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*Two Medieval Traditions of Lublin and Their Influence on the Local Community's Sense of Identity (13th? – the Beginning of the 17th Century)**

Dwie średniowieczne tradycje lubelskie oraz ich wpływ na poczucie tożsamości lokalnej wspólnoty (XIII? – początek XVII w.)

SUMMARY

The article presents the medieval accounts of the two short stories about the past of Lublin, concerning the siege of its castle by Tatars in the winter of 1340/1341 and the apparition of St. Michael to Prince Leszek Czarny and the ruler's subsequent victory over pagan Jatvings (1282). Following the traces of the familiarity of these narratives in the town up to the turn of the 16th century, it is argued that they were well recognized local traditions. They conveyed ideas of particular importance and attractiveness to the Lublin community and provided a distinct way of perceiving of the important elements of townscape. Thus the stories about legendary history of Lublin influenced the sense of identity of the Lublin community in several significant ways.

Keywords: Lublin – medieval local traditions; Lublin – history, 13th–14th century; Lublin community, 13th–16th century – sense of identity; Lublin community – historical consciousness; traditions about Tatar siege of Lublin castle in the winter of 1340/1341; St. Michael's parish church in Lublin – foundation legend

* The article presents abridged but also in particular points extended and revised version of research undertaken by Hieronim Łopaciński Provincial Public Library in Lublin in the field of local history in 2015–2016, which results were published by the author in the articles: *Tradycje historyczne o tatarskim najeździe na Polskę i oblężeniu zamku lubelskiego zimą 1340/1341 r. oraz ich miejsce w dawnej popularnej historii Lublina*, „Bibliotekarz Lubelski” 2014, t. 57, pp. 49–85; *Legenda fundacyjna dawnej lubelskiej fary św. Michała Archaniola*, „Bibliotekarz Lubelski” 2015–2016, t. 58–59, pp. 75–108.

The 13th century was a turbulent time for Lublin's inhabitants. The town witnessed devastating raids conducted by Lithuanians, Jatvings, Ruthenians and perhaps the most fearsome – the incursions of Tatars¹. After the more tranquil period of 1302–1340, during which the town was reorganized and granted the Magdeburgian city law, the situation worsened for a few decades with the politics of Kazimierz Wielki aimed at incorporation of Galicia-Volhynia to Polish Crown. It resulted in Tatar-Ruthenian and Lithuanian hostilities². The affairs were settled permanently with the agreement of Krev (1385) and the advent of the Jagiellonian dynasty.

The Lublin heritage of this turbulent times includes two medieval traditions, based on the historical accounts written in the 14th century but perhaps even exemplified in these narratives. The first one pertains to the siege of Lublin castle by Tatars in the winter of 1340/1341, the second is the well-known story of St. Michael's apparition to Prince Leszek Czarny and the latter's victory over pagan Jatvings who plundered the town in 1282. Considering the question of local popularity of these stories, we will take a closer look at the ideas and meanings which they carried, especially these of particular attractiveness to the Lublin community. Taking this context into the account, it will be interesting to accentuate the interrelations between social memory of this group and the townscape as perceived by its members. Thus, although the source material is not very copious, it is possible to gain some insights into the problem of influence of the historical traditions about the Lublin's past on the sense of local identity of its townsfolk.

THE DEFENSE OF LUBLIN CASTLE AGAINST TATARS

IN THE WINTER OF 1340/1341

Because of Lublin's location on the road leading to Cracow and further west, the town was an important point on the routes of Tartar invasions which affected Poland in 1241, 1259, 1279 (together with Ruthenians) and in 1287–1288. According to Jan Długosz, the town was sacked in 1241. Most probably, the situation wasn't different

¹ See e.g. A. Teterycz-Puzio, *Przyczyny i cele najazdów litewskich na ziemię sandomierską w XIII w.*, „Rocznik Lubelski” 2009, t. 35, pp. 9–22; Z. Szambelan, *Najazdy ruskie na ziemię sandomierską w XIII wieku*, „Acta Universitatis Lodzianis. Folia Historica” 1989, t. 36, pp. 7–32; S. Krakowski, *Obrona pogranicza wschodniego Małopolski za Leszka Czarnego*, „Zeszyty Naukowe Uniwersytetu Łódzkiego. Nauki Humanistyczno-Społeczne. Seria P” 1960, t. 15, pp. 97–114; K. Myśliński, *Najstarszy Lublin – proces tworzenia się średniowiecznego miasta*, „Rocznik Lubelski” 1966, t. 9, pp. 169–177, 183; Z. Sułowski, *Przedlokacyjny Lublin w świetle źródeł pisanych*, [in:] *Dzieje Lublina. Próba syntezy*, t. 1, Lublin 1965, pp. 37–41.

² J. Kłoczowski, *Lublin po nadaniu prawa miejskiego*, [in:] *Dzieje Lublina...*, pp. 45–49. See H. Paszkiewicz, *Polityka ruska Kazimierza Wielkiego*, Kraków 2002 (reprinted edition of 1925); D. Wróbel, *Kwestia krzyżacka a wschodnia polityka Kazimierza Wielkiego po roku 1343*, „Średniowiecze Polskie i Powszechne” 2007, t. 4, pp. 136–187.

in the cases of other incursions. However, the scholars hold an opinion that the invaders haven't besieged Lublin castle during any of these raids³.

Somehow less known is the case of 14th-century Tatar invasion which disturbed the town. In the winter of 1340/1341, the country suffered the great retaliatory raid (most probably supported by Ruthenians). Its main reason was King Kazimierz Wielki's political and military involvement in Ruthenia after the death of Prince of Galicia-Volhynia, Boleslav-Jurij Trojdenowic (1340). Lublin was attacked by invaders but the castle held out⁴. However, the town was probably captured and destroyed as may be deduced from the lack of any information about its defense. This may be confirmed with the traditional account of the origins of the St. Stanislaus Dominican monastery from Jan Długosz's *Liber beneficiorum Dioecesis Cracoviensis*. According to it, the convent was founded in 1342. However, the Black Friars' presence in the town is considerably older. Dating of their abbey's establishment to the year after the Tatar attack in the account may point out to the need of rebuilding or building of a new cloister at this time and hence to the destruction of previous seat⁵.

The Tatar raid of 1340/1341 is fairly well confirmed in both Polish and foreign medieval historical sources. These accounts are well recognized by the scholars⁶. In Polish works, the attack is mentioned in the *Rocznik poznański I* (the older), as well as in the three annals from the closely interrelated group of Lesser-Polish annals (*Roczniki małopolskie*): in the versions from the codices of Szamotulski, Kuropatnicki, and Gesselen. These short notes inform that the Lublin's land was ravished by the invaders⁷.

³ S. Krakowski, *Polska w walce z najazdami tatarskimi w XIII wieku*, Warszawa 1950, pp. 128, 187–188, 215; *idem*, *Region kielecki jako teren najazdów w drugiej połowie XIII wieku*, „Rocznik Muzeum Świętokrzyskiego” 1973, t. 8, p. 191, 198, 202; B. Ulanowski, *Drugi napad Tatarów na Polskę*, „Rozprawy i Sprawozdania Wydziału Historyczno-Filozoficznego Akademii Umiejętności” 1885, t. 18, p. 310.

⁴ The best modern account of the events comes from H. Paszkiewicz, *op. cit.*, p. 36 ff. The author dated the raid to January–February of 1341 but in our opinion it is better to date it somehow broader to winter of 1340/1341 as there two Italian 14th-century authors, who assign the beginning of the raid to the end of 1340 (their relations are mentioned by Henryk Paszkiewicz).

⁵ J. Kłoczowski, *Lublin po nadaniu prawa...*, p. 48; *Joannis Długosz senioris canonici Cracoviensis Liber beneficiorum Dioecesis Cracoviensis*, wyd. A. Przeździecki, t. 1–3, [in:] *Joannis Długosz Senioris Canonici Cracoviensis Opera omnia cura Alexandri Przeździecki edita*, t. 7–9, Cracoviae 1863–1864, t. 3 (*Opera omnia*, vol. 9), pp. 458–459. See esp. J. Kłoczowski, *Klasztor dominikański w Lublinie (stulecia XIII–XVI)*, [in:] *Dominikanie w Lublinie. Studia z dziejów i kultury*, red. H. Gapski, Lublin 2006, pp. 25–37; W. Polak, *Dominikanie lubelscy w przekazie Liber beneficiorum Jana Długosza*, [in:] *Dominikanie w Lublinie...*, pp. 89–90.

⁶ See among others A. Czuczynski, *Walka Polski i Litwy-Rusi o spadek halicko-włodzimierski. Historyczne zarysy J.P. Filewicza*, „Kwartalnik Historyczny” 1891, t. 5, pp. 173–175; H. Paszkiewicz, *op. cit.*, pp. 36–37, 61–70; A.F. Grabski, *Polska w opiniach Europy zachodniej XIV–XV w.*, Warszawa 1968, pp. 168–169.

⁷ *Roczniki Wielkopolskie*, red. B. Kürbis, Monumenta Poloniae Historica (MPH), Seria II, t. 6, Warszawa 1962, p. 130; *Rocznik małopolski*, red. A. Bielowski, MPH, t. 3, Lwów 1878, p. 199.

The more elaborate story comes from *De coronatione Kazimiri regis Poloniae*: the short fragment of (most probably) larger historical text. In its present form, the work describes the events of the beginning of reign of King Kazimierz Wielki (together with another fragment *De morte Wladislai Lokyetsk regis Poloniae* both accounts cover the period of 1333–1341). The relation of the raid specifies its immediate cause (the instigation of Ruthenian barons who persuaded the Tatar emperor) and two notable events of the conflict. First of them was bringing Tartar forces to halt at the banks of the Vistula river by the Polish king and his army where some archery skirmishes took place. The second was the successful defense of Lublin's castle, which the invaders besieged after the retreat from the Vistula. The author wrote that "the returning Tatars struggled to capture Lublin castle which at this time was constructed only of wood. But the company which held the castle resisted their attempts to the extent of their own ability and vigorously repulsed them"⁸. It is worth to note that the historian supplied specific information concerning details of the fightings at Vistula river and was able to name two Ruthenian barons who incited the Tatar emperor to invasion. The author of the *De coronatione Kazimiri* was therefore well informed about the Tatar raid of 1340/1341. Hence his relation of the siege of Lublin castle is considered to be a reliable account⁹.

What kind of evidence confirms that the aforementioned events became the subject matter of the tradition upheld in the town? Explicit confirmation comes from the chronicle of Maciej Strykowski (*Kronika polska, litewska, żmódzka i wszystkiój Rusi*) published in 1582. Albeit late, Strykowski's remark is particularly interesting. Describing the story of Tatar incursion and the siege of Lublin castle which he drew from earlier historical works, he nevertheless added his own authorial comment. "I saw the painted curtain (drapery) depicting this assaults on Lublin and killing of Tatar khan myself [...] in the church of

⁸ *De coronatione Kazimiri regis Poloniae*, [in:] *Kronika Jana z Czarnkowa*, red. J. Szlachetowski, MPH, t. 2, Lwów 1872, p. 622. *Tatari autem redeuntes castrum Lublin, quod tunc tantummodo de lignis fuerat constructum expugnare nitebantur. Quibus castrenses pro posse suo resistentes, eosdem ab impugnatione sui potentialiter amoverunt.* The piece was incorrectly edited as a part of the chronicle of Jan of Czarnków. The opinions vary as to the author of this work: according to Janusz Bieniak it was written by the same historian ca. 1360, before he begun to work on the chronicle. Krzysztof Ożóg holds an opinion that the piece was written in the clerical circle of Cracow cathedral in the 14th century. See esp. J. Bieniak, *Jan (Janek) z Czarnkowa. Niedokończona kronika polska z XIV wieku*, „*Studia Źródłoznawcze*” 2009, t. 47, pp. 127–135; K. Ożóg, *Kultura umysłowa w Krakowie w XIV wieku. Środowisko duchowieństwa świeckiego*, Wrocław 1987, pp. 70–73. Both the authors provide references to further literature.

⁹ *De coronatione Kazimiri...*, pp. 621–622, *quidam pessimus baro Datko nomine [...] cum quodam Daniele de Ostrow.* See eg. T. Nowak, *W sprawie Wojciecha Czeleja, rzekomego wojewody sandomierskiego z XIV w.*, „*Acta Universitatis Lodzianensis. Folia Historica*” 1986, t. 23, pp. 93–108; H. Paszkiewicz, *op. cit.*, pp. 64–86.

Lublin monks”, ascertained the historian¹⁰. As a matter of fact, it is confirmed that Strykowski visited Lublin several times during the years 1572–1574 and was interested in the town’s affairs indeed. He is also known for including detailed information on the peculiarities of places which he happened to visit and which caught his attention¹¹. Therefore his relation should be considered trustworthy.

In his story, Strykowski includes the interesting detail: the death of Tatar leader, described as *carz* which translates as ‘khan’ or ‘prince’. He was killed by an arrow shoot by the defenders¹². After this, the besiegers hastily retreated with loud crying, wrote the historian. The interesting detail of the Tatar *carz*’s fate could have been taken from the popular Maciej Miechowita’s *Chronica Polonorum* (firstly published in 1519)¹³. However, the depiction of the event on the aforesaid drapery provoked Strykowski’s comment. He observed that the Tatar chief was depicted on the drapery as hit with the cannon ball instead of an arrow¹⁴. For us, it is important that the discrepancy between the written source and the image displayed in Lublin indicates that the latter was not just a plain illustration of the text of popular Miechowita’s chronicle. The description of the image reveals a certain degree of interpretation put on the story by the artist who created the drapery in order to revise it.

We don’t know his name or even where exactly was his work displayed. However, the expression “Lublin monks” which Strykowski used, points out either to the St. Stanislaus church of the Dominicans or to the St. Paul’s temple of the Observant friars (Bernardines). The first possibility may be attested with the fact that it was Black Friars’ church which served as the mausoleum of the Firlejs, the noble family which had very close ties with Lublin (especially in the 15th and 16th century)¹⁵. Significantly, its members upheld that their ancestor served

¹⁰ Maciej Strykowski, *Kronika polska, litewska, żmódzka i wszystkiéj Rusi Macieja Strykowskiego*, wstęp M. Malinowski, I. Daniłowicz, t. 1–2, Warszawa 1846, t. 2, p. 17: *Jam sam widział korynę malowaną tego dobywania Lublina i zabicia tego carza, w kościele mnichów Lubelskich...* Strykowski’s remark was pointed out by W.K. Zieliński, *Monografia Lublina*, t. 1: *Dzieje miasta Lublina*, Lublin 1878, p. 27.

¹¹ Strykowski, *op. cit.*, t. 1, pp. (4)–(5), (8)–(13), (29); J. Radziszewska, *Maciej Strykowski: historyk – poeta z epoki Odrodzenia*, Katowice 1978, pp. 114–117; *eadem*, [Introduction], [in:] Maciej Strykowski, *O początkach, wywodach, dzielnościach, sprawach rycerskich i domowych sławnego narodu litewskiego, żemojdzkiego i ruskiego, przedtym nigdy od żadnego ani kuszone, ani opisane, z natchnienia Bożego a uprzejmie pilnego doświadczenia*, oprac. J. Radziszewska, Warszawa 1978, p. 5, 7; Z. Wojtkowiak, *Maciej Strykowski – dziejopis Wielkiego Księstwa Litewskiego. Kalendarium życia i twórczości*, Poznań 1990, p. 71.

¹² H. Górka, *Carz*, [in:] *Słownik polszczyzny XVI wieku*, red. S. Bąk [et al.], t. 3, Wrocław–Kraków 1968, pp. 132–133.

¹³ Maciej Miechowita, *Chronica Polonorum*, Kraków 1521, p. CCXXXV.

¹⁴ Strykowski, *op. cit.*: [...] *ale kulą z działa, nie strzałą. Bo już w ten czas działa i rusnice nastawały, którą też strzelbą i Gedimina pod Fridburgiem u Welony Krzyżacy zabili.*

¹⁵ I. Rolska, *Firlejowie Leopardzi. Studia nad patronatem i fundacjami artystycznymi w XVI–XVII wieku*, Lublin 2009, pp. 218–219, 226–237, 285–290; A. Sochacka, *Posiadłości*

as a military leader during the Tatar siege of 1340/1341. The first account of this tradition comes from 1579¹⁶. Interestingly it agrees quite well with 14th-century documentary sources, according to which the castellan of Lublin known to have held his office in the period of 1347–1359 but possibly appointed as early as 1336, was Eustachy of Lewarts, the kin from which the Firlejs sprang as an offshoot¹⁷.

Thus it seems likely that the Firlejs acted similarly to the Gdańsk tradesmen who were members of Malbork Brotherhood. They sponsored the painting *The Siege of Malbork* (Martin Schoninck, 1536) obviously to honor and take pride in the military achievements of their ancestors: the soldiers from Gdańsk who fought during the Polish siege of Malbork castle in 1460¹⁸. However, this comparative example demonstrates that it is difficult to rule out the townsfolk memory itself as the basis for the creation of drapery.

In any case, the public display of this historical work of art without any doubt resulted in the growing familiarity of the story of Tartar siege, especially as the spectators of the work of art were by no means few. Both the Dominicans and Bernardines church belonged to the group of the most important temples in the town. Therefore in 16th-century Lublin a particular “site of memory” of the Tartar siege existed. This powerful, consciously shaped memorabilia of the event vividly evoked the tradition of the castle’s defence. Teresa Jakimowicz who conducted wide research on the similar works of art highlighted that they were often created

Lewartów w Lubelskiem w średniowieczu, [in:] *II Janowieckie Spotkania Historyczne. Gospodarcza i kulturowa rola Firlejów. Firlejowie w tradycji lokalnej. Materiały sesji naukowej 27 maja 2000*, red. A. Szymanek, Janowiec nad Wisłą 2000, pp. 36–41. The original seat of the family was located in Dąbrowica in Lublin parish. But already in the 15th century the Firleys owned property in the town itself as well as some other villages surrounding the burgh which their kin (the Lewarts) possessed as early as the 14th century.

¹⁶ *Oratio Ioan. Thomæ Freigii Rectoris*, [in:] *Tertia Panegyris Altorfiana Celebrata Anno M.D.LXXIX. Cum aliis quibusdam orationibus*, Altorfii 1579, p. H6r.: [...] *eodem inquam tempore Stanislaus Fierleius praefecturam militarem obibat: Petrus verorum provinciae Lublinensis iudicem agebat*. Comp. B. Paprocki, *Herby rycerstwa polskiego*, red. K.J. Turowski, Warszawa 1982, p. 492: *Ottomanus [...] wspomina za panowania Kazimierza Wielkiego Stanisława Firleja w roku 1337, dla tego, że chodził z ludźmi przeciwko Tatarom, którzy byli oblegli zamek lubelski przez dwanaście dni, gdzie był carz ich albo wódz z zamku strzałą zabit [...]*. See also M. Chachaj, *Z dziejów propagowania przeszłości rodu Firlejów w Europie XVI–XVII wieku*, [in:] *III Janowieckie Spotkania Historyczne. Mecenat kulturalny Firlejów. Firlejowie w tradycji lokalnej Lubelszczyzny. Materiały z sesji naukowej. Janowiec 2 czerwca 2001*, red. A. Szymanek, Janowiec nad Wisłą 2001, pp. 73–75, 78–79.

¹⁷ A. Sochacka, *op. cit.*, pp. 15–58, esp. 23–25; A. Marzec, *Urządnicy małopolscy w otoczeniu Władysława Łokietka i Kazimierza Wielkiego (1305–1370)*, Kraków 2006, pp. 193, 216–218; P. Jusiak, *Dzierżawcy dóbr domeny królewskiej z rodziny Firlejów w XIV–XVI wieku*, [in:] *II Janowieckie Spotkania Historyczne...*, p. 88.

¹⁸ T. Grzybowska, *Złoty wiek malarstwa gdańskiego na tle kultury artystycznej miasta 1520–1620*, Warszawa 1990, pp. 47–48, 75–76. Even before 1488 the Gdańsk brotherhood financed another painting of the theme which is now lost.

with the hindsight of broader knowledge and understanding of their historical topic¹⁹. Thus even if the drapery was made at the Firlejs order, their intention was to depict the glory of the family in the scheme of Lublin's history, merging the glory of the kin's and town's past in the vision which was well recognized locally.

Let us thus consider the question whether the local tradition about the siege may be older than Strykowski's observation and the earlier, uncertain moment of drapery's production. As we noticed, the remark from *Kronika polska, litewska, żmódzka...* includes the detail of the shooting of Tatar leader by the defenders which wasn't included by the author of *De coronatione Kazimiri*. The first Polish work which includes this information is *Rocznik Świętokrzyski (Świętokrzyski Annal)* written at the end of the 14th century. However, its author didn't specify under which castle the Tatar leader fell and dated the raid somewhat earlier: to 1337. Only in one, 16th-century manuscript of the annal the information that the *dux Tartarorum* felt under the walls of Lublin castle was added. However, the record of his death and its consequences is the very same as this from Miechowita's chronicle and the first part of Strykowski's relation (excluding the comment on the drapery from the Lublin church). However, neither of authors who wrote in the 16th century included other information from the *Rocznik Świętokrzyski*: that the Tatars were accompanied by Ruthenians and that the enemies ravaged the land, as it is implied, around the besieged castle²⁰.

That Miechowita used this source is confirmed by the date to which he appoints the siege (1337) as well as its duration (12 days) which are the same as in the *Rocznik Świętokrzyski*. However, the historian included in his chronicle also the aforementioned relation about the defence of Lublin castle from *De coronatione Kazimiri*, which he described under the year 1341²¹. This feature indicates the Miechowita didn't associate both relations as referring to the same event. Hence he obtained the information that the *dux Tartarorum* died at Lublin castle from the source different than *De coronatione Kazimiri*.

As it turns out, the two remarks: about repulsing of Tatars from the Lublin castle and about the death of their leader or prince were firstly combined in the *Poczet królów polskich (The Fellowship of the Kings of Poland)*. This work of popular historiography dates from the 1460s. It consists of short notices about

¹⁹ T. Jakimowicz, *Temat historyczny w sztuce epoki ostatnich Jagiellonów*, Warszawa 1985, pp. 14–16, esp. 18–19, 27.

²⁰ *Rocznik świętokrzyski*, red. A. Rutkowska-Płachcińska, MPH, nova series, t. 12, Kraków 1996, pp. 62–63: *Anno Domini millesimo CCCXXXVII Tartari cum Ruthenis castrum vallaverunt duodecim diebus et noctibus fortiter impugnantes totum territorium illud vastaverunt et post hoc dux Tartarorum per sagittam de castro est occisus. Statim recesserunt cum magno planctu etc. [...]*. See M. Błaziak, *Rocznik świętokrzyski nowy – rocznikiem mansjonarskim czy andegaweńsko-jagiellońskim?*, „Studia Źródłoznawcze” 2000, t. 37, pp. 49–55. However comp. K. Ożóg, *op. cit.*, pp. 64–65.

²¹ Miechowita, *op. cit.*, p. CCXXXV, CCXXVI.

the Polish rulers and their achievements. The author of the *Poczet* followed the relation from the *Rocznik Świętokrzyski* but also added a new, short but interesting detail to the story. According to him, *dux Tartarorum* was killed *per sagittam ex antiqua, ut fertur, brusznyk*. The scholars who took a closer look at this passage explained that the author wanted to emphasize that the arrow which killed the enemy leader “was, as one may hear, called in antique speech brusznyk”. Adding of this detail by the historian who compiled *Poczet* was interpreted as a display of erudition²².

However, the text is somewhat unclear and the sense “as one may hear, the Tartar leader was killed with an arrow called in antique speech brusznyk” is also possible to read. It would indicate the circulation of story in oral sphere. The new detail about the antique name of the arrow which killed the enemy seems also to be significant. It probably comes from the Polish word “brusić” which means “to sharpen”, or “to grind” and so probably denote the special kind of an arrow (or crossbow bolt)²³. If this elaboration wasn’t added by the author of the *Poczet*, it indicates the existence of some another source of information about the siege or, more possibly, the circulation of the information from the very popular *Rocznik Świętokrzyski*²⁴ in the oral sphere which might have caused the amplification of the information about the arrow.

The significant detail of the siege length indicates that the account from the *Poczet* might have had this kind of origin. It lasts for 8 days as opposed to 12 days in the version from *Rocznik Świętokrzyski*. Thus the author of the *Poczet* didn’t follow the account of the annal solely. To add to this, the fact of choosing of the story of the Tatar siege of Lublin castle in the form not devoid of an epic flavour as the most significant event of Kazimierz Wielki’s reign testifies to the attractiveness of the story if not to its popularity. Who would be more interested in it than the heirs of valiant defenders – the community of Lublin?

Concerning the last question, one should place it in the context of precise information about historical culture in the town in the second half of the 15th century in times when the *Poczet* has been already written. We know that in

²² *Poczet królów polskich*, red. A. Bielowski, MPH, t. 3, Lwów 1878, p. 295: *Kazimirus. Hic Rutheni cum Tartaris castrum Lublin vallarunt fortiter; per octo dies pugnantes; sed postquam dux Thartarorum per sagittam ex antiqua, ut fertur, brusznyk est occisus; statim cum planctu maximo recesserunt*. The form *brusznyk* comes from the oldest manuscript containing *Poczet* (Biblioteka Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego, ms. 491). In the others there are forms: *krasznyk*, *Carfnyk*, *Crasznyk*. See J. Banaszkiwicz, *Historia w popularnych kompilacjach – tzw. Poczet królów polskich*, [in:] *Kultura elitarna a kultura masowa w Polsce późnego średniowiecza*, red. B. Geremek, Wrocław 1978, pp. 213–226, esp. p. 223; H. Paszkiewicz, *op. cit.*, p. 70.

²³ K. Nizio, *Brusić*, [in:] *Słownik polszczyzny XVI wieku*, ed. S. Bąk [et al.], t. 2, Wrocław–Kraków 1967, p. 460; A. Cieślakowa, *Staropolskie odapelatywne nazwy osobowe: proces onimizacji*, Wrocław 1990, p. 23.

²⁴ A. Rutkowska-Płachcińska, [Introduction], [in:] *Rocznik świętokrzyski*, p. LXV.

the 1480s Teofil of Bogusławice, the rector of Lublin parochial school ordered a copy of the famous *Chronica Polonorum* of Wincenty Kadłubek with Jan Dąbrówka's commentary. It was obviously intended to be lectured on, as the works of clear didactic character were copied with it. The Lublin school realized the teaching program which stressed teaching of history, well known from the Cracow University where Teofil obtained his baccalaureate²⁵. Could the remark about Lublin's history from the popular and widely known *Poczet królów polskich* be not recognized in the educational centre whose teachers lectured on the very work on which the *Poczet* was based?²⁶

The above discussion brings us to the question of the circulation of the information about the siege in the sphere of oral tradition. In this context, it is interesting to notice how notorious were the events of the Tatar raid of 1340/1341. Galvano Fiamma, Dominican historian living in Milan heard that around 1340 the huge Tatar army invaded the Christian states on the other side of Danube. It was defeated by the rulers of Hungary, Bohemia, and Poland with the support of numerous Germans. The fighting included the siege of some Christian castle during which the "emperor of Tatars" died shot with an arrow, wrote Fiamma²⁷. It is particularly interesting, that this remark came from some oral source, which the historian encountered. It brought news about the successful defense of some castle against Tatars and the ill fate of the pagan emperor, which seems to be considered of almost equal importance to the victorious battle against invaders. The *fama* of some accidents in which the Tatar leader featured appears also in the chronicle of Matteo Griffoni. According to the Bolognese historian, during the tournament held in his hometown in the Easter of 1341 arrived the news about the defeat of large pagan force in Poland where *Saracenorum dux* was captured. The rumor was probably brought by people who came to attend the event²⁸.

²⁵ J. Wiesiołowski, *Kolekcje historyczne w Polsce średniowiecznej XIV–XV wieku*, Wrocław–Kraków 1967, pp. 76–77, 156–157, 159.

²⁶ J. Banaszkiwicz, *Historia w popularnych kompilacjach...*, esp. pp. 226–228.

²⁷ Gualvanei de la Flamma, *Opusculum de rebus gestis ab Azone, Luchino et Johanne Vicecomitibus ab anno MCCCXXVIII usque ad annum MCCCXLII*, ed. C. Castiglioni, *Rerum Italicarum Scriptores*, t. 12, parte 4, Bologna 1938, p. 41. *Hoc audito rex Ungarie et rex Bohemie et rex Polonie, sibi adjunctis multis theutonicis, gravi bello dimicantes, illos tartaros partim interfecerunt, partim expulerunt. Et ibi in obsidione cujusdam castris ipsorum tartarorum imperator sagitta profossus ocubuit.*

²⁸ *Matthaei de Griffonibus Memoriale Historicum de Rebus Bononiensium*, ed. L. Frati, A. Sorbelli, *Rerum Italicarum Scriptores*, Nuova Edizione, t. 18, parte 2, Città di Castello 1902, pp. LIII–LIV, 55, v. 20–22. *Eodem anno. – Facta fuit magna et pulchra zostra Bononiae in platea, in die Pascatis resurrectionis; qui[a] nova venerunt quod Saraceni fuerunt conflicti et venerunt in regno Poloniae ultra ducentum millia et omnes fuerunt conflicti et captus fuit ipsorum Saracenorum dux.* See A.F. Grabski, *op. cit.*, p. 169.

The scholars argued that the Fiamma's relation was the source, perhaps indirect, of the aforementioned account of the death of Tatar leader in *Rocznik Świętokrzyski*²⁹. This is confirmed by the fact that in both works the castle at which he died wasn't identified. While this aspect of the narration is understandable in the case of the Italian chronicle, it is somewhat curious that the Polish annalist didn't specify the castle which was besieged. This detail reinforces the opinion that the account of death of Tatar *dux* in *Rocznik Świętokrzyski* was based on a written account rather than on a popular, local tradition.

However, considering the information about the death of Tatar leader as the part of *fama* which reached Italy shortly after the raid, it is interesting to observe that Fiamma's relation presents the same order of events as the relation of the well-informed author of *De coronatione Kazimiri*: firstly the battle, then the siege, both successful for the Christians. In the broader sense, the Italian historian's notice conveys the idea similar to this from *De coronatione Kazimiri*: the Christian defenders managed to staunchly repulse the attack (*eosdem ab impugnatione sui potentialiter amoverunt*) on their own (*pro posse suo*). Hence it may be supposed that the sources (probably oral ones) utilized by the author of *De coronatione Kazimiri* could have included some notion of a chivalrous deed of the defenders of Lublin castle which in Fiamma relation was in turn much amplified. The Polish historian may have generalized it to phrase *potentialiter amoverunt*, perhaps to make his remark more sober and probable. However, the notion of the siege of a Christian castle which the heathens didn't manage to capture was the part of the news about the Tatar invasion. Besides Galvano Fiamma, also John of Winterthur, a particularly well-informed historian who wrote shortly after the raid mentioned the siege of some Polish town which took place during the invasion and provoked the battle won by King Kazimierz. He also explicitly quoted *fama* as the source of his information³⁰.

Considering this context, it is worth to emphasize that the author of *De coronatione Kazimiri* was able to utter a precise statement that the Lublin castle was constructed only of wood during the attack of Tatars (*quod tunc tantummodo de lignis fuerat constructum*). This means that he wrote after the fortress was rebuilt out of stone (what is roughly dated to Kazimierz's reign)³¹ and moreover that he knew that the rebuilding took place only after the winter of 1340/1341.

²⁹ *Rocznik świętokrzyski*, p. LII, LIX, 63; A. Rutkowska-Płachcińska, *Sprawy tatarskie w Roczniku świętokrzyskim nowym. Przekaz źródłowy i warstwa anegdotyczna*, „Studia Źródłoznawcze” 1987, t. 30, p. 64.

³⁰ *Die Chronik Johannis von Winterthur*, hrsg. F. Baethgen, Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Scriptorum Rerum Germanicarum Nova Series, Bd. 3, Berlin 1924, pp. 181–184, esp. 184. *Qui [imperator Tartarorum] inter cetera facta sua [regis Kragowie] civitatem unam regalem pertinentem regi Kraggowie obsederunt. Quod videns rex speditus exercitum congregavit et in eos irruens in obsidione constitutos occidit ex ipsis VI milia et civitatem viriliter defendit.*

³¹ See J. Widawski, *Miejskie mury obronne w państwie polskim do początku XV wieku*, Warszawa 1973, p. 78, 255–256.

Thus his account mixes the detailed information about Lublin locality with the certain heroic flavor: after all, it is much harder to defend fortifications made of wood than of stone as well as more glorious to repulse the mighty enemy in these circumstances, especially with the own strength of the castle's company.

This kind of story would be very attractive to the town's inhabitants. It could be indeed asked if the narration from the *De coronatione Kazimiri* hasn't had this kind of local origin. It is of equal importance to highlight that considering the perspective of social memory transmission, the story may be characterized as functional, that is sufficiently attractive because of its ideological meanings for the local community to keep it alive³². In our opinion, the somehow ambiguous relation of the aforementioned *Poczet królów polskich* should be read in this hindsight as the very likely proof that in the 1460s tradition about the siege of Lublin castle and its particularities were already alive as the legend which originated on the basis of intermingling of oral and written sources. Before we move forward to discuss its interesting influence in the turn of the 16th century, let us take a closer look at the second medieval legend of Lublin.

ST. MICHAEL'S APPARITION TO LESZEK CZARNY AND THE PRINCE'S VICTORY OVER JATVINGS

The raid of non-Christian, warlike people which Lublin suffered is also the stuff of another medieval Lublin legend which nowadays is somewhat poetically called *The Leszek Czarny's Dream*. It tells the story of St. Michael's apparition to prince Leszek who was pursuing Jatvings after their raid on Lublin or Lublin land and prince's subsequent victory over the invaders³³. This piece is unquestionably the largest known legend about the town's medieval past in present times. However, it is worth to emphasize that it is also the oldest one, as far as historical events are concerned. It is recounted in *Kronika Dzierzwy* (*Dzierzwa's Chronicle*, written about 1306–1320) and *Rocznik Traski* (*Traska's Annal*, from about the middle of the 14th century)³⁴. Although Dzierzwa's work is earlier, both the accounts of the

³² P.G. Bogatyriew, R. Jakobson, *Folklor jako specjalna forma twórczości*, wstęp i przeł. A. Bereza, „Literatura Ludowa” 1973, t. 17, nr 3, pp. 28–41.

³³ On the Jatvings raid and its dating to 1282 see P. Żmudzki, *Studium podzielonego Królestwa. Książę Leszek Czarny*, Warszawa 2000, pp. 300–301; S. Krakowski, *Obrona pogranicza wschodniego Małopolski...*, p. 105; G. Białuński, *Studia z dziejów plemion pruskich i jaćwieskich*, Olsztyn 1999, pp. 116–117; B. Włodarski, *Problem jaćwiński w stosunkach polsko-ruskich*, „Zapiski Historyczne” 1958–1959, t. 24, nr 2–3, p. 33.

³⁴ *Kronika Dzierzwy*, red. K. Pawłowski, MPH, nova series, t. 15, Kraków 2013, p. 83; *Rocznik Traski*, red. A. Bielowski, MPH, t. 2, Lwów 1872, p. 848; W. Drelicharz, *Idea zjednoczenia królestwa w średniowiecznym dziejopisarstwie polskim*, Kraków 2012, p. 298; *idem*, *Annalistyka małopolska XIII–XV wieku. Kierunki rozwoju wielkich roczników kompilowanych*, Kraków 2003, pp. 26–27, 37; J. Dąbrowski, *Dawne dziejopisarstwo polskie (do roku 1480)*, Wrocław–Kraków 1964, p. 66.

story derive from the same lost source. It is one of the continuations of the so-called *Annales Polonorum deperditi*: the coherent series of entries about the deeds of Prince Leszek Czarny (prince of Cracow in 1279–1288), sometimes described by scholars as hypothetical *Gesta Lestkonis*³⁵.

Both the accounts are very similar. In *Rocznik Traski* the story begins with the information that Prince Leszek was admonished by St. Michael in his sleep. It happened when the ruler was pursuing Jatvings who plundered Lublin. Dzierzwa wrote about the pursue after the Jatvings who plundered Lublin land first. Hence the impression that the archangel's reprimand pertained to prince's conduct of this military action. This meaning is confirmed by the subsequent turn of events: Leszek catches the invaders and defeats them in battle in which miraculous events occur. Eventually, the Prince recovers all the booty taken by the pagans³⁶.

However, the commonly known version of the story comes from Jan Długosz's *Annales*. He took the main informations from *Dzierzwa's Chronicle* and amplified them. The most interesting information was added at the end of the narrative. We read that it was Prince Leszek who founded the parochial church in Lublin in St. Michael's honor and managed to settle the affairs of its dedication to the archangel's name. This happened after Leszek Czarny returned from the successful pursuit after the pagans (described by Długosz as Lithuanians). Moreover, the historian added a notable statement which announced that the temple "even in present day" attests to the angel's favor bestowed upon Poles as well as to the defeat of the barbarians³⁷. Thus in the Długosz's work, the story is depicted as the foundational legend of St. Michael church.

The account of the story from *Rocznik małopolski* in Szamotulski's Codex (*Rocznik małopolski Szamotulskiego*) comes from *Rocznik Traski*, see W. Drelicharz, *Annalistyka małopolska...*, p. 103. The account from *Rocznik Traski* was already pointed out by J.A. Wadowski, *Kościół lubelskie*, Kraków 1907 (reprinted Lublin 2004), p. 102. See also J.R. Marczewski, *Duszpasterska działalność Kościoła w średniowiecznym Lublinie*, Lublin 2002, p. 115.

³⁵ See J. Banaszkiwicz, *Kronika Dzierzwy – XIV-wieczne kompendium historii ojczystej*, Wrocław–Gdańsk 1979, p. 108; W. Drelicharz, *Annalistyka małopolska...*, pp. 381, 383–385, 454. The entries concern prince Leszek's military deeds performed in the years 1280–1285.

³⁶ *Kronika Dzierzwy...: Lestko dux Cracoviensis, Sandomiriensis et Syradiensis persecutus est Iacuzitas, amonitus in sompniis per Michaëlem archangelum et comprehendit eos ultra Narew. Quibus superatis reduxit totam predam quam ipsi de Lublin abduxerant. In quo conflictu nullus hominum occisus est de ipsius exercitu; ubi mirabile accidit, quia canes quos predicti gentiles abduxerant, viso christianorum exercitu ceperunt gaudere, ululare et exultare per signa, qui simul cum christianis in occisionem gentilium conversi sunt mordentes atrocissime. Rocznik Traski: Lestko dux Cracoviensis, Sandomiriensis et Syradiensis persecutus est Iacuzitas, amonitus in sompniis per Michaëlem archangelum et comprehendit eos ultra Narew. Quibus superatis reduxit totam predam quam ipsi de Lublin abduxerant. In quo conflictu nullus hominum occisus est de ipsius exercitu; ubi mirabile accidit, quia canes [...].*

³⁷ *Ioannis Dlugossii Annales seu Cronicae Incliti Regni Poloniae*, lib. 7–8, ed. Z. Budkowa [et al.], comm. K. Pieradzka, Varsaviae 1975, pp. 217–219, esp. 219: *Ex Lithuanorum quoque clade*

However, it has been already observed that the aforesaid entry appears only in the second redaction of the *Annales*: it was written down personally by Długosz on the blank space at the end of the paragraph. This indicates that Długosz acquired the information in question only after the first redaction of his great chronicle was finished. The works on the second redaction of *Annales* are in turn dated to 1466 or rather 1468–1480, the time of Długosz's death. During this period, in particular, in the years 1473–1476 the historian regularly stayed for the longer periods of time in Lublin, working as the tutor for the sons of King Kazimierz IV in the Lublin castle. Thus the scholars suggested that the information about the St. Michael church's foundation came from the local tradition which the historian got to know in Lublin³⁸. This origin of the Długosz's remark is confirmed with the aforesaid formula "even in present day" which he used to emphasize that the very building of the parochial church attests to the Leszek's victory and St. Michael's favor (*que etiam in diem hanc*, the form of *usque ad hodiernum diem* formula), which appears in the added material. As Jacek Banaszekiewicz showed, this kind of attestation frequently indicates that the information which it concerns was drawn from living oral tradition³⁹.

At the time when Długosz worked on supplementing his *Annales*, the story of apparition of St. Michael and Leszek Czarny's victory over Jatvings was already a well recognized local tradition which explained the origins of the St. Michael's parochial church in Lublin. But how old was in the 1470s this local tradition? To answer this question, let us take a closer look at the narration of the earliest versions of the story as well as at some evidence concerning its provenance.

Are there any connections between the original version of the story and the Lublin's milieu? Considering this question it is important to notice that the accounts from *Rocznik Traski* and *Kronika Dzierzwy* differ in the case of an important information about the precise object of Jatvings attack. As was mentioned above,

reversus, in Lublin basilicam parochialem sancto Michaëli fundat et eius nomini dicari procurat, que etiam in diem hanc beneficia angelica tunc collata Polonis et cladem barbaricam attestatur.

³⁸ W. Polak, *op. cit.*, p. 79. On the Długosz's stay in Lublin see esp. P. Dymmel, *Związki Jana Długosza z Lublinem*, „Roczniki Humanistyczne” 2000, t. 48, nr 2, pp. 109–120; *idem*, *Lubelskie lata Jana Długosza*, [in:] *Memoriae amici et magistri. Studia historyczne poświęcone pamięci prof. Wacława Korty (1919–1999)*, red. M. Derwich, W. Mrozowicz, R. Zerelik, Wrocław 2001, pp. 211–219. On the dating of the second redaction of *Annales* see W. Semkowicz-Zarębina, *Autograf Długosza i jego warsztat w nowej edycji „Annales”*, [in:] *Długossiana. Studia historyczne w pięćsetlecie śmierci Jana Długosza*, red. S. Gawęda, Warszawa 1980, pp. 51–57; P. Dymmel, *Uwagi nad historią tekstu w autografie Annales Jana Długosza*, [in:] *Venerabiles, nobiles et honesti. Studia z dziejów społeczeństwa Polski średniowiecznej. Prace ofiarowane Profesorowi Januszowi Bieniakowi w siedemdziesiątą rocznicę urodzin i czterdziestopięciolecie pracy naukowej*, Toruń 1997, pp. 468–472.

³⁹ J. Banaszekiewicz, *Usque in hodiernum diem: średniowieczne znaki pamięci*, „Przegląd Historyczny” 1982, t. 72, nr 2, pp. 229–238, esp. 231–232.

the chronicle describes it as “Lublin land”. But in the *Rocznik Traski*, the more precise (although expressed indirectly) information appears: it was the spoils taken in Lublin which Prince Leszek recovered⁴⁰. Hence it was the town of Lublin which was plundered in the account from the aforesaid work.

To evaluate which version should be considered as closer to the original let us take a brief look at the way in which the other entries concerning Prince Leszek (belonging to the abovementioned *Gesta Lestkonis*) are preserved both in the *Rocznik Traski* and *Kronika Dzierzwy*. The general view reveals that these pieces are more extensive in *Rocznik Traski*. For example, the annal includes the story of prophecy concerning Prince Leszek’s offspring which testifies to the author’s closeness to the court’s circles and presents the evidence concerning the dating of the whole series of entries about the deeds of Prince Leszek. As scholars highlighted, most probably they were created roughly contemporary to the events described in them, before Leszek Czarny’s death in 1288. Somehow more detailed look exposes the clear heroic tone of these accounts in *Rocznik Traski* which in turn is weakened in the version of *Kronika Dzierzwy*. The good examples of this are the entries about the battle of Równe with Lithuanians dated to 1282 and about the rebellion of the knights of Lesser Poland against Prince Leszek, dated to 1285. Particularly informative is this second case, as Dzierzwa, historian with strong connections with Cracow was especially interested in the event. He omitted the laudatory comment on the Prince’s victory over the far more numerous enemies (*et sic cum gloria ad Cracoviense castrum remeavit*) which appears in *Rocznik Traski*. Even more significantly he transformed the remark about the grant with which Prince awarded the Cracow burghers who remained faithful to him during the rebellion. Dzierzwa commented that they were, in fact, *Theutonici* (Germans) and the permission to fortify the town granted to them by the Prince was contrary to the will of Polish knighthood. He even describes it as “the cause of the future loss of all the influence and glory of the Poles”. According to Wojciech Drelicharz’s interpretation, the account most probably reveals the anti-German sentiment which was very strong in Cracow after the voigt Albert’s revolt in 1312⁴¹. The reworking of this *passus* shows that in the case of the entries of the so-called *Gesta Lestkonis*, Dzierzwa utilized the same material which the author of *Rocznik Traski* included. However, the former frequently edited, abridged and sometimes also reworked it to express his own opinions. Therefore, despite that *Kronika Dzierzwy* was written earlier than *Rocznik Traski*, it is by no means certain if the former hands over version closer to original entries added to *Annales Polonorum deperditi* (the so-called

⁴⁰ *Kronika Dzierzwy*, p. 83; *Rocznik Traski*, p. 848.

⁴¹ *Rocznik Traski*, p. 846, 848, 851; *Kronika Dzierzwy*, pp. 83–84; W. Drelicharz, *Annalistyka małopolska...*, pp. 372–373, 380–383.

Gesta Lestkonis) than does *Rocznik Traski*. As a matter of fact, the examples briefly discussed above indicate that the opposite seems to be more probable⁴².

In this context, it is particularly interesting to notice the two layers of meaning of the tale about Prince Leszek and archangel Michael discernible in the account from *Rocznik Traski*. Firstly it is the story of the favor of supernatural powers bestowed upon the Prince who thus emerges as a ruler able to defend his subjects against pagans. This kind of the ideological meaning was not only prestigious but also useful for a ruler who had ambitions to reunite the country⁴³. But there is another aspect of the tale. The effect of Prince's victory is not explicitly expressed as glory as was the case in the other entries about Leszek's triumphs from the so-called *Gesta Lestkonis*⁴⁴. We read that Leszek managed to restore (bring back) all the booty (*predam*) which was literally "led away" from Lublin (*quam ipsi de Lublin abduxerant*). Thus it is indicated that the spoils taken by Jatvings in Lublin and recovered by the Prince were slaves made of captured town's inhabitants according to the custom of the non-Christian peoples raiding Poland at the end of the 13th century⁴⁵. Thanks to Leszek's victory, the Lublin community is saved.

This aspect of the story was understood and even emphasized by Długosz who vividly described in the first redaction of *Annales* that after Prince Leszek came to Lublin land (Długosz followed the version of *Dzierzwa's Chronicle*) with his forces, he met only pitiful remains of its inhabitants begging for his help after the barbarians left with the booty⁴⁶.

However, according to the logic of the narrative of all the medieval versions of the story, their bringing back is the obvious result of the archangel Michael's actions. It was only after his admonishing that Leszek overtook the enemies beyond his country's borders (*ultra Narew*). The abundance of miraculous circumstances of the battle clearly shows that it was the supernatural force which procured the victory. Firstly, Leszek didn't lose a single man. The notion of divine intervention is even more accentuated with the second supernatural motif which the author of the account introduced. As we read, when the Christian troop approached, the heathens were ferociously attacked by the dogs which they previously abducted. This is also a well-recognized literary motif. It represents the specific way of revenge inflicted by the supernatural powers on the men who break the sacral norms⁴⁷. It is surely an appropriate punishment for the heathens who attacked the

⁴² See W. Drelicharz, *Annalistyka małopolska...*, p. 364, 455.

⁴³ P. Żmudzki, *Studium podzielonego Królestwa...*, pp. 360–362.

⁴⁴ *Rocznik Traski*, p. 847.

⁴⁵ See e.g. A. Teterycz-Puzio, *op. cit.*, pp. 11–13, 18; G. Białuński, *op. cit.*, p. 118. Compare the Latin phrase *in servitute abducere*.

⁴⁶ *Ioannis Dlugossii Annales...*, lib. 7–8, p. 218.

⁴⁷ P. Żmudzki, *Psy Jaćwingów. Dlaczego Marcin Kromer zinterpretował rocznikarską zapiskę o zwycięstwie Leszka Czarnego inaczej niż Jan Długosz*, [in:] *Historia narrat. Studia mediewistyczne*

Christian community. Thus the account from *Rocznik Traski* presents the vivid story of St. Michael's and Prince Leszek's saving of the Lublin community as well as of the pitiful fate of the pagan oppressors.

How can this supernatural favor be explained? The obvious connection is the nowadays non-existent St. Michael's parochial church in Lublin. Let us take a brief look at this temple's past. In his *Liber beneficiorum dioecesis Cracoviensis* Jan Długosz wrote the Lublin archdeaconry as established on the basis of the parish church of St. Michael which existed in the town since the ancient times. It is well recognized that this ecclesiastical office functioned in Lublin in 1198⁴⁸. Even more interesting is the remark about the 'parochial church in Lublin' in the bull *Dum eximium* of pope John XXIII of 1415. This document concerns restoring of the *ius patronatus* over the group of churches to the Polish rulers which (as it was supposed) was taken away from them after the murder of St. Stanislaus (1079). Thus St. Michael church, serving as the centre of Lublin parish in 1415 is listed among the most ancient temples in Poland⁴⁹.

However, the remains of the temple which sadly was demolished in the 1850s are dated on stylistic grounds to the early 14th century⁵⁰. The same conclusion as to the date of this temple's construction was issued by the archeologists. Although their research didn't prove that an earlier church existed at the place where the late medieval one stood, this question is uncertain. The archeologists who conducted research at the site actually believed that some earlier, perhaps wooden or the small stone temple stood at the place of the one build in

ofiarowane profesorowi Jackowi Banaszkiewiczowi, red. A. Pleszczyński [et al.], Lublin 2012, pp. 75–94.

⁴⁸ *Joannis Długosz senioris canonici Cracoviensis Liber beneficiorum...*, vol. 2, p. 536: *Archidiaconatus Lublinensis ob necessitatem magnam creatus est et fundatus, de ecclesia parochiali Lublinensi Sancti Michaelis, que erat ibi ab antiquo, et cuius collatio et iuspatronatus ad episcopum Cracoviensem ex antiquo pertinebat*. See also vol. 1, p. 198. In the other remark Długosz ascribed the origin of Lublin archdeaconry to 1342. However, this dating probably refers to the archdeaconry's renovation, see J. Chachaj, *Początki kościołów lubelskich w świetle legend i przekazów historycznych*, Lublin 2011, pp. 81–84; *idem*, *Jeden czy dwa groby? Transformacja obrazu czasu i przestrzeni sakralnej Lublina w dziełach Jana Długosza*, „Roczniki Humanistyczne” 2013, t. 61, nr 2 (Historia), p. 42; *Kodeks dyplomatyczny małopolski*, t. 2: 1153–1333, red. F. Piekosiński, Kraków 1886, pp. 16–18, esp. p. 18, no. 376. See J.R. Marczewski, *op. cit.*, pp. 84–89.

⁴⁹ *Kodeks dyplomatyczny katedry krakowskiej św. Wacława*, red. F. Piekosiński, t. 2, Kraków 1883, no. DLVII, pp. 396–398; *Bullarium Poloniae*, t. 3: 1378–1417, red. I. Sułkowska-Kuraś, S. Kuraś, Rzym–Lublin 1988, nr 1468. This information was highlighted by J. Szymański, *Czas powstania kościoła w Wojniczu i benedyktyni tynieccy*, „Roczniki Humanistyczne” 1962, t. 11, nr 2, pp. 131–135.

⁵⁰ J. Kuczyńska, *Lubelski kościół farny św. Michała na szlaku architektury gotyckiej. Przyczynek do badań*, [in:] *Scientia nihil est quam veritatis imago. Studia ofiarowane prof. Ryszardowi Szczygłowi w siedemdziesięciolecie urodzin*, red. A. Sochacka, P. Jusiak, Lublin 2014, pp. 476–483. See also *eadem*, *Kościół farny św. Michała w Lublinie*, Lublin 2016, pp. 45–55, 103–108.

the 14th century. The main reason for this is that the late medieval temple was constructed on the ground of much older Christian burial ground which surely functioned since the middle of the 12th century (and perhaps even since the second half of the 11th century)⁵¹. From the other historical accounts, we also know that in 1244 there were at least two churches in Lublin and that in 1268 one of them was the centre of the local parish⁵².

Taken together this evidence form a significant body indicating that the church dedicated to St. Michael existed in Lublin even before 1282. Even if the location of this oldest temple is open to discussion⁵³, it is difficult to skip the 15th-century testimonies on the antiquity of the presence of St. Michael's *patrocinium* in Lublin which predated the raid of Jatvings. If we consider this true, the local bias of the story from *Rocznik Traski* becomes perfectly understandable as the notion of the tale about the saving of the community from the hands of the heathens by its patron-saint and prince. This kind of story, however astonishing as it may now look, fits in well with the ideological content of the concept of *patrocinium* which sometimes effected in the saint becoming formally considered as the church's proprietor and rightholder. Thus it is no wonder that the medieval communities sometimes held very clear expectations as to their patron saint's duties characteristic of the concept of patronage⁵⁴.

⁵¹ E. Mitrus, *Początki kościoła św. Michała w Lublinie*, [in:] *Lublin przez wieki. Szkice z badań archeologicznych*, red. E. Banasiewicz-Szykuła, A. Stachyra, B. Gosik-Tytuła, Lublin 2004, pp. 60–61, 68, esp. pp. 71–72, 76, 80.

⁵² The first information comes from the *Rocznik Kapituły Krakowskiej (The Annal of Cracow Chapter)*, the second from *The Galician-Volhynian Chronicle*. See e.g. Z. Sułowski, *op. cit.*, p. 36; J.R. Marczewski, *op. cit.*, pp. 114–118.

⁵³ Andrzej Rozwałka debated the possibility of the existence of the older church of St. Michael on the ground of cementary. Together with Rafał Niedźwiadek and Marek Stasiak, he even ascribed the parochial role to the *oratorium vetus sub titulo Sanctae Crucis ligneum in quo Casimirus Secundus monasterium fundavit* mentioned by Długosz after the tradition of Lublin Dominicans from the second half of 15th century, see A. Rozwałka, R. Niedźwiadek, M. Stasiak, *Lublin wczesnośredniowieczny. Studium rozwoju przestrzennego*, Warszawa 2006, pp. 150–151, 163–170, esp. 150; A. Rozwałka, *Cmentarz na Placu po Farze w Lublinie na tle etapów zagospodarowania Wzgórza Staromiejskiego w średniowieczu. Zarys problematyki*, [in:] „*In silvis, campis... et urbe*”: *średniowieczny obrządek pogrzebowy na pograniczu polsko-ruskim*, red. S. Cygan, M. Glinianowicz, P. N. Kotowicz, Rzeszów–Sanok 2011, pp. 311–327; *Joannis Długosz senioris canonici Cracoviensis Liber beneficiorum...*, vol. 3, pp. 458–459. J. Chachaj expressed the opinion that the oldest church of St. Michael may have existed at another location, possibly the one where the Dominican convent was situated. According to him, its *patrocinium* was transferred to the church from the beginning of the 14th century. See J. Chachaj, *Lublin – miasto Ryczezy? Lubelskie szkice historyczne XI–XIV wieku*, Lublin 2014, pp. 70–97.

⁵⁴ A. Witkowska, *Titulus ecclesiae. Wezwania współczesnych kościołów katedralnych w Polsce*, Warszawa 1999, pp. 52–53; M. Starnawska, *Świętych życie po życiu. Relikwie w kulturze religijnej na ziemiach polskich w średniowieczu*, Warszawa 2008, p. 516; T. Head, *Hagiography and the Cult of Saints. The Diocese of Orléans, 800–1200*, Cambridge 1990, pp. 187–201, esp. 199–200.

But why this locally important aspect appears in the story which belongs to the group of accounts which praise the glory of Prince Leszek Czarny's victories? As a matter of fact, this feature of the story corresponds well with the thesis on the authorship of the so-called *Gesta Lestkonis*. According to Paweł Żmudzki, it was written by a Dominican friar. This opinion is established on the ground of considerable textual evidence and prince's intense patronage of the order⁵⁵. Considering this thesis in the light of local evidence, we already mentioned above that the Dominicans were present in Lublin before the raid of Jatvings. One of the pieces of evidence confirming both the Dominican authorship of the so-called *Gesta Lestkonis* and the order's early presence in Lublin is Długosz's remark in his *Annales* about the death of two Dominican brothers during the incursion of Jatvings in 1282⁵⁶. Considering this information it should be emphasized that scholars recognized interesting traces of the famous historian's use of some Dominican annals which are now long-lost⁵⁷. However, it was also stressed that the remark about death of two brothers informs that the friars were killed in Lublin land, not in Lublin itself in 1282⁵⁸. But this geographical designate of the event comes from the general description of the raid and not from the remark about friar's fate itself. Thus the location of their death comes from the general information taken by Długosz from *Kronika Dzierzwy* and does not rule out Lublin as the place of the event in the original account⁵⁹.

As it is probable that the detail about the two friars was indeed taken from some source written by the Dominicans, it constitutes an important circumstance pointing out to the order's interest in the events in Lublin in 1282. It is uncertain if in this time, the initial phase of the presence in the town, the Black Friars already had their own seat at their disposal. If they didn't, their convent could have functioned on the basis of local parochial church (or temple performing such functions) as was practiced in the dawn era of Dominican presence in Poland⁶⁰. Hence some connections of the Dominican circles where the so-called *Gesta Lestkonis* were supposedly written with the St. Michael's church in Lublin cannot be ruled out. It is also worth to notice that the presence of a refined literary motif of the revenge inflicted by supernatural powers in the form of a ferocious attack of the dogs which we find in both the earliest versions of the story agrees well with

⁵⁵ P. Żmudzki, *Studium podzielonego Królestwa...*, p. 325.

⁵⁶ *Ioannis Dlugossii Annales...*, lib. 7–8, p. 217.

⁵⁷ U. Borkowska, *Dominikanie w dziełach Jana Długosza*, [in:] *Christianitas et cultura Europae. Księga jubileuszowa profesora Jerzego Kłoczowskiego*, red. H. Gapski, t. 1, Lublin 1998, pp. 234–245; M. Zdanek, „Zaginiona kronika dominikańska” z XIII wieku. Próba nowego spojrzenia, [in:] *Fontes et historia – prace dedykowane Antoniemu Gąsiorowskiemu*, red. T. Jurek, I. Skierska, Poznań 2007, pp. 251, 276–282.

⁵⁸ W. Polak, *op. cit.*, p. 81.

⁵⁹ *Ioannis Dlugossii Annales...*, lib. 7–8, pp. 217–219.

⁶⁰ J. Chachaj, *Początki kościołów lubelskich...*, pp. 85–95.

the thesis of its authorship by a Dominican brother, whose two confreres were murdered by heathens during the raid 1282.

Let us also mention a comparative example to clarify the meanings of the story from *Rocznik Traski*. Howbeit distant in chronological aspect, it is very close in spatial terms. In 1738 Aleksander Sobieszczański the Jesuit preacher in the St. Michael's church in Lublin published the two sermons which he delivered in the temple. One of them included examples from local history – in particular, the remark of the Cossack and Tatar attack on Lublin in 1655. As a matter of fact, the enemies couldn't carry it out because of the apparition of the St. Mary and an armed knight: "St. Michael without doubts", wrote Sobieszczański. In the other version of the same *exemplum*, the archangel smashed the enemy battalions fending them off from Lublin. To add to this, the Jesuit described the saint as the lord of the town who favored it by granting his support to Prince Leszek Czarny in the battle with Jatvings. Hence Lublin may call itself *Urbs S. Michaelis*, proclaimed enthusiastically Sobieszczański⁶¹. He thus interpreted the medieval tradition emphasizing the same ideological meanings which we endeavored to unveil. He also constructed the similar (albeit more crude, we may add) examples of St. Michael's protection. Thus the role of St. Michael as the protector of the town was considered by the Jesuit as virtually the same as in our reading of the story from *Rocznik Traski*. Let us therefore conclude that although some single elements of our thesis remain inconclusive, taken together they present a coherent picture: of the short narrative probably crafted by a Dominican friar to applaud Prince Leszek out of the material which retained the recognizable local perspective.

MEMORY, ITS SPATIAL FRAMEWORK, AND IDENTITY OF THE COMMUNITY OF LUBLIN

In the above discussion, we have already encountered a characteristic feature of the importance of the spatial aspect of the two Lublin traditions. Apparently, it became even more significant in the process of the transmission of these tales. The story of the Tatar siege is quite an evident in this regard, as it basically concerns the most noticeable single building in Lublin, an extraordinary element of the local landscape. However, it is important to notice that in the case of the oldest version of the legend from the *De coronatione Kazimiri*, the story not only describes the history of the fortress. One gets an impression that the author felt

⁶¹ A. Sobieszczański, *Nayiasnieysza Krolowa Nieba y Ziemie...*, [in:] *Droga do wszelkiego dobra. Introdukcya Kongregacyi Najslodszeo imienia Maryi dyskursem kaznodziejskim w kościele pod tytulem S. Michała Archaniola Prześwieonej Kollegiaty Lubelskiej na wyprowadzeniu przez X. Alexandra Sobieszczanskiego Societatis Jesu Kaznodzieie Ordynaryjnego Kollegiaty Lubelskiej dnia 12 września pokazana Roku Pańskiego 1739 [...]*, [s. l., s. t.], fol. Cr; *idem*, *Kazanie Ingresus Angelus ad eam. Lucae I. V:28*, [in:] *Droga do wszelkiego dobra...*, fol. Ar, Gr–Hv.

obliged to emphasize the difference in its shape in his own days (stone building) and bygone ones when it was besieged (wooden structure). Thus the castle as the object in space somewhat naturally constituted the frame of reference to the narrative. As was already mentioned, the information about the fortress' rebuilding heightens the sense of the military achievement of the defenders and thus performs an important narrative function. It is significant that this laudatory aspect of the story was heightened with the introduction of the information about Lublin's locality. Thus the notion of town's space closely intertwines with the heroic tone of the tradition.

This aspect is far more discernible in the case of the legend of apparition of St. Michael to Prince Leszek Czarny. Although the initial phase of its transmission remains elusive, the aforementioned Długosz's remark which he added to the story in the second redaction of *Annales* is very telling. It reveals the close connection between the narrative of St. Michael's apparition and the parish church in Lublin. As we have already mentioned, the earliest versions of the story didn't include any references to the St. Michaels church. However, in its 15th-century form coming from local tradition, it was the temple's foundational legend. This modification marks the influence of spatiality on the (most probably) orally transmitted narrative. It indicates that the church served as a kind of an *aide-mémoire* of the story, establishing a powerful support or peg for memory: a place which naturally evoked the tale⁶² about saving of the local community by their patron-saint. This kind of influence of the material objects which serve as the *aide-mémoires* on the content of the memorized stories is well recognized by the scholars⁶³. But in our case also the opposite relation is discernible, as the material object became to be perceived according to the tale. Let us also stress that this interrelation of the tradition and place pertained to the special object: the parochial church, a place of great significance in the image of the local surroundings shared by the members of local community, sometimes considered a 'homeland landmark'⁶⁴.

The similar observations can be made if we consider the evidence coming from the later times which however reflect the ideas characteristic of the 'traditional society' similar to the late medieval one⁶⁵. The artificial isle created on the Wielki Staw Królewski (The Great Royal Pond) in the middle of the 16th century and called Łysa Góra at the end of the 18th was considered to be an earthwork fortification

⁶² For the concept of 'pegs for memory' see E. van Houts, *Memory and Gender in Medieval Europe, 900–1200*, Toronto–Buffalo 1999, pp. 93–120.

⁶³ See especially A.G. Remensnyder, *Legendary Treasure at Conques: Reliquaries and Imaginative Memory*, "Speculum" 1996, Vol. 71, No. 4, pp. 884–906.

⁶⁴ Y.-F. Tuan, *Space and Place. The Perspective of Experience*, Minneapolis–London 2005, p. 159. The author emphasizes the function of 'enhancing of people's identity' which these kind of 'features of high visibility' served.

⁶⁵ See J. Le Goff, *Time, Work & Culture in the Middle Ages*, Chicago 1980, pp. 10–11.

constructed by Tatars during the siege of 1340, wrote Seweryn Sierpiński in the work published in 1839. It is known that he drew heavily on local oral testimonies⁶⁶. Much wider recognized is the late amplification of the legend of St. Michael's apparition. It situates the place where Prince Leszek slept precisely on the ground where (according to this version of legend) the church of St. Michael was situated and where the tree (the large oak according to late versions of amplified story) grew. It was mentioned for the first time by Wincenty Kamiński in his poem *Przypadki lubelskie* published in 1810. Significantly the author emphasized that the trunk of the aforesaid tree, "the venerable souvenir of the event" (of the apparition), is still being shown behind the great altar in the St. Michael's church. The way in which Kamiński described this object suggest that the venerable souvenir was open to spectators. Marveling at it they engaged in commemorative practice which required the acquaintance with the tradition⁶⁷. Thus the legendary traditions continued to influence the way in which both landscape and some material objects were interpreted and perceived. As a matter of fact, the growth of the tradition of St. Michael's apparition through the ages testifies to its enduring popularity and great importance for the inhabitants of Lublin.

An interesting testimony of the local significance of the two traditions comes from the late but nonetheless interesting work: the sixth volume of the famous work *Civitates orbis terrarum* edited by Georg Braun (titled *Theatrum praecipuarum totius mundi urbium*, firstly printed in 1617⁶⁸). One of its chapters presents the first comprehensive description of Lublin and its history. Preparing these accounts Braun often carried on rich correspondence with the majors and members of town councils of the towns in question⁶⁹. That the depiction of Lublin probably originated in this or similar way is indicated by the specific, laudatory attitude towards the accomplishments of the town's administration (in the works on renovation of St. Michael's church) displayed by the author of the text⁷⁰. To add to this, he identified the town's founder as 'Prince Władysław'. This is clearly

⁶⁶ S.Z. Sierpiński, *Obraz miasta Lublina*, Warszawa 1839, p. 29, see also pp. 65–66; *idem*, *Historyczny obraz miasta Lublina*, Warszawa 1843, p. 29, see also pp. 65–66, 192–193. See W. Michalski, *Tradycje historyczne o tatarskim najeździe...*, pp. 76–81.

⁶⁷ W. Kamiński, *Przypadki lubelskie. Poema oryginalne, wierszem takim iak Monomachium ułożone w dziewięciu pieniach*, [s. l.] 1810, p. 13, 27 (footnote 14). See J. Kuczyńska, *Kościół farny św. Michała...*, pp. 44–45; W. Michalski, *Legenda fundacyjna...*, pp. 102–106.

⁶⁸ The work is frequently described as firstly published in 1618. However see H. Gawarecki, *Najstarszy widok Lublina A. Hogenberga i jego powtórzenia w XVII i XVIII wieku*, "Studia i Materiały Lubelskie" 1963, t. 1, p. 53; J. Keuning, *The "Civitates" of Braun and Hogenberg, "Imago Mundi"* 1963, Vol. 17, p. 43.

⁶⁹ A. Frejlich, *Widok Lublina Jerzego Brauna i Abrahama Hogenberga. Zarys genezy widoków miasta w sztuce nowożytnej*, [in:] *Ikonografia dawnego Lublina. Materiały z sesji*, red. Z. Nestorowicz, Lublin 1999, p. 42.

⁷⁰ See below.

contradictory with the remark about Leszek Czarny as the founder of the parochial church in Lublin which he also included and emphasized. But this discrepancy is understandable if we suppose that the author of the account was a civil official who knew the town's historical traditions but also the documents concerning its economical affairs, particularly the frequently copied and corroborated text of the act of granting of the Magdeburgian law to the town of 1317, issued by the aforesaid Prince Władysław. It is particularly interesting to observe that although this ruler was coronated as king of Poland in 1320, in the account from Brown's work he is properly titled 'prince'⁷¹. Hence the description in *Theatrum praecipuarum* may be considered to some point an official version of town's past (and present prominence). Although the work was published in 1617, the description of the buildings reflects the circumstances of slightly earlier era: the period of 1598–1605⁷².

It is the explanation of the purposes which led Władysław Łokietek to the foundation of Lublin which is particularly interesting in the town's description. As we read it was due to appropriateness of the place (in the military sense) that the Prince decided to locate here a fortress which would oppose the raids conducted by the Scythians, that is Tatars. Its fortifications were later partly restored and partly build anew by Kazimierz Wielki (the succeeding ruler), who encircled the town with defences. As we read in the next line, Lublin repelled the attacks of the ferocious, barbaric peoples, protecting not only Poland but also Silesia and Moravia. This particular function performed by the town is not precisely dated. As the sentence about Kazimierz's rebuildings is interjected, the author of the account probably wanted to express that it was performed continually since the town's foundation by Władysław Łokietek⁷³.

The account of Lublin's origin and development is shaped according to the idea of its special role in the defense of the frontier of Christian principalities of middle Europe against the pagan barbarians, specified as Tatars. Let us observe that the tradition of the siege of Lublin castle in its developed form represents

⁷¹ *Urbium praecipuarum mundi theatrum quintum auctore Georgio Braunio* [Civitatis orbis terrarum, vol. 6], [Coloniae Agrippinae, apud Petrum à Brachel, 1618], cap. 48, www.loc.gov/resource/g3200m.gct00128c/?sp=247 [access: 01.12.2017]. Hieronim Łopaciński highlighted the length and laudatory aspect of the description of Jezuit monastery in Lublin, assuming that the whole account of the town could have originated in this convent, see *Najdawniejszy widok Lublina wyjęty z dzieła Jerzego Brauna p.n. „Theatrum praecipuarum totius mundi urbium” z r. 1618 wydał w dokładnej podobieżnie z objaśnieniami Hieronim Łopaciński*, red. i przeł. H. Łopaciński, Warszawa 1901.

⁷² H. Gawarecki, *op. cit.*, p. 54.

⁷³ *Urbium praecipuarum mundi theatrum...: Primum eius conditorem ferunt Vladislaum Ducem: qui loci sequutus opportunitatem, Scytharum sive Tatarorum incursionibus hoc propugnaculum obiecit: quod deinde Casimirus cognomento Magnus partim refecit, partim novis manibus atque operibus cinxit: eoque ferocium ac barbararum gentium insultus non à Polonia tantum, sed Silesia etiam ac Moravia avertit.*

the similar notion: the defenders of Lublin castle manage to stop and repulse the heathen invasion. Although the story is not mentioned in *Theatrum praecipuarum*, both the accounts specify the same danger. To say more, the semi-international dimension of the town's role in the defense of Christianity highlighted in the Braun's work agrees with the image of the raid of 1340/1341 in the contemporary rumor outside Poland. As we mentioned above it also presented the Tatar menace as a threat for Christian Europe. Nevertheless, the scale of the invasion was indeed considerable if in the accurate relation of *De coronatione Kazimiri* it was stopped only by the Polish king in person at the head of his army⁷⁴.

Thus it seems that to a considerable degree, it was the tradition of the Tatar siege which formed the basis for the general idea formulated in the account of Lublin's origin in Braun's work. It represents the town as the embodiment of the broader ideology of the "bulwark of Christianity (Christian outpost)" or *Antemurale Christianitatis*. Although in the case of Poland its explicit realizations date to the 17th century, it is, in fact, a much older concept. Its core was created as the effect of the great Tatar incursions in the 13th century. It was eagerly used in official letters to papacy issued by Władysław Łokietek and Kazimierz Wielki. At the end of the 15th century, when the Tatar threat renewed, the idea reached the popular literature. Interestingly, the prevailing threat from which 'Polish bulwark' was supposed to protect Europe was the Tatar one in all the medieval realizations of the motif. Let us also note, that the very phraseology utilized to describe Lublin in the account from the Braun's work (*propugnaculum [contra] Scytharum sive Tatarorum incursionibus*) is familiar from the descriptions of the conception of *Antemurale (propugnaculum fidei christianae)*. That the role performed by Lublin castle during the raid of 1340/1341 as well as tradition about it was indeed significant may be well seen in the way in which the similar function of Ruthenian principalities was emphasized in the Władysław Łokietek's letter to the pope written in 1323. The Polish king described the lands in question as the very *scutum inexpugnabile contra crudelem gentem Tartarorum*⁷⁵.

The historical tradition of Tatar siege of Lublin castle allowed to create the image of the town according to the enduring idea of *Antemurale Christianitatis*. The fact that the author of the account from the Braun's work subordinated the vision

⁷⁴ *De coronatione Kazimiri...*, p. 622.

⁷⁵ P. Knoll, *Poland as Antemurale Christianitatis in the late Middle Ages*, "Catholic Historical Review" 1974, Vol. 60, No. 3, pp. 381–401; J. Krzyżaniakowa, *Poland as "Antemurale Christianitatis". The Political and Ideological Foundations of the Idea*, "Polish Western Affairs" 1992, Vol. 33, No. 2, pp. 3–24, esp. 3, 5; P. Srodecki, "*Scutum inexpugnabile contra crudelem gentem Tartarorum*": the use of the "Christian outpost" propaganda to legitimise the conquest of Galicia-Volhynia under the two last Piast kings of Poland, 1323–1370, [in:] *Principalities in lands of Galicia and Volhynia in international relations in the 11th–14th centuries. Publications after 2nd International Conference, Ivano-Frankivsk, 20–20th October, 2011*, ed. V. Nagirnyy, „Colloquia Russica”, Vol. 2, Kraków 2012, pp. 114–120, esp. 114.

of Lublin's origin to this concept testifies to its importance and attractiveness. He presented a distinct heritage which identified Lublin community in the eyes of the readers of Braun's work according to the prestigious idea. The creation of this important vision signifies the importance of the earlier tradition of Tatar siege.

In the case of the tradition about St. Michael's apparition in the account of Lublin from the Braun's work, the situation is clear: the story is mentioned in the description of the town and in the descriptions to the picture of Lublin itself. It tells the shortened version of Długosz story, with the motif of invulnerability of Leszek's forces and the construction of St. Michael's church as *monumentum* of Prince's victory. It is the repeating of the idea of the temple as the material monument of the glorious past which is particularly striking. The author explained that when part of the temple collapsed of old, the municipality *laudabili pietate* procured it to be rebuild and restored *ad conservandam perpetuam tantæ victoriae memoriam*⁷⁶. The image of the parochial church as the souvenir of the past glories was thus clearly recognized. The highlighting of this belief in the somewhat official description of the town indicates that the story was considered a venerable tradition and the source of local pride.

CONCLUSIONS

The Lublin traditions explained objects and particular places in the local space in terms of local history. At the same time, these places served as *aide-mémoires*, constituting a kind of 'memory map' in town's space. Therefore, the peculiarities of townscape (also the imagined one as in the case of the famous tree's trunk) affected the shape of the traditions themselves. In the light of discussed examples, the notions of space and traditions about the past emerge as ideas entangled and inseparable in the perception of the members of Lublin community. This kind of ascription of the past to space and *vice versa* is a recognized feature of traditional societies' world view (especially the local one). However, it is worth to emphasize that the effects of this kind of processes form important records of community's cultural life⁷⁷.

The fact that the two discussed traditions were continually recounted and amplified indicates that a certain 'community' based on their common knowledge and sense of their significance existed. It was able to transform the stories to produce new symbols adhering to them⁷⁸. There is also another significant

⁷⁶ *Urbium praecipuarum mundi theatrum...*

⁷⁷ J. Banaszkiwicz, *Fabularyzacja przestrzeni. Średniowieczny przykład granic*, „Kwartalnik Historyczny” 1979, t. 86, nr 4, pp. 987–999, esp. 990–993.

⁷⁸ Compare Andrew Butcher's notion of the 'speech/text community' – *Functions of Script in the Speech Community of a Late Medieval Town, c. 1300–1550*, [in:] *The Uses of Script and Print, 1300–1700*, red. J. Crick, A. Walsham, Cambridge 2004, pp. 157–170; and Brian Stock's notion of

aspect of the preserving of the historical traditions of Lublin community. As the exemplification of this group's social memory, they influenced the understanding of important features of the inhabitant's local landscape familiar from everyday life⁷⁹. One could describe the effects of this influence, as creation of the historical dimension of town's 'representational space' of Henri Lefebvre's concept⁸⁰. The popular historical traditions not only provided the local community with the common past which became the source of local pride and allowed to express its identity according to prestigious idea of *Antemurale Christianitatis*. They also induced the specific, distinctive way of experiencing the local space, often considered as perhaps the most fundamental basis upon which the bonds creating the town's community were constituted⁸¹.

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'textual community' described in the context of social memory studies by J.V. Wertsch, *Voices of Collective Remembering*, Cambridge 2002, pp. 62–66.

⁷⁹ The classic remarks on this question come from the M. Halbwachs, *La mémoire collective*, Paris 1950, pp. 130–147, esp. 146. In his opinion, the collective memory always unfolds itself within the spatial frame. See also D. Lowenthal, *Past Time, Present Place: Landscape and Memory*, "The Geographical Review" 1975, Vol. 65, No. 1, pp. 1–36, esp. 6–13.

⁸⁰ H. Lefebvre, *The Production of Space*, transl. D. Nicholson-Smith, Oxford–Cambridge 1991, esp. pp. 31–46.

⁸¹ See the interesting work of G. Odoj, *Tożsamość kulturowa społeczności małomiasteczkowej*, Katowice 2007, pp. 11–12, 16–17, 23–24, esp. 27–28, cf. pp. 170–197. This aspect of urban group was gravely emphasized by M. Halbwachs, *op. cit.*, pp. 133–140.

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STRESZCZENIE

Artykuł przedstawia średniowieczne wersje dwóch opowieści o przeszłości Lublina, dotyczące oblężenia miejscowego zamku przez Tatarów na przełomie 1340 i 1341 r. oraz ukazania się świętego Michała księciu Leszkowi Czarnemu i zwycięstwa władcy nad Jaćwingami w 1282 r. Przyglądając się śladom znajomości tych narracji w mieście nad Bystrzycą do początku XVII w., autor dowodzi, że były to wówczas dobrze znane tradycje lokalne. Wyrażały one idee szczególnie ważne i atrakcyjne dla społeczności Lublina. Za ich sprawą członkowie miejscowej wspólnoty postrzegali ważne elementy miejskiej przestrzeni w swoisty dla swej grupy sposób. Można zatem dostrzec, że opowieści z kręgu legendarnych dziejów Lublina oddziaływały na poczucie tożsamości członków społeczności Lublina w kilku ważnych aspektach.

Słowa kluczowe: Lublin – średniowieczne tradycje lokalne; Lublin – historia, XIII–XIV w.; Lublina – świadomość historyczna; społeczność Lublina, XIII–XVII w. – poczucie tożsamości; tradycje o oblężeniu zamku lubelskiego przez Tatarów zimą 1340/1341 r.; Fara św. Michała w Lublinie – legenda fundacyjna