn, *Anfänge...*, p. 90.

<sup>22</sup> This article uses the publication of Augustine's work by J.G.L. Kosegarten; vide 'Notula satis notabilis de Pomeranorum, Stetinensium, ac Rugie principatu. Eine Pommersche Streitschrift des vierzehnten Jahrhunderts,' ed. J.G.L. Kosegarten, BS, 17, 1858, pp. 103–140 [hereafter: Augustine]. The same edition is also available in Polish as *Augustyn ze Stargardu zwany niegdyś Angelusem, Protokół. Kamińska Kronika – Rodowód Książąt Pomorskich, tzw. Stargardzka Genealogia*, ed. E. Rymar, trans. E. Buszewicz, Stargard 2008, pp. 35–95. For information about this Polish-Pomeranian dispute, see R. Walczak, „Protocollum” *Augustianina-eremity zwanego Angelusem ze Stargardu. O polsko-pomorskich związkach historiograficznych w średniowieczu*, Poznań 1991, pp. 168–183.

may be a copy of an older prototype, was created within the clerical circle of Kamień.<sup>23</sup>

Augustine of Stargard attempts, with the help of appropriately selected historical sources, to prove the immemorial independence of Pomerania from Poland. His argument is based principally on information drawn from the biographies of Otto of Bamberg. In his description of the Christianisation of Pomerania, he emphasises the important role of Warcisław, who collaborated with Otto. Although Augustine does not mention the death of this Pomeranian duke, recalling his text in the context of the present article is essential, since Augustine restored the memory of Warcisław to Pomerania.

This restoration of memory had a material dimension as well, which was realised in a note (dated 1347) placed at the end of the shorter version of the *Genealogia*; its appearance is connected with the activity of Augustine of Stargard.<sup>24</sup> In this note it is pointed out that the first Christian ruler in Pomerania was not Bogusław I, as the chronicle states, but his father, Duke Warcisław.<sup>25</sup> According to scholars, this note may be proof that the shorter version of the chronicle was attached to the text of Augustine given to Duke Barnim III.<sup>26</sup>

As mentioned above, neither Augustine's *Protocollum* nor the shorter version of *Genealogia* contain information on the circumstances of Warcisław's death. Reference to this topic is included in the longer version of the *Genealogia*; however, Warcisław I is merged with Warcisław, son of Bogusław I. Specifically, according to this narrative, Warcisław was murdered in his sleep in 1152 in Stolpe, but before dying, by virtue of the fact that the duke was a man of extraordinary strength and courage, he managed to seize his killer by the jaw and tear his head off.<sup>27</sup> To commemorate Warcisław's tragic death, Racibor (in this

<sup>23</sup> This work, also called *Chronica Caminensis*, was published in two versions by J.G.L. Kosegarten; vide 'Cronica de ducatu Stettinensi et Pomeraniae gestorum inter Marchiones Brandenburgenses et duces Stettinenses,' ed. J.G.L. Kosegarten, *Baltische Studien*, 16, 2, 1857, pp. 73–80 [hereafter: Genealogy I] and pp. 81–86 [hereafter: Genealogy II]. For information about the *Genealogia christianitatis ducum Stettinensium* and its connections with the Augustine's *Protocollum*, see R. Walczak, „*Protocollum*”..., pp. 280–287.

<sup>24</sup> Genealogy I, p. 80. In this note, addressed to the 'brightest princes', the anonymous author refers to Augustine's work and indicates the year 1347 as the current one. On this topic see also R. Walczak, „*Protocollum*”..., p. 135.

<sup>25</sup> Genealogy I, p. 80.

<sup>26</sup> The collection is preceded by a dedication addressed to Duke Barnim III of Pomerania-Stettin, Augustine, p. 105. See also R. Walczak, „*Protocollum*”..., p. 118.

<sup>27</sup> Genealogy II, p. 83.

narrative the son of Bogusław I and brother of Warcisław) founded a monastery.

This passage from the longer version of the *Genealogia* is taken from Bishop Adalbert's document (PU I, 43), as indicated by the formulation used in connection with, among other things, the election of Adalbert to the Pomeranian bishopric.<sup>28</sup> Thus the lack of information about Warcisław I, the father of Bogusław I, who is directly mentioned in this document in the context of Otto's mission, seems all the more surprising.<sup>29</sup> As a side note, it is also worth adding that the formulation used in the chronicle referring to the election of 'these dukes', copied from Adalbert's document, no longer makes sense, given that it originally referred to Bolesław and Warcisław I.<sup>30</sup> The chronicle, however, fails to mention these dukes, making it difficult to say whom its author (assuming he had any intention at all) wished to identify.

Information about Warcisław's death is not included among the currently known contents of the shorter version of this chronicle. The reason for this may be either the addition (as one of many) of this information in the process of copying the older prototype for both versions or the use of simplifications by the author who prepared such a copy of the chronicle. The shorter version was produced no later than 1344, as indicated by the lack of information about the death of Duke Otto I in that year, information which, by contrast, is included in the longer version of the *Genealogia*.

No more information about the death of Warcisław exists in any other examples of Pomeranian historiography from the fourteenth century. That Warcisław was the ruler of Pomerania in the times of the mission of Otto of Bamberg is also found in the so-called *Genealogia Stargardensis* (also known as *Apud Stargardenses*); however, there is no information about his death.<sup>31</sup> Nor there is any mention of this

<sup>28</sup> Genealogy II 'communis eorumdem principum electio et domini pape Innocentii consecraccio Pomeranie prefecit episcopum;' in: Adalbert's document 'Adelbertus primus Pomeranorum episcopus. Ex quo primum gens Pomeranorum deuoto studio domini Bolizlay, gloriosi Polonorum ducis, ac predicatione Ottonis venerandi Babenbergensis episcopi, fidem Christi ac baptisma suscepit sub principe eorum Wartizlauo, communis eorumdem principum electio et domini pape Innocentii consecraccio me, quamuis indignum, primum Pomeranie prefecit episcopum sub apostolice confirmationis testament,' PU I, 43.

<sup>29</sup> Vide footnote above.

<sup>30</sup> 'communis eorumdem principum election', vide footnote 28.

<sup>31</sup> *Genealogia Stargardensis* is a short work showing successions of the Griffin dynasty; vide J. Bugenhagen, *Pomerania*, ed. O. Heinemann, Stettin 1900 [hereafter:

topic in the report from the Gdańsk trial of 1342 (a part of the previously mentioned Gniezno-Kamień dispute).<sup>32</sup> A reference to the death of Warcisław can be found in the *Bukowischen Vortekenisse*, which was used by the later Pomeranian chroniclers Johannes Bugenhagen and Thomas Kantzow.<sup>33</sup> However, this is only a brief bit of information about the murder of Warcisław (again presented as the son of Bogusław I) in Stolpe in 1152.<sup>34</sup>

The subject of Warcisław's murder returned to Pomeranian chronicles in the sixteenth century as a result of the works of the two historians mentioned above, Johannes Bugenhagen and Thomas Kantzow. The former, the author of *Pomerania* (written 1517–1519), created a compilation of earlier historical works describing the origins of the Duchy of Pomerania.<sup>35</sup> He includes information from the biographies of Otto of Bamberg referring to Warcisław I in his description of the participation of that duke in the Christianisation of Pomerania.<sup>36</sup>

Bugenhagen also includes news from later reports in *Pomerania*, including Warcisław's murder. However, as in the sources from the fourteenth century, the Warcisław murdered in Stolpe is identified by Bugenhagen as the son of Bogusław.<sup>37</sup>

Another interpretation of the sources concerning the death of Warcisław is offered by Thomas Kantzow,<sup>38</sup> who presents the life and activities of the Pomeranian duke and his family, sometimes markedly

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Bugenhagen], pp. XXX–XXXI, footnote 8. This work was also published by G. Jähnke (*Die Pomerania des Johannes Bugenhagen und ihre Quellen*, Berlin 1881, pp. 46–47).

<sup>32</sup> The note from that meeting has been preserved to this day and is kept in the Archive in Greifswald (Landesarchiv Greifswald), Rep. 1 Bistum Kammin, Nr 104.

<sup>33</sup> G. Haag, 'Zur Pommerschen Chronistik. II. Ueber die Quellenkritik der Pomerania des Johannes Bugenhagen,' BS, 33, 1883, pp. 217–219.

<sup>34</sup> Vide footnote above.

<sup>35</sup> Johannes Bugenhagen was a Pomeranian chronicler and one of the leading proponents of Protestantism in the Reich; for information about his life and activities see H.G. Leder, 'Johannes Bugenhagen Pomeranus. Leben und Wirken,' in: idem, *Johannes Bugenhagen Pomeranus – Vom Reformator zum Reformator. Studien zur Biografie*, Frankfurt am Main 2002, pp. 13–42.

<sup>36</sup> Bugenhagen, pp. 99–100.

<sup>37</sup> Bugenhagen, p. 103.

<sup>38</sup> Thomas Kantzow created several versions of the Pomeranian chronicle. The last version of the chronicle, called *Pomerania*, was written by Thomas Kantzow and edited shortly after his death by Nikolaus von Klemptzen. J. Strzelczyk, 'Tomasz Kantzow jako historyk na tle epoki,' in: *Pomerania. Kronika pomorska z XVI wieku*, vol. 1, trans. K. Gołda, eds. T. Białecki, E. Rymar, Szczecin 2005, pp. 11–33; cf. J. Petersohn, 'Die



exceeding the information available in the source material,<sup>39</sup> and also describes the end of Warcisław's life, based mainly on the *Genealogia*. Specifically, he states that Warcisław I, during a stay in Stolpe, was attacked in his sleep, but before dying, he managed to deprive his murderer of life, breaking his jaw.<sup>40</sup>

There are minor differences in the details concerning this murder in the various versions of Kantzow's Pomeranian chronicles. In the Low German version there are no details about the killer, but in the High German version, Kantzow points out that Warcisław was killed by a local nobleman.<sup>41</sup> But the greatest number of details can be found in Kantzow's *Pomerania*, in which the author states that the direct reason for the duke's murder was the treason of the perfidious Lutici, specifically one of them, who took advantage of the chance to surprise Warcisław during his night's rest.<sup>42</sup>

In addition, Kantzow quotes Warcisław's epitaph, which praises his services in connection with the Christianisation of Pomerania and the founding of the bishopric in Wolin, and goes on, according to Kantzow's text, to describe his violent death.<sup>43</sup> The chronicler fails to mention the location of the epitaph, but, according to the editors of the Polish-language version of *Pomerania*, it was to be found in Stolpe.<sup>44</sup> Moreover, Kantzow writes about the foundation of the monastery at the site of Warcisław's death in a description of the achievements of Racibor.<sup>45</sup>

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dritte hochdeutsche Fassung von Kantzows pommerscher Chronik. Identifikation eines verkannten Geschichtswerkes,' BS NF, 59, 1973, pp. 27–41.

<sup>39</sup> One of the examples is the wife of Warcisław. In earlier sources there is not much information about her, but according to Kantzow she was named Heila and came from Saxony. M. Rusakiewicz, 'Matrona nobilissima et christianissima? Żona Warcisława I a problem chrystianizacji Pomorza,' in: *Jednostka w czasach przełomu, człowiek wobec zmiany... Społeczeństwo – Kultura – Religia – Gospodarka – Polityka – Życie codzienne*, ed. A. Marzec, Kraków 2012, pp. 73–82.

<sup>40</sup> *Pomerania. Eine pommersche Chronik aus dem sechzehnten Jahrhundert*, vol. 1, ed. G. Gaebel, Stettin 1908 [hereafter: Kantzow], pp. 125–126.

<sup>41</sup> *Des Thomas Kantzow Chronik von Pommern in niederdeutscher Mundart*, ed. G. Gaebel, Stettin 1929 [hereafter: Kantzow II], p. 187; cf. *Des Thomas Kantzow Chronik von Pommern in hochdeutscher Mundart*, vol. 1, ed. G. Gaebel, Stettin 1897 [hereafter: Kantzow III], p. 83.

<sup>42</sup> Kantzow, vol. 1, p. 125.

<sup>43</sup> *Ibidem*, pp. 125–126.

<sup>44</sup> T. Kantzow, *Pomerania. Kronika pomorska z XVI wieku*, vol. 1, trans. K. Gołda, eds. T. Białecki, E. Rymar, Szczecin 2005, p. 186, footnote 507.

<sup>45</sup> Kantzow, vol. 1, p. 129.

The information accompanying Kantzow's story about Warcisław's death is also interesting. He points out that it occurred even before the papal approval of the appointment of the bishopric in Wolin (1140) and shortly before the death of Otto of Bamberg (1139).<sup>46</sup> However, while no exact date for this event is given in *Pomerania*, in the Low German version the author indicates the year 1133, and in the High German version 1135.<sup>47</sup> As mentioned at the beginning of this article, a discussion, in which the information given by Kantzow plays an essential role, is still in progress in the literature regarding the exact date of Warcisław's death.

The circumstances of Warcisław's death were also the subject of academic discussions conducted at the end of the nineteenth and the beginning of the twentieth centuries, inspired by local legends associated, among other items, with Warcisław's Stone (German, *Wartislawstein*). The stone is located in the neighbourhood of the village of Grüttow, near Stolpe an der Peene. On two of its sides are images, on one a cross and a horn, and on the other a blurred human figure.<sup>48</sup> In 1899, the German researcher Hugo Lemcke stated that the image of the man on the stone depicted Warcisław I, and that the stone was the oldest example of a historical monument in Pomerania.<sup>49</sup> At the same time folk traditions connected the stone with the murder of Warcisław, although some discrepancies arose in the interpretation of the image of the man presented on it.<sup>50</sup> According to local legends, Warcisław, a committed advocate of Christianity, was murdered by a local noble opposed to the new faith.<sup>51</sup>

However, from the beginning of the twentieth century, doubts have existed regarding the correct interpretation of the meaning of Warcisław's Stone, which, according to scholars of that time, might be also a boundary stone between monastic and princely properties.

<sup>46</sup> Ibidem, p. 126.

<sup>47</sup> Kantzow II, p. 187; cf. Kantzow III, p. 83.

<sup>48</sup> Description and photographs of the stone are in A. Floltz, 'Die pommerschen Bildsteine. Der Bestand und seine Stellung zu den östlichen Baba-Steinen und den mittelalterlichen Grabplatten und ihre historischen Hintergründe,' BS NF, 52, 1966, pp. 13–14 and board 6, pictures 7–9.

<sup>49</sup> Via H. Bollnow, 'Die Ermordung Wartislaus I. zu Stolpe in Geschichte und Sage,' *Monatsblätter der Gesellschaft für Pommersche Geschichte und Altertumskunde*, 6/7, 1939, p. 130.

<sup>50</sup> Ibidem, pp. 130–132.

<sup>51</sup> A. Haas, 'Das Pommersche Herzoghaus in der Volkssage,' BS NF, 40, 1938, pp. 20–21.

The elements presented on the stone were supposed to prove this with the cross as a symbol of spiritual power and the horn one of secular authority.<sup>52</sup> At the same time, researchers noted that increased interest in Warcisław's deeds and the development of the story of his death might be connected to the publication of Thomas Kantzow's works in the first half of the nineteenth century, which resulted in a dissemination of knowledge about Pomerania's earliest history.<sup>53</sup> In addition, interest in this subject was influenced by celebrations of the anniversary of Otto's mission in Pomerania.<sup>54</sup>

Nevertheless, there is an element common to both folk narratives and academic studies connected with the supposed pagan reaction that was presumed to have caused the death of Warcisław. This motif emerged, for example, in the work of Hermann Bollnow, who, in compiling reports on Warcisław's death, found information there that pagan opposition was responsible for the duke's murder.<sup>55</sup> In addition, Martin Wehrmann, attempting to identify the date of Warcisław's death, relied primarily on the hypothesis of the possible outbreak of a pagan revolt that might have led to the death of the duke.<sup>56</sup>

However, we see no traces in the source material from the twelfth to the fourteenth century indicating a pagan revolt as the cause of the duke's death. Nor is Thomas Kantzow unequivocal in assessing the motives of Warcisław's killer. As mentioned above, depending on which version of Kantzow's chronicle is consulted, Warcisław was killed by a local noble, or by a representative of the 'treacherous Lutici.' However, there is no mention of a pagan rebellion as a direct cause. This hypothesis, therefore, is only an interpretation by historians, although obviously it cannot be rejected out of hand.

In conclusion, we can state that the oldest documents mention only the fact of Warcisław's murder in Stolpe, without giving any

<sup>52</sup> W. Finger, 'Geschichte und Sage um den Wartislawstein bei Stolpe,' *Unser Pommerland*, 22, 1937, pp. 79–80. Similarly in more recent literature H. Hannes, 'Auf den Spuren der Greifenherzöge in Pommern,' *BS NF*, 67, 1981, pp. 13–14. Moreover, contemporary research indicates that the figure depicting a man may be much older than the cross and the horn. A. Floltz, 'Die pommerschen Bildsteine....,' pp. 13–14.

<sup>53</sup> H. Bollnow, 'Die Ermordung Wartislaus I....,' p. 130.

<sup>54</sup> W. Finger, 'Geschichte und Sage....,' p. 80.

<sup>55</sup> H. Bollnow, 'Die Ermordung Wartislaus I....,' pp. 128–130.

<sup>56</sup> M. Wehrmann states that Warcisław died between autumn 1147 and spring 1148, and the direct cause of his murder was a pagan revolt; vide M. Wehrmann, 'Der Tod Wartislaws I,' *Monatsblätter der Gesellschaft für Pommersche Geschichte und Altertumskunde*, 12, 1898, p. 70.

details concerning the circumstances surrounding this event. In fourteenth-century chronicles, Warcisław, father of Bogusław I and Warcisław, son of Bogusław, are merged into a single person. The story of the duke's death is expanded to include a new element related to the killing of his murderer; however, Warcisław's death is not linked to an anti-Christian incident. Apart from the erroneous attribution of a tragic death in Stolpe not to the father but to the son of Bogusław I, it can be stated that in the *Genealogia* we are dealing with the interesting motif of the immediate punishment of the duke's murderer. For the first time in this chronicle, it is written that Warcisław killed his murderer. Perhaps this is a trace of an oral tradition connected with the death of the duke, although, of course, it may be also the literary invention of the author, emphasising mainly the physical strength and courage of the duke. *Genealogia* seems to be a work created primarily to highlight the characteristic positive qualities of certain dukes of the Griffin dynasty, especially their piety and generosity towards the Church.<sup>57</sup> In this model depiction, Warcisław is portrayed as a man of extraordinary strength and courage; thus, the description of his brutal handling of the killer perfectly matches his literary image. Sixteenth-century histories adopt the description of Warcisław's murder from previous works and supplement it with further details, including a possible motive for the murder. Above all, however, they point out the correct person in whose memory the monastery in Stolpe was built, namely, Warcisław, the first of that name.

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<sup>57</sup> R. Walczak, „*Protocollum*”..., pp. 280–287.