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SAINT BRUNO OF QUERFURT AND THE MISSION OF 1009:
SOURCE ANALYSIS

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Introduction

In one of the sources of Western Europe of the beginning of the 11th century – the Quedlinburg Annals – next to the year 1009 there is a statement about the Christian mission of Saint Bruno of Querfurt *in confinio Rusciae et Lituae* that came to a tragic end. In this way the name of Lithuania was mentioned for the first time. A thousand years later, in 2009, Catholic Europe commemorated the thousandth anniversary of the death of this Saint, and Lithuania commemorated its *Millennium*. This Millennium made the investigations into historiography of Bruno's life and martyrdom more active. Publications represented the variety of the theme of Saint Bruno Boniface of Querfurt and the year 1009 (e.g., investigations into the issue of the cult of Saint Bruno in Lithuania have been carried out in Lithuania for the first time, the wide-spread known painterly narration of the story of the Saint in Europe – the cycle of frescos in Pažaislis, was revealed), on the other hand, they brought to light the intricacy and the problematic nature of the sources of information of St Bruno's life and his martyrdom, the themes, which require a new attitude to the existing investigations or on the whole a new investigation crystallised. Thus far there has been no unanimous opinion in historiography about where and when Saint Bruno was killed, the historians are still trying to find the exact place of his death and the number of the suggested places is really large. Even more, it can be stated that the conception of the *geographical average* location that appeared at the beginning of the 20th century (that is, the commemoration of the 900th death anniversary of Saint Bruno) became established at the beginning of the 21st century together with a continuous disregard of the Annals of Quedlinburg. That conception took over the border (the border of Prussia, Russia and Lithuania) of the Annals of Quedlinburg and the Thietmar of Merseburg's Chronicle that was made very complicated in the Annals of Magdeburg in the 12th century and found the Yotvingians in it. The scientific "case" of Saint Bruno revealed the fact that putting claims to be called a Catholic nation, we retain pagan historical self-awareness. We have Saint Bruno Boniface, Nethimer and Zebenden streets in Vilnius. We are indignant at Saint Bruno's traitor Nethimer (though he also sometimes "suits"), extol the Saint's murderer Zebeden, and remember the year 1009 on St Valentine's Day.

Hence, it is the controversies of historiography of Saint Bruno of Querfurt and his last mission, as well as the context of historical memory, that determine the **relevance of the investigation**, and *modus operandi* of this theme is the whole analysis of the sources of the life and death cycle of Saint Bruno of Querfurt and the inclusion of the issue of knowledge of this Saint into our investigation.

The subject of the investigation and formulation of the theme

This work is devoted to Saint Bruno of Querfurt and his last mission in 1009. The investigation is concerned exceptionally with the sources analysis therefore the subject of the investigation is various sources presenting different and even contradictory information about Saint Bruno of Querfurt, his life and his death of a martyr in 1009. We can say that it is the sources of Bruno's life and martyrdom rather than the Saint of Querfurt that are main characters for us. In those sources the missionary is referred to by different names, in the simultaneous sources and the sources that took them over alone at least seven versions of his death (*locus martyrii*) are presented, several dates of his death (*data martyrii*) are indicated.

The chosen course of the investigation (and the structure of the thesis) is somewhat unconventional: from the issue of knowing Saint Bruno (distinguishing three traditions – *Camaldolese*, *Benedectine* and *local* (Querfurt) – which referred to that Saint by different names and presented different *locus martyrii*, as a result of which separate names of St Bruno and St Boniface appeared and became established in the second half the 16th – in the 18th centuries) the investigation moves towards studying the simultaneous sources and the sources close to them focusing attention on two important issues – the issues of the hagiographic legend of Saint Bruno of Querfurt and the *locus et data martyrii* of that Saint. Thereby this choice, on the one hand, it was sought to show knowledge of Saint Bruno and the year 1009 from the Middle Ages to the present day, and on the other hand, to investigate some problems of the sources analysis, which we try to resolve by analysing the simultaneous sources of Saint Bruno's life and martyrdom and those close to them.

Review of the sources

Having introduced the issue of knowledge into the theme of St Bruno of Querfurt and his mission in the year 1009, the chosen field of the investigation determined a much wider range of the sources in both a chronological and thematic sense than it is traditionally accepted when studying the life of St Bruno of Querfurt and his last mission. At the same time, what has been historiography for many researchers thus far, in our investigation has become sources, which allow one or another kind of knowledge of this missionary and the year 1009 to be revealed.

The starting point for the investigation was the 2006 collection of almost thirty texts of the sources on the life and martyrdom St Bruno of Querfurt scientifically registered (*1009 metai: šv. Brunono Kverfurtiečio misija = A. d. 1009: missio s. Brunonis Querfordensis*, ed. I. Leonavičiūtė (Fontes ecclesiastici historiae Lithuaniae, 5). Vilnius, 2006), in which life and martyrdom of St Bruno of Querfurt chronologically covering the period between the 11th and the 16th centuries is recorded and described. This is *Cronicon ex chronicis* of the 12th century English monk John of Worcester, the Annals written by St Albans in Mainz (published as Wurtsburg Chronicle in the 18th century), the Annals of Disibodenberg of the turn of the 12th and the 13th centuries (which functioned from *editio princeps* to *editio critica* as the Chronicle of Marianus Scotus of Mainz, Chronicles of the 13th century of the York Benedictine Walter of Coventry, Burchard of Ursberg (that compiled the Chronicle of Frutolf / Ekkehard and became a *canonical* source in the 16th–17th centuries), the Chronicles of the French Cistercian monk Helinand of Froidmont and the story of the city created in Magdeburg in the 14th century referred to as *Schöppenchronik*. All these sources were of great importance to the issue of knowledge of St Bruno of Querfurt and provided the opportunity to understand better and to elaborate taking over and spreading of information about the missionary in the Middle Ages.

The unpublished sources were also used in this work. The narrative about the life and martyrdom of St Bruno of Querfurt written in the German language that has survived in two manuscripts of the 15th century, which are stored in the Library of the city of Dessau, are to be singled out. We traced the existence of these unpublished manuscripts in the collection of

2006, and the narrative of Dessau was discussed in more detail for the first time in the article of Ulrich Real in 2009. The Florence manuscript of the occasional sermon *Sermo de s. Romualdo* (1430) created by John-Jerome of Prague, which supplemented the old publication of *Acta Sanctorum* and was put into scientific circulation for the first time in the present work is also significant. The fact that every access even to the unpublished manuscript source about the life and martyrdom of St Bruno of Querfurt was of great importance should be accentuated. We have in mind here the fact that more than one manuscript is “joined” into a single text even in critical publications of the sources, and it is quite often that not all the differences in the manuscripts are marked. Sometimes it is difficult to distinguish the primary text from its interpretation, and the records made by different hands and at a different time are distinguished wrongly. One more drawback of these publications that has been noticed is updating and modernising the dating systems used in the manuscripts. Besides, the publications of the sources often contain wrong facts of reading the manuscript.

Moving on to the discussion of the late sources of St Bruno of Querfurt and his mission in 1009 in the problem of knowledge, the first editions of the sources about the life and martyrdom of St Bruno of Querfurt served as sources in this work. Publications of the sources recording the life and martyrdom of this Saint provided broader opportunities for using and interpreting information. However, at the same time these publications served as a source in analysing sources problems in the second part. Here we have in mind those cases in particular, when the manuscript of the publicised source of the 16th–17th centuries failed to reach the present-day.

Hagiographic and liturgical publications should be distinguished in the theme of knowledge from among the late sources about St Bruno-Boniface and his last mission. First of all, these are catalogues and calendars of the life of the Saints. Some of them, published in Western Europe, provided information about St Boniface, that is, the *Camaldolese* tradition (e.g., Petrus de Natalibus, Aloisius Lippomano, Laurentius Surius collections), and in the second half of the 16th century, after the Saint was doubled, about the two Saints – Boniface and Bruno (e.g., Arnold Wion, Filippo Ferrari, Gabriel Bucelin, Aegidius Ranbek).

Publications of this nature were main sources in investigating the issue of knowledge of Saints Bruno and Boniface in the Polish-Lithuanian State (Piotr Skarga, Piotr Hiacynth Pruszcz, Florian Jaroszewicz, Karol Andrzejowski), when in a chronicle tradition that was based on Jan Długosz, no information about this saint was available. In the 16th century different martyrologies published (*Martyrologium Usuardi* (1515), St Peter Canisius, Francesco Maurolico, Pietro Gallesinio, Roman Martyrology) enabled the analysis of the issue of the holiday of St Boniface to be analysed. Different liturgical books help discuss the liturgical aspect in the Polish-Lithuanian State and Prussia. Historical works of the 16th–18th centuries formed a large block of sources. These would range from the stories of the Camaldolese and Benedictines (e.g., Augustinus Florentinus, Antonio de Yepes) to general syntheses of the history of the Church (e.g., Albert Krantz, Caspar Hedio, Magdeburg Centuries, Cesare Baronio, Silvestro Maurolico), from different countries and regions (e.g., Nicholaus Glassberger, Paul Lang, Jan Leo, Christoph Hartknoch) to the World Chronicles or histories (e.g., Antoninus of Florence, Johann Staindl, Juan de Pineda, Philippe Labbe), different *bibliographical* catalogues (Johannes Trithemius, Conrad Gessner), which were used to reveal the *hagiographic* tradition of the Camaldolese or the *chronicle* tradition of the Benedictines.

Characteristic of source analysis

A separate chapter (*Controversies of the Place of Death of St Bruno in Historiography*) in this work is devoted to historiographical conceptions of localisation of the last mission of St Bruno of Querfurt in which we shall concentrate our attention on historiography analysing sources analysis problems of the sources of this Saint and the year 1009.

The *ad fontes* principle that was established in the 19th century brought us not only to the searches for new manuscripts and publications of critical sources but also to the studies of sources analysis. These three positions correlated with one another. The journal *Archiv der Gesellschaft für ältere deutsche Geschichtskunde* (today published under the title *Deutsches Archiv für Erforschung des Mittelalters*) and the collection of sources in many volumes *Monumenta Germaniae Historica* were started to be published. The number of sources of St

Bruno's life and death cycle published throughout the entire 20th century exceeds 20, including 9 ones published for the first time. Each new publication of the source was followed not only by detailed introductions but also by the studies of source analysis. All that created a *package* of a certain source, which was worth studying as a whole. The works by George Waitz, George Heinrich Pertz, Friedrich Kurze are to be singled out. In the first half of the 20th century Robert Holtzmann did not only prepare the publication of the Thietmar Merseburg's Chronicle supplemented with the Brussels Manuscript but also devoted a detailed study to the Annals of Quedlinburg. The studies devoted to the Magdeburg sources in the first half of the 20th century deserve special mention. There the identification of Saxon annalist with the Abbot Arnold of Berge and Ninburg brought out by Rudolf Siebert at the end of the 19th century was analysed in many works. Bernhard Schmeidler continued this identification further in his studies – the Abbot Arnold was not only the author of the afore-mentioned chronicle but also the author of editing the Annals of Ninburg (Berge) that have not survived, Deeds of Archbishops of Magdeburg and the Magdeburg Annals. These investigations carried out by Bernhard Schmeidler were taken over by the historians. In these days Klaus Nass who did not only prepare a new edition of the Chronicle but who also wrote a solid study accompanying it in which the analysis of the sources of Annalista Saxo is presented, the Ninburg Annals are reconstructed in which the Annals of Quedlinburg and the Thietmar Chronicle were compiled, doubted the identification of Annalista Saxo with Arnold. Martina Giese who made a new publication of the Annals of Quedlinburg with an exhaustive study of the source analysis specifying the sources of taking over the annals, continues these works. Works by Heinrich Gisbert Voigt and Heinrich Kauffmann devoted to the issue of St Bruno's hagiographic legend deserve mention too, and in the second half of the 20th century the investigations into the Frutolf / Ekkehard Chronicle carried out by Franz Josef Schmale and Irene Schmale-Otto (with the new publication of the source) and articles by Stefan Pötzold devoted to the *Foundation of Querfurt* are to be singled out among all others. Mireille Schmidt-Chazan studied the Chronicle of Sigebert of Gembloux with an original system of dating. Alongside it, studies conducted by Anna-Dorothee von den Brincken devoted to Medieval

computistics should also be mentioned. Works by the German Karl Ferdinand Werner and Englishman Richard Landes are distinguished in the investigation into the Chronicle of Ademar of Chabannes. *The World Chronicle* by Marianus Scotus of Mainz was studied in a detailed and complex way in 2009. This is the study of source analysis by the Polish researcher Wojciech Baran-Kozłowski.

In characterising the works by Lithuanian historians, the works by Edvardas Gudavičius deserve mention in which a detailed analysis of the life and death cycle of St Bruno is presented in Lithuanian historiography for the first time (“*Los caprichos. Du tūkstantis devintieji*”, the book has been submitted to be published; the articles devoted to the Thietmar Merseburg’s Chronicle (using the Dresden manuscript in the analysis), to the problem of St Bruno Boniface hagiographic legend and the issue of the border). Also, the works by Darius Baronas who treated the narrative of Peter Damiani’s *Life of St Romuald* in a different way, and the work by Marius Ščavinskas who saw the activity of St Bruno within the context of the Christian missions are also deserve mention.

The problem, the objective and the tasks of the investigation.

During the investigation the source base was extended, the investigation did not limit itself to the *traditional* sources alone, that is, the analysis of simultaneous sources and sources close to them; the latest works about the life and martyrdom of St Bruno were also included in the investigation. Therefore the **problem** of the investigation could be defined by the following question: in what way, at one or another time certain *canonical* treatments were reached, which had an impact on both old and modern historiography, how can these problems be solved anew by “revising” the sources of St Bruno’s life and martyrdom cycle by the source analysis.

The **objective** of the present investigation is to carry out a comprehensive study of the sources (in a broad sense of a word) of St Bruno Boniface life and death and through their interpretation, comparison and analysis to present one or another former, present (and / or possible) image of St Bruno and the year 1009.

To achieve the main objective of the investigation the following **tasks** have been set: 1) to establish a spread of knowledge of St Bruno and his mission in the Middle and Modern Ages by singling out certain traditions of knowledge; 2) to analyse knowledge of St Bruno's last mission in a geographical space within the context of distinguished traditions (in the Polish-Lithuanian State and Prussia); 3) to present controversies of the place of St Bruno's death in historiography by discussing the formed geographical conceptions of the 1009 mission; 4) to analyse from the point of view of sources analysis the sources about St Bruno of Querfurt's hagiographical legend; 5) to investigate versions of St Bruno's *locus et data martyrii*.

Research methods

The following research methods have been employed and combined in the thesis: empirical, methods of analysis, comparison and synthesis, interpretative, of critical description. The *empirical method* was employed in selecting and classifying the collected sources about the life and martyrdom of St Bruno. Since the investigation is based on the data of the sources, the most important methods applied were methods of *source analysis, comparison and synthesis*, which were taken as a basis in discussing, analysing, and assessing the sources about the life and martyrdom of St Bruno. This enabled the phenomena of the spread and prevalence of the texts to be established. To generalize the results obtained the *interpretative* method was used. In discussing the spread of knowledge of St Bruno in Europe the method of *description* was employed.

Novelty of the investigation

The present work is the first attempt to investigate the sources about St Bruno and his 1009 mission in a complex way (in a broad sense). The late sources about the life and martyrdom of St Bruno were studied systematically and in detail for the first time. This detailed synthetic analysis of knowledge of the Saint and his last mission has been carried out neither in Lithuanian nor in the whole of historiography on the whole. Thus far this issue has been touched upon only in short accentuating 'forgetfulness', doubling of the Saint in

the works by Caesar Baronius and overcoming this phenomenon in the work *Acta Sanctorum* by Conrad Janning publicised in 1715. All these statements are being corrected in the present work. Broader studies were devoted to the issue of knowledge of St Bruno in the Polish-Lithuanian State and Prussia (L. Jovaiša, J. Nastalska, W. Nowak). However, the fact of taking over the texts of Western Europe and even their compilation were disregarded there.

Also, this theme has been supplemented with new unpublished manuscripts, which were not included in a scientific circulation and were not analysed in historiography. It can also be said here that the manuscripts of the published sources were made use of, which has not been done in historiography of the life and martyrdom of St Bruno in Lithuania (and not only in it) (with the exception of Edvardas Gudavičius' study of the Dresden manuscript of the Thietman Chronicle).

Short content of the dissertation

The work consists of two parts, the conclusions, references and annexes.

I. THE “CASE” OF KNOWLEDGE OF ST BRUNO AND HIS 1009 MISSION

This part of the work is devoted to the issue of knowledge of St Bruno Boniface of Querfurt discussing him through the singled out traditions. Conditionally three traditions of knowledge of the Saint are singled out: *Camaldolese*, which knew this Saint by the name Boniface, *Benedictine* and *local* or Querfurt, which presented him to Europe under the name of Bruno.

In the *Camaldolese theory of knowledge* St Boniface, first of all, is a disciple of St Romuald. *The Life of St Romuald* was written by Peter Damian in the St Benedictine Monastery of eremites of Fonte Avellana around 1042. Chapters XXVI and XXVII discuss St Boniface (including his martyrdom). St Romuald's disciple St Boniface can be found within the context of St Romuald's life. From Fonte Avallana the works of Damiani first of all spread to other Camaldolese erems (monks' houses) in Italy. In the late Middle Ages *The Life of St Romuald* got into the range of vision of the famous Italian poets *Dante Alighieri*

and *Francesco Petrarca*. However, they did not “notice” St Boniface yet. This disciple of St Romuald appears in *Catalogus Sanctorum* compiled by Petrus de Natalibus in the last third of the 14th century (published in 1493 for the first time), in which the narrative is based on Chapter XXVII of *The Life of St Romuald*, and Chapters XXVI and XXXIX were combined into the story of St Romuald himself. Petrus de Natalibus granted St Boniface the title of Archbishop of Bosnia and *sent ad gentes bosne*, followed by *ad rutenorum regem*. This name of the Archbishop of Bosnia remains established in the narrative of St Boniface until the first half of the 18th century. The elimination of St Adalbert plot from Damiani’s narrative leads the 15th-16th centuries to the identification of the converted Slavs and the King of Russia. In looking for St Boniface’s place in a liturgical calendar, the feast of St Romuald becomes established on 19 June.

Benedictine theory of knowledge. After the Frutolf / Ekkehard Chronicle had spread in the Middle Ages, in which information (in the work it is referred to as *ekkehardic*, according to the name of the disseminator) about St Bruno’s death of a martyr in Prussia in 1008 by cutting off his hands, legs and then the head was recorded, it became a *canonical* text of knowledge of this missionary for many centuries to come. Publications of the 13th century Chronicle of Burchard of Ursberg (who took the Frutolf / Ekkehard work as a model) strengthened it even more. In this century it was published nine times. This provided a much greater opportunity to make use of this world chronicle. In the 16th century the *ekkehardic* information was supplemented with the name of the *Ruthenian* Bishop introduced by Johannes Trithemius (*De scriptoribus ecclesiasticis*, 1494). The new *of Roman Martyrology* (1583) universally established this knowledge of St Bruno and his last mission. In this work the 15th of October – the “derived” *translation* date from the information about buying out the remains of St Bruno by the Ruler of Poland of Bolesław the Brave and the date of the death of the latter’s father, the 19 October was assigned to commemorate the *Ruthenian* Bishop St Bruno who preached the gospel in Prussia and met his death of a martyr there.

Local (Querfurt) tradition. The latter tradition of knowledge, though it correlated with the *Benedictine* one (that spread the *ekkehardic* information about the death with *data et locus martyrii* in 1008 in Prussia, and the way of killing was stated to have been by cutting off the

hands, legs and finally the head) can be treated as independent. It formed knowledge of St Bruno of Querfurt as the most famous representative of the family, “established” his two missions to Prussia that were followed by two Querfurt legends – nine newborn babies (*Neunlingsage*) and the donkey (*Eselswiese*). In C. Spangenberg *Quernfurtische Chronica* published in 1590, when describing the death of St Bruno, the Annals of Quedlinburg (*Quedlinburgische Chronica*) were used. According to it, the missionary from Querfurt was killed on 9 March on the border of Russia and Lithuania together with 18 men belonging to him. That was the first known case when information about 1009 from the Annals of Quedlinburg was used. On its basis C. Spangenberg called St Bruno by the name of Boniface. However, these two discoveries by C. Spangenberg remained an exception from the general European tradition. In the very tradition of Querfurt only the date of 1009 was taken into consideration.

St Bruno Boniface – the doubled saint. In the second half of the 16th – at the beginning of the 18th century two saints – Boniface and Bruno lived side by side. The famous *Centuriae Magdeburgenses (Ecclesiastica historia)* (1567) played a very important (if not decisive) role there. A relative of Otto III St Boniface, which was tortured to death by the Russians was described in Volume X, and St Bruno killed by the Prussians was described in Volume XI. The Roman Martyrology which indicated the name Boniface on the day of 19 June and Bruno on the day of 15 October established officially the existence of the saint in two persons. This doubling was overcome at the beginning of the 18th century when the sources with “Bruno Boniface” were discovered. The first to do that was the French Benedictine Jean Mabillon in *Annales Ordini s. Benedicti* published in 1707.

Knowledge of St Bruno Boniface in the geographical space of the 1009 mission. On the basis of the singled out traditions, knowledge of St Bruno Boniface is investigated in the Polish-Lithuanian State and Prussia. Petras Skarga issued his *Life of the Saints* in Radvila Našlaitėlis Publishing-House in 1579 (he based his work on *De probatis sanctorum* by Laurentius Surius), which contained martyrdom of St Boniface killed in Russia, and the new Roman Martyrology by Szymon Nikowski was published in Krakow in 1591 in the Polish language with martyrdoms of St Bruno in Russia and the Ruthenian Bishop Bruno in

Prussia. Thus the co-existence of these two saints in this space was established. Hagiographers of the Polish-Lithuanian State either do not date martyrdom of St Boniface or record *lapses lingual* in 977, which appeared in the narrative about the last mission of the Saint given at the year 997 in Caesar Baronies *Church Annals*. The collection of the lives of the Saints *Matka Świętych Polska* (1767) by Florian Jaroszewicz corrects this mistake, which was indicated as far back as 997. As in Western Europe, the *ekkehardic* year of 1008 is indicated as the date of martyrdom of St Bruno. All three traditions are found in the Chronicle narrative of Prussia. The legend of nine newborn babies (M. Lilienthal, A. Schott) that was popular in Querfurt in the 18th century and was told in Prussia in the story of Meinhard, the thirteenth Master of Prussia, was applied to St Bruno there.

Controversies of the place of the death of St Bruno in historiography. Historiography of the life and martyrdom of St Bruno was formed after two Saints Bruno and Boniface had been joined into a single person and the following wide narratives had become major sources – the Thietmar Chronicles with the Prussian-Russian border and the narrative of Peter Damiani with the St Adalbert plot and Russia. *Locus martyrii* of the joint saint most often was localised in Prussia. This localisation was also substantiated by the new sources of the life and death cycle of St Bruno discovered in the 19th century – the missionary's letters to Henry II and the narrative of Wipert. At the same time attempts were started to be made to discover a more exact place of the death of St Bruno. Alongside the eastern direction of the mission, the northern and western directions appeared. At the beginning of the 20th century, when commemorating the 900th anniversary of the death, H. G. Voigt formed a border of three etnonyms (Russia, Lithuania and Prussia) mentioned in the sources (the Annals of Quedlinburg, the Thietman Chronicles and *The Life of St Romuald* by Damiani), which, in his opinion, most probably was Sudovia, the territory of the Yotvingians. He dates the death of St Bruno by the *Quedlinburg* conception on the 9th of March. This conception of the *geographical average* became established in historiography and dominated in it throughout the whole of the 20th century. Not a single special text devoted to the theme of St Bruno and the year 1009 was written in Soviet Lithuanian historiography until the early 80s of the 20th century. In their works the Lithuanian

historians contented themselves with the statement that the name of Lithuania was mentioned for the first time. The year 1009 was started to be treated in a different way after the article by Edvardas Gudavičius was published in 1983, which gave rise to the appearance of *Quedlinburg* conception.

II. SOURCES OF THE LIFE AND MARTYRDOM CYCLE OF ST BRUNO: PROBLEMS OF SOURCE ANALYSIS

This part is devoted to the problems of source analysis of St Bruno and his last mission in 1009, distinguishing two issues, namely, the versions of the hagiographic legend of St Bruno of Querfurt and *locus et data martyrii* of this Saint.

Hagiographic legend of St Bruno of Querfurt. Today hagiography of St Bruno Boniface of Querfurt consists of three narratives. They are the 11th century Vipert's *Historia de praedicatione episcopi Brunonis cum suis capellanis in Pruscia, et martyrio eorum* and *The Life of St Romuald* by Peter Damiani (Chapters XXVI, XXVII) and the story of *Life and Martyrdom* of St. Bruno that formed later. The latter is conveyed in *Vita et passio S. Brunonis episcopi et martyris*, whose surviving manuscript of the 16th century is stored in the Archives of the city of Querfurt. *Passio (martyrdom)* of that narrative was published in the Halberstadt Breviary issued in Nuremberg. Also, the narrative *Des Edeln Sente Bruns von Querfurte lebin* has survived, two manuscripts of the 15th century of which are stored in the Library of the town of Dessau. It conveys the story of the life and martyrdom of St Bruno in the German language.

Special attention is focused on the problem of the ratio between the lost *Book of the Deeds (Liber gestorum)* by St Bruno and the late narratives of *The Life and Martyrdom*. Having carried out the analysis of St Bruno's *Liber gestorum* it can be stated that there was a narrative in A wording next to the Tagino period about St Bruno Boniface who was a Canon of Magdeburg, was accepted to the King's court, lived in an erem in Italy with the Saints Benedict and John, who received the pallium from the Pope, was ordained Archbishop of the pagans (*tribes*) by Tagino, the Archbishop of Magdeburg, and was tortured by them. The narrative about the St Bruno's mission through Prague of Bohemia to Hungary

presented in Deeds of Archbishops of Magdeburg is the interpolation of B3 (out of it B3^a) manuscripts of the second half of the 15th century and is not related to the narrative of *liber gestorum*. The narrative of *The Deeds of the Bishops of Halberstadt* that has survived in the wording of the beginning of the 13th century about St Bruno is influenced by the Thietmar and Frutolf / Ekkehard Chronicles. When analysing the narratives of *The Life and Martyrdom* their hypothetical relation with the narrative presented in *The Life of St Romuald* by Peter Domiani about St Bruno's martyrdom is raised.

Versions of St Bruno's *locus et data martyrii*. First of all, *in confinio* with the year 1009 localisation is singled out paying special attention to the issues of reception of the Annals of Quedlinburg and the Thietmar Chronicle in the source of Magdeburg (Anglista Saxo, Annals of Magdeburg and *The Deeds of the Bishops of Magdeburg*), which constructed the compiled border of Prussia, Russia and Lithuania. In analysing the localisation of Prussia with the year 1008, attempts were made to elucidate in what way, due to different dating systems, the year 1009 of the Chronicles of Wurtsburg turned into the year 1008 in the Frutolf / Ekkehard Chronicle.

CONCLUSIONS

In the course of the investigation three traditions of knowledge of St Bruno were studied:

1. Camaldolese, 2. Benedictine, 3. Querfurt or local.

1. The Camaldolese tradition of knowledge: 1) the Camaldolese tradition of knowledge of St Bruno Boniface formed in the 14th–16th centuries on the basis of *The Life of St Romuald* by Peter Damiani and St Boniface could be known through St Romuald. Therefore in the 14th–16th centuries the story of the life and martyrdom of St Boniface is combined into the life of his teacher St Romuald; 2) *Catalogus sanctorum* compiled by Petrus de Natalibus at the turn of the sixties-seventies of the 14th century is to be regarded as the first manuscript presenter of the story of the life and martyrdom of St Boniface, and the first published life story of this Saint is presented in the work *Summa historialis, sive Chronicon* by Saint Antoninus of Florence published in Nuremberg in 1484; 3) The title of the (Arch)bishop of Bosnia *granted* to St Boniface by Petrus de Natalibus remained established in the narrative about this Saint right to the second half of the 18th century; 4) presenters of the life of St Boniface presented *The Life of St Romuald* by Peter Damiani in their own words, they shortened and interpreted it. Therefore geographical interpretations of the last mission of this Saint appeared, the prevailing one being joining separate “geographical points” of Damiani into one – Russian / Russia’s – point, having eliminated the plot of St Adalbert, and having made the “converted Slavs” Russians or Russia; 5) not knowing the date of the death of St Boniface, two different days of commemorating St Boniface existed in the 16th century: the Camaldolese monks commemorated this martyr on the 4th of September, the feast of Romuald formed in the remaining part of Europe, which commemorated that event on the 19th of June. After the latter became established in the *New Roman Martyrdomy* (1583), the Camaldolese monks also took over the 19th of June.

2. The Benedictine tradition of knowledge: 1) in the Middle Ages the information about the death of St. Bruno from the Frutolf / Ekkehard Chronicle became the text of knowledge of St Bruno and spread universally, stating that Prussia was *locus martyrii*, and the year 1008 was *data martyrii*; the way of murdering was indicated as cutting off the hands, the legs and

finally the head; 2) the *ekkehardic* information spread in Saxony, which was the localisation of St Bruno's death as far back as the 12th century *in confinio* with the year 1009, in which the said way of killing was either combined or on the whole everything was changed into Prussia with the year 1008; 3) the *ekkehardic* information about St Bruno that was spread in the Middle Ages remained dominant in the 16th–17th centuries. The World Chronicle of Burchard of Ursberg (that compiled the Ekkehard Chronicle) which was the source about the life and martyrdom of St Bruno that was published the greatest number of times ensures it this role; 4) a new interpretational detail of St. Bruno's last mission disseminated by J. Trithemius (1494) spread in the 16th century, which became established in the biography of the Saint for a long time. The missionary and martyr St. Bruno was started to be regarded as the *Ruthenian* Archbishop, who was killed in Prussia in 1008. It was universally established by the new *Roman martyrology* (1583), in which an artificial date of *transliacio* to commemorate St Bruno was created – the 15th of October.

3. The Querfurt tradition: 1) this tradition both in the Middle Ages and in modern times correlated with knowledge of the Saint that spread in the Benedictine environment in Saxony. The narrative of St. Bruno's lost *Liber gestorum* conveyed in *The Deeds of the Bishops of Halberstadt* helped the original Querfurt tradition to occur, which revealed itself in the publications devoted to the fairs held in Querfurt, which were started to be issued in the second half of the 16th century; 2) two missions to Prussia appeared on St. Bruno's itinerary (the Saints Benedict and John became escorts in one of them), which were "accompanied" by two legends related to Querfurt: nine children (*Neunlingsage*) and the donkey meadow (*Eselswiese*). The latter transformed itself from the legend of the donkey's foot common in the diocese of Halberstadt in the 13th – 15th century recorded in the Deeds of the Bishops of Halberstadt and the narratives in *Life and Martyrdom*; 3) the *local* (Querfurt) tradition took over the *ekkehard* information disseminated by the Benedictine tradition; 4) the news of the year 1009 of the Annals of Quedlinburg was used for the first time by C. Spangenberg in *Querfurtische Chronica* published in 1590, and the Saints Bruno

and Boniface were presented as one person. However, this publication made an impact on dating of the last mission only (from the year 1008 into the year 1009).

4. The period of the existence of the doubled saint (the second half of the 16th–the beginning of the 18th century) and joining these saints into one: 1) The two saints – Boniface on the 19th of June and Bruno on the 15th of October recorded in the Roman Martyrology officially established the existence of St Bruno in two persons, which is found for the first time in *Centuriae Magdeburgenses (Ecclesiastica historia)* (1567); 2) the portrait of the missions of both Saints is supplemented with new interpretations: Prussia appears from Daminiani’s plot of St Adalbert in the image of the mission of St Bruno; in testimony about St Bruno’s mission (not knowing the Annals of Quedlinburg) Lithuania, introduced by A. Wion in 1595, during the period of coexistence of two saints, becomes one of the “geographical points” of the last mission of the Saint; 3) the discovery and publication of the sources with “Bruno Boniface” gave a stimulus to join the two saints into one. The first to do that was Benedictine Jean Mabillon (1707) on the basis the manuscript of the Chronicles of the annalsta Saxo stored in Paris.

5. Knowledge of St. Bruno Boniface in the geographical space of the 1009 mission (Poland, Lithuania, Prussia): 1) two saints taken over from Western Europe become established in the Polish-Lithuanian State. 2) Martyrdom of St Boniface is either not dated by hagiographers of the Polish-Lithuanian State or is recorded as of 977, that is, *lapsus linguae* that appeared in the narrative about the Saint’s last mission contained in the *Church annals* of Caesar Baronius. Florian Jaroszewicz (1767) corrected that mistake indicating the year 997. The data of martyrdom of St Bruno, as in Western Europe, is indicated to be *ekkehard* year of 1008; 3) the plot of Poland is introduced into the itinerary of the last mission of both saints. In the plot of St Boniface, even in compiling hagiographical narratives of Western Europe (S. Szczygielski compiled G. Bucelin, and K. Andrzejowski compiled Æ. Ranbeck), Bosnia, which is absolutely foreign to the Baltic Sea Region is eliminated; 4) two saints that co-existed in hagiographic literature remained in liturgy where they acquired different

functions. St Bruno became the patron of the Kingdom of Poland, whereas Prussia's apostle St Bruno was mentioned only in the dioceses of Varmia and Sambia; 5) in liturgy missions of both saints were related to the Baltic Sea Region. 6) The date of the most active readings of breviaries about St Bruno presented by W. Nowak is to be corrected from 1710 to 1676; 7) all three traditions of knowledge of the Saint found their place in Prussian writings. St Bruno who died in Prussia in 1008 functioned together with a characteristic tradition of doubling the saint, to whom the legend of the brother's nine children taken over from the Querfurt tradition (whose variant was used the narrative of Meinhard, the Master of the Order that appeared near Querfurt) was applied, as well as St Boniface tortured in Russia described by Peter Damiani; 8) In the second half of the 17th century Ch. Hartknoch related these saints to Prussia even more: St Bruno of Querfurt was related to Braunsberg and for the first time a more detailed *locus martyrii* was presented – the Galindians or the Sudovians, St Boniface's mission was also related to Prussia by introducing the factor of overhearing the wrong place of the death (Russia was written down instead of Prussia).

6. Controversies of historiography: 1) in the 19th century, alongside the prevailing eastern direction of *Prussian* localisation, the northern (W. Pierson) and at the end of the century also the western direction (A. Kolberg) appear in historiography of the life and martyrdom of St Bruno; 2) The change of the year 1008 to the year 1009 and prevalence of the latter was purely *technical* and *inert*: having marked the year 1009 in the MGH publication (1839) of the Thietmar Chronicle that did not record the year of the death of St Bruno; 3) at the beginning of the 20th century, when commemorating the 900th anniversary of St Bruno's death of a martyr, the conception of the *geographical average* appeared (H. G. Voigt). Geographical tops of the three sources – the Thietmar Chronicles, the Annals of Quedlinburg and Peter Damiani's narrative – are *summed up* and the result obtained is the Yotvingians. This historiographic conception prevailed throughout the whole of the 20th century; 4) the turning point took place in the second half of the 20th century when J. Beniakas grouped the sources about the life and martyrdom of St Bruno into versions and

presented the possibility to localise the mission in Lithuania. This Quedlinburg conception was developed by Edvardas Gudavičius.

To analyse the sources about the life and death cycle of St Bruno, two problem issues are raised in the work – those of St Bruno of Qverfurt's hagiographical legend and *locus et data martyrii* of this Saint.

7. The hagiographic legend of St Bruno of Qverfurt: 1) the versions of St Bruno of Qverfurt's hagiographical legend are revealed in the 11th century narratives of Wipert and Peter Damian, as well as in the story of *Life and Martyrdom* of St Bruno that was formed later. The former is supplemented with the manuscript narrative of Dessau of the first half of the 15th century; 2) in the second half of the 11th century the *Russian* hagiographical version of St Bruno (which later formed the basis for the Comoldolese tradition) already existed in the erems of St Romuald in which the missions to the pagans were perceived as missions to the Slavic land (*ad S(c)lavoniam*). The narrative of wording of the Ademar of Chabannes Chronicles *Gamma* does not contradict to that; 3) *Liber gestorum* mentioned in *The Deeds of Archbishops of Magdeburg* (taking into consideration the structural analysis of A and B wordings of the texts of the *Deeds* about the life and martyrdom), is to be related only to the narrative of A wording at the times of Archbishop Tagin (in B wording it is moved to the times of Archbishop Adalbert), as well as to the narrative in *The Deeds of Archbishops of Halberstadt*. The latter (which has survived in the wording of the beginning of the 13th century) was influenced by the Thietmar of Merseburg and Frutolf / Ekkehard Chronicles in the 12th century; 4) the narrative near Archbishop Giselarius contained in B3 (B3a out of it) manuscript (1458–1464) of *The Deeds of Archbishops of Magdeburg* is to be regarded as interpolation and is a narrative of the story of *Life and Martyrdom* (Querfurt, Dessau manuscripts; 5) the stories of *Life and Martyrdom*, which survived in the manuscripts of the 15th and the 16th centuries, reflect the *Hungarian* version of the hagiographical legend that formed in the diocese of Halberstadt; its *Life* was influenced by Thietmar narrative, and the part of *Martyrdom* (its starts with the missionary's visit to the Pope) considers taking over of the plot from Peter Damian's *The Life of St Romuald*. It is

not only the plot of a fire but also the use of the name of St Boniface exclusively, ignoring the name of Bruno that allows us to see that. The Saint is called by the latter name only when inserting the date of the death taken over from the Thietmar Chronicle; 6) The narrative *Des Edeln Sente Bruns von Querfurte lebin* that has survived in the Dessau manuscripts (though supplemented with Querfurt plots) reflects more the original wording than that of the Querfurt manuscript *Vita et Passio*; 7) Putting the Dessau manuscript into a scientific circulation confirms that fact that neither Zebeden nor Alstra is to be looked for in Lithuania.

8. Versions of *locus et data martyrii* of St Bruno: 1) When considering the issue of (in)credibility of localisation *in confinio* with the year 1009 of the Annals of Quedlinburg, attention is to be paid not only to the aspect of the late surviving manuscript of the 16th century (Lithuanian's historiography) but also to the issue of reception of this source, as in case of the Thietmar Chronicle; 2) Having taken over the Annals of Quedlinburg and the Thietmar Chronicle in the sources of Magdeburg, in the middle of the 12th century the border of Prussia, Russia and Lithuania was compiled; 3) The supposition should be made that genealogy of St Bruno's family contained in the sources of Magdeburg have an independent nature. It was supplemented when updating information. This is shown by a narrative in the Annalista Saxo chronicles of 1106 where a blank space is left for the name of the new buggraf of Magdeburg to be written in; 4) "cum suis cum suis xxiiii" written in the Annalista Saxo manuscript allows us to make the supposition that "cum suis (sociis corr. T) suim&" in the Thietmar Chronicle could have been read incorrectly as "cum suis x", which would explain turning the escot of 18 into that 24 people; 5) when Frutolf of Michelsberg took over the Würzburg Chronicle in which the events were dated by indicating only the years of the rule of sovereigns, confusion occurs near the year 1000. The year of the rule of Henrik I are identified with the year 1001. In this way the Würzburg Chronicle VIII (=1009) with the news about St Bruno's death became *Anno Dominicae Incarnationis Millesimo VIII* (=1008). And this mistake determined dating of the last mission of St Bruno 1008 for a long time.

ŠV. BRUNONAS KVERFURTĖTIS IR 1009 M. MISIJA: ŠALTINOTYRINIS ASPEKTAS

Reziümė

Šis darbas skirtas šv. Brunonui Kverfurtiečiui ir paskutinei jo misijai 1009 metais, kuomet Kvedlinburgo analuose pirmą kartą paminėta Lietuva. Šis tyrimas (kaip pažymima disertacijos paantraštėje) yra išskirtinai šaltinotyrinio pobūdžio, todėl tyrimo objektas yra įvairūs *brunonianos* šaltiniai, pateikiantys skirtingas ir net prieštaringas žinias apie šv. Brunoną Kverfurtietį, jo gyvenimą ir kankinišką mirtį. Šiuose šaltiniuose misionierius yra įvardijamas skirtingais vardais, vien vienašaliuose ir juos recipavusiuose šaltiniuose pateikiamos bent septynios žūties vietos (*locus martyrii*) versijos, nurodoma ne viena žūties data (*data martyrii*).

Tyrimo eiga (o kartu ir darbo struktūra) pasirinkta kiek nestandartiška: nuo šio šventojo pažinimo klausimo (išskiriant tris tradicijas – *kamalduliškąją*, *benediktiniškąją* ir *lokalinę* (Kverfurto) – žinojusias šį šventąjį skirtingais vardais ir pateikiančias skirtingas *locus martyrii*, dėl ko XVI a. pabaigoje–XVIII a. I pusėje buvo įsitvirtinę atskiri šv. Brunono ir šv. Bonifaco pažinimai) einama link vienašalių ir jiems artimų šaltinių šaltinotyrinio tyrimo, susitelkiant į du svarbius – šv. Brunono Kverfurtiečio hagiografinės legendos ir šio šventojo *locus martyrii* versijų – klausimus. Tokiu pasirinkimu darbe siekta parodyti šv. Brunono ir 1009-ųjų pažinimą nuo Viduramžių iki nūdienos, be to, tai padeda suprasti, koku būdu vienu ar kitu metu buvo prieita prie tam tikrų *kanoninių* traktuočių, kurios turėjo įtakos tiek senajai, tiek ir šiandieninei istoriografijai. Matant tai, išskirtos tam tikros šaltinotyrinės problemos, kurias įveikti bandoma analizuojant vienašalius ir jiems artimus *brunonianos* šaltinius.

Šio tyrimo tikslas – atlikti visapusišką šv. Brunono Bonifaco gyvenimo ir mirties šaltinių (plačiaja prasme) tyrimą, per jų interpretavimą, lyginimą ir analizę pateikti vienokį ar kitokį buvusį, esamą (ir / ar galimą) šv. Brunono ir 1009-ųjų misijos vaizdinį. Darbą sudaro įvadas, dvi dalys, išvados, šaltinių ir literatūros sąrašas, priedai. Pirmoji darbo dalis skirta šv. Brunono Bonifaco Kverfurtiečio pažinimo klausimui. Darbe tai buvo pasirinkta

apibūdinti per pažinimo tradicijas. Santykinai išskiriamos trys šv. Brunono Bonifaco iš Kverfurto pažinimo tradicijos: *kamalduliškoji*, žinojusi šį šventąjį Bonifaco vardu, *benediktiniškoji* ir *lokalinė*, arba Kverfurto, tradicijos, kurios Europai pristatė šį šventąjį Brunono vardu. Pastarąją pažinimo tradiciją, nors ir koreliavusią su *benediktiniškąja* (paskleidusi *ekehardiškąją* žūties žinią su *data et locus martyrii* 1008 m. Prūsijoje, o nužudymo būdas įvardijamas kaip rankų, kojų, o galiausiai ir galvos nukirtimas), galima laikyti savarankiška. Ji suformavo šv. Brunono Kverfurtiečio, kaip žymiausio giminės atstovo, pažinimą, „nustatė“ dvi jo misijas į Prūsiją, lydima dvių kverfurtietišku – devynių naujagimių ir asilo – legendų. XVI a. II pusėje–XVIII a. pradžioje buvo sudvejinto šventojo laikotarpis, kai buvo skiriami šv. Bonifacas ir šv. Brunonas. Šie sudvejinti šventieji *pasiekė* ir 1009-ųjų misijos geografinę erdvę, t. y. Lenkijos–Lietuvos valstybę ir Prūsiją. Pristatant šv. Brunono žūties vietas kontroversijas istoriografijoje, aiškinamasi, kaip atsirado spekuliatyvioji *geografinio vidurkio* koncepcija (*susumavusi* Kvedlinburgo analuose, Titmaro kronikoje ir Petro Daminio pasakojime minimus etnonimus ir gavusi šv. Brunono šaltiniuose neminimus jotvingius), kada buvo iškeltas Kvedlinburgo analų žinutės simbolinis vaidmuo ir trumpai nusakomas *kvedlinburginės* koncepcijos atsiradimas. Antroji darbo dalis skirta šv. Brunono ir paskutinės jo misijos 1009 m. šaltinotyrinėms problemoms, išskiriant du svarbius – šv. Brunono Kverfurtiečio hagiografinės legendos bei šio šventojo *locus et data martyrii* versijų – klausimus. Aiškinantis pirmąjį klausimą, aptariami ankstyvieji Petro Damiano ir Viperto hagiografiniai pasakojimai. Atskiras dėmesys sutelkiamas į neišlikusios šv. Brunono *Darbu knygos (Liber gestorum)* ir išlikusių vėlyvųjų *Gyvenimo ir kankinystės* pasakojimų santykio problemą. Pirmiausia atliekama *Magdeburgo arkivyskupų darbu*, kuriuose paminėta šv. Brunono *Liber gestorum*, ir *Halberštato vyskupų darbu* pasakojimo šaltinotyrinė analizė. Antra, lyginami ir analizuojami *Gyvenimo ir kankinystės* – lotyniškasis (Kverfurto rankraštis) ir vokiškasis (Desau rankraščiai) – pasakojimai. Taip pat keliamas hipotetinis pastarųjų šaltinių santykis su Petro Damiano *Šv. Romualdo gyvenime* patektu pasakojimu apie šv. Bonifaco kankinystę. Tyrinėjant šv. Brunono *locus et data martyrii* versijas, pirmiausia išskiriama *in confinio* su 1009 metais lokalizacija, ypatingą dėmesį skiriant Kvedlinburgo analų ir

Titmaro kronikos recepcijos klausimui Magdeburgo šaltiniuose (Anglisto Sakso kronika, Magdeburgo analai ir *Magdeburgo arkivyskupų darbai*), kurie sukonstravo kompiliacinį Prūsijos, Rusijos ir Lietuvos paribį. Toliau analizuojama Prūsijos su 1008 m. lokalizacija. Čia aiškinamasi, kaip Viureburgo kronikos 1009-ieji Ekehardo / Frutolfo kronikoje virto 1008-aisiais.

IŠVADOS

Tyrimo metu buvo išskirtos trys šv. Brunono Bonifaco pažinimo tradicijos: 1. Kamalduliškoji, 2. Benediktiniškoji, 3. Kverfurto, arba lokalinė.

1. Kamalduliškoji pažinimo tradicija: 1) šv. Brunono Bonifaco *kamalduliškoji* pažinimo tradicija XIV–XVI a. formavosi remiantis Petro Damiano *Šv. Romualdo gyvenimu* ir šv. Bonifacas galėjo būti pažintas per šv. Romualdą. Todėl XIV–XVI a. šv. Bonifaco gyvenimo ir kankinystės istorija yra įkomponuojama į jo mokytojo šv. Romualdo gyvenimą; 2) pirmuoju rankraštiniu šv. Bonifaco gyvenimo ir kankinystės istorijos pateikėju reikia laikyti XIV a. septintojo–aštuntojo dešimtmečių sandūroje Petro Natalio sudarytą *Catalogus sanctorum*, o pirmasis išspausdintas šio šventojo gyvenimo aprašymas yra 1484 m. Niurnberge išėjusiame Antonino iš Florencijos veikale *Summa historialis, sive Chronicon*; 3) Petro Natalio šv. Bonifacui suteiktas Bosnijos (arki)vyskupo įvardijimas įsitvirtina pasakojime apie šį šventąjį iki pat XVIII a. I pusės; 4) Šv. Bonifaco gyvenimo pateikėjai Petro Damiano *Šv. Romualdo gyvenimą* perteikdavo savais žodžiais, sutrumpindavo, interpretuodavo. Todėl atsirado šio šventojo paskutinės misijos geografinių interpretacijų, iš kurių vyraujanti – atskirų Damiano „geografinių taškų“ sujungimas į vieną – rusų / Rusijos – „tašką“, eliminavus šv. Adalberto siužetą, o „atsivertusius slavus“ padarius rusais ar Rusija; 5) nežinant šv. Bonifaco mirties datos, XVI a. egzistavo dvi skirtingos šv. Bonifaco paminėjimo dienos: kamalduliai minėjo šį kankinį rugsėjo 4 dieną, likusioje Europos dalyje formavosi *romualdiškoji* – birželio 19 d. – šventė. Pastarąją įtvirtintus naujajame *Romos martirologe* (1583), birželio 19-ąją perėmė ir kamalduliai.

2. Benediktiniškoji pažinimo tradicija: 1) Viduramžiais kanoniniu šv. Brunono pažinimo tekstu tapo ir visuotinai paplito Frutolfo / Ekehardo kronikos šv. Brunono žūties žinia, kurioje *locus martyrii* buvo Prūsija, *data martyrii* – 1008 m., o nužudymo būdas įvardijamas kaip rankų, kojų, o galiausiai ir galvos nukirtimas; 2) *ekehardiškoji* žinia paplito ir Saksonijoje, kur dar XII amžiuje buvo šv. Brunono žūties lokalizacijos *in confinio* su 1009 m., į kurią arba įkomponuotas minėtas nužudymo būdas, arba apskritai pakeičiama į

Prūsiją ir 1008-uosius; 3) Viduramžiais išplitusi šv. Brunono *ekehardiškoji* žinia išlieka dominante XVI–XVII amžiuje. Šį vaidmenį jai užtikrina XIII a. Burchardo iš Ursbergo pasaulio kronika (kompiliavusi Ekehardo kroniką), kuri buvo daugiausia kartų XVI a. publikuotas brunonianos šaltinis; 4) XVI a. paplinta J. Trithemijaus paskleista (1494) nauja šv. Brunono paskutinės misijos interpretacinė detalė, kuri ilgam įsitvirtino šventojo biografijoje. Misionierius ir kankinys šv. Brunonas buvo pradėtas laikyti *rutėnų* arkivyskupu, žuvusiu 1008 m. Prūsijoje. Visuotinai tai įtvirtino naujasis *Romos martirologas* (1583), kuriame šv. Brunonui paminėti buvo sukurta dirbtinė *transliacio* data – spalio 15 diena.

3. *Lokalinė* (Kverfurto) tradicija: 1) ši tradicija tiek Viduramžiais, tiek ir Naujaisiais laikais koreliavo su Saksonijoje benediktiniškoje aplinkoje sklidusiu šventojo pažinimu. Neišlikusios šv. Brunono *Liber gestorum* pasakojimas, perteiktas *Halberštato vyskupų darbuose*, padėjo atsirasti savitai Kverfurto tradicijai, kuri geriausiai atsiskleidžia XVI a. II pusėje pradėtuose leisti Kverfurto mugėms skirtuose leidiniuose; 2) šv. Brunono itinere atsirado dvi misijos į Prūsiją (vienos jų palydovais tapo šventieji Benediktas ir Jonas), kurias „lydėjo“ dvi su Kverfurtu susijusios legendos: devynių vaikų (*Neunlingssage*) ir asilo pievos (*Eselwiese*). Pastaroji transformavosi iš XIII–XV a. Halberštato vyskupijoje paplitusios asilo pėdos legendos, fiksuotos Halberštato vyskupų darbuose bei *Gyvenimo ir kankinystės* pasakojimuose; 3) lokalinė (Kverfurto) tradicija perėmė benediktiniškosios tradicijos išplatintą *ekehardiškąją* žinią; 4) 1590 m. išėjusioje *Querfurtische Chronica C. Spangenbergo* pirmą kartą buvo panaudota Kvedlinburgo analų 1009-ųjų žinutė, šventieji Brunonas ir Bonifacas pateikiamas kaip vienas. Tačiau šis leidinys darė poveikį tik paskutinės misijos datavimui.

4. Sudvejinto šventojo egzistavimo laikotarpis (XVI a. antra pusė–XVIII a. pradžia) ir šių šventųjų sujungimas į vieną: 1) Romos martirologe užfiksuoti du šventieji – Bonifacas prie birželio 19 dienos ir Brunonas prie spalio 15 dienos – oficialiai įtvirtino šv. Brunono Bonifaco gyvavimą dviejuose asmenyse, kuris pirmą kartą randamas *Magdeburgo*

Centurijose (1567); 2) abiejų šventųjų misijų paveikslas pasipildo naujomis interpretacijomis: šv. Bonifaco misijos vaizdinyje iš Damiano šv. Adalberto siužeto atsiranda Prūsija; šv. Brunono misijos liudijime (nežinant Kvedlinburgo analų) A. Wiono 1595 m. įvesta Lietuva dviejų šventųjų koegzistavimo laikotarpyje tampa vienu iš šventojo paskutinės misijos „geografinių taškų“; 3) akstiną sujungti du šventuosius į vieną davė šaltinių su „Brunonas Bonifacas“ atradimas ir publikavimas. Pirmasis tai padarė benediktinas Jeanas Mabillonas (1707), remdamasis Paryžiuje saugomu Analisto Sakso kronikos rankraščiu.

5. Šv. Brunono Bonifaco pažinimas 1009-ųjų misijos geografinėje erdvėje (Lenkija, Lietuva, Prūsija): 1) Lenkijos–Lietuvos valstybėje išvirtina iš Vakarų Europos perimti du šventieji; 2) Šv. Bonifaco kankinystė LLV hagiografų yra arba nedatuojama, arba fiksuojami 977 m., t. y. *lapsus linguae*, atsiradusi iš C. Baronijaus *Bažnyčios analuose* prie 997 metų esančio pasakojimo apie paskutinę šventojo misiją. Šią klaidą, nurodydamas jau 997 m., ištaisė F. Jaroszewiczius (1767). Šv. Brunono, kaip ir Vakarų Europoje, kankinystės data nurodomi *ekehardiškieji* 1008-ieji; 3) abiejų šventųjų paskutinės misijos itinerare įvedamas Lenkijos siužetas. Šv. Bonifaco siužete, net ir kompiliuojant Vakarų Europos hagiografinius pasakojimus (S. Szczygielskis kompiliavo G. Buceliną, K. Andrzejowskis – Æ. Ranbecką), eliminuojama visiškai Baltijos jūros regionui svetima Bosnija; 4) hagiografinėje literatūroje koegzistavę du šventieji išliko ir liturgijoje, kur jie įgavo skirtingas funkcijas. Šv. Bonifacas tapo Lenkijos karalystės globėju, o Prūsijos apaštalas šv. Brunonas buvo minimas tik Varmijos ir Sambijos vyskupijose; 5) liturgijoje abiejų šventųjų misijos buvo siejamos su Baltijos jūros regionu; 6) Koreguotina W. Nowako pateikiama ankstyviausių brevijoriaus skaitinių apie šv. Brunoną data iš 1710 m. į 1676 m.; 7) Prūsijos raštijoje buvo žinomos visos trys šventojo pažinimo tradicijos. Pagal būdingą šventojo sudvejinimo tradiciją aprašomas 1008 m. Prūsijoje žuvęs šv. Brunonas, kuriam pritaikyta iš Kverfurto tradicijos perimta devynių brolio vaikų legenda (kurios variantas yra ir prie iš Kverfurto kilusio ordino magistro Meinhardo pasakojimo), bei Petro Damiano aprašytas Rusijoje nukankintas šv. Bonifacas; 8) su Prūsija šiuos šventuosius XVII a. II

pusėje dar labiau susieja Ch. Hartknochas: šv. Brunonas Kverfurtietis buvo susietas su Braunsbergu bei pirmą kartą pateikta detalesnė *locus martyrii* – galindai arba sudūviai, šv. Bonifaco misija taip pat sieta su Prūsija, įvedant klaidingo žūties vietos nusiklausymo faktorių (vietoj Prūsijos užrašyta Rusija).

6. Istoriografijos kontraversijos: 1) *Brunoninėje* istoriografijoje šalia vyraujančios *prūsiškosios* lokalizacijos rytinės krypties XIX a. atsiranda ir šiaurinė (W. Pierson), o anžiaus pabaigoje ir vakarinė (A. Kolberg); 2) 1008 m. pakeitimas į 1009 m. ir įsivyravimas buvo grynai *techniškas* ir *inertiškas*: nefiksuojančioje šv. Brunono žūties metų Titmaro kronikos *MGH* publikacijoje (1839) pažymėjus 1009 m.; 3) XX a. pradžioje, minint šv. Brunono kankiniškos mirties 900-ųjų metines, atsirado *geografinio vidurkio* koncepcija (H. G. Voigtas). Trijų šaltinių – Titmaro kronikos, Kvedlinburgo analų ir Petro Damiano pasakojimo geografiniai topai yra *susumuojami*, gaunamas rezultatas – jotvingiai. Ši istoriografinė koncepcija vyravo visą XX amžių; 4) Lūžis įvyko XX a. II pusėje, kuomet J. Beniakas suskirstė brunonianos šaltinius į versijas ir pateikė galimybę lokalizuoti misiją Lietuvoje. Ši kvedlinburginė koncepcija buvo išplėtota E. Gudavičiaus.

Darbe šv. Brunono gyvenimo ir mirties ciklo šaltiniams analizuoti išsikelti du probleminiai – šv. Brunono Kverfurtiečio hagiografinės legendos ir šio šventojo *locus et data martyrii* – klausimai.

7. Šv. Brunono Kverfurtiečio hagiografinė legenda: 1) šv. Brunono Bonifaco hagiografinės legendos versijos atskleidžiamos XI a. Viperto ir Damiano pasakojimais bei vėlai susiformavusia šv. Brunono *Gyvenimo ir kankinystės* istorija. Pastaroji papildoma rankraštiniu XV a. I pusės Desau pasakojimu; 2) XI a. II pusėje jau egzistavo šv. Romualdo eremuose susiformavusi *rusiškoji* (vėliau tapusi kamalduliškosios tradicijos pagrindu) šv. Brunono hagiografinė versija, kurioje misijos pas pagonis buvo suvokiamos kaip misijos į slavų kraštą (*ad S(c)lavoniam*). Tam neprieštarauja ir Ademaro Šabaniečio kronikos *Gamma* (buvusi C) redakcijos pasakojimas; 3) *Magdeburgo arkivyskupų darbų* minima *Liber gestorum* (atsižvelgiant į *Darbų* A ir B redakcijų *brunoninių* tekstų struktūrinę

analizę) reikia sieti tik su A redakcijos prie arkivyskupo Taginono laikų esančiu pasakojimu (B redakcijoje jis nukeltas į arkivyskupo Adalberto laikus) bei *Halberštato vyskupų darbų* pasakojimu. Pastarasis (išlikęs XIII a. pr. redakcijoje) XII a. buvo paveiktas Titmaro ir Frutolfo / Ekehardo kronikų; 4) *Magdeburgo arkivyskupų darbų* B3 (iš jo B3^a) rankraštyje (1458–1464 m.) esantis pasakojimas prie arkivyskupo Giselarijaus laikytinas interpoliacija ir jau yra *Gyvenimo ir kankinystės* (Kverfurto, Desau rankraščiai) istorijos pasakojimas; 5) *Gyvenimo ir kankinystės* pasakojimai, išlikę XV ir XVI a. rankraščiuose, atspindi Halberštato vyskupijoje susiformavusią hagiografinės legendos *vengriškąją* versiją, kurios *Gyvenimui* turėjo įtakos Titmaro pasakojimas, o *Kankinystės* (ji prasideda nuo misionieriaus nuvykimo pas popiežių) dalyje svarstyti siužeto perėmimas iš Damiano *Šv. Romualdo gyvenimo*. Tai leidžia matyti ne tik laužo siužetas, bet ir išimtinai šv. Bonifaco vardo vartojimas, ignoruojant Brunono įvardijimą. Pastaruoju vardu šventasis yra pavadinamas tik įterpiant iš Titmaro kronikos žūties datavimą; 6) Desau rankraščiuose išlikęs pasakojimas *Des Edeln Sente Bruns von Querfurte lebin* (nors ir papildytas kverfurtietiškais siužetais) labiau atspindi pirminę redakciją negu Kverfurto rankraščio *Vita et Passio*; 7) Desau rankraščio įvedimas į mokslinę apyvartą patvirtina, kad nei Zebedenas, o juo labiau Alstra Lietuvoje nėra ieškotini.

8. Šv. Brunono *locus et data martyrii* versijos: 1) Svarstant Kvedlinburgo analų lokalizacijos *in confinio* su 1009 metais (ne)patikimumo klausimą, kreiptinas dėmesys ne į išlikusio vėlyvo XVI a. rankraščio aspektą (Lietuvos istoriografija), o į šio šaltinio, kaip ir Titmaro kronikos, recepcijos klausimą; 2) recipavus Kvedlinburgo analus ir Titmaro kroniką Magdeburgo šaltiniuose XII a. vid. sukompiliuotas Prūsijos, Rusijos ir Lietuvos pasienis; 3) darytina prielaida, kad Magdeburgo šaltiniuose esanti šv. Brunono giminės genealogija turi savarankišką pobūdį. Ji buvo pildoma, atnaujinant informaciją. Tai rodo Analisto Sakso kronikos 1106 m. pasakojimas, kur rankraštyje paliekama tuščia vieta įrašyti naujojo Magdeburgo bugrafo vardą; 4) Analisto Sakso rankraštyje užrašytas „cum suis cum suis xxiiii“ leidžia kelti prielaidą, kad Titmaro kronikoje „cum suis (sociis *corr.* T) suim&“ galėjo būti neteisingai perskaitytas kaip „cum suis x“, kas paaiškintų 18 palydovų virtimą 24; 5) Frutolfui recipuojant Viurcburgo kroniką, kurioje įvykiai datuojami tik

nurodant valdovų valdymo metus, susipainiojimas įvyksta ties 1000-aisiais metais. Pirmieji (I) Henriko valdymo metai sutapatinami su 1001 metais. Taip Viurcburgo kronikos VIII (=1009) su žinia apie Brunono žūtį tapo „Anno Dominicae Incarnationis Millesimo VIII“ (=1008). Ši klaida ilgam nulėmė šv. Brunono paskutinės misijos datavimą 1008 metais.

Mokslinių publikacijų sąrašas / The List of Publications

Straipsniai:

1. Trys ar keturios šv. Brunono misijų šaltinių versijos ? // *Tarp istorijos ir būtovės*. Studijos prof. Edvardo Gudavičiaus 70-mečiui / sud. A. Bumblauskas, R. Petrauskas (Specialusis „Lietuvos istorijos studijų“ leidinys, T. 1). Vilnius: Aidai, 1999, p. 19–25;
2. Šv. Brunono kankinystės atvaizdas ir *Ademarus Cabannensi Historia* // *Naujasis Židinys-Aidai*, nr. 7/8, 2000, p. 390–392;
3. Šv. Brunono Kverfurtiečio ciklo šaltiniai // *1009 metai: šv. Brunono Kverfurtiečio misija = A. d. 1009: missio s. Brunonis Querfordensis* (Fontes ecclesiastici historiae Lithuaniae, 5). Vilnius: Aidai, 2006, p. 212–220;
4. Šv. Bonifacas XIV–XVI amžiuje arba „kamalduliškoji“ šv. Brunono Kverfurtiečio pažinimo tradicija // *Lietuvos istorijos studijos*, t. 29, 2012, p. 71–83.

Mokslo šaltinių publikacija:

1009 metai: šv. Brunono Kverfurtiečio misija = A. d. 1009: missio s. Brunonis Querfordensis (Fontes ecclesiastici historiae Lithuaniae, 5). Vilnius: Aidai, 2006. 287, [1] p.: iliustr., faks. [sudarymas, šaltinių publikacijos orig. kalba parengimas, vertimai į lietuvių k., šaltiniotyrimai paaiškinimai, rankraščių sąrašo ir bibliografijų sudarymas (p. 221–279), vizualikos atranka, rodyklės sudarymas].

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Pranešimas „Šv. Brunono ciklo šaltiniai“ mokslinėje konferencijoje „Šv. Brunono Kverfurtiečio istorija ir atmintis Lietuvoje“ (Pažaislio vienuolynas, 2009 m. birželio 19 d.).

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