

HISTORIOGRAPHY AND THE SHAPING
OF REGIONAL IDENTITY IN EUROPE

EARLY EUROPEAN RESEARCH

VOLUME 16

Series founded by Andrew Lynch and Claire McIlroy with the Australian Research Council Network for Early European Research, and now directed by The University of Western Australia Centre for Medieval and Early Modern Studies.

General Editors

Susan Broomhall, University of Western Australia

Kirk Essary, University of Western Australia

Editorial Board

Tracy Adams, University of Auckland

Emilia Jamroziak, University of Leeds

Matthias Meyer, Universität Wien

Fabrizio Ricciardelli, Kent State University Florence Center

Juanita Feros Ruys, University of Sydney

Jón Víðar Sigurðsson, Universitetet i Oslo

Nicholas Terpstra, University of Toronto



Previously published volumes in this series
are listed at the back of the book.

Historiography and the Shaping of Regional Identity in Europe

Regions in Clio's Looking Glass

Edited by

DICK E. H. DE BOER

AND LUÍS ADÃO DA FONSECA

BREPOLS

British Library Cataloguing in Publication Data
A catalogue record for this book is available from
the British Library.

Cover image: After the *Map of Pomerania, Livonia and
Oswiecim* by Abraham Ortelius (1574), [private collection],
and after *The Moneylender and his Wife* by Quinten Metsys,
[Louvre, Paris, 1514].

© 2020, Brepols Publishers n.v., Turnhout, Belgium.

All rights reserved. No part of this publication may be
reproduced, stored in a retrieval system, or transmitted, in any
form or by any means, electronic, mechanical, photocopying,
recording, or otherwise without the prior permission of the
publisher.



D/2020/0095/311
ISBN 978-2-503-59071-4
E-ISBN 978-2-503-59073-8
DOI 10.1484/M.EER-EB.5.120933
ISSN 2295-9254
E-ISSN 2295-9262

Printed in the EU on acid-free paper.

Table of Contents

List of Illustrations	7
Acknowledgements	13
Introduction: Regions in Clio's Looking Glass Dick E. H. DE BOER and Luís ADÃO DA FONSECA	15
Regions and Historiography: Reflections on the Ways in which Different Types of Historiography Shaped and Changed Regional Identity Dick E. H. DE BOER and Luís ADÃO DA FONSECA	33

Part I

Regional Identity in Medieval and Early Modern Historiography

Boemi and the Others: Shaping the Regional Identity of Medieval Bohemia between the Twelfth and the Fourteenth Centuries Jana FANTYSOVÁ-MATĚJKOVÁ	69
From the Duchy of Few to the Homeland of Many: Regional Identity in Silesian Medieval and Early Modern Historiography Przemysław WISZEWSKI	91
Chronicles of the Towns of Upper Lusatia: Reflecting the Political and Cultural Identity of the Region? Lenka BOBKOVÁ, Petr HRACHOVEC, and Jan ZDICHYNEC	117
From Principality into Province: The Historiography of the Guelders- Lower Rhine Region from the Fifteenth to the Seventeenth Centuries Job WESTSTRATE	145
Transylvania in the Historical Writing of Nicolaus Olahus, Georg Reicherstoffer, and Antonius Verancsics Cornelia POPA-GORJANU	165

Part II

The Creation of Regional Identity in Nineteenth-Century Historiography

Post-Medieval Appropriation of Regional Sainthood in Scandinavia: St Knud Lavard and St Olav	
Nils Holger PETERSEN	189
Conceptions of History and Imagined Regions in the Baltic Provinces in the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries	
Linda KALJUNDI and Aivar PÕLDVEE	209
National Regionalisms before Political Ideologies: Schleswig- Holstein in 1848	
Michael BREGNSBO	237
Constructing and Deconstructing the Medieval Origin of Catalonia	
Flocel SABATÉ	257
Inventing Limburg (the Netherlands): Territory, History, and Identity	
Ad KNOTTER	283
Index of Keywords	301



List of Illustrations

Dick E. H. de Boer and Luís Adão da Fonseca: Introduction

- Figure 0.1. Cover of the brochure by Heineken, showing the map of his regional *Eurotopia*. Image supplied by D. E. H. de Boer. 18

Dick E. H. de Boer and Luís Adão da Fonseca: Regions and Historiography

- Figure 1.1. Leaf showing the start of book XV in the 1447 manuscript of the French translation of *De Proprietatibus Rerum* by Jean Corbechon. As the text does, the image focuses on nature, the man-made environment, and the means of life. Amiens, Bibliothèque Municipale, MS 399, fol. 166^r. Reproduced with permission. 36
- Figure 1.2. The offering of his *Chronicle of Hainaut* to Duke Philip the Good of Burgundy, by the author Jean Wauquelin, as depicted in the dedication miniature by Rogier van der Weyden of the showpiece manuscript made in 1447, embodies the politicizing process connecting regional identities and histories to dynastically ruled territories. Brussels, Royal Library of Belgium, MS 9242, fol. 11^r. Reproduced with permission. 55

Jana Fantysová–Matějková

- Figure 2.1. Mythological figures of Czech and Lech. Frontispiece miniature from the end of the fourteenth century in the Bautzen manuscript of Cosmas' *Chronica Boemorum* (first half of the 13th century). Prague, National Museum Library, ms. VIII F 69 fol. 1^r. Reproduced with permission. 71
- Figure 2.2. Bretislaus I of Bohemia kidnaps his future wife Judith (Jitka) of Schweinfurt from a monastery. Illumination in a Latin translation of the *Chronicle of Dalimil* made in Northern Italy, 1331–1335. Prague, National Library of the Czech Republic, MS XII E 17, fol. 3^r. Reproduced with permission. 75

Przemysław Wiszewski

- Figure 3.1. In the battle between the Mongols and an army led by Polish knights at Legnica (Liegnitz) in 1241, as depicted in an illumination by the anonymous artist of the *Vita Beatae Hedwigis* (1353) we see the beheading of Duke Henry II and his soul being carried by Angels to Heaven. Ms Ludwig XI 7 (83.MN.126), fol. 11^v, J. Paul Getty Museum, Los Angeles. Digital image courtesy of the Getty's Open Content Program. 97

- Figure 3.2. The *Vita Beatae Hedwigis* opens with a treatise on the genealogy of her family. The manuscript's first miniature shows her lineage in two images. The one at the lower half of the leaf shows Hedwig's marriage, at the age of twelve, to Duke Henry of Silesia. Ms Ludwig XI 7 (83.MN.126), lower part of fol. 10^v, J. Paul Getty Museum, Los Angeles. Digital image courtesy of the Getty's Open Content Program. 105
- Figure 3.3. In the nineteenth century a series of 'Fürstenbilder' depicted the tombs of the dukes of Silesia. In vivid colours the mostly vanished medieval polychrome was evoked. Here we see the picture of the tomb of Henry IV the Righteous (Probus), duke of Wrocław Probus, of which the original now is in the National Museum. After Theodor Blatterbauer, *Schlesische Fürstenbilder des Mittelalters*. 107
- Figure 3.4. One of the oldest maps of Silesia, once its shape and identity were established, is the one drawn by the Silesian cartographer Martin Helwig in 1561, which was used by Ortelius in his *Theatrum Orbis Terrarum Abrahami Ortelii Antverp. Geographi Regii*. This copy comes from the edition by Plantin, Antwerp 1601. Private collection. 110
- Lenka Bobková, Petr Hrachovec, and Jan Zdichynec**
- Figure 4.1. Map of Upper Lusatia as part of the Bohemian Crown Lands in 1462, by Dick E. H. de Boer, based on the map by Eva Chodějovská. 118
- Figure 4.2. Map of Upper Lusatia, as published by the brothers Willem Janszoon (1571–1638) and Joan Blaeu (1596–1673) in their *Theatrum Orbis Terrarum, sive Atlas Novus in quo Tabulae et Descriptiones Omnium Regionum* (Amsterdam 1644), based on the map by the astronomer and cartographer Bartholomäus Scultetus (Barthel Schulze 1540–1614) who served as mayor of his native town Görlitz. When colouring the map, an error was made in the coat of arms, which should have a gold wall and a blue field. Private Collection. 120
- Figure 4.3. Prospect of the town of Zittau, engraving by Johann Georg Mentzel (1677–1743) in Grosser, *Lausitzische Merckwuerdigkeiten* (1714). 121
- Figure 4.4. Portrait of Duke Sobieslaus I († 1140), in the German manuscript translation of Manlius's *Commentaries*. He is presented as king of Bohemia, which he had never been, and as founder of the town of Görlitz, upon which he is looking down. It is one of the rare examples of a high-quality illumination in this handwritten historiographical text. The manuscript is preserved now in the BUWr., under the mark Mil. II/173, *Commentariorum rerum Lusaticarum libri VI quibus accessit septimus de Lusatijs literarum armorumve gloria claris collectore Christophoro Manlio. Scripsit Christianus Schaefferus* (1708). 123

- Figure 4.5. The coats of arms of the royal towns of Upper Lusatia in the work of Johann Benedict Carpzov (1675–1739), *Neueroeffneter Ehren-Tempel*, often using the lion of the Kingdom of Bohemia as a heraldic figure. 125
- Figure 4.6. Christian Schaeffer (1666–1747): The title page of the illustrated Görlitz chronicle with the lion, the symbol of the Kingdom of Bohemia, and the Austrian Eagle. Ratsarchiv Görlitz, without Inv.nr. (Vol. 5 of the Annals). 127

Job Weststrate

- Figure 5.1. Map showing the principalities of Guelders, Cleves, and Jülich in the wider Lower Rhine region. Image by D. E. H. de Boer, after a map by André Stufkens and Jacobus Trijsburg, Nijmegen. 146
- Figure 5.2. A miniature in the Middle-Netherlandish translation of the Chronicles of Froissart which shows Duke William of Guelders-Jülich, recognizable by the medlar flowers on his coat, bowing to the French king Charles VI near Erkelenz in 1388. Royal Library of the Netherlands, The Hague, Ms 130B21, fol. 359^r. Reproduced with permission. 149
- Figure 5.3. In the seventeenth century displaying Guelders identity through a series of paintings was quite popular. The mythical past, and especially the story of the brothers Wichard and Lupold slaying the dragon, remained very popular. This painting by an anonymous artist around 1680, possibly painted at the occasion of the imagined 8th centennial of the event, shows the dramatic killing. The castle of Guelders, the medlar-tree, and the flowers on the shield refer to the symbolic identity, whereas in the last fiery breath, one can read three times 'Gelre'. A large inserted text explains all to the reader. Digital image: Limburgs Museum, courtesy of the Townhall of Geldern. 153
- Figure 5.4. The frontispiece of the 1653 edition of Pontanus' History of Guelders, translated and extended by Van Slichtenhorst brings together regional and national identities. To both sides of the text: (left) Gaius Julius Civilis, the leader of the inhabitants of the Batavian region (part of Guelders) against the Romans in AD 69, and (right) William of Orange who led the rebellion against Habsburg Spain. Below the text the funeral monument of Charles I of Egmond, duke of Guelders and count of Zutphen, who had a principal role in the Frisian peasant rebellion and the Guelders Wars against Habsburg is depicted. The coats of arms refer to the dynastic and urban identities of Guelders. Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam, RP-P-1992–202. Reproduced with permission. 158

Cornelia Popa-Gorjanu

- Figure 6.1. Portrait of Nicolaus Olahus, at the age of sixty-seven, showing him as archbishop of Esztergom and scholar. Woodcut by Donat Hübschmann in 1560. From a 1740 edition. 168
- Figure 6.2. Chorographia Transylvaniae, map of Transylvania, printed in 1532 in Basel by Johannes Honterus (1498–1549), who one year later started his own printing press in Braşov (Kronstadt). This map was published in at least 125 editions and influenced until the eighteenth century the design of maps of the region. After Johannes Honterus' *Chorographia Transylvaniae* (Wien: Graesser, 1898). 174
- Figure 6.3. Portrait of Anton Verancsics at the age of sixty-nine, as author and archbishop of Esztergom, where he was the successor of Olahus. This engraving was made in 1571 by the Dalmatian artist and printer Martin Rota. 180

Nils Holger Petersen

- Figure 7.1. Knud Lavard enthroned (detail from the central vault of St Bendt's Church, Ringsted, Denmark). Fresco from c. 1300. Photo: Robert Fortuna, 2015, National Museum of Denmark. 192
- Figure 7.2. The façade of the Knud Guildhall, as drawn by Georg Friedrich Geist in the first half of the nineteenth century (before the reconstruction of the building in the 1860s). See Mänd, 'The Cult and Visual Representation', Figure 6.12 (p. 125). Some have argued that if the guild was founded in the first half of thirteenth century, it would most likely have had Knud Lavard as its patron saint. However, Mänd considers it more likely that it was founded in the late thirteenth century and with King Knud 'the Holy' as patron saint, see Mänd, 'The Cult and Visual Representation', pp. 119–27, esp. 120–21. 194
- Figure 7.3. The Olav statue, decorated with a garland, in the west front of Nidaros Cathedral, Trondheim. Photo: Eiler Munksgaard. 201

Linda Kaljundi and Aivar Pöldvee

- Figure 8.1. Laps on skis. From Olaus Magnus, *Historia de Gentibus Septentrionalibus* (Rome, 1555). Woodcut. Reproduction from Olaus Magnus, *Die Wunder des Nordens* (Frankfurt am Main: Eichborn, 2006). 216
- Figure 8.2. Conrad Westermayr, 'Waina-Möinen – the Finnish Orpheus' (Waina-Möinen – Orpheus der Finnen). From Garlieb Merkel, *Die Vorzeit Lieflands. Ein Denkmahl des Pfaffen- und Rittergeistes*, vol. 1 (Berlin: Voss, 1798). Copperplate engraving. 220
- Figure 8.3. Friedrich Ludwig von Maydell, 'The First Landing of the Bremen Merchants on the Daugava. 1156' (Erste Landung der Bremer Kaufleute in der Düna. 1156). From *Fünffzig Bilder aus der Geschichte der deutschen Ostsee-Provinzen Russlands*, vol. 1 (Dorpat: C. A. Kluge, 1839). Copperplate engraving. 223

- Figure 8.4. Friedrich Ludwig von Maydell, 'The Song of Vanemuine' (Wannemunne's Sang). From *Verhandlungen der gelehrten Estnischen Gesellschaft zu Dorpat*, vol. 1, part 1 (Dorpat: Severin, 1840). Lithograph. 227
- Figure 8.5. Friedrich Ludwig von Maydell, 'Theodorich in Danger of Becoming Sacrificed to Gods in 1192' (Der Mönch Theodorich in Gefahren den Goetzen geopfert zu werden. A° 1192). From *Fünzig Bilder aus der Geschichte der deutschen Ostsee-Provinzen Russlands*, vol. 1 (Dorpat: C. A. Kluge, 1839). Copperplate engraving. 228

Michael Bregnsbo

- Figure 9.1. Map showing the complex composition of Schleswig-Holstein until 1863/1864. Schleswig was a duchy that used to be part of the kingdom of Denmark and the Danish king was still the duke here. It was also constitutionally closely associated with Holstein that was another duchy under the king of Denmark but also a member of the German Federation. The little duchy of Lauenburg was more or less an appendix to Holstein. The question of succession to these duchies was largely unclear. Moreover, Schleswig was ethnically and linguistically mixed between Danish and German. The northern part was mainly Danish-minded, the southern part predominantly German-minded whereas the middle part was mixed. (Image supplied by D. E. H. de Boer, after NordNordWest). 238
- Figure 9.2. The Danish 'March Ministry' 1848. This government was appointed immediately after the fall of the Danish absolutist regime in March 1848. It was a broadly based coalition composed of conservative aristocrats who had been serving the old regime, of the leaders of the liberal opposition and even of representatives of the more left-leaning opposition. Its main purpose was to prevent Schleswig from being separated from Denmark. In Schleswig-Holstein a similar, equally broadly-based coalition government was formed almost at the same time: its aim was to establish a Schleswig-Holsteinian state that should be integrated in the unified Germany that seemed to be on the drawing board. Composition of pictures by unknown photographer. Courtesy Arkivet ved Dansk Centralbibliotek for Sydslesvig. 244
- Figure 9.3. Gathering of the first single German parliament in the Paulskirche in Frankfurt am Main, 1848. This parliament was paying great attention to the ongoing conflict over Schleswig which it considered a German war of liberation from Denmark and thus a rallying point for an otherwise deeply politically divided German public. This parliament was dissolved by military power in 1849. When Germany was finally unified in 1871 it was on a conservative, authoritarian basis. Historisches Museum, Frankfurt am Main. Coloured drawing by Ludwig von Elliott, 1848. 246

Flocel Sabaté

- Figure 10.1. Posthumous portrait of Pròsper de Bofarull (1777–1839), chief of the Royal Archives of Barcelona and historian, by Claudi Lorenzale. Picture: Arxiu de la Corona d'Aragó. 261
- Figure 10.2. Wilfred the Hairy, who was seen by nineteenth-century historians as the founder of the independent dynasty of counts of Barcelona, establishing the coat of arms of the county according to a legend from the sixteenth century. Painting (1843–1844), by Claudi Lorenzale. Picture: Reial Acadèmia Catalana de Belles Arts de Sant Jordi, inv. No. 277. 266
- Figure 10.3. Beginning of the legal code *Usatges de Barcelona* in a copy of 1334–1341. The miniature above the historiated initial depicts the counts of Barcelona approving the legal text in the eleventh century. Arxiu Municipal de Lleida, Manuscrit 1375, fol. 1^r. 271

Ad Knotter

- Figure 11.1. The tiny duchy of Limburg in 1543, with the town of Limbourg as its centre, situated to the south of the patchwork of principalities that later on would be joined together to form the nineteenth-century Belgium province of Limburg and the similarly named modern duchy, and Dutch province. Source: Venner, *Canon van Limburg*. 286
- Figure 11.2. Map showing the creation of Belgian and Dutch Limburg in the nineteenth century. The two medieval principalities which served as points of reference are outlined in bold. After Leersen, 'Een beetje buitenland'. 288



Acknowledgements

The present volume has its origins in the European Science Foundation programme EuroCORECODE — an acronym standing for European Comparisons in Regional Cohesion, Dynamics and Expressions — in which three major collaborative research projects between 2010 and 2013 explored the functional dynamics of different aspects of regional development and its modern perspectives. During these years each project organized series of workshops which presented work in progress, and several collaborate workshops were also held. At the end of the programme a joint conference ‘Changing Borders, Regions and Identities’ was organized in Arnhem (Netherlands), 28–31 August 2013. At the same time as this conference, in which the three research projects came together, funding was granted to produce two collaborative volumes dealing with major themes covered by the three projects. This volume is one of these two volumes. Though several contributions have been revised over the following years, they are the harvest of research done until 2013, and they reflect the *status questionis* at the end of the project.

For this volume Prof. em. Dick E. H. de Boer (University of Groningen, Netherlands), who designed the EuroCORECODE-programme and was coordinator of the collaborative project *Cuius Regio*, and Prof. em. Luís Adão da Fonseca, who was the leader of the Portuguese branch of *Cuius Regio*, accepted the responsibility of becoming the editors. Very sadly, in December 2016 Prof. Fonseca suffered a cerebral haemorrhage, which made it impossible for him to continue his scholarly work. This is a severe blow for him and his family, and a serious loss to medieval studies in Portugal and to the continuation of the new approach to regional history that was made possible through his role as one of the coordinators in the *Cuius Regio* project. Sadly too, for this reason the intended contribution to this volume by him and J. A. de Sottomayor-Pizarro had to be withdrawn. We owe Prof. Fonseca our gratitude for his loyal and inspiring support and scholarly leadership.

Also we like to acknowledge with gratitude the support given during the programme and its aftermath by the staff of the European Science Foundation, especially by Eva Hoogland, Barry Dixon, Sarah Moore, Anne Guehl, and Claire Rustat, even when fundamental changes were made to the way in which supra-national research was funded, turning the ESF from a primarily funding organization into a services-based organization. This support made the work of the programme leaders much easier.

The cover image of this volume (designed by David Ellis) is constructed and adapted from details of two images: a map by Abraham Ortelius, not only showing regions (in their formalized form) of provinces, but also mentioning the word *regio*; and a painting by Quinten Metsys featuring a mirror (looking glass) reflecting medieval society, and consequently the stakeholders of regions, and a book of prayers,

showing Maria, and connects to the role of devotion and the veneration of saints as a marker of identity.

Last but not least I express my thanks to Heather Naylor-Plummer (Sheffield, Great Britain) and Dane Munro (Zebbug, Malta) for — as native speakers and trained historians — having fashioned the sometimes robust ‘regional’ versions of their mother tongue.

Dick E. H. de Boer



LENKA BOBKOVÁ, PETR HRACHOVEC,
AND JAN ZDICHYNEC

Chronicles of the Towns of Upper Lusatia

Reflecting the Political and Cultural Identity of the Region?

Chronicles Written in the Towns of Upper Lusatia

Upper Lusatia is a historic region of Central Europe spanning over approximately 5000 square kilometres, which is today divided between Germany and Poland. It was defined as a specific region as early as in the early Middle Ages; however, it never had its own ruler, a ruling dynasty, or a ruler's residence. In the seventh or eighth centuries, the region was colonized by the Slavic tribe of Milzener. In the tenth century, it became a part of the Holy Roman Empire and it was partially germanised. In the South, Upper Lusatia bordered with Bohemia, whose Přemyslid rulers ruled the land (with one short break) from 1086 up until 1253. Then the land transferred into the hands of the Ascanians of Brandenburg. After the dynasty died out in 1319, the rule of Upper Lusatia once again fell to the king of Bohemia, John of Luxembourg (1310–1346) and the land became part of the medieval state of Bohemia called *Corona Regni Bohemiae*. Over the course of time, the Crown of Bohemia was established as a conglomerate of several historic regions, which were connected through their

Lenka Bobková • is professor emeritus of Czech and Czechoslovak History at the Charles University of Prague (Czech Republic), where she also served as deputy director of the Institute of Czech History, and as head of the Seminar of Medieval History. From 2009 to 2016, she was chairwoman of the editorial board of the magazine *History – Issues – Problems*, published by the Faculty of Arts of Charles University. Her main research interests are in the political, social, and cultural history of the Lands of the Crown of Bohemia in the Middle Ages, and the history of the Luxembourg dynasty.

Petr Hrachovec • is researcher at the Department of the Early Modern History of The Institute of History, Czech Academy of Sciences. His main research interest is the history of the Bohemian Crown Lands (fourteenth–seventeenth centuries): primarily urban and ecclesiastical history, Reformation history, and early modern town chronicles.

Jan Zdichynec • is assistant professor at the Institute of the Czech History of the Charles University Prague. His main research interests are Czech and Central European history of the early modern period: in particular, the cultural and religious history, the history of religious institutions, and the history of the secondary countries of the Czech Crown.

Historiography and the Shaping of Regional Identity in Europe, ed. by Dick E. H. de Boer and Luís Adao da Fonseca, EER 16 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2020), pp. 117–143

BREPOLS PUBLISHERS

10.1484/M.EER-EB.5.121489

LANDS OF THE BOHEMIAN CROWN IN THE YEAR 1462



Figure 4.1. Map of Upper Lusatia as part of the Bohemian Crown Lands in 1462, by Dick E. H. de Boer, based on the map by Eva Chodějovská.

ruler. Upper Lusatia was part of the Crown until 1635, when the rule of the Saxony Prince Electors started.¹

The region was dominated by the royal towns of Bautzen, Görlitz, Zittau, Löbau, Lauban, and Kamenz. In 1346, these towns formed an alliance called the League of Six Towns (*Hexapolis, Sechsstädtebund*). The importance of this town alliance increased over the course of the fifteenth century, when these Upper Lusatian towns became important players among the regional Estates. The towns' position was seriously threatened in 1546/1547, when they indirectly participated in the Estates

1 See the survey of Upper Lusatian history in Bahlcke, *Geschichte der Oberlausitz*; Bobková, Březina, and Zdichynec, *Horní a Dolní Lužice*.

uprising against the Habsburgs during the Schmalkaldic war. The king of Bohemia Ferdinand I (1526–1564) used their resistance as a pretext for punishing them (the so-called *Pönfall*). He abridged their liberties and their autonomy, he submitted them to greater control by the royal officers and he subjected them to significant financial fines. In spite of that, the League of Six Towns continued to flourish, both economically and culturally. The economic growth was much helped by the strategic position of the towns: the towns were on the route of the *Via regia*, which ran from Erfurt to Wrocław, thus connecting Western and Eastern Europe. These historical circumstances are reflected in the extensive works on history produced in Upper Lusatia, namely in the aforementioned royal towns.

In terms of the number and scope of the historical works, the Upper Lusatian towns' writing compares to that of the most significant cities in the Holy Roman Empire, such as Nürnberg and Augsburg. The oldest chronicles reach back to the late Middle Ages (beginning in Central Europe after the 1350s); the golden era of historiographic production, however, came in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.² In Upper Lusatia, the tradition of handwritten chronicles was kept alive throughout the eighteenth century, when it ran parallel to printed history books. Today, we know of approximately 354 handwritten Upper Lusatian town chronicles.³ These books include broader-scope chronicles as well as annals, more or less continuous, but often fragmentary narratives of the most important events, natural catastrophes, etc. All these texts written from the Middle Ages up until the beginning of the modern era are difficult to classify, to determine the precise genre and their mutual relations, interpolations, etc. In comparison, a similarly rich chronicle tradition can be found in some Silesian towns, while in Bohemia and Moravia, the tradition wasn't as strong.⁴

In recent years, intensive research on Upper Lusatian chronicles has been undertaken, and the history works found elsewhere in the Crown of Bohemia were the focus of attention in the Czech Republic, Poland, and Germany.⁵ The recently published encyclopaedia of European chronicles reflects the findings of the above-mentioned research in the entries dedicated to medieval Upper Lusatian chronicles.⁶ Some chronicles were also first published in print recently, after 140 years, as part of the series *Scriptores Rerum Lusaticarum – Neue Folge* (henceforth

2 Johaneke, ed., *Städtische Geschichtsschreibung*.

3 Fröde, 'Die handschriftlichen Stadtchroniken in den Sechsstädten.' The number of versions of the chronicles preserved to this day: Görlitz c. 105, Bautzen c. 110, Zittau c. 53, Lauban c. 45, Löbau c. 24, Kamenz c. 17; yet these numbers are not final, since research continues.

4 Concerning Bohemia, see Tošnerová, *Kroniky českých měst z předělohorského období*; concerning Silesia, see Kersken, 'Historiographiegeschichte.'

5 Bobková and Zdichynec, eds, *Geschichte, Erinnerung, Selbstidentifikation*; Bobková and Fantysová-Matějková, eds, *Terra – Ducatus – Marchionatus – Regio*.

6 Dunphy, ed., *Encyclopedia of the Medieval Chronicle*. Joachim Bahlcke painted an overall picture of Upper Lusatian printed historiography in Bahlcke, 'Entwicklungsphasen und Probleme der oberlausitzischen Historiographie'; in the context of town chronicles of Saxony, see Bräuer, *Stadtchronistik und städtische Gesellschaft*.



Figure 4.2. Map of Upper Lausitz, as published by the brothers Willem Janszoon (1571–1638) and Joan Blaeu (1596–1673) in their *Theatrum Orbis Terrarum, sive Atlas Novus in quo Tabulae et Descriptiones Omnium Regionum* (Amsterdam 1644), based on the map by the astronomer and cartographer Bartholomäus Scultetus (Barthel Schulze 1540–1614) who served as mayor of his native town Görlitz. When colouring the map, an error was made in the coat of arms, which should have a gold wall and a blue field. Private Collection.

SRL NF).⁷ Two evaluative international conferences have taken place in the last decade. Upper Lusatian chronicles came under close scrutiny in Kamenz (2012),⁸ while they were examined in a comparative light in November 2013 at a conference in Bautzen.⁹ At the same time, an extensive work dedicated specifically to the early modern Upper Lusatian town chronicles came out in print.¹⁰

In this article dedicated to Upper Lusatian town chronicles, we focus on how their authors perceived the region of Upper Lusatia, denoted here as a political entity (the Margraviate of Upper Lusatia), on how the authors felt they belonged to this such entity and how this feeling evolved over time, and how they viewed their relations



⁷ *Annalen der Stadt Kamenz (Haberkornsche Chronik); Chronik der Stadt Zittau 1255–1623.*

⁸ Binder, ed., *666 Jahre Sechsstädtebund.*

⁹ Dannenberg and Müller, eds, *Studien zur Stadtchronistik (1400–1850).*

¹⁰ Dannenberg and Müller, eds, *Studien zur neuzeitlichen Geschichtsschreibung.*



Figure 4.3. Prospect of the town of Zittau, engraving by Johann Georg Mentzel (1677–1743) in Grosser, *Lausitzische Merckwuerdigkeiten* (1714).

with the Crown of Bohemia, their governing body. We shall also touch upon the works that deal with the history of the whole of Upper Lusatia, as these works were very much based on the town chronicles and they also influenced them retrospectively. First of all, however, we deal with the handwritten civic/urban historiography as an important source in the study of regional self-awareness, which was the subject of the *Cuius Regio* project.¹¹ We pay attention to the critical moments that formed the region, specifically to those that had to do with the incorporation of Upper Lusatia into the Crown of Bohemia.

We selected three towns for detailed analysis: Görlitz, Zittau, and Lauban (today Lubań in Poland). Among the six Upper Lusatian towns forming the League of Six Towns, these towns had a special place. Economically, Görlitz was the leader of the six towns; mostly, it presented itself independently, as the centre of the Eastern part of Upper Lusatia.¹² Zittau was a prosperous town located on the border with Bohemia and where the road to Prague crossed. Lauban was a smaller town, politically less significant, yet its position was extremely important as it was on the merchant's route *Via regia*. Lauban had many contacts with the bordering region of Lower Silesia,

11 Project EuroCORECODE: *Cuius Regio*, see the introduction of the present volume.

12 Administratively, Upper Lusatia was divided into *terra Budissinensis* and *Gorlicensis* in the thirteenth century under the rule of the Ascanians of Brandenburg. King John of Luxembourg reunited the land; later, Charles IV (1346–1378) established the new duchy of Görlitz in 1377 for his son John (1370–1396). The duchy died with John in 1396, yet Görlitz maintained its exclusive status later on. Bobková, 'Oberlausitz und Niederlausitz'.

which was also a part of the Crown of Bohemia conglomerate. All three of these towns had varied cultural life; all three had an important grammar school in the early modern era, and later even printing-works and public libraries. Among the other Upper Lusatian towns, one must not forget Bautzen, the administrative centre of the land. It was the residence of the governor (German *Landvogt*, Latin *capitaneus*), nominated by the king, and from the fifteenth century, the land Estates assembly took place there. Bautzen has an extensive and specific chronicle tradition, but in the present paper, we did not have enough space to deal with it in detail.

In the above-mentioned towns, history works written during the Middle Ages were still rare. The oldest chronicle records dating back to the last third of the fourteenth century were found in Zittau, written by the town scribe Johann of Guben († between 1383–1387).¹³ In Görlitz, extensive annals of the town council, the *Ratsannalen*, from the fifteenth and the first half of the sixteenth century were preserved. Like the other towns, they served the pragmatic needs of the town office; they were mostly administrative records.¹⁴ In Lauban, the oldest narrative sources are 300 so-called ‘old verses’, most probably written in the local Franciscan monastery sometime in the fifteenth century. In slightly modified form, they found their way into nearly all later chronicles of this town.¹⁵

The boom of chronicle literature came to all three towns in the sixteenth century. It had to do with the arrival of the new generation of Protestant historians with humanistic education, who aimed at completing the history of the given town from the earliest day. Some of the most cherished characteristics of human nature at that time were bravery, patriotism, and Christian morals, specifically in the Lutheran sense. The given concept is clearly demonstrated in the introductory chapters of town chronicles. Here, authors often referred to the historians well known from the classical era and they stressed that apart from presenting moral models from history, their main goal was to celebrate their *Patria*, usually meaning the town where they were born or where they lived.¹⁶ When writing about the Middle Ages, they used older local chronicles as sources of information, as well as a variety of other resources. Thus, they collected a sum of information about the ‘ancient’ days of the town and the land, and their successors usually trusted their credibility all the way up until the 1800s. Many of the writers were members of the municipal administration (town councillors), while others were teachers or — less frequently — clergymen.¹⁷

In the sixteenth century, Upper Lusatian historiographic texts contained histories of the whole region, too, perceived here as an independent political and geographic entity, both from the administrative and estate point of view. A key to understanding this shift can be found in the humanist concept of history as well as in the political

13 *Jahrbuecher des Zittauischen Geschichtsschreibers Johannes von Guben*.

14 Bobková, ‘Stadt, Region und Herrscher’.

15 Zdichynec, ‘Lauban/Lubań mit den Augen der humanistischen Geschichtsschreiber gesehen’, p. 371.

The oldest and most extensive record of this so-called Old Verse, *Alte Reime*, is found in the following chronicle by Donat Crugius († probably 1541), *Chronicon Crugii urbis Lubani*, pp. 1–11.

16 Arnold, ‘Städtelob und Stadtbeschreibung im späteren Mittelalter’.

17 Generally Postel, “Warumb ich disse Historiam beschrieben”.

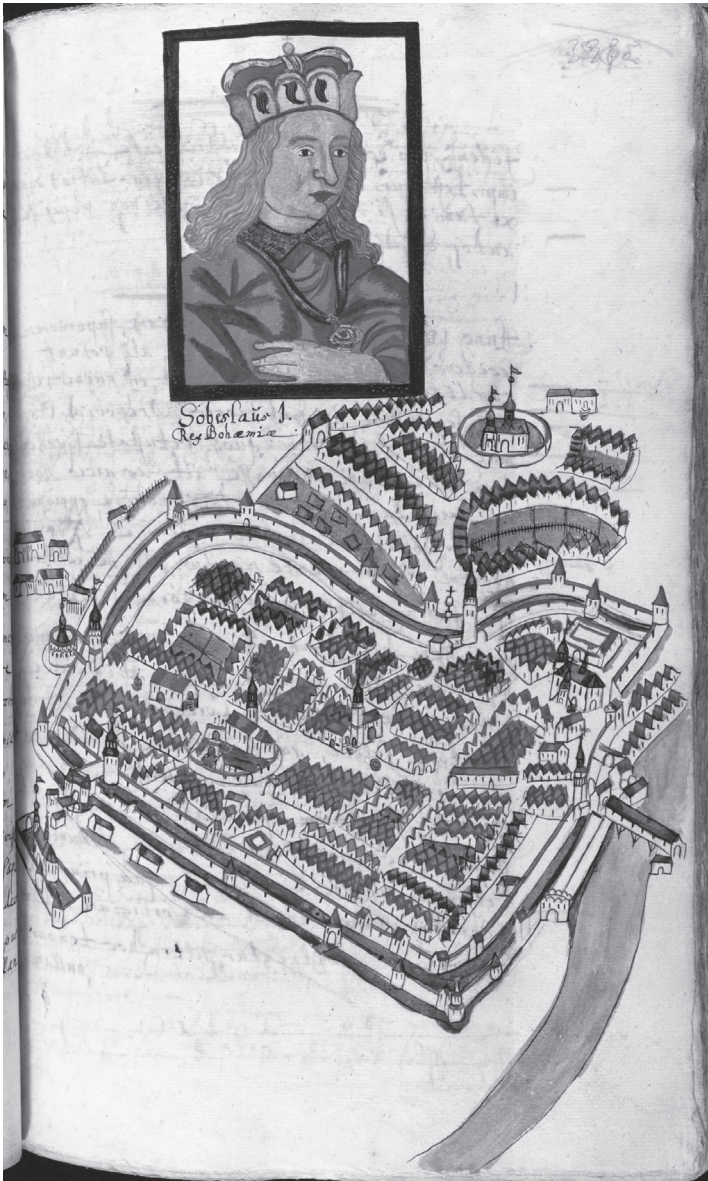


Figure 4.4. Portrait of Duke Sobieslaus I (†1140), in the German manuscript translation of Manlius's *Commentaries*. He is presented as king of Bohemia, which he had never been, and as founder of the town of Görlitz, upon which he is looking down. It is one of the rare examples of a high-quality illumination in this handwritten historiographical text. The manuscript is preserved now in the BUWr., under the mark Mil. II/173, *Commentariorum rerum Lusaticarum libri VI quibus accessit septimus de Lusatij literarum armorumve gloria claris collectore Christophoro Manlio. Scripsit Christianus Schaefferus* (1708).

and social developments after 1547. The first general history of the region was written by Christophorus Manlius (1546–1575), a humanist scholar from Görlitz, whose work was an important source of information for the following generations of historians. Younger writers in other Upper Lusatian towns copied passages of his work or they at least used it as a source of information.¹⁸

The attachment of the land to Saxony in 1635 brought along a new era of Upper Lusatian historiography. Similar to other regions in Central Europe, a Baroque approach to history gained stronger voice, partly reflecting the new political situation in the region. Apart from urban intellectuals, members of the noble Estates spoke up as writers (August Adolph von Haugwitz, 1647–1706),¹⁹ bibliophiles (Hans von Gersdorf, 1630–1692, in Bautzen), and benefactors (the family of the lords and counts von Nostitz). In the newly written chronicles, the Prince Elector family of Wettins of Saxony had a prominent role, although records about the ‘Bohemian’ history weren’t cut out in any way. The history itself, including its Slavic roots, was one of the pillars of the defence of certain independence of Upper Lusatia, now part of Saxony.

Further on, Upper Lusatian historiography split in two paths. On the one hand, the Upper Lusatian history was increasingly often published in print, while on the other hand, the tradition of manuscript town chronicles lived on. In 1719, Christian Gottfried Hoffmann (1692–1735) published the work of Manlius as part of the series *Scriptores Rerum Lusaticarum*, as well as a number of smaller history-oriented works.²⁰ In the beginning of the eighteenth century, extensive chronicles of both (Upper and Lower) Lusatias and of the town of Zittau written by two authors came out in print — the works of Samuel Grosser (1714)²¹ and Johann Benedikt Carpzov (1716/1719).²²

However, handwritten towns chronicles continued to thrive, usually produced by individual families or by authors associated with the town hall. Most texts show inspiration by Manlius’ *Comentarii*, as well as by other works published later on in print. Sometimes, these are restricted to copies of older texts. The chronicles normally contain the description of the region and the explanation of the etymology of the local names, but new topics appear, too. In some younger Bautzen chronicles, one can find extensive illustrated sections describing the pagan Slavic gods.²³ These can also be found in Grosser (1664–1736) and in Hoffmann’s *Scriptores*. Since these handwritten chronicles were finalized as late as in the beginning of the eighteenth century, it is hard to determine where the images of Slavic gods appeared first. In the

18 Manlius wrote a short history of Upper and Lower Lusatia, *Deigma sive epitome*, and more detailed *Commentariorum rerum Lusaticarum Libri VII* (1568), divided into seven parts/books (*libri*) which were not printed in the course of his lifetime. There were nevertheless many copies of his works circulating in the area.

19 Only a short abstract of Haugwitz’s *Prodromus* was printed; part of a handwritten copy of his manuscript was preserved, today kept in BUW, another copy is kept in the Sächsische Landes- und Universitätsbibliothek Dresden.

20 *Scriptores Rerum Lusaticarum antiqui et recentiores* (SRL).

21 Grosser, *Lausitzische Merckwuerdigkeiten*.

22 Carpzovius, *Analecta Fastorum Zittaviensium*; Carpzovius, *Neueroeffneter Ehren-Tempel*.

23 *Annales Budissinenses; Beschreibung des Landes Oberlausitz*.



Figure 4.5. The coats of arms of the royal towns of Upper Lusatia in the work of Johann Benedict Carpzov (1675–1739), *Neueroeffneter Ehren-Tempel*, often using the lion of the Kingdom of Bohemia as a heraldic figure.

eighteenth century, Lauban chronicles illustrate the oldest history of the town with the narrative about the figures of Bohemian mythology (the dukes of the legends), while at the same time confronting them with the impact of the Holy Roman Empire on the region and sometimes complementing them with systematic biographies of the kings of Bohemia.²⁴

Bohemian rulers are mentioned in the chronicles of other Upper Lusatian towns, too. The scope of information and the content differs depending on the period and the place of origin of the given chronicle. Some of the scribes make do with a short note placed outside of the main text. These include, for example, Bartholomäus Scultetus — in his *Annales Gorlicenses*, he scribbled notes above the main body of text covering not only the direct rulers of Upper Lusatia, but also the current Roman emperors. These notes were probably meant to serve as a guideline about the general temporal and political context of the town's history.²⁵ Similar 'framing' of town's history can be found in some chronicles from Zittau and Lauban, where these usually mention only the coronation or the death of a certain king.²⁶

Several epic humanistic chronicles include extensive chapters dedicated to the history of Bohemia. These may include the ancient rulers of Bohemia known from Czech mythology, beginning with the Forefather Cech (Čech, i.e. Bohemus). This information was usually taken from the *Historia Bohemica* by Aeneas Silvius Piccolomini (1405–1464) or from popular histories from the sixteenth century — *Historiae Regni Boemiae* by Jan (Johannes) Dubravius (1486–1553) and the German translation of the *Bohemian Chronicle* by Wenceslaus Hájek of Libočany. Sometimes, Bohemian dukes are mentioned in connection with the Christianisation of the region (Manlius).²⁷ This applies mostly to Bautzen, to some extent also to Görlitz and Zittau, but not so much to Lauban. Lauban received the status of a (future) royal town during the Ascanian rule and thus it linked its beginnings to the margraves of Brandenburg. The changes of rulers are usually noted by the writers of Lauban chronicles, while they do not care much about the dynasty they came from, whether they were kings of Bohemia, the margraves of Brandenburg, or the dukes of Silesia. The important fact here is that they were the margraves of Upper Lusatia and thus the rulers of their town.

Mostly, the kings of Bohemia and other rulers are mentioned in relation to the events that took place in the town or land. Logically, privileges given to the towns by their rulers are mentioned here, as well as the visits of rulers in the towns, etc. From

24 *Laubanische Annales*.

25 SRL NF 1, pp. 1–57.

26 This applies to all the important chronicles originating in Lauban: information about changing rulers are found already in the quoted text of Crugius' chronicle (Crugius, *Chronicon Crugii urbis Lubani*) or in the Chronicle of Bohemus: *Laubnische Kirchen- und Stadt-Chronica*. A number of burgomasters and town councillors for each year is noted by Martin Zeidler († 1637), compare *Annales civitatis Laubanae* (BUWr, sign. 6452) or Christophorus Wiesner, *Annales Laubanenses* (a number of copies and manuscripts of this chronicle exists, for example version in three volumes (BUWr, Akc. 1948/I 279–281)).

27 For more detailed resources, see Bobková, *Stadt, Region und Herrscher*.



Figure 4.6. Christian Schaeffer (1666–1747): The title of the illustrated Görlitz chronicle with the lion, the symbol of the Kingdom of Bohemia, and the Austrian Eagle. Ratsarchiv Görlitz, without Inv.nr. (Vol. 5 of the Annals).

the land's perspective, most chronicles typically mention the charter of Charles IV from 1355, which sealed the incorporation of Upper Lusatia into the Crown of Bohemia — this applies to the chronicles of Görlitz, Bautzen, and Lauban alike. From the chronicles, it is apparent that the general public of Upper Lusatia noted the subordination of the land to the Crown of Bohemia, represented by the king. Besides, this awareness of being a part of certain entity was strengthened by the everyday events in the towns — they kept in frequent touch with the king as their direct superior authority. In general, the dynastic principle, not solely reduced to the dynasties of the kings of Bohemia, was one of the elements forming the regional awareness. The ruler of the land was also important in his role of the town's benefactor. In Lauban, the Brandenburg margraves John I († 1266), Otto III († 1267) and Otto V (the Tall, † 1298) had a key role, as they provided the town with certain economic privileges in the last third of the thirteenth century: they permitted the building of the town's fortification and they founded the local Franciscan monastery. The same applied to the Silesian duke Henry of Jauer (Jawor, † 1346), the founder of the local monastery of the Magdalene order, who expanded the town's trading privileges. In Zittau, on the other hand, the heritage of the Přemyslid dynasty was strong.

The Reflection of Regional Awareness in the Perception of Key Events in the Early Modern Chronicles of Three Upper Lusatian Towns

The key moments (mostly various crises) of history were the decisive points serving in the shaping of the regional historical awareness and identity and, in terms of the *Cuius Regio* project, key factors of regional cohesion. In the words of Jan Assmann, ‘these break points of tradition or continuity’ established the past. In the historiography, this phenomenon is especially strong.²⁸

Based on their strictly synoptic nature, where records kept repeating about epidemics, great fires, executions, floods, tragic deaths, frosts and heat waves, storms, periods of high cost of everything, etc., a great number of Upper Lusatian chronicles show the traditional, cyclical approach to history and time. This perception of history held up strongly until the beginning of the nineteenth century. In the given region, the past ‘shed light onto the future’ as late as in the early nineteenth century. Yet in this context, the descriptions of key moments and crises brought fresh air into such static perception of time, they pinpointed those unique moments and, maybe, showed a hint of purpose.

We focused on four such key moments in the history of Upper Lusatia, from its historical origins up until the seventeenth century:

- Christianisation and the founding of towns
- the founding of the town, the etymology of the name, and its relations with the ruling dynasty
- the reflection of the Utraquist movement and the effect of the Hussite wars, the division of the Crown of Bohemia between two rulers, Vladislaus II of Hungary and Matthias Corvinus.
- the Reformation and the process of validation of the new denomination (until 1635)

We primarily focus on events from the history of the Church, because especially in the fifteenth–eighteenth centuries, religion and religious disputes played key role in the history of the given region.

Christianisation and the Founding of Towns

For the historical identity and legitimacy of each town and region, probably the most important point was the beginning. It was the beginning that placed the town or region firmly into the scholastic and scientific structures of their day — it was an important point for orientation in such structures. That is why the narrative describing this all-important moment was elaborately and deliberately built, with respect to the teleological aspect of the problem. The issue of the first inhabitants of

28 Assmann, *Das kulturelle Gedächtnis*. Concerning the application of this concept to the chronicles of Zittau, see Hrachovec, ‘Böhmische Themen in der Zittauer Stadtchronistik’, pp. 253–56.

the region and their religion (whether they were Slavs or Germans) was as important as the question of who introduced Christianity in the region (whether 'German' emperors or Přemyslid dukes of Bohemia) — both topics were politically touchy in the early modern era.

These trends are well documented in the Zittau chronicles. The local writers started asking questions about the origins of Christianity in the town and the surrounding area around the mid-seventeenth century. Up until then, their chronicles reflected the topic only in the German translation of *Deigma* (a short history of Upper and Lower Lusatia) by the above-mentioned Christophorus Manlius. The Zittau chronicles of the early modern era, from approximately the mid-seventeenth century, pretty clearly favoured the Slavic interpretation of the region's early days; for example, the so-called Vandal (i.e. Slavic) origin of most towns, and the Bohemian or Great Moravian origin of Upper Lusatian Christianity. The chronicles mostly stated that the first person to bring Christianity to Zittau was the mythic duchess *Zittavia*, the daughter of the Polish and Vandal king *Mitislaus*. Allegedly, she built the first churches and monasteries as well as the town's fortification before 1021. On the other hand, the handwritten chronicles (at least the ones from around 1650) mentioned the missionary activities of German Emperor Otto I (936–973) in the land. Other handwritten Zittau chronicles of the early modern era (similarly to some of the Görlitz chronicles) include extensive chapters dedicated to the ancient pagan era of Bohemian history, describing the mythic origins of the Přemyslid dynasty. The Zittau syndic and burgomaster, the above-mentioned historian and jurist Johann Benedict Carpzo,²⁹ considered Zittau, his own town, as well as the whole Upper Lusatia to be part of the Přemyslid Bohemia from the early mythical days (including the Great Moravian mission in the land). He spoke very sharply against his contemporaries (Benjamin Leuber, Samuel Grosser), who linked the political beginnings of Upper Lusatia and the local Christianity with the Empire, particularly with the Saxon Wettins — allegedly, the husband of Duchess *Zittavia* was a member of this family. The Prince elector's chamber attorney Benjamin Leuber (1601–1675) was a so-called German imperial patriot and so he criticized the 'Bohemian authors, especially those who came from Bohemia or who adopted such nature. Because in the previous century [i.e. the sixteenth century] the same men were especially eager to put forward their own nation and themselves, their Bohemia, while disdaining all other nations, especially German dukes and lords and their acts and endeavours and they tried to destroy them as much as possible.'³⁰ In the pre-modern era, the mythical and historical roots of the region were a hot political issue. In the regional

²⁹ See note 22.

³⁰ In the original language '[...] die Böhmisschen Scribenten, diejenige zumahl so Zechen Geburt sind / oder derselben Natur an sich genommen haben: Denn in obigen Seculo haben dieselben sich sonderbar dahin beflissen / nur sich und ihre Nation / und ihr Böhmerland / groß und herrlich zumachen / und hergegen alle andere Nationes bevorab aber die Deutzschen Fürsten und Herren / und alle deroselben Thun und Lassen / gering zuhalten / zuverachten / und so viel an ihnen zuvernichten': Leuber, *Von dem Ursprung des Schlosses*, pp. 31–32. Compare Wenzel, 'Geschichtswerk und Erinnerungsort'.

historiography of the Enlightenment era, the beginnings of Christianity in Upper Lusatia were usually attributed to the mission of the German Empire (Emperors Charlemagne (768–814) and Otto I, in the work of Christian Knauthé (1706–1784),³¹ or in the chronicles of Lauban), although chronicles from Zittau now and then referred to the Great Moravian or Přemyslid mission.³²

As early as in the sixteenth century, the writers of Lauban (specifically the town's scribe Joachim Cnemiander (1506–1568) and the local Lutheran pastor Martin Bohemus (1557–1622)) did not hesitate to mention the Slavs of the region. However, they linked the founding of the town to the forming of the Empire's structure in the tenth century — it goes without doubt that they aimed at stressing the ancient character of the town. To them, it was important that the town belonged to *Germania* (and not only politically, that is, in terms of its subordination to the Holy Roman Empire, but also in humanist sense, with *Germania* of Tacitus (c. 56–120), its roots going back to the classical era). They also stressed the early adoption of Christianity, finalized by the early adoption of Lutheranism in the first third of the sixteenth century.³³ Here, we may see the position of the town as a sort of beacon in the East of Upper Lusatia and the Empire in general, a region more advanced than the areas of Poland and Silesia located further East — in respect to the early adoption of Christianity, among other things. The writers of Lauban liked to set themselves apart from the 'barbarians' of Silesia and Poland, against whom the Prince Electors from the Empire built their fortifications, but with whom, in fact, they liked to trade and keep in touch, both economically and culturally. In this context, the chronicles like to mention the mythical duke Ulrich of Glogau, who was supposed to fight against the imperial and Lauban forces in 908. The described clash was to take place during the night; supposedly, mere rampage was enough to scare Ulrich and force him to flee the battleground. Similar stereotypes abound in Silesian historiography of the period concerning the Poles, especially in the work of Joachim Curæus (1532–1573).³⁴

The Founding of the Town, the Etymology of the Name, and its Relations with the Ruling Dynasty

The origin (in the sense of the German *Herkommen*), maximum possible tradition/age, etymology of the town's name and the figure of the town's founder plus his famed deeds were the decisive factors of prestige of the given town's community — and not only in the town's chronicles. A number of towns competed among each other in this respect. In legal terms, it was necessary to link the founding of the town with the figure of its founder, authorized for such act. In Upper Lusatian texts, we may find legends tied to the complicated etymology of the town's name presented alongside credible historical information.



31 Knauthé, *Derer oberlausitzer Sorbenwenden Umständliche Kirchengeschichte*.

32 Hrachovec, 'Die Religion und die Konfession in der Zittauer Historiographie'.

33 Zdichynec, 'Die Chronistik der Stadt Lauban des 16. und des ersten Drittels des 17. Jahrhunderts'.

34 Kozák, "Dem Vaterland ist man Danckbarkeit schuldig!"

This is true for the oldest preserved chronicle written by Johann of Guben of Zittau, who wrote about events in the town in 1255–1375. He wrote in German and later on the main body of text was supplemented with Latin notes about the kings and events in Bohemia. This author links the founding of the town directly to the figure of King Ottokar II of Bohemia (1253–1278). In his work, Guben uses all the usual figures of speech used in the description of the founding of a certain institution by his contemporaries: the town was founded in wilderness, yet on rich soil; the fortification of the future town was ploughed by the king himself, in the style of Romulus of Rome; the king consciously included as much land as possible since he expected that the town would soon flourish; the author describes the frequent stays of the king in town (supposedly, King of Bohemia Wenceslaus II (1278–1305) lived in Zittau as a child for three years); the fact that the burghers of Zittau were often the counsellors of the king; he mentions the frequent jousts organized in town by the king, hinting at the importance of the town for the aristocracy, thus emphasizing the dynastic, residential, and aristocratic tradition from the early days of Zittau and its surroundings. The narrative about the golden era of the town during the Přemyslid rule was used by Guben as a counterpoint to the current politics of Charles IV, who administered heavy taxes on the town's inhabitants.³⁵

In the early modern chronicles, one will find Guben's narrative of the early days of the town (so-called 'Basiserzählung') in its original form, but dated earlier than 1255, as the original author did. This was probably due to the 'contest' with the surrounding towns in the region for the most ancient tradition. This applies despite the fact that the other communities of the League of Six Towns are seldom mentioned in Zittau chronicles and the political activities of this regional union weren't worth mentioning to any of the Zittau authors, up until the day of Carpzov in the beginning of the eighteenth century. This was typical for the writers from other towns, too, whose towns were part of some city alliance, such as the Hanseatic League. This is why it shouldn't surprise us that none of the other Upper Lusatian towns mentioned the establishment of the League of Six Towns in 1346 — this information is missing from all of the town chronicles. On the other hand, the chronicles did mention the joint activities of several towns as well as their disputes — for example, Johann of Guben mentions the military campaigns of the Upper Lusatian towns in the fourteenth century in his Zittau chronicle, the chronicles of Lauban note the joint defence of the towns against the Hussites in the fifteenth century, etc.³⁶

In Zittau (and very probably in other towns of Upper Lusatia, too), the historical tradition of the local Franciscan monasteries was an important part of the given town's history. The earliest roots were traced without historical context, deep beyond the life of St Francis of Assisi († 1226). The beginning of this new tradition probably lies somewhere around the conflict of Silesian-Upper Lusatian Conventual Franciscans (the Martinian branch) with the Observants, taking place around 1500. The Conventual

35 More detail in Hrachovec, 'Böhmisches Themen in der Zittauer Stadtchronistik', pp. 260–65.

36 Cf. Hrachovec, 'Der Sechsstädtebund und die Sechsstädte'. The results are similar in case of Lauban, cf. Zdichynec, 'Frühneuzeitliche Laubaner Geschichtsschreibung'.

Franciscans feared that their monasteries would be overtaken by the Observants, supported by Vladislaus II Jagiello, the king of Bohemia (1471/1490–1516), and thus they made up ‘ancient’ traditions concerning their monasteries and used these in their struggle against the Observants. Finally, in the early modern period, the beginnings of Zittau monastery were established around 1109 and the neighbouring Lauban monastery around 1126. Obviously, even after the Reformation, the towns liked to link to this tradition, because Zittau, ‘founded’ in 1109, was thus many years older than its greatest regional opponent, Görlitz, which dated its founding in 1131 in the chronicles ever since the fifteenth century.

This wasn’t the end of the regional towns’ struggle³⁷ to be the oldest, and thus most honourable, of all the towns around. The story about the duchess *Zittavia* as the founder and missionary of Zittau moved the beginning of the town further back by another century — the duchess allegedly died in Zittau in 1021. Early modern authors from Zittau did not hesitate to point out this ‘fact’ — the writers of the so-called *Kießling* and *Lankisch* chronicle based the superiority of Zittau over the surrounding Upper Lusatian towns on it: ‘it is necessary to believe it absolutely; and from this, we shall understand and not doubt the ancientness of this famous town, which should have priority to its neighbours. [...] That kind of towns which were founded by important princesses and princes mean more’³⁸

Lauban’s aspiration to be the first and most honoured town of Upper Lusatia based on its ancient origin isn’t expressed so openly in its chronicles; however, up until the nineteenth century, the authors did not hesitate to state that the town was founded in 900, 906, or 908, they insist on the very early establishment of the town hall and religious institutions, etc. Repeatedly, the reader comes across a perfectly dated story about the unsuccessful siege by a Silesian duke. A story about a lecherous priest also appears in many chronicles; on the one hand it documents that the town had Christian institutions early on (the story is placed sometime before 941), but it can also be read as a hidden critique of the Catholic Church. The story says that the town had a ‘solid chapel’ where service took place every day. Local minister Michael Wange had a lecherous chaplain; the minister punished him for his sinful behaviour, but the punished chaplain poisoned him out of spite. Similarly, the chronicles of Lauban are well aware of the lives of ‘pious counts’ who ruled over the region — Widukind, Siegfried (in both cases mythical figures), etc. In 953, a church dedicated to the Virgin Mary was allegedly built in the town and it held many relics of saints (*viel Heiligthumb*). A pilgrimage also took place here.

37 The ‘hunt’ of Zittau burghers for proof of the ancient character of their town had its critics, too; for example, at the end of the seventeenth century, Johannes Christian Nesen (1653–1727) pointed out the benefits of being able to achieve greatness over a short time span, cf. Nesenus, *Historia Lusatica*, p. 260.

38 ‘Deme allem denn wohl glauben zugeben und daraus die antiquithet dieser berühmten stadt, so andern umbliegenden derowegen auch vorzuziehen, zuvernehmen [...] und zwar bedarf es keines zweifels, weil dergleichen städte mehr, so von hohen fürstlichen weybes- und mannespersonen fundirt, zubefinden’, *Annales Zittawienses oder Jahrbuch der Stadt Zittaw*, CWB Zittau, Mscr. A 90, p. xv; same section in *Zittauische Chronica bis 1622*, CWB, Mscr. A 121, p. 10.

Lauban chronicles repeat an interesting legend that says that in 954, Heinrich, i.e. Henry, of Schweidnitz (Świdnica, also, again, a Silesian duke) attacked the town. He captured the town and the burghers gave him the key to the town gate (it is remarkable that this story goes against the often-stressed loyalty of the burghers towards the Empire). As a reward for giving up their town in peace, the duke gave them a coat of arms showing the crossed keys (which is used to this day) and he permitted the fortification in the form of a moat. Quite against common sense, the story from the days of Henry of Jauer who lived in the fourteenth century was thus transferred to the oldest history of the town. Interestingly, in the beginning of the seventeenth century, Zeidler doubts the credibility of all details found in the 'old verses', yet he states that it is quite easy to prove that the town was founded in the tenth century, and he even mentions a yet earlier date, AD 702. Otherwise, the period of the Middle Ages in Lauban chronicles isn't covered with much general information. All in all, writers mostly followed the internal problems, conflicts, and matters of their town. Similar to Zittau, they liked to mention, for example, various archery competitions organized in town, as these drew the attention of the aristocrats from the surrounding area.³⁹

The etymology of the name of the town or the region was also very important. According to Felix Fabri († 1502), an early humanist Dominican from Ulm, the origin and the age of a certain town can be detected based on its 'name and situation' (*ex nomine et situatione eius*).⁴⁰ In this respect, Upper Lusatian town chronicles are no exception. They all write about the etymology of local names — and the eventual political implications of such explanations must be considered. One of the many commentaries on the founding and naming of the town of Bautzen points to Bohemia. The origins are linked to a certain district officer appointed by the king of Bohemia who had difficulties with building the town. Allegedly, his pregnant wife comforted him by saying *Bude-li syn, bude i město* (If a son comes, a town will come to being, too). From this, the name Budissin was created, later to be transformed into the German name Bautzen.⁴¹ There are other etymologies available too, mostly based on the name of the mythical duke named Budos or Budiß.⁴² The founding of the town of Görlitz was always linked to the Sobieslaus I, Duke of Bohemia. In 1131, he had a new town built on the site of a burnt-down manor and he named it Yzhorelik, meaning 'burnt down.' In German, this transformed into Görlitz, while in Czech and Polish, the original name *Zhořelec/Zgorzelec* stayed. The date and the act of foundation originated in the Bohemian chronicle of Kosmas's successors.⁴³

In the case of Zittau (once we set aside the story of the heroine bearing the same name, *Zittavia*), the early modern historians thought the name had either German or Czech origin. The German etymology did not bear any political and regional connotations, as it was quite direct — 'Sit there!' (*sitze da*) or 'the sweet plain with

39 Zdichynec, 'Lauban/Lubań mit den Augen der humanistischen Geschichtsschreiber gesehen', p. 378.

40 According to Graf, *Gmünder Chroniken im 16. Jahrhundert*, p. 111.

41 Until 1868, see Baier, *Von Budissin nach Bautzen*.

42 Bobková, 'Chroniken der Oberlausitzischen Städte'.

43 *Cosmæ Chronicon Boemorum*, pp. 205, 212. Kosmas of Prague (c. 1045–1125) was the author of the oldest preserved Bohemian chronicle *Chronica Boemorum* (finished in 1125).

fertile soil' (*siesse awe propter soli fertilitatem*). The second mentioned etymology implicates the literary stereotype of so-called 'lovely place' (*locus amoenus*), intensified by the fact that the 'Sit there!'-etymology was in some chronicles extended to 'Sit there and have fun!' (*Sitze da und habe deine Unterhaltung!*). The parallel Czech etymology links the name of the town with the Czech word 'žito' (rye). This 'Czech' commentary was favoured by the local historian Johann Benedikt Carpzov in his work from the beginning of the eighteenth century. The Czech name of the town corresponded with his belief that the earliest history of Zittau and the whole Upper Lusatia must be linked with Bohemia.⁴⁴

The name of Lauban is also linked to Slavic or German words. In German, the word *Laube*, leaves, comes to mind, and the Slavic words 'lub' or 'luh' meaning 'shrubbery' or 'wilderness' come close. Other towns/regions with similar names are mentioned too ('Lu'), with Lusatia being the most prominent one. Both possible explanations are presented side by side without judgement — the Slavic past apparently doesn't bother Lutheran German writers too much, as long as it proves the ancient character of their town.⁴⁵

The Reflection of the Utraquist Movement and the Effect of the Hussite Wars

In the fifteenth century, the Crown of Bohemia underwent major changes. It was weakened by years of Hussite revolution (1419–1434) and by the fight of George of Poděbrady (1458–1469/1471) against Matthias of Hungary (1469–1490) over the throne. In these moments of crisis, the Upper Lusatian stakeholders took the fate of their region into their own hands for the first time in history. These turning points were reflected in the town chronicles. So, how did the authors from the region present the Hussites?

Medieval and early modern writers took mostly a negative stand towards the Hussites. The fact that they were heretics was less stressed than their image as rogues and exploiters. The Lutheran authors of Zittau chronicles didn't back away from their negative anti-Hussite stereotype, although after 1526, they stood side by side with the Utraquists of Bohemia in the Estate's opposition camp against the Habsburgs. In history books written in Zittau around 1600, we miss the motif so common in contemporary German books by non-Catholic writers, stating that Hus and the Hussites were direct predecessors of Martin Luther (1483–1546) and the (German) Reformation movement. For Zittau writers, Hus's teaching was considered to be a poison that poisoned the whole of Bohemia. Similarly, the war between Upper Lusatia and George of Poděbrady launched in 1467 was considered to be a war against heretics, and the Hussite king George was painted in bleak colours (as the murderer of the righteous King Ladislaus the Posthumous (1440/1453–1457) and a racketeer).

Despite that, the wars with Hussite Bohemia had an important role in the chronicles of Upper Lusatia: already during the late Middle Ages, they created a

44 Hrachovec, 'Böhmische Themen in der Zittauer Stadtchronistik', pp. 259–60, 276–77.

45 E.g. *Annales Laubanenses*, fol. 9^r.

negative religious and national stereotype, thus helping to shape the identity of Upper Lusatian towns. This did not change even after the Upper Lusatian towns joined the Protestant side in the sixteenth century.

A certain shift in perception of the 'Bohemian threat' came along in the eighteenth century. The burning of John Hus (c. 1370–1415) in 1415 began to be considered to be an unjust act, yet the ensuing Hussite wars were still interpreted as destructive raids into the region. In the eighteenth and the first half of the nineteenth centuries, the Lutherans of Zittau and other Upper Lusatian towns took mostly a negative stand towards the Hussites. This served to strengthen their own Lutheran religious identity (similarly to their older colleagues from around 1600). This is very interesting, because sometimes, they were the descendants of Bohemian exiles, Utraquists or Czech/Bohemian Brethren, who came to Zittau after the violent re-Catholicisation in Bohemia after 1620. The following generation readily adopted the German Lutheran identity (one of them was Christian Adolph Pescheck (1787–1859), the author of the most extensive history of the town after J. B. Carpzov from 1834/1837).⁴⁶

The chronicles of Lauban, which was raided and burnt down by the Hussites in 1427 and 1431, speak of the slaughter of the local clerics, monks, nuns, and burghers that happened in church. These events are described naturalistically and they dominate the narrative dedicated to the Hussite wars. John Hus is usually described as a reformer of the Church, although without a direct link to the Lutherans. Some chronicles use a similar narrative when speaking about the Papal Schism and the Decree of Kutná Hora as the earliest roots of the Hussite movement. The Taborites and the Orphan's Union members were also in this town always seen as violent raiders, vandals, and thieves. It is worth noting that the chronicles of Lauban mention how the attack of the Hussites on the town was rooted in the town memory — signs and stones reminding of the tragic events in church, or the canister with the blood of the victims of the Hussite attack of 1427.⁴⁷

However, there were some shifts of meaning in the explanation of post-Hussite history. For example, the above-mentioned Zittau historian Johann Benedikt Carpzov did not perceive King George of Poděbrady to be a murderer and heretic, as did his fellow chroniclers. He saw him as 'ein weiser, tapfferer, gnädiger, und mit ausnehmenden Qualitæten begabter Herr' (a wise, brave, gracious and exceptionally gifted gentleman). His enemies who led a crusade against him by the order of the pope (many of them from Upper Lusatia), were 'die ârgsten Schelmen, Diebe, Hurer und Mórder' (the worst rogues, thieves, adulterers and murderers). A more or less positive image of George of Poděbrady (although he was a Utraquist) is also found in the works of several other Upper Lusatian historians from the Baroque and Enlightenment eras.⁴⁸ In the chronicles of other towns, the relations of the particular town towards the 'heretic King' are described in a neutral way and they reflect the

46 Cf. Hrachovec, 'Die Religion und die Konfession in der Zittauer Historiographie'; Hrachovec, 'Böhmisches Themen in der Zittauer Stadtchronistik'.

47 Zdichynec, 'Die Chronistik der Stadt Lauban des 16. und des ersten Drittels des 17. Jahrhunderts', pp. 367–68.

48 For references to resources and literature, compare Hrachovec, 'Die Religion und die Konfession in der Zittauer Historiographie', pp. 182–83.

historic facts. In the Bautzen chronicles, we can find a detailed description of the festive arrival of King George in town in 1462.⁴⁹

Several details from the history of Lauban have to do with the events in the fifteenth century: when giving tribute to Ladislaus the Posthumous, the Lauban chronicles stress the fact that the Lusatian League swore an oath of loyalty to the Crown of Bohemia (again, this is repeated in the chronicles of Görlitz and Bautzen). George of Poděbrady as a heretic king is either left without mention,⁵⁰ or he is mentioned in a neutral way — it is said that five Upper Lusatian towns rendered him tribute, Bautzen, Lauban, Löbau, Zittau, and Kamenz, after initial hesitation caused by the fact that he was proclaimed to be a heretic. It is stressed that the people of Görlitz took the longest to make the decision, but in the end, they gave in.⁵¹

Another interesting story concerns the alleged withholding of important Lauban privileges, concerning their judicial independence. The previous kings of Bohemia confirmed the privileges without trouble, while under George, Lauban burghers were accused of mishandling their judicial privileges. They were summoned to Prague where their privileges were held and superseded. According to Lauban writers, King George died ‘of grief because he could not pass the Crown on to his descendants’.⁵²

The change in perception of King George among the Upper Lusatian towns is best illustrated by the events of 1468 in Görlitz. Then, the town was divided in two camps, originally because a promise of marriage was broken by one of the prominent burghers, Georg Emmerich (1422–1507). In 1468, his supporters brusquely proclaimed support for King Matthias and called their opponents conspirators who wanted to betray the king. When tortured, the unfortunate burghers pleaded guilty and five of them were executed. In the tradition of the town, Georg Emmerich lives on as a pilgrim to Jerusalem and the man who sponsored the building of the Sepulchre of Christ in Görlitz.⁵³

The Reformation and the Process of Validation of the New Denomination (until 1635)

In the Zittau chronicles from the end of the sixteenth to the early nineteenth centuries, the introduction of Lutheranism in the 1520s was described in typical Lutheran terms, as shedding the light onto ‘der Finsterniß der Römischen Irthümer’ (the

49 *Beschreibung des Landes Oberlausitz*, pp. 364–67. *Chronik der Stadt Görlitz bis 1495*, p. 461. The expenses Görlitz had with hosting King George and his company are recorded in the town’s accounts, edited *Codex diplomaticus Lusatiae Superioris III*, pp. 253–55.

50 For example, in Cnemiander’s work; he writes in detail about John Hunyady (c. 1406–1456) and his son Matthias Corvinus, so he may be perceived as an advocate of the ‘Catholic side’, *De Origine Marchionatus Super. Lusatiae et praesertim Civitatis Luban*.

51 *Annales civitatis Laubanae*, p. 92.

52 E.g. *De Origine Marchionatus Super. Lusatiae et praesertim Civitatis Luban*, pp. 149–50.

53 *Chronik der Stadt Görlitz bis 1495* (see note 49), pp. 511–54. Hoche, ‘Die Familie Emmerich und Horschel’.

darkness of the Roman errors) and the introduction of 'das helle Licht der wahren seligmachenden Religion' (the clear light of the one true religion leading to salvation). Like the founding of the town, this event became a competitive point among the town chronicle writers in the region. Historians of Zittau naturally considered their town to be the first in Upper Lusatia where the Reformation has taken roots (in 1521). Those writings around 1600 paint an idyllic picture of the Lutheran Reformation in a town free of religious fights, simply by not mentioning the followers of other confessions (documented in other sources from that era). The Zittau town chronicles nicely document how the religious culture and identity was established, by taking a stand against other confessions and by pushing them aside (here by failing to mention them at all).

The same applies to the Utraquist denomination, prevalent in the neighbouring Bohemia. Zittau writers of the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries do not mention them in a negative way like they did in the fifteenth century — they do not mention them at all. On the other hand, the religious situation in Bohemia is described strictly from a German Lutheran viewpoint. In narratives about the forced re-Catholicisation of Bohemia, Zittau writers care about the fate of their German brothers in faith, or, to a certain extent, they try to state that all Czech exiles are Lutherans — the town was filled with the refugees after 1620. In the contemporary chronicles, only rare details hint at the fact that not all Czech exiles were German Lutherans (as indeed they weren't).⁵⁴

Most Upper Lusatian writers from the end of the sixteenth century until the early nineteenth century saw the events of the Reformation solely in the context of their town, maybe of their region, and sometimes they referred to the general religious events in the Empire. The religious struggles of the non-Catholics of Bohemia weren't linked with the events in Upper Lusatia. One exception among Zittau historians was Christian Altmann († c. 1728), who concluded that the relative religious freedom of Upper Lusatia (when compared to the rest of the Empire) must be linked to the tradition of the pre-Lutheran Reformation of Bohemia. Altmann's work *Historia ecclesiastica Zittaviensis* was published after his death by Urban Gottlieb Haußdorff (1685–1762) in 1732 under Haußdorff's own name. Altmann gives an overview of the Reformation in Bohemia from its beginning, around 1350. He interprets the Hussite wars as an attack of Germans on Czechs, not the other way around, going against the usual interpretation of most Upper Lusatian chronicles. According to Altmann, the Reformation in Bohemia reached its high point when a decree was published by King Rudolph II (1576–1611/1612) in 1609, the so-called letter of Majesty, granting freedom of religion to Utraquists, Czech Brethen, and Lutherans. The author thinks that this was a direct cause for the issue of the so-called Upper Lusatian Assurance, granting religious freedom to Lutherans, issued by King Matthias II (1611/1612–1619)

54 Hrachovec, 'Böhmische Themen in der Zittauer Stadtchronistik', pp. 296–97.

two years later.⁵⁵ This key foundation of Upper Lusatian religious freedom was directly linked to the events in Bohemia by Altmann (although he mentions it in context with the Peace of Augsburg for Holy Roman Empire from 1555). The Bohemian period in the history of the region before 1620 is seen as a religious ‘golden era’ by Altmann.⁵⁶

When talking about the Reformation, the writers of Lauban speak solely about their own town. Some of them do not even mention Luther’s appearance from 1517. They do, however, emphasize early sermons in Luther’s spirit in their town (1525). Here, the disputes among Lutherans themselves aren’t stressed. On the other hand, the writers do mention the animosity between the town and the Catholic monastery of the Magdalene order, with which the town shared the parish church of the Trinity. The town and the monastery were in dispute over the pay of the clergy and over the unrest in connection with the Estates’ uprising in 1618–1620. All the chronicles mention the twelve nuns who left the monastery in 1525 as well as the problems of the Catholic convert, the burgomaster Scheuffler (+ 1593) and his daughter, who were victimized by the Lutherans. However, the religious differences are not described in detail. The chronicles also fail to mention numerous Czech exiles — like Zittau, there was a considerable number of them in Lauban.

The rule of the Habsburgs in the region underwent two crises. First of these was the so-called *Pönfall* in 1547 (see above). In the Zittau chronicles, this event is not assessed, merely described. On the other hand, Christophorus Wiesner of Lauban (1566–1627) goes into great detail, including dark omens that preceded it. For him, it meant the loss of the town’s independence, although he describes it carefully, with loyalty to the king, and maybe as a warning for the future.⁵⁷

In a way, *Pönfall* may be the reason why the kings of Bohemia moved out of focus. While in the Zittau chronicles from the fourteenth century, as well as the later chronicles which wrote about the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, the king played a central role in the history of the town and region (the dynastic tradition dominated), in the texts from and about the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, the Bohemian kings are rarely mentioned, apart from their encomiastic visits in the area. Maybe, the fact that the Habsburgs were Catholics is to blame. On the other hand, chronicles dedicated to the period after 1550 mention the Wettins of Saxony increasingly often, even in texts written in the days when nobody yet doubted the rule of Bohemia over the region, that is, before 1620. Upper Lusatian writers must have felt a religious (Lutheran) and cultural (many of them studied at universities in Saxony) alliance with Wettin Saxony.⁵⁸

The second crisis was the Estates uprising in Bohemia in 1618–1620. This launched the process at the end of which Upper and Lower Lusatia split from the Crown of

55 It was, in contrast to the letter of Majesty, just a verbal unofficial promise with questionable legal validity; similar promises were granted by Habsburgs in Bohemia earlier on (Bohemian Confession, 1575), as well as in Austria.

56 Altmann, *Historia ecclesiastica Zittaviensis*. In details Hrachovec, ‘Die Religion und die Konfession in der Zittauer Historiographie’, pp. 183–87.

57 Zdichynec, ‘Frühneuzeitliche Laubaner Geschichtsschreibung’.

58 Hrachovec, ‘Böhmische Themen in der Zittauer Stadtchronistik’, pp. 298–300.

Bohemia and it became a part of the Electorate of Saxony. The current writers of chronicles did not pay much attention to political events leading to this change of rule over Upper Lusatia. The gradual process of the splitting up is described without much enthusiasm from the writers who paid more attention to the frequent sieges and conquests of towns in the region, to the forced accommodation of soldiers, to epidemics and religious persecutions. The split of Upper Lusatia from Bohemia in 1635 (the Peace of Prague) is stated as a mere fact by most writers and they do not comment on it. Neither do the writers of Zittau mention it with regret. Similarly, the Estate's Uprising in Lauban is seen without much emotion, although the local writer Wiesner was personally engaged in politics in Bohemia and thus he was better informed about the events, which he adjusts to the needs of his chronicle (the situation was similar in Bautzen).

Conclusion

Using the example of the chronicle tradition of three important Upper Lusatian towns in the early modern era (sixteenth–eighteenth centuries), we may document certain important features of regional awareness, as it was formed among the burgher elites. Similar to the town chronicles in other parts of Central Europe, Upper Lusatian writers focus on the earliest roots of their towns, thus forming the specific town identity (the ancient character of the town — links to the rulers of Bohemia, the Holy Roman Empire, and Brandenburg — the early adoption of Christianity — affiliation to the Empire — Slavic presence), passed on in the chronicles up until early nineteenth century. They created a fairly stable canon of early town history. A very important element of the town's identity was the relation towards the king, the king of Bohemia specifically, and later to the Prince Elector of Saxony. The examined chronicles do put the local history into a clearly defined geographical framework (more often the Empire than the Crown of Bohemia) as well as the historical frame of Christianity and Protestantism, yet apart from the narrative about the earliest beginnings of the town, they very often lack a clear concept of history. More often, they take on the form of a mere succession of events, putting emphasis on the crises forming the actual thinking of the burghers. Their main goals are to serve as a source of information for the people of their town, as well as offering them moral guidance.

Works Cited

Abbreviations

CWB Zittau	Christian-Weise-Bibliothek Zittau
BUWr	Biblioteka uniwersytecka we Wrocławiu
SRL	Scriptores Rerum Lusitarum

Manuscript and Archival Sources

- Bautzen, Domstiftsarchiv Bautzen, *Beschreibung des Landes Oberlausitz, des gleichen der Alten königlichen Haupt Sechs Stadt Budißin*, Mscr. 3516 (old shelf mark E II.29)
- Dresden, Sächsische Landes- und Universitätsbibliothek Dresden, Mühlwolff, George and Caspar Möller, *Annales Budissinenses*, Mscr. L 241
- Dresden, Library of Sächsisches Hauptstaatsarchiv Dresden, Cnemiander, Joachim, *De Origine Marchionatus Super. Lusatiae et praesertim Civitatis Luban*, sign. AA 760a, Tomus I
- Görlitz, Ratsarchiv Görlitz, Scultetus, Bartholomäus, *Chronik der Stadt Görlitz bis 1495*, without shelfmark
- Wrocław, Biblioteka uniwersytecka we Wrocławiu, Haugwitz, August Adolph von, *Prodromus Lusaticus*, sign. Akc. 1948/I/617
- , *Laubanische Annales / Fata Laubae* sign. 6672 (the anonymous manuscript comes from Görlitz, where it had the signature Mil. IV/139)
- , *Laubnische Kirchen- und Stadt-Chronica [...] durch Martinum BOHEMUM, Laubensem, Prediger in seinem Vaterlande*, sign. Akc. 1947/XI 14
- , Wiesner, Christophorus, *Annales Laubanenses*, I–III, sign. Akc. 1948/I/279–81
- , Zeidler, Martin, and Christian Schwartz, *Annales civitatis Laubanae*, sign. 6452 (Mil II 358)
- Zittau, Christian-Weise-Bibliothek Zittau, Crugius, Donat, *Chronicon Crugii urbis Lubani*, Mscr. A 61
- , *Annales Zittaienses oder Jahrbuch der Stadt Zittaw*, Mscr. A 90
- , *Zittauische Chronica bis 1622*, Mscr. A 121, p. 10

Primary Sources

- Annalen der Stadt Kamenz (Haberkornsche Chronik)*, ed. by Lars-Arne Dannenberg, Veröffentlichungen aus dem Stadtarchiv Kamenz, 2; SRL, 7 (Görlitz: Oettel, 2013)
- Chronik der Stadt Zittau 1255–1623 [Christian-Weise-Bibliothek Zittau, Mscr. A 89]*, ed. by Tino Fröde. SRL, 8 (Görlitz: Oberlausitzische Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften, 2013)
- Codex diplomaticus Lusatiae Superioris III, Die ältesten Görlitzer Ratsrechnungen bis 1419*, ed. by Richard Jecht, (Görlitz: Oberlausitzer Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften, 1905–1910)
- Cosmae Chronicon Boemorum cum continuatoribus*, ed. by Josef Emler in *Fontes rerum Bohemicarum* 2, (Praha: Gregř and Datel, 1874)
- Haugwitz, August Adolph von, *Prodromus Lusaticus* (Budissinae: n. pub., 1681)
- Jahrbuecher des Zittauischen Geschichtsschreibers Johannes von Guben und einiger seiner Amtsnachfolger*, ed. by Ernst Friedrich Haupt, *Scriptores Rerum Lusaticarum*, NF 1 (Goerlitz: Heinze, 1837), pp. 1–213
- Nesenus, Johannes Christianus, *Historia Lusatica*, in *Scriptores Rerum Lusaticarum antiqui et recentiores*, ed. by Christianus Godofredus Hoffmannus 2 (Lipsiae: Richter, 1719), pp. 249–64
- Scriptores Rerum Lusaticarum antiqui et recentiores*, ed. by Christianus Godofredus Hoffmannus, (SRL), I–IV (Lipsiae: Richter, 1719)

Secondary Studies

- Altmann, Christian, *Historia ecclesiastica Zittaviensis*, ed. by U. G. Haußdorff (Budissin: Richter, 1732)
- Arnold, Klaus, 'Städte- und Stadtbeschreibung im späteren Mittelalter und in der frühen Neuzeit', in *Städtische Geschichtsschreibung im Spätmittelalter und in der Frühen Neuzeit*, ed. by Peter Johaneck, *Städteforschung*, A 47 (Köln: Böhlau, 2000), pp. 247–68
- Assmann, Jan, *Das kulturelle Gedächtnis. Schrift, Erinnerung und politische Identität in frühen Hochkulturen* (München: Beck, 2nd edn 1997)
- Bahlcke, Joachim, *Regionalismus und Staatsintegration im Widerstreit. Die Länder der Böhmisches Krone im ersten Jahrhundert der Habsburgerherrschaft (1526–1619)* (München: Oldenbourg, 1994)
- , 'Entwicklungsphasen und Probleme der oberlausitzischen Historiographie vom 16. Jahrhundert bis zur Gegenwart', *Neues Lausitzische Magazin Neue Folge*, 5/6 (2002/2003), 37–64
- , *Geschichte der Oberlausitz, Herrschaft, Gesellschaft und Kultur vom Mittelalter bis zum Ende des 20. Jahrhunderts* (Leipzig: Leipziger Universitätsverlag, 2nd edn 2004)
- , ed., *Historische Schlesienforschung. Methoden, Themen und Perspektiven zwischen traditioneller Landesgeschichtsschreibung und moderner Kulturwissenschaft*, *Neue Forschungen zur Schlesischen Geschichte*, 11 (Köln: Böhlau, 2005)
- Baier, Roland, ed., *Von Budissin nach Bautzen, Beiträge zur Geschichte der Stadt Bautzen* (Bautzen: Lusatia, 2002)
- Binder, Thomas, ed., *666 Jahre Sechsstädtebund*, Veröffentlichungen aus dem Stadtarchiv Kamenz, 1 (Görlitz: Oettel, 2012)
- Bobková, Lenka, Luděk Březina, and Jan Zdichynec, *Horní a Dolní Lužice* [Upper and Lower Lusatia], *Stručná historie států* [Brief History of States], 54 (Praha: Libri, 2008)
- Bobková, Lenka, and Jan Zdichynec, eds, *Geschichte, Erinnerung, Selbstidentifikation. Die schriftliche Kultur in den Ländern der Böhmisches Krone im 14.–18. Jahrhundert*, *Die Kronländer in der Geschichte des böhmischen Staates*, 5 (Praha: Casablanca, 2011)
- Bobková, Lenka, 'Stadt, Region und Herrscher in der spätmittelalterlichen und frühneuzeitlichen Historiografie der Oberlausitzer Städte am Beispiel der Stadt Görlitz', in *Geschichte, Erinnerung, Selbstidentifikation. Die schriftliche Kultur in den Ländern der Böhmisches Krone im 14.–18. Jahrhundert*, ed. by Lenka Bobková and Jan Zdichynec, *Die Kronländer in der Geschichte des böhmischen Staates*, 5 (Praha: Casablanca, 2011), pp. 318–43
- , 'Chroniken der Oberlausitzischen Städte und ihre böhmischen mittelalterlichen Themen', in *666 Jahre Sechsstädtebund*, ed. by Thomas Binder, Veröffentlichungen aus dem Stadtarchiv Kamenz, 1 (Görlitz: Oettel, 2012), pp. 11–26
- , 'Oberlausitz und Niederlausitz – zwei Länder der Böhmisches Krone in der Zeit der Luxemburger', in *Die Nieder- und Oberlausitz – Konturen einer Integrationslandschaft I: Mittelalter*, ed. by Heinz-Dieter Heimann, Klaus Neitmann, and Uwe Tresp, *Studien zur brandenburgischen und vergleichenden Landesgeschichte*, 11 (Berlin: Lukas, 2013), pp. 96–111

- Bobková, Lenka, and Jana Fantysová-Matějková, eds, *Terra – Ducatus – Marchionatus – Regio. Die Bildung und Entwicklung der Regionen im Rahmen der Krone des Königreichs Böhmen*, Die Kronländer in der Geschichte des böhmischen Staates, 6 (Praha: Casablanca, 2013)
- Bräuer, Helmut, *Stadtchronistik und städtische Gesellschaft. Über die Widerspiegelung sozialer Strukturen in der obersächsisch-lausitzischen Stadtchronistik der frühen Neuzeit* (Leipzig: Leipziger Universitätsverlag, 2009)
- Carpzovius, Johannes Benedictus, *Analecta Fastorum Zittaviensium*, I–V (Zittau: Schöps, 1716)
- , *Neueröffneter Ehren-Tempel Merckwuediger Antiquitäten des Marggraffthums Ober-Lausitz*, I–II (Leipzig: Richter, 1719)
- Dannenberg, Lars-Arne, and Mario Müller, eds, *Studien zur neuzeitlichen Geschichtsschreibung in den böhmischen Kronländern Schlesien, Oberlausitz und Niederlausitz*, Beihefte zum Neuen Lausitzischen Magazin, 11 (Görlitz: Oettel, 2013)
- , eds, *Studien zur Stadtchronistik (1400–1850), Bremen und Hamburg, Oberlausitz und Niederlausitz, Brandenburg und Böhmen, Sachsen und Schlesien*, Beihefte zum Neuen Lausitzischen Magazin, 20 (Hildesheim: Olms, 2018)
- Dunphy, Raymond Graeme, ed., *Encyclopedia of the Medieval Chronicle*, 2 vols (Leiden: Brill, 2010)
- Fröde, Tino, 'Die handschriftlichen Stadtchroniken in den Sechsstädten – eine Bestandsaufnahme', in *Studien zur neuzeitlichen Geschichtsschreibung in den böhmischen Kronländern Schlesien, Oberlausitz und Niederlausitz*, ed. by Lars-Arne Dannenberg and Mario Müller, Beihefte zum Neuen Lausitzischen Magazin, 11 (Görlitz: Oettel, 2013), pp. 157–233
- Graf, Klaus, *Gmünder Chroniken im 16. Jahrhundert. Texte und Untersuchungen zur Geschichtsschreibung der Reichsstadt Schwäbisch Gmünd* (Schwäbisch Gmünd: Einhorn, 1984)
- Grosser, Samuel, *Lausitzische Merkwuerdigkeiten*, I–V (Leipzig: Richter, 1714)
- Heimann, Heinz-Dieter, Klaus Neitmann, and Uwe Tresp, eds, *Die Nieder- und Oberlausitz – Konturen einer Integrationslandschaft I: Mittelalter*, Studien zur brandenburgischen und vergleichenden Landesgeschichte, 11 (Berlin: Lukas, 2013)
- Hoche, Siegfried, 'Die Familie Emmerich und Horschel. Hintergründe zum Heiligen Grab in Görlitz', *Görlitzer Magazin*, 17 (2004), 61–74
- Hrachovec, Petr, 'Der Sechsstädtebund und die Sechsstädte in der Zittauer Chronistik des frühen 17. Jahrhunderts', in *666 Jahre Sechstädtebund*, ed. by Thomas Binder, Veröffentlichungen aus dem Stadtarchiv Kamenz, 1 (Görlitz: Oettel, 2012), pp. 129–43
- , 'Böhmische Themen in der Zittauer Stadtchronistik des frühen 17. Jahrhunderts', in *Studien zur neuzeitlichen Geschichtsschreibung in den böhmischen Kronländern Schlesien, Oberlausitz und Niederlausitz*, ed. by Lars-Arne Dannenberg and Mario Müller, Beihefte zum Neuen Lausitzischen Magazin, 11 (Görlitz: Oettel, 2013), pp. 251–318
- , 'Die Religion und die Konfession in der Zittauer Historiographie des 18. und frühen 19. Jahrhunderts', in *Terra – Ducatus – Marchionatus – Regio. Die Bildung und Entwicklung der Regionen im Rahmen der Krone des Königreichs Böhmen*, ed. by Lenka Bobková and Jana Fantysová-Matějková, Die Kronländer in der Geschichte des böhmischen Staates, 6 (Praha: Casablanca, 2013), pp. 171–88

- Johanek, Peter, ed., *Städtische Geschichtsschreibung im Spätmittelalter und in der Frühen Neuzeit*. Städteforschung, A 47 (Köln: Böhlau, 2000)
- Kersken, Norbert, 'Historiographiegeschichte', in *Historische Schlesienforschung. Methoden, Themen und Perspektiven zwischen traditioneller Landesgeschichtsschreibung und moderner Kulturwissenschaft*, ed. by Joachim Bahlcke, Neue Forschungen zur Schlesischen Geschichte, 11 (Köln: Böhlau, 2005), pp. 93–125
- Knauth, Christian, *Derer oberlausitzer Sorberwenden Umständliche Kirchengeschichte* (Görlitz: Fickelscherer, 1767)
- Kozák, Petr, "'Dem Vaterland ist man Danckbarkeit schuldig!'" Joachim Cureus (1532–1573) und der "Sinn" der schlesischen Geschichte', in *Geschichte, Erinnerung, Selbstidentifikation. Die schriftliche Kultur in den Ländern der Böhmisches Krone im 14.–18. Jahrhundert*, ed. by Lenka Bobková and Jan Zdichynec, Die Kronländer in der Geschichte des böhmischen Staates, 5 (Praha: Casablanca, 2011), pp. 416–31
- Leuber, Benjamin, *Von dem Ursprung des Schlosses in Deutscher Sprach Ortenburgk [...] genennet* (Budissin: n. pub., 1662)
- Postel, Rainer, "'Warumb ich disse Historiam beschrieben". Bürgermeister als Chronisten', in *Städtische Geschichtsschreibung im Spätmittelalter und in der Frühen Neuzeit*, ed. by Peter Johanek, Städteforschung, A 47 (Köln: Böhlau, 2000), pp. 319–32
- Tošnerová, Marie, *Kroniky českých měst z předbělohorského období. Úvod do studia městského kronikářství v Čechách v letech 1526–1620 [The Bohemian Town Chronicles before the Battle of White Mountain: An Introduction to the Studies of the Town Chronicles, 1526–1620]*, Studie o rukopisech [Manuscript Studies]. Monographia, 15 (Praha: Masarykův ústav a Archiv Akademie věd ČR, 2010)
- Wenzel, Kai, 'Geschichtswerk und Erinnerungsort. Die Stuckdecke im kurfürstlichen Kammergemach der Ortenburg zu Bautzen', in *Geschichte, Erinnerung, Selbstidentifikation. Die schriftliche Kultur in den Ländern der Böhmisches Krone im 14.–18. Jahrhundert*, ed. by Lenka Bobková and Jan Zdichynec, Die Kronländer in der Geschichte des böhmischen Staates, 5 (Praha: Casablanca, 2011), pp. 297–314
- Zdichynec, Jan, 'Die Chronistik der Stadt Lauban des 16. und des ersten Drittels des 17. Jahrhunderts und ihre bohemikalen Bezüge', in *Geschichte, Erinnerung, Selbstidentifikation. Die schriftliche Kultur in den Ländern der Böhmisches Krone im 14.–18. Jahrhundert*, ed. by Lenka Bobková and Jan Zdichynec, Die Kronländer in der Geschichte des böhmischen Staates, 5 (Praha: Casablanca, 2011), pp. 353–73
- , 'Frühneuzeitliche Laubaner Geschichtsschreibung und das Land der Sechsstädte', in *666 Jahre Sechsstädtebund*, ed. by Thomas Binder, Veröffentlichungen aus dem Stadtarchiv Kamenz, 1 (Görlitz: Oettel, 2012), pp. 101–27
- , 'Lauban/Lubań mit den Augen der humanistischen Geschichtsschreiber gesehen. Die Bildung der mittelalterlichen Geschichte der Stadt', in *Die Nieder- und Oberlausitz – Konturen einer Integrationslandschaft I: Mittelalter*, ed. by Heinz-Dieter Heimann, Klaus Neitmann, and Uwe Tresp, Studien zur brandenburgischen und vergleichenden Landesgeschichte, 11 (Berlin: Lukas, 2013), pp. 359–89