

The Beginning of Colonisation in Eastern Central Europe in the High Middle Ages

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The circular villages on the lower Geest in the Hanoverian Wendland were established in the early phases of European settlement expansion, a process which was to change Eastern Central Europe fundamentally over the course of the High Middle Ages. In what follows, I will describe the beginnings of these changes in the cultural landscape and illustrate the implications of settlement expansion, using the example of the settlement and plot layouts which were in use, especially in the Bremen Weser Marshes and in the Hanoverian Wendland. When looking for the beginnings of these developments, one is drawn to the area south of Leipzig, where Wiprecht II of Groitzsch ruled at the beginning of the 12th century.

Wiprecht of Groitzsch and settlement expansion between the Mulde, Wiera and Schnauder

The annals of the abbey of Pegau for the year 1104 tell us that Wiprecht ordered new land to be ploughed (*exarari*) in the diocese of Merseburg. To this end, *coloni* were brought over (*transtulit*) from Franconia, where his mother Sigena was married. On Wiprecht's order, these colonists had *silva funditus exstirpata*, i.e. completely cleared the forest, in order to be allowed to settle this region in the future and to hold hereditary rights (*hereditario iure*) to it. Between the rivers Mulde, Wiera and Schnauder, numerous settlements (*villae*) were founded and finally even an abbey subservient to Pegau was established at *Luzeke* (Lausigk) to function as parish church. In 1105, Bishop Albuin of Merseburg, following Wiprecht's wishes, asserted in writing that the tithe payments of named settlements and those to be established in future were to go to the monastery of St James in Pegau. The annalist found it amusing (*ridiculosus*) that every person was to name after himself (*ex suo nomine nuncupare*) the property he had established with his own labour and that of his family. Indeed, among the settlement names listed in the charters of the Bishop of Merseburg are a whole host of patronymic place names paired with the root word –dorf: amongst others Saslausdorf, Ottendorf, Balendorf, Milansdorf, and even an Etzoldshain.¹

The initiator of this process of settlement² in the marches east of the Saale was Wiprecht II of Groitzsch, a colourful personality with far-flung contacts amongst others to the Salian

emperors Henry IV and Henry V and the Bohemian prince Vratislav II of the Přemyslid dynasty, whose daughter Judith became Wiprecht's wife.³ Wiprecht had grown up at the court of the Margrave of the North Marches, Udo of Stade, who from 1068 onwards also administered the March of Zeitz and who gave Wiprecht the castle of Groitzsch. It is certainly no coincidence that settlement expansion involving colonists from faraway regions also took place in the surroundings of Udo II's sphere of activity.

Dutch settlements along the lower Weser

In 1106, or more likely in 1113, Frederick Archbishop of Bremen and Hamburg sealed a treaty (*pactio*) with named persons from the left banks of the lower Rhine, who are referred to as Dutchmen and were led by a priest named Henry. They allegedly had come to him asking for unploughed and swampy land, *terra...nostris indigenis superflua*, i.e. of no use to its own inhabitants, in order to render it usable (*ad excolendam*). After extensive consultation, he decided not to turn down these wishes, but instead to enter into a written agreement with this group, spelling out the conditions under which they were to be granted this land. Every year, a denarius was to be paid for each manse obtained. Its extent was to be 720 *regales virgae*, or king's rods, long and 30 wide, including the small rivers (*rivuli*) flowing therein.

The Dutchmen apparently agreed to pay tithes according to the archbishop's regulations. In order not to be under the jurisdiction of a worldly court, the Dutchmen agreed to pay two silver marks a year per 100 manses to be able to settle their own disputes. In very grave situations, the archbishop was to join them and receive one third of the court fees, the Dutchmen retaining two thirds. They were allowed to build churches in places of their own choosing. To support them, Frederick granted them the tenth part of the tithe of the established parish churches; each one was to be equipped with hides for the priests. These were to be under the control of the already mentioned priest (*sacerdos*) Henry for as long as he lived. Finally, Archbishop Frederick left the land they had asked for to the laymen Helkin, Arnold, Hiko, Fordolt and Referik, who accompanied the priest, and to their heirs *se-*

cundum seculi leges et prefata conventionem, according to worldly laws and the written charter.⁴

The charter of Archbishop Frederick is not preserved in the original, but only as a copy. It does not contain any information as to where the Dutchmen and their priest Henry wanted to settle. Following much critical discussion, it now seems clear⁵ that the treaty was not drawn up with regard to the Altes Land along the lower Elbe near Stade⁶, but instead for the parishes Wasserhorst and Horn immediately north and north-east of Bremen, where Dutch hides are recorded as early as AD 1187.⁷

The Dutchmen⁸ began by establishing a hide marsh-plot either side of a dam called Sietwenje, north of the long settled ridge of the Bremen dune and between the two small rivers of the lesser Wümme and Wümme. Each farm received a roughly equal-sized share of this marsh-plot in the form of a strip plot with an area of 47.5 hectares, immediately adjacent to their farmyard and crossing the entire meadow. These strips were separated from each other by drainage ditches running straight down to the lesser Wümme. On the side further away from the settlement, they ended on the so-called aft dyke, which was built to prevent flooding by water from further inland. The lesser Wümme, probably already straightened, also fulfilled the function of an outlet channel. The marsh-plots were further subdivided by dykes or canals running parallel to the aft dykes and outlets, that is to say by further ditches which ensured drainage from the low-lying plots.⁹

The farms were built on terps raised for this purpose, as it was at first impossible to completely surround all the marsh plots with dykes. Only the fields immediately adjacent to the farms were enclosed by polders and hence protected from smaller floods. Pasture for the herds was located beyond that. Via the rivers and ditches, the farms could be reached by boat and any future surplus produce could be transported to market in this way, just as supplies were brought in.¹⁰

Establishing a settlement of this kind makes great demands, initially in terms of measuring out the plots, later regarding the construction and maintenance of ditches, dams and dykes.¹¹ The Dutch were, however, experienced in these matters, as river marsh-plots of this kind had been established in the Bishopric of Utrecht and in the counties of Flanders and Holland since the middle of the 11th century.¹² After the hides had been measured out, the terps for the farms were built and only later were they connected by a front dyke. However, there was still some way to go before the typical look of a modern *Marschhufendorf* (or marsh-plot village) with its multitude of very narrow parcels of land was achieved: the narrow strips were only created by dividing the estate amongst several heirs. This in turn was made possible by the specific legal form which Archbishop Frederick of Bremen-Hamburg had granted to the new settlers in 1106 or 1113: the Dutchmen's law allowed the settlers to freely pass their farms and hides on to their descendants. Alongside the settlement and plot forms oriented towards the growing of cereals, this right of free emphyteusis, which originally came from the Netherlands but was then also established at the mouths of the rivers Weser and Elbe, finally found its way into East Central Europe.¹³

Settlement expansion east of the Elbe and Saale

Word that this area was suitable for settlement expansion started to spread at the beginning of the 12th century. Partly, this was down to a proclamation signed by Wiprecht of Groitzsch, which was read in the churches of Thuringia and Saxony at more or less the same time as the Franks settled between the Elster and Wiera and the Dutch began to build their marsh-plot settlements along the Weser:

“Proclaim this in the churches, hallow a fast, call together the congregation, gather the people, declare this and let it be heard to all borders of your jurisdiction, hallow the strife, awaken the strong, put on your belts you strong sons, and come all you warriors ... The heathens are wicked, but their land is rich with meat, honey, poultry and flour and, if it is farmed, full of the riches of the harvests of the land, so that no other compares to it. So say those who know it. Hence, you Saxons and Franks, you men of Lorraine and Flanders, you famous conquerors of the world, here you can save your souls and, if you so wish, win the best land to settle. He whose strong arm helped the French, who came from the furthest west, to triumph over their foes in the furthest east, may he give you the will and the power to subdue these neighbours and so inhuman heathens, and may everything go well for you”.¹⁴

This call to a crusade by Saxon ecclesiastical and worldly leaders dates to the year 1108. It does not incite to a military expedition to Palestine, as would have been usual at the time, but to conquer and settle in the marches east of the Elbe. This shows which aims the church and the nobility at the north-eastern edge of the freshly consolidated Germany of the High Middle Ages had been following since the beginning of the 12th century.¹⁵ This and similar calls which were to follow were successful, and that the settlers from the west really did come is shown by a large number of settlement and locational charters¹⁶ and historiographic reports,¹⁷ but in particular by place names¹⁸ and material remains investigated archaeologically.¹⁹ This process involved the military subjugation of the Slavic dominions east of the Elbe and Saale, the immigration of Frankish, Flemish, Rhenish and Saxon groups of people, their settlement between the Slavic inhabitants of the conquered territories or in the territories of the lords who had recruited them, and finally the gradual but fundamental transformation of the cultural and natural landscape they found. Today, we are far from seeing this as one of the “great deeds of the German people”,²⁰ as was the case up to the middle of the last century, or even from pointing to the “fateful imperial crown” which let the emperor “lose sight of the German area and its necessities for survival”, as it is phrased in the sketch maps for German history of 1938, while Henry I and Henry the Lion were said to have expanded “German *Lebensraum* to the east”.²¹ Similarly, interpretation of these events within the framework of a generally aggressive “feudal German expansion to the east”²² has become rare. Rather, a consensus seems to have been established that the “German medieval settlement in the east [should be seen] as a European problem”. Today, following Klaus Zernack, Eastern colonisation is interpreted as “a process of universal history

proceeding from west to east, which led to the acculturation and westernisation of the eastern half of Europe⁴²³. As Christian Lübke claims, "in a view aiming at the analysis of structures", a "German, national component of medieval settlement in the east" has „irretrievably lost its traditional pre-eminence“⁴⁴,²⁴

In summary, at the moment the *communis opinio* is that from the 12th century, and due to changing economic and social conditions in the western areas of the empire, pressure to emigrate was building up,²⁵ and in areas east of the Elbe this was coupled with conditions that made successful settlement possible.²⁶ From the beginning of the 12th century, there is increasing evidence for settlement expansion achieved with the aid of new settlers. Two instances have already been briefly introduced in this essay. In contrast, a process of settlement expansion apparently wholly carried by the autochthonous population was implemented further to the north-east.

Settlement expansion with circular villages in the Hanoverian Wendland

Traces of early settlement expansion into the Slavic areas still visible today, although they have been reshaped to an extent, are the circular villages in the lower Geest in the Hanoverian Wendland, located west of the Jeetzel and west of Lüchow in the district of Lüchow-Dannenberg.²⁷ The closed layout of these villages, so impressive today, is not their original appearance; instead, this is due to modern changes. At the time of their foundation, these villages probably consisted of only a few farmsteads arranged in sectors around an open space. The agricultural land of these villages was divided into what Wolfgang Meibeyer introduced as so-called "Riegenschläge", subdivided into as many strip plots as there were full hides, i.e. possible farmsteads in the settlement. Villages and plots thus show a planned arrangement, making it very likely that all circular villages on the lower and probably also on the higher Geest, which was later much more strongly affected by desertification processes, were established at the same time and in one episode of expansion.²⁸

Given that almost all circular villages in the Hanoverian Wendland have Slavic place names, it is almost certain that this process of settlement expansion was carried out by a Slavic population. Earlier settlement geographic research was certainly content to interpret the circular villages as Slavic settlements allegedly belonging to the earliest settlement horizon of the region.²⁹ However, this is contradicted by the results of the very actively pursued archaeological investigation of the region. It could show that, beginning with the Slavic immigration of the 8th century, the lower-lying areas of the Wendland along the Elbe, Jeetzel and Aland did indeed form a Slavic settlement community. However, in the area of the lower Geest, where the circular villages are located, only very little Slavic pottery has so far been found in the surroundings of existing villages.³⁰ This proves that the circular villages west of Lüchow were built with the participation of Slavic settlers, but that this could only have happened at a time when Slavic pottery had already gone out of use and had been su-

perseded by "German" pottery forms. This cannot have been the case before the second half of the 12th century.³¹ The period after the Wendish crusade of 1147 is also the time when political power in the former area of the Linones³² and across in Drawehn finally passed into the hands of immigrant ruling families; in the latter case these were the counts of Lüchow and those of Dannenberg.³³ It was most likely they who initiated the planned settlement expansion onto the hitherto unsettled Geest, supervised it and ensured that it resulted in a kind of village form that perhaps corresponded to the habits and preferences of the Slavic population.³⁴

But where did the Slavs come from who, in one unified event, covered the lower Geest with planned settlements? Wolfgang Meibeyer still felt the need to invoke prisoners of war from the areas east of the Elbe.³⁵ Of course, the settlement of prisoners did play an important role in the High Middle Ages in East Central Europe,³⁶ but over the last few decades, archaeological research in the Wendland suggests another possibility. Due to the rising water levels of the Elbe and the Jeetzel, the late Slavic settlements near water were becoming progressively uninhabitable in the 12th century;³⁷ in the area south-west of Lüchow too, several Slavic settlements were abandoned before the 12th/13th century.³⁸ Here as elsewhere in Germania Slavica, the building of dykes, forest clearance and the reduction of forest cover in the upper and middle reaches of the rivers resulted in an increase in the ground water table, forcing the Slavic population to change their economic strategy, oriented towards animal husbandry, fishing and beekeeping,³⁹ and to partly abandon the settlements on the water's edge. Their inhabitants had to find a new home, and given that new agricultural technologies in the form of the reversible plough had made its soils easy to work, the lower Geest offered a welcome opportunity for the new rulers to find a settlement option for the Slavs driven from their traditional settlement locations in the lowlands. In the circular villages built in the newly settled areas far from the lowlands, and perhaps partly because of the familiar village structures, the Dravenopolabians of the Wendland then had the opportunity to preserve their language and regional peculiarities for much longer than other Slavic communities, namely well into the modern period. Relics of a Polabian language were recorded in the area around Lüchow as late as 1700.⁴⁰

However, circular villages do not just exist in the Hanoverian Wendland, but in an area extending from the Kieler Förde to Bohemia.⁴¹ From this fact, the Göttingen geographer Hans-Jürgen Nitz has concluded that circular villages were a settlement form of Frankish state colonisation at the east edge of the Carolingian Empire. He argued in favour of such an early date, because some of the sites with this kind of village form and landscape organisation had already been mentioned in sources of the 8th or 9th centuries.⁴² However, it is much more likely that the settlements mentioned so early did at that point not yet have such an elaborate plot structure and were only transformed and reshaped accordingly in the 12th century. After all, neither have these sites yielded archaeological finds which would suggest the establishment of planned settlements in the Frankish period, nor has the theory of Frankish "state settlement" been tenable.⁴³ Nevertheless, the

circular villages have shown themselves to be capable of development.⁴⁴ In the lower mountain ranges, circular villages could be turned into radial *Waldhufendörfer* (or forest hide villages). This is for instance shown in Wosant/Bažantov at the border between Bohemia and the Franconian Forest, a village which was only finally abandoned in 1945. The only visible trace indicating the location of the site is the hollow of the former village pond in the central square. The site was abandoned in the course of the relocation or deportation of its inhabitants from Czechoslovakia. Recently, this has made possible the archaeological excavation by the west Bohemian University of Pilsen, which has brought to light evidence of the establishment of the village in the 13th century.⁴⁵

In summary, it can be stated that from the first decade of the 12th century onwards, and following the example of predecessors in the area of the Rhine delta, Dutch immigrants established marsh-plot villages in the river marshes of the Weser and the Elbe, aiming to increase agricultural production and especially the growing of cereals. The initiators were hoping for more income in the form of money and other goods, while the so-called Dutchmen's law meant that the immigrants received better legal conditions than in their area of origin. This particularly concerns the right of emphyteusis with the possibility to pass down the established farms. Such settlement expansion was also initiated further inland, for example by Wiprecht of Groitzsch between the Elbe and the Mulde, where immigrants from Franconia and Sorbs living

in the region established settlements subject to new laws. After the Wendish crusade of 1147, settlement expansion driven exclusively by the Slavic population began west of the Jeetzel in the Hanoverian Wendland. Here, no river-marsh plots were established. Instead, the strip plots were laid out radially as "Riegenschläge" adapted to a circular village shape. This type of layout is only a short step away from the villages built around a green and with open-field oxgang plots adapted to three-field crop rotation, such as were recorded in the 13th century in the March of Brandenburg, as for example the village of Schönfeld in the Brandenburgian landscape of Barnim. In terms of agricultural food production therefore, north-eastern Europe from the 12th century onwards was at the threshold of a new age. Successful settlement expansion led away from the subsistence economy that had hitherto characterised the Slavic river landscape with its waterside settlements. Alongside steady growth, this enabled the population to produce cereals for a larger market, paving the way for new urban and monetary conditions.⁴⁶ Although today we should no longer hark back to the contrast between the "fateful imperial crown" and the eastward expansion as a "great deed of the German people"⁴⁷, we can still appreciate the new legal and economic quality caused by the process of European settlement expansion. Only in the Hanoverian Wendland the circular villages of the lower Geest form a coherent area, reminding us of this period of European step-change.

Notes

- ¹ Annales Pegavienses ad a. 1104, MGH SS XVI, ed. by Georg Heinrich Pertz, Hannover 1859, p. 247; Urkunden und erzählende Quellen zur deutschen Ostsiedlung im Mittelalter. Collected and ed. by Herbert Helbig and Lorenz Weinrich. First volume: Mittel- und Norddeutschland, Ostseeküste (Ausgewählte Quellen zur deutschen Geschichte des Mittelalters; Freiherr vom Stein-Gedächtnisausgabe XXVIa), Darmstadt 1968, no. II, 37, pp. 168–171.
- ² Walter Heinich, Wiprecht von Groitzsch und seine Siedlungen (Mitteldeutsche Heimat 8), Dresden 1932. Repr. in: Zur Siedlungsgeschichte des Leipziger Raumes. Eine Sammlung wissenschaftlicher Arbeiten aus den Jahren 1914 bis 1937. Ed. by Lutz Heydick and Uwe Schirmer (Leipziger Land – Jahrbuch für Historische Landeskunde und Kulturraumforschung 1), Beucha 1998, pp. 169–199; Siegfried Hoyer, Wiprecht von Groitzsch und der Beginn des Landesausbaus im Mulde-Elster-Gebiet, in: Probleme des frühen Mittelalters in archäologischer und historischer Sicht. Editorial office Heinz A. Knorr (Deutsche Historiker-Gesellschaft), Berlin 1966, pp. 119–129, here pp. 126–129; Susanne Baudisch, Lokaler Adel in Nordwestsachsen. Siedlungs- und Herrschaftsstrukturen vom späten 11. bis zum 14. Jahrhundert

(Geschichte und Politik in Sachsen 10), Köln, Weimar, Wien 1999, p. 73f.

- ³ Hans Patze, Die Pegauer Annalen, die Königserhebung Wratislaws von Böhmen und die Anfänge der Stadt Pegau, in: Jahrbuch für die Geschichte Mittel- und Ostdeutschlands 12, 1963, pp. 1–62, here esp. pp. 7–28; Helmut Hentschel, Wiprecht und seine Beziehungen zum böhmischen Herrscherhaus, in: Wiprecht: Beiträge zur Geschichte des Osterlandes im Hochmittelalter, Beucha 1998, pp. 51–75.
- ⁴ Bremisches Urkundenbuch I, ed. on behalf of the senate of the Freie Hansestadt Bremen by Diedrich Rudolf Ehmck and Wilhelm von Bippen, Bremen 1873, no. 27, pp. 28–30; Urkunden und erzählende Quellen zur deutschen Ostsiedlung im Mittelalter (as note 1), no. I, 1, pp. 42–45; Franz Petri, Entstehung und Verbreitung der niederländischen Marschenkolonisation in Europa (mit Ausnahme der Ostsiedlung), in: Die deutsche Ostsiedlung als Problem der europäischen Geschichte. Reichenau-Vorträge 1970–1972, ed. by Walter Schlesinger (Vorträge und Forschungen 18), Sigmaringen 1975, pp. 695–754, here pp. 727–729; Enno Bünz, Die Rolle der Niederländer in der Ostsiedlung, in: Ostsiedlung und Landesausbau in Sachsen. Die Kührener Urkunde von 1154 und ihr historisches Umfeld, ed. by Enno Bünz (Schriften zur sächsischen Geschichte

- und Volkskunde Bd. 23), Leipzig 2008, pp. 95–142, esp. pp. 105–108.
- ⁵ Dietrich Fliedner, *Die Kulturlandschaft der Hamme-Wümme-Niederung. Gestalt und Entwicklung des Siedlungsraumes nördlich von Bremen* (Göttinger Geographische Abhandlungen, Heft 55), Göttingen 1970, pp. 60f.; Richard Drögereit, *Der Stader Raum und die Niederlande*, in: *Stader Jahrbuch* 1971, pp. 7–49, here p. 15; Karl Reinecke, *Die Holländerurkunde Erzbischof Friedrichs I. von Hamburg-Bremen und die Kolonisation des Kirchspiels Horn*, in: *Bremisches Jahrbuch* 52, 1972, pp. 5–20.
- ⁶ Erich Weise, *Begann die Holländersiedlung von 1106 an der Weser oder an der Elbe?* in: *Stader Jahrbuch* 1960, pp. 168–172; Adolf E. Hofmeister, *Besiedlung und Verfassung der Stader Elbmarschen im Mittelalter*, Volume 2: *Die Hollerkolonisation und die Landgemeinden Land Kehdingen und Altes Land* (Veröffentlichungen des Instituts für Historische Landesforschung der Universität Göttingen 14), Hildesheim 1981, pp. 6–9 and 78; Enno Bünz, *Die Rolle der Niederländer in der Ostsiedlung* (as note 4), pp. 108–110.
- ⁷ *Bremisches Urkundenbuch I* (as note 4), no. 66, pp. 73–77, esp. p. 74.
- ⁸ About Dutch people in the process of colonisation see Franz Petri, *Entstehung und Verbreitung der niederländischen Marschenkolonisation in Europa* (as note 4); Enno Bünz, *Die Rolle der Niederländer in der Ostsiedlung* (as note 4).
- ⁹ Dietrich Fliedner, *Die Kulturlandschaft der Hamme-Wümme-Niederung* (as note 5), pp. 27–30, 38–40, 42–47, 50–52.
- ¹⁰ Dietrich Fliedner, *Die Kulturlandschaft der Hamme-Wümme-Niederung* (as note 5), pp. 32–37, 40–42, 52f.
- ¹¹ Martin Specht, *Untersuchungen über den technischen und rechtlichen Inhalt der Holländerurkunde des Erzbischofs Friedrich I.*, in: *Jahrbuch der Wittheit zu Bremen* 21, 1977, pp. 179–199.
- ¹² Richard Drögereit, *Der Stader Raum und die Niederlande* (as note 5), p. 13; Franz Petri, *Entstehung und Verbreitung der niederländischen Marschenkolonisation* (as note 4), p. 714f.; Enno Bünz, *Die Rolle der Niederländer in der Ostsiedlung* (as note 4), pp. 101–103.
- ¹³ Heiner Lück, „Flämische Siedlungen“ und „flämisches Recht“ in Mitteldeutschland. Beobachtungen zu den rechtsinstitutionellen und rechtssprachlichen Besonderheiten, in: *Sprachkontakte. Niederländisch, deutsch und slawisch östlich von Elbe und Saale* (Wittenberger Beiträge zur deutschen Sprache und Kultur 3), Frankfurt am Main 2004, pp. 73–100; Franz Petri, *Entstehung und Verbreitung der niederländischen Marschenkolonisation* (as note 4), pp. 730–733.
- ¹⁴ *Urkunden und erzählende Quellen zur deutschen Ostsiedlung im Mittelalter* (as note 1), no. II, 19, pp. 96–102, here cited after Christian Lübke, *Das östliche Europa* (Die Deutschen und das europäische Mittelalter), München 2004, p. 276. See also Peter Knoch, *Kreuzzug und Siedlung. Studien zum Aufruf der Magdeburger Kirche von 1108*, in: *Jahrbuch für die Geschichte Mittel- und Ostdeutschlands* 23, 1974, pp. 1–33.
- ¹⁵ Enno Bünz, *Die Rolle der Niederländer in der Ostsiedlung* (as note 4) pp. 122–125; Winfried Schich, *Die ostelbische Kulturlandschaft des 10. und 12. Jahrhunderts im Vergleich*, in: Michael Borgolte (ed.), *Polen und Deutschland vor 1000 Jahren. Die Berliner Tagung über den « Akt von Gnesen »* (Europa im Mittelalter 5), Berlin 2002, pp. 61–89, here p. 62f.; Giles Constable, *The Place of the Magdeburg Charter of 1107/08 in the History of Eastern Germany and of the Crusades*, in: Franz J. Felten, *Nikolas Jaspert with the collaboration of Stefanie Haarländer* (eds.), *Vita Religiosa im Mittelalter. Festschrift für Kaspar Elm zum 70. Geburtstag* (Berliner Historische Studien 31; Ordensstudien 13), Berlin 1999, pp. 283–299; Robert Bartlett, *Die Geburt Europas aus dem Geist der Gewalt. Eroberung, Kolonisierung und kultureller Wandel von 950 bis 1350*, München 1998, p. 257f.; Eike Gringmuth-Dallmer, *Siedlungshistorische Voraussetzungen, Verlauf und Ergebnisse des hochmittelalterlichen Landesausbaus im östlichen Deutschland*, in: Werner Rösener (ed.), *Grundherrschaft und bäuerliche Gesellschaft im Hochmittelalter* (Veröffentlichungen des Max-Planck-Instituts für Geschichte 115), Göttingen 1995, pp. 320–358, here p. 347f.; Charles Higounet, *Die deutsche Ostsiedlung im Mittelalter*, München 1990, p. 91f.; Hans K. Schulze, *Die Besiedlung der Mark Brandenburg im hohen und späten Mittelalter*, in: *Jahrbuch für die Geschichte Mittel- und Ostdeutschlands* 28, 1979, pp. 42–178, here p. 78; Hans-Dietrich Kahl, *Zum Ergebnis des Wendenkreuzzugs von 1147. Zugleich ein Beitrag zur Geschichte des sächsischen Frühchristentums*, in: *Wichmann Jahrbuch für Kirchengeschichte im Bistum Berlin* 11/12, 1957/58, pp. 99–120, here p. 111f.
- ¹⁶ For example the well known charters of bishop Wichmann of Naumburg from 1152 for the Dutch in Flemmingen near Naumburg or bishop Gerung of Meißen for Kühren near Wurzen from 1154, in: *Urkunden und erzählende Quellen* (as note 1), nos. 5–6, 54–61. See also Walter Schlesinger, *Flemmingen und Kühren. Zur Siedlungsform niederländischer Siedlungen des 12. Jahrhunderts im miteldeutschen Osten*, in: Walter Schlesinger (ed.), *Die deutsche Ostsiedlung als Problem der europäischen Geschichte* (Reichenau-Vorträge 1970–1972) (Vorträge und Forschungen, XVIII), Sigmaringen 1975, pp. 263–309. repr. in: *Ostsiedlung und Landesausbau in Sachsen* (as note 4), pp. 209–260; Josef J. Menzel, *Der Beitrag der Urkundenwissenschaft zur Erforschung der deutschen Ostsiedlung am Beispiel Schlesiens*, in: Walter Schlesinger (ed.), *Die deutsche Ostsiedlung als Problem der europäischen Geschichte* (Reichenau-Vorträge 1970–1972) (Vorträge und Forschungen, XVIII), Sigmaringen 1975, pp. 131–159; Josef J. Menzel, *Die schlesischen Lokationsurkunden des 13. Jahrhunderts* (Quellen und Darstellungen zur schlesischen Geschichte, 19) Würzburg 1977; Winfried Schich, *Die Gründung von deutschrechtlichen Marktorten und Städten östlich der Elbe im 12. und 13. Jahrhundert*, in: Hansjürgen Brachmann, Jan Klapště (eds.), *Hausbau und Raumstruktur früher Städte in Ostmitteleuropa* (Památky Archeologické

- Supplementum, 6), Prag 1996, pp. 7–16, here p. 7f. ; Eike Gringmuth-Dallmer, Siedlungshistorische Voraussetzungen (as note. 15), pp. 344–347.
- ¹⁷ For example Helmold of Bosau, *Slawenchronik* LXXXVIII, p. 313f.: *Schließlich schickte er [Albrecht der Bär], als die Slawen allmählich abnahmen, nach Utrecht und den Rheingegenden, ferner zu denen, die am Ozean wohnen und unter der Gewalt des Meeres zu leiden hatten, den Holländern, Seeländern und Flamen, zog von dort viel Volk herbei und ließ sie in den Burgen und Dörfern der Slawen wohnen. Ad ultimum deficientibus sensim Slavis misit Traiectum et ad loca Reno contigua, insuper ad eos qui habitant iuxta oceanum et patiebantur vim maris, videlicet Hollandros, Selandros, Flandros, et adduxit ex eis populum multum nimis et habitare eos fecit in urbibus et oppidis Slavorum.* See Hans K. Schulze, Die Besiedlung der Mark Brandenburg (as note 15), p. 79 and Enno Bünz, Die Rolle der Niederländer in der Ostsiedlung (as note 4) pp. 132–134.
- ¹⁸ Max Bathe, Lichtervelde – Lichterfelde, in: *Wissenschaftliche Zeitschrift der Universität Rostock, gesellschafts- und sprachwissenschaftliche Reihe*, 4, Heft 2 (1954/1955), pp. 95–121; Jürgen Udolph, Max Bathes ‘Lichtervelde – Lichterfelde’ kritisch betrachtet, in: Dieter Stellmacher (ed.), *Sprachkontakte. Niederländisch, Deutsch und Slawisch östlich von Elbe und Saale* (Wittenberger Beiträge zur deutschen Sprache und Kultur, 3), Frankfurt am Main 2004, pp. 187–248, esp. pp. 218–238; Hans K. Schulze, Die Besiedlung der Mark Brandenburg (as note 15), p. 83f.
- ¹⁹ Eike Gringmuth-Dallmer, Siedlungshistorische Voraussetzungen (as note 15), p. 348f.; Eike Gringmuth-Dallmer, Die landwirtschaftlichen Siedlungen im östlichen Deutschland zwischen Früh- und Hochmittelalter, in: *Ruralia I, Památky Archeologické – Supplementum*, 5, 1996, pp. 17–28, here p. 24f.; Hauke Kenzler, Hausbau in Breunsdorf bei Leipzig. Von der „Kolonisation“ bis in die frühe Neuzeit, in: Jan Klápště (ed.), *The Rural House from the Migration Period to the Oldest Still Standing Buildings*, (Ruralia, IV, Památky archeologické, Supplementum, 15) Prag, 2002, pp. 101–110, here p. 103; Kathrin Frey, Das mittelalterliche Dorf Kausche und der ostsiedlungszeitliche Landesausbau in der südlichen Niederlausitz. Ergebnisse der Ausgrabungen im Vorfeld des Braunkohlentagebaus (Forschungen zur Archäologie im Land Brandenburg 14), Wünsdorf 2013, pp. 22–27.
- ²⁰ Karl Hampe, Zug nach dem Osten. Die kolonisorische Großtat des deutschen Volkes (Aus Natur und Geisteswelt, 731), Leipzig, Berlin 1921; Rudolf Kötzschke, Die deutsche Wiederbesiedelung der ostelbischen Lande, in: Wilhelm Volz (ed.), *Der ostdeutsche Volksboden*. Aufsätze zu den Fragen des Ostens. Erweiterte Ausgabe, Breslau 1926, pp. 152–179, here p. 178.
- ²¹ Kartenskizzen zur deutschen Geschichte, Dortmund 1938, sheet “Die verhängnisvolle Kaiserkrone“.
- ²² Siegfried Epperlein, Jan Brankač, Fränkische Eroberungspolitik, feudale deutsche Ostexpansion und der Unabhängigkeitskampf der slawischen Stämme bis zum 11. Jahrhundert, in: Joachim Herrmann (ed.), *Die Slawen in Deutschland. Geschichte und Kultur der slawischen Stämme westlich von Oder und Neiße vom 6. bis 12. Jahrhundert*. Ein Handbuch, Berlin 1970, pp. 263–312; Evamaria Engel, Siegfried Epperlein, Die feudale deutsche Ostexpansion im 12. und 13. Jahrhundert und die Herausbildung der vollentwickelten Feudalgesellschaft zwischen Elbe und Oder, in: Joachim Herrmann (ed.), *Die Slawen in Deutschland. Geschichte und Kultur der slawischen Stämme westlich von Oder und Neiße vom 6. bis 12. Jahrhundert*. Ein Handbuch, Berlin 1970, pp. 313–375. Also Jacques Le Goff, *Das Hochmittelalter* (Fischer Weltgeschichte 11), Frankfurt am Main 1965, pp. 128–130, has drawn an aggressive picture of the German “Ostkolonisation“.
- ²³ Jörg Hackmann, Christian Lübke, Die mittelalterliche Ostsiedlung in der deutschen Geschichtswissenschaft, in: Jan M. Piskorski (ed.), *Historiographical Approaches to Medieval Colonization of East Central Europe*, New York 2002, pp. 179–217, esp. p. 217; Klaus Zernack, ‘Ostkolonisation’ in universalgeschichtlicher Perspektive, in: Gangolf Hübinger (ed.), *Universalgeschichte und Nationalgeschichten* (Rombach Wissenschaft – Reihe aktuell), Freiburg im Breisgau 1994, pp. 105–116.
- ²⁴ Jörg Hackmann, Christian Lübke, Die mittelalterliche Ostsiedlung (as note 23), p. 217.
- ²⁵ Robert Bartlett, Die Geburt Europas (as note 15), pp. 201–209. See also Franz Petri, Entstehung und Verbreitung der niederländischen Marschenkolonisation (as note 4), p. 753.
- ²⁶ Charles Higounet, Die deutsche Ostsiedlung (as note 15), p. 90f.
- ²⁷ Anneliese Krenzlin, Siedlungsformen und Siedlungsstrukturen in deutsch-slawischen Kontaktzonen (mit besonderer Berücksichtigung Brandenburgs und angrenzender Gebiete), in: *Germania Slavica I*, ed. by Wolfgang H. Fritze (Berliner Historische Studien), Berlin 1980, pp. 239–275. Repr. in Krenzlin, *Beiträge zur Kulturlandschaftsgenese in Mitteleuropa*. Gesammelte Aufsätze aus vier Jahrzehnten (Erdkundliches Wissen, 63, Geographische Zeitschrift, Beihefte), Wiesbaden 1983, pp. 115–151, here pp. 117–123.
- ²⁸ Wolfgang Meibeyer, Rundlingsdörfer im Hannoverschen Wendland und in anderen Gebieten, in: *Wendland und Altmark in historischer und sprachwissenschaftlicher Sicht*, ed. by Roderich Schmidt, Lüneburg 1992, pp. 63–86; Wolfgang Meibeyer, Wendische Rundlingsdörfer bei Braunschweig. Siedlungsgeographische Befunde von überregionalem Gewicht, in: *Braunschweigisches Jahrbuch für Landesgeschichte* 82, 2001, pp. 61–79, here p. 62f.; Wolfgang Meibeyer, Zu Entstehung und Entwicklung von Rundlingsdörfern im Hannoverschen Wendland und in der Altmark, in: Stephan Freiherr von Welck (ed.), *Regionalgeschichte Hannoversches Wendland*, vol. 1, Lüchow 2012, pp. 44–46; Anneliese Krenzlin, Siedlungsformen (as note 27), p. 123.
- ²⁹ Anneliese Krenzlin, Die Kulturlandschaft des hannoverschen Wendlandes (Forschungen zur deutschen Landes- und Volkskunde, vol. 28, 4), Stuttgart 1931, repr. with an

- author's commentary, Bad Godesberg 1969. Repr. of this epilog with the title "Das Rundlingsproblem" in Anneliese Krenzlin, Beiträge zur Kulturlandschaftsgenese in Mitteleuropa (as note 27), pp. 152–159; Anneliese Krenzlin, Siedlungsformen (as note 27), p. 123. The history of research of the genesis of circular villages is illustrated in: Hans-Jürgen Nitz (ed.), Historisch-genetische Siedlungsforschung. Genese und Typen ländlicher Siedlungen und Flurformen (Wege der Forschung 300), Darmstadt 1974, pp. 389–513.
- ³⁰ Thomas Saile, Slawen in Niedersachsen. Zur westlichen Peripherie der slawischen Ökumene vom 6. bis 12. Jahrhundert (Göttinger Schriften zur Vor- und Frühgeschichte 30), Neumünster 2007, pp. 217–220, 222; Thomas Saile, Das Rundlingsproblem aus archäologischer Sicht – Zugleich ein Beitrag zum Ausklingen der slawisch geprägten materiellen Kultur im Hannoverschen Wendland, in: Rundlinge und Slawen. Beiträge zur Rundlingsforschung, ed. by Wolfgang Jürries (Veröffentlichungen des Rundlingsvereins, vol. 6; Schriftenreihe des Heimatkundlichen Arbeitskreises Lüchow-Dannenberg, vol. 16), Lüchow 2004, pp. 16–29, here p. 24.
- ³¹ Berndt Wachter, Wendland und Altmark im Spiegel neuerer archäologischer Forschungen, in: Wendland und Altmark (as note 28), pp. 45–62; Wolfgang Meibeyer, Zu Entstehung und Entwicklung von Rundlingsdörfern im Hannoverschen Wendland und in der Altmark (as note 28), p. 46f. In the settlement of Hitzacker-See ceramics of the Slavonic type were used parallel to the more modern round-bottomed pots until the second half of the 13th century; see Dorothea Feiner, Wohnen unter einem Dach? Zum Verhältnis von Slawen und Deutschen der Ostsiedlungszeit am Beispiel der aktuellen Ausgrabungen in Hitzacker/Elbe, in: „Landschaft, Besiedlung und Siedlung“. Archäologische Studien im nordeuropäischen Kontext. Festschrift für Karl-Heinz Willroth zu seinem 65. Geburtstag, ed. by Immo Heske, Hans-Jörg Nüsse and Jens Schneeweiß (Göttinger Schriften zur Vor- und Frühgeschichte 33), Neumünster 2013, pp. 255–266, here p. 265.
- ³² Matthias Hardt, Prignitz und Hannoversches Wendland. Das Fürstentum der slawischen Linonen im frühen und hohen Mittelalter, in: Im Dienste der historischen Landeskunde. Beiträge zu Archäologie, Mittelalterforschung, Namenkunde und Museumsarbeit vornehmlich in Sachsen. Festgabe für Gerhard Billig zum 75. Geburtstag, dargebracht von Schülern und Kollegen, ed. by Rainer Aurig, Reinhardt Butz, Ingolf Gräßler and André Thieme, Beucha 2002, pp. 95–103; Matthias Hardt, Linonen, in: Wendland-Lexikon, vol. 2, L–Z, ed. by Wolfgang Jürries (Schriftenreihe des heimatkundlichen Arbeitskreises Lüchow-Dannenberg, vol. 13), Lüchow 2008, p. 61f.
- ³³ Hans K. Schulze, Adelsherrschaft und Landesherrschaft. Studien zur Verfassungs- und Besitzgeschichte der Altmark, des ostsächsischen Raumes und des hannoverschen Wendlandes im hohen Mittelalter (Mitteldeutsche Forschungen, vol. 29), Köln/Graz 1963, pp. 78–91.
- ³⁴ See Anneliese Krenzlin, Das Rundlingsproblem (as note 29), p. 158f. Possible role models of circular villages are discussed by Matthias Hardt, Das "slawische Dorf" und seine kolonisationszeitliche Umformung nach schriftlichen und historisch-geographischen Quellen, in: Siedlungsforschung. Archäologie – Geschichte – Geographie 17, 1999, pp. 269–291; Matthias Hardt, Der Rundling als Ortsform im Rahmen der Siedlungsentwicklung in slawisch-deutschen Kontaktzonen, in: Rundlinge und Slawen (as note 30), pp. 62–75; Matthias Hardt, Formen und Wege der hochmittelalterlichen Siedlungsgründung, in: Ostsiedlung und Landesausbau in Sachsen (as note 4), pp. 143–159.
- ³⁵ Wolfgang Meibeyer, Rundlingsdörfer im Hannoverschen Wendland (as note 28), p. 74; Wolfgang Meibeyer, Die Rundlingsdörfer im östlichen Niedersachsen. Ihre Verbreitung, Entstehung und Beziehung zur slawischen Siedlung in Niedersachsen (Braunschweiger Geographische Studien 1), Braunschweig 1964, pp. 109–112; Wolfgang Meibeyer, Wendische Rundlingsdörfer bei Braunschweig (as note 28), p. 62, 77f.; attenuated in Wolfgang Meibeyer, Zu Entstehung und Entwicklung von Rundlingsdörfern im Hannoverschen Wendland und in der Altmark (as note 28), p. 48.
- ³⁶ Christian Lübke, Kriegsgefangene im mittelalterlichen Osteuropa. Ein Beitrag zur Frage der Ansiedlung slawischer Gefangener im Wendland in vergleichender Sicht, in: Rundlinge und Slawen (as note 30), pp. 78–89.
- ³⁷ Matthias Hardt, Hans K. Schulze, Altmark und Wendland als deutsch-slawische Kontaktzone, in: Wendland und Altmark in historischer und sprachwissenschaftlicher Sicht (as note 28), pp. 1–44, here p. 25, with further references to changes in the water level in the Hanoverian Wendland in note 155.
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- ³⁹ See Matthias Hardt, Fernhandel und Subsistenzwirtschaft. Überlegungen zur Wirtschaftsgeschichte der frühen Westslawen, in: Nomen et Fraternitas. Festschrift für Dieter Geuenich zum 65. Geburtstag, ed. by Uwe Ludwig and Thomas Schilp (Ergänzungsbände zum Reallexikon der Germanischen Altertumskunde, vol. 62), Berlin, New York 2008, pp. 741–763.
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- ⁴⁴ Matthias Hardt, Rundling (Rundangerdorf), in: Reallexikon der Germanischen Altertumskunde, vol. 25, Berlin/New York 2003, pp. 493–495; Walter Sperling, Formen, Typen und Genese des Platzdorfes in den böhmischen Ländern. Beiträge zur Siedlungsgeographie Ostmitteleuropas (Geographische Zeitschrift, Beihefte; Erdkundliches Wissen 61), Wiesbaden 1982.
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- ⁴⁶ Matthias Hardt, Die Veränderung der Kulturlandschaft in der hochmittelalterlichen *Germania Slavica* – offene Fragen beim derzeitigen Forschungsstand, in: Die bäuerliche Ostsiedlung des Mittelalters in Nordostdeutschland. Untersuchungen zum Landesausbau des 12. bis 14. Jahrhunderts im ländlichen Raum, ed. by Felix Biermann and Günter Mangelsdorf (Greifswalder Mitteilungen. Beiträge zur Ur- und Frühgeschichte und Mittelalterarchäologie 7), Frankfurt am Main et. al. 2005, pp. 17–28; Matthias Hardt, Von der Subsistenzwirtschaft zur markt-orientierten Produktion von Getreide: der hochmittelalterliche Wandel der Agrarstruktur in den westslawischen Gebieten, in: Beiträge zum Göttinger Umwelthistorischen Kolloquium 2007-2008, ed. by Bernd Herrmann (Graduiertenkolleg Interdisziplinäre Umweltgeschichte), Göttingen 2008, pp. 87–116; Matthias Hardt, Von der Subsistenzwirtschaft zur marktorientierten Getreideproduktion. Das Beispiel der *Germania Slavica*, in: Thomas Meier, Petra Tillessen (eds.), Über die Grenzen und zwischen den Disziplinen. Fächerübergreifende Zusammenarbeit im Forschungsfeld historischer Mensch-Umwelt-Beziehungen, Budapest 2011, pp. 313–328; Matthias Hardt, Diversifizierte naturnahe Existenzsicherung versus profitschaffende Homogenisierung. Zur Veränderung der Kulturlandschaft im Zuge des hochmittelalterlichen Landesausbaus im östlichen Mitteleuropa, in: Homogenisierung und Diversifizierung von Kulturlandschaften, ed. by Vera Denzer, Anne Dietrich, Matthias Hardt, Haik Thomas Porada and Winfried Schenk (Siedlungsforschung. Archäologie – Geschichte – Geographie 29), Bonn 2011, pp. 61–73; Matthias Hardt, Subsistenz – Vergetreidung – Dörfer. Schritte auf dem Weg zur hochmittelalterlichen Kulturlandschaft in Ostmitteleuropa, in: Tradition – Umgestaltung – Innovation. Transformationsprozesse im hohen Mittelalter, ed. by Eike Gringmuth-Dallmer and Jan Klápště in collaboration with Jan Hasil (Praehistorica XXXI/2), Prag 2014, pp. 569–583.
- ⁴⁷ See above notes 20 and 21.