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Croatian “Psary” Versus Dalmatian “Pharos” in the Legendary Beginnings of Poland

LECHVS PRIMVS.

...

Dalmata vir, Pharijs claro patre natus in agris,
Quos rapidus curuis Crupa pererrat aquis....
Vitae regum Polonorum, Cracoviae 1569.

In the old times, history, or the veracious literature, was aimed at describing the past events, to instruct its readers about the past. Courageous and wise ancestors were needed to justify the significance of their descendants. This was not a problem for the Romans and those conquered by them (and thus, civilised); it was however much more troublesome for nations, which did not have written traditions and lived at the outskirts of *Imperium Romanum*.¹ Therefore, when trying to establish the place of Poles (and Slavs in general) in the hierarchy of European peoples, it was necessary to properly document the ancient roots of their genealogy, thus incorporating it among other historical peoples.²

The chroniclers, when searching for such connections, have constituted a set of stories about the earliest past of Poles, whose vague beginnings were gaining prominence as the centuries went by.³ In Renaissance, the vision of

¹ Cf. K. Pomian, *Przeszłość jako przedmiot wiary. Historia i filozofia w myśli średniowiecza*, Warsaw 1968, p. 14 ff.

² As noticed by Z. Ogonowski: “The Brits traced their lineage to Brute-The Exile, the Franks situated the beginnings of their tribe at the times of the siege of Troy.” Cf. id., *Z dziejów megalomanii narodowej*, in id., *Filozofia polityczna w Polsce XVII wieku i tradycje demokracji europejskiej*, IFiS PAN, Warsaw 1992, p. 159; cf. also: A. Borst, *Der Turmbau von Babel. Geschichte der Meinungen über Ursprung und Vielfalt der Sprachen und Völker*, Bd. IV, Umbau, Hannover 1995, especially: part 1. chapter 2. *Humanismus und Reformation*, pp. 1084-1150.

³ As put by Jan Maślanka: “the void’ of the pre-historical epoch was mainly filled by the chroniclers themselves with various tales ... , often rather imaginary, using impressive writing

“the beginnings of the nation,” created by medieval historians, became a part of the canon of the literature and, as such, was widely popularised.⁴

These legends, known by every Polish child, contain two main themes: one is an ethnogenetic lineage, descending from old warrior tribes (fairy-tale Lechites, ominous Vandals or courageous Sarmats).⁵ The second concentrates on the “heroic” and “fairy-tale” (thus ignored in the 18th century) beginnings of the Polish statehood.⁶

The views on the place of origin of the first Slavic/Polish ruler, prince Lech, were shaped in several stages, and even now, the researchers’ opinions diverge. The issue is however important, also because “the myth of Lech and the ever-returning idea of the Golden Age and cult of knightly ancestors became one of the more significant factors of the [Polish] social awareness in the making.”⁷

At first, Master Vincentius (in the beginning of the 13th century), alongside the name *Vandals* (*nomen gentile*, which he also used to describe Poles), introduced the Lechites into his chronicle.⁸ Since then, later

skills.” Id., *Literatura a dzieje bajeczne*, PWN, Warsaw 1984 (2nd edition, 1990), p. 5. An extreme example of this way of describing the past could be found in *Wywód iedynowłasnego państwa świata w którym pokazuie. X. Woyciech Dębołecki ... ze nastarodawniejsze w Europie Krolestwo Polskie lubo Scythyckie ... ma prawdziwe successory Jadama, Setha y Japheta ... A gwoli temu y to sie pokazuie, że język słowiański pierwotny iest na świecie* (1633).

⁴ E.g. Pierre de Ronsard, who created a national epic entitled *Franciade*, “engaging greatly and putting a lot of effort”. The epic was appreciated during his times. Cf. Janusz Pelc, *Literatura polskiego odrodzenia a prądy umysłowe epoki*, in *Andrzej Frycz Modrzewski i problemy kultury polskiego Odrodzenia*, a collective work edited by T. Bienkowski, Zakład Narodowy im. Ossolińskich, Wrocław 1974, p. 23.

⁵ Here definitely belong the conclusions of a long-time classic paper by T. Ulewicz *Sarmacja. Studium z problematyki słowiańskiej XV i XVI wieku*, Studium Słowiańskie UJ, Cracow 1950 and the 2006 re-edition. Important issues that were indicated there were resolved by works of J. Banaszkiwicz: *Kronika Dzierzwy XIV-wieczne kompendium historii ojczystej*, Zakład Narodowy im. Ossolińskich, Wrocław 1979 and *Polskie dzieje bajeczne Mistrza Wincentego Kadłubka*, Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Wrocławskiego, Wrocław 2002, 2nd edition. They were analysed by J. Malicki from a book writing point of view in numerous other works: *Mity narodowe. Lechiada*, Zakład Narodowy im. Ossolińskich—PAN, Wrocław 1982, id. *Legat wieku rycerskiego. Studia staropolskie*, Zakład Narodowy im. Ossolińskich, Wrocław 1989.

⁶ J. Maślanka, *Słowiańskie mity historyczne w literaturze polskiego Oświecenia*, Zakład Narodowy im. Ossolińskich, Wrocław 1968.

⁷ J. Malicki, *Legat wieku*, p. 50.

⁸ J. Banaszkiwicz, *Polskie dzieje bajeczne mistrza Wincentego Kadłubka*, 2nd edition, Leopoldinum, Fundacja na Rzecz Nauki Polskiej, Wrocław 2002, p. 257. A little further, the author points out that “seemingly,” “some name related to the Polish community, and maybe also some ethnic term, were remembered at the time when the chronicle was being written. It was so valuable that they wanted to bind it stronger to Poles, and the moment of their combination was set to the times of Lestek I.” About the feasibility of a long-time preservation

chroniclers have been trying to find amongst the Lechits the character of the eponym—the founder and the first ruler of the “pre-Polish” tribe.⁹

The link between Lechites (as presented by Master Vincentius) and Lech—the eponym, the founder and the first ruler of the Polish-Lechites’ state (as in *Chronica Poloniae Maioris*, second half of the 14th century) was succinctly presented by K. Ulewicz.¹⁰ According to the *Chronica Poloniae Maioris*, Lech (together with his brothers Czech and Rus) arrives at the Vistula from Panonia, as a son of Pan, a Slavic ruler of this land and a prince, after whom the land was named.¹¹

In *Chronica Poloniae Maioris*, Lech—the conqueror was quite well completing the tale of the Lechites, since the new tale “of the arrival of Lech and his men at the territory of Wielkopolska” was introducing the theme of “acquiring the land by a community.”¹²

In the second half of the 15th century, Ioannes Długossius created a completely new version of this tale — first he dethroned the Vandal, then he assigned the title of “the father of all Slavs” to Negnon, while making Lech “the father of Poles.”¹³ What is more, Długossius indicated that Poles already had had their earlier homeland — “Syrmsk Dalmatia, Slavonia, Croatia and Bosnia, with Psary as their ‘ancestral cradle’”. This provided Lech the necessary attributes of a historical character.¹⁴ At the same time, Długossius determined the location of the aforementioned ancestral castle with surprising precision — “on a soaring shore of the river Huj, dividing Slavonia and Croatia.”¹⁵

of an oral tradition cf. S. Urbańczyk, *Polski język literacki w dobie przedpiśmiennej? in Prace z dziejów języka polskiego*, Zakład Narodowy im. Ossolińskich, Wrocław 1979, pp. 96-104.

⁹ Although Master Vincentius was not suggesting that the title is derived from the name of the leader, and even that “the name Lestek that exists in his chronicle does not give enough evidence to justify a new name for Poles.” Cf. J. Banaszkiewicz, *Polskie dzieje*, 2nd edition, p. 257.

¹⁰ Cf. T. Ulewicz, *Świadomość słowiańska Jana Kochanowskiego. Z zagadnień psychiki polskiego Renesansu*, Seminarium Historii Literatury Polskiej UJ, Cracow 1948, p. 31. Using a few words, he describes how important was the role of Czech writing in this process.

¹¹ Cf. K. Ślaski, *Wątki historyczne w podaniach o początkach Polski*, Poznań 1968, p. 16. Surprisingly, H. Samsonowicz in his interesting study does not mention *Kronika Wielkopolska* and claims that it was Długossius who “introduced Lech to the history.” Cf. id. *Mnożenie liczby królów, czyli o potrzebie historii legendarnej*, in *Kultura staropolska — kultura europejska. Prace ofiarowane J. Tazbirowi w siedemdziesiątą rocznicę urodzin*, Wydawnictwo Naukowe Semper, Warsaw 1997, p. 45.

¹² J. Banaszkiewicz, *Polskie dzieje*, 2nd edition, p. 345.

¹³ Quoted after: J. Banaszkiewicz, *Kronika Dzierzwy*, p. 130 (*Annales*, vol. I, p. 69 and 89).

¹⁴ J. Malicki, *Mity*, p. 46.

¹⁵ The Polish text according to I. Długossius, *Roczniki czyli Kroniki sławnego Królestwa Polskiego*, books 1-2, until 1038, Wydawnictwo Naukowe PWN, Warsaw 2009 (2nd edition), p. 95-6. In the Latin original „in altissima rupe, quod fluvius Huy Slavoniam Carwaciamque

In 1520s, Maciej of Miechów in his *Tractatus de duabus Sarmatiis*, widely known in the whole Europe, changed an important geographical detail of this tale. After his journey through the Balkans (where he was trying to verify the geographical information transmitted by Dlugossius),¹⁶ he replaced the name of the river with a new one. From now on, it was called “a swift-water Krupa”. He confirmed the existence of “Lech’s” castle, close to a village „located on the Krupa river, whose original name has been preserved until today”¹⁷ He repeated the same information, unchanged, in two editions of the first printed history of Poland entitled *Chronica Polonorum* (1519 and 1521).¹⁸

Twenty years after this publication, the most important moments of the Polish history were popularised by Clemens Ianicius, the greatest Polish Latin poet before Jan Kochanowski.¹⁹ Inspired by Piotr Kmita in late 1530s, he created a collection entitled *Vitae regum Polonorum*, containing 44 historical epigrams, 12 verses each (each one composed of 6 elegiac distiches), in which he commemorated 42 reigns of Polish rulers — the first one being Lech and the last one being Sigismund I.²⁰

disterminans abluit”. Ioannis Dlugossii *Annales seu Cronicae incliti Regni Poloniae Liber I-II*, Varsaviae 1964, pp. 70-71 and a commentary on p. 338. In the old edition by Przeździecki, there was a commentary on the name of the river, stating that in the Herbut edition (*Historia Polonica* Ioannis Długossi seu Longini... Dobromili, ... Anno D. 1615. on p. 6) the name of the river was printed as “Gui” — see Io. Długossii ... *Opera Omnia* cura A. Przeździecki edit. Tomus X. Cracoviae MDCCCLXXIII. pp. 6-7. It is worth mentioning that Semkowicz, while analysing Dlugossius’ text based on the Leipzig edition (1711) completely omits the Balkan issue — he switched from Panonia to Czech-Polish matters and “a settlement on the mountain ‘Rzyp’” — neither commenting on the castle Psary nor on the rapid river Huy on the border between Slavonia and Croatia. Cf. A. Semkowicz, *Krytyczny rozbiór Dziejów Polskich Jana Długosza* (until 1384). Edited by Dr...., Nakładem Akademia Umiejętności, Cracow 1887, p. 67.

¹⁶ “on the way back [from Italy], taken intentionally through Dalmatia and Slovenia, he saw the alleged Slavic cradle — a settlement Psary at a rapid and swift river Krupa.” [emphasis by A.M.] Cf. introduction by H. Barycz in Maciej of Miechów, *Opis Sarmacji Azjatyckiej i Europejskiej*, translation and commentary T. Bienkowski. Afterword by W. Voisé, Zakład Narodowy im. Ossolińskich, Wrocław 1972, p. 15.

¹⁷ In Latin: “villa vsque in hodiernum diem cum suo nomine Psari, permannet ad fluenta Krupe.” *Tractatus de duabus Sarmatijs Asiana: & Europiana & de contentis in eis*. [Cracow 1517] p. Cij.

¹⁸ He only made the spelling of the name of the river “more classic:” “cum suo nomine Psari permanent ad fluenta Crupae.” *Chronica Polonorum*, Cracovia 1521, pp. I-II.

¹⁹ A collection of six studies on Ianicius and his creative work by I. Lewandowski. They were published as a part of a collection *Polonia latina. Szkice o literaturze łacińskiej w dawnej Polsce*, brought to print by A.W. Mikołajczak, K. Dominas and M. Miazek-Męczyńska, Wydawnictwo Fundacji Collegium Europaeum Gnesnense, Gniezno 2007.

²⁰ There are three pieces dedicated to periods of “multipersonal reigns:” to the offspring of Lech and to 2 reigns of 12 voivodes (province governors). Two poems deal with patron-saints of Poland: St. Adalbert and St. Stanislaus. This work was widely referred to: I. Lewandowski,

It is worth remembering that Ianicius did not manage to publish a printed edition of his work, as he died prematurely. After his death in 1543, his work existed only as a manuscript for 20 years.²¹

Therefore, before the work of Ianicius reached wider public, Martin Cromer introduced yet another variant of the tale of Lech in 1555. The vision of Maciej of Miechów, putting together two elements: Krupa (the river) and Psary (the castle) was replaced by two towns: Krapina and Psary.²²

After Cromer, these two names disappeared from stories of other Renaissance historians — they abandoned the issue of the „the ancestral cradle” and attach less importance to the migration “from Croatia”²³ to Poland. The migration starts to be popularised as a journey of “Lechites-Poles,” not as a journey of the leader-the eponym.²⁴ In descriptions of Lech’s journey, the emphasis is put on establishing a new capital in Gniezno (therefore, founding a state). It does not count any more that “We came with Lech and Czech from Croatia to these northern countries”. What counts is that “Lech spread us around the Vistula river in empty lands.”²⁵

Janickiego epigramy o polskich królach, in: id. *Polonia latina*, pp. 79-87. Cf. also M. Cytowska, *Nowe uwagi o Żywotach Królów Polskich Klemensa Janickiego*, in *Europejskie związki literatury polskiej*, by Z. Szymdłowa, J. Ziętańska, PWN, Warsaw 1969, pp. 77-88.

²¹ As noticed by M. Cytowska “Ianicius put together *Vitae* in the period, when, as it was shown, this genre was not yet popular in the European literature (except for Italy). It only became fashionable in the second half of the 16th century.” Cf. id. *Nowe uwagi*, p. 86. Maybe the decision to send the manuscript to a printer in Antwerp was associated with this interest starting to develop.

²² “*Lechum enim & Ziechum fratres, principes viros, apud Crapinam & Psaros degentes*” *De origine et rebus gestis Polonorum libri XXX*, Basileae 1555, p. 20 (also in the 1558 edition). In 1568 and 1589 editions, pages 1568/15 and 1589/14a, correspondingly. As translated by Błażowski: “while staying at Krapina and Psary”. *Kronika polska Marcina Kromera... na język polski z łacińskiego przełożona przez Marcina z Błażowa Błażowskiego i wydana w Krakowie...* A.d. 1611. Vol. 1. Sanok 1868, pp. 43-44. It is worth remembering that the comment about Długossius combining two names of the town into one in his chronicle originated from Cromer himself: the castle Psary is: “probably Krapina, one of the oldest centers in Croatia.” Cf. I. Długossius, *Roczniki*, book 1, p. 96, footnote 4.

²³ M. Strykowski, *O początkach, wywodach, dzielnościach, sprawach rycerskich i domowych sławnego narodu litewskiego, żemajdzkiego i ruskiego...*, edited by J. Radziszewska, Wydawnictwa Artystyczne i Filmowe, Warsaw 1978, p. 84, and id. *Kronika polska, litewska, żmódzka i wszystkich Rusi...* Vol. 1 The New edition... multiplied by reprinting minor works of Strykowski following the original editions, Warsaw 1846. p. 46.

²⁴ As put by Orzechowski: “Thus we from Iliria,... from Macedonia and Dalmatia, led by Czech and Lech, left for these northern lands crossing the river Vandal,” *Chimera* (1562), in S. Orzechowski, *Wybór pism*, edited by J. Starnawski, Zakład Narodowy im. Ossolińskich, Wrocław, The Cracow department 1972, pp. 297-298.

²⁵ *Dyjalog V* (1563) in S. Orzechowski, *Wybór pism*, pp. 377-378. A paraphrase by Klonowic shows how this perception of Lech was spreading to the literature. It only mentions that “Lech the Slav moved here from his Homeland,” stressing the fact that he “populated

When *Vitae regum Polonorum, elegiaco carmine descriptae* by Clemens Ianicius was finally published in 1563 in Antwerp,²⁶ the Polish readers must have been quite surprised to find that, according to his biographical entry, *Lechvs Primvs* was not born, as described by Maciej of Miechów, “in Psari castro,” but in “Pharijs... natus in agris.”²⁷

The printed 1563 edition of Ianicius’ work introduced readers to Lech’s new place of origin. This is clearly confirmed not only by the re-editions from that period (eight times in the 16th century, 5 times in the 17th century),²⁸ but also by modern editions of Latin texts and their translations.²⁹ This surprising change is the main reason of my interest — it seems worthwhile considering why this publication contains a new name modifying the one that had already been established in the tradition.

Also nowadays, those who know Długossius’ work and are interested in the legendary tales of Polish history have to be puzzled when they learn that the founder of Gniezno and of the Polish state “was born on Pharos from a Dalmatian peasant father, where a swift Krupa river mouths into the sea.”³⁰ Although a later translation is more nuanced, it still notes that Lech came

Sarmatian deserts with his people” and “founded Gniezno.” *Pamiętnik Xiążąt y Królów Polskich* by Sebastian F. Klonowic. ... Anno ... (1673), p. 3. 1st edition, 1578.

²⁶ “The manuscript of *Żywoty* was handed over... by king Sigismund II Augustus’ courtier, Jakub Zaleski, who financed the print.” Lewandowski, *Janickiego epigramy* ..., p. 80.

²⁷ *Vitae Regvm Polonorum Elegiaco Carmine Descriptae*, Auctore Clemente Ianitio Polono, Poeta laureato. Antverpiae Ex Officina Gulielmi Silvij, Regij Typographi, M. D. LXIII. The same is repeated in subsequent editions: *Vitae regum Polonorum*, Cracoviae 1565, p. 3; and Cracoviae 1569, p. 3.

²⁸ *Bibliografia literatury staropolskiej. Nowy Korbut. Piśmiennictwo staropolskie*, vol. II, Państwowy Instytut Wydawniczy, Warszawa 1964, p. 283.

²⁹ The phrase: “Dalmata vir, Phariis claro patre natus in agris,” initially appears in the first edition of Ianicius’ paper which qualifies to be treated as scientific: Clementis Ianicii poetae laureati, *Carmina*, edidit, praefatione instruxit, annotationibus illustravit Ludovicus Ćwikliński, Academia Polonica Litterarum et Scientiarum, Polonica Academia Litterarum, Cracoviae 1930, p. 194 (cited further on as: Ianicii, *Carmina*). The text contained in this edition is a base for the next edition, enriched with Polish translations: Clemens Ianicius, *Carmina, Dzieła wszystkie*, published and prefaced (I) by J. Krókowski, translated by E. Jędrkiewicz, the introduction (II), comments, similia, appendices, a dictionary of proper names and an index edited by J. Mosdorf, Zakład Narodowy im. Ossolińskich, Wrocław 1966 (cited further on as: Ianicius, *Dzieła*).

³⁰ This first modern translation of Ianicius’ works not only does not verify if the word “Faros” makes sense, but even mentions that Lech has descended from a peasant stock (which is absurd). Cf. C. Ianicius, *Utwory łacińskie*, translated and prefaced by M. Jezieniecki, Filomata, Lviv 1933, p. 190 (cited further as: Ianicius, *Utwory łacińskie*).

from Dalmatia, from the shores of the river Krupa "on the island of Faros."³¹ In the "reference" version of the Polish text published in *Collected works of Ianicius*, Lech "was born in the district of Faros."³²

If we want to explain the change of name, which appeared in the first edition of 1563, and was accepted by modern editors, we need to consider two circumstances. First, a humanistic-classic one; an assumption that Ianicius, under the influence of some external inspiration, attempted to "attribute more value" to the message of Maciej of Miechów, providing an ancient context to Lech's place of birth.³³ We will return to this later.

Other explanation, less elegant, or even simplistic, might be a simple misspelling, which might have occurred when a typesetter changed a few letters in name in question.

This theory can be supported by the fact that the original version, introduced by Długossius, was kept in the Polish translation of *Vitae regum Polonorum* by Jan A. Kmita, published in 1591, that is twenty years after its first edition,³⁴ where the relevant quote from Ianicius was: "From a Slovakian family, a fine man, born in Psary, where swift-water Krupa is spreading its waters."³⁵

Franciszek Pełowski, who analysed the qualities and drawbacks of the translation by Jan A. Kmita already attributed the discrepancies in prints

³¹ *Antologia poezji polsko-łacińskiej 1470–1543*, foreword and edition by Antonina Jelicz, Glob, Szczecin 1985, p. 290. The author of the Polish version of the text published in *Antologia* (1st printed edition 1956) is E. Jędrkiewicz. The editor's commentary on p. 338 contains a few explanations (e.g. an incorrect one that Lech "originated from Slovakia"), but there is nothing on meaning of Faros.

³² Ianicius, *Dzieła*, p. 213. A Latin text contained in this publication on the other page (212) is identical to the Ianicii, *Carmina* edition, p. 194.

³³ A work by Abraham Ortelius entitled *Thesaurus geographicus* (Anverpiae 1596) (still the 16th century, but much later), explains this name with the following: "PHAROS, que ante PAROS, ut Plinius tradit, insula Illyrica, Hadriatici maris. PHARIA φαρια, Ptolemaeo dicitur, φαρως, Polybio 3. Diodoro 15. & Straboni *Lesina* vocat Sophianus, *Lexina* habet Niger. *Lisna* Illyrico sermone appellari, scribit Hermolaus." p. MM. The same way was seemingly chosen by Ludwik Ćwikliński, a 1930 publisher, when he commented: "Pharus insula Dalmatiae opposita in mari Adriatico cum urbe cognomine, ab Aemilio Paulo diruta, postea denuo extracta, nunc Lesina vocatur." Ianicii, *Carmina*, p. 194, footnote 1. In the Polish edition, this explanation is provided by Michał Jezieniecki: "Pharos, an island on the Adriatic Sea, close to the shores of Dalmatia, currently Lesina." Ianicius, *Utwory łacińskie*, p. 190, footnote 1.

³⁴ *Żywoty Królów Polskich* by Jan Achacy Kmita. In Cracow, in the printshop of Mikołaj Scharffenberger, the king's typographer Ie. M. M.D.XC.I. (1591), Cf. the new edition in J. Głuchowski, *Ikones książąt i królów polskich*, A photographic reproduction published in 1605, Zakład Narodowy im. Ossolińskich, Wrocław 1979, Transcribed at p. 19.

³⁵ It is worth noting that Kmita's "Slovak-Slav" became a synonym of Ianicius' "Dalmatian."

between the Latin and Polish versions to a printing error.³⁶ The reasoning in this essay, concerning the incorrect (according to the author) rendition of the term “Pharos” in A. Kmita’s translation is so surprising (and, at the same time, detailed), that it seems right to quote it almost in full: “Sometimes, a mistake in the original leads to comical misunderstandings, like e.g. when the name of the island Pharos is replaced by more familiar Psary.”³⁷ Indeed, the suggested typographical error is most likely the source of the whole misunderstanding. The author writes: “The confusion most likely started as a result of a typo in the Latin original, where *Pharis* was spelled *Pfariis*, which was then reprinted or wrongly interpreted during the translation as P̄saris. The explanation by Paszkowski also supports this theory, as he is mentioning ‘in the fields of P̄sary’.”³⁸ The author’s idea should be praised, although the “typographical error” was most probably committed in the reverse direction. This initial name, Psary, as used by Dlugossius, was spelled by Ianicius in his manuscript using a long “s” — “P̄sariis”³⁹ (which made it look similar to *Pfariis*, suggested by Peplowski). The typesetter from Antwerp did not understand its Polish context, and replaced it with “Phariis,” which might have occurred to him, as familiar from ancient history. Kmita (and later Paszkowski), was free from such limitations, and deciphered the manuscript correctly. He did not invent “Psary,” just preserved the actual name.

It still remains to be seen why the editors and translators of Ianicius’ work were not surprised with the replacement of the established historical name “Psary” with Greek-sounding “Faros”? We can only guess that the reference to Dalmatia was enabling the classically-educated editor (and then, the translator) to associate the name “Phariis,” as published in 1563, with one of the oldest Greek settlements in this area, the aforementioned town and island “Pharos” (Φαρος). Why did they not relate it to a more probable, since much later Latinized, version: *Pharia*, which, after numerous

³⁶ F. Peplowski, „*Vitae Regum Polonorum*” *Klemensa Janickiego w przekładzie Jana Achacego Kmity*, “Pamiętnik Literacki,” LXXI, 1980, book 4, p. 214.

³⁷ He juxtaposes the Latin text: “Dalmata vir, *Pharis* claro patre natus in agris [1/5]” with Kmita’s translation: “From a Slovakian family, a fine man, born in Psary [A4]”

³⁸ In Paszkowski’s translation from 1611 (independent from Kmita’s), it is presented in the following way: “Born in Dalmatia, in the fields of Psary, where the river Krupa washes its curved bank.” Cf. *Kronika Sarmacyey Europskiej, w ktorey się zamyka Krolestwo Polskie ze wszystkimi państwami, Xięstwami, y Prowincjami swemi: tudzież też Wielkie Xięstwo Litewskie, Ruskie, Pruskie, Moskiewskie, y część Tatarow.* by Alexander Gwagnin from Verona ... by Marcin Paszkowski ... translated from Latin into Polish. Anno Domini 1611. Quote from the 1768 edition: *Zbiór dziejopisów polskich w czterech tomach zawarty*, Vol. IV: *Kronika Sarmacyi europskiej*. Alexandra Hrabi Gwagnina ... F. Bohomolec edition, soc. Iesu. in Warsaw, In print. XX. Soc. Jesu, 1768, p. 15.

³⁹ In this paper I used “īs” in place of the long „s” character.

transformations and modifications, ultimately became “Hvar,” as we know it today?⁴⁰ This omission should be emphasised, as only a thorough analysis of the texts of individual editions allowed editors to conclude that the later editions “were mostly based on the Antwerp edition, only correcting a few obvious errors here and there.”⁴¹

We arrive hereby at the first conclusion, an observation of a curious “split” between the classical erudition (based on literature) and the historical one (knowledge of historiographic sources) in a situation, when a publisher or a commentator is fixated on a first edition and ignores the well-established historiographic tradition. But, even if we do not believe the explanations by A. Kmita and M. Paszkowski, potentially known to the translators, as each of them was supposed to compare results of his work with work of his predecessors, the version “Psary” is supported by the works of Dlugossius, which anyone dealing with legendary pre-history of Poland should be conversant with.

The second conclusion is rather a question, which forces me to enter the difficult realm of Balkanology, and therefore supplements my reasoning with some observations of a more hypothetical nature. First of all, although the issue of Lech’s place of birth was completely “forgotten” by the mediaevalists⁴² it deserves a few words of comment, for example recalling the existence of tales mentioning Lech in Croatia.

It is known that Lech was already mentioned “in a speech delivered in 1525 on the island of Hvar by V. Pribojevic, entitled *De origine successibusque Slavorum*.”⁴³ The author of this speech was “a Dominican from Hvar, who

⁴⁰ Latin *Pharia* was in use until the very end of the antiquity — this is the name that should have appeared in the quoted commentary. It is the basis for the Slavic name of this place: *Hvar* (in the local dialect: *Hvor* or *For*). Nowadays, the Greek place “Pharos” is called “Stari Grad”. Cf. <http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Hvar>.

⁴¹ J. Krókowski, The editor’s introduction in: Ianicius, *Dziela wszystkie*, p. XVII. To show how meticulous the editor was, let us quote a fragment of related comments from the footnote 9: “The Antwerp edition has incorrect version: IV 7: *Vaneti* instead of *Vaveli* (corrected Cr. 1631), V3: *exigerat* instead of *exierat* (corrected Cr. 1565); better versions from the next Cracow edition: VIII 5: *it* instead of *id* (brought back in Cr. 1631), XXII 7: *frustatim* instead of *frustratim* (brought back in Cr. 1569), XXIII 9: *frusta* instead of *frustra* (brought back in Cr. 1569).” (footnote 9 p. XVII.).

⁴² Themes from this tale practically do not exist in *Słownik Starożytności Słowiańskich*. In an article on “Lech-the eponym” (vol. III, 1967, p. 31) K. Ślaski only relates to the historiographic context and Lech’s Czech looks; J. Leśny in an article entitled “Drobinjski dokument” recalls Krapina, a river, not a city (vol. VIII, part 2, 1996, p. 49).

⁴³ J. Rapacka, *Leksykon tradycji chorwackich*, Slawistyczny Ośrodek Wydawniczy, Warsaw 1997, entry: “Lech, Czech i Rus (Meh),” p. 106. Cf. also: G. Brogi Bercoff, *Historiografia chorwacka XVII wieku: od „Opus Oratorium” do studiowania dokumentów*, in *Królestwo Słowian. Historiografia Renesansu i Baroku w krajach słowiańskich*, Świat Literacki, Izabelin 1998, p. 100.

spent a few years in Poland” (in Cracow, in 1520s).⁴⁴ At the beginning of the 17th century, Giacomo Luccari (Jakov Lukarevic), a prominent figure in Dalmatian culture, noted in his historical work that “in 550 a.d. Lek the Slav, brother to Selimir Harvoi, the king of Dalmatia [emphasis added by A.M.]... started ruling the European Sarmatia, named by him Leska Semglia [that is “the land of Lek” = *Lechia* — A.M.]”⁴⁵ This theme seems to combine inspirations, stemming from the works of the Polish historiographers (reference to Wapowski), with some local tradition, which would be difficult to identify. Later, J. Ratkaj in his *Memoria regum et banorum regnorum Dalmatiae, Croatiae et Sclavoniae...* (Vienna, 1652) lists Krapina in Panonia, as the brothers’ place of origin.⁴⁶

The existence of local traditions seems to be supported by the story of L. Gaj, coming from Krapina. Inspired by the local tradition, “preserved, among others, by the 18th century booklets written by two local Franciscans, who were Czech,”⁴⁷ where he found a legend of brothers “Lech and Czech, who left Krapina going north, where they became the ancestors of Czechs and Poles” and he wrote his own version in German, entitled *Die Schlosser von Krapina* (1826).⁴⁸ The ethnographic background of these legends, discovered around Krapina (northern Croatia) and the town of Poljica (middle Dalmatia) was scientifically analysed only in this first case in the work of S. Sakac entitled *Krapina — Kijev — Ararat, Prièa o troje braće i jednoj sestri*,⁴⁹ the title of which might sound surprising to Polish readers.

While not trying to untangle this Croatian-Polish knot, I will eventually venture into timidly asking the question concerning the potential source of this, theoretically very precise location of Lech’s place of origin in the work

⁴⁴ Note: “Pribojević Vinko (Vincentius Priboevius)” in Rapacka, *Leksykon*, p. 218.

⁴⁵ G. Luccari, *Copioso Ristretto de gli Annali di Rausa*, quoted after: G. Brogi Bercoff, *Królestwo Słowian Maura Orbiniego and Obszerny wyciąg z Roczników Dugrownickich* by Jakov Lukarevic (Luccari), in *Królestwo Słowian*, p. 87, footnote 11. The original fragment, together with some broader context, goes as follows: “Ma come s’ha da Vapouio, nel. 550. LeK [!] Slauo fratello di Selimir Haruoi Re di Dalmatia, partitosi dall’Illirico nell’ antica patria d’Ostrio suo auo, s’insignori della Sarmatia Europea, la quale domando LesKa Samgalia. ... Fabrico LeK, che vuol dire Alessandro [emphasis by A.M.], in Polonia maggiore la citta di Gnesna.” G. Luccari, *Copioso Ristretto de gli Annali di Rausa*, In Venice: 1605, p. 118.

⁴⁶ On the subject of borrowings in works by this author, cf. also: Brogi Bercoff, *Historiografia*, p. 100.

⁴⁷ J. Rapacka, *Leksykon*, entry: “Lech, Czech i Rus (Meh),” p. 105. The author puts forward a theory that this legend is “most probably of Polish origin”.

⁴⁸ J. Rapacka, *Leksykon*, entry “Gaj Ljudevit (1809–1872),” pp. 51–57.

⁴⁹ This article was published in a periodical: “Život”, 21/3, pp. 129–149, (Zagreb 1940) but unfortunately, I was not able to consult it. See: http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Lech,_Czech_and_Rus

of Ioannes Dlugossius. This idea is not by any means a scientific hypothesis; I would only like to indicate a possible solution to this mystery by recalling a fact, mentioned by Dlugossius himself. There was a group of people living in Cracow, who were quite familiar with Croatian-Dalmatian issues: the Glagolitic monks, originating directly from Emaus in Prague, brought there by emperor Charles IV “from Croatia,... from a Dalmatian island Pašman”).⁵⁰ From 1390 to 1470s, the monks were residing in a monastery at the St. Cross church at Kleparz in Cracow.⁵¹ The only link between them and “Psary” is in Dlugossius’ personal remark, when he says that Slavic Benedictines were holding their celebrations in a “a Slavic language,” “until his times and in front of his eyes.”⁵² Many of the monks in the monastery at Kleparz, were Czech and, among the monks of other nationalities, “there might have been mainly Croatians,” whereas “Polish adepts were accepted”⁵³ to the novitiate. These circumstances allow us to tentatively suggest that the Kleparz monastery might have been not only holding liturgy using Slavic rite, but also might have passed on the basics of the Croatian language and associated cultural traditions to the Polish environment.⁵⁴

Emphasising once again that this idea is based solely on circumstantial evidence and deduction, I could allow a possibility that the message of “the castle of Psary,” located “on a very steep bank of the river Huj, washing the castle and dividing Slavonia from Croatia” might have reached Ioannes Dlugossius from these circles.

⁵⁰This and other information taken from an article by Piotr Żurek *Polska glagolica — relikt piśmiennictwa czeskiego czy chorwackiego?* in *Piśmiennictwo Czech i Polski w średniowieczu i we wczesnej epoce nowożytnej*, edited by A. Barciak and W. Iwańczak, Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Śląskiego, Katowice 2006, pp. 209-217. Cf. also: article *Emaus* in *Encyklopedia katolicka*, Vol. 4, RW KUL, Lublin 1983, pp. 928-929.

⁵¹Founded by Jogaila — but it was Jadwiga of Poland’s initiative. Cf. Żurek, *Polska glagolica*, pp. 211-212. More information can be found in the article “Obrządek słowiański,” *Słownik Starożytności Słowiańskich*, vol. 3, PAN, Warszawa 1967, pp. 445-449 (2nd point, on Czech, edited by J. Szymański, pp. 446-448; 3rd point, on Croatia and Dalmatia, edited by W. Swoboda, pp. 448-449).

⁵²Dlugossius, *Roczniki ...*, book 10. 1370-1405, PWN, Warsaw 1981, p. 239. J. Krukowski claimed that “the Slavic rite in the St. Cross church ceased between 1470 and 1480,” J. Krukowski, *O słowiańskim kościele św. Krzyża i klasztorze benedyktynów założonym przez Jadwigę i Jagiełłę na Kleparzu w Krakowie*, Drukarnia “Czasu”, Cracow 1886, p. 22; quoted after: Żurek, *Polska glagolica*, p. 214.

⁵³Żurek, *Polska glagolica*, p. 215.

⁵⁴The question of I. Dlugossius potentially contacting the monks from Kleparz was omitted even by the team editing „Rozbiór krytyczny” („A critical analysis”) of his work; cf. *Rozbiór krytyczny „Annalium Poloniae” Jana Długosza z lat 1385–1444*, vol. 1, edited by St. Gawęda, K. Pieradzka, J. Radziszewska, K. Stachowska, lead editor J. Dąbrowski, Zakład Narodowy im. Ossolińskich, Wrocław — Warsaw — Cracow 1961, p. 29 (1390, pp. 487-488).

Last but not least, I must helplessly conclude that attempts at finding the geographical location of Dlugossius' Psary, even an approximate one, seem futile. Dlugossius hinted that Psary was located on the Croatian border ("Slawoniam Carwaciamque disterminans") but did not say whether it was the Eastern border with Slavonia, or rather the Northern border (with what is now the Republic of Slovenia).

The publishers of Dlugossius suggested that "Psary's" relation to Krapina (Cromer was differentiating between these two places) traditionally locates it between Slovenia and Croatia, that is 60 km North of Zagreb. 80 km to the East, which is not exactly close by, at the very border, there is a small mountain stream Krupa, connecting, through the river Lahinja, with another big river named "Kupa." A city of Karlovac is located on this river, 60 km North-East of Zagreb. On the other hand, trying to locate the ancestral "cradle" of Lech in "Pharos" revolutionizes the topography transmitted by Dlugossius and Jan of Miechów. The island of Hvar is in Dalmatia, which is far away to the South of Krapina, around 200 km from Zagreb in a straight line; the notoriously wild river Krupa, is a tributary of Dalmatian Zrmanija, on which Obrovac is located, and it is very far away both from Hvar (it flows 160 km to the North) and from Psary-Krapina (it flows ca 210 km to the South).

Aleksander Małeckı

Croatian "Psary" Versus Dalmatian "Pharos" In the Legendary Beginnings of Poland

Abstract

This article aims at presenting the historiographic, cultural and linguistic context of one of the themes of the myth of Prince Lech's arrival from Croatia (who is deemed to be the founder of Polish statehood). Ioannes Dlugossius, the father of Polish historiography, placed the beginnings of Lech's journey in the castle of Psary. However, after numerous reprints of the popular catalogue of Polish rulers' biographies by Clemens Ianicius (*Vitae Regum Polonorum*, 1563), the chronicle entry "Psaros" was replaced with a more humanistic "Pharos." Modern editors of Ianicius' writings propped the new spelling with sophisticated commentaries and introduced it into the literature. As a result, two forms are currently used in the scientific literature: the historians use Psary, while linguists use Pharos. In my article, I am defending J. A. Kmita, a 16th century translator of Ianicius' works, who was accused of mistranslating Pharos into Psary. The explanation of the origins of this long-running misunderstanding is the second subject of my article. Additionally, I am bringing back the Croatian context of the myth of Lech and making an (unsuccessful) attempt at locating Psary in Dalmatia.

Keywords: Lech, Croatia, Psary, Pharos, legendary beginnings of Poland, ethnogenetic myth, humanistic historiography, classical erudition, linguistic methodology