

TOMASZ ZAWADZKI
University of Silesia in Katowice
Institute of History
ORCID: 0000-0001-8663-5477

Foreign Knights in the Entourage of Duke Henry I of Jawor (1312–1346)

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The purpose of this article is to characterise knights of foreign origin who served the Silesian Piast, Henry of Jawor. Henry was a grandson of Duke Bolesław II the Horned of Legnica and the son of Bolko I the Strict — a progenitor of the ducal line of Świdnica and Jawor. In 1312, his elder brother, Bernard of Świdnica, assigned to him his own district with the capital in Jawor. He was in charge of it until his childless death in 1346, after which the district passed into the hands of his nephew, Duke Bolko II the Small of Świdnica.¹ Not all the newcomers who are captured in the sources, the Henry of Jawor's milieu, will be the subject of my discussion. The term “entourage” is understood not as the entirety of people accompanying the duke, but only the people close to him, who could play a special role by his side, and who could be said to have influenced his decisions.² Amongst the criteria on the basis of which the historians include individual figures in a group of people the rulers trusted is, first and foremost, the fact of holding an offices. Another criterion which is being a witness to the documents issued by the rulers.³ It is difficult to state unequivocally to what extent this resulted in political influence. However, being mentioned in legal documents proves that the person in question was present at the court. The resulting proximity to the ruler could provide an opportunity to access a fragment of his power.⁴ Guided by the abovementioned criteria, I have accepted that people close to Henry of Jawor were those who held offices during his reign, but also those people who certified at least five documents issued by him.

¹ DĄBROWSKI 2013, pp. 348–349, 464; JASIŃSKI 2007, pp. 303–306.

² The term “entourage” was presented in a similar manner by i.e. JUREK 2006, pp. 167–169.

³ On the interpretation of the term “entourage” and the criteria on the basis of which historians included specific people among those close to the Piasts of Silesia in the Middle Ages: ZAWADZKI 2018, pp. 61–72.

⁴ JUREK 2004a, pp. 408–409.

On the basis of the analysis of the preserved sources, people who one can mention as coming from outside of Silesia and belonging to Henry of Jawor's entourage are only knights of German origin. Some of them were from families who had been settled in Silesia for quite a long time. Some of them could even boast of their ancestors' past, which was noteworthy. This is the case of Seidlitz family. They came to Silesia towards the end of the 13th century from Meissen and from then on they belonged to distinguished families in the Duchy of Głogów as well as in Świdnica and Jawor, where Apecz Seidlitz held the office of castellan of Strzegom during the reign of Bolko I.⁵ Once Duke Henry reached the age to rule, the two brothers, Kunemann Seidlitz (1312–1316⁶) and Hermann Seidlitz (1313–1339⁷), were often present in his circle. A long-lasting history in Silesia — dating back to the times of Henry the Bearded (†1238) — was taken pride in by the family of Kittlitz from Lusatia.⁸ A member of this family, knight Bolko, was a frequent companion of Henry of Jawor in 1326–1345.⁹ Perhaps he owed his place at the court to his father, Wittego, who was active beside Bolko I.¹⁰ His close relationship with Henry's father is evidenced by the fact that he gave his son his lord's name, which was very rare among knights at that time. The most frequent witness to Bolko I's documents was another German — a newcomer from Pleißenland, Apecz Aulock.¹¹ He enjoyed the duke's trust, which probably facilitated the career of Nikolaus, probably his son, who was a chaplain of Henry of Jawor.¹² Kunczko Liebenthal, known from the lists of witnesses to the Henry of Jawor's documents issued in 1320–1334, had wealthy and influential ancestors.¹³ His family came in the middle of the 13th century from Meissen and founded the village of Liebenthal (present Lubomierz). They founded a monastery there and built their own castle in the vicinity.¹⁴ During the period of Bolko I's regency (1296–1301) in the Duchy of Legnica and Wrocław, a relative of Kunczko, Pusch Liebenthal, held the office of the court's judge in Legnica on behalf of the duke.¹⁵ Between 1322 and 1337 Henry

⁵ JUREK 1996a, pp. 285–287; JUREK 2006, pp. 179–180; GIGONŃ 2013, pp. 70–75.

⁶ APWR, Dokumenty Schaffgotschów no. 325 (fach 15, no. 1); CDS 1892, no. 3253, 3351, 3383, 3388, 3435; CDS 1898, no. 3554, 3629; dates in brackets next to the names of knights refer to the period when they acted as witnesses to Henry of Jawor's documents.

⁷ APWR, Dokumenty Schaffgotschów no. 325 (fach 15, no. 1); CDS 1892, no. 3383; CDS 1898, no. 3554, 3577, 3629, 3634, 3661, 3662, 3924, 3945, 4150; CDS 1923, no. 5369, 5871; CDS 1925, no. 6239.

⁸ CETWIŃSKI 1982, pp. 117–118, 122, 201; JUREK 1996a, pp. 241–242.

⁹ CDS 1898, no. 4565; CDS 1903, no. 4848; CDS 1923, no. 5305; CDS 1925, no. 6239; CDS 1930, no. 6501, 6505, 6510 a, 6854, 6988; RŚ 1975, no. 182; LB 2007, no. 761.

¹⁰ CETWIŃSKI 1982, p. 201.

¹¹ CETWIŃSKI 1982, p. 69; JUREK 1996a, pp. 192–193; KOKOCIŃSKA 2000, p. 29.

¹² He was recorded as a chaplain in 1316, CDS 1898, no. 3577.

¹³ CDS 1898, no. 4049, 4177, 4219, 4239, 4259; CDS 1903, no. 5196; CDS 1923, no. 5306, 5313.

¹⁴ JUREK 1996a, pp. 249–250; JUREK 2012, pp. 780–781; GIBAŁA-NOWAK 2000, pp. 199–207; NOWAKOWSKI 2017, p. 196.

¹⁵ UL 1866, no. 21; CDS 1892, no. 2653.

Waldau was often seen in the Duke of Jawor's retinue,¹⁶ while Henczel and Bernard — who were probably his sons — were also of great importance.¹⁷ The ancestor of the three men mentioned above was presumably a castellan of Niemcza, Friczko Waldau, who had come from Meissen and was influential in Silesia.¹⁸ The family of Reussendorf probably had German roots as well — one of the closest advisors of Henry of Jawor in 1327–1346 was Siegfried¹⁹ and his brother Nikolaus (1338–1345).²⁰ Although they came from the class of burgesses — their father, Henry, was a burgher of Lwówek, who was favoured by Bolko I²¹ — the family of Reussendorf was promoted to knighthood thanks to his sons. Gebhard Querfurt (1318–1321), on the other hand, owed his close relations with the ruler and the important role at his court to the family ties with Henry of Jawor.²²

Germans originating from the families with a well-established position in Silesia, belonging to the local power or financial elites, were nevertheless a small group in Henry's circle. The majority of newcomers who linked their fate to him can be referred to as the so-called "new people". The name is applied to individuals whose ancestors had already lived in Silesia, but had not managed to make a greater career, measured i.e. by the offices held, more than average amount of wealth, or frequent presence in the entourage of one of the local Piasts. A small family and financial subsidiaries in Silesia characterised the knights originating from Meissen: Kiczold Hoberg (1312–1334),²³ Wittego Sack (1319–1346),²⁴ Hermann Buch (1320–1331)²⁵ and his nephew Ticzko Buch (1340–1345)²⁶ as well as Henry Reideburg (1321–1342).²⁷ Henry Ziegenberg, recorded as present in the duke's circle between 1337 and 1344, whose roots may have been in Thuringia or Hesse, had an ancestor who did not distinguish himself

¹⁶ APWR, Rep. 133, ZG 5/32 syg. 109 (no. 2); CDS 1898, no. 4219, 4267; CDS 1903, no. 4869, 4974, 5195, 5196; CDS 1923, no. 5306, 5313, 5369, 5826, 6020.

¹⁷ On the offices held by them see below.

¹⁸ JUREK 1996a, pp. 301–302; JUREK 2006, p. 177.

¹⁹ CDS 1903, no. 4698, 4701; CDS 1923, no. 5305, 5826, 6020; CDS 1925, no. 6166; CDS 1930, no. 6422, 6429, 6501, 6510 a, 6588, 6613, 6854, 6948, 6949, 6964; RŚ 1975, no. 181, 182, 243, 264, 412, 438; LB 2007, no. 761; ZAWADZKI 2017b, pp. 125–127.

²⁰ CDS 1925, no. 6166; CDS 1930, no. 6422, 6510 a, 6948; RŚ 1975, no. 182; LB 2007, no. 761; ZAWADZKI 2017b, p. 127.

²¹ ZAWADZKI 2017b, p. 125.

²² CDS 1898, no. 3773, 3774, 3906, 3945, 3948, 4009, 4049, 4057, 4080, 4148; JUREK 1996a, p. 270.

²³ CDS 1892, no. 3253, 3388, 3397; CDS 1898, no. 3577, 3634, 3662, 3700, 3773, 3774, 4177, 4219, 4239, 4568; CDS 1903, no. 4869, 4998, 5195; CDS 1923, no. 5305; NAP, no. 483; JUREK 1996a, p. 236.

²⁴ CDS 1898, no. 3906, 3917, 4057, 4150, 4219, 4469; CDS 1930, no. 6613, 6620; RŚ 1975, no. 412; RZ 1937, no. 110; LS 1936, no. 1, 2; CETWIŃSKI 1982, pp. 173–174; JUREK 1996a, pp. 278–279.

²⁵ CDS 1898, no. 4057, 4119, 4202, CDS 1903, no. 4974, 4985, 5010; CETWIŃSKI 1982, pp. 118–119; JUREK 1996a, pp. 209–210.

²⁶ CDS 1930, no. 6422, 6620, 6949, 6964, 6988; RŚ 1975, no. 181, 243, 322.

²⁷ CDS 1898, no. 4119; CDS 1923, no. 5871; CDS 1925, no. 6239; CDS 1930, no. 6648, 6854, 6964; JUREK 1996a, p. 274–278.

from others in Silesia through any special activities.²⁸ The father, otherwise unknown by name, of Albert of Bavaria, who often stayed at several Silesian courts, including the one of Jawor in 1313–1329, also lived in Silesia.²⁹ His nickname most likely indicates a German background. Presumably Bernard Trache (1316–1333) could also be linked to a German of perhaps Saxon origin.³⁰

The new people — in the broadest sense of the word — were Germans who arrived in Silesia during the lifetime of Henry of Jawor. Those who should be mentioned in the first place are the knights of Pleißenland: brothers Zedlitz-Siegfried (1312–1319)³¹, Kunemann (1313–1346),³² Bernard (1319–1340)³³ and Kreczing (1339–1345),³⁴ as well as Witold Gerstenberg (1316–1321)³⁵ and Henry Frohburg (1326–1342).³⁶ A few knights also came from Lusatia. These were Magnus Boranewitz (1313–1326),³⁷ Christian Gersdorf (1319–1327)³⁸ and Bernard Kottwitz (1320–1327).³⁹ From Meissen to Jawor came Lupold (1316–1345)⁴⁰ and Peczeko

²⁸ CDS 1923, no. 6020; CDS 1930, no. 6510 a, 6948, 6949; RŚ 1975, no. 182; JUREK 1996a, pp. 311–312.

²⁹ APWR, Dokumenty Schaffgotschów no. 667 (fach 38, no. 1); Rep. 133, ZG 5/32 syg. 109 (no. 2); CDS 1898, no. 3700, 4049, 4239, 4267, 4565; CDS 1903, no. 4698, 4700, 4701, 4848; JUREK 1996a, p. 197.

³⁰ CDS 1898, no. 3554, 3577, 3594, 3629, 3634, 3773, 3774, 4177; CDS 1903, no. 5010, 5195; JUREK 1996a, p. 329.

³¹ NAP, no. 483; APWR, Dokumenty Schaffgotschów no. 667 (fach 38, no. 1), no. 325 (fach 15, no. 1); CDS 1892, no. 3253, 3351, 3388; CDS 1898, no. 3554, 3661, 3662, 3753, 3924; JUREK 1996a, pp. 308–309; ZAWADZKI 2017a, pp. 55–59.

³² NAP, no. 483; APWR, Dokumenty Schaffgotschów no. 667 (fach 38, no. 1), no. 325 (fach 15, no. 1); CDS 1892, no. 3388; CDS 1898, no. 3554, 3661, 3662, 3753, 3945, 4057, 4565; CDS 1903, no. 4698, 4700, 4701, 4710, 4776, 4869, 4974; CDS 1923, no. 5306, 5369, 5871; CDS 1925, no. 6266; CDS 1930, no. 6501, 6505, 6588, 6854, 6949, 6964, 6988; RŚ 1975, no. 181, 243, 264, 265, 322, 412; LS 1936, no. 1, 2.

³³ APWR, Rep. 133, ZG 5/32 syg. 109 (no. 2); CDS 1898, no. 3906, 3924, 4009; CDS 1903, no. 4848, 4869, 4985, 4998, 5195; CDS 1923, no. 5369; CDS 1925, no. 6266; CDS 1930, no. 6501.

³⁴ CDS 1925, no. 6266; CDS 1930, no. 6948, 6949; RŚ 1975, no. 181, 264, 265; RZ 1937, no. 110; SRS 1732, p. 96.

³⁵ NAP, no. 483; CDS 1898, no. 3594, 3634, 3662, 3753 3917, 4177; JUREK 1996a, pp. 227–228.

³⁶ CDS 1898, no. 4565; CDS 1903, no. 4698, 4700, 4701, 4848, 4998, 5196; CDS 1923, no. 5305, 5306, 5369, 5871, 6020; CDS 1925, no. 6085, 6166, 6239; CDS 1930, no. 6429, 6588, 6613, 6620, 6854; JUREK 1996, pp. 221–222.

³⁷ CDS 1892, no. 3351; CDS 1898, no. 3554, 3594, 3662, 3753, 3773, 3774, 3906, 3924, 4009, 4049, 4267, 4568; JUREK 1996a, p. 206.

³⁸ CDS 1898, no. 3948, 3953, 4009, 4030, 4080, 4352, 4469; CDS 1903, no. 4685, 4698, 4700, 4701; JUREK 1996a, p. 227.

³⁹ CDS 1898, no. 4030, 4080, 4148, 4239, 4352; CDS 1903, no. 4685; JUREK 1996, pp. 245–246.

⁴⁰ NAP, no. 483; CDS 1898, no. 3594, 3634, 3661, 3753, 3906, 3917, 4177; CDS 1923, no. 5826; CDS 1925, no. 6085, 6239, 6266; CDS 1930, no. 6501, 6505, 6588, 6620, 6948; RŚ 1975, no. 181, 182, 243, 264, 322; LS 1936, no. 1, 2; JUREK 1996a, p. 300.

(1326–1345),⁴¹ the first knights from the Üchteritz family who are noticeable in the sources in Silesia. Peczold (1312–1330)⁴² and Gunter (1322–1339)⁴³ from the family of Runge may have come from Brandenburg. The German nickname, Raspe, which was given to knight Henry, who actively served the Duke of Jawor in 1313–1326, indicates that he was also a newcomer from the West.⁴⁴

The Germans were easily finding access to Henry's favours. There were no objections to give them offices and important functions.⁴⁵ The Zedlitzs grew up to be a superb knightly family in the Duchy of Jawor during the reign of Henry. The leading dignitary at the court, Kunemann Zedlitz, was one of the most regular companions of the duke, attested in 1326 as a marshal.⁴⁶ He may have been a burgrave at the Castle of Wleń already during Henry's lifetime.⁴⁷ Kunemann's brother, Kreczing, may have held the office of burgrave in Świerzawa.⁴⁸ From 1321 the local hereditary prefects (*wójtowie*) appointed by the duke were their two brothers, Bernard, listed in the company of Henry of Jawor on numerous occasions, and Ticzko.⁴⁹ The office of the court's judge in Lwówek was held by Siegfried Reussendorf,⁵⁰ while in Bolesławiec — by Peczko Landeskron.⁵¹ On the other hand, Henczel Waldau became burgrave of Bolesławiec.⁵² After Henry annexed Lusatian Zittau and incorporated it into his district, the local office of prefect (*wójt*) was taken over there by Peczko Üchteritz who was associated with this court.⁵³ Bernard Waldau

⁴¹ CDS 1898, no. 4568; CDS 1923, no. 6020; CDS 1925, no. 6085; CDS 1930, no. 6588; RŚ 1975, no. 243, 264; LS 1936, no. 1, 2.

⁴² CDS 1892, no. 3253; CDS 1898, no. 3661, 3917, 4150; CDS 1903, no. 4974, 4985; JUREK 1996a, pp. 325–326.

⁴³ CDS 1898, no. 4196, 4239; CDS 1903, no. 5196; CDS 1923, no. 5306, 5369; CDS 1925, no. 6266.

⁴⁴ CDS 1892, no. 3351; CDS 1898, no. 3577, 3634, 4177, 4568; this cognomen was used by a family of burghers and knights from Erfurt, JUREK 1996a, p. 325.

⁴⁵ A list of the officials of the dukes of Świdnica and Jawor (which may, however, be incomplete) is presented by GRANICZNY 2000, pp. 189–203.

⁴⁶ CDS 1898, no. 4565.

⁴⁷ Kunemann, as the burgrave of Wleń, was recorded in the sources only once, in 1349, three years after the death of Henry of Jawor, RŚ 1983, no. 63.

⁴⁸ Kreczing's ownership of the castle in Świerzawa is proven by documents issued in 1370, which informed us about the division of this fief with a half belonging to his two sons, of which at least a quarter belonged to their father in accordance to the sources, LB 2004, no. 453, 454.

⁴⁹ CDS 1898, no. 4177.

⁵⁰ According to the sources 1341–1346: CDS 1930, no. 6667; RŚ 1975, no. 438; IRGANG 1996a, p. 332; it is possible, however, that Siegfried was the court's judge in Lwówek already in the mid-1330s, ZAWADZKI 2017b, p. 126.

⁵¹ Attested in his office in 1345 and 1346: LS 1936, no. 1, 2; RŚ 1975, no. 438.

⁵² Recorded as the burgrave of Bolesławiec in 1341, CDS 1930, no. 6714.

⁵³ RZ 1937, no. 135.

was in charge of the duke's chancellery as a proto-notary.⁵⁴ One of the chaplains taking care of Henry of Jawor's conscience was Nikolaus Aulock who was also of German origin.⁵⁵

The native knight families played a smaller role in the duke's entourage. Amongst people whose Silesian origin can be suspected, one can name a marshal, Peter of Borow,⁵⁶ and Henry of Wiesen (Prato), a chamberlain and the court's judge.⁵⁷ Perhaps Peter, the duke's proto-notary and chaplain, who claimed to be from Ottendorf, was also of a local background,⁵⁸ while a falconer, Bogdan, was Silesian.⁵⁹ A burgrave of Jelenia Góra was Konrad Czirn.⁶⁰ The local knights accompanied Henry of Jawor much less regularly than the German ones. Henry of Ditmarsdorf, Apecz of Rackwitz and Maciej of Mesenau can be included amongst frequent witnesses to the documents the duke issued.⁶¹

Thus German knights in Henry of Jawor's circle originated mostly from Lusatia, Meissen and Pleißenland. These were German lands, situated closest to Silesia, from which a majority of foreign knights reinforcing the Piasts' courts came in the Middle Ages.⁶² Only a handful of knights had their roots in more distant regions of Hesse or Thuringia as well as Brandenburg. The longest way to Silesia was, however, travelled by the Bavarians whose appearance in the Duchy of Jawor should be perhaps linked to contacts between the local dukes and the Wittelsbachs, who ruled Bavaria.⁶³ The ancestral homes of some German knights were located at a short distance from

⁵⁴ In 1342–1346: CDS 1930, no. 6948, 6949, 6988; RŚ 1975, no. 181, 243, 264, 412, 438; LB 2007, no. 761; LS 1936, no. 1, 2.

⁵⁵ Parish priest in Nowy Kościół and a canon of the Wrocław Collegiate Church of the Holy Cross: CDS 1898, no. 3577; KUCHENDORF 1937, p. 140.

⁵⁶ Borów by Jawor; Peter was recorded as a marshal in 1346, RŚ 1975, no. 438.

⁵⁷ Referred to as Schreiber who acted in 1331 as the chamberlain, CDS 1903, no. 5010, and in 1341 as the court's judge, CDS 1930, no. 6620; village of Wiesen, from which he came, is most likely Łąka near Bolesławiec situated in the Duchy of Jawor.

⁵⁸ In 1316 mentioned as the chaplain, CDS 1898, no. 3577, and in 1317–1327 as the proto-notary: CDS 1898, no. 3700; CDS 1903, no. 4701; Ottendorf is most likely Radoniów.

⁵⁹ Known from the document issued in 1316, CDS 1898, no. 3629.

⁶⁰ The castle of Jelenia Góra was in his hands until 1345. APJ, Repertorium, no. 7; SIKORSKI 2013, pp. 114–115.

⁶¹ Henry's nest was today's Brodziszów near Ząbkowice. He served Henry of Jawor in 1312–1341: CDS 1892, no. 3253; CDS 1898, no. 3594, 3700, 3753, 3917, 4057, 4148, 4267, 4568; CDS 1903, no. 4698, 4700, 4701; CDS 1923, no. 5826; CDS 1930, no. 6613; RZ 1937, no. 110; Rackwitz is Rakowice near Lwówek. Apecz who is mentioned in these sources was active by the duke's side from 1318 until 1346: CDS 1898, no. 3773, 4009, 4565; CDS 1903, no. 5010, 5195, 5196; CDS 1923, no. 5306; CDS 1930, no. 6505, 6613; RŚ 1975, no. 412; Maciej was a witness to documents issued by the duke between 1312 and 1317: CDS 1892, no. 3253, 3351, 3388; CDS 1898, no. 3629, 3662; Mesenau is perhaps Meszeno (Mösen) near Otmuchów, as was suspected by the editors of CDS 1898, no. 3629.

⁶² CETWIŃSKI 1980, pp. 24–25; JUREK 1996a, pp. 28–35.

⁶³ JASIŃSKI 1968, pp. 95–109; JASIŃSKI 1970, pp. 103–114.

each other. The neighbours' proximity linked i.e. the Zedlitzs, Frohburgs, Gerstenbergs and Aulocks from Pleißenland. The fact worth emphasising is that the Profens, one of the first families of knights attested in the sources in Jawor, had probably come from Pleißenland to Silesia earlier, already in the middle of the 13th century.⁶⁴ The fantastic career of representatives of this family at the court of Bolko I may have been an inspiration for the knights travelling from their home territories — dreaming of a similar promotion — to Silesia.⁶⁵ Silesia may have been known to them from the stories of other German knights, including their relatives, who had a chance to visit it early. The Zedlitzs who were close to the Duke of Jawor can serve as an example. The knights from the family of Flösberg, who were related to them, had earlier served Henry's grandfather, Bolesław the Horned.⁶⁶ The Zedlitzs may have therefore been instrumental in bringing their neighbours, the Gerstenbergs and then Frohburgs, to the court in Jawor.⁶⁷ Some of the knights had a chance to visit Jawor before associating themselves with Henry. Gebhard Querfurt and Magnus Boranewitz in 1302, and Christian Gersdorf in 1307 accompanied the Brandenburg margrave, Hermann, during his visit to the Duchy of Świdnica and Jawor where he was looking after the underage sons of the deceased Bolko I.⁶⁸

Ethnic relations at Henry's entourage reflected the situation in the duchy which he ruled. The district of Jawor, the westernmost area of Silesia, was quickly Germanised due to its geographical location. A great role in this regard was played by the neighbourhood of Lusatia, the part of which with i.e. Zgorzelec (Görlitz) was in fact under Henry's reign in 1319, when he joined the fight for the inheritance from Waldemar, Margrave of Brandenburg, to whom he was related.⁶⁹ Since then, a special importance was gained at the Jawor court by Bernard Kottwitz and Christian Gersdorf in particular — a very influential knight in Lusatia who had previously held, on behalf of the Ascanians, the office of land prefect of Zgorzelec and then of Budziszyn (Bautzen).⁷⁰ The knights of Lusatia were eager to get associated with the court of Jawor. Their mobility in the search for a lord may have stemmed from a lack of their own ruler and his court who would reside locally. One can find such examples since the times of John of Görlitz.⁷¹ The knights may have been attracted to the splendour of court life which they could not experience at home. The chang-

⁶⁴ CETWIŃSKI 2001a, p. 171.

⁶⁵ Ivan Profen was a marshal and the court's judge while his brother, Walwan, a marshal at the court of Bolko I, and then earlier — of Duke of Wrocław, Henry V the Fat, CETWIŃSKI 1982, pp. 123, 196–197.

⁶⁶ JUREK 1996b, pp. 126–127.

⁶⁷ The Gerstenbergs had known the Zedlitzs before the latter arrived in Silesia, JUREK 1996a, p. 227.

⁶⁸ CDS 1892, no. 2717, 2719, 2960, 2961.

⁶⁹ PIERADZKA 1947, pp. 153–154; CZACHAROWSKI 1968; RYMAR 1979, pp. 473–496.

⁷⁰ CDLS 1856, no. 106, 123, 150, 157; KNOTHE 1870, no. 15, 17.

⁷¹ BOBKOVA, VELIČKA 2016, pp. 114–123.

ing border was — as illustrated by Marek Cetwiński — more of a gate than a dam for the migrating knights.⁷² The Domination of the Duchy of Jawor by the Germans was also a result by the specificity of the territory — colonised relatively late — in which the number of indigenous knights was relatively small. The factor delaying the settlement development was the distance from the traditional seats of ducal administration, the most important trade routes, and also the difficult conditions characteristic of a severe submontane climate and considerable afforestation.⁷³ References to the knights in the vicinity of Jawor appear late in the sources, only in the mid-13th century. Symptomatic is the fact that one of the first families who lived there — the Profens — arrived most likely from Germany. Simultaneously, German knights had already been settled by Bolesław the Horned at the western peripheries of the Duchy of Jawor, which was separated slightly later.⁷⁴

The German newcomers actively participated in implementing the duke's policies due to their frequent presence by Henry's side and the fact that they held important functions. Their participation in the most important events during his reign can be traced in the sources. They constituted a majority of the retinue with whom he left in 1319 for Lusatia in order to fight for the inheritance from the Ascanians of Brandenburg. Then in 1322 the duke's deputies were sent to the city council of Zgorzelec with summons to pay him the tribute.⁷⁵ The Germans also played a leading role in 1320 in concluding the alliance in Frankfurt (Oder) with the Duke of Wolgast, Wartislaw IV.⁷⁶ They were also present in Henry of Jawor's retinue during his visit to Świdnica in 1345, during which he concluded a succession pact with Bolko II the Small.⁷⁷ Serving at the duke's court also increased the knights' chances to increase their wealth. However, in 14th-century Silesia the path to build afflu-

⁷² CETWIŃSKI 2001b, p. 157.

⁷³ JUREK 1996a, p. 105; GRANICZNY 2000, p. 199; CETWIŃSKI 2001b, p. 161; M. Cetwiński links the development of settlement in the Duchy of Jawor to the mapping out of the sub-Sudetes trail in the second half of the 13th century: CETWIŃSKI 2001c, pp. 150–154; ADAMSKA 2016, pp. 38–73; RUCHNIEWICZ, WISZEWSKI 2015, p. 38.

⁷⁴ JUREK 2012, pp. 767–786.

⁷⁵ Mainly the Germans (among those included by me as being part of the duke's circle: Gebhard Querfurt, Kunemann Zedlitz, and Hermann Seidlitz) can be found among the witnesses of the document in which Henry of Jawor — after Zgorzelec had been seized — promised to maintain the previous laws of that city, CDS 1898, no. 3945; the deputations to Zgorzelec consisted of i.e. Gebhard Querfurt: CDS 1898, no. 4231; KNOTHE 1868, pp. 465–469.

⁷⁶ They were a majority of witnesses to the document in which the conditions of the alliance were written down. Among them were individuals close to Henry of Jawor: Kunemann Zedlitz, Hermann Buch, Wittego Sack and Gebhard Querfurt. Gebhard, together with Albrecht Hackeborn, who was also related to Henry of Jawor, was assigned by the duke to a specially appointed commission which was to take care of complying with the terms of the treaty, CDS 1898, no. 4057; on the circumstances of concluding the agreement see: JASIŃSKI 1976, p. 457; RYMAR 1979, p. 484.

⁷⁷ Those present by the duke's side in Świdnica were Kunemann Zedlitz, his brother Kreczing as well as Lupold Üchteritz and Ticzko Buch, SRS 1732, p. 96.

ence thanks to connections to the dukes was already limited. The advanced district division and miniaturisation of the duchies led to the weakening of their positions, resulting in the limitations of the possibility of rewarding their servants.⁷⁸ The German knights — who were the closest to Henry of Jawor — were, however, a group standing out in terms of wealth. People who can be regarded as rich as that time were the owners of towns and castles. Private towns were still relatively rare at that time.⁷⁹ During Henry's reign Nowogrodziec on the bank of the Kwisia was owned by the family of Landescrone.⁸⁰ Henry Frohburg together with Siegfried and Nikolaus Reussendorf became bond owners of Jelenia Góra in 1342.⁸¹ The list of those owning castles in the Duchy of Jawor is not too long in the sources. Fortresses held by the knights in the area became more common only in the second half of the 14th century.⁸² They not only gave safety assurances but also fulfilled prestigious functions and demonstrated a high status of the knights living in them.⁸³ As was mentioned above, amongst the Germans during Henry's reign the burgrave of the castle in Bolesławiec was Henczel Waldau, while the Zedlitzs may have been the burgraves in Wleń (Kunemann) and Świerzawa (Kreczing). Their own castle in the vicinity of Lubomierz was also owned by the Liebenthals. The fact that the knights employed their own officials should be regarded as the evidence of their wealth.⁸⁴ Two such examples are known from the Duchy of Jawor in the discussed period. Henry Waldau and Albert of Bavaria had their own scribes in their service.⁸⁵ In the light of the abovementioned examples, it can be said that not only did the German knights gathered around Duke Henry constitute the core of the elite in power, but also that the financial elite in the Duchy of Jawor was recruited from amongst them.

The presence of numerous Germans had an impact on many areas of life. It resulted in the adoption of the German language, which started to be quickly used in the chancellery of Henry of Jawor. In this regard, it was the most advanced in Sile-

⁷⁸ JUREK 2004a, p. 407

⁷⁹ GOLIŃSKI 2016, p. 54ff.

⁸⁰ Peter Landescrone (perhaps identical with the abovementioned judge at the court in Bolesławiec) presented himself as the lord of Nowogrodziec in 1318, CDS 1898, no. 3839, while his son, Nikolaus, in 1344, RŚ 1975, no. 177.

⁸¹ CDS 1930, no. 6988; It should be also mentioned that in annexed by Henry of Jawor part of Lusatia, Żary and Przewóz belonged to the German family of Pack, however, they were not so visibly active at Henry's court, JAWORSKI 1993, pp. 33–34.

⁸² ADAMSKA–HEŚ 2001, pp. 213–233.

⁸³ GAWLAS 2017, pp. 17–45.

⁸⁴ On the ownership of a castle, towns, and feudal clients as criteria which distinguished the highest rank of knights, JUREK 2004a, pp. 415–416.

⁸⁵ Hermann was the writer of Albert of Bavaria in 1314 and 1315: CDS 1892, no. 3399, 3484; in 1315, Henry was mentioned as the former writer of Henry Waldau: CDS 1892, no. 3521; ŽERELIK 1994, p. 170.

sia at that time.⁸⁶ The man believed to have contributed considerably to its dissemination (though in the service of Henry's successor, Bolko II the Small) was Peter Zedlitz, probably the son of Kunemann, the marshal of Henry of Jawor.⁸⁷ The influx of the Germans also affected the local chivalric customs and courtly culture. This influence is clear already during the reign Bolesław the Horned. In 1243 the duke organised the first knights' tournament in Silesia confirmed by the sources. It was a popular entertainment in the West and may have been imported to Silesia together with the German knights, with whom Bolesław liked to surround himself. The event took place in Lwówek, thus in the territory which was slightly later separated as the Duchy of Jawor.⁸⁸ Together with the influx of foreign knights came Western currents associated with culture and art. The Germans living here were familiar with belles-lettres already in the mid-13th century. Transplanting the European culture to Silesia by them is suggested by the names of knights — taken from the Arthurian romances — who served Bolko I, like i.e. the Profens' brothers, Ivan and Walwan.⁸⁹ Evidence of the knights of Jawor keeping up with the Western fashion is also provided by sphragistic sources. The Reussendorfs had their coat of arms decorated with a jewel featuring an image of a black man's head. According to heraldic specialists, they could refer in this way to the French poem, by the knight Huon of Bordeaux, on a chess duel that took place in Grenada.⁹⁰ The most important example of the transmission of Western culture to the Duchy of Jawor in the analysed period is the famous wall paintings from the residential tower in Siedlecin, near Jelenia Góra, which illustrate scenes from the legend of Lancelot du Lac.⁹¹

The reign of Henry of Jawor coincided with a period of important events in the history of Silesia. It was a time of increasing fragmentation of the region into more and more duchies as well as of acceptance — by the Piasts ruling in the duchies — of the supremacy of the Luxembourg dynasty ruling the Kingdom of Bohemia.⁹² The reign of the Duke of Jawor was coinciding also with no less important phenomenon which to a large extent influenced the history of Silesia. It was, first and foremost, a process of ethnic transformations — what is very important — in the upper layers of society, caused by the migrations of foreign knights a vast majority of whom were Germans. These transformations affected individual duchies in different degrees. When it comes to Henry's court, one can talk about a cer-

⁸⁶ JUREK 2004b, pp. 32–34.

⁸⁷ Peter initiated the registrations of the ducal documents in land registries mainly in the German language: JUREK 2004b, pp. 32–33; LB 2004, pp. XVII–XXI; on Peter see ZAWADZKI 2017a, p. 69–70.

⁸⁸ *Księga Henrykowska* 1991, p. 129; KUCZYŃSKI 1992, pp. 298–299; PIWOWARCZYK 1998, p. 14.

⁸⁹ CETWIŃSKI 2001a, p. 173.

⁹⁰ WÓJCIK 2019, pp. 654–659; WIESIOŁOWSKI 1993, pp. 13–23.

⁹¹ WITKOWSKI 2001.

⁹² DĄBROWSKI 2013, pp. 370–421.

tain continuity and tradition of the German knights' services, for they had played an important role already by the side of his predecessors. Bolesław the Horned, Henry of Jawor's grandfather, was commonly known to have surrounded himself with Germans, a choice which Polish chroniclers could not forgive him. The author of the Chronicle of Greater Poland accused him of elevating the Germans over the Poles, and generously allocating properties to the former.⁹³ In 1249 the presence of numerous knights from across the western border was recorded in Silesia for the first time by the side of the Duke of Legnica.⁹⁴ Foreign knights gained a dominant position during the reign of Bolko I the Strict. The Germans were almost exclusively among the people who accompanied Henry of Jawor's father.⁹⁵ Silesia was an attractive destination for wandering German knights who were seeking adventures, and hoped to make a career and improve their financial situation. This perspective was opened up to them in the numerous Silesian duchies, including the one ruled by Henry of Jawor, in whose circle the German knights played a leading role.

SOURCES, STUDIES, MONOGRAPHS AND OTHER MATERIALS USED IN THE TEXT

ARCHIVAL MATERIALS

NAP [= Národní Archiv v Praze], ŘM [= Archiv Českého Velkopřevorství Maltského Řádu]
APWR [= Archiwum Państwowe we Wrocławiu]
APJ [= Archiwum Państwowe we Wrocławiu Oddział w Jeleniej Górze]

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⁹³ *Kronika Wielkopolska* 2010, p. 156; CETWIŃSKI 2008, p. 81.

⁹⁴ JUREK 1996b, pp. 107–127.

⁹⁵ JUREK 1996a, pp. 144–145.

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Foreign Knights in the Entourage of Duke Henry I of Jawor (1312–1346)

The reign of Henry of Jawor (1312–1346) coincided with a period of increased migration to Silesia of knights from what is today eastern part of Germany — Lusatia, Meissen and Brandenburg. The migration led to ethnic transformations — of key importance to the history of Silesia — unfolding in, importantly, upper layers of society. The province of Jawor was quickly settled largely by German knights. This was influenced by its geographical location — it was the westernmost part of Silesia and bordered Lusatia, some of which came under Henry of Jawor's rule in 1319. The changing Lusatian-Silesian border was more of a gate rather than barrier to the migrating knights. An important role was also played by the specificity of the Duchy of Jawor — to a large extent the area was colonised quite late and had relatively few indigenous knights living there. Numerous Germans could be found already in the entourages of Henry's ancestors — Bolesław the Horned and Bolko the Strict. They made up the most numerous and the most influential group in Henry's milieu. They were among the individuals most often accompanying Henry and the duke had no qualms about entrusting to them even very prestigious offices. The author examines the geographical origin of the foreign knights serving Henry of Jawor. He discusses their activity by the duke's side, pointing to the length of their stay, offices they held as well as participation in the most important political events of Henry's reign. In addition, the author examines the strangers' wealth measured by the castles and private towns they held as well as officials they employed. He also describes their influence on the chivalric and court culture in the Duchy of Jawor.