

ter Stanisław Orzechowski genommen und die immer wiederkehrenden Motive des Widerstandsrechtes und der individuellen Moral gegen das Gemeinwesen des Staates dargestellt habe. Dass diese Moral nicht Toleranz bedeuten muss, zeigen verschiedene Beispiele wie Szymon Starowolski, der als Kritiker der Warschauer Konföderation in die Geschichte einging und sich gegen die Polnischen Brüder und die Protestanten richtete. Die Polnischen Brüder akzeptierten zwar das politische System Polen-Litauens, widersetzten sich aber einem rein katholischen Gemeinwesen. H. zufolge verbanden sie Theologie und Philosophie im Sinne einer „rationalen“ Religion, die das friedliche Zusammenleben aller Konfessionen ermöglichen sollte. Die Konzeption der Toleranz bildet einen Kernpunkt des Buches, denn die „polnische“ Schule der Sozialphilosophie habe die Erfahrung des kulturell Anderen verinnerlicht und damit den Diskurs über „Metaphysik und religiöse Sittlichkeit als kulturelle Fakten autonom“ (S. 17) zu interpretieren gelernt. Leider geht dieser Punkt fast ein wenig in der Vielzahl an philosophischen Konzepten unter. So widmet sich H. in Kapitel 6 den Ansätzen von Stanisław Konarski, Rousseau, Hugo Kołłątaj, Stanisław Staszic, Henryk Rzewuski und Adam Jerzy Czartoryski im Zusammenhang mit der Teilungsgeschichte Polens und dem Missbrauch des *Liberum Veto* auf lediglich 30 Seiten. In diesem Kapitel hätte man sich mehr als nur einen Überblick gewünscht.

In den Kapitel 7 und 8 wird mit Adam Mickiewicz ein Rückbesinnen auf die urslawische Demokratie angedacht, um Alternativen zu den aufgeklärten Monarchien des „Westens“ aufzuzeigen, da die romantische Strömung als Freiheitsmoment gegen die aufklärerische Rationalität der Teilungsmächte verstanden wurde. Das *Liberum Veto* steht damit wieder im Fokus. H. eröffnet die Kritik an Mickiewicz' sozialrevolutionärer Vision mit den Warschauer Positivisten und spinnt diese weiter bis zur Lemberg-Warschau-Schule. Hier stellt Tadeusz Kotarbiński die Trennung zwischen Philosophie und Leben in Frage und eröffnet einen Diskurs über eine weltanschaulich neutrale Lehre von ethischen Normen, die sich nahtlos in die vorangegangene Debatte einreicht. Das Buch endet mit Henryk Elzenbergs Kulturbegriff und seinem Konflikt mit den Logikern. Ethik und die Definition der Politik verortet Elzenberg dabei immer im Individuum und niemals im Kollektiv, denn das Kollektiv sei einstimmig, Individuen aber polyphon. Die Toleranzdebatte verlagert sich damit zwangsläufig aus dem öffentlichen Raum ins Individuum und gibt der Diskussion damit noch einmal eine Wende.

Leider endet das Buch ohne ein abschließendes Kapitel. Man erwartet vergebens ein übergreifendes Nachwort, das die vielen relevanten roten Fäden aus der Geschichte und den Strömungen der Sozialphilosophie in Polen noch einmal in einem Strang zusammenspinnen würde. Die reine Materialmenge mag dies verhindert haben. Dennoch ist es ein sehr zu empfehlendes Buch zur Einführung, dem ein oder zwei Theoretiker weniger nicht geschadet hätten.

Frankfurt (Oder)

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Darius von Güttner-Sporzyński: Poland, Holy War, and the Piast Monarchy 1100-1230. (Europa Sacra, Bd. 14.) Turnhout. Brepols 2014, XII, 294 S. ISBN 978-2-503-54794-7. (€ 102,-)

The historiography of the crusades has so far focused on the ideology of holy war and on events in the Holy Land or the Iberian Peninsula. In contrast, research into the crusades around the Baltic Sea has long been of a peripheral nature, most presented in the contexts of the Second Crusade. Several decades have passed since Eric Christiansen's key monograph was published,¹ and it has become an increasingly important reference work for at-

¹ ERIC CHRISTIANSEN: The Northern Crusades: The Baltic and the Catholic Frontier 1100-1525, Minneapolis 1980.

tention analysing the crusades in the Baltic region.² Christiansen raises two crucial points: 1) The crusades in the Baltic region were perceived as an integral part of Europeanization on the periphery of Latin Europe; 2) In those countries on the periphery of Latin Europe (especially Denmark, Sweden, the Czech lands, Poland and Hungary) which adopted the ideology of the crusades, this contributed to a number of political, cultural and economic transformations.

The extent and range of these transformations differed in each country. Darius von Güttner-Sporzyński's monograph introduces medieval Poland's position during the crusades in the Baltic region. The concept of crusade itself is shown to have influenced the political and religious decisions of the Piast dynasty. Another recent publication by Mikołaj Gładysz is also dedicated to Poland's role during the crusades.³ G.-S.'s work is no mere addendum to Gładysz's study, although it engages with, for example, Gładysz's analysis of Henry of Sandomierz's crusade to the Holy Land. G.-S. offers an alternative view of the reception of the crusades in Piast Poland.

The book consists of an introduction, seven chapters, conclusion, appendices, bibliography and indices of surnames and place names. In the first chapter the author discusses the rise of Piast Poland and the initial military conflicts with neighbouring countries, in which, according to the well-known chronicler Gallus Anonymus, the Poles waged a holy war against the pagans. The second chapter traces the development of the concept of crusading in Piast Poland. The author sees this spreading through three channels: Firstly, ties to other ruling European families which had adopted the idea of holy war in the age of the First Crusade. Secondly, the Holy See and its legates or other representatives introduced the Gregorian reform and of the medieval canon law perspective on what kind of war was possible for Christians. It is revealing that some papal legates came from areas in which the First Crusade had experienced the undisputed success, and others were actively involved in promoting the First and the Second Crusades (such as Gilo of Turcy, Bishop of Tusculum and later a monk of Cluny, who wrote the epos *Historia vie Hierosolimitae*). The third group consisted of Polish clergy who came from Western Europe (e. g. Lorraine). These include Alexander of Malonne (d. 1156), who became Bishop of Płock. This diocese was a crucial missionary centre as it bordered with lands populated by Prussian tribes.

The third chapter examines a concrete case of holy war in practice: the conquest of Pomerania. This was initiated by Duke Bolesław III the Wrymouth, who the author regards as the founder of the crusader military tradition in Poland. Whether this tradition had gained specific 'Polish' features remains unclear. It is believed that Gallus Anonymus came from Provence, a heartland of the crusades in France, hence he was not Polish himself. Sources from the 12th century (primarily the *Gesta* of Gallus Anonymus) depicted Bolesław's war against the Pomeranian dukes, and that of his predecessor Bolesław the Brave against the Prussian pagans, as a battle between good and evil and thus a just war as defined by St. Augustine. Therefore, it is not surprising that Bolesław III and his soldiers were represented as the new Maccabees and warriors for Christ, fighting Prussian apostates, who were portrayed in compliance with the principle of *interpretatio christiana*.

Chapter four traces the struggle for power between Bolesław III's sons. Władysław II the Exile entered into a military alliance with the Prussians and supported a peaceful mission to Prussia by Bishop Henry of Olomouc, which never took place. His brother and po-

² Cf. ANE L. BYSTED, CARSTEN S. JENSEN, KURT V. JENSEN, JOHN H. LIND: *Jerusalem in the North: Denmark and the Baltic Crusades 1100-1522*, Turnhout 2012; IBEN FONNESBERG-SCHMIDT: *The Popes and the Baltic Crusades 1147-1254*, Leiden et al. 2007.

³ MIKOŁAJ GLĄDYSZ: *The Forgotten Crusaders: Poland and the Crusader Movement in the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries*, Leiden et al. 2012.

litical opponent, Bolesław IV the Curly, allied with Bishop Alexander of Płock to support the crusader ideology. Bishop Alexander himself may have had a somewhat contradictory attitude to the crusades, which the author does not resolve. He was peaceful as well as warlike, founding Benedictine and Augustinian monasteries, and the door of his cathedral was designed based on the gospel verse 'I am the gate; whoever enters through me will be saved' (John 10:9).

The fifth chapter analyses the role of another Piast, Henry of Sandomierz, during the crusades in the Holy Land, and how the Piasts exploited the concept of holy war to attain local objectives. Described by St. Bernard of Clairvaux, Henry emerges as a new knight, who introduced the Hospitallers to Poland. Thus in Piast Poland by the middle of 12th century, holy war was already an integral part of Latin Europe's knightly culture.

The two remaining chapters are devoted to wars waged by Piast Poland against neighbouring Prussian tribes. By 1147-8, the Wendish Crusade was supported by the bull *Divini dispensatione*, issued by Pope Eugenius III, granting them the right to *eos Christianae religioni subjugare*. It is undisputed that political subjugation of Christianity is meant here. Nevertheless, Vincentus Magister portrayed this as a crusade against apostates, according to the famous principle *compellere intrare*. It is evident that the words attributed to Bernard of Clairvaux—*donec, auxiliante Deo, aut ritus ipse, aut natio deleatur*—cannot be traced in this chronicle, whereas the Piasts tolerated Prussian paganism to a certain extent, since Prussians were hired by Polish dukes to abate internal wars. Yet not all Polish-Prussian warfare was classified as a crusade. Only a few military raids (in 1147, 1166, and 1192) against the Prussians were treated as a part of a holy war by the chronicler Vincentus, although there were many more military clashes between Prussians and Poles. Of these three, only 1147 was granted crusade status by the Pope. Thus it is unclear whether the Polish political and military authorities perceived the later battles as an integral part of a religious war or whether the chronicler and his contemporaries saw them as honouring the crusading tradition of the Piasts. Vincentus depicts the Prussians as *contra Saladinistas*, describing a crusade in 1192 against Prussian Pollexians; this echoes the collapse of the Kingdom of Jerusalem in 1187. Nevertheless, the missionary programme represented on the doors of Gniezno Cathedral indicates that an alternative to an ongoing *compellere intrare* principle for Christian missions existed alongside the idea of a holy war in Piast Poland.

This concept did not evolve in a smooth linear fashion; while a crusade against Pomeranian pagans/apostates in 1102-28 was portrayed as a just war, a crusade in 1147 was presented as Piast territorial expansion. Wars against adjacent pagan tribes acquired the pattern of the crusades because of the increasing participation of the growing Polish knight-hood and political elite. Yet the first military orders to be established in Poland—Hospitallers, Holy Sepulchre and Knights Templar—did not initially set out to fight the pagans there. It is important to remember that when the idea of holy war was gaining momentum in Poland, the tide of opinion was turning against the crusades in Western Europe.⁴ Thus Piast Poland is typical of the East Central European countries which took more time to adopt a concept introduced from further west.

G.-S.'s monograph essentially complements research into the crusades around the Baltic Sea. It makes it possible to formulate new questions for subsequent research and increases our understanding of the phenomenon of holy war and its reception in the Baltic region.

Klaipėda

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⁴ For more on this, see ELIZABETH SIBERRY: *Criticism of Crusading 1095-1274*, Oxford 1985.