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The "Dagome iudex": the manuscript tradition of a Greek-Latin document. For a textual criticism approach

El «Dagome iudex»: la tradición manuscrita de un documento grecolatino. Para un enfoque a la crítica textual

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Abstract

The "*Dagome iudex*" document remains a legendary story within medieval literature, while simultaneously reflecting the cultural phenomenon of *Ottonian Byzantinism*. Progress of the current research in resolving the questions surrounding the "*Dagome iudex*" has proved challenging, prompting a reconsideration of scientific priorities and the adoption of a textual criticism approach. Textual criticism aims to restore, as far as possible, the original work as written by its author. We have, thus, opted for the *Lachmann* method (with *recensio*, *examinatio*, *emendatio*), as it allows the correction of original errors through the conscious intervention of intermediate copyists. At this point, it should be noted that the decision to apply the *Lachmann* method was based on the conditions relating to the written tradition of the specific text. This means the existence of an original and the absence of "*contaminatio*". At the same time, the juxtaposition of the genealogical *stemma* of the six manuscripts, divided into two "*families*" of three manuscripts each, with two lines, illustrates, in the case of the *Dagome iudex*, the genealogical relationships and dependencies between the variants based on their "common" errors. Therefore, comparing all the variants aims to highlight the specific "common" errors to approximately restore the initial text. The ultimate goal is the reconstruction of the original and

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its reception as a written, applied literary source outside any aesthetic framework. Additionally, the inter textual features of the *Dagome iudex*, including its content and historicity, necessitate its classification as an applied literary text (*Textsorten*) and its contextualization in space and time to more accurately and carefully trace the real circumstances of its composition and the historical figures involved in its creation.

Keywords: Dagome iudex, medieval literature, textual criticism, Ottonian Byzantinism, Greek language.

Resumen

El documento *Dagome iudex* sigue siendo hasta hoy una historia legendaria dentro de la literatura medieval, a la vez que refleja el fenómeno cultural del bizantinismo otoniano. El progreso de la investigación actual para resolver las cuestiones en torno al «Dagome iudex» ha resultado complejo, lo que ha impulsado una reconsideración de las prioridades científicas y la adopción de un enfoque de crítica textual. La crítica textual busca restaurar, en la medida de lo posible, la obra original tal como fue escrita por su autor. Por ello, hemos optado por el método *Lachmann* (con *recensio*, *examinatio* y *emendatio*), ya que permite la correción de errores originales mediante la intervención consciente de copistas intermedios. Cabe destacar que la decisión de aplicar el método Lachmann se basó en las condiciones relacionadas con la tradición escrita del texto específico. Esto implica la existencia de una traducción original y la ausencia de "*contaminacio*". Al mismo tiempo, la yuxtaposición del *stemma* genealógico de los seis manuscritos, divididos en dos "*familias*" de tres manuscritos cada una, con dos líneas, ilustra, en el caso del *Dagome iudex*, las relaciones genealógicas y las dependencias entre las variantes en función de sus errores comunes. Por lo tanto, la comparación de todas las variantes busca destacar los errores comunes específicos para reconstruir aproximadamente el texto inicial. El objetivo final es la reconstrucción del original y su recepción como fuente literaria escrita y aplicada, fuera de cualquier marco estético. Además, las características intertextuales del *Dagome iudex*, incluyendo su contenido e historicidad, requieren su clasificación como texto literario aplicado (*Textsorten*) y su contextualización espacial y temporal para rastrear con mayor precisión y cuidado las circunstancias reales de su composición y las figuras históricas involucradas en su creación.

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Palabras clave: Dagome iudex, literatura medieval, crítica textual, bizantinismo otoniano, idioma griego.

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Introduction

The *Dagome iudex*[2] document is one of the earliest texts linked to the written Greek-Latin manuscript tradition and it is only known through its entry on an institutional register (*Regesta Imperii*)[3]. It concerns the transition of the territories of Duke Mieszko I under the authority of the Holy See, although many questions related to this issue still remain unanswered. Although Poland is not mentioned by name in this document, the country's general description in it indicates that Poland is the subject[4]. The conditions of the source of the *Dagome iudex*—the text's composition within the Imperial Registers—means that its textual transmission is still unknown due to several factors.

a) Historical Background

There is an extensive bibliography[5] concerning the *Dagome iudex* in which the priority is afforded mainly to history, historiography and politics rather than philology and palaeography. This allows us to view the reference to a series of historical events as highly significant events which led to the composition of the *Dagome iudex*, despite the limited progress of scholarly research[6] on the topic. Thus, we have opted to quote below, in calendar form, several historical

[2] The document's name derives from its opening words.
[3] See Jestice, 2018, p. 263, note 99.
[4] The exact mention of ''Mieszko I's princely territories'' in the text-source (RI) is «*Civitas Schinesghe cum omnibus suis pertinentiis*» (990 A.D.) where we find the institutional definition of the legitimate right of recognition (as an authority - *iudex*) to exercise control over those dominions (description of conquered lands) as sovereign estates. See infra note 19.
[5] See Nowak, 2020, pp. 25-26 and note 3 as also Kosiński, 2023, pp. 1-28.
[6] Even in nowadays important information such as the date and place of composition and the authorship of the *Dagome iudex* is unavailable; moreover, the absence of any original text constitutes one of the major methodological difficulties in this case. See infra note 15.

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events which might be taken into consideration in order to present Theophanu's Slavic policy as well as Mieszko I's political activity[7]:

965: *First marriage* of Mieszko I to Dobrawa, princess of Bohemia and daughter of Boleslaw I (915-972), duke of Bohemia.

966: *Baptism* of Mieszko I.

977: *Death* of Dobrawa, Mieszko I's first wife.

980: *Second marriage* of Mieszko I to Oda, daughter of Dietrich of Haldensleben, Margrave of the Northern March (965-983).

983: *The Great Slav Rising* to the east of the Elbe river (Northern March and March of the Billungs) against their Christianization and also their subjugation to the authorities of the Holy Roman Emperor. This uprising concerned the Polabian Slavs (Lutici /Wends) and drove out the political and religious representatives of the Empire. The death of Otto II in the same year in Italy complicated the political situation, so Empress Theophanu and Adelaide of Burgundy offered a tutelage to Otto III, the younger son of Otto II. At Christmas in the same year Otto III was crowned *Rex Romanorum* at Aachen by Willigis, the Archbishop of Mainz, who acted as *Primas Germaniae*.

June 985: *Assembly of powerful women* (*Colloquium Dominarum*) in Frankfurt an der Oder in which participated Theophanu, Adelaide of Italy, Emma II, Gerberga, abbess of Gandersheim, Mathilda, abbess of Quedlinburg, Queen Mathilda of Burgundy and Duchess Beatrice, in order to reinforce the stability of Theophanu's authority[8].

985-990: Mieszko I cooperates with and participates in the Ottonian campaigns against the Slavs of the Elbe and Bohemia in 985, 986, 987 and 990 A.D. Meanwhile in 986, according to the Hildesheim analyst[9], Mieszko I officially declared his *submission* to the Ottonian authority and most specifically to the ruler, Otto III. During the campaign in 990 A.D., Mieszko I requested Theopnanu's assistance because their Slav rivals were allied against the Poles.[10]

990 (autumn): The first mention in the Imperial Registers concerning the donation of the Duchy of Poland is found in the document known as *Dagome iudex.* This act is entitled *The*

[7] See Jestice, 2018, pp. 245-253 but also Lübke, 2002, p. 10.
[8] According to Maclean, 2017, pp. 170-172 and Audebrand, 2021, pp. 244-247.
[9] *Cf*. Jestice, 2018, p. 251.
[10] Jestice, 2018, p. 252.

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transition of Poland to the Pope by the Polish Duke Mieszko (*Ubereignung Polens an den Papst durch den Polenherzog Mieszko*)[11].

15 June 991: Death of the Empress Theophanu. The Archbishop of Mainz Willigis and Otto's III grandmother Adelaide of Italy became *de facto* regent of the Empire until Otto III reached his majority in 994.

25 May 992: Death of Duke Mieszko I.

May 992: The second reference in the Imperial Registers concerning the donation of the Duchy of Poland; this act is then entitled the *Dation of Poland to the Pope* (*Kommendation Polens an den Papst*)[12].

August (mid) 992: Second Ottonian campaign against the Slavs of Elbe, where the Imperial army received the support of Polish and Bohemian troops.

b) Textual criticism

i) *The state of the text* (*recensio*):

The text of the Dagome iudex is currently available in 6 surviving variants, while 3 are lost[13]. Of the remaining variants several significant errors are visible due to the large number of copyists who have influenced the transmission of this text[14]. There is no autographed manuscript of the original, nor are there any copies that have been collated with it; the actual available textual variants (6) derive from an initial text through an unknown number of intermediate copies and are consequently of questionable trustworthiness[15].

For these reasons, we present below the stemma[16] in order to depict visually both the relationship between and the interdependence of all the extant textual variants. Against this background, we observe two different manuscript "*traditions*", which are divided into two

[11] See Böhmer, 1956, pp. 516-517.
[12] See Böhmer, 1998, p. 214. For the timing of this donation to consult Engels, 1997, p. 37.
[13] From those 6 remaining variants, 4 (**D**, **B**, **A** & **C**) are located in Vatican (Vaticana Library) and 2 (**P**, **F**) in France (National Library /BN and in the Municipal Library of Cambrai).
[14] Different types of mistakes are introduced by the copyists to the remaining variants as *lapsus calami* but also misinterpretations and/or omissions due mainly to the character of the writing used (New Roman Cursive).
[15] The first mention of the *Dagome iudex* document at the Imperial Register is made in 990 A.D., the second in 992 A.D., and this same document is believed to be initially written by a notary in Rome in the time of Pope John XV (985-996) before being transferred and preserved on a papyrus (tomus) during the papacy of Gregory VII (1073-1085). See further Nowak, 2020, pp. 26-27. At this point the problem of identification posed by the title probably also fosters the author's issue as the document looks like a life account that emphasizes the ruler's self-awareness (γνῶθι σεαυτόν/gnóthi seautón) as a key parameter. On this issue to consult relatively Johnson, 2021, p.11.
[16] *Cf.* Ŝaveleva, 1990, pp. 25-27.

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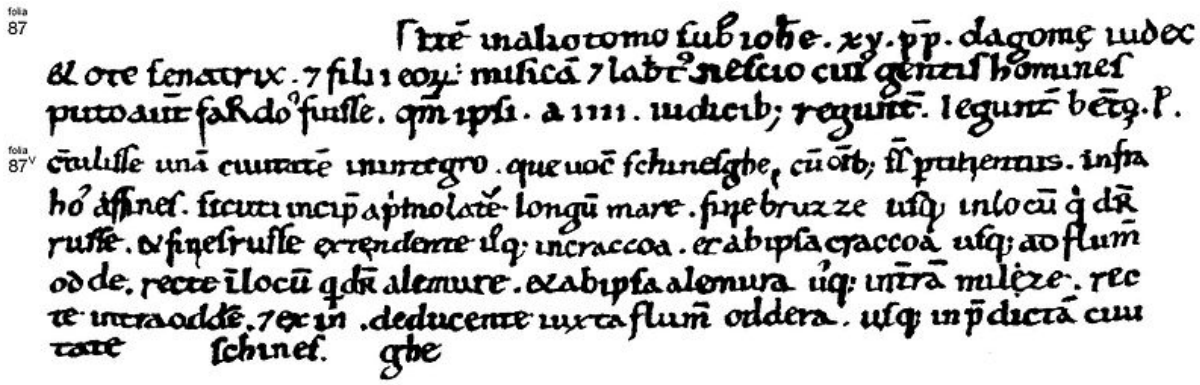
groups of three manuscripts each, (1, 2, 3/**D**, **B**, **P** & 4, 5, 6/**F**, **A**, **C**) and unified by four lines due to the initial existence of two different "*graphies*"/"*variants*". [17]



Dagome iudex according to Codex Vaticanus 3833, f. 87 & 87ᵛ, Vatican Library, Vatican, Italy ("Kopia z Biblioteki Watykánskiej", 2007)

[17] *Cf*. Steffen, 1956, pp. 98-99.

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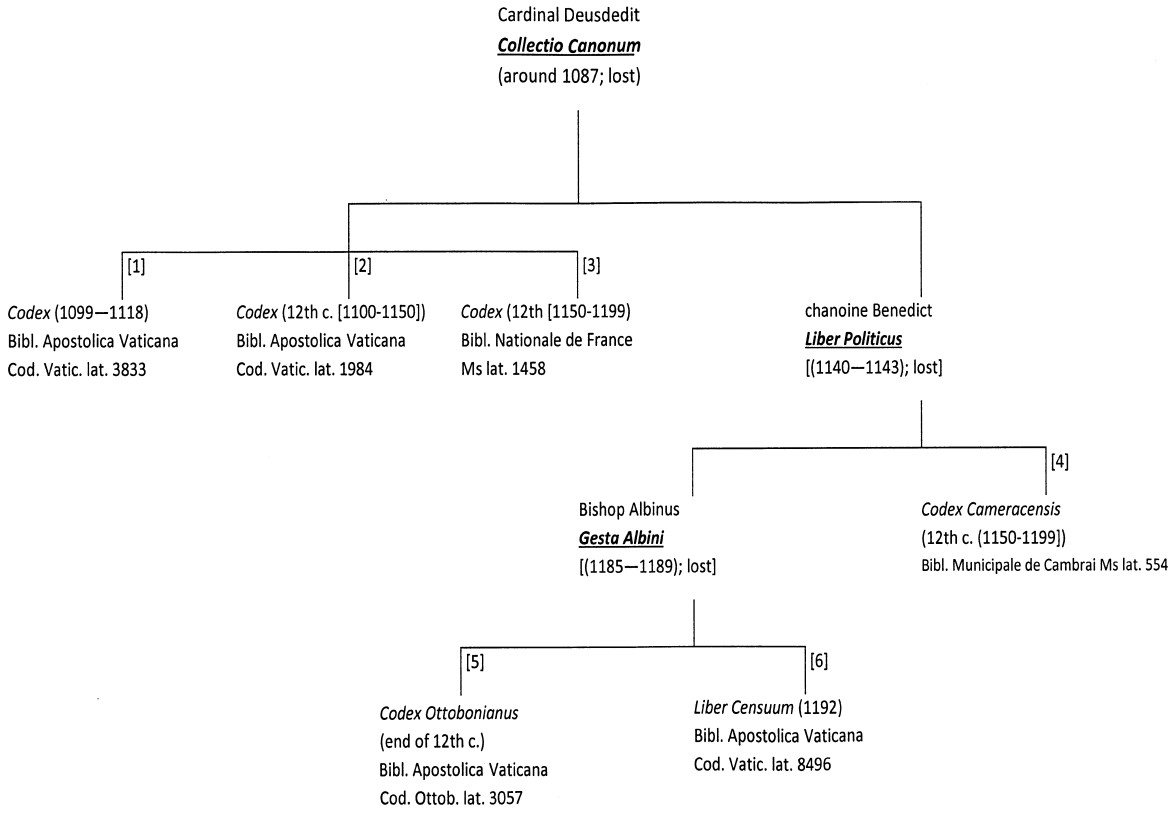

The *Dagome iudex* stemma

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ii) *The textual tradition* (*examinatio*)

The absence of research concerning the source-text at the *Imperial Registers* (RI) constitutes one of the major methodological difficulties in the case of the *Dagome iudex*. Thus, the collation and the comparison of all available variant's may be useful in ascertaining their authenticity or reliability relating to the original transmitted text. A full comparison table is shown below along with the source-text of the *Dagome iudex* (vertically), and all available variants (horizontally). All additions to the variants are marked in italics as also the word(s) that probably derived from Greek and were written in Latin with the New Roman Cursive writing. At this point we should note the homogeneity of the vocabulary, but also the typological variety, followed by the copyists, concerning the writing as the misinterpretation of toponyms, tribal variants and people's names.

Regesta Imperii (RI)	**Codex Vaticanus** lat. 3833 (1) **D**	**Codex Vaticanus** lat. 1984 (2) **B**	**Ms lat.** 1458 (3) **P**	**Codex Cameracensis** Ms lat. 554 (4) **F**	**Codex Ottobonianus** Cod. Ottob.lat. 3057 (5) **A**	**Liber Censuum** lat. 8496 (6) **C**
Dagome / Dagone	v / x	v / x	v / x	x / v	x / v	x / v
iudex	v	v	v	v	v	v
et	v	v	v	v	v	v
Ote	v	v	v	v	v	v
senatrix	v	v	v	v	v	v
et	v	v	v	v	v	v
filii	v	v	v	v	v	v
eorum	v	v	v	v	v	v
Misicam	v	Misica	Mysica	Mifica	Misica	Misica
et	v	v	v	v	v	v
Lambertus	v	v	v	v	v	v
nescio	v	v	v	----------	----------	----------

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cuius	v	v	v	----------	----------	----------
gentis	v	v	v	----------	----------	----------
homines	v	v	v	----------	----------	----------
puto	v	v	v	----------	----------	----------
autem	v	v	v	----------	----------	----------
Sardos	v	v	v	----------	----------	----------
fuisse	v	v	v	----------	----------	----------
quoniam	v	v	v	----------	----------	----------
ipsi	v	v	v	----------	----------	----------
a	v	v	v	----------	----------	----------
IIII	v	v	v	----------	----------	----------
iudicibus	v	v	v	----------	----------	----------
reguntur	v	v	v	----------	----------	----------
leguntur	v	v	v	v	v	v
beato	v	v	v	v	v	v
Petro	v	v	v	v	v	v
contulisse	v	v	v	v	v	v
unam	v	v	v	v	v	v
civitatem	v	v	v	v	v	v
maritimam	----------	----------	--------	v	v	v
in	v	v	v	v	v	v
integro	v	v	v	integrum	integrum	integrum
que	v	v	v	v	V	v
vocatur / est	v / x	v / x	v / x	x / v	x / v	x / v
Schinesghe	v	v	v	Schignesne	Schinesne	v
cum	v	v	v	v	v	v
omnibus	v	v	v	v	v	v
suis	v	v	v	v	v	v
pertinentiis	v	v	v	v	v	v
infra	v	v	v	v	v	v

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hos	v	v	v	v	v	v
affines	v	v	v	v	v	v
sicuti	v	v	v	v	v	v
incipit	v	v	v	v	v	v
a	v	v	v	v	v	v
primo	v	v	v	v	v	v
latere	v	v	v	v	v	v
longum	v	v	v	v	v	v
mare	v	v	v	v	v	v
fine	v	v	v	v	v	v
Bruzzę	v	Pruzzę	Pruzze	v	v	v
usque	v	v	v	v	v	v
in	v	v	v	v	v	v
locum	v	v	v	v	v	v
qui	v	v	v	v	v	v
dicitur	v	v	v	v	v	v
Russe	v	Russę	Russae	v	v	v
et	v	v	v	v	v	v
fines	v	v	v	v	v	v
Russe	v	Russę	Russae	v	v	v
extendente	v	v	v	v	v	v
usque	v	v	v	v	v	v
in	v	v	v	v	v	v
Craccoa	v	v	v	Graccoa	v	Cracoa
et	v	v	v	v	v	v
ab	v	v	v	----------	----------	----------
ipsa	v	v	v	----------	----------	----------
Craccoa	v	v	v	----------	----------	----------
usque	v	v	v	v	v	v
ad	v	v	v	v	v	v

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flumen	v	v	v	v	v	v
Oddere	v	v	v	v	v	v
recte	v	v	v	v	v	v
in	v	v	v	v	v	v
locum	v	v	v	v	v	v
qui	v	v	v	v	v	v
dicitur	v	v	v	v	v	v
Alemure	v	v	v	v	v	v
et	v	v	v	v	v	v
ab	v	v	v	v	v	v
ipsa	v	v	v	v	v	v
Alemura	v	v	v	Alemure	Alemure	Alemure
usque	v	v	v	v	v	v
in	v	v	v	v	v	v
terram	v	v	v	v	v	v
Milze	v	Milzę	Mulze	v	v	v
et	v	v	v	v	v	v
affines	v	v	v	a fine	a fine	a fine
Milze	Mulzę	Mulzę	Mulzę	v	v	v
recte	v	v	v	v	v	v
intra	v	v	v	v	v	v
Oddere	v	v	v	v	v	v
et	v	v	v	v	v	v
exinde	v	v	v	v	v	v
ducente	v	v	v	v	v	v
iuxta	v	v	v	v	v	v
flumen	v	v	v	v	v	v
Oddera	v	v	v	Oddere	Oddere	Oddere
usque	v	v	v	v	v	v
in	v	v	v	v	v	v

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predictam	v	v	v	v	v	v
civitatem	v	v	v	v	v	v
Schinesgne	Schinesghe	Schinesghe	Schinesghe	Schinesche	v	v

iii) *Correction and reconstitution* (*emendatio*)

In the third part of our critical approach, we proceed to the reconstitution of the transmitted text by correcting all erroneous spellings accompanied by critical notes. The reconstituted text is written in italics as the additions to the variants. All lexical variants of each corrected term are kept in parentheses while their origin is stated underneath and is accompanied by a commentary.

Item in alio tomo sub Iohanne XV papa:

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Digame[18] (Dagome, Dagone*) iudex*[19] *et Ote senatrix*[20] *et filii eorum Misicam*[21]*et Lambertus* – [*nescio cuius gentis homines*, *puto autem Sorbos* (Sardos)[22] *fuisse, quoniam ipsi a IIII iudicibus reguntur*][23] –

[18]*Digame* (6/6) stamp. Dagome (3/6), Dagone (3/6): a possible misinterpretation made by the first copyist in 990 A.D. who transcribed the text of the *Dagome iudex*. If the original transmitted text is written without word division (*scriptio continua*) in New Roman Cursive writing it might be the first case in relation to the *Dagome iudex* of continuity in rapid writing, one of the principal features of New Roman Cursive. This causes a reduction in the number of pen lifts due to a recourse to sequences of ligatures, when scribes linked adjacent letters wherever possible according to Marcos, 2017, p. 17. Moreover, it concerns a foreign term (Greek *Δίγαμε*) written in Latin which is already known in European lexicography from its «*Pseudo-Cyrille*» lexicon (9th century), under the following form as *ΔΙΓΑΜΟΥΣ* (δίγαμος, *vir duarum*). Cf. Muzerelle, 2003, pp. 326–343, but also Miller, 1880, p. 149 and Böhmer, 1956, p. 516. In addition, for the use of Greek terms (σάρξ, λόγος, ἀγάπη, κρίσις / sarx, logos, agape, crisis) in an ecclesiogical context to consult Angulo Ordorika, 2025, pp. 418-431.

[19] According to the *Imperial Registers* (RI) the references (including titles) used for Mieszko I are as follows: i) *Duke of Poland* (Herzog von Polen, 7/19), ii) *Polish duke* (Polenherzog[s], 5/19), iii) *Duke* (Herzog, 3/19), iv) *Polish prince* (Polenfürsten, 1/19), v) *Polish ruler* (Polenherrschers, 1/19) and vi) Mieszko (I) (2/19). Consequently the use of the title *iudex* attributed to Mieszko I remains unique in this case and might possibly reveals a transfer of competencies/functions to him from the side of Emperor Otto III as *iudex et missus domni imperatoris* (Imperial Governor or Count and Imperial Delegate/Commissioner) in order to act *de jure* (legal sovereignty) for the transition of the princely territories (*Civitas Schinesghe cum omnibus suis pertinentiis*) under the Papal authority. For the use of this title (*iudex et missus domni imperatoris*) see also Böhmer, 1998, p. 61 and note 928. On the other hand, we should also take into consideration the social organization (kinship groups, opole/group of neighbouring settlements) of the Lechitic tribes (Polans, Masovians, Pomeranians, Silesians) and note in our case the presence of the same term (*iudex* & *iudicibus*) twice according to the **D**, **B** and **P** manuscript tradition. The association of those elements may be important as they would reveal the manner of transmission (consensus of a free assembly or a ruler's decision) concerning the assertion of power to the settlement communities. See also infra notes 20 & 23. Additionally, all of those references (titles), originated from the *Imperial Registers* (RI), were used to describe Mieszko's I rulership quality/essence (οὐσία/ousia). To consult relatively Gonzalez-Fernandez, 2023, p.100 and Vejar-Serrano, 2025, p.236.

[20] Idem for the title *senatrix* attributed to Ote (Oda). According to the *Imperial Registers* (RI) only one reference (included title) is used for Oda as follows: i) *Senator* (Senatrix, 2/2). However, the possible existence of a free assembly (*Senatus*) in the frame of a social organization (union) concerning the Lechites where decisions were made based on consensus remains an important issue. Cf. Garipzanov, 2008, p. 198 and Lübke, 2001, p. 51.

[21] According to **D** (Codex Vaticanus lat. 3833).

[22] *Sorbos* (1/1) stamp. Sardos (1/1): a possible mistake made by the copyist of **D** if the transmitted initial text is written without word division (*scriptio continua*) in New Roman Cursive writing (Minuscule Cursive). In this case the letter "o", which varies in size, is written as a diminutive oval or loop and remains difficult to distinguish from "a", which also is written as a simple loop open at the top. Moreover, the letter "b" can be distinguished from "d" only when the last is not connected, according to Marcos, 2017, pp. 16–18. The terms *Srbos*, *Serb(l)os*, *Sorbos*, *Sorabos* were used for a long time by several Christian authors for defining the West Slavic tribes of Lusatians also known as Wends. See Pubitschka, 1768, pp. 145–148.

[23] This entire addition within red letters is later than the initial text and is observed only according to the manuscript tradition **D, B** and **P.** Furthermore, a social organization (federation) with a core formed by four (major) tribes (Redarians, Tolensians, Kessinians and Circipanians) where the power was asserted by representatives of the clans and settlement communities (the "elders" = *IIII iudicibus reguntur*) is observed in the West Slavic Polabian tribes known as Luticians. See Garipzanov, 2008, p. 198.

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leguntur beato Petro contulisse unam civitatem maritimam[24] *in integro*[25]/*integrum*[26], *que vocatur*[27]/*est*[28] *Schinesgne*[29] (Schinesghe[30], Schignesne[31], Schinesne[32], Schinesche[33], Schinesgne[34]) *cum omnibus suis pertinentiis infra hos affines*, *sicuti incipit a primo latere longum mare*, *fine Bruzzę*[35](Pruzzę[36], Pruzze[37]) *usque in locum*, *qui dicitur Russe*[38] (Russę[39],

[24] See Böhmer, 1956, p. 516 where the specific term (*maritimam*) originates from the first version of the source-text that means is dated since 990 A.D. The same word is omitted in the second version of the source-text at the *Regesta Imperii*, dated to May 992 A.D. and also from the textual transmitted versions **D**, **B** and **P**. See also Böhmer, 1998, p. 214 and infra note 27.

[25]According to **D, B** and **P.**

[26]According to **F**, **A** and **C**.

[27]According to **D, B** and **P.**

[28]According to **F**, **A** and **C**.

[29] See Böhmer, 1956, pp. 516-517 and Böhmer, 1998, p. 214. The source-text of the *Regesta Imperii* offers two lexical variants concerning this name place: *Schinesgne* (2/2) and *Schinesghe* (1/1), which might actually correspond to an old medieval settlement located in the West Pomeranian region. The remains of this settlement were discovered on the western slopes of the Wał embankment, stretching for several kilometres between the polish villages of Bezrecze and Siadło Dolne close to the West Oder River. So by its location this settlement justifies the previous designation of *Schinesgne* as a maritime city (*unam civitatem maritimam)* in the source-text of the *RI* (990 A.D.). Moreover, this city was protected by a defensive fortress, originating from the early medieval period (9th–10th c.) and located on the hill (45 m.) of the so called Holy Mountain (Święta Góra), that is 1,5 km to the south-east of the actual polish village of Kamieniec/Schöningen [in German] (53° 18' 33" N, 14° 26' 13" E). According to archaeological research during the 20th century, a hill-fort was initially constructed on the top of the Holy Mountain by a population with features of Lusatian culture during the later Bronze Age (900-700 BCE). During the early Middle Ages this hill-fort was transformed into a fortified defensive fortress (hill-castle) by its inhabitants in order to protect the city situated lower down on the West Oder river. This hill-castle on the top of the so-called Holy Mountain was abandoned during the 12th century. See further Schuchhardt, 1911, pp. 323–339 but also Berghaus, 1865, pp. 1698–1702.

[30] *Schinesghe* (8/12) according to **D, B, P** and **C.**

[31] *Schignesne* (1/12) according to **F** (Codex Cameracensis Ms. lat. 554).

[32] *Schinesne* (1/12) according to **A** (Codex Ottobonianus lat. 3057).

[33] *Schinesche* (1/12) according to **F** (Codex Cameracensis Ms. lat. 554).

[34] *Schinesgne* (1/12)) according to **A** (Codex Ottobonianus lat. 3057).

[35]According to **D,F, A** and **C.**

[36]According to **B** (Codex Vaticanus lat.1984).

[37]According to **P** (Ms lat.1458).

[38]According to **D, F, A** and **C** variants**.** The source-text of the *Regesta Imperii* offers just one lexical variant concerning this name place: *Russe* (2/2) since its first version (990 A.D.). See Böhmer, 1956, pp. 516-517. This name place might actually correspond to a settlement originating from the early Middle Ages and located in the historical region of Prussia, specifically to the south of another mediaeval settlement named *Okop* (actually in the polish administrative province of Warmia–Masuria). Furthermore, the mediaeval settlement of *Russe* was extended by a hectare and included a cemetery with stone tombs (now lost) according to contemporary archaeological research. Cf. Ościłowski, 2006, pp. 87–88. In fact both mediaeval settlements (*Okop* & *Russe*) are located between the polish villages of Ruś/Reussen [in German] (53° 41' 31" N, 20° 29' 37" E) and Sambory (53° 13' 28" N, 22° 25' 08" E), and both belong to Kolno Heights (a historical region in Mazovia), dated from the periods of the early and high Middle Ages (10th–13th c.).

[39]According to **B** (Codex Vaticanus lat.1984).

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Russae[40]) *et fines Russe*[41] (Russę[42], Russae[43]) *extendente usque in Craccoa*[44] (Graccoa[45], Cracoa[46]) et *ab ipsa Craccoa*[47]*usque ad flumen Oddere recte in locum*, *qui dicitur Altemure*[48], *et ab ipsa Altemure* (Alemura[49], Alemure[50]) *usque in terram Milze*[51] (Milzę[52], Mulze[53]) *et affines* (a fine)[54]*Milze*[55] (Mulzę)[56]*recte intra Oddera et exinde ducente iuxta flumen* Oddera[57] (Oddere) [58] *usque in predictam civitate Schinesgne* [59] (Schinesghe [60], Schinesche [61], Schinesgne[62]).

[40]According to **P** (Ms lat.1458).
[41]According to **D, F, A** and **C.**
[42]According to **B** (Codex Vaticanus lat.1984).
[43]According to **P** (Ms lat.1458).
[44]According to **D, B, P** and **A.**
[45]According to **F** (Codex Cameracensis Ms. lat. 554).
[46]According to **C** (Liber Censuum lat. 8496).
[47]According to **D, B** and **P.**
[48]*Al(t)emure* (12/12) stamp. Alemure (9/12), Alemura (3/12): another possible mistake made by the first copyist in 990 A.D. concerning the continuous writing in the transmitted text in New Roman Cursive (Minuscule Cursive). The continuity in rapid writing causes a reduction in the number of pen lifts due to a recourse to sequences of ligatures when ''l'' is linked with the following letter as a subscript letter. So the difficulty of reading it leads frequently to misinterpretation as Alemure/Alemura instead of "*altemure*" (high wall). On the other hand, the first copyist kept the continuous written form of the word with a capital A as *Al(t)emure* in order to specify a particular geographic location. More specifically it concerns the Silesian Cutting (*Przesieka Śląska*), a forested and uninhabited strip of land located in the Silesia region. Originally that means that since the Early Middle Ages (8th–9th c.), the Silesian Cutting was used as a boundary for the separation of the territories of two Western Slavic tribes, the Silesians and the Opolans. This forested zone played a major role as a natural military obstacle by blocking movements from the west and by protecting the area of Opole from raids originating in Moravia. See Barford, 2001, p. 146.
[49]*Al(t)emure* stamp. Alemure: according to **D, B** and **P.**
[50]*Al(t)emure* stamp. Alemura: according to **F**, **A** and **C**.
[51]According to **D, F, A** and **C.** The territories controlled by the Slavic tribe of Milceni corresponds in fact to the historical region of Upper Lusatia and were conquered during the 10th c. (990 A.D.) by the Margrave Eckard I of Meissen (960-1002), who succeeded in incorporating them into his Margravate, but also in subjugating this Slavic tribe to Christianization. The mention of the Milceni territories in the text-source of the *Dagome iudex* (Regesta Imperii, 990 A.D.) remains important in marking a *terminus post quem* concerning the composition of this document, i.e. after the end of the successful campaigns of the Imperial army against the Lusatians (beginning of July 990 A.D.) and of Mieszko I in Silesia against the Duke of Bohemia Boleslaw II the Pious (end of July 990 A.D.).
[52]According to **B** (Codex Vaticanus lat.1984).
[53]According to **P** (Ms lat.1458).
[54]According to **F**, **A** and **C**.
[55]According to **F**, **A** and **C**.
[56]According to **D, B** and **P.**
[57]According to **D, B** and **P.**
[58]*Oddera* (1/2) stamp. Oddere (1/2). According to **F, A** and **C.**
[59]See supra, note 34.
[60]See supra, note 30.
[61]According to **F** (Codex Cameracensis Ms. lat. 554).
[62]According to **A** (Codex Ottobonianus lat. 3057).

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Conclusions

1) The *Dagome iudex* text is mentioned twice in the Imperial Registers (990 A.D. and 992 A.D.) and was transmitted to the Vatican during the papacy of John XV (985-996).
2) The *Dagome iudex* was composed in New Roman Cursive writing (Minuscule Cursive), the features of which led the first copyists to a misinterpretation and miscomprehension of the source-text and consequently to misinterpretations and errors in the later manuscript variants.
3) In the case of the *Dagome iudex* there is a source-text in Latin designated for an applied literary use and where the Greek term (*Δίγαμος*) was added later with a specific role.
4) The *Dagome iudex* textual composition derived from a systematic elaboration and its transmission involved several copyists. The use/addition of a Greek term inside a Latin document (*Digame iudex)* is a well-known tradition in the Holy Roman Empire during the Middle Ages which is called *Ottonian Byzantinism*[63].
5) The absence of any study and analysis of the *Dagome iudex* source-text should be taken into consideration in order to propagate academic research into the most important sources during the Ottonian period (*Imperial Registers*) but also to encourage the adoption of more critical approaches towards the extant textual variants of the document.

[63] To consult relatively on this phenomenon Berschin, 1980, p. 222. Moreover the development of the concept of *humanism (medieval humanism, literary humanism*) during Middle Ages and Renaissance was analysed by Etienne Gilson since the beginning of 20th century· on this issue to consult Cuadrado, 2025, pp.18-21.

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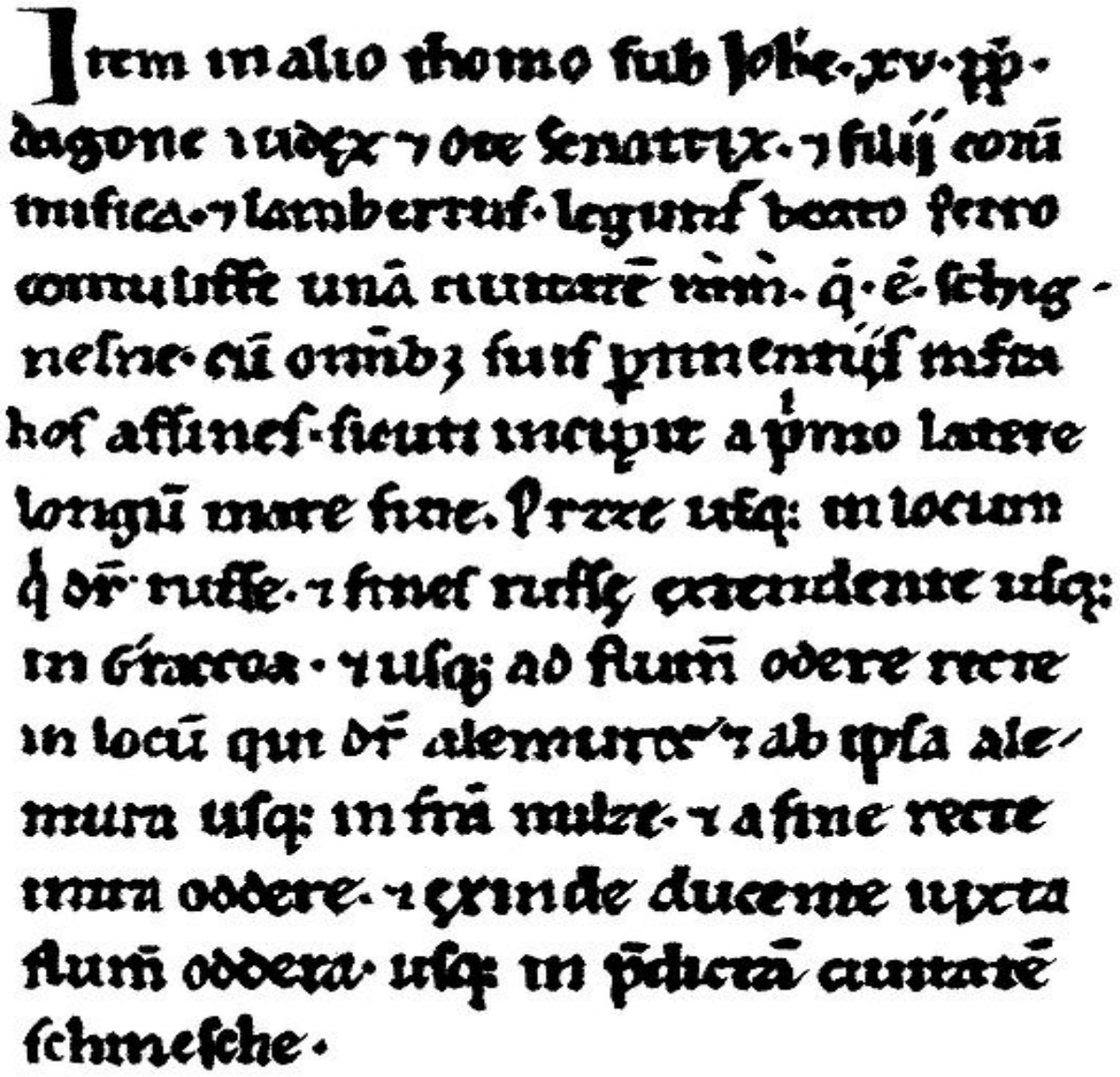

Dagome iudex according to Codex Cameracensis, Ms. latin 554, f. 121ᵛ, Municipal Library in Cambrai, Cambrai, France ("Zapis dokumentu", 2007)

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