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Was Gallus Anonymous, author of the famous *Cronica et gesta ducum sive principum Polonorum*, of Croatian origin?

The famous chronicler Gallus Anonymous was certainly the author of both the *Historia de translatione sanctorum Magni Nicolai* and the *Cronica et gesta* – and he was of Slavic origin, Croatian to be precise. He probably came from an aristocratic clerical family with links to the Croatian royal court. Gallus (who was known to have been a Benedictine monk) probably originated from the royal monastery of St Bartholomew in Knin. He belonged to the pro-Hungarian faction revolving around the Croatian queen, Helen the Fair, sister of Hungary's Ladislaus and niece of Poland's Kazimierz the Restorer. Gallus probably welcomed the intervention of the Hungarian king Ladislaus in Croatia in 1091. Gallus may have travelled to France in 1095 for the Council of Clermont and then, in early 1096, to Tours. In 1099, he was in Venice, possibly as an envoy of the Dalmatian party, trying to enlist the help of Venice against Coloman. Gallus witnessed the Venetian-Zadar negotiations which took place in Zadar in 1099, at the beginning of the Venetians' naval expedition to the Holy Land. Gallus participated in the entire Venetian expedition to Palestine, and on his return in 1100, he edited the *Historia de translatione sanctorum Magni Nicolai*. This work was probably completed before 1005, i.e. before the final subjugation of Zadar and other Dalmatian cities to Coloman. In 1005/6 or later, perhaps in connection with Almos' diplomatic activities, Gallus arrived in Germany. There, for a time, he was associated with the famous Benedicti-

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ne monastery on Reichenau island. He came to Poland probably as a result of Almos' connections with Bolesław the Wrymouth. In 1013 at the latest, he began writing the *Cronica et gesta*.

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1. Preliminary remarks, and the relation of the *Cronica et gesta* to the *Historia de translatione sanctorum Magni Nicolai*

All text-based knowledge of Polish history from the 10th to the 12th centuries relies on foreign sources. No exception is the *Cronica et gesta*, written around 1113 at the court of Duke Bolesław the Wrymouth (r. 1102-1138), which enjoys a very special place in Polish historiography. In this work, the unnamed author from abroad – long referred to as Gallus Anonymous – presented the history of the Polish state from its mythical beginnings to the reign of his patron, Duke Bolesław. The author devoted most of his attention to the heroic achievements of Bolesław, especially his battles against the pagan Pomeranians. Due to its exceptional historical and artistic value, the chronicle has been of constant interest to historians, Polish and foreign alike, ever since the rise of modern historiography. The artistic qualities of the *Cronica et gesta* has assured it a place in the most significant compendia devoted to medieval Latin literature and rhetoric (Meyer, 1883, 136, 170,176; Meyer, 1905, 282-284; Polheim, 1925, 55-87; Manitius, 1931, 407-410; Janson, 1975, 73 a. the subsequent pages). The *Cronica et gesta* has been translated into Polish several times and has had a huge impact on the way Poles conceive their early history². In the last sixty years, the *Cronica et gesta* has also been translated into Russian (Галл Аноним, 1961), German (Polens Anfänge, 1978), English (Gesta, 2003), and Czech (Gallus Anonymus, 2009).

The great historical value of the *Cronica et gesta* explains why several critical editions of the work have been published. This includes two editions in the

² The best known is the edition of Biblioteka Narodowa Zakładu Narodowego im. Ossolińskich (Anonim tzw. Gall, 1989).

Monumenta Poloniae Historica, along with single editions in the *Monumenta Germaniae Historica* (*Chronicae Polonorum*, 1851) and the *Patrologiae Latinae cursus completus* (*Chronicae Polonorum*, 1854). The latest critical edition was published in 1952 by Karol Maleczyński, an eminent Polish medievalist (*Galli Anonymi*, 1952).

The fact that Gallus Anonymous was an outstanding stylist as well as a poet became clear quite early on. Wilhelm Meyer (1846-1917), the Neo-Latinist of all time, was the first to note that Gallus Anonymous used excellent rhythmic prose and that he was a trailblazer in the use of pure disyllabic rhymes (Jasiński, 2017, 253-271). Much was added to these findings by later scholars such as Karl Polheim, Feliks Pohorecki (Pohorecki, 1929, 105-169; 1930, 12-75), Marian Plezia (1947; 1984, 111-120), Karol Maleczyński, and Tore Janson (1975, 73 a. the subsequent pages).

Let's look at some typical verses from Gallus' prose (*Galli Anonymi*, 1952, 47):

His dictis, cum adiutorio Dei prelium introivit (**velox, pure disyllabic couple rhyme**)

magnamque victoriam acquisivit (**velox, pure disyllabic couple rhyme**).

Dicitur quoque sanctam ecclesiam affectu magno pietatis honorasse (**trispodaicus, pure disyllabic couple rhyme**),

sed precipue monachos sanctarumque monialium congregaciones augmentasse (**trispodaicus, pure disyllabic couple rhyme**).

As we plainly see, Gallus closed his main clauses with mostly four-syllable, disyllabic rhyming verbs with stress on the penultimate syllable (paroxytone); these verbs are preceded by a word usually with stress on the third syllable from the end (proparoxytone) or, less commonly, on the penultimate syllable (paroxytone). The former results in *cursus velox*, the latter in the *trispodaicus*. In the *Cronica et gesta*, the *velox* represents slightly more than 59% of the rhythms, the *trispodaicus* – almost 23%. Other rhythms appear much less frequently. This rhythmic pattern is – at first glance – very similar to that of papal documents. A common feature is the prevalence of the *velox* and the conclusion of the clauses with verb forms, most often personal. For this reason, in my work characterising the prose of papal documents, I refer to it as *velox verb prose*. Although Gallus' prose meets all the criteria to be called *velox verb prose*, it boasts additional features, most notably an even disyllabic rhyme and

a significant proportion of the verbal trispondaicus. Let me pose two questions: first, when did papal *velox* prose originate?; second, are there any Latin works written in the rhythmic prose characteristic of Gallus?

It seemed that scholars had long known the answer to the first question. It was widely accepted, almost as dogma, that this type of *cursus* was introduced into the papal chancery in 1088, following its reform under the pontificate of Urban II as carried out by Giovanni da Gaeta, a monk from Monte Cassino, the later Pope Gelasius II³. The validity of this view was all the more stridently upheld in 1963 when it was again advocated by Gudrun Lindholm, an eminent Swedish *cursus* expert (Lindholm, 1963, 11 a. the subsequent pages). The situation changed in 1975 when Tore Janson, another Swedish Neo-Latin scholar, argued that this type of *cursus* (i.e. with predominantly verbal *velox*) had appeared somewhat earlier, as early as in the first half of the 11th c. in the schools of rhetoric in northern Italy's Po Valley. According to Tore Janson, the first writers to use this kind of *cursus* were Guido of Arezzo (c.1000 – c.1050) and Peter Damian (1007-1072) (Janson, 1975, 43). Janson also argued that *cursus* came into use in the papal chancellery somewhat earlier than previously assumed, for in the time of Alexander II (1061-1073).

Using software I have designed on the basis of grammatical endings specific to the papal *velox* rhythms, I have examined more than 19,000 late antique and medieval Latin works until around the year 1200⁴. The results of this computer analysis were utterly surprising, challenging as they do all previous findings. It turned out that, by the end of the 11th century, 40 works and hundreds of papal

3 *Tunc papa* [i.e. Urban II] *litteratissimus et facundus fratrem Johannem* [i.e. the subsequent pope Gelasius II] *virum utique sapientem ac providum sentiens ordinavit, admovit suumque cancellarium ex intima deliberatione constituit, ut per eloquentiam sibi a Domino traditam antiqui leporis et elegantiae stylum, in sede apostolica iam pene omnem deperditum, sancto dictante Spiritu, Johannes Dei gratia reformaret, ac Leoninum cursum lucida velocitate reduceret* (Epistolae, 1806, 688). See also Thierry Ruinart's edition (1657-1709) – Vita, 1853, 53.

4 About software see: Jasiński, 2014a, 243-265 and idem, 2016, 53-65. The figure of 19,000 works will seem exaggerated and unbelievable to many a reader, for one might assume that there are not that many medieval Latin works at all. Let me remind the doubtful that there are several thousand works in the medieval collection of *Acta Sanctorum* and other hagiographical works, easy to find out by studying the numbering of *Bibliotheca hagiographica latina* (BHL), at the same time, in addition to the Arabic numerals (9 028), a number of versions denoted by the letters of the Latin alphabet (a, b, c, d) should be included, which have also been examined. The *Patrologia Latina* (PL) comprises exactly 5,258 works. The legacy beyond these two collections of works, included in numerous editions and electronic databases, is equally impressive.

bulls had been written in the papal *velox* prose. The most surprising thing was that the earliest of these works were written in the second and third decades of the 4th century; these were the rather restricted decrees and constitutions of Constantine the Great, written between 312 and 326 and recorded in the *Codex Theodosianus*; not much younger were the Donatist writings dating from the 360s (Jasiński, 2016, 70-89; Jasiński, 2012, 1275-1291; Jasiński, 2021, 131-149). Thus, with respect to the rhythm, Constantine's legal texts were reminiscent of the classical papal documents of the late 11th and the early 12th centuries! Similarly, the Donatist writings in many places resembled the prose of Gallus Anonymous. These texts represent not only a great deal of Gallus' *veloxes*, but also rhythmic prose with pure and impure disyllabic rhymes. In separate publications, I have explained the genesis of these rhythms, ones that originated while the ancient *cursus mixtus* still prevailed. It should be noted, however, that the *cursus mixtus* used word stress sequences characteristic of the papal *velox* only as an exception.

Let me now answer the other question: who used the same rhythmic style Gallus Anonymous does in the *Cronica et gesta*? Well, the aforementioned software, recalibrated for this purpose, found in this vast legacy only two works written in the style and rhythm characteristic of Gallus: the *Historia de translatione sanctorum Magni Nicolai, terra marique miraculis gloriosi, eiusdem avunculi alterius Nicolai, Theodorique martyris pretiosi, de civitate Mirea in monasterium S. Nicolai de littore Venetiarum* and *Vita prosaica altera s. Landelini, abbatis Laubacensis et Crispiniensis* (BHL 4698) (Jasiński, 2016, 63-179; *Monachi anonymi*, 1895, 253-292; *Vita*, 1698, 1067-1068). The latter piece of only 8,000 characters with spaces (4 pages) was too short to indicate its authorship or deeper resemblance to the *Cronica et gesta*. However, the former work, the *Historia de translatione sanctorum Magni Nicolai* – written by an anonymous writer, referred to as the Monk of Lido – has been recognised by Polish medievalists since 1965, when Danuta Borawska, a Warsaw-based scholar, discovered it for Polish historians when working on Gallus Anonymous (Borawska, 1965, 111-119). Borawska pointed out many stylistic parallels between the *Cronica et gesta* and the *Historia de translatione sanctorum Magni Nicolai*, including numerous shared phrases, and even disyllabic rhymes. Although she did not analyse and compare the rhythm scheme of the two works, she concluded that both anonymous works – the *Cronica et gesta* and the *Historia de*

translatione – were written by the same chronicler. For almost 20 years after Danuta Borawska's publication, no Polish medievalist knew how to respond to her findings. They all remained silent! It was not until 1984 that Marian Plezia, the most prominent Polish Neo-Latinist, spoke out (Plezia 1984, 111-120). He ridiculed Borawska's extra-stylistic findings, although he allowed for the possibility that one person wrote the *Cronica et gesta*, the *Historia de translatione sanctorum Magni Nicolai* and the *Gesta Ungarorum* which has not survived. As a result of Plezia's ridicule of Borawska's hypotheses, Polish medievalists abandoned research into the *Historia de translatione sanctorum Magni Nicolai*.

And so it seemed that Marian Plezia, a great authority, had buried Danuta Borawska's findings forever. In 2005, I "dusted off" the Warsaw scholar's views, adding many new arguments (Jasiński, 2005a, 69-89). I meticulously collected all the textual parallels between the two works and added many new arguments, having also become convinced that the two works were written by the same person. I assumed, as did Danuta Borawska, that the author was most likely a monk from the Benedictine monastery of San Nicolò al Lido, located in the immediate vicinity of Venice. However, I detected a certain emotional distance with which the Monk of Lido (=Gallus Anonymous) reported the events of the Venetians' expedition by sea to the Holy Land. This is why, in a book published back in 2008, I allowed for the possible origins of Gallus in Dalmatia and drew attention to his unusual attitude to the Slavic realm. I wrote: "*It must be acknowledged that the text of the Translation does not give full certainty that its author was a monk of the Benedictine monastery of San Nicolò al Lido. Indeed, it is possible that he was only very closely associated with this monastery, and that he celebrated Vespers there on the feast of the Epiphany because he had been asked to do so. He might have come from another Venetian monastery or been a monk in a monastery outside Venice. In the latter case, it would have to be a monastery from within Venice's cultural penumbra*" (Jasiński, 2008, 53).

Once my work was published, some scholars (including Gerard Labuda, the most eminent Polish medieval historian) sided with me (Labuda, 2006, 117-125), while others spared no criticism (Wieczorek, 2010, 86-107). My opponents pointed out that citing common textual and stylistic parallels meant little, since at the time – allegedly – everyone wrote that way. In response to these accusations, I designed the above-mentioned software which proved for all to see that Gallus' prose is unique and that only the two works in question were

written in rhythmic versification predominated by the verbal *velox*, with a significant contribution of the *trispodaicus* rhythm. These works are moreover paired by the predominance of a pure disyllabic couplet rhyme, which at times morphed into poly-rhymes. It turned out that these two works alone contain a developed system of versification, a feature closely linked to an analogous rhythm system that served to control the expression of the narrative (Jasiński, 2009, 373-391)⁵.

If we still have any doubts about the extraordinary similarity of the poetic prose of the Monk of Lido and Gallus Anonymous, we should compare their poly-rhymes:

-ebat, -ibat, -abat

Gallus:

Interea Bolezlauus, Martialis puer, viribus et etate crescebat, (**planus**)
nec, ut assolet etas puerilis, luxui vel vanitatibus intendebat, (**velox**)
sed ubicumque hostes predas agere sentiebat, (**velox**)
illuc inpiger cum coequaevis iuuenibus properabat, (**velox**)
et plerumque furtim cum paucis terram hostium introibat, (**velox**)
villisque combustis captivos et predam adducebat. (**trispodaicus**)
Iam enim ducatum Wratislauensem puer etate, senex probitate retinebat,
(**trispodaicus**)
necdum tamen militare gaudium [*or* gradum] attingebat. (**velox**) [*or* **trispodaicus**]
Unde quia spes in eo iuuenis bone indolis pullulabat, (**velox**)
iamque magnum in eo glorie signum militaris apparebat, (**trispodaicus**)
(Galli Anonymi, 1952, 78).

Monachus Littorensis:

Dux cum militibus loricatis praecedebat, (**trispodaicus**)
episcopus cum clericis, nudis pedibus, incedebat; (**velox**)
dux suos milites ad bellandum ordinabat, (**trispodaicus**)
episcopus suum clerum ad psallendum commonebat. (**trispodaicus**) (Monachi anonymi, 1895, 262).

5 The following comments on Gallus Anonymous' (=Monk of Lido's) control of narrative expression are based on the findings in this dissertation.

-ari**Gallus:**

Sed utrum Deo displicuerit cum divinis nupciis carnales celebrari, **(trispondaicus)**

facile potest per discrimina, que sepius inde contingunt, comprobari; **(trispondaicus)**

sepe namque cernimus, ubi simul ecclesie consecratio ac nupcialis desponsatio fiunt, seditioes et homicidia comitari. **(velox)**

Unde constat, quia nec bonum est nec honestum talem consuetudinem imitari. **(velox)** (Galli Anonymi, 1952, 100).

Monachus Littorensis:

gaudeant tandem Occidens et Latini tui corporis praesentia visitari, **(velox)**
miraculis illustrari, **(velox)**

tuisque precibus et meritis, ad coelestia sublevari, **(velox)**

praestante et cooperante sancta et individua Trinitate, cui est honor et gloria, nunc et semper et ante omnia saecula saeculorum. **(velox)** Amen (Monachi anonymi, 1895, 262-263).

-erunt**Gallus:**

uxores eorum incestuose honoresque sceleratissime rapuerunt. **(velox)**

Insuper etiam a fide katholica deviantes, quod sine voce lacrimabili dicere non valemus, adversus episcopos et sacerdotes Dei seditionem inceperunt, **(trispondaicus)**

eorumque quosdam gladio quasi dignius [*or dignos*] peremerunt, **(velox)**
[trispondaicus]

quosdam vero quasi morte dignos viliori lapidibus obruerunt. **(velox)** (Galli Anonymi, 1952, 100-101).

Monachus Littorensis:

Qui statim ut ad naves suas pervenerunt, **(trispondaicus)**

Pisanos obsides, quos in Rhodo, aliis dimissis, retinuerant, **(trispondaicus per dialysis?)**

pro caritate s. Nicolai misericordiam implorantes, (**velox**) absolutos dimiserunt, (**trispondaicus**)

eisque navim victumque, arma, chartamque securitatis tribuerunt. (**trispondaicus**)

Quantum vero gaudium habuerunt, (**velox**)

quantasque Deo laudes et gratias retulerunt, (**velox**)

quot lachrymas compunctionis emisissent, (**trispondaicus**) (Monachi anonymi, 1895, 267).

-entes

Gallus:

Qui Bohemi per provinciam Wratislaviensem discurrentes, (**trispondaicus**) et predas captivosque colligentes (**trispondaicus**)

et incendia facientes, (**velox**) (Galli Anonymi, 1952, 91).

Monachus Littorensis:

propriae signum Crucis imprimentes, (**trispondaicus**)

alii exterius in vestibibus designantes, (**velox**)

unanimiter et alacriter viam Dei sanctamque militiam arripuerunt,

civitates inimicorum debellantes, (**trispondaicus**)

et hostes Dei suosque devincentes. (**trispondaicus**) Monachi anonymi, 1895, 255).

-amus

Gallus:

Sed ista memorare subsequenti pagina differamus, (**velox**)

et quoddam eius prelium novitate facti satis memorabile referamus, (**velox**)

ex cuius rei consideratione humilitatem superbie preferamus. (**velox**) (Galli Anonymi, 1952, 28).

Gallus:

Neque enim traditorem episcopum excusamus, (**velox**)

neque regem vindicantem sic se turpiter commendamus, (**velox**)

sed hoc in medio deseramus, (**velox**)
 et ut in Vngaria receptus fuerit disseramus. (**velox**) (Galli Anonymi, 1952, 53).

Monachus Littorensis:

Deo obediamus,
 et nisi votum coeptae viae fideliter impleamus, (**velox**)
 abnegamus plane illum cujus signum bajulamus. (**trispondaicus**)
 Sed absit hoc a nobis, quod, pro timore aliquo vel temporali commodo, pro-
 positum nostrum immutemus, (**trispondaicus**)
 unde iram Dei et infamiam hominum incurramus. (**velox**) (Monachi
 anonymi, 1895, 257).

When we add to this the innumerable textual and stylistic coincidences cited in my book (2008), no reasonable doubt remains but that Gallus Anonymous and the Monk of Lido are one and the same person. Finally, another important observation: in both the *Cronica et gesta* and the *Historia de translatione sanctorum Magni Nicolai*, the author used the same template when creating them (Jasiński, 2022b, 9-20):

<i>The work's template</i>	<i>Historia de translatione</i>	<i>Cronica et gesta</i>
<i>action setting</i>	Praesul sancte Dei! caput hujus materiei! Perfice servorum, quae poscunt vota tuorum	Euge, serve Dei, caput huius materiei! Perfice servorum, que poscunt vota tuorum Pro puero puerum, pro falso perfice verum; Confice carnalem, retinens tibi materialem.
<i>return to the main plot</i>	et stylum et studium applicemus	et stilum et animum applicemus
<i>culmination of action</i>	Tunc vero iuventus Venetica suas vires exercuit	Tum vero iuventus Polonica certatim irruunt

In this template, the most astonishing thing is the setting of the plot: in the *Historia de translatione sanctorum Magni Nicolai* it is formulated with two Leonine verses, in the *Cronica et gesta* with the same two Leonine verses supplemented by two more. The two Leonine verses, fulfilling identical roles

in two different literary genres, definitively settle the question of authorship. Opponents of this obvious fact believe that the two authors – independently of each other – made avail of the same lost poetic work. This is of course impossible, since these two or four Leonine verses, as well as the other six from the *Cronica et gesta*, are exceptional Leonine verses, the most modernistic at the time and written by a poetic genius. Firstly, they have a pure disyllabic rhyme, which – though known at the time, was dwarfed by the single rhyme, then the most common. Secondly, in none of these ten (the *Cronica et gesta*) or two (*Historia de translatione sanctorum Magni Nicolai*) verses was Hermann's bridge broken, something rife in medieval Leonine verses, and even among the greatest ancient poets. Thirdly, there is syllabic provocation in both works, with the first hemistich closing with a two-syllable word (Dei) and the second with an impermissible (not recommended) five-syllable word. It was the Monk of Lido (=Gall Anonymous) – as search engines want us to believe – who was the creator of this Leonine verse, one that appears outside the *Historia de translatione* and the *Cronica et gesta* not until around 1120 in the work of Gilo of Paris, or Gilo (=Gilles) of Toucy, a cardinal and later papal legate in Poland and Hungary (Historia, 1997, 70). Indeed, it is safe to assume that he found this Leonine verse in the *Cronica et gesta* during his stay in Poland.

2. A description of Slavic lands

The origins of Gallus Anonymous have been of great interest to historians. Most scholars have traced him back to France (including the Abbey of Saint-Gilles), Italy, Flanders, or Germany (Semler, 1772, 46-47; Bandtkie, 1820, 345; Przeździecki, 1852, 546; Gumplowicz, 1895, 36-37; Kętrzyński, 1898, 11 a. the subsequent pages; Wojciechowski, 2004, 197-198; Brückner, 1924, 68; Tyc, 1924, 112-113; David, 1934, 45; Plezia, 1947, 149; Galli Anonymi, 1952, XCIV). The hypothesis of his French origin was the most popular, with researchers indicating two regions of France: the monastery of St. Giles (St. Gilles) in Provence and the area around Le Mans, Tours, and Orléans. And thus was he dubbed “Gallus Anonymous”.

The thesis of Gallus' origins in St. Gilles has most often been linked to the view that the author of the *Cronica et gesta* temporarily resided in Hungary at the branch monastery of Saint-Gilles, namely in Somogyvár (Tyc and Plezia). Now, having accepted that Gallus Anonymous and the Monk of Lido are the

same person, among all these theories only the Italian hypothesis remains “on the table”. However, when the *Cronica et gesta* and the *Historia de translatione* are analysed together, the Italian hypothesis is also difficult to support – and in fact I will show that a number of premises speak against it. Let me begin with the *Cronica et gesta* – specifically, with the description of Slavic lands that has been repeatedly analysed. The passage stands out for its unusual geographical as well as emotional significance. While keeping the broader features of this description in sight, I would like to draw attention to its artistry. I shall quote the passage in Latin here below in the main text, with the English in the footnotes. To facilitate analysis of this account, I have divided it into four parts, with the last part no longer dealing with Slavic territories. I cite it because it is an important editorial commentary by Gallus (Galli Anonymi, 1952, 7-9); I have also subdivided the relevant parts of the translation into analogous parts.

(1) Igitur terra Sclauonica ad aquilonem hiis regionibus suis partialiter divisivis sive constitutivis existens, a Sarmaticis, qui et Gete vocantur, in Daciam et Saxoniam terminatur, a Tracia autem per Ungariam (ab) Hunis, qui et Ungari dicuntur, quondam occupatam, descendendo per Carinthiam in Bauariam diffinitur; ad austrum vero iuxta mare mediterraneum ab Epyro derivando per Dalmatiam, Crouaciam et Hystriam finibus maris Adriatici terminata, ubi Venetia et Aquileia consistit, ab Hytalia sequestratur.

(2) Que regio quamvis multum sit nemorosa, auro tamen et argento, pane et carne, pisce et melle satis est copiosa, et in hoc plurimum aliis preferenda, quod cum a tot supradictis gentibus et christianis et gentilibus sit vallata et a cunctis insimul et a singulis multociens inpugnata, nunquam tamen ab ullo fuit penitus subiugata.

(3) Patria ubi aer salubris, ager fertilis, silva melliflua, aqua piscosa, milites bellicosi, rustici laboriosi, equi durabiles, boves arabiles, vacce lactose, oves lanose.

(4) Sed ne digressionem nimium prolixam fecisse videamur, ad intentionis nostre propositum revertamur. Est autem intencio nostra de Polonia et duce principaliter Bolezlao describere, eiusque gratia quedam gesta predessorum digna memoria recitare⁶.

6 Gesta, 2003, 15: “(1) So the Slavonian land is divided in the north into parts by or made up of these regions, and it runs from the Sarmatians, who are also known as Gets, to Denmark and Saxony, and from Thrace through Hungary, which in past times was occupied by the Huns (who are also called Hungarians), and passing down through Carinthia it ends at Bavaria. Toward the south, starting from Epirus on the Mediterranean Sea it includes Dalmatia,

The main pivot points of the first part are ornamented with a disyllabic 3-rhyme: *Saxoniam terminatur; Bauariam diffinitur* and *Hytalia sequestratur*. In two cases there is pure rhyme, with the exception of the middle rhyme, undoubtedly intentional, to prevent the entire section of the description from being monotonous. Each of these three pivots is also decorated with the most appreciated rhythms – the veloxes. Without exception, they have the most typical form, the result of the stress sequence of two words – namely, a four-syllable paroxytone preceded by a proparoxytone. This is surprising, because Gallus most often intertwined such rhythmic constructions, consisting of as many as three rhymes-rhythms, with at least one rhythm that was not a velox. By using only veloxes in the main pivot points of the first part of Slavdom's description, Gallus emphasised its special nature. This was a message for the reader that particularly solemn, sublime sentences were at play. In order to distinguish the most important punctuation places from the other, weaker ones, in the latter Gallus relied on the most gentle *planus* rhythm: *constitutivus existens; Gete vocantur; Ungari dicuntur*. He closed the list of Southern Slavic countries with a velox (*Adriatici terminata*), and ended the Hungarian theme with a trispondaicus: *quondam occupatam*.

In the second part of his description of Slavic domains, Gallus used five clauses, all of them closed with five veloxes, with pure disyllabic rhymes. This makes the text dignified and poetic. These veloxes are linked at first with a couplet rhyme (2-rhyme = a+a) and then with a 3-rhyme (b-b-b).

There would be nothing unusual about this, as far as Gallus is concerned, but for the fact that in the first sentence the chronicler used the extraordinary form of the velox twice (p-1/4p): *multum sit nemorosa; satis est copiosa*. The uniqueness of these two veloxes is in two rare features. Firstly, in both cases they are *cum consillabicatione* veloxes. Secondly, these veloxes were constructed each

Croatia, and Istria, and ends on shores of the Adriatic Sea, where Venice and Aquileia stand, separating it from Italy. (2) Although this land is thickly forested, yet it has ample resources of gold and silver, bread and meat, fish and honey; but in one respect it is especially to be preferred to all others, for in spite of being surrounded by all the many aforementioned peoples, Christian and pagan alike, and frequently attacked by all and sundry, it has never been completely subjugated by anyone. (3) A land (*homeland* – *TJ*) where the air is healthy, the fields fertile, the woods full of honey, the water abounding in fish, the warriors warlike, the peasants hardworking, the horses hardy, the oxen strong at plowing, the cows give abundant milk and the sheep abundant wool. (4) But lest we seem to be extending our digression excessively, let us return to our first aim and purpose. Our intention is to tell of Poland and in particular of Duke Boleslaw, and for his sake to recount some of the deeds of his forebears that are worthy of record.”

time without the use of the proparoxytone, something quite extraordinary! The *cum consillabicatione velox* is a rhythm of word stresses which do not form – as was most often the case – two consecutive words, but more words, usually three or four, which form mostly the prosodic word⁷. The *cum consillabicatione* rhythms, including veloxes of this kind, were not uncommon⁸; the uniqueness of the veloxes cited by Gallus lies again in the fact that they are structured without the proparoxytone (Polheim, 1925, 73; Jasiński, 2015, 127). These were rare – indeed, a sequence without a proparoxytone when a four-syllable second word (=last word) occurred in the first word is a genuine “white raven”, as we say in both Croatian and Polish⁹.

The beauty and expression of this rhythm stem from the fact that Gallus inserted a monosyllable between a disyllable (inevitably a paroxytone) and a four-syllabic word, also a paroxytone¹⁰. Namely, whenever medieval readers, fluent in rhythms, encountered a consecutive disyllabic and monosyllabic word at the end of a cadence, they must have been concerned that the author of the text had failed to handle the *cursus*. Continued reading, however, proved the opposite: a beautiful, unexpected velox, followed by the same rhythm, in a pure disyllabic rhyme at that.

Gallus the virtuoso continued to “tease” his readers; in both cases he used a monosyllabic word based on the auxiliary word *esse*¹¹. He introduced this word for the third time in this part of his description of Slavic lands. However, he did not precede it with a paroxytone (always disyllable), as he did twice before,

7 This issue is discussed in more detail by Lindholm, 1963, 16 a. the subsequent pages and especially p. 32, where the stress is discussed “Einsilbige Formen des Verbs *esse*”. Cf. also Janson, 1975, 28 and the subsequent pages and p. 72 and the subsequent pages; Norberg, 2004, 14 – 22 and Jasiński, 2015, 114-131.

8 In a 2015 paper on the *velox cum consillabicatione*, I discussed this type of rhythm in detail and calculated that in the *Galli Anonimi 1952*, it occurs every 7,870 characters or so, and in the *Monachi anonymi 1895* - nearly every 6,000 characters.

9 Cf. Petrarch’s nisi te | tálem scirem velox as quoted by Lindholm, 1963, 29, without a proparoxytone and without a four-syllable work like in Gallus’ writing.

10 A discussion of how such a prosodic word was stressed would require a longer argument; literature on the subject suggests that the stress of singular forms of the word *esse* was not discussed by ancient or medieval scholars, see Lindholm, 1963, 32. The way they were stressed was often determined by the context, i.e. by the place in the stress sequence. When we take into account the stress in an ‘ordinary’ velox, the sequence (i.e. the order) of the stressed syllables was identical to that in these unusual veloxes of Gallus’: the ‘ordinary’ textbook velox from the work by Saint Lawrence (Summa): *utilitèr | tèrminátur = miltum sít | nèmorósa* (Gallus’ velox).

11 Cf. numerous tables with calculations in the article Jasiński, 2015, 127 and the subsequent page.

but with a multisyllabic proparoxytone: *gentilibus sit*. The reader's immediate concern is if there will be a rhythmic catastrophe; however, nothing of the sort happens, as a three-syllabic paroxytone *vallata* follows. As if by magic, *sit* – slightly shifted – forms a different kind of *cum consillabicatione* velox: *gentilibùs | sít valláta*.

Gallus closed this part of his description of Slavdom with beautiful rhyming veloxes, informing the reader that while the Slavic dominion was *multócièns | ìnpugnáta* (pp/4p), it was never *pénitùs | sùbiugáta* (pp/4p).

To conclude this part of the description, let me add that between the sentence separated by a coupled-rhyme and the sentence separated by a triple-rhyme, Gallus inserted an extremely important statement or presaging, also decorated with a velox, but one intentionally unrhymed: *et in hoc plurimum aliis preferenda*, which English editors have translated as follows: *but in one respect it [i.e. the Slavic realm] is especially to be preferred to all others* (Gesta, 2003, 15). Clearly, the extremely solemn and elevated sentences about Slavic lands are accompanied by a unique rhetorical form.

Gallus put Slavdom on a pedestal – one has the outright impression that its praises could not be more beautifully sung. However, this is only the beginning of Gallus' talent – for the third, culminating part follows. The cursus disappears, which in Gallus' writing always meant that poetic verses would begin. They have aroused great interest among scholars; M. Plezia extracted these sentences in the following arrangement (Anonim tzw. Gall, 1923, 178):

Patria ubi
aer salubris
ager fertilis
silva melliflua
aqua piscosa
milites bellicosi
rustici laboriosi
equi durabiles
boves arabiles
vacce lactose
oves lanose.

While we cannot identify the poetic measure used by the medieval poet without doubt, it would not be the first time. In my opinion, we should agree in

this case with the findings of Piotr Stępień, a scholar of Greek and an eminent expert on rhythm and ancient poetry. According to his cautious hypothesis, this is a case of a heuristic imitation of the Sapphic stanza (Stępień, 2017, 265). Regardless of the outcome of further research, Piotr Stępień has demonstrated that in this fragment Gallus made use of extraordinary creativity in structuring rhythmic (non-*cursus*) sequences whose artistry equals the greatest achievements of this type of poetic work¹². The *laus terrae* is equally delightful in its lyricism. In my opinion, Gallus made a masterful use of yet another stylistic device, the implicit apostrophe. “*Patria ubi, aer salubris (...)*. According to Latin scholars I have consulted here, the first word of the verse *Patria ubi aer salubris* does not contain a vocative, as it occurs in a similar verse in another work by the same poet (*Bolezlaue, ubi tua gloria...* - Galli Anonymi, 1952, 38) however, the style, its solemnity, and the poetic measure of this passage must have suggested an apostrophe: *O Homeland!, where the air healthy...*

Before I deal with the circumstances of writing the description of the Slavic lands, I need briefly dispel a myth concerning this passage of the *Cronica et gesta*. Many scholars, from the times of Joachim Lelewel (19th century) to the present day, have assumed that this description of the Slavs by Gallus concerns Poland alone¹³. Of course, there have been historians quite aware that the description of Slavdom did not refer to Poland at all. There have also been attempts at manipulation, e.g., that while Gallus made it clear that he was describing Slavic lands, he really meant Poland. Obviously, this view is baseless in the light of Gallus’ remark explaining his lengthy digression:

Sed ne digressionem nimium prolixam fecisse videamur, ad intentionis nostre propositum revertamur. Est autem intencio nostra de Polonia et duce principaliter Boleslao describere.

12 I am referring to short, poetic pieces (or separate fragments there of) whose form is astonishing in its inventiveness. The verses of Peter Abelard are an example of an equally outstanding small poetic fragment - Ruys, 2014, 254 and the subsequent pages and Jasiński, 2023; [in press].

13 Koszutski, 1848, 194: “*According to Gallus, the country of Poland was superior to others in that, although it was surrounded by so many other nations, Christian and pagan alike, and although it often fought against them, it was never completely conquered.*” See Lelewel, 1856, 4; Aurast, 2009, 83, footnote 78. I cite only examples of publications whose authors believed that Gallus was describing Poland rather than the Slavic domain. However, I omit most because it is not relevant to the present issue; some of the older literature on the subject is collected in the chapter entitled: *Chorografia w Kronice polskiej* Galla Anonima, in: Rott, 1995, 66 and the subsequent pages.

As I have quoted in a footnote, it has been translated into English as follows:

*But lest we seem to be extending our digression excessively, let us return to our first aim and purpose. Our intention is to tell about Poland, and in particular of Duke Boleslaw (...)*¹⁴.

Thus, Gallus himself considered the description of Slavdom to be a digression from writing about Poland. Now the most important question can be posed: what could have prompted the author of the *Cronica et gesta* to present such an emotional description of Slavic lands in content and form? Well, there can be only one answer: *Gallus was a Slav*. As an exile and wanderer (*Exul apud vos et peregrinus* – Galli Anonymi, 1952, 120), in this short description Gallus expressed his great love and longing for his lost homeland. He expressed these feelings in an unusual form and content, in a consciously idealised image of his *patria*, as even this ideal was no match for the beauty he had lost.

I am aware that, despite all my remarks and explanations, many readers in Poland will take the statement that Gallus was a Slav as close to derision! How could Gallus, in the opinion of Polish researchers, an eminent representative of West European culture, be it French or Italian, or maybe German etc., have hailed from the culturally backward – as many Polish scholars still secretly believe! – Slavs?! Impossible! And yet, let me start by recalling that this opinion is not entirely new. It was first put forward in 1910 by Wojciech Kętrzyński (1919, 54–69), and then by Roman Grodecki in 1923 (Anonim t. zw. Gall, 1923, 12). As many readers in Poland will note, referring to Wojciech Kętrzyński can only weaken my case. Many will probably say that this Polish neophyte (it is not my intention to insult this eminent historian¹⁵) falsified the sources at least once in order to save, as he believed, the Polish “raison d’être”. What is more, he regarded *a priori* almost all documents regarding the Teutonic Knights since their arrival in Chełmno (older English: Culm) as forgeries. So, how could he be an authority in this case? All this is true but, while we rightly disapprove of W. Kętrzyński’s lack of impartiality and act of falsification for patriotic reasons¹⁶, he cannot be denied extraordinary intuition and scholarly perceptiveness. When

14 Cf. also the Czech translation, which is closer to the literal translation – Gallus Anonymus, 2009, 26: „Aby se však nezdálo, že jsme učinili příliš obšírnou odbočku, vraťme se k našemu původnímu záměru. Naším záměrem je psát o Polsku a zejména o knížeti Boleslavovi”.

15 Kętrzyński was born Adalbert von Winkler to a German-speaking family of Kashubian descent.

16 More on the subject in Jasiński, 2005b, p. 23.

I analysed the documents for the Teutonic Knights, I repeatedly paid tribute to his astuteness. He noticed seemingly small details in these documents, which nevertheless settled the matter, and which all other researchers had failed to notice¹⁷. Let me take a look at W. Kętrzyński's opinion on the Slavic origin of the author of the *Cronica et gesta*... He noted that “*the author was a Slav and that by origin and conviction*”(Kętrzyński, 1919, 59). According to Kętrzyński, this is substantiated by Gallus' knowledge of the borders of southern Slavic lands¹⁸ and the fact that “*The Slavic domain is for him some kind of an ideal, about which, with some exultation, he says these words...*”. Here follows a quotation from Gallus, starting with the words *Qua eregio*, ending with *oves lanose*¹⁹. We need to bear in mind that Wojciech Kętrzyński correctly interpreted Gallus' emotions accompanying the edition of the paean to Slavic domains. I should add, however, that Kętrzyński could not fully assess its aesthetic qualities due to his lack of knowledge of medieval stress rhythm (*cursus*).

Wojciech Kętrzyński believed that the Slavic origin of the author was supported by the numerous Slavic expressions in the *Cronica et gesta* and the use of forms like “*Sudomir; Lucic, Zutok (...)*” (Kętrzyński, 1919, 61). The Lvov scholar went on to write: “non-Latin expressions such as ‘*Rege itaque Boleslavo inter homines exeunte*’ i.e. his death, ‘*pax et laetitia rerumque copia videntur simul de Polonia commeasse*’, where ‘*inter homines exire*’ for ‘to die’ is not at all comprehensible, unless one supposes that the author was thinking of the Slavic collocation ‘to pass from humans’. Other Slavic expressions include ‘*positione regio ista p e r insulas* - after the islands, or ‘*et sic cito p r o Pomeranis per traditionem sua castra capientibus remeavit*’ where ‘*pro*’ = for, instead of ‘*propter*’” (Kętrzyński, 1919, 61).

I am not a Slavic scholar competent to judge Kętrzyński's remarks, but I am willing to trust his observations. Firstly, the German educational system of the time made him an excellent Latin expert, appreciated by academics in his new homeland, handing over to him the management of *Monumenta Poloniae Historica*, as well as entrusting him with the publication of many Polish

17 Cf. W. Kętrzyński's remarks about the expression *olim* in the so-called Łowicz document, allegedly from 1222, and the sentence in the Golden Bull of Frederick II for the Teutonic Order from 1226 (in fact from 1235) – Jasiński, 2008, 5, 101.

18 Kętrzyński, 1919, 59: “*therefore he knows not only the borders of Poland itself and the surrounding countries, but also the borders of the entire southern Slavic region from Thrace, Epirus and the Adriatic Sea*”.

19 Quote above, Latin spelling in this sentence according to W. Kętrzyński, 1919, 59-60.

sources written in Latin. Secondly, in learning Polish, which after all was not his *Muttersprache*, he must have paid attention to the differences between this Slavic language and German as well as Latin. As I will show below, several other linguistic proofs can be cited to support the Slavic origin of the author of the *Cronica et gesta*.

W. Kętrzyński concluded that Gallus was a Hungarian Slav; although – as I explain below – I do not share this view, let me nevertheless cite his arguments as they will allow us to identify Gallus better. The Lvov scholar wrote: “*The fact that his homeland was the Hungaria Slavic territory is, in my opinion, due to his knowledge of Hungarian history, about which he talks a lot and eagerly and is generally well informed; about the Hungarian kings he gives many interesting details. He even seems to have been in King Ladislaus’ entourage, for he knows that he was “eminens corpore” and “affluens pietate”, that he was “moribus et vita Polonus”; he is informed in detail about what happened between him and Bolesław the Bold when the latter, as an exile, entered Hungary, how his haughtiness offended the Hungarians, who, as he says “illudaltius et profundius cumulavit indequecitius extrema dieseum, utaiunt, occupavit”. Of King Coloman, he said that he was “super reges universos suo tempore degentes litterali scientia eruditus”* (Kętrzyński, 1919, 60). Further in his interpretation of Gallus as a Hungarian Slav, Kętrzyński noted that the author of the *Cronica et gesta* must have been one of the teachers of Mieszko Bolesławowic, appointed by King Ladislaus, and that they came to Poland together. After Mieszko’s death, Gallus traveled between the Polish bishops’ residences until shortly before 1112, when he began to write the *Cronica et gesta* (Kętrzyński, 1919, 61 and the following pages).

Before I proceed to argue against W. Kętrzyński’s view of the author of the *Cronica et gesta* being a Hungarian Slav, let us look at the observations made by Roman Grodecki, namely “*Was the author Hungarian? Rather not. The author’s Slavic origin is supported first of all by his enthusiastic description of the Slavic domain, which is like an ideal for him, as W. Kętrzyński rightly pointed out. His description bordered on exaltation, and he was barely able to find sufficient words of praise for the people, animals and lands, giving praise even to the climate*” (Anonim t. zw. Gall, 1923, 12). Furthermore, R. Grodecki repeated all of W. Kętrzyński’s arguments and assumed that he was a representative of a “*Slavic nation from Hungary, in the sense of St. Stephen’s crown countries*” (Anonim t. zw. Gall, 1923, 13).

I fully share the arguments of both scholars in favour of the Slavic origin of Gallus Anonymous. They are mainly based on the short albeit very eloquent description of the Slavic lands. Earlier in this article I attempted to show that there was much more to the description than meets the eye. Again, the origin of this passage – and thus of the entire *Cronica et gesta* – cannot be explained by anything other than the author's Slavic origin. However, I do not share at all the view of W. Kętrzyński and R. Grodecki that Gallus was a Hungarian Slav. The following words could never have been said by a Hungarian: “*but in one respect it [i.e. the Slavic realm] is especially to be preferred to all others, for in spite of being surrounded by all the many aforementioned peoples, Christian and pagan alike, and frequently attacked by all and sundry, it has never been completely subjugated by anyone*”²⁰. This train of thought is in no way reconcilable with the status of a Hungarian Slav. Even more important is the fact that the words quoted express not only solemnity, but also tension and trauma. They are like words of consolation in the face of the collapse of (at least a part of) the Slavic domains. Another interpretation is that, although the author's country was subjugated to a large extent, it was not *penitus*. Yet another possibility is that it was nevertheless subjugated completely, but since the Slavic realm was never subjugated in its entirety, there was also hope for Gallus' homeland. We may consider these interpretations completely arbitrary, but the quoted sentence undeniably conceals some kind of drama, or even historical catastrophe, owing to which the author became “*an exile and a wanderer*”. In his description of the Slavic realm, Gallus even revealed where he came from. For only an inhabitant of a Slavic country on the Adriatic Sea, in describing Slavic lands in otherwise very general (!) terms, would have mentioned Dalmatia, Croatia, and Istria. Only a resident of these parts of the continent could have known the two names of the provinces of the Byzantine Empire that bordered Slavic territories, namely Epirus and Thrace. What chronicler, even a Slav, would have mentioned Venice and Aquileia as border points between the Slavic domain and Italy if he were not a representative of Southern Slavic territories or – more precisely – of the lands of Croatia, Dalmatia, and Istria? This observation was perfectly valid, but too detailed – understandable only from a local Croatian or Dalmatian perspective.

20 See above p. [now 8].

3. Other arguments in favour of Gallus' Croatian origin

Gallus' origin as a Hungarian Slav is contradicted by his authorship of the *Historia de translatione sanctorum Magni Nicolai*; it is difficult to imagine a Slavic Hungarian staying in the Venetian monastery on Lido. On the other hand, the residence of a Croatian monk in Venice between 1099 and 1002/1003 is altogether probable. The Monk of Lido (=Gallus Anonymous) even revealed in his text that he was particularly interested in Venetian-Croatian, or more precisely Venetian-Dalmatian relations. In his account he wrote the significant words: “*sicque veloci cursu [from Lido – T.J.], et aspera Dalmatiae littora carpentes, Jaderam applicuerunt. Quae autem ibi de suo regno tractaverint et ordinaverint, et multa alia de itinere proposito historiographi luculenti narrationi reservemus, et ad ea, quae nostrae mentis intentio, et sanctissimi confessoris Nicolai, devotio exigit, ipso opitulante, et stylum et studium applicemus*” (Monachi anonymi, 1895, 256)²¹. In this short text, the Monk of Lido (=Gallus Anonymous) stated that the negotiations between the Venetians and unspecified interlocutors from Zadar were of such importance that they should be described by an able historiographer. Translating this into contemporary language, the Monk of Lido (=Gallus Anonymous) considered the arrangements that were then made between the Venetians and representatives of the Dalmatian-Croatian faction to be historically significant. The chronicler must have been very pleased with the course of the talks and the agreements reached there, and his knowledge of them indicates that he probably took part in them directly. He must have had high hopes for them, too, if he considered them worthy of being immortalised by a “brilliant historiographer”.

Incidentally, it should be added that the Monk of Lido, in order to give greater credibility to his *Historia de translatione sanctorum Magni Nicolai*, prefaced it with a dating formula which shows a very strong affinity to the one being used at the time in the city chancellery in Zadar. The common features include (1) its placement at the beginning of the document; (2) the use of only

21 Clearly, the text is identically edited as in the *Cronica et gesta*. Gallus had in mind a ready form – as I have already pointed out above – for the editing of a literary work, and it does not matter whether it was religious, e.g. a translation, or historiographic; first, by means of excellent, almost identical dactylic hexameters, he defined the subject or object of his work, and then quoted interesting digressions, and later, with the same words, returned to the main theme. In the *Historia de translatione*, in the opening parts of this work, he introduced a digression about the visit of the Venetians to Zadar, and then justified himself and stated that he returned to the (things) which the intention of his thought and the piety of the Most Holy Nicholas the Confessor required.

rhythms, in the case of the document – three veloxes, in the case of the *Historia* – four veloxes and one trispondaicus; and (3) only pure disyllabic rhymes (Documenta, 1877, 184 and the following pages, no 223 and Jokai Mór 13; Monachi anonymi, 1895, 254):

<i>Document from Zadar of 1091</i>	<i>Historia de translatione sanctorum Magni Nicolai</i>
<i>Kyri Alexio Constantinopoleos imperante (velox), tempore quo Uladislaus Pannoniorum Rex, Cratie invadens Regnum, domnum Almun suum nepotem in illo statuit Regem; Jaderensi vero Cathedre domno Andrea venerabiliter presulante (velox); meque Drago domini Prestantii Episcopi nepote iam tertio priorante (velox).</i>	<i>Ab Incarnatione Domini nostri Salvatoris, anno millesimo nonagesimo sexto, Urbano papa catholico in apostolica sede residente (trispondaicus), Alexio glorioso Graeciae feliciter imperante (velox), necnon Petro, patriarcha Aliqueiae Novae ecclesiam gubernante (velox), Vitale Michael Venetiae principante (velox), remque publicam suorum magnatum providentia sapienter et utiliter disponente (velox).</i>

Let me try to identify the affiliation of the Monk of Lido to a specific political faction. In 1099, when the Venetian ships entered Zadar, the Hungarians were in power in part of Croatia, following their victory over Peter Snačić who fell at the Battle of Gvozd in 1097 (Dokumenta, 1877, 479 and the subsequent pages; Goldstein, 1995. 441 and the subsequent pages). In the ensuing situation, the Dalmatian towns defended their independence, seeking support from Venice. In 1102, Coloman again turned his forces against the Croats, soon reaching the Adriatic where he crowned himself king in Biograd na Moru. Still, the major Dalmatian cities, especially Zadar and Split, resisted Coloman's rule. It was not until Coloman's expedition in 1105 that the Dalmatian cities, with Zadar at the forefront, were forced to submit to the Hungarian king. The sojourn of a Croatian or Dalmatian in a Venetian monastery circa 1099-1103 is therefore most understandable, as is his noting in passing of the Venetian-Dalmatian negotiations in a work that was devoted to other issues. Let me add that the Monk of Lido was so interested in the events in Zadar that in the later part of his account, he briefly interrupted the narrative of the Venetian expedition and described the arrival in Zadar of Venetian envoys who were to find out something about the fate of the main flotilla. The envoy of the Abbot of Lido remained in Zadar until the return of the Vene-

tians²². From all these circumstances we may conclude that the Monk of Lido (=Gallus Anonymous) was on the side of the political forces of the Dalmatian cities that sought support in Venice against Coloman.

Other circumstances also speak in favour of Gallus Anonymous' Dalmatian or Croatian origin. Namely, in his famous funeral song in honour of Poland's Bolesław I the Brave (992-1025), Gallus Anonymous wrote (Galli Anonymi, 1952, 39):

*Tanti viri funus mecum omnis homo recole,
Dives, pauper, miles, clericus, insuper agricole.
Latinorum et Slauorum quotquot estis incole*

The last line of this exquisite 15-syllable trochaic verse could only have been written by a scribe who had daily dealings with the people living in Dalmatia. Polish scholars have tried to explain this phrase in every conceivable way, but not even the most fantastic hypotheses have helped. Apart from a dozen or so priests of Romanesque origin, there was no Romanesque population in Poland at the time of Gallus. Hypotheses have been tabled about the existence in Poland at that time of Churches of two rites: Latin and Slavic. However, detailed analyses have shown that, unlike in neighbouring Bohemia, only the Latin-rite Church was present in Poland (Dobosz, 2002, *passim*). How, then, is this phrase to be interpreted? It is a phrase typically used to refer to all inhabitants in documents issued for Southern Slavic domains, especially for Dalmatia, inhabited by Slavic and Romance peoples. It appears that in Dalmatia and the Slavic countries closest to it, where Romance and Slavic populations lived side by side, the phrase *Latini et Slavi* was commonly in use as a formula in local documents of the 11th and 12th centuries. Of the many examples I document below in a footnote, I quote the oldest known to me from 1024 or 1039: *concedimus* [Ljutovit of Zahumlje and strategist of Serbia and Zahumlje] *et stabile damus eis* [to the Benedictines on Lokrum near Dubrovnik] *prephatam ecclesiam* [Pancras of Rome] *cum omnibus terris, ut nullam vim, vel inquietationem patiantur, neque a Raguseis, neque a Stagnensibus, neque ab aliis quibuscunque hominibus La-*

22 Monachi anonymi, 1895, 270-271: *Sed ubi, auxilio et consilio ducis aliorumque bonorum, illi loco devotorum, certificati fuerunt, navim volocissimam et armatam, cum nuntiis exercitui obviam, legaverunt ad duces stoli, et episcopum, aliosque discretiores, de servitio liberali conveniendos; qui, cum Sclavoniam attigissent, timore hostium et periculo hiemali ab itinere revocati, in Jadera demorati, monacho, qui cum ipsa navi ex parte abbatis iverat, classis eventum expectante, caeteri, in dubio re pendente, Venetiam remearunt.*

tinis uel Sclauis (...)(Codex, 1874, 116, no 105; Jagić, 1867, 47; Jackson, 1887, 240; Dudan, 1999, 114; Monumenta, 1904, 68; Тус, 1924, 127- 128; Гласникъ, (1858, 31)²³. In the documents, the phrase *Latini et Slau* meant all the inhabitants. We can assume that in his homeland, Gallus not only often read such documents but, as a master of the *ars dictandi* (Galli Anonymi, 1952, 120), often composed them. It is therefore hardly surprising that, in the fervour of composing his stanzas, Gallus used the customary phrase used in his homeland.

I need to return for a moment to Gallus' Slavicisms, first cited by Wojciech Kętrzyński. Some of his findings were confirmed by linguists in the second half of the 20th century. These researchers noted that the translation into Latin of some Slavic local names (*Alba, Lapis*) and the use of certain Slavic terms (*pristaldi*) and words (*cebri*) indicated that Gallus had a command of a Slavic language. These linguists proved beyond any doubt that, when quoting Slavic names of people and places, Gallus wrote them down very consistently and strictly according to the rules of one of the Old Slavic languages, which, moreover, was not Old Polish. This means that Gallus, prior to his arrival in Poland, had spent time in a Slavic environment, where he assimilated Slavic pronunciation in a form somewhat different from that encountered on Polish soil – and that his stay in Poland did not erase it.

The question therefore arises as to which Slavic language Gallus encountered before his arrival in Poland. Almost in unison, scholars have replied that it was Czech (!) (Wierczyński, 1948, 245-248). This view is difficult to accept, as the *Cronica et gesta* reflects a great dislike of the Czechs and no indication of the author's residence in that country.

One of those scholars, Zdzisław Stieber, identified the following local and personal names as evidence of Gallus' Czech origin: *Lucic* (Łęczycza), *Sudomir* (now: Sandomierz, originally: Sędomir), *Sutok* (now: Santok, originally: Sątok) and *Chrabri* (instead of *Chrobri*), *Wratislaw* (Wrocław), *Plauci* (Polovtsians – the Cumans) and *Visegrad* (Wyszogród on the Vistula). According to Stieber, the first three names indicate a transformation of the Old Polish back nasal vowel into *u*; in the remaining names, the Czech groups “*trat, tlat*” appear, instead of the Polish “*trot, tlot*”. It seems, however, that the emergence of the above forms can be explained quite differently and that these “undoubted Czech elements” were not Czech elements at all. Indeed, the Old Polish nasal

23 Cf. also Ostoich, 1858, 46: *quod Sclavis et Latinis dicte insulae mandavimus*.

vowel mentioned above underwent identical transformations in South Slavic languages, especially in Old Croatian. Thus, for example, the Old Polish name Mącimir corresponds to the Old Croatian Muncimir, the Old Polish Sędimir to the Croatian Sudimir (one of the Croatian bans), and so on²⁴. Similarly, the other group of names is not necessarily of Czech, but of South Slavic origin. For example, there is a nickname *chrabri* from the 16th century archival records in Croatia's Dubrovnik; *Visegrad* is a medieval place name in present-day Bosnia²⁵. Undoubtedly, while this issue should be re-examined by linguists, it seems abundantly clear that Gallus did not use Czech words; rather, the forms he used arose from his knowledge and command of a South Slavic language: Old Croatian.

The fact that similar changes occurred in both Old Bohemian and South Slavic languages (including Old Croatian) should not come as a surprise in the light of the findings of Jerzy Nalepa. In his dissertation published in 1968, he argued that originally the Czech language belonged to the South Slavic languages and that it was only as a result of the loss of contact with the south that the Czech language became a part of the West Slavic languages (Nalepa, 1968, *passim*).

4. Gallus' attitude towards King Ladislaus of Hungary and the pro-Hungarian faction in Croatia

How can we explain Gallus' special regard for the Hungarian King Ladislaus? In considering this question, it should first be noted that Gallus held Ladislaus in higher esteem than Kętrzyński would suggest. Secondly, this feeling is fully understandable in the case of a Croatian. In order to understand Gallus Anonymous' attitude to the Hungarian king, I need to mention briefly his 16-syllable trochaic verses. Gallus was a great poet, and he revealed his talent in admittedly few but nonetheless magnificent dactylic hexameters and in dozens of rhythmic verses. His 15- and 11-syllable trochaic verses and 8-syllable iambic verses are held in the highest esteem. They boast an impeccable verse structure, pure disyllabic or even three-syllabic rhymes. All caesuras are respe-

24 Cf. the Polish name Mącimir which occurred in the 12-13th centuries. – Kozierowski, 1929, 365 and the Old Croatian name Muncimir (891/2 and 1076) – Codex, 1874, 11-13, 153; Sudimir, a ban of Croatia see Kenézy Csátár, 1869, 247; Dorosmai, 2005, 65.

25 Tadić, 1950, 120: „Stephanus Chrabri”, p. 143 and p. 202: “una parte Marino et Stephano Chrabri”; Dursteler, 2006, 127.

cted without exception; no hiatus or elision. Back in the early 12th century, no one had arranged such “disciplined” verses. This was not, however, the result of slavish adherence to form but rather a conviction that formally impeccable verse in no way restricted freedom and innovation in poetic expression. The works of many poets of this and earlier periods demonstrate clumsiness in the construction of poetic forms, often a heavy or bizarre style, artificial word order, etc. However, in spite of his rigorous adherence to poetic forms, Gallus expressed himself with extraordinary lightness, with an uncanny sense of rhythm, and a masterful use of rhetorical sound figures. His poems are not inferior to the work of the most eminent poets of the time. Among these poetic works are some mysterious 16-syllable trochaic verses. They are mysterious because they are extremely rare. Marian Plezia believed that these verses are like the signature of Gallus Anonymous. Until recently, they were said to occur only in the *Cronica et gesta* (16-17 lines) and in the *Historia de translatione sanctorum Magni Nicolai* (2 lines?). Two years ago, I discovered 4 such lines in one of Peter Abelard’s finest works. Most surprisingly, much suggests that they most likely reflect Abelard’s reading of the *Cronica et gesta*! More on the subject below.

Initially, scholars like Grigorij Eduardowicz Zenger, a Russian philologist, Tadeusz Wojciechowski, and even the eminent rhyme expert Karl Polheim, when analysing the four-verse poem on the reception of Bolesław the Bold, did not at all know that they were dealing with a 16-syllable trochaic verse (Зенгеръ, 1905, 136; Polheim, 1925, 76; Pohorecki, 1929, 105 and the subsequent pages; M. Plezia, 1947, 115-116; Plezia, 1968, 23-39; Jasiński, 2014b, 315-333). It was not until Feliks Pohorecki discovered it in the *Cronica et gesta*, and this was expanded on by Marian Plezia and Karol Maleczyński. Marian Plezia pointed out that it also occurs in the *Historia de translatione sanctorum Magni Nicolai*. Since this measure did not appear in other works, I designed a special software to look for 16-syllable trochaic verse. A search of huge databases using this software proved that the trochaic 16-syllable verse (in the form of at least two verses) does not occur in any Latin work. The software detected only two unrhymed and most likely unintentional lines in the *Historia de translatione sanctorum Magni Nicolai*. That such a poetic measure existed is proven by the small manual entitled *Regule de Rithmis*. The earliest copy of this work, from among the many created in the Middle Ages, is preserved in

Codex No. 759 in the Stiftsbibliothek in Admont²⁶. According to the electronic database *Scrineum aggi e materiali on line di scienze del documento e del libro medievali*, this codex was written between about 1168 and 1174 and is a copy of an earlier French manuscript²⁷. Let me add that this, as well as other later manuals on the arrangement of rhythmic verse, were never used by Neo-Latinists dealing with medieval poetry, among them scholars like Wilhelm Meyer, Dag Norberg, and Paul Klopsch. At issue is that not only this textbook, but also later ones, provide a description of how a 16-syllable verse is structured. The earliest textbook gives two lines constructed exactly like Gallus' 16-syllable verse:

Seriatim ÷ nos gaudere | tempus monet ÷ iuventutis
nec ut fedis ÷ demus rebus | nostrae iura ÷ servitutis (Trattati, 1889, 29; Zamcke, 1871, 34-96).

Recently, while researching the reception of the poetry of Gallus Anonymous, I have detected several verses in a famous work by Peter Abelard that allude to the rhymes of the author of the *Cronica et gesta*. Alongside these verses, I found, in the same work, four lines of pure 16-syllable trochaic verses:

Planctus virginum Israel:

104. Auro, gemmis, ÷ margaritis | uariatum ÷ est monile
105. quod sic pectus ÷ ornat eius | ut ornetur ÷ magis inde
(...)
108. Rerum pondus ÷ et ornatus | moram uirgo ÷ iam non ferens,
109. lecto surgit ÷ et repellit | que restabant ÷ ita dicens (Ruys, 2014, 250).

Is it therefore not apparent that Peter Abelard borrowed from Gallus some rhymes as well as the extremely rare metre of the poem?

Of all the rhythmic verses, Gallus Anonymous was most fond of 16-syllable trochaic verses as they allowed his poetic talent to be fully displayed. In composing them, Gallus reached the heights of artistry. Of the 17 lines of the trochaic 16-syllable verse, as many as 10 were dedicated to King Ladislaus of Hungary. This ratio is the best indication of Gallus Anonymous' attitude to King Ladislaus; the chronicler did not devote a single 16-syllable trochaic verse to Bolesław the Brave, nor even to Bolesław the Wrymouth, either, if we disregard the couplet about the first steps of that ruler's knightly career.

26 Admont, Stiftsbibliothek cod. 759 (scrineum.it) - latest access 24.03.2023.

27 <http://scrineum.unipv.it/wight/admo759.htm> - latest access 21.08.2016.

Gallus' exceptional reverence for Ladislaus is most evident in the following two 16-syllable trochaic verses:

*Dicunt **talem** ÷ **nunquam regem** | **Vngariam** ÷ **habuisse**,||
*Neque **terram** ÷ **iam post eum** | **fructuosam** ÷ **sic fuisse**. ||* (Galli Anonymi, 1952, 26).*

With the above words about the extraordinary nature of King Ladislaus and the fertile fields during his reign, Gallus paid the highest tribute to the ruler. This is evidenced by the extraordinary content of these two verses, and above all by the extraordinary poetic form. These two verses have a magnificent structure, with a dipodia and isocolon, characteristic of the ancient *versus quadratus*: a very interesting form of the trochaic tetrameter catalectic.

The medieval successor of this quotient-based verse measure was the 15-syllable trochaic verse, and in Gallus' case both the 15-syllable and this unusual 16-syllable trochaic verse. The two trochaic 16-syllable verses dedicated to King Ladislaus have a correctly placed major caesura after the fourth rhythmic foot and two minor caesurae after the second and sixth foot. Such regularity is highly commendable, all the more so because it was not required, especially in terms of minor caesurae, but only preferred. This verse has only a regular trochaic accent; the successive odd syllables, from the first to the fifteenth, are without exception accented by means of word stress, most often primary and sometimes secondary. This regular structure precludes the use of any proparoxytone in this verse, as well as any monosyllable within the segment after a three-syllable or a single monosyllable after a two-syllable²⁸. There is more: every first hemistich of these two trochaic 16-syllable verses (and even each segment closed with a large or small caesura, except for the last one) was decorated by Gall with homeoteleutons, as I have indicated above in bold in the quotation. In fact, the first word of the second segment is additionally adorned with this homeoteleuton, and in both cases. In the first verse, these homeoteleutons quite unusually take the form **-em** and **-am**, alternately, and in the second verse three times **-am**, and in an impure, certainly deliberate manner **-um**. I am quite aware of what I have written because Gallus avoided monotony, and also placed the accent on Ladislaus himself, referred to here in the form of a personal pronoun.

28 The word *Vngariam* could be considered a proparoxytone but in the Middle Ages, there was a rule that a foreign word could be accented quite freely.

Finally, both verses are decorated with three-syllabic rhymes. This demonstrates Gallus' supreme poetic skills. For most poets of the time, trochaic rhythm was hard to tackle, let alone "activating" all the caesurae (I mean a 15-syllable verse). Gallus overcame these rigours with ease and, in addition, showed off an unprecedented, astonishing cascade of homeoteleutons. Such mastery is not to be found even in the poems of such contemporaries as Peter Abelard, Hilarius of Orleans, and Hugh Primas. Even though these poets are regarded, quite rightly, as the greatest of all time²⁹.

Since antiquity, accumulation of anaphors in a 15-syllable trochaic verse was highly valued; the unsurpassed model was the folk *versus quadratus* created in connection with the death of the orator Lucius Licinius Crassus (c. 140 - 91), Cicero's master:

postquam **Crassus**: **carbo factus**, | **Carbo crassus** ÷ **factus est** (Grammatici Latini 6, 461, 28; Williams, 1982, 54; Gerick 1996, 30)³⁰.

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Gallus – in resorting to numerous and beautiful anaphora and many other rhetorical figures – described in the longest four-verse 16-syllable trochaic stanza the state of Ladislaus' soul in connection with the flight of Boleslaus the Bold and his arrival in Hungary (Galli Anonymi, 1952, 53):

Cum audisset ÷ *Wladislauus* | *Bolezlauum* ÷ *advenire*, ||
Partim gaudet ÷ *ex amico*, | *partim restat* ÷ *locus ire*; ||
Partim ex re:cepto quidem | *fratre gaudet* ÷ *et amico*, ||
Sed de fratre ÷ *Wladislauo* | *facto dolet* ÷ *inimico*. ||

This four-line poem boasts a remarkable accumulation of anaphors, homeoteleutons, pure disyllabic rhymes, monosyllable rhymes by several small caesurae, all while maintaining only the trochaic rhythm and activating all small and large caesurae.

An analysis of these two 16-syllable lines leaves no doubt about Gallus Anonymous' reverence and adoration of King Ladislaus. Can this reverence be defined more closely? Can poems of such pronunciation be attributed to a

29 I completely agree with the opinion of Wilhelm Meyer (1845-1917), the great Latin and Greek scholar, and above all of the most eminent Neo-Latinist, that the prime of poetic forms in the history of European culture took place in two periods: ancient Greece in the period up to the 4th century BC, and in Western Europe in the 12th and 13th centuries. In the latter period, poetry reached its highest peaks in poems written in Latin, as well as in the national languages of French and German (Petri Abaelardi, 1885, 3; Jasiński, 2023, in press).

30 The verse can be translated as follows: "after Crassus (=fat) became ash, the ash became fat".

Croatian? They certainly can. After all, following the death of King Zvonimir, shortly post-1089, a pro-Hungarian faction was formed in Croatia that was centred around Queen Helena the Fair (in Old Croatian: Lepa), widow of Zvonimir, and sister of King Ladislaus (Klaić, 1971, 491; Goldstein, 1995, 437; Klaić, 1972, 81 N. Klaić, 1972, p. 81 and the subsequent pages; J. Gál, 2020, 11 and the subsequent pages)³¹. She was the niece of Poland's Kazimierz the Restorer, and the cousin of Bolesław the Bold and Ladislaus Herman. The pro-Hungarian faction centred around Helena consisted of former noblemen of Zvonimir and representatives of Dalmatian towns. We know from late references (there are no earlier ones) that the initiative to summon Ladislaus to Helena's aid came i.a. from the Split magnates³². The Zadar dating formula from 1091 cited above suggests that Ladislaus placed his nephew Almos on the Croatian throne. Hóman believes that this was supported by the burghers of Zadar³³.

In an attempt to understand Gallus' opinion on Ladislaus and to learn the origin of the chronicler's reverence for the Hungarian ruler, we need look at the way his contacts with the Piasts were presented. The description of the contacts between Hungary's Ladislaus and Bolesław the Bold, the characterisation of the Hungarian king, the description of Ladislaus' care for Mieszko Bolesławowic after his father's death, and the reflections on the fate of this young duke in Poland, his death – this all indicates a dynastic family relationship. There is admiration for Ladislaus, who, although offended by the Polish king, provided Bolesław with a dignified stay in Hungary and, after his death, took care of Mieszko Bolesławowic with utmost – one could say exemplary – commitment. In my opinion, all the elements of this tradition originated at the court of Helen the Fair, queen consort of Croatia³⁴. Gallus indirectly or directly

31 Documenta, 1877, 476: Cum enim rex Zolomerus sine liberis decesisset, uxor eius, soror regis Ladislai, ab inimicis viri sui multis iniuriis praegravata, auxilium fratris sui, regis Ladislai, in nomine Iesu Christi imploravit.

32 B. Hóman, Geschichte des ungarischen Mittelalters, Bd. I: Von den ältesten Zeiten bis zum Ende des zwölften Jahrhunderts, Berlin 1940, p. 354: "*Die Anhänger der lateinischen Partei aus dem Litorale, die dalmatischen Städte und die Bevölkerung der einstigen Banatprovinz Zwojnimirs scharten sich um die Königswitwe Helene. Eine mächtige Partei war für den Gedanken des ungarischen Bündnisses, und Anfang 1091 gingen Gesandte aus Spalato und Krbava nach Ungarn, um König Ladislaus auf den verwaisten kroatischen Thron zu rufen.*

33 Hóman, 1940, 356-357: "*Die Erwähnung Almos' als kroatischen König in der Formel, die für die Herrscher vorgesehen war, die die Oberhoheit über die dalmatischen Städte innehatten, bedeutet nicht nur die Anerkennung dieser Würde, sondern ist zugleich der Ausdruck der Sympathie der Bürgerschaft von Zara*".

34 In Croatian: Jelena Lijepa.

(*First of all, my most dear brothers, I would have you know that I did not embark on such a great task in order to make broad the fringes of my poor spirit, nor, an exile and a sojourner among you, to exalt my country or my parentage* – Gesta, 2003. 211) became the depository of numerous statements repeated at the court of the Croatian royal family, some of which must have been addressed to or said by Helen of Hungary. In this narrative, there are even traces of the emotional bonds so typical of siblings, especially between a younger sister and an elder brother³⁵. Here we see elements of sisterly admiration combined with sisterly love, e.g. in the description of Ladislaus' care for Mieszko Bolesławowic, or, earlier, of her grievance against her ungrateful cousin, Bolesław the Bold, who destroyed the dignity of her brother, Ladislaus, in an unworthy and thoughtless manner.

Nor is this account lacking in sisterly admiration for a brother who was able to rise above the pettiness of an unwise relative. It is possible that in describing the death of Mieszko Bolesławowic, Gallus was inspired not only by Sallust but also by the circumstances surrounding the premature death (c. 1083) of the only heir of Zvonimir and Helen, namely Duke Radovan (Báling, 2021, 484).

Gallus' association with the pro-Hungarian camp, centred around Queen Helen, explains his links with the Dalmatian faction. After the death of Zvonimir, the latter was a part of the pro-Hungarian camp. Just like the patriciate of Zadar, Gallus was positively disposed towards King Ladislaus. After the collapse of the Hungarian faction, after the death of Ladislaus and Helen, the subsequent overthrow of Almos in Croatia followed by the death of Peter Svačić, Gallus continued his association with the Dalmatian party. Hence in all likelihood his stay in Venice, where the Dalmatian faction sought support.

Was Gallus of Croatian or Dalmatian origin? At first glance, the arguments in favour of Gallus' origin from among the Romanesque population of the great cities of Dalmatia should not be refuted (Jireček, 1901). They were a part of the population of the Kingdom of Croatia, and in the Dalmatian towns the most splendid Benedictine monasteries operated at the time of Gallus (Ostojić, 1963-1965, passim; Galović, Trogrlić, 2018, 421-442; Galović, 53 and the sub-

35 The psychological aspects of sibling relations first became a subject of research by Alfred Adler (1870-1937), an eminent Austrian psychologist. In Polish psychology this issue has recently been most fully elaborated by Wałęcka-Matyja, 2018, passim, specifically p. 49: "The last type of close identification has been referred to as close idealising identification (so-called 'hero-worship'). At its core is the admiration of a brother or sister by a sibling (...)."

sequent pages). Moreover, the Dalmatian language of the time was very close to medieval Latin; the use of this language as a mother tongue could explain Gallus' remarkable proficiency in medieval Latin. Two more arguments can be added: (1) Gallus participated in the negotiations between the Venetians and the Dalmatian city of Zadar (Monachi anonymi, 1895, 256; Jasiński, 2022a, 109), and (2) Dalmatian cities belonged to the pro-Hungarian faction of Queen Helen³⁶. Notably, Gallus' works very strongly emphasised the knightly ethos, and in his description of Slavdom he placed great stress on farming, the mountains and forests, etc., while he was little interested in maritime and commercial occupations. Although he recounted the sea expedition of the Venetians to the Holy Land, the descriptions of the ships, sea battles etc. are clearly devoid of any deeper knowledge of maritime or commercial issues. This makes me believe that Gallus came from a knightly or even aristocratic family, as indicated by the mention of his parents: "*to exalt my country or my parentage*" (Gesta, 2003, 210). Gallus' aristocratic and Slavic background is also evidenced by his familiarity with the dynastic tradition, as a result of his remaining in Queen Helen's milieu. For not only was he familiar with the family-dynastic tradition handed down by her or at her court: he also belonged to her political faction.

Now the most important question needs to be posed: in which of the monasteries of the Kingdom of Croatia was Gallus a monk? In his excellent article, T. Galović wrote that up to and including the 13th century, there were (together with the Cistercians) about 100 male Benedictine congregations and about 50 female ones in the Kingdom of Croatia³⁷. The author quoted from I. Ostojčić and added that in the monarchy of Peter Krešimir IV of Croatia, the immediate predecessor of Demetrius Zvonimir, there were 17 great monasteries, among them in Solin, Nin, Knin, Zadar, Split, Biograd, Trogir, Osor, and Susak. In view of the large number of records on these monasteries and the fact that only scraps of them have survived to the present day, it would seem that looking for Gallus' abbey is a wild-goose chase. However, our knowledge of the structures of the Kingdom of Croatia under the reign of Peter Krešimir and Demetrius

36 Hóman, 1940, 354: "*Die Anhänger der lateinischen Partei aus dem Litorale, die dalmatischen Städte und die Bevölkerung der einstigen Banatprovinz Zwojnimirs scharten sich um die Königswitwe Helene. Eine mächtige Partei war für den Gedanken des ungarischen Bündnisses, und Anfang 1091 gingen Gesandte aus Spalato und Krbava nach Ungarn, um König Ladislaus auf den verwaisten kroatischen Thron zu rufen*".

37 Galović, 2020, 54: "*It is estimated there were around 100 Benedictine monasteries for monks and around 50 for nuns in the Croatian political and social regions throughout history. Most were founded in Dalmatia between the 11th and 13th centuries*".

Zvonimir leads to the sought-after abbey with a very high degree of probability. Namely, in exercising their power, these rulers typically used several residences, in Biograd na Moria, Trogir, Split, and Knin. Of these residences, that of Knin attained the highest rank under the aforementioned rulers. The fortress was located in the midst of numerous hills, many rivers, on a hill that guaranteed extraordinary defensive qualities. It was located in the immediate vicinity of the vast fertile fields near Knin in Biskupija (*Pet crkava na Kosovu*). It is not surprising that Croatian kings took a liking to this residence. In its immediate vicinity (although there is some doubt about this, as I. Ostojić reports in great detail), in the village of Kapitul, south-east of the ducal residence, lay the Benedictine monastery of St. Bartholomew. It played a special role in the Kingdom of Croatia. The monastery's abbot did not stay in his monastic residence but travelled with the Croatian monarch throughout the kingdom, drafting documents, sometimes acting as a chancellor, advising the ruler, etc.³⁸ The abbots of St Bartholomew's Monastery are presented as witnesses to the most important events in the kingdom, repeatedly meeting in the immediate milieu of the rulers: Peter Krešimir, later Demetrius Zvonimir. A special relationship can be detected between Abbot John and Demetrius Zvonimir. Abbot John accompanied Zvonimir almost from the beginning of his reign and almost until his death; he also appears once in a document together with Queen Helen (Documenta, 1877, no 99). We do not know when he died, we may only note that he was last mentioned in documents two years before Zvonimir's death. I believe that only in such a monastery could Gallus have learnt the family-dynastic tradition associated with Queen Helen, and supported the pro-Hungarian faction. Of course, there are no grounds for identifying Gallus with Abbot John: firstly, no direct evidence is known; secondly, John must have been born shortly after 1050 at the latest, since he was an abbot in 1076. If we choose this identification, then Gallus (when the *Cronica et gesta* breaks off in 1115/1116) would have to have been around 65/66 years old.

On the other hand, this identification would explain the good knowledge of Queen Helen's dynastic tradition. Moreover, as I will show below, we have some indications that, at least in the monastery circle, Gallus was an envoy sent to France. The absence of later (post-1087) source references to John in Croatian accounts should not come as a surprise, for when Stephen II, once out

38 Ostojić, 1964, 257-258: „*Opat Sv. Bartula nije imao stalne stolice nego je kao vrhovni nadzornik samostana — kao superpositus monasteriis — slijedio kralja*”.

of favour with Zvonimir, became king of Croatia in 1089, he may have sidelined the “right hand” of the former ruler. At this point it should be noted that the fate of not only the abbot but of St Bartholomew’s monastery as a whole, due to its function, was very much dependent on internal political events and the struggle for royal power. I. Ostojić pointed out that after the fall of the local royal dynasty, St Bartholomew’s monastery disappeared from the sources; only the church remained.³⁹

5. An attempt to reconstruct Gallus’ life in 1095-1113

We do not know where Gallus went after 1100, after the Venetians returned from the crusade. We can only assume that after Coloman’s second intervention in Croatia in 1105, when Zadar and other Dalmatian cities finally submitted to the authority of the Hungarian king, Gallus went into exile. The symbol of Zadar’s submission to Coloman’s authority was his founding of the famous bell tower at St. Mary’s Benedictine Convent, as indicated by the inscription preserved to this day (Klaić, 1972, 87 and the subsequent pages).

Before attempting to reconstruct Gallus’ fate after 1105, let us look at the chronicler’s puzzling statement in the *Historia de translatione sanctorum Magni Nicolai*. Namely, describing one of the miracles associated with the relics of St Nicholas brought from Myra to Lido near Venice, Gallus wrote: “*Fuit igitur quaedam vidua, natione Francigena, civitate Turonica, de loco illo determinante qui vocatur Mons Bellus (sic enim ab ipsa didicimus, et nos quoque civitatem et locum ipsum jam vidimus)*” – Monachi anonymi, 1895, 288). There is no doubt that the Monk of Lido (=Gallus Anonymous) was in Tours, which he saw – as he himself put it – with his own eyes. What may have prompted Gallus’ journey to Tours before 1099 – that is, before he went to the Holy Land? At first glance, it might seem that he travelled to this region of France to receive proper education. This is however unlikely, as since the very beginning, Croatia’s abbeys maintained intensive contacts with Italy’s, above all with the monastery of Monte Cassinod (Ostojić, 1968/69, 389-402). There was no need to travel from Croatia to France for educational purposes. It is also difficult to imagine any diplomatic mission. So, what might Gallus’ reason have been for going to France, to Tours? I think there can be only one – namely, a papal invi-

39 Ostojić, 1964, 534: “*Poslije utrnuća narodne dinastije spominje se samo crkva Sv. Bartula, nikada više samostan*”.

tation to the synod of Clermont (!). We know that several cardinals, 14 archbishops, 225 bishops, and almost four hundred abbots went there. Most probably the abbot or his deputy was also there with a message from St Bartholomew's monastery in Knin, the most important Croatian monastery. As is known, after holding a synod in November 1095, Pope Urban II travelled to Tours, where another synod was held in the early months of 1096, attended by Gallus. He must have been a strong supporter of Pope Urban II's idea, as evidenced by his participation as a chronicler in the Venetian crusade to the Holy Land. So far, I have seen in this event only the political aspects of the expedition; we can assume that it was additionally not without the influence or encouragement of Urban II, who died in the year of the Venetian expedition to the Holy Land.

We do not know what Gallus was up to after Coloman's final subjugation of the Dalmatian cities, headed by Zadar, in 1105. On the basis of borrowings in the *Cronica et gesta* from very rare works, and on the basis of an editorial in one of the forgeries targeting the bishop of Strasbourg (D Karl I 224) and other arguments, I have assumed that Gallus stayed in Swabia, at the Benedictine monastery on Reichenau island, between 1107 and 1111⁴⁰. I have tried in various ways to explain the circumstances of this stay; today I think of it more in the context of the fate of Almos who fled to Henry IV in late 1005 and early 1006. When he learned of the ruler's death, he stayed in Passau⁴¹. He soon returned to Hungary, where, after reconciling with his brother Coloman, he fled to his brother-in-law, Boleslaw the Wrymouth. Later, Álmos twice sent complaints to Henry V. It is therefore very possible that Gallus accompanied Almos during his stay in Germany and later in Poland; we know that he recorded Almos' stay in Poland in the *Cronica et gesta*.

Perhaps as an envoy in Almos' entourage sent to Henry V, Gallus settled for a time in the monastery on Reichenau island. Karol Maleczyński pointed out that when describing the funeral ceremonies of Duke Mieszko, son of Bole-

40 Bagi, 2020, 21: "In 1106, King Coloman the Learned of Hungary vanquished his brother Duke Álmos, which necessarily put an end to the Duke's ability to exercise independent authority and decisively changed the relationship between the two"; *ibid.*, p. 85 – according to the Hungarian scholar, Almos complained twice to Henry V about persecution by Coloman. I take this opportunity to thank Prof. Daniel Bagi for providing me with this monograph and many other studies by Hungarian historians, including the genealogy of the Arpads and the excellent dissertation by Judith Gál. Thank you also for your guidance in interpreting the Hungarian sources.

41 *Chronica*, 1985, 122: "Anno domini MCVI reversus est dux Almus de Patauia, qui propter regis timorem illuc fugerat. Quem rex suscepit ad pacem. Deinde fugit in Poloniam".

slaw the Bold, Gallus clearly referred to the solemn anniversary and reburial of Henry IV which Henry V organised in 1111 in honour of his father at Speyer⁴²: *Nullius enim regis vel principis exitium apud etiam barbaras nationes tam diutino merore legitur conclamatum, nec exequie tethrarcharum magnificorum ita lugubres celebrantur, nec anniversarium cesaris ita fuerit cantu lugubri celebratum* – Galli Anonymi, LXX, 56)⁴³. I must agree with Karol Maleczyński's comment. These events reverberated throughout this part of the Reich, including Swabia, and could have stayed in Gallus' memory for a long time, had he been at that time in Reichenau or another of the local Benedictine abbeys, or had he been in contact with the clergy of Strasbourg, located not far from Speyer (Jasiński, 2019, 289-324)⁴⁴.

Although there are many indications in favour of the thesis of Gallus' stay in the monastery at Reichenau, his participation in the diplomatic trip to Henry V is argued against by his great dislike of the German ruler, as evidenced in the *Cronica et gesta*. On the other hand, this dislike may have been a consequence of Henry V's ignoring Almos' appeals.

In summary, I would like to relate the findings in this article to the results of my earlier work. All my theses and hypotheses concerning Gallus can be divided into two categories: 1) unequivocal and 2) probable findings. Unequivocally certain is that the anonymous chronicler was the author of both the *Historia de translatione sanctorum Magni Nicolai* and the *Cronica et gesta* – and that he was of Slavic origin, Croatian to be precise. Among the probable findings I include all the statements concerning his curriculum vitae. He probably came from an aristocratic clerical family with links to the Croatian royal court. Gallus (who is known to have been a Benedictine monk) probably originated from the royal monastery of St Bartholomew in Knin. He belonged to the pro-Hungarian faction revolving around the Croatian queen, Helen the Fair, sister of Hungary's Ladislaus and niece of Poland's Kazimierz the Restorer. Gallus probably welcomed the intervention of the Hungarian king Ladislaus in Croatia in 1091. Gallus may

42 See RI plus Regg. B Augsburg 1 n. 404, in: Regesta Imperii Online – [http://www.regesta-imperii.de/regesten/20-18-1-augsburg/nr/fcdface1-16df-4cb8-8421-f105ca9356db.html?tx_hisodat_sources\[action\]=show&tx_hisodat_sources\[controller\]=Sources&c-Hash=07a270cc5558fd1584e7b6f36e8173f0#rnav](http://www.regesta-imperii.de/regesten/20-18-1-augsburg/nr/fcdface1-16df-4cb8-8421-f105ca9356db.html?tx_hisodat_sources[action]=show&tx_hisodat_sources[controller]=Sources&c-Hash=07a270cc5558fd1584e7b6f36e8173f0#rnav) – latest access 14 Apr. 2023.

43 Cf. Igitur imperator Heinricus mense Augusto quam plurimos episcopos atque abbates, nonnullos etiam principes Spiram convocat; quorum assensu et cooperatione patris sui anniversarium permagnifice celebrat (Ekkehardi, 1844, 245).

44 In the work I demonstrate that Gallus produced a document for the bishop's chapter in Strasbourg.

have travelled to France in 1095 for the Council of Clermont and then, in early 1096, to Tours. In 1099, he was in Venice, possibly as an envoy of the Dalmatian party, trying to enlist the help of Venice against Coloman. Gall witnessed the Venetian-Zadar negotiations which took place in Zadar in 1099, at the beginning of the Venetians' naval expedition to the Holy Land. Gallus probably participated in the entire Venetian expedition to Palestine, and on his return in 1100, he edited the *Historia de translatione sanctorum Magni Nicolai*. This work was probably completed before 1105, i.e. before the final subjugation of Zadar and other Dalmatian cities to Coloman. In 1105/6 or later, perhaps in connection with Almos' diplomatic activities, Gallus arrived in Germany. There, for a time, he was associated with the famous Benedictine monastery on Reichenau island. He came to Poland probably as a result of Almos' connections with Bolesław the Wrymouth. In 1013 at the latest, he began writing the *Cronica et gesta*.

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Je li Gallus Anonymous, autor glasovite *Cronica et gesta ducum sive principum Polonorum*, hrvatskoga podrijetla?

Sažetak

Sigurno je da je slavni kroničar Gallus Anonymous bio autor i *Historia de translatione sanctorum Magni Nicolai* i *Cronica et gesta* – i da je bio slavenskog podrijetla, točnije Hrvat. Vjerojatno je potjecao iz plemićke činovničke obitelji povezane s hrvatskim kraljevskim dvorom. Gallus (za kojeg se zna da je bio benediktinac) vjerojatno potječe iz kraljevskog samostana sv. Bartola u Kninu. Pripadao je promađarskoj frakciji koja se vrtjela oko hrvatske kraljice Jelene Lijepe, sestre mađarskog Ladislava i nećakinje poljskog Kazimierza Obnovitelja. Gallus je vjerojatno pozdravio intervenciju ugarskog kralja Ladislava u Hrvatskoj 1091. Gallus je možda otputovao u Francusku 1095. na sabor u Clermontu, a potom, početkom 1096., u Tours. Godine 1099. bio je u Veneciji, možda kao izaslanik dalmatinske stranke, pokušavajući pridobiti pomoć Venecije protiv Kolomana. Gall je svjedočio mletačko-zadarskim pregovorima koji su se vodili u Zadru 1099. godine, na početku mletačkog pomorskog pohoda na Svetu zemlju. Gallus je sudjelovao u cijelom mletačkom pohodu na Palestinu, a po povratku 1100. uredio je *Historia de translatione sanctorum Magni Nicolai*. Taj je posao vjerojatno dovršen prije 1005. godine, tj. prije konačnog pokoravanja Zadra i drugih dalmatinskih gradova Kolomanu. Godine 1005./1006. ili kasnije, možda u vezi s Almosovih diplomatskim aktivnostima, Gallus je stigao u Njemačku. Ondje je jedno vrijeme bio povezan s poznatim benediktinskim samostanom na otoku Reichenau. U Poljsku je došao vjerojatno kao rezultat Almosovih veza s Boleslavom Krivoustim. Najkasnije 1013. počeo je pisati *Cronicu et gesta*.

Ključne riječi: Hrvatska, Gallus Anonimous, ugarski kralj Ladislav, redovnik s Lida, Poljska, kraljica Jelena Lijepa, srednjovjekovni ritam i poezija, Venecija.